Journal of Business Ethics
https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-020-04676-1

ORIGINAL PAPER

Place Matters: (Dis)embeddedness and Child Labourers' Experiences of Depersonalized Bullying in Indian Bt Cottonseed Global Production Networks

Premilla D'Cruz[1] · Ernesto Noronha[1] · Muneeb Ul Lateef Banday[1] · Saikat Chakraborty[1]

Received: 17 April 2020 / Accepted: 5 November 2020

Abstract
Engaging Polanyi's embeddedness–disembeddedness framework, this study explored the work experiences of *Bhil* children employed in Indian Bt cottonseed GPNs. The innovative visual technique of drawings followed by interviews was used. Migrant children, working under debt bondage, underwent greater exploitation and perennial and severe depersonalized bullying, indicative of commodification of labour and disembeddedness. In contrast, children working in their home villages were not under debt bondage and underwent less exploitation and occasional and mild depersonalized bullying, indicative of how civil society organizations, along with the state, attempt to re-embed economic activities in the social context. Polanyi's double movement was evident. 'Place' emerged as the pivotal factor determining children's experiences. A 'protective alliance' of community controls and social power, associated with in-group affiliations and cohesive ties, stemming from a common village and tribal identity, aided children working at home for *Bhil* farmers. 'Asymmetric intergroup inequality' due to pronounced social identity and class differences, coupled with locational constraints and developmental disadvantage, made migrant children vulnerable targets. Social embeddedness influences how child workers are treated because it forces employers to be ethical and not engage in bullying. However, by shifting production to children's home villages, there is an attempt to obscure the difference between child labour and child work. Thus, the seeds of disembeddedness are sown through the very act of re-embeddeding, potentially hampering future interventions.

Keywords Commodification · Double movement · Drawings · Embeddedness · GPNs · India · Intergroup asymmetry · Social power · Workplace bullying

Introduction

Most research resolutely insists on ending child labour which, according to International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 182, is associated with slavery and forced labour, sexual exploitation, illegal trafficking of drugs and any work that could damage the health and well-being of children, as compared to child work which is considered non-harmful work (Ballet and Bhukuth 2010). This is done by invoking a moral terminology which argues that low labour standards in errant countries of the Global South are unacceptable, unfair and illegitimate. Only trade sanctions harmonizing international child labour standards, labelling products as child labour free, and bans and consumer boycotts of products made by children will ensure compliance (Chaulia 2002; Gómez-Paredes et al. 2016).

Notwithstanding these aggressive global strategies to address the problem, child labour persists across many

Editors at the *Journal of Business Ethics* are recused from all decisions relating to submissions with which there is any identified potential conflict of interest. Submissions to the *Journal of Business Ethics* from editors of the journal are handled by a senior independent editor at the journal and subject to full double blind peer review processes.

✉ Premilla D'Cruz
pdcruz@iima.ac.in

Ernesto Noronha
enoronha@iima.ac.in

Muneeb Ul Lateef Banday
muneeblb@iima.ac.in

Saikat Chakraborty
saikatc@iima.ac.in

[1] Organizational Behaviour Area, IIM Ahmedabad, Wing 14C, Vastrapur, Ahmedabad 380 015, India

Published online: 04 January 2021

sectors including those tightly integrated into global production networks (GPNs) (Phillips et al. 2011). The latest global figures indicate that 152 million children engage in child labour globally, with 73 million children performing hazardous work that endangers their health, safety and moral development (ILO 2018). In India, as per the 2011 census, about 10.1 million work as child labourers (ILO 2017), the reason being serious governance gaps which include inadequate enforcement of laws against child labour and forced labour, and widespread denial of the right to freedom of association and collective bargaining. This is exacerbated by the complicated sub-contracting arrangements within supply chains (Ballet et al. 2014; ILO 2018; Nathan and Posthuma 2009). The use of child labour both directly (by fostering the integration of children as workers) and indirectly (by favouring the use of children in the reproductive household economy) in GPNs is one form of adverse incorporation that reinforces highly precarious and exploitative working conditions (Phillips et al. 2014). Consequently, global business has come under increasing pressure to demonstrate its commitment to be free from child labour. There has been a surge of regulations adopted by governments requiring companies to conduct due diligence in their supply chains (ILO 2018). Industry has responded through CSR (corporate social responsibility) initiatives, corporate codes of conduct and other voluntary mechanisms to fill the governance gap (De Neve 2009; Delaney et al. 2016; Kolk and van Tulder 2002). This means that Polanyi's (2001) double movement is evident. On the one hand, commodity chains both drive the dynamics of disembedding markets from society (the disembedded/hard argument) while, on the other hand, diverse public and private actors seek to re-embed economic activities through a dense network of regulation (the soft argument) (Langthaler and Schüßler 2019). However, the existence of these two sides of Polanyi's thinking has not been fully recognized. That is, the focus has mainly been on the soft side of embeddedness while insufficient attention has been paid to the hard side involving the disembeddedness or the commodification of labour (Langthaler and Schüßler 2019; Wood et al. 2019).

This paper from India which first evidences the disembeddedness and commodification of migrant child labour belonging to the marginalized *Bhil*[1] tribal community living in Southern Rajasthan and working on Bt cottonseed production in Northern Gujarat and then illustrates how civil society organizations, in collaboration with the state, seek to re-embed economic activities in the social context, clearly demonstrates Polanyi's (2001) double movement. We compare migrant children from the *Bhil* community who move from their homes in Southern Rajasthan to work on farms in Northern Gujarat, with children who now stay back home in Southern Rajasthan (because of the campaigns by NGOs/non-governmental organizations) and work for local *Bhil* farmers belonging to their own community. Further, our study, which uses the innovative method of drawings, highlights that while both sets of children report high degrees of workplace controls, migrant labour operates under conditions of debt bondage and constant and severe depersonalized bullying.[2] Thus, can place and social relations in India explain the embeddedness of child labour in Bt cottonseed GPNs? Social dynamics marking locational context are responsible for these differences, emphasizing the significance of place in GPNs, an issue that has been largely ignored thus far. Indeed, our study points to the relevance of other extra-workplace contextual elements which have a bearing on work and workplaces. Moreover, our study contributes to the field of workplace bullying theoretically and methodologically. That is, apart from adding visual methods to the toolkit, the study introduces (a) the concepts of embeddedness and GPNs to the field, fine-tuning its understanding of context and power and expanding its range of ethical foci; and (b) age and class as social categories pertinent to the field, alongside evidence of their intersectionality with gender, caste and ethnic (i.e. tribal), and migrant identity.

GPNs and (dis)embeddedness

The intellectual heritage of embeddedness lies in the work of Karl Polanyi (Wood et al. 2019), whose coining of the related terms 'embedded' and 'disembedded' to describe the link between the economy and the wider civil society, was one of his most significant conceptual contributions (Strangleman 2017). Embeddedness, which is often referred to as the 'soft' side of Polanyi's thinking, implies

[1] The *Bhils* are one of the major *Adivasi* (first people) groups of Western and Central India. They consist of multiple sub-groups such as *Bhilalas, Barelas* and *Naiks* (Sinha 2017). These groups typically retain their own traditional and cultural practices and are marginalized from mainstream Hindu ritual praxis (Roche 2000). The *Bhils* inhabit the largely hilly regions of Northeastern Maharashtra, Eastern Gujarat, Southern Rajasthan and Western Madhya Pradesh. This is denoted as the '*Bhil* culture zone' because the *Bhils* once shared a common language, *Bhili*. The *Bhili* dialect of *Wagdi,* spoken in the Southern Rajasthan region where our participants came from, incorporates features of Gujarati [the regional language], dialects such as *Mewari* and *Malvi* as well as elements of Hindi [the national language] (Phillips 2012).

[2] Depersonalized bullying involves employers' adoption of abuse and aggression in their interactions with employees as the former pursue profits. Depersonalized bullying lacks a target orientation but is impersonal and applied uniformly across the workforce by business owners, leaders, managers and supervisors, as a means of ensuring employee task performance in the quest for competitiveness (D'Cruz and Noronha 2009).

that the economy is not autonomous but subordinated to politics, religion and social relations. In contrast, disembeddedness means creating a fully self-regulating market economy wherein human beings and the natural environment are turned into pure commodities. Thus, disembeddedness, which is related to socioecological commodification, is the 'hard' side of Polanyi's thinking (Block 2001; Peck 2013). GPN research has mainly focused on the soft side while neglecting the hard side (Wood et al. 2019; Langthaler and Schüßler 2019).

'Hard' Polanyi focuses on the disembedding of 'fictitious commodities' like labour, land and money from societal-level legal, normative and cultural constraints through the process of commodification. These fictitious commodities are increasingly treated as if they are 'pure commodities' threatening to destroy 'society' (Block 2001; Burawoy 2010; Webster et al. 2008). For instance, turning land into a commodity destroys the community which lives on and from it; turning labour into a commodity destroys its productive capacity; and turning money into a commodity threatens its use as a medium of exchange (Burawoy 2010). Thus, instead of subordinating the economy to society, self-regulating markets subordinate society to the logic of the economy (Block 2001) and, instead of the economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are an add-on to the market (Strangleman 2017). In fact, unfettered self-regulating markets are constantly pushing human societies to the edge of a precipice where the human value of work and its impact on material, psychological and social well-being is neglected (Block 2001; Bolton and Laaser 2013). Thus, the market economy represents a pathological form of economic organization, generative of institutional inefficiencies, social anomie and ethical debility (Dale 2011). With globalization intensifying since the 1970s, land, labour and money have become increasingly commodified and detached from society (Langthaler and Schüßler 2019). Many of the protections that had been so painstakingly created through decades of struggle have been dismantled (Harvey 2014; Kalleberg 2009). Today, both men and women working in global supply chains experience widespread labour exploitation and forced labour in terms of non-payment, underpayment and withholding payment of wages; physical violence and verbal abuse; threats of dismissal; deception; non-physical coercion; sexual violence; and some form of involuntary labour (LeBaron and Gore 2019). This has led to the growth of precarious work, spurring an intense debate around adequate forms of public and private regulation (Harvey 2014; Kalleberg 2009).

Debates such as these have been particularly evident in the case of migrants. Migrants perform highly precarious work including becoming trapped in forced labour experiences at the bottom end of labour markets in the Global North (Lewis et al. 2015). Precarious work has commodified migrant labour and reduced it to a 'reserve army of labour' (Mezzadri and Fan 2018). A migrant worker is considered as a unit of production or a commodity rather than a person who has the potential to build new social and human relations at both destination and source. The commodification of migrant workers eventually disembeds them from society, resulting in hazardous outcomes. In fact, temporary labour migration is an extreme form of the fictitious commodification, institutionalized by the state in employers' interests. It has to be understood in the context of a political project to create and reinforce the market economy (Kim 2018). For instance, the disembedding of Indian employees from the Dutch institutional framework resulted in precarious working conditions even for well-educated migrants (Noronha et al. 2020).

However, since it is morally wrong to treat human beings as objects whose price will be determined entirely by the market (Block 2001), the goal of a disembedded, fully self-regulating market economy is a utopian project that cannot exist. Efforts to disembed the economy from society inevitably result in spontaneous counter-movements underpinned by the social, political and moral sphere (Block 2001; Burawoy 2010; Webster et al. 2008). As labour is commodified, measures are implemented to purge the market of its worst excesses so that the economy does not self-destruct (Standing 2007). Markets must be socially regulated to counter the corrosive effect of insecurity through institutional regulation (Webster et al. 2008). Thus, markets can never be entirely free as they rely on exchange mechanisms that belong to the social sphere (Bolton and Laaser 2013). In fact, the term embeddedness expresses the idea that the economy is not autonomous, but subordinated to politics, religion and social relations (Block 2001; Bolton and Laaser 2013). Even global supply chains are not just instruments for the exchange of economic goods and flow of capital across borders but they also link people in inter-connected webs of social relationships (Reinecke et al. 2018) and are influenced by the concrete socio-spatial, institutional and cultural contexts of the places they inhabit (Coe et al. 2008; Czaban and Henderson 2003; Hess and Coe 2006; Lane and Probert 2006, 2009). More specifically, as social relationships, regulations and institutions have a high degree of local 'stickiness', actors are geographically embedded in the long-standing structures and relationships of place which shapes their social praxis. People, institutions and things come together in unique ways in different locations (Herod et al. 2007; Rainnie et al. 2007). Therefore, all labour markets are socially regulated, but in locally specific ways (Ellem and Shields 1999). While Polanyi emphasizes the role of the state as a driver of re-embeddedness, other civil society actors such as trade unions, NGOs or consumers can also be potential drivers of counter-movements (Langthaler and Schüßler 2019). This makes the terms of employment

for labour more favourable, frequently offering a minimum wage, protection against hazardous work, introduction of compulsory education, shorter working days, higher overtime rates, annual leave, ban on arbitrary dismissal, opportunity to appeal and other measures to give labour a stronger bargaining position (Breman and van der Linden 2014).

Clearly, then, Polanyi's notion of society stands at a contradictory tension with the market: on the one hand, markets destroy, undermine, fracture and fragment society while, on the other hand, they also create what Polanyi calls an 'active society' where individuals come together in groups and movements, generating cultures of solidarity and resistance (Webster et al. 2008). The quality and intensity of the embeddedness of the market in society is subject to the constant struggle of a 'double movement' between the laissez-faire movement to expand the scope of the market and the protective counter-movement that uses protective legislation, restrictive associations and other instruments of intervention to resist the disembedding of the economy (Polanyi 2001). Today, the pendulum of Polanyi's double movement once again swings towards the need for social protections to alleviate the disruptions caused by the operation of unfettered markets (Kalleberg 2009) which we will discuss in the context of child workers on Bt cottonseed farms in India.

The Context

Cottonseed production in India is at the centre of the investment strategies of the biggest multi-national seed companies in the world. As a part of GPNs, hybridized seeds are produced by global companies and then sold to cultivators who grow cotton commercially for fibre. However, while the cotton-producing farmers depend on a patented insect-resistant global seed technology from the multi-national corporations (MNCs), the MNCs in turn depend on cottonseed farmers to produce cottonseed at pre-fixed prices and to sell it back to them exclusively (Ramamurthy 2011). Though companies do not directly contract with seed farmers but operate through intermediaries known as 'seed organizers' (Khandelwal et al. 2008; Venkateswarlu 2004), they still exert substantial control over farmers and seed production processes by fixing the procurement price (price paid to farmers), advancing capital, specifying non-employment of child labour, extending technical advice regarding the use of fertilizers and pesticides, and providing precautions to be observed while conducting cross-pollination and laboratory testing of the seed quality. Seed companies sign production agreements with seed organizers who, in turn, sign similar agreements with seed farmers in Gujarat and Rajasthan. The companies set the norms and procedures to be followed by the farmers while the latter cultivate seeds in their fields. Subsequently, company representatives along with seed organizers frequently inspect farms to check whether the prescribed norms are being followed (Khandelwal et al. 2008; Singh 2008; Venkateswarlu 2004). The final payment is made to farmers only after laboratory tests are completed (Khandelwal et al. 2008). Thus, the use of contract farming allows MNCs to take control of agricultural production by shifting the risks to contract farmers and diffusing their own responsibilities, including those pertaining to child labour (McKinney 2013; Singh 2008).

The mass production of hybrid cottonseeds in India has led to the phenomenon of child labour on its farms and in cotton-processing units, with McKinney (2014, p. 406) labelling Bt cottonseed production as 'children's work'. Indeed, children are connected to the global economy through their participation in Bt cottonseed work (McKinney 2014). Farmers seek to reduce labour costs by employing children who work more intensively but receive less wages than adults (Singh 2003; Venkateswarlu and Ramakrishna 2015), while also enduring sub-standard working and living conditions (Khandelwal et al. 2008; McKinney 2013). As seasonal short-term circular migrants, child labour exemplifies disembeddedness. Most children reside at worksites or in the open and form the underbelly of the labour market. They have no footing in the destinations where they work, no civic rights or entitlements and no access to the PDS (public distribution system). Contractors give them a subsistence allowance, with their full wages being adjusted against advances only at the end of their employment period (Srivastava 2020). Further, children's non-rebellious, vulnerable and submissive nature is easier to control. Children's flexible bodies and height are believed to make them suitable candidates to effectively carry out the tasks required by Bt cottonseed production (Burra 2008; Singh 2008) since the dexterity of their 'nimble fingers' is seen as ensuring the accuracy demanded by proper pollination (Khandelwal et al. 2008; McKinney 2013; Venkateswarlu 2007). In this study, the children were from the *Bhil* tribal community who inhabit the undulating terrain and inferior land of Southern Rajasthan and are forced to migrate as wage labour for seasonal work such as cottonseed farming every year to the adjoining state of Gujarat (McKinney 2014; Sjöblom 1999).

Over the years, hybrid cottonseed production has become more problematic, less lucrative and, therefore, less desirable for Gujarati farmers, given the increase in the policing of child labour, pressure on Gujarati farmers to increase wages and the shift of these farmers to the far less labour-intensive cotton fibre production. Seed companies have also taken steps to curb the use of child labour, distance themselves from production through sub-licensing and encourage more dispersion of contract farming. Since 2005–2006, MNCs like Bayer, Monsanto and DuPont have held special campaigns, introduced price incentives and blacklisted farmers to curb the use of child labour (Venkateswarlu 2015). This has resulted not only in a major shift in the production

of Bt cottonseeds from Gujarat to Rajasthan (McKinney 2013), but also in the outsourcing of cottonseed production to small-holders who employ unpaid family labour that generates exchange value (Ramamurthy 2011). Consequently, many *Bhil* tribal households supply land, resources and labour for production, supporting seed companies and elite farmers. While some child workers remain at home to participate in this production, most continue to migrate during the cropping season (McKinney 2013). Our paper focuses on this evolving dynamic between disembeddedness and the counter-movement of re-embeddedness, capturing the experiences of migrant child workers, i.e. those who migrate from Rajasthan to Gujarat, and child workers who, due to increasing policing, stay back in their villages in Rajasthan to work with *Bhil* farmers belonging to their community.

Method

Background of the Study

The research reported in this paper is part of a larger study we were asked to conduct on the behalf of Prayas Centre for Labour Research and Action (PCLRA). PCLRA has been active in the region, with a known reputation for protecting child workers' rights, and has a strong network of local activists who connect with child workers, their parents and their village communities. PCLRA and the Dakshini Rajasthan Mazdoor Union (DRMU), in response to the findings of an earlier 2007–2008 study have been, together with the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR), spearheading efforts to eliminate child labour in Bt cottonseed farms in the Gujarat-Rajasthan region. Through the efforts of PCLRA and DRMU, alongside NCPCR, 'mates' (local term for intermediary labour contractors), parents, school teachers and local communities were sensitized about the illegality of employing child labour.

Hence, in the new study, we were asked to ascertain how the aforementioned efforts impacted the working and living conditions- experienced by *Bhil* children employed on Bt cottonseed farms in the region. Our research strategy was reviewed and approved by PCLRA to ensure the inclusion and observation of ethical protocol during the study, deemed necessary because of the age and vulnerability of the participant group and the sensitive nature of the inquiry. Moreover, PCLRA permitted us to publish the study for academic purposes.

The study reported in this paper involved visits to 4 villages[3] in Southern Rajasthan and interactions with a total of 36 child workers there. From the first three villages (situated in remote areas of Udaipur district) where the migrant child labour group lived, we had 21 participants, with 6 to 8 participants from each village. These 21 participants belonged to Southern Rajasthan and migrated to Northern Gujarat to work. In the fourth village, we had 15 participants who were from that village itself as well as from another nearby village (both situated in semi-urban areas in Dungarpur district) and worked for *Bhil* farmers belonging to their community. These 15 participants lived and worked in Southern Rajasthan (see Table 1, row pertaining to sample). In the sub-sections which follow, we detail the processes of data collection (conducted in Southern Rajasthan) and data analysis highlighting alongside how, though we entered the field with ethical preparedness, we had to resolve ongoing dilemmas encountered during the study (Vanderstaay 2005).

Strategy and Access

Since our study focused on children, we were fully aware of the sensitivities involved and of the importance of observing ethical protocol and protecting our participants. Studying children necessitates the informed consent of their parents/guardians in the first instance, alongside, ideally, the informed consent of the children or, at best, the children's willingness to participate after being briefed about the study, such that the children are comfortable before, during and after the research process. Keeping this in mind, we made several decisions about the execution of the study as described below.

Local activists associated with PCLRA were our point of contact with the children and their parents who had been briefed about the scope, purpose and ethical protocol of the study. These activists, who belonged to the *Bhil* tribe and lived in the same villages as the children, were well respected in the local community and briefed parents and the community at large about us and the study, emphasizing the ethical protocol and seeking parents' consent to permit their children to participate while pointing out that the data would remain confidential and anonymized; children could withdraw from the study anytime they wished; and activists themselves would be present during the data collection process to ensure the safety of the children. Local activists, whom the children and their parents had deep regard for and confidence in, played a critical role in facilitating access as they could allay any misgivings that parents and children harboured and assure the latter that their rights would not be compromised but, rather, safeguarded by the former's presence. For instance, an activist told us that some children were reluctant to meet us as they thought that we were coming to pick them to work on Bt cottonseed farms of Northern Gujarat, but when their parents and the activist explained the situation, they were

[3] Names of all 5 villages included in the study are withheld to maintain confidentiality.

Fig. 1 Drawing 1

Table 1 Comparison between the living and working conditions of migrant and non-migrant child workers

Dimensions	Disembedded migrant child labour	Re-embedded non-migrant child labour
Sample	21 child labourers from 3 villages in Udaipur district, all remote areas of Southern Rajasthan	15 child labourers from 2 villages in Dungarpur district, both semi-urban areas of Southern Rajasthan
Employers	Higher caste Patels/Thakurs	*Bhil c*ommunity
Schooling	Dropped out	2-month break from school during the cropping season
Recruitment	Through intermediary labour contractors known as mates	No intermediary
Debt bondage	Advances adjusted at the end of the cropping season	No advances given
Working hours per day	8–10 h	8–10 h
Breakfast/tea	Not provided	Provided by the employer
Lunch	Prepared by the children themselves (some ingredients are provided by employers; some ingredients are purchased by the children)	Provided by the employer
Wages per day	Less than Rs. (Indian rupees) 130/- per day	Rs. 150/- per day
Wage settlement	With parents at the end of the cropping season	With children daily
Accommodation	Cramped makeshift rooms shared with 10–40 children	At home with parents and family
Occupational health and safety	Hazardous work, no first aid	Hazardous work, no first aid
Depersonalized bullying	Everpresent and highly intimidating and aggressive verbal abuse, together with physical punishment (sometimes sexual harassment of girl workers)	Infrequent and mild verbal abuse
Response to employer's depersonalized bullying	Submission (sometimes, resistance via hiding; in extreme cases, escape without wages)	Quitting
Support	Co-workers who may also be friends (sometimes, parents via mobile telephones)	Parents and family

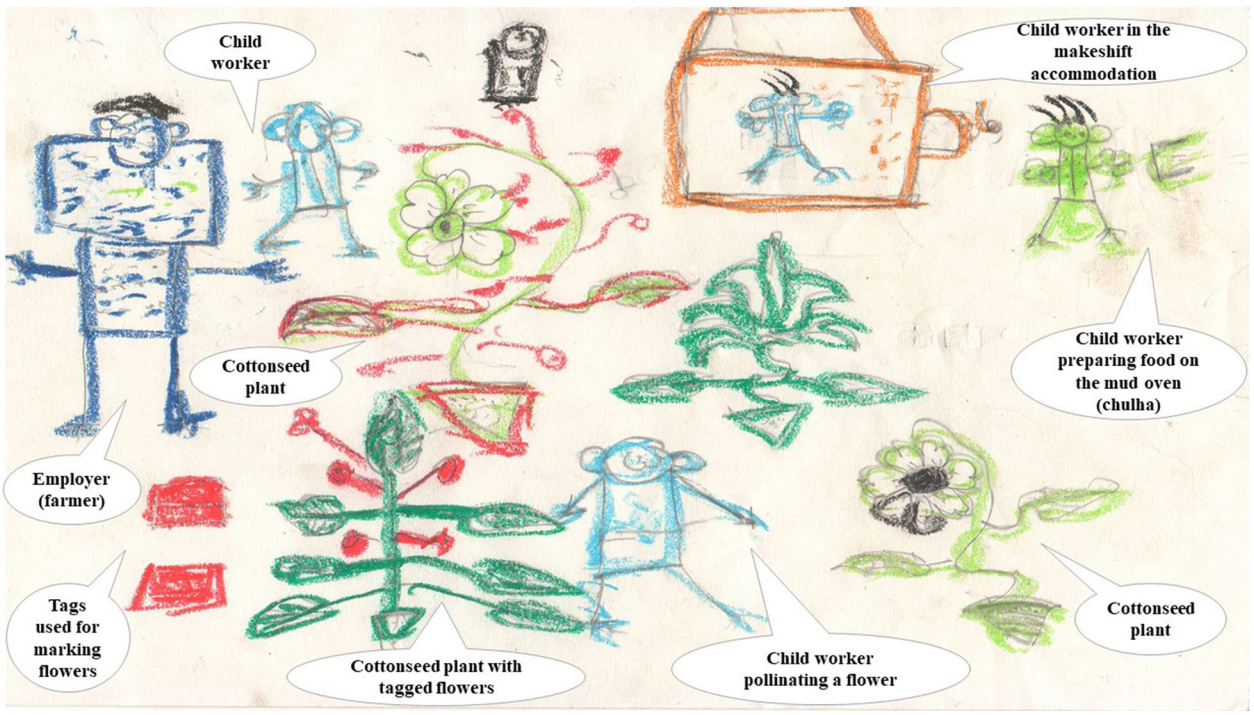

Fig. 2 Drawing 2

convinced of our intentions and agreed to participate. It may be noted that, based on insights gained from available research on child workers, agricultural labour and rural households in India as well as our own extensive research experience in India, we realized that parents and children would be not just uncomfortable signing consent forms but also become unwilling to participate or inhibited while participating. Hence, we decided against this approach while maintaining the ethical protocol of informed consent, voluntary participation, confidentiality and anonymity, and the presence of local activists.

Conducting the study when the children returned home after the cropping season, rather than while they worked on the farm, was the best route to ensuring their physical and psychological safety as participants of the inquiry. The children would be with their parents and in their native village, thereby being in a familiar, comfortable and safe setting. More importantly, data collection in the children's villages meant protecting them from the risks of meeting them on or near the farms, which would have entailed clandestine encounters replete with problems that, in turn, would likely harm the children. That is, since data collection at the workplace would mean hiding from. yet triggering the suspicion of, the farmers, the latter, who were aware that child labour was a matter of widespread social concern, would most likely retaliate by further exploiting and even abusing the children, a turn of events we sought to avoid at all costs.

Notwithstanding our decision to undertake data collection in the children's native villages in Southern Rajasthan, we made two short field visits to Bt cottonseed farms in Northern Gujarat to understand the production process and the reasons for employing children. These field visits helped us to realize that the use of drawings was the only way by which we could speak to children whose social backgrounds differed greatly from ours and who spoke a language we could not fully understand. Indeed, drawing succeeds where the language barrier between the researcher and the participant may seem like an insurmountable obstacle (Literat 2013).

Across all the sites, the data collection process took place in a child's house. Local activists, after gaining parents' and children's informed consent, sought a space where we could meet the children. A house was chosen from among those who volunteered. In the case of the fourth group comprising children from 2 villages, all the children met at a house in one of the villages. It may be noted that, along with the local activists, the parents in whose house we met the children were present during the data collection process. However, in our opinion, this did not impact the data collection process because as the children drew, we withdrew from that space and involved ourselves in discussions with the parents and the activist. Conducting the data collection in front of parents and local activists brought transparency to the process. Their 'monitoring' presence not only assuaged the concerns of the other parents and the village community, but also reassured and safeguarded the children, while strengthening our efforts towards an ethical research process.

Drawings

Recently, qualitative researchers have sought to move beyond the limitations of rationalistic and logocentric tendencies of verbal approaches to the use of visual methods such as drawings. These methods claim to 'empower' participants as they enable the latter to express their views more directly and with less interference from the researcher (Buckingham 2009). Drawings constitute a unique way of collecting data that words find hard to express, exemplifying visual products that hold meanings and portray how people see the world in both its simplicities and its complexities (Broussine 2008). The usefulness of this research approach lies in its effortless depiction of individual emotions, given the often unexpected and enigmatic aspects to an image (Vince and Warren 2012). Besides this, since drawings are intricately bound with power relations, social experiences and technological interactions produced in a particular space and time (Guillemin 2004), we considered them to be extremely useful in uncovering the work experiences of child labourers. In fact, drawings provide insights into conscious as well as unconscious thoughts and feelings through which participants interpret and understand their world (Broussine 2008; Guillemin 2004). Not surprisingly, the use of drawings in social science research has largely been employed with children because of the view that young children cannot fully articulate their beliefs and emotions using spoken or written words (Guillemin 2004). This was particularly so in our case too. However, there are exceptions (see Vince and Warren 2012). Moreover, the usefulness of drawings derives from the immediacy of expression of the emotions they capture or evoke. For us, drawings worked as a bricoleur using an intuitive sense of what is most appropriate in the circumstances (Broussine 2008). Additionally, as mentioned earlier, language was another point of concern. Since the children belonged to the *Bhil* tribe and spoke a mix of Hindi (the national language) and Gujarati (the regional language) which was difficult for us to completely understand, the use of drawings was the best way to overcome this challenge.

Of course, the aforementioned local activists who were present during the data collection process helped in language translation. For instance, one of the researchers used the Gujarati word '*doro*' which means 'to draw'; however, the activists suggested that the use of the word '*banavo*', which means 'to make', would be clearer to the children, who tend to confuse '*doro*' with a similar sounding word '*dodo*' which means to run.

Fig. 3 Drawing 3

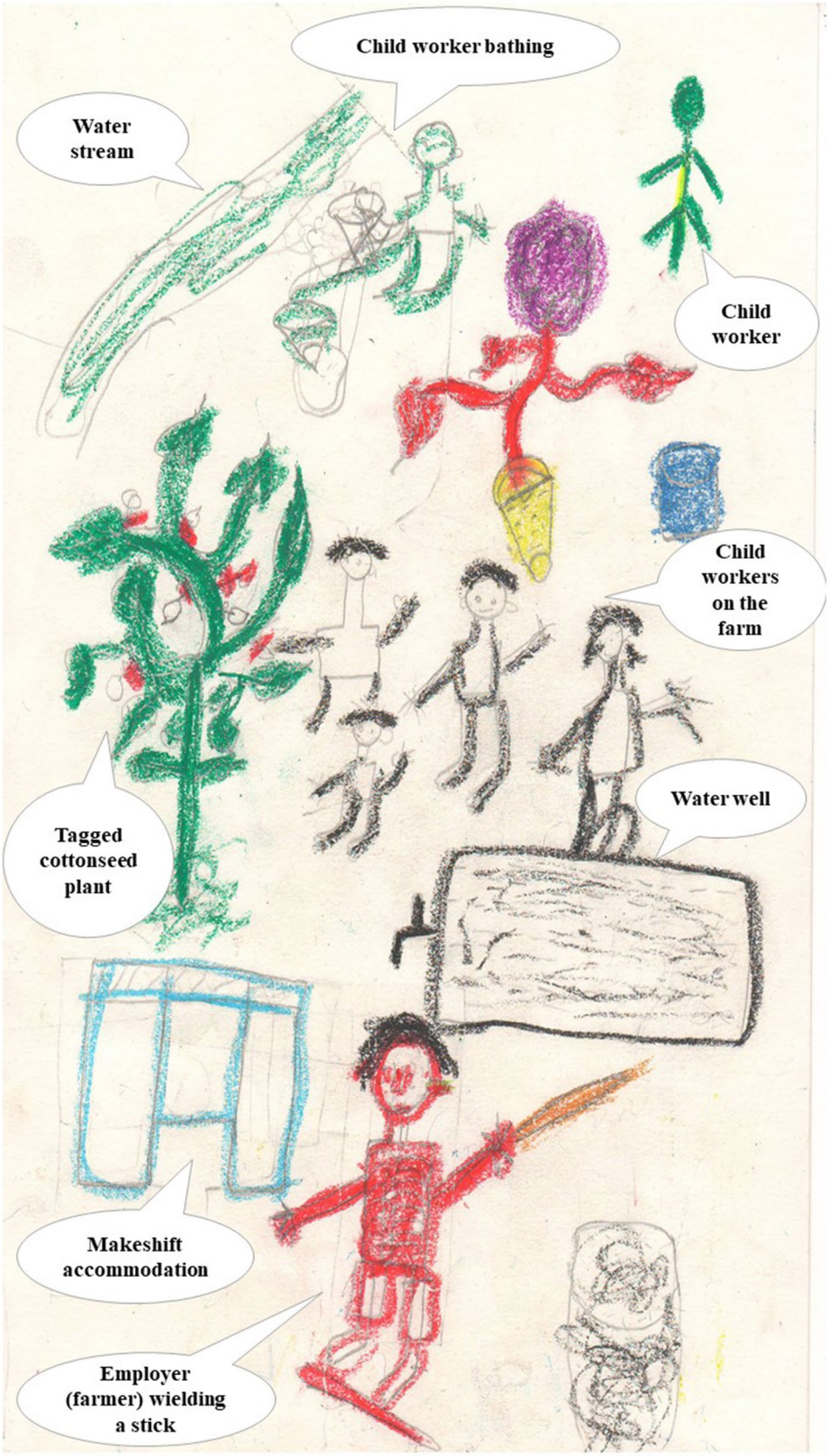

Fig. 4 Drawing 4

As we distributed the drawing papers, pencils, erasers and crayons to the children at the first research site, we were confronted with several dilemmas. One lingering question was: how much direction should we give the children? Some researchers influence drawers by specifying in detail what is required, while others allow drawers freer expression, thereby stimulating greater creativity and imaginative insights (Stiles 2014). Our work probably falls in-between. Initially, we were slightly restrained in our instructions and gave the participants a broad remit by asking them to draw about their workplace. We did not want to cue them too much, and instructed them to draw whatever came to their mind when they recalled their work. They were also told not to use words and that their artistic abilities were not important. Though all the participants agreed to draw, their level of enthusiasm varied. Some hesitated while other began with great focus and passion. Some looked around for a while though others got on to the task immediately. As observed by Stiles (2014), some drawers were initially more reluctant but almost all tried. However, we soon realized that our instructions required to be more direct and focused. Accordingly, we told the children to be more attentive to the employer-employee relationship and their life at the worksite in general, with particular emphasis on how the employer treated them. During the activity, we went and spoke to the children, looking at their drawings and commenting and asking them a few questions. We tried to befriend and make ourselves familiar with them but this did not help much. In response, many of them only giggled. We realized that this intervention was not very helpful and only obstructed the process as the children got distracted. Hence, in the subsequent research sites, we asked the children to draw about how they were treated at work and their life at the worksite in general. Moreover, since we allowed them to draw without interacting with them, we observed that they were chuckling, talking among themselves and enjoying the process of drawing. Thus, in our study, we moved from the 'draw and talk' technique, which we used in the first site and found unhelpful, to the 'draw followed by talk' technique, which we used in the second, third and fourth sites. However, it was not possible to ask the children to describe their drawings in 5 to 10 words as Vince and Warren (2012) propose.

Interviews

Drawings are most fruitful when combined with interviews (Guillemin 2004). The main aim of the drawings in our study was to act as a catalyst for the interview. We used the drawings as a basis for interviewing the participants. This was an essential part of the method. Drawings act as an evocative method of eliciting responses from the participants since interviews can explore the nature of the drawing and ascertain why a particular image was portrayed. This necessitates participants' reflection not only on the drawing, but also on their relationship with what they have drawn (Guillemin 2004).

We had to resolve several issues such as whether we should do individual or group interviews, whether we should ask children to interpret each other's drawings [as done by Vince and Warren (2012)] and which child should be interviewed first. At the first research site, interviews were held with individual participants, but later we realized that it was good to conduct interviews in a group as a collective setting reassured the children, with each one gaining comfort from the other while discussing their drawings publicly. Besides this, we realized that, when children were hesitant to talk about their own drawings, asking them to interpret each other's drawings was a herculean task. Accordingly, observing that group interviews aided the ethical aspect of the research process, we opted for this approach where all the children had the opportunity to speak individually about their drawing in the presence of the group. During the interviews, apart from requesting the children to describe what they drew and why they drew it, we also asked them to discuss their place of work and working conditions. Within each group, the members' turn to speak was determined voluntarily by the participants, with all the children being given a chance to discuss their drawings and provide insights about their work life. Even so, children who were reticent were neither persuaded nor forced to respond. All interviews were audio-recorded and fieldnotes were maintained. In the first, second and third sites where each group comprised 6 to 8 participants, we waited for everyone to finish drawing before starting the interviews. Only in the last site which had 15 participants, we began the interviews before everyone completed their drawings as those who finished early got impatient.

While conducting group interviews resulted in a sense of security that allowed the children to share their experiences freely, this approach was fraught with dangers of the children prompting the participant being interviewed. When children interrupted each other in this way, we had to firmly instruct group members not to prompt the interviewee. Moreover, whereas some children were talkative and forthcoming, setting an example and creating the ambience for others, there were a few who spoke in monosyllables, rendering it necessary for us to put in the effort to make them open up. Illustration of such reticence is visible in the findings section where we use narratives instead of quotes to make our point. Nonetheless, since we considered it ethically incorrect to push the issue beyond a point, we refrained from further probing.

The questions posed to the children pertained to not only what they had drawn but also what they had erased, in addition to encouraging them to share anything else which was missing in the drawing. The purpose of the interview was to capture the meaning and the underlying reasons of the drawing. Following the interpretivist paradigm, we accessed the range of constructions of meanings that children placed on their subjective experience, as represented in their drawings. This unlocked the process through which their voice, feelings and recollections were heard (Broussine 2008). We asked them: 'What does that show?', 'Why did you draw this?', 'What does that mean?' and 'Did you experience this?'. Indeed, allowing research participants to interpret their own drawings is not only more illuminating but also more ethical, given that the visual evidence is a subjective product of the participants' own perceptions and lived realities (Literat 2013). Such an approach enables the 'redistribution of power' between researcher and participant, with the latter shaping the agenda and directing the conversation according to their own feelings, thoughts and responses to their drawings (Ward and Shortt 2018). This formed part of the need to be reflective and ethical in building a relationship of empathy and mutual respect with the participants (England 1994), particularly in the light of the differential power relationship present when researching children (Thomas and O'Kane 1998).

After the drawings-followed-by-interviews process was completed in the first three villages with the 21 migrant group children, we realized that we had saturated on the findings. In other words, we had collected drawings to the point where no new themes emerge (Stiles 2014). Nevertheless, since a meeting at the fourth place had already been organized with 15 children (from 2 villages) who worked for *Bhil* farmers, we continued the data collection process. To our surprise, the experiences of the last group of children were completely different to those of the first three groups such that our findings were enriched, extending the theoretical generalizability of the study.

Local activists agreed with our view that, across all the research sites, children were comfortable with the data collection process, regardless of whether they were talkative or reticent. We had one exception where, while participating in the interview, a child's drawing stirred up painful memories of abuse which were too intense to bear. The child broke down and we promptly consoled the child and stopped the interview. One of the researchers and one of the local activists took the child aside to comfort and reassure him. After the child's distress abated and he felt composed, he decided to leave and we respected his decision. Though the child lived in the house adjacent to the one where data collection was being conducted, we did not try to contact him after the data collection process for fear of going against his wishes to withdraw and further upsetting him. Instead, we requested the local activists to check and make sure that the child was alright.

Across the sites, the drawings and interviews process lasted approximately 3 h per site. The drawing phase took 45 min, while within the group interviews, each child spoke for about 15–20 min on an average. The entire drawings and interviews session across all the sites was

audio-recorded and later translated and transcribed. Our own observations and impressions as well as our discussions both with parents present during the drawings and interviews sessions and with local activists were maintained as audio fieldnotes, recorded in English, and later transcribed.

Data Analysis

Drawings and transcripts of group interviews and fieldnotes were analysed. Following Shortt and Warren (2019), we used both the dialogical and archaeological approaches in an iterative manner, especially while recording our fieldnotes. For instance, on the first day after having dialogues with the children, we attempted to interpret some of their drawings and then checked our interpretations of the drawings with the children the next day. However, our analysis relied heavily on the dialogues and fieldnotes that we recorded after we returned from the field. We ensured that we accurately mapped the links between the drawings and their associated verbal interpretation present in the interview transcripts. This step was undertaken with great care because we wanted to be certain that the children's meanings, rather than our understanding, are reflected in the analysis. There was a constant back-and-forth between the drawing and the transcript to ensure that the analysis process was robust. In this regard, we were sensitive to the issue of belonging to a culture different to that of the children and wanted to avoid the likelihood of overinterpreting or misinterpreting (Literat 2013). This step showed us how the expertise of both researchers and participants needs to be skillfully combined to produce a more nuanced and situated understanding of the lived experiences of the participants (Pauwels 2015).

Next, we subjected the group interview transcripts to a thematic analysis, with drawings being referred to as needed and fieldnotes supplementing the interview data. Shortt and Warren's (2019) grounded visual pattern analysis, bringing together dialogical and archaeological meanings, enabled theorizing of children's everyday experiences. The dialogical approach, where the meanings of the visual can be attributed properly only by their creators, was initially used to understand children's experiences of work on the farms. The larger perspective pertaining to how children's experiences of work were outcomes of their embeddedness and disembeddedness, was uncovered through the archaeological approach where the drawings are viewed as a set, via grouping, which allows the broader field-level patterns to become apparent. Thus, the method captured nuanced dynamics that rarely surface but are invariably present (Vince and Warren 2012). Finally, the selection of drawings for this paper was based on aesthetics and whether it could illustrate the theme clearly. Whereas some major themes (namely, underlying motivating factors and the labour process and its accompanying controls) were common to all the children, the major themes pertaining to exploitation and depersonalized bullying exhibited divergence, with the first three groups (comprising 21 migrant child workers) experiencing high levels of exploitation and bullying and the fourth group (comprising 15 child workers employed on *Bhil* farms) experiencing low levels of exploitation and rare instances of bullying. The major themes (along with their constituent themes and subthemes) are presented in the findings section as sub-sections.

While prolonged engagement, probing, triangulation and peer debriefing facilitated rigour across the study, discussions with local activists present during the drawings and interviews sessions, held after the session ended, clarified and endorsed the emerging analysis.

Findings

The findings show that both the migrant group and the children working for *Bhil* farmers are pushed by similar motivations to work, experience an identical labour process and are subjected to the same tight controls in the pursuit of profits. However, while the migrant group was disembedded and employed under conditions of debt bondage and underwent greater exploitation and constant and severe depersonalized bullying due to their commodification, the group working for *Bhil* farmers faced lower exploitation and occasional and mild depersonalized bullying given that the countermovement resulted in their re-embeddedness. Beyond this, place-related factors also accounted for such differences. Below, we first detail participants' common experiences and then describe each group's specific experiences of exploitation and depersonalized bullying at work (see Table 1 for a comparison).

Sociodemographic Details and Underlying Motivating Factors

Across the sample, all children (19 girls; 17 boys) were below the age of 18 years, with the oldest claiming to be 17 years and the youngest 8 years and some having no idea of their age. Class differences between employer and employee were common to both migrants and children working for *Bhil* farmers. Further, migrant children ($n=21$) belonged to the socially disadvantaged tribal *Bhil* group and worked for farmers (also called *sheths*/employers henceforth) belonging to the higher caste Patels or Thakurs. Non-migrant children ($n=15$) worked for *Bhil* tribal farmers such that both parties shared the same social background.

Children's employment in Bt cottonseed production stems from economic constraints. Poverty left parents with no choice but to consider their children as a source of income, with migrant children who attended school eventually

dropping out of the education system. Some children said that, irrespective of how the farmers treat them, their parents send them to work to earn for the family, and in the case of migrant children, parents commit themselves by taking an advance from the mate such that debt bondage results. The financial gains accruing from children's earnings such as being able to manage family expenses like medical treatment, debt repayment, savings for festivals and marriages and so on, seal parents' decisions to send their children to work on the farms. Apart from a few children whose parents had no knowledge of the former's whereabouts for days on end, there were a few children who were either managing independently and/or who wished to explore the world beyond their immediate surroundings, and in the case of migrant children, these groups were easily available to mates scouting for child workers.

The Labour Process and Its Accompanying Controls

Hybrid cottonseed cultivation generally begins during the month of June, and after about 50 days of sowing the seeds, cross-pollination starts in August and continues through mid-October. Children are involved in Bt cottonseed production work for about 2–3 months a year and work on farms for about 8 to 10 h a day. The working day is structured around the labour process which involves emasculation, tagging, plucking and pollination, in that order. The children described their daily schedules as waking up between 4.00 h to 5.00 h and starting work by 6.00 h. To begin with, the buds just ripe for bloom on the female parent plant are tagged the previous day. The morning begins with plucking male flowers, granulating them and then manually dusting the pollen from the 'male' parent flowers onto the stigma (or ovary) of each emasculated[4] female flower tagged the previous day. Once the cross-fertilization work is completed by around 11.30 h to 12 noon, the children take a break. They get back to work around 14.00 h to once again emasculate and tag female flowers, with their day ending at 18.00 h.

Apart from the recruitment of children itself ensuring the controllability of the workforce, the waking hours, time of starting work and sequencing of tasks were pre-decided and executed by the employer and their representatives (whom the children referred to as *bhagiyas*). During the day, children's performance was supervised by the employer, their representative or the mate. Children were closely monitored for accuracy and pace. They had to limit the losses by not destroying flowers and to cross-pollinate without missing a flower. Those found resting, idling their time, loitering or taking frequent breaks were told to speed up and attend to their work. While these controls were common for all children, they played out differently depending on the place where children worked. For migrant children, not only was their work supervised, but also being huddled together on a farm far away from their villages ensured control over their living space as well, forcing them to work even when they were ill or to forfeit wages. Besides this, employers paid wages at the end of the cropping season so that they could retain the migrant child workers and even force the latter to work on non-agricultural tasks after the season ended. For children working for *Bhil* farmers, the omnipresence of the employer on the farm was emphasized. Children elaborated that since the farmer and his family lived on the premises and worked alongside the additional labour, the former kept a constant and close watch over the workers, ensuring the pace and quality of work.

Across both groups of child workers, the same work-related health and safety risks and problems were described. Children's work caused pain in their fingernails. Constant standing for long hours, especially during the afternoons when the heat is strongest, led to fatigue. Having to walk distances in wet and muddy fields, with the possibility of being bitten by insects or snakes buried in the soil, induced disgust and fear. Pesticides sprayed on the crop posed hazards.

Disembedding of Migrant Child Workers: Extremely Exploited and Constantly and Severely Bullied

The Farm as Workplace and Living Space: Facing Exploitation

Naturally, all migrant children's drawings depicted their work environment, indicating the farm as their fused work and living space. Participants drew the 'room' in which they stayed, a fireplace with utensils, the well from which they drew water to bathe, drink or wash utensils, red tags used to identify emasculated flowers, trays with buds, the male flower inserted on a rod, the female flower which they cross-pollinated, the employer or his representative with a menacing look, berating them and holding a stick in hand, and the fellow children they worked with (see, for example, Fig. 1 depicting drawing 1, participant 06, female, 11 years).

Though farmers provide all the children with accommodation on the farms, only few of these dwellings are *pucca* (solid/permanent) 'rooms'. Most children live in open housing or temporary/makeshift structures on a sharing basis. Rooms vary in size such that 10 to 40 children are simultaneously housed in a single space. Gender-segregated housing is not always available. The absence of proper sanitation

[4] The removal of stamens/anthers or the killing of pollen grains of a flower is done with the thumbnail in a single twirl. This action, without damaging the fragile pistil or the ovaries of the flower, is known as emasculation. The pistil of the emasculated bud is tagged with a red plastic square. The purpose of emasculation is to prevent self-fertilization in the female parent flowers (Ramamurthy 2011; Venkateswarlu 2004).

facilities leads children to defecate and bathe in the open, as shown in their drawings. It was for this reason that workers described their dwellings as 'rooms' (rather than houses or homes) which were used only for rest. Their drawings (see, for example, Fig. 2 depicting drawing 2, participant 11, female, 14 years) often depicted the room they lived in as empty or them alone in the room, despite it being full of children at night. In comparison to their homes which were in synchrony with nature, the 'rooms' on the farms were symbols of loneliness. These portrayals were indicative of children working the entire day, without respite, with no (time for) friends.

I[5] Why did you draw this (see Fig. 2 depicting drawing 2)?
P This is a room.
I Are you alone?
P There were others too.
I Did you feel lonely there?
P There were others but I had nothing to do with them… they were from other villages and the *sheth* and mate shouted at me. So I did not like it.
I Why did they shout at you?
P The workload was a lot. The number of lines that I had to tend to were too many. So I could not meet the targets so they used to shout at me. So I felt lonely. There was no one who supported me.
I Did you miss home then?
P Yes, I remembered my father and called him up. My father said come back.
I Why didn't you go home?
P I could not go home alone. Then my father said if you cannot come, stay there and work. (Participant 11, female, 14 years).

It is only occasionally that some farmers provide the children with tea early in the morning, but usually children begin work without breakfast. The afternoon break, lasting two to three hours, is used to cook and eat lunch, bathe, wash clothes and utensils, and if time permits, rest. Children cook their own food either individually or in groups. Sometimes, the girls prepare food for the boys from the same village living on the same farm. Firewood is arranged on the farm, and vegetables, cooking oil and spices are provided by farmers, while workers procure their own rice, flour, etc., from the local market.

It is common for workers to neglect their health, failing to report the onset of illness, because they know they will be asked to rest and must forfeit wages for the days of work missed. If the farmer provides them with medical care or transport to medical aid centres, the costs will be cut from their final wages. Thus, healthcare and medicine are usually to be self-arranged by the children, though medical aid was unavailable near the farms where they worked.

[5] I: Interviewer; P: Participant

The employers did not live on the farm, but their image was omnipresent in the drawings. Interestingly, though employers/*sheths* or their representatives/*bhagiyas* visited the farm twice a day for short periods to inspect the work (which the children called 'checking'), almost all the drawings portrayed the employer, indicating the control the latter exercised. At the beginning of the day, the rows of Bt cottonseed plants to be tended to were distributed between the children. However, if any child fell ill, the others were expected to pitch in to complete the job, forcing children to exercise peer control. Those who did not work were scolded by others, because if production fell behind, they would all be reprimanded through shouts, yelling, threats and intimidation.

Most of the children receive wages below Rs. (Indian rupees) 130/- per day for their work, which was lower than the minimum wages mandated by the government. Farmers gave the wages to the mates who then handed them over to the children's parents, with all these financial transactions taking place at the end of the season. Even though the children's parents kept a tab on the number of days their offspring worked by noting the latter's departure in their diaries, the amount finally paid was less than that due, as farmers and mates both took the opportunity to hike the expenses incurred by children on the farm, especially during illness, while also under-reporting the number of days worked. In addition, mates also settled the initial advance they had paid to the parents. Moreover, since the children had a different time orientation or had no idea of the time they spent at work, they were further exposed to exploitation by being deprived of their actual wages.

When we delved deeper, we learned that Bt cottonseed production entails mute acceptance of both physical and mental exertion by workers. Wages are kept unpaid over the duration of the season until the work is completed, and any resistance such as leaving the worksite mid-season, absenting oneself or not finishing the allotted task leads to monetary deductions or complete elimination of the worker from the employer's payroll.

Not only are children thus effectively tied to a single farm for the entire season, pointing to physical captivity, but the financial transactions with farmers and mates described above indicate debt bondage. Children's predicament evidences conditions which pave the way for extreme exploitation and bullying. In other words, migrant children provide intensive labour which is 'unfree' and cheap or unpaid and marked by abuse. Despite this, children's circumstances, discussed earlier, force them to continue working in such adverse conditions.

Being Bullied: How and Why

Alongside stringent controls and extreme exploitation aiding farmers' pursuit of profits and competitiveness, migrant child workers face depersonalized bullying. Enacted to

ensure children's maximum performance in the quest for productivity and financial gain, depersonalized bullying is undergirded by the social inequality which marks the workplace. When migrant children, who belong to marginalized and poor tribal groups, come to work, farmers, who belong to the higher caste and wealthier Patel or Thakur groups, are aware of the former's disenfranchised position. In addition to being economically and socially superior due to their class and caste positions, employers take advantage of children's age, developmental stage, distance from home and employee status to exploit the latter. Physical and emotional abuse are regular features, while sexual harassment is not as common but can be very severe when it occurs.

The main manifestation of abuse is regular verbal intimidation, relied on by farmers to get the children to wake up early, speed up work, increase output and reduce or eliminate mistakes. Children are shouted at ruthlessly to ensure that they start work at 6.00 h. Scolding and reprimands of a severe nature are resorted to when they are caught resting between tasks. Verbal aggression is also used to forbid children from leaving the farms or consuming their meals before task completion despite being very hungry. Physical abuse is sometimes adopted as a means of punishment to ensure that mistakes are not repeated and to instil fear in all workers.

Not surprisingly, employers were depicted in children's drawings as fear-inducing people wielding a stick (see, for example, Fig. 3 depicting drawing 3, participant 21, male, age not known). The stick was a symbol of terror, representing power, and warned the children to work diligently. Sometimes, the stick was depicted with no contact with another human body, indicating that the employer instilled fear but had not used the stick to hit. At other times, the stick was shown in contact with the human body, indicating that someone was beaten up. The reason for being beaten up was the destruction of the flower during emasculation, lack of attention during cross-pollination, removal of tags before cross-pollination or failure to tag the emasculated flower. Moreover, public beatings served as deterrents for co-workers. One child narrated:

I Who is this (see Fig. 3 depicting drawing 3)?
P (A) child bathing.
I And this?
P *Sheth* with a stick. *Sheth* is coming towards me to beat me.
I Why did he beat you?
P I was pollinating the flower and my nails touched the flower, which angered him.
I How much did he beat you?
P Twice with the stick.
I What did you do?
P Nothing. I cried. Then I consoled myself and went back to work. (Participant 21, male, age not known).

I Who is3 this (referring to the participant's the drawing)?
P The *sheth* (employer). This is the *sheth*, my friend and myself. The *sheth* is beating me with a stick.
I Where is this (happening)? Is it on the farm?
P Yes.
I Why is he beating you?
P I broke a flower…He beat me on my back…
I Does he beat you every day?
P No. Sometimes.
I How many times has he beaten you?
P Only twice or thrice.
I Is it for the same reason (breaking the bud) or any other reason?
P I removed the tag without pollinating the flower…then forgot which of them was pollinated and which was not. As a result, I missed out on pollinating one of the flowers.
I How did the *sheth* find out?
P He watches.
I Does he check every day?
P Yes…
I Did you tell anybody about this?
P No. Whom should I tell? I cried for some time and then got back to work…if I don't work, my wages will be cut.
I Do you like this work?
P Whether I like it or not, we have to work. We have no money at home to eat.
I Who sends you (to work)?
P I go on my own.
I Don't your parents send you?
P No.
I Will you go again?
P Yes, because we don't have money and we will die of hunger if I don't go. (Participant 08, female, 12 years).

Further, it appeared that a deliberate overloading of the children paves the way for bullying. That is, farmers give the children excessive work which the latter are bound to fall short of completing within the allotted time frame. This sets the stage for the violence and abuse which follow.

The bullying that the children are subjected to on the farms precipitates fear that is normalized as part of the job. Witnessing the mistreatment of co-workers (who are often friends belonging to the same village), particularly when the abuse is of a physical nature, creates severe anxiety in the child labourers. Farmers' tendency to force children to complete non-agricultural tasks at the end of the cropping season, by withholding their dues, effectively renders the latter bonded labour. It is not uncommon for farmers to step up physical and emotional torture during this time as they

know the children are helpless and want their money. While some children, unable to bear such excessive mistreatment, leave the farm and forfeit their wages for the entire season, others involuntarily continue working. Yet, those who stay on remain upset when employers renege on their promise of paying higher wages for doing extra work, considering this to be an injustice. They feel cheated when they return home after several months of work with a net income of just Rs. 1000/- while they were given to believe that they would be paid Rs. 130/- a day for a 9 h shift over a period of 2–3 months.

I How many months did you work?
P I worked for 7 months in ____ (place in Gujarat). *Sheth* had asked us to do some other work after the cottonseed season was over. We declined so *sheth* did not pay. I was paid Rs. 1000/- for 7 months. *Sheth* did not pay anything apart from it.
I Will you go again?
P No, they don't pay. They don't pay even after working. (Participant 15, female, 17 years).

Responding Paradoxically: Submission Alongside Resistance

Since complaints systems and monitoring mechanisms are unavailable to aid the child labourers, they have no formal sources of support, and the perpetrators remain free to continue their mistreatment with no fear of punishment. Nonetheless, child workers displayed various forms of coping with their abuse. Submission is children's usual response, effectively cohering with farmers' desire for a controllable and compliant workforce. Children cry on being beaten up. Yet, with nowhere to go, they return to work. It is at these times that children speak about missing home and feeling lonely and isolated. Even so, the children make no attempt to collectively mobilize and organize against their predicament. Fear, age and disadvantaged position are the underlying factors.

Children also sought solace and received understanding and encouragement from their friends among co-workers. Besides this, mobile telephones provide a gateway to cyber support from families as children call home occasionally. Usually, parents, while offering emotional support over the phone to their bullied and exploited children, did not intervene on the latter's behalf in situations of abuse as they had sent their children to the farms to earn for the family against an advance, and they did not want the children to forfeit the wages. Parents thus soothed the children with reassurances that they will not be sent back the following year—however, in the face of acute and persistent poverty, parents have little choice but to renege on this promise in the next season.

P My parents send me, and then when I don't like it, I tell them. To comfort me, they say, 'Don't go next time', but then when the time comes, they once again send me. (Participant 14, female, 10 years).

The children themselves see their work on these farms as necessary to earn money to support their families, buy medicines, purchase clothes and so on, and hence put up with the culture of bullying on the farms while resolving not to go back to the same employer the following year. Accordingly, they involuntarily accept that there is no escape for them from such extreme circumstances of exploitation and abuse, emanating out of debt bondage due to an advance that their parents had taken to tide over financial obligations.

Other than this, despite their disenfranchised position, some child labourers found ways to resist. Child labourers' choices about where, when and how to work reflect attempts to regain control over their working lives (De Neve 2014). The most common tactic was to hide among the cottonseed plants on the farms when they observe the farmer brandishing his stick and shouting threats and insults while approaching them. Children wait, hiding undetected, till the farmer has left. In this way, they are able to disregard the orders of the farmers without having to run away from the farms and forfeit their earnings.

I Does *sheth* scold you?
P No, *sheth* does not scold us but others like the *bhagiyas* (farmer's representatives) do.
I Does he *(bhagiya)* beat you too?
P Once he ran after us to beat us, but we ran away.
I Why did he beat you?
P We had gone from the farm to the well to drink water and a *bhagiya* was standing there. He said, 'Instead of coming again and again, why don't you take a container full of water to the place you are working? You drink there and work there. Why do you come again and again to drink water?'. But we refused to take the big vessel of water. Who is going to carry such a big container of 10 to 20 L of water? The *bhagiya* called us back but we did not go back…instead, we continued to our place of work. On the way, we stopped to pick some berries. In the meanwhile, the *bhagiya* came from behind and threw a vessel at us. We did not get hurt but we ran away and hid in the fields till 12 in the night…if we go to the room, we feared being beaten up. Workers from the neighbouring farm informed their mate that we were hiding in the fields and then our mate came to retrieve us…The next day we were scared that the *bhagiya* would beat us, but he just scolded us. (Participant 11, female, 14 years).

However, in extremely traumatic cases, children simply run away uncompensated. Those who (attempt to) run away are usually boys belonging to the same or adjacent villages back home, with strong friendship bonds, and boys who have come to work without parental involvement or consent. However, girls and very young children are too scared or find it more difficult to undertake the journey home since it involves trekking back several hundred kilometres on foot and alone.

I Have you been beaten up?
P No.
I Have you seen others being beaten up?
P Yes, some boys.
I Why?
P The *sheth* was refusing to pay them their dues. So they called up their home to tell their parents that the *sheth* was not paying them. The parents in turn called the *sheth,* asking him why he refused to pay their children. So the *sheth* got angry and beat the children. He asked them, 'Why did you call up home? I was going to pay you in 5 days. Couldn't you wait for 5 days?'. The children left without being paid. Since they worked, they should have been paid, but the employer wanted them to work on the cucumber crop (after completing the Bt cottonseed work) and they refused, so they did not get paid. I worked for 7 months but got paid only Rs 1000/- at the end of it.
I Did the mate not help you to get your dues?
P The mate is a relative (of ours) but he does not visit our house now.
I Will you go again?
P No, I will not, because despite working, we do not get paid.
I Will you go elsewhere?
P No, because I may have the same experience elsewhere. (Participant 13, female, age not known).

Re-embedding Child Workers on *Bhil* Farms: Partially Exploited and Occasionally and Mildly Bullied

The Farm as Workplace: Social Relations

The issue of abuse faced by child labour discussed above is part of the larger issue of child trafficking; hence, policy makers, labour activists and NGOs have focused their attention on restricting the transportation of child workers. Child labour migration from the region has reduced due to the joint efforts of the local administration, like the district collector and the superintendent of police, and local NGOs, like PCLRA and DRMU. Since its registration in 2007, DMRU, which is based in Dungarpur, demanded a hike in wages and curbed the movement of children, seeking an end to child labour. During the months when child labour migration to Gujarat is expected to be high, strict vigilance is maintained on vehicles passing the Rajasthan-Gujarat state border. If unidentified children below 14 years are found in the vehicles, they are rescued. Children's photos are published in local newspapers, while drivers and mates involved in transporting them are jailed. Further, DMRU had raised the issue of child workers' rights before the state of Gujarat, organized state-level public hearings on the issue of child labour in both the states of Gujarat and Rajasthan and highlighted cases of extreme injustice and sexual exploitation of female child workers. These initiatives as well as the semi-urban location—and hence better informed position—of the villages we visited in Dungarpur district (as compared to the remote location and hence more backward position of the villages of Udaipur district to which the migrant child workers belonged) have created awareness among the *Bhil* community about the complex issue of child labour. Consequently, some parents belonging to Dungarpur refrain from sending their children to work on farms in Northern Gujarat. Activists also state that education levels of the general population are higher in the villages we visited in Dungarpur district (as compared to the villages we visited in Udaipur district), with parents emphasizing the importance of schooling, and these combined features made a difference to their awareness and espousal of child labour. Besides, inspections by government agencies and proactive interventions by NGOs have made farmers cautious about this issue, resulting in some degree of decline in child labour incidence (Banday et al. 2018). Nonetheless, the shift in hybrid Bt cottonseed production from Gujarat to Rajasthan provided young tribal workers the option of remaining embedded in their local economy and working for farmers from their community.

All drawings of children working for *Bhil* farmers (see, for example, Fig. 4 depicting drawing 4, participant 24, female, 15 years) showed their own home as well as their employer's house in the frame, the farmer as a kind person who dialogues warmly with them and the farmer's wife offering them lunch, tea and refreshments. Children in this group lived at home with their parents, departing early in the morning for work and returning back in the evening. The social ties between the farmers and the children and their families as well as the socially linked contextual factors, including the proximity of parents whom the children continue to live with and the influence of the larger community, serve as the background to the children's work lives.

Given the physical and relational connectedness, farmers approached the children either directly or through the latter's parents, removing the mate and the issue of advance money and debt bondage from the recruitment process. However, these children were in school and, during the cropping season, frequently absented themselves for 2–3 months in order

to work in the Bt cottonseed fields. The children reported being paid by the employer daily and directly, receiving Rs. 150/- per day which was higher than migrant children's wages. Yet, employer-provided health and safety facilities were absent and children were not compensated for injury. Even so, children went home at the end of the day, indicating that they were not tied to the farm in physical captivity and always had family support, reducing their strain in case of any untoward incident at work. The chances of bullying being enacted in such a context were obviously low.

Moreover, the farmer and his family treated the child workers cordially. The farmer's wife provided the workers with breakfast and lunch. While the quality of the food was good, the quantity was sometimes insufficient for all to satiate their hunger.

I What is this? (see Fig. 4 depicting drawing 4).
P This is the house and *shethani* (employer's wife) is taking water and going.
I What is this?
P *Shethani* is coming to give labour tea.
I What time do they get tea?
P 12.00 h and lunch at 13.00 h.
I Ok. Whose house is this?
P This is my house.
I And this?
P *Sheth's* house.
I Did you live on the farm?
P No. My house is a bit away.
I How many people worked on the farm?
P Three workers and two from *sheth's* family.
I What do *sheth's* family members do?
P If they had the time, they would work…
I How many years have you been working?
P Only this year. I had Diwali (major Hindu festival) vacations and how would I pass my time? And I could take care of some of the expenses at home.
I How do you like the work?
P It is a bit tough.
I What is tough?
P You have to work in the sun and your nails pain.
I Since *sheth* lives on the farm, are you scared?
P No, because we work well then why should we be scared?
I Did *sheth* scold anybody else?
P No.
I Sometimes, don't you make mistakes like the bud breaks?
P Yes, that happens but he explains to us. He says work carefully and slowly, don't break the buds.
I Is *sheth* watching all the while?
P Yes. Since he lives on the farm, he can watch. (Participant 24, female, 15 years).

Being Shielded from Bullying

Despite the high controls and the marginal exploitation, mistreatment was largely absent. Children reported that farmers sometimes reprimanded and threatened to beat them to get the work done, but actual canings were very rare. Local activists explained that the social context played an important role in this. If children experience abuse, they will report it at home, and this could result in a major setback for the farmer as the entire village is likely to take up the issue very seriously.

I You were saying that here, the labour cannot be beaten up because they are from the surrounding villages, but do the farmers threaten children by showing them the stick?
P They (farmers) threaten workers and demand output, but if they beat the children, there can be a fight between villages. If a child is beaten up, the villagers will protest. (Local activist).

Moreover, if bullied, the child will quit, setting in motion a process of other children also leaving and no one else being willing to join. At the same time, not all children are keen to report mistreatment because their parents would then disallow them from continuing their employment. Ceasing to work meant forfeiting the good food they receive and losing out on working with their friends which they enjoy. In short, they would miss the sense of 'feeling free' (McKinney 2013).

Discussion

In this paper, we discuss Polanyi's (2001) double movement in the context of child labour working on Bt cottonseed farms in India. Though the focus of most research on embeddedness has mainly been on the 'soft' side (Langthaler and Schüßler 2019; Wood et al. 2019), we give equal attention to the neglected 'hard' side of disembeddedness or the commodification of labour.

By the very nature of the phenomenon, circular migrant child labour is disembedded because being migrants does not give them a footing in the destinations where they work. The treatment meted out to circular migrant labour in general in India during the COVID19 pandemic brought their commodification to the fore. There were newspaper reports of circular migrants travelling back thousands of miles on foot and cycle and inside containers and cement mixers. They were run over by vehicles and trains and lathi-charged and tear-gassed in their desperation to get back home. In fact, while some of them were charged under the Disaster Management Act, 2005, for violating lockdown restrictions

in their effort to get back home, government directives about payment of wages during this period were contested or ignored by employers (Srivastava 2020).

Not surprisingly, migrant child labour, such as those included our study, working under conditions of debt bondage, endure the 'worst forms of labour' (ILO 2017) and exemplify disembeddedness wherein social relations are an add-on to the market (Strangleman 2017). The exposure to physical captivity and debt bondage and, consequently, extreme exploitation and depersonalized bullying is built on a bedrock of disenfranchisement, highlighting the complex interplay of social, economic and political factors reinforcing commodification. While the children belonged to the marginalized *Bhil* community and are forced to work due to poverty, their class and tribal identities are at variance with the class and caste identities of their employers. 'Asymmetric intergroup dynamics' evidencing the presence of social inequality in the workplace (Soylu and Sheehy-Skeffington 2015, p. 4) undergird the extreme exploitation and commodification the children face, over and above high controls. Locational constraints, associated with living at the workplace (i.e. the farm) away from parental support, and developmental disadvantages, linked to age, accentuate children's vulnerabilities and worsen their predicament. Farmers' espousal of extreme exploitation and depersonalized bullying, alongside controls, demonstrates the misuse of workplace power, amounting to unethical behaviour going against universal norms of social acceptability (LaVan and Martin 2018). Indeed, under such circumstances, the governance positions adopted within GPNs including soft law, regulations, framework agreements, codes of conduct, etc., and the commitment to upgrading operate as mere rhetoric, making no difference to the experience of disembeddedness. In fact, Singh (2017) argues that governance mechanisms like Better Cotton Initiative (BCI) standards do not include cottonseed production under their ambit, leaving out a large part of the GPN that is known for labour violations. Clearly, asymmetric intergroup factors, locational considerations and developmental stage render available interventions completely ineffective. Thus, in Polanyi's terms, some argue that the temporary labour migration system of today is the state's political project to extend the market society. Temporary labour migration is an extreme form of the fictitious commodification of labour migration, institutionalized by the state for employers' interests (Kim 2018). Even well-educated migrants like Indian IT (information technology) workers in the Netherlands were confronted with precarious working conditions (Noronha et al. 2020). Thus, migration disembeds workers from social relations and place and, in the process, commodifies them.

However, Polanyi's contribution to understanding the moral economy displays how markets are embedded in society in ways that they can never be entirely free, as they rely on exchange mechanisms that belong not to the market but to the social sphere (Bolton and Laaser 2013). Therefore, just as contemporary transformations entail fictitious commodification and disembedding, protective counter-movements try to re-embed the economy in society (Block 2001; Burawoy 2010; Kim 2018; Webster et al. 2008). In our context, policy makers, local administration, police, labour activists and NGOs jointly tried to control child trafficking and, thereby, child labour. Though such pressure for change came from this network, our work demonstrates that place-related situatedness or 'embeddedness', which implies a rootedness in a region (Hess 2004), has considerable impact on improving the working conditions of children while some aspects of adverse incorporation in GPNs persist.

Indeed, ranged against capital's opportunistic quest for profitable investment across 'space' is labour's physical and emotional attachment to the specific locations and landscapes of 'place' (Ellem and Shields 1999). Our findings evidence the relevance of place in limiting the experience of commodification, pointing out the dynamics underpinning the emergence (or not) of bullying, as employers shift space from Gujarat farms to farms of *Bhil* households in Rajasthan in pursuit of profits and in a bid to evade local demands for improved working conditions (Soundararajan et al. 2018). With regard to the children working for *Bhil* farmers who belonged to their community, the power wielded by the community countered the power of employers, serving as a means of checks and control on the unethical excesses that often emerge in the pursuit of profits and competitiveness (Beale and Hoel 2011), and illustrating the linkage between workplaces and the wider social context in which they are located, beyond the boundaries limited only to business considerations (Berlingieri and D'Cruz 2019). In-group affiliations (Smith and Mackie 2007), arising from common tribal and village identities, cement cohesive ties (DeLamater and Myers 2007) which exert social influence and power (Brauer and Bourhis 2006) and operate as mechanisms of social control (DeLamater and Myers 2007), ensuring conformity and pre-empting deviance (Kassin et al. 2008) such that employers treat child workers well, notwithstanding the accompanying high controls and limited levels of exploitation. The social context serves as a 'protective alliance' that ensures the well-being of the child workers. The influence and control exerted by the community operates as a quasi-intervention. Thus, the burden of the counter-movement has shifted from being solely the responsibility of the state, as envisaged by Polanyi, to that of the wider society. This situation has resulted in the localization of political engagement which concentrates on problems of immediate concern to the daily life of the local community and its improvement (Bugˇra 2007).

The role of 'place', as evidenced through our findings, highlights the contrasting and complex links between

micro-level practices in the social sphere and broader normative standards pertaining to children. In the case of disembedded migrant child workers, glaring inconsistencies between micro-level practices and broader standards were discernible. In the case of re-embedded children working in their home villages, micro-level practices appear to aid broader standards. Yet, while the energetic campaigns by policy makers, local administration, police, labour activists and NGOs have certainly reduced child trafficking, the shift of production to the household sector may result in an adverse incorporation in the future, as observed elsewhere (Phillips et al. 2014). Clearly, corporations are attempting to render child labour invisible and camouflage it as child work which is considered non-harmful work (Ballet and Bhukuth 2010). There is an attempt to obscure the difference between child labour and child work, making it even more difficult for civil society organizations to intervene. Thus, the constant tension between disembeddedness and embeddedness, with the seeds of disembeddedness sown through the very process of re-embeddeding, becomes apparent. This is bolstered by the fact that children's employment in Bt cottonseed production stems from economic constraints. Poverty leaves parents with no choice but to consider their children as sources of income. In the given circumstances, it is worth resurrecting the ILO's more nuanced two-plank approach to child labour, which includes commitment to combining the progressive abolition of child labour in the long run, with transitional measures aimed at improving the working conditions of children (van Daalen and Hanson 2019).

It is pertinent to highlight that our study makes several contributions to the field of workplace bullying. The study introduces embeddedness and GPNs to the field, thereby providing specific and nuanced insights into globalization influences on extra-workplace and intra-workplace contexts. In so doing, it brings out the relevance of other extra-workplace contextual elements beyond business, namely, social and power relations, which have a bearing on work and workplaces, apart from evidencing instances where profits and competitiveness are pursued without bullying. Our study adds the new dimension of social embeddedness to the ethical foci in workplace bullying, which so far emphasizes relational (Rhodes et al. 2010) and normative (LaVan and Martin 2008) perspectives. Clearly, social dynamics offer a promising route to eliminating workplace bullying and ensuring ethical workplaces. Further, child workers, agriculture, rural economy and informal employment, which are the foci of the study, have received limited attention in the field of workplace bullying, as have class, caste, migrant status and intersectionality.

Finally, the adoption of the innovative method of drawings contributes to the methodological pool of workplace bullying and GPN research. Taking forward Broussine (2008), Buckingham (2009) and Guillemin (2004), we observe that, given that the focus of our research was a group of children who came from disenfranchised communities and whose language was unfamiliar to us, drawings were a useful way of communicating with them and understanding their challenges at work. Drawings enabled them to depict their stories which formed the basis of their narratives. Drawings not only brought out working and living conditions but told us about the labour process and power relations at work, providing insights into children's feelings. While it would be impossible to conduct this research about children from a tribal community in India without the use of drawings, some learnings for the future use of this technique include (a) allowing children to engage in the drawing task without any simultaneous questioning which acts as a distractor; and (b) providing clearer direction to the children (especially in the Indian context) about the task at hand which then may help them focus their efforts. Visual methods also help to understand societal power imbalances as well as challenge power relations between researchers and participants (McCarthy and Muthuri 2018). The former case means that research should benefit participants, aiding the resolution of their problems (Pauwels 2015). The current study was undertaken for PCLRA whose focus is addressing child labour in Bt cottonseed production in India (Banday et al. 2018). Besides, drawings enabled us to get a glimpse of how power was manifested through bullying on Bt cottonseed farms. In the latter case, participant-generated images gave voice to children, shifting the balance of power away from researchers to participants (Rees 2018) and endorsing the assumption that children are active, competent and reflexive expert informants about their own lives (Tay-Lim and Lim 2013).

Acknowledgements The authors thank the Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of Business Ethics*, Michelle Greenwood, for handling the double blind peer review process for their paper and ensuring no conflicts of interest. The authors are grateful to the three anonymous peer reviewers whose comments, questions and suggestions sharpened and improved the paper. The authors deeply appreciate and warmly acknowledge the support of Sudhir Katiyar of PCLRA during the conduct of this study.

Compliance with Ethical Standards

Conflict of Interest The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

Informed Consent Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

References

Ballet, J., & Bhukuth, A. (2010). About the worst forms of child labour. *Briefing Notes in Economics, 82,* 1–7.

Ballet, J., Bhukuth, A., & Carimentrand, A. (2014). Child labor and responsible consumers: From boycotts to social labels, illustrated by the Indian hand-knotted carpet industry. *Business & Society, 53*(1), 71–104.

Banday, M. U. L., Chakraborty, S., D'Cruz, P., & Noronha, E. (2018). Abuse faced by child labourers: Novel territory in workplace bullying. In P. D'Cruz, E. Noronha, A. Mendonca, & N. Mishra (Eds.), *Indian perspectives on workplace bullying: A decade of insights* (pp. 173–204). Singapore: Springer.

Beale, D., & Hoel, H. (2011). Workplace bullying and the employment relationship: Exploring questions of prevention, control and context. *Work, Employment and Society, 25*(1), 5–18.

Berlingieri, A., & D'Cruz, P. (2019). Depersonalized bullying: An emergent concern in the contemporary workplace. In P. D'Cruz, et al. (Eds.), *Handbooks of Workplace Bullying, Emotional Abuse and Harassment* (Vol. 1). Singapore: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-5334-4_7-1.

Block. F. (2001). Introduction. In: K. Polanyi (Eds), *The great transformation: The political and economic origins of our time* (pp. xviii–xxxviii). Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Bolton, S. C., & Laaser, K. (2013). Work, employment and society through the lens of moral economy. *Work, Employment and Society, 27*(3), 508–525.

Brauer, M., & Bourhis, R. Y. (2006). Social power. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 36*(4), 601–616.

Breman, J., & Van der Linden, M. (2014). Informalizing the economy: The return of the social question at a global level. *Development and Change, 45*(5), 920–940.

Broussine, M. (Ed.). (2008). *Creative methods in organizational research*. New Delhi: Sage.

Buckingham, D. (2009). Creative visual methods in media research: Possibilities, problems and proposals. *Media, Culture & Society, 31*(4), 633–652.

Buğra, A. (2007). Polanyi's concept of double movement and politics in the contemporary market society. In A. Bugra & K. Agartan (Eds.), *Reading Karl Polanyi for the twenty-first century* (pp. 173–189). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Burawoy, M. (2010). From Polanyi to Pollyanna: The false optimism of global labor studies. *Global Labor Journal, 1*(2), 301–314.

Burra, N. (2008). *Child migrating for work from Dungarpur district Rajasthan to Gujarat: A report*. National Commission for Protection of Child Rights. Retrieved 25th Dec 2017 from http://ncpcr.gov.in/view_file.php?fid=76.

Chaulia, S. (2002). Social clause in WTO: Cases for and against. *Economic and Political Weekly, 37*(7), 613–616.

Coe, N. M., Dicken, P., & Hess, M. (2008). Global production networks: Realizing the potential. *Journal of Economic Geography, 8*(3), 271–295.

Czaban, L., & Henderson, J. (2003). Commodity chains, foreign investment and labour issues in Eastern Europe. *Global Networks, 3*(2), 171–196.

Dale, G. (2011). Positivism and 'functional theory' in the thought of Karl Polanyi, 1907–1922. *Sociology Compass, 5*(2), 148–164.

D'Cruz, P., & Noronha, E. (2009). Experiencing depersonalized bullying: A study of Indian call centre agents. *Work Organization, Labour and Globalization*, *3*(1), 26–46.

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, 44*(2), 63–71.

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

DeLamater, J. D., & Myers, D. J. (2007). *Social psychology*. Belmont, CA: Thomson.

Delaney, A., Burchielli, R., & Tate, J. (2016). Corporate CSR responses to homework and child labour in the Indian and Pakistan leather sector. In K. Grosser, L. McCarthy, & M. Kilgour (Eds.), *Gender equality and responsible business* (pp. 170–184). Leeds: Greenleaf.

Ellem, B., & Shields, J. (1999). Rethinking "regional industrial relations": Space, place and the social relations of work. *Journal of Industrial Relations, 41*(4), 536–560.

England, K. V. (1994). Getting personal: Reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research. *The Professional Geographer, 46*(1), 80–89.

Gómez-Paredes, J., Alsamawi, A., Yamasue, E., Okumura, H., Ishihara, K. N., Geschke, A., & Lenzen, M. (2016). Consuming childhoods: An assessment of child labor's role in Indian production and global consumption. *Journal of Industrial Ecology, 20*(3), 611–622.

Guillemin, M. (2004). Understanding illness: Using drawings as a research method. *Qualitative Health Research, 14*(2), 272–289.

Harvey, D. (2014). *The seventeen contradictions and the end of capitalism*. London: Profile Books.

Herod, A., Rainnie, A., & McGrath-Champ, S. (2007). Working space: Why incorporating the geographical is central to theorizing work and employment practices. *Work, Employment and Society, 21*(2), 247–264.

Hess, M. (2004). Spatial relationships? Towards a reconceptualization of embeddedness. *Progress in Human Geography, 28*(2), 165–186.

Hess, M., & Coe, N. M. (2006). Making connections: Global production networks, standards, and embeddedness in the mobile-telecommunications industry. *Environment and Planning A, 38*(7), 1205–1227.

ILO. (2017). *Global estimates of child labour: Results and trends 2012–2016.* Geneva: ILO. Retrieved 28th Feb 2018 from https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_575499/lang--en/index.htm.

ILO. (2018). *Ending child labour by 2025: A review of policies and programmes*. Geneva: ILO.

Kalleberg, A. (2009). Precarious work, insecure workers: Employment relations in transition. *American Sociological Review, 74*(1), 1–22.

Kassin, S., Fein, S., & Markus, H. R. (2008). *Social psychology*. Wadsworth: Cengage Learning.

Khandelwal, A., Katiyar, S., & Vaishnav, M. (2008). *A case study of Cottonseed farms in North Gujarat*. Dakshini Rajasthan Mazdoor Union. Retrieved 30th March 2018 from http://www.clra.in/files/documents/Child-Labor-in-Cottonseed-Production.pdf.

Kim, C. (2018). *Temporary labour migration, social movements and neoliberal transformation in South Korea* (Doctoral dissertation). The University of Sydney, Australia. Retrieved 20th Aug 2019 from https://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/18180.

Kolk, A., & Van Tulder, R. (2002). The effectiveness of self-regulation: Corporate codes of conduct and child labour. *European Management Journal, 20*(3), 260–271.

Lane, C., & Probert, J. (2006). Domestic capabilities and global production networks in the clothing industry: A comparison of German and UK firms' strategies. *Socio-Economic Review, 4*(1), 35–67.

Lane, C., & Probert, J. (2009). *National capitalisms, global production networks: Fashioning the value chain in the UK, US, and Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Langthaler, E., & Schüßler, E. (2019). Commodity studies with Polanyi: Disembedding and re-embedding labour and land in contemporary capitalism. *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie, 44*(2), 209–223.

LaVan, H., & Martin, W. M. (2008). Bullying in the US workplace: Normative and process-oriented ethical approaches. *Journal of Business Ethics, 83*(2), 147–165.

LaVan, H., & Martin, W. M. (2018). Ethical challenges in workplace bullying and harassment: Creating ethical awareness and sensitivity. In P. D'Cruz, E. Noronha, G. Notelaers, & G. Rayner (Eds.), *Handbooks of workplace bullying, emotional abuse and harassment* (Vol. 1). Singapore: Springer.

LeBaron, G., & Gore, E. (2019). Gender and forced labour: Understanding the links in global cocoa supply chains. *The Journal of Development Studies, 56*(6), 1095–1117.

Lewis, H., Dwyer, P., Hodkinson, S., & Waite, L. (2015). Hyper-precarious lives: Migrants, work and forced labour in the Global North. *Progress in Human Geography, 39*(5), 580–600.

Literat, I. (2013). "A pencil for your thoughts": Participatory drawing as a visual research method with children and youth. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 12*(1), 84–98.

McCarthy, L., & Muthuri, J. N. (2018). Engaging fringe stakeholders in business and society research: Applying visual participatory research methods. *Business & Society, 57*(1), 131–173.

McKinney, K. (2013). Troubling notions of farmer choice: Hybrid Bt cotton seed production in western India. *Journal of Peasant Studies, 40*(2), 351–378.

McKinney, K. (2014). Hybrid cottonseed production is children's work: Making sense of migration and wage labor in western India. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies, 13*(2), 404–423.

Mezzadri, A., & Fan, L. (2018). 'Classes of labour' at the margins of global commodity chains in India and China. *Development and Change, 49*(4), 1034–1063.

Nathan, D., & Posthuma, A. (2009). Implications of global production for Indian firms and labour: An introduction. *Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 52*(4), 557–564.

Noronha, E., D'Cruz, P., & Banday, M. U. L. (2020). Navigating embeddedness: experiences of Indian it suppliers and employees in the Netherlands. *Journal of Business Ethics, 164*(1), 95–113.

Pauwels, L. (2015). 'Participatory' visual research revisited: A critical-constructive assessment of epistemological, methodological and social activist tenets. *Ethnography, 16*(1), 95–117.

Peck, J. (2013). Disembedding Polanyi: Exploring Polanyian economic geographies. *Environment and Planning A, 45*(7), 1536–1544.

Phillips, M.P. (2012). Dialect continuum in the Bhil tribal belt: Grammatical aspects. PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London

Phillips, N., Bhaskaran, R., Nathan, D., & Upendranadh, C. (2011). *Child labour in global production networks: Poverty, vulnerability and 'adverse incorporation' in the Delhi garments sector* (Paper No. 177). Chronic Poverty Research Centre. Retrieved 21st April 2019 from http://www.environmentportal.in/files/child%20labour%20in%20delhi%20garment%20factory.pdf.

Phillips, N., Bhaskaran, R., Nathan, D., & Upendranadh, C. (2014). The social foundations of global production networks: Towards a global political economy of child labour. *Third World Quarterly, 35*(3), 428–446.

Polanyi, K. (1944/2001). *The great transformation: The political and economic origins of our time.* New York: Farrar & Rinehart/Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Rainnie, A., Herod, A., & Champ, S. M. (2007). Spatialising industrial relations. *Industrial Relations Journal, 38*(2), 102–118.

Ramamurthy, P. (2011). Rearticulating caste: The global cottonseed commodity chain and the paradox of smallholder capitalism in South India. *Environment and Planning A, 43*(5), 1035–1056.

Rees, C. (2018). Drawing on drawings: Moving beyond text in health professions education research. *Perspectives on Medical Education, 7*(3), 166–173.

Reinecke, J., Donaghey, J., Wilkinson, A., & Wood, G. (2018). Global supply chains and social relations at work: Brokering across boundaries. *Human Relations, 71*(4), 459–480.

Rhodes, C., Pullen, A., Vickers, M. H., Clegg, S. R., & Pitsis, A. (2010). Violence and workplace bullying: What are an organization's ethical responsibilities? *Administrative Theory and Praxis, 32*(1), 96–115.

Roche, D. (2000). The "Dḥāk", Devi Amba's hourglass drum in tribal Southern Rajasthan India. *Asian Music, 32*(1), 59–99.

Shortt, H. L., & Warren, S. K. (2019). Grounded visual pattern analysis: Photographs in organizational field studies. *Organizational Research Methods, 22*(2), 539–563.

Singh, S. (2003). *Contract farming in India: Impact on women and child workers.* International Institute for Environment and Development. Retrieved 21st April 2019 from http://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlc/bitstream/handle/10535/6078/9281IIED.pdf?...1.

Singh, S. (2008). Gender and child labour in cottonseed production in India: A case study of Gujarat. *Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 51*(3), 445–458.

Singh, S. (2017). "White gold" for whom? A study of institutional aspects of work and wages in cotton GPNs in India. In E. Noronha & P. D'Cruz (Eds.), *Critical perspectives on work and employment in globalizing India* (pp. 15–36). Singapore: Springer.

Sinha, B. L. (2017). Through the looking glass of Bhils: How markets win what the state has lost in the desert jungles of Western Rajasthan. *Journal de Ciencias Sociales, 9,* 713. https://doi.org/10.18682/jcs.v0i9.713.

Sjöblom, D. K. (1999). *Land matters: Social relations and livelihoods in a Bhil community in Rajasthan, India* (Doctoral dissertation). University of East Anglia, UK. Retrieved 30th Sept 2019 from https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.300070.

Smith, E. R., & Mackie, D. M. (2007). *Social psychology*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Soundararajan, V., Spence, L. J., & Rees, C. (2018). Small business and social irresponsibility in developing countries: Working conditions and "evasion" institutional work. *Business & Society, 57*(7), 1301–1336.

Soylu, S., & Sheehy-Skeffington, J. (2015). Asymmetric intergroup bullying: The enactment and maintenance of societal inequality at work. *Human Relations, 68*(7), 1099–1129.

Srivastava, R (2020). *Understanding circular migration in India: Its nature and dimensions, the crisis under lockdown and the response of the State* (Paper No. WP 04/2020). New Delhi: Centre for Employment Studies, Institute for Human Development.

Standing, G. (2007). Labor recommodification in the global transformation. In B. Ayşe & K. Ağartan (Eds.), *Reading Karl Polanyi for the twenty-first century: Market economy as a political project* (pp. 67–94). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stiles, D. R. (2014). Drawing as a method of organizational analysis. In E. Bell, S. Warren, & J. Schroeder (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to visual organization* (pp. 227–242). Abingdon: Routledge.

Strangleman, T. (2017). Deindustrialisation and the historical sociological imagination: Making sense of work and industrial change. *Sociology, 51*(2), 466–482.

Tay-Lim, J., & Lim, S. (2013). Privileging younger children's voices in research: Use of drawings and a co-construction process. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 12*(1), 65–83.

Thomas, N., & O'Kane, C. (1998). The ethics of participatory research with children. *Children & Society, 12*(5), 336–348.

van Daalen, E., & Hanson, K. (2019). The ILO's shifts in child labour policy: Regulation and abolition. In: C. Gironde & G. Carbonnier (Eds), *The ILO @ 100: Addressing the past and future of work and social protection*. Leiden & Boston: Brill/Nijhoff, pp. 133–151

Vanderstaay, S. L. (2005). One hundred dollars and a dead man: Ethical decision making in ethnographic fieldwork. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 34*(4), 371–409.

Venkateswarlu, D. (2004). *Child labour in hybrid cottonseed production in Gujarat and Karnataka*. India Committee of the Netherlands. Retrieved 23rd Oct 2019 from http://www.indianet.nl/gujakarn.html.

Venkateswarlu, D. (2007). *Child bondage continues in Indian cotton supply chain.* India Committee of the Netherlands. Retrieved 23rd Oct 2019 from http://www.indianet.nl/pdf/childbondagecotton.pdf.

Venkateswarlu, D. (2015). *Cotton's forgotten children: Child labour and below minimum wages in hybrid cottonseed production in India.* India Committee of the Netherland. Retrieved 2Oct 2019 from http://www.indianet.nl/pdf/CottonsForgottenChildren.pdf.

Venkateswarlu, D., & Ramakrishna, R. V. S. S. (2015). Escalation of child labour depresses adult wages. *Journal of People's Studies, 1*(1), 52–65.

Vince, R., & Warren, S. (2012). Participatory visual methods. In C. Cassell & G. Symon (Eds.), *Qualitative organizational research: Core methods and current challenges* (pp. 275–295). London: Sage.

Ward, J., & Shortt, H. (2018). Drawing. In C. Cassell, A. L. Cunliffe, & G. Grandy (Eds.), *Qualitative business and management research methods* (Vol. 2, pp. 262–281). London: Sage.

Webster, E., Lambert, R., & Bezuidenhout, A. (2008). *Grounding globalization: Labour in the age of insecurity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wood, A. J., Graham, M., Lehdonvirta, V., & Hjorth, I. (2019). Networked but commodified: The (dis)embeddedness of digital labour in the gig economy. *Sociology, 53*(5), 931–950.