Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

CRITICAL INSIGHTS INTO MODERN SLAVERY: CASE OF DEBT BONDED LABOUR IN INDIAN BRICK KILNS

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Management

at Massey University, Palmerston North
New Zealand

Omer Nazir

ID Number: 16226688

2021

ABSTRACT

'Modern slavery,' an umbrella term used to describe many forms of severe exploitations, has sparked a growing interest in management and organisation research. This has led to the acknowledgement of both the illegitimacy and scale of modern slavery, resulting in new legislations (e.g. the Modern Slavery Act 2015 in the United Kingdom) urging businesses to eradicate modern slavery from their supply chains. The efforts of academia in promoting these laws indicate that the interventions are typically viewed as enlightened and founded in scientific research. Yet, as an International Labour Organisation report noted, more people are now categorised as slaves in modern times than was the case when slavery was legal (ILO, 2019).

This study takes a critical step back from '*how'* modern slavery can be eradicated to '*why*' do we understand modern slavery the way we do and *what* has sustained such insidious practice. Adopting a Marxian ontology and Foucauldian epistemology, and drawing from 'exploitations' based theoretical framework, this study uses a case-study approach to examine the '*form'* and '*formation'* of modern slavery, with a focus on debt bondage, in the Indian brick kiln industry. The research design involved multi-method analyses, comprised of discourse analysis, visual (film) analysis, interviews and observations, and autoethnography.

The results from this study call into doubt the candour of the widely accepted notion of modern slavery being an individualised relation between a master and a slave – a form that it took in the nineteenth century. Instead, this thesis suggests thinking differently about modern slavery such that the form and formation of debt bondage are placed in the wider context of everyday life in the midst of neoliberal regimes. In that vein, the thesis concludes that modern slavery is not simply an individualised relation between a master and a slave, but a complex phenomenon produced by everyday interactions, for example, in relation to food, family, love or responsibility; and sustained by neoliberal logics that serve as the basis of particular regimes of truth.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In writing this thesis towards obtaining a PhD degree, I possibly faced my most significant academic challenge. Along the way, many people, in numerous ways, have helped me. I need to acknowledge my deep and sincere appreciation for that. Their guidance, encouragement and love made this thesis possible, and if any limitations it has, they are mine to own. While I thank all the people who helped, I can only mention a few here.

Firstly, I must formally thank my primary supervisor at Massey University, Craig Prichard. In addition to his pivotal guidance and encouragement throughout this project, I thank him for his solidarity in my personal and political struggles. You are my inspiration, Craig. Thanks must also go to my other two supervisors, Ozan Alakavuklar and Andrew Dickson. I thank you, Ozan, for your warmth, enthusiasm and confidence in me, particularly during the first two years of this project, when theory daunted me and my conviction somewhat waned. I thank you, Andrew, for the renewed focus and rigour you bought to this project in the later phase, particularly for acquainting me with 'reflections on self as theory.'

I should also thank my fellow PhD students at Massey University, Majid, Minh, Admiral, Lisa and Alida. Our discussions, particularly late-night natters, enormously helped tackle the inevitable isolation that, I suppose, doctoral research brings along.

Thanks should also go to my parents, Nazir Ahmed and Firdousa Nazir, for offering unconditional support for this project, as they have for whatever I have tried to do. I thank you, Mommy and Papa. I also thank other family and friends, Iqra, Insha, Visalat, Jahan and little Zooni. I particularly would like to thank Ronald, whom I supported in my paid job as a disability support worker, and now consider a friend. Thank you, Ronald; working with you familiarised me with 'the joy of care' and provided me with much-needed financial support during my PhD.

But most of all, thanks must go to Jennifer, my fiancé, whose love and care underpins this text. I love you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION 1

1.1. Overview 2

1.1.1. Organisation of the Thesis 3

1.1.2. Journey of researching modern slavery 4

1.1.3. Research aim and overall objective 9

1.2. Methodology. 11

1.2.1. Ontology and Epistemology 11

1.2.2. Aligning My Assumptions with Foucault 16

1.2.3. The Dispositif 17

1.2.4. Research Approach 18

1.2.5. The Case 19

1.2.6. Data 20

1.2.7. Data Analysis and Presentation 22

1.2.8. Conclusion 22

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW 24

2.1. Overview 24

Statement of contribution to Doctoral Thesis containing publications 25

2.2. Introduction 27

2.3. Modern slavery – Forms and definitions 29

2.3.1. The old and the modern slavery 31

2.3.2. Modern slavery in business 34

2.4. (Re) conceptualising Modern Slavery – Exploitation/s in Modern Slavery 36

2.4.1. Exploitation of value – The exchange relation. 37

2.4.2. Exploitation and the idioms of Power 39

2.4.3. Exploitation – A symbolic expression 42

2.5. Discussion 44

2.6. Conclusion 47

References 49

CHAPTER 3 59

Title: Towards Relational and Reflexive Human Ethics Reviews 59

3.1. Overview 59

Statement of contribution to Doctoral Thesis containing publications 60

3.2. Introduction 62

3.3. Situating Ethics in Critical Management Research 66
3.3.1. Ethics of form filling 69
3.3.2. Ethics in action 71
3.4. The case and the methodological rationale. 73
3.5. The Human Ethics Committee Review 75
3.6. The grounds of Rejection 81
3.7. Discussion 87
3.8. Conclusion 90
3.9. Proposed ethical review process 91
References 93
Reviewer notes: 100

CHAPTER 4: 101

Title: Of Labour and Love – A dispositif analysis of debt bonded kiln workers 101

4.1. Overview 101
Statement of contribution to Doctoral Thesis containing publications 102
4.2. Introduction 104
4.3. Of debt, labour and bondage – theoretical underpinnings 108
4.4. The dispositif of indebtedness 110
4.5. Of words, visuals, and sounds – methodological underpinning 112
4.5.1. From the editor's desk 115
4.6. Of labour and love – the film 116
4.7. Spatial production of debt-bonded labour 118
4.7.1. Sustenance 118
4.7.2. Accumulation and dispossession 121
4.7.3. Love and family 123
4.8. Temporal production of debt bonded labour 125
4.8.1. Advances 125
4.8.2. Guarantees and repayment 126
4.9. Discussions and conclusion 129
4.9.1. The debt bonded subject – a productive worker 129
References 132
Reviewer Notes: 140

CHAPTER 5 141

Title: If the sufferings found a tongue 141

5.1. Overview 141

Statement of contribution to Doctoral Thesis containing publications 142
5.2. Introduction 144
5.3. Voice and visibility 146
5.4. Muted voice and invisible lives of the modern slaves 147
5.5. Empirical case of modern slavery 152
5.5.1. Data sources 152
5.5.2. Research setting 153
5.5.3. Data analysis 155
5.6. A tale of two cities 156
5.6.1. The kiln. 156
5.6.2. The village 159
5.7. Discussion 166
5.7.1. The dispositif of modern slavery research 166
5.7.2. If the silence acquires speech 167
5.8. Conclusion 168
References 170
Reviewer Comments: 178

CHAPTER 6 179

Title: Where is my Passport? – Auto-ethnographic Study of Researching Modern Slavery 179

6.1. Overview: 179
Statement of contribution to Doctoral Thesis containing publications 180
6.2. Introduction 182
6.3. Governmentality 184
6.4. A bit of autoethnography on using autoethnography 187
6.5. Vignettes 189
6.5.1. Say 'research', not 'slavery' – It is an ethical inquiry now! 189
6.5.2. Say hello, it's Jennifer! 191
6.5.3. Say Azaadi (Freedom)! 191
6.5.4. Say it to Jacinda Ardern – the Prime Minister! 192
6.6. Commentary 194
6.7. Concluding remarks 199
References 201

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION AND FUTURE TRAJECTORIES 205

7.1. Overview 205
7.2. Introduction 206

7.3. Recap of the point and purpose of this study 206
7.4. Summary of overall findings 208
7.5. Summary of overall contributions 210
7.6. Overall implications and future research 213
7.7. Limitations 215
7.8. Concluding remark 216
References 217
Appendix 1 246
Appendix 2 248
Appendix 3 250
Appendix 4 252
Appendix 5 261

List of Tables

Table	Page no.
Table 1.1. Data collection methods	21
Table 1.2. Data analysis methods	22
Table 2.1. Definitional landscape of slavery	29
Table 2.1. Differences between the old and the new slavery	33
Table 5.1. Data sources	152

List of Figures

Figure	**Page no.**
Figure 1.1. Overarching objective of the thesis	10
Figure 3.1. Critical textual analysis model	75
Figure 4.1. The *Dispositif* of Indebtedness	111
Figure 4.2. The *Dispositif* of Bonded Labour	128

List of Exhibits

Exhibit	Page no.
Exhibit 3.1.	76
Exhibit 3.2.	77
Exhibit 4.1.	118
Exhibit 4.2.	121
Exhibit 4.3.	125

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Aim of the chapter: This chapter provides a general overview of this thesis, written in a 'Thesis by Publication' format. It has two main sections. The first section introduces the overarching objectives and the rationale of this thesis. I begin with an overview of the research problem, followed by a brief description of how this thesis is organised as a compilation of five research publication (published or in the process of publication). I then briefly reflect on the research journey to acquaint the readers with my positionality and evolution of the papers that comprise this thesis.

The second section discusses the methodological framework of this thesis. I start with the methodological/theoretical underpinning, followed by justifications for using a Marxian ontology and Foucauldian epistemology. I then briefly discuss the research approach before briefly discussing four different methods, namely discourse analysis, film/visual analysis, interviews/observations analysis and auto-ethnography, used in different papers presented in this thesis.

Duplication: Each chapter in this thesis has a separate methodology section; as such, readers should expect to find some duplication in this section with the papers.

"The main interest in life and work is to become someone else that you were not in the beginning. If you knew when you began a book what you would say at the end, do you think that you would have the courage to write it? What is true for writing and for love relationships is true also for life. The game is worthwhile insofar as we don't know where it will end."

- *(Foucault, 1988, p. 9)*.

1.1. Overview

In recent times, modern slavery research has been promoted by management and organisation scholars (Bales, 2010; Caruana, Crane, Gold, & LeBaron, 2020; Cooke, 2003; Crane, 2013) and practitioners (Anti-Slavery-International, 2020; Hawksley, 2014; ILO, 2019) alike as a response to an urgent call and a saviour force, central to addressing the challenges faced by individuals, groups, organisations or even societies and creating a better future. This has led to many interventions – proposed or implemented (e.g. modern slavery legislations, supply chain interventions, fair trade agendas etc.) – to annihilate the practice of modern slavery. Despite this focus on '*how'* we can eradicate slavery and the following research led interventions, there currently are more (modern) slaves than were in the nineteenth century when the practice was seemingly abolished (Global-Slavery-Index, 2018). I challenge the emphasis, and the consequent expectations, placed on ending modern slavery. Instead, I call for an analysis of *why* we have come to such an understanding and *what* has sustained the practice of slavery.

Despite some critically informed interest in modern slavery (e.g. Cooke, 2003; LeBaron, 2011, 2014), Banerjee (2021) notes that analysis of the enabling conditions (particularly neoliberalism) for the persistence of modern slavery has been neglected in business and management research. This thesis responds to this challenge/gap and examines key features of the current theorisation of modern slavery in the business and management field, along

with the empirical experience of those categorised as modern slaves. It calls into question, in a Foucauldian (1977, 1978) sense, both the form and the formation of modern slavery discourse (mostly interventionist and expert-driven) and therefore provides a basis from where we (as academics and other institutional actors) might think differently about modern slavery.

1.1.1. Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is presented as a series of papers (published or in review) submitted to academic conferences and journals for publication. The papers are then organised into a near-linear arrangement from a literature review (Chapter Two) to the synthesis of knowledge (Chapter Seven). This presentation style emerged from my reflective engagement with the process of doing a PhD research, which is discussed in the following section (1.3.).

The thesis is organised as follows:

The next chapter, Chapter Two, critically reviews the literature on modern slavery, particularly concerning exploitations of modern slaves. The discussion in this chapter identifies the critical potential of an approach based on a multiple 'exploitations' framework to re-conceptualise modern slavery. In so doing, it provides some directions to tackle the grand challenge of modern slavery.

Chapter Three follows from the previous chapter and details the ethicality of modern slavery research in relation to the disconnect between the procedures followed by the universities to ensure ethical research and the ethical issues faced by the researcher in the field, particularly in participative traditions.

Chapter Four and Five present, analyse and discuss the visual, textual and observational data from the fieldwork with debt bonded workers in an Indian brick kiln and their native villages.

Chapter Six presents a reflective account of the whole process of researching and writing about modern slavery before I discuss the theoretical and methodological contributions of the overall dissertation in Chapter Seven. The thesis closes by highlighting the limitation of this research and identification of some future directions in the research of modern slavery.

But before I begin, I include a brief anecdote that situates my connection to this work.

1.1.2. Journey of researching modern slavery

A pungent smell in the air, as I recall, is where this journey of researching modern slavery started. My friend who lived in the vicinity of a brick kiln in Kashmir (India) informed me that the residents of the area suspected the use of medical waste (used bandages) as fuel for the kiln. I had been a part of an NGO that advocated environmental reforms since my college days, and in that capacity, I raised the concern with the local pollution control board. I was assured that they would investigate and take the necessary action if needed. In curiosity, I went to one of the kilns, and that is where I witnessed the life of debt bondage, a form of modern slavery, for the first time.

A few years later, in 2017, after being accepted for a PhD programme to study corporate social responsibility at Massey university, I narrated the event to my supervisor in our first supervisory meeting, and a few weeks after that discussion, we decided to research modern slavery as my PhD study to be completed via a set of research papers based on the theoretical discussion of 'multiple exploitations' and empirical data from the brick kilns of India. The aim was to re-conceptualise modern slavery as relations of exploitation/s of exchange, power and meaning. It has been quite a journey since.

The rationale behind the reconceptualization of modern slavery was, and is, that modern slavery is predominantly understood in terms of ownership of a person or a group by another person or group where "a person cannot refuse or leave because of threats, violence,

coercion, deception and/or abuse of power" (Crane, LeBaron, Phung, Behbahani, & Allain, 2021). In such an understanding, the focus of modern slavery research has been on the victims and the interventions to overcome such situations. Although this has led to the identification of some of the competencies that some firms use to exploit the institutional conditions, giving rise to modern slavery (Crane, 2013), there is little known about the dynamics of modern slavery, including how and why it is deployed in business practice (LeBaron & Crane, 2019). Consequently, modern slavery has flourished despite the legal prohibition and prescriptive research-based interventions (International Labour Office, 2017; Crane et al., 2021). The proposed re-conceptualisation would shift the focus from individuals in slavery to the conditions that produce modern slavery. The aim is in line with LeBaron (2020), who argues that combatting modern slavery would require a better understanding of why and how it is sustained in businesses and how such understanding can then be used to stop the operation of firms that practice modern slavery in the context of the broader economic, political and social dynamics giving rise to severe labour exploitation in the global capitalist economy.

In this vein, the next chapter of the thesis (Chapter Two) presents a conceptual discussion of modern slavery in relation to how it can be understood in terms of exploitation/s of exchange, power and meaning. Having established a theoretical framework to work with, I planned for the fieldwork in the brick kilns of India. As is the case with most university research projects, I applied for the required ethical approval for data collection from the brick kilns to study modern slavery. Since my research involved interaction with the human subjects deemed vulnerable and associated risks of undertaking research in an industry that infamously employs the highest number of people categorised as modern slaves, the ethics approval was granted after multiple deliberations with the university ethics committee that spanned over a period of seven months.

However, the ethical considerations that were deliberated with the seeming intent of supporting my development as an ethical researcher appeared to be disconnected from the ethical practice of research in the field. Such a disconnection between the ethical reviews and the ethics in practice of social science has been vocally conveyed in the literature (Dickson & Holland, 2017; Dingwall, 2008; Haggerty, 2004). Some scholars criticise the ethics review process as inappropriate, and others question its normative warrant founded in bio-medical logics (Tolich & Fitzgerald, 2006; van den Hoonaard & Hamilton, 2016). Chapter Three of this thesis engages with this debate in terms of conducting empirical research of modern slavery. Specifically, the chapter extends on Guillemin and Gillam (2004) argument proposing 'reflexivity' as a theoretical and methodological tool that could be used to reconcile the ethical dilemmas that emerge due to the disconnect between procedural ethics (ethics review exercises) and ethics in action (the practice of ethical research). Building on some of the key moments from my fieldwork in the brick kiln and my experience of negotiating with the ethical review process, this chapter points to an alternative ethical review process founded in relationality and reflexivity in the research process.

The data from fieldwork in the brick kilns included observational data and in-depth conversations with the debt bonded labourers, their manager (intermediary) and kiln owner, and video footage from the kiln site and the native villages of the workers. The video footage was then edited to craft a 14-minute documentary film with a narrative structure that revolves around conversations with two debt bonded labourers. The film recounts the life and conditions of the two workers that led to their bondage. Chapter Four offers a commentary of the film, and in doing so, demonstrates how seemingly mundane and taken for granted practices like romantic love, family care, and sustenance create an encompassing apparatus within which modern slavery, particularly debt bondage, is sustained. The chapter draws on and extends Lazzarato's (2012) Foucault influenced theorisation of indebtedness as an

economic and political process that produces indebted subjects. Specifically, in line with the broader research aim, the chapter builds on the Foucauldian concept of *dispositif* (Foucault, 2003), to challenge the understanding of debt bondage as individualised relation between the employer the debtor. Instead, I propose a "dispositif of bonded labour" as an encompassing and analytical strategy to unpack the practices that create conditions conducive for modern slavery to sustain.

In Chapter Five, I engage with the observational and interview data from the fieldwork. This chapter is framed as a response to Crane, Gold and LeBaron's (2020) recent call for meaningful research of modern slavery in Business and Society journal, where they map out the potential directions that could foster modern slavery research. I contend that the mapping of potential directions in modern slavery research in business and management discipline subordinate the voices and suffering of the slaves. In this chapter, we hear directly from the slaves highlighting their sufferings and the conditions that produce them. The chapter holds that the 'voices' of the slaves need to be included in the modern slavery research agenda and, in doing so, modern slaves are deemed competent to represent themselves to contribute to rational knowledge.

To explore the conditions that lead to lives of debt bondage further, I had planned another phase of data collection in the same kiln at the end of the production season of brick making. Since the first phase of the fieldwork was conducted at the beginning of the production season in the native villages of the workers and in the kiln, the second phase aimed to provide the basis for economic analysis of debt bondage in terms of how the value of the brick is produced, distributed and appropriated, and how those economic relations sustain modern slavery. In other words, the second phase of data collection aimed to unpack 'who gets what' in the making of the brick by debt bonded labour.

However, a political event on the 5th of August 2019, when the government of India revoked partial autonomy of Kashmir, the state where the brick kiln was located, led to the cancellation of the second phase of the data collection. In preparation for this political move, fearing mass protests, the government of India had ordered and arranged for all the migrant workers to move out of Kashmir a few days before the parliamentary order was passed. Also, the authorities militarily restricted the movement of people in the region and the communication infrastructure, including internet and telephony, was disabled for a few months to follow. This meant that the production season of bricks for the year was cut short to half, and the second phase of the fieldwork could not be completed.

For myself, the decision of the Indian government and the following siege on the whole population of the region was personally challenging, particularly so because it cut my communication with loved ones living there – some of them with ailments. The situation appeared to me as 'political slavery' where an entire population loses its autonomy, with severe restrictions on movement and are unable to speak openly about their situations.

In Chapter Six, I build on the Foucauldian (1991) concept of governmentality using an autoethnographic method to reflect on my experience as a modern slavery researcher and of Kashmiri origin in theorising political relations as enabling conditions that sustain modern slavery. In particular, I demonstrate how 'regimes of truth' based on the neo-liberal logics of individuality, development and efficiency produce governing rationalities that are used both by the political rulers and the slave owners to normalise practices that form the basis of modern slavery. In other words, the chapter demonstrates that the individual actions (including that of ownership) are normatively embedded in neo-liberal logics, and therefore reinstate the thesis of this dissertation, which is to shift the focus of modern slavery discourse to 'the conditions that enable and sustain modern slavery.'

1.1.3. Research aim and overall objective

Figure 1.1. below illustrates the specific research objective(s) and contributions that each chapter delivers; and how they combine to answer the overarching objective of the thesis before moving to the next section of this chapter that discusses the overall methodology.

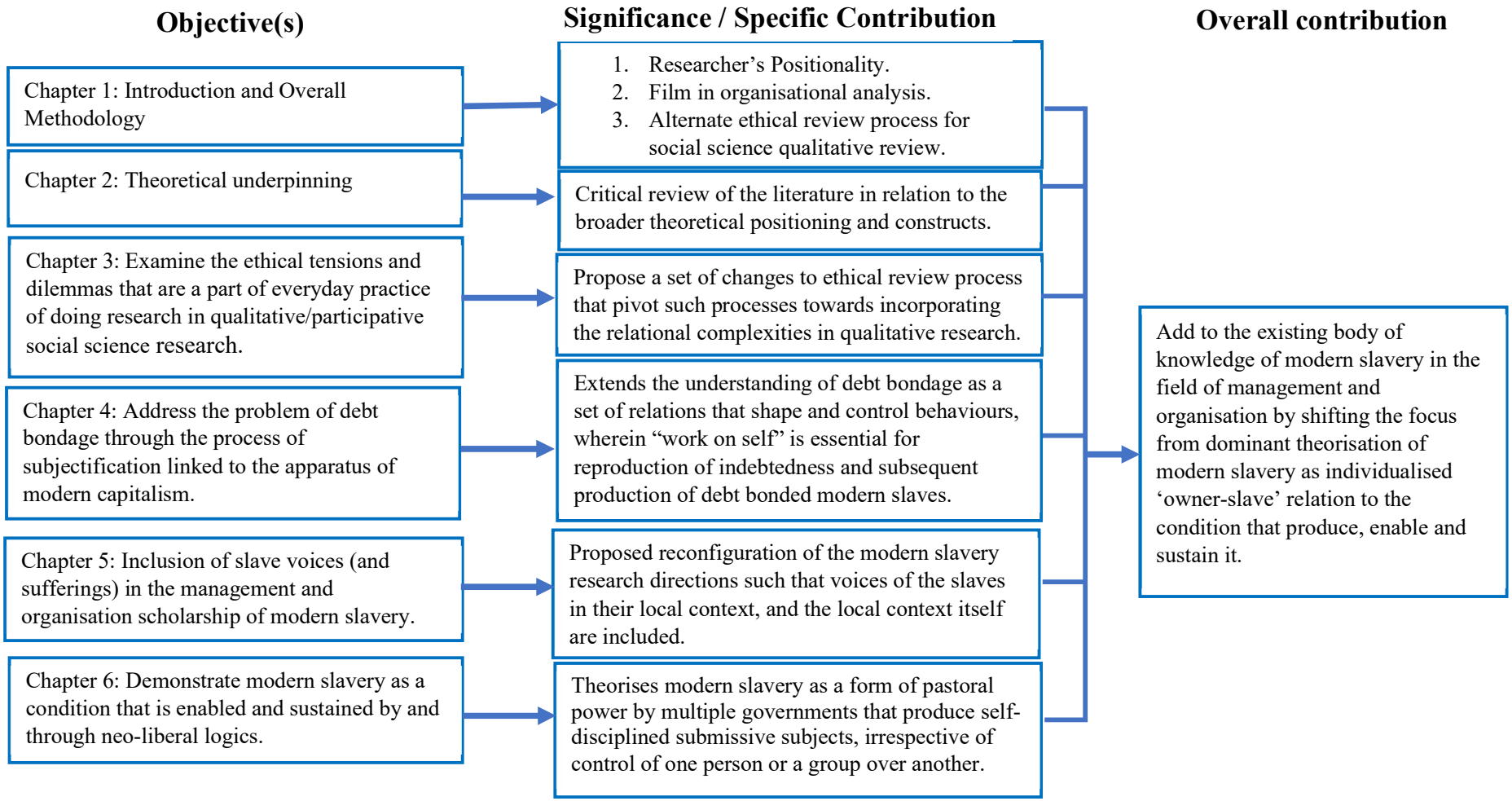


Figure 1.1 Overarching objectives of the thesis.

Interviewer: "But does this reference mean that, in a certain way, Marx is at work in your own methodology?'

Michel Foucault: 'Yes, absolutely'.

- *(Foucault, 1988c, p. 46)*

1.2. Methodology.

This section focuses on the process of doing research, particularly the intellectual apparatus that I relied on and the many decisions and techniques that informed the conduct of this research. I start with explaining my position with respect to the nature of reality, how it may be known, and the key assumptions that inform the approach to research. I then draw some theoretical frameworks that I considered for this study before discussing my reasons to rely on Foucauldian insights to guide this project. I provide an introductory outline of the intellectual position (mainly Marxian) before offering a detailed explanation of the specific conceptual apparatus (dispositif) that Foucault proposed and the methods that I used in relation to that apparatus. I then briefly weigh some of the methodological strengths of each method used along with their limitations before concluding how this study meets the credibility standards of academic knowledge production and dissemination.

1.2.1. Ontology and Epistemology

Here, I set out my stance with regards to the issues of ontology, epistemology, and axiology. Ontologically, this study is rooted in Marxian tradition. In terms of common ontological categories, for example, as proposed by Johnson and Duberley (2000), i.e. positivism, interpretivism, modernism, postmodernism, critical theory etc., Marxian ontology aligns with the critical tradition. The critical ontology is broadly situated within the enlightenment tradition (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000) and assume a commitment to dialectic analysis of competing forces and entities. For example, the master and the slave, capital and labour, and

so on. The consequent epistemological priority of such analysis is to challenge the master (e.g. the bourgeoisie, the state, the aristocracy, the patriarchy etc.). Accordingly, the epistemological priority following from such ontological position would challenge the dominant, or in Foucauldian sense, the 'taken for granted' practices. Following on from this positioning, the axiological values lie in the ethical codes, not as rules to be followed, but in expression of certain kind of power relations subordinating certain practices to extract value from others.

Bonifati (2020) argues that the contributions to Marxian philosophy (e.g. Gould, 1978; Smith, 1984; Thompson, 2017, 2019) have established the fact that Marxian scholarly works represent a completely new and distinct ontological system. Such an ontological system that I acknowledge to inform my worldview in this study is based on the notion that labour is understood as "a purposeful activity" of social human beings and not simply as a practice. The purposeful human activity, as Smith (1984, p. 145) notes, is the analytical basis of Marx's ontology and is described as a relation between a subject/s (or a group of subjects) and an objective world. This objective world, which is both historical and concrete, is comprised of two sets of material conditions: "the first given by nature; second the result of past labour" (p145).

To put this in perspective, suppose the purpose is to provide low-cost brick houses to all the families in a certain area. Making production facilities (e.g. brick kilns, cement factories etc.) would resolve this issue. However, in addition to providing low-cost brick homes, the creation of factories results in new industrial possibilities as low-cost brick homes are built and used. That creates a need for vast quantities of material inputs (clay, fuel, labour, etc.). Unfortunately, each material resource comes with its set of human and environmental consequences. For example, as the labour or the fossil fuels become scarce or expensive, the increased demand for low-cost brick houses leads to more exotic (exploitative) technologies

like bonded labour or using medical waste to fuel the kiln; consequently, giving rise to human and ecological problems of unprecedented proportion. In so doing, not only does the original purpose of making low-cost brick homes change, for better or worse, but the distinctive human character of knowing "what exists" also changes.

In summary, the metaphysical underpinning for this study is informed by Marx's ontology, aptly described by Thompson (2019, p. 5) as "a complex act of conscious and material activity that is distinctive to human beings," whilst labour being the key concept that "mediates the conscious acts of the subject and the realm of nature." Following on from such a positioning, the epistemological priority would be to unpack the complexities of human activities. Taking a cue from Marsden (1999), I relied on Foucauldian resources where the epistemological priorities lie in the exploration of micro-technologies (everyday practices) to construct a model of the material causes.

Adopting a Foucauldian epistemological position may appear problematic as many (e.g. R. Hudson, 2006; Springer, 2012) point to the evident tension between Marxian accounts, mostly deemed to be structuralist, and Foucauldian post-structural affinity that focuses on practices and discourses as constructive mechanisms. In other words, the Marxian political economic rationale that is predominantly focused on the overarching structural analysis seems to be inconsistent with the Foucauldian approach where the focus lies on how various practices, in a specific time and space context, produce and reproduce social realities.

However, Marsden (1999) argues that the apparent conflict between Marx and Foucault is, in fact, the demonstration of synthesis between the two. He argues that while Marx's structural focus explains modern societies, Foucauldian methods provide accessible and comprehensive accounts of the social world demonstrating the ability of Marx's ontology to explain modern

societies. In the same vein, Sayer (2001) argues that bottom-up Foucauldian methods of analysis augment Marx's top-down approach to political economy.

This shift recognises the meanings that social relations and practices have for those situated within them while not merely submitting to the abstract category of, for example, the market or the state, as economic actors/agents (Hudson, 2006). Instead, the economic world is intertwined with contestation over what comprises the market or the state and the rules according to which actors operate. Such epistemological position, as it bears on analysis of modern slavery in this study, would include examination of the practices of everyday life, including the taken-for-granted and seemingly mundane practices, to reflect on the structural constraints that enable modern slavery to sustain.

In terms of the common categorisations of epistemology in social sciences, such epistemological position falls broadly under social constructionism (Blaikie, 2007; Moon & Blackman, 2014). This means that I believe in knowing what exists through interpretations and debates as we, individually or collectively, try to make sense of the world (Guba & Lincoln, 1994b; Hacking & Hacking, 1999). The social world we live in and the theories we have about that world are intensely implicated in how we get to know it, instead of there being a completely objective process that leads to the discovery of facts (Creswell & Poth, 2016). In other words, my epistemological position is that knowing what exists relies on shared but contestable beliefs, assumptions, values and norms about what comprises the accepted truth claim (Blaikie, 2007; Creswell & Poth, 2016).

For Alvesson and Deetz (2000), the social constructionist approach rejects dismissal of what people say about a certain topic as fiction or noise, even if it is thought of as 'objectively' incorrect (Hacking & Hacking, 1999). This is because language is not simply understood as a representation of a pre-existing reality in words but as a fundamental component for the

production of social realities (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). In that sense, what is being said, as Foucault (1972) notes, produces effects that shape people's experiences and identities in profound ways. Therefore, analysis of the form and formation of what is understood by a certain topic, for example, modern slavery, constitutes a worthwhile focus of a social constructionist inquiry because doing so provides meaningful insights into the very production of social reality.

Furthermore, this epistemological position also informs my axiological stance for this study. As discussed above, the Foucauldian approach to seeking knowledge involves questioning the taken-for-granted notions, and axiologically, I find value in challenging the dominance and often normalised understandings and practices to facilitate the possibility for change (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Or as Joseph (2004, p. 163) puts it, "Foucault links his critique of ideas to study of social institutions, practices and hegemonic power relations, his theory also comes close to explanatory critique and emancipatory axiology."

The aforementioned assumptions informed all the stages of this study. Critically, it meant that I did not regard modern slavery as descriptions of how it is understood, possibly, by more or less accurately reporting the facts about the conditions of slaves. Instead, I treat modern slavery descriptions as part of the very production of 'modern slavery' as something that is real. In other words, as Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000) advise, I reserve the question of whether the claims made in descriptions of modern slavery reflect an existing reality or not. I believe that irrespective of their truthfulness, the descriptions call for analysis of the form it takes (e.g. being described in relation to the form it took in the 19th century: see chapter 2); the process of its formation (e.g. formation of a debt bonded subject: see chapter 4); and effect to which they give rise to (e.g. modern slavery as enabling condition in the neo-liberal world: see chapter 6).

1.2.2. Aligning My Assumptions with Foucault

Besides a fair degree of alignment between my own position and the assumptions of ontology, epistemology and axiology, there are three main reasons why Foucault's work offers an appropriate framework for this research. Firstly, a characteristic of Foucauldian work is to disturb the conventional understandings (Burrell, 1988; Dean, 2002). This is consistent with my strategy of de-familiarizing (Fournier & Grey, 2000) the fascination with understanding modern slavery as, or in relation to, how it traditionally existed and has now been legally abolished. Foucault's ability to create disturbances is, I believe, a specific approach to critique that is not negative in its intent or effect but is inspiring to think differently (Foucault, 1985).

Secondly, Foucauldian work primarily involves analysis of how expert-driven development of understanding of contemporary issues, for example, of modern slavery, is problematic (Dean, 2013; Gutting, 2005). As Foucault (1977, p. 31) notes, the aim is not to "write history of the past in terms of the present," so that current understanding is imposed on how it existed in the past; thus, creating a seamless account of modern slavery interventions that appear to be progressive and, in particular, abolitionist. Instead, as Foucault (1977) advises, I endeavour to provide an interpretive account of modern slavery that suspends any assumptions of progress and traces how social practices and conditions shape the production of modern slavery.

Finally, the Foucauldian approach directs analytical attention to the relationships and subjectivities beseeched by different ideas and the context in which the ideas are produced (Foucault, 1977, 1978, 1988a). Modern slavery research is underexamined in relation to the analytical insights that Foucauldian methods offer; therefore, I adopted the approach in this

study. For my purposes, I relied on an analytical tool that Foucault developed and termed *dispositif.*

1.2.3. The Dispositif

In order to support my methodological approach, I draw on Foucault's concept of the 'dispositif': Foucault (1980, p. 194) says,

> "What I'm trying to pick out with this term is, firstly, a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of … institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, … – in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the element of the apparatus [dispositif]. The apparatus itself is a system of relations that can be established between these elements.…what I am trying to identify in this apparatus is precisely the nature of the connection that can exist between these heterogeneous elements. …I understand by the term 'apparatus' a sort of – shall we say – formation which has as its major function at a given historical moment that of responding to an urgent need. The apparatus thus has a dominant strategic function."

Thomas (2014, p. 168) notes this concept serves as a methodological "toolbox" for turning mundane and taken-for-granted practices into rich sources of inquiries. In proposing the concept of dispositif, Foucault provides a methodological alternative to what Deleuze (1992b) terms as "*universals*, with which Foucault famously refused to deal." (Foucault, 2008, p. 3). However, in proposing the concept of dispositif, Foucault did not reject the objects of inquiry (e.g. the society or the state, madness or sexuality), but denied that these were ready-made. Instead, they are produced, he argues, by "the interplay of the relations of power and everything that constantly eludes them, at the interface, so to speak, of the governors and the governed" (Foucault, 2008, p. 297). The point, Walters (2012, p. 18) argues, is to shift the focus from the "study of objects to the practices that produce them." So, as it bears on the study of modern slavery as discussed in Chapter One, the concept of dispositif, in line with the aim of this research, enables me to shift the focus to the conditions that produce modern slavery.

The interplay of various elements of the dispositif is registered (recorded) in terms of the connections and disconnections between the practices that comprise it. Foucault (1980, p. 195) suggests that the arrangement of connections (and disconnections) in the apparatus establishes a particular outcome for those who are a part of it. A given practice, therefore, can operate in one way when embedded within one particular arrangement and in an entirely different manner when embedded in another (Kessler, 2006; Thomas, 2014). To capture the practices for analysis of the connection and disconnections forming the dispositif, I followed a case-study research design.

1.2.4. Research Approach

A particular method that Foucault used in his work is case studies. For example, he examined the penal or mental health institutions as cases for his projects (Foucault, 1977, 1988b). Following the Foucauldian epistemological position, I used the case study approach in this study. Blaikie (2000) suggests that the case study approach is particularly relevant for the studies that follow abductive research logic aimed to understand a social phenomenon through the lens of social actors (Thomas, 2010). Dubois and Gadde (2014) refer to such an approach as a "systemic combining," where theoretical framework, empirical fieldwork, and case analysis evolve simultaneously.

Rashid, Rashid, Warraich, Sabir, and Waseem (2019) note that in qualitative research tradition, case study is the most widely used approach, given its ability to explore a phenomenon in a specific context through multiple data sources (Yin, 1994). In this study, I relied on multiple data sources and a wide range of empirical material to unpack the phenomena of modern slavery in the context of the selected case – A brick kiln in India. I have discussed my positionality, data sources and empirical material used in this study in

detail in each of the papers presented in this thesis; below I add a short description of the case used for this study as a way of introduction.

1.2.5. The Case

In this study, the first step was to ascertain that the case chosen for gathering evidence was the most suitable choice (Järvensivu & Törnroos, 2010; Yin, 1994). The idea was to select a case that allows me to participate through observation of reality in real-time and move freely between the participants and setting of the research (Halinen & Törnroos, 2005), so that a detailed investigation, with empirical material collected over a period of time, could be done for analysis of the processes and the context involved in the production of modern slavery. I chose a brick kiln in India.

The brick kilns of India employ the highest number of people working as modern slaves (BBC, 2014; Kelly, 2016). The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) of India, in 2010, reported that there were 100,000 functioning brick kilns in India, employing more than 20 million debt bonded people. International labour organisation (ILO) acknowledges employment practice in the kilns as "Modern Slavery" because it satisfies the preconditions of forced or attached labour (debt bondage) and exploitative living and working conditions (ILO, 2017a). Therefore, a brick kiln makes for a rich case to explore the phenomenon of modern slavery and the conditions that sustain it.

The brick kiln chosen as a case for this study employed 42 permanent employees and 200 to 250 seasonal migrant workers bonded to debt owed to the owner of the kiln. These migrant workers usually come from rural India and are categorised according to their roles in the production process of a brick. The roles are clay moulders and layers (Bharaye waale), bakers (Jalaye waale) and loaders (Dholaye waale). In order to secure labour for the production season, kilns rely on the intermediaries who travel to the villages of the workers and hand out

advances to the workers on behalf of the kiln owners. Intermediaries, usually natives of the villages from where the labour comes, travel to these villages in the offseason to ensure the supply of labour for the production period.

The fieldwork for this study was done for a total of eight weeks. Although I had initially planned to conduct the fieldwork in two phases, for a total of 16 weeks, the second phase could not be completed due to the reasons highlighted above and detailed out further in Chapter Six. However, during the fieldwork, I accompanied an intermediary on a two-week recruitment trip to the Indian hinterlands, which added a different and significant dimension to this case study and richness to the data.

1.2.6. Data

As has been noted above, I relied on a range of empirical material (data) collection tools. The combination of multiple sources of empirical material, Löhr, Weinhardt, and Sieber (2020) argues, is best understood as a strategy to add rigour, complexity, depth and richness to the study. To that end, and following the directions of qualitative methods scholars, the data collection tools in this study included semi-structured interviews and conversations with the participants (Yin, 1994), videography (Spencer, 2010), observations (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994), and field journals (Van der Waal, 2009). The data were collected both in the organisation (the brick kiln) and the native villages of the debt bonded workers. The participants of the study included the owner of the brick kiln, managers, intermediaries of the debt bondage (working in/for the kiln owner), debt bonded workers of the kiln and a labour intermediary (a local grocer who helped the intermediary in recruitment) in the native village of the workers[1].

[1] Since the research included human subjects deemed to be vulnerable, a full human ethics review was conducted as per Massey University ethical research policy. **Details of the ethical considerations along with the ethics review process, application and approval are detailed in Chapter Four.**

The table below provides the details about the data collection methods along with the participant information.

Method	Location	Data size	Participant information
Interviews	The organisation (Brick kiln in Kashmir, India)	Interviews: 13	• Kiln owner: 1 • Intermediaries (working for the kiln): 1 • Bonded labourers: 4
	Native village of the workers		• Intermediary (working for the kiln): 1 • Local grocer (also an intermediary): 1 • Recruited workers: 5
Observations	The brick kiln	16 single spaced typed pages	• Observation of the routine of workers at kilns. • Observation of workers interaction with their families as migrant workers.
	Native village of the workers	21 single spaced typed pages	• Observation of the recruitment process. • Observation of workers' family life in their communities.
Videography	The brick kiln	5 hours footage	• Interviews with the bonded workers (Of which two have been shown in the film in Chapter Five) • Physical spaces of the kiln and native villages • Everyday life practices
	Native village of the workers	6.5 hours footage	
Informal conversations	Throughout the fieldwork	Research dairy (entries made each day for eight weeks)	• My experiences as a researcher and a participant in the recruitment process

Table 1.1.

1.2.7. Data Analysis and Presentation

Given the complexities in researching modern slavery and the variety and richness of the data, I relied on multiple data analysis techniques. The analysis of the data is presented in four different empirical papers, along with a detailed discussion of the respective techniques used in each of them. See Table 1.2. below for signposts.

Chapter/ Title of the empirical paper	**Data Analysis technique/ Section**
Chapter 3/ Towards Relational and Reflexive Human Ethics Reviews.	Discourse analysis/ Section 3.4
Chapter 4/ Of labour and love - A dispositif analysis of debt bonded kiln workers	Visual/Film analysis/Section 4.5
Chapter 5/ If the sufferings found a tongue – Unpacking the sad and sorry state of Modern Slavery research in Business, Management and Organization Studies	Interview/observation analysis 5.5
Chapter 6/ Where is my passport? – Auto-ethnographic study of researching modern slavery	Autoethnography 6.4

Table 1.2.

1.2.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have laid out my positionality, the methodological foundations and the theoretical insights that underpinned this study and explained how I dealt with aspects of research philosophy and the research process. In the following chapters, I move on to the

actual body of the research comprised of five papers submitted for publication in scholarly journals.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Title: Revisiting Modern Slavery Conceptualisation Through Multiple Exploitation Framework

2.1. Overview

Aim of the chapter: There are more than 40 million people working in exploitative conditions and categorised as modern slaves (ILO, 2020). This chapter reviews how modern slavery is understood to (re)conceptualise it by extending the current understanding to relations of exchange, power and meaning. The chapter explores how modern slavery exists because of the spatial effect of the conditions that arise from the exploitation/s for extracting value, identifying with power or construction of social. The chapter proposes a conceptualisation of modern slavery, predominantly defined as a condition of 'attachment' albeit with the threat of violence, as manifestations of exploitations.

Duplication: This chapter provides the *foundational* literature review and introduces the theoretical basis for the research. Readers can expect to encounter some overlap between modern slavery literature as introduced in Chapter One.

Publication details: This paper was presented at the 32nd Australian and New Zealand Academy of Management (ANZAM) held in Auckland, New Zealand. ANZAM is a double-blind peer review academic conference attracting a global audience. A refined form of this Chapter has been submitted to the *Journal of Modern Slavery.* This Chapter includes materials in addition to that being presented at ANZAM.

Appended as DRC16: Massey University's publication contribution form is included below.

Statement of contribution to Doctoral Thesis containing publications

We, the candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of Candidate: Omer Nazir

Name/Title of Principal Supervisor: Craig Prichard

Name of Published Research Output and full reference:

Omer, N., & Prichard, C., Alakavuklar, O.N. (2018). Modern slavery: Exploring exploitation of slaves. In V. Dalton (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Australia New Zealand Academy of Management* (pp 1417- 1436). https://www.anzam.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/ANZAM-Conference-Proceedings-2018.pdf

Revisiting modern slavery through multiple expliotation/s framework (Submitted to Journal of Modern Slavery)

In which Chapter is the Published Work: 2

Please indicate either:

- The percentage of the Published Work that was contributed by the candidate: and / or

- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the Published Work:

This paper reviewed the literature and theoretical debate around conceptualisation of slavery in modern times, particularly in discipline of management and organisation. The paper, primarily a conceptual discussion, points to alternate conceptualisation of modern slavery based on multiple exploitation/s framework. After consultation with my supervisors and including their suggestions, the first version of this paper, which was much shorter than the chapter it is included in, was published in ANZAM conference proceedings. Following that, many additions and changes, specifically with regards to emerging conceptual debates in the field, were made based on the feedback and advise of my supervisors. The paper was then submitted for publication to *Journal of Modern Slavery*. The paper is currently under review.

Candidate's Signature: Omer Nazir

Date: 28/03/2021

Primary Supervisor's Signature:

Date:

"Where the determining factors are exhaustive, there is no relationship of power: slavery is not a power relationship when a man is in chains, only when he has some mobility, even a chance of escape …. At the very heart of power relationship, and constantly provoking it, are the recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom."

- *(Foucault, 2000, p. 342)*

2.2. Introduction

A significant number of marginalised and vulnerable population groups around the world, and particularly in developing countries, are forced into a form of enslavement (Abadeer, 2008; Christ & Burritt, 2018; Tickler et al., 2018). It is persistent in the global economy (Quirk, 2006), despite international treaties, declarations, and interventions against such practices. International Labour Organization (ILO) estimated the number of modern slaves at any given point in 2016 to be 40.3 million people (ILO, 2020). Some of the well-known cases that have been exposed for conditions of slavery include the Indian Brick industry (Bhattacharya, 2010; Breman, Guérin, & Prakash, 2009; Mahapatra, 1991), Uzbek cotton industry (Peyrouse, 2009) and African cocoa industry (BBC, 2010b).

In 2013, Andrew Crane's piece, "Modern slavery as a management practice" exploring the conditions and capabilities for human exploitation in business, optimistically promised to rekindle interest in the debates about slavery in management studies, after a decade of despondent realisation about its denial by Bill Cooke in 2003 (Cooke, 2003; Crane, 2013). Yet, the recent piece in the Business and Society journal by some prominent scholars studying modern slavery, including Andrew Crane, highlights the sorry and sad state of modern slavery research in the field of management (Caruana et al., 2020). Despite some theoretical advances in the field, empirical research, they argue, has been lacklustre.

Even though the abolishment of slavery in the nineteenth century rendered plausible the possibility of its disappearance in decades to come, it exists in the 21st century, sometimes

with alternate labels like bonded labour, low paid wage labour, prostitution, domestic help exploitation etc. All cultures and historic periods have known slavery, and it has been packaged differently at each time and place (Bales, 2012). Such changes in the presentation of slavery, Draper (2009) notes, can be seen at different times; for example, when slavery is legally sanctioned, when notions of discrimination and racialization emerge, when prices of slavery go up or down[2], or when sanctions are removed.

In this chapter, I claim that the persistent and insidious nature of contemporary forms of slavery is not a function of historical persistence but a particular combination of conditions that flow from the conditions of contemporary capitalism. I show via critical analysis of current scholarship that modern slavery is rooted in exploitations of exchange, power and meaning perpetuated by global capitalism. I particularly argue that modern slavery is a function of the spatial distributions and the assertion of particular social identities among subject groups.

This chapter proceeds as follows. It begins with how modern slavery is defined and then presents a theoretical framework to embed it as a relation of economic, political, and symbolic *exploitations*. The chapter then discusses how modern slavery has persisted in the wake of the conditions that arise from such exploitations in order to conceptualise modern slavery as a relation of these exploitations. The chapter concludes with suggestions for exploring exploitative conditions of exchange, power and meaning in modern slavery to enrich the theoretical understanding, which eventually may lead to the practical task of tackling modern slavery.

[2] See Bales, Trodd, and Williamson (2009, p. 28) for arguments claiming that slaves are cheaper today than they have been ever before.

2.3. Modern slavery – Forms and definitions

Modern slavery is a loaded term and takes many forms in terms of how it is understood. The key question, what practices can be considered as modern slavery – an activity that has been formally prohibited or is illegal – makes it open to interpretations and a complex subjective exercise (Quirk, 2006). Bales (2012) suggests that the concept of slavery is ambiguous, and its definitions are inconsistent. *Modern slavery* is either defined in terms or as variants of the proscribed traditional slavery practices or in relation to the conditions of people significantly similar to those in traditional slavery. Since 1815, more than 300 international treaties of slavery have been signed (Allain, 2009). Table 2.1. below presents some major milestones in the progression of defining slavery.

Table 2.1. Definitional landscape of slavery

Slavery Treaties or Conventions	**Definition of Slavery**
Slavery Convention 1889	Slavery defined as "the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised" (Mulligan & Bric, 2013)
Slavery Convention 1926	*Forced labour included in the definition of slavery:* States should "prevent compulsory or forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery." (Kevin Bales, 2012)
Universal declaration against slavery (1948)	*Conditions of servitude added:* "No one shall be held in slavery; slavery and the slave-trade in all their forms shall be prohibited" Universal Slavery declaration 1948 (BBC, 2010a)
Slavery Convention 1956	*Debt bondage, serfdom and exploitation of labour of young people added:*

	(a) "Debt bondage, that is to say, the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined" (b) "Serfdom, that is to say, the condition or status of a tenant who is by law, custom or agreement bound to live and labour on land belonging to another person and to render some determinate service to such other person, whether for reward or not, and is not free to change his status" (c) "Any institution or practice whereby a young person under the age of 18 years is delivered by either or both of his natural parents or by his guardian to another person, whether for reward or not, with a view to the exploitation of the child or young person or of his labour" (UNHR resolution, 1956)
International Covenant of Economic and Social Rights 1976	*Freedom of choice of work and safe and healthy work conditions included:* "The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts, and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right." (UNHR resolution 1976)
Rome International Court, Final Act. 1998	*Slavery Redefined:* "Enslavement" means the exercise of any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership over a person and includes the exercise of such power in the course of trafficking in persons, in particular women and children" (ICRC, 1998)

While many practices were added to the ambit of slavery, the main focus remained to be the ownership of one person or group by another since slavery took that form in the 19th century (Bales, Trodd, Williamson, & Dawsonera, 2009). For example, the first slavery convention (1926) defined slavery as a condition in which an "individual is under complete control of another as if this individual was the property of the other" (Bell, 2008, p. 36). Much later, the Final Act, 1998 of the Rome international court, noted that "*enslavement* means the exercise

of any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership over a person and includes the exercise of such power in the course of trafficking in persons, in particular women and children" (ICRC, 1998). This fascination with nineteenth-century forms of slavery has resulted in overshadowing the greater stories of human bondage in contemporary times (Drescher & Engerman, 1998).

Slavery has a seamless history. Although events like its legal abolition punctuate its history, slavery has never ended. While different cultures and eras impose the elements of control and economic exploitation, slavery has constantly evolved into many forms, possibly to be palatable in the socio-economic and cultural scenarios. The most common definition of slavery in the existing literature defines it as "the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised" (Mulligan & Bric, 2013). Traditional slavery may be argued to take such form, but modern slavery has some characteristics that make it characteristically different.

2.3.1. The old and the modern slavery

Bales, Trodd, and Williamson (2009, p. 28) argue that modern slavery is distinctively different from the olden forms of slavery. For them, the characteristic feature of modern slavery is that "modern slavery is globalised". They suggest that slavery in different parts of the world has become more alike in the way slaves are used, and the part they play in businesses is similar, wherever they are. For Hardt (1998), the uniformity of how modern slavery operates across geographical locations is typical of globalisation, where the power relations are rather driven by the market economy of various capitalist systems (see also: Cooke, 2003; Duke & Osim, 2020). He argues that contemporary capitalism has resulted in economic, social, and political commodification of human life to provide capital for the world's growth.

For Mahapatra (1991), the characteristic difference between the old and the modern forms of slavery is that while in the olden days slave trade was an instrument of achievement of the empire and colony and a legal practice; today it is illegal, and, for many institutional liberals, a realm of small, criminal and liminal business (Crane, 2013; Lindsay, 2010). Although I do not subscribe to the idea of modern slavery being a predominant feature of just small, criminal, or liminal organisations, the illegal nature of slavery implies that the ownership is not asserted over the slaves. In traditional slavery, ownership, however was a predominant function that was clearly demonstrated by the sale and purchase bills of the slaves (Drescher & Engerman, 1998).

For Bhattacharya (2010) and Fogel (1994), a distinctive difference between the older and the modern forms of slavery is that the length of time that slaves were held for has decreased. They argue that traditional slavery was a lifelong condition, whereas modern slavery is often temporary and may last for a few years or even a few months. Bales (2012) reasons that modern slaves are temporarily held so as to make slavery more profitable.

In this vein, in his influential book "*Disposable people*,[3]" Bales (2012) stresses that modern slaves are cheaper than ever before. He argues that in the 19th century, the demand for slaves was reflected in their prices. It is estimated that in 1850s average price of a field labouring slave in America was US $1000 to US $ 1800, which equalled $20000 to US $ 40000 in 2009 (Bales et al., 2009). However, in some places like the Indian sub-continent, slaves can be acquired for as little as US $ 100 (Kara, 2017; Mahapatra, 1991), and the average price of a slave around the globe is US $ 90 (Kara, 2017). Although it is difficult to make a comparison

[3] In "Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy", Bales stresses that slavery has evolved and endured even though legalized slavery has been abolished. He further argues that in the "new" forms of slavery, profits are high, and the slaves are readily dispensable and disposable.

of currencies across different times, the price difference is dramatic as modern slaves apparently cost a miniscule percentage of the price of traditional slaves.

The fall in the prices of modern slaves has radically changed the demand and supply equation. This means that modern slaves are worth a little but have the ability to generate high profits, as the fall of price has not affected their ability to work. In this regard, Bales et al. (2009), based on an approximation of return on investment adjusted across time period, estimate that profits made from a slave in the 19th century averaged around five percent and today, profits from slavery starts in double figures and can go up to as high as 800 percent.

Moreover, the decrease in the price of slaves has not only increased the profitability but has also altered the relationship between the masters and the slaves. Traditional slaves were expensive and therefore were treated as sizable investments and thus protected; modern slaves are cheap and therefore are disposable in accordance to levels of production. The disposability also contributes to another difference between the traditional slavery and the modern slaves. Since modern slaves are cheap, masters avoid permanent ownership. Modern slavery, therefore, is for the short term (seasonal) as it is not profitable to have slaves when they are not immediately useful. The table below highlights the key differences in modern and traditional slaves – commodities of the past and present.

Table 2.2. Differences between the old and the new slavery

Traditional slavery	**Modern Slavery**
Slavery not globalised	Slavery globalised
Asserted legal ownership	Avoided legal ownership
Long term relationship	Seasonal relationship
High slave prices	Low slave prices
Low return on slavery (low profits)	Very high returns
Shortage of slaves	Abundance of potential slaves

Slaves high investment entities, thus maintained	Disposable Slaves

(Adapted from Bales, 2009)

2.3.2. Modern slavery in business

Modern slavery, as has been discussed above, is inconsistently defined, leading to criticism by some scholars and activists for being a 'catch all' term with little explanatory power (Beutin, 2019; Davidson, 2015). However, in business and management studies, modern slavery is the most commonly used term for what Muntaner et al. (2010) call **slavery at workplace**, comprised mainly of the following four forms of modern slavery:

Chattel slavery: It is the closest form of slavery to traditional slavery, where a person is born into slavery or sold as a slave and ownership is asserted (Bales et al., 2009). This form of slavery represents the tiny percentage of slavery in contemporary times and is limited to some regions in North and West Africa.

*Contract slavery***:** This form of modern slavery hides behind modern-day labour relations and employment contracts. A contract may guarantee employment in a factory or a workshop but may enslave a worker. Such forms of slavery are found in Brazil, Southeast Asia and some Arabian states (Bales et al., 2009). The concealed nature of exploitations, and thus enslavement, will be discussed in detail in the following section.

Forced labour: Although all forms of slavery may be argued to be forced labour, this term specifically refers to slavery that is not practiced by a person but by an establishment or an official group (Andrees, 2014). For example, in Uzbekistan, the government sends school and college students to work in cotton fields in the harvest season each year. These students have no choice and are paid very little for their labour (Bales et al., 2009). However, the term forced 'labour' has become a synonym for slavery, and throughout the literature on slavery, forced labour is used for "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the

menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily" (Belser, 2005, p. 2).

*Debt bondage***:** Debt bondage is defined as "the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined" ILO (Resolution, 1956). Bales and Robbins (2001) note that key areas of misunderstanding in both international instruments and the popular conception of debt bondage centres on the part of the definition that reads, "the value of those services is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt." The confusion arises because this definition explains that the labour power is not applied to the debt, but it does not explain how that labour power is actually used within the lender-debtor relationship.

Debt bondage is the most common form of modern slavery (Breman et al., 2009; Guérin, 2013). In debt bondage, a person "pledges himself against the loan acquired by him but the nature of the services is not defined and the labour doesn't diminish the original debt" (Daru, Churchill, & Beemsterboer, 2005, p. 129). The work of the debtor is appropriated against the debt taken, but the high interest rates make it impossible to clear the debt (Bhukuth, 2005). In many cases of debt bondage, slaves work (or even their life) becomes collateral for the debt taken. The debt is often passed from husband to wife or children, and since all the labour power is the collateral property of the lender until the debt is repaid, the debtor hardly earns enough to repay the debt (Bales et al., 2009).

Debt bondage predominates in Southeast Asia, particularly in India. While India's Bonded Labour Abolition Act of 1976 criminalises debt bondage, millions of people work as bonded labourers (Kelly, 2016). There are hundreds of thousands more debt bonded slaves in Pakistan. Breman et al. (2009) argue that debt bondage begins when families accept the debt

offered to them to survive as they do not have an alternate source of income to sustain them. Most of the time, families who get into debt bondage know that they are risking enslavement but accept the offer under unclear terms for their survival.

2.4. (Re) conceptualising Modern Slavery – Exploitation/s in Modern Slavery

Rioux, LeBaron, and Verovšek (2020) argue that modern slavery is not revealed in different packaging or explanations of slavery, but the key to conceptualise it is to explore the multiple *exploitations* of slaves. The slaves may be born into slavery or tricked into it, and the contextual factors of why they end up in slavery may be political, cultural, racial, economic or a combination of these; but conditions like constraints on the degree of autonomy, being economically exploited and coercively controlled are common features of enslaved workers. In the slave industry, where people are subjected to its extreme forms of exploitations (Breman et al., 2009), the phenomenon needs to be analysed as a set of complex economic, political and cultural relations. To be able to address it, the first question to be answered is what is exploitation or what do we make of it?

For many, exploitation is a core concept of conventional economics, where the resources of a firm are exploited so as to realize a profit. In this framing, a firm would likely balance exploration with exploitation to maintain a steady flow of profits. But there is, of course, a second reading of exploitation from the critical and particularly the Marxian literature that critiques the origin and distribution of profits achieved through capitalist relations and forces of production (Balibar, 1997; Resnick & Wolff, 2003; Roemer, 1985b). Alongside, this critical analysis also understands exploitation as a feature of inequality of control and power (Knights, 1990) and links it to the explanation of injustice, inequality, and discrimination (Bufacchi, 2002). All the explanations of exploitation make it a complex concept, and as such, exploitation/s cannot be simply located in economic relations but must also incorporate

explanations of the relations of power and meaning. In the following section, I discuss various perspectives of exploitation to have a holistic understanding of the dynamics between the exploited and the exploiter in slave industries.

2.4.1. Exploitation of value – The exchange relation.

In the Marxian tradition, the concept of exploitation is defined in terms of the theory of surplus value, which primarily depends on the labour theory of value: "the theory that the value of any commodity is proportional to the amount of 'socially necessary' labour embodied in it" (Reeve, 1987, p. 31). Thus, according to this notion, the value of a commodity is determined by the amount of labour needed to produce it. The *value* is not just determined by the amount of labour embodied in making that particular product but by that labour which is embodied in all the productive activity that allows it to be produced. It includes all the energies and capacities needed by the workers to produce the labouring power, unlike the capitalist understanding of value where it is sold as temporal packets by the labourers to capitalists (Cohen, 1979; Brewer, 1987). The needs, however, are not to be understood just in terms of bare subsistence but should include a moral and historical element depending on the standard of life at a given period of time.

The labour that sufficed to meet these needs is termed as socially necessary labour. The value of a commodity is the amount of socially necessary labour required to produce it, and therefore embodied in it. Labour, in addition to this value, is termed as surplus labour and the value it adds is termed as the surplus value. In such framing, or in terms of the labour theory of value, exploitation is defined in terms of the ratio of surplus to necessary labour.

$$The\ rate\ of\ exploitation = Surplus\ Value / \ SociallyNecessaryLabour$$

This implies that the greater the quantity or quality of work the labourer does for the capital (the firm), over and above the necessary labour needed to provide the service or produce the

goods, then the greater is the exploitation. However, this notion of exploitation limits it as a relation of appropriation of value – a notion of economic exchange. While value appropriation may provide an analytical framework for understanding exploitation as an economic function, it doesn't address the power and symbolic dimensions of exploitation.

The economic explanation of exploitation finds support in vast Marxist literature (Morishima & Catephores, 1978; Wolff, 1999), but the non-economic explanation of exploitation (subordination, domination, moral exploitation etc.) also needs to be considered (Bufacchi, 2002), particularly when such arguments have been widely discussed in moral or political discourse. In other words, while in the Marxian sense, unequal exchange is often, if not always, exploitative but can exploitation cease to exist if there is equal exchange? Possibly not.

From a Marxian point of view, exploitation is an inherent part of capitalistic dynamics (Therborn, 1997). Reeve (1987) argues that the cost of maintaining workers and their families will always be lower than the value that workers produce in a working day, and therefore even if the labour power is purchased at its value, the *surplus value* will be generated. This suggests that exploitation in capitalism, which requires a positive rate of surplus value for generation of profit, is based on its basic operating principle and not on any violation of the laws of competitive capitalism (King, 1982). Even for pioneers of classic economics, like Adam Smith, who also refers to *value of the labour* as the '**real value**' of a commodity (Meek, 1977, p. 77), surplus extraction by the capitalists is necessary. According to Smith (1976 cited in Meek, 1977, p. 66), the deduction of profit from the value that labourers add is important because, without this appropriation, there may not be a reason for the owners of capital to employ the labour force. This indicates that continued employment depends on the appropriation of the surplus value. If we base our argument on Smith's assumption that wages of labour would exceed the subsistence needs (Hunt, 1977), the conflict between the

employers (capital) and the wage earners would be resolved, and the degree of exploitation (as an exchange relation) will be much lower, if not non-existent. Nevertheless, in such discussions, the explanation of exploitation is limited to exchange relations. Is exploitation of exchange (value) then the only meaning assigned to the notion of exploitation?

Some Marxian scholars (e.g. Bose, 1971; Resnick & Wolff, 2003b) argue that value-based analysis of exploitation is holistic and can also explain the phenomenon from a power perspective, as capital has a coercive power that compels the labour to perform surplus labour. However, others (e.g. Folbre, 1982; Wright, 2000) argue that such theorisation misses exploitations in 'voluntary exchange.' For example, Folbre (1982, p. 317) claims that the Marxian analysis "effectively excludes the very possibility that exploitation could take place within the family." Similarly, Wright (2000) questions the place of managers, who are not the capital owning class and yet exploit, in Marxian analysis. Also, how do we explain the exploitation, and may be voluntary sub-ordination[4], that has its roots in religion, culture, and values, or because of the different political scenarios? Mere discussion of economic relations isn't sufficient to explore exploitations in modern slavery, but in order to explore modern slavery; political and social aspects of social relations need to be taken into account.

2.4.2. Exploitation and the idioms of Power

Before setting out to explore exploitations of power in modern slavery, it is to be acknowledged that there are competing definitions of power in organisational theory and management literature (Rowlinson, 1997). Lukes (1974 cited in Ball 1976, p. 274) says power is an "essentially contested concept and inextricably value dependent"; which, according to Rowlinson (1997, p. 102), means that both the definition of power or any of its

See:(Bufacchi, 2002; Meillassoux, 1991). It is argued that slavery isn't necessarily a phenomenon of economic theft, though that may be the primary motivation, but a phenomenon of meaning embedded and constructed with precursor like history, religion or culture.

given uses are ineradicably tied to a set of value assumptions that predetermine range of its applications. Knights and Willmott (1999, p. 30) argue that power is the "means through which ruling class, political or managerial group controls the subordinate strata of the society or organisation." This implies that power is conceived as a persuasive social phenomenon, and its consequences are experienced at all levels of social organisations and particularly at the level of hierarchy.

Some other perspectives of power do not simply see it as exhaustively negative or coercive but as a productive and positive relation (Kelly, 2007; Rose, 2011). Power, for them, is not conceived as entity *A* having power over entity *B* but as a relation where both *A* and *B* are each enabled or constrained to achieve organisational objectives. Willmott (1998) argues that if power is understood this way, it is seen to constitute subjects both in the ruling or/and the subordinate class. Such framing of power is central in Foucauldian power analysis, where the emphasis is on how social practices act to produce who we are and how power relations influence how the produced subjects use their selves and bodies (e.g. Foucault, 1977, 1978, 1980).

While I acknowledge this poststructuralist framing of power and discuss it in more detail in Chapter 3, 4, and 6, this chapter builds on Marglin (1974) and Marginson (1993), who emphasise the coercive nature of the power, so much so that the terms power and control are used interchangeably. Adapting to this framing of power is primarily based on my ontological commitment that exploitation of modern slaves in terms of coercion and control is a significant aspect of (re)conceptualising modern slavery. As discussed earlier, workers in the slave industry (e.g. brick kilns of India) are subjected to extreme exploitations in terms of power and control. Also, 'force and coercion' is a dominant feature of current definitions and conceptualisations of modern slavery (See Table 1).

Bell (1975) argue that force or coercion is always identified as a rather messy, if not downrightly rejected affair, however necessary. Fincham (1992, p. 180) has distilled force and control in power relations in two main perspectives: "processual" and "institutional." The former locates power relations in the achievement of intended strategies or goals of an individual or organisation, and the latter sees it as a relation embedded in the constraints imposed on the organisation. The problem, though, is that there has always been a way to conceal it to make it palatable for the people who exercise power.

Patterson (1982) notes that throughout human history, there are two extremes of colloquial handling of the coercive aspects of power. One is the tendency to acknowledge the force openly (processual) and then to humanise it by use of various social strategies like fictive kinship, clientship or exchange of gifts. In a modern slavery context, such coercion has been poignantly, possibly distressingly, described in the Aljazeera documentary series, Slavery: A 21st Century Evil (Aljazeera, 2106). The slave owner in the documentary claims that the workers in his kiln love him and are obedient to him like they should be to an elder in a family. Another is the method of veiling, where coercion is thoroughly denied or completely hidden. In such cases, the coercion takes place in the form of disciplining the self to comply with the normative rationalities produced, reproduced, and reified to serve slave holders (Also see: Di Feliciantonio, 2016; Hildebrand-Nilshon, Motzkau, & Papadopoulos, 2001). In the modern slavery context, Cooke (2003) argues that capitalist logics perpetuated through grand narratives of individuality and efficiency have self-disciplined many into working in exploitative conditions of modern slavery.

Nonetheless, power, in its crude framing of 'force and coercion', or more nuanced framing of subjectification and 'disciplining of self,' is salient in exploring the exploitation of the slaves. The next section will discuss exploitation in terms of meaning – a symbolic expression of exploitation in the slave industry.

2.4.3. Exploitation – A symbolic expression

The scholarly discourse around exploitation is overwhelmingly focused on the economic (unequal exchange) (Carver, 1987; King, 1982; Resnick & Wolff, 2003) and the power (coercion and control) (Ball, 1976; Bell, 1975; Grimes, 1978) dimensions or character of exploitation. The emphasis falls either on the 'production and consumption' of commodities carrying *value* or the *force and control* used. This, I argue, limits the understanding of exploitation and, therefore, modern slavery as neither explains exploitations as a relation of values, religion, or culture etc. – that is, *exploitation as a relation of meaning*. Bufacchi (2002), however, argues that these non-economic conceptualisations of exploitation are not for monetary reasons but for the reasons of identifying with power. While it may be argued that exploitation as a relation of meaning is mostly, if not always, associated to identifying with power; I choose to discuss it independently as symbolic factors like construction of identity (Driver, 2009; Knights & Willmott, 1999), family kinship (Fraad, 2000) or religious and cultural values play an important role in exploitations, and thus, the enslavement of people (BBC, 2014; Bhukuth, 2005; Mahapatra, 1991).

Alvesson and Willmott (2002, p. 619) emphasise the need to give due regard to how "meaning, culture and ideology" are articulated by, and embedded in, structural designs of control. Ouchi (1979), decades ago, observed the dominance of bureaucratic control in the discourse of organisational identity and control, and highlighted the need to include symbolism and culture. Since then, the interest in culture and symbolism has increased considerably (Alvesson, 2000; Morgan, Frost, & Pondy, 1983; Pondy, 1983). However, Alvesson and Willmott (2002) argue that Ouchi's observations remain salient despite the growing literature because the need to interpret values and symbolism as a "means of legitimating social control" remains. This implies that symbolic and cultural expression, like

community values, beliefs, or kinships, is a determinant that operationalises force and control, and therefore are important to conceptualise modern slavery (also see: Ouchi, 1980).

Symbolic expressions of exploitation in slavery, as Bufacchi (2002, p. 11) puts it, may not be explicit; but entwined in the master-slave relation. Values (community values, kinship ties or religious beliefs), are instrumental in the construction of the "social identification" of people (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) and therefore salient to establish, or at least to unpack, the symbolic relation of exploitations in modern slavery. Here, we draw on the social identification theory proposed by Tajfel (1974). This theory posits that people tend to classify themselves and others in categories based on cultural affinity, organisational membership, religious affiliation or gender, and this primarily serves two functions. First, it orders and segments the social environment and therefore provides a systematic means to an individual to define others (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). In other words, a person is informed about assigning prototypical characteristics of the categories to which people belong. Second, it enables individuals to locate themselves in the social environment. It helps them to create self-identity encompassing idiosyncratic characteristics.

While this theoretical framework has found its way in management literature as an explanation for motivation, increased productivity and informed policymaking (Hogg & Terry, 2000; Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 1998), I regard social identification in organisations as symbolic means to identify with power and therefore highlights the symbolic relation of exploitation, particularly in the context of modern slavery. For example, identities build around religious teachings or divine texts historically have been used to establish control and power structure. Morrison (1980, p. 17) notes that the "biblical defence of slavery is the concept of divine decree, that is, through the curse of Cain God had decreed slavery it had actually come into existence." Correspondingly, the caste system informed by Hindu religious text has resulted in unique identity formation where people anticipate and concur to

their efforts being poorly rewarded (Hoff & Pandey, 2004), and consequently enable the conditions for exploitation, thus modern slavery, to foster. The use of symbolic relations (collective identity formation) as means to exploit, both in terms of power and exchange, has also been identified and highlighted in the case of migrant workers in the popular as well as scholarly literature (Berger, 1975; MacKenzie & Forde, 2009; Tupou, 2017; Wainwright, 2015). The argument here is not about the supply aspect of migration that enables modern slavery, as argued by Crane (2013), but the identities that are formed within immigrant groups and help exploiters sustain slavery and the exploited to endure it. In other words, symbolic relations form the collective consciousness that enables the conditions of modern slavery.

In summary, modern slavery is a condition of economic, political and cultural exploitations simultaneously operating and feeding each other to exploit the labour. In other words, the labour of the debt bonded is exploited while power keeps them under control and symbolic meanings make them compliant.

2.5. Discussion

Economic explanations of slavery, both from Marxist tradition and neo-classical perspective investigate the capitalist development in the developing countries, where modern slavery is prevalent, to argue that the development of the capitalist mode of production follows a process of liberation – freedom from the land and from the employer (Carver, 1987; Cunliffe, 1987; Steiner, 1987). The labourers are free to sell their labour power as a commodity. This political transformation is generally accompanied by the creation of the working class and pressures for better working conditions and better wages (Steiner, 1987). However, modern slaves do not have the privilege to sell their labour as a commodity, or perhaps the economic deprivation and unequal power relations make the sale of labour ‘unfree’. For Bales and

Robbins (2001, p. 30) the labour of the slaves, as it is used in the slave industry, stops the political transformation that generally includes the "proletarianization of workforce" and re-imposes authority over the workforce. It serves as a force that keeps the working class from awakening.

For Marglin (1974), who critiques Adam smith's capitalist structures for advocating technological superiority, exploited labour in the slave industry may be attributed the same feature as is attributed to technology in the class struggle. The exploited labour in the slave industry is used by the owner of means of production to cheapen the wage labour or, maybe, as a substitute for it. Patterson (1982) explains that capital shifts the balance of power by restricting the movement of exploited labourers in a situation where political consciousness begins to develop. For example, in the case of debt bondage, the 'labour power' of the exploited workers is mortgaged against a debt, and becomes a commodity completely controlled by the capital. The labour is attached to the capital, and its freedom and mobility is lost. In other words, the exploitation/s of value conspire to create a degree of control (power) that escapes the threshold of notice but is akin to ownership of a person by another.

It may be noted that advocates of Marxist tradition argue that labour of all wage workers is controlled or appropriated by the capital, to which I concede, but the inability to commodify the labour of the enslaved at their will makes the exploitation extreme in case of modern slavery. Pertinently advocates of capitalism argue that the capitalist developments should enable labour to enter or exit the labour market at any time (Friedman, 2009); but the enslaved labourers cannot as they cannot sell their labour power or commodify it, either for a fixed or temporary duration or indefinitely (Brass, 1999a). This economic examination may help to inform certain aspects of slavery as a social relationship, but taking economic paradigm case for exploitation as a whole risks mistaking what is peculiar to a specific case for the characteristics of the overall phenomenon of modern slavery (Goodin, 1987). The

condition of attachment of modern slaves can be embedded in the relation of power or meaning (culture, beliefs etc.) instead of being located in exchange relations.

The point here is that exploitation in modern slavery is consummated through, to put it in terms of Alvesson and Willmott (2002, p. 620), "self-positioning of employees within managerially inspired discourses of work and organisation with which they may become more or less identified and committed". In other words, how people experience or create a meaning of situation, people or objects is crucial for making sense of exploitations, and thus slavery. Deetz (1997, p. 87) argues that management often manages the "insides" - aspirations, hopes and fears – of the workers. For example, a commonly used term for the supervisors or the recruitment agents in the brick kilns of India, which incidentally houses the highest number of modern slaves according to ILO and Anti-slavery International (BBC, 2014; ILO, 2017a; Kelly, 2016), is '***Sardar***.' It translates to 'leader' in the English language. I interpret it as a symbolic effort to secure organisational control through the use of cultural norms – in this case, the seductive meaning associated with *Sardar*. On similar lines, Knights and Willmott (1987) argue that "*valued identities,"* like the one built around the commonly used terms like 'team leader' in contemporary organisations, are associated with the discourse used to appeal positive cultural affinity for establishing control. The purpose here is to draw attention to symbolic aspects as a dimension to explore exploitations in modern slavery.

In capitalist regimes, as Knights and Willmott (1989) note, coercion is presented as a direct opposite of what it is and interpreted as a kind of freedom. Patterson (1982) terms these concealments of power as "personalistic and materialistic" idioms. In personalistic form, the power is direct – or nearly so. Individuals are directly dependant on others, as is the case in brick kilns of India, where workers are dependent on owners of the brick kilns or their recruitment agents (Sardars or Maistrys) in the wake of mounting debt and the absence of any

alternate means of subsistence. This translates into a highly unequal distribution of power; however, the coercive aspect is visible and not completely concealed. Here kinship or fictive kinship plays a crucial role in dispensing the coercive aspect of power. In materialistic form, as can be seen in modern capitalism, "relations of dependence are disguised under the shape of social relations between products of labour" (Marx, 1975, p. 77). The power relation, therefore, is no longer viewed in terms of the power of a person over another but as the power of a person over the commodity. While it may be argued that such power relations are inherent to capitalist dynamics (Resnick & Wolff, 2003), the lack of free will in the wake of the acquired debt coupled with symbolic factors like religion, culture or kinship makes the exploitations in the slave industry much worse – extreme.

2.6. Conclusion

Modern slavery is a real-world problem where millions of people are subjected to extreme exploitations. However, despite its persistence in the world and the growing attention it has received, the conceptualisation of modern slavery is predominantly based on the conditions of attachment and ownership – a feature of traditional slavery, and not on the *exploitations,* as plural, of the slaves. This chapter redresses this disregard by proposing a framework that conceptualises modern slavery as a relation of *exploitations* in terms of exchange, power and meaning. The focus on economic, political, and cultural relations explores the conditions that assist modern slavery to prevail.

One of the implications of this chapter is that the economic analysis of exploitation in modern slavery is not absolute and that power relations and cultural factors play a crucial role for exploitations to exist and to sustain. From a conceptual perspective, the labour theory of value may inform about the appropriation of surplus value and thus provides an economic account of exploitation in modern slavery (Reeve, 1987); the use of power to coerce and

control elucidates the enforcement of exploitation (Marginson, 1993; Marglin, 1974) and social identification explains its acceptance.

Finally, the chapter also raises the call for empirical research to explore the conditions of exploitations in the slave industry (e.g. Brick Kilns of India) and theorise the economic, political, and symbolic relations in modern slavery.

References

Abadeer, A. S. (2008). *The entrapment of the poor into involuntary labor: Understanding the worldwide practice of modern-day slavery*. NY: Edwin Mellen Press.

Aljazeera. (2106). *Bonded slaves. Slavery: A 21st Century Evil*. Retrieved from https://www.aljazeera.com/program/slavery-a-21st-century-evil/2016/7/27/bonded-slaves.

Allain, J. (2009). The definition of slavery in international law. *Harvard Law Journal, 52*, 239-276.

Alvesson, M. (2000). Social Indentity And The Problem of Loyalty In Knowledge-Intensive Companies. *Journal of Management Studies, 37*(8), 1101-1124.

Alvesson, M., & Willmott, H. (2002). Identity regulation as organizational control: Producing the appropriate individual. *Journal of Management Studies, 39*(5), 619-644.

Andrees, B. (2014). *Why definitions matter: ILO, Special Action Programme to combat Forced Labour* Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_234854/lang--en/index.htm

Ashforth, B. E., & Mael, F. (1989). Social identity theory and the organization. *Academy of Management Review, 14*(1), 20-39. 10.5465/AMR.1989.4278999

Bales, K. (2012). *Disposable people: New slavery in the global economy*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Bales, K., & Robbins, P. T. (2001). No one shall be held in slavery or servitude: a critical analysis of international slavery conventions. *Human Rights Review, 2*(2), 18-45.

Bales, K., Trodd, Z., Williamson, A. K., & Dawsonera. (2009). *Modern slavery: The secret world of 27 million people*. Oxford, UK: Oneworld Publications.

Balibar, E. (1997). *Class racism*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Ball, T. (1976b). Power: A radical view by Steven Lukes. *Political Theory, 4*(2), 246-249.

BBC. (2010a). *BBC Ethics guide*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/ethics/slavery/modern/law.shtml

BBC. (2010b). *Cocoa slave tastes sweet freedom*. Retrieved 21/08 2017 from http://news.bbc.co.uk/panorama/hi/front_page/newsid_8584000/8584847.stm

BBC. (2014). *Why India's brick kiln workers 'live like slaves'*. Retrieved 05/07/2017 2017 from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-25556965

Bell, D. V. (1975). *Power, influence, and authority: An essay in political linguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bell, D. V., & Bell, D. V. (1975). *Power, influence, and authority: An essay in political linguistics*: Oxford University Press.

Bell, J. (2008). Contemporary slavery and international law. In *Human Rights and Human Welfare*. Graduate school of International Studies: University of Denver.

Belser, P. (2005). Forced labour and human trafficking: Estimating the profits. Working paper no. 41, In focus programme on promoting the declaration on fundamental principles and rights at work, international Labour organization, Geveva.

Berger, J. (1975). The seventh man. *Race & Class, 16*(3), 251-257.

Beutin, L. P. (2019). *How 'evidence-based' anti-trafficking campaigns make facts and mismeasure freedom*. Retrieved from https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/beyond-trafficking-and-slavery/rotten-core-of-evidence-based-anti-trafficking-campaigns/

Bhattacharya, R. (2010b). *Capitalism in post-colonial India: Primitive accumulation under dirigiste and laissez faire regimes.* (Ph.D. dissertation), University of Massachusetts Amherst,

Bhukuth, A. (2005). Child labour and debt bondage: A case study of brick kiln workers in Southeast India. *Journal of Asian and African studies, 40*(4), 287-302.

Bose, A. (1971). Marx on value, capital, and exploitation. *History of Political Economy, 3*(2), 298-334.

Brass, T. (1999). *The Political Economy of Unfree Labor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Breman, J., Guérin, I., & Prakash, A. (2009). *India's Unfree Workforce. Old and New Practices of Labour Bondage*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Brewer, J. D. (1987). The Scottish Enlightenment. In A. Reeve (Ed.), *Modern Theories of Exploitation* (pp. 6-29). London: Sage.

Bufacchi, V. (2002). The injustice of exploitation. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, 5*(1), 1-15.

Caruana, R., Crane, A., Gold, S., & LeBaron, G. (2020). Modern slavery in business: the sad and sorry state of a non-field. *Business & Society*, 0007650320930417.

Carver, T. (1987a). Marx's Political Theory of Exploitation. In A. Reeve (Ed.), *Modern Theories of Exploitation* (pp. 68-79). London: Sage.

Christ, K. L., & Burritt, R. L. (2018). Current perceptions on the problem of modern slavery in business. *Business Strategy & Development, 1*(2), 103-114.

Cohen, G. A. (1979). The labor theory of value and the concept of exploitation. *Philosophy & Public Affairs, 8*(4), 338-360.

Cooke, B. (2003). The denial of slavery in management studies. *Journal of Management Studies, 40*(8), 1895-1918.

Crane, A. (2013). Modern slavery as a management practice: Exploring the conditions and capabilities for human exploitation. *Academy of Management Review, 38*(1), 49-69.

Cunliffe, J. (1987). A mutualist theory of exploitation? In A. Reeve (Ed.), *Modern Theories of Exploitation* (pp. 53-67). London: Sage.

Daru, P., Churchill, C., & Beemsterboer, E. (2005). The prevention of debt bondage with microfinance-led services. *The European Journal of Development Research, 17*(1), 132-154.

Davidson, J. O. C. (2015). *Modern slavery: The margins of freedom*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Deetz, S. (1997). Discursive formations, strategized subordination and self-subordination and self-surveillance. In *Foucault, management and organization theory.* (pp. 151-172). London: Sage.

Di Feliciantonio, C. (2016). Subjectification in times of indebtedness and neoliberal/austerity urbanism. *Antipode, 48*(5), 1206-1227.

Draper, N. (2009). *The price of emancipation: slave-ownership, compensation and British society at the end of slavery*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press.

Drescher, S., & Engerman, S. L. (1998). *A historical guide to world slavery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Driver, M. (2009). Struggling with lack: A Lacanian perspective on organizational identity. *Organization studies, 30*(1), 55-72.

Duke, E. O., & Osim, S. E. (2020). The culture of slavery in traditional context and globalised society. *Socialspacejournal, 19*(2), 145.

Fincham, R. (1992). Perspectives on power: processual, institutional and 'internal'forms of organizational power. *Journal of Management Studies, 29*(6), 741-760.

Fogel, R. W. (1994). *Without consent or contract: The rise and fall of American slavery*. New york: Norton.

Folbre, N. (1982). Exploitation comes home: a critique of the Marxian theory of family labour. *Cambridge Journal of Economics, 6*(4), 317-329.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish : the birth of the prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality*. New York: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (2000). The Subject and Power. In J. Faubion (Ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Michel Foucault, 1954-1984* (Vol. 3, pp. 326-348). London: Allen Lane.

Fraad, H. (2000). Exploitation in the Labor of Love. In Gibson-Graham, Julie Katherine, Stephen A. Resnick, & R. D. Wolff (Eds.), *Class and its others* (pp. 69-86). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Friedman, M. (2009). *Capitalism and freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago press.

Goodin, R. (1987). Exploiting a Situation and Exploiting a Person. In A. Reeve (Ed.), *Modern Theories of Exploitation* (pp. 166-200): Sage, London.

Grimes, A. J. (1978). Authority, power, influence and social control: A theoretical synthesis. *Academy of Management Review, 3*(4), 724-735.

Guérin, I. (2013). Bonded labour, agrarian changes and capitalism: emerging patterns in South India. *Journal of Agrarian Change, 13*(3), 405-423.

Hardt, M. (1998). The global society of control. *Discourse, 20*(3), 139-152.

Hildebrand-Nilshon, M., Motzkau, J., & Papadopoulos, D. (2001). Reintegrating sense into subjectification. In *Theoretical issues in psychology* (pp. 289–300): Boston, MA Springer.

Hogg, M. A., & Terry, D. I. (2000). Social identity and self-categorization processes in organizational contexts. *Academy of Management Review, 25*(1), 121-140.

Hunt, E. (1977). Value theory in the writings of the classical economists, Thomas Hodgskin, and Karl Marx. *History of Political Economy, 9*(3), 322-345.

ICRC. (1998). Treaties, State parties and Commentries - Rome Statue of the International Criminal court. Retrieved from https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/Article.xsp?action=openDocument&documentId=058B44CF36EDB8CF4125669000452E7F

ILO. (2017). 21 million people are now victims of forced labour, ILO says. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_181961/lang--en/index.htm

ILO. (2020). *Forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking*. Retrieved 14/7 2020 from https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/lang--en/index.htm

Kara, S. (2017). *Modern Slavery: A Global Perspective*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kelly, A. (2016). 46 million people living as slaves, latest global index reveals. *The Gaurdian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/jun/01/46-million-people-living-as-slaves-latest-global-index-reveals-russell-crowe

Kelly, C. (2007). *Managing the relationship between knowledge and power in organisations.* In Aslib Proceedings. Emrald Group Publishing Limited

King, J. E. (1982). Value and exploitation: Some recent debates. In I.C. Bardley, & M.C. (eds.) *Classical and Marxian Political Economy* (pp. 157-187). Harvard: Springer.

Knights, D. (1990). Subjectivity, power and the labour process. In D. Knight & H. Willmott (eds.) *Labour process theory* (pp. 297-335): Springer.

Knights, D., & Willmott, H. (1989). Power and subjectivity at work: From degradation to subjugation in social relations. *Sociology, 23*(4), 535-558.

Knights, D., & Willmott, H. (1999). *Management lives: Power and identity in work organizations.* London: Sage.

Knights, D., & Willmott, H. C. (1987). Organizational culture as management strategy: A critique and illustration from the financial services industry. *International Studies of Management & Organization, 17*(3), 40-63.

Lindsay, D. M. (2010). Organizational liminality and interstitial creativity: The fellowship of power. *Social Forces, 89*(1), 163-184.

MacKenzie, R., & Forde, C. (2009). The rhetoric of thegood worker'versus the realities of employers' use and the experiences of migrant workers. *Work, employment and society, 23*(1), 142-159.

Mahapatra, L. (1991). Development for whom? Depriving the dispossessed tribals. *Social Action, 41*(3), 271-287.

Marginson, P. (1993). Power and efficiency in the firm: Understanding the employment relationship. In C. Pitelis (ed.) *Transaction Costs, Markets and Hierarchies.* (pp. 131-165) Oxford: Blackwell.

Marglin, S. A. (1974). What do bosses do? The origins and functions of hierarchy in capitalist production. *Review of radical political economics, 6*(2), 60-112.

Marx, K. (1975). *Marx and Engels collected works Vol.1,* (pp.23, 578). London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Meek, R. L. (1977). *Smith, Marx, and after.* London: Springer.

Mehra, A., Kilduff, M., & Brass, D. J. (1998). At the margins: A distinctiveness approach to the social identity and social networks of underrepresented groups. *Academy of Management Journal, 41*(4), 441-452.

Meillassoux, C. (1991). *The Anthropology of Slavery: the womb of iron and gold*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Morgan, G., Frost, P. J., & Pondy, L. R. (1983). *Organizational symbolism,* Greenich, CT: jai Press.

Morishima, M., & Catephores, G. (1978). *Value, Exploitation and Growth Marx in the Light of Modern Economic Theory*. London: Mcgraw Hill.

Morrison, L. R. (1980). The religious defense of American slavery before 1830. *The Journal of Religious Thought, 37*(2), 16-29.

Mulligan, W., & Bric, M. (2013). *A Global History of Anti-slavery Politics in the Nineteenth Century*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Muntaner, C., Solar, O., Vanroelen, C., Martínez, J. M., Vergara, M., Santana, V., (2010). Unemployment, informal work, precarious employment, child labor, slavery, and health inequalities: pathways and mechanisms. *International journal of health services, 40*(2), 281-295.

Ouchi, W. G. (1979). A conceptual framework for the design of organizational control mechanisms. *Management Science, 25*(9), 833-848.

Patterson, O. (1982). *Slavery and social death*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Peyrouse, S. (2009). *The multiple paradoxes of the agriculture issue in Central Asia*. Working paper 6, EU Central Asia Monitoring. Brussels, Belgium.

Pondy, L. R. (1983). *Organizational symbolism*: Greenwich: Jai Press.

Quirk, J. F. (2006). The anti-slavery project: linking the historical and contemporary. *Human Rights Quarterly, 28*(3), 565-598.

Reeve, A. (1987). Thomas Hodgskin and John Bray: free exchange and equal exchange. In A. Reeve (Ed.), *Modern Theories of Exploitation* (pp. 30-52): Sage, London.

Resnick, S., & Wolff, R. (2003a). The diversity of class analyses: A critique of Erik Olin Wright and beyond. *Critical Sociology, 29*(1), 7-27.

Resnick, S., & Wolff, R. (2003b). Exploitation, consumption, and the uniqueness of US capitalism. *Historical Materialism, 11*(4), 209-226.

Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, Article 13 C.F.R. (1956).

Rioux, S., LeBaron, G., & Verovšek, P. J. (2020). Capitalism and unfree labor: a review of Marxist perspectives on modern slavery. *Review of International Political Economy, 27*(3), 709-731. 10.1080/09692290.2019.1650094

Roemer, J. (1985). *A general theory of exploitation and class*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Rose, E. (2011). Power in Organisations. In Butler. M. & Rose. E. (eds.) *Introduction to Organisational Behaviour*, (pp 295 – 313).

Rowlinson, M. (1997). Organisations and institutions : perspectives in economics and sociology. London: Macmillan Press.

Steiner, H. (1987). Exploitation: a liberal theory amended, defended and extended. In A. Reeve (Ed.), *Modern Theories of Exploitation* (pp. 132-148). Sage: London.

Tajfel, H. (1974). Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *International Social Science Council, 13*(2), 65-93.

Therborn, G. (1997). The rule of capital and the rise of democracy. *Classes and Elites in Democracy and Democratization: A Collection of Readings, 1083*, 134.

Tickler, D., Meeuwig, J. J., Bryant, K., David, F., Forrest, J. A., Gordon, E., Sumaila, U. R. (2018). Modern slavery and the race to fish. *Nature communications, 9*(1), 1-9.

Tupou, L. (2017). *Migrant worker describes 'modern day slavery' scam*. Retrieved from http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/339373/migrant-worker-describes-modern-day-slavery-scam

Wainwright, D. (2015). *Gangmasters and migrant workers: What you need to know. BBC*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-34974090

Willmott, H. (1998). Towards a new ethics? The contributions of poststructuralism and posthumanism. In Martin. P. (ed.), *Ethics and organizations* (pp 76-121). London: Sage.

Wolff, J. (1999). Marx and exploitation. *The Journal of Ethics, 3*(2), 105-120.

Wright, E. O. (2000). *Class counts: Comparative studies in class analysis*: Cambridge University Press.

CHAPTER 3

Title: Towards Relational and Reflexive Human Ethics Reviews

3.1. Overview

Abstract: Criticism of research ethics committees on the grounds that biomedical ethical logics are ill-suited to the qualitative inquiry has been commonplace in debate about ethical social science research. The paper presents an analysis of the ethics review process and the concerns of the university ethics review committee in repeatedly rejecting and ultimately approving research involving debt-bonded migrant labourers. The authors examine the ethical tensions and dilemmas that are a part of the everyday practice of doing research, particularly in participative traditions, to demonstrate the disconnect between procedural ethics and ethics in action. The paper draws on the notion of reflexivity to propose a relational ethical review process that addresses the tensions between the ethics review procedures and how ethical practice in doing research can be achieved.

Keywords: Modern slavery research, Research ethics, Reflexivity, Relational ethics

Duplication: Readers are expected to see some overlap with Chapter Seven in terms of the theoretical concept of reflexivity. Please note that this Chapter includes material in addition to that is being published.

Publication details: This output was submitted to the *Journal of Business Ethics,* published by Springer Nature. Revise and Resubmit received.

Appended as DRC 16: Massey University's publication contribution form is included below.

Statement of contribution to Doctoral Thesis containing publications

We, the candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of Candidate: Omer Nazir

Name/Title of Principal Supervisor: Craig Prichard

Name of Published Research Output and full reference:

Towards relational and reflexive human ethics reviews. (**Revise and Resubmit** received from *Journal of Business Ethics*)

In which Chapter is the Published Work: 3

Please indicate either:

- The percentage of the Published Work that was contributed by the candidate: and / or
- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the Published Work:

This paper presented an analysis of the ethics review process and the concerns of the university ethics review committee in repeatedly rejecting and ultimately approving my research involving debt-bonded

migrant labourers. It particularly examines the ethical tensions and dilemmas that are a part of everyday practice of doing research, particularly in participative traditions, to demonstrate the disconnect between the procedural ethics and ethics in action. After consultation with my supervisors and including their suggestions, the first version of this paper, was submitted to *Human Relations* journal. Unfortunately, after a thorough process of review, the paper was rejected. However, the reviewers provided a detailed feedback and suggestions to improve the paper. Following that, many additions and changes, specifically with regards to normative nature of ethics, were made based on the feedback from the journal and advise of my supervisors. The paper was then submitted for publication to *Journal of Business Ethics*. A '**Revise and Resubmit'** decision has been received, and I am currently working on the revisions.

Candidate's Signature: Omer Nazir

Date: 28/03/2021

Primary Supervisor's Signature:

Date:

"Do not ask who I am and do not ask me to remain the same: leave it to our bureaucrats and our police to see that our papers are in order. At least spare us their morality when we write."

- *(Foucault, 1972, p. 17)*

3.2. Introduction

*I am in the field for a university research work. The site is a village where the brick kiln workers are recruited from, and to comply with the commandments of the ethics review committee, I had sought permission from the kiln owners to document and record the recruitment process. In fact, the recruitment agent of the kiln is guiding me through the process and introducing me to the participants. It is business as usual. I have had conversations and shared meals with the people. The research is progressing well. On my request, Surya-bi (name changed) agrees to take me to his cottage for a cup of tea. We are nattering, occasionally laughing, and suddenly there is a loud thud on the door followed by an authoritative, somewhat frightening, voice. "Pe*c**d (abusive slur), how could you allow an outsider in the house. Our women are our honour. Interviewing is fine but having outsiders over for tea while women are in the house is unacceptable behaviour …." Surya-bi submissively listens and nods to what seemed to be a sermon about community values and advises me to leave. I oblige. On my way out, I see the man. It is the local grocer. I say sorry to him too and pack my bags. End of the research trip.*

Above is a description of an event that took place while doing fieldwork for a university project aimed to explore the conditions that lead to the practice of debt bondage in Indian brick kilns. I had no intentions of doing any harm to Surya-bi, and I still am not sure if my leaving the place was the best thing that could have been done. Maybe, I could have

spoken to the grocer and explained my intentions to visit, or I could have taken the blame for ignorance of the community values. It is a dilemma.

Guillemin and Gillam (2004, p. 261) term such instances as "ethically important moment[s]" in research. Many researchers, particularly in ethnographic and participative research traditions, have documented their encounters with such ethically important moments and demonstrated the inability of the university ethical review process to deal with such instances (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Holland, 2007). As researchers, we all go through an ethical approval exercise prescribed by the review committees, variously termed as Institutional Review Boards (IRB), University ethics committees (UEC), Human Ethics Committees (HEC), to ensure the ethical practice of research. The functional rationale of such a process is to equip the researcher with the knowledge of what the university regards as appropriate ethical conduct in research and teaching.

However, frustration with the ethics committees and their processes is vocally conveyed in social sciences and humanities research (Dingwall, 2008; Haggerty, 2004; Schrag, 2011). While some of the critics of ethics committees complain that they are principally inappropriate (Dingwall, 2008) and impose 'silly restrictions' (Schrag, 2011), others question the biomedical logics of ethics review committees that are applied to research in social sciences (Tolich & Fitzgerald, 2006; Van den Hoonaard, 2011). Haggerty (2004) uses the notion of "ethics creep" to describe the expansionist tendency of the ethics review committees to go beyond their scope of protecting human participants to a role of prescribing the conduct of research, which, he advocates, should remain within the control of the researcher. A consequence of this, Dickson and Holland (2017) note, is restriction of academic research to homogenised practices that closely align with those of the natural sciences. To sum up, there is a building consensus that the pedigree of human ethics

committees within biomedical sciences do not fit well with the researchers in social sciences and humanities.

On the other hand, there are arguments in defence of HEC's and in response to ethics creep (Bouma & Diemer, 1996; Jennings, 2012; Sheehan, Dunn, & Sahan, 2017). Such authors support the interventions of review boards by arguing that the central intent of these boards remains the protection of research subjects from harm and the promotion of mechanisms that ensure that informed consent is secured. Part of the justification for imposing ethical reviews is the moral repulsion over the disregard for human life in medical and scientific experiments, including those that occurred in Nazi Germany's concentration camps unearthed during the Nuremberg trials[5] (Bond, 2012). In New Zealand as well, formal and systematic ethical reviews began following the infamous Cartwright inquiry[6] into cervical cancer research in 1988.

Subjecting social science research to ethical reviews suggest that such committees are able to safeguard and balance the wellbeing and rights of human beings in response to the interest of the zealous researcher. However, as the case in the opening of this paper highlights, an ethical review that is supposedly meant to protect subjects from harm has significant limitations. The possible harm that Surya-bi could have faced is relational. In other words, despite following the prescribed informed content process, Surya-bi could face harm in relation to his relationship with his community. Consequently, any ethical conduct prescribed by the ethics committees should also be based upon building ethical relationships.

[5] As a result of the Nuremberg trials, a set of guidelines called Nuremberg principles were created leading to athe formation of set of research ethics for human experimentation.
[6] The Cartwright inquiry was an inquiry held in New Zealand to investigate the failure of National Women's Hospital (NWH) to treat patients with cervical cancer adequately as a result of experimentation of ongoing research that failed to recognise the dangers to the patients.

Relational conduct is an approach to ethics that situates ethical action in relationships. Acting ethically would not only involve the ability to solve ethical dilemmas but also involves responsiveness and commitment to interpersonal relationships (Austin, Bergum and Dossetor, 2002). It may therefore be argued that while the intent of ethics review procedures may be principled, its relevance to qualitative studies is flawed, particularly to those from critical and participative traditions that are grounded in exploration and establishment of particular relationalities and their embedded subjectivities.

In this paper, I empirically engage with a process of university ethical review application to analyse the nature of ethics in academic research. By ethics, I do not only refer to what Guillemin and Gillam (2004) term as 'procedural ethics', which Rhodes and Carlsen (2018, p. 1297) describe as a set of rules or protocols that are "used to judge or ensure righteousness". Instead, I also refer to the understanding of 'ethics in practice' of the research that is embodied in the complexities of conducting research (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) and to the resistance against the application of mechanical rules (Bell & Willmott, 2019). I do so by doing a critical textual analysis of the ethical review process involving a PhD university research project entitled, "Modern slavery: Exploring structural exploitation/s of exchange, power and meaning – A case of Indian brick Kilns", of which the vignette above is a part. The application was rejected three times before finally getting approval, conditional to compliance with the suggested revisions by the review committee, including the title change to "Debt and labour dependency – Case of Indian brick kiln".

As a contribution to the debate around problems of procedural ethics processes, this paper first analyses the ultimately successful university ethics application and then propose a set of changes to ethical reviews that pivot such processes towards incorporating the relational complexities in qualitative research. In doing so, I attempt to unpack the processes involved in engagement with ethics committees, including form filling and refilling, grounds

of rejections and prescribed revisions, ethical approvals if obtained and finally, its relation to the ethics in practice.

The article has four sections. First introduces the theoretical basis of the research in relation to the ethical discourse of academia, followed by its discussion with respect to ethical procedures (ethics of form filling) and ethical actions (ethics in action). The second section details the case and the methodological stance. The third section combines the theoretical resource with examples from the case to demonstrate the tensions in the review process. The final section discusses the tensions and struggles of qualitative researchers with ethical reviews to point towards an arrangement that addresses the ethics creep.

3.3. Situating Ethics in Critical Management Research

In this section, I discuss the ethicality of research in relation to the commitments of critical management studies (CMS) to locate my case, which also belongs to such tradition. CMS research, to quote Alvesson and Deetz, "generally aims to disrupt ongoing social reality" to provide an impetus for challenging what dominates human decision making (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000, p. 1). It is emancipatory, at least in rhetoric, and seeks to advocate for the economic, social or political rights, mostly for marginalised groups, or more generally, in discussions of such inequalities. Fournier and Grey's (2000, p. 25) account of CMS points to (1) the reluctance of CMS in taking management as a desirable given and ascribe to it the *non-performativity*[7]; (2) the ambition to find alternatives to existing organisational imperatives and ascribes to it *de-naturalisation*; and (3) the acknowledgement of the epistemic and methodological bias and ascribes to it *reflexivity* as its core elements (see also: Alvesson, Bridgman, & Willmott, 2009; Brewis & Wray-Bliss, 2008; Grey & Willmott,

[7] Also see Fleming and Banerjee (2016) for non-performativity as a principle that rejects the means-end rationality governing organisational situations.

2005). To put it simply, CMS research is a political inquiry that challenges the naturalised authority and relevance of mainstream management thinking and practice in a bid to unveil the power relations around which organisational and social lives are woven.

In that sense, the engagement of CMS researchers with the ethical review may be seen to be informed by the aforementioned political commitments, articulately put across by Collins and Wray-Bliss (2005) as "anti-foundational approaches to ethics". Such approaches, characterized by reluctance to universal codes as a way to resolve ethical issues, question privileging of authority as the basis for academic knowledge claims and therefore raise the need to reflect on the ethical warrant of academic research (Willmott, 1998). CMS researchers, therefore, would characteristically challenge the power to define and enforce organisational wide ethical rules to which all the researchers are expected to comply. This is to say that ethical research for a CMS researcher wouldn't be limited to compliance with HEC's prescriptions but will involve unpacking the politics of ethical review processes and the development of ethical sensitivities for the conduct of research. By politics, I mean mobilization or channelization of the research practice (materially or symbolically) by the HEC's in the production and dissemination of knowledge.

So, how would a researcher who questions the universal procedural exercises develop ethical sensitivities? Led by the ambition to find alternatives to existing hegemonic and homogenous imperatives as has been stated above (de-naturalisation), CMS researchers draw from critical theoretical traditions including, but not limited to, Marxism (Wray-Bliss & Parker, 1998), Feminism (Brewis, 1998), Post-structuralism (Willmott, 1998) or post-colonialism (Gonzalez, 2003). They are broadly situated within the enlightenment tradition (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992) and assume a commitment to an ontology of competing forces and entities; for example, the master and the slave, the man and the woman, the capital and the labour. Consequently, the epistemological priority of such dialectical analysis is to

question and challenge the 'master,' e.g. the bourgeoisie, the church, the aristocracy, the state, the patriarchy etc. Given these priorities, ethical codes of practice for research of CMS research are thus not simply bureaucratic rules to be followed but an expression of certain kinds of power relations that aim to subordinate certain practices and extract value from others.

Such engagement of CMS research not only aligns with the anti-foundational understanding of ethics but also enables them to address organisational issues as problematics replete with ethical implications. Collins and Wray-Bliss (2005) note that ethics of critical research are founded in ethically challenging organisational practices. In doing so, not only does it critique the problematic agency of organisational subjects but also explores the implications of the ability of these ethics in voicing the problematic behaviour as it is (Wray-Bliss, 2004). For example, the ability naming of problematics as such, i.e. discriminatory, exploitative or oppressive, is central to the anti-foundational stance of the critical tradition and subsequently to CMS research (Fournier & Grey, 2000).

However, occupying an anti-performative position and building on dialectical tradition is inescapably normative (Willmott, 1998). A researcher designates ethicality to the actions in research, and the decisions to assign this ethicality is informed by their reflexivity. Holland (1999) describes reflexivity as a continuous process of reflection by the researchers on their predispositions and those of the researched. In other words, it is the degree of influence that the researcher exerts on the research, and therefore is the acknowledgement of the partialities that inform the normative nature of ethics in the research. The underlying direction here is to reject the ideas of neutrality and observational distance between the researcher and the researched.

Guillemin and Gillam (2004) suggest that reflexivity is closely connected with developing ethical sensitivities during the conduct of research when procedural ethical codes from the HECs are inaccessible. It complements the concept of 'ethics in practice' characterized by the complexities of the conduct of research that resists mechanical rules and codes by HECs. Understood in this way, the ethics are inextricably fused with the research and embodied in the relation of the researcher with the people they study (Bernstein, 1992), and not a meticulous form filling exercise prescribed by HECs.

Therefore, qualitative inquiry, particularly CMS research, calls for an alternative ethical review process that puts, Vermeylen and Clark (2017, p. 503) note, the "unheard voices and unseen faces" of the research participants at the heart of the research. They turn to Levinasian theory of ethics that moves away from individualistic ethics towards ethics for others. Unlike consequentialist approaches that emphasise rule-based methods, such an ethical approach rejects normative moral rules (also see Jones, 2003). Instead, Levinasian ethical framework would regard ethics as a responsibility to other people that is involuntary (Levinas, 1985; Levinas & Robbins, 2001). In this sense, Bauman (1993 cited in Manderson 2006, p. 8) argues that "the demand of ethics comes from the intimacy of and experienced encounter, and its contours cannot, therefore, be codified". Consequently, in contrast to HEC's moral framing based on rules, ethical reviews should be based on inter-personal relationships where acknowledgement and appreciation of the other take precedence.

3.3.1. Ethics of form filling

The process of undergoing ethical reviews for university researchers is essentially organised and perhaps concentrated around the practice of form filling. Seemingly, a form is a peripheral item in the process of ethical reviews. Guillemin and Gillam (2004, p. 263) note, "for many researchers filling of research ethics application form is a formality, a hurdle to

surmount to get on and do the research". McLean and Hoskin (1998), however, see forms as instruments that are used to exercise organising power. Power, nevertheless, is a notorious term that has evaded defining descriptions. So, instead of defining the power of forms, I discuss how forms are used in the research process to shape events, from a distance, in a way that conformance to a homogenous organisation is ensured.

Here I draw from Mclean and Hoskins' (1998) Foucault influenced analysis of the contemporary forms. They argue that contemporary forms are a homologous kind of institutional space like that of organisations, "where similar events take place because both are produced by a similar set of practices" (p. 520). This is to say that power, both in organizing and forms, is the offshoot realised in the further actions of these practices within organising or form filling spaces. The focus on practices as *micro-technologies* within power relations has been central to Foucault's later works from "Discipline and Punish" (Foucault, 1977, 1988b, 1990). The practices referred to are those that usually operate in the background and below the threshold of our attention as we do things (e.g. filling the forms for ethical reviews, devising the forms to be filled).

The forms, obviously, are not the organisations, particularly because forms are exclusively textual spaces. However, a general relation between spaces, events and practices exists; therefore, the claim of homology between forms and organisations shouldn't be completely ruled out (McLean & Hoskin, 1998). This is to say that, as organisations, forms are textual spaces that are not purely given and already there but are products of the practices mentioned above. In forms, we see the organising of its structure via practices of reading and writing; and in its filling, we see practices of examining and assessing – an organising that takes place more generally.

Forms do not only shape events but also create and support particular subjectivities. In the case of HEC review processes, forms have the effect of shaping the formation of researcher subjectivities. In this sense, the researcher is not only subjected to the HEC reviews but becomes a subject in the process of subjectification (Foucault, 1982). Subjectification is a process that comprises all the ways through which a person transforms him/herself into a subject (Foucault, 1988b; Hildebrand-Nilshon, Motzkau, & Papadopoulos, 2001). So, subjectification as it would bear on the procedural ethics, particularly through the organising instrument called forms, would include the creation of selves produced through the practices of forms filling. In other words, drawing from subjectification would need us to consider not only the practices in the formation of the forms but also how textual space may then produce a second level of organising of selves.

With regards to the context of ethical review forms, such a framework would not only need us to consider the construction of review forms as institutional spaces but will also the process of filling it, and in doing so, organising selves. I will deliberate on this further with respect to the case in the hand in the discussion section.

3.3.2. Ethics in action

As I argued in the beginning, ethical research is much more than mastering the art of ethics review form filling and gaining approvals for commencement of research. The research committees are inaccessible in the field where unexpected situations arise, and the researcher is forced to make immediate decisions. These situations may be day to day issues that miss the attention in the university's ethical review process. Consider Surya-bi's example. The closest thing that finds relevance in ethical forms to such a situation is that of informed consent, which was obtained but didn't turn out to be much of help. This is not to say that

informed consent is irrelevant but is to highlight that there are issues that are intimate to the context and pose immediate ethical concerns.

These are the issues that Guillemin and Gillam (2004, p. 264) note to be the ethical obligation of the researcher "towards the participants in terms of interacting with them in a humane and non-exploitative way" while being mindful of their role in the research. To deal with such ethical issues as they arise in the field, many scholars, particularly in qualitative research, have turned to the process of reflexivity (Bell & Willmott, 2019; Brewis & Wray-Bliss, 2008; Collins & Wray-Bliss, 2005; Dauphinee, 2010).

However, reflexivity is usually perceived as a way of increasing academic rigour (Darawsheh & Stanley, 2014; Finlay, 2002) and not connected to ethics in research practice. Mason (1996, p. 6) defines researcher's reflexivity as constantly taking "stock of their actions and their role in the research process, and subject these to the same critical scrutiny as the rest of their data". This description of reflexivity doesn't seem to be of help in terms of assisting a researcher with ethics in action (immediate ethical decisions in the field). Here, a different framing of reflexivity by McGraw, Zvonkovic, and Walker (2000) can be helpful. They define reflexivity as "a process whereby researchers place themselves and their practices under scrutiny, acknowledging the ethical dilemmas that permeate the research process and impinge on the creation of knowledge" (p, 68).

Guillemin and Gillam (2004) extend this framing further by arguing that being reflexive for a researcher means to acknowledge the ethicality of ordinary day to day research practices, being sensitive to ethically important moments in research practice and being able to develop a response to ethical issues as and when they arise in the research. Bell and Willmott (2019) term it as *epistemic reflexivity* that points to contingencies and uncertainties in social-scientific endeavours. In the coming sections, I will deliberate more on this concept

when analysing the ethical dilemmas encountered in the field while conducting research for the project that serves as a case for this research.

3.4. The ethics application to study modern slavery – The case and the methodological rationale.

This section of the paper details the empirical case for my analysis and the methodological resources I used. The empirical analysis builds around a case of a PhD research proposal titled "Modern Slavery – Exploring structural exploitation/s of exchange, power and meaning – Case of Indian brick kilns". The research aimed to "study the work and lives of marginalised families working in the brick kilns of India" in order to unveil the systemic constraints that lead to life conditions that are characterised as a form of modern slavery[8]. Since most of the brick kilns in India operate on a seasonal basis (Deshingkar & Start, 2003; Shah, 2006), the proposed research was to happen in two phases. The first phase was to involve spending time and interviewing the brick kilns workers in their native villages, and the second stage involved observing and interviewing the workers and kiln managers while they worked in the brick kilns.

The proposed research aimed to challenge the common understanding of modern slavery, which lays emphasis on the ownership and control of an individual by another, to reconceptualise it as a relation of exchange, power and meaning. Pertinently, modern slavery is an umbrella term for several practices when a person holds another person in compelled service (See appendix 1 for different forms of modern slavery). I reasoned that spending time and interviewing the workers in the offseason at their native village and at production sites when they migrate for seasonal work would help in exploring the conditions that lead to workers signing up for what is referred to as a form of modern slavery. I proposed seeking

[8] International Labour Organisation characterised debt bondage as a form of modern slavery, and brick kilns of India are reported to house millions of people working as debt bonded labour (ILO, 2017)

consent from each of the participants, including the recruiting agents and the managers, to film the interviews for the purpose of analysis. The proposed interviews were to be conversational, with no structured questions to be asked. The intent was to allow the participants to share their stories and knowledge relevant to them and to do so on own their own terms, thereby avoiding a structured format of questioning.

The project was denied ethical approval on account of limited benefits of the research, harm to the participants and the researcher, consent process and the blurring role of the investigator as a researcher and volunteer (participant in the research). I was advised to put more thought into the ethicality and validity of the research and make a completely new application (See appendix 2 for response letter). I did this, and following three further revisions, approval was granted. This process took seven months to complete and involved form filling and engagement with ethics committees via email communication only.

For the purpose of my analysis, I used textual analysis of forms (human ethics application forms), decision letters, subsequent email exchanges with the ethics committee and ethics approval for the above project. By textual analysis, I mean what Fairclough (2003) refers to as an extension of his work on critical discourse analysis to a more detailed analysis of the text. Fairclough's critical discourse analysis is based on the assumption that language is indelibly a part of social life and dialectically interconnected with elements of social life (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1992, 1993). That means that "one productive way of doing social research is through a focus on language, using some form of discourse" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2). This, however, is not to say that social life can be reduced to language. Rather, this is to suggest that analysis of language can be one amongst many analytical strategies of inquiry.

Specifically, for this paper, I have used "textually oriented discourse analysis" (Fairclough, 1992), which includes a detailed analysis of the text from the process of human ethics application. I draw from the analytical framework (Figure 3.1.) of critical discourse analysis to analyse the text in relation to the spaces of its production and consumption. That is to say that the text from the case is analysed in relation to the processes of its production and consumption and in relation to the social conditions.

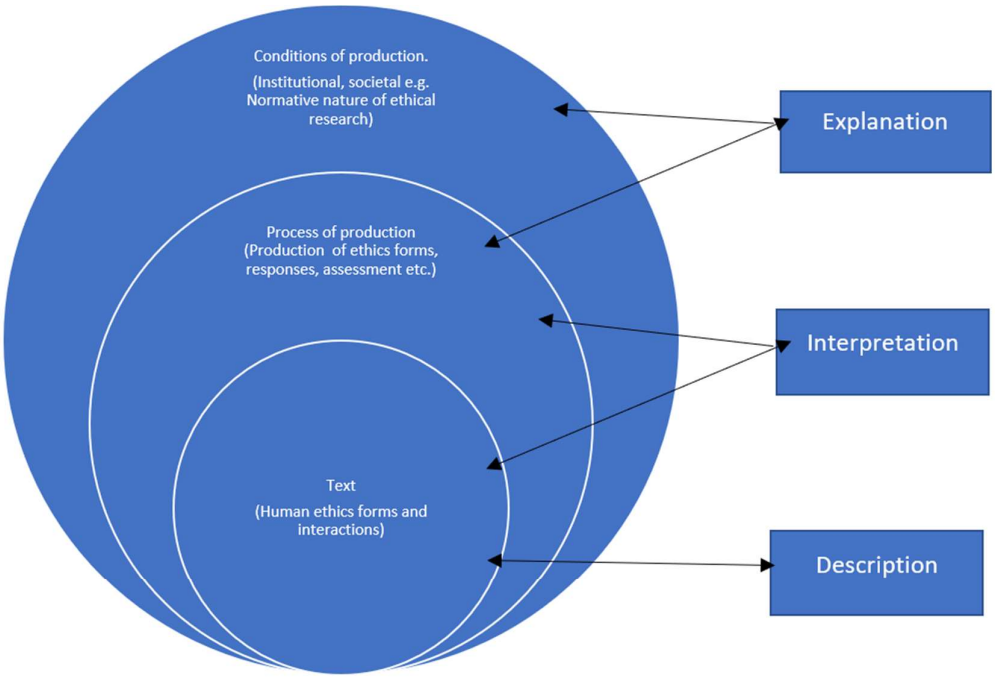


Figure 3.1. Critical textual analysis model

Adopted from critical discourse analysis model. (Fairclough, 1993, p. 25)

3.5. The Human Ethics Committee Review

The first review of the ethics application was an outright rejection with primary concerns cited as "limited benefits of the study, the vulnerability of the participants and risk to the participants and the researcher" (See the response letter in appendix 2). The concerns raised by the committee were in response to the information that I provided via filling ethics

forms, and before I examine the text of the responses from the ethics committee, in this section, I will analyse the nature of the human ethics forms for social science research.

As has been noted above, a defining peculiarity of forms is the text. Now the text in the forms is not just the general text which is produced by an author for consumption by the reader but also the text with a particular layout that poses "impersonal questions" demanding "personalised answers" (McLean & Hoskin, 1998, p. 524). The answers are then assessed either by the committee in person or impersonally by an algorithm to deem the proposed research application ethically viable. Following are some exhibits from ethics application forms of the case that I use for my analysis.

Exhibit 3.1.

Risk Assessment Form

1. Project Title (please limit the response to 25 words

2. Data collection Start date (The date must be in the future)

3. Project Type

4. Project Summary

5. Describe the peer review process that has been used to discuss and analyse the ethical issues in this project.

6. With whom did you peer review your research

7. Is health and disability ethics committee review required for this research?

Select Yes or No

8. Situations where the researcher may be at a risk of harm. *

Select Yes or No

9. Collection of blood, body fluid, tissue samples or other samples

Select Yes or No

10. Any form of exercise regime or deprivation (e.g. sleep or dietary)

Select Yes or No

11. Administration of any drug or medicine.

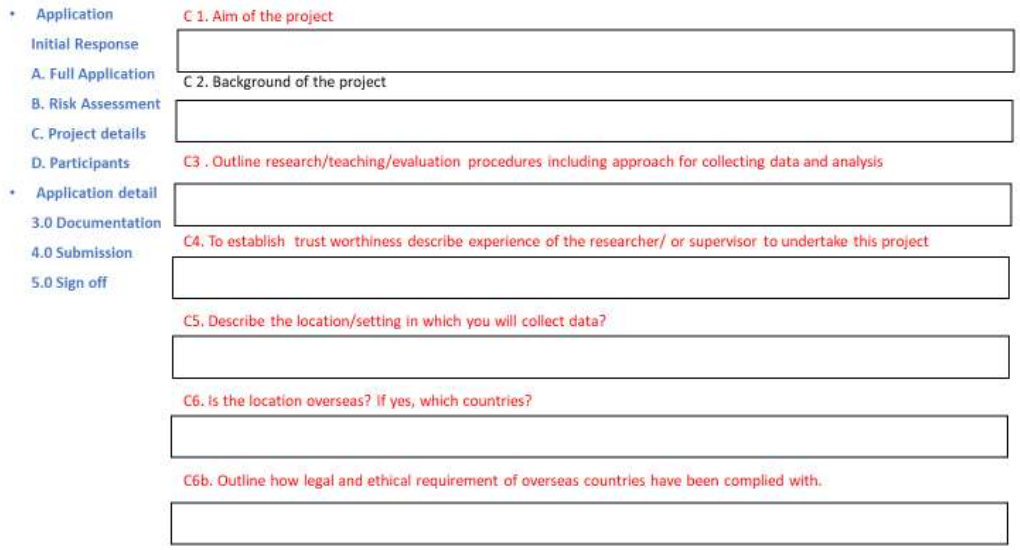
Select Yes or No

The form above is an example of the starting point of the ethics application of university research. The human ethics application forms, as they are called, are mostly, if not always, similar in terms of the questions asked. As can be seen in exhibit one, these forms ask some general questions regarding the research project, including the how and what ethical

issues the research may pose. Once these answers are filled into the forms, the next page poses a range of close-ended question that ought to be answered in a yes or a no (See Appendix 3 for the list of questions. These questions are meant to assess the risks involved in the research. If any of the risks mentioned in the questions is answered to as yes, the form directs you to further probing, which is referred to as full ethics application and involved much detailed probing of the presumed risks. Otherwise, the research is considered to be a low risk research, and approval is granted.

In my response to the risk assessment form, I marked yes to the question asking if my study involved participants who could be deemed as vulnerable. I did so because my study involved migrant brick kilns workers of India who comprise the vast majority of people considered to live in conditions similar to modern-day slavery (ILO, 2017; Kara, 2017). Consequently, I was asked to fill several more forms, which included different aspects of the research. Broadly speaking, these forms are categorised in accordance with the questions regarding participant details, data collection and recording, benefits and risks of the research, consent, confidentiality and dissemination of the research.

Exhibit 3.2.



The ethics forms like those presented above are arguably unique forms of texts that include laid-out text and the space that will generate more text. Notwithstanding the format of the text (in the layout and generated text), these forms can be understood as modes of author, text and reader relations. For example, the forms initially involve author/s for its construction. Once the text takes shape and form, a space for production of text is created and authorship of the initial author, which is mostly anonymous, is quintessentially lost. However, the initial author does produce supplementary writing, a marginal text, in the direction of how to fill it or for the purposes of its evaluation. Then comes the second author – the applicant for ethics approval – who completes the form with their supplementary writing, and yet is entitled with authorship.

The point here is that the ethics forms essentially represent multi-authored text, and yet the authorship rests with the one who applies for ethical approvals. The responses or series of responses made in the application are seen as individual responses. These responses, however, are not individual responses but a series of fractured and supplementary writings that result in a different reading of the text. For example, the first reading of the ethics forms is of the initial author who constructs it as an instrument acceptable for evaluating the ethical standards. This is followed by readings by the applicant during and after filling the forms before it turns into a complete textual product that the ethics committee reads for evaluation.

Each of the readings and writings of the text in the ethics forms represents a different relation, and in doing so, create an organising space. For the initial author, the construction of skeletal ethics application form is informed by the historicity of what is deemed to be ethical in research or, in other words, by cautious inclusion of questions that invoke the responses to most, if not all, of the dimension of normative ethicality in academic research. In the case of the application form that I reviewed for my purposes (see appendix 3), biomedical logics that have long dominated the landscape of ethical research (Dickson & Holland, 2017; Tolich &

Fitzgerald, 2006; van den Hoonaard & Hamilton, 2016) can be clearly seen to inform the construction of the form. The form, titled '*risk assessment,*' directly asks several questions related to medical interventions, e.g. collection of body fluids, physical examination, administration of drugs etc. Other questions relate to confidentiality, consent, financial and reputational harm and vulnerability.

Of particular interest here is the question, "*Does your research include participants who are vulnerable*?" As indicated above, I answered "yes" to this and was led to filling a full-ethics form. Now, the word *vulnerable* carries various meanings, signifying different things to different readers. For example, a researcher from workerist tradition may consider short term temporary work contracts like Uber gigs as precarious and Uber drivers as vulnerable workers with no legal protections or benefits. On the other hand, a university researcher from a neoliberal free-market tradition may consider Uber gigs as flexible work arrangements and the drivers as individuals with absolute freedom to sell their labour. In this sense, given the ethics forms have different readers and supplementary authors, how can the meanings associated with terms like "vulnerable" be established?

To answer this, I revisit the concept of reflexivity discussed in the sections above. Each of the readers of the ethics forms acknowledge their respective biases, at least their ideological leanings, in forming the meaning of vulnerability, and in doing that makes the process of ethics a reflexive process at its core, and reflexivity a primary function of the normativity of ethics. Now, if the biases in the risk assessment forms are not competing, that is, if all the questions are answered to as "No", ethical approval is granted by an automated process. Otherwise, a dialogue with an assessor through a new set of forms called "full ethics application" is established, and the supplementary text filled by the applicant is put to scrutiny.

The questions in the full ethics application form relate to the same categories as of risk assessment forms, that is, data collection methods, harm, anonymity, benefits and confidentiality. However, each category demands more elaborate answers to significantly a greater number of questions in each category. There also are some questions that seek binary answers in a yes or a no, but this time each click leads to a volley of questions that demand detailed answers. For example, in the full ethics application, I responded as "yes" to the question "*Are the participants likely to experience discomfort, incapacity or other risks of harm?*". This led to several following questions asking for details of what kind of discomfort or harm the participant may experience and what would be the strategies used to deal with such situations.

As my answer to these questions, I noted that there might be some sort of emotional discomfort that can be felt by the participant, as many of the workers working in Indian kilns are debt bonded. I also indicated that I would, to the best of my ability, try to be sensitive to such issues, and if any discomfort is felt, the interviewing process will stop. My reading and writing of the full ethics form, however, came across as a written exam, which I knew would be graded and evaluated by the third reader (ethics committee) according to certain specifiable procedures. Foucault (1977) noted that written exams deploy power through a textual format, which makes an examinee write so as to make themselves visible in their respective truths and that writing is then graded, rendering them as 'ethically eligible selves'. As Foucault says:

> *"Who will write the more general, more fluid, but also more determinant history of the 'examination' – its rituals, its methods, its characters and their roles, its play of questions and answers, its system of marking and classification?"* (p, 185)

In drawing parallels between forms and examination, I intend to make a point that, like exams, ethics forms transform the applicants into submissively answering selves, sometimes even with counterpoints, disciplined by the double writing spaces of the forms. Like written exams, in filling the ethics forms, the applicant is constantly conscious of the ability to speak effectively to the examiner in a way that grading criteria are met. In written exams, restrictive time limits channelize the responses in a direction where compliance with examiners commandments possibly take precedence. In ethics form, however, restrictive word limits, in my case ranging from a100 characters (around 10 – 15 words) to 1000 characters (around 150 words), channelize the responses.

Now the point here is not to examine the applicability of the written exam, which is beyond the scope of this chapter. It is to draw attention to the difficulties that the researcher faces to incorporate the contextual nature of the research into the standardized protocols that are required by the committee (Guta, Nixon, & Wilson, 2013). The process makes 'effective form filling' – a discernible part of the review process – more important than the actual ethical assumptions of the research in the field. It also explains the claim by Guillemin and Gillam (2004, p. 263) that the ethical review process of universities has led to glossing the language about the issues that we know may cause concern for the committee.

3.6. The grounds of Rejection

My first acquaintance with the ethics committee, apart from my engagement with forms, was through the text in the decision letter. As indicated above, my application was declined. There were several points raised by the ethics committee so as to justify the rejection of the application. The first one read:

> *"The committee is concerned that there may be limited benefit to the participants in comparison to the risks involved in their taking part in the study. The committee agreed that the risks have not been adequately considered. There has been*

considerable study of this group (e.g. 2017 Slavery in India's Brick Kilns & the Payment System Anti-Slavery International Volunteers for Social Justice September 2017 and "Way forward in the fight for fair wages, decent work and eradication of slavery" (Anti-slavery International, 2017))"

The committee apparently was not satisfied with the risk-mitigating measures outlined in the application and deemed the research not to be as beneficial as a positivist study that was cited as an example. With regards to the harm, the response appears to be fairly straightforward, but in practice, as has been outlined in the opening of this paper, deciding the rights and wrongs (do's and don'ts) can be a complex matter of judgement instead of following a pre-set auditing or precautionary process or a formula (Copland, 2018). Instead, such risks may be mitigated by what Foucault (1988a) would term as sensibility to 'otherness', which is essentially the 'Other', only because their voices are excluded from the monologue of reason.

With regards to the benefits of the research, the response highlighted two things. One that the researcher needs to presuppose the benefits of the research before conducting it, and second that those presupposed benefits should fall in line with what the committee deems to be beneficial. For example, the Anti-slavery International report (2017) cited as an example in the ethics committee response draws from a positivist position and presents the demographic percentage of workers, operational details of work in the brick kilns and highlights the need for basic amenities, health, sanitation and education for the workers. In contrast, the proposed research for which the ethics application was made drew from critical tradition and aimed to unpack the relations of exchange, power and meaning that led to a life condition that is referred to as a form of slavery. Both studies have benefits and seek knowledge advances but differ in their respective epistemological and methodological positions, and therefore require different ethical considerations.

The next issue raised by the committee pointed to the vulnerability of the participants of the research. It read:

> *"There is no information supplied as to how the participants will be identified and recruited.*
>
> *The participants could be considered a vulnerable group in this study. The applicant refers to the group as "underprivileged workers" and the title of the study explores "Modern slavery" …."*

The committee notes that the participants could be considered vulnerable, which, as mentioned above, I already had indicated in the risk assessment form. The committee's response, however, points to referring to the participants as "underprivileged" and inclusion of "modern slavery" in the title of the research as the basis for vulnerability. In addition to the subjective meanings associated with terms like vulnerability, as discussed above, it highlights the value laden judgements associated with the use of language. As Holland (2007) notes in her analysis of ethics committees' responses, the use of language with a more passive connotation may work favourably for the applicants. In this case, replacing the word "underprivileged" to, maybe, "seasonal contract workers" could have resulted in the ethics committee looking on my application more favourably. But replacing such terms does not resonate with the commitment of critical tradition to an ontology of competing forces and entities (e.g. master v/s slave, man v/s women, capital v/s labour etc.) because naming problematics as such, for example, oppressive, exploitative or discriminatory, forms the basis of such dialectical analysis.

The third significant issue raised by the ethics committee related to the role of the researcher. It read:

*"The applicant refers to the NGO ******* throughout the application…. In the terms of this research, the applicant is a researcher first and there is a blurring of the role as a researcher with that as a volunteer."*

This response emphasises the need for the researchers to clearly state the position that they occupy in the research process. The emphasis is also laid on prioritising being an investigator and maintaining that identity without having any influence of other elements of self in the research process. Such argument may go along well with proponents of the positivist school who argue for the independence of the researcher from the researched (Johnson & Duberley, 2003) and assign the researcher 'the power to define' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). However, in participative research traditions, emphasis is laid on providing discernibility and voice to the researched, and thus blurring the roles of the researcher and the researched in order to minimize, if not exclude, the power to define.

In addition to the points above, the response letter raised some more concerns, particularly related to detailed information about the consent of the participants, to which I agreed. Nevertheless, I made a new ethics application, to which I received a response of "deferred approval" conditional to changes suggested by the committee. Deferred approval essentially meant another rejection, but this time I had recommendations for my ethics application from the ethics committee and had a greater scope of explaining my position without restrictive word limits of forms.

This time the committee raised two principal concerns in addition to asking for greater detail about the participant recruitment and risk mitigating measure. These concerns were about two phrases that I used in my application. One was the use of the phrase "modern slavery" in the title, and the other was the use of the word "film" in data collection. The

committee argued that the use of the term “slavery” is provocative and may result in resistance from the kiln owners. So, I was asked to explain the relevance of the use of the term slavery in a study. With respect to filming, the committee argued that this might lead to the identification of the participants and the firm, which may have implications on the firm if I came up with some negative results.

As my response to these concerns, I argued that debt bondage is considered to be a form of modern-day slavery, and brick kilns are reported to employ the highest number of workers who live in a condition of debt bondage (Bales, 2012; BBC, 2014; Breman, 2010; Von Lilienfeld-Toal & Mookherjee, 2010). I provided a compilation of practices that are regarded as slavery by the International Labour Organisation (ILO). I also outlined that I will clearly inform the kiln owner that my analysis will not be directed to the firm, but I will examine the life conditions of the workers (beyond their work) that leads to the conditions of indebtedness. I also indicated that the research would only commence after having a consultation with the kiln owners and with their consent. To further mitigate the risks highlighted by the committee, I proposed to change the title of the research to “Debt, dependency and bondage – A case of Indian brick kilns”.

With respect to concerns raised about filming during the research, I dropped the word “filming” from my application. I did so in the interest of maintaining the confidentiality of the participants, which is a major concern in qualitative studies, especially when vulnerable groups are involved (Haggerty, 2004). However, in my application, I had indicated that I would use audio and video to record interviews with the participants, and the ethics committee seemed to have no problems with that. To confirm my compliance with the ethical conduct of research, I had ensured secure storage of the data, confidentiality of all the data and anonymity of the participants in all forms of dissemination of the research (unless participants wanted their stories to be attributed to them).

My ethics application was again returned, this time with a suggested title for the research. The ethics committee raised similar concerns with the use of the word "bondage" as they did with the word "slavery". I was asked to remove the word bondage from my title and all associated documents like information sheet, consent letter etc., and change the title of my research to "Debt and labour dependency – A case of Indian brick kilns". I accepted the recommended changes with a request to expedite the review process arguing that the recruitment season for the kilns was approaching. The review was expedited, and I finally got the ethical approval after seven months of first filling the ethics application.

As can be gauged from the above discussion, the final two reviews from the ethics committee were primarily concerned with the "naming" of the research project. Names, however, are part of the symbolic construction of a phenomenon (Berg & Kearns, 1996) and therefore evokes different meanings to people that sometimes are politically polarised. The term "slavery" is a politically loaded term in the sense that it brings reminiscence of the horrible practices that used to be a norm in the past and of societies' collective effort to legally abolish it in the nineteenth century to render a slavery-free world plausible. Nevertheless, practices that account for slavery exist, though with different names and in different forms (Cooke, 2003; Crane, 2013; Ray, 1989).

In the case of my ethics application, I view the insistence of the ethics committee to drop the term 'slavery or bondage' as a dogmatic and partisan practice that naturalises claims of eradication of slavery through legal abolishment. In doing so, the ethics committee furthers the denial of the political narrative of slavery in management and organisation research, as has been highlighted by Cooke (2003). He argues that management research, through the exclusion of slavery in the modern context, can be seen as a "body of theory and practice that sustains advantageous status for particular, managerial, elite" (p.1899). In this sense, the ethics committee reviews serve as an inhibiting practice that limits management and

organisation research to a hegemonic managerial narrative that opposes political approach and encourages functionalism and technical accounts of management.

3.7. Discussion

The framework that governs the ethicality of the research concerning human participants is inevitably informed by the medical paradigm as it was originally designed to check the abuses in biomedical research. Many researchers from the social sciences paradigm have been raising their concerns about the inappropriateness of these ethical standards to qualitative research (Dingwall, 2008; Haggerty, 2004; Holland, 2007; Schrag, 2011; Tolich & Fitzgerald, 2006). Referring to this inappropriateness, Haggerty (2004) uses the phrase "ethics creep" to describe it as an expanding process that has resulted in the emergence of impediments that constrain scholarly research and academic freedom. The consequence of this ethics creep, Fitzgerald (2005) argues, includes discouragement and frustration for the researcher.

The focus of ethics review committees is to avoid harm. In doing so, the researcher is positioned as the source of the ethical problems and the review committee as a learned group with the power and responsibility to stop this problem (Holland, 2007). The ethics committees tend to mitigate the risk by essentially being a pessimist in the question asked in the forms and/or through emails. However, the perception of risk or harm is limited to the imagination of the review committee or of the ghost writers who design the questions based on the biomedical logic of harm avoidance. The resultant indicators of harm or risk in the form of binary choice questions, sometimes with a space for adding supplementary text in the restrictive text boxes of the forms, are not of much help in social sciences research. For example, the risk of harm in Surya-bi's example in the introduction of this paper cannot be identified or mitigated through the current ethics review process. It is a relational harm where

risk may be mitigated through ethical action of being responsive to the commitments to the interpersonal relationships (Austin, Bergum and Dossetor, 2002).

In light of the mismatch between the risk assessment and the relational harm that can be encountered in social science research, the introduction of 'identifiable harm' that includes classification of which "harms" in social sciences research may need attention, has been suggested (Gunsalus et al., 2007; SSHSWC, 2004). However, the onus again is put on the ethics committee to imagine the kind of harms that are not readily identifiable but may be faced by the researcher or the research participants. Whereas, if the process of identifying harm that may be of concern to the researcher and the participants is left to the researcher, and the ethics committee enters into the dialogue based on those assumptions, imaginary harms can be avoided.

Moreover, sometimes the issues raised by the ethics committees and the consequent refusal for the commencement of the research may not be of concern to the researcher or the participants, but ironically serve as an instrument to maintain the status quo between unethical practice in the real and ethical discourse in the conduct of research. For example, my ethics application was repeatedly rejected for inclusion of the phrase "slavery or bondage", which is considered as an unethical practice of the past that was abolished in the nineteenth century rendering a slavery free world plausible. Consequently, the research, particularly in management studies, is built on this premise and focused more on efficiency, productivity as well as responsibility in a presumably slavery free post feudal world of capitalistic relations. The resurgence of the term slavery in management research challenges the claim of a slavery free world, and in this struggle, the ethics committee maintains the status quo via refusal of ethics applications. Such a restrictive approach by human ethics committees result in distributional inequalities in research outputs as it shrinks the space for unconventional or provocative research agendas.

To address the issues raised above, I again turn to Bell and Willmott's (2019) suggestion of imagining research as an ethico-political process and the researcher as an embodied researcher whose reflexivity informs the ethical knowledge production. Guillemin and Gillam (2004) see reflexivity as a useful way of understanding the nature of ethics in qualitative researches and achieving ethical practice of research. Considering the accounts of reflexivity provided in the sections above, it is described as a continuous process of critical interpretation and scrutiny not just with regards to the research methods but also to the participants of the research and the context in which the research takes place. So, reflexivity is not only focused on the production of knowledge but also on the research process as a whole.

This includes the issues not only about the purpose of the research, such as knowledge production, theory development or career advancement, but also the ethically appropriate purposes. These issues with ethically appropriate purpose may be the interactions between the researcher and the participants that Guillemin and Gillam (2004, p. 275) suggest are "the substrate of ethical dimensions of the research". In such interactions lies the possibility of acknowledging the autonomy and confidentiality of the participants and also the risks associated with failing to respect that.

In these interactions, the process of informed consent, which possibly could have been of use to us in Surya-bi's case, takes place - not in the information sheets and ethics committee approved informed consent letters read to the participants. If the researchers adopt a reflexive approach to ethics in such cases, they would understand and acknowledge the different dimension of research practice that is infused in the interactions at a local community level. This understanding could then lead to recognition of the potential impact of the research process on the community life of Surya-bi and other participants involved even before the commencement of the research. This is not to say that reflexivity is a prescriptive

solution to all the problems that may arise in research, such as Surya-bi's but is to reaffirm that it has an ethically important function. Reflexive scrutiny in research may not predict all the ethical problems that a researcher may encounter, but it does offer a process that can help to foresee, at least, a general kind of predicament that had arisen in the case of Surya-bi. It could also help the researcher in imagining the possible consequences in such a situation, and therefore offered some kinds of ways to address them. At least, we would have an idea of what possibly had happened when I left and if that was the best thing that could have been done.

3.8. Conclusion

To explore the relevance of ethical review processes for university research in the field of social sciences, I analysed my experience of an ethics application. As a starting point, I drew from Guillemin and Gillam's (2004) concept of "ethically important moments" that the ethics review process fails to recognise to demonstrate the expansionist and inhibiting tendency of these committees. I then demonstrated how, through the practices of form filling and refilling, normative ethical standards informed by the biomedical logics of harm avoidance are sustained. These practices serve as miro-technologies that may transform the researchers into conforming selves and thereby assist in homogenising social science research by excluding participative and action research or those that informed by social movements and anti-foundational traditions.

The paper also demonstrates the disconnect between the ethics review process and the actual ethics in action and points to reflexivity as a tool to bridge this gap. I have argued that reflexivity finds use beyond enhancing the academic rigour to developing ethical sensitivities for conducting research. In being reflexive, a researcher acknowledges and is sensitized to contextual dimensions of the research practice, and in doing so, is more prepared to ethical dilemmas that may arise in the field. Reflexivity, however, is not the magic wand that

provides a prescriptive cure for all the situations that may arise but is a stimulating notion that can promote ethical practice in the complexities of social science research.

3.9. Proposed ethical review process

Taking direction from Levinasian framing of ethics and building on suggestions by Guillemin and Gillam (2004), Bell and Willmott (2019), and Brewis and Wray-Bliss (2008), I propose suggestions for the HECs in the direction of relational ethical reviews. Firstly, the HEC reviews need to move away from overwhelmingly, if not exclusively, being a risk management exercise towards addressing the ethical needs of qualitative research, particularly CMS research. The starting point for doing this may be to enter into a dialogue with the researchers as learners, thereby appreciating and acknowledging the ethics of the *other* (the researcher) instead of judging the ethical intent of the researchers against normative instruments designed as forms.

The researchers, as Tolich and Fitzgerald (2006, p. 74) suggest, should be asked to submit their ethical report for the research comprising dileberative answers to open ended questions regarding (1) what the research project is about, (2) what ethical issue may arise in the research process (3) how can those ethical issues be addressed and (4) what contingencies are in place is an ethical dilemma arises. The deliberation about these questions may be done with the research supervisors as their peers.

The report will provide HECs with sufficient information to rate how the researcher conceives of the possible ethical problems and how those problems can be addressed. Also, answers to such questions should help the HECs determine if the researchers satisfactorily envisage ethical issues in general and particularly in the context of the proposed research. Such a scenario for ethical reviews will not only defuse the power differential realised through ethics forms resulting in the reduction of the ethics application process to effective

form filling exercise but will open up space for reflexivity in ethical reviews. Reflexivity, after all, is a continuous process of critical scrutiny not only in relation to the data and methods but also to the researcher, the researched and the context of research, along with their ethical appropriateness.

References

Alvesson, M., Bridgman, T., & Willmott, H. (2009). *The Oxford handbook of critical management studies.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Alvesson, M., & Deetz, S. A. (2000). *Doing critical management research*. London, U.K: SAGE.

Alvesson, M., & Willmott, H. (1992). On the idea of emancipation in management and organization studies. *Academy of Management Review, 17*(3), 432-464.

Anti-Slavery International. (2017). *Slavery in India's brick kilns & the payment system Anti-Slavery International volunteers for social justice: Way forward in the fight for fair wages, decent work and eradication of slavery*. London, UK: Anti-Slavery International.

Austin, W., Bergum V, and Dossetor J. (2002). Relational ethics. In: Tshudin. V, (Ed.) *Ethics in nursing: Issues in advance practice* (Pp. 45-52). Woburn: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Bales, K. (2012). *Disposable people: New slavery in the global economy*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

BBC. (2014). *Why India's brick kiln workers 'live like slaves'*. Retrieved 05/07/2017 2017 from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-25556965

Bell, E., & Willmott, H. (2019). Ethics, politics and embodied imagination in crafting scientific knowledge. *Human Relations*, 0018726719876687.

Berg, L. D., & Kearns, R. A. (1996). Naming as norming: 'Race', gender, and the identity politics of naming places in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 14*(1), 99-122. 10.1068/d140099

Bernstein, R. J. (1992). *The new constellation: The ethical-political horizons of modernity/postmodernity.* Cambridge, L.A: MIT press.

Bond, T. (2012). Ethical imperialism or ethical mindfulness? Rethinking ethical review for social sciences. *Research ethics, 8*(2), 97-112. 10.1177/1747016112445419

Bouma, G. D., & Diemer, K. (1996). Human ethics review and social sciences: Several emerging ethical issues. *Monash Bioethics Review, 15*(1), 10-16.

Breman, J. (2010). The political economy of unfree labour in south asia: Determining the nature and scale of debt bondage. *Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 53*(1), 137 – 160.

Brewis, J. (1998). Who do you think you are? Feminism, work, ethics and Foucault. In: M.Parker (Ed) *Ethics and organizations* (pp. 53-75). London: Sage.

Brewis, J., & Wray-Bliss, E. (2008). Re-searching Ethics: Towards a More Reflexive Critical Management Studies. *Organization Studies, 29*(12), 1521-1540. 10.1177/0170840607096385

Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Collins, H., & Wray-Bliss, E. (2005). Discriminating ethics. *Human Relations, 58*(6), 799-824.

Cooke, B. (2003). The denial of slavery in management studies. *Journal of Management Studies, 40*(8), 1895-1918.

Copland, F. (2018). Reflecting on the ethics of researching communication in superdiverse contexts. In Creese, A. and blackledge, A. eds. *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Superdiversity* (pp. 133-146). London: Routledge.

Crane, A. (2013). Modern slavery as a management practice: Exploring the conditions and capabilities for human exploitation. *Academy of Management Review, 38*(1), 49-69.

Darawsheh, W., & Stanley, M. (2014). Reflexivity in research: Promoting rigour, reliability and validity in qualitative research. *International Journal of Therapy and Rehabilitation, 21*(12), 560-568.

Dauphinee, E. (2010). The ethics of autoethnography. *Review of International Studies, 36*(3), 799-818.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (Vol. 3). London: Sage.

Deshingkar, P., & Start, D. (2003). *Seasonal migration for livelihoods in India: Coping, accumulation and exclusion*. Working paper 220. London, U.K.: Overseas Development Institute London.

Dickson, A., & Holland, K. (2017). Hysterical inquiry and autoethnography: A Lacanian alternative to institutionalized ethical commandments. *Current Sociology, 65*(1), 133-148.

Dingwall, R. (2008). The ethical case against ethical regulation in humanities and social science research. *Twenty-First Century Society, 3*(1), 1-12.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity press.

Fairclough, N. (1993). *Language and power*. New York: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research.* London: Routledge.

Finlay, L. (2002). Negotiating the swamp: the opportunity and challenge of reflexivity in research practice. *Qualitative Research, 2*(2), 209-230.

Fitzgerald, M. H. (2005). Punctuated Equilibrium, Moral Panics and the Ethics Review Process. *Journal of Academic Ethics, 2*(4), 315-338. 10.1007/s10805-005-9004-y

Fleming, P., & Banerjee, S. B. (2016). When performativity fails: Implications for Critical Management Studies. *Human Relations, 69*(2), 257-276. 10.1177/0018726715599241

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish : The birth of the prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. In Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow (Eds.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (1988a). *Madness and civilization: A history of insanity in the age of reason.* New york: Vintage Press.

Foucault, M. (1988b). *Technologies of the self: A seminar with Michel Foucault.* Massachusetts: Univ of Massachusetts Press.

Foucault, M. (1990). *The history of sexuality: An introduction.* New York: Vintage Press.

Fournier, V., & Grey, C. (2000). At the critical moment: Conditions and prospects for critical management studies. *Human Relations, 53*(1), 7-32.

Gonzalez, M. C. (2003). An ethics for postcolonial ethnography. In R.P Claire (Ed.) *Expressions of ethnography: Novel approaches to qualitative methods* (pp. 77-86). Albany, NY: State University of new York Press.

Grey, C., & Willmott, H. (2005). *Critical management studies: A reader.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Guillemin, M., & Gillam, L. (2004). Ethics, reflexivity, and "ethically important moments" in research. *Qualitative inquiry, 10*(2), 261-280.

Gunsalus, C. K., Bruner, E. M., Burbules, N. C., Dash, L., Finkin, M., Goldberg, J. P., Iriye, M. (2007). The Illinois white paper: Improving the system for protecting human subjects: Counteracting IRB "mission creep". *Qualitative inquiry, 13*(5), 617-649.

Guta, A., Nixon, S. A., & Wilson, M. G. (2013). Resisting the seduction of "ethics creep": Using Foucault to surface complexity and contradiction in research ethics review. *Social Science & Medicine, 98*, 301-310.

Haggerty, K. D. (2004). Ethics creep: Governing social science research in the name of ethics. *Qualitative Sociology, 27*(4), 391-414.

Hildebrand-Nilshon, M., Motzkau, J., & Papadopoulos, D. (2001). Reintegrating sense into subjectification. In *Theoretical issues in psychology* (pp. 289–300): Boston, MA Springer.

Holland, K. (2007). The epistemological bias of ethics review: Constraining mental health research. *Qualitative inquiry, 13*(6), 895-913.

Holland, R. (1999). Reflexivity. *Human Relations, 52*(4), 463-484.

ILO. (2017). *21 million people are now victims of forced labour, ILO says*. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_181961/lang--en/index.htm

Jennings, S. (2012). Response to Schrag: What are ethics committees for anyway? A defence of social science research ethics review. *Research ethics, 8*(2), 87-96.

Johnson, P., & Duberley, J. (2003). Reflexivity in management research. *Journal of Management Studies, 40*(5), 1279-1303.

Jones, C. (2003). As if Business Ethics were Possible, `within Such Limits'. *Organization, 10*(2), 223-248. 10.1177/1350508403010002003

Kara, S. (2017). *Modern Slavery: A Global Perspective*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Levinas, E. (1985). *Ethics and infinity: Conversations with Philippe Nemo (Translated by R.A. Cohen).* Pittsburgh: Dequene University press.

Levinas, E., & Robbins, J. (2001). *Is it righteous to be?: Interviews with Emmanuel Levinas*: Stanford University Press.

Manderson, D. (2006). *Proximity, Levinas, and the soul of law.* London: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.

Mason, J. (1996). *Qualitative researching.* London: Sage.

McGraw, L. A., Zvonkovic, A. M., & Walker, A. J. (2000). Studying postmodern families: A feminist analysis of ethical tensions in work and family research. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 62*(1), 68-77.

McLean, C., & Hoskin, K. (1998). Organizing madness: Reflections on the forms of the form. *Organization, 5*(4), 519-541.

Ray, J. L. (1989). The abolition of slavery and the end of international war. *International Organization, 43*(3), 405-439.

Rhodes, C., & Carlsen, A. (2018). The teaching of the other: Ethical vulnerability and generous reciprocity in the research process. *Human Relations, 71*(10), 1295-1318.

Schrag, Z. M. (2011). The case against ethics review in the social sciences. *Research ethics, 7*(4), 120-131.

Shah, A. (2006). The labour of love: Seasonal migration from Jharkhand to the brick kilns of other states in India. *Contributions to Indian Sociology, 40*(1), 91-118.

Sheehan, M., Dunn, M., & Sahan, K. (2017). In defence of governance: ethics review and social research. *Journal of medical ethics.10*(7), 10-16

Social Sciences and Humanities Special Working Committee. (2004, June). *Giving voice to the spectrum*. Report to the Interagency Panel on Research Ethics, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Tolich, M., & Fitzgerald, M. H. (2006). If ethics committees were designed for ethnography. *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics, 1*(2), 71-78.

Van den Hoonaard, W. C. (2011). *The seduction of ethics: Transforming the social sciences.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

van den Hoonaard, W. C., & Hamilton, A. (2016). *The ethics rupture: Exploring alternatives to formal research-ethics review.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Vermeylen, S., & Clark, G. (2017). An alternative ethics for research: Levinas and the unheard voices and unseen faces. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 20*(5), 499-512.

Von Lilienfeld-Toal, U., & Mookherjee, D. (2010). The political economy of debt bondage. *American Economic Journal: Microeconomics, 2*(3), 44-84.

Willmott, H. (1998). Towards a new ethics? The contributions of poststructuralism and posthumanism. In M. Parker (ED.), *Ethics and organizations*. (pp. 76-121). London: Sage.

Wray-Bliss, E. (2004). A right to respond? Monopolisation of'voice'in CMS. *ephemera, 4*(2), 101-120.

Wray-Bliss, E., & Parker, M. (1998). Marxism, capitalism and ethics. In M. Parker (ed.), *Ethics and organizations*. (pp. 30-52). London: Sage.

Editor/Reviewer notes:

The paper was initially submitted to Human Relations and after a thorough review, the paper was rejected. I have updated the paper as per the reviews, and the chapter presents an updated version which has been submitted to Journal of Business ethics (awaiting review).
Below is the editor's note from the Human relations journal:
The autoethnographic, ethical dilemma, vignette that opens the paper is engaging and vulnerable and drew me in immediately. As the reviews suggest, it's a brave, unusual and intriguing opening with an original voice reflecting affective organization ethnography (Gherardi, 2018). Your case study that forms the heart of your paper provides rich detail and I was able to follow the empirical and difficult emotional journeying. You successfully illuminate and share vulnerably a difficult personal story of getting a doctoral dissertation study through a university ethics committee with repeated turndowns. Your analysis of the case using a critical discourse approach and drawing on Foucauldian ideas is, in my view (as I agree with the review 3), the strongest part of your paper. Overall, there is in this material the potentiality for a good and original paper and I want to offer strong encouragement to you to develop it whether for submission to this journal or another.
That said, in my view, there is significant work to be done for a robust paper to emerge and be published, especially in a top journal such as Human Relations. All of this can be addressed, and I very much hope you take up the challenge.

CHAPTER 4:

Title: Of Labour and Love – A dispositif analysis of debt bonded kiln workers

4.1. Overview

Abstract: Debt bondage accounts for the highest number of people living as modern-day slaves. Centred around the case of Indian brick kiln, an industry that, according to ILO, includes most of the people living in debt bondage, this paper addresses the problem of debt bondage as a process of subjectification linked to the dispositif in modern capitalism. The analysis draws on and extends Lazarrato's Foucault-influenced analysis of indebted man to propose an apparatus of debt bondage formed by connections and disconnection between elements like food, family, dispossession and accumulation. In order to unpack such relations, I offer and then analyse interviews with debt bonded Indian kiln workers delivered in the form of a short documentary film. The paper contributes by extending the understanding of debt bondage as a set of relations that shapes and controls behaviours, making "work on self" essential for the reproduction of indebtedness, and subsequently, the production of the debt bonded labour (modern slaves).

Keywords: *Indebtedness, Bonded labour, Modern Slavery, Dipositif, Visual Research.*

Duplication: Readers are expected to see some overlap with other chapters, particularly in relation to the Foucauldian concept of *Dispositif*. Please note that this Chapter includes material in addition to what has been submitted for publication.

Publication details: This output was submitted to the *Organization* journal*,* published by Sage publication. Revised and resubmitted to the journal after being advised to do so.

Appended as DRC 16: Massey University's publication contribution form is included below.

Statement of contribution to Doctoral Thesis containing publications

We, the candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of Candidate: Omer Nazir

Name/Title of Principal Supervisor: Craig Prichard

Name of Published Research Output and full reference:

Of Labour and Love – A dispositif analysis of debt bonded kiln workers. (**Revise and Resubmit** received from *Organization* Journal; **Revisions submitted**)

In which Chapter is the Published Work: 4

Please indicate either:

- The percentage of the Published Work that was contributed by the candidate: and / or
- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the Published Work:

This paper addressed the problem of debt bondage as a process of subjectification linked to the dispositif in modern capitalism. My analysis drew on and extended Lazarrato's Foucault-influenced analysis of

indebted man to propose an apparatus of debt bondage formed by connections and disconnection between elements like food, family, dispossession and accumulation. After consultation with my supervisors and including their suggestions, the paper, was submitted to *Organization* journal. The reviewers provided a detailed feedback and suggestions to improve the paper and resubmit the same for publication. Following that, many additions and changes, specifically with regards to engagement with the visuals as data, were made based on the feedback from the journal and advise of my supervisors. The revised version of the paper has been submitted to the journal and is currently under second round of review.

Candidate's Signature: Omer Nazir

Date: 28/03/2021

Primary Supervisor's Signature:

Date:

"But a punishment like forced labour or even imprisonment – mere loss of liberty – has never functioned without a certain additional element of punishment that certainly concerns the body itself: rationing of food, sexual deprivation, corporal punishment, solitary confinement."

- *(Foucault, 1977, pp.15-16)*

4.2. Introduction

Being in debt has become a normal condition in financialised capitalist economies (García-Lamarca & Kaika, 2016; Lazzarato, 2012; Montgomerie & Tepe-Belfrage, 2019). Student loans, mortgages, credit cards, consumer loans or payday loans are common. It has become very difficult, if not impossible, to evade debt (Antoniades, 2018; O'Loughlin & Szmigin, 2006). In the US alone, around 44 million Americans collectively owe US$1.58 trillion as student debt. It is the second highest category of consumer debt, led by mortgage debt at US $ 9.1trillion and followed closely by credit card debt at just over US$ 1 trillion (Federal Reserve Bank, 2019). European debt figures follow a similar pattern with the European Union's household debt recorded at US$ 6585.4 billion as of July 2019.

The normalisation and prevalence of debt have produced what noted Italian Marxist theorist Maurizio Lazzarato terms as "indebted man" (Lazzarato, 2012). In his book, "*The making of the indebted man,*" he conceptualises indebtedness as an economic process that produces, in the Foucauldian sense, the indebted subject. Such a subject follows specific imperatives that are functional to reproduction of a creditor-debtor relation that supersedes more conventional economic relations, e.g. capital - labour, consumer - corporation etc. (p. 30).

The focus of Lazzarato is understandably Western European indebted man. In Western economies, a market exists for debt and is managed by banks or other regulated lending institutions. In developing countries, in addition to the banks; local lenders, including

employers or their intermediaries (Guérin, Venkatasubramanian, & Kumar, 2015), not only serve the demand for debt, but use the debt to create relations of dependence, producing not simply indebted people, but debt bonded labourers – a form of a modern-day slave. Building on this premise, this paper contributes to the analysis of indebtedness in the formation of debt bondage in India as an exploration of modern slavery.

Popular and academic interest in modern-day slavery has surged in recent decades (Bales, 2012; BBC, 2014; Breman, 2010a, 2010b). Debt bondage, in particular, has been well documented in cases of Indian brick kilns; and in the production of garments, coffee, computer parts, agricultural produce, among other goods, many of which are a part of the supply chain of multinational corporations (Crane, 2013).

Despite this focus, however, it is often portrayed as pre-capitalist and a timeless form of exploitation predominantly associated to informal sectors of the economy (Maiti & Sen, 2010; Pradhan, 2013) and characterised by i*ndividual relation between the indebted and the employers* who are holders of the debt; or in some cases, their intermediaries or agents (Daru et al., 2005; Gold, Trautrims, & Trodd, 2015; Marius-Gnanou, 2008; Simmons & Stringer, 2014). This is particularly the case in the widely used definition of debt bondage embedded in the United Nations' Supplementary Convention on Abolition of Slave trade (1956). In this document, debt bondage is defined as:

> "the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined" (p.1)[9].

[9] Also, see Appendix 1 for the definitional landscape of slavery including debt bondage.

In other words, the official definition of debt bondage essentially defines it as unreasonably held unrepayable debt. The problem with such a definition is that much of what occurs is not the effect of the lack of reasonable agreement between the individual worker and the owner of the debt, but rather the economic, cultural and particularly the political context and processes that create, shape, extend and intensify the control over the debtor.

In this paper, I challenge the penchant of understanding debt bondage as an unscrupulous individualised relation between the employer or agent and the debtor to highlight the systemic relations, particularly the complexity of power relations, symbolic conditions and exchange processes that make not just the relation of payment and return but modes of bondage possible. I claim that debt bondage, far from being an irregularity within contemporary labour relations or exclusively existent in the informal sectors of the economy, is central to the functioning of labour markets, particularly in the case of India discussed here. This is not to say that inquiry into individual debtor-creditor interactions in debt bondage is unimportant. Instead, the phenomenon is grounded, I would argue, in the interconnectedness of debt with sustenance, family care and romantic love. For example, as I demonstrate in my analysis below, a little known but central figure in the production of debt bondage in certain locations is the local grocer, who not only lends to ensure the indebted relations based on the need of food but is in some instances connected with employers and landlords.

My analysis draws on and extends Lazarrato's Foucault-influenced analysis of indebted man. For my purposes, a Foucauldian analysis provides a compelling means to analyse the techniques and productivity of debt relations, particularly in terms of how rationally governed indebted subjects are produced. In such cases, the indebted, bonded or otherwise, transform themselves into subjects who are both *produced* by and *productive* for the owners of debt (Foucault, Bernauer, & Rasmussen, 1988). Drawing further from

Foucault, I propose a *dispositif* of indebtedness. *Dispositif* is a term that I use to map the structure of the techniques, relations and practices that form the grid of indebtedness.

In order to explore this, I present a nuanced discussion of how different institutions (e.g. family, market capitalists) complement and amplify the disciplinary effects of debt. In order to unpack such relations, I offer and then analyse interviews with debt bonded Indian kiln workers delivered in the form of a short video entitled *Debt: Of labour and love*. The 14 minutes video recounts the life and conditions of two workers bonded to the debt owed to their employer (Kiln owner), to local lenders and to grocers. It would be useful for the reader to view the film at this point. The film is available at https://youtu.be/bUkZYJDsg78.

The analysis of the video is organised as follows. The next section establishes the theoretical framework that I use to analyse the relations of exchange, power and meaning that leads to the predatory enrolment of workers into debt bondage. It is followed by a section discussing the use of film as empirical data for analyses in management and organisation studies, and the final section offers my analysis of the empirical case.

4.3. Of debt, labour and bondage – theoretical underpinnings

From a liberal economic perspective, debt is conventionally understood as a relation where present consumption is bought with the promise of future labour (Peebles, 2010), and the focus is on the individual decision making as such individuals confront a market for debt. For Marxian commentators, debt is part of a wider struggle between capital and labour within the critique of capitalism (Banaji, 2003; Brass, 1999c, 2008; Rao, 1999a, 1999b). Debt is a means by which capital can further exploit labour. Indeed, some commentators, including Harvey (2010, p. 17), point out that neoliberal capitalism is founded on "accumulation through dispossession". In other words, debt serves as a process by which capitalist expansion is accomplished through "privatisation of social spaces and services" (Harvey, 1989, p. 24).

Marxian commentators detach themselves from the liberal view that labour relations are free and equal contractual relations as the workers, debt bonded or otherwise, enter freely. For them, contracts offer an illusion of equality that conceals worker's dependence on and exploitation by the owners of capital in the form of the means of production and the goods and services produced (Morishima & Catephores, 1978; Wolff, 1999). For indebted labour, it is a case of double exploitation. In addition to exploitation through the appropriation of surplus value they produce, labour is further exploited when the surplus they produce becomes financial capital and serves as means of further exploitation via debt relations. The upshot of this is to further reduce the cost of labour and thus heighten the exploitation.

Tom Brass, a Cambridge academic and former editor of the Journal of Peasant Studies, argues that capitalism and bonded labour are compatible, and unfree labour is an important part of contemporary capitalism (Brass, 1999b, 2008, 2014; Brass & Van der Linden, 1997). For him, this compatibility represents a class struggle where labour is

disciplined by denying them control on the sale of their own labour power, thus cheapening the labour. In other words, by controlling workers through debt relations and thus restricting their ability to move to work that pays better, debt relations suppress wages, increase subservience and more deeply embed highly exploitative labour processes.

Radical scholars, meanwhile, theorize debt as the violence used by the wealthy to take advantage of the poor (Graeber, 2011; Hardt & Negri, 2017; Marazzi, 2011). Debt is a disciplinary agency of coercion that creates indebted subjects who feel morally responsible for paying the debt, and in doing so, exploit themselves to service the owners of that debt. In the film, for example, the family man (Satender) is compelled through his debt relation to be a productive subject. As compared with the everyday coercion found in work and factory practices, debt is understood as something that must be honoured, and through that, the individual subject feels indebted, guilty and responsible towards his indebted self and his creditor, and as such, the indebted self is produced (Hardt & Negri, 2017). Foucault's (1977) term "subjectification" is useful as a means of unpacking these disciplining mechanisms of the debt in the social domain. Although Foucault examined medical and penal institutions and largely ignored the institutions that underpin work, family, religion and community organizing, many of the same practices he studied apply in our case.

A Foucauldian analysis of the subjectification, as it bears on debt bonded labour, would necessarily begin with an analysis of the techniques used to produce the productive individual (Foucault et al., 1988). Debt, in other words, produces a particular form of morally responsible, productive and socially responsive self. This process involves what Foucault would term as "working on self" which emerges as a mechanism of "biopolitical governmentality" (Di Feliciantonio, 2016, p. 1210) – a technique of the management or government aimed to reduce the uncertainty of the behaviour of the governed.

The subject produced by indebtedness, to one's employer particularly, is one who not only feels a heightened sense of responsibility to themselves as a parent, carer and provider for others welfare but doubly anxious about the performance of his productive working self (Dardot & Laval, 2014). Debt thus serves as an unseen supervisor of the labour producing subjects.

4.4. The dispositif of indebtedness

Extending this further, I argue that indebtedness to one's employer (and other agents) form an encompassing apparatus or *dispositif* of indebtedness that includes particular practices and techniques embedded in specific social conditions and constraints and is constrained by particular temporal and spatial relations (Figure 4.1.).

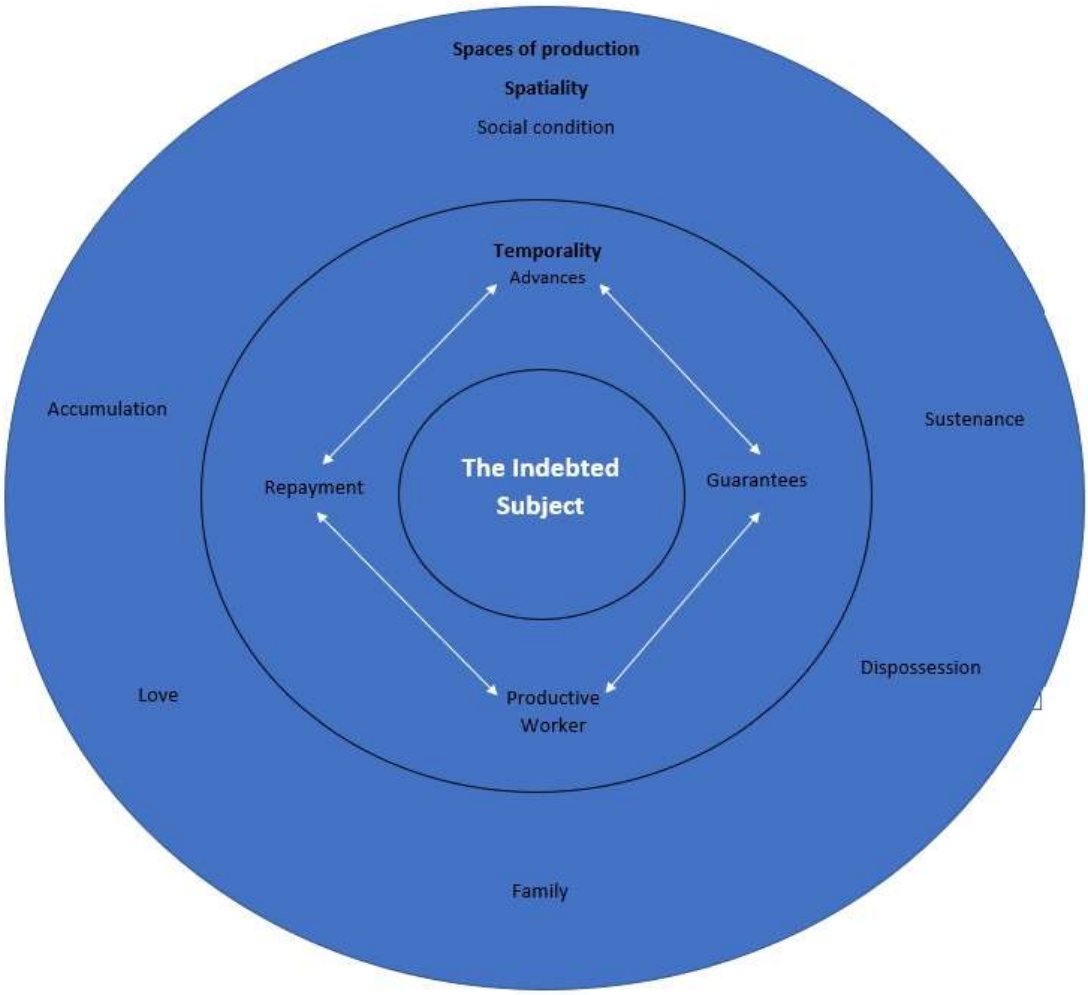


Figure 4.1: The *Dispositif* of Indebtedness

Foucault's lectures describe *dispositif* as a dynamic interplay of the forces (institutional, legal, rational etc.) that are related to one another and converge and reinforce one another in some cases, and negate or attempt to annul one another in other cases (Foucault, 2003, p. 45). Villadsen (2019) emphasises that the dispositif offers an alternative framework or lens for turning mundane problems into objects of regulation. In this case, I propose to unpack the problem of debt by demonstrating the connections (and disconnections) between the elements in a dispositif of indebtedness. The dispositif, I propose, oscillates between different elements and thus emerges for the observer as something that depends on the specific set of relations that renders it visible and thinkable. In

other words, such analysis would provide a nuanced understanding of indebtedness based on the interplay of techniques and forces that result in the production of the indebted subject. I discuss the connections and disconnections between the elements of the dispositif further in section 4.6., where I use data from the film to demonstrate the *dispositif of bonded labour*.

The visual representation of the proposal dispositif of indebtedness includes the process of subjectification as both produced subject and productive self. In other words, the relations of the dispositif produce both a target for debt relations and a self that is tied to them. It presents a Foucauldian view of Lazzarato's conceptualisation of the indebted man. Such a framework emphasises the tensions between the structural violence of debt and the subjective character of indebtedness as archetypical power relations structuring debt bondage. It reveals the complexities in the making of the debt bonded labour.

4.5. Of words, visuals, and sounds – methodological underpinning

To demonstrate the procedures, practices and techniques in the *dispositif* of indebtedness and making of the indebted labour (Foucault et al., 1988), I engage with visuals and text from the already noted film (available at https://youtu.be/bUkZYJDsg78). The narrative structure of this documentary film revolves around two speakers (Raju and Satish) who are workers in Indian brick kilns that, according to the International Labour Organisation (ILO), houses the highest number debt bonded modern day slaves[10] (ILO, 2017a) (also See Appendix 1 for different forms of modern slavery).

The videography for the film was done over the period of 8 weeks. The footage for the film was shot at two different locations, which included a total of 8 semi-structured interviews with debt bonded kiln workers. For this chapter, however, narrative accounts of

[10]According to ILO (2019), "debt bondage exists when labourers (sometimes with their families) are forced to work for an employer in order to pay off their own debts or those they have inherited. The victims of debt bondage, if they try to leave their employment, are usually caught and returned by force".

two speakers were chosen and specifically put together along with other visuals in a film format using a video editing suite. Before filming the interviews, I spent time in communities where the workers came from and journaled the observations. After spending time in the communities and building rapport, essentially by sharing meals with the workers, I sought permission for videography.

In other studies, visual methods have been effectively used to investigate diverse phenomena in management and organisation literature (Hietanen & Rokka, 2018; Wood & Brown, 2011; Wood, Salovaara, & Marti, 2018). There is an agreement among scholars that the combination of imagery and interviews (conversations) can yield pivotal insights and understandings, bringing greater depth to the topic discussed and enhancing the data collected (Gloor & Meier, 2000; Harper, 2002; Pink, 2013). The use of visuals in narrative research is particularly efficient to increase the validity of what education researcher Henry Giroux calls "boundary crossing" research (Giroux, 1992). Boundary crossing research refers to the inquiry where power imbalances are heightened in the research setting creating a boundary, possibly of worldviews, between the researcher and the researched.

Brick kilns of India have heightened boundaries of context and privilege. The kiln workers featuring in the film are part of a group of internal migrants who originate from marginalised communities, with little access to land and often discriminated against on the basis of caste. Several commentators on modern day slavery incidentally argue that the most prevalent form of modern slavery (i.e., bonded labour in India) is embodied in the relations of the caste system and dispossession (Acharya & Naranjo, 2018; Oosterhoff, Burns, Prasad, & Robinson, 2018; Samonova, 2019). Such a setting with heightened boundaries made visual research more relevant and justified because the visuals (re)create the space and context for the researcher to reflect on the lived experiences of the participants, though the boundaries may persist.

The visuals serve as signifiers of the research context and highlight the values and expectations of the individuals and groups that are studied (Kellehear, 1993). In other words, the use of visuals in research involving marginalised communities provides vital information about the communities that are studied, especially when being reflected upon at the time of writing. The reflection enabled us to articulate the conversations better in analysis, using visuals as reminder notes (Liebenberg, 2009). The combination of reflection using visuals in the film made participants' narrative accounts more representative of their experiences, realities, decisions and relationships.

This approach has been epistemologically aligned to emancipation and has methodological linkages to participatory research (Oliffe, Bottorff, Kelly, & Halpin, 2008) in that it gives visibility to the context of marginalised groups that otherwise might remain unseen, if not unheard. By situating the use of film in the emancipatory tradition, I make the argument that by using video, the context of the *other* (marginalised bonded labour) is incorporated. It is my attempt to minimise, or at least acknowledge the privilege, enjoyed as a university researcher who, obviously, hold the power to define the *other* from the comfort of the desk.

Denzin and Lincoln (2008) argue that researchers usually work from a privileged position, often imposing their own research traditions on the researched (the *other*), and in doing that, exercise the *power to define*. At the heart of this discussion is our positioning as researchers in the lives of the marginalised community of brick kiln workers and the extent to which our knowledge claims correspond with the lived experience of those who they pertain. The use of documentary film in this respect, or at least in terms of the dissemination of the knowledge (Bell & Davison, 2013), provided me with a tool to raise the voices and demonstrate the lived experience of the silenced bonded labour. Keeping this in mind, I made

a conscious choice of disseminating the learning from this study, not only in the form of this paper but also as the film – Debt: Of labour and love.

4.5.1. From the editor's desk

The video editing[11] in the film addressed different methodological and artistic concerns with regards to understanding and disseminating knowledge (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994; Deleuze, Habberjam, & Tomlinson, 1986). Primarily concerned with the formation of the concept of debt and bondage, it uses visuals as artefacts that form a basis for the analysis of the concept; and artistically, it uses the craft of filmmaking to create a force of sensation.

Taking direction from Guba and Lincoln's (1994a) perspective that multiple, apprehensible and sometimes conflicting interpretations of reality are represented in visuals, I acknowledge the difficulty of bagging one truth or "telling it like it is" (Brewer, 2000). I acknowledge my reflexivity in the process of editing the video. This is particularly relevant given the clichéd notion of 'seeing is believing' that has been historically facilitated by visual mediums (Harper, 1998), may be severed by the use of video editing technology in the film. However, while filming "Debt: Of labour and love" was based on the digital registration of physical features of the events recorded, its realisation was informed by both subjective and cultural factors. These factors included the underlying relationships, sentiments and attitudes that sustained those observable details informing social realities of everyday lives of the bonded labour (Henley, 1998), which I recorded and journaled while undertaking the fieldwork.

[11] In the film, we used a video editing suite, "Adobe Premiere Pro" to create match-cuts and overlay voice and sounds over visuals. The filming and the post-production efforts (video editing) adopted a reflexive approach (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019) to structure 11.5 hours of footage into a 14-minute storyline that emerged from the fieldwork.

In doing so, I tried to address the ontological uncertainty ascribed to ethnographic film-making, and eloquently put across by Banks (1995) (as cited in Spencer, 2010, p.28) in his remark that, "while film, video and photography do stand in an indexical relationship to that which they represent that are still representations of reality, not a direct encoding of it." The process of editing the cinematic record, I claim, served in generation of what Denzin (2001) termed revelatory epiphinies that arise not during the actual shooting of the film but while dealing with the video record while editing.

It is important to highlight here that the storyline was edited in accordance with well-established narrative conventions in documentary cinema (De Bromhead, 1996; Vernet, 1988) to ensure that material is not distorted. Drawing from the documentary conventions, I argue that the film Debt – Of Labour and Love is a medium to evoke understanding of the situations portrayed. In saying so, I claim the film to be no different from the academic writers' outputs who routinely call upon their writing mastery and the laid-out conventions of presenting text to communicate their understanding.

In the following sections, I analyse the film from a theoretical perspective and discuss economic, political and symbolic exploitations that form the *dispositif* of indebtedness in relation to the visual artefacts from the film.

4.6. Of labour and love – the film

Written, produced and directed by the author, *Debt: Of Labour and Love* presents the connections of bondage and the dispositif of indebtedness situated in the everyday lives of workers in the Indian brick kilns. In doing so, critical attention is drawn to disciplinary enslavement by debt through the calculable lives of debt bonded labour narrated by the speakers in the film. The purpose is to use the film as a mode of expression capable of communicating captured feelings and perceptual effects (Wood & Brown, 2011) of life in

debt bondage to demonstrate the dispositif, a complexity which may not be easily represented by textual analysis, except in the form of information.

The film is set up in two cities of Jammu and Kashmir, Srinagar and Jammu. It starts with visuals of dawn over the city and a match-cut of water overflowing from a big overflow tank in an urban settlement with Raju (a worker and one of the protagonists in the film) drinking water from a small jug. The opening of the film confronts us with images of an urban Indian city (property), individual (indebted labour) and water (resource). Water flows in both the frames of the match-cut, scarcely going down Raju's throat in one and overflowing from a storage tank in the other, forming a montage. This montage, which essentially is the sequencing of visuals via editorial process (Barnhurst & Quinn, 2012) is used to condense space, time and information (Lyon, 2016), ends with a still of brick – a material form of the labour and the resource – commencing the narration of the speakers in the film. In the following section, I will discuss the narration and visuals from the film in relation to the dispositif proposed in Figure 4.1.

Exhibit 4.1.

4.7. Spatial production of debt-bonded labour

As has been pointed out earlier, the spaces of production in the proposed *dispositif* of indebtedness include not only the physical spaces but also the social relations and practices in the social space. In this section, I semiotically locate both the physical and conceptual spaces of production (Low, 1996) of the debt-bonded labour in the film. I do this by engaging with the film with respect to the elements of the proposed *dispositif* in Figure 4.1.

4.7.1. Sustenance

Food is fundamental to maintain life or existence. Because the creation of surplus value depends on the 'living character' of the labour (Martin, 2011), food occupies a significant prominence in production processes and, in this case, the (re)production of the debt.

Conversations with the debt bonded labour, as can be seen in the film, find multiple mentions of food. Raju speaks of the struggles of his family and says,

"…*Mom and dad couldn't pay for my education…… He used to pull a rickshaw, and that's how he filled our bellies - bellies of two brothers, our sister and mother*" (Raju in Debt: Of labour and love at 2:05).

Raju speaks of food in relation to his father's work while growing up in his hometown and his own work at the brick kiln in relation to his sustenance and of his family. In his narrative account, food is intimately connected to the conditions in which the labour (bonded or otherwise) operates. It creates a space that transcends the boundaries of time and locale. Particularly so when the unavailability of the means to buy the food leads to getting into predatory debt relations. Satender, the other speaker in the film, talks about a debt owed to the grocer for the food consumed during the non-production period in his hometown and immediately reinstates the resolve to pay it, calculably conscious, possibly of sustaining continued sustenance.

"…I have borrowed some money to come here. That pays for my groceries. I will earn here in the kiln and pay it off. I will have to pay the interest…." (Satender in Debt: Of labour and love at 6:40)

Food, therefore, occupies a vital position in the production of the physical and the conceptual spaces within which the bonded labour exists. In the dispositif of bonded labour (see Figure 4.2. below), it forms what Foucault termed as the 'connections' that exist in heterogeneous elements of the dispositif. These connections result in the apparatus "which has as its major function at a given historical moment that of responding to an urgent need" (Foucault, 1980, p. 194). In other words, food supersedes locations and time in creating, or at least, assisting the creation of spaces of production of the bonded labour.

The film also demonstrates the connection between sustenance and other elements of the proposed dispositif. For example, both Raju and Satender talk about the calculable spending on food, and in doing that, highlight the anxieties and austerities imposed by debt bondage.

"……I only spend on the food. I don't even eat anything extra. I eat rice or some bread. By extra I mean I don't have any soft drinks (mountain dew) or chippies. Even if I go out, I don't have much of these things (Raju in Debt: Of labour and love at 3:33).

"What do you eat? Lentils, rice and bread. We can't eat fruits. We people don't earn that much" (Satender in Debt: Of labour and love at 8:07).

The speakers, while acknowledging the salience of food with regards to maintaining their life and being able to work, are conscious of not going overboard so as to ensure that debt is served. In other words, the sustenance for debt bonded labourers creates a space that is characterised by what might be called *liveable anxieties* that keep their desires, beyond survival, under check and at the same time make them calculably productive individuals. The debt imposes austerities that, for instance, keep Raju away from fizzy drinks and Satender away from fruits so that repayments are ensured.

Exhibit 4.2.

These anxieties and the consequent calculable behaviours of bonded labour are also connected to the state of dispossession, as is highlighted in figure 4.2. below and demonstrated in the film.

4.7.2. Accumulation and dispossession

A common feature of people working as debt bonded labour in Indian is that they are dispossessed and landless (Acharya & Naranjo, 2018; Oosterhoff et al., 2018; Samonova, 2019). In the movie, Raju says,

"……We don't have any agricultural land, nor do we have land for a house. ……So, we feel we have to earn and do something – make a house or buy some land. That's why I came here to work……. All I want is to get my brother and sister married and buy some land, make a house." (Raju in Debt: Of labour and love at 9:21)

He speaks of the house as an unsettling hybrid structure that, for him, has different meanings. It figures as a thing (property, possession), a domain (home and shelter) and an aspiration. In the film, Raju discursively refers to his state of dispossession and his desire to

own land and build a house. He talks of it in relation to his failed love, and in terms of the desire, possibly the most important one, to have a fulfilled life, and with respect to the calculably conscious choices of working at the kiln to accumulate the money for making the house. In fact, it is impossible to exaggerate the significance of a house (property) in Raju's account.

"……That's why I have been working here for a year and couldn't go home. I need to save money and get my sister married, buy some land and build a house. That's why I will go home after a year so that I can have some money in hand – 10000 or 20000 (NZ$ 200 to 400) that I can give to my parents" (Raju in Debt: Of labour and love at 4:34)

The descriptors of Raju's dispossession (or longing for possession) in the film establish the connections and disconnections with accumulation. Buying some land, or at least yearning for it, and building a house apparently forms the central axis around which relations of exchange, power and meaning revolve for Raju, and thus establish a strong connection between his dispossession and accumulation in the *dispositif* of bonded labour. In Raju's account, his dispossession features in relation to his decisions that he made to get into debt relations with the kiln and the choices he makes while remaining a debt bonded.

However, if Raju's account is assessed based on the western liberal thought around accumulation, there seems to be a disconnection. The descriptors of a subject capable of accumulation in modern thought are rational self-interest (liberal), productive creative labour (historical materialist) and obligation bound debtor/creditor (neoliberal) (Chakravartty & da Silva, 2012). Against these axes of modern thought, Raju seems to be unfit for accumulation needed to possess the hybrid structure called "house". In other words, Raju would be deemed to be unfit to put together the money needed to make a house. The mainstream lending institutions, who use credit checks and a thorough analysis of income expenditures to ensure

the returns (accumulation) on their lending, would also deem Raju unfit to borrow. This, in turn, creates a market for predatory lenders (so-called high risk - high interest lenders) like loan sharks, or in this case, the employers to produce spaces for the production of not just the indebted subjects but the debt-bonded subject – a form of modern slaves.

4.7.3. Love and family

Speakers demonstrate a strong connection between the family, love (romantic love) and dispossession in the *dispositif* of indebtedness. Raju says:

"I loved someone when I was young. I loved her since I was ten. But what happened she got married. Girls don't stay for long. They get married at a young age. She was of the age and got married…. I cried on the day of her marriage…. She asked me to marry her. I told her that I don't have any land or house." (in Debt: Of labour and love at 9:30)

He blames his dispossession for dispossessing him of the love of his life while finding refuge in his produced self that is determined to end his dispossession. As has been stated earlier, Raju speaks of owning land and building a house as his ultimate goal in life. He makes the discomfort that he felt when letting go his beloved obvious in his narration, and his expressions (stumbling voice and moist eyes) make obvious the uneasiness he feels while reminiscing the events (see: Debt: Of labour of love at 10:05). However, in this unease, both of the past and the present, Raju is conscious of the rational behaviour of his produced self. That is, he simplistically yearns for possessions (of land and house) as he *rightly* holds dispossession responsible for the loss of his love, and in doing so he reinstates his faith in being a productive self. In my description of the movie scenes above, I consciously choose the use of the word 'rightly' for two reasons. Firstly, Raju makes explicit his belief that possession is a precondition for romantic love. Secondly, the cultural limitations, particularly

in Indian villages, complement this belief. In rural India, owning a house makes for a compelling eligibility criterion for nuptial relationships.

These excerpts from the film demonstrate the connections of love with space of production in the proposed dispositif. Accumulation, in this case, takes precedence over relationships, and Raju's produced (productive) self is the manifestation of this precedence. The other speaker, Satender, also seems to put his faith in his produced self to validate his love for his family. He says:

"My parents have also grown old. I have to take care of them too. I have to send my children to school. It is my compulsion to work in the kiln…… I got married, and my dreams vanished. Now, I need to take care of my children and give them education." (Satender in Debt: Of labour and love at 7:24)

For Satender, it is the family that produces the space for the bonded labour. He articulates his love in the form of responsibilities towards those who raised him (parents) and the ones he raises (children), and like Raju, reinstates his faith in his produced self – a productive kiln worker. Figure 4.2. highlights these connections between family, love and the productive self.

Exhibit 4.3. The productive worker

4.8. Temporal production of debt bonded labour

The apparatus in which the debt bonded labourers are produced operates not only in the spaces of production but also across time, bridging the actions of past, present and the future. This temporality, on the face of it, is a function of debt where present consumption is bought with a promise of future labour (Peebles, 2010). However, if viewed in relation to the spaces of production, nuanced complexities emerge. In the following text, I will discuss the main temporal practices in debt relations in relation to the proposed dispositif of bonded labour.

4.8.1. Advances

Taking advances is a characteristic feature of the labour working across different categories in the brick kiln industry (Ercelawn & Nauman, 2004). Those taking advances include people who mould the bricks, bake the bricks or load and unload bricks for sale (See: Debt: Of labour and love 6:20 - 6:36). Since the repayment is through labour, the advances are made well before the start of the production period to secure the labour and usually spent for day to day expenses, illnesses or festivities in their hometowns. In the film, Satender says,

"I have borrowed some money to come here. That pays for my groceries. I will earn here in the kiln pay it off" (in Debt: Of labour and love at 6:40).

In addition to those initial advances, labourers working at kiln take more advances, and these subsequent advances are usually concealed as friendly loans that the employer gives out when asked by the labour. Raju, in the film, describes these subsequent loans as a kind of help from the employer in an hour of his need and, at the same time, is conscious of the fact that it will keep him bonded for a longer period of time.

"When people at home ask me, son, we don't have money; I feel very bad. Therefore, I humbly request my owners for money (advance) so that I can send it home. That's why I have been working here for a year and couldn't go home" (Raju in Debt: Of labour and love at 4:15).

4.8.2. Guarantees and repayment

The advances go from the owner of the kiln to labour through Sardars (also called Maistry or Jamadar). Sardar is an intermediary whom the owner holds responsible for the repayments. The repayments are also channelled through them, making the structure of debt in kilns layered. However, the labour always refers to their debt as due to the owner rather than the sardar. Throughout the conversations with speakers, they referred to the debt as money owed to the owner, though it had been dispensed through the intermediary.

The kiln owners recruit these intermediaries first, and they, in turn, recruit the labour for the kiln through the promise of large advances and arrangement of transportation to the work sites. Sardars usually recruit (through advances) people who are well known to them, which can be through previous work or belonging to the same area. When labour and the sardar are from different places, the sardars obtain additional guarantees to repay advances. These guarantors are not the other kiln workers but someone who is a resident of the area

from where the labour is recruited. In this case, this additional guarantee came from the local grocer.

Both the speakers in the film owed a debt to the grocer of their hometowns and had accumulated his debt against the promise of the advance payment from sardar to whom he was known. The Sardar, as a part of advance for securing the work in kilns, would clear the bills of the grocer and pay the rest of the advance money for transportation of the labour to the kiln site. It appeared that there was a cordial and trusting relation between the sardar and the grocer, which in addition to adding an extra layer to the debt, enhanced the guarantees for servicing the debt.

It remained unclear if payment of advances channelized through local grocers was a common practice in the recruitment of kiln workers. Asking these questions in the field made the intermediaries (Sardar and grocer) uncomfortable and the researcher therefore had to stop exploring it further. However, the unfolding of the events in the field made it clear that there was a clear connection between the sustenance and guarantees that operated across the time of the year and across the physical spaces of production sites and places of origin.

"I have borrowed some money to come here. That pays for my groceries…… I will have to pay the interest. If I borrow Rupees 10000 (NZ$200), I pay the interest first, even if I can't pay the principal amount. I will pay off the principal amount in instalments of 3000's or 4000's (NZ$70 or NZ$80). I need to pay the shopkeeper here too" (Satender in Debt: Of labour and love at 6:54).

The dispositif of bonded labour visually represented below in Figure 4.2. highlights the circularity of connections between the advances, guarantees, repayment and production of the productive self, as discussed above.

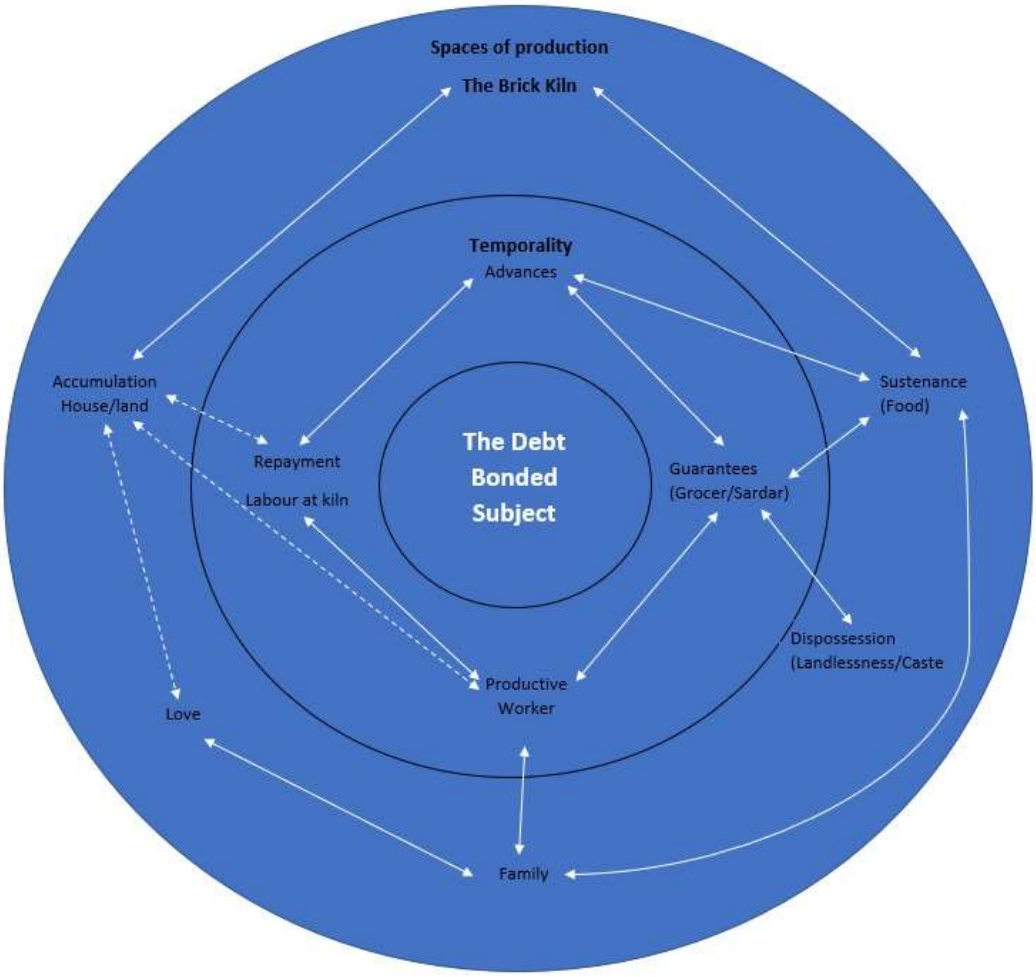


Figure 4.2: The Dispositif of Bonded Labour

The visual representation of the debt bonded subject in relation to the dispositif of indebtedness proposed above (Section 4.3.) demonstrates the connections within the spatial and temporal elements. This visual representation also highlights the reinforcement and negation of the relationships between the elements of the dispositif. Foucault's 1978 lectures, as has been the point in this paper before, describe the dispositif as an interplay in how they "relate to one another, how they converge and reinforce one another in some cases, and negate or strive to annul one another in other cases" (Foucault, 2003, p. 45). In Figure 4.2. these reinforcements are represented by the arrowed lines and the negations by dotted lines, which I will discuss in further detail below.

4.9. Discussions and conclusion

4.9.1. The debt bonded subject – a productive worker

Central to the techniques and relations in the proposed *dispositif* is the productive indebted subject who is bonded. Their labour (of present or of the future) and the subsequent value it produces and reproduces is central to the construction of the dispositif of the bonded labour. After all, it is the mortgaged labouring power that pillars, or at least reassuringly facilitates, the disbursement of advances and the consequent interplay of the various elements of the apparatus. Or conversely, the elements of the apparatus (e.g. food, family, love etc.) act in tandem to produce a debt bonded subject.

The dispositif thus informs how subjects are produced within a particular context by designating and regulating normal practices in a way that conformance is disciplined, and boundaries of behaviours are established. The connections, as have been established in the section above, produce a debt bonded productive subject who takes on the responsibility for debt as means of self-articulation – a possibility of reinstating the subjectivity of being responsible and a productive self. The debt bondage thus involves what Foucault would term as "working on self," which then emerges as a mechanism of "biopolitical governmentality" (Di Feliciantonio, 2016, p. 1210).

In other words, the interaction between the elements of the proposed dispositif produces a subject who is responsible and productive. The debt bonded subject (Raju and Satender, in this case) feels guilty about his own condition, and at the same time is anxious about the performance of his productive self (Dardot & Laval, 2014). The debt serves as an unseen supervisor for Raju and Satender, transforming them into productive subjects who can calculate and articulate their exploitation into the future via debt relations. Its power is effective as a "communicative, intersubjective practice" that is based on existing social

conditions and constraints, and therefore functions in accordance with "present or future actions" aimed to promote or invalidate the relationship to others (Hildebrand-Nilshon, Motzkau, & Papadopoulos, 2001, p. 2). Their present and the future are interconnected through the objectification of the future self and the risks that come along (Lazzarato, 2012) within the space created by the social conditions of debt bondage.

The proposed dispositif of indebtedness, in the case of debt bondage, shapes organisational spaces by heterogenous elements, and acts as the instrument of self formation through an interplay of those elements. It explored how kiln workers' practices were disposed in all their contradictions and reaffirmations, and how they related the connections and disconnections in constructing their subjectivities or producing their self (Di Feliciantonio, 2016). Perhaps the characteristic feature of analysing debt bondage via a dispositif is the attention to the visualisation of the elements of the dispositif. That is, it highlights how organisational practices, subjects and relationships are visualised in transient and contrary ways.

The dispositif also illuminates the kiln workers as bearers of a set of entitlements and obligations that disciplines. This discipline not only creates series of forces (defined tasks, calculable lives, family responsibilities) but also probes deeper, illuminating the individual dispositions (Townley, 1993). The kiln worker, by contrast, sees the organisation as a source that can meet his needs that only became visible in the personal interactions with the Raju and Satender (e.g., family maintenance for Raju, sustenance for Satender's family).

The analysis and discussion above also demonstrated the unequal worlds of capital and labour in brick kilns by establishing a connection between accumulation and the kiln owners and a disconnection between the labourers and accumulation. It highlighted the heightened exploitation in capitalist modes of production (Balibar, 1997; Resnick & Wolff,

2003; Roemer, 1985) via debt relations. It emphasised how the making of brick in Indian Kilns is not just a relation of labour embodied in making them but of all the activities of labourer that allows it to be produced. It includes all the energies and capacities used by the workers to produce the labouring power, unlike capitalist understanding where it is sold as temporal packets (Cohen, 1979) by Raju against the debt he owes to the Kiln owner.

I conclude with the remark that by reappraising the Foucauldian concept of dispositif, a specific and encompassing analytical strategy for organisational analysis can be developed. With respect to the understanding of modern slavery and debt bondage, this kind of analysis shifts the emphasis from individualised master-slave relations, which is a feature of ILO definitions, towards unpacking the complex practices and relations that enable conditions conducive for slavery to exist. In my analysis, by using film, I give particular emphasis to the visibility of the elements in dispositif of bonded labour through which debt bonded subjects are produced.

The dispositif analysis calls for an approach where connections between everyday life elements are privileged over the substance. In the bonded labour and modern slavery, as is the case in financialised capitalist economies, labour is reduced to its *use value* where it is understood as an input in the production process to extract profits, and those profits are then used as advances to secure future labour, thus maintaining the temporality. The dispositif broadens the sights and views capability of labour as its living quality, the ability to produce, rather than the value added on the product. Thus, the value, which is produced and reproduced, is dependent on the labourer's life that embodies the relations of love, responsibility, migration, belonging and desires.

References

Acharya, A. K., & Naranjo, D. L. (2018). Practices of bonded labour in India: Forms of exploitation and human rights violations. In J. B. Clark & S. Poucki (Eds.), *Human trafficking and modern day slavery* (pp. 1261–138). London, UK: Sage publications.

Antoniades, A. (2018). Gazing into the abyss of indebted society: The social power of money and debt. *Political Studies Review, 16*(4), 2791–288.

Bales, K. (2012). *Disposable people: New slavery in the global economy*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Balibar, E. (1997). *Class racism*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Banaji, J. (2003). The fictions of free labour: Contract, coercion, and so-called unfree labour. *Historical Materialism, 11*(3), 691–95.

Barnhurst, K. G., & Quinn, K. (2012). Political visions: Visual studies in political communication. In H. A. Semetko & M. Scammell (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of political communication* (pp. 276–291). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

BBC. (2010). *BBC Ethics guide*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/ethics/slavery/modern/law.shtml

BBC. (2014). *Why India's brick kiln workers 'live like slaves'*. Retrieved 05/07/2017 2017 from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-25556965

Bell, E., & Davison, J. (2013). Visual management studies: Empirical and theoretical approaches. *International Journal of Management Reviews, 15*(2), 167-184.

Brass, T. (1999a). *Towards a comparative political economy of unfree labour: Case studies and debates*. London, UK: Frank Cass.

Brass, T. (2008). Capitalism and bonded labour in India: Reinterpreting recent (re-) interpretations. *The Journal of Peasant Studies, 35*(2), 177–248.

Brass, T. (2014). Debating capitalist dynamics and unfree labour: A missing link? *Journal of Development Studies, 50*(4), 570–582.

Brass, T., & Van der Linden, M. (1997). *Free and unfree labour: the debate continues* (Vol. 5). Berlin and Paris: Peter Lang AG.

Breman, J. (2010a). Neo-bondage: A fieldwork-based account. *International Labor and Working-Class History, 78*(1), 48–62.

Breman, J. (2010b). The political economy of unfree labour in south asia: Determining the nature and scale of debt bondage. *Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 53*(1), 137–160.

Chakravartty, P., & da Silva, D. F. (2012). Accumulation, dispossession, and debt: The racial logic of global capitalism—An introduction. *American Quarterly, 64*(3), 361–385.

Cohen, G. A. (1979). The labor theory of value and the concept of exploitation. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, *8*(4), 338–360.

Crane, A. (2013). Modern slavery as a management practice: Exploring the conditions and capabilities for human exploitation. *Academy of Management Review, 38*(1), 49–69.

Dardot, P., & Laval, C. (2014). *The new way of the world: On neoliberal society*. London, UK: Verso Books.

Daru, P., Churchill, C., & Beemsterboer, E. (2005). The prevention of debt bondage with microfinance-led services. *The European Journal of Development Research, 17*(1), 132–154.

De Bromhead, T. (1996). *Looking two ways : documentary 's relationship with cinema and reality*. Højbjerg: Intervention Press.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1994). *What is philosophy?* London, UK: Verso.

Deleuze, G., Habberjam, B., & Tomlinson, H. (1986). *The movement-image*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Denzin, N. K. (2001). *Interpretive interactionism* (2nd ed.): Champaign, IL: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (Vol. 3): Thousand Oaks, California, Sage Publications.

Di Feliciantonio, C. (2016). Subjectification in times of indebtedness and neoliberal/austerity urbanism. *Antipode, 48*(5), 1206–1227.

Ercelawn, A., & Nauman, M. (2004). Unfree labour in South Asia: Debt bondage at brick kilns in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2235–2242.

Federal Reserve Bank. (2019). *Household debt and credit*. Retrieved from https://www.newyorkfed.org

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish : the birth of the prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972–1977*. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M., Bernauer, J., & Rasmussen, D. (1988). The Final Foucault. *Ed. James Bernauer and David Rasmussen. Cambridge: MITP*

Foucault, M., & Ewald, F. (2003). *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975–1976*. New York: Picador.

García-Lamarca, M., & Kaika, M. (2016). 'Mortgaged lives': The biopolitics of debt and housing financialisation. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 41*(3), 313–327.

Giroux, H. (1992). Giroux, Henry," cultural studies, resisting difference, and the return of critical pedagogy," in H. Giroux, *border crossings: Cultural workers and the politics of education (*pp. 161–179). New York: Routledge.

Gloor, D., & Meier, H. (2000). A river revitalization: Seen through the lens of local community members. *Visual Studies, 15*(1), 119–134.

Gold, S., Trautrims, A., & Trodd, Z. (2015). Modern slavery challenges to supply chain management. *Supply Chain Management: An International Journal, 20*(5), 485–494.

Graeber, D. (2011). *Debt: The first 5,000 years*. Brooklyn: Melville Publishing.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research,* (163–194), Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Publications.

Guérin, I., Venkatasubramanian, G., & Kumar, S. (2015). Debt bondage and the tricks of capital. *Economic and Political Weekly, 50*(26), 26–27.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2019). *Ethnography : principles in practice* (4th ed.). New York: Routledge.

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2017). *Declaration, 2012*. Allen, Texas: Argo-Navis.

Harper, D. (1998). An argument for visual sociology. In J. Prosser (Ed.), *Image-based research: A sourcebook for qualitative researchers* (pp. 24–41). London, UK: Routledge Falmer.

Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies, 17*(1), 13–26.

Harvey, D. (1989). From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography, 71*(1), 3–17.

Henley, P. (1998). Film-making and ethnographic research. In J. Prosser (Ed.), *Image-based research: A sourcebook for qualitative researchers* (pp. 42–59). London, UK: Routledge Falmer.

Hietanen, J., & Rokka, J. (2018). Companion for the videography 'monstrous organizing - The dubstep electronic music scene'. *Organization, 25*(3), 320–334.

Hildebrand-Nilshon, M., Motzkau, J., & Papadopoulos, D. (2001). Reintegrating sense into subjectification. In *Theoretical issues in psychology* (pp. 289–300): Boston, MA Springer.

ICRC. (1998). *Treaties, state parties and commentries - Rome statue of the international criminal court*. Retrieved from https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/Article.xsp?action=openDocument&documentId=058B44CF36EDB8CF4125669000452E7F

ILO. (2017). *21 million people are now victims of forced labour, ILO says*. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_181961/lang--en/index.htm

ILO. (2019). *Business and forced labour*. Retrieved 16/07 2019 from https://www.ilo.org/empent/areas/business-helpdesk/WCMS_DOC_ENT_HLP_FL_EN/lang--en/index.htm

Kellehear, A. (1993). *The unobtrusive researcher: A guide to methods*. St. Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Lazzarato, M. (2012). *The making of the indebted man: An essay on the neoliberal condition*. Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext.

Liebenberg, L. (2009). The visual image as discussion point: Increasing validity in boundary crossing research. *Qualitative Research, 9*(4), 441–467.

Low, S. M. (1996). Spatializing culture: The social production and social construction of public space in Costa Rica. *American Ethnologist, 23*(4), 861–879.

Lyon, D. (2016). Doing audio-visual montage to explore time and space: The everyday rhythms of billingsgate fish market. *Sociological Research Online, 21*(3), 1–12.

Maiti, D., & Sen, K. (2010). The informal sector in India: A means of exploitation or accumulation? *Journal of South Asian Development, 5*(1), 1–13.

Marazzi, C. (2011). *The violence of financial capitalism* (Vol. 1). London, UK: Semiotext(e).

Marius-Gnanou, K. (2008). Debt bondage, seasonal migration and alternative issues: Lessons from Tamil Nadu (India). *Autrepart* 46(2), 127–142.

Martin, S. (2011). Capitalist life in Lukács. In T. Bewew & T. Hall (Eds.), *Georg Lukacs: The fundamental dissonance of existence: aesthetics, politics, literature* (pp. 138-156). New York: Continium International Publishing.

Montgomerie, J., & Tepe-Belfrage, D. (2019). Spaces of debt resistance and the contemporary politics of financialised capitalism. *Geoforum, 98*, 309–317.

Morishima, M., & Catephores, G. (1978). *Value, exploitation and growth Marx in the light of modern economic theory*. Londo, UK: McGraw-Hill.

Mulligan, W., & Bric, M. (2013). *A global history of anti-slavery politics in the Nineteenth Century*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

O'Loughlin, D., & Szmigin, I. (2006). "I'll always be in debt": Irish and UK student behaviour in a credit led environment. *Journal of Consumer Marketing 23*(6), 335–343.

Oliffe, J. L., Bottorff, J. L., Kelly, M., & Halpin, M. (2008). Analyzing participant produced photographs from an ethnographic study of fatherhood and smoking. *Research in nursing & health, 31*(5), 529–539.

Oosterhoff, P., Burns, D., Prasad, B., & Robinson, S. (2018). *The modern slavery trap: Bonded labour*. Retrieved from https://www.ids.ac.uk/publications/the-modern-slavery-trap-bonded-labour/

Peebles, G. (2010). The anthropology of credit and debt. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 39*, 225–240.

Pink, S. (2013). *Doing visual ethnography*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pradhan, N. (2013). Persistence of informal credit in rural India: Evidence from 'All-India Debt and Investment Survey'and beyond.

Rao, J. M. (1999a). Agrarian power and unfree labour. *The Journal of Peasant Studies, 26*(2–3), 242–262.

Rao, J. M. (1999b). Freedom, equality, property and Bentham: The debate over unfree labour. *The Journal of Peasant Studies, 27*(1), 97–127.

Resnick, S., & Wolff, R. (2003). Exploitation, consumption, and the uniqueness of US capitalism. *Historical Materialism, 11*(4), 209–226.

Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (1956), Article 13. Retrieved from https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/SupplementaryConventionAbolitionOfSlavery.aspx

Roemer, J. (1985). *A general theory of exploitation and class*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Samonova, E. (2019). *Modern slavery and bonded labour in South Asia: A human rights-based approach*. London, UK: Routledge.

Simmons, G., & Stringer, C. (2014). New Zealand′ s fisheries management system: forced labour an ignored or overlooked dimension? *Marine Policy,* 50(1), 74–80.

Spencer, S. (2010). *Visual research methods in the social sciences: Awakening visions*. London, UK: Routledge.

Srivastava, R. (2019). End bondage, demand millions of Indian brick kiln workers as polls loom. Retrieved 20/7/2019 from https://www.reuters.com/article/us-india-labour-

bondage/end-bondage-demand-millions-of-indian-brick-kiln-workers-as-polls-loom-idUSKCN1RA0XC

Townley, B. (1993). Foucault, power/knowledge, and its relevance for human resource management. *Academy of Management Review, 18*(3), 518–545.

Villadsen, K. 'The Dispositive': Foucault's concept for organizational analysis? *Organization Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840619883664

Von Lilienfeld-Toal, U., & Mookherjee, D. (2010). The political economy of debt bondage. *American Economic Journal: Microeconomics, 2*(3), 44–84.

Wolff, J. (1999). Marx and exploitation. *The Journal of Ethics, 3*(2), 105–120.

Wood, M., & Brown, S. (2011). Lines of flight: Everyday resistance along England's backbone. *Organization, 18*(4), 517–539.

Wood, M., Salovaara, P., & Marti, L. (2018). Manifesto for filmmaking as organisational research. *Organization, 25*(6), 825–835.

Reviewer Notes:

I received a very detailed review from three different reviewer comprised of 20 A4 single spaced pages. The main suggestions included having a section detailed the process of editing video and its salience in Organisational studies, discussing the film in relation with the proposed dispositif and highlighted the connections and disconnections of the dispositif of indebtedness. I have made the changes and resubmitted the paper for second round of review. The chapter is the updated version. Nevertheless, below is the editorial decision:

The reviewers and I (the editor) think that your paper addresses an interesting topic of research with a stimulating dataset. Reviewer 1 claims that it is "a very interesting paper". Reviewer 2 stated that "this is clearly an important and topical area of research that demands deeper attention from organization scholars". Reviewer 3 also deemed that "the work shows much promise".

The reviewers' initial positive view is tempered by their concerns about the paper. Their comments about the manuscript's potential are also consistent suggesting that there is work to be done in order to be publishable. The reviewers identify some weaknesses in your paper, which they believe undermine its potential at making a significant contribution. Having read your paper carefully myself, I must say I definitely share the reviewers' concerns.

I agree with reviewers that your study has potential, but it has some problems. I am offering the opportunity to revise and resubmit your paper.

I encourage you to read the reviews in detail, they provide excellent commentary on your paper.

CHAPTER 5

Title: If the sufferings found a tongue – Unpacking the sad and sorry state of Modern Slavery research in Business, Management and Organization Studies.

5.1. Overview

Abstract: Recently, Caruana, Crane, Gold, & LeBaron (2020) called for more research into modern-day slavery, particularly empirical accounts. I second this, and believe it is essential that the voices of slaves become heard, instead of the current focus on processes. In this paper, we hear directly from modern slaves, highlighting their suffering and the conditions that produce them. I do this through a field study on Indian brick kilns, which reportedly employ the highest number of modern slaves in the world (Srivastava, 2019). I took part in a weeklong recruitment trip to the Indian hinterlands with 'Sardar', a debt bondage intermediary, in addition to gathering observational data and conversations with debt bondage recruits. I hold that modern slaves are competent to represent themselves in spite of the observable constraints, to exhibit their voice and life to contribute to rational knowledge.

Keywords: *Modern slavery research, Modern Slavery, Indebtedness, Debt bondage, Bonded labour, Voice and visibility*

Duplication: Readers are expected to see some overlap with Chapter Two in terms of the discussions around modern slavery literature. Please note that this Chapter includes material in addition to what has been submitted for publication.

Publication details: This output was submitted to *Business and Society* journal, published by Sage publications. Revise and Resubmit received.

Appended as DRC 16: Massey University's publication contribution form is included below.

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

Statement of contribution to Doctoral Thesis containing publications

We, the candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of Candidate: Omer Nazir

Name/Title of Principal Supervisor: Craig Prichard

Name of Published Research Output and full reference:

If the sufferings found a tongue – Unpacking the sad and sorry state of Modern Slavery research in Business, Management and Organization Studies**.** (**Revise and Resubmit** received from *Busines and Society journal*)

In which Chapter is the Published Work: 5

Please indicate either:

- The percentage of the Published Work that was contributed by the candidate: and / or
- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the Published Work:

This paper responds to a recent call in *Business and Society Journal* to include more empirical accounts

in modern slavery literature. The paper contended the focus of the proposed trajectory of modern slavery research and held that slave voices need to be included, and that modern slaves should represent themselves to exhibit their voice and life to contribute to rational knowledge. After consultation with my supervisors and including their suggestions, the paper, was submitted to *Business and society* journal. A '**Revise and Resubmit'** decision has been received, and I am currently working on the revisions. I have included the editor's note, and the additions made as per reviewers advise at the end of the chapter.

Candidate's Signature: Omer Nazir

Date: 28/03/2021

Primary Supervisor's Signature:

5.2. Introduction

My suffering is a song unsung. My soul a speck without a seal. If my suffering found a tongue. My name and sign it would reveal.

- *(Faiz Ahmed Faiz: Translated)*

The recent piece in the Business and Society, "*Modern slavery in business: The sorry and sad state of a non-field,*" calling for more management and organisational research into Modern Slavery is a genuine and a welcome move (Caruana et al., 2020). Indeed, modern slavery is an urgent social issue that needs to be addressed through scholarship, policy and practice. The authors particularly argue for the inclusion of more empirical accounts of modern-day slavery in the scholarly literature. I second that.

They also highlight some drawbacks in the current research while providing a compilation of modern slavery research prospects in different sub-disciplines of management. For example, the suggestions for research in the sub-discipline of supply chain management include a focus on the role of market intermediaries. For the social issues in management, suggestions for research include the ethical analysis of modern slavery contexts, and for the human resource sub-discipline, the suggestions include the exploration of the lived experience of the actors and intermediaries involved in slavery. In addition to this noticeable depth of the work, the inclusion of multidisciplinary theoretical insights from history, law and political science lends broader reach to the research of modern slavery in the field of management. I appreciate the intervention.

However, as a fellow traveller in the study of modern forms of slavery, I have a reservation about this proposed research trajectory, and in that regard, may I ask, where is the *voice of the*

slave in the proposed research agenda of modern slavery? While I appreciate the length and breadth of the work by authors, I question the (lack of) inclusivity. Processes seem to have taken precedence in the discussion of modern slavery research, whereas the lives of slaves seem to have been excluded.

Indeed, the Caruana et al. (2020) paper seems to have subordinated the sufferings of the slave. And I feel compelled to ask how it is possible that the sufferings of the slave don't find a place in the call to foster research of modern slavery in management literature. Have the slaves then become living appendages to management processes? As Karl Marx would say, workers have become "living appendages" to the machines.

We need new perspectives in the research of modern slavery, and as Kevin Bales says in the preface of the new edition of his iconic book, '*Disposable people,*' "a broken heart can bring perspective" (Bales, 2012). I don't ask for the hearts to be broken to foster research, but I do ask for greater sensitivities and relationalities to be included in the research of modern slavery. After all, identifying problems, unpacking functionalities and proposing solutions all pertain to the lives that they live.

In this paper, I make a modest attempt to include the voices of slaves, and in so doing, highlight the sufferings of the slaves and the conditions that produce them. The purpose is not to dismiss the remarkable effort by the Caruana et al. (2020) but to, perhaps, uphold the long tradition of management research to critically address the suppression of voices of the marginalised and *articulate* and *amplify* human consciousness (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992; Derry, 2012; Knights & Willmott, 1999a; Simpson & Lewis, 2005; Willmott, 2016). I do this through a field study on Indian brick kilns – reportedly the employer for the highest number of modern slaves in the world (Srivastava, 2019) – that includes a weeklong recruitment trip

into Indian hinterlands with an intermediary of debt bondage (vernacularly called Sardar) in addition to the observational data and conversations with some recruits of debt bondage.

As a contribution to management research directions on modern slavery, I bring to bear a seemingly simple question: Are modern slaves competent enough to represent themselves, and is it possible, in spite of the observable constraints, that they exhibit their voice (or life) and that be termed rational knowledge?

The paper is organised as follows. In the next section, I will first highlight some of the work from management literature that has had a long tradition of highlighting exploited voices and addressing subordination of workers, women, racial minorities etc. I will then turn to thinking through how the voices of the sufferings of slaves can be included in the research agenda of modern slavery and what could be the implications of missing them. Finally, I point to some ways to include such voices along with its potential to create an impact.

5.3. Voice and visibility

Management literature, particularly from critical tradition, has had a long tradition of featuring and sometimes amplifying the voices and concerns of the marginalised and oppressed (Alamgir & Alakavuklar, 2020; Alamgir & Cairns, 2015; Kilgour, 2013; Willmott, 2016). For example, the concept of voice and visibility has been used in gender studies to explore the exclusion of women from organisational context and organizational theorizing (Hearn, 1994; Simpson & Lewis, 2005). Hirschman (1970) used the concept of voice to describe how, in a political context, citizens' or consumers' critical opinions can be articulated. Moreover, some other works have used the concept of voice and visibility as an act to protest, for example, the perceived injustice and inequalities in employment relationships (e.g. Turnley and Feldman, 1999), or to speak out on issues of concern (e.g. Banerjee, 2011; Bowen & Blackmon, 2003; Rudman, Borgida, & Robertson, 1995).

Yet, the business and society research is often accused of, and critiqued for, ignoring those with less voice or power (McCarthy & Muthuri, 2018). While some commentators attribute this to the domination of positivistic logics and quantitative research methods in business and society research (Aguinis & Glavas, 2012; Lockett, Moon, & Visser, 2006), others blame the under-utilisation of participatory research methods in qualitative management research (Bansal & Corley, 2011; Taneja, Taneja, & Gupta, 2011). I agree with this reasoning and possibly endorse the use of participatory research methods to give voice and visibility to the marginalised. However, I also acknowledge that including slaves in the research process can be a challenging task as researchers are often denied access to data collection, or those living in the conditions of slavery are restricted to speak.

So, I draw on some of the work in management and organization literature where voice and visibility have been used to analyse exclusion and inequality and to highlight the tendency of management studies to "supress" (Linstead, 2000) the voices or to be "blind" (Wilson, 1996) to lives of the marginalised gender, or in this case, of slaves. It is in revisiting such work, I apply the conceptualization of voice as an "act of speaking out" or "being heard" (e.g. Ashcraft & Mumby, 2003; Lugo & Gilligan, 2019; Simpson & Lewis, 2005). I also apply the post-structuralist, particularly Foucauldian, conceptualisation to illuminate how discursive practices eliminate certain issues from the arena of voices (Deetz, 1997). Similarly, with regards to the concept of visibility, I approach it as "token visibility" from a feminist perspective and invisibility of power from a Foucauldian standpoint.

5.4. Muted voice and invisible lives of the modern slaves

Taking a cue from feminist voice literature, I seek inclusion of slave voices and experiences in social and organizational theorizing of modern slavery. By foregrounding the issues like efficient and fair supply chains, demand, consumption, and so forth in the research of modern

slavery, the research trajectory may be conceived mainly as an arena for specialist academic, or dare I say, elitist endeavour. As has been highlighted in women's voice literature (e.g. Marta & Smircich, 1996; Martin & Collinson, 2002), such privilege may result in the silencing of slaves and their voices going unheard. Like the feminist 'women voice' perspective, the point here is to seek to show that slaves do speak, know, or even negotiate in their own particular ways, which may sometimes be different (by no means inferior) and may conceive the problems they face differently.

Also, even if the slaves are encouraged to voice their experiences and opinions, they may be confronted with the difficulties in being heard (Fenstermaker & West, 2002). Bales (2010) argues that a part of the problem is the threat of violence, which translates into the inability of those living in the conditions of modern slavery to express themselves so that others will listen. So, for the researchers of modern slavery who have more success in getting their opinions and claims heard, it becomes incumbent on them to ensure, I argue, that the voices of the slaves are not unheard. In other words, the research of modern slavery not only needs to encompass the physicality of expression but also the political process of listening and getting attention. Or simply, modern slaves should be the co-creators of the knowledge of modern slavery.

A question that may be asked here is how could the silence (given the constraints to speak) be listened to? The post-structuralist theoretical resources can help here (e.g. Deetz, 1997; Hall, 2001; Villadsen, 2019) to unpack the processes behind the silence. Of particular interest here is a Foucauldian insight that silence can constitute discourse and be an agent of power in its own right. The unspoken, therefore, can be an illustration of the articulation of the power (Foucault, 1978). Building on this premise, Wray-Bliss (2002), for instance, refers to silencing as the appropriation of voices demonstrating authoritative power relations that are constructed through the production and consumption of text. In that sense, as Bindeman

(2017) would argue, silence (absence) of slave voices in academic research may be seen as a form of oppression. An offshoot of that could be privileging the privileged ways (Ferguson, 1994) of talking about and researching modern slavery, which could consequently result in erasures of marginalised voices (Dutta, 2012).

In the words of Foucault himself, here is how the relation between silence and academic discourse may be viewed:

> Silence itself – the thing one declines to say, or is forbidden to name, the discretion that is required between different speakers – is less the absolute limit of discourse, …There is no binary division to be made between what one says and what one does not say; …how those who can and those who cannot speak of them are distributed, which type of discourse is authorized, or which form of discretion is required in either case. There is not one but many silences, and they are an integral part of the strategies.
>
> (Foucault, 1978, p. 27)

Silence, therefore, for Foucault is a kind of oppression and a main feature in the application of the discourse of power relations, where different groups and behaviours of people are marginalised. Foucault also provides an example in the preface of History of Madness:

> "…Modern man no longer communicates with the madman…. There is no common language. …The language of psychiatry, which is a monologue by reason about madness, could only come to existence in silence. My intention was not to write the history of that language, but rather to draw up the archaeology of that silence."
>
> (Foucault, 2006, p. xxviii)

Foucault shows us that the silence of the slave voices in academic research is not personal, but, perhaps self-imposed operating within the domain of scholarly discourse, often in spite of the humanist turn of social research (Erevelles, 2002). Incidentally, the modern slavery research, particularly the research call by Caruana et al. (2020), is an example of such turn given that humanistic management, understood in a very broad sense, pertains to concerns of people and human aspects in managing organisations. So, the question that we may ask in relation to the exclusion of slave voices in modern slavery research is: How can we explain

the contradiction of modern slavery research in the face of the humanist principle that we all inhabit rational, coherent and autonomous subjectivities?

This contradiction essentially is grounded in the exclusion of the marginalised humans from the organisational discourse produced, perpetuated and consumed by the privileged. However, the literature, especially from feminist tradition in organisation studies (Simpson & Lewis, 2005; Stead, 2013; Wasserman & Frenkel, 2019), show overlaps in the concepts of silence and invisibility. Both, for instance, relate to the condition of inequality where particular groups are not recognized or fully accepted.

While it may seem reasonable to associate such exclusion with the invisibility of slave voices pushed from the view in the literature, there is a tendency of limiting the focus on (in)visibility as the defining state. For example, in feminist literature (e.g. Ainsworth, 2002; Alvinius, Krekula, & Larsson, 2018; Ballakrishnen, Fielding-Singh, & Magliozzi, 2019), this association is made on the basis that to be visible is to 'stand out in the crowd' or be different, and therefore be marginalised and isolated from the dominant group.

Such work views visibility as a numerically defining state where individuals are often burdened with embodying the difference and behaving in ways that follow stereotypical majoritarian practices (Simpson & Lewis, 2005), consequently limiting visibility to "token visibility". In relation to modern slavery research, such (in)visibility would perhaps mean narration of slave accounts in the dominant realms of research and reason (e.g. journal articles, scholarly text), appropriately conformed to the accepted standards by privileged university researchers, having and exhibiting the power to define. Nevertheless, slave accounts in the modern slavery research, even if in token forms, are appreciated, given that the empirical accounts of modern slavery, as Caruana et al. (2020) argue, are scarce.

Nevertheless, I again draw from Foucault to unpack the invisibility as a relation of silence. Foucault's influential discussion of the formation of disciplinary societies where constantly visible subjects operate under the constant surveillance of silent and invisible authorities in *Discipline and Punish* is a useful resource here (Foucault, 1977). Unlike Foucault's other works, (e.g. *Madness and Civilization* (Foucault, 1988b) and *The Birth of Clinic* (Foucault, 1973), where we find a brief discussion about the dependence of social life on both language (voice) and visibility, in this book, he addresses (in)visibility directly as a relation of silence. There are depictions of the emergence of a disciplinary society in which people are confined and subjected to an invisible and silent (panoptic) gaze that produces visibly regulated and docile subjects.

In this sense, the token visibility of slave accounts in the modern slavery research, adjusted to what fits and is deemed to be scholarly, may be seen as a visible voice that is regulated through the cautious silence under which modern slavery operates. In so saying, I wish to make the point that the Foucauldian lens shifts the focus from 'visibility as a defining state' to the 'unseen apparatus' within which silence operates. In other words, this framing would consider not only the silencing and invisibility of slave voices but also the silence of the business operators in the wake of the apparent regulations and policies (e.g. Modern Slavery Act of the UK parliament, 2015) against the practices that constitute and produce modern slavery.

I will discuss the unseen and the unheard voices of modern slavery further in relation to the empirical material in section 5.7., 'The *dispositif* of modern slavery research'. The next section will present the case and the methodological resource used for our analysis for this paper.

5.5. Empirical case of modern slavery

5.5.1. Data sources

I have based my discussion on the data from ethnographic work conducted in the Indian brick kilns. Indian brick kilns are reported to employ the highest number of debt bonded people in the world (ILO, 2017a, 2019; Srivastava, 2019), and debt bondage, as per the United Nations' Supplementary Convention on Abolition of Slave Trade (1956), is a form of modern slavery (see appendix 1). The ethnographic work included videography and photography, interviews, conversations, discussions with the kiln owner, intermediaries and labourers, as well as a recruitment trip with the agent to secure labour for a kiln from the migrant workers. For my purposes, in this paper, I used 11 interviews with kiln workers along with excerpts from my conversations with the recruitment agent while on a recruitment trip to employ workers. In addition, I also used field notes from the observation diary maintained while in the field. Table 6.1 below presents the data sources.

Source 1	Source 2	Source 3
Total of 11 semi-structured interviews with debt bonded kiln workers. (Five of them already working in the kiln and interviewed on production site and six to start work in the production season and	Interviews and conversations while on 12 hour/1150km long road trip in a car with the Sardar (recruitment agent and the intermediary of debt bondage)	Research dairy (Observation field notes).

interviewed at native villages)		

Table 5.1.

5.5.2. Research setting

As has been noted above, Indian brick kilns are infamous for rampant practices of modern slavery and violence, which has resulted in wide media coverage (Anti-Slavery International, 2017; BBC, 2014; Hawksley, 2014). This persists in spite of having some of the strictest regulations in the world against bonded labour (Khare, 2020). The legal sanctions against debt bondage and the physical presence of kilns where the modern slavery practices are reportedly rampant presents a decoupled research setting.

Since the brick kilns are essentially physical spaces, operating under the threshold of notice of the law enforcement agencies isn't possible. In the region of Kashmir, where I conducted my study, there were 284 registered brick kilns as of August of 2018, according to the local labour office ("Department of Labour ", 2018) permitted to employ migrant workforce for seasonal work. Local news agencies, however, report the existence and unabated rise of unregistered brick kilns operating in the city. I, in the interest of brevity, will nevertheless limit my discussion to the registered kilns for two main reasons. First is that this study was conducted in one of the biggest and oldest brick kilns that is registered with the local labour office and is apparently compliant with the labour regulations, which made obtaining access easier. Second is that the unregistered kilns, as some may argue, represent the liminal organisations that exist on the margins of institutional fields (Lindsay, 2010) and therefore

resist institutional pressures to check the practice of slavery. Inclusion of such organisation would either mean endorsing the idea of modern slavery practices predominantly, if not exclusively, being criminal and liminal (Crane, 2013); or would require greater engagement to unpack the concepts of institutional deviations and limits, which was beyond the scope of this study.

Nonetheless, the brick kiln for the study employs 42 permanent employees and 200 to 250 seasonal migrant workers. The migrant workers usually come from rural India and are categorised according to their roles in the production process of the brick. They are clay moulders and layers (Bharaye waale), bakers (Jalaye waale) and loaders (Dholaye waale). While the loaders are usually the daily wagers or piece rate workers who stack and load bricks on to the trucks as and when needed, the other two types are seasonal workers who migrate to the kiln site for a specific period.

In order to secure labour for the production season, kilns rely on the intermediaries who travel to native villages of the workers and hand out advances to the workers on behalf of the kiln owners. Intermediaries, usually natives of the villages from where the labour comes, travel to these villages in the off season to ensure the supply of labour for the production period. During the fieldwork, I had a chance to accompany an intermediary on a recruitment trip to the Indian hinterlands, which added a different and significant dimension to the research setting. I will discuss the salience and the contrast of the research setting (i.e. the production sites and the villages) further when I present the findings from the fieldwork in the section ‘A tale of two cities.’

5.5.3. Data analysis

I used the Foucauldian concept of *dispositif* as a methodological resource to analyse the data in this paper. In response to the question of what the meaning and methodological function of the term dispositif is, Foucault (1980, p. 194) answers:

> "What I'm trying to pick out with this term is, firstly, a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said as much as the unsaid. ….. Secondly, what I am trying to identify in this apparatus is precisely the nature of the connection that can exist between these heterogeneous elements … Thirdly, I understand by the term 'apparatus' a sort of – shall we say – formation which has as its major function at a given historical moment that of responding to an urgent need. The apparatus thus has a dominant strategic function."

In relation to the modern slavery discussion, through the iterative reading and re-reading of the field notes along with the interview transcripts, I aimed to construct the dispositif modern slavery research. This dispositif attempts to elucidate the voice and the silence (the said and the unsaid) in the research discourse of modern slavery while trying to unpack the connections and disconnections between various elements of the production and consumption of debt bondage. In other words, I followed the journey of a debt bonded worker from his village, where, at a given moment of time, bondage is produced through debt relations, to the kiln sites where the debt is appropriated and bondage realised.

My analysis followed a reflexive framework, which meant I was conscious of my role, including my privilege, in the research process, and subjected that to the same critical scrutiny as the rest of my data (Mason, 1996). It is worth mentioning here that my epistemological position, while closely aligned with the critical tradition was influenced, in addition to the theoretical discussion above, by nuances of Foucault's concept of the dispositif as proposed by Deleuze (1992a). Methodologically, he sees dispositif as

construction of an apparatus that consists of the lines of 'enunciation, visibility, force and subjectification'. I will further discuss the lines of the apparatus (connections and disconnections) in relation to the process of subjectification in the discussion section that presents the dispositif of modern slavery research.

In the following section, I present the findings from my fieldwork.

5.6. A tale of two cities

5.6.1. The kiln.

After negotiating access to the brick kiln in Kashmir, I visited the kiln to conduct the fieldwork in February of 2019. It was the off-peak time at the kiln, towards the end of a snowy winter.

> Field notes (17th February 2019)
>
> "This is the time of the year when the kiln owners in Kashmir gear up for the production season, typically marked by the preparations for securing an uninterrupted supply of labour for the production period. It is the first day of my fieldwork and I am meeting the kiln owner in his office to discuss the research project, permissions and processes. The kiln has just re-started operations after a winter break of 3 months, and only the piece rate loaders (Dholaye waale), among labourers, were on site. The activity on the kiln site is limited to sale of the bricks stocked from the previous season and piling of walnut shells to be used as fuel for the kiln."

The owner of the kiln welcomed the researcher (and filming crew) and was quick to register his displeasure against some conspiracists who, he reckons, have given a bad name to the kiln industry. He was of the view that the brick industry was placed in jeopardy by a maligned media campaign led by, as he put it, "*Angreez's [westerner's] newfound love of becoming our saviours.*" He interpreted the media attention to debt bondage in the brick kilns and subsequent international interventions as acts of political and economic opportunism by the NGOs who sell the sufferings of the labourers to people in the developed countries. Using a

vernacular metaphor to put his point across, he said, *"someone's house is burning, and the other is warming his hands."*

This view was not only held by the owner of the kiln, but also by other employees (office staff) as the following quote from the recruitment manager, who claimed to have started off as a labourer in the kiln, demonstrates:

> "Do you know what these bondage laws are for? They are to bond us. They [government officials] ask us to follow the rules, and we do. You can see that yourself. These rules are actually to keep them powerful. They give us a rate list and ask us to sell bricks at that rate, and that is fine. But then, every year they ask for more for the clay license. Where is the rate list for them? They say bonded labour. We pay more than the government approved daily wages, and that too in advance. Go ask the labourers. All of them are registered for NREGA[12] scheme (National rural employment guarantee act). These international laws and 'environmental damage stories' are there to fine us."

The perception in the kiln is that the regulatory authorities are out to politically dominate small businesses in Kashmir. The kiln owner and the managers claimed to work on very thin margins while ensuring that the workers get a competitive wage. They argued that the "debt bondage narrative" in foreign countries is an emotionally charged one, to which the governments in the countries like India agree without even considering the contextual realities. According to them, the "anti-slavery interventions" robbed the workers of their livelihood and made doing business very difficult because they come with fines. The owner of the kiln said:

> "The west (developed countries) cries of human rights abuse to the governments and these governments, in order to feel that they are their equals, make laws without even considering how things are in their own country. See, JK government (referring to local government) is our biggest customer. Even the contractor sir (referring to our contact person who helped us in obtaining the access for the research) buys our bricks for civil works in the city. They (government) make a rate list, and we have to manufacture bricks in less than that because contractors also have to make some

[12] MGNREGA is an employment guarantee scheme of the Indian government that guarantees 100 days of work in a calendar year to adult members of every rural household willing to do manual labour. The wages are paid at the rate of Rs.182 (NZ$ 3.7)/ day as on September 2019.

> profit. We do all this while paying labourers more than what the government has prescribed. If they work in NREGA, they get Rs. 18000 ($NZ 375) a year. We pay a lot more than that, and that too in advance for one season. He (pointing to his manager) can show you the advance ledger."

This statement resonates with findings of Khan, Westwood, and Boje (2010, p. 1424), who in their work on child labour and bondage in Pakistan's soccer ball manufacturing industry report that the participants of their study believed that "the West imposes its corporate standards, telling the developing country how to behave and undermining its autonomy as well as robbing it through imposing fines for CSR non-compliance." Khan, Munir, and Willmott (2007, p. 1056) invoke a metaphor of "velvet curtain" to highlight the dynamics of modern slavery interventions. They argue that the interventions, like velvet curtains, are "something smooth and seemingly benign" but "screen from awareness the operations of power" to produce the conditions and from consequences that are excluded from the analysis.

I also spoke to the workers who were at the kiln in the off-season. It seemed that they were distrustful towards anyone outside their organisation asking about bondage in the kiln. It possibly was the upshot of the narrative presented, and perhaps popularised among the labourers, by the kiln owners and managers. The interventions were positioned as some kind of conspiracy to rob the workers of their livelihood. They said:

> "Only the poor have to bear it all. **** (name of an NGO) come here to do business. They get a lot of money in our name. All they have to do is talk. That is not helpful".

The NGO that the labourer referred to primarily focused on environmental activism and did not claim, in any way, to advocate for the worker rights in the kilns. However, a quote from another labourer provided some context by highlighting the lack of alternative employment avenues, and to what Mishra (2020) calls barriers to institutional interventions. The labourer said:

> "He (pointing to another labourer) worked in the field for Seth (a term used for rich people). They (the labour office on the recommendation of an NGO) made him leave his job and said he doesn't need to pay his debt. After that, he had no work. But a poor man needs money to live. Where will he get it now?"

Nevertheless, there were a couple of things that were clear in the first few days of my engagement in the field. Firstly, the conspiracy narratives were popularised so that a 'regime of truth' is created. The regime of truth is comprised of "multiple constraints" that induce regulated effects of power (Foucault, 2003), and by that expression, Foucault means: (1) "the type of discourse [society] harbours and causes to function as true" (2) "the techniques and procedures which are valorised for obtaining truth" and (3) "the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as truth" (Lorenzini, 2015, p. 2). Secondly, it was clear that although the bondage may take a material form in the kiln through labour done towards paying off the debt, it was not produced there. To unpack this further, I travelled to the place where the workers in the kiln migrated from to work in the production season. As mentioned above, I went there along with the recruitment manager of the kiln to recruit workers.

5.6.2. The village

The labourers working in the kilns of Kashmir are mostly from lower caste families who migrate from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh (U.P). In this case, it was the latter. U.P lies around 1000 km to the south of Kashmir and is the most populous state of India. It is important to mention here that the political and ideological landscape of this region is highly polarised, and discrimination and violence on the basis of religion and caste is commonplace (Ahmad, 1962; Goli, Rammohan, & Reddy, 2020; Mehrotra, 2006). With regards to the production of bondage, the element of caste system in India plays a vital role. However, considering the scope of this paper, and in the interest of simplicity, I limit the discussion of the caste in my analysis to how it plays out in shifting the power relations in the dispositif of modern slavery.

The village that I was visiting for recruitment of labour was around 18 km from the closest motel and around 90 km from the closest city.

> Field notes (24th February)
>
> "Recruitment manager is a popular man in the village. People seem to know him well, as many people greeted him as we walked. It is our first day (of work) here, and we went to one of the few grocery stores in the village. I was introduced to him as some senior official at the kiln. The grocer offered me a stool to sit on and emphasised that people from his village are skilled and productive. The recruitment manager informed me that the grocer will put the word across, and we will have some people coming tomorrow."

For the next few days, I kept frequenting the grocery store and meeting people who were interested in working at the kiln. The conversations with these people usually involved negotiations about the wages and the amount of advance money that would/could be paid by the recruitment manager. However, the peculiar thing in these negotiations was that, in many cases, most part of the advance was paid to the grocer on account of the debt that was incurred for buying food during no work periods at home. In some cases, the prospective workers had also borrowed money from the grocer for festivities or for some urgent needs in their families, which incurred an interest.

The point to highlight here is that there seemed to be an informal understanding between the kiln and the grocer, which was maintained through the intermediary – the recruitment manager. The grocer apparently was not employed by the kiln or did not, as far as we know, receive any monetary benefits from the kiln owner or the intermediary. However, the cordial, somewhat symbiotic, relation between the two served as the guarantee for servicing of the debt - both for the grocer and the kiln owner.

For the grocer, selling food on credit or providing some cash on interest to the labourers for their festivities simply meant catering to their present consumption in exchange for the value

of their future labour. On the other hand, for the kiln owner, it meant buying (securing) workers' future labour in exchange for the payments made for past consumption. These transactions, nevertheless, represented unique temporality and spatiality of debt relations that was ascertained by multi-layered guarantees reified through the involvement of the intermediary. In other words, the guarantees for disbursal and servicing of debt were actualised at different points in time and at different physical spaces that are miles apart.

For example, Sardar, the requirement manager who is essentially an intermediary in the brokerage of debt, only recruited people from his community or those whom he knew through previous work or through the grocer. The grocer only lent to those who he thought could be employed by the kiln. On the other hand, the kiln owner lent money to the workers only through the intermediary even though the debt was referred to as "owed to the owner". So, a seemingly invisible connection devoid of any material exchange established between the kiln and the grocer through intermediary serves not only to sustain the debt relations but also as a layered guarantee for servicing of debt.

I also observed that the debt relations were not only sustained through transfers of debt but also through the accumulation of debt. The recruitment manager offered more advances to those who were returning to work, much like the credit card companies who, based on a good credit history, offer higher credit limits to consumer debt users. Similarly, the grocer sometimes accepted partial repayments and carried forward the balance, possibly at a certain interest rate, much like credit card companies who accept the minimum payments and carry forward the balance that incurs interest.

> Field notes (26th February 2019)
>
> Many people came to sign up for work today. I offered my help in making a note of the amounts of advances that was agreed between the recruitment manager and the workers. For each worker/family of workers who agreed to work, I was asked to note down the amount that each worker/family authorised to be paid to the grocer and the

> amount that was to be paid to them in cash as advance. In most of the cases, the amount of advance paid in cash was a little more than what would be spent by the individual/family to travel to the kiln site. Sometimes the grocer agreed to not getting paid in full so that the workers have some money to get to the kiln for work. At the end of the day, we went for some tea at the grocer's house and calculated the amount that he wrote off from accounts of the villager [workers at the kiln] so that he could be paid.

Such accumulation of debt to sustain the relations of bondage align closely with what David Harvey, a distinguished Marxist economic geographer, terms as "*dispossession by financialization*" (Harvey, 2005). In theorising "new imperialism", he revisits the concept of primitive accumulation, a term by Karl Marx used to describe processes used for transferring wealth to enable the emergence of capitalist economies. Primitive accumulation required mass dispossession of resources from social structures to make the concentration of capital possible. For Marx, processes including slave trade, expropriation of land, forced migrations and enclosures for commons abetted the accumulation and concentration of wealth in the hands of early capitalists in Europe (Keating, Rasmussen, & Rishi, 2010). Harvey asserts that primitive accumulation is an ongoing process and not limited to formation of early capitalist structures. So, he recommends a recast of the term primitive accumulation emphasising the process's temporal position in early stage of capitalist development as "accumulation by dispossession".

The current time of neoliberal capitalism, according to (Harvey, 2005, p. 145), is the acute phase of accumulation by dispossession characterised by new forms of "dispossession by financialization" like debt-based financing, credit frauds etc. He argues that the accumulation of debt is pivotal for dispossession and consequent sustenance of advanced form of capitalism, much like the debt relations in the brick kilns where, as discussed above, accumulation of debt not only assists dispossession but sustains bondage of labour.

After the recruitment stint in the village, I stayed back for five more days to learn more about the life of the recruits, and in doing that, got a chance to share meals and have conversations with them. My acquittances enlightened me with some of the dynamics of the life in the village and educated us about the violence of debt and the sufferings of bondage.

I noted that in addition to the sustenance (food) that is channelled through the apparently invisible and silent intermediary of bondage, seemingly mundane everyday life practices were also **appropriated** to contribute to the sustenance of debt slavery. These practices included festivities, religious rituals and marriages, and were reported to be some of the main occasions that incurred, to quote a villager, "*unrepayable debt*." One of the villagers said:

> "I inherited some land from my uncle. I sold a part of it to get my daughter married, and the other part I have leased to Sehkaar (lender) for money. [In a boastful and content tone] I needed that money to use for decorating our house to welcome Lord Ram and Laxmi. I cannot work on the land until I pay the debt. He (the usurer) uses the land and what he makes of that land is the interest for the money."

Here, I consciously chose to introduce the notion, **appropriation** of life practices as facilitating relation for debt slavery. I do so to highlight a contrast. While travelling to the village with Sardar (the recruitment manager/intermediary), he also talked about the festivals, marriages and other religious rituals as events that led to the need of debt for the kiln worker. However, his narration indicated that spending on those occasions as irresponsible and the money could be instead better managed. In contrast, such spending was cherished by the villagers. They found a purpose in getting their children married; or lighting up their cottages, wearing new clothes and decorating houses in their festivities made them, simply, happy.

Although the spending on such occasions is loaded with cultural nuance, a simple argument I want to make here is that the villagers looked forward to it. It was rational for them. On the other hand, the kiln manager isolated these practices from the context of the village life and judged them against the life of an apparently rational and liberal person capable of

accumulation. The descriptors of such a subject capable of accumulation in modern thought, Chakravartty and da Silva (2012) argue, are rational self-interest, productive creative labour and obligation bound debtor/creditor. Against these axes of modern thought, the workers would seem to be incapable of accumulation or rather irresponsible, as could be seen in the following quote by Sardar.

> "These guys [kiln workers] blow up all their money when they get home from kilns. They usually go back around Diwali [a Hindu festival] season and gamble and overspend. Some of them have a lot of land but they use it as collateral for their loans, and until they pay back the crop from the land is taken by the lender as interest. It is a matter of being responsible with money, and they can't learn it."

As stated, my field research also made me aware of the suffering of slaves and the violence of debt. The kiln workers suffered at the hands of food poverty both at the kiln and at their homes. They spoke about the calculable spending on food, highlighting the anxieties and austerities imposed by debt bondage. One of the workers in the kiln said:

> "…...I only spend on the food. I don't even eat anything extra. I eat rice or some bread. By extra, I mean I don't have any soft drinks (mountain dew) or chippies. Even if I go out, I don't have much of these things."

Another worker said:

> "What do you eat? Lentils, rice and bread. We can't eat fruits. We people don't earn that much."

I observed that the workers were conscious of not going overboard in terms of their spending on food so as to ensure that debt is served. Since food is essential to sustain life, the sustenance for debt bonded labourers, I note, creates a space that is characterised by what might be called *liveable anxieties.* These anxieties keep their desires, beyond survival, under check and at the same time make them calculably productive individuals. The debt imposes austerities that, for instance, kept one of the labourers away from fizzy drinks and another away from fruits so that repayments are ensured. Hardt and Negri (2017) have theorised such

austerities that control the life choices and autonomies of people as structurally violent, and I couldn't agree more with them.

I also heard stories of gruesome physical violence in events of not repaying the debt. One of the kiln worker's wife talked about the story of disappearance of a man from the neighbouring village in the past and the rumours of him being burnt alive as fuel for the kiln. She said:

> "He had taken money from many kiln owners and never worked for any of them to pay it back. He used to go the government offices and complain. Once he went to Punjab to work for a kiln and never returned. People say that he was burnt alive in the kiln. The police have found no proof, but it is his fault too. He had been fooling around with owners for way too long. That was meant to happen."

These statements obviously were shocking and disturbing. The iterative reading of the data for the purpose of this paper, however, bought to fore two main points. Firstly, the stories of violence, irrespective of their veracity, create a regime of truth that subjectifies the victims into conforming selves, especially in the backdrop of the normative notion - 'debt should always be paid'. This, as can be gauged from the last sentence of the statement above, normalises the punishment in events of not being able to repay the debt. In other words, the debt for bonded labour serves as an unseen whip in the hand of the slave owners. Secondly, such sufferings, while prevalent, according to some media reports (e.g. Slavery: A 21st century evil, Aljazeera documentary series), do not find a voice in research publications about modern slavery, particularly those pertaining to management and organization.

Nevertheless, the offshoot of such threat of violence is that many villagers are forced to engage in some drastic practices like organ trafficking and trade (Hudson & Wheeler, 2010; Yousaf & Purkayastha, 2015). A woman said:

> "Sometimes, I curse these laws [referring to organ transplant regulations]. I cannot sell my kidney. Only those who are close relatives can give a kidney to rich patients. They say, it has become a complicated process now. I wish I could sell. What good is

> my life with two kidneys? …. At least, some of the worries would go if I could sell the kidney."

For me, the statement above highlights the structural vulnerabilities of victims of debt bondages and also demonstrates how the subjectification of their selves plays in the process of different forms of exploitative practices termed as modern slavery.

5.7. Discussion

5.7.1. The dispositif of modern slavery research

The empirical case of debt bondage reveals that the modern slavery interventions are seen by locals, as they often are, as the implementation of western logics to what operates within a set of complex conditions with multiple subject positions and often conflicting rationalities. The modern slavery research in the management discipline, including its proposed direction (Caruana et al., 2020) too seem to miss the inclusion of modern slaves' rationalities and fail to give a voice to those who live slavery.

Foucauldian concept of dispositif, I suggest, may provide a "toolbox" for the management research about modern slavery. Many accounts in the critical tradition of research emphasise how this concept points to the alternatives for the 'universal' logics of research (Aradau, Huysmans, Neal, & Voelkner, 2014; Bager & Mølholm, 2020; Raffnsøe, Mennicken, & Miller, 2019), with which Foucault notedly refused to deal (Deleuze, 1988; Foucault, 2008). By dispositif of modern slavery research, I mean the interplay between a set of practices and the regime of truth that marks and legitimizes the problematization of modern slavery research interventions as reality.

The dispositif analysis, while not rejecting the object of inquiry such as the modern slaves, denies that they are ready made objects; instead, as Foucault (2008, p. 297) would argue, are

"born precisely from the interplay of relations of power and everything that constantly eludes them, at the interface, so to speak, of governors and the governed." The point here with respect to modern slavery research in management is to shift the focus to practices that produce slaves, and a way around that could be giving voice to the sufferings and the rationalities of modern slaves.

5.7.2. If the silence acquires speech

Based on the field study, I call for a direction of reconfigured modern slavery research as a practice that is more inclusive, giving voice to people in a local context, and the local context itself that is entwined with modern slavery interventions or its intended recipients. This may, however, lead to an anticipation of purporting yet another alternative but universalised research intervention that is not much different from how modern slavery in management and organization scholarship has developed. I resist and reject that trajectory. Instead, I argue for building on the Foucauldian framework to pursue what it calls for – appreciation of the other realities and rationalities. I gesture towards a dispositif of the modern slavery research approach that is informed by the sensitivities and experiences of the field study.

I make this suggestion in light of the data presented that demonstrates that modern slavery policies and protocols, possibly informed by research, have not been transformative enough to go beyond academic or political public relations. Khan et al. (2010, p. 1430) note that current approaches to address social issues in the Third World represent an "inherent ethnocentrism" of West exported to the rest of the world, which offers universalistic ethics, whilst resting upon "localised specificities of western history, culture, politics and ethics."

In this sense, most of the analysis of modern slavery research in the field of management and the proposed research directions by Caruana et al. (2020) are led by the application of existing universalistic logics of research and ethics. What is missing is the voice of the

grassroot people – the modern slaves – who supposedly are the targets of research interventions.

Based on the field study, I reinstate the call for more inclusive modern slavery research that makes visible the life of the modern slaves and gives voice to their sufferings and rationalities. The call is not only based on the moral position of dismantling master-slave relation that has persisted throughout histories – although it has – but also on a pragmatic foundation that only embedded research in the lives of modern slaves could provide the in-depth understanding needed to unpack the contextual complexities and anticipate implications of modern slavery research interventions.

5.8. Conclusion

In conclusion, I argue that modern slavery research or its potential directions in the field of management and organization miss the community/contextual (villagers') rationality and voice of the people who are deemed to be slaves. What is deemed to be right by the villagers in their villages is silenced by a dominant right of scholarly management logics of the zealous researchers. Perhaps it is difficult to voice the sufferings and uncomfortable realities whilst being appreciative to the etiquettes of scholarly discourse and be relevant to sophisticated interventionist management research; I call for its inclusion.

I argue that modern slavery research needs to be much more grounded in the knowledge, relevancies and realities of the local indigenous communities, and so need to be the management interventions. For example, exploration of religion (e.g. Hinduism in our field study) as a knowledge tradition could help unpack the rationality of spending on festivals that leads to debt bondage. Or, assistance in getting workers' children married may prove to be an effective interventionist practice in a bid to eradicate debt bondage among kiln workers. The dispositif approach to modern slavery research would make visible these salient connections,

and in doing that, address the disconnect of modern slavery research with the practices that produce slaves.

More importantly, such an approach would highlight the conceptual invisibility of modern slavery research that, for example, would routinely separate the organs from people in discussions of either organ trafficking or modern slavery. Organ trafficking, as such, does not find much discussion in the scholarly discourse of modern slavery or vice versa. The point I wish to put across is that making the suffering of the slaves visible in management research may open up spaces where people, for example, those whose organs are harvested, become the focus of inquiry and, in doing so, structures that enable such trade are unpacked, unveiled and hopefully dismantled.

References

Aguinis, H., & Glavas, A. (2012). What we know and don't know about corporate social responsibility: A review and research agenda. *Journal of management, 38*(4), 932-968.

Ahmad, Z. (1962). Muslim Caste in Uttar Pradesh. *The Economic Weekly, 14*(7), 325-336.

Ainsworth, S. (2002). The 'feminine advantage': A discursive analysis of the invisibility of older women workers. *Gender, Work & Organization, 9*(5), 579-601.

Alamgir, F., & Alakavuklar, O. N. (2020). Compliance codes and women Workers' (Mis)representation and (Non)recognition in the apparel industry of Bangladesh. *Journal of Business Ethics, 165*(2), 295-310. 10.1007/s10551-018-4080-2

Alamgir, F., & Cairns, G. (2015). Economic inequality of the badli workers of Bangladesh: Contested entitlements and a 'perpetually temporary' life-world. *Human Relations, 68*(7), 1131-1153. 10.1177/0018726714559433

Alvesson, M., & Willmott, H. (1992). On the idea of emancipation in management and organization studies. *Academy of Management Review, 17*(3), 432-464.

Alvinius, A., Krekula, C., & Larsson, G. (2018). Managing visibility and differentiating in recruitment of women as leaders in the armed forces. *Journal of Gender Studies, 27*(5), 534-546.

Anti-Slavery International. (2017). *Slavery in India's brick kilns & the payment system Anti-Slavery International volunteers for social justice: Way forward in the fight for fair wages, decent work and eradication of slavery*. London, UK: Anti-Slavery International.

Aradau, C., Huysmans, J., Neal, A., & Voelkner, N. (2014). *Critical security methods: New frameworks for analysi.* London: Routledge.

Ashcraft, K., & Mumby, D. K. (2003). *Reworking gender: A feminist communicology of organization*. London: Sage Publications.

Bager, A. S., & Mølholm, M. (2020). A Methodological Framework for Organizational Discourse Activism: an Ethics of Dispositif and Dialogue. *Philosophy of Management, 19*(1), 99-126.

Bales, K. (2010). How to combat modern slavery. *Ted Talks.* Retrieved from https://www.ted.com/talks/kevin_bales_how_to_combat_modern_slavery/transcript?language=en

Bales, K. (2012). *Disposable people: New slavery in the global economy*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Ballakrishnen, S., Fielding-Singh, P., & Magliozzi, D. (2019). Intentional invisibility: professional women and the navigation of workplace constraints. *Sociological Perspectives, 62*(1), 23-41.

Banerjee, S. B. (2011). Voices of the governed: Towards a theory of the translocal. *Organization, 18*(3), 323-344.

Bansal, P., & Corley, K. (2011). The coming of age for qualitative research: Embracing the diversity of qualitative methods. *Academy of Management Journal. 54*(2), 233-237.

BBC. (2014). *Why India's brick kiln workers 'live like slaves'.* Retrieved 05/07/2017 2017 from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-25556965

Bindeman, S. L. (2017). Foucault on Silence as Discourse. In S.l. Bindeman (ed.). *Silence in Philosophy, Literature, and Art* (pp. 143-146). Leiden: Brill.

Bowen, F., & Blackmon, K. (2003). Spirals of silence: The dynamic effects of diversity on organizational voice. *Journal of Management Studies, 40*(6), 1393-1417.

Caruana, R., Crane, A., Gold, S., & LeBaron, G. (2020). Modern slavery in business: the sad and sorry state of a non-field. *Business & Society*, 0007650320930417.

Chakravartty, P., & da Silva, D. F. (2012). Accumulation, dispossession, and debt: The racial logic of global capitalism—An introduction. *American Quarterly, 64*(3), 361-385.

Crane, A. (2013). Modern slavery as a management practice: Exploring the conditions and capabilities for human exploitation. *Academy of Management Review, 38*(1), 49-69.

Deetz, S. (1997). Discursive formations, strategized subordination and self-subordination and self-surveillance. In *Foucault, management and organization theory.* (pp. 151-172). London: Sage.

Deleuze, G. (1988). What is a dispositif? In T. J. Armstrong (Ed.), *Michel Foucault, philosopher*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Deleuze, G. (1992). *Postscript on the Societies of Control*. Cambridge: MIT press.

Department of Labour (2018). Retrieved from https://www.jklabour.com/welcome/validate

Derry, R. (2012). Reclaiming marginalized stakeholders. *Journal of Business Ethics, 111*(2), 253-264.

Dutta, M. J. (2012). *Voices of resistance: Communication and social change*. Purdue: Purdue University Press.

Erevelles, N. (2002). Voices of silence: Foucault, disability, and the question of self-determination. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 21*(1), 17-35.

Fenstermaker, S., & West, C. (2002). *Doing gender, doing difference: Inequality, power, and institutional change*. New York: Routledge.

Ferguson, K. E. (1994). On bringing more theory, more voices and more politics to the study of organization. *Organization, 1*(1), 81-99.

Foucault, M. (1973). *The birth of the clinic*. London: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish : the birth of the prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality.* London: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1988). *Madness and civilization: A history of insanity in the age of reason*. London: Vintage Press.

Foucault, M. (2003). *" Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976*. New York: Picador.

Foucault, M. (2006). *History of madness*. London: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (2008). *The birth of biopolitics : lectures at the College de France, 1978-1979*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Goli, S., Rammohan, A., & Reddy, S. P. (2020). The interaction of household agricultural landholding and Caste on food security in rural Uttar Pradesh, India. *Food Security*. 13(1). 219-237.

Hall, S. (2001). Foucault: Power, knowledge and discourse. In M.Wetherell, S. Yates & S.Taylor (eds.) *Discourse theory and practice: A reader.* (pp. 72-81). London: Sage.

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2017). Declaration, 2012. *Allen, Texas: Argo-Navis*

Harvey, D. (2005). *The new imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hawksley, h. (2014). *Punished by axe: Bonded labour in India's brick kilns.* BBC News. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-27486450

Hearn, J. (1994). Changing men and changing managements: social change, social research and social action. In M. Davidson & R. Burke (eds.) *Women in management: Current research issues*. (pp. 192-213). London: Paul Chapman.

Hirschman, A. O. (1970). *Exit, voice, and loyalty: Responses to decline in firms, organizations, and states* (Vol. 25). Cambridge: Harvard university press.

Hudson, K. A., & Wheeler, E. (2010). Globalization and the black market organ trade: when even a kidney can't pay the bills. *Disability Studies Quarterly. 28*(4). 1-6.

ILO. (2017). *21 million people are now victims of forced labour, ILO says*. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_181961/lang--en/index.htm

ILO. (2019). *Business and forced labour*. Retrieved 16/07 2019 from https://www.ilo.org/empent/areas/business-helpdesk/WCMS_DOC_ENT_HLP_FL_EN/lang--en/index.htm

Keating, C., Rasmussen, C., & Rishi, P. (2010). The rationality of empowerment: Microcredit, accumulation by dispossession, and the gendered economy. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 36*(1), 153-176.

Khan, F. R., Munir, K. A., & Willmott, H. (2007). A dark side of institutional entrepreneurship: Soccer balls, child labour and postcolonial impoverishment. *Organization Studies, 28*(7), 1055-1077.

Khan, F. R., Westwood, R., & Boje, D. M. (2010). 'I feel like a foreign agent': NGOs and corporate social responsibility interventions into Third World child labor. *Human Relations, 63*(9), 1417-1438.

Khare, R. (2020). *Bonded Labour In India: An Analysis*. Retrieved 9/10/2020 2020 from https://www.mondaq.com/india/employee-rights-labour-relations/882222/bonded-labour-in-india-an-analysis#:~:text=STATUTORY%20SAFEGUARDS%20AGAINST%20BONDED%20LABOUR,various%20safeguards%20against%20bonded%20labour.&text=Any%20person%20detained%20in%20civil,the%20provisions%20of%20the%20act.

Kilgour, M. A. (2013). The Global Compact and Gender Inequality:A Work in Progress. *Business & Society, 52*(1), 105-134. 10.1177/0007650312459918

Knights, D., & Willmott, H. (1999). *Management lives: Power and identity in work organizations.* London: Sage.

Lindsay, D. M. (2010). Organizational liminality and interstitial creativity: The fellowship of power. *Social Forces, 89*(1), 163-184.

Linstead, S. (2000). Comment: gender blindness or gender suppression? A comment on Fiona Wilson's research note. *Organization Studies, 21*(1), 297-303.

Lockett, A., Moon, J., & Visser, W. (2006). Corporate social responsibility in management research: Focus, nature, salience and sources of influence. *Journal of Management Studies, 43*(1), 115-136.

Lorenzini, D. (2015). What is a" Regime of Truth"? *Le foucaldien, 1*(1). 1-5.

Lugo, V., & Gilligan, C. (2019). Narratives of Surviving and Restoration:“Here I Am a Total Llanera Woman”. *Qualitative inquiry, 25*(9-10), 1091-1100.

Marta, B., & Smircich, L. (1996). From ‘The Woman’s’ Point of View: Feminist Approaches to Organization. In C. Stewart, C. Hardy & W.R. Nord. *Handbook of organization studies*. (pp. 218).

Martin, P. Y., & Collinson, D. (2002). Over the pond and across the water’: developing the field of ‘gendered organizations. *Gender, Work & Organization, 9*(3), 244-265.

Mason, J. (1996). *Qualitative researching* London: Sage.

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. 10.1177/0007650316675610

Mehrotra, S. (2006). Well-being and caste in Uttar Pradesh: Why UP is not like Tamil Nadu. *Economic and Political Weekly*, *41*. 4261-4271.

Mishra, D. K. (2020). Seasonal Migration and Unfree Labour in Globalising India: Insights from Field Surveys in Odisha. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics 63*(4). 1087-1106.

Raffnsøe, S., Mennicken, A., & Miller, P. (2019). The Foucault effect in organization studies. *Organization Studies, 40*(2). 155-182.

Rudman, L. A., Borgida, E., & Robertson, B. A. (1995). Suffering in Silence: Procedural Justice Versus Gender Socialization issues in University Sexual Harassment Grievence Procedures. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 17*(4), 519-541.

Simpson, R., & Lewis, P. (2005). An investigation of silence and a scrutiny of transparency: Re-examining gender in organization literature through the concepts of voice and visibility. *Human Relations, 58*(10), 1253-1275.

Srivastava, R. (2019). End bondage, demand millions of Indian brick kiln workers as polls loom. Retrieved 20/7/2019 from https://www.reuters.com/article/us-india-labour-bondage/end-bondage-demand-millions-of-indian-brick-kiln-workers-as-polls-loom-idUSKCN1RA0XC

Stead, V. (2013). Learning to deploy (in) visibility: An examination of women leaders' lived experiences. *Management learning, 44*(1), 63-79.

Taneja, S. S., Taneja, P. K., & Gupta, R. K. (2011). Researches in corporate social responsibility: A review of shifting focus, paradigms, and methodologies. *Journal of Business Ethics, 101*(3), 343-364.

Turnley, W. H., & Feldman, D. C. (1999). The impact of psychological contract violations on exit, voice, loyalty, and neglect. *Human Relations, 52*(7), 895-922.

Villadsen, K. (2019). 'The Dispositive': Foucault's Concept for Organizational Analysis? *Organization Studies, 0*(0), 0170840619883664. 10.1177/0170840619883664

Wasserman, V., & Frenkel, M. (2019). The politics of (in) visibility displays: Ultra-orthodox women manoeuvring within and between visibility regimes. *Human Relations.* 0(0). 0018726719879984.

Willmott, H. (2016). Bringing agency (back) into organizational analysis: Responding to the crisis of (post) modemity. In J.Hassard & M. Parker. (eds.) *Towards a New Theory of Organizations* (pp. 109-152). London: Routledge.

Wilson, F. (1996). Research note: Organizational theory: Blind and deaf to gender? *Organization Studies, 17*(5), 825-842.

Wray-Bliss, E. (2002). Abstract ethics, embodied ethics: The strange marriage of Foucault and positivism in labour process theory. *Organization, 9*(1), 5-39.

Yousaf, F. N., & Purkayastha, B. (2015). 'I am only half alive': Organ trafficking in Pakistan amid interlocking oppressions. *International Sociology, 30*(6), 637-653.

Reviewer/Editor Comments:

The reviewer's provided a detailed feedback about how to improve the paper. I have made some changes, particularly with regards to the structure of the argument (already included in the chapter) and am working on making other changes/improvements. Nevertheless, below is the general comment for the editor.

I (the editor) read your paper with interest given my own interests in the topics of inequality. I was particularly interested given your highlighting of the missing voices of slaves and the conditions that produce slavery.

Your manuscript is well-written and speaks to issues that the Business and Society journal and its readers are interested in. Your study can potentially make a solid contribution to modern slavery literature. I would like to invite you to revise the manuscript and resubmit it.

CHAPTER 6

Title: Where is my Passport? – Auto-ethnographic Study of Researching Modern Slavery

6.1. Overview:

Aim of the chapter: *In this chapter, I engage with the governance of my 'self' through, and in relationship with, my family, community, modern slaves, and elected governments to demonstrate how the Foucauldian concept of governmentality might help to theorise political relations as enabling condition that sustain modern slavery. The discussion is framed around four vignettes that, in different ways, demonstrate how neoliberal logics, perpetuated through regimes of truth, serve as a normative warrant for the practice of slavery as well as political occupation. I then point to an alternative (activist) epistemology that challenges the hegemony of the grand narratives of neoliberal logics, and possibly creates a register for expression of resistance.*

Duplication: Readers are expected to find some duplication in the use of literature, particularly around the discussion of Foucauldian concepts.

Publication details: This paper has been submitted to the journal, *Culture and Organization* published by Taylor and Francis publishers.

Appended as DRC16: Massey University's publication contribution form is included below.

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

Statement of contribution to Doctoral Thesis containing publications

We, the candidate and the candidate's Principal Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of Candidate: Omer Nazir

Name/Title of Principal Supervisor: Craig Prichard

Name of Published Research Output and full reference:

Where is my Passport? – Auto-ethnographic Study of Researching Modern Slavery. (**Under review** in *Culture and Organization Journal*)

In which Chapter is the Published Work: 7

Please indicate either:

- The percentage of the Published Work that was contributed by the candidate: and / or
- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the Published Work:

This paper is my reflective account of researching modern slavery as my Ph.D. project. In this paper I engage with the governance of my 'self' using the Foucauldian concept of governmentality to

demonstrate the similarity in normative warrants in neoliberal regimes with that in slavery. After consultation with my supervisors and including their suggestions, the paper, was submitted to *Culture and Organization* journal. The paper is currently **under review**.

Candidate's Signature: Omer Nazir

Date: 28/03/2021

Primary Supervisor's Signature:

"The real political task in a society … is to criticize the workings of institutions that appear to be both neutral and independent, to criticize and attack them in such a manner that the political violence that has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight against them."

(Foucault in The Chomsky - Foucault debate: On human nature)

6.2. Introduction

Modern slavery is an evocative topic that has invoked responses from economic, social, and political standpoints. These responses, in both academic and popular accounts, tend to rest on the assumption of slavery being a property relation between a master and a slave. In such relations certain individuals or groups, possibly of specific racial, social, economic or cultural linkages, become personalised possessions or servants for life, much like a movable property like livestock or tools (Bales & Robbins, 2001; Meillassoux, 1991). The common definitional landscape of slavery, notably that of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), reifies this assumption in describing modern slavery as a relation of ownership (ILO, 2017a, 2017b).

However, a necessary precondition for limiting the wayward human living into properties would need control mechanisms that could ensure obedience to slave owners; perhaps, through deprivation of rights. For example, before the legal abolition of slavery passing public laws or ordinances were used in the attempt to regulate slave behaviours or racial relations (Mulligan & Bric, 2013). After its abolition, debt relations (LeBaron, 2014), contract relations (Han, 2015) or kinship relations (Guérin et al., 2015) serve as tools to regulate the modern slaves.

In other words, below the surface of the relation between the slaves and the master, which mostly is the focus of inquiry in research, modern slavery is a complex social relationship that is formed and reproduced by the interaction of the slaves, their family, the masters, the state and society as a whole. It transcends the confines of the individual relation, and

therefore should not be treated as such. For example, Cooke (2003) addressed slavery not based on ownership relation but as a condition that historically enabled industrial capitalism, and Banerjee (2021, p. 416) extended it by claiming that "modern slavery is an enabling condition of global neoliberalism."

In this vein, I further the argument of addressing modern slavery through (and as) the enabling condition(s) to show how the Foucauldian concept of governmentality might help us in its conceptualisation. Governmentality, in its most general sense, refers to the nexus between individual self-governance, such as behaviour or conduct of individuals, and the government of society by political rule (Lait, 2010). For Foucault (1991), this connection was increasingly problematic, particularly in the absence of a unified government. For him, "government" doesn't exist at all in view but rather exists in practices, directives and forms of examination that create a governed subject, a group or population (Odysseos, 2011). In this sense, the concept of governmentality implies that there exists not one but a multiplicity of 'governments' including the government of the self/individual, household/family, community and state.

The concept of governmentality provides an analytical tool for exploring modern slavery as a condition enabled and sustained by what could be described as practices prescribed by the various 'governments.' It is particularly a much relevant tool in this autoethnographic study as I engage with the governance of my 'self' through, and in relationship with, my family, community, modern slaves, and elected governments. The concept helps to contribute to accounts of modern slavery as a form of pastoral power that produces self-disciplined submissive subjects that supersedes the formal control of one person or a group over another.

As a means of showing how governmentality elaborates the complex dynamics of modern slavery, this paper offers four vignettes followed by my commentary/analysis in the tradition

of autoethnography (Sparkes, 2000; Wall, 2006; Dauphinee, 2010). The first two discursively show the political tensions in the research of modern slavery, and the other two point to alternative/activist epistemologies. The vignettes primarily comprise my narratives as a PhD student planning and preparing for fieldwork (to study modern slavery) in Indian brick kilns in light of an unexpected political decision of the Indian state to revoke partial autonomy of an erstwhile state, Jammu and Kashmir, and the following clampdown on the whole population using the military might (See appendix 4 for the details about the revocation of Kashmir's autonomy on 5th August 2019)[13]. I discuss these vignettes via the concept of *governmentality* to theorise political relations as an encompassing apparatus producing conditions that sustain modern slavery.

In the next section, I will further discuss the concept of governmentality, particularly in relation to the case, followed by four vignettes. These vignettes provide the context to commentary and analysis that comprise the remainder of this paper.

6.3. Governmentality

Foucault's later work, especially after *Discipline and Punish* (1977) is characterised by two main projects. On the one hand, in his series of lectures, articles and interviews, he explores political rationalities and the *genealogy of the state*. While as, on the other hand, his book(s) on the history of sexuality engages more with the ethical question and explores the *genealogy of the subject.* Lemke (2002, p. 50) argues that the notion of governmentality is a link between these two seemingly disparate research interests that address the "problem of government". He uses the term *link* because Foucault used it to analyse the connections between the technologies of production of the self and technologies of domination. In other

[13] Appendix 4 is a report partially produced by the first author and submitted to a select committee of the New Zealand parliament in February 2020.

words, governmentality as a concept is a guideline for the analysis of power, emphasising governing of people's conduct through the formation of conforming subjects who willingly participate in the production of governing regimes.

The current and growing literature about governmentality forms a varied yet consistent and influential line of thinking about government as a decentred process (Dean, 2013; Lait, 2010; Lemke, 2002; O'Malley, Weir, & Shearing, 1997; Sanyal, 2014). This means that the broad discussion of governmentality points towards its most underlying principles. First, it points towards refutation of identifying government with the state, understood as a site of centralised rule; and secondly towards appreciation of the practice of rule in micro-settings through micro-technologies, including the ones within the subjects. However, another distinctive and possibly more important engagement with the governmentality literature has been its adoption as a theoretical positioning, wherein power is decomposed into political rationalities, government programmes, and techniques and technologies of the government (Miller & Rose, 1990; O'Malley et al., 1997). In the context of this paper, this line of discussion may be extended in two ways.

Firstly, such engagement would concern the questions about the ways in which government programmes are formed and expressed within what Miller and Rose (1990) term as broader discourses of rule or political rationalities. According to them, such an approach is related to how government can be thought of in and as systematic form, how the practitioners of the rule may question themselves about the best way to govern, what techniques they deploy to render the subjects of rule governable, and how governments reform evolves with respect to the evaluations of failures or success of their programmes. This is in contrast with the much more familiar approach where the rule would be examined through the observation of what actually happened or through documented detail about the implementation of the programme of rule. In this sense, governmentality allows us to address politics primarily as an 'apparatus

of rule' where practices provide an empirical record (Clegg, 2019) of governmental programmes, its responses and evaluation. For Dean (2013) and O'Malley et al. (1997, p. 502), one of the main aims of governmentality inquiry is to frame "a genealogy of the rationality of rule" and formulate programmatic schemes through which practical government is translated. For example, in 'Genealogy of the government of poverty,' Dean (1992, p. 215) approaches the problem of poverty and subsequent interventions not as limits of the governmental rule, but as a part of what he terms "the constitution of poverty" in liberal modes of government as a field of "knowledge and invention", and distinctively as "surfaces of emergence" for what may appear to be social. In the same vein, I approach modern slavery and subsequent interventions not as a problem or the failure of the rule (state or the corporate), but attempt to demonstrate, via my engagement and experience, how slavery, as the "mentality of rule," is used to sustain the territorial occupation; often through efficiency and developmental narratives, particularly in the case of Indian control of Kashmir with respect to events detailed in appendix 4.

Secondly, and perhaps closely related, engagement would focus on the technologies and set/s of practices, techniques, agents and materials that are used to put the abstract programmes and rationalities of the government into effect (Morsing & Spence, 2019). Such engagement, or more precisely, exploring and examining the processes and their recorded representation, has been considerably used in governmentality literature. For example, Cruikshank (1999) examines the use of citizenship and self-government in democratic and reformist discourses put forward as solutions to poverty, political apathy, crime and other problems to theorise the transformation of individual subjects into citizens. The citizens, he argues, are capable of self-government through technologies of citizenship, including but not limited to promotion of self-promotion, self-sufficiency, efficiency, self-discipline, self-esteem etc. In the same vein, Lorenzini (2018, p. 154) argues that "neoliberalism as governmental rationality"

transforms subjects, through the much purported notion of individual freedom, into the very instruments that are directed and disciplined and constituted of specific, eminently governable subjectivities. Building on such work, particularly for the purpose of this paper, would not only serve to break down the notion of modern slavery as a monopoly of practice by slave businesses/owners but will also bring to fore the nexus between the broader political rationalities and micro-technologies of everyday life that demonstrably sustain the practice of slavery as an enabling condition for the mentality of rule.

6.4. A bit of autoethnography on using autoethnography

In this section, I outline my experience of this auto-ethnographic study while addressing the question of what a valid scientific inquiry is. I do so because I too, as Wall (2006) notes, was socialised to believe only objective, experimental, and statistically valid science is real. So strong is the influence of positivist tradition that while relying mainly on a qualitative and reflexive methods, I find myself attempting to defend my research as 'valid science'. But, reflexively, that is a bit of autoethnography about doing autoethnography; so, be it. Therefore, I put to paper how personalised accounts drawn upon my experiences, as an academic and an activist, could extend understanding of modern slavery, possibly as my reflexive voice (Sparkes, 2000). In other words, in keeping with the tradition of autoethnography, I reflect on my personal struggles (of validity, acceptability and criticisms) as I seek to balance excellence in inquiry while embracing the first person.

It was with the introduction to critical management studies, particularly to theoretical traditions of competing ontologies (e.g. Feminism: masculine and feminine; Marx: capital and labour; Power: oppressor and oppressed; Reflexivity: self and other), and my awareness of it, I was able to think of what constitutes knowledge differently, perhaps as a different kind of subject to a different mode of governmentality. The essence of the critical tradition of

inquiry is that there are many ways of knowing, and none is privileged (Wall, 2006). As Neumann (1994, p. 74) puts it, "the research can never do more than describe, with all descriptions equally valid," and in auto-ethnographic studies, the researcher describes his/her personal experiences. Many other studies support this claim, highlighting the presence of the researcher's experience and prejudice in the interpretation of observations, or even numeric data, to construct (or privilege) one interpretation among many (Dauphinee, 2010; Dickson & Holland, 2017; Neumann, 1994; Sparkes, 2000). Such work has been particularly important to me not only in breaking the façade of a particular type of objectivity claims and prerogatives of unbiased work in positivist methods but also in lending support to rely on a more subjective method like autoethnography for the purpose of this paper. Autoethnography is based on a claim to knowledge formed out of a reflexive interpretation with the 'self' as the target of analysis. So, I interpret my experience of having lived in an occupied territory (Kashmir) and being a researcher of modern slavery in making this attempt to theorise political relations as enabling condition for modern slavery. After all, having local and experiential knowledge is still knowing (Dauphinee, 2010).

Nevertheless, my point here is not to eliminate or reduce the importance of the traditional scientific method but to question its hegemony and to demonstrate that it is possible to produce and share knowledge in other ways. The use of autoethnography as a method in this study opens the door to the subjective, apparently unique [14] and possibly evocative experiences to make a contribution to understanding modern slavery as a condition, that I say is produced for and produced by the nexus between the political rule and the subjects. In other words, this method allows the 'me' – a subject of occupational rule, a student of modern slavery, and more importantly, the target of analysis to be questioned and critically

[14] Unique from governmentality perspective is less than unique and inevitably social, hence the use of the phrase "apparently unique.

challenged for practices, assumptions and commitments – to know that my experiences matter, and that holds a symbolic emancipatory promise.

But while I share my experience to advance knowledge, autoethnographic tradition also teaches me to take a pause to think about my position and presence that perhaps could influence the process of research. It teaches me to be reflexive. Reflexivity as a research concept has been widely discussed in the qualitative research literature (Alvesson, Hardy, & Harley, 2008; Clough, 2000; Corlett & Mavin, 2018; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). However, as Wall (2006, p. 148) argues, more often than not, it is lost as a paragraph in otherwise neutral research manuscripts and is reduced to "token reflection." The autoethnographic tradition challenges the value of token reflection, and in this study, I acknowledge my freedom to speak as a player in my study of modern slavery. I balance my experience with experiences of what I claim to be studying in the attempt to demonstrate commonalities of governmental rationalities in enabling the occupation of territories by states and of individuals by modern slave-owners.

In the next section, I present some vignettes trying to articulate my experiences that I use to demonstrate how the political rule, using various techniques, create conforming subjects and how that is in many ways similar to the production of modern slaves.

6.5. Vignettes

6.5.1. Say 'research', not 'slavery' – It is an ethical inquiry now!

February 2019: Waking up to a ping of an email titled *ethics approval granted*, I vividly remember, was a sigh of relief – I sighed in a quite literal sense. Seven months earlier, I had put in an application before the university's human ethics committee to study modern slavery for my PhD research. The ethical approval was repeatedly rejected before being ultimately granted after complying with the directives of the ethics committee, including dropping the

word “slavery” from the title of the research project and elsewhere in the application (Information sheets, consent letters, description of the research etc.). I reached for my passport to book the travel for my field study in the India brick kilns and left in two days. It had to be done in urgency as brick making in kilns is seasonal work, and people I had negotiated the access with for the study were set to recruit labourers for the season.

On reaching the kiln site, I enthusiastically got to business – met the kiln owner and the kiln manager trying to explain our research project. They gave me a patient hearing and a nod to observe the kiln for the next few weeks. However, it became clear to me in the first two days that I didn’t have permission from them to access everyday life and work in a brick kiln. Luckily, I secured access via a referral from my cousin. He works as a local government contractor for civil works and happened to be one of the main buyers of the bricks from the kiln. In a sense, he provided me with my research ‘passport’. After the kiln owner met my cousin who requested his assistance in the data collection for my research, he said, “you should have told me you are Mr. Haq’s cousin. He is a thorough businessman. Are you studying business too? Just let me know what assistance can we provide for your PhD? [Speaking to his manager] Show him around; In fact, take him along for the recruitment trip, if he wishes to.”

How different the ontological commitments of Western universities, where I study towards my PhD, are from the corresponding epistemological positions in the field. The priority (epistemic) is perhaps situated in relational, somewhat familial regimes of inclusion and exclusion practices built on reciprocity realised through favours/gifts for future returns. I wondered.

6.5.2. Say hello, it's Jennifer!

It had been more than a month since I could speak to any of my family members or friends in Kashmir amid complete communication gag imposed by the Indian state, and suddenly at an ungodly hour (around 12 am), I got a call from a phone number with an Indian dial code. I was up in a jiffy to attend to what turned out to be an unfamiliar voice. "Can you call on the following number? It is a working phone line in Kashmir, and if you call now, Jennifer will receive your call." I noted the phone number and immediately made the call. To my delight, it indeed was Jennifer, my fiancé, on the other side of the phone.

She had gone to the divisional commissioner's office in Kashmir to make a call from one of the very few working telephones reserved for use by higher state officials, in an otherwise defunct communication infrastructure. She had to call her friend in Delhi, who could make the international call to New Zealand, to pass the message to me. To arrange the call back from me, she only had few minutes, and when she talked, she was conscious of not talking about the military siege. It wasn't allowed, and if she did, the prospect of making contact with loved ones for people like her could be jeopardised. I could sense the troubles she would have faced to get to a working phone in curfewed streets of Kashmir – I lauded her grit.

6.5.3. Say Azaadi (Freedom)!

I had prepared well in advance for the second phase of the field study, which was scheduled for October-November of 2019 – the end of production season for making bricks in Kashmir. My passport was due to expire in January of 2020, and I had sent it, well in advance, to the Indian embassy in Wellington, New Zealand for renewal. The renewal usually takes 15 days, but for residents of Kashmir, it takes a bit longer as the region is categorised as 'disturbed' because of the separatist protests and demonstrations prevalent there. On the 1st of August, almost after a month of applying for the renewal, I made an enquiry with the Indian embassy

and was informed that they are awaiting police clearance from Kashmir, and my passport will be dispatched immediately on its receipt. They gave me a time frame of a week.

However, I didn't receive my renewed passport for months to follow. On the 5th of August 2019, the Indian state moved a bill in the parliament revoking the partial autonomy that the region of Kashmir had held since 1947 (See appendix 4 for details). Following the revocation, the region of Kashmir was curfewed, communication infrastructure, including telephones and internet services, was disabled, and thousands of people were put under preventive detention in a bid to deal with apprehensions of protests against the move. For me, this meant there could be not clearance sent, and I would have no passport.

At first, my inability to move because of the passport made me anxious, particularly about the research project. But as weeks passed, my anxieties found a vent in resistance. I protested, along with many others who were affected by the Indian state violence that effectively turned a region with around 8 million population into a prison. I, now, didn't ask only for my passport but also called for "*Azaadi*" – freedom.

Nevertheless, when I finally received my passport in mid-October, my motivation to travel had long vanished as the production season in the brick kilns of Kashmir was cut short because of the Indian siege in Kashmir that also included evacuating all the migrant workers from the region just before revoking the partial autonomy. I sometimes wonder how the political situation in Kashmir (essentially imprisoning an entire population) would have played out for debt bonded workers who basically work towards repayments of their debt. The debt must have grown, pushing them further into bondage, I guess.

6.5.4. Say it to Jacinda Ardern – the Prime Minister!

Unsure as to how to deal with the unforeseen events that had unfolded, I, on a usual scheduled time, went to my supervisor (Craig Prichard) to give him an update and seek

advice about what could be done in case of my inability to go for data collection. His response on the day, though not surprisingly, gave me some hope. He said, “Don’t worry about the data; you have narrated a case where an entire population of a region is militarily occupied and essentially enslaved.” Tell me, how can I be of any help” - Perhaps my anxieties were too palpable to hide. “I don’t know what to do,” I said. “Say it to Jacinda. Write to the prime minister,” he replied, and so I did. I also narrated my experiences in a local newspaper, and so it happened that people of Kashmiri origin contacted me in relation to holding a public protest meeting. This was followed by a few public meetings in the local public library and university auditorium and the parliament lawns where I presented the Kashmir situation as a case of territorial neo-colonialism of an expansionist regime. Each time my advisor supported, refined and, in fact, amplified my struggle.

As we went along, it was suggested to hold a meeting in the grand hall of parliament, and my supervisor booked the parliament grand hall under his name, and role – a senior academic of a New Zealand public university. A local MP (member of parliament), as was the requirement for booking the parliament premises, supported the event and we sent the invitations to various stakeholders, including some MP, diplomats, academics, and activists. As we were nearing the date for the parliament meeting, resistance from different quarters started coming in. Indian High Commission in Wellington put pressure on university academics and managers who advised Craig to call off the meeting and to withdraw any connection to the university itself. Craig, as I would expect, didn’t agree. However, pressure from other quarters started coming in. The MP who had supported the event pulled their support, and therefore the booking of the parliament hall was cancelled. The meeting was finally held in a church hall a hundred metres away from the grand hall of the parliament. Meanwhile, the Indian High Commission put pressure on the government and the Minister of

Foreign Affairs wrote to all MP and told them that they should not attend the meeting. In the end, two opposition MPs did attend the meeting.

In the meantime, Craig had received an email from the high commission seeking a meeting so that they could explain to us the basis and rationale of what they termed as 'full annexation of Jammu and Kashmir'. We accepted and reiterated our request that they join us as speakers at the meeting. This request was, however, denied citing prior engagements. Nevertheless, we met the official from the high commission of India in a café a few hours before the start of our event. Craig conveyed my inability to speak to my family and my worries about the possibilities of my diabetic dad not getting insulin in curfewed and silenced Kashmir. In his response, the official handed us flyers (see appendix 5) detailing how the revocation of Kashmir's autonomy would bring development, prosperity, and investments to the region. Curfewed lives of Kashmiri's amid militarily restricted movements and absolute gag on communication infrastructure, for him, seemed to be a non-issue.

Enslavement of populations too follows neo-liberal logic – of development, efficiency, and prosperity – I pondered.

6.6. Commentary

As has been pointed in section 7.4., I now offer a commentary that places "me," via my experiences narrated in the vignettes above, at the centre of the analysis. In analysing the first vignette, I conclude there is a similarity. But there also is something seriously wrong in that similarity. That is because the similarities that I am referring to are not the ones that would presumably emerge as a function of cause and effect relation. For example, in spite of the observable difference between how I thought about doing fieldwork in the ethics application process and the actual practice of doing fieldwork, there could be some similarities because university ethics approval essentially is a training exercise for the researcher to undertake the

field work. That similarity, there is not. Instead, the similarities are of practices for compliance with what is deemed to be acceptable. For example, in both the case of the ethics approval and in case of getting approval to conduct the study in the field, it took a change of name to get the access. For the university, dropping of the name "slavery" was safe, and framing the problem as something related to the research focus of the business school, which mostly revolves around efficiency and developmental narratives, would make the study relevant. For the kiln owner, it was changing my name from "a researcher" to 'the contractor's brother' who studies business that made the data accessible and study possible.

The name serves as a signifier for the 'mentality of rule' that is produced by (and for) governing rationalities. In terms of the name 'slavery', in its actual rather than metaphorical presence, there is little to be found despite some recent articles about 'modern slavery' in business journals (Caruana et al., 2020; Crane, 2013; Gold et al., 2015). That is possibly because the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century rendered plausible a future without slavery, and therefore it was excluded from discussions of modernity, particularly from those of modern management. Cooke (2003) reasoned that the denial of slavery in the management discourse is because of the construction of a common grand narrative among the exemplars of management (Braverman, 1974; Burnham, 1942; Chandler, 1977; Grey, 1999), in which it has emerged as an activity of managers who are produced by increasing industrial sophistication of global capitalism. Almost two decades later, when Caruana et al. (2020) address the lack of slavery research in business, they term it 'a non-field,' the logic still stands. For me, the persistence of the university's ethics committees to keep away from the name "slavery" and aligning my research to 'what business schools do' reiterates Cooke's argument pointing to the hegemony of functionalist and efficiency narratives in business and management discourse.

From a governmentality perspective, the rationality of prioritising the grand narratives of business and management may be seen as 'a regime of truth,[15]' a technique, used to govern the subjects in the process of producing subjects that conform to neoliberal values of efficiency, functionalism, competition and development. Experientially, this was also demonstrated by my engagement with the kiln owner, for whom my identifier of 'relative of a business partner studying business management' was considered more approvingly than 'a researcher trying to unpack debt relations'. With regards to the problem of debt slavery, he was quick to register the logic of 'efficiency and individual responsibility' as a solution to debt slavery. He said:

> *"…. [We pay] labourers more than what government has prescribed. If they work in NREGA (a government minimum work guarantee scheme), they get Rs. 18000 a year. We pay a lot more than that, and that too in* ***advance*** *for one season. …. The problem lies in whether they spend the money* ***responsibly and make the best of what they have****. There are people who have worked for us and have done well in their lives. We usually contract out labour requirements to the people who work here and show determination."* (Also see: Chapter 6)

The individual's actions here are normatively embedded in neoliberal logics of individuality, efficiency and self-responsibility, so as to steer away from any involvement in limiting the autonomy of individuals through advances (debt relation). After all, the notion of "debt has to be paid" is, in a Foucauldian sense, a demonstration of the nature of *biopower* realised through subjectification of self (Antoniades, 2018; Di Feliciantonio, 2016; Lazzarato, 2012). This is to say that 'regimes of truth' form a *society of control* that uses 'biopower', in its

[15] Lorenzini (2015, p. 2) describes Foucauldian notion of "regime of truth" (1) "the type of discourse [society] harbours and causes to function as true" (2) "the techniques and procedures which are valorised for obtaining truth" and (3) "the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as truth"

definitional sense, to regulate the social life from its interior, where the subject follows, interprets, absorbs and rearticulates the rationality of the regimes.

With respect to the regulation of (social) life from the inside, there is a similarity demonstrated in the second vignette, and there again is a problem in that similarity. In taking the trouble of getting to speak to me, Jennifer, an otherwise wayward human being like we all are (as pointed in the introduction), turned into a docile subject whose actions, speech and behaviour were appropriated (channelled) in a society of control using the regime of truth (of law and order) realised through biopower. In subjectification of her 'self' into a conforming docile being, governmentality of various governments, for example, the family, the state or romantic love disciplined her actions. It is much like the formation of a 'society of control' in modern slavery, where contract and debt relations (Han, 2015; LeBaron, 2014) or kinship relations (Guérin et al., 2015) are used as governing rationalities to produce what may be termed as slaves. In both the cases, there is an unseen whip in the hand of the master – for slaves, it is debt, and for subjects in occupied territories, it is occupiers' governance in the name of efficiency and development.

In addition to similarities of compliance that I outlined in the analysis of the first two vignettes, the iterative reading and analysis of my experiences narrated in the latter two vignettes demonstrate that the governing rationalities used for compliance also serve as a normative warrant to undermine acts of resistance. For example, my activism against the military siege (described in vignette three), despite promising organising potential (demonstrated in vignette four), was confronted by the reiteration of neoliberal logics of development and efficiency (clearly visible in the communique from the Indian High Commission available as appendix 5). The communicative techniques, for example of handing and emailing Craig the flyers (appendix 5) and putting pressure on the university and

organisers to call off the solidarity event, produce the regime of truth that is used to perpetuate, in fact, materialise, the governing rationalities of political rule.

In so doing, the neoliberal logics of development and efficiency are used to justify otherwise inacceptable practices, possibly, as collateral in the path to achieve 'greater good' as re-articulation of presumably unchallengeable and accepted rationality. It is much like the kiln owner who talks in a similar vein about workers at the kiln – many of them debt bonded labourers who international labour organisation characterises as modern slaves[16]. Nevertheless, my activism, regardless of the pushbacks from various quarters, did show some promise. The public meeting in the church hall near the Parliament of New Zealand led to a public petition asking for intervention in ending the military siege in Kashmir, which eventually resulted in the submission of a detailed report to select parliamentary committee (Appendix 4). At the least, the activist response contributed to, if not started, the register of oppressed voices of the people living in occupied territories.

Finally, the vignettes demonstrate a 'similarity of violence'. Founded in the common governmentality of neoliberalism; the right to think, speak or act as one wants is violated for the subjects of slavery or of occupational rule. My family couldn't speak to me like slaves can't to theirs; Jennifer's movement and speech were restricted, as is the movement and speech of slaves; and in discussions of slavery or of occupation, grand narratives of efficiency and development placed a hurdle. In other words, much like a characteristic practice of slavery, the autonomy of a population is curbed by what Hardt and Negri (2017) would term as the sovereign political empire of neoliberalism.

[16] International Labour Organisation characterised debt bondage as a form of modern slavery, and brick kilns of India are reported to house millions of people working as debt bonded labour (ILO, 2017)

6.7. Concluding remarks

The governmentality framework offers a way that not only reimagines modern slavery research in a way that acknowledges subjectification of the self through practices and techniques that form regimes of truth, but also recognises the need for a bolder epistemological shift away from hegemonic neoliberal logics. May it be that the time of conciliating with grand narratives of global capitalism, embodied in both the research and practice of modern slavery may be at an end? While the 'functionalist rationale' and approach to modern slavery research has undoubtedly been of importance as it opens a window into operations of modern slavery; the governmentality approach, situated in production of self and examined through the reflection of the self (auto-ethnography), throws open the politics of modern slavery research. It can be, as such, the next step forward to make modern slavery 'of field' (relevant) for management and organisation research, where Caruana et al. (2020) call it a 'non-field' in a sorry and sad state. The sceptic in me may even suggest that there is an urgency to unveil the normative nature of neoliberal narratives (in a genealogical sense) that provide moral warrant for practice that amount to slavery, to overturn the possible normalisation of slavery.

With this in mind, I conclude by explicating implications for modern slavery research, particularly in the field of business and management. I argue for a more reflexive and engaged (activist) epistemology that consciously breaks away from hegemonic neoliberal governmentality realised through regimes of truth. That will not only provide an alternative discourse to the neoliberal ideals but will also, as demonstrated above, serve as a signpost for those who are fed up with an undue focus on functionalism in management research. After all, other population groups, for example, people from occupied territories, share a common struggle with those who are uncritically, and therefore in isolation, categorised as slaves based on individualised relations. Both slaves and people of occupied territories experience

oppression and violence resulting in docility, marginalisation and social isolation. Like slave owners blame the slaves for their chosen sluggishness and not being enterprising to get out their conditions, occupying political rule justify their actions to discipline and control populations using the logic of fostering the enterprise.

References

Alvesson, M., Hardy, C., & Harley, B. (2008). Reflecting on reflexivity: Reflexive textual practices in organization and management theory. *Journal of Management Studies, 45*(3), 480-501.

Antoniades, A. (2018). Gazing into the abyss of indebted society: The social power of money and debt. *Political Studies Review, 16*(4), 279-288. 10.1177/1478929918757135

Bales, K., & Robbins, P. T. (2001). No one shall be held in slavery or servitude: a critical analysis of international slavery conventions. *Human Rights Review, 2*(2), 18-45.

Banerjee, B. (2021). Modern Slavery Is an Enabling Condition of Global Neoliberal Capitalism: Commentary on Modern Slavery in Business. *Business & Society, 60*(2), 415-419. 10.1177/0007650319898478

Braverman, H. (1974). *Labor and monopoly capital*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Burnham, J. (1942). *The Managerial Revolution*. London: Putnam.

Caruana, R., Crane, A., Gold, S., & LeBaron, G. (2020). Modern slavery in business: the sad and sorry state of a non-field. *Business & Society*. 0(0) 0007650320930417.

Chandler, A. D. (1977). *The: The Managerial Revolution in American Business.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Clegg, S. (2019). Governmentality. *Project Management Journal, 50*(3), 266-270. 10.1177/8756972819841260

Clough, P. T. (2000). Comments on setting criteria for experimental writing. *Qualitative inquiry, 6*(2), 278-291.

Cooke, B. (2003). The denial of slavery in management studies. *Journal of Management Studies, 40*(8), 1895-1918.

Corlett, S., & Mavin, S. (2018). Reflexivity and researcher positionality. In : C. Cassell, A.L.L. Cunliffe & G. Grandy (eds.). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative business and management research methods*. London: Sage. (pp. 377-399).

Crane, A. (2013). Modern slavery as a management practice: Exploring the conditions and capabilities for human exploitation. *Academy of Management Review, 38*(1), 49-69.

Cruikshank, B. (1999). *The Will to Empower Democratic Citizans and other Subjects.* New York: Cornell University Press. 10.7591/j.ctvv4126k.4

Dauphinee, E. (2010). The ethics of autoethnography. *Review of International Studies, 36*(3), 799-818.

Dean, M. (1992). A genealogy of the government of poverty. *Economy and Society, 21*(3), 215-251.

Dean, M. (2013). *The signature of power: Sovereignty, governmentality and biopolitics.* London: Sage.

Di Feliciantonio, C. (2016). Subjectification in times of indebtedness and neoliberal/austerity urbanism. *Antipode, 48*(5), 1206-1227.

Dickson, A., & Holland, K. (2017). Hysterical inquiry and autoethnography: A Lacanian alternative to institutionalized ethical commandments. *Current Sociology, 65*(1), 133-148.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish : the birth of the prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1991). *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gold, S., Trautrims, A., & Trodd, Z. (2015). Modern slavery challenges to supply chain management. *Supply Chain Management: An International Journal, 20*(5), 485-494.

Grey, C. (1999). ‘We are all managers now’;‘we always were’: on the development and demise of management. *Journal of Management Studies, 36*(5), 561-585.

Guérin, I., Venkatasubramanian, G., & Kumar, S. (2015). Debt bondage and the tricks of capital. *Economic and Political Weekly, 50*(26), 26-27.

Guillemin, M., & Gillam, L. (2004). Ethics, reflexivity, and “ethically important moments” in research. *Qualitative inquiry, 10*(2), 261-280.

Han, S. (2015). Slavery as Contract: Betty's Case and the Question of Freedom. *Law & Literature, 27*(3), 395-416. 10.1080/1535685X.2015.1058621

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2017). *Declaration, 2012*. Texas: Argo-Navis

ILO. (2017a). *21 million people are now victims of forced labour, ILO says*. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_181961/lang--en/index.htm

ILO. (2017b). *What is forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking*. Retrieved 24/08/2017 from http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/definition/lang--en/index.htm

Lait, M. (2010). Mitchell Dean, governmentality: Power and rule in modern Society, 2nd ed review. *Foucault Studies*(10), 169. 10.22439/fs.v0i10.3113

Lazzarato, M. (2012). *The making of the indebted man: An essay on the neoliberal condition*. Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext.

LeBaron, G. (2014). Reconceptualizing debt bondage: Debt as a class-based form of labor discipline. *Critical Sociology, 40*(5), 763-780.

Lemke, T. (2002). Foucault, governmentality, and critique. *Rethinking Marxism, 14*(3), 49-64.

Lorenzini, D. (2015). What is a" Regime of Truth"? *Le foucaldien, 1*(1). 1-5.

Lorenzini, D. (2018). Governmentality, subjectivity, and the neoliberal form of life. *Journal for Cultural Research, 22*(2), 154-166. 10.1080/14797585.2018.1461357

Meillassoux, C. (1991). *The Anthropology of Slavery: the womb of iron and gold*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Miller, P., & Rose, N. (1990). Governing economic life. *Economy and Society, 19*(1), 1-31.

Morsing, M., & Spence, L. J. (2019). Corporate social responsibility (CSR) communication and small and medium sized enterprises: The governmentality dilemma of explicit and implicit CSR communication. *Human Relations, 72*(12), 1920-1947. 10.1177/0018726718804306

Mulligan, W., & Bric, M. (2013). *A Global History of Anti-slavery Politics in the Nineteenth Century*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Neumann, W. (1994). Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches. 2nd ed. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

O'Malley, P., Weir, L., & Shearing, C. (1997). Governmentality, criticism, politics. *Economy and Society, 26*(4), 501-517.

Odysseos, L. (2011). Governing dissent in the central Kalahari game reserve:'development', governmentality, and subjectification amongst Botswana's Bushmen. *Globalizations, 8*(4), 439-455.

Sanyal, K. (2014). *Rethinking capitalist development: Primitive accumulation, governmentality and post-colonial capitalism.* London: Routledge.

Sparkes, A. C. (2000). Autoethnography and narratives of self: Reflections on criteria in action. *Sociology of sport journal, 17*(1), 21-43.

Wall, S. (2006). An autoethnography on learning about autoethnography. *International journal of qualitative methods, 5*(2), 146-160.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION AND FUTURE TRAGECTORIES

7.1. Overview

Aim of the chapter: *In this chapter, I offer concluding remarks on what this study has revealed. The chapter considers the theoretical and methodological implications of, and for, critical modern slavery research, in addition to reflecting on the limitation of this study. The chapter also highlights some practical policy implications for modern slavery interventions. Finally, this chapter points to the future trajectory of critical modern slavery research.*

Duplication: Since each of the preceding papers discussed the contributions and implications, the readers are expected to find some overlap as this chapter essentially compiles the contributions to discuss the overall advance in the knowledge of modern slavery research made in this study.

"I don't write a book so that it will be the final word; I write a book so that other books are possible, not necessarily written by me."

- *(Foucault, 1988, p.103)*

7.2. Introduction

I begin this chapter with a recap of the purpose of this research, the scholarly and non-scholarly engagement in the debate of modern slavery, and the questions that I addressed in this study. I then summarise the key findings presented in each of the papers included in this thesis before turning to my key conclusion with respect to the guiding question for this study, *why* has our understanding of modern slavery taken the form it does now and *what* has sustained the practice of slavery? Next, I consider the key implications of this study for future research. Finally, I assess the limitations of this study before turning to the future to demonstrate how insights gained from this research can be used to enable us to think differently about modern slavery and/or subsequent interventions to stop its practice.

7.3. Recap of the point and purpose of this study

Media attention (Aljazeera, 2106; BBC, 2020; Hawksley, 2014), scholarly engagement (Bales, 2012; Cooke, 2003; Crane, 2013; LeBaron, 2014) and public advocacy (Anti-Slavery International, 2017; Walk Free Foundation, 2019) have all led to an increased amount of attention paid to modern slavery in recent years, and a renewed enthusiasm of putting it to an end. For example, the Aljazeera documentary series New Horizons mobilised public opinion by showing the stories of human bondage (Aljazeera, 2106). Kevin Bales influential book *Disposable People* theorised the stories of human bondage as economic crimes (Bales, 2012), and Andrew Crane identified modern slavery as a 'management practice' comprising exploiting capabilities and sustaining competences (Crane, 2013). Many governments, particularly of developed countries, introduced Modern Slavery Acts in their respective

legislations (e.g. The U.K. Modern Slavery Act, 2015; Australian Modern Slavery Act, 2018) to identify and mitigate modern slavery risks across the supply chains of businesses.

Yet, there are now more slaves in the world than were in the nineteenth century, when slavery was legal (ILO, 2020). Caruana et al. (2020) refer to the scholarly engagement with modern slavery as research in "a sorry and sad state." Monciardini, Bernaz, and Andhov (2021) indicate that compliance with the UK modern slaves act is disappointing. Khan, Munir &Willmott (2007) and Khan, Westwood & Boje (2010) report that interventions to stop modern slavery, particularly those that follow universalistic Western logics, are ineffective.

This study took a critical step back from '*how'* we can stop the practice of modern slavery to '*why*' do we understand modern slavery the way we do and '*what*' has sustained its practice. I started with the review of modern slavery conceptualisation, which revealed that the research informing modern slavery discourse warranted further attention. So did the key assumptions that underpinned modern slavery discourse and the relationships and subjectivities it produced, and their social function. To this end, this study deployed a theoretical and methodological framework comprised of Marxian ontology and Foucauldian epistemology in the pursuit to unpack, in Foucauldian (1977, 1978) sense, the form and formation of modern slavery discourse to provide a basis from where modern slavery can be thought of differently.

Having established the overall aim of this research and the methodological framework, the results of the research were presented in the form of a series of published (or under review for publication) works. The next section presents a summary of the key findings from each of the papers included in this thesis.

7.4. Summary of overall findings

Chapter One of this thesis discussed the above-mentioned aim and detailed how contributions made in various published (or under-review) papers synthesise in that direction. In pursuit of the overall aim of this study, it detailed the methodological underpinning of this study, focusing mainly on the intellectual equipment that informed various decisions and procedures used to conduct this research. In particular, the chapter, in addition to establishing my positionality in the research process, argued for the use of a post-structuralist (Foucauldian) epistemological alignment to explore a phenomenon that I problematized via structuralist (Marxian) ontological position. The chapter built on Marsden's (1999) argument who claimed that while Marxian ontology explains modern society, Foucauldian epistemic position provides access to the comprehensive accounts of the social would that comprises society. The chapter concluded that such a position, as it would bear on the analysis of modern slavery, warranted examination of the practices of everyday life in order to unpack the conditions that enable modern slavery. The methodological move, through deployment of Foucauldian concepts of power, discourse, and subjectivity, set forth the study towards a detailed and multifaceted exploration of modern slavery, and therefore, laid the basis for a series of papers presented as following chapters in this thesis.

Chapter Two reviewed the literature about and around modern slavery, particularly with regards to the basis of how it is understood. The review showed that there is a fascination with defining modern slavery in relation to, or as a variant of, traditional slavery that was abolished in the nineteenth century. In understanding modern slavery, both in popular and scholarly accounts, the focus remains to be the relation of ownership of one person (or group) by another person (or group) (Drescher & Engerman, 1998; Mulligan & Bric, 2013). Critical analysis of the scholarship via exploitation based theoretical framework revealed that modern slavery is founded in exploitations of exchange, power and meaning perpetuated by global

capitalism. The chapter concluded that the persistent and insidious nature of modern slavery is not a function of historical persistence but a particular combination of conditions that flow from contemporary capitalism. As a whole, the first two chapters offer "a history of the present" (Foucault, 1977, p. 31), exhibiting how current understandings of modern slavery are problematic and how critical accounts about modern slavery may lead us to think differently about it.

Chapter Three of this thesis engaged with the ethicality of doing scholarly (university) modern slavery research. Using discourse analysis, the chapter presents an analysis of universities' ethical review processes in relation to the actual practice of doing research in the field. The chapter demonstrated how seemingly mundane practices like filling ethics approval forms homogenise research by promoting certain practices and subordinating others. The chapter concluded that the concept of reflexivity (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) could find use beyond enhancing academic rigour to develop a review process based on relational ethical sensitivities (Levinas, 1985) in the conduct of research, particularly in critical qualitative research.

Chapter Four made a move towards visceral engagement with the phenomenon of modern slavery through a documentary film, 'Debt: Of labour and love,' produced as a part of this study. While the film cinematically produced, or perhaps visually re-created, the context and spaces of where modern slaves exist, the written text in this chapter essentially provided the commentary of the film with the aim to theorise the 'making of a debt bonded modern slave. Building on Lazzarato's (2012) Foucault-influenced analysis of 'indebted man' the chapter concluded that debt bondage is not simply a debtor-creditor relation but is nuanced with the interconnectedness of debt with everyday relations like family care, romantic love and food.

Chapter Five presented the findings from the fieldwork, and in so doing, responded to the call by Caruana et al. (2020) in *Business and Society* to include more empirical accounts in modern slavery research. In particular, the chapter contended the proposed research trajectory of modern slavery research laid out in the paper and asked for the inclusion of voices and life accounts of slaves in the research. The findings demonstrated that there exists a conceptual invisibility in modern slavery research that subordinates the sufferings of the slaves. To that end, the chapter included accounts of the sufferings of debt bonded labours in their daily lives and the conditions that produce those sufferings.

Chapter Six, via autoethnographic method, reflected on my personal experiences as a doctoral student of modern slavery and a subject of occupational political rule in the attempt to theorise political relations as enabling condition for modern slavery. The chapter frames the discussion around four vignettes narrating my experience and subsequently analysed using the Foucauldian concept of governmentality. The main finding of the chapter was that neoliberalism serves as an enabling condition for the practice of modern slavery and occupational rule alike.

7.5. Summary of overall contributions

This thesis makes several theoretical and methodological contributions to the emerging scholarship of modern slavery. The main contribution of this study is that it places the form and formation of debt bondage in a wider context of everyday life. In so doing, the apparent fascination of defining modern slavery in terms of the form it took in the nineteenth century now seems questionable. This thesis calls into doubt the candour of the widely accepted notion of modern slavery being an individualised relation between a master and a slave, and so it does to the modern slavery interventions promoted as positive and efficient. The findings of this study make us pause and ask: have we got this right? Is the approach to

researching modern slavery and subsequent intervention to stop its practice the right one? De-familiarising and denting the naturalised modern slavery discourse is, thus, the main contribution of this study.

More specifically, Chapter One, in order to support the methodological approach taken in this study, drew on the concept of *dispositif.* Building on insights provided by Deleuze (1992b) and Walters (2012), I used the concept as a 'methodological toolbox' that shifts the focus of inquiry from the object of the study to the practices that produce them. Such analytical aid can be adopted in exploring different topics, and therefore constitutes an aspect of the methodological contribution of this study.

In Chapter Two, I offered the analysis of the problematic assumptions informing the conceptualisation of modern forms of slavery (Christ & Burritt, 2018; Crane, 2013; Crane et al., 2021; Samonova, 2019). In doing that, the chapter deepens and extends the prior critique of such conceptualisation offered by LeBaron (2014) and Cooke (2003). The contribution here also includes a novel 'exploitations-based framework' that could provide an underpinning for further critical modern slavery research.

Chapter Three, while furthering the argument about methods that can be used to demonstrate the connection and disconnections that comprise the dispositif, contributes by proposing an alternative universities' ethical review process. Specifically, the chapter takes direction from Levinasian framing of ethics and builds on suggestions by Guillemin and Gillam (2004), Bell and Willmott (2019), and Brewis and Wray-Bliss (2008) to propose a relational ethical review process. The contribution here is that such ethical review process moves away from overwhelmingly, if not exclusively, being a risk management exercise towards a much more holistic process addressing ethical needs of research, particularly in qualitative tradition.

Chapter Four used the concept of *dispositif* proposed in Chapter Three to map the structure of the techniques, relations, and practices that form the grid of debt bondage. In so doing, the chapter offers a nuanced discussion of how various institutions like family, food, and love compliment and amplify what Hardt and Negri (2017) refer to as disciplinary effects of debt, thereby producing debt bonded modern slaves. The chapter contributes by extending the understanding of debt bondage as a set of relations that shapes and controls behaviours, making "work on self" essential for (re)production of indebtedness, and subsequently, the production of the debt bonded labour (modern slaves). Specifically, the chapter extends Lazzarato's (2012) concept, "Making of an indebted man" to 'making of the debt bonded modern slave.'

Chapter Four also made methodological contributions by making a cinematic record of empirical data (film) the point of analysis. The chapter responds to calls by Wood and Brown (2011), Wood et al. (2018), and Hietanen and Rokka (2018) for the inclusion of videography in organisational research. Possibly spurred by the desire for research that contributes to alleviating 'real' world problems (a desire at the core of Critical Management Studies), the making of the film 'Debt: Of Labour and Love' made a move away from overly careerist dissemination of research via publications. Although this thesis, as a compilation of research publications, admittedly may have a careerist rationale, the contribution here is that 'video production' points to alternative means of engagement and delivery in conducting and performing activist scholarship.

Chapter Five contributes in providing a critique of the mainstream trajectories of modern slavery research, particularly in the field of business and management. The chapter holds that modern slaves are competent to represent themselves in spite of the observable constraints, to exhibit their voice and life to contribute to rational knowledge. Specifically, the chapter contributes by highlighting the sufferings of the people in modern slavery, which otherwise

have been neglected in overly functionalist modern slavery research in the field of business and management.

Finally, Chapter Six contributes by furthering the argument of addressing modern slavery the enabling conditions via a Foucauldian concept of governmentality. Specifically, I engaged with the governance of my 'self' in relation to the discourse of modern slavery. The chapter contributed by demonstrating that both in modern slavery and occupational political rule, neoliberal logics, perpetuated through grand narratives of efficiency and productivity, serve the moral warrant to establish a 'mentality of rule' that produces docile subjects – the modern slaves.

7.6. Overall implications and future research

Based on the findings of this study, implications arise for both future research and policy interventions. For a start, 'modern slavery' conceptualisation would, as a minimum, need a fundamental reconsideration to determine if the assumption in defining it as an 'ownership relation' can actually be overcome. In other words, the essentialist ontology underpinning most of the theoretical conversation about modern slavery, including the current ones, would need to be put aside. Such underpinning needs to be substituted with a more constructed and fluid understanding of modern slavery, for example, via the 'multiple exploitations' framework proposed in Chapter Two of this thesis.

The modern slavery interventionist research should begin with the contextual assessment of the problems for which its prescriptions, in whatever form it takes (e.g. supply chain interventions, modern slavery acts, NGO work), are being considered. Grounding the research and theorising in specific problematisation positions the scholarship as interested parties in acknowledging the life and conditions that produce modern slaves (Gond, Cabantous, Harding, & Learmonth, 2016). Such research would need to address and

acknowledge the substantive contextual issues that produce the problem, for example, of debt bondage, and therefore direct the policy interventions accordingly. For example, Chapter Five points towards exploration of religion as a 'knowledge tradition' to unpack cultural/religious practices that apparently lead to debt bondage.

Another implication that arises from the findings of this thesis is that by reappraising the Foucauldian concept of dispositif, a specific and encompassing analytical strategy for organisational analysis can be developed. Using dispositif as a methodological tool may help future researchers (e.g. modern slavery researchers) in shifting the emphasis from individualised relations (e.g. master-slave or debtor-creditor) towards unpacking the complex practices and conditions that enable and sustain the phenomena. In other words, the dispositif analysis calls for an approach where connections (and disconnections) between everyday life elements form the focus of inquiry and are privileged over universalistic prescriptive research logics. For example, Chapter Four points us towards inquiring relations of love, responsibility, belonging and desire in the inquiry of debt bondage.

Finally, the autoethnographic piece, Chapter Six, points towards changing registers of the inquiry in social issues from the third person to the first person. It advocates for research that allows the researchers to observe, record, reflect, perform, and become the target of analysis. For example, in Chapter Six, I made my 'self' (a subject of occupational rule, a student of modern slavery, a son and a lover) the target of analysis to be questioned and critically challenged. In doing that, I deemed my experience as knowledge that matters, and to me, that holds a symbolic emancipatory promise.

Overall, the findings of this study may be regarded as the tentative beginnings for a renewed, somewhat different, focus on examining slavery, and possibly help us in understanding slavery in the present in which we, and the practice of modern slavery, are embedded.

However, there are spaces and times from the past that cry out for attention, most especially, I believe, those from beyond universalist and prescriptive Western tradition.

7.7. Limitations

The two major limitations of this study pertain to the challenges that I outlined in detail in Chapter Three and Chapter Six. Nevertheless, putting aside those unavoidable limitations, here, I detail could be done differently in undertaking this research. Firstly, as outlined in Chapter Two, the multiple exploitations framework sought analysis of modern slavery in and as a relation of exchange, power and meaning. However, the exchange (economic) analysis of the phenomenon of debt bondage could not be done. Such analysis would include a detailed mapping of '*who gets what*' at different stages in making of a brick, and of bonded labour. In this study, doing so was not be possible as the period of seasonal brick making (2019) was cut short because of the political turmoil, and the following year (2020), COVID-19 restrictions made it impossible to travel for the study.

Another, and possibly much conspicuous, limitation of this study pertains to its scope in relation to the industry studied, the data sources used and the particular themes I chose to focus on. In these matters, my research is partial. The phenomenon of modern slavery is not limited to the kiln industry, and debt bondage is not the only form that slavery has taken in contemporary times, even though debt bonded labour in Indian brick kilns accounts for a significant percentage of people characterised as modern slaves. The inclusion of multiple case studies could make the research more rigorous. Put simply, while I maintain that conclusions of this study are founded in plausible, reasoned and carefully considered interpretation of data using a justified theoretical framework, the material reviewed in this thesis is limited. Perhaps all doctoral researchers suffer from such a limitation given the scarcity of time and resource.

Finally, based on the reviewers' comments for Chapters Four and Five, I admit that this study has a limitation with regards to the omission of the 'caste system in India' in the discussion of the production of debt bondage. I acknowledge that the element of the caste system plays a vital role, particularly in the discussion of how it plays out in shifting power relations in the dispositif of modern slavery. However, due to the cancellation of the second research trip, I could not explore this aspect further, thereby limiting its discussion to sporadic mention in this study. Nevertheless, the silence on/around caste, which as one of the reviewers noted, has resulted in avoidance of the topic, provides an opportunity to make further contribution in discussion of modern slavery in India.

7.8. Concluding remark

In conclusion, despite things not going as planned, this study sought to rise to Foucault's call to 'think differently' in regard to modern slavery. The critical analysis of the form and formation of modern slavery, in particular debt bondage, made it apparent that contemporary inquiry into modern slavery, which is hinged to the form it took in the nineteenth century, needs reconsideration, possibly a revamp. So too, do modern slavery interventions, which despite the proliferation and endorsements, are rendered ineffective. Perhaps, for the effort to abolish modern slavery to be effective, the notion needs to be grounded in the truth of the world(s) we live in at present, while keeping in mind its manifestations of the past. The subsequent interventions also need to consider inventive responses to specific problematizations, relying on contextual relationalities and sensitivities. When all is said and done, a very simple proposition that arises from this research is that slavery now, or in the past, is produced by our making of the economic, political, and social worlds. We should, therefore, make them with care, taking lessons from the past so that we can bring about the future we truly want. We should, in other words, begin to think differently about modern slavery.

References

Abadeer, A. S. (2008). *The entrapment of the poor into involuntary labor: Understanding the worldwide practice of modern-day slavery*. NY: Edwin Mellen Press.

Acharya, A. K., & Naranjo, D. L. (2018). Practices of bonded labour in India: Forms of exploitation and human rights violations. In J. B. Clark & S. Poucki (Eds.), *Human trafficking and modern day slavery* (pp. 126–138). London, UK: Sage publications.

Aguinis, H., & Glavas, A. (2012). What we know and don't know about corporate social responsibility: A review and research agenda. *Journal of management, 38*(4), 932-968.

Ahmad, Z. (1962). Muslim Caste in Uttar Pradesh. *The Economic Weekly, 14*(7), 325-336.

Ainsworth, S. (2002). The 'feminine advantage': A discursive analysis of the invisibility of older women workers. *Gender, Work & Organization, 9*(5), 579-601.

Alamgir, F., & Alakavuklar, O. N. (2020). Compliance codes and women Workers' (Mis)representation and (Non)recognition in the apparel industry of Bangladesh. *Journal of Business Ethics, 165*(2), 295-310. 10.1007/s10551-018-4080-2

Alamgir, F., & Cairns, G. (2015). Economic inequality of the badli workers of Bangladesh: Contested entitlements and a 'perpetually temporary' life-world. *Human Relations, 68*(7), 1131-1153. 10.1177/0018726714559433

Aljazeera (Producer). (2106). *Bonded slaves. Slavery: A 21st Century Evil*. Retrieved from https://www.aljazeera.com/program/slavery-a-21st-century-evil/2016/7/27/bonded-slaves

Allain, J. (2009). The definition of slavery in international law. *Harvard Law Journal, 52*, 239-276.

Alvesson, M. (2000). Social identity and the problem of loyalty in knowledge-intensive companies. *Journal of Management Studies, 37*(8), 1101-1124.

Alvesson, M., & Deetz, S. A. (2000). *Doing critical management research*. London, U.K: Sage.

Alvesson, M., Hardy, C., & Harley, B. (2008). Reflecting on reflexivity: Reflexive textual practices in organization and management theory. *Journal of Management Studies, 45*(3), 480-501.

Alvesson, M., & Skoldberg, K. (2000). *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative*. London: Sage.

Alvesson, M., & Willmott, H. (1992). On the idea of emancipation in management and organization studies. *Academy of Management Review, 17*(3), 432-464.

Alvesson, M., & Willmott, H. (2002). Identity regulation as organizational control: Producing the appropriate individual. *Journal of Management Studies, 39*(5), 619-644.

Alvinius, A., Krekula, C., & Larsson, G. (2018). Managing visibility and differentiating in recruitment of women as leaders in the armed forces. *Journal of Gender Studies, 27*(5), 534-546.

Andrees, B. (2014). *Why definitions matter: ILO, Special Action Programme to combat Forced Labour*. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_234854/lang--en/index.htm

Anti-Slavery-International. (2020). *What is bonded labour?* Retrieved from https://www.antislavery.org/slavery-today/bonded-labour/

Anti-Slavery International. (2017). *Slavery in India's brick kilns & the payment system Anti-Slavery International volunteers for social justice: Way forward in the fight for fair wages, decent work and eradication of slavery*. London, UK: Anti-Slavery International.

Antoniades, A. (2018). Gazing into the abyss of indebted society: The social power of money and debt. *Political Studies Review, 16*(4), 279-288. 10.1177/1478929918757135

Aradau, C., Huysmans, J., Neal, A., & Voelkner, N. (2014). *Critical security methods: New frameworks for analysis.* London: Routledge.

Ashcraft, K., & Mumby, D. K. (2003). *Reworking gender: A feminist communicology of organization*. London: Sage Publications.

Ashforth, B. E., & Mael, F. (1989). Social Identity Theory and the Organization. *Academy of Management Review, 14*(1), 20-39. 10.5465/AMR.1989.4278999

Atkinson, P., & Hammersley, M. (1994). Ethnography and participant observation. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*. (pp. 248-261) CA: Sage.

Bager, A. S., & Mølholm, M. (2020). A Methodological Framework for Organizational Discourse Activism: an Ethics of Dispositif and Dialogue. *Philosophy of Management, 19*(1), 99-126.

Bales, K. (2010). *How to combat modern slavery. Ted Talks.* Retrieved from https://www.ted.com/talks/kevin_bales_how_to_combat_modern_slavery/transcript?language=en

Bales, K. (2012). *Disposable people: New slavery in the global economy*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Bales, K., & Robbins, P. T. (2001). No one shall be held in slavery or servitude: a critical analysis of international slavery conventions. *Human Rights Review, 2*(2), 18-45.

Bales, K., Trodd, Z., Williamson, A. K., & Dawsonera. (2009). *Modern slavery: The secret world of 27 million people*. Oxford, UK: Oneworld Publications.

Balibar, E. (1997). *Class racism*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Ball, T. (1976b). Power: A radical view by Steven Lukes. *Political Theory, 4*(2), 246-249.

Ballakrishnen, S., Fielding-Singh, P., & Magliozzi, D. (2019). Intentional invisibility: professional women and the navigation of workplace constraints. *Sociological Perspectives, 62*(1), 23-41.

Banaji, J. (2003). The fictions of free labour: Contract, coercion, and so-called unfree labour. *Historical Materialism, 11*(3), 69-95.

Banerjee, B. (2021). Modern slavery is an enabling condition of global neoliberal capitalism: commentary on modern slavery in business. *Business & Society, 60*(2), 415-419. 10.1177/0007650319898478

Banerjee, S. B. (2011). Voices of the governed: Towards a theory of the translocal. *Organization, 18*(3), 323-344.

Bansal, P., & Corley, K. (2011). The coming of age for qualitative research: Embracing the diversity of qualitative methods. *Academy of Management Journal. 54*(2), 233-237.

Barnhurst, K. G., & Quinn, K. (2012). Political visions: Visual studies in political communication. In H. A. Semetko & M. Scammell (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of political communication* (pp. 276–291). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage..

BBC. (2010a). *BBC Ethics guide*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/ethics/slavery/modern/law.shtml

BBC. (2010b). *Cocoa slave tastes sweet freedom*. Retrieved 21/08 2017 from http://news.bbc.co.uk/panorama/hi/front_page/newsid_8584000/8584847.stm

BBC. (2014). *Why India's brick kiln workers 'live like slaves'*. Retrieved 05/07/2017 2017 from http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-25556965

BBC. (2020). *Working to end bonded labour in India's brick kilns*. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-27588065

Bell, D. V. (1975). *Power, influence, and authority: An essay in political linguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bell, E., & Davison, J. (2013). Visual management studies: Empirical and theoretical approaches. *International Journal of Management Reviews, 15*(2), 167-184.

Bell, J. (2008). Contemporary slavery and international law. In J.Bell. *Human Rights and Human Welfare*. Graduate school of International Studies: University of Denver.

Belser, P. (2005). Forced labour and human trafficking: Estimating the profits. Working paper no. 41, In focus programme on promoting the declaration on fundamental principles and rights at work, international Labour organization, Geveva.

Berger, J. (1975). The seventh man. *Race & Class, 16*(3), 251-257.

Beutin, L. P. (2019). *How 'evidence-based' anti-trafficking campaigns make facts and mismeasure freedom*. Retrieved from https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/beyond-trafficking-and-slavery/rotten-core-of-evidence-based-anti-trafficking-campaigns/

Bhattacharya, R. (2010). *Capitalism in post-colonial India: Primitive accumulation under dirigiste and laissez faire regimes.* (Ph.D. dissertation), University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Bhukuth, A. (2005). Child labour and debt bondage: A case study of brick kiln workers in Southeast India. *Journal of Asian and African studies, 40*(4), 287-302.

Bindeman, S. L. (2017). Foucault on Silence as Discourse. In S.l. Bindeman (ed.). *Silence in Philosophy, Literature, and Art* (pp. 143-146). Leiden: Brill.

Blaikie, N. (2000). *Design social research: the logic of anticipation*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Blaikie, N. (2007). *Approaches to social enquiry: Advancing knowledge.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bonifati, G. (2020). Towards a critical ontology of socio-economic transformation processes: Marx's contribution. *Cambridge Journal of Economics, 44*(5), 1031-1053.

Bose, A. (1971). Marx on Value, Capital, and Exploitation. *History of Political Economy, 3*(2), 298-334.

Bowen, F., & Blackmon, K. (2003). Spirals of silence: The dynamic effects of diversity on organizational voice. *Journal of Management Studies, 40*(6), 1393-1417.

Brass, T. (1999). *Towards a comparative political economy of unfree labour: case studies and debates*. London, UK: Frank Cass.

Brass, T. (2008). Capitalism and bonded labour in India: Reinterpreting recent (re-) interpretations. *The Journal of Peasant Studies, 35*(2), 177-248.

Brass, T. (2014). Debating capitalist dynamics and unfree labour: A missing link? *Journal of Development Studies, 50*(4), 570-582.

Brass, T., & Van der Linden, M. (1997). *Free and unfree labour: the debate continues* (Vol. 5). Berlin and Paris: Peter Lang AG.

Braverman, H. (1974). *Labor and monopoly capital*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Breman, J. (2010a). Neo-bondage: a fieldwork-based account. *International Labor and Working-Class History, 78*(1), 48-62.

Breman, J. (2010b). The political economy of unfree labour in south asia: Determining the nature and scale of debt bondage. *Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 53*(1), 137 – 160.

Breman, J., Guérin, I., & Prakash, A. (2009). *India's Unfree Workforce. Old and New Practices of Labour Bondage*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Brewer, J. D. (1987). The Scottish Enlightenment. In A. Reeve (Ed.), *Modern Theories of Exploitation* (pp. 6-29). London: Sage.

Bufacchi, V. (2002). The injustice of exploitation. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, 5*(1), 1-15.

Burnham, J. (1942). *The Managerial Revolution*. London: Putnam.

Burrell, G. (1988). Modernism, post modernism and organizational analysis 2: The contribution of Michel Foucault. *Organization Studies, 9*(2), 221-235.

Caruana, R., Crane, A., Gold, S., & LeBaron, G. (2020). Modern slavery in business: the sad and sorry state of a non-field. *Business & Society*, 0007650320930417.

Carver, T. (1987a). Marx's Political Theory of Exploitation. In A. Reeve (Ed.), *Modern Theories of Exploitation* (pp. 68-79). London: Sage.

Chakravartty, P., & da Silva, D. F. (2012). Accumulation, dispossession, and debt: The racial logic of global capitalism—An introduction. *American Quarterly, 64*(3), 361-385.

Chandler, A. D. (1977). *The: The Managerial Revolution in American Business.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Christ, K. L., & Burritt, R. L. (2018). Current perceptions on the problem of modern slavery in business. *Business Strategy & Development, 1*(2), 103-114.

Clegg, S. (2019). Governmentality. *Project Management Journal, 50*(3), 266-270. 10.1177/8756972819841260

Clough, P. T. (2000). Comments on setting criteria for experimental writing. *Qualitative inquiry, 6*(2), 278-291.

Cohen, G. A. (1979). The labor theory of value and the concept of exploitation. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 338-360.

Cooke, B. (2003). The denial of slavery in management studies. *Journal of Management Studies, 40*(8), 1895-1918.

Corlett, S., & Mavin, S. (2018). Reflexivity and researcher positionality. In : C. Cassell, A.L.L. Cunliffe & G. Grandy (eds.). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative business and management research methods*. London: Sage. (pp. 377-399).

Crane, A. (2013). Modern slavery as a management practice: Exploring the conditions and capabilities for human exploitation. *Academy of Management Review, 38*(1), 49-69.

Crane, A., LeBaron, G., Phung, K., Behbahani, L., & Allain, J. (2021). Confronting the Business Models of Modern Slavery. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 1056492621994904.

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. London: Sage publications.

Cruikshank, B. (1999). *The Will to Empower Democratic Citizans and other Subjects.* New York: Cornell University Press. 10.7591/j.ctvv4126k.4

Cunliffe, J. (1987). A mutualist theory of exploitation? In A. Reeve (Ed.), *Modern Theories of Exploitation* (pp. 53-67). London: Sage.

Dardot, P., & Laval, C. (2014). *The new way of the world : On neoliberal society*. London, UK: Verso Books.

Daru, P., Churchill, C., & Beemsterboer, E. (2005). The prevention of debt bondage with microfinance-led services. *The European Journal of Development Research, 17*(1), 132-154.

Dauphinee, E. (2010). The ethics of autoethnography. *Review of International Studies, 36*(3), 799-818.

Davidson, J. O. C. (2015). *Modern slavery: The margins of freedom*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

De Bromhead, T. (1996). *Looking two ways : Documentary 's relationship with cinema and reality*. Højbjerg: Intervention Press.

Dean, M. (1992). A genealogy of the government of poverty. *Economy and Society, 21*(3), 215-251.

Dean, M. (2002). *Critical and effective histories: Foucault's methods and historical sociology*. London: Routledge.

Dean, M. (2013). *The signature of power: Sovereignty, governmentality and biopolitics*. London: Sage.

Deetz, S. (1997). Discursive formations, strategized subordination and self-subordination and self-surveillance. In *Foucault, management and organization theory.* (pp. 151-172). London: Sage.

Deleuze, G. (1988). What is a dispositif? In T. J. Armstrong (Ed.), *Michel Foucault, philosopher*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Deleuze, G. (1992). *Postscript on the Societies of Control*. Cambridge: MIT press.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1994). *What is philosophy?* London, UK: Verso.

Deleuze, G., Habberjam, B., & Tomlinson, H. (1986). *The movement-image*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Denzin, N. K. (2001). *Interpretive interactionism* (2nd ed.): Champaign, IL: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (Vol. 3): Thousand Oaks, California, Sage Publications.

Department of Labour (2018). Retrieved from https://www.jklabour.com/welcome/validate

Derry, R. (2012). Reclaiming marginalized stakeholders. *Journal of Business Ethics, 111*(2), 253-264.

Di Feliciantonio, C. (2016). Subjectification in times of indebtedness and neoliberal/austerity urbanism. *Antipode, 48*(5), 1206-1227.

Dickson, A., & Holland, K. (2017). Hysterical inquiry and autoethnography: A Lacanian alternative to institutionalized ethical commandments. *Current Sociology, 65*(1), 133-148.

Dingwall, R. (2008). The ethical case against ethical regulation in humanities and social science research. *Twenty-First Century Society, 3*(1), 1-12.

Draper, N. (2009). *The price of emancipation: slave-ownership, compensation and British society at the end of slavery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Drescher, S., & Engerman, S. L. (1998). *A historical guide to world slavery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Driver, M. (2009). Struggling with lack: A Lacanian perspective on organizational identity. *Organization studies, 30*(1), 55-72.

Dubois, A., & Gadde, L.-E. (2014). "Systematic combining" - A decade later. *Journal of Business Research, 67*(6), 1277-1284. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2013.03.036

Duke, E. O., & Osim, S. E. (2020). The culture of slavery in traditional context and globalised society. *Socialspacejournal, 19*(2), 145.

Dutta, M. J. (2012). *Voices of resistance: Communication and Social Change*. Purdue: Purdue University Press.

Ercelawn, A., & Nauman, M. (2004). Unfree abour in South Asia: Debt bondage at brick kilns in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2235-2242.

Erevelles, N. (2002). Voices of silence: Foucault, disability, and the question of self-determination. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 21*(1), 17-35.

Federal Reserve Bank. (2019). *Household debt and credit*. Retrieved from https://www.newyorkfed.org

Fenstermaker, S., & West, C. (2002). *Doing gender, doing difference: Inequality, power, and institutional change*. New York: Routledge.

Ferguson, K. E. (1994). On bringing more theory, more voices and more politics to the study of organization. *Organization, 1*(1), 81-99.

Fincham, R. (1992). Perspectives on power: processual, institutional and 'internal'forms of organizational power. *Journal of Management Studies, 29*(6), 741-760.

Fogel, R. W. (1994). *Without consent or contract: The rise and fall of American slavery*. New York: Norton.

Folbre, N. (1982). Exploitation comes home: a critique of the Marxian theory of family labour. *Cambridge Journal of Economics, 6*(4), 317-329.

Foucault, M. (1972). The archaeology of knowledge, Trans. *A.M. Sheridan Smith.* New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1973). *The birth of the clinic*. London: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish : The birth of the prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality*. New York: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1985). The use of pleasure: Volume 2 of the history of sexuality (R. Hurley, Trans.). *New York: Vintage*

Foucault, M. (1988a). *The Final Foucault*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Foucault, M. (1988b). *Madness and civilization: A history of insanity in the age of reason.* New york: Vintage Press.

Foucault, M. (1988c). *Technologies of the self: A seminar with Michel Foucault.* Massachusetts: Univ of Massachusetts Press.

Foucault, M. (1991). *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (2000). The Subject and Power. In J. Faubion (Ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Michel Foucault, 1954-1984*. Vol. 3. (pp. 326-348). London: Allen Lane.

Foucault, M. (2003). *" Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976*. New York: Picador.

Foucault, M. (2006). *History of madness*. London: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (2008). *The birth of biopolitics : lectures at the College de France, 1978-1979*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Foucault, M., Bernauer, J., & Rasmussen, D. (1988). The Final Foucault. *Ed. James Bernauer and David Rasmussen.* Cambridge*:* MIT Press*.*

Fournier, V., & Grey, C. (2000). At the critical moment: Conditions and prospects for critical management studies. *Human Relations, 53*(1), 7-32.

Fraad, H. (2000). Exploitation in the Labor of Love. In Gibson-Graham, J. Katherine, S. A. Resnick, & R. D. Wolff (Eds.), *Class and its others* (pp. 69-86). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Friedman, M. (2009). *Capitalism and freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago press.

García-Lamarca, M., & Kaika, M. (2016). 'Mortgaged lives': The biopolitics of debt and housing financialisation. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 41*(3), 313-327.

Giroux, H. (1992). Giroux, Henry," cultural studies, resisting difference, and the return of critical pedagogy," in H. Giroux, *border crossings: Cultural workers and the politics of education (*pp. 161–179). New York: Routledge.

Global-Slavery-Index. (2018). *Modern slavery: A hidden , everyday problem.* Retrieved from https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/

Gloor, D., & Meier, H. (2000). A river revitalization: seen through the lens of local community members. *Visual Studies, 15*(1), 119-134.

Gold, S., Trautrims, A., & Trodd, Z. (2015). Modern slavery challenges to supply chain management. *Supply Chain Management: An International Journal, 20*(5), 485-494.

Goli, S., Rammohan, A., & Reddy, S. P. (2020). The interaction of household agricultural landholding and Caste on food security in rural Uttar Pradesh, India. *Food Security*. 13(1). 219-237.

Gond, J. P., Cabantous, L., Harding, N., & Learmonth, M. (2016). What do we mean by performativity in organizational and management theory? The uses and abuses of performativity. *International Journal of Management Reviews, 18*(4), 440-463.

Goodin, R. (1987). Exploiting a Situation and Exploiting a Person. In A. Reeve (Ed.), *Modern Theories of Exploitation* (pp. 166-200). Sage: London.

Gould, C. C. (1978). *Marx's Social Ontology. Individuality and Community in Marx's Theory of Social Reality*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Graeber, D. (2011). *Debt : the first 5,000 years*. Brooklyn: Melville Publishing.

Grey, C. (1999). 'We are all managers now';'we always were': On the development and demise of management. *Journal of Management Studies, 36*(5), 561-585.

Grimes, A. J. (1978). Authority, power, influence and social control: A theoretical synthesis. *Academy of Management Review, 3*(4), 724-735.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research,* (163–194), Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Publications.

Guérin, I. (2013). Bonded labour, agrarian changes and capitalism: emerging patterns in South India. *Journal of Agrarian Change, 13*(3), 405-423.

Guérin, I., Venkatasubramanian, G., & Kumar, S. (2015). Debt bondage and the tricks of capital. *Economic and Political Weekly, 50*(26), 26-27.

Guillemin, M., & Gillam, L. (2004). Ethics, reflexivity, and "ethically important moments" in research. *Qualitative inquiry, 10*(2), 261-280.

Gutting, G. (2005). *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hacking, I., & Hacking, J. (1999). *The social construction of what?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Haggerty, K. D. (2004). Ethics creep: Governing social science research in the name of ethics. *Qualitative Sociology, 27*(4), 391-414.

Halinen, A., & Törnroos, J.-Å. (2005). Using case methods in the study of contemporary business networks. *Journal of Business Research, 58*(9), 1285-1297.

Hall, S. (2001). Foucault: Power, knowledge and discourse. In M.Wetherell, S. Yates & S.Taylor (eds.) *Discourse theory and practice: A reader.* (pp. 72-81). London: Sage.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2019). *Ethnography : principles in practice* (4th ed.). New York: Routledge.

Han, S. (2015). Slavery as Contract: Betty's Case and the Question of Freedom. *Law & Literature, 27*(3), 395-416. 10.1080/1535685X.2015.1058621

Hardt, M. (1998). The global society of control. *Discourse, 20*(3), 139-152.

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2017). Declaration, 2012. Allen. Texas: Argo-Navis.

Harper, D. (1998). An argument for visual sociology. In J. Prosser (Ed.), *Image-based research: A sourcebook for qualitative researchers* (pp. 24–41). London, UK: Routledge.

Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies, 17*(1), 13-26.

Harvey, D. (1989). From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography, 71*(1), 3-17.

Harvey, D. (2005). *The new imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hawksley, h. (2014). *Punished by axe: Bonded labour in India's brick kilns*. *BBC News*. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-27486450

Hearn, J. (1994). Changing men and changing managements: social change, social research and social action. In M. Davidson & R. Burke (eds.) *Women in management: Current research issues*. (pp. 192-213). London: Paul Chapman.

Henley, P. (1998). Film-making and ethnographic research. In J. Prosser (Ed.), *Image-based research: A sourcebook for qualitative researchers* (pp. 42-59). London, UK: Routledge Falmer.

Hietanen, J., & Rokka, J. (2018). Companion for the videography 'monstrous organizing - The dubstep electronic music scene'. *Organization, 25*(3), 320-334.

Hildebrand-Nilshon, M., Motzkau, J., & Papadopoulos, D. (2001). Reintegrating sense into subjectification. In *Theoretical issues in psychology* (pp. 289–300): Boston, MA Springer.

Hirschman, A. O. (1970). *Exit, voice, and loyalty: Responses to decline in firms, organizations, and states* (Vol. 25). Cambridge: Harvard university press.

Hoff, K. R., & Pandey, P. (2004). *Belief systems and durable inequalities: An experimental investigation of Indian caste* (Vol. 3351): World Bank Publications.

Hogg, M. A., & Terry, D. I. (2000). Social identity and self-categorization processes in organizational contexts. *Academy of Management Review, 25*(1), 121-140.

Hudson, K. A., & Wheeler, E. (2010). Globalization and the black market organ trade: when even a kidney can't pay the bills. *Disability Studies Quarterly. 28*(4). 1-6.

Hudson, R. (2006). On what's right and keeping left: or why geography still needs Marxian political economy. *Antipode, 38*(2), 374-395.

Hunt, E. (1977). Value theory in the writings of the classical economists, Thomas Hodgskin, and Karl Marx. *History of Political Economy, 9*(3), 322-345.

ICRC. (1998). *Treaties, State parties and Commentries - Rome Statue of the International Criminal court*. Retrieved from https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/Article.xsp?action=openDocument&documentId=058B44CF36EDB8CF4125669000452E7F

ILO. (2017a). *21 million people are now victims of forced labour, ILO says*. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/newsroom/news/WCMS_181961/lang--en/index.htm

ILO. (2017b). *What is forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking*. Retrieved 24/08/2017 from http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/definition/lang--en/index.htm

ILO. (2019). *Business and forced labour*. Retrieved 16/07 2019 from https://www.ilo.org/empent/areas/business-helpdesk/WCMS_DOC_ENT_HLP_FL_EN/lang--en/index.htm

ILO. (2020). *Forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking*. Retrieved 14/7 2020 from https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/lang--en/index.htm

Järvensivu, T., & Törnroos, J.-Å. (2010). Case study research with moderate constructionism: Conceptualization and practical illustration. *Industrial Marketing Management, 39*(1), 100-108.

Johnson, P., & Duberley, J. (2000). *Understanding management research: An introduction to epistemology*. London: Sage.

Johnson, P., & Duberley, J. (2003). Reflexivity in management research. *Journal of Management Studies, 40*(5), 1279-1303.

Joseph, J. (2004). Foucault and reality. *Capital & Class, 28*(1), 143-165.

Kara, S. (2017). *Modern Slavery: A Global Perspective*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Keating, C., Rasmussen, C., & Rishi, P. (2010). The rationality of empowerment: Microcredit, accumulation by dispossession, and the gendered economy. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 36*(1), 153-176.

Kellehear, A. (1993). *The unobtrusive researcher: A guide to methods*. St. Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Kelly, A. (2016) *46 million people living as slaves, latest global index reveals. The Gaurdian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/jun/01/46-million-people-living-as-slaves-latest-global-index-reveals-russell-crowe

Kelly, C. (2007). *Managing the relationship between knowledge and power in organisations.* In Aslib Proceedings. Emrald Group Publishing Limited.

Kessler, F. (2006). The cinema of attractions as dispositif. In W. Strauven, (ed.) The Cinema of Attraction Reloaded. (pp. 57-69). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Khan, F. R., Munir, K. A., & Willmott, H. (2007). A dark side of institutional entrepreneurship: Soccer balls, child labour and postcolonial impoverishment. *Organization Studies, 28*(7), 1055-1077.

Khan, F. R., Westwood, R., & Boje, D. M. (2010). 'I feel like a foreign agent': NGOs and corporate social responsibility interventions into Third World child labor. *Human Relations, 63*(9), 1417-1438.

Khare, R. (2020). *Bonded Labour In India: An Analysis*. Retrieved 9/10/2020 2020 from https://www.mondaq.com/india/employee-rights-labour-relations/882222/bonded-labour-in-india-an-analysis.

Kilgour, M. A. (2013). The Global Compact and Gender Inequality:A Work in Progress. *Business & Society, 52*(1), 105-134. 10.1177/0007650312459918

King, J. E. (1982). Value and exploitation: Some recent debates. In I.C. Bardley, & M.C. (eds.) *Classical and Marxian Political Economy* (pp. 157-187). Harvard: Springer.

Knights, D. (1990). Subjectivity, power and the labour process. In D. Knight & H. Willmott (eds.) *Labour process theory* (pp. 297-335) New York: Springer.

Knights, D., & Willmott, H. (1989). Power and subjectivity at work: From degradation to subjugation in social relations. *Sociology, 23*(4), 535-558.

Knights, D., & Willmott, H. (1999). *Management lives: Power and identity in work organizations.* London: Sage.

Knights, D., & Willmott, H. C. (1987). Organizational culture as management strategy: A critique and illustration from the financial services industry. *International Studies of Management & Organization, 17*(3), 40-63.

Lait, M. (2010). Mitchell Dean, governmentality: Power and rule in modern Society, 2nd ed review. *Foucault Studies*(10), 169. 10.22439/fs.v0i10.3113

Lazzarato, M. (2012). *The making of the indebted man: An essay on the neoliberal condition*. Los Angeles, CA: semiotext.

LeBaron, G. (2011). *Neoliberalism and the governance of unfree labor: A feminist political economy account.* (Ph.D. dissertation). Department of Political Science. University of York,

LeBaron, G. (2014). Reconceptualizing debt bondage: Debt as a class-based form of labor discipline. *Critical Sociology, 40*(5), 763-780.

LeBaron, G. (2020). *Combatting modern slavery: why labour governance is failing and what we can do about it*. Cambridge: Cambridge Polity Press.

LeBaron, G., & Crane, A. (2019). Methodological challenges in the business of forced labour. In G. LeBaron (Ed.), *Researching forced labour in the global economy:*

Methodological challenges and advances (pp 25-44). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lemke, T. (2002). Foucault, governmentality, and critique. *Rethinking Marxism, 14*(3), 49-64.

Levinas, E. (1985). *Ethics and infinity: Conversations with Philippe Nemo (Translated by R.A. Cohen).* Pittsburgh: Dequene University press.

Levinas, E., & Robbins, J. (2001). *Is it righteous to be?: Interviews with Emmanuel Levinas*. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Liebenberg, L. (2009). The visual image as discussion point: Increasing validity in boundary crossing research. *Qualitative Research, 9*(4), 441-467.

Lindsay, D. M. (2010). Organizational liminality and interstitial creativity: The fellowship of power. *Social Forces, 89*(1), 163-184.

Linstead, S. (2000). Comment: gender blindness or gender suppression? A comment on Fiona Wilson's research note. *Organization Studies, 21*(1), 297-303.

Lockett, A., Moon, J., & Visser, W. (2006). Corporate social responsibility in management research: Focus, nature, salience and sources of influence. *Journal of Management Studies, 43*(1), 115-136.

Löhr, K., Weinhardt, M., & Sieber, S. (2020). The “World Café” as a participatory method for collecting qualitative data. *International journal of qualitative methods, 19*, 1-15. 1609406920916976.

Lorenzini, D. (2015). What is a" Regime of Truth"? *Le foucaldien, 1*(1). 1-5.

Lorenzini, D. (2018). Governmentality, subjectivity, and the neoliberal form of life. *Journal for Cultural Research, 22*(2), 154-166. 10.1080/14797585.2018.1461357

Low, S. M. (1996). Spatializing culture: The social production and social construction of public space in Costa Rica. *American Ethnologist, 23*(4), 861-879. 10.1525/ae.1996.23.4.02a00100

Lugo, V., & Gilligan, C. (2019). Narratives of Surviving and Restoration:“Here I Am a Total Llanera Woman”. *Qualitative inquiry, 25*(9-10).

Lyon, D. (2016). Doing audio-visual montage to explore time and space: The everyday rhythms of billingsgate fish market. *Sociological Research Online, 21*(3), 1-12.

MacKenzie, R., & Forde, C. (2009). The rhetoric of thegood worker'versus the realities of employers' use and the experiences of migrant workers. *Work, Employment and Society, 23*(1), 142-159.

Mahapatra, L. (1991). Development for whom? Depriving the dispossessed tribals. *Social Action, 41*(3), 271-287.

Maiti, D., & Sen, K. (2010). The Informal Sector in India: A means of exploitation or accumulation? *Journal of South Asian Development, 5*(1), 1-13. 10.1177/097317411000500101

Marazzi, C. (2011). *The violence of financial capitalism* (Vol. 1). London, UK: Semiotext.

Marginson, P. (1993). Power and efficiency in the firm: Understanding the employment relationship. In C. Pitelis (ed.) *Transaction Costs, Markets and Hierarchies.* (pp. 131-165) Oxford: Blackwell.

Marglin, S. A. (1974). What do bosses do? The origins and functions of hierarchy in capitalist production. *Review of Radical Political Economics, 6*(2), 60-112.

Marius-Gnanou, K. (2008). Debt bondage, seasonal migration and alternative issues: Lessons from Tamil Nadu (India). *Autrepart* 46(2), 127–142.

Marsden, R. (1999). *The nature of capital: Marx after Foucault.* London: Routledge.

Marta, B., & Smircich, L. (1996). From 'The Woman's' Point of View: Feminist Approaches to Organization. In C. Stewart, C. Hardy & W.R. Nord. *Handbook of organization studies*. (pp. 218).

Martin, P. Y., & Collinson, D. (2002). Over the pond and across the water': developing the field of 'gendered organizations. *Gender, Work & Organization, 9*(3), 244-265.

Martin, S. (2011). Capitalist life in Lukács. In T. Bewew & T. Hall (Eds.), *Georg Lukacs: The Fundamental Dissonance of Existence: Aesthetics, Politics, Literature* (pp. 138-156). New York: Continium International Publishing.

Marx, K. (1975). *Marx and Engels collected works Vol.1,* (pp.23, 578). London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Mason, J. (1996). *Qualitative researching.* London: Sage.

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. 10.1177/0007650316675610

Meek, R. L. (1977). *Smith, Marx, and after.* London: Springer.

Mehra, A., Kilduff, M., & Brass, D. J. (1998). At the margins: A distinctiveness approach to the social identity and social networks of underrepresented groups. *Academy of Management Journal, 41*(4), 441-452.

Mehrotra, S. (2006). Well-being and caste in Uttar Pradesh: Why UP is not like Tamil Nadu. *Economic and Political Weekly*, *41*. 4261-4271.

Meillassoux, C. (1991). *The Anthropology of Slavery: the womb of iron and gold*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Miller, P., & Rose, N. (1990). Governing economic life. *Economy and Society, 19*(1), 1-31.

Mishra, D. K. (2020). Seasonal Migration and Unfree Labour in Globalising India: Insights from Field Surveys in Odisha. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics 63*(4). 1087-1106.

Monciardini, D., Bernaz, N., & Andhov, A. (2021). The Organizational Dynamics of Compliance With the UK Modern Slavery Act in the Food and Tobacco Sector. *Business & Society, 60*(2), 288-340. 10.1177/0007650319898195

Montgomerie, J., & Tepe-Belfrage, D. (2019). Spaces of debt resistance and the contemporary politics of financialised capitalism. *Geoforum, 98*, 309-317.

Moon, K., & Blackman, D. (2014). A guide to understanding social science research for natural scientists. *Conservation Biology, 28*(5), 1167-1177.

Morgan, G., Frost, P. J., & Pondy, L. R. (1983). *Organizational symbolism,* Greenich*,* CT: jai Press.

Morishima, M., & Catephores, G. (1978). *Value, Exploitation and Growth Marx in the Light of Modern Economic Theory*. London: Mcgraw Hill.

Morrison, L. R. (1980). The religious defense of American slavery before 1830. *The Journal of Religious Thought, 37*(2), 16-29.

Morsing, M., & Spence, L. J. (2019). Corporate social responsibility (CSR) communication and small and medium sized enterprises: The governmentality dilemma of explicit and implicit CSR communication. *Human Relations, 72*(12), 1920-1947. 10.1177/0018726718804306

Mulligan, W., & Bric, M. (2013). *A Global History of Anti-slavery Politics in the Nineteenth Century*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Muntaner, C., Solar, O., Vanroelen, C., Martínez, J. M., Vergara, M., Santana, V., (2010). Unemployment, informal work, precarious employment, child labor, slavery, and

health inequalities: pathways and mechanisms. *International journal of health services, 40*(2), 281-295.

Neumann, W. (1994). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. 2nd ed. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

O'Loughlin, D., & Szmigin, I. (2006). "I'll always be in debt": Irish and UK student behaviour in a credit led environment. *Journal of Consumer Marketing 23*(6), 335–343.

O'Malley, P., Weir, L., & Shearing, C. (1997). Governmentality, criticism, politics. *Economy and Society, 26*(4), 501-517.

Odysseos, L. (2011). Governing dissent in the central Kalahari game reserve:'development', governmentality, and subjectification amongst Botswana's Bushmen. *Globalizations, 8*(4), 439-455.

Oliffe, J. L., Bottorff, J. L., Kelly, M., & Halpin, M. (2008). Analyzing participant produced photographs from an ethnographic study of fatherhood and smoking. *Research in nursing & health, 31*(5), 529-539.

Oosterhoff, P., Burns, D., Prasad, B., & Robinson, S. (2018). *The modern slavery trap: Bonded labour*. Retrieved from https://www.ids.ac.uk/publications/the-modern-slavery-trap-bonded-labour/.

Ouchi, W. G. (1979). A conceptual framework for the design of organizational control mechanisms. *Management Science, 25*(9), 833-848.

Patterson, O. (1982). *Slavery and social death*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Peebles, G. (2010). The anthropology of credit and debt. *Annual review of Anthropology. 39*. 225-240.

Peyrouse, S. (2009). *The multiple paradoxes of the agriculture issue in Central Asia*. Working paper 6, EU Central Asia Monitoring. Brussels, Belgium.

Pink, S. (2013). *Doing visual ethnography*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pondy, L. R. (1983). *Organizational symbolism*: Greenwich: Jai Press.

Pradhan, N. (2013). Persistence of informal credit in rural India: Evidence from 'All-India Debt and Investment Survey'and beyond. RBI Working Paper Series No. 5. Mumbai: Department of economic research.

Quirk, J. F. (2006). The anti-slavery project: linking the historical and contemporary. *Human Rights Quarterly, 28*(3), 565-598.

Raffnsøe, S., Mennicken, A., & Miller, P. (2019). The Foucault effect in organization studies. *Organization Studies, 40*(2), 155-182.

Rao, J. M. (1999a). Agrarian power and unfree labour. *The Journal of Peasant Studies, 26*(2-3), 242-262.

Rao, J. M. (1999b). Freedom, equality, property and Bentham: The debate over unfree labour. *The Journal of Peasant Studies, 27*(1), 97-127.

Rashid, Y., Rashid, A., Warraich, M. A., Sabir, S. S., & Waseem, A. (2019). Case Study Method: A Step-by-Step Guide for Business Researchers. *International journal of qualitative methods, 18*, 1609406919862424. 10.1177/1609406919862424

Reeve, A. (1987). Thomas Hodgskin and John Bray: free exchange and equal exchange. In A. Reeve (Ed.), *Modern Theories of Exploitation* (pp. 30-52): Sage, London.

Resnick, S., & Wolff, R. (2003a). The diversity of class analyses: A critique of Erik Olin Wright and beyond. *Critical Sociology, 29*(1), 7-27.

Resnick, S., & Wolff, R. (2003b). Exploitation, consumption, and the uniqueness of US capitalism. *Historical Materialism, 11*(4), 209-226.

Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, Article 13 C.F.R. (1956).

Rioux, S., LeBaron, G., & Verovšek, P. J. (2020). Capitalism and unfree labor: a review of Marxist perspectives on modern slavery. *Review of International Political Economy, 27*(3), 709-731. 10.1080/09692290.2019.1650094

Roemer, J. (1985). *A general theory of exploitation and class*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Rose, E. (2011). Power in Organisations. In Butler. M. & Rose. E. (eds.) *Introduction to Organisational Behaviour*, (pp 295 – 313). London: Sage.

Rowlinson, M. (1997). Organisations and institutions : perspectives in economics and sociology. London: Macmillan Press.

Rudman, L. A., Borgida, E., & Robertson, B. A. (1995). Suffering in Silence: Procedural Justice Versus Gender Socialization issues in University Sexual Harassment Grievence Procedures. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 17*(4), 519-541.

Samonova, E. (2019). *Modern slavery and bonded labour in South Asia: A human rights-based approach*. London, UK: Routledge.

Sanyal, K. (2014). *Rethinking capitalist development: Primitive accumulation, governmentality and post-colonial capitalism*: Routledge.

Sayer, A. (2001). For a critical cultural political economy. *Antipode, 33*(4), 687-708.

Simmons, G., & Stringer, C. (2014). New Zealand′ s fisheries management system: forced labour an ignored or overlooked dimension? *Marine Policy, 50*(1), 74-80.

Simpson, R., & Lewis, P. (2005). An investigation of silence and a scrutiny of transparency: Re-examining gender in organization literature through the concepts of voice and visibility. *Human Relations, 58*(10), 1253-1275.

Smith, V. R. (1984). Marx's social ontology, his critical method and contemporary social economics. *Review of social economy, 42*(2), 143-169.

Sparkes, A. C. (2000). Autoethnography and narratives of self: Reflections on criteria in action. *Sociology of sport journal, 17*(1), 21-43.

Spencer, S. (2010). *Visual research methods in the social sciences: Awakening visions*. London, UK: Routledge.

Springer, S. (2012). Neoliberalism as discourse: between Foucauldian political economy and Marxian poststructuralism. *Critical Discourse Studies, 9*(2), 133-147. 10.1080/17405904.2012.656375

Srivastava, R. (2019). *End bondage, demand millions of Indian brick kiln workers as polls loom*. Retrieved 20/7/2019 from https://www.reuters.com/article/us-india-labour-bondage/end-bondage-demand-millions-of-indian-brick-kiln-workers-as-polls-loom-idUSKCN1RA0XC

Stead, V. (2013). Learning to deploy (in) visibility: An examination of women leaders' lived experiences. *Management learning, 44*(1), 63-79.

Steiner, H. (1987). Exploitation: a liberal theory amended, defended and extended. In A. Reeve (Ed.), *Modern Theories of Exploitation* (pp. 132-148). Sage: London.

Tajfel, H. (1974). Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *International Social Science Council, 13*(2), 65-93.

Taneja, S. S., Taneja, P. K., & Gupta, R. K. (2011). Researches in corporate social responsibility: A review of shifting focus, paradigms, and methodologies. *Journal of Business Ethics, 101*(3), 343-364.

Therborn, G. (1997). The rule of capital and the rise of democracy. *Classes and Elites in Democracy and Democratization: A Collection of Readings, 1083*, 134.

Thomas, G. (2010). Doing case study: Abduction not induction, phronesis not theory. *Qualitative inquiry, 16*(7), 575-582.

Thomas, O. D. (2014). Foucaultian dispositifs as methodology: The case of anonymous exclusions by unique identification in India. *International Political Sociology, 8*(2), 164-181.

Thompson, M. J. (2017). Collective intentionality, social domination, and reification. *Journal of Social Ontology, 3*(2), 207-229.

Thompson, M. J. (2019). *Georg Lukács and the Possibility of Critical Social Ontology.* New York: Brill.

Tickler, D., Meeuwig, J. J., Bryant, K., David, F., Forrest, J. A., Gordon, E., Sumaila, U. R. (2018). Modern slavery and the race to fish. *Nature communications, 9*(1), 1-9.

Tolich, M., & Fitzgerald, M. H. (2006). If ethics committees were designed for ethnography. *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics, 1*(2), 71-78.

Townley, B. (1993). Foucault, power/knowledge, and its relevance for human resource management. *Academy of Management Review, 18*(3), 518-545.

Tupou, L. (2017). *Migrant worker describes 'modern day slavery' scam*. Retrieved from http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/339373/migrant-worker-describes-modern-day-slavery-scam

Turnley, W. H., & Feldman, D. C. (1999). The impact of psychological contract violations on exit, voice, loyalty, and neglect. *Human Relations, 52*(7), 895-922.

Van den Hoonaard, W. C., & Hamilton, A. (2016). *The ethics rupture: Exploring alternatives to formal research-ethics review*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Van der Waal, K. (2009). Getting going: Organizing ethnographic fieldwork. *Organizational ethnography: Studying the complexities of everyday life*, 23-39.

Villadsen, K. (2019). 'The Dispositive': Foucault's Concept for Organizational Analysis? *Organization Studies, 0*(0), 0170840619883664. 10.1177/0170840619883664

Wainwright, D. (2015). *Gangmasters and migrant workers: What you need to know.* BBC. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-34974090

Walk Free Foundation. (2019). *Making Modern slavery socially unacceptable*. Retrieved from https://www.walkfree.org/making-modern-slavery-socially-unacceptable/

Wall, S. (2006). An autoethnography on learning about autoethnography. *International journal of qualitative methods, 5*(2), 146-160.

Walters, W. (2012). *Governmentality: critical encounters* (Vol. 3). London: Routledge.

Wasserman, V., & Frenkel, M. (2019). The politics of (in) visibility displays: Ultra-orthodox women manoeuvring within and between visibility regimes. *Human Relations*, 0018726719879984.

Willmott, H. (1998). Towards a new ethics? The contributions of poststructuralism and posthumanism. In Martin. P. (ed.), *Ethics and organizations* (pp 76-121). London: Sage.

Willmott, H. (2016). Bringing agency (back) into organizational analysis: Responding to the crisis of (post) modemity. In J.Hassard & M. Parker. (eds.) *Towards a New Theory of Organizations* (pp. 109-152). London: Routledge.

Wilson, F. (1996). Research note: Organizational theory: Blind and deaf to gender? *Organization Studies, 17*(5), 825-842.

Wolff, J. (1999). Marx and exploitation. *The Journal of Ethics, 3*(2), 105-120.

Wood, M., & Brown, S. (2011). Lines of flight: Everyday resistance along England's backbone. *Organization, 18*(4), 517-539.

Wood, M., Salovaara, P., & Marti, L. (2018). Manifesto for filmmaking as organisational research. *Organization, 25*(6), 825-835. 10.1177/1350508417749886

Wray-Bliss, E. (2002). Abstract ethics, embodied ethics: The strange marriage of Foucault and positivism in labour process theory. *Organization, 9*(1), 5-39.

Wright, E. O. (2000). *Class counts: Comparative studies in class analysis*: Cambridge University Press.

Yin, R. K. (1994). *Case study research: Design and methods*. London: Sage.

Yousaf, F. N., & Purkayastha, B. (2015). 'I am only half alive': Organ trafficking in Pakistan amid interlocking oppressions. *International Sociology, 30*(6), 637-653.

Appendix 1

Slavery Treaties or Conventions	**Definition of Slavery**
Slavery Convention 1889	Slavery defined as "the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised"
Slavery Convention 1926	*Forced labour included in the definition of slavery:* States should "prevent compulsory or forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery."
Universal declaration against slavery (1948)	*Conditions of servitude added:* "No one shall be held in slavery; slavery and the slave-trade in all their forms shall be prohibited" Universal Slavery declaration 1948
Slavery Convention 1956	*Debt bondage, serfdom and exploitation of labour of young people added:* (d) "Debt bondage, that is to say, the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined" (e) "Serfdom, that is to say, the condition or status of a tenant who is by law, custom or agreement bound to live and labour on land belonging to another person and to render

	some determinate service to such other person, whether for reward or not, and is not free to change his status" (f) "Any institution or practice whereby a young person under the age of 18 years is delivered by either or both of his natural parents or by his guardian to another person, whether for reward or not, with a view to the exploitation of the child or young person or of his labour" UNHR (resolution, 1956)
International Covenant of Economic and Social Rights 1976	*Freedom of choice of work and safe and healthy work conditions included:* "The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right." (UNHR resolution 1976)
Rome International Court, Final Act. 1998	*Slavery Redefined:* "Enslavement" means the exercise of any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership over a person and includes the exercise of such power in the course of trafficking in persons, in particular women and children" (ICRC, 1998)

Appendix 2

18/46 Modern Slavery: Exploring exploitations of exchange, power and meaning A case of Indian brick kilns.

**** ***** (HEC: Northern Application 18/46)

College: ***** ** **********

Supervisor: Dr. **** **********, A/Pro ***** ********

Approval of the application was declined for the following reasons:

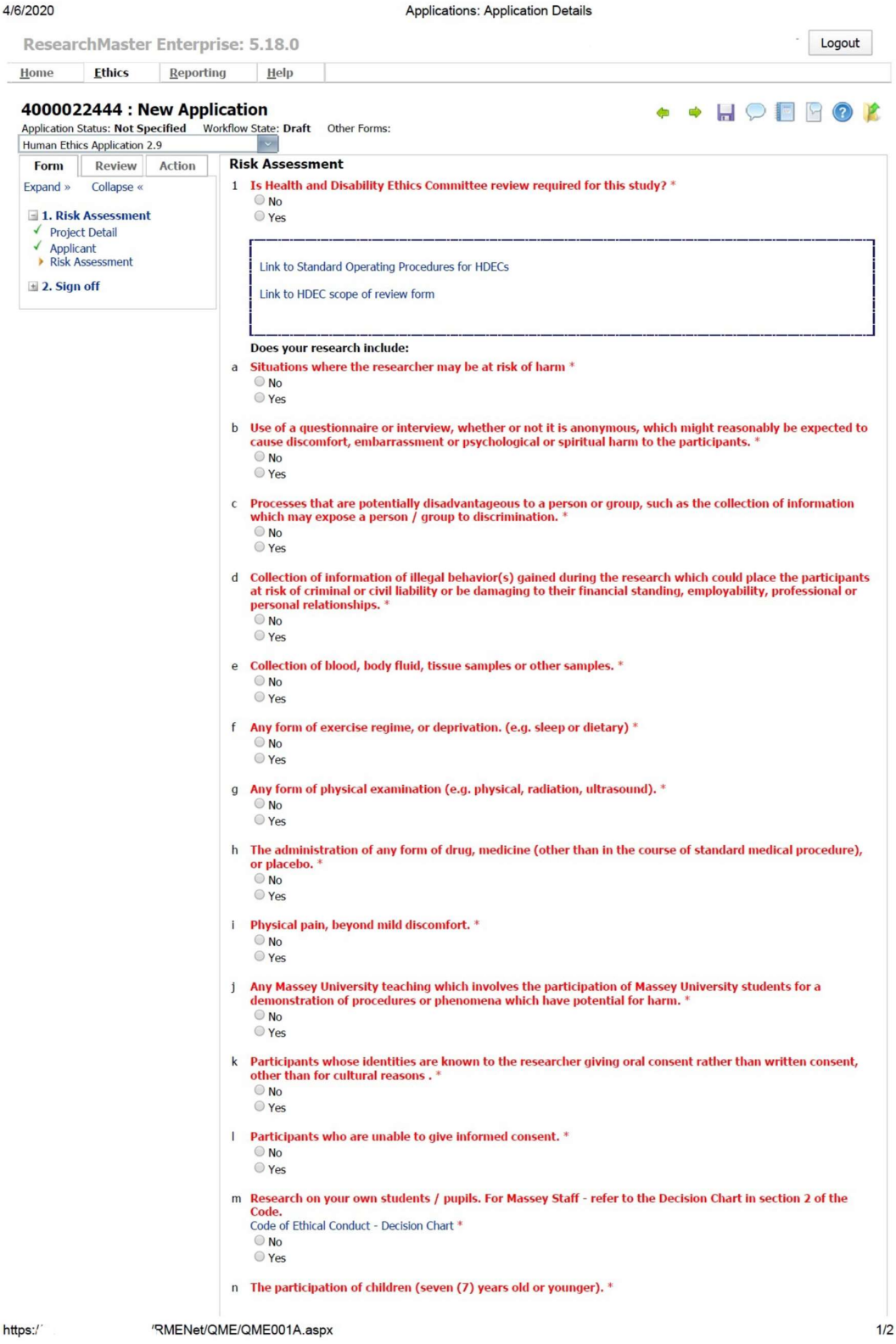
- The committee agree that this is an important study area and the potential vulnerability of participants requires that the researcher thoroughly considers the ethical issues of the study.
- The committee are concerned that there may be limited benefit to the participants in comparison to the risks involved in their taking part in the study. The committee agreed that the risks have not been adequately considered. There has been considerable study of this group (e.g. 2017 Slavery in India's Brick Kilns & the Payment System Anti-Slavery International Volunteers for Social Justice September 2017 and "Way forward in the fight for fair wages, decent work and eradication of slavery". (Anti-slavery International, 2017)).
- The participants could be considered a vulnerable group in this study. The applicant refers to the group as "underprivileged workers" and the title of the study explores "Modern slavery". In terms of harm to the researcher it is noted in section G that there may be resistance to the applicant being there, but states that as an NGO worker he has "*permission* to continue". This is not the same as having permission from the owners of the brick works to be there for the purposes of this research and his presence may well put himself and potentially the participants in a risky situation.
- There is no information supplied as to how the participants will be identified and recruited .

- The applicant refers to the NGO ******** throughout the application but supplies no information about "*********". In the terms of this research, the applicant is a researcher first and there is a blurring of the role as a researcher with that as a volunteer.
- The researcher has not identified any potential harm to participants as individuals or as a group of workers from taking part in the research although there is plan to interview workers on their working conditions which has the potential to reflect negatively on the plight of the workers and highlight negative findings about their employers. If workers were known to have co-operated with a study which highlights failings of their employers it may potentially be a risk factor for those workers.
- The committee agreed that more thought should be given to the information and consent process and communication with the participant group. The researcher has indicated that the participants will not be able to speak English but no mention is made of whether they can read the information sheets/consent forms (and whether translated documents will be available to them).

A substantially revised application may be submitted for reconsideration by the Committee.

Prior to a new application being made, applicants, and supervisors, are strongly encouraged to contact the Committee Acting Chairperson (Assoc. Professor ***** ***) if the reasons for this application being declined are unclear. If applicants have concerns they should, in the first instance, attempt to resolve these through discussion with the Acting Chair of the Human Ethics Committee. Please refer to the Reconsideration Procedures on the Human Ethics Website:

Appendix 3



4/6/2020 Applications: Application Details

ResearchMaster Enterprise: 5.18.0 Logout

Home Ethics Reporting Help

4000022444 : New Application

Application Status: **Not Specified** Workflow State: **Draft** Other Forms:

Human Ethics Application 2.9

Form Review Action

Expand » Collapse «

1. Risk Assessment
   - ✓ Project Detail
   - ✓ Applicant
   - Risk Assessment
2. Sign off

Risk Assessment

1 **Is Health and Disability Ethics Committee review required for this study? ***
- No
- Yes

Link to Standard Operating Procedures for HDECs

Link to HDEC scope of review form

Does your research include:

a **Situations where the researcher may be at risk of harm ***
- No
- Yes

b **Use of a questionnaire or interview, whether or not it is anonymous, which might reasonably be expected to cause discomfort, embarrassment or psychological or spiritual harm to the participants. ***
- No
- Yes

c **Processes that are potentially disadvantageous to a person or group, such as the collection of information which may expose a person / group to discrimination. ***
- No
- Yes

d **Collection of information of illegal behavior(s) gained during the research which could place the participants at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to their financial standing, employability, professional or personal relationships. ***
- No
- Yes

e **Collection of blood, body fluid, tissue samples or other samples. ***
- No
- Yes

f **Any form of exercise regime, or deprivation. (e.g. sleep or dietary) ***
- No
- Yes

g **Any form of physical examination (e.g. physical, radiation, ultrasound). ***
- No
- Yes

h **The administration of any form of drug, medicine (other than in the course of standard medical procedure), or placebo. ***
- No
- Yes

i **Physical pain, beyond mild discomfort. ***
- No
- Yes

j **Any Massey University teaching which involves the participation of Massey University students for a demonstration of procedures or phenomena which have potential for harm. ***
- No
- Yes

k **Participants whose identities are known to the researcher giving oral consent rather than written consent, other than for cultural reasons . ***
- No
- Yes

l **Participants who are unable to give informed consent. ***
- No
- Yes

m **Research on your own students / pupils. For Massey Staff - refer to the Decision Chart in section 2 of the Code.**
Code of Ethical Conduct - Decision Chart *
- No
- Yes

n **The participation of children (seven (7) years old or younger). ***

https:/ 'RMENet/QME/QME001A.aspx 1/2

- No
- Yes

o **The participation of children under sixteen (16) years old where active parental consent is not being sought.** *
- No
- Yes

p **Participants who are in a dependant situation, such as nursing home or prison, or patients highly dependent on medical care.** *
- No
- Yes

q **Participants who are vulnerable.** *
- No
- Yes

r **The use of previously collected identifiable personal information or research data for which there was no explicit consent for this research.** *
- No
- Yes

s **The use of previously collected biological samples for which there was no explicit consent for this research.** *
- No
- Yes

t **Any evaluation of organisational services or practices where information of a personal nature may be collected and where participants or the organisation may be identified.** *
- No
- Yes

u **Deception of the participants, including concealment or covert observations.** *
- No
- Yes

v **Conflict of interest situation for the researcher.**
Code of Ethical Conduct- Special Relationships
e.g. Is the project funded or supported in any way that might result in a conflict of interest, do any of the researchers have a financial interest in the outcome, or is there a professional or other relationship between the researcher and the participants? *
- No
- Yes

w **Payments or other financial inducements (other than reasonable reimbursement of travel expenses or time) to participants.** *
- No
- Yes

x **A requirement by an outside organisation (e.g. a funding organisation or a journal in which you wish to publish) for Massey University Human Ethics Committee approval.** *
- No
- Yes

y **I wish to submit a full application for Training / Education purposes***
- No
- Yes

Copyright © 2020 ResearchMaster Pty Ltd

Appendix 4

Draft of the report submitted to NZ Parliament select committee.

Lying to the north-west in the Indian subcontinent, Kashmir has been making headlines especially since August 5, 2019, when the Indian government revoked the little semblance of semi autonomy that had been guaranteed to the region.[17] The move was accompanied by suspending all forms of communication, detaining thousands of people, and imposing a stringent curfew.[18] More armed forces were rushed in[19] and tourists were asked to leave[20] before the Indian Parliament announced the decision.

Kashmiris were not consulted in the process, in violation of their rights. For example, Article 1.1 of ICCPR, which lays down that, "*All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.*"[21] While it is largely seen as the political unfolding of a majoritarian, right wing government in New Delhi to appease its Hindu vote-bank, it is important to remember that the present moment is a continuation of the long history of unabated violence *in* and *over* Kashmir by successive Indian regimes.

In 1947 following the partition of the Indian subcontinent, the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir 'acceded' to the Indian union. Not only did it defy logic since it was a Muslim majority area, the **Instrument of Accession**[22] was also signed by a highly unpopular Hindu *Maharaja* (king) whose very rule was being challenged by the people as there had been uprisings against

[17] https://time.com/5644356/india-kashmir-article-370/
[18] https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/10/world/asia/kashmir-india-pakistan.html
[19] https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/28-000-more-troops-deployed-in-kashmir-valley-1576280-2019-08-02
[20] https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-49222571
[21] https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx
[22] http://jklaw.nic.in/instrument_of_accession_of_jammu_and_kashmir_state.pdf

it.[23] Rough estimates mention that the Maharaja's forces killed over two hundred thousand Muslims in the Jammu region.[24] Accession essentially entailed ceding jurisdiction over defence, foreign affairs and communications to India. On 27 October 1947, Indian troops landed in Kashmir. Ever since, the **"Kashmir issue"** as it is often termed continues to be a bone of contention between India and Pakistan. However, what is conveniently forgotten is the human cost of the conflict, and the centrality of Kashmiris themselves to what affects them the most.

On 1 January 1948, India approached the United Nations to help clear the northern parts of Kashmir, which it argued was illegally occupied.[25] 'India suffered a significant symbolic defeat when the Security Council altered the agenda item from the 'Jammu and Kashmir Question' to the 'India-Pakistan Question''.[26] Resolutions 38 and 39 were passed by the Security Council in January 1948 and Resolution 47 in April 1948, resulting in the establishment of the **United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan** (UNCIP) to mediate for resolution of the dispute. It was meant to facilitate not just the restoration of peace but also the holding of a plebiscite by India and Pakistan in Kashmir while cooperating with each other and with the Commission.

The **United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan** (UNMOGIP) was subsequently established for supervision and assistance regarding the cease-fire between the two countries. By May 1948, the war in Kashmir resumed on several fronts. The United Nations Security Council instructed UNCIP to mediate between the governments of the two

[23] See Snedden, Christopher. *Kashmir: the unwritten history*. HarperCollins, 2013.

[24] https://scroll.in/article/811468/the-killing-fields-of-jammu-when-it-was-muslims-who-were-eliminated
[25] https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/468605?ln=en
[26] Guha, Ramachandra. "India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy. 2007." *London: Picador-Pan Macmillan Ltd* 771 (2008).

countries and facilitate in restoring peace in addition to holding of a plebiscite. This was followed by a ceasefire agreement in 1949, followed by another resolution adopted by the UNCIP over the UN Secretary General nominating a plebiscite administrator. Even after over a dozen resolutions[27], there has been no plebiscite.

Over the years, Kashmiris continued to demand for the **Right to Self Determination**. The 1987 elections, where for the first time an amalgam of Muslim groups called the Muslim United Front (MUF) was running for elections, witnessed state-sponsored mass rigging.[28] It is important to note that India has used the pretext of local elections in Kashmir to claim that referendum is unnecessary. Prior to this, a popular pro-independence leader from Kashmir, Maqbool Butt was hanged in Delhi's Tihar Jail after being convicted for murder and his mortal remains were never returned. Pushed to the wall, the simmering anger of the people witnessed the outbreak of an **armed struggle** against the Indian State in the late 1980s that saw massive popular support.

In 1993, **All Parties Hurriyat Conference** (APHC) was formed and despite having split in 2002, it continues to have a strong impact on Kashmir's political scenario. In the nineties (as to the present day), there were widespread processions across the valley with people demanding *Azaadi* (freedom) from India. The Indian State responded to people's expression of varied forms of dissent with brutal **counter insurgency**. Homes were turned into battlegrounds. The Indian armed forces were ruthless in their operations. An entire civilian structure seen to be supportive of the insurgency was sought to be dismantled. It was in this moment that thousands of Kashmiri Pandits, the minority Hindus, left the valley. Questions of *why* and *how many* often

[27] https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un_documents_type/security-council-resolutions/page/1?ctype=Jammu+and+Kashmir&cbtype=jammu-and-kashmir#038;cbtype=jammu-and-kashmir

[28] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/2223364.stm

get contradictory answers depending on which side of the divide one is looking at it from.[29] Massacres against the local population followed soon after.[30] Lawless laws like the **Armed Forces Special Powers Act**,[31] which gives Indian forces impunity even if they kill on mere suspicion, and the **Public Safety Act**,[32] which allows for detention without trial, were put in place, used as instruments of further subjugation against the Kashmiri people.

The human cost of the conflict has been massive, also reported by United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights through its reports in 2018[33] and 2019[34], as well as other international and local human rights groups. It is estimated that over 70000 people have been killed, 8000 subjected to enforced disappearance; there have been documented cases of widespread torture, use of sexual violence as a weapon of war.[35] Kashmir also witnessed the **world's first mass blinding** in 2016[36], commonly referred to as the 'year of dead eyes' when the use of pellet shotguns by the Indian armed forces on Kashmiris resulted in thousands being rendered fully or partially blind. Despite the Indian government's reiterations that pellets are non-lethal, they have also caused many fatalities.[37] A human rights group notes for the year 2019 that the excessive use of force by the Indian armed forces, especially the firing of pellets

[29]https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/spotlight/kashmirtheforgottenconflict/2011/07/2011724204546645823.html

[30] See Perpetrators, Alleged. "Stories of Impunity in Jammu and Kashmir." *International Peoples' Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice in Indian-Administered Kashmir* (2012). Also see, International Peoples' Tribunal and the Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons. "Structures of Violence: The Indian State in Jammu and Kashmir." (2015)

[31] http://legislative.gov.in/actsofparliamentfromtheyear/armed-forces-jammu-and-kashmir-special-powers-act-1990

[32] https://www.business-standard.com/about/what-is-public-safety-act-psa

[33] https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/IN/DevelopmentsInKashmirJune2016ToApril2018.pdf

[34] https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/IN/KashmirUpdateReport_8July2019.pdf

[35] International Peoples' Tribunal and the Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons. "Structures of Violence: The Indian State in Jammu and Kashmir." (2015)

[36] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/08/india-crackdown-in-kashmir-is-this-worlds-first-mass-blinding

[37] See https://apdpkashmir.com/my-world-is-dark-state-violence-and-pellet-firing-shotgun-victims-from-the-2016-uprising-in-kashmir/

and teargas shells, resulted in at least 6 deaths in 2019. This year 4 people died due to pellet injuries and 3 died due to inhalation of excessive tear and pepper gas.[38]

Even as the government itself mentions the number of armed militants to be less than 300, it is estimated that around 700, 000 Indian armed personnel are stationed in the valley, making it the **world's highest militarized zone**.[39] The Indian state has refused to agree for Geneva Conventions to be applied to the Kashmir case, for the fear that it could internationalise the issue, while civil society groups active in Kashmir like the Jammu Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society have maintained that it is an international armed conflict.

Since August 5, 2019, when the last vestiges of the state's limited autonomy were revoked, it was accompanied by severe human rights violations by the Indian State. While the Article 370 that gave some autonomy to the former princely state had been largely hollowed out of its provisions over the years, in combination with Article 35A, the provisioning allowed only the state subjects to buy land in the state. Therefore, people largely see the August 5 move as one tending to **settler colonialism** where the Indian State ambitions to put up outsiders in Kashmir, something the locals fear would impact the outcome as and when the UN mandated plebiscite would be held for the region.[40] The move has been seen as one of disempowerment and dispossession of Kashmiris.

The move also sparked fresh tensions between nuclear armed India and Pakistan with frequent squirmishes at the Line of Control. With Kashmir being a '**nuclear flashpoint'** and part of the region often called the 'globe's most volatile and dangerous geopolitical faultzone'[41], a

[38] See http://jkccs.net/annual-human-rights-review-2019-2/
[39] https://www.forbes.com/sites/ranisingh/2016/07/12/kashmir-in-the-worlds-most-militarized-zone-violence-after-years-of-comparative-calm/#203651453124
[40] https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/08/05/indias-settler-colonial-project-kashmir-takes-disturbing-turn/
[41] Margolis, Eric. *War at the top of the world: The struggle for Afghanistan, Kashmir and Tibet*. Routledge, 2004.

clampdown like this is a threat to global security, as the region is known to be a key to peace in the South Asian region especially.

While the government of India denied the reports of any killings post August 5, human rights groups including JKCCS and APDP have been able to document at least six killings at the hands of the Indian armed forces following the abrogation of the Article 370.[42] There have been conflicting reports about the number of detentions. According to an initial news report in AFP, government sources were quoted as saying at least 4,000 people were arrested and held under the Public Safety Act. "Most of them were flown out of Kashmir because prisons here have run out of capacity", the report quoted.[43]

The detainees include pro-freedom leaders, pro-India politicians in Kashmir, activists, lawyers, youth, including children. It was reported that 144 children under 18 years of age had been picked up by police between August 5 and September 23, including 9 year olds.[44] Revolving door detentions were also reported as it was noted that around 1,500 youth had been picked up and released under a continuous process. It ranged "from a period of one day to two weeks at maximum. Such daily arrests and release from detentions are a continuous process. The reason for the revolving door method was also poor space in the Valley's jails, despite shifting several persons, including detained militants, to Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Delhi," a newspaper report noted.[45] Families also reported not knowing the whereabouts of their detained kin, triggering fears of enforced disappearance.[46]

[42] http://jkccs.net/annual-human-rights-review-2019-2/
[43] https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/about-4000-people-arrested-in-kashmir-since-august-5-govt-sources-to-afp/article29126566.ece
[44] https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/children-among-minors-detained-kashmir-article-370-abrogation-reports-1605322-2019-10-01
[45] https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/now-revolving-door-arrests-in-kashmir/article29310428.ece
[46] https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-South-Central/2019/1030/As-Kashmir-s-blackout-continues-they-wait-for-word-of-their-son

The clampdown also affected access to medical services. Across the hospitals in Srinagar, most routine surgeries were cancelled in the first two weeks of the clampdown as only a few patients who had been dated for the procedures turned up. The hospital staff, which includes doctors, paramedics, and others, also found it hard to attend their duties.[47] In late August, a doctor who held a placard outside a government hospital, requesting the government to end the blackout for people to access medical services, was detained by the police.[48] A newspaper report documented the struggle of a man racing to get his pregnant wife to a hospital, negotiating about 85km of highways through a maze of heavily guarded checkpoints.[49]

The total communication blockade, both internet and calling facilities, even postal services, were suspended for months and the blockade partially continues even 200 days later after the abrogation of Article 370. Currently, only the slow 2G speed internet is allowed in the region, with access to only limited websites and all social media blocked. In fact, with people having taken to alternate ways of accessing social media, the government is cracking down on the users. Dozens are reported to have been detained for questioning, and thousands of social media accounts are under police scanner.[50] This, merely for using the internet, something that has become central to our lives in today's times.

All educational institutions were shut in the region, and even though the government attempted to reopen them two months later, students and staff could not turn up. While the exams were conducted in time, the students heavily suffered in terms of learning opportunities and reported the psychological pressure they were made to undergo in the harsh Kashmir winter of

[47] https://www.deccanherald.com/national/north-and-central/clampdown-affects-health-services-in-kashmir-755664.html
[48] https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/08/30/kashmir-shutdown-raises-healthcare-concerns
[49] https://gulfnews.com/world/asia/india/india-a-birth-and-a-death-amid-kashmirs-harsh-lockdown-1.65846455
[50] https://www.asianage.com/india/all-india/230220/over-1000-profiles-on-social-media-under-lens-in-kashmir-valley.html

November and December when exams were lined up even as they had not been able to attend classes for half a year.[51] Students, with no access to internet, could not apply for admissions outside. The government provided internet kiosks at several places to enable students to fill up forms for competitive exams, but they were far and few in number, with people having to wait for hours for their turn, a situation both humiliating and unnecessarily imposed.

In 2019, media continued to be at the receiving end of the pressure, intimidation and harassment by the authorities, with several incidents of beating and thrashing of journalists. Journalists also faced reprisals for filing stories on contentious issues with many called by the authorities for questioning and asked to reveal their 'sources' for particular reportage.[52] While initially there were no facilities provided to journalists to report stories, the government later opened a media facilitation centre where only a few computers have been installed and the work is monitored.[53]

The long curfew and a total communication blackout has also been reported to have taken a toll on people's mental health. Psychologists say the crackdown led to a rise in people seeking help for anxiety, stress and other issues.[54] According to a by Médecins Sans Frontières, nearly 1.8 million adults in Kashmir – 45% of the population – have shown symptoms of mental distress. More than 41% of the population showed signs of depression, 26% signs of anxiety and 19% showed probable symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. Most of this is attributed to the decades-long conflict and intensive militarization. The recent blockade resulted in fewer people accessing mental health care in August 2019. Médecins Sans Frontières shut down

[51] https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/struggle-education-indian-administered-kashmir-200211132913517.html
[52] https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/kashmir-journalists-raise-voice/cid/1702466
[53] https://www.newslaundry.com/2020/02/05/a-panopticon-of-fear-and-rumours-inside-kashmirs-media-centre-during-lockdown
[54] https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/oct/23/people-are-panicked-kashmir-curfew-takes-toll-mental-health

mental health services in four districts of Kashmir valley as they are unable to reach their staff.[55]

The severe losses to Kashmir economy have also been reported. In December, taking stock of the losses, Kashmir Chamber of Trade and Commerce noted that the valley had suffered losses of 15000 crore since August 2019.[56] It further noted that the handicraft, tourism and e-commerce sectors were the worst hit by the situation. The handicraft sector alone witnessed over 50,000 people losing their jobs. The artisans were not getting any fresh orders in the absence of communication facilities.

While the communication clampdown has been eased out over the last few weeks, the situation is anything but normal. Detentions and restrictions on use of internet services continue. The long siege has left people struggling with accessing basic services, led to mental health issues, job losses, even as the Indian government has twice allowed foreign diplomats to visit Kashmir in the last six months. These visits have been more of photo-ops, with no interactions with the common public. Kashmiris continue to be subjected to repeated violations of their fundamental right to a life of dignity and freedom. The world must take note.

[55] https://thewire.in/health/kashmir-blackout-report-mental-health
[56] https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/kashmir-economy-suffered-losses-of-rs-15000-cr-since-august-trade-body/articleshow/72384150.cms?from=mdr

Appendix 5

A SINGLE CONSTITUTION FOR THE ENTIRE COUNTRY

How will Jammu, Kashmir & Ladakh benefit?

In recent weeks, important decisions have been taken regarding Jammu and Kashmir. Articles 370 & 35 A have been abrogated or substantially modified and other important changes have been made. How will these changes benefit the common man? What advantages will accrue to the region?

Article 370 and 35A Responsible for Backwardness of J&K

For many years in the past, the state of J&K has been the victim of anti-national propaganda and terrorist actions against innocent citizens. The Articles 370 and 35 A became handy tools for mischievous elements to fan separatism and promote terror. These two articles kept the state isolated and away from the development processes in the country for a long time. The special status benefited only a select few e.g. Hurriyat leaders and people working for them. Despite massive fund allotment there was only limited improvement in the conditions of the poor and disadvantaged. Similarly even though the Parliament passed a number of progressive laws for the benefits and welfare of people yet most of them could not be extended to J&K, thereby denying the people of J&K the benefits, which are available to all other citizens in India.

How will this change now? How will this lead to end of poverty and a boost to development and growth?

Here are a few ways in which development and progress will percolate down to the grassroots. Investors will pump in capital and resources, industries and services will be set up, employment opportunities will multiply, big educational institutes will proliferate, health sector will grow, agricultural sector will be transformed, agro-processing will take a leap forward, ecological and environmental provisions will be enforced and natural beauty will be preserved. All fundamental rights enjoyed by citizens in the rest of the country will be now available to the residents of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh.

Why Fear !

No Threat to Unique Culture and Language of Kashmir and Kashmiris

The cultures and languages of Marathas, Tamilians, Gujaratis, Assamese and others have prospered and grown. There are adequate provisions and safeguards in our constitution to ensure that the religious and cultural rights of every group and community are protected and preserved. There is absolutely no threat to the culture, traditions and religion of Kashmir or any other region

No Threat to any Community or Religion

People belonging to all faiths reside in J&K. The very fact that Jammu and Kashmir shall continue to be together even after reorganisation clearly indicates that there is neither any communal angle nor any attempt to override any cultural or religious group. In fact, the purpose of the above steps is economic growth, development and generation of more employment these will benefits all sections and groups in society.

No threat to land or property

- Fears of the people about loss of land and properties are not well founded.
- In fact, there is no compulsion on anybody to part with his land
- There will be no change in ownership due to removal of Article 370.

70 Years with 370, A New Era without 370-*let us give the new system a chance*

- 7 decades of 370 failed to bring either employment or peace. It only saw ordinary people getting looted and misguided while the separatist leaders enjoyed luxuries for themselves and their families.
- A new age of growth, development and equal opportunity for all beckons us. For the first time any ordinary citizen of J&K will enjoy the same opportunities which only children of privileged enjoyed so far.
- We are sure to see that the problems which have been preventing Kashmir from realising its true potential will go away and a new world of opportunities and possibilities will open for the people of J&K.

Government of Jammu & Kashmir

A SINGLE CONSTITUTION FOR THE ENTIRE COUNTRY

How will Jammu, Kashmir & Ladakh benefit?

In recent weeks, important decisions have been taken regarding Jammu and Kashmir. Articles 370 & 35 A have been abrogated or substantially modified and other important changes have been made. How will these changes benefit the common man? What advantages will accrue to the region?

Article 370 and 35A Responsible for Backwardness of J&K

For many years in the past, the state of J&K has been the victim of anti-national propaganda and terrorist actions against innocent citizens. The Articles 370 and 35 A became handy tools for mischievous elements to fan separatism and promote terror. These two articles kept the state isolated and away from the development processes in the country for a long time. The special status benefited only a select few e.g. Hurriyat leaders and people working for them. Despite massive fund allotment there was only limited improvement in the conditions of the poor and disadvantaged. Similarly even though the Parliament passed a number of progressive laws for the benefits and welfare of people yet most of them could not be extended to J&K, thereby denying the people of J&K the benefits, which are available to all other citizens in India.

How will this change now? How will this lead to end of poverty and a boost to development and growth?

Here are a few ways in which development and progress will percolate down to the grassroots. Investors will pump in capital and resources, industries and services will be set up, employment opportunities will multiply, big educational institutes will proliferate, health sector will grow, agricultural sector will be transformed, agro-processing will take a leap forward, ecological and environmental provisions will be enforced and natural beauty will be preserved. All fundamental rights enjoyed by citizens in the rest of the country will be now available to the residents of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh.

Benefits for Scheduled Tribes

- Despite having nearly 12% population, the ST community (Gujjars, Bakerwals and others) had no political reservation
- STs will now get political representation through reservation in Assembly seats like in the rest of the country
- The Scheduled Tribes & other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 has now been made applicable. There was no corresponding State Act.
- Rights of Tribal/ST Communities residing in forests since generations will now be protected.

Gender discrimination to end- Women to get full rights

- Property and all other rights of women marrying outside the State will now be fully protected
- So many women from the state have married and settled in other parts of the country and even abroad
- All such women will now retain full and legal rights on land and all other rights
- All Central Acts and Laws protecting the rights of women and children to be made fully applicable to the State e.g. Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, Juvenile Justice Act etc.
- The Commission for Protection of Child Rights Act, 2005 provides for speedy trial of offences against children, violation of child rights etc. This act will now be applicable here and will ensure adequate protection of women and child rights
- The 86th Constitutional Amendments Act, 2002 (Right to Education RTE) makes education a fundamental right for Children in the age group of 6-14 years. Benefits which were available under RTE now shall be extended to J&K as well ensuring universal education coverage

Benefits to Scheduled Castes and OBCs

- SC employees were not getting full benefits of reservation especially in promotion like their colleagues in the rest of the country
- *Safai Karamcharies* in the state were being denied citizenship rights- as a result they could not get jobs forcing them to remain sanitation workers
- All *safai karamcharies* will now get full citizenship and other rights and benefits- Manual scavenging will stop
- National Commission for *Safai Karamchari* Act, 1993 will now apply
- This will improve working conditions of *Safai Karamcharies* and provide for redressal of grievances
- OBCs in J&K to get their due in employment and education- they will get full benefits of reservation now like in the rest of the country

Justice for West Pakistan Refugees (WPRs)

- Over 20,000 West Pakistan Refugees (WPRs) were hitherto aliens in their own country
- They were denied all democratic rights as well as citizenship and property rights
- They will now enjoy all democratic and other rights as citizens of the country

Government of Jammu & Kashmir

A SINGLE CONSTITUTION FOR THE ENTIRE COUNTRY

How will Jammu, Kashmir & Ladakh benefit?

In recent weeks, important decisions have been taken regarding Jammu and Kashmir. Articles 370 & 35 A have been abrogated or substantially modified and other important changes have been made. How will these changes benefit the common man? What advantages will accrue to the region?

Article 370 and 35A Responsible for Backwardness of J&K

For many years in the past, the state of J&K has been the victim of anti-national propaganda and terrorist actions against innocent citizens. The Articles 370 and 35 A became handy tools for mischievous elements to fan separatism and promote terror. These two articles kept the state isolated and away from the development processes in the country for a long time. The special status benefitted only a select few e.g. Hurriyat leaders and people working for them. Despite massive fund allotment there was only limited improvement in the conditions of the poor and disadvantaged. Similarly even though the Parliament passed a number of progressive laws for the benefits and welfare of people yet most of them could not be extended to J&K, thereby denying the people of J&K the benefits, which are available to all other citizens in India.

How will this change now? How will this lead to end of poverty and a boost to development and growth?

Here are a few ways in which development and progress will percolate down to the grassroots. Investors will pump in capital and resources, industries and services will be set up, employment opportunities will multiply, big educational institutes will proliferate, health sector will grow, agricultural sector will be transformed, agro-processing will take a leap forward, ecological and environmental provisions will be enforced and natural beauty will be preserved. All fundamental rights enjoyed by citizens in the rest of the country will be now available to the residents of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh.

Investment, Development and Employment

- The application of Articles 370 and 35 A placed restrictions on transfer of land.
- As a result private investment in developmental works was severely constrained
- No large industries developed in the state
- No major investment in Education, Health or Tourism
- Consequently, employment opportunities especially for youth remained restricted
- Removal of restrictions will encourage industry and private investment
- This will spur growth and employment leading to prosperity for all
- Industrialisation of the state will multiply job opportunities for local youth
- Local horticulture and food processing will get a big boost- all small, medium and big farmers will benefit
- Handicraft industry which was earlier limited to select destinations will now be able to directly export and collaborate both nationally and internationally- Even poor artisans in villages will benefit

Benefits to land owners

- Land rates all over the country have increased many fold while rates in J&K have not increased as much
- This will change in the days to come.
- Any landowner who wishes to sell his land would benefit from increased prices
- However fears of the people about loss of land and properties are not well founded.
- In fact, there is no compulsion on anybody to part with his land
- Anyone who does not want to sell his lands will have the full liberty not to do so. There will be no change in ownership due to removal of Article 370.

Big Boost for Tourism

- The tourism potential of the entire region is immense
- The special provisions and consequent restrictions prevented investment by major national and global players in the sector
- With the restrictions having been removed, the tourism potential of the region will be fully utilised
- Investment in tourist infrastructure such as hotels and other facilities will increase tourist arrivals and create further job and earning opportunities
- Film shootings, adventure tourism, religious tourism to grow
- PPP models will provide opportunities for local entrepreneurs
- Rural tourism will grow- as a result, benefits which were earlier in cities only will now reach villages too

Education and Health

- Higher education all across the country has witnessed a boom but not in J&K
- As of now, there is not a single private university currently in J&K
- 20,000 students from J&K have to go to other parts of India to study
- Now even this sector will boom due to the PPP model in vogue- no compulsion for students to go outside for education
- Similarly in the Health sector there are no large hospitals in J&K in the private sector
- So many patients are forced to travel to Chandigarh, Delhi or Mumbai for specialised treatment
- Now large private investment in health and education is expected- world class health care providers to open their franchises and health centres
- This would bring top quality health care right at the door steps of the people
- This will also lead to employment opportunities and growth
- J&K can become a medical tourism hub for the Middle East and East Asia

Government of Jammu & Kashmir

A SINGLE CONSTITUTION FOR THE ENTIRE COUNTRY

How will Jammu, Kashmir & Ladakh benefit?

In recent weeks, important decisions have been taken regarding Jammu and Kashmir. Articles 370 & 35 A have been abrogated or substantially modified and other important changes have been made. How will these changes benefit the common man? What advantages will accrue to the region?

Article 370 and 35A Responsible for Backwardness of J&K

For many years in the past, the state of J&K has been the victim of anti-national propaganda and terrorist actions against innocent citizens. The Articles 370 and 35 A became handy tools for mischievous elements to fan separatism and promote terror. These two articles kept the state isolated and away from the development processes in the country for a long time. The special status benefited only a select few e.g. Hurriyat leaders and people working for them. Despite massive fund allotment there was only limited improvement in the conditions of the poor and disadvantaged. Similarly even though the Parliament passed a number of progressive laws for the benefits and welfare of people yet most of them could not be extended to J&K, thereby denying the people of J&K the benefits, which are available to all other citizens in India.

How will this change now? How will this lead to end of poverty and a boost to development and growth?

Here are a few ways in which development and progress will percolate down to the grassroots. Investors will pump in capital and resources, industries and services will be set up, employment opportunities will multiply, big educational institutes will proliferate, health sector will grow, agricultural sector will be transformed, agro-processing will take a leap forward, ecological and environmental provisions will be enforced and natural beauty will be preserved. All fundamental rights enjoyed by citizens in the rest of the country will be now available to the residents of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh.

New Dawn for Youth- Equal Opportunity for all

- While the children of separatists and politicians study in London, New York, Singapore and other top cities of the world, the children of the poor in J&K have been denied even a decent education facility
- Now there will be a new dawn in Kashmir ensuring equal opportunity for all
- There will be significant upgrade in education facilities of all, particularly the children of the poor.
- The focus of the government will be education, industrialization and boost to tourism

Panchayati Raj Institutions

- The establishment of Local Self Governing Institutions was so far erratic and at the whims of the State Government
- For long periods, no elections to Panchayats were held
- Now the 73rd& 74th Constitutional Amendment have become applicable
- Constitutional status has been given to local self governments in Rural & Urban areas
- All provisions relating to Panchayats and local self governments to be fully applicable
- Panchayats will now get direct funding- people will decide their own developmental priorities
- This will lead to strengthening of grass roots democracy

Transparency and Accountability – Control Corruption

- Lack of strong laws led to corruption and poor accountability
- As a result much of the funding failed to reached the poor
- So despite massive spending, little impact was seen on the ground
- Now all anti corruption central Laws including Whistle Blower Act will be applicable
- Oversight by all central agencies and watchdogs will ensure reduced corruption
- Transparency and accountability to increase
- Funds earmarked for the people will actually reach the beneficiaries
- Corruption will be controlled

106 people friendly laws and 9 constitutional amendments of the Indian Constitution now to be made applicable

- Earlier applicability of Central Laws to Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) was limited
- No Central Act could be made applicable to J&K except through special procedure
- As a result, many laws could not be applied to J&K thereby depriving the local residents of the benefits of these legislations
- So many progressive laws such as Right to Education, Maintenance & Welfare of Parents & Senior Citizens Act, 2001, National Commission for Minority Act and acts for benefit of Women, Children, Disabled will now be applicable
- The application of these laws will help the most vulnerable sections of the population

Government of Jammu & Kashmir