Chapter 1
Dynamics of Labour Relations across Different Circuits of Globalisation

1.1 Introduction

While trying to understand labour relations in a specific economic activity, the focus has traditionally been primarily on the workplace. In some cases, the focus is limited to negotiations within the workplace (Chamberlain & Kuhn, 1965). The labour relation studies in a formal workplace, in its traditional form, considered the representation of workers in these negotiations largely as the prerogative of trade unions (Olivo & McKeracher, 2005; Webb & Webb, 1920). The management is expected to protect the interests of the shareholders. In such studies, the primary emphasis was on the economic behaviours of employers, workers and trade unions (Marshall & Perlman, 1972). The major external factors that affect the interactions, allocation of resources and economic welfare are public opinion, law and the government (Kerr et al., 1960). Hence the labour relations, in general, were studied in the context of a workplace. The workplace is constituted by interactions of labour and capital. The literature on the workplace interactions of labour and capital mainly concentrated on the nature of this relation—whether the labour-capital relationship is conflictive or cooperative.

Even when the focus is only on negotiations within the workplace, it is clear that changes in the workplace are not independent of the influences developing outside it. In the context of globalisation of production, there are noticeable changes in labour and labour relations. Such changes have been happening over time at different systems of production. The nature of the workplace, the workforce demanded in the workplace, as well as the mechanisms of labour interactions with the management are also constantly
changing. David Harvey (1989) expressed that the new forms of capitalism is characterised by flexible accumulation, global sourcing and temporary, part-time and freelance work. Such perceived changes in the workplace can be attributed to the larger processes of the globalisation of production. Castells (1996) pointed out that the global economy has many transnational networks of companies that spread across nations in search of cheaper labour and larger profit. It is these networks, not the firms that have become the actual operating units (Castells, 1996, p. 171). In such networks, individuals are autonomous nodes, and the social world is seen as a flat, decentralised sphere of ever flowing, multiple and ad-hoc assemblages (Fisher, 2010). The changes in labour relations as well as the factors influencing them depend on the nature of such networks. Some of such changes include international and internal migration, flexibilisation, feminisation, informalisation, social networking, privatisation of labour standards, relegation of the role of unions and increasing presence of national and global Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs).

1.1.1 Global Migration

Opening up of the economies to the global market have brought a vast number of workers into the global production networks (Freeman, 2005). With the improvement in transport and telecommunication technologies and the liberalisation policies, labour became more accessible globally. The removal of trade barriers could ensure the movement of even the less skilled labour to the developed countries (Dayton-Johnson et al., 2007; Castles, 2006; Moses, 2006, 2007; Pritchett, 2007). Consequently, the migration is followed by the inflow of remittances to the developing economies. There is a direct, positive development impact of migration and remittances, on the income sending and receiving countries (Appleyard, 1992; Athukorala, 1993; Ellerman, 2003; Jacobs, 1984; Massey et al., 1998; Woodruff & Zenteno, 2001). In developing economies, the inflow of remittances can be an important mechanism for undertaking welfare activities for the poor and for the redistribution of wealth (Harris, 2005). As such, the migration of labour can help alleviate poverty (McKenzie & Sasin, 2007; Newland & Patrick, 2004). Much of the internal mobility within the national borders is
primarily from the rural to the urban. This is seen as a means to diversify the income of the poor families in the rural areas (Harris, 2005). In India, the internal migration has increased during the 1990s as a result of the new economic policies of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation (Lusome & Bhagat, 2006). The Census 2001 reported 309 million internal migrants and of these migrants, 70.7% were women (Much of this female migration is due to marriage). Two-thirds of the migrants (67.2%) were rural and only 32.8% were urban (Srivastava, 2012). There are a large number of skilled professional and unskilled manual workers in India working for the global production networks including software industries, garment and electronics. The supply and demand changes in the production networks have a direct effect on the lower end of the production networks that are the skilled/unskilled labourers (both domestic and migrants).

1.1.2 Feminisation

Another noticeable change under the globalisation of production is the increasing presence of women in the workforce. The increase in the global labour mobility and migratory tendencies are reflecting an increase in the feminisation of the labour force (Yamanaka & Piper, 2005; INSTRAW, 2007). This is mainly because the growth in international trade and the effects of globalisation are favouring women’s participation in paid employment (Joekes, 1995; Standing, 1999). Therefore, the participation of women in the global workforce has increased excessively after 1970s (Phillips, 2011; Standing, 1989; Unni, 2001). The developing and developed countries have experienced a shift in the production patterns during this period. In the developed countries, such shift in employment is from manufacturing to services, and in the developing countries from agriculture to manufacturing and services (Kanji & Menon-Sen, 2001). Evidently, there is also an increase in the global demand for domestic labour (services of care of families, children and old people, cleaning and maintaining houses and properties) and this has pushed millions of women to offer their labour in the global market (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; Scrinzi, 2003). New jobs were created in information based industries, clothing, electronics and food retailing (Caraway, 2007; Diane & Pearson,
1981; Lim, 1985; Tomoda, 1995). In such export-based industries of the developing countries, it is women who are actively preferred by the manufacturers. According to Guy Standing (1999) feminisation arises because the available employment and labour options tend increasingly to characterise activities associated, rightly or wrongly, with women. And such patterns of employment tend to result in an increasing proportion of women occupying these jobs. Thus, with the international restructuring of production networks, there is a large number of women migrants nationally and internationally, recruited into the global factories to work in the assembly line (Economic & Social Commission, 2002; Hugo, 1993). This means that greater the concentration of assembly line production like clothing or electronics in export production, more significant the employment-creating effects of trade for women. Hence, the labour market flexibility along with the growing insecurity under the global production networks have also increased the participation of female labour force even in many jobs traditionally held by men (Standing, 1999).

1.1.3 Informalisation

Other changes noticed under the globalisation of production are flexibilisation, casualisation and informalisation of labour. One among the several factors which determine the competitive advantage of production is the availability of labour at a lower cost. Since the mobility of capital, especially after the technological changes of the 1980s, is far greater than the mobility of labour, capital tends to seek out areas where the labour is available. The mobility of capital also ensures it can move in and out of a location without too much difficulty. Thus, the necessity to maintain the competitive advantage and the free mobility of capital have made it possible to shift or threaten to shift the location of production, utilising what Hirschman has labeled the exit option (Hirschman, 1970). The need to cater to the interests of capital that holds no promise of being permanent ensures that the labour force must be flexible as well. It must be able to meet demand for labour at relatively short notice and risk the sudden cessation of this demand. This flexibility is made possible by smoothening the free entry and exit of labour into the labour market. The demand for flexibility of labour can
influence the labour relations that are the entire set of relations of workers within the workplace.

Several studies looking at specific cases have pointed to the increasing informalisation of labour. Globalisation leads to informalisation of production in two main ways (Sanyal, 2009). One is by increasingly relying on outsourcing of production processes to informal units, where the wage cost is comparatively lower; and the other is through large-scale retrenchment of formal sector workers and job destruction in the formal sector, forcing these workers to eke out a living in the informal sector. The 50th NSS Round classified casual workers as those who work for others’ farm or non-farm enterprise and are paid wages that are daily or periodic in nature. Casual workers include those who appear to be long-term workers of an employer, but are bound by daily or periodic renewal of the work contract. In fact, contract labour has been one of the key methods used by the employers to gain flexibility in the labour market (Sharma, 2006). Thus, it can be argued that globalisation of production has led to the search for a flexible labour force, which in turn, led to the changes in existing labour relations leading to an increase in casualisation, as well as contractual labour relations. Jan Breman defined (2001) of such work as a wage labour done on one’s own account which generates income, but which is not regulated by an explicit employment contract (written or oral) stipulating mutual rights and obligations if only approximately. Such labour enjoys no protection, cannot insist on fair labour standards, and—in the majority of cases—is not registered (or only partially) in the official records.

The flexibilisation of labour resultant from the changing employment relations led to an increase in informal activities, subcontracting, part-time and home-based works (Standing, 1999). Home-based work has become particularly central in global manufacturing industries like garments and footwear, as well as traditional and non-traditional agricultural sectors (Carr, Chen & Tate, 2000). With the advent of globalisation of production and the search for destinations of low cost labour, outsourcing and subcontracting of production processes to the developing economies has increased substantially (Bhagwati, Panagariya & Srinivasan, 2004; Harrison &
Kelley, 1993; Munck, 2002). The role of the informal sector in these economies is significant and beneficial to promote development (Franks, 1994). Santos described informal sector as labour intensive, family-based irregular work and wages, mostly negotiable labour relations, small turnover, personal client relations and not export-oriented (Santos, 1979). 15th and 17th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) has classified the general features of the informal sector enterprises and the informal jobs (Hussmans, 2004). There is heterogeneity within the informal work, as it can be voluntary or involuntary (Chen, 2006; Fields, 1990; Kanbur, 2009; Lozano, 1983; Maloney, 2004; Sindzingre, 2006). Besides, under globalisation of production, the informal sector also provides increasing income generating opportunities for women, who have restricted access to the formal sector in the developing economies (Carr et al., 2000; Chen, Sebstad & O’Connell, 1999; Chen, 2001; MacGaffey, 1988; Manuh, 1994; World Bank, 1989). In the informal economy, the women who work mainly are the casual workers, home-based workers or unpaid family workers. When women who need to work cannot find jobs, they compensate for their unemployment by taking up the informal activities (Arizpe, 1977). The aspiration for formal employment of women can be severely constrained by lack of resources, inadequate education, family restriction and heavy domestic responsibilities. Therefore, it is women who are much likely to be in the informal economy voluntarily or involuntarily (Johnston & Doane, 2011).

1.1.4 Social Networks

Along with these changes, the importance of social networks has also increased. The social networks of a worker have also exerted considerable influence on shaping the workplace relations. Social network consists of relatives, friends and acquaintance with whom a person maintains direct or indirect relations (Granovetter, 1983; Hozler, 1986). Rees (1966) was the first to emphasise the importance of informal networks in the labour market. The term ‘informal networks’ can be interpreted very broadly to include

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1 The present study is mainly focused on the role of social networks in job market. For an overview of the concept of social capital, see Adler & Kwon 2002, ‘Social Capital: Prospects for a New Concept’.
letters of reference, exchange of information about job applicants among entrepreneurs, social ties between job seekers and currently employed workers and even illicit intermediation (Pistaferri, 1999). The use of social network for finding job differs depending on age, gender, neighbourhood, ethnicity and the nature of jobs (Andersson, Burgess & Lane, 2009; Hoizer, 1986, 1987). Nationally and internationally migrant ethnic communities use social networks effectively to find jobs. At times, it acts as a temporary shelter against unemployment among the immigrants (Dorantes & Mundra, 2004). In job search, an individual with few weak ties (acquaintance) will be deprived of information from distant part of the social system and will be confined to the provincial news and views of their strong ties (close friends) (Granovetter, 1983). An individual with larger social connections are in a better position in the labour market. It can create inequality among workers (Kelly, 2003). Inequality can result from longer duration of search period for individual with less social ties, low paid jobs, and others. Thus, social network has a role in spreading information about job vacancy, fashions or ideas, and the isolation of the individual from social ties will put him/her in a disadvantaged position in the labour market.

1.1.5 Labour Standards

Another noticeable change is the imposition of labour standards in the global production networks by the multinational corporations (MNCs) across the borders. Under the global production networks, there is increasing flexibilisation and fragmentation of economic activities. The global capital investments and trade by MNCs across the developing economies often take little responsibility towards labour (Manning, 1998). Their search for cheaper labour and lower cost destinations often led to the deterioration of living standards of the workers and their families. Studies on global production chains exhibit that free mobility of capital has reduced the autonomy of nations on the regulation of industries (Donahue, 1994; Emmerij, 1994; Langille, 1994; Marshall, 1994; Wedderburn, 1994). There is an evident governance deficit in the supply chains to adequately regulate the labour standards across the resource points (Gereffi & Mayer, 2005). This can lead to deteriorating labour practices like forced labour, child labour,
unsafe and unhealthy working conditions, unfair wages and discriminatory practices in the workplace. Such practices leading to a race to the bottom have been depicted in many studies on global production chains. The exploitations in Bangladeshi garment firms, Pakistani manufacturers of soccer balls and Cocoa growers in West Africa are some of such evidence (Elliot & Freeman, 2003; Tonelson, 2002). These incidents highlighted by mass media received worldwide attention and led to consumer backlashes globally.

Critical consumer responses eventually led to the implementation of corporate codes of conduct and auditing by independent agencies to monitor the labour standards in global factories. The corporate codes of conduct are the private and voluntary regulatory measures of the companies’ responses to the consumers’ choice and demand for ethically sourced products (Kolben, 2011; Tsogas, 2009). The transnational forms of labour regulation created or attempted to fill the vacuum led to privatisation of labour regulations (Tsogas, 2009). There are different types of international labour regulation including corporate codes of conduct, business social accountability, labelling schemes, labour standards, child labour and social clauses in trade agreements. The primary actors in the privatisation of labour law are the MNCs as legislators of law, civil society organisations as monitors, consumers and investors as target audience, national and the international political communities providing baseline standards for rules of conduct (Backer, 2007).

1.1.6 Trade Unions and NGOs

These changes have relegated the traditional roles of trade unions in many industries. There are no evidence of effective trade unions in most of the global garment factories functioning in countries like India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. The agencies of labour negotiation within the workplace can also vary under globalisation. The role of trade unions as an agent of negotiation was vital prior to economic liberalisation in India. The statistics on trade unions in India shows that the political influence of unions and the agency role of unions are declining within the workplace under globalisation (Das, 2008; ILO, 1997; Kuruvilla et al., 2002). The increasing presence of casual and
informal workers represents challenges of organising them. For this purpose, many NGOs try to organise and involve informal workers to safeguard their rights and provide social protection (Chatterjee, 2005). There is a need for representing informal workers’ voices through their organisations on the matters and decisions concerning their rights to work, safety and security (Unni, 2004). In this context, the role of civil society and member-based organisations in mobilising informal workers and resources cannot be ignored (Unni & Rani, 2002).

With the increasing informalisation under globalisation of production, there are various unions, grassroots organisations and NGOs working with home-based workers and street vendors in both the North and the South. They have already begun to establish linkages during the 1980s (Carr et al., 2000). The Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) of India, the oldest trade union of women founded in 1972, works in the informal sector². SEWA has organised women engaged in home-based work, street vending, and casual work and has provided a range of services (financial, health, child care and training) to its members (Carr et al., 2000). There are many national, international organisations and trade unions (HomeNet, StreetNet and WIEGO) trying to organise the informal workers. Pearson (2004) discusses the need to be cautious of trade unions organising the home-based workers and expresses the need to explore the specific cases, help building their own organisations and exploring the feasible policy approaches towards these global workforce. There are many voluntary organisations (NGOs or government self-help groups), especially among women of poor socio-economic backgrounds, operating in India. The self-help groups (SHGs) of women were formed under the guidance of many NGOs and the government programmes for the eradication of poverty, empowerment of women and entrepreneurship through micro-financing linkages with the banks in India. The SHGs could empower the women and enhance their participation in the democratic process, increase their access to finance and self employment and thereby contribute to reducing poverty (Bali-Swain & Yang-Wallentin, 2009; Galab & Rao, 2003; Tesoriero, 2006). Many of the associations or

unions formed among the women workers are limited to particular location or cities. For example, the Garment and Textile Workers Union (GATWU) founded in 2005, is a grassroots union that organises and fights for the rights of garment workers in Karnataka. Bangalore is one of the important production hubs of garment manufacturers employing around half a million workers. Currently, GATWU has an active membership of over 5000 workers.

Thus, after examining the existing literature on globalisation of production and changes in labour, we can arrive at the following conclusions. In order to capture all the influences on labour relations in a particular circuit of globalisation, it is not sufficient to raise questions only about the workplace. There are many external factors like caste, class, gender, other forms of social networks, as well as the buyers’ and consumers’ preferences affecting the labour relations in the workplace and outside. While looking at this multitude of relations, it may be useful to emphasise the processes through which the many factors listed above influence the rights of workers. These processes would affect two types of rights (defined by Hepple, 2003) namely, substantive rights as well as procedural rights. Substantive rights are those which determine the actual conditions of labour, such as minimum wages, maximum working time and the right to equal treatment. Procedural rights are those which shape the procedures by which substantive rights are determined, such as the right to collective bargaining, the rights of workers’ representatives and the right to equal opportunities. It is however important not just to capture the effect on the rights, but also the processes through which these rights may be affected in each circuit of globalisation.

1.2 Research Gap

Many of the processes and agents involved in the global production networks do not have direct or linear relations. For example, studies on global production networks recognise the interconnectedness of actors, power relations and social and territorial embeddedness (Coe, Dicken & Hess, 2008). Most of the literature on labour relations

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tries to see a direct and tight link between globalisation and the changing nature of labour. Many have argued that globalisation has resulted in informalisation of labour force. As production becomes global, there was a demand for labour which is largely flexible in nature; this has resulted in casualisation of labour force. There are two opposing strands of arguments prominent regarding the informalisation of labour force. One group argues that globalisation and the resultant informalisation of workforce increase the productive efficiency as well as economic growth. Another group of scholars argue that it has resulted in losing of employment, lack of social security and poverty. The issue of social security is an important concern raised by many scholars. Another trend caused by the informalisation of labour relations is the weakening of trade unionism and relegation of state’s role in labour legislations. The existing literature on labour relations discusses more on the nature of labour relations; and often overlooks the possibilities of new methods of labour management within the workplace, as well as new forms of associations outside the workplace.

Thus, the literature on globalisation and labour relations tends to ignore the variations in these processes across different circuits of globalisation. This study can contribute to our understanding of labour relations under globalisation, especially in identifying new dimensions of labour relations under the global circuits. This study will look at these differences taking into account the influences on labour relations both within the workplace as well as outside it. In doing so, it opens up possibilities of looking at labour as a part of the workplace as well as a part of the larger society. This can provide us fresh insights into the manner and extent to which labour policies can be shaped to intervene within and outside the workplace.

1.3 Theoretical Framework for the Study

The concept of global circuit by Saskia Sassen (2001) is deployed in the present study. A circuit represents resource flows between the local resource points and command and control centres. The merit of using circuit as a conceptual framework for analysis is that this is not limiting the study of labour relations within the workplace. The study can
extend beyond the workplace. It acknowledges the variations in labour processes at different production chains or networks. There are several chain/network based approaches to study the processes of globalisation of production. The term ‘Commodity Chain’ was originally used by Terrence Hopkins and Immanuel Wallerstein in 1977 (Hopkins & Wallerstein, 1977, p. 128). Later on, it was Gary Gereffi, who initiated the conceptual framework of Global Commodity Chain (GCC). GCC\(^5\) and Global Value Chain (GVC\(^6\))–another among the several network and chain based approach to study economic globalisation [e.g. Global Production Network (GPN\(^7\)) and World City Network (WCN\(^8\))]–are useful in understanding inter-firm networks that are connecting various agents in global industries to each other and the processes of industrial upgrading for countries to benefit from globalisation (Bair, 2005; Gereffi & Korzeniewicz, 1994; Humphrey & Schmitz, 2001; Sturgeon, 2001). The core of GCC, GVC and GPN are the nexuses of interconnected functions, operations and transactions through which a particular product or service is produced, distributed and consumed. But, GCC/GVCs are linear structures and focus narrowly on the governance of inter-firm transactions and upgrading (Coe et al., 2008). On the other hand, GPN incorporates all kinds of network configurations (actors, power relations and social and territorial embeddedness); it is totally flexible in terms of geographical scale and encompasses all the relevant sets of actors and relationships (including consumers, labour, civil society organisations) (Coe et al., 2008; Jacobs, Ducruet & De Langen, 2010). Though there are

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\(^4\) The differences between Commodity Chain, GCC and GVC are presented in Bair (2005) ‘Global Capitalism and Commodity Chains: Looking Back, Going Forward’.  
\(^5\) For GCC refer (Gereffi & Korzeniewicz, 1994; Appelbaum & Gereffi, 1994; Bair & Gereffi, 2001; Gereffi, 1999, 2005).  
\(^6\) For GVC refer (Gereffii & Kaplinsky, 2001; Gereffi et al., 2005; Humphrey & Schmitz, 2001; Sturgeon, 2001).  
\(^7\) For GPN refer (Ernst & Kim, 2002; Dicken, 1994, 2004; Dicken et al., 2001; Henderson et al., 2002; Coe et al., 2004; Coe & Hess, 2005; Hess & Coe, 2006; Hess & Yeung, 2006).  
\(^8\) For GCN refer (Beaverstock et al., 2000; Knox & Taylor, 1995; Sassen, 1991; Taylor, 2004).
apparent differences in approaching the processes of globalisation, all these approaches can learn from each other.

For example, the GCC literature covers the fragmentation of economic activities across border and value addition. The GCC framework mainly focuses on flows of value while linking the geographical scales from local/regional to global and gives insights into the reconfiguration of divisions of labour (Smith et al., 2002). The GCC “consists of sets of inter-organisational networks clustered around one commodity or product, linking households, enterprises, and states to one another within the world-economy” (Gereffi & Korzeniewicz, 1994, p. 2). At the same time, in GCC framework there is a need of more systematic analysis of the relations between capital, state and labour in the production, circulation and realisation of commodities (Smith et al., 2002). The production chain literature looked at labour process largely as a bottom end of the chain and passive. It approaches from the top-down perspective that limits it from looking beyond the workplace. Though there are attempts to extend to look for conditions of labour and gender-related issues, this is so far limited to the workplace (Barrientos, Dolan & Tallontire, 2003; Dolan, 2004; Islam, 2008; Leslie & Reimer, 1999).

In contrast, WCN is not an analysis of cities per se, but is about finding explanations of the new phase of global capitalism, its strategic spaces and exclusions (Sassen, 2010). According to Sassen (2002a), the global city is a function of a global network. “This network is constituted in terms of nodes of hyper concentration of activities and resources” (2002a, p. 22). These nodes are connected by dematerialised digital capacity and incorporate enormous numbers and types of materialities and sited materialities. “The new networked sub-economy of the global city occupies a strategic geography that is partly deterritorialised, cuts across borders and connects a variety of points on the globe”(2002a, p. 22). Boundaries of such networked economies are only partly located in the local settings of the cities or their neighbourhood. Such studies allow us to capture the changing processes in the current phase of globalisation. For example, cities witnessed the shift to deregulated modes of operating at the top level functions and informalisation at the bottom of the economic system (Sassen, 2010). Sassen’s work
mainly focused on examining the global dispersal of production accompanied by increased concentration of certain activities (Advanced producer services, such as finance, law and insurance) in specific global cities (Sassen, 2001).

The processes of globalisation have thrown up new linkages that Castells (2000, p. 474) has referred to as “an integrated, global capital network, whose movements and variable logic ultimately determine economies and influences societies”. The global economy consists of a variety of highly specialised cross-border circuits corresponding to specific industries, more precisely those components of industries, which are operating across borders (Sassen, 2001, p. 347). The global circuits are multi-directional, feeding into the inter-city geographies (Sassen, 2006). Sassen’s work on global cities has tracked multiple circuits criss-crossing the world. For example, the direct trading circuit of metal industry involved cities like Johannesburg, Mumbai, Dubai and Sydney. The global cities are different from other cities that are positioned on a few global circuits. Since the 1980s, there have been changes in these circuits proliferation, and the organisational and financial framings became more complex. “It is the new challenge of coordinating, managing and servicing these increasingly complex, specialised and vast economic circuits that has made cities strategic” (Sassen, 2006, p. 27). Economic globalisation and telecommunications have contributed to produce spaces which pivot on de-territorialised cross-border networks and territorial locations with massive concentrations of resources (Sassen, 2002b, p. 218). These spaces are not geographically proximate and even bypass the national states, but are interlinked with each other through networks.

The WCN and GCC have its origins in the world systems analysis (Brown et al., 2010; Bair, 2005). Both of them represent spatial flows. The chain of production nodes are connected by commodity flows, and network of city nodes linked by information flows (Brown et al., 2010). A world city is a centre that provides Advanced Producer Services into the production process (as mentioned by Sassen) therefore, a critical node within the commodity chains (Brown et al., 2010; Parmreiter, 2010). The research on GCCs largely focuses on circuits, while work on global cities draws attention to the strategic
nodes (cities) in the global economy (Sassen, 2007, p. 20). Thus, a close examination of the flows of resources including services, commodities, capital and labour, and extending beyond the global cities to the other cities and rural areas can help to develop a more spatially refined analysis of WCN. Brown et al. (2010) have illustrated the indispensable connection between WCN and GCCs using the example of coffee commodity chain and Mexico and Santiago city network. They have described how GCCs run through world cities, and how cities are integrated into GCCs. Similarly, according to Vind and Fold (2010) the WCN literature and the GCC literature both engage with the global network phenomena though both examine the contemporary globalisation processes through very different conceptual, analytical and methodological lenses. Thus, they have argued for a combined integrated approach to producing a broader conceptualisation, thereby improving our understanding of globalisation processes in many of the third world cities. Such realignment of both approaches “to account for actual global city dynamics also entails bringing labour markets and migration (back) into the analysis, as well as extending it into city-regions and hinterlands” (Vind & Fold, 2010, p. 61).

The opening up of economies to the global market has brought vast number of workers into the global production network (Freeman, 2005). Sassen has explained that there is an increasing presence of immigrant and women in informal sector activities in the cities (New York, London, Paris and Berlin) of developed countries (Sassen, 2000a). She (2000b) further explains that informalisation is embedded in the structure of current economic system. It emerged “as a set of flexibility-maximising strategies by individuals and firms, consumers and producers, in a context of growing inequality in earnings and profit-making capabilities” (Sassen, 2000b, p. 23). Being an informal worker (for both immigrant and native) is a survival strategy. Along with it, the flexibilisation strategies of firms are in a mutually reinforcing circle. Such processes underlie the resilience and expansion of the underground economy (Portes & Sassen, 1987). The international division of labour has included a variety of trans-local circuits for the mobility of labour and capital (Sassen, 2008). There is a proliferation of cross-border business networks, NGOs and diasporic networks (Sassen, 2003). Sassen (2008)
explains that this mix of labour supply and demand circuits is highly differentiated and multi-locational, and part of the formal and informal economies. This is followed by incorporation of a large number of female labourers into various global factories like garment, electronics and footwear (Beneria & Feldman, 1992; Fuentes & Ehrenreich, 1983; Milkman, 1987). This growing presence of women in a variety of cross-border survival circuits has become a source of livelihood, profit making and accrual of foreign currency (Sassen, 2000c). These ‘survival circuits’ are often complex with multiple locations and sets of actors. Sassen (2000c) demonstrates that there is incorporation of increasing number of women in a variety of alternative global circuits for making a living, earning a profit and securing government revenue. She further explains that these global circuits also include illegal trafficking in women for prostitution as well as regular work, organised export of women as brides, nurses and domestic servants. She concludes that the survival of people depends more and more on the work of women.

1.4 Significance and Scope of the Study

The effects of globalisation can vary from industry to industry and location to location. The labour relations studies focused on workplace as the unit of analysis and looked at employee-employer relations, nature of negotiations, labour rights, welfare schemes and activities of the labour organisation to identify formal/informal relations. However, with the advent of industries catering to the global market and controlled by MNCs, exploring labour relations in the traditional way would lead to misleading conclusions. For example, there has been an increasing demand for flexible labour in the global factory. Therefore, the idea of not having a permanency in the job in a factory could be seen as threat to the labour. Thus, understanding a globalised workplace is different from the traditional work environment. In this context, using the concept of ‘global circuit’ as a framework and studying a particular industrial circuit would help explore the factors beyond workplace in greater detail and depict a complete picture of the globalisation process. The present study also contributes to look beyond the factory to understand the processes and factors leading to labour migration in the context of globalisation of production. It traces the dynamics and interconnections of processes
like migration, feminisation and formal/informal labour processes in the resource points. Therefore, the attempt made here is not to locate the cities in the production chains across national borders, but to look at the processes involved in the local resource points of the global circuits within the national border. This study explores the nodes (hinterlands), agents and resource flows within the nation and examines its linkages with the global circuits. This study will help advancing and integrating the WCN literature with that of GCC/GVC/GPN studies and will contribute to our understanding of the current phase of globalisation of production.

1.4.1 Globalisation within the Nation

Studies on global circuits/networks stop at the first entry points within the nations. The focus of such studies is on the dispersal of production across borders and the concentration of specialised activities in the global cities. The local resource points (i.e., the global production centres within the nation) of the global circuits cater to the global consumers. The interlinkages and the actors involved in these networks of production, processing and consumption have been examined in the existing literature. The problems of deteriorating labour standards and the race to the bottom, consumers’ protests and demand for ethically sourced products, implementation of corporate codes of conduct and monitoring of labour standards by MNCs in their global production centres are some of the examples of such interconnections. However, the involvement of such actors and their actions stops at the first entry point (global production units) of a nation.

But the effects of globalisation of production do not end there. It has implications and secondary consequences within the nation. Scholars have examined the impact of globalisation on inequality and poverty in India (Bardhan, 2007; De Neve, 2009; Kantor, 2002; Sodhi, 2008). Studies on globalisation and labour relations have focused on rural-urban migration, flexibilisation, informalisation, casualisation, feminisation and labour welfare related issues (Basu & Thomas, 2009; Hensman, 2001; Naidu 2006; Roy-Chowdhury, 2004; Vijay, 2009). The focus was also on labour organisations, labour policies and labour-capital conflicts (Sharma, 2011; Sharma, 2006; Sinha, 2004;
There are studies that examined the nature and problems of workers involved in the global factories in India (Chakravarty, 2004; Kalhan, 2008; Neethi, 2012). However, while examining the labour relations in the global production centres within the nation, an approach to look beyond the workplace dimensions will give a complete picture of the implications of globalisation of production.

The present study is an attempt in this direction. It acknowledges that the global production circuits have implications within the nation. Thus the studies on such circuits need to be extended beyond the production units. This will help in exploring the interconnections between global and local nodes. It also helps in examining the supplementary agencies operating within the national border that are facilitating such connections.

1.5 Primary Research Focus

The primary focus of the study is to capture the variations in labour relations in two different circuits of globalisation, taking into consideration both the factors within the workplace and those outside.

1.6 Case Selection: Identification of the State and Two Industrial Circuits

In order to understand the nature of labour relations under the global production circuits, it is essential to narrow down the focus of the study to a particular geographical location. The nature of the location, the types of circuits, political set up, economy and people have its specific influences on the production networks. Similarly, the nature of industrial circuits would differ from each other depending on the players involved (MNCs, local resource points, workers—both formal and informal). The labour relations can also vary depending on the nature of such circuits. Hence, it is essential to focus on one or two such circuits and try to understand the dynamisms in the workplace as well as outside the workplace.
1.6.1 Kerala

The state of Kerala was selected for the study to understand the dynamics of labour relations in different types of global circuits. The reasons for choosing the state are many. The state has been famous for its high social development experiences (Oommen, 1999; Parayil, 2000). The state could ensure high literacy (high female literacy included), low infant mortality, high life expectancy and low population growth rates. Most of the Indian states were far below the development indicators achieved by the state. The successive state governments were also active in providing greater accessibility to essential services like health care, water, electricity, public distribution shops, roads and public transport in the state (Kurien, 1995; United Nations/CDS, 1975). The state was also very active in the implementation of land reforms, inheritance rights for women and many other social and educational reforms (Franke & Chasin, 1994; Krishnaji, 1979). The mass education, collective action, efforts by social reformists and popular political leaders could ensure high-level of social development in the state at a very early stage (Krishnaji, 2007; Kurien, 1995; Sen, 1992).

Despite high social development, the state has been criticised for its low economic and stagnant industrial growth (Oommen, 2008; Thamaramangalam, 1998). The militant nature of trade unions and aggravated industrial disputes, strikes, lockouts and labour unrest are attributed as the major reasons for the stagnant industrial growth in the state (Thampy, 1990). The evolution of unions has a long history dating back to the first decades of the 20th century peasant movements of Malabar during the British rule (Jose, 1977; Nair, 2006). Many unorganised groups of workers including toddy tappers, cashew, beedi and coir workers have been organised under the collective leadership of unions (Kurien, 1995). The active role of trade unions could ensure significant improvements in the wages and working conditions of the workers. The state has a higher wage rate for the casual and agricultural labourers than the national average (Thomas, 2005). This is as a result of the active unions in the state and their achievements in organising and mobilising workers rapidly regardless of their location and sectoral occupations (Kannan, 1998a). Contrary to this, the right consciousness of
the workers is often pointed out as one of the causes of the state’s industrial backwardness. The entrepreneurs were psycho-phobic and negative toward new investments in the state (Thampy, 1990).

Unemployment and lack of employment opportunities were some of the major socio-economic problems faced by the state (Mathew, 1995; Prakash & Abraham, 2004). However, the state has witnessed a turnaround economic growth during the late 1980s through economic reforms and inflow of remittances (Kannan, 2005). The state has several challenges such as creating an environment for new investment, increasing the employment opportunities and better participation of women in the workforce. The globalisation of production can create employment opportunities in different fields like software industries, electronics and communications. It can create jobs both in the formal and informal sectors. There is outsourcing of production activities to low-cost local resource points in many of the developing economies that have infrastructural facilities and skilled labourers. The state of Kerala has also realised the need for attracting foreign direct investment by creating investor friendly policies. The state started to take up the role of a facilitator than of the direct financier and many industrial sector promotional agencies, such as Kerala State Industrial Development Corporation (KSIDC), Kerala Industrial Infrastructure Development Corporation (KINFRA), Techno Park, Kerala Financial Corporation (KFC) and Small Industries Development Corporation (SIDCO) were energised. Efforts were made to create an environment conducive for attracting private capital investment in large amounts and to make Kerala an investor friendly state (Kerala Development Report, 2008).

The changing employment scenario in the state depicts an increase in the informal jobs as well as in the participation of women in casual and contractual works (Eapen, 2001; Waite, 2001). The SHGs (like Kudumbashree among women) and microfinance are empowering poor households in the state. The effective political processes and strong union hold in the state have organised even the unorganised sector workers to a greater extent compared to any other Indian states. There are many welfare measures undertaken in the state for these sections of workers (Heller, 1996; Kannan, 2002). At
the same time, the state is facing shortage of manual labourers to do hard labour resultant from the gulf migration and changes in the economic status (Kannan, 1998a; Prakash, 1998). Many migrants from Bihar, Odisha, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh are finding jobs in the construction sector, hotels and restaurants, manufacturing units and agriculture in the state (Kerala Development Report, 2008; Business Line, 2013). The reluctance to do hard physical labour on the part of Kerala workers has facilitated replacement migration from other states. Under these circumstances, locating industrial circuits of Kerala and studying the dynamics of labour relations under the globalisation of production would provide insights on the emerging trends. It will also throw light on relevant policies in the field of labour relations. Understanding the globalised workplace and labour is very different. This necessitates taking into account different dimensions of the problem before arriving at a conclusion. Thus, the state of Kerala is ideal in many ways for such a study.

1.6.2 The Garment Making Industrial Circuit

Garment production is a buyer-driven commodity chain. There are numerous players involved in a garment circuit that includes large retailers, marketers and branded manufacturers (Gereffi & Memedovic, 2003, p. 3). The garment circuit interconnects developed and developing countries through its production, distribution and consumption networks. A production circuit has two components: the command and control centres and the local resource points. The command and control centres of garment circuit are MNCs like Wal-Mart, Benetton and Nike, and their headquarters located in cities like London, New York, Washington, Paris and Tokyo. For example, Wal-Mart and K-Mart are crucial determinants of continent-wide production patterns (Figueroa, 1996, p. 37). The resource points of production are located in developing countries with its flexible production centres. This pattern came into being with the rise of the ‘rest’ (mostly Asian and Latin American countries) after World War Second to the ranks of world class competitors in a wide range of mid-technology industries like garment and electronics (Amsden, 2001). The profit motive in such circuits can lead to competition among the players for cheaper destination and a race to the bottom
The clothing manufacturing is the middle segment of the fashion chain. It is highly fragmented and least technologically sophisticated. This helps the MNCs to diversify its labour intensive operations across many developing countries. The local resource points of production are set up in the countries, where the cost of labour is comparatively cheaper. When the capital is easily mobile between geographical locations, the cost of labour is one of the major considerations, while setting up of the garment production units across borders (Figueroa, 1996).

The global garment factories are largely a feminised workplace. These female workers in general are young, single and docile in nature (Elson & Pearson, 1981b; Mezzadri, 2012). There are a large number of rural migrants working in such factories in the developing countries like India, China, Pakistan and Bangladesh. These migrant workers belong to poor households, and they are mainly depended on agriculture for subsistence (Absar, 2002; Neetha, 2002; Savchenko & Acevedo, 2012; Stark & Taylor, 1991). The garment units adopt methods of direct recruitment from the factory gates and through networks of friends, family, caste and kinship ties (Waldinger, 1984; Zaman, 2001). Studies on garment factories have covered aspects of working conditions, labour rights and problems of the migrant workers. These studies also pointed out the absence of worker’s organisation, less awareness about the labour standards among the workers and its negligence from the management; coercion in the workplace, vulnerability, exploitation, workplace harassment and gender specific issues (Ahmed, 2004; Cairoli, 1998; Chan & Siu, 2010; Collins, 2002; De Neve, 2009; Hale, 2002; Rao & Husain, 1987; Safa, 1981). Such problems of erosion of labour rights and evading labour rights can be evident in local resource points as there are multiple players involved in outsourcing and subcontracting (Green, 1998). This often created consumer protests across the globe and active involvement of civil society organisations to safeguard the workers’ rights in those local resource points (Brooks, 2007). This also resulted in direct surveillance of labour standards by MNCs on their local resource points (Backer, 2007; Tim, 2007).
With respect to Kerala, attracting entrepreneurs to set up production centres in the state is a matter of concern for creating employment to the unemployed workforce. The state has set up Industrial Parks for export promotion. The KINFRA International Apparel Park (KIAP) at Thiruvananthapuram is selected for the present study. KIAP is established in 50 acres of land with allottable area of 36 acres and is specifically developed for garment industry. The park is well connected through road, railway and airport. It has facilities like women’s hostel, Apparel Training and Design Centre (ATDC) and training centre for fresh operators. The state government declared minimum wages for the readymade garment manufacturers, which is well comparable to the neighbouring states. The hostel facility provided by the Park helps accommodate migrant workers from different districts of the state as well as from outside the state. Understanding the labour relations in a government sponsored Apparel Park for export promotion would be useful for future research. Such studies can bring out both strengths and weaknesses and influences of external factors on labour and its impact on their livelihood.

1.6.3 The Cashew Nut Processing Industrial Circuit

The cashew nut production, processing and consumption network involves multiple players: the cashew nut farmers, agents and collectors of raw nuts, importers of raw nuts from other countries; processors including small, medium, large-scale and cottage; commission agents, exporters, wholesalers and retailers. The cashew nut processing industry is a buyer-driven chain. The final stages of the processing, (mainly roasting and salting of kernels) are done by large retailers and sold through supermarkets to the final customers (Kanji, 2004a, 2004b). The local resource points of this circuit is situated in Asian and African countries and controlled by a few branded buyers in the developed countries. The cashew kernels exported from the local resource points to these buyer countries (US, UK and Europe) has to meet the specific quality consideration or else will be rejected by the buyers.

9 http://www.apparelpark.com/ (accessed on 24-5-2013)
The cashew tree is a native of Brazil and was introduced by Portuguese travellers in the 16th century in India (Wadkar, Bagade & Jalgaonkar, 2007). In India, cashew grows mainly in states of Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Goa, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Odisha and West Bengal (Yadav, 2010). The commercial processing of cashew was initiated during 1920s, in Kollam district of Kerala (Chirayath, 1965). The cashew processing, an agro-processing industrial circuit, plays a significant role in the developing economies. India is one of the leading producer, processor and exporter of cashew in the world. Its production and processing on a commercial scale provides employment opportunities. This industry accrues foreign exchange through the export of the processed kernels. Most of the workers employed in cashew factories are female and belong to poor socio-economic background (Retheesh, 2005). Though the cultivation of cashew is spread across various states, majority of processing units are located in the Kollam district of Kerala. Kollam is known as the cashew capital of the country. The early patronage received by this industry by the Kollam based entrepreneurs and the availability of cheap labour were the reasons for geographical concentration of this industry (Chirayath, 1965). At later stages of the growth of this industry, many of the units were shifted to Tamil Nadu where the processing cost is lower than Kerala (Harilal et al., 2006; Kannan, 1983). Presently, 53% of export value is accruing through the Cochin port\textsuperscript{10}.

Studies on cashew workers in Kerala have shown different estimates of cashew workers. Study by Anna Lindberg (2001) has estimated 4,00,000 cashew workers in the state. The cottage processing is operating in a clandestine manner despite the legal ban (Harilal et al., 2006). This has often resulted in underestimation of cashew workers in the state. The strong trade unions in the state could organise the downtrodden cashew workers and strive for implementing the labour welfare measures. Many entrepreneurs started to shut down their factories and threatened to shift their production base to Tamil Nadu. The government of Kerala has brought out the Kerala Acquisition of Factories

\textsuperscript{10} Information received from the Cashew Export Promotion Council of India, Cashew Bhavan, Kollam, for the year 2012-2013.
Act in 1976 to take over the closed factories (Pillai, 2009). In an attempt to formalise this industry, two state agencies were founded. These are the Kerala State Cashew Development Corporation (KSCDC) and Cashew Workers Apex Co-operative Society (CAPEX), and they engage in the processing, exporting of cashew and the welfare of the workers. The KSCDC Ltd was established in July 1969 as a fully owned government undertaking. The major objective of KSCDC is employment generation in cashew processing industry and to create an organised nature to the industry by providing higher wages and better working condition for the cashew workers. Presently, KSCDC is running 30 cashew factories all over the State. More than 20,000 workers and 1,500 staff members are working in these factories. For the present study, one of the corporation factories was selected from the Kollam district. Understanding the cashew workers in their formal workplace can exhibit the nature of everyday labour relations with the management and co-workers, and the influences of trade unions. While, exploring the nature of informal processing, there is a need to extend the scope of the study outside the formal workplace.

1.7 Research Objectives

1) To understand the nature of labour relations across the cashew and garment circuits of globalisation in Southern Kerala.
   a) To examine the scope of trade unions and negotiations within the workplace across the two circuits of globalisation.

2) To understand the processes through which conditions within the workplace interact with conditions outside it to influence the nature of labour relations in the cashew and garment circuits of globalisation in Southern Kerala.
   a) To understand the role played by family, caste, religion, ethnicity and other identities in the workplace labour relations.
   b) To understand the nature of social networks across the two circuits of globalisation.

3) To understand the nature and dimension of global circuits from the experiences of the garment and cashew circuits of globalisation in Southern Kerala.

   a) To examine the linkages of global circuits within the nation.

1.8 Methodology and Data Collection

The present study is examining the changes in labour relations within the workplace and outside the workplace, while taking into account the forces which influence this dynamics, especially those of family, caste, gender, kinship and ethnic ties, and other social networks and institutions. The study is also attempting to understand the various processes by which these forces exert influence on labour relations. In order to explore the ongoing processes, which shape labour relations within the workplace and outside, the study has to draw upon both quantitative and qualitative analysis. For this purpose, a micro level study representing the garment circuit and the cashew processing circuit is undertaken. The firm level study is conducted through a schedule followed by detailed personal interviews with the workers who are willing to participate. Interviews with the Human Resource personnel (HR) were also undertaken. The information collected from the workers includes age, sex, marital status, family background, wages, details about the job and overtime in the unit. Questions were also included to collect information regarding the influence of family, caste, religion, gender, educational qualification and work experience in placing the labourers in different circuits and their relations in the workplace and outside. Personal interviews with management staff were carried out for collecting the information regarding the organisational structure, nature of recruitment, work culture including training and promotions. The information regarding formal and informal labour organisations, as well as its impact on labour, are collected through the detailed personal interviews with workers and the management.

The purpose of the study is also to understand the various processes under the globalisation of production so that care was given to cover a large number of workers as the sample size in both of the circuits. Understanding processes in a global factory
needs field observation of the day to day work practices and interactions and interviews with the workers. The piece rate nature of work and time target in such factories might lead to less response from the workers. Thus, the sample size calculated for the garment unit is 280 from the population of 1,000 workers and for the cashew unit is 260 from the population of 800 workers, with 95% confidence level and margin error of five percent. The workplace was first stratified according to the sections carrying out different activities. A sequential random sample was then selected from each of the sections. An attempt was made to capture not only the quantifiable facts, but also to examine qualitative aspects during the study that otherwise remain uncaptured through a questionnaire.

1.8.1 Garment

For the study of garment circuit, permission was taken from KINFRA management. The study has to limit itself to one large garment unit so as to examine various processes in greater detail. Permission was sought from three of the large units from which one unit was selected, where it was granted to administer the schedule inside the factory among the workers. It was also allowed to observe everyday negotiations of workers with the supervisors, HR personnel and between workers. The total sample size is 260 workers with a response rate of 93%. The study was conducted between January 2012 and March 2012.

During the study at KINFRA, it was noticed that there are a large number of migrant workers from Odisha working in the Park. The interviews with the migrants revealed that they had received training in stitching operations in their villages. Most of these

12 The sample size calculator used is available at http://www.raosoft.com/samplesize.html

13 Schedule: Female Workers 244 (Operator, Quality Assurance, Ironing, Cutting, Packing, Washing, Section Coordinator, Helper, Supervisor and Others) and Male Workers 16 (Packing, Cutting, Operator, Supervisor, Safety Officer, Electrical Maintenance). Interviews: Supervisor Female 3, Supervisor Male 2, HR Personnel Female 2, Nurse 1, Factory Security Male 1, Factory Security Female 1, Hostel Warden Female 1, Hostel Security Male 1, Local workers 31, Odisha workers 23, Ex-workers 5.
workers belong to Below Poverty Line (BPL) families. This led to further studies regarding the migrants. A field visit to one of the Apparel Training Centre at Hinjilicut in Odisha was done on June 2013. Interviews were conducted among trainees and coordinator of the centre to understand the training process. Information on details on recruitment and trainees were collected from the centre.

1.8.2 Cashew

Many private factories were visited seeking permission to conduct the workplace study. Managements were hesitant towards the study. Permission was sought through a labour officer in Kollam to conduct the workplace study in a corporation factory employing around 800 workers. The total sample size was 259 with a response rate of 99%. The study period was from November 2011 to January 2012 followed by a few more additional visits in March 2012.

The study of the factory helps understanding the labour relations in a formal workplace. This is limited in many ways as it gives only one side of global production centres. There are also outsourcing and subcontracting activities happening in the production circuits. To understand such activities, the cashew processing at households needs to be covered. Thus, the present study also tried to incorporate one of the informal network of household processors identified during the field observation. Household visits were made to identify the informal processors. The study covered 28 such households, private agents and shop assistant. Detailed interviews of these household workers were conducted, and narration of their life experiences and livelihood were analysed to understand this process.

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14 Schedule: Female 240 (Sheller 110, Peeler 87, Grader 37, Others 6) and Male 19 (Roaster 7, Borma 2, Supervisor 2, Loader 5, Others 3). Interviews: Supervisor Male 2, Supervisor Female 1, Manager 1, Management Clerk 3, Security 1, Female workers 37, Male workers 4, Union coordinator male 2, Union coordinator female 1, Union leaders, president and Secretary 6.
1.9 Analysis and Interpretation

The conceptual framework used for the study and analysis is the global circuit. The two industrial circuits are identified in the state of Kerala. One is garment circuit, and other is cashew processing circuit. The two sample units selected are the local resource points of the global circuit. The study tries to understand labour relations in the two local resource points. Attempts were also made to cover external factors affecting the labour relations. For the garment circuit, the variables like age, education, marital status, wages, methods of recruitment, overtime, job experiences, labour standards, labour negotiations, labour organisations, family and friends ties in the workplace and duration in the workplace are analysed in relation to the local and migrant workers. Descriptions of health and safety standards in the company, hostel and accommodation, are also covered. The socio-economic background of the workers outside the workplace is also included using indicators on roof types, ownership of houses, asset index and household occupational pattern. To understand the migrant workers from Odisha and the process of migration, concept of ‘secondary circuit’ is coined. From the Hinjilicut apparel centre, details on the admission process, caste of trainees and placement of trainees are collected.

For the cashew circuit, information was collected on age, marital status, job experiences; agents of informants on job vacancy, caste, religion and union membership. Details on work and workplace interactions, wages and welfare, and labour absenteeism and common illness are presented. To understand the outside workplace factors and socio-economic background, variables like roof types, ownership rights, means of water facility, household occupational pattern and memberships in outside workplace organisations are analysed. To understand the informal processing of cashew, the concept of ‘informal secondary circuit’ is coined. Narrative analysis is exercised to explore the livelihood of the workers in the invisible informal circuit. The household visits and interviews are analysed to exhibit the workers involved in such networks.
1.10 Organisation of the Thesis Chapters

The thesis is organised into six chapters. Chapter 2 and 3 describes the garment circuit. Chapter 4 and 5 explore the cashew processing circuit. Chapter 2 presents a macro picture of global garment circuit and its relevance to India. For this purpose, it mainly relies on existing secondary literature and data source. After stating the relevance, this chapter elaborates the case of KINFRA and the labour relations within the workplace using the primary data and insights from the interviews. It also discusses outside workplace factors and socio-economic background of the workers engaged in the garment circuit. It concludes by stating the need to examine both workplace relations as well as looking beyond the workplace. Chapter 3 elaborates on the migrant Odisha workers in the garment unit. This chapter introduces the concept of ‘secondary circuit’ and depicts the processes of labour training and placement in the global garment circuit drawing insights from the field visit to Hinjilicut training centre in Odisha. Chapter 4 introduces the cashew circuit of Kerala. It draws insights from both secondary and primary data. It elaborates the labour relations within the workplace and socio-economic background of the workers. It concludes by stating the need to look beyond the workplace under the global production circuits. Chapter 5 analyses the informal processors of cashew nuts in the households. It conceptualises the processes into an ‘informal secondary circuit’ of cashew processors. It draws upon household interviews and identifies the informal networks. This section calls for the need to create accountability to such networks by organising these workers through SHGs. Chapter 6 concludes by comparing the garment and cashew circuit and stating the policy directions and the scope for future research.