Flying Carpets from East to West

An Examination on Corporate Social Responsibility within the Indian Carpet Industry
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Abstract

Corporate social responsibility is a concept widely discussed by businesses and has come to describe the relationship between business and society. For some it means the idea of legal responsibility, an ethical behaviour and some equate it with charitable contribution. The World Business Council for Sustainable Development (Hopkins, 2007: 25) defines CSR as follows:

"Corporate Social Responsibility is the continuing commitment by business to contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well as of the community and society at large."

The relationship is increasingly striving to counteract a variety of problems that are associated with the contemporary globalization, such as violation of human and labour rights along with environmental challenges and is well-mentioned both by academics and businessmen. Within the Indian carpet industry, child labour has become a hot topic due to major scandals on the issues in the 1990s. Though, the meaning of corporate social responsibility is less common. The purpose of this study is to examine the Indian carpet industry’s awareness and use of the international agenda of corporate social responsibility, hence how the carpet export houses approach the responsibility. Also, the purpose is to examine how the carpet weavers are affected by the policies and actions of the export houses.

A field study with an ethnographical approach has been conducted through the use of interviews and observations in the district of Bhadohi, state of Uttar Pradesh in India. The interviewees consisted of workers working with the finishing processes of carpets at two export houses’ factories as well as carpet weavers at the looms in the villages. The findings from the interviews were analyzed through the use of parts of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework and with this approach the weavers’ access to assets is analyzed in relation to the export houses’ applying of the international agenda of CSR, more precise in this study, the UN Global Compact’s principles of CSR.

The main findings from this study show that the CSR principles of the UN Global Compact were followed to different extents by the export houses since they are prioritizing some principles before others. The distribution of responsibilities differs
depending on the management of the export house, mainly because of how the demands from the buyers and consumers look like. Also, the prioritizing of the export houses has become to affect the weavers’ socio-economic situation and for some the access to assets has increased.

Furthermore, the study reveal that corporate social responsibility to a large extent is directed and influenced by the buyers’ and consumers’ (mainly stationed abroad in Western countries) demand. Thereby, through the complex system of sub-contracting, carpet weavers are affected differently since CSR is interpreted and used in various ways that are considered as most “suitable” to the export house.

**Keywords:** India, corporate social responsibility, carpets, sub-contracting, United Nations Global Compact
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List of Abbreviations

CSR.................................................................Corporate Social Responsibility
NGO..................................................................Non-Governmental Organization
TBL......................................................................Triple Bottom Line
UN........................................................................The United Nations
OECD............................................................Organisation for Economic Co-operations and Development
ILO........................................................................International Labour Organisation
DFID...............................................................Department for International Development
ISO......................................................................International Organisation for Standardization
1. Introduction

1.1 Topic and Problem Formulation
One major driver for globalization has become to be business. The role of multinationals and transnational corporations operating in developing countries have increased, with an extended focus on increased importance of ethics and responsibility of these operators. Corporate social responsibility\(^1\) (CSR) has increasingly been embraced through different forms of strategic policies, along with businesses’ increased impact on various stakeholders such as partners, consumers and local employees. According to United Nations Global Compact, corporations and companies can contribute to advance markets, technology and finance that benefits economies and societies around the globe (UN Global Compact, 2006a).

CSR is often described as a relationship between business and community. Kanji and Chopra argues that good CSR is when a corporation or company increases its positive impact on society to the maximum, while also maximising its own returns as well (Kanji and Chopra, 2010: 120). The concept is all about positively contributing and giving back to society. What has been seen as falling under the CSR umbrella generally has been anything related to the subjects of human rights, health and safety at work, community capacity building, environment management and philanthropic activities (Newell and Frynas, 2007: 673). Corporate social responsibility can be found in societies around the globe but it is argued that the main features of CSR are needed where governments around the world fail to do their work. Welford (2010) argues that this issue is the challenge of CSR today (Welford, 2010: 310).

The United Nations Global Compact programme and its core values is one of the largest initiatives for businesses, the programme is a partnership between the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation, the business community and non-governmental organizations (Agarwal, 2008: 73). To embrace and enact international guidelines shows a corporation’s or business’s commitment towards profit making along with its sustainable growth. The huge amount of different guidelines and codes available for businesses to follow has led to diffusion on what CSR means and implies, which also hinders authors to find a common definition on the concept (McWilliams et al, 2006: 8).

\(^1\) Definition on CSR is found in 5.2 Corporate Social Responsibility in the Background chapter, p. 43
When adopting social responsibilities through international guidelines, these are most commonly voluntary. The voluntary approach of the initiatives matters in business and corporations’ decision-making on the undertaking of responsibilities or not.

That businesses and companies are able to choose from voluntary guidelines is a positive thought if all companies would follow them. Consequently, the adoption of guidelines may not be in accordance with the image of the company or the context where operating and the view of other stakeholders. CSR and all its subjects have been debated throughout literature to a large extent. What can be considered less discussed is to what extent workers are identified as stakeholders. This reasoning has to do with stakeholder management which many authors argue is when demands and needs of various stakeholders meets response in the organizing of corporate strategy (Gupta, 2011: 364; Schwartz, 2011: 127).

The different stakeholders of a business or corporation can be discovered different supply chains depending on which product of service the business or corporation is working with. Supply chain denotes the entire system a product is travelling, from suppliers to the consumers. One of the countries where most of the world’s supply chain resides is India (Welford, 2010: 310) where also the Indian carpet industry is found. How carpets are travelling from suppliers to consumers is illustrated in a figure that is found in Background².

CSR can be found at many levels within industries, from owners and workers to buyers and consumers. The so-called export houses within the Indian carpet industry are the factories exporting the manufactured carpets abroad, though they do normally have no own production, the Indian carpet industry is mainly export-oriented with channels to Europe and North America (Basuk, 2011: 4; 2; Mehrotra and Biggeri, 2005: 1743). This study concentrates on one part of the supply chain of the carpet industry, more precisely the suppliers (in this study named the exporters of the carpets), the contractors and the workers and weavers. The structure of production of carpets within the carpet industry is explained in Background³.

The lack of literature on carpet weavers’ conditions, other than child labour issues, corporate social responsibility within the carpet industry (Seidman, 2007: 161)

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² Figure 3: The Hand-knotted Carpet Chain of Production and its Positions, 38, in Background
³ Figure 2: The Structure of Subcontracting within the Carpet Industry, p. 38, in Background
demonstrates a need to include the phenomenon of CSR in the debate on the export-oriented industry. CSR is a well mentioned concept that brings several issues to the surface, as well as rights of workers. Though, the dilemma is that within the area of the Indian carpet industry no one has tried to explain what CSR is or what it means. The problematic picture of export houses is to what extent the application to the international CSR agenda is achieved and how their achievement is in accordance with how they present themselves in terms of corporate social responsibility efforts.

Due to the far reaching supply chain, it is interesting to look at the Indian owned export houses, as the stakeholders closest to the carpet weavers, in order to detect whether CSR principles are followed within the undiscovered field of study.

For some, it is common sense that work performance is at its best when the workforce feels good. Grankvist (2009) argues that workers who feel satisfied and well will increase their productivity and thereby the work performance (Grankvist, 2009: 95). The workforce within the carpet industry’s production can be distinguished between finishing workers and weavers, the former working at the export houses’ factories and the latter weaving carpets at carpet looms widespread in villages. The concentration will be made to the carpet weavers and their situation in relation to how they are affected positively or negatively by the export houses’ decisions on policies and actions that fall within the realm of CSR.

The importance of adoption of CSR principles can be discussed in relation to what Seidman argues, namely that workers commonly are exposed to vulnerability and voicelessness among many export-oriented industries around the world (Seidman, 2007: 14). It is both argued by Seidman (2007) and Scholte (2005) that whether corporations and companies address working conditions of workers as well as social responsibility, depend on the flexibility towards meeting the demands of the buyers (Seidman, 2007: 98; Scholte, 2005: 302).

Whether international standards of CSR or different certificates are present and how CSR is communicated by the export houses leads to the central question in this study. I will analyze how the weavers’ socio-economic situation has been affected by the export houses’ policies and actions. Hence, the export houses’ effects of their application or non-application CSR will be revealed.
1.2 Purpose and Research Questions
The purpose of this study is to examine whether export houses within the Indian manufacturing carpet industry are aware of the concept of CSR and if any usage of CSR principles is in line with the general guidelines of the UN Global Compact. The investigation will be made through using the general CSR guidelines of the UN Global Compact and the extent to which the guidelines are found to be adopted. It will try to show the extent of efficiency of CSR within the industry and the export houses’ understanding of the concept. The purpose is also to see whether the socio-economic situation for the weavers has been affected by the export houses policies and actions. The central question is whether the Indian export houses within the carpet industry apply to the international agenda of CSR, and, if so, which CSR principles are adopted if not why? The following sub-questions of this study will be based on the purpose:

- To what extent are the export houses applying the general guidelines of CSR in their daily activities?
- How has the weavers’ access to assets been affected by the export houses’ applying of the principles of CSR in their policies and actions?

1.3 Delimitation
This study includes interviews of owners and workers and weavers their on the knowledge and view of the export houses adoption of international CSR agenda. The study is limited in the sense that buyers importing the exporting carpets from the export houses, which mainly are stationed abroad outside India, are excluded in the selection of interviewees. Since the carpet industry is global and increasingly connected to buyers in Western countries and CSR is a well mentioned concept along with fair and ecological trade their role in the carpet chain would be contributing angle to this study. Buyers concern on what CSR is and what the concept mean within the carpet industry is important to study within the hand-knotted carpet production and distribution, but for future studies and not in this one.

1.4 Relevance
Within the Indian carpet industry, buyers coming mainly from Europe and North America (D’Essence, 2004: 2) have found production opportunities and cheaper labour cost
regarding the market of carpets. In general, manufacturing networks in India are designed to draw benefits from low-waged but still efficient work force (Business Maps of India, 1991) and the manufacture and export of carpets in India have been found successfully in the competition in the global market. In the district of Bhadohi in the state Uttar Pradesh in India, endless tight knots are tied by weavers which in the final stage of production will become luxurious carpets that decorate the floors of middle- and upper-class homes mainly in Europe and North America. It is estimated the region of Bhadohi-Mirzapur stands for 70-80% of India’s carpet production (Basuk, 2011: 2; Seidman, 2007: 74). The national market of carpets in India is rather small, and the major market of the industry is export-oriented (D’Essence, 2004: 1).

Carpet production is found among the Indian industries, though, very little has been written on the industry and what is worth pointing out is the existing literature on the industry and its focus on stakeholders such as owners, buyers and consumers. Seidman stresses that in many export-oriented industries in the world, workers are exposed to vulnerability and voicelessness (Seidman, 2007: 14). This study seems relevant since a group of working people in a complex and long supply chain will be studied, trying to understand how they are affected by working with their specific tasks in the environment of carpet production, as well as how they are affected by working within the industry in general.

The number of corporate export houses is increasing in India. Dreze and Sen (2011) argues that is it important to recognise the corporate sector’s possible influential elements on public policies since the needs of underprivileged are not always met (Dreze and Sen, 2011). This study undertakes the examination of carpet export houses and their line of thinking in doing business. Most important of all with carrying through this field study is the inclusion of focusing on the workers working conditions. It is crucial to create an understanding of the line of thinking of the export houses, regarding corporate social responsibility. With this to reveal whether the community and society, where operating, and who are directly or indirectly affected by the policies and actions of the export houses. Due to the various different definitions on CSR, its is crucial to understand which line of thinking and acting of CSR the export houses have chosen in order to discover in what way and to what extent the workers are affected by the export houses business. For a business to improve the economic, environmental and social implications of its activities, both at the firm level and regional and global level is what CSR is all about. How the
export houses are working will in turn affect their workers. It is important to understand how the export houses run their business and in what ways this affect the workers and their livelihoods.
2. Methodological framework

2.1 Method
The specific case examined in this study is the area of Bhadohi, located in the North-eastern part of India. The major approach of this study is structured and influenced by ethnographic research in a minor field study. Here, the study looks at how two Indian manufacturing export houses conform to the general guidelining principles of CSR in the form of UN Global Compact and what that means for their engagement towards their workers and the surrounding community.

Ethnographic research is made through collecting interview and observational data as the primary source. The context and environment where a cultural group is to be found, lay as a ground for the study (Creswell, 2009: 13). In this field study, employees at the two export houses were interviewed, and the data was used in an interpretative way, to understand the narratives, behaviour and opinions of these people. Not only is the ethnographic approach characteristic by its aspects of interview methods, but more widely related to the sphere of hermeneutics with its instruments of interpretative approach, which is common for studies conducted within social-science (Aspers, 2007: 21, 36). Though, qualitative approaches and methods have not always permeated research falling into the category of social science as it is today and Aspers argues that the large quantity of qualitative studies conducted along with society’s change resulted in an eye-opening where qualitative research and its contribution to new and good knowledge became emphasised (Ibid: 11).

Understanding is the aim of human and social science (Aspers, 2007:36). This study approaches the understanding of the workers and weavers situation within the carpet industry. In addition, the understanding on the extent of CSR principles are followed and emphasised and their importance within the industry’s export houses is regarded. After interviewing weaver’s families within the carpet industry the answers are described and analyzed through the lenses of the framework of “Sustainable Livelihood Framework”.

Triangulation is a method used in research where different points of views are used, emphasising multiple strategies, which contribute to validate information and observation. In short different methods are used in relation to the same object of study (Mikkelsen, 2005: 96-97). This study composes interviews, observations and secondary sources used in the research which will help me increase my understanding of the research problem.
stated in the *Introduction* chapter. Interviews and observations were conducted and gathered in Bhadohi, India. Observations have been an important method where answers to interview questions are becoming clearer or deeper understood in the specific context of the carpet industry and its workforce. Aspers (2007) argues that observations in forms of insights in people’s everyday life and conversations outside interviews also are important and usable in an ethnographic study, as it has to do with people's perceptions of their own life situation (Aspers, 2007: 113). Secondary sources have also served to complement the data collected in the field. In this way biases are being limited on data and information received (Ibid: 349) and were mostly used in the *Background* chapter and *Literature Overview* chapter. The analysis in this study is based on both primary, secondary sources and observations.

### 2.2 Sources

The work of the study can be divided into two main parts, primary and secondary sources. Mikkelsen (2005) distinguish between primary and secondary data, where the former is collected and treated by the researcher, hence the researcher becomes the tool and the latter is derived from other researchers (Mikkelsen, 2005: 159).

The primary data was collected when performing interviews with the owners, workers, carpet weavers and their families and other relevant key informants that are related to the subject field. Also field notes from participatory observations have been used as a primary source. The primary sources have contributed to an increased understanding of the workers and weavers occupation and life when working within the carpet industry. Also information on the carpet industry and production in general, as well as an insight in the socio-economic situation for the workers and weavers has been received from the interviews and observations. Another primary source is the law on Factories Act from the Indian Constitution from 1949.

For information on the background of the concept of corporate social responsibility and its relating concepts as well as facts on the manufacturing industry, printed secondary sources in forms of books, articles and Indian newspaper articles have been used and relied upon. The Linnaeus University database search engines LibHub and OneSearch, which is an all-in-one-search service for all collections of full text articles and books were mostly used when collecting most of the articles. Academic texts have been used as a secondary source also to complement the information received from the interviews with
the workers and the informants. For example, academic texts on Indian laws have been treated as a secondary source. Other secondary sources are internet sources such as Eldis.org, International Labour Organization’s website and UN Global Compact’s website, along with Indian daily newspapers on the web as well as hard copies.

When writing on the literature overview on the phenomenon corporate social responsibility, using single secondary source have been avoided and instead a variety of sources have been put against each other and compared, this in order to retain a, critical understanding and description on the concept CSR and its relating concepts.

One major disadvantage for me have been the scarcely written literature on the Indian view and views from other countries’ also involved within the carpet industry as I preferred a more broad extent. Also worth mentioning is the low amount of research made in the Indian context conducted by Indian researchers. This has contributed to constraints in my effort to systematically organize a collection of the material in order to analyze it and further develop interpretation and perspectives (Johannessen and Tufte, 2003: 106). Welford (2010) argues that few research have been conducted on the relationship between the CSR concept and the part of the world where most people live, namely, Asia (Welford, 2010: 310). Nevertheless, the sources are satisfying and the role of CSR in the Indian context of the carpet industry has been succeeded to be portrayed.

2.3 Research Design
The research design was made up by interviews in form of semi-structured interviews and observations, one commonly used method in qualitative research (Creswell, 2009: 181). The design of the questions, that of the semi-structured, show that the questions cannot be answered merely through the answers “yes” or “no”, on the contrary detailed answer was given (Mikkelsen, 2005: 173). The questions are characteristic by their open-ended nature where a flexible guide is used instead of proper questionnaires (Mikkelsen, 2005: 169, Kvale, 1996, p. 27). This allows the interviewer to determine the topic and a few questions beforehand, while the interview is running more questions are developed, leading to more of a conversation with an informal character where the interviewee can feel more comfortable (Johannesson and Tufte, 2003: 97).

In total, 32 interviews of one hour duration were carried out during an eight weeks long minor field study. The intention with the interviews was to include the export houses’ owners as well as the workers and weavers with different sex, ages and work
tasks connected to the production of a carpet. Two interviews consisted of questions concerning the export houses’ in question and their work posed to the owners of the export houses; five respectively six workers in the export houses’ factories and eleven respectively eight weavers on questions concerning their work and their family situation were posed. In addition three families with no connection to the companies were interviewed on their family situation, as well as other informants that are relevant for the subject field.

The observations are important when something unusual can be noticed (Creswell, 2009: 179) for example it can come into use when evaluate the answers interviewees, depending on the interview situation and to evaluate their words from the perspective of the people themselves and their situation, in this study both at the work place and in their home situation.

The lesser amount of material gained from the field study is limiting the ability to make generalizations in the findings from the interviews. Instead, certain tendencies on similarities from the answers of the interviews are seen and evaluated and result in an understanding on how the situations may look like. Additionally, since not all export houses were interviewed, the selection of two export houses limit the ability to make any type of generalizations on all export houses located in the area of the field study or generalize to other countries’ carpet industries.

2.3.1 Stakeholder analysis and interviewees’ categories
Both export houses in this study, including their workers and weavers are conveyed as anonymous mainly due to the sensitivity of competition between export houses and for fear of damaging reputation. The export houses are named X and Y, following the workers who are expressed due to the first letter depending on which export house they work for, hence, either X or Y, and thereafter numerical sequence. The weavers weaving for the export houses are called W followed by numerical sequence. At each export house, the contractors are named C1 and C2.

The selection of the interviewees was made through the method of stakeholder analysis, a method where the identification of the stakeholders are made according to an estimation on possible relevant answers being received and relevant for the study (Mikkelsen, 2005: 283). I asked myself which stakeholders I needed to include and which ones would contribute to the study. Also stakeholders to exclude had to be decided due to
the large supply chain of the industry. Mikkelsen (2005) portray primary stakeholder as directly affected by any intervention while secondary are intermediaries involved. Last but not least, key stakeholders are affecting or influencing an intervention (Ibid: 284). For this study, the stakeholder analysis emerged after identifying the following stakeholders; the primary stakeholders were identified as workers and weavers connected to the export houses as well as the two owners with the reason of their actual working experience and knowledge in the carpet industry. The secondary stakeholders are identified being the interviewees of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for their knowledge on specific issues existing within the industry. Other key stakeholders are e.g. persons with insight in the industry relating to the work of the production of carpets contributing to an enhanced understanding largely on the manufacturing industry.

2.3.2 Interview and Question Design
The interview guides intended to the owners had to be changed with regard to the additional information revealed on the absence of monitoring systems and certificates covering responsibilities of the export houses. This resulted in several questions being excluded during the interviews as a consequence.

The focus was directed to the weavers and how they are affected by the work instead of the other way around. Though, the interview guides regarding the workers at the export houses’ factories were not changed because of that would have lead to misspend information supporting the regime of the export houses. The interview guides’ questions towards the weavers and their family situation were kept with some changes in order to clarify the questions.

2.3.3 Selection of export houses and interviewees
Creswell (2009) argues that qualitative research is exploratory and should be used when important variables are not identified from the beginning, but findings emerging during the research is running and under process (Creswell, 2009: 18). Johannessen and Tufte (2003) mean that the selection of the sources or informants gradually becomes based on the timeframe on the study and the researcher tends to realize during the study how to set about the sources and in what way. One way of achieving a strategic sampling discussed by the authors, is through the so-called “snowball method”. By this, the researcher is choosing who is participating in the research and the informants are chosen due to
qualification (Johannessen and Tufte, 2003: 84). Intentionally, the method of “snowball effect” was used in order to find additional export houses to visit and include in the study.

One advantage with the “snowball method” is that the field is used in order to retrieve qualities interesting to the study and when having identified a certain individual’s behaviour the surrounding potentially can offer the researcher possibilities to examine whether other individuals are behaving in the same way or not (Aspers, 2007: 91). The disadvantage with using a method like this is that the selection is limited to a specific network, therefore it is important for the researcher to extend it by finding other actors of networks.

In this study, after meeting with an international organization with an office in Varanasi, I got hold of an interview with the director. Following, after the interview I was given a list with several different export houses in Bhadohi, which I would be able to contact according to the director. Several written emails and phone calls were made without progress and it took me around two weeks until the two export houses that replied me, asked me to visit them and welcomed me into their business. Two exceptions were able to be included in this study. Since the first export house refused me, and several other chose not to answer my requests on visiting and interviewing their company, there were two export houses that allowed my field study to be carried out.

Not only the two export houses and their owners were found through this method, also the key informants were found and contacted through this method.

The interviewees, both workers and weavers, were appointed to my interviews via some of the workers in the management. To interview the workers after work time or to organize focus group interviews was impossible since no one wanted to sacrifice their time to me as them had to go home to their families. Only the export house knew exactly where there weavers lived and for me to go to their homes would not be possible without the help and assistance of the export house.

2.4 Field Study Dilemmas

2.4.1 Constraints during the field work

Arriving to India, it took approximately one week until I got the notification that the export house that I was supposed to include in my study as my first case had changed its mind on welcoming me as a student into their premises and letting me interview the
workers and taking me to the weavers for interviews. This implied a huge disadvantage since I was not allowed to interview anybody within this export house’ domain. This is seen as a situation identified reaching beyond the notion of a limitation since there was knowledge I could not reach or get hold of. The export houses’ webpages gladly revealed information on the established social policies within the business, though, revealing from the interviews with the two owners turned out to be misleading.

Regarding the duration of the study, two months might be considered enough time for conducting a field study. In my case I would argue that it was not, though, which mainly was caused by the first export house’s rejection of my visit and study. It took some weeks to get in contact with the managers and the ends of the years are usually busy with preparations before exhibitions abroad. Because of delays in time the duration of the study was a limitation.

2.4.2 The role of the interpreter
In development studies factors of languages differences, information passing through interpreters and cultural norms are the main biases found (Mikkelsen, 2005: 195). After getting interpreters at each of the two export houses, both workers within the management of the company, we had a walk-through and discussed the interview situations and what the role of an interpreter is, this was in order for them to be prepared before the interview took place since the persons did not have earlier experience or knowledge on this work or role.

A disadvantage concerning the usage of interpretator might have been that they were well familiar with the carpet industry and the informal interview situation may have led to the interviewees feeling uncomfortable. Having in mind was that during the interviews, there were different kind of interruptions such as the owners presence a couple of times as he circulated in and between the rooms were we sat, also, some pauses had to be made during the conversations since the interpreter seemed to simplify the answers of the interviewees and I had to ask a second time for the whole answer that was given.

To interview the weavers in their homes or at loom owners’ premises was more relaxed compared to the interviews conducted at the export houses since there were no other workers than the weavers themselves interrupting and being curious on what was going on and the loom owners were most of the time not in the presence but waited for their own turn to be interviewed. Even though interpretater were used in this field study
having in mind possible tensions between the interpersonal interactions, though this was never experienced as a concern and the interviews went well.

2.4.3 Other dilemmas
A limitations of using observations as a qualitative data collection can be emerging situations where the researcher is met as obtrusive. Also, situations where private information observed cannot be reported may occur (Creswell, 2009: 179). To be present in this environment surrounded by businessmen, buyers, exporters and other people within the production chain I was several times told not to quote certain statements during conversations. There were several controversial statements that will not be quoted but instead referred to as knowledge from people that have an insight in the industry of carpets.

Situations also occurred when the owner either of the export house or the looms coming between me as the interviewer and interviewee, interrupting by discussing the theme of the questions. The situations portrayed here are crucial to have in mind when comparing workers’ and weavers’ answers. The observation of one worker at export house X showed an interview situation where the interruption of the owner during the interview resulted in that the worker rose from the table and stood up next to the table, until the owner left the room. This may have affected the continued answer from the worker since a power relation was visible between the worker and the owner. It was not possible to conduct the interviews outside the factories or the loom place because of that the workers and weavers would lose work time.

2.5 Ethical issues
Creswell (2009; 86) reveal that ethical questions are common, especially in personal disclosure among other things. Important when conducting this field study was avoiding the occurrence of interview situation where the interviewee could feel uncomfortable. It was crucial to pose the interview questions in a right manner where the person did not feel exposed in the interview situation, arguably because the situation may have been their first of an interview and may never have been asked similar questions before in their lives.

The use of sensitive words were avoided, the notion of human rights may be sensitive to business managers regarding possible implied judgments being perceived and
at risk biased answers based on nervousness or unwillingness may be told (Mikkelsen, 2005: 175). However, the ignorance on the issue of child labour was obviously not feasibly made when truthful answers on the topic were needed.

2.6 Discussion of validity and reliability
Kvale (1996) claims qualitative research to be valid depending on whether a method is investigating what it is supposed to investigate and positivist epistemological assumptions corresponding to theory of “truth” (Kvale, 1996: 238). Also Mikkelsen (2003) states “truth” or “reality” need to be reflected by what is measured by a researcher (Mikkelsen, 2003: 195). Overall, the questions embracing the themes of the CSR guidelines and their answers need to be evaluated with caution since no particular CSR strategy were present which limited the possibility to discuss the concept and its meaning. The four major themes of UN Global Compact treat corporate social responsibility on human rights, labour issues, environmental issues and corruption and transparency dilemmas. The workers’ and weavers’ working conditions were a crucial narrated material to easier understand their knowledge on the export houses’ responsibilities.

In spite of previous mentioned circumstances where several questions had to be excluded from the interviews and the fact that the two export houses lacked maintaining written or other agreed CSR policies or certificates, what was found at the work places was processed and revealed. From that, the answers of the workers and weavers conveyed similar knowledge on the state of the carpet industry in India based on their own experiences.

The interview questions were designed in a manner that contains contextual considerations with specific aim to the Indian ones, particularly those regarding the weavers’ families and their household situations. Here, previous rough knowledge on the Indian society and what rural people may possess before entering the field was naturally complimented by observations from the field, contributing to additional knowledge to the interview guides meanwhile the study was ongoing. In this way, the interviews become more valid.

Reliability concerns the data of a research, how data was collected and how it was worked through (Johannessen and Tufte, 2003: 28). The reliability in the interviews conducted can be discussed here. Due to that the interview questions were asked with the same themes’ type, though slightly reformulated in various ways, this structure may affect
the reliability in a positive way, though worth to take into consideration is the interviewees’ possible restricted answers. The interviews took place at the export houses’ factories or next to the carpet looms. The overall interview situations may have affected the reliability of the interviews. Nevertheless, I experience the received answers being as honest as possible bearing in mind the chapter of *Field Study Dilemmas*. Locations of the interview situation can be questioned and according to Johannesen and Tufte locations more neutral both for the interviewees and interviewer would be most comfortable (Johannesen and Tufte, 2003: 254).

This study shows the usage of the method *triangulation* where multiple different angles are used to view the subject (Mikkelsen, 2003: 96). So, triangulation implies a method used by the researchers that is strengthening the reliability of the information received. In this way, the analysis of the qualitative conducted field study’s findings has led to a potential strengthening of the reliability of the received information.

**2.7 Reflexivity**

Reflexivity implies how researchers reflect upon their own practices in order to identify implications and biases of the methods chosen for a specific study, considering any decisions and also his or her own role as a researcher (Mikelssen, 2005: 348).

Travelling to India as a student to ask questions on companies’ business strategy and their adoption of social considerations was challenging with regards to struggle in approaches and extent of willingness to achieve the fulfilment of answering the research questions. Discussing a researcher’s role, power relations are relevant to evaluate (Ibid: 177; Johannesen and Tufte, 2003: 254), having in mind that I am a young white woman from the West may affect the behaviour and answers from the interviewees.

As a student, studying Peace- and Development Studies, knowledge on society and how it functions has been learnt, though, important to have in mind during a field study like this one is to separate any pre-understandings that permeates ones thoughts and hold on to a role as a researcher where observation, a critical mind and last but not least prejudices are weighed out.
2.7 Structure
This study consists of eight chapters. The first chapter is named *Introduction* and it describes the research topic and problem formulation, followed with an explanation of the purpose of the study. In addition, the research questions that will help solve the research problem are found in his chapter. In the end of this chapter the relevance of the study is discussed.

The second chapter is the *Methodological Framework* chapter where the study’s methodology and research methods are described. Field study dilemmas and ethical issues are discussed here since it is important background knowledge to the conduction of the study. Validity and reliability in relation to the used sources are discussed.

Chapter three is named *The United Nations Global Compact and Analytical Framework*. In this chapter the meaning and use of the UN Global Compact’s CSR principles are described as well as the structure of the presentation of the findings is explained. At last, the chapter explains the analytical framework and how it is used in this study.

The fourth chapter, *Literature Overview*, explain the related concepts to the topic of the study and also provide a brief overview on the current debate of CSR. In the second part of the chapter, this study’s contribution to the literature is presented.

The *Background* chapter is the fifth chapter, where Indian carpet industry and the export houses is described. The concept of corporate social responsibility is also discussed and explained, both on the international level and within the Indian context.

In chapter six, the *Findings* chapter, the empirical material from the interview and observations is presented. The chapter is organized in a thematically order similar to the UN Global Compact’s principles. In this chapter, the first research question is answered in the summary of the chapter.

The seventh chapter is the *Analysis* part. Here, the empirical material is analyzed through the analytical framework. The answering of the last research question is made.

The last chapter of this study is *Final Discussion*, where the most important findings of the study are presented and the research problem is somehow solved. It ends with suggestions on further research on the topic.
3. The UN Global Compact and Analytical Framework

In the first part of this section I will outline the origin of the UN Global Compact and the main messages with the four themes and their respective principles. With this, I will show how structure my presentation of the findings and why I chose to do it as I did. The method used for describing and systemizing the findings in order to answer the first research question will also be presented. Finally, the framework used in order to answer the last research question will be narrated and how this is used.

3.1 United Nation’s Global Compact and its guidelines

The UN Global Compact, which represent an initiative between United Nations, business and civil society (Fritsch, 2008: 25), was spurred in order to benefit more people on this globe through combining an international liberal trade order’s basic principles with better institutional foundations and social legitimacy. The reasons to recombine these features were among several others, criticism towards globalization, corporate scandals in developing countries and economical weak period in the world (Ibid: 3: Berliner and Prakash, 2012: 151).

The ten guidelines of the UN Global Compact are made out by four themes, more precisely; human rights, labour, environment and anti-corruption.

The theme of human rights is derived from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. Principle one and two, which are found in the theme, indicates that human rights are universal and belong to everyone equally. The declaration, hence the principles include subjects of equality, life and security, personal freedom and economic, social and cultural freedom. The declaration says that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. The rights of people are realized through both national and international efforts and cooperation. The two first principles invoke business to emphasis human rights in their work so that these values are upheld on the basis that responsibility falls on every individual in society. In addition, it is outlined that business has a responsibility to respect human rights. They should not only avoid negative impacts but also support human rights, which will result in advanced performances within the business overall. Business has not only a responsibility towards the workplace when it comes to human rights, but also the society in which they are influencing. The principles
also recognize that a business must ensure that its operations are consistent with the applicable legal principles in the country it is operating (UN Global Compact, 2006c).

The theme of labour and its three principles are derived from the International Labour Organization’s Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work of 1998. The declaration says that these principles and rights have to be respected and promoted everywhere, disregard economic development rates and cultural values. Both the declaration and the three principles bring up freedom of association and collective bargaining. The former implies respecting the right of all employees and workers to voluntary and freely establish and join organizations based on their own choice and the latter implies a voluntary process where employees and workers discuss and negotiate their relations regarding work conditions and the regulation of relations between the stakeholders at the company level (UN Global Compact, 2006d).

The principles that are found within the theme of environment are principle seven, eight and nine. These have its origin from the United Nations Environment Programme, a program that is known for its creation of a large amount of international environmental laws. Principle seven to nine are based on the Declaration of Principles and an International Action plan (Agenda 21) that have identified that policies and operations of business and industry are two major stakeholders concerning reduction of resource use. A cleaner production along with an entrepreneurship that is taken responsibility are two things business can promote according to the declaration and action plan (UN Global Compact, 2006e). Within these promotion areas, pollution of the atmosphere, damage to ecosystems, chemicals use and waste production are among some of the main challenges.

The tenth principle which is against corruption was included into the Global Compact in 2004, after a UN Global Compact Leaders Summit. This principle is under the name transparency and anti-corruption and strongly signals that the private sector must encourage support to eliminate corruption. When fighting against corruption, the principle says that both internal and external monitoring systems are required in order to establish a more transparent global economy (UN Global Compact, 2006f).

The UN Global Compact does not address working conditions of workers per se instead they are included under the human rights’ theme, this in order to stress the importance to follow human rights of the workforce as well as the workplace. The principles are an indication of an initiative emphasising a broad spectra of issues that concerns the business community, NGOs and governments. In cases where national laws
fall short of international standards, businesses and companies should attempt to meet international standards to avoid violations of human rights (UN Global Compact, 2006c).

The UN Global Compact has grown rapidly and expanded extensively. Though, the main goals seem to be achieved merely through dialogue and mutual learning conferences and there are several project partnerships available for the participants to start with UN agencies, NGOs, etc. There are weaknesses with the UN Global Compact, for example, that the participation is inconsistent and expectations are not met by companies which in turn pose as a threat to a long-term existence of the Compact (Frisch, 2008: 21). Both business and countries have shown resistance towards the Global Compact, mainly because of the Compact’s complex nature of relationship between multinational companies and their external supply chains. There is simply no consensus on what the responsibilities of multinational companies are (Ibid: 26). Berliner and Prakash write on Kell and Ruggie’s notations on the Global Compact as “meant to serve as a framework of reference and dialogue to stimulate best practices and to bring about convergence in corporate practices around universal shared values” (Berliner and Prakash, 2012: 151). This can be interpreted by no necessarily helpful benefits to draw from of the Global Compact, and instead leaders in the field are there to help firms who want the help to learn how their business can be a more appropriate business. Especially, NGOs have criticized the Compact for imposing few obligations on the firms and business that are members and that there is no monitoring present, as well as sanctions as barely imposed at all (Ibid: 151).

Table 1: The United Nations Global Compact’s Ten Principles of Corporate Social Responsibility (Source: The United Nations Global Compact, 2006b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human Rights</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principle 1: Businesses should support and respect the protection of internationally proclaimed human rights; and</td>
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<tr>
<td>Principle 2: make sure that they are not complicit in human rights abuses</td>
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<tr>
<th>Labour</th>
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<tr>
<td>Principle 3: Businesses should uphold the freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Principle 4: the elimination of all forms of forced and compulsory labour;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Principle 5: the effective abolition of child labour; and</td>
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<tr>
<td>Principle 6: the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation</td>
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<th>Environment</th>
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<tr>
<td>Principle 7: Businesses should support a precautionary approach to environmental challenges;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Principle 8: undertake initiatives to promote greater environmental responsibility; and</td>
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<tr>
<td>Principle 9: encourage the development and diffusion of environmentally friendly technologies</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Anti-Corruption</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principle 10: Businesses should work against corruption in all its forms, including extortion and bribery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 The use of “the Method of Structured, Focused Comparison”

The method used with a descriptive approach in this study is based on Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett’s method called “The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison”. To use this method is suitable and functional for my research since it allows me to make a comparison between the different units of the research fields a structured and straightforward way. For clarification, the different main themes of the interview guides of both the export houses and its workers, thus, human rights; labour rights; environmental issues; and anti-corruption issues, which are based on the UN Global Compact’s principles of CSR (UN Global Compact, 2006b).

That the study is designed from this specific method helps me in making a systematic comparison, as the same information from the specific themes is collected from thought-out questions. George and Bennett (2005) describe that with the method of structured, focused comparison, the researcher must define and standardize data that are required of the case studies and the way to do this is by setting up theoretically relevant general questions in order to guide the examination of each case (George and Bennett, 2005: 69-70).

The “Method of Structured, Focused Comparison” is used in a descriptive way when focusing on the carpet export houses and revealing the findings of the situations of reality regarding their engagement in emphasising and following the general guidelines of corporate social responsibility. The structure of the four major themes has been stapled in the same order as the Global Compact’s principles (see Table 1) and which principles are detected and considered from the interview answers will be shown. The ten principles lie as a ground for the approach of responsibility by the export houses, which will be demonstrated.

The identification of interview questions regarding the principles serves as a framework in my study through creating a structured, focused description of the four major themes of Global Compact at the export houses. My descriptive approach in this study is constituted by a structured line where the general guidelines of the Global Compact and its principles serve as an ideal state of affairs where collected information at the two export houses is presented depending on the scope of adoption of respective principle. In addition, the workers and weavers knowledge on the principles and their meaning is presented from the units of the themes. This describes the two export houses, their workers and weavers as four target groups that respectively are put in a correlation to
each and every principle of the Global Compact. Furthermore, the method of George and Bennett is used to structure the principles in a numerical order instead of testing a hypothesis as the method intentionally is designed to do. This structure makes it easier to follow the answers given around each principle and is portrayed in the table below. By that, the first research question is answered after examining performances and initiatives of the export houses regarding corporate social responsibility.

Table 2: The Structure for Systematizing the Findings (Source: Emma Johansson)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UN Global Compact’s Principles</th>
<th>Export House X</th>
<th>Workers/Weavers</th>
<th>Export House Y</th>
<th>Workers/Weavers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principle 1</td>
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<td>Principle 9</td>
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<td>Principle 10</td>
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</table>

Each of the ten principles belongs to one of the four major themes of human rights, labour rights, environmental issues or anti-corruption dilemma. In order to see to what extent the export houses are applying to the Global Compact a figure will be portrayed. The figure reveals an estimation composing of three grading expressions, consisting of **No, Small** and **Large**. The reason these expressions are chosen is because of their answering to what extent the principles are applied by the export houses. Either the principles are followed to no extent, to a small extent or to a large extent. The three expressions are based on the Global Compact’s principles and their content, which were outlined in the beginning of the chapter under the heading *United Nation’s Global Compact and its Guidelines*. What has been detected at respective export houses are narrated, whether the principles are followed or not. So, the table above will be found in the summary of the chapter *Findings* with estimation on the export houses’ adoption on the ten CSR principles.
3.3 The Sustainable Livelihood Framework

As the findings are described by using the UN Global Compact’s principles, the analytical approach used in this study is used by the framework “Sustainable Livelihood Framework”, which will be presented below.

This framework has the point of departure in that there are certain main factors that affect people’s livelihoods, and it addresses how these factors interact with each other (DFID, 1999). In order to better understand and create a vision or image of the socio-economic reality of carpet weavers in Bhadohi, India, the choice to use this framework when describing collected data have been made. The framework will be used with an analytical approach in order to answer the second research question of the study. What the export houses are doing in terms of initiatives and actions and how this affects the weavers’ access to capitals will be analyzed. The sustainable livelihood frame helps increase the understanding whether possible changes are visible and also detect whether eventual initiatives and actions form of the export house management have affected the weavers’ life situation. To see whether different initiatives and actions are made from either a short- or long-term perspective will also be discovered. This frame will contribute as an analytical tool for the last research question mentioned above in the text, namely if the export houses initiatives and actions have affected the weavers access to assets and what the role of the export houses are in the particular context.

The framework “Sustainable Livelihood Framework” consists of five different assets, or capitals, that often are graphically complied in the form of a pentagon. The centre, where the lines are meeting, represent zero access to assets and the five corners represent the maximum access to each asset. When using this model, different social groupings or communities can produce differently formed pentagons. Natural capital represents natural resource stocks that are useful livelihoods such as the atmosphere and biodiversity used for production. Financial is the term used for financial resources such as cash, savings and other economic assets. Physical capital denotes basic infrastructure and producer goods to support livelihoods such as secure shelter, adequate water supply etc. Social capital comprises social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives, for example through network connectedness of groups or associations. Finally, human capital represents skills, training and knowledge, as well as health both direct and indirect (DFID, 1999).
In the analysis of this study, the whole model is not used but merely the pentagon in order to analyze the household situation of the weavers. Also, the analysis consists of an identification of the principles of Global Compact as influencing the weavers’ household situation. This is done after seeing which ones of the ten principles can be found to explain how the weavers’ access to assets is affected along with their household situation. The arrows represent either increase or decrease in access to asset. The point where the lines are meeting in the middle denotes zero access to the assets (DFID, 1999). Most commonly, people’s assets are investigated by a people-centred analysis, which this study is attempting to do. All five capitals in the pentagon will be accounted for in order to estimate how the different capitals have changed, hence, affected the weavers and their families working at the two export houses. The weavers’ socio-economic situation will be analyzed based on the capitals changing with the export houses actions.
4. Literature overview

There is a huge quantity of literature on the concept of CSR. The public discourse on social responsibility and the business discourse on profit and strategy throughout can be detected as having ended up in a conflicting competition since there are many concepts that are equalized with CSR throughout the literature.

Many business and development experts have written on the relationship between CSR and stakeholder management. Stakeholder management denotes an organization is taking into consideration both internal and external stakeholders within the management. Stakeholder management within businesses and corporations are characteristic for emphasising on corporations’ and their managers’ tools for organizing and establishing a corporate strategy and where stakeholders’ interests are being brought attention to for managerial decision-making (Schwartz, 2011: 127). Prieton et al (2006) writes on a view where all stakeholders within a business usually are being gathered in a process of the corporation or business, hence that they are “ideationally neutral” (Prieton et al, 2006: 984). The authors mean that the general view is a process where the challenges of the organization or corporation are dealt with in the presence of different stakeholder such as NGOs, public agencies and other business representatives. On the contrary, Barkemeyer (2009) opposes the momentum where all stakeholders are included in a corporations’ or business management to solve constraints and challenges faced. He means that power relations between stakeholders are there and not emphasised to meet the needs and demands of everyone present (Barkemeyer, 2009: 276).

To activate internal and external stakeholders into CSR dialogues is what authors have been discussing and regarding this, the need for managers to communicate and practically work with CSR is discussed. Gupta (2011), among others, argue that the extent of satisfaction both economic and non-economic goals is met by interacting with and responding to the various stakeholders demands and needs (Gupta, 2011: 364; Blowfield and Frynas, 2005: 507). Authors have stressed that corporations’ and businesses’ emergence of motivation to embrace the concept of CSR in its investments are based on the relationship.
The relationship between CSR and sustainability has also been brought to the limelight. Economic, environmental and social responsibilities are interplayed in order to experience a sustainable work performance as possible in the long run, which lead us to the key word of sustainability. Grankvist (2009) argues that sustainability is achieved when money is gained, the environment is considered and the work place is enjoyable, tolerant and generous (Grankvist, 2009: 18). In opposite, Marrewikj (2003) refuse to synonymise the two concepts and mean that CSR should cover areas such as stakeholder dialogue and transparency while sustainability within corporations and businesses should include environmental aspects and human capital management (Marrewikj, 2003: 102).

From the linkages between CSR and sustainability, triple bottom line (TBL) started to be embraced by corporations to be able to develop a construct of sustainable development. It includes values of a business or corporation to succeed in economic, environmental and social aspects within its organization. Performances of economic, environmental and social character is then included into the management of corporations (Grankvist, 2009: 20). To use TBL to evaluate social performance of corporations has been criticized. The extent to use triple bottom line has been argued as based on corporations’ or businesses economic interests. Banerjee (2008) stresses that corporation’s interests in setting prices first and not the societies where operating are affecting the local communities when relocation because of economic reason is made. As a consequence, they are leaving behind social and environmental issues (Banerjee, 2008: 74).

Increasingly, corporations consider themselves as an integral part in society that goes beyond economic performance (Pradhan and Ranjan, 2010: 139). The relationship between CSR and corporate citizenship is also brought up in the literature by authors. Corporations’ and businesses’ ethical behaviour is discussed by looking at social responsible initiatives in forms of CSR and business ethics. Corporate citizenship is highlighting the words of “being a good citizen”, which has to do with compliance with the law, assisting the community and protecting the environment (Newell, 2005: 546). The rights and the responsibilities of a business firm are equal to other citizens (Jansson and Nilsson, 2010: 98). Banerjee (2008) criticizes the thought of CSR from a citizenship approach and claims that the extent of responsibility that corporations have in forms of obligations is limited in the definition. He means that when using the legal aspect in
argumentation of corporations there is a possibility for mixing up citizenship with being a person (Banerjee, 2008: 55).

The debate has been angled to target the relationship between business, society and government and the role of corporate citizenship. Jansson and Nilsson (2010: 98, in Dobers) argues that corporations’ large power and increase in taking on responsibilities that otherwise governments usually would hold, such as community development programmes, workers’ pension and support to education systems. In this way, authors stresses that corporations are successively becoming more important when it comes to welfare of citizens as they emphases citizenship rights to individuals (Ibid: 103).

The linkages between corporate social responsibility and business ethics have been shown in literature by academics and business leaders. Mainly, business ethics is composing product safety, discrimination, harassments, corruption, child labour, worker’s health and safety among others. Instead of focusing on corporate philanthropic activity, which has been emphasised in the debate on CSR over years, Mark S. Schwartz (2011: 21) put weight on social responsibility of corporations but with focus on the “ethical” dimension. He claims moral standards often being discussed at corporations but later ignored, further, the theory of moral indicates the potential ethical responsibilities a corporation has (Ibid: 29). This type of responsibility includes how a corporation invests in its capital and how to act in purchasing, which are both important when it comes to the responsibility the corporation has in society (Grankvist, 2009: 23). Crane and Matten (2004) argue that business ethics as a framework of CSR does not in particular deal with legal obligations, instead they argue that it is addressing behaviour that is expected when the law ends, hence when business ethics in turn begins (Crane and Matten, 2004: 465).

In summary, the literature on the phenomenon of corporate social responsibility has shown a variety of concepts and their frames used in order to try to explain the relationship between business and society. The weavers of the carpet export houses are very much touched by the export houses business in terms of policies and actions.

CSR and its related concepts are crucial to consider in order to see how a business work with responsibilities that fall under the realm of CSR and its responsibilities. Business and work performances affect the workers and in how this affects look like are based on the standpoint taken by the management. The four main concepts described
above are all associated with corporate social responsibility. In this study, it is worth questioning the following issues that have to do with the four main concepts. Stakeholder management question; are the carpet weavers considered into the management’s decision-making processes? Are their demands and needs heard? Sustainability leads us to asks; are environmental aspects and human capitals considered for a long term period? Is the society portrayed as a priority of interest by the business? Corporate citizenship gives rise to questions like; does the business or company act as a “good citizen” and if so what does it mean in their regime? Business ethics make us pose questions as; are moral standards fully emphasised by the management of the business or company? And how are investments and actions done where operating in different localities? It is important to address the standpoints and emphasis of businesses and companies since it will reveal in what ways the workers and their livelihoods are affected.

4.1 Where can this study be placed in the debate on the relationship between business and society?

For the subject of supply chains in Asia, there is generally a large amount of literature on issues of the environment and labour rights. Also child labour, poor health and safety issues have been revealed, where also the world’s carpet industries have been included. As for the Indian carpet industry it has mostly been narrated with most focus on the child labour issue and Seidman (2007) argues that social labelling linked to child labour has served as a more recipient topic in transnational labour activism (Seidman, 2007: 99). The concept of CSR and its relationship with other concepts are not found to the same extent in the existing literature on the Indian carpet industry. The lack of literature on a relationship between export houses’ CSR agendas and workers and weavers working conditions and livelihoods justifies this study on the Indian carpet industry.

Welford (2010) argues that with the absence of compliance to the whole supply chain, inefficiency and failures within these systems of supply chains can lead to scandals. He means that this result from a poor management of inclusion of stakeholders related to the industry and its products (Welford, 2010: 315). As the issue of child labour has been brought attention to after scandals on child labour in the mid-1990s, the focus on to which extent the stakeholder of the weavers is included in the carpet industry’s managements, as the first stakeholders in the supply chain of the carpet products, will be emphasised in this study. The relationship between business and society in an Indian carpet weaving city
Bhadohi will be highlighted and how the weavers are affected by possessing the occupation of weaving will be analyzed. No one has written on how the management of the export houses is addressing its work and image on CSR and how it affects the workforce, directly or indirectly. Seidman (2007) stresses that marketing tends to put the image of a corporation or company in the limelight instead of the workers. To the author, the opposite act would be to emphasize the citizens in India by furthering and strengthening their democratic rights instead of following the global market (Seidman, 2007: 161).

Therefore, to see the extent of the importance of CSR and the concepts main theme or themes within the carpet export houses is important. The reason why this is important is because it will allow me the researcher, to see whether the weavers and their surrounding are identified as stakeholder by the management. This will be a new added angle to the literature.
5. Background

The beginning of this chapter will give a brief introduction to the carpet industry’s characteristics and challenges. A background as well as explanations to the situation in which the workers and weavers are found within the industry will be presented. Additionally, the chapter includes the discussion of the concept of corporate social responsibility and the concept in the Indian context.

5.1 Exporters within the carpet industry in Bhadohi, India

The carpet belt of Mirzapur-Bhadohi and its industry has for long been concentrated in the area (Kanbargi, 1988: 93) and estimations have been made showing that around 70 to 80 percent of the exported Indian carpets are produced in the region (Seidman, 2007: 74). The carpet belt is the biggest manufacturing centre in India wherefrom carpet exported to other countries reaches a value of Rs 2,500-3,000 crore (Basuk, 2011: 8). Rs 16 crore is USD 4 million (Kshitij, 2012). The carpet weaving, as a rural handcraft, is considered an inheritance of India, though it was an artisanal craft coming from Persia to the northern part of India in the sixteenth century by a people named the Mughal emperors (Chowdhry and Beeman, 2001: 164). Thousands of tight tied knots calls for a high level of skills which and to hold the sharp knife to trim the threads in one hand at the same time as they move neatly along the strings, is usually passed down within the families of the weavers.

Commonly, larger export houses work with small weaving workshops spread around villages and the local weavers and their employees are working through a subcontracting production structure. Typical for the subcontracting of the carpet industry is the so-called “home-based” production of carpet exports which is characteristic by looms often being located kilometres from the export houses where loom-owners provide material and designs. When a carpet is fully knotted after a month or two it is gathered and taken to the finishing processes of trimming and cleaning at the factories of the export houses. The labour through contracting which is found within the carpet industry is characterized by owners of export houses employing contractors who in his turn employ or subcontract his work to workers he needs as a help in the production site. A contractor is self-employed and get paid by produced weaved carpet. The “helpers” of the contractor are not employees in the sense of direct employment, like most informal sectors (Mehrotra and Biggeri, 2005: 1745). The subcontracting system’s structure within the
carpet industry denoting this study’s focus on the supply chain, namely the exporters, the contractors and the weavers, is illustrated in the table below.

**Figure 2: The Structure of Subcontracting within the Carpet Industry (Source: Emma Johansson)**

Sub-contracting is common in consumer goods industries, adopted by corporations and companies basically because of the system’s facilitative contribution for production to be more flexible and more easily meet the demand and requests from the consumers, regarding wages, work hours, safety standards etc. (Scholte, 2005: 301). Though, the system is a very controversial issue which calls for monitoring systems in order to counteract labour abuses (Mares, 2010: 194) and a what can be a pictured scenario is production being put in a condition where flexibility overcome any social responsibilities.

**Figure 3: The Hand-knotted Carpet Chain of Production and its Positions (Source: Emma Johansson)**
There are several stakeholders found within the carpets industry’s production and distribution of hand-knotted carpets. Among the stakeholders are exporters, contractors, loom owners and weavers who basically are situated in India. In addition, importers and retailers are situated in foreign countries. The production starts with the exporter at the export houses and moves on to the contractors and later to the weavers. The industry is basically carried out through an intermediary approach.

The exporters can be divided in to two groups, merchant exporters and manufacturing exporters. The former buys carpets from the market and exports, while the latter produce their own carpets by using contractors, subcontractors (may be found between the contractor and weaver illustrated in the table above) and exporters. Importers give their orders to exporters. When using contractors, as both export houses in this study are, they receive orders from the exporters to produce the carpets. Contractors in turn, may subcontract all their production or parts of the production. So, subcontractors can possess multiple tasks such as weaving the carpets, act as a middleman between contractors and weavers. When possessing the role of being a middleman, the subcontractor is overseeing the production process, distributes materials and pays the weavers. Subcontractors were not used by the contractors working with the two export houses in this study.

The importers buy carpets in order to sell them to specific retailers. Occasionally, importers have their own retail outlets. Depending on importers, their own carpets are sold, some use purchasing agents and other importers may prefer to import directly from the country of origin of the carpets (United States Department of Labour, 1997: 18).

The need of labour within the industry increased remarkably, in pace with the expansion of hand-knotted carpets’ export during the 1970s (Singh, 1979: 70). When loom owners begun to hire workforce, there was an opportunity taken by the government to improve and help loom owners’ work in the Bhadohi-Mirzapur carpet belt and other regions mainly since the earning of foreign exchange and employment opportunities were at hand (Seidman, 2007: 79). Around 1,200 export houses are recorded constituting the carpet industry, though, the industry lacks infrastructural facilities, support for marketing and the government’s support in order to achieve potential growth. Also, the industry faced a huge set back between 1996-2000 due to the labour issue (Basuk: 2011: 4).

The price of a hand-knotted carpet is decided from the number of knots tied per square inch, indicating that tighter knots are leading a higher valued carpet, hence the
price is dependent on the quality. The tighter tied knots, the more will the loom owner earn when the finished carpet is brought to the export house and the prices of a carpet is also set by the international market, hence the exporters decide the survival of the weavers when providing material and access to the markets (Seidman, 2007: 78). The diverse Indian production of carpets; hand-knotted, hand tufted, loom made, Tibetan-woven etc; shows the potential to meet the requirements of the customers leading to potential increase in volume and value of the produced products (Srivastava and Goswami, 2007: 2-3). Because of the increased costs of woollen yarn, silk, polyester yarn and cotton yarn, with around 50 % during a period of merely six months, the buyers of carpets have become less motivated and less willing to pay the cost of the manufacturing. Exporters are as a consequence found in an unsure situation and the prices of raw material to manufacture carpets are steadily increasing (Basuk, 2011: 4-5).

The low salaries within the industry tend to have generated a wave of weavers and artisans to migrate. In total, the carpet industry in the area of Bhadohi has during the last five years lost approximately 50 % of its weavers to migration and to the government’s different schemes of development characters (The Indian Express, 2011), an issue also affecting other groups of people around India such as farmers and workers within the industry of constructing buildings (The Economist, 2012). Private employers, in general, who are dependent on migrant workers due to seasonal work, claim scheme of the government to increase labour costs in pace with shortage of labour that will follow as a consequence (Ibid). The situation can be applied to the carpet industry as well when facing shortage in labour these days and people see opportunities for an increased salary in other occupations at other locations.

Internationalization and modernization have lead to a change in the nature of the industry of carpet production when entering the international trade markets because of increase in export and foreign exchange earnings (Kanbargi, 1988: 94). As the industry got refreshed there were changes within the controlling of the production performed by the weavers. In parallel with influences and fashion coming from developed countries, the control over the processes is monitored from the export-traders, who basically are Indians (Chowdhry and Beeman, 2001: 165). Changes throughout the industry have mainly been the increase in value of the carpets, the threads of wooll were introduced to chrome dyeing as well as the variety of designs of carpets. One change that have appeared is the one of Seidman’s (2010) telling on the lack of resources and inability to monitor any
voluntary self-regulatory schemes within the carpet industry, which in lead have generated misleading social labels or certifications for international consumers to put their trust on (Seidman, 2010: 160).

In India, the Labour Contract law says that all employers of any factory must register its work place or factory. Also, every contractor has to possess a licence under the Factories Act in order to be allowed to take on or perform any work through contract labour (The Labour Contract Law, Ministry of Labour, India, 1970). None of the two export houses in this study has any established monitoring system or setup to make sure all aspects of human rights, found in the UN Global Compacts, are followed in forms of international standards or similar social certificates. The law applicable to the export houses on the national level is the Factories Act 1948 (The Office of the Labour Commissioner, 2011) established in the Indian Constitution which is a labour law that covers all types of factories and industries operating in India. Overseen by this law are, among the many areas; fields of licence, registration, safety-, welfare- and health proceeding, inclusion of women in the work force, rights and duties of employers. This act was not spoken out by the two owners. Thus, there is a national law that covers several of the principle of the UN Global Compact, the Factories Act as just mentioned. Article 24 in the Constitution of India from (1949) prohibits employment of children in any factory or hazardous industry (The Office of the Labour Commissioner, 2011) and, Article 39 directs the state to protect childhood and youth against exploitation and moral and material abandonment. To this, the carpet industry is on the list of industries using child labour which the government had made illegal (Chowdhry and Beeman, 2001: 164). For example, export houses situated in the area of Bhadohi with the possession of a certificate against child labour follow both the national law on child labor and the principle of child labour of the UN Global Compact. Other issues regarding working conditions and workers’ labour rights that are stated in both the Factories Act 1948 and in international voluntary standards on CSR such as the UN Global Compact might not be followed to a larger extent by the export houses. The first reason might be that the voluntary initiative is not signed and the second reason may be that there is a lack of governmental inspections at the export houses’ work places. Agarwal argues that the more a business is showing its commitment towards CSR, the softer are governments and controllers with it (Agarwal, 2008: 44). This can be linked to the lack of governmental inspections on both child labour and other issues that fall within the realm of workers
working conditions. Both export houses studied in this field study stated on their companies’ webpage that they are committed to follow a social accountability policy similar to the SA 8000 Certification from Social Accountability International with the aim to improve working conditions around the world (Social Accountability International, 2008). Though, as will be revealed in the Findings chapter none of the two export houses in this study had the certificate or any written statement that proves whether they are committed to it, or to any similar social initiatives or certificates. Therefore, to what extent the export houses and their management are committed to the international CSR agenda, differs depending on the export house. For example, a smaller export house that is family-owned may find it easier to control the workers and their work performances and conditions compared to a medium or large export house. Since definitions or ideas of CSR implies that additional activities by a business is both voluntary, should include legal responsibility, take into consideration the work force and their families and communities, or realized when donating money, depend on which definition or objective that is at stake at the export houses matters regarding their choice of CSR activities with the business.

The workers and weavers working in the context of the carpet industry faces challenges in the future where regulations and events from the international trade market will continue to matter to a crucial extent. After the next headline the international market and its role regarding social responsibility in supply chains will be brought up. The international perspective on CSR and what problem it should solve will be discussed.

5.2 Corporate Social Responsibility

Raman (2006: 314) tells about the author Votaw and his (1972, p. 25) general idea on the term corporate social responsibility as he stated:

“The term is a brilliant one; it means something, but not always the same thing, to everybody. To some it conveys the idea of legal responsibility or hability; to others, it means socially responsible behaviour in an ethical sense; to still others, the meaning transmitted is that of "responsible for," in a causal mode; many simply equate it with a charitable contribution; …”

Hopkins (2007: 25) reveal The World Business Council for Sustainable Development’s definition of CSR, which follows:
"Corporate Social Responsibility is the continuing commitment by business to contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well as of the community and society at large."

To many, it may be considered drastic to proclaim corporations’ and companies’ role in the work to counteract climate changes or to decrease the starvation among many societies’ marginalized groups. Today’s notion of corporate social responsibility includes these major issues among several others. The scenario of earning rously amounts of money at the same time as the work proceedings are sustained is an increasing responsibility found around the globe at different work places and industries. Though, the concept of CSR is currently facing the problem of a blindness of owners regarding the scenario of profit-maximization as working hand-in-hand with social responsibility (Grankvist, 2009: 10).

The understanding of the concept of CSR can easily be associated with solving of world problems, however, it can be questioned whether it is in the hands of corporations and companies which might not have the capacity needed. Each and every corporation or company can adopt a business strategy most suitable for themselves where knowledge, leadership and resources are used to solve problems, and also they can maintain a meaningful role, as meaningful as any public institution or private actor such as NGOs etc. In turn, cooperation with other actors in society may potentially lead to improvements and achievements in contributions in solving world problems. Grankvist (2009) stresses that it is crucial to change business thinking into a lead where exploration of new work methods and to discover new business opportunities are at the core line of thinking (Grankvist, 2009: 12). Larger corporations and companies may have a social and environmental awareness included in their business strategies and the willingness to work with CSR to a larger extent in comparison to small and medium size enterprises. Factors that may have a role in the adaptation of CSR within a corporation or company might therefore, among other factors, be the size of the factories, the different managements or the type of industry. In this study, export houses that speak for themselves being involved in CSR but evidently are not, will be studied.

Internationally today, CSR embrace topics such as sub-contracting and supply chain management to a large extent. Mares (2010) write on a contemporary situation that is
unsatisfactory when it comes to buyer’s responsibility over its supply chain, a situation falling under the area of globalization and human rights (Mares, 2010: 244). To monitor and counteract labour abuses and to establish a sustainable compliance on the international arena concerning labour rights throughout production chains have been and still are major challenges in the area of supply chain management. Making this work dim is the detected variety of CSR instruments or codes implicating a compounding mixture of answers and proposals guiding businesses in their work on the concept of corporate social responsibility. The support to establish responsibilities of buyers are outlined diverse by instruments such as OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises, European Union’s CSR Policies, Global Reporting Initiative’s Sustainability Reporting Guidelines, Social Accountability International’s SA8000 Standard and UN Global Compact, to only mention a few.

Regardless of the variety of definitions of the concept there is a common characteristic that business has received a type of responsibility that goes beyond the law, profit maximisation and creating employment opportunities. The United Nations Global Compact and its guidelines in form of ten principles emerged out of the fact that CSR and development are both issues covering a global and transnational scope and came about to be seen as a global governance approach being able to contribute with tackling development challenges (Fritsch, 2008: 13).

The perspective of corporations and companies going beyond merely profit making and economic and legal requirements is visible today mainly since CSR now has changed direction. The most recent all-embracing instrument of CSR has come from United Nations Secretary-General’s Special Representative for Business and Human Rights, John Ruggie, his mandate of the years 2005-2011 and developing of a framework called “Protect, Respect and Remedy” (ILO, 2010). The framework does not imply any new legal obligation neither to companies or governments, but a range of already existing international CSR instruments combined with social expectations streaming from decades of critical importance of the concept lay as a ground for the framework and its inclusion of rights.

That business interests will lay in the voluntary agreements and willingness to cooperate with other stakeholders simply implies that business’ positive contributions to society are above and beyond compliance with the law, a reasoning of CSR common among debaters that also have been spoken out on at the World Summit on Sustainable
Development in 2002 (Hens and Bhaskar, 2005: 267). After all, due to the mandate of Ruggie and its definition of business responsibility, Mark B. Taylor (2011) argues that the main challenge within the sphere of CSR in the future will be to adjust after a reality where the “social” dimension of business responsibility will come to be included both compliance and beyond (Taylor, 2011: 28). This is a major challenge corporations and businesses around the world are faced with. After all, the size of a corporation or company should not be decided whether social responsibilities are at hand, but efforts able to be accomplished, independently on scope and quantity, should be made.

CSR and socio-economic development has been fostered by the UN Global Compact through global business and private business interests (Fritsch, 2008: 2). Corporations’ ownership and management structures reflect a profit oriented behaviour. Companies must make profit without external costs being added from their own activities. Therefore, one can assume that as long as CSR is not drawing upon any external costs within the company or corporation, it is in the advantage of the business. This way of acting of business is considered an obligation, so that return in investment is secured for the shareholders (Ibid: 7). Thus, to respect human rights as both the local company and the host country, to pay a fair share of taxes and to collaborate with the host government as well as the labour department and health and safety standards must benefit the company in the end, otherwise, CSR would not benefit the companies or corporations.

The Indian carpet industry and its challenges can indeed be connected to the notion of corporations and companies “going beyond profit” and where the adoption of a more philanthropic nature of business is expected, which will be shown in the next headline.

5.3 Corporate Social Responsibility in India

Potential differences between countries on the concept of CSR are distinguished on two major factors, first; the extent of selection of CSR activities and second; the types of initiatives adjusted from the concept’s welcoming by the societies, two factors that matters in a country’s national conditions, both socially, economically and politically (Baughn et al, 2007: 189; Hopkins, 2007: 170). Baughn et al (2007) conveys a generalization on Asian firms not keeping the same pace as Western countries regarding most of the aspects linked to CSR, where community development and philanthropy are clearly understood but not corporate social responsibility to the same extension (Baughn
et al, 2007: 190-191). Furthermore, the authors continue stating that any kind of generalization here must not be accepted.

Not only is India an emerging market where corporations have been nailed to face the concept of CSR but also China (Khanna and Gupta, 2011: 178; Barkemeyer, 2009: 275). Hopkins (2007) argues that gradually, corporations realize that their operations are not sustained if there is a poor development, hence, leading them to think on long term basis instead of short term (Hopkins, 2007: 10). Authors also convey that the same drivers for new development of CSR in Western Europe and North America also have been detected in the region of Asia (Chappel and Moon, 2005: 417). Further, the authors outline that there have been a rise in expectations of businesses’ social responsibility by Asian consumers and with that, a rise of organizations and NGOs working with ethical oriented issues by actively reporting and monitoring (Ibid: 417). Baughn et al claim that, with particular attention to India and China, Asia is gradually taking on the concept of CSR to a larger extent basically since the environment has ended up in the shadow of economic growth and pollution concerns are now the main force to overcome change in the region (Baughn et al, 2007: 192). The main challenges in India on the environment turned out to be water and indoor pollution (Agarwal, 2008: 79).

The concept of social responsibility is not new among corporations, especially not in India (Khanna and Gupta, 2011: 184; Balasubramanian et al 2005: 82), where there is an extended literature on businessmen helping societies out of different crisis (Agarwal, 2008: 11). Referring to help and business, Mahatma Gandhi influenced the business community in India with the concept of “trusteeship”, which indicated that the interests of the society were extensively furthered and socially and environmentally people were raised into the mindset that “giving” is something good. This line of thinking can be discovered in today’s concept of “triple bottom line” where not merely an economic focus is found in missions of businesses but also social and environmental focuses are emphasized (Jose et al, 2003: 63). Balasubramanian et al (2005) write that it has been an integrated concept in a large number of organizations, in particular those which have been family owned and hence have had a community culture unlike other companies (Balasubramanian et al, 2005: 82).

During the interwar period (1924-1946), businesses with Indian origin could be explained by embracing a more social and religious modification with a philanthropy oriented mind within business strategy that is deep-rooted nowadays as well (Chappel and
Moon, 2005: 437). What has been shown is the Indian corporate sector’s received advantages from the liberalization and privatization processes, and that a move from the philanthropic line of thought has turned into a broader CSR emphasizing, which otherwise is overshadowed by the remarkable financial growth of the country (Pradhan and Ranjan, 2010: 140; Dreze and Sen, 2011; Sen, 2011). Pradhan and Ranjan (2010) argues that in studies made on Indian corporations across the states, philanthropy has been seen as the main driver of corporate social responsibility, next in lead came image building, employee morale and ethics (Pradhan and Ranjan, 2010: 140).

Despite previous mentioned statement on philanthropy in the text, a shift taken from profit-maximization, philanthropy and essentiality to development of society to corporate social responsibility being associated with ethical performance and legal compliance and transparency in India have been shown in the literature (Balasubramanian et al, 2005: 18; Jose et al, 2003: 62). Khanna and Gupta (2011) argue that the association of Indian CSR of donations and charities is a changing approach which paths have to become directed towards CSR being an integral part of corporate strategy (Khanna and Gupta, 2011: 184). From the two main approaches of CSR, more precise, the “profit” and the “caring” approaches, the assumption of the “caring” approach and tendency of still being embraced more in India has been stated (Kumar et al, 2001: 19). It has been an assumption argued as reasonable due to the country’s heritage of commerce and culture (Balasubramanian et al, 2005: 90).

Balasubramanian et al (2005) stress that while CSR in India has emerged as a management approach, along with CSR reporting, there is not much done practically (Balasubramanian et al, 2005: 81). Although, even if the importance of CSR in countries such as India has increased, the priority has not followed the same pace, which depend on two main reasons; firstly that CSR is not included in the development agenda and secondly that the activities so far as have been merely philanthropy oriented (Hopkins, 2007: 174).

This section has set out India’s traditional view of the concept of corporate social responsibility; where a charity-giving approach is emphasized and CSR become equalized with philanthropy. The thoughts of many Indians have been permeated by the notion that the society is an important place where giving should be optimal as a behaviour. Although, there are views pointing out the huge experience of financial growth of the country in relation to a weak commitment of taking on responsibilities of businesses, also
the question of developmental challenges is made. After seeing the stately existence of family businesses and need of environmental work in the country of India, serving merely as two examples from a range of aspects, also the carpet industry is to be found in the sphere of corporate social responsibility.
6. Findings

The results from the empirical study in form of the interviews performed in the field in the area of Bhadohi will be presented in this chapter. The findings are based on the first research question mentioned in the chapter *Topic and Problem formulation*.

First, I will present the two export carpet houses and their adoption of CSR principles and to make it more clear the principles will be presented separately as the findings from the interviews at respective export house are presented in parallel. In combination, the workers and weavers view and knowledge on the workplace and responsibilities at each export house will be offered. Four headlines with subsections are composing the UN Global Compact’s principles on CSR. The theme of human rights consists of principle one and two; the theme of labour, principle three, four, five six; the theme of environment, principle seven, eight and nine; and the theme of corruption consist of principle ten. The principles found at the export houses are those which are presented.

6.1 The Human Rights Principles

The first and the second principle of the UN Global Compact follows: “*Businesses should support and respect the protection of internationally proclaimed human rights*” and “*Businesses should make sure they are not complicit in human rights abuses*”. Here, the Global Compact mainly describes a corporation’s or company’s integration of human rights in their daily activities through supporting and respecting the workers’ working conditions, stretching from the workplace to the community where they are operating (UN Global Compact, 2006c).

6.1.1 The Factories Act 1948 and subcontracting

Neither company X nor Y has any established monitoring system or setup to make sure all aspects of human rights, found in the UN Global Compacts, are followed in forms of international standards or similar certificates. The law applicable to the export houses on the national level is the Factories Act 1948 (The Office of the Labour Commissioner, 2011) established in the Indian Constitution which is a labour law that covers all types of factories and industries operating in India. Overseen by this law are, among the many
areas; fields of licence, registration, safety-, welfare- and health proceeding, inclusion of women in the work force, rights and duties of employers. This act was not spoken out by the two owners.

Export house X does not have any relation to the government in any aspects mainly because of that the owner claim the government being an institution merely “playing games” (Interview, X1). In contrast, export house Y reveal their cooperation with the government when giving examples on meetings, e.g. with the dying units and governmental bodies and the occurrence of the government’s factory checking which is made once a year.

6.1.2 Work hours
The workers working at both export houses’ factories with the finishing processes of the carpets, revealed they are working basically 8-9 hours, 6-7 days every week. One interviewee told about a worker who usually works 12-14 hours a week 7 days every week (Interview, X2). At export house X it was told that one hour around noon was lunch time and at export house Y two smaller breaks during the day was scheduled, which one worker though was enough (Interview, Y2). The weavers in the villages work according to the order of the carpet and consider merely the closing date of the carpets’ before starting its transport to the buyers. It was explained by the weavers working for export house X that their work hours were 6-9 hours per day, 6 days every week. In contrast, at export house Y the weavers weave hours as many hours they prefer 7 days a week. Depending on the contractor or whether weaving is performed in a household, the number of breaks differs, either there is one lunch break or as at export house Y’s weavers who eat three meals a day during work hours.

After interviewing the contractor at a loom house working for export house X, he revealed that the workers cook lunch together, which is included in the salary (Interview, XW7). A weaver at export house X stated “I work minimum 12 hours a day and maximum 14-15 hours, it depends on the order and it is up to me if I want to be free from work or work overtime” (Interview, XW8). A former member of the administrative committee of the Carpet Export Promotion Council stated “..the bargaining processes within this industry is based on the price of a certain length of a carpet, not the hours it took to weave it” (Interview, Avinash Chandra Baranwal).
6.1.3 Work environment

No worker or weaver had any objections or concerns against the working conditions regarding environment or possible affects. The worker in charge of latex department at export house Y told he never wears the gloves or masks which are available because he stresses that his job does not affect his health in any aspect (Interview, Y2). Though, two interviewees said they become very tired everyday because of the work (Interview, Y3,Y4), meaning that the work is making them tired, though not specifically what may have caused the tiredness. There are neither no dissatisfactions concerning the factories in the export houses or the equipment. It was told that possible future technical problems with the looms, facility indications or problem with the quality of the wool the contractor of the looms are contacted and the issues will be dealt with by him. The contractor working with export house Y stress that the gun used when performing tufting technique of carpets has become lighter for the tufters to carry (Interview, C2).

Indian Institute of Carpet Technology has developed technologies available for export houses and companies to adopt in order to improve the physical working conditions for the weavers, such as sitting positions, chemicals etc. After visiting the institute and being introduced to several technologies for carpet weaving Mr. K.K. Goswami narrated “The problem is that any technology must be invested in by the company but the problem is that most companies are not strong enough financially to invest in this and chose not to use the available techniques.” Further, the Director told that this has not only to do with the demand requested from the shops and boutiques abroad but also the employer’s.

6.1.4 Wages

When discussing wages, the overall expression from the workers was that the salary of a worker of finishing, cutting or washing carpets is low and not enough in order to sustain their families. Many workers told on the necessity to complement their low salary with agricultural production in their households. Half of the weavers interviewed revealed possessing family inherited land. The owner of export house X revealed his estimation on that at least 90 % of his workers maintaining their own land or farm for food production, “these workers have no problem with food, it is just that they want to live a more luxurious life” (Interview, X1). The satisfaction narrated from the weavers, working for both export houses, was over the gained opportunity of employment and salary, though,
no one was completely satisfied with the amount of salary for the sake of sustaining their families’ livelihood. The salary of the workers and weavers are narrated low and not high enough to sustain their families’ livelihood. It was conveyed that for generations’, families who have owned land have cultivated it for production of food and weavers conveyed 30 percent or more of the amount of food consumption is saved. One weaver told “I have food for sixth month, the other six month I have to purchase food” (Interview, YW13).

The workers and weavers at the export houses earn around Rs 125 to Rs 200 depending on how much work is performed according to the orders. Also the style of weaving affect the salary of the weavers (Faridi and Fazil 2008: 10) and one weaver told that Tibetan carpets have a lower demand, hence, leading to a lower wage (Interview with XW6). It also was noticeable that the wages are paid independently on the age of the workers or weavers, what matters were simply the skills and the fastest time frame of conducting the work.

The wage issue within the carpet industry in India is highly dependent on the government and the exporters at the international market, prices on this type of handicraft production appeal in the international market when reasonable prices are decided upon. After interviewing Avinash Chandra Baranwal and discussing the wages of workers and weavers within the carpet industry he stressed “the problem is that there is no proper value of the products of the carpets” (Interview with former member of the administrative committee of the Carpet Export Promotion Council Avinash Chandra Baranwal).

The weavers at the export houses have worked from five to 25 year within the industry. It was narrated that their salary has depended on the international market and throughout the years no major changes in the amount of salary was revealed. It was told that occasionally, the weavers have experienced set-backs emerging from the international market, resulting in difficulties in receiving a decent wage.

Except the income, there are examples of weavers being able to take loans from personal bankers to purchase food and other basic needs or for holding the responsibility of paying back a family member’s loan. Independent on the rate of interests they get hold on, the weavers said that they satisfied because of the escape from filling in any documentation which is replaced and performed by persons possessing the knowledge of banking transaction from/in the village. In addition, it was narrated from the interviews that the weavers prefer to take loan from their contractor and asks for money in advance.
A weaver exemplified one preferring option “in case of medical emergencies I would go ask to take money I advance from my contractor” (Interview, XW6). It was also portrayed by a weaver that his wife and other women in his village save money in a group, around Rs 50 per month. The women have saved money to purchase a fertilizer. This means that the salary of the weavers give them the opportunity to take loans due to an increase in capital base. Investments and savings can be made.

6.1.5 Insurances

All workers who were approached on the issues of sick leave at export house Y told on eventual situations of sicknesses and available manpower and vehicles if urgently needed. Disregard this, export house X does not provide with any favours in return or payment when a worker is ill when given that it would be required to stay at home. There are no insurances directly to the workers at the factories, with the exception at the both export houses where retirement insurance is available and financial support is distributed. Also, the owner of export house Y told that there are no health insurances for the workers, the only insurance forthcoming is a life insurance of workers the factory. One worker pointed out “Persons get medical care, insurances and sick leaves only at governments’ work places” (Interview with Y2). Another worker stated “For a company to have responsibility is not possible in this context” (Interview with Y3).

For the weavers under the contractor connected to export house Y, if any weaver will be hit by sickness, the contractor will take him or her to hospital. The weavers weaving for export house X tells that the export house facilitate them in any issue that are related to sick leave, transport issues, medicine, money issues and there is access to a doctor working for the Care & Fair school near and ready to hand. Additionally, merely some of the weavers at the export houses expressed the importance of the employment by not only counting the salary but also features of guiding, training and facilities needed provided by the contractor at the looms.

After the interview with the owner at export house Y, it was revealed that weavers do not weave for the same contractor during the weeks but this is shifting frequently, and as a consequence the health conditions of the weavers are hard to observe, and often if a weaver gets sick there is a high probability that the contractor does not care and find another weaver instead of replacing.
In the issue of insurance, a government’s job guarantee scheme was revealed by the owner of export house Y. The job guarantee group target is people living in the rural areas, where one hundred days of wage-employment during a financial year is offered (Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005). No one of the two owners referred this scheme to their workers or weavers. Also, when interviewing a weaver in the outside of Bhadohi, a “weaver’s card” was narrated as an insurance for weavers in the particular region. Neither was this card revealed as relating to the weavers of the two export houses.

6.1.6 Informative meetings
From the interviews, depending on which work tasks the workers held, spawn the path for the workers to attend a meeting at work. Meetings occur between the design, finance and production department in association with the owner. Further, the workers revealed that the ones working at the finishing and packing department are not called to attend any type of official meetings, instead as long as the department of the specific workers mentioned is concerned; the workers are able to attend. Workers at export house Y conveyed that there were occasional group meetings where discussion on how to perform the work in a good way as well as the cleaning of the workplace were brought up.

For the weavers at the looms there are no meetings for participation, the only meeting type would be when the contractor give instructions on the work they are about to perform. One weaver stressed “meetings are not for our level” (Interview, XW2). Weavers also narrated that meeting may take place where they participate and discuss colour matches, design and the more suitable style of weaving should be applied. The owner of export house X stated “This company has a sense of freedom in the atmosphere... everyone working here are relaxed” (Interview, X1).

6.1.7 Festivals and ceremonial functions
The theme of human rights of UN Global Compact suggests alternative ways businesses can support and promote human rights in their daily activities; among them is strategic social investment and philanthropy. Examples of what the export houses are doing in their daily activities will be presented.

Weavers working for the carpets production of export house X told on arranged festivals (such as Divali) and other holidays and ceremonies arranged by the contractor
and their occurrence of once every second week and that the attendance depend on the religion and cast of the weavers. For Hindus, the prayer so-called puja is performed by gathered workers; as well Muslims who celebrate the festival called Eid. The workers and weavers also narrated that the export houses and/or their contractors organize functions where they receive sweets which can be sacrificed during the prayer (puja) and also that the workers or weavers themselves organize something similar when needed or necessary.

Statements on women’ and children’s’ impossibility to participate in the functions since women are not allowed to leave their villages was stated by the owner of export house X and a weaver weaving for export house Y (Interview with XW8, X1). Also it was conveyed from all interviewees that it is starkly too far for women and children walk the roads to the export houses’ location and the villages in the area of Bhadohi reach several ten kilometres away.

It was also narrated from the weavers working at export house Y with origin from Orissa and Calcutta that they do not participate in the functions organized during festivals since they usually prioritize to travel to their home states and celebrate major festivals or ceremonies with their families, only occasionally do they chose to stay in Bhadohi. That the weavers have the possibility to participate in functions implies that there is a reasonable accommodation for their religious observance and practice as well as a social network created among them.

6.1.8 Charity and donation

Export house Y is not a member of the initiative Care & Fair because of its already membership and certificate of the organization GoodWeave. The owner of the export house Y revealed the occurrence of donations, made in priority to people that he specifically knows.

On the contrary export house X supported a charity school that was established by Care & Fair fifteen years ago. The owner told “Because of bad times in Europe from an economical viewpoint, there was a lack of sponsors” (Interview, X1). As a consequence, since the exporters’ houses stand for a certain percentage of the price of the carpets, the school experienced financial loss and difficulties to continue being run, resulting in the export house’s take over.

After interviewing weavers who are connected to the former Care & Fair, and now a charity school run by export house X, the importance of the initiative is reported as major
since it was stated that the children’s attendance in school also affected the weaving parents through increased curiosity and desired to learn from what the children learnt. Also the school organizes parents meetings where the school’s organization and the students’ schooling are discussed; which children are weakest and why, they discuss the importance of giving their children food in order to maintain the power to study or learn. A weaver explained “Once every month the school has a parents meeting and sometimes also my wife is joining me” (Interview, XW6).

6.1.9 Accommodation and other facilities
The interviewed weavers either lived in the surrounding villages of Bhadohi or were stationed at the contractor’s loom house. Weavers weaving for export house X mainly spent most of the hours of the day in the house of the loom holder where they are provided with accommodation and other facilities needed such as proper water and sanitation as well as electricity. No weaver had any opinions on their living standards at the contractor and most of them expressed gratitude towards the fact that they could stay that close to their work. The provision of accommodation means that the weavers physically possess a livelihood in Bhadohi that meet with the basic needs of infrastructure informs of shelter and water etc.

Weavers weaving for export house Y revealed in their interviews that they live in their own homes in forms of clay houses. Nearly one-third of these weavers revealed that after 15-20 years work experience of carpet weaving loans have been taken in order to build brick houses or to invest in other facilities in their homes such as water supply systems and renovation of their houses. The other two-thirds did not narrate on any improvements of their houses or other facilities.

6.2 Labour Principles

6.2.1 Trade unions
The importance of dialogue between managers and workers is here on the agenda. The UN Global Compact does not state any obligation towards companies for suggesting workers to join freedom associations or encourage collective bargain. Solitarily, workers had heard the word trade union and its meaning before. The owner at export house Y told that trade unions are not present in the area of Bhadohi and “any second or third man is
not needed for negotiating, the staff comes directly to me” (Interview with Y1). None of the weavers connected to the two export houses had heard the names of trade unions. The contractor of one loom place knew about the term and told on the lack of information on trade unions because of their own lack of advertise themselves and their existence. Mr. Rajanikant stressed “Trade unions are much associated with political parties and by that people avoid joining them” he further revealed that any fabrics or industries, such as silk weaving, carpet weaving or any handicraft, in the unorganized sector need to have effective trade unions.

After interviewing the Director of General Inspection Unit at the organization GoodWeave in Varanasi he told that trade unions’ non-existence depend on the high level of corruption as being an obstacle for letting workers and weavers involve in the associations, “maybe there are few good people who wants to go but they are restricted” (Interview, Mathew John). The contractor working for export house Y narrated that it is hard to see the importance of trade unions for weavers within the carpet industry mainly because of that they often change contractor.

6.2.2 Forced Labour
The fourth principle follows: “Businesses should uphold the elimination of all forms of forced and compulsory labour”. This principle covers among other things the possibilities of workers to give notice to leave the work due to agreements. From the interviews with the workers and weavers connected to both export houses, there are no contracts stating the minimum number of days of revealing notice to leave the work. It was commonly stated that one could leave the work at least one day before and the owner or contractor would not have any problem in finding new employees for replacement. This is also the case for the weavers since as they all narrated the possibility to leave the contractor one day in advance. This implies that physically and from a health point of view, the weavers are not bound but can walk without outbreaks.

Also, the fourth principle emphasizes the importance of development of skills and human resources. Following, both the workers and weavers are inflexible in the sense that they are tied to the same work tasks they were introduced to at the export house and do not have the possibility to advance or change their work tasks. The same situation was revealed by the workers and weavers at both export houses. Solely one exception was a weaver who has advanced in work task, advancing from finishing process and after the
promotion started to work with mapping and colour setting (Interview, YW15). From the interviews merely one stated he had had the opportunity to advance in work task.

6.2.3 Child Labour - “children’s nimble fingers”

The fifth principle contains the statement “Businesses should uphold the effective abolition of child labour”. Both export houses are a member of the organization GoodWeave which distributes child labour free certificate labels within the carpet industry not only in India but also in Nepal and other surrounding countries, where rugs are not made by children. This lead to a bigger understanding for the weavers on the issue of child labour and the knowledge on the importance of combating child labour is given.

The owner of export house X said that child labour is not as common as it was twenty years ago and that it is not easy to force anyone today, “if finding any child at a loom, those looms would certainly be located in the very remote villages” (Interview, X1). The organization’s contract with the carpet export houses consist of agreements on employment of workers above 14 years old; acceptance of unannounced inspections and a paid licence fee for the work of the organization (Interview, Mathew John). In addition, export house X is supporting a school which have been founded and built from the initiative of the organization Care & Fair (Interview, X1), an organization which is striving to improve the situation for the weavers and their families mainly in the carpet industry in India, Nepal and Pakistan. This gives the children of some of the weavers easier access to transport oneself to school as the roads are proper and as well as the general infrastructure. It was revealed that one-third of the weavers were illiterate. That some of their children go to the charity school mean that also the parents are face with the world of education and learn from their children.

The owner of export house Y simply stated that his export house is a member of the certificating organization, though, there were no major concerns or further thoughts on the issue, nor on established contact with government officials in this matter. In contrast, the owner of the export house X brought up the importance of education for the children of the weavers, meaning that it affects the parents in a positive way. “For the people in the lead of the carpet industry the name of the brand is very much of importance and around 95 % of all exporters are more interested in doing business than counteracting child labour” (Interview, Mathew John).
6.2.4 Discrimination

Principle six of the UN Global Compact brings up the issue of discrimination and that employees should not be treated differently when being employed; “Businesses should uphold the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation”. When asking the owners of the export houses on women in the work force it was expressed that women are found working, though, more often in their homes working on carpets. Neither export house X nor Y did include any women in their work force at the factories of finishing processes. Occasionally, when interviewing weavers at the looms connected to export house X, they were accompanied with their wives, who were also weaving on the carpets. One women sat next to her husband and narrated “I only meet other women here at the looms, we usually sit together and gossip” (Interview XW5).

Workers and weavers general standpoint on the inclusion of women in the work force was divided as statements run “It is not suitable for women to work here since there are men in the factory” (Interview, Y3) and “women can be included in the workforce because they can also contribute to the self-sustainability of their families” (Interview, YW9).

From the interview with the General Secretary of Human Welfare Association in Sarnath it was revealed: “More and more organizations focus on helping young girls and women basically because unlike boys and men they are not able are able to leave their villages because of the culture and norms in society” he continues “Women are more visible in media nowadays and the government has established programmes for women to learn how to ride a bicycle” (Interview, Mr. Rajanikant). On the other hand, from a closed conversation with a man with insight in the carpet industry it was told that it is highly uncertain for a company to hire a woman mainly because of future marriage and housewife work, hence, making it impossible for women to work as an employee elsewhere.

6.3 Environmental Principles

The seventh principle of the UN Global Compact says “…precautionary approach towards environmental challenges” and the eighth comply “undertake initiatives to promote greater environmental responsibility” while the ninth brings up “…encourage the development and diffusion of environmentally friendly techniques”.
Export house Y is certificated by ISO14000, a certification which addresses different aspects of environmental management. When holding this certificate an organization is expected to minimizing harmful effects on the environment caused by its activities and strive to achieve continual improvements of its environmental performance (ISO, 2012). The second Export house X did not have any certificate covering the environmental aspects of its operation.

6.3.1 The work place of the factories and looms
Both workers at the factories and the weavers at the looms in the villages had little or nothing to reveal when discussing the environmental aspects within the export house regime and the work in general. Some of the workers at export house A told about precautionary methods used to decrease any damages environmentally but also to prevent affects on the workers health. This is backed up but the statement of a worker which follow “The waste products coming from the huge amount of threads is dangerous to inhale, therefore there is a vacuum cleaner firsthand and as a last step it is burnt” (Interview, X4). In contrast, the workers in the factory at export house Y did not reveal any environmental awareness at all. From the interviews conducted in the villages with the weavers weaving for the two export houses, no awareness of the environmental aspects or the measures or methods use in the production processes at the looms or at the factories were narrated.

6.3.2 Health aspects
Concerning the health impacts on the workers from the inside manufacturing units, no workers did discuss this to a larger extent and there were no dissatisfaction or complaints on how the facilities or work methods might affect the workers and their health. A few workers at export house Y stated that they were very tired because of the work, though without elaboration on specifically reasons behind the tiredness. As mentioned earlier, a worker at the factory at export house Y told he usually never wears the gloves or mask which are available because he stresses his job does not affect his health in any aspect (Interview with Y2). This means that the workers do not have enough knowledge on the usage of the equipment and health preventive items. When visiting the factories one observation where several workers working and walking between the carpets lying spaced on the ground were coughing, along the sides of the inner court carpets drying of latex on
the back sides where sloping. Also I could feel wind beams streaming through my nose with a rather sharp smell.

6.4 The Anti-corruption Principle

The last mentioned principle in UN Global Compact is discussing corruption and it says “Businesses should work against corruption in all its forms, including extortion and bribery”. In particular, that the poor and marginalized are vulnerable to corruption where power is misused are mentioned (UN Global Compact, 2006f).

From interviews with the owners of the two export houses, it was revealed that corruption is something they meet in their everyday life when working in this industry. Mainly, they told corruption is the most obvious when meeting other exporters but also the government’s officials from labour departments. Due to that the government is as much corrupt as it is; paid bribes are not unusual for an export house owner in the area of Bhadohi. The owner of export house Y stated “You cannot survive without paying”, he continued: “There is no future for companies which refuse to do as the government says” (Interview, Y1). At one occasion, there was a major hassle at export house X and as a result the owner decided not to involve the police since they are that corrupt. The owner was unwilling to narrate the whole story of what happened.

From one of my own observation in the field, corruption was detected after an interview I conducted. To make a long history short, the observation and experience support the issue on corruption since the power of the exporters was misused by involving in business aside from the export houses regime. A weaver was put in a situation where additional income was made and for him, surely, seen as a huge valuable opportunity. I was later told that the weaver in question could risk losing his job if anyone at the export house found out that I got the information on the business made at the properties of the contractor but with another export house than the one the weaver was weaving for. Therefore, I was told that this happening was never heard about by the interpretator.

6.5 Summary

In this section, I will summarize the findings on social responsibility in the carpet industry and the answer the first research question concerning the corporate social responsibility principles applied at the two export houses.
The owner of export house Y narrated on gained experience on customers’ non-interest in receiving increased cost of the production of the carpets. He further revealed that when following any international standards that are socially oriented, the obligation to look after the workers in both a direct and indirect way is obvious. He further told “My company mainly exports to the United States, where they are not concerned whether exporters or manufacturers have any certificates” (Interview, Y1). This narrating shows a lack of responsibility that is motivated by the survival of the export house no matter what consequences might follow for the workers involved. The owner of export house X told that it is worth fighting to the very last in order not to lose one’s job. He further revealed the absence of security in forms of social systems and insurances in India. Exemplified by the owner was the unsecure international market and possible devastating affects. Also this owner stressed that any effort to implement a certificate of social character into a business within the carpet industry would merely add on to the overall costs where a decrease in sale with negative effects on workers employment would appear. Important to reveal here, is the dictum from a conversation with a person with knowledge and insight in the industry, where it was revealed that international standards are easily “bought”. Any monitoring systems of human right were not present at the two export houses. So, the essential finding is that there is no CSR present at the export houses agenda, even though this was well written on their webpages. Even if there is no written agreement or certificate that prove the export houses CSR efforts, there are actions and a way of working that is affecting the weavers.

Table 3: The Aggregative of Findings from the Interviews with Respective Export House and their Workers and Weavers (Source: Emma Johansson)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UN Global Compact’s Principles</th>
<th>Export House X</th>
<th>Workers/Weavers</th>
<th>Export House Y</th>
<th>Workers/Weavers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principle 1</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principle 2</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principle 3</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principle 4</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principle 5</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principle 6</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principle 7</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principle 8</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principle 9</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principle 10</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the findings, it was discovered that both export houses tend to some of the principles and some not. Both export houses did not have any type of monitoring system or statement of policy regarding human rights and since the Global Compact stresses the need to assess human rights impacts in this way. By that, the two export houses are not fully applying the first two principles on human rights. The principle on forced labour is a principle that the export houses are applying to some extent regarding the notice to leave among the workers and weavers. Also, principle five is followed, though; to a large extent since both export houses possess certifications against child labour, where monitoring and inspections are included. Women are accepted to work at one of the export houses’ contractor, showing that principle six on elimination of discrimination is applied to a little extent. One of the environmental principles are applied to a little/smaller extent as environmental technologies were revealed.

Principle three on freedom of association and collective bargaining is not followed by the two export houses. Principle seven and eight on environmental issues are not applied by the export houses. Anti-corruption is a theme that is not applied by the daily activities by the export houses, or as an integral part of any statement of policy. One major negative aspect that matters have been seen as the anti-corruption principle is hard to apply. The reason why it is not followed may be explained by corrupt leaders and also a behaviour that is deep into the roots of the Indian people. Andersson (2012) stresses that politicians in India are doing as little possible, even that less that the commercial and industrial life demands a bigger political intervention to build the society, the lack of political desires are reinforced by the ineffective government and money are leaking out in fluidly. The Indian Prime Minister during the 1980s, Rajiv Gandhi said “from Rs 100 distributed from the government, merely Rs 15 reach the receiver” (Andersson, 2012). That corruption seems hard to counteract after all in the Indian society, makes one to question the relationship between the owners of the export houses and the government’s inspections unit as well as between the export houses and the contractors.

The national labour law the Factories Act and its government’s inspection were not spoken of by the owners or workers at the factories. This is an aspect also brought up by the Global Compact, that the country and local context of business operation must be considered. There were no contradictions between the interview answers of the owners and the workers and weavers on the questions concerning each principle. Though, worth pointing out here is that the workers and weavers showed a tendency on lacking
knowledge and insights on the types of economic, environmental and social responsibilities.

The prioritizing made by the export houses depend differently on their buyers and consumers in the lead. Therefore, what is demanded from the import countries matters in the business strategies on responsibilities of the exporting houses, and consequently what is not demanded is left out.

However, to achieve an adoption of CSR principles by the export house will in lead affect the weavers’ access to assets. What it takes to achieve the adoption of CSR principles is to experience economic development along with improvement of quality of life for the workforce, their families and the societies at large where operating. Even though, the export houses did not follow any international standards or certificates covering all themes of the UN Global Compact, possible shifts in capital for the weavers will be analyzed based on their occupation as carpet weavers. How the weavers have been affected will be analyzed in the next chapter.
7. Analysis

In this chapter, the weavers’ socio-economic situation will be presented through the five different capital assets based on the analytical framework “Sustainable Livelihood Framework”. From the findings of the previous chapter, the answering of the last research question will be made. How the export houses’ policies and actions affect the weavers and their livelihood through analyzing the shift in capital will be presented. The extent to which the principles are followed is hard to confirm since there are no monitoring systems for CSR. The work of the weavers affects them and what have been found is analyzed. The aim of this chapter is to explain why the weavers are affected, or not affected, by the policies and actions found at their work place and its causes.

7.1 Who are the weavers?

Due to that a lot of weavers interviews are migrating from the carpet industry and contribute to a shortage of labour, a movement on the labour market of the industry is discovered and reasoning can be made in this particular study and the two export houses. Since one of the export houses showed a tendency to receive the handmade carpets from contractors employing weavers with a different origin that does not relate to the area of Bhadohi.

Weavers migrating to Bhadohi and the carpet industry from states like Orissa, Behar and Calcutta indicate that the salaries that are paid, may be low for the industry, though, for these weavers coming from other states the employment opportunity and the salary may be satisfied enough compared to their experiences and opportunities in their home states. A study made on combating child labour in the area of Bhadohi in 1988, conveyed migrating children from the state Behar, one of the poorest states in India, constituted a large amount of the child labour within the industry (Kanbargi, 1988: 97). Also it has been detected across Asia, that the majority of workers in supply chains are migrants from rural areas. As this situation varies depending on industry and country, there are several core issues that are comparable (Welford and Frost, 2006: 172).

The weavers are in the next sections divided into weavers with origin other than Bhadohi and weavers originating from Bhadohi. This is an important distinction since the differences between these two categories of weavers can be more clearly separated from
the interview answers, leading to different conclusions and/or understandings of any conditions of the weavers depending on which export house working for.

How the weavers’ access to capital have been affected by the export houses’ application of CSR principles in their daily activities will analyzed in the next section. I will summarize and present the CSR principles that are applied by the export houses through portraying the pentagon of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. I will also present which principles that were not applied and discuss the reasons why.

The interviewees were generally male, although sometimes the men’s wives accompanied their husbands and were also weaving next to him. The wives were not considered an employee and served more as a “helper” to their husbands. From the interviews, it was also revealed that most of the men migrating from other states within India were young, between 17-30 years old. At the other export house the average age of the weavers were 36 years old.

7.2 Weavers with origin other than from Bhadohi

7.2.1 Natural capital
The fact that the weavers are tying thousands of knots daily and receive a salary depending on the metres weaved of carpets have not lead to any termination of cultivating their pieces of land for food production. The maintenance of agricultural food production may be explained by that the salary is not enough to actually exclude it. Since it was revealed that this has been made for the same pace for generations by all interviewees, any shift in natural capital for these weavers have not been made.

7.2.2 Physical capital
The physical capital for these weavers can in one aspect be interpreted as having increased since narrated during the interviews that they are provided with sufficient infrastructure at the contractor’s properties in connection to the looms, where they have a sleeping place. Without the opportunity to live at the contractors house would result in a scenario where sleeping outside in the streets. Generally, the shift in physical capital for these weavers has increased and without the agreement and relationship to the contractor, the accommodation would be a major issue and no proper infrastructure would be accessible.
7.2.3 Financial capital
The salary for the weavers was narrated as not having changed during the years of work within the industry. For the weavers not originating from Bhadohi, it was told that most part of their salary is transferred to the families in their home states in forms of monetary remittances. That many of the weavers have been able to take loans in the purpose of investments on weddings highlights the importance of cultural and traditional customs (Interview with Y2, Y3, Y5 and Y6). That these weavers send money remittances and contribute to their family’s household after the many years within the industry show that to settle down for long term commitment in a place where the job opportunities are more obtainable compared to other areas. The financial capital, has contributed to the possibility to take loans and also the income earned to eventually pay off the loan. The financial capital has moved, though not to a large extent since the situation has remained the same for many years. For younger weavers it is a shift more obvious since they did not have a paid job earlier (Interview with Y2, Y3, Y6).

7.2.4 Social capital
That the majority of the weavers working at export house Y do not participate in the functions organized during festivals because of occasional trips prioritized to their home states a couple of times every year, show that a decrease in social capital for these weavers has followed as a consequence. Even if they tend to participate in the functions now and then, they lack the social connectedness with their families and the trips back home are expensive and need to be saved for a longer time period (Interview with Y3 and Y4). Welford and Frost (2006) argue that migrant workers have specific problems with due to lack of family and community networks (Welford and Frost, 2006: 172). Decrease in social capital has been experienced regarding the family aspect of the weavers as the employment has made constrained their opportunities to form connectedness with their families. The weavers connected to export house Y has merely one social connectedness in their everyday life in Bhadohi, namely the ceremonies every second week at the contractors house, but instead they prefer to work during these occasions to earn more money to save. The movement of social capitals for these weavers has not improved but worsens in their situation as carpet weavers.
7.2.5 Human capital

The human capital for these weavers is maintained the same since the level of education is low among the weavers, who have not been learnt from the export house. The training process to become a weaver can easily be provided by friends or family members. That neither the contractors nor the export houses provide with any type of training or knowledge contribution concerning the work or work places, implies that the weavers are being employed merely due after their know-how in weaving and handling of the equipment at the loom. Education on preventative medical services and similar is not taken into consideration at all or been learnt out as revealed by all interview weavers at export house Y. The access to protective equipment indicates that there are possible damages that can be exposed for the workers. The low knowledge on negative affects from the modes of operation combined with lack of instruction on the usage of the equipment, has led the weavers to a situation where their health is at risk. To perform security routines in favour of the employees of a work place is an important part of corporations’ and companies’ responsibility. Even if local laws and regulations are followed, workers may face risk of acting wrong, ending up in a dangerous situation and the like, which can, as a consequence lead to severe damages or even death (Grankvist, 2009: 100).

When it comes to the child labour issue, export house Y is a member of the certifying organization. GoodWeave is monitoring the carpet looms unannounced in the villages in order to detect child labour and in worst case scenario remove the children from the looms and later provide them with rehabilitation and education. The weavers at the looms are experiencing an increase in human capital since their work performance is controlled regularly by a reason. The reason is that the weavers are getting knowledge on the issue and learn on preventive measures and the importance of children’s rights.

That the weavers are able to give notice within such a short timeframe, is physically and from a health point of view indicating that they are not bound to the work. Instead they are able to walk from work one day after the notice is given, without and any breakouts or protests, which was narrated during the interviews by all weavers.
From the findings and the pentagon it is seen that the export house Y is applying the Global Compact’s **principle five** on child labour with its certification at the organization GoodWeave. This affects the weavers in the sense that their looms are randomly inspected.

At the place of the contractor working for export house Y the weavers are provided with accommodation and other facilities which indicate that the contractor is supporting the theme of human rights and **principle one** of the Global Compact, in form of the provision of accommodation. Ceremonies and festivals are organized by the contractor at his properties and since the weavers are not directly employed by the export houses, the contractor is the one distributing the salaries, these also applies to **principle one** of Global Compact. The same principle is applied as the contractor is assisting the weavers with transportation to medical services. **Principle four** is also found to be applied by the contractor since the weavers can leave the looms one day before the decision on giving notice to leave is made and are not bound in any way to continue the work tasks. This shows the flexibility of the subcontracting system as it fast has to meet requests and demand, and for example in situations where replacements at one weaver with another. Notice to leave work support principle four through good health and physical capability.
7.3 Weavers with origin from Bhadohi

7.3.1 Natural capital
Similar to the weavers not coming originally from Bhadohi, all these weavers’ salary have not resulted in termination or decrease in of cultivating their land, which was revealed during the interviews. Also here, the maintenance of agricultural food production may be explained by that the salary is not enough to actually exclude it. The weavers told that for generations, the same pace of cultivating has been made and any major shifts or movement in natural capital for these weavers have not been made.

7.3.2 Physical capital
The weavers weaving for export house X said in the interviews that they live in clay houses and during their basically twenty years experience of the occupation as weavers in Bhadohi near one-third of them have experienced an increase in physical capital because of the financial capital in forms of both money and loan (Interview with X3). The other two thirds have not experienced any increase in physical capital regarding improvements
of infrastructure such as secure shelter/building, water and electricity supplies (Interview with X2 and X5).

Export house X support of weavers’ children’s schooling do not fully take into consideration the issue of location and readiness of access to the school since it is out of reach to most of the weavers and their homes. The physical capital in form of infrastructure, therefore, is not fully supported and the children may not be able to walk the distance to the school even if they have the possibility to participate in the schooling and the school activities. The shift in physical capital can furthermore be considered as changed to a certain extent in the increasing direction since weavers increasingly are taking loans in order to invest in their houses and that some of the weavers children easily can take themselves to the school (this will be elaborated more deeply under Human capital) (Interview with X3, X4 and X5).

7.3.3 Financial capital
Similar to the weavers with no connection to Bhadohi, the financial capital of all the weavers with origin from Bhadohi have not changed to a larger extent in order to experience a shift. The salary of the weavers has basically remained the same as narrated from the interviews.

That the weavers have taken loans from the contractor of the weavers show that the relationship between the weaver and his contractor can be evaluated as long term. To take a loan from the contractor indicates that a long term commitment is made to the loom house of the contractor. The weavers’ intention may be the realizing of the possibility to continuously work for the contractor and thereby minimize the risk of losing the employment. So, the financial capital can be seen as having moved in an increased direction.

7.3.4 Social capital
Other than participating in the ceremonies and festivals organized at the export houses and contractor, the weavers weaving for export house X are affected by export house X’s work and support of a charity school in the countryside of Bhadohi. This has lead to the building of a formalised group through the organization of parents meeting and the social claim of the formal parents’ meetings group indicates a development of dedication of the importance of children’s education (Interview with X3, X4 and X5). That also the wives
of the weavers are participating at the meetings and are being a part of the groupings show that despite challenges to counteract the social norms on women and their role as attached to the household, this is deal with at the community level in the villages where the weavers live.

The social capital has increased during the last year after their children’s offset in the charity school. The women and children of the weavers have also experienced an increase in social capital since there were no activities before like the ones of parents meeting or school attendance. That some of the weavers’ wives have established a personal savings system shows an initiative that indicates that the women have become responsible for the money in the household to a larger extent (Interview with X2 and X3). Women in India have been neglected their rights to property, and social injustices and customs relating to Indian women were intended to change after the independence in the new India (French, 2011: 338). Women living in the rural villages in the outside of Bhadohi show their role have changed. This also shows that the social capital for the weavers and their families has increased. In addition, that some of the weavers’ wives are allowed to help their husbands at the carpet looms. The contractor’s work ethic indicates his positive attitude towards inclusion of women in the work force disregarding the fact that men and women were mixed at the same place and time. With this, the women experience increase in human capital as well since they get training and improvements of skills. Still, they are not employed, merely helping their husbands.

Another social resource that is found after studying the weavers and their families connected to export house X is the fact that some husbands’ wives are working next to them, which make the loom place constitute as a form of formal group as one woman stated.

7.3.5 Human capital
These weavers have got their training in weaving carpets individually from either other export houses than the one they currently work at, or from friends and family members. Training in preventative medical services and similar, are not taken into consideration at all.

Other than being a member of GoodWeave, where weavers are inspected not allowing children to work at the looms, human capital has gradually become to move in an increased direction for these weavers since the weavers get knowledge on the
importance and ways of combating child labour. The weavers’ families are finding a curious feature at themselves and are cumulatively seeing the importance of the children’s education, which in addition give rise to new and important knowledge learnt from the children.

Because of the charity school run by the export house X some of the weaver’s families in the villages of the surrounding of Bhadohi have gained an increase in human capital in the form of education and physical capital in the form of easier available roads to school (Interview with X4 and X5). Though, for families living too far away from the school these capitals have not moved in any direction in this aspect (Interview with X2 and X3).

Export house X’s support of a school previously driven by the Care & Fair organization does not mean they are monitoring working places in order to detect working children, instead their voluntary programs may have affected carpet exporters to unmotivated the subcontracted weavers to include children in the work force (Seidman, 2007: 95).

In an indirect way the value of education is increasing through supporting and promoting education and by serving as an opportunity maker when assisting to invest in education. The school is a former Care & Fair school, where education to the children of the weavers are offered and in a counteracting approach aims to reduce the risk of child labour. Here, the general education of the children of the weavers’ families’ is considered. Grankvist argues that the investing in children’s education is a strategy that are both benefitting a company, its partners as well as it is contributing to the solving of a social problem in the society where operating (Grankvist, 2009: 123).

There are several data bases, such as the Human Development Report and World Bank for just mentioning any, where one easily access numbers and figures on school enrolment of boys and girls in primary and secondary education, spending on schooling, children out of school several among other indicators. However, it is harder to receive an understanding on the extent of the importance of school attendance’s quality or value. Even though the quality of the education at the charity school not necessarily is proper, to give children the opportunity to read and write and hear discussions on employment except the weaver’s of carpets may contribute to the possibility to maintain different perspectives on things. Several authors stress the importance of increased education opportunities in India and point to this service as the most emphasised by corporations’
social responsibility initiatives (Dutta and Durgamohan, 2009: 4.5). In this study, it has been shown that the families of the weavers at export house X have been affected by the fact that their children go to school and that parents meetings are organized as motivation and engagement for participating is revealed.

Human capital also denotes good health. All weavers revealed that they do not have any health insurances by working as weavers. However, weavers weaving for export house X have access to good health support through the medical facilities at the charity school.

Also here, that the weavers are able to give notice within such a short timeframe is physically and from a health point of view indicating that they are not bound to the work. They are able to walk from work one day after the notice is given, without and any breakouts or opposition.

Figure 6: The Shift in Access to Assets for Weavers Weaving for Export House X (Source: Emma Johansson)

What can be discovered from the findings and pentagons is that export house X have applied to Global Compact’s principle number five on child labour through certification of GoodWeave, and the weavers are meeting the inspectors on random occasions. Export house X have additionally embraced the theme of human rights of the Global Compact as principle one is supported through providing education for the children of the weavers. That the charity school and its medical facilities are at hand for the weavers show that principle one is supported by the export house.
Ceremonies and festivals are organized by the contractor and the salaries are paid by the contractor as the weavers are not directly employed to the export houses. These actions are supporting **principle one** of Global Compact. Also at this contractor, the weavers are able to leave work one day in advance which shows that **principle four** is applied. **Principle six** is to a smaller degree followed as women are allowed at the work place of the weavers, though, having in mind here is that they are not directly employed but assisting their husbands. Anyhow, there is a tendency to accepting women inclusion in the work force.

**Figure 7: The Detected Principles Applied at Export House X (Source: Emma Johansson)**

7.4 **Summary**

In this section, I will **answer the second research question** concerning how the weavers are affected in terms of access to assets by the export houses adoption of the CSR principles of Global Compact.

How the weavers’ access to assets is affected by the export houses is explained by the extent the CSR principles are applied into the policies and actions of the export houses. Despite that no monitoring systems or statements of policies are present at the export houses, except certifications on child labour, however the weavers’ access to assets
have shifted and been affected because of their occupation of being carpet weavers. How the shifts in capitals look like depend on the respective export house’ prioritizes and in the way the export house chose to include their weavers as stakeholders within their regime of the carpet production chain.

For carpet weavers who originally come from other states than Bhadohi, features included in the human rights principle have lead to an increased movement of physical and financial capital. Due to the circumstances of being migrant workers other capitals have not improved. The export house has not addressed the situation of the weavers’ families since there are not in the location of Bhadohi. The contractor is offering the weavers time and occasions to interact with the other weavers in relaxed gatherings, but due to the circumstances, the weavers chose to drop this in order to prioritize income possibilities and savings to be able to travel to their home states.

The carpet weavers that are from Bhadohi have experienced an increased movement in physical capital to a certain extent since more and more are being able to invest in rebuilding their homes with improved facilities. What has been a major change in capital is social capital as the families, and especially the women, have been able to increase their social capital. Remarkably, also human capital has increased to a large extent as the weavers’ children and families have gain experience in learning, curiosity, motivation and getting new perspective. The weavers’ contractor is providing social gatherings as the contractor working with export house Y as well. The major distinguished factor to make is that the export house is offering the weavers’ children free schooling.

In summary, we have seen a shift in human capital as having shown most of importance as it either laid as a ground for other capitals to improve, or followed to move as a side effect after other capitals were improved. Though, this was a move in access to capital experienced mainly by weavers weaving for export house X. Weavers weaving carpets for export house Y have experienced the most crucial move in financial capital due to the circumstances of being migrant weavers with origin from other states in India.

Several of the CSR principles and their features of content are not applied, neither by the policies and actions of the export houses nor at the contractors and his properties. Examples of those principles are the environmental principles, the principles of collective bargaining and collective action and at last the anti-corruption principle of the Global Compact. As a consequence, the weavers have not gained human capital and social capital as they possibly could have if the export houses chose to apply the remaining principles.
8. Final Discussion

The fact that there were no contradictions between the answers of the owners and the workers and weavers on the questions concerning each principle, may give a strengthened indication on that the export houses do not follow their economic, environmental and social responsibilities. In addition, in the case where the national labour law the Factories Act and its government’s inspection were not spoken of by the owners or workers at the factories also show that what is found within the four major themes of the Global Compact and its principles are not applied to a large extent. No government’s schemes or programmes for Indian carpet weavers affected the weavers in this study as no weaver revealed any connection to them.

The reason why the principles of the UN Global Compact are not applied can to a large extent be explained by the requests and demands streaming from the buyers of the carpets, along with the consumer using the carpet in the end. It is argued that within different supply chain, CSR agendas can be understood to be regulated to a large extent by the buyers and the consumers purchasing the products. Any lack of pressure streaming from the buyers and consumers directly towards the management of corporations or companies could result in poor investments and improvements for workers in their work performance (Welford, 2010: 312). The awareness of the concept of CSR and its meaning is found at the export houses, though, it can be argued to be a strategic move since voluntary monitoring schemes can be questioned because of employers’ ability to themselves choose how the monitoring should be developed and look like. Based on the needs of the employers, the level of monitoring best suitable will be decided. Voluntary monitoring systems suits for corporations and companies that are committed in improving the workplace of the workforce. It can be argued that for companies that are less ethical, employers are able to comply due to what seems most suitable for them.

The lack of monitoring fundamental rights at the export houses points to an exclusion of broad focus on human rights, labour rights, environmental and corruption issues. The exclusion may to some extent also be explained by media’s tendency to influence on social standards that are included in codes of conducts of corporations or companies, such as child labour. Furthermore, this can be brought to attention since values and codes of conducts regarding fundamental rights and issues by the export houses are not communicated internally, indicating their low value and importance since
it is not observed or experienced in practice. Child labour on the other hand, is communicated external to buyers and consumers.

That the international standards or guidelines are too expensive for the export houses to invest in, especially if the buyers and consumers do not demand it, is a major cause for export houses to chose not to apply CSR principles.

The findings in this study highlights the issue of subcontracting networks since the weavers are shifting contractor frequently if necessary. As a consequence, it is hard to observe the weavers and their conditions and a need for more organized and controlled carpet production chain could be requested. The system of subcontracting is according to Sobezak found in the “new generation of codes of conduct” where public authorities and international organization not solely write these codes but also private actors such as companies and NGOs (Sobezak, 2003: 228). This support the fact that the export houses do not follow any other codes or guidelines than their own, as they are not following the existing national labour laws or international social standards to a larger extent.

The complex subcontracting network of the carpet industry leads one to reflect upon the role of the export houses for the weavers. An increased understanding on the importance of CSR within the carpet industry is discovered. Even though the adoption of CSR principles is divided between export houses and contractors to a certain extent, the occupation of being a carpet weaver may be valued as very important since the work affects the weavers anyhow, no matter if it is directly or indirectly. No insurances are provided by the export houses or the contractors, but the salary and the social network that make up possibilities for vehicles and assistance in cases of emergencies are of a huge advantage in several situations for the weavers. The majority of the people in Bhadohi are found in the carpet industry’s production in one or another way and when distinguishing the weavers from other workers or farmers in the areas, the weavers maintain access to assets that many other do not. As a result of the interviews conducted at export house X, also the importance of education in India has been highlighted.

The objective of this study was to examine how CSR is embraced by the export houses within the Indian carpet industry and whether CSR principles are applied from UN Global Compact. Also how the policies and actions by the export houses have affected the weavers at a socio-economic level was studied. The relationship between business and
society within the context of the carpet industry has been the main focus, along with the relationship between export houses and the weavers in the villages.

The weavers’ answers from the interviews have been analyzed through possible shift or move in access to assets of the weavers. The more the assets or capital are moving away from the zero point in the pentagon, the more access to assets is experience and vice versa. The shifts in assets have been analyzed in relation to the extent the CSR principles of Global Compact are applied by the export houses.

CSR, hence the relationship between business and society within the carpet industry is not strong since merely a few of the principles were applied to a smaller extent. Most of them fell under the human rights theme and a few under the theme of labour rights. These results differed depending on export house. Despite this, the weavers were affected by the actions of the export house, which role was considered as important in the specific context of the carpet industry by seeing that the applied principles had affected the access in assets for weavers and also their families. The findings indicate that the life of the weavers and their families has not changed dramatically. However, the quality of life of the weavers and their families has either increased to a smaller extent or remained the same regarding the access to assets, here depending on the weavers, as either having origin from Bhadohi or having origin from other Indian states, and weaving for export house Y or export house X.

The findings of the study have denoted a lack of functioned monitoring systems and a vagueness on social labels and certificates which has not lead to any determined strategies by the export houses to address the neither the workers’ nor the weavers’ situation as constituting the workforce. There are deficits in how the export houses follow the international CSR agendas and the different tensions observed concerning issues of corporate social responsibility indicate that the industry to a large degree is formed according to the demands of the buyers and consumers. The difference in adoption of principles or commitments to labels and certificates has shown that it is for the exporters to make up their own strategy formed to tempt buyers to start businesses possibly without exactly knowing the background of the labels or their various meanings.

It can be argued that the responsibilities to improve working conditions and the quality of life of workforce should not be an issue left to the market forces but to national governments. But who should be responsible for the weavers where the market force is
unable to monitor regulate a demand for ethical behaviour of their collaborators and where governments fail to govern?

In a long term perspective, the findings of the study have contributed to question how CSR can be less expensive for the exporters and who would be a possible financer. It is shown that there are difficulties to find an outstanding relationship between corporate social responsibility and economic performance. Even if one stress good social performance of business firms (“caring approach of CSR”) and corporations tend to lead to betterment of economic performance (“profit approach of CSR”), this positive linkage cannot be generalised and always said to be leading to that outcome. The surrounding stakeholders of a corporation or business might increase their expectations gradually, and for a corporation to merely look at the net income can be considered negligent. The standpoint taken by the management of the export houses needs to be evaluated when deciding what CSR should consist of, adhering to the international agenda of CSR or the managements own internal statements of policies.

To care about and to satisfy the multiple stakeholders is needed when deciding on a corporation’s or business’s engagement in CSR activities, which shows that an ethical dimension of CSR is being emphasised. This study has shown how the export houses invest in its capitals and act in its business performances after the description of their social responsible initiatives, along with the demands and needs of the buyers and consumers. The export houses way of communicating and applying CSR is not in accordance with the ethical thought of addressing the situation of the weavers as a stakeholder within the industry to the extent they could have, if applying a local or international voluntary programme of corporate social responsibility.

In the near future, it would be interesting to see a conducted research on the Indian carpet industry where studying the industry’s relationship with their Western buyers. This in order to reveal and find possible links between the export houses’ business strategies and the phenomenon on public relations among the Western buyers and consumer, and also to examine the influence from the buyers in the issues that are falling under the CSR umbrella. The field of development communication is rather new in development studies and therefore, further studies on the carpet industry should bring in the aspects of development communication tools and reveal which would be the most suitable tool. This in order to address, in a more deep-rooted manner, how CSR is used for the brand name
and reputation building or the people and communities affected by the work of the export houses. It may be well-stated on webpages that the business or company is taking on a social responsibility, but to examine how the social marketing is done and what tools is used would be worth studying.
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Appendix 1: Interviews

The export houses are named X and Y. Following the workers who are expressed due to the first letter depending on which export house they work for, hence, either X or Y, and thereafter numerical sequence. The weavers weaving for the export houses are called W followed by numerical sequence. The two contractors at respective export house is named C1 and C2.

Individual interviews workers

State of Uttar Pradesh.
District of Bhadohi
Export house X

1. X1 – Owner November 30, 2011
2. X2 – Worker November 30, 2011, Finishing Department
3. X3 – Worker November 30, 2011, Finishing Department
4. X4 – Worker November 30, 2011, Finishing Department
5. X5 – Worker November 30, 2011, Packing Department

State of Uttar Pradesh.
District of Bhadohi
Export house Y

1. Y1 – Owner December 6, 2011
2. Y2 – Worker December 6, 2011, Finishing Department
3. Y3 – Worker December 6, 2011, Finishing Department
4. Y4 – Worker December 6, 2011, Finishing Department
5. Y5 – Worker December 6, 2011, Finishing Department
6. Y6 – Worker December 6, 2011, Finishing Department
Individual interviews weavers

State of Uttar Pradesh.
District of Bhadohi
Export house X

1. C1 – Contractor December 1, 2011
2. XW2 – Weaver December 1, 2011
3. XW3 – Weaver December 1, 2011
4. XW4 – Weaver December 1, 2011
5. XW5 – Weaver December 1, 2011
6. XW6 – Weaver December 1, 2011
7. XW7 – Weaver December 1, 2011
8. XW8 – Weaver December 1, 2011

State of Uttar Pradesh.
District of Bhadohi
Export house Y

1. C2 – Contractor December 8, 2011
2. YW9 – Weaver December 8, 2011
3. YW10 – Weaver December 8, 2011
4. YW11 – Weaver December 8, 2011
5. YW12 – Weaver December 8, 2011
6. YW13 – Weaver December 8, 2011
7. YW14 – Weaver December 8, 2011
8. YW15 – Weaver December 8, 2011
Individual interviews informants

State of Uttar Pradesh.  
District of Varanasi

- Mr. Mathew John, Director of General Inspection Unit, GoodWeave, November 23, 2011
- Mr. Rajanikant, General Secretary, Human Welfare Association – A Sustainable Development Resource Centre, November 11, 2011

State of Uttar Pradesh  
District of Bhadohi

- Mr. Avinash Chandra Baranwal, former member of Administrative Committee of Carpet Promotion Export Council and Trustee in the charity school, December 1, 2011
- Mr. Prakash M. Sharma, Trustee – President, Care & Fair, November 3, 2011
- Mr. K.K Goswami, Director and Member Secretary, Indian Institute of Carpet Technology, December 6, 2011