CSR as a Tool to Prevent Gender-Based Discrimination
A Case Study of the Textile Export Industry in India

Ida Svedevall
Supervisor: Dr. Gunilla Blomqvist Sköldberg

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School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg
School of Business and Social Sciences, Roehampton University
Department of Archaeology and Social Anthropology, University of Tromsø

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Declaration form

The work I have submitted is my own effort. I certify that all the material in the Dissertation which is not my own work, has been identified and acknowledged. No materials are included for which a degree has been previously conferred upon me.

Signed:

[Signature]

Ida Svedevall

21/05/2015
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Abstract

This thesis examines the ability of CSR as a tool in the efforts to reduce gender based discrimination in the textile industry in the Delhi area in India. This research focuses on the CSR work programs undertaken by foreign entities using the case study of the company Lindex. Given that discrimination occurs daily facilitated by embedded cultural structures this research questions how, and if, CSR interventions can be successful in address these underlying issues. This research draws on existing literature, strengthened by factory visits and interviews. The findings are presented through four thesis questions, and shows that CSR has been effective in addressing issues in the past, and could be used to improve the situation in the workplace for women. How this can be done and the obstacles are discussed. Some of the main obstacles were found to be underlying social structures, production cycles and overtime. While areas for possible improvement were found to be; job security after maternity leave, a clear path to promotion and create awareness. It was added that although it is the state's responsibility to uphold human rights, and the case study company Lindex is therefore limited in their actions, the recommendations are fully feasible to implement for an external entity in India.

Key Words: CSR, India, women, textile, gender-based discrimination, export, supply chain

Word Count: 16,424
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronyms</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BSCI</td>
<td>The Business Social Compliance Initiative</td>
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<td>BSR</td>
<td>Business for Social Responsibility</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women</td>
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<td>CoC</td>
<td>Code of Conduct</td>
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<td>CSR</td>
<td>Corporate Social Responsibility</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>The European Union</td>
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<td>FTA</td>
<td>The Foreign Trade Association</td>
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<td>GPD</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>HER</td>
<td>Health Enables Return</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICCPR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</td>
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<td>ICESCR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>TNC</td>
<td>Transnational Corporation</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<td>UDHR</td>
<td>The Universal Declaration of Human Rights</td>
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<td>UDGC</td>
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<td>SAI</td>
<td>Social Accountability International</td>
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1. Introduction

The textile export industry in India is extensive with a significant history (Chatterjee and Mohan, 1993, Verma, 2002). Since 1980s India has become a key actor in the garment industry (Mezzadri, 2014). Today it is the second largest employment sector in India, contributing 4% of the countries GDP with the European Union (EU) and the United States of America (US) forming the two main export areas (Verma, 2002).

The global import/export sector is mainly run by Transnational Corporations (TNCs) (Kirksey, 2014). TNCs as international entities are often required to abide by different social standards in comparison to domestic companies, often going beyond the requirements of Indian national law to implement internationally recognised standards. (Nathan and Posthuma, 2009). TNC’s importing products from risk countries\(^1\) have been criticised in the western world for inadequate working conditions. As India is classified as a risk country, this is also the case for Indian products exported by domestic producers. As a result of this, numerous initiatives, methods and strategies have been developed to standardise working conditions. Many companies have their own Code of Conducts (CoCs) or take part in a formal initiative and follow a shared CoC. Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is the term that corporations use to label the work they conduct in relation to human rights and sustainable practices in their supply chain (Månsson et al., 2014). The majority of companies active in the global market work with CSR in one way or another. Their involvement in CSR is expected by consumers, and reduces the risk of naming and shaming in media. TNC’s can apply CSR to the whole organisations from head offices down the supply chain. However, the terms are generally only applied to the supply chain that is located in developing countries.

In situations where working conditions are poor, women are especially vulnerable in the work place. This is evident in their position within the factory hierarchy, overtime, wages, promotion, harassment and maternity leave (Nathan and Posthuma, 2009, Esteve-Volart, 2004). Although in India the percentage of women in the workplace has increased, the actual situation and acceptance of women working has had minimal improvements (Arora and Puranik, 2004). Companies have tried to address the problem but it is a very complex issue (Welford and Frost, 2006b). These problems are heavily influenced by cultural dimensions making them very hard

\(^1\) A list of producing countries classified as “risk countries” after evaluating the World Banks 6 indicators of governance. [http://www.bsci-intl.org/resources/public-resources](http://www.bsci-intl.org/resources/public-resources)
to deal with, compounded by the fact that most women do not or cannot speak up (Business et al., 2011). In addition to this, most management and union representatives are male which means that gender discrimination may not be recognised as an issue and certainly not raised as a priority to be addressed within the workplace (Welford and Frost, 2006a).

Although corporations have tried it has proven to be difficult to actually reach the issues. There are complicating factors and resistance to change (Kirksey, 2014). Other topics such as child labour and regulating overtime have been prioritised ahead of gender-based discrimination in India. Therefore the work to reduce gender-based discrimination has not been particularly progressive in India (Prasad, 2011, Arora and Puranik, 2004). The question needs to be asked if CSR and codes of conduct are actually useful in the work against gender-based discrimination.

This thesis will examine issue of gender-based discrimination in the textile industry in the Delhi area in India, and the effectiveness CSR could have to reduce it. It will be researched through a case study company and interviews, with a focus on the CSR work programs undertaken by international entities. Given that discrimination occurs daily facilitated by cultural structures this research questions how, and if, CSR interventions can be successful in addressing these underlying issues.

Research Purpose

The purpose of this research is to study if and how CSR can be an effective tool in improving gender-based discrimination in the workplace. This will be operationalised through a case study on the textile industry in the Delhi area in India.

Research Questions

1. What strategies are being used when implementing the CoC?
2. What type of problems/ difficulties can be found when implementing improved working conditions?
3. What success has been achieved and what are the obstacles?
4. How can the CSR work improve?

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Gender-based discrimination includes all instances of unjust treatment based on gender. Gender-based discrimination can be applied to all genders. For this research, gender-based discrimination will focus on the situation of females in India, working in the textile sector. Gender equality, and how to achieve it, will be further discussed in this research as the opposite of gender-based discrimination.
1.1 Lindex as a Case Study
Swedish companies have a long history of working with social responsibility (Månsson et al., 2014). Based on this, I selected the company Lindex which will form the base of the case study for the research. Lindex’s extensive work in the area of social responsibility and constant ambition to improve where possible (Dahlberg and Porss, 2015, Lindex), provides a suitable example. The company granted access to interview staff in their head office, and the production office and three of their factories based in the Delhi area, to enable further research how to improve the work they do with the factories.

1.2 Relevance for the Human Rights Research
The right to be treated equal is a foundational principle in our human rights. We have the right to be equal without discrimination, something which is stated in the following instruments: Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 (UDHR) Articles 1 and 2; the preamble of the UN Charter; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (UDHR, ICCPR, ICESCR). These are just the main documents where the right to equality between human beings is established as a necessity. In addition, The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is a specific convention for the purpose of eliminating discrimination against women. The third UN Millennium Declaration Goal is to promote gender equality and empower women (CEDAW, UN). The cultural structure in India which allows gender-based discrimination to take place, as in the rest of the world, is in clear violation of these rights and the Indian government has a duty to progressively work towards meaningful realisation of these rights for women. Throughout the research, the foundation will be focused on women’s right to be treated equal to men and thereby have the same opportunities.

For this research the International Labour Organisation (ILO) plays an important role with their legal instruments providing guiding international labour standards but also as an international organisation that supports national implementation and follow up (ILO). The ILO as a whole places an importance on the implementation and upholding of workers’ rights. One of the key documents being the 1998 Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (ILO, 1998 ). For this particular research instruments touching upon the equality of standards and opportunity (ILO) will be particularly relevant. This however, does not eliminate the use of other instruments in the areas of, for example, maternity protection and social security. The ILO
instruments are used as foundational pillars in the code of conduct used in this research (BSCI, 2014).

1.3 Delimitations
This research has been limited for a number of reasons which are all important factors to understand the end result. The first is the focus of this research which is at the factory level, excluding consideration of possible discrimination at other levels, including suppliers of material, possible sub-suppliers and homeworkers. Although interviews were held at the head office, and the production office, any possible gender-based discrimination at these levels within the supply change will not be studied. This is mainly limitations due to the time and space available for the thesis. As this is a one semester thesis it therefore has a timeframe which does not allow excessive field work, or a further in-depth study. The space limitation of 15,000 words is also a restraint in the size of the actual study which is why only one case study has been used.

This research seeks to establish whether the human right to equality is violated through gender-based discrimination and if so, is CSR a useful tool in preventing/improving the situation.

1.4 Outline
This research is divided into 6 chapters. Chapter two, the background and analytical framework, presents where this research sits in the literature, and the theoretical frameworks which will be used to analyse the findings on possible gender-based discrimination. The third chapter presents the methods used to collect the data, both through interviews in Sweden and India, and literature review. The fourth chapter presents the findings in order of the research questions above. The fifth chapter concludes the findings in accordance with the research purpose and research questions. The recommendations are presented in the fifth chapter.
2. Background and Analytical Framework

To fully relate to the area of CSR and gender-based discrimination within the Indian export textile industry, the background and how this research is positioned within the literature has to be discussed. Equally the analytical framework is designed to explain why the situation is the way it is today and will support the analysis of the findings.

2.1 CSR and the Textile Industry

There is a broad range of literature theorising the behaviour and interactions of companies in the context of CSR (Risse-kappen et al., 2013, Pearson, 2007, Welford and Frost, 2006a, Grosser and Moon, 2005, Utting, 2007, Prieto-Carrón, 2008). The literature ranges from examining motivational factors (Leonard and McAdam, 2003), to how CSR is incorporated as a reoccurring feature in business (Portney, 2005), and why corporations can no longer claim profit as being a social responsibility (Cadbury, 2006). Other studies show that previously a company’s involvement in CSR work could even decrease a consumers interest in a company’s product (Sankar Sen and Bhattacharya, 2001).

There is another body of literature which focuses on economic benefits, and considers finance as a starting point rather than focussing on the social aspect (Vargova, 2013). Others cover the benefits and need for companies to use CSR to survive (Vancheswaran and Gautam, 2011). From a business perspective, CSR can help secure long-term relationships with sustainable and effective suppliers. Supporting companies within their supply chain to ensure their employee’s rights are met, in terms of adequate pay and healthcare, it in turn reduces staff turnover. Some of the literature on motivation draws the link between CSR and corporate image management (Moir, 2001) where image is profit based and CSR work is based on doing what is beneficial for the society. Some research argues that CSR has in fact outlived itself and its usefulness (Freeman and Liedtka, 1991), and the impact of CSR is actually poorer than previously acknowledged (Sen et al., 2006). Some look further into the underlying factors for companies to work with CSR, and question what do they get out of it, and what the real reason for a businesses to take responsibility for society is, beyond profit making (Carroll and Shabana, 2010).

The reason behind the lack of success of CSR initiatives has been discussed with varying results. An integrated model has been suggested to be the most effective way of achieving results. Some businesses have seen CSR as separate, whilst parallel to the business and this yields less results (Porter and Kramer, 2006). The literature has research overlooking the
economic benefits of CSR in the different fields, and how CSR policies can be a form of insurance (Godfrey et al., 2009). Additionally, the research reaches into the possible negative impacts which might come with CSR. For example, when CSR is used to the companies advantage to avoid or lobby regulations which are not beneficial for them (Fooks et al., 2013). The textile industry is one of the most prominent when creating multi-stakeholder initiatives, when actors, such as companies, NGO’s and labour organisations work together towards sustainable trade (Tully, 2005). One of the first code of conducts, was that of Levi Strauss’s in 1992 which paved the way for others to follow (Tully, 2005).

Looking into the history and development of CSR (Carroll, 1999, Risse-kappen et al., 2013) it can be found that there is an ideal level of CSR, where there is a neutral performance balance between financial profit and CSR - if CSR work increases, so does the financial profit (McWilliams and Siegel, 2001). The theoretical framework within the literature includes studies on the correlation between stakeholder power, strategic posture, economic performance and corporate social disclosure in the CSR field (Roberts, 1992), as well as the relationship between law and CSR (Buhmann, 2006). Bexell (2012) argues that private-public CSR partnerships (for example: UN -private entities) should be avoided due to its unsuccessful nature of changing gender structures in the global economy.

An alternative approach is that of the CSR Pyramid (Table 1) which highlights the importance of economic responsibility as the foundational stone, and then adds another three layers in a decreasing order of importance (Carroll, 1991). By building on the CSR pyramid (Table 1) an alternative approach was developed later, with a three-domain approach, removing the philanthropic stage of the pyramid (Schwartz and Carroll, 2003). This was done once the pyramid was criticised, and the authors argue that the three first areas of the pyramid are overlapping and include all approaches there was to CSR.
Table 1. CSR Pyramid

Although a lot has been written within the area of CSR, little has been researched on the area of CSR in the textile industry and developing countries (Gupta, 2013). The existing research is particularly deficient when considering the issue of current CSR practices and how gender equality is implemented through CSR. Ultimately, economic motives are the most successful at translating the social concepts into mechanisms through which companies can engage and justify to boards and overarching institutional structures (Godfrey et al., 2009). The textile industry is mentioned as being one of the leading industries to implement codes of conducts to protect themselves from criticism regarding the working conditions in developing countries they are operating in (Tully, 2005). Both regional experts and the existing literature firmly establish that women are discriminated against within the textile industry in India (Bhattacharyyya, 2014, Business et al., 2011, Dahlberg and Porss, 2015).

While CSR is studied more broadly, it overlooks the gender perspective. When it is considered, it is rather general and not specifically adapted to the Indian situation (Grosser and Moon, 2005). Research does consider how the practice of CSR is implemented within India (Dhanesh, 2015, Welford and Frost, 2006a, Mitra, 2012, Guha, 2011, Arevalo and Aravind, 2011, Mezzadri, 2014, Baskaran et al., 2011). However, it only provides cursory information on
gender issues, focusing more on child labour, overtime regulation and other labour issues. While gender is identified as an issue there are no clear answers on how to address the issue in a practical manner. Research which does focus on women and CSR suggest an institutional (State) implementation and highlights the need for gender awareness at all levels (Pearson, 2007).

Based on the literature, there is a definite risk of women being discriminated against at the workplace. In addition, the CSR work that foreign companies commit themselves to have little impact or lack the right tools to deal with gender-based discrimination. As a result of this, few answers are found in the body of literature.

Research in the area of developing countries exporting textiles is limited, but there is some analysis available (Gupta, 2013). Studies show that the working conditions at textile factories in India are often discussed without the workers voices being heard (De Neve, 2014), which is problematic from the CSR perspective. The current CSR work in India needs to further focus on transparency, community participation, local capacity and local consensus (Ray et al., 2014).

There are regulations on equality in the workplace within CSR policies, but these are often not implemented or lag far behind other rights (Utting, 2007, Pearson, 2007). This strengthens the idea that companies have a very limited impact in the supply chain, where gender equality is not a priority (Business et al., 2011, Pearson, 2007, Welford and Frost, 2006a, Prieto-Carrón, 2008). Although there are positive and active voices within India to improve gender equality and empower females through CSR policies (Rai, 2015), research to date focuses on the issues of gender-based discrimination more broadly in Indian society rather than specifically considering this in the context of CSR policies, or the textile industry.

India society has a long cultural tradition of using principles which place the interests of the community first rather than those of the individual (Kochhar, 2014). These principles correlate to some extent with CSR principles, but they are used in the way of tradition and community practice, and not in a rights-based strategy approach (Kochhar, 2014). These practices are based on the tradition of community welfare and wellbeing, which includes cultural practices and norms of women being inferior, (Kochhar, 2014) in contrast to CSR where norms are generally generated through pressures and expectation of the external buyers. The research also covers
certain particular situations for women in India, one example is the Sumangali scheme\(^3\), and how to deal with such a cultural issue in CSR policies (Kumar, 2014).

The workforce at the bottom of the supply chain in the textile industry mainly consists of migrant workers and unskilled labour, this is generally where most of the female workers are located (Tully, 2005). The nature of discrimination for women in India is multifaceted. Women are not only the lowest earners, they are also more likely to be discriminated against in the workplace because they are women, and in some cases even be excluded from the broader community because they work (Tully, 2005). In addition, they are expected to take on all responsibilities in the household, and risk being discriminated at home because they are women who work (Tully, 2005).

The area of gender-based discrimination in India society and cultural practice has broadly been researched across sectors and shown that it is systematically taking place across society (Agnes, 1999, Kabeer et al., 2008, Momsen, 2009, Stein and Arnold, 2010). As it does occur across society it is inevitable that the textile industry is also influenced. Gender-based discrimination starts early in life, as parents actively preference male children when possible\(^4\), and continues on where women, for example, have a lower rate of participation in paid work (Mukherjee, 2013). Those women who do work in the textile industry, as floor workers, are often in a social situation which makes them vulnerable to exploitation, as they cannot afford to lose the job (Kirksey, 2014). Special gender policies are needed to overcome those barriers found in India today (Sorsa, 2015).

This research aims to look at the particular gap which can be found in the literature, discussing gender-based discrimination in the textile industry in India. Looking at the literature available, one can determine that women are particularly vulnerable. For CSR to address the risks and possible discrimination which is presented, further actions might be needed. The research will therefore examine this by looking at if, and how, CSR can be used as a tool to reduce gender-based discrimination in the case study.

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\(^3\) Sumangali scheme – to employ young female workers from poor families in rural areas, aged between 18 and 25 years, as apprentices for three years who would stay in dormitories located in the vicinity of the factories, draw low wages with minimum benefits KUMAR, S. 2014. Empowerment or exploitation: the case of women employment system in India’s textile and clothing industry. *Emerald Emerging Markets Case Studies*, 4, 1-20.

2.2 Analytical Framework

This research draws on the theoretical ideas of economic policy, patriarchy and culture to explore how CSR influences and affects change within society. Within this context, understanding the way in which pressure from international buyers ensure that contractors meet sustainable standards will be the foundation for analysing the data found. This section will look further into the reason behind the situation in India today, specifically looking at; the export sector, division of labour, the role of men and women in India and the idea of seclusion. These areas will form the foundation for answering the research questions, and support the analysis of current practices found in the factories. Finally, the area of CSR is discussed, and what motivational factors lay behind companies’ willingness to promote and implement CSR principles.

The analytical framework is important to fully understand the existing structures in society which hinder the progression and complicates the work to eliminate gender-based discrimination. It will be used to highlight those cultural norms and practices which are so integrated they are often not viewed as problematic but rather a natural and obvious practice in India. The practices explained here will be connected to the interviews and the answers given in the interviews, reflecting the underlying cultural structures.

The resistance to improve gender equality is reinforced by broader social institutions that normalise inequality. The CSR work and the motivational factors will be discussed. As well as the possible benefits for companies to implement and actively work with these standards. To fully understand the complexity of the situation, and the possibilities, or lack thereof, the following framework will be applied when analysing the finding. This research aims to look at the case study, including these structures to understand the current situation for women in the textile industry and how CSR can improve their situation.

2.2.1 Export Promotion

To understand the need for CSR in India and the current export situation, the special measures taken by the Indian government have to be addressed. India has for many years had a strong export market especially in the textile sector. For this market to continue, the Indian government have taken initiatives to maintain a competitive advantage in the industry (Yoganandan, 2015). Benefits, such as tax-free processing zones, especially for export products (and raw material imported for the use of producing export goods) were implemented, together with policies to
increase the export (Kumar, 1989). These initiative aimed to increase and maintain the export of Indian goods and to make them attractive on the international market.

These policies are driven by the underlying principles of liberal economics and capitalism, ensuring that India plays a significant role within transnational production (Kauppinen, 2012). These measures go back in time, and have been studied and evaluated, and re-evaluated (Dhawan and Biswal, 1999). There is an inverse relationship between export demand and payment per piece. If India wishes to remain competitive with a high export demand, it must produce garments for cheaper prices (Sharma, 2000). This inverse relationship between higher exports at lower production cost is demonstrated by the fact that India’s export shows growth, however the GDP (Gross Domestic Production) has not increased at the same rate (Sharma, 2000). This economic implication means that India has limited capacity and ability to invest in development and meeting basic human rights, including within the CSR sector.

India’s textile industry is a key component of GDP, and in order to maintain a sustainable level they have to keep the prices down, or production will move to other countries such as Bangladesh or China (Kirksey, 2014). The market value of the products do not differ once they are exported, and if certain producers can reduce the price of the product, the nature of supply and demand is that the buyer will choose the cheaper producer. The consequence is that women in particular, due to their lower position within the supply chain, are significantly affected by this global export market (Kirksey, 2014). As India’s second largest employment sector (Verma, 2002), and as a desirable state for transnational export countries, India’s textile industry has an important role in both the global and the Indian market. Not just as the second largest employment sector in India (employs 45 million people), but also as the world’s second largest textile exporter (Kumar and Singh, 2015).

2.2.2 Division of Labour

India has a history of males being the main earners. This position and access to resources has placed men in superior roles to women in the home, at work and in the public space, a structure which feeds into the patriarchal foundation. Women therefore often have to rely on their husband to survive and act as the complimentary earner, while they bear the main responsibility of taking care of the household, and childbearing (Jensen, 2012, Desai et al., 2011).

Within the factories, those working on the floor are commonly situated in the lower socio-demographics of the distribution of wealth in India (Kirksey, 2014). This is also where the vast majority of women in the factories can be found. There are women present in other more
administrative areas of the company, for example the finance department, but in the actual factory and production setting unit, the majority of the women work on the floor, with poor representation of females in management. Where the opportunities for females to work is lower, the economic value of girls and their status in the community also decreases (Carranza, 2014). In addition, women are unable to participate in certain parts of society, which excludes them from being eligible for certain jobs which include late working hours, or sales positions which includes travelling. This leaves most of the challenging or higher positions to men, depriving women of the opportunity to work overtime and earn extra to strive towards economic independence.

Looking at the Indian society, some cultural aspects are indeed evolving, although the idea of women and their given role is deeply rooted within cultural practice and hard to change (Radhakrishnan, 2009). India as a society is built on patriarchal structures where women’s sexuality is seen as subordinate to men’s sexuality, and feminism is sometimes seen as a western import (Gangoli, 2012). The patriarchal society accepts violence against women, something which often spills over to the public space and limits women’s ability to move freely (Bhattacharyya, 2014). There is in fact a strong link between patriarchy and culture in Asia (Brown, 2014), where patriarchal structure has evolved throughout time but remains a core feature of society (Walby, 1990). Looking at the cultural aspect, it might be hard to change a local or national culture, however, if one only sees the overall culture and not the individual differences, change is less likely to happen and results will be inaccurate (Au, 1997).

2.2.3 The Idea of Seclusion

According to the Factory Act in India, female workers in the factories are not allowed to work later than 7pm, this restricts them in both progressing financially and having access to all parts of society (The Factory Act, 1948). The reason for this law is mainly the unsafe environment for women at night-time. Limiting women and their free movement creates inferiority and seclusion from certain parts of society. In many parts of Indian culture, a woman is not herself a part of society, but exists in the relation to men (Kirksey, 2014). By excluding women from certain parts of the public space (purdah) it limits their opportunities, which explains why they work at certain positions within factories (Koening and Foo, 1992). These practices are deeply

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5Purdah as understood by Papanek “Purdah, meaning curtain, is the word most commonly used for the system of excluding women and enforcing high standards of female modesty in much of South Asia… The crucial characteristic of the purdah system is its limitation on interaction between women and males outside certain well-defined categories…” PAPANEK, H. 1973. Purdah: Separate Worlds and Symbolic Shelter. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 15, 289-325.
rooted and supported by the political, social and economic institutions within India (Koening and Foo, 1992). As economic independence is one of the key factors to improve the status of women, the institutions in society which keep women secluded deprive them of further opportunities (Sharma, 2014). A direct result of these restrictions women are unable to have jobs which require overtime, late hours or travelling. Although India has labour laws regarding the equality of wages and work opportunities, women are effected by special health and safety laws which prohibits them from doing numerous jobs at the factory (Ansari, 2014).

The result of this export-focused, cultural and patriarchal environment creates a need for further action from both state actors and international actors active within India if gender-based discrimination is going to be effectively addressed. To look at the current practices without involving the local context is to implement a western ideal without adapting it to the cultural and contextual reality they are being faced with. Buyers should not demand certain structures which are likely to exploit women, but many of these demands are implicit and unintentional due to the highly exploitative nature of capitalism (Kirksey, 2014).

2.2.4 CSR

CSR is in many ways mutually beneficial, but the question remains who is ultimately responsible and if the work carried out should be done by companies, governments or NGO’s (Blomgren, 2011). Global companies today cannot avoid CSR questions but are rather expected to be held accountable for their ethical choices (Risse-kappen et al., 2013). The responsibility expected from private entities stem from the push from consumers for transparency, involvement and clear strategies on human rights and environmental sustainability in their supply chain (Risse-kappen et al., 2013).

In many cases companies and organisations apply the use of Code of Conducts (CoC) to implement sustainable practices. It is a set of ethical standards to strive towards which can include both social and environmental aspects of sustainable business. The standards can be applicable for the whole supply chain, including all business partners or to one company or organisation only, and then with a different focus. CoC’s are commonly used and vary in their degree of efficiency. What drives a company to commit to a CoC and implement it, differs between companies.

Garriga and Melé (2014) have divided the different CSR approaches into four separate approaches (see full table in Appendix 2). The four approaches are, instrumental theories, political theories, integrative theories and ethical theories. Although these theories, or rather
approaches, are all part of an integrated practice. A profitable company cannot single out the ethical approach as the singular approach, but would need the financial objectives from instrumental theories as well. Instrumental theory highlights economic objectives through social activities, such as competitive advantage, an important factor transnational corporations in capitalist economics. A company does aim for financial profit, but whether or not it is the foundation of the CSR work is a different question. The second approach, political theories focuses on the responsible use of business power, mainly within the political arena. This approach includes an increased responsibility with increased power, which is unavoidable for any company. There is a threat of “naming and shaming” for companies, and this becomes especially prominent when companies do not take on any responsibility. Both the economic profit and the business power/responsibility are essential for companies to conduct CSR work. The third approach, integrative theories focused on the integration of social demands, such as public responsibility. The forth approach is ethical theories, which includes sustainable development and universal rights (Garriga and Melé, 2004). All four approaches are included in CSR work and no one of them is the single most important approach. However, it is possible to look at which one of these approaches is the core for the work a company commits to. This can answer the question of how and why a company works with CSR. This is important to answer the first research questing regarding the structures Lindex works with, and what motivates them to work with CSR.

One interesting approach is the universal rights motivation, which is one on the ethical theory approaches. The universal rights responsibility is expressed in documents such as the UN Global Compact (Appendix 3), and The Global Sullivan Principles, both of which are based on Universal Declaration of Human Rights and aim to protect human, labour and environmental rights (Garriga and Melé, 2004:61). The UN Global Compact is a set of the principles covering the areas of human rights, environment, labour rights and anti-corruption (UNGC, 2011). Committed companies can join this initiative to strive towards a sustainable practice. These documents will be referred to directly and indirectly throughout the research as the foundation from which the company builds their CSR work. In addition, the SA8000 certification is mentioned in relation to the universal rights as an accreditation scheme for human and labour rights (Garriga and Melé, 2004).

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6 Other schemes to be taken under consideration is the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, also referred to as the Ruggie Principles.
The theories presented provide the foundation for understanding the moral imperative and incentive for companies like Lindex to engage in the question of CSR. The theory has a clear and direct link to the proposed research, ensuring the research will contribute to the broader CSR discussion. The Business Social Compliance Initiative (BSCI) Code of Conduct, which Lindex implements, is based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948), International Labour Organisation (ILO) conventions, and the UN Global Compact (UNGP). The universal rights aspect also further engrains the human rights approach of this research. Other reference documents such as the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights will also be used. This theory would be a substantive theory rather than a formal theory (Neuman, 2007).
3. Methodology

3.1 Methods

This research is based on qualitative data gathered through interviews, including focus groups and is supplemented by other relevant literature (Ritchie et al., 2013). The data collected through the methods is the foundation for answering the research questions. The two methods complement one another through the practical and the theoretical approach. Although interviews are the primary source, the literature and the observations will play an important role in informing the substantive analysis, as well as the theoretical framework. A total of 18 interviews were conducted, including 31 participants. The interview method will first be presented, then the literature and finally the research ethics for this research.

3.1.1 Interviews

Interviews were held at three levels within the supply chain of the Lindex: the head office in Gothenburg; the production office in Delhi; and the production units (factories) in the Delhi area in India. All the interviews had common themes, but the questions varied depending on the position the interviewee held. The connecting questions common to all interviews were those regarding the social responsibility work/code of conduct, working conditions, including overtime, and possible improvements. Depending on which level within the supply chain the interviews were held, the approach was adapted, as a worker in a factory might not know about the term code of conduct but still be a part of the social responsibility work, while the CSR manager will be well informed on both.

Lindex has been owned by Stockmann Group since 2007, and are participants of the BSCI through Stockmann Group. However, Lindex is an independent entity that has worked with the BSCI since 2004, prior to their takeover by the Stockman group. Lindex conducts their own CSR work and, therefore, the Stockmann Group was not evaluated as part of this study as they have little bearing on Lindex’s CSR practice. Figure 2 below portrays Lindex’s supply chain although, does not include suppliers below factory level as they are not part of this research.
In all interviews both scheduled and open ended/ contingency questions were used (Neuman, 2007). The main aim was to ensure the participants were asked similar questions in order to establish comparable data. The exact questions changed throughout the process and were adapted to the situations in the interviews. The questions asked further down the supply chain were also adapted to reflect the previous answers from the head office and production office. Each interview took between 15 minutes and one hour. Short interviews of only 15 minutes were held with floor workers and were partly due to the workers being uncomfortable responding. During these interviews management were present, and hence workers did not want to answer/elaborate any information that could reflect negatively back on them. These observations were often more meaningful than the specific answers given by respondents, however, it also added a problematic dimension as little useful information was found during these interviews.

The interviewees at Head Office Sweden and Production Office India were selected because they are all key actors in ensuring the code of conduct to be implemented and followed up on. Their input on the current state of implementation, action plan for addressing violations and future improvements set the foundation for the questions asked at the next level (factory). It is especially important for the end result to find out if they have the same understanding of what is expected from the code of conduct.
### Table 1 Interview Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head Office Sweden</th>
<th>Production Office India</th>
<th>Factory India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • CSR Manager (1)  
  • Production Support Manager (1)  | • Office Manager (1)  
  • Senior Merchandiser (1)  
  • Quality Control Manager (1)  | • Owner (3)  
  • Unit Manager (3)  
  • HR/ CoC Responsible (3)  
  • Middle Management/Line Supervisor (6)  
  • Factory Nurse (1)  
  • Factory Workers (10)  |

#### 3.1.1.1 Head Office Sweden

Two interviews were held at the head office in Gothenburg. As the time available was restricted, the two interviews turned into one discussion-like session. This was successful as both interviewees could add to what the other said or fill in where information was missing. They told the interviewer about history, current practices and future goals. The respondents seemed very sincere and open about those areas which they find problematic in their supply chain in India, and how they deal with them. Their willingness to facilitate this research and open their factories to scrutiny is further evidence of Lindex’s commitment to improving the implementation of CSR. This interview kept mainly to the interview schedule with a few additional questions. The semi-structured approach provided valuable answers which helped in understanding their work and how they work with their supply chain.

#### 3.1.1.2 Production Office India

The interviews at the production office in Delhi, India were conducted individually with the office manager, senior merchandiser and senior quality manager. The questions asked here were very similar to those at the head office, but with a focus on the local work they do, rather than the full supply chain. Consistency is important between the head office and the production office. If they do not work by the same standards, the factory will find it difficult understand the requirements or implement them effectively. The main challenge was to ask questions regarding India and gender structures without causing unintentional offence, as the questions asked came from a foreigner and concerned sensitive cultural practices. The answers were insightful and showed that the production office and the head office were very well coordinated on all questions regarding CSR.
3.1.1.3 Factories India

The intention was to conduct interviews with representatives from the management, supervisors and floor workers with a representative gender division to get a better understanding of the situation at the workplace. The higher the position in the management hierarchy, the harder it will become to find women to interview. With management or higher positions, interviews were conducted in English without a translator. The interviews with supervisor/line managers and floor workers used an independent interpreter.

The interviews conducted at the different levels in the factory would require different questions as this was where the most prominent difference could be found, between factory owner and floor worker. The following positions were interviewed across three factories:

- three factory owners (3 male, one represented by female production manager)
- three unit managers (male)
- three human resources managers (CoC responsible); (1 female 2 male)
- six middle management/ line supervisors; (male)
- one factory nurse (female)
- ten workers (1 male 9 female)

As these interviews were partly held in their native language (Hindi) it required an interpreter and cultural adaption of some of the questions. It was important when interviewing the factory workers, to ensure their thoughts and concerns were captured and they were as comfortable as possible. However, it was hard to conduct follow up questions and some of the nuances were lost through the translation process.

Taking the setting into consideration, the higher management positions were interviewed individually, line managers/ supervisors were interviewed in pairs with one exception and floor workers were interviewed in focus groups. The idea of the focus groups and the pair interviews is to ensure that respondents would feel more comfortable, and to even the power balance as there were two interviewers (interpreter and interviewer). It also enabled the interviewer to observe the interactions and dynamics between workers, which led to additional insight.

Focus groups were formed in an opportunistic manner when possible, rather than targeting groups based on particular characteristics. This was to enable groups to form organically, minimising disruption to the factory and encouraging groups of women who have an existing relationship (co-workers) to be interviewed together, fostering a space of trust.
At the production office in Delhi, English was used. English skills are a requirement for the daily work in a larger international company. Interviews were both recorded and notes were taken throughout the interview.

For the interviews at the factory level, certain questions could fall under the category of threatening questions, and were therefore carefully considered before being asked, if they were asked, as discussed by Neumann (2007). To achieve the best answers possible, the wording had to be considered and closely analysed. For this purpose Neuman (ibid:170-173) presents 12 things to avoid when writing interview questions which were used as guidelines for the interviews. Contingency questions were used to improve the flow of conversation and to follow up on the answers given (ibid). The issue of wording turned out to be a difficult task at the factory level as an interpreter was used and therefore it was not possible to have full control over the exact wording.

3.1.1.4 Challenges of research

There were some factors which could have affected the answers given by the factory workers and which should be considered when interpreting the results. These include: interview location; presence of factory representative; and translator.

During the interviews at the head office, a meeting room was used. This was welcomed as this could be seen as “neutral ground” in comparison to their offices which would have been preferred in all interviews. In the case of the factory workers/managers this was not possible. A separate and neutral space for interviews was requested, but denied by management. As a researcher I had no leverage to insist so I was required to adjust to the circumstance, mindful of the added power dimension for respondents. The interviews with the factory workers and the line managers/supervisors were all held in the factory manager’s office, except in one case where they were held in the nurse’s office. In the case of the factory manager’s office, this was not a location the interviewees felt safe. In one instance a line manager would rather stand than sit in the factory manager’s chair during the interview. At this factory, the manager and the human resources manager of the company stood outside a window and were constantly visible for the interviewees to see. At the next factory the manager’s office was used again, but this time the factory manager insisted on staying in the room during the interviews, once he did leave, he left the welfare manager in the room. At the factory where the interviews were held in the nurse’s office, the nurse was present throughout the interviews. The relationship between the nurse and the workers, and the nurse and the factory manager is unknown. In all of these interviews, the interpreter was present.
The interpreter was male which might introduce a certain resistance to discuss possible gender-based discrimination issues for the women. He also had no previous knowledge of CSR which might have confused certain concepts such as unions and CSR initiatives. If these concepts are not correctly interpreted, the answers cannot be considered valid in relation to the question. For future research, a translator with previous experienced in CSR/the textile industry would be beneficial. Due to limited time and resources this was not possible during this research.

The upper management in the factories were all previously notified that a researcher was coming, and asked if they agreed to this. This could of course lead to preparation for the interviews, something which can only be speculated on.

3.2 Sources and source criticism

The literature has been selected by the following four criteria used; authority, objectivity, authenticity and relevance. Authority, and who is behind the source has mainly been controlled by finding academic articles from reliable databases, university libraries or using official documents from the UN and the ILO. Those documents which do not have a source which can be located or do not have peer reviews, have been corroborated by supporting references. The objectivity of the sources used is ensured by extensive research and reliable databases. No source provide opinions without reliable evidence to support the claim. Authenticity, is ensured by reliable databases and extensive research. The relevance of the sources presented and discussed can be discussed as one of the references date back to 1973. However, as history is an important part in understanding the situation for both women and the export textile industry in India today, this is very much relevant for the research. Based on all of the above, the sources used can be deemed reliable and academically.

As for the reliability and validity of interviews, the sample size of interviews gives the research a valid foundation, in combination with the literature (Ritchie et al., 2013). The reliability has to be addressed in those instances where for example management was present during the interviews. What was said during these interviews might not be what they would have said under different circumstances. The broader literature supports many of the opinions expressed by interviewees, validating the authority of the interviews.

3.3 Research ethics

Looking at the research there are a number of ethical issues to consider. When conducting the interviews, especially at the factories in India, the position of the interviewee has to be considered. The further down the supply chain the more focus has to be on considering possible
vulnerability and safety of the employee, as they might suffer the consequences otherwise. It should also be noted that there are underlying power dynamics between the interviewer, as a foreign researcher and the factory worker as the object of study. It is important to ensure that the answers are kept anonymous to protect the interviewees (Miller et al., 2012). All data collected from the factories will be kept anonymous. Three factories were visited during the field research and the data found will be kept coded and anonymous in a password protected device. The use and storage of sensitive information, as well as the research’s project plan has been approved by Norwegian Social Science Data Services in accordance with Norwegian law.

The research is to be kept independent and objective. As Lindex allows me to interview them and some of their suppliers, the relationship has to be especially objective to keep the academic integrity.
4. Findings
The findings are based on field work and interviews with personnel throughout the supply chain of Lindex. These findings are structured to address the research questions outlined above. The findings will be analysed as they are presented in the order of the research questions.

In some of the interviews, observations were made. As discussed in methods, the presence of a foreign researcher added a power dynamic, particularly in interviews with floor workers. This was clear as all of the interviews at the factories were held in a manager’s office and/or with management staff present. In those cases where management staff were not present, they were close by and visible through windows. This has to be taken into account as something which could have influenced the answers.

4.1.1 Strategies used to implement the Code of Conduct
There are multiple strategies that work towards implementing CSR and overarching Codes of Conducts are commonly used. Lindex uses an external CoC as its primary strategy for implementation. As a company Lindex has been engaged with CSR since 1994 when they opened a local production office in Hong Kong. They joined the BSCI in 2004 and have since worked by the BSCI CoC (BSCI, 2014).

The BSCI is an initiative of the Foreign Trade Association (FTA) with more than 1500 participating companies working together to improve working conditions in risk countries. The BSCI CoC (Appendix 1) is based on key instruments from the United Nations (UN), International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). BSCI supports a collaborative industry approach to embedding CSR practices and standards. By coordinating more than 1500 companies, supply factories are only required to do one audit against BSCI CoC rather than undertaking individual audits for every buyer. This saves money and time for all actors involved, streamlining audit and accreditation processes. The best practice of the BSCI is the SA8000 standard. If a factory reaches SA8000 standard it is a broadly recognised certificate which can benefit business, making them more attractive to new buyers. As an initiative of Social Accountability International, the SA8000 is a certification scheme, the world’s first accreditation for improved workplace conditions, (SAI, 2014). This is of relevance as Lindex, the case study company, uses the SA8000 as a best practice model through the Business Social Compliance Initiative (BSCI) auditing system.

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7 http://www.fta-intl.org/
8 SA8000 is a social certification standard by Social Accountability International (SAI) http://sa-intl.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=Page.ViewPage&PageID=937
Out of the theoretical approaches presented by Garriga and Melé, the fourth approach applies to this case study, and more specifically, the third sub approach under ethical theories, universal rights (See Appendix 2). Universal rights are based in frameworks which respect human rights, labour rights as well as environmental responsibilities. As Lindex applies one such framework based on the international human rights regulations when working with CSR, their basis for working with CSR is indirectly universal rights. While there are many ethical approaches that can provide moral guidance for companies, for this research, the universal rights approach provides the basic minimum ethical standard to which companies should be held accountable to (Garriga and Melé, 2004:61-63). The other three theories mentioned in Appendix 2 focuses on other areas of CSR work and are relevant for future research, whilst not appropriate for this current study.

Lindex has ambitious aims for 2020, to produce 80% of their products at sustainable factories, with additional focus on life improvements (Dahlberg and Porss, 2015). They work on both social and environmental sustainability, with the BSCI Code of Conduct (See Appendix 1) as the base for the social program of activities including internal and external audits (Dahlberg and Porss, 2015, BSCI, 2014). To maximise the return for investment both for the company and the suppliers, Lindex has reduced the number of producers they use, and instead increased the quantities at those factories. This provides security of supply contracts for the factories enabling them to invest in sustainability and CSR measures, knowing they will continuously have orders from Lindex.

Certain targeted strategies are implemented for example in relation to child labour. The Lindex Child Labour Action Plan requires immediate removal of the child and further opportunity for education (Lindex, 2015). Lindex aims to;

...provide affordable fashion, while considering the impact we have on our environment, using the earth’s resources wisely, and treating our employees and factory workers respectfully and responsibly. We strive to be recognized as one of the most sustainable, open, and trusted companies in the industry. We seek to drive change, to make a real difference.(Lindex, 2015)

Lindex works to integrate CSR practices within the everyday work of the company rather than keeping it as a separate additional work stream. However, economic profit is central to the survival of private entities, and often implementing universal human rights is seen to challenge this. The two values are not mutually exclusive, it has been demonstrated that effective and extensive CSR work can increase profits (Vancheswaran and Gautam, 2011). The BSCI CoC builds on the foundation of in universal human rights documents, which in turn embeds the
principles within the CSR work of Lindex. One such example is the HER project (further explained under 4.1.3), which has its foundation in universal values and the right to health, but as it increased the attendance of the workers, it also has financial advantages in the long term.

The gender discrimination focus of this research means the BSCI CoC principle on no discrimination is particularly important:

Business partners shall not discriminate, exclude or have a certain preference for persons on the basis of gender, age, religion, race, caste, birth, social background, disability, ethnic and national origin, nationality, membership in unions or any other legitimated organisations, political affiliation or opinions, sexual orientation, family responsibilities, marital status, diseases or any other condition that could give rise to discrimination. In particular, workers shall not be harassed or disciplined on any of the grounds listed above. (BSCI, 2014) (Emphasis added)

This statement establishes that gender as well as family situation and marital status should not be grounds of discrimination. This statement is a core principle for this research and is the grounds of much of the analysis and recommendations.

In order to effectively implement the CoC and engage with suppliers on CSR, Lindex has adopted two major strategies. Firstly, they have made structural adjustments as to how they order from suppliers, allowing longer time for planning and producing. Secondly they have opened communications and worked with factories to better understand how they can manage their ordering to balance production pressures and enable better conditions for workers. In addition to these two targeted approaches, Lindex also chooses to work with a range of community projects that are being implemented more broadly in the Delhi factory region, that support the overall improvement of living standards for factory workers.

All orders from Lindex to their factories in India go through their local production office there. The local office is responsible for ordering product that is economical, high quality, and sustainable and is able to meet delivery timeframes (Dahlberg and Porss, 2015). The advantage of delegating the responsibility to a local country-based office is they are on-ground, available for check-ups, quality control and able to make sure there is no sub-supplying⁹.

One of the possible disadvantages found is that what might be considered gender-based discrimination by the head office, was not addressed in the same way by the local production office. This might very well be the cultural acceptance of the discriminatory practices, but as the local office does not pick up on the possible violations, and the audits find these practices

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⁹ Sub-supplying: when a factory out-sources part of the production to another factory, often under no or poor control of working conditions.
difficult to locate, the issue of gender-based discrimination is overlooked. As the information never reaches the head office, there is very little they can do, without this knowledge. With limited information the impacts and results they can expect to achieve are equally limited.

The factories go through both the external and internal audits based on the BSCI audit. Audits are an effective way of measuring the level of compliance in the factory, but it is also just a snapshot of what it looks like at that exact moment. A BSCI audit aims to assess the performance of a producer against the CoC by looking at the site, the records and conducting private interviews with workers and worker representatives. The auditors are SA8000 certified and belong to a third party auditing company to ensure integrity. Based on these audits, Lindex is focusing on ethical buying and how their patterns effect the factories. As a buyer, Lindex tries to be present at the factories at a more regular basis to ensure the standards outside the auditing period. This is facilitated by the presence of the production office in-country. Additionally, Lindex focuses on training workshops for the factories, as well as the factories own engagement in improving the working standards. One such example is to plan ahead to avoid express orders, and to allow the factory to plan its production and thereby avoiding overtime and the seasonally focused production that occurs in most other factories.

A structural change Lindex made to work efficiently with CSR, is to consolidate the orders to fewer factories to increase their influence on the producer. As one employee at the local office said:“… if you buy 30-40% of their products you gave a lot more leverage than if you buy 5%.”(Manager, 2015b). This additional leverage is important but also creates additional responsibility. In order to tailor their CSR activities to ensure they were responsive to their suppliers, Lindex asked their producers to evaluate them as a buyer. The feedback they received is now used as the basis for the way they work and engage with their suppliers. This has led to longer, well-planned production and giving the factories a realistic timeline to work with, something which can reduce overtime as the efficiency dividends become apparent.

Now [Lindex] plan and produce with [only a] few factories....[This means that] we are now important and sometimes core suppliers for the factories As we work with fewer [factories] we can plan and give them year around business, not only during the peak season. (Merchandiser, 2015)

Lindex also works with community-based projects to increase the living standard, such as the HER project and SWAR (Sustainable Water Resources Management). In addition they work with sustainable practices throughout the entire supply chain, from the head office and stores, to shipping and factories. Something which decreases the overall risk of gender-based discrimination and puts their minimum standards in focus. With the community based projects
(both HER and SWAR) the interviewees, both male and females, said that they bring the information back to their community and become important sources of information. These projects were said to bring mutual respect and further understanding towards one another by the workers and managers/line supervisors interviewed. Although the SWAR project is not directly linked to gender equality, it shows example of women’s empowerment through projects that improve overall livelihoods.

4.1.2 Challenges to implementation
In the Indian export textile industry, this research established two main challenges when considering gender-based discrimination: entrenched cultural barriers; and the economic influence of the production cycle. The cultural barriers are those that relate to both the patriarchal structures and division of labour, while one of the core issues with the production cycle can be connected to overtime. The intersectionality of discrimination, both economic and gender discrimination is reinforced by the product cycle, leaving women in a trap with little hope of advancement.

Women and society
Women traditionally have an inferior role in Indian society, much like the rest of the world. Although certain parts of society have advanced and are closer to achieving gender equality, other parts have not reached as far. In India, it is mainly the women who are responsible for the household and the family. In addition to that, the public space often excludes women from participating. Women are for example not allowed to work later than 7pm (or earlier than 6am) as a “safety precaution”, something which excludes them not only from factory overtime but also certain professions or positions that requires overtime.

When asked how the discrimination manifests within the workplace the local office management pointed out that those in risk of being discriminated against are the female workers at the production floor.

This would manifest on the production floor. How the production manager treats the female workers. They are more vulnerable there, they need the job and come from “lower” backgrounds. (Dixit, 2015)

This demonstrates that females further down the supply chain are positioned in more vulnerable situations, as they already are part of a poor social class. They need the income and the job, as a result they risk being badly treated with no incentive to voice criticism, as speaking up could lead to losing the job. These tendencies go back to the perception that women bear the main responsibility in the household, and that men are the main providers. Once a woman has
children, she is in many cases expected to stop working, and would even in some cases be excluded from the community if she does work (Tully, 2005). It equally feeds into the division of labour, where women are, at most, complimentary earners in the household (Jensen, 2012).

One observation made during the interviews was that there are no, or very few women in middle management. They work either on the factory floor, or at the main office. The local office manager did however suggest that the textile industry is more likely to have women in management than other industries;

There are so many women in the textile export industry that men have to get used to being bossed around by women. However, outside the industry, men are surprised by women talking corporate or having opinions. (Dixit, 2015)

According to those interviewed, hard work over a long period of time is required to be promoted. Although this might very well be the case, interviews demonstrated that many women had worked at the factory for longer than the line managers who were male. One female worker said;

I have worked for 4 years and want to be promoted, but I want to know how to do it, I have experience in one area and want to continue on. We have not been told how this can happen. (Female Worker, 2015)

Instead of listening to her concern, a welfare manager defended the factory saying they cannot promote everyone and not all workers are good enough. However, the statistics demonstrate particular gender dominance in the factories. One of the three factories had no women and 75 males in manager/ line supervisor positions, while another factory had 4 female and 73 male managers/ line supervisors. This could also relate to the history of men mainly working in textile factories in the Delhi area, while women are the majority of the workforce in the textile factories in South India. Many managers stated, female workers are much appreciated as they are, what were described as “sincere, efficient and on time” compared to the male workers. As the number of women working in the factories are increasing, this could also influence and increase the number of females promoted in the future.

The cultural and structural behaviour where women are excluded from public space and put into a traditional household role becomes problematic in cases like the one below, where discrimination is not seen for what it is. The male below was asked if gender-based discrimination exists within the garment industry in India.

I have never seen it within the garment industry. There are job-related things. The finishing floor requires you to stay later and is strenuous work so those kind of jobs are given to males mainly. It makes sense as it is about women’s health and safety as well. Not about discrimination. We cannot send female members at night time, [it is] not discrimination but
logical out of health and safety aspect. A sales job requires more travelling and is therefore more suitable for men. Females are not discriminated once they get a job, but evaluated on performance….Males are rather discriminated as they are not privileged [in the way women are]. (Male Manager, 2015)

As the special measures taken for women are viewed as health and safety measure, and not as the result of discriminatory structures within the society, it is hard to move forward. This continues to exclude women from certain part of public space and reiterates the dominance of patriarchal structures that already exist, presenting women as vulnerable and weak in need of protection. On the other hand, one cannot risk the safety of women to prove a point. One male factory manager said it in the following way;

The reports shows [gender-based discrimination] is decreasing. The government is also pushing for it, it will change with the generations. Why does some men do not respect women? They need to change their mind set and realise everyone is someone’s daughter/sister/mother etc. (Factory Unit Manager, 2015a)

A key for this to change, is, as mentioned, the mind-set. As long as it is widely socially accepted to differentiate between men and women and the culture of violence against women is widely accepted, the problem will persist. As long as women feel that; “it is unsafe for women to go outside alone at night”. (Merchandiser, 2015) the problem will persist.

**Embedded economic drivers of discrimination**

One of the main problems with Indian export textile production, according to all participants asked, is overtime labour. This is part of the supply and demand process which puts most of the production in India during only six months of the year, making the labour demand seasonal. If they cannot deliver what is asked in the limited time, someone else will, and they will lose production, possibly to another market. Due to the pressure on prices, and in India’s case, the limited season, overtime is common and practically mandatory to enable workers earn sufficient income to survive, and to be an attractive employer. As the legal overtime is restricted to 16 hours a month, all year around, the factories struggle to keep to the law, when at a minimum 2-4 hours of overtime a day is required during peak season. During the interviews factories mentioned that they have had 200 hours overtime in a month, which is far from the 16 allowed, but they have been able to reduce it to 100 hours a month and the next step is 50 hours a month. For women it is 2-3 hours overtime in the peak season.

The biggest social challenge is overtime, the reason is the seasoned production, to survive the entire year they take on a lot of work during their peak season, and then export it for the international market. The workers want to work at factories which offers them overtime, to earn money and then go back to their village. If a factory does not offer overtime workers are not attracted to work there. Women cannot work between certain hours [7pm-6am]… (Dixit, 2015)
Section 66 of the Factories Act, (1948) states that female workers cannot, even if they would wish to, work between 7pm and 6am, which excludes them from extensive overtime and shift work. The women are unable to take economic advantages of possible overtime (which pays double, at the factories visited), this also preclude them from career development or moving up the management chain.

Overtime is the most prominent issue. In India the business is 5-6 months (November-June) and the rest is lean season. They have to make enough money to survive the entire year in the short period. In December they would have 20 production lines and in August only 8.

In India the production is mainly the summer collection for Europe and North America. [They are] not as strong in the jersey part as they cannot meet the Bangladesh prices and do not produce for the winter collection. They try to balance it but it is really hard.

(Manager, 2015b)

As mentioned under the first question, one of Lindex’s strategies is to plan the production well in advance for the factories to plan their production ahead of time, thereby being able to avoid the extremely seasonal production, reduce overtime and run at an even level rather than high and low season. Lindex has also reduced the number of factories they work with, and produce 70% of the Indian production with 4-6 factories. Doing this, they provide larger orders which, if well planned can cover large parts of the year and reduce the seasonal focus. The evenly divided production is sustainable in the long run as the factories do not have to employ workers only for the peak season to the same extent, but could rather use legal overtime when needed. Although this is the sustainable practice, factories have pointed out that some workers want nothing but seasonal work and overtime; “An issue is that if we do not have overtime, workers will not come and work for us”. (Factory Manager, 2015a) No matter how much Lindex changes their buying patterns, the factories cannot survive without workers. Workers who work in the factories seasonally and want to save money to go home to provide for their families during low season will not be interested in less overtime hours.

Solving the problem of overtime could potentially result in having factories being short staffed. Just as the legal overtime of 16 hours a month should be respected, those who do leave their families behind (mainly men) want to seize the opportunity during the period they do work. Moreover, many factories have to take on enough work during peak season to survive during the rest of the year, which often is over legal capacity. The demand is during a limited season and if the buyers are not met they move production elsewhere. Women are stuck in this production cycle, as they cannot work the overtime required for the factory to survive, they are therefore not as attractive as workers. They are equally unable to fulfil certain duties, like working at the finishing floor, where the products arrive as a last stop before they are shipped.
off, and therefore often require later working hours. Discrimination is not active in the workplace but rather embedded in broader laws and cultural practices, however the factories themselves are not actively taking steps to counter this embedded gender bias.

The overtime is required to survive the entire year, unless the buying patterns change. Lindex has taken steps to improve their buying patterns to even out the balance. However, some of the factories only produce 10% of their total production for Lindex, which then has little impact if the rest of the buyers have strongly seasonal production. The core issue is not that women cannot work overtime, but rather that the production cycle is extreme, and the buying patterns force the producers to work over capacity during a period of the year. As the production has a low season as well, workers need to work overtime to survive once high season is over.

4.1.3 Successes in implementation and potential obstacles

Consumer demand within the global market for ethical clothing does trickle down to the supplier level and is a contributing factor for the improvement of workers’ rights. Where buyers require certain standards, especially for the European and North American markets, existing and proven CSR standards in production factories becomes a business advantage.

The suppliers are already good at the basic CSR requirement. Good level of compliance gets more business. It also keeps the workers happy. (Merchandiser, 2015).

It was added that the factories know that if Lindex requires a certain standard, they will sooner or later be asked the same from other buyers. It is therefore mutually beneficial for all parties involved to implement changes.

Those interviewed who had worked within the textile industry for a long time said that 20 years ago the conditions in the export factories looked completely different, the standard is much higher today. In many cases there was no “standard” 20 years ago. So, just as the global market is placing pressure on the factories, they have a big role in enforcing better working conditions. To uphold minimum level standards is just as much a business case as anything. This proving that a greater consistency among the buyers does encourage the factories to implement standards.

One of the projects Lindex is involved with in India, and other countries in their supply chain is the HER Project. The HER Project is a project initiated by Business for Social Responsibility (BSR)\textsuperscript{10} and stand for Health Enables Return (HER)\textsuperscript{11}. The HER projects mission is to empower

\textsuperscript{10} \url{http://www.bsr.org/en/about}
\textsuperscript{11} \url{http://herproject.org/}
low-income women working in global supply chains through workplace programs on a range of topics. The HER project ran for both men and women in India, as the majority of workers are male (Dahlberg and Porss, 2015). “…the project informed both genders on women’s health which created a sense of understanding.” (Dixit, 2015). The workers at the factory who had participated in the HER project said that since the trainings, there is a better understanding for one another, and then added; “…and there is a sense of belonging and it creates a bond.”(Worker, 2015). When asked about the core benefit of the project for them, one of the answers was; ”We have been told how to best care for our children.” (Worker, 2015) Something as important as how to best care for future generations is taught to both men and women, which at the very least can increase the awareness of males of the responsibilities women shoulder within the household.

It is important to recognise that long-term sustainability is not necessarily achieved through big projects with media attention, but rather through consistent work and mutual respect between the factories. This coupled with the proactive strategies limiting production factories and planning production cycles has resulted in some strong results regarding CSR for Lindex. However, there are a range of areas that need to be improved.

**Systematic Obstacles**

One of the obstacles found was that the issue of gender-based discrimination is hard to get a comprehensive picture of. No one seems to know about it to any extent, except the fact that women in India are regularly discriminated against but anything more specific is hard to find. One of the reasons could be that the audits do not delve further into non-discrimination than requiring that measures are taken to avoid discrimination in the workplace. Unless the issue is highlighted, there will be no improvements. As it is right now, those working further up in the supply chain are not aware of the discrimination. According to the BSCI auditing guide, there is extensive material which needs to be gathered regarding the topic of equal opportunity, although there is little focus on women. It should also be added that the BSCI self-assessment for producers only touches upon the area with the question “The auditee takes the necessary measures to avoid or eradicate discrimination in the workplace” (BSCI, 2015) with three different alternative answers from “not started” to “already in process”. It is additionally not specific to gender but could just as well be applied to discrimination based on ethnicity or class.

In short, the involvement of international actors has improved the overall standard due to their minimum requirements in a range of areas, including labour laws. This is equally the case with community based projects, which are beneficial for both the factory and the buyer. The nature
of gender-based discrimination is not well captured in current audit processes, therefore the extent and fundamental nature of gender-based discrimination is unknown. The lack of data means that the impact that international buyers can have in this area is limited.

4.1.4 Areas for improvement within CSR

From the interviews, several concrete examples of what could be improved were given, while these changes will be discussed, it is important to understand that structural change develops through time and has to come from within the country. Gender-based discrimination will not be reduced through one or two interventions, but through consistent work and awareness for a longer period of time.

When asking the workers if there was anything they would want to change or improve if they could, the answers varied and mainly came from female workers. There were some core themes for possible improvements that emerged. Firstly, unions are central to providing workers an independent forum to pursue better conditions and hold management accountable. Secondly, providing job security and maternity leave and thirdly better opportunities for promotion and career progression are essential for working to counter gender-based discrimination.

Independent labour unions

The role of labour unions within factories should be considered and discussed for future policies. Implementation of this sort of intervention would require significant cultural sensitivity as these are seen as unwelcome parts of factories, or as one factory manager said: “But we are good to our workers, why would they go to a union? We pay them on time, we take care of them and there are no HR issues. Here, if you join a union you have an external motivation.” (Manager, 2015c).

Overall those who were interviewed were not supportive of unions. These responses may reflect the cultural perception of unions and may be hard to change. However, creating independent advice bodies where workers could seek advice, whether in relation to career advancement or other issues such as sexual harassment is important to ensuring women in vulnerable positions are able to understand their rights as well as their opportunities for advancement.

Within the Delhi area, there are many unions but they are smaller and might only cover a factory. All managers were sure to mention that although they do not encourage unions, all workers have the right to freedom of associations. There is a contradictory issue between their willingness and support for committees within the factories, but their restrictions that prevent independent attendees limiting those attending unions meetings to raise issues freely. A sexual
harassment committee can do little if those harassing are in management. Many of the CoCs available, including BSCI, are based on a European values and understanding of unions, which does not correlate with those in India. What the interviewees mentioned when discussing labour unions was that most labour unions existing today are corrupt and with strong political motives. If the option of a non-corrupt union was available, for both workers and managers, the attitude towards it might change.

**Job security**
A key area for improvement that female workers mentioned was the security of returning to work after having children; “It would be nice if we were guaranteed to come back to the workplace after we have had children. Either to the same position or a different one.” (Worker, 2015) The request could be easily met by factories and could provide women greater empowerment through economic security, and reduce the reliance on the man as the sole earner. As mentioned previously, one of the core factors for female empowerment is financial independence (Sharma, 2000), and once a woman falls pregnant, the possibility of that decreases as many women stay at home, and those who do work still hold the main responsibility for the household. With the decrease of women working because of family responsibilities, inequality between men and women is also increasing. This can be related to one female worker who wanted the allowed overtime hours for women to be extended, to work longer hours and earn money before she had a family”…overtime hours to be increased so we can work more and earn more money…we want to earn money before we have a family.” (Worker, 2015) Unless women are given the possibility to choose themselves, gender-based discrimination will continue to oppress them.

**Awareness**
Opportunities for promotion and career development were identified as an issue for female workers. A worker specifically mentioned she wanted to be promoted but did not know how to be. Management was also asked if they had clear guidelines as to how the workers could reach the position they wanted. One out of the three had just come across the idea of creating guidelines. “We also discussed making a handbook on how to be promoted about two weeks ago and will develop this.” (Manager, 2015c) This answer was welcomed and could potentially be a step towards an equal promotion process, as there are guidelines to go by. But as long as the majority of management is male, and the road to promotion is diffused, it is possible for manager to gender discriminate, without any other grounds of choosing to promote a male worker instead of a female. Clear guidelines for both workers and management would increase the transparency of the process and clearly state what is expected.
5. Conclusion
The textile export industry in India is the second largest industry within the country, and it highly impacts the Indian economy, both through the export but also the high number of people it employs. Within the industry, women are in a vulnerable position where they are often discriminated against, as in many other aspects of the Indian society. This manifests in a number of ways: women are mostly within low level floor worker positions and experience difficulties being promoted; their work hours are regulated by law; therefore their freedom of movement is restricted excluding them from certain jobs. In the textile export industry, many of the international buyers require minimum standards in the context of labour rights and social and environmental sustainability from the factories. These minimum standards are commonly implemented according to a Code of Conduct the buying company implements. To make sure these standards are upheld, audits are used as a tool to monitor at a frequent basis. This is in many cases the foundation of a buyers CSR actions. Although these measures are taken to ensure the minimum standards are extensive, there are still areas where the audits are insufficient or simply cannot collect the data needed in an efficient and objective manner. Gender-based discrimination is one such area, where although CSR and labour rights have been required for years, it has not been able to improve at the same rate as other rights. This thesis considers the use of CSR as a tool to prevent gender-based discrimination within the textile export industry in India.

The purpose of this research is to study if and how CSR can be an effective tool in improving gender-based discrimination in the workplace. This was operationalised through a case study of Lindex supply chain (textile industry) in the Delhi area in India. The research questions are:

1. What strategies are being used when implementing the CoC?
2. What type of problems/ difficulties can be found when implementing improved working conditions?
3. What success has been achieved and what are the obstacles?
4. How can the CSR work improve?

The data was collected through interviews and the literature, and was then analysed by the help of the framework presented in chapter 2. These frameworks include the motivational factors for companies to use CSR and the structures that facilitate discrimination within the export textile industry in India.
The question whether CSR can be a useful tool can be answered by looking at the difference CSR has achieved so far. All those interviewed who have been in the business for the last ten years or longer witnessed a change in minimum requirements, both buyers and producers. They added that from producers being very suspicious of these requirements, and not wanting to implement them, they have reached a point where it is now profitable and no longer questioned.

In relation to the first question, the strategies implemented by Lindex are displayed in the BSCI CoC. Their guidelines are based in some of the most important human rights and labour rights documents. Additionally, Lindex has made structural adjustments such as how they order from suppliers, allowing longer time for planning and producing. They have also encouraged open communication and worked with factories to better understand how they can manage their ordering to balance production pressures and enable better conditions for workers. In addition to these two targeted approaches, Lindex also chooses to work with a range of community projects that are being implemented more broadly in the Delhi factory region, that support the overall improvement of living standards for factory workers. By having a local production office in Delhi, Lindex can have a closer relationship with the producers. They speak the same language, are in the same time zone and can have regular meetings, and receive feedback on possible improvements. The decrease in number of producers and increase of quantity bought from the producers has also changed the impact they have and the importance they are off to the factory. One of their aims is to produce 80% of all products in sustainable factories by 2020, and work on issues concerning life improvements for the workers. Additionally, Lindex has a specific action plan in relation to child labour, with a no tolerance policy.

When looking at the problems and difficulties found in relation to the second question, this research established two main challenges when considering gender-based discrimination: entrenched cultural barriers; and, the economic influence of the production cycle. Women are not allowed overtime for health and safety reasons as one manager pointed out, instead of focusing on the issue of women being in danger if they walk outside in the late afternoon or night. Due to an accepted culture of violence against women being in secluded areas, those area becomes prohibited territory for women which means her opportunity to work certain hours is restricted. The solution is to restrict the women, in this case the victims, rather than address the issue itself. Women also face issues of uncertainty regarding their job during maternity leave and have found it hard to be promoted within the factories (Worker, 2015). There are structural social norms and practices which makes it difficult for women to have equal opportunities to men in India.
Overtime is a reoccurring problem, because the production cycle pushes the factories to work over capacity for a period of the year, to then leave them without work for the second part of the year. Although Lindex has implemented different buying practices to give the factories time to plan ahead and to even out the production, other buyers have not yet changed and it is therefore necessary for the survival of the factory to work over capacity. Workers are often not interested to work in a factory unless they can provide overtime, as the work is just as seasonal for them, and they need to survive on the wage.

As mentioned in the third research question, success in the area of gender-based discrimination is hard to find as there are issues making the implementation of gender equality problematic in India. However, previous projects Lindex and their producers have conducted have shown successful results in empowering women and shows that there is a willingness within factories to develop and learn (for example the HER project). There has also been a long term positive development, improving the minimum standards and turning them into requirements for the producers if they want to export. Something that has been a result of pressure from the external actors, which indicates that the influence of CSR has been a positive influence for workers’ rights. The business advantage expresses itself in both the profit from international buyers who have high minimum requirements, but equally profit from implementing sustainable practices and thereby reducing sick leave and staff turnover. However, there are major obstacles to achieve gender-based discrimination. One of them being the issue of collecting enough data to get a comprehensive picture of the situation, as current audit practices fail to specifically gather data on gender-based discrimination. As it is now, those who can do something are not aware of the extent, and therefore lack the tools to implement improvements.

When it comes to possible improvements, there are many aspects to be considered, but some more prominent than others were found in relation to the fourth research question. During the interviews, concrete examples of what could be improved were established. One of the major things is the lack of independent labour unions available. Most unions were seen as having political motivation, and not the workers best interest at hand. Another area was job security, it was mentioned by the workers that they want to come back after maternity leave, something which can decrease a woman’s dependency on her husband. General awareness raising was a third point that was clear once the data was collected. Many actors knew very little of what gender-based discrimination is and how it takes form. Awareness raising on what discriminatory behaviour is, would benefit all actors. Additionally, it is important to keep in mind that structural change develops through time and has to come from within the country.
Gender-based discrimination will not be reduced through one or two interventions, but through consistent work and awareness for a longer period of time.

This research demonstrates that overall CSR can be a useful tool in improving gender-based discrimination in the workplace. The question of how this can be operationalised is more problematic. When a problem is as structural and embedded as gender-based discrimination is in India, it is difficult for external actors to change those social norms, especially outside the factories, where change has to come from within to be sustainable. A large responsibility is, as with any human rights issue, put on the state which has the responsibility to promote and protect human rights. Although, an external entity can still influence a country and its norms, while following the national laws and regulations. This can happen through encouraging implementation of policies and practices which increase gender equality at the workplace where possible and hope that this may have broader implications.

For companies like Lindex working to achieve gender equality within their supply chain has some significant challenges. Indian society has some deeply entrenched cultural practices which are almost insurmountable when it comes to addressing gender. CSR offers opportunities for companies like Lindex as a medium and a set of tools, implemented through the CoC, to engage with the factories on this issue, but change is incremental and ultimately reliant on significant outside influences. Looking at the improvements CSR and CoC has had in factories in India over the last 20 years, CSR can be a useful tool to implement standards, therefore improve gender-based discrimination.

5.1 Recommendations

The recommendations fall into two different categories, commercial and non-commercial actors. In certain cases, it is the state’s responsibility, and a company like Lindex sourcing from the country, cannot take on that responsibility, or go against the states decisions. The state has the inherent responsibility to implement, protect and follow up human rights in the country. Laws and regulations set by the state have to be followed by international actors. As Lindex is also part of the BSCI and work by their CoC and audits, recommendations directed towards the CoC and the audits will be directed to the BSCI. The recommendations are therefore divided in relation to the two actors. The state’s responsibility is discusses under “additional discussion” Based on the findings that most women and men did not recognize discriminatory structures as discrimination, although the literature claims that it is, these recommendations include overall awareness raising at all levels.
In addition to awareness raising, an overarching recommendation for all actors is the focus on independent labour unions. As it is now, unions are not encouraged. To change the current situation, actors on all levels of the supply chain need to work towards progressing this. State level has to ensure there are independent labour unions with the best interest of the worker at hand, and with no other motives. The BSCI and Lindex can work with their producers and encourage independent unions.

**Recommendations, non-commercial actor**

The first actor is in this case the Business Social Compliance Initiative (BSCI) of which Lindex is a member. Lindex uses their CoC and as a part of the BSCI they audit\(^{12}\) according to the BSCI regulations. The audits are currently insufficient in effectively collating data relating gender-based discrimination. This particular area of the audit has possible improvements to be made, and as well as increasing the overall awareness of the issue. If they were to identify the areas where discrimination is most likely to occur, and in addition further specify the equal treatment section of the audit, the audit could increase the likelihood of identifying gender-based discrimination.

**Recommendations Lindex**

Lindex as an actor has shown that they can influence and change practices where they operate. The producers they work with know that the requirements Lindex ask are eventually asked by other buyers, and have so far helped them increase profits. As all the producers are independent and not owned by Lindex, they cannot implement changes directly, but they can ask for change and require improvements in the factories as they have reduced the number of producers and increased the volume. This in turn gives Lindex leverage and influence.

A recommendation for Lindex is to ask for an official procedure for promotion, for all workers. One of the three factories visited had just started to consider if they should develop a handbook for promotion. It was both clearly stated by female workers that they do not know what is expected from them to be promoted, and the numbers show that there are no or low numbers of women in manager positions in the factories. Since the majority of supervisors/ line managers are not hired externally, but rather promoted internally there should logically be greater representation of women in management considering their dominance on the factory floor. Clear guidelines that also support the advancement of women would facilitate greater gender equality in factory management.

Lindex could further encourage guarantees for women to come back after maternity leave. As it is today, they were unsure of their future in the factory after having children. If women were offered the opportunity to come back after maternity leave, it would create a sense of security and reduce their dependence on the husband as the only earner. In those instances where maternity leave with the possibility of coming back already exists, this should be further mentioned and implementation should be followed up.

Previous projects Lindex has conducted with their producers have been fruitful in the sense that they were successful, created awareness and a sense of understanding. It was also mentioned that the knowledge they gained was distributed outside the factories in the communities. If there was an opportunity for a similar project where all these contributing factors were focusing on gender equality, and female empowerment, it could improve the situation for women, not only in the factory but also in the local area.

As an external entity operating in India, Lindex is limited by a number of obstacles. However, this should not stop them from working on improving gender-based discrimination in the workplace, but rather encourage them to continue on their CSR work in a sustainable and proactive manner but with additional areas to focus on.

Additional Discussion
The main actor to have the power to implement changes is the Indian government. Within human rights documents, the state has the main responsibility to respect, protect and implement human rights. They have the power to look further into the problem of gender-based discrimination and target the social structure which causes safety issues for women walking alone at night, rather than limiting their ability to work. The practical aspect of this is very diffuse and it is hard to define, as change in social structures takes time and ultimately needs to come from within the society. Awareness raising and a strong national movement to improve women’s rights is needed to create change. There are however areas where practical and direct change is possible, one such area is the Factories Act. Section 66 of the Factories Act from 1948, prohibiting women to work between 7pm and 6am should be revised and instead further actions to ensure women’s safety, without limiting their freedom should be implemented.

Concluding Remarks
This research provides an insight into the daily work in Lindex’s supply chain, which is of significant relevance to company management. On the other hand, its weakness lays in the restricted information gathered during the interviews with workers. This was due to a number of reasons particularly the limited time in the field, which was not enough to foster trustful
relationships with the workers to understand the extent of possible discrimination was not possible. There was still valuable understanding was gained as a result of the field studies despite these limitations. This research and would not have been as relevant if it was purely based on the literature.

If this research was to further continue, an in-depth study of the area, with data collected for a longer period of time and over a broader spectrum would be beneficial to further improve CSR practices to reduce gender-based discrimination within the export textile industry in India. As gender-based discrimination as a worldwide practice, a similar study of the full supply chain, including gender division from the head office and sub suppliers, as well as other actors within the supply chain could generate valuable insight.

Finally, the recommendations made are based on the research, which is limited in its extent. To make specific and definite recommendations further research is needed. The research does however highlight the existing human rights issue of gender-based discrimination in the textile export industry and the difficulties the current system of auditing has to identify these human rights violations. With further research and commitment from buyers and the Indian government, the violations could firstly decreased and, ultimately be eradicated.
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Appendix 1
BSCI Code of Conduct
http://www.bsci-intl.org/resources/code-of-conduct

BSCI Code of Conduct

The present BSCI Code of Conduct version 1.2014 aims at setting up the values and principles that the BSCI Participants strive to implement in their supply chains. It was approved by the Foreign Trade Association (FTA) Board on 28 November 2013 and succeeds the BSCI Code of Conduct version 2008 in all its translations. The present BSCI Code of Conduct consists of three major sections of information: a) Preamble, Interpretation, Our Values and Implementation, which apply to all Business Enterprises; b) Principles, which address more specifically the BSCI Participants’ Business Partners and c) BSCI Terms of Implementation. BSCI Reference and BSCI Glossary, which are integral parts of the Code and provide more detailed information on interpretation and implementation of the BSCI.

The BSCI Code of Conduct version 1.2014 enters into force on 1 January 2014. The English version of this document is the legally binding one.

I. Preamble

The Business Social Compliance Initiative (BSCI) was launched by the Foreign Trade Association (FTA), acknowledging that international trade is an essential vehicle for human prosperity and social economic growth.

This code of conduct (the BSCI Code of Conduct) is a set of principles and values that reflect the beliefs of BSCI Participants and the expectations they have towards their business partners.

The BSCI Code of Conduct refers to international conventions such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Children’s Rights and Business Principles, UN Guiding Principles for Business and Human Rights, OECD Guidelines, UN Global Compact and International Labour Organization (ILO) Conventions and Recommendations relevant to improve working conditions in the supply chain.

Business enterprises that endorse the BSCI Code of Conduct are committed to the principles set out in this document and to meeting, within their sphere of influence, their responsibility to respect human rights.

BSCI and its participants (BSCI Participants) pursue a constructive and open dialogue among business partners and stakeholders in order to reinforce the principles of socially responsible business. Furthermore, they see the building up of mature industrial relations between workers and management as being key for sustainable businesses.

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## Appendix 2

### CSR Approaches

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<tr>
<th>Type of Theory</th>
<th>Approaches</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
<th>Key References</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Altruistic activities socially recognized used as an instrument of marketing</td>
<td>Davis (1960, 1967)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political theories</strong> <em>(focusing on a responsible use of business power in the political arena)</em></td>
<td>1. Corporate constitutionalism</td>
<td>1. Social responsibilities of businesses arise from the amount of social power that they have</td>
<td>Davis (1960, 1967)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3. Corporate (or business) citizenship</td>
<td>3. The firm is understood as being like a citizen with certain involvement in the community</td>
<td>Wood and Lodgson (2002), Andriof and McIntosh (2001)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Matten and Crane (in press)</td>
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<td><strong>Integrative theories</strong> <em>(focusing on the integration of social demands)</em></td>
<td>1. Issues management</td>
<td>1. Corporate processes of response to those social and political issues which may impact significantly upon it</td>
<td>Sethi (1975), Ackerman (1973), Jones (1980), Vogel, (1986), Wartick and Mahon (1994)</td>
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thing to achieve a good society

2. Universal rights

3. Sustainable development

4. The common good

Its application requires reference to some moral theory (Kantian, Utilitarianism, theories of justice, etc.)

2. Frameworks based on human rights, labor rights and respect for the environment

3. Aimed at achieving human development considering present and future generations

4. Oriented towards the common good of society

(Garriga and Melé, 2004)

Corporate Sustainability in The World Economy