Organisation as Calamity, Layoffs and Precarity: An Intersectionality Perspective

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Media reports announced that seven information technology (IT) firms were planning to lay off fifty six thousand engineers in India (Sood, 2017, May 12). When thousands of employees lose jobs in an industry, the moment of loss signifies crucial insights about the character of organisations in the industry. Loss is an important marker of our lives. Pathos, mourning and tragedy are important stories that fill our social worlds. By examining narratives of loss in the IT industry, particularly of employees belonging to marginalised castes, we attempt to understand what our organisational immersions in contemporary times could signify. While organisations claim that caste identities are invisible in modern times, we attempt to uncover how Dalit employees could continue to experience discrimination, especially during layoffs. We specifically examine the phenomenology of precarity in relation to caste with a specific focus on the layoffs of IT workers in India.

Focusing on the political and structural conditions that differentially affect marginalized communities, such as women and children, Butler (2009) defines precarity “the politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death (p.25).” Research on precarity in the organizational context focuses on working conditions, such as involuntary-part time or jobs without any benefits resulting in uncertainties throughout life course (Kalleberg, 2009, 2018; Mills and Blossfeld, 2005). Due to their marginalized status, Dalits are hypervisible in workplace. Mahalingam, Jagannathan and Selvaraj (2019) argue that by embodying a marked caste identity as Dalits, the caste identity overshadows and erase their objectified invisibility thereby their suffering and indignities are erased. In this paper, we explored the precarity of Dalits workers by critically examining layoffs as a restructuring narrative its differential impact on Dalit workers and how they make sense of their layoff experience.

Caste plays an important role in the social, political and economic aspects of the people in India. The caste system is hierarchical and the marginalized Dalits were historically discriminated and marginalised on the basis of the caste (Gorringe, 2005). Reservation or quota system of representation was provided to socially backward communities in political, academics and public employment based on their proportional share in the population (Jain and Venkata Ratnam, 1994). It was aimed to raise the economic levels of the socially backward castes and to eliminate discrimination in the society (Saha, 2012). Although quota system was introduced around 1930s under the British rule, Dalits protest against the exploitation meted out to them. Dalits argue that the elite positions are occupied by the dominant castes whereas precarious and stigmatising labour such as janitors, crematorium work is performed by them (Jagannathan, Selvaraj and Joseph, 2016). Dalits struggle to enter elite professions like software engineering but organizational restructuring decisions sometimes shatter their dream of continuing in such professions.

**Layoffs and Restructuring: A Narrative Approach**

In the context of organisational restructuring decisions, it has been argued that these decisions are not accepted without resistance (Contu, Palpacuer and Balas, 2013). The organizations perceive that layoffs are one stop solution to remain agile, flexible, healthy and competitive (Richter and Koning, 2017), but employees protest against the unilateral decisions of the management as they lose their livelihood. We examine how trajectories of resistance may depend on our imaginations of organisations. Specifically, our imaginations may be contingent on the romantic and rational legacies to which we belong. Our cultural productions and subjectivities as employees could inform the ways in which resist organisational restructuring. The affective and political atmospheres in which layoffs are situated provide crucial insights about the nature of organisations.

The legitimacy of organisational actions is a complex issue and is shaped by contested terrains and politicisation of decisions that take place within organisation (Vaara and Tienari, 2008). The processes through which layoffs are legitimised inside organisations provides insights about the constitution of political spaces within them. The authorities are concerned about increasing the shareholder value and the public image of fairness rather than focusing on distributive or procedural fairness of layoffs (Bobocel and Debeyer, 1998; Luyckx and Janssens, 2019). The legitimisation of layoffs is indicative of an organisation’s ability to engage with pathos and grief. Layoffs can be structured in the form of collective anticipations and discussions which structure decisions based on voice and organisational democracy. Alternatively, layoffs could also be structured as unilateral and ad hoc acts which structure cultures of disrespect and anxiety within organisations.

A multiplicity of stakeholders play a role in the politicisation of organisations (Dorrenbacher and Geppert, 2011). Politicisation undermines the role of collective institutions and also reduces the options available to precarious workers, which also translates job precarity into political precarity (Wilson and Ebert, 2013). The process of politicisation not only complicates and democratises organisational decisions, but also structures the stories that populate the lives of employees. Employees are storied beings and the layers, complexities and nuances of their stories draw the outline of organisational compacts and social relations. Employees are destroyed as storied beings not merely on account of the individualisation of employment relations. However, when the employment relationship is structured as an everyday crisis of survival, then the complex stories of employees could be erased. Instead, only simple, primal and deeply disturbing stories of everyday experiences of survival could remain.

**Description of the Study**

In this study, we want to ground the examination of layoffs in the empirical context of recent layoffs in the information technology industry in India. We believe that grounding the examination of layoffs in this context has two advantages. *First*, since several conditions of decent work such as job security, creative work, work life balance, fairness and social security have been deemed to be absent in the IT industry in India (Nizami and Prased, 2013), it is interesting to consider the kind of social damage that large, industry wide layoffs can create in this context. *Second*, it has been observed that the IT industry in India has been adopting a cost-minimising approach rather than a focus on building dynamic capabilities by strategically investing in human capital in the long term (Majumdar, 2013). Thus, it is interesting to examine whether the climate of cost-minimising creates a discursive atmosphere among employees where they are already demoralised to such an extent that there is very little avenue for them to express resistance when layoffs occur. The research question guiding this study is to understand how layoffs constitute the cultural and political imagination of IT companies and the nature of the employment relationship that is structured within them in India. In this study, we rely on a narrative approach to access the stories of thirty engineers who have been affected by layoffs in recent times. Taylor (2010) contends that there are two advantages in adopting narrative approaches in understanding issues of legitimacy and social relations. *First*, voice and reflexive engagement are structured and negated by institutional frameworks, and thus stories offer an important opportunity for challenging linear accounts where several marginal subjects can be prevented from telling their stories. *Second*, stories offer an important site for negotiating the politics of recognition and misrecognition where concerns about how we circle subjects within the epistemic field of our assumptions can be productively engaged with.

By examining the narratives of layoffs from the perspective of organisational imagination, we hope to make two theoretical contributions. *First*, layoffs and loss have been theorised using the imagination of death metaphors where the meanings of job losses have remained within contested fields of irresponsibility and necessary sacrifice (Arman, 2014). While these metaphors of layoffs are important, we go beyond the lens of only interpreting the subjectivities of layoffs to understand the very imagination of organisations and the employment relationship that is constituted in the process. *Second,* layoffs have also been looked at from the perspective of narrative coping through which subjects articulate stories that help them to renegotiate their identities (Gabriel, Gray and Goregaokar, 2010). While these renegotiations are important, we go beyond individual acts of coping to understand how organisational atmospheres intersect with the life stories of employees to create the subjectivity of loss.

**Methods**

We held conversation with fifteen software engineers. Six of these managers were women and eight of them were Dalits. Our interest in speaking to software engineers who were negatively affected by layoffs was to understand the role of politics and coercion could possibly be a part of layoff process. We asked them to narrate stories that they thought had an influence on layoffs. We look upon stories as conflicted accounts where questions of recognition and care are mediated through the possibility of constructing multiple identities (Taylor, 2010).

We engaged in a variety of conversations with our informants. We were interested in knowing how the discourse of caste suffused the employment relationship and how our informants negotiated caste in the workplace. We wanted to know events which preceded the separation from the employment relationship. We engaged with our informants in the spirit of a dialogue around issues of caste, employment and precariousness. We wanted to identify ways in which caste structured inequalities and how it informed key decisions pertaining to the employment relations such as separation.

By engaging with both Dalit and non-Dalit informants, we wanted to mobilise comparative narratives of how caste intervenes in the structuring of lay-offs. Two of our informants were Dalit and women, providing an opportunity for exploring some intersectionalities of caste and gender in the workplace. Dalit experiences are often accounts of trauma, subordination, suffering and exclusion, and there are a number of social practices that contribute to ongoing processes of inequality (Nayar, 2015). We wanted to understand how these practices may become a part of organisational imaginations in creating conditions of marginalisation. During lay-offs, questions of caste, class and gender may intersect, providing an insight about how organisations weave identities and inequalities into their functioning.

We had multiple conversations with our informants and tried to understand how they were coping with lay-offs. Again, we tried to understand whether there were differences in the ways in which informants from different caste and gendered identities coped with lay-offs. When we engaged in a comparative understanding of lay-offs, we were not as much interested in looking at contrasts and distinctiveness of life-worlds. Instead, we were interested in uncovering cultural universes and the ways in which actors have enacted signifiers in different settings. Cultural signifiers outline the multiple meanings associated with lay-offs and how the texture of trauma is connected to the prevailing network of identities.

In the Dalit context, signifiers invoke layered memories of trauma, as layoffs may imply the activation of numerous experiences of inequality and humiliation. Many of these experiences may even be a part of the collective memory that Dalits inherit, and the unequal experience of layoffs become another layer of the inherited texture of humiliation. Methodologically, while engaging with the experience of non-Dalits pertaining to lay-offs, we wanted to understand the specificity of Dalit experience as well, in order to avoid subsuming Dalit narratives under a framework of class which may overlook Dalit sensibilities of resistance (Berg, 2014). We have to acknowledge that we are not Dalits and therefore may never be able to give voice to an immersed Dalit experience. At best, we are trying to mobilise a politics where we feel disturbed by the violence and inequality of caste, and want to contribute to its undoing.

We approach this study from a political perspective of being horrified by the violation of worker’s rights (Kameo, 2017). We uncover partial stories of this horror and do not claim to provide a representative account of worker’s experiences or the phenomena. Instead, we are horrified by the prospect of asking a worker to leave an organisation. This act of asking a worker to leave an organisation implies the termination of conversation. From the outside, the worker is shut out from organisational worlds, and is no longer a conversational stakeholder. Through our narrative engagement, we are trying to flesh out the horror of these experiences.

**Narratives of Layoffs: The Dilemmas of Caste**

Based on the analysis of the data, we generated two themes. The first theme pertains to how caste inequalities are remembered even if they are not explicitly discussed and at an appropriate time. The organizational actors make decisions based on these inequalities. The second theme pertains to retaliation being targeted at those employees from marginalised castes who asserted their identities openly especially in terms of involving pride in Dalit identity. We find that driving Dalits into terrains of anonymity marginalises the possibility of countering contexts of humiliation which create adverse employment conditions.

*Denying Caste as Trauma, Experiencing Caste as Horror*

We found that several employees believed that caste did not operate an unequal way in the IT companies in which they worked. A woman employee (married, 39 years) who worked with a major multinational IT company in India stated that her supervisor was aware of her being a Dalit. She felt that her caste did not have anything to do with her separation from the organisation,

There was a downturn. The company wanted to save costs. I had not shined in a project and the company had removed me from the project. My supervisors told me that I had not shown enough progress in the project. It was one of the reasons why I had to leave the company. There were personal reasons. I had to take care of my son. I was not able to live up to the high pressure requirements of work.

The employee justifies her removal from the organisation as a consequence of her not performing up to the mark in a project. She cites personal reasons for why she could not perform to the best of her ability in the organisation. She asserts that caste inequalities are not prevalent in private sector corporations.

The woman employee defended private sector corporations as sites of knowledge,

In the private sector, they do not look at caste background. They look at knowledge only. My manager knew about my caste background, but he treated me well, as well as other colleagues.

The naturalisation of private sector corporations as sites of knowledge endows them with a modernist agency. Thus, while the knowledge of caste exists as her manager is aware of her being a Dalit, she feels that caste cannot operate in unequal ways. She believes that the modernist agency of the corporation will prevent it from actualising caste in unequal ways during a layoff.

At the same time, the woman employee is aware of several caste based inequalities which are prevalent in society. She described these inequalities in the following words,

There is a lot of discrimination against Dalits in society. Their life should improve. The provisions of the state are not enjoyed by all members of the community. Although there are reservations and affirmative action, there has not been much improvement. I have read about several incidents of discrimination against Dalits in newspapers. In Tamilnadu, the moment people come to know about our caste, they do not talk to us properly. In Bengaluru, I had to lie about my caste in order to get a house for rent. I lied that I was not a Dalit. But things are changing in the present generation. Present generation does not engage in caste discrimination. I have had food with people from other castes in the same plate. But when it comes to marriage, people marry within the same caste.

While the employee is aware of the unequal ways in which caste operates, she interprets the knowledge about her caste background that her manager has in benign ways. She remembers how difficult it was for her to get a home in Bengaluru. But she is able to separate the private sphere from the public sphere, and believes that discrimination is prevalent only in the private sphere of home and marriage, but does not exist in the public sphere of employment.

A male employee (married, 42 years) described his experiences of caste,

I want a sense of community without caste. In India, discrimination on the basis of caste is very high. People should not be discriminated on any grounds. There are people without food, no scope for education and not able to arrange marriage for their kids, they are the people who suffer the most. Government should stand by the poor people. They might be from any caste. Government should take steps to improve the livelihood of all citizens of our country. Everyone should be treated equally. Like some developed countries, there should be equality.

In the narratives of the male employee cited above, we get some evidence of why the woman employee cited earlier could not believe that caste based inequality could exist inside corporations. The male employee cited above believes that there is equality in developed countries, and this model needs to be adopted in India. Implicitly, he believes that the market economies of the west are less likely to be prone to identity based inequalities, and endorses the belief that corporations which embody market forces embody a progressive sentiment of modernity.

The male employee cited above was also forced to leave his job,

People went to the extent of constantly carrying tales about me to the manager. The manager did not allow me to undertake several training programs. They were pressurising the manager to at least transfer me and make me relocate to some other site. I was shocked when I heard about this. The manager was a nice person. He recognized my hard work and did not want to punish me. But at the same time, he did not want to antagonise them as well. Finally, I was asked to leave the job.

There are various paradoxes through which the employee both affirms the inequality of caste, and tries to deny its impact. He believes that his manager is a nice man, but it is others who are prejudiced towards him because of his caste. In several ways, the figure of the manager and the corporation are being excused of being complicit in the enactment of caste, even while they structure the horror of layoffs.

*Anonymity, Vulnerability and the Erosion of Stories*

Employees want to anonymise their identities in order to prevent their Dalithood from being recognized. They believe that the recognition of Dalithood could lead to potential harm and their existence inside the organisation being adversely affected. The mobilisation of the discourse of harm outlines how organisations reflect a variety of social fissures in terms of decision making that affects the lives of people.

A male Dalit employee (32 years, not married) outlined the need to anonymise his identity,

I don’t think they know about my caste background. If they come to know about it, there is a possibility of discrimination. I am working with this company for the past 7.5 years and I have not been discriminated. In the earlier company where I was forced to leave my job, they used to make fun of Dalits. They said that Dalits did not know anything. Even if Dalits were intelligent and rose to high positions, they alleged that we have entered the system through quota. This mindset of people should change, only then society will progress.

The employee outlines how he had to face hostility in an earlier organisation where his Dalit identity was well known. He fears that he will face difficulties in his current organisation if his identity were to be discovered. Unlike informants in earlier narratives who felt that organisations were unlikely to structure inequality on the basis of caste, the employee cited above refused to endorse corporations as modern entities embodying progress.

While the employee cited above felt that caste based identities could structure harm, other employees who were non-Dalits contended that class was a more important marker of inequality than caste. A woman employee (34 years, married) who is a non-Dalit and who had recently lost her job said,

The company was not doing well. I was laid off. I am facing several difficulties. I believe that reservation should be based on economic criteria as well. There are some Dalits who are very rich, they might not actually need reservation to progress. There are some poor people from upper castes, the government should support them as well. For instance, I am facing many difficulties, but the government hardly supports people like us.

When the discourse of class is mobilised to prevent the discourse of caste from becoming an anchor around which conversations about caste based inequality can proceed, there is an erosion of stories about caste which begin to occur. While caste inequalities are deeply entangled with class based practices, there are specific humiliations that are structured around the reality of caste. To not remember and discuss these humiliations leads to the loss of specific stories about how caste, gender, employment and class intersect.

Another Dalit employee (male, 28 years) outlined why he preferred to anonymise his identity inside the organisation,

I did not face any discrimination directly. The primary reason why I had to leave the company was that they told a lot of us that it was better that we start looking for other jobs, as they had instructions from headquarters. But inside the company, I saw people making fun of Dalits. People said that we don’t have brains and we only know how to work like buffaloes.

When the employee is forced to anonymise his caste, he is unable to mobilise narratives of culture, life and context into the workplace. He is forced to behave as a decontextualized agent of work, who is unable to talk about his identity inside the workplace. Talking about his identity makes him more vulnerable inside the workplace, and thus the organisation acts as a sociality which reproduces ongoing discourses of humiliation.

A non-Dalit employee who had recently lost his job (male, 26 years) felt that the cleavages of caste were largely being kept alive to advance vested political interests,

There is poverty in both the upper castes and the lower castes. Government should take steps to improve everybody’s life. Politicians use us a vote-bank. They promise heaven and moon during the election campaign. But once the election is over, they are least bothered about us. They divide the society on the basis of caste and try to obtain political mileage out of it. Caste must be eliminated at any cost. It is very high in society. Bias based on caste should not be encouraged. Government must encourage inter-caste marriage to abolish caste-based discrimination.

The employee blames politicians for sustaining caste based differences in society. He does not acknowledge that caste persists due to structures of humiliation which continue to exist in society. These structures of humiliation enable people to engage in unfair ways with each other normalising various injustices, and the collective resources to contest injustices are eroded due to the operations of caste.

A non-Dalit employee (female, 27 years) describes how structures of solidarity break down after the loss of the job,

After my employment was terminated, I am not in touch with other employees of the organisation. Although I was close to some people while working there, but now I have lost touch with them.

The employee outlines how the experience of lay-off itself can be stigmatising as other people shut off conversations after an employee leaves an organisation. After an employee leaves, she is not missed by others. The sense of loss outlines that rather than workplace relations embodying deep and intimate stories, they outline transactional relationships which can be ended as soon as an employee leaves.

A Dalit employee who recently lost his job (male, 38 years, married) felt that the contours of caste consumed people’s lives and made them prisoners of hostile contexts,

About my son, he might not understand about caste until he is in school. When he joins college and if he gets admission using quota, his classmates might look at him differently and make him realize that he is from a lower caste. If he falls in love with an upper caste girl, there might be a lot of opposition from the girl’s family.

The employee is worried that structures of inequality and humiliation will continue to persist into the future. The structures of inequality outline that anonymity is not an option for Dalits. They begin to experience exclusion and loss of solidarity from an early period in life, and these structures of exclusion lead to a loss of stories of friendship and cooperation in the site of employment as well.

**Discussion**

Consequently, we contend that the organisation is experienced as a calamity by employees who lose their jobs in the IT industry in India. The conversations of employees resembles those searching for news about the destruction caused by a calamity. Employees are desperate to avoid being destroyed by the calamity. They want to preserve themselves and survive for some more time. Yet, employees know that there are no mechanisms for them to cope with the organisational rationalities and economic climates that cope with job losses.

Within the organisational atmosphere of calamity, layoffs are experienced as an act of horror. Horror has the potential to numb the collective responses of subjects. Horror creates the experience of subjects within the frame of a spectacle. It immobilises the possibility of lament and mourning. Instead, horror creates a spectral image where tragedy is consumed as a vicarious spectacle.

Soon, in the face of horror, employees are constituted only in linear terms as victims. Also, tropes of horror create an inevitability about the victim. The victim suffers the tragedy in the midst of a deluge that wipes away the destinies of a large number of subjects. Within the atmosphere of the deluge, complex and nuanced stories of employees are eroded. The narrative agency of employees is destroyed on account of the discursive construction of layoffs as acts of horror.

We argue that it is necessary to undo the imagination of organisations as calamity if the possibility of justice and narrative agency are to be restored. Imaginations of organisational calamity exclude the possibility of radical re-reading of events through which subversive contestations of authority can be accessed (Parker, 2011). Imaginations of calamity are always narratives of the wild which has destroyed civilised and orderly forms of life. When job losses are theorised as resulting from organisational or economic calamities, then it is the wildness or risk of our existence that is blamed for these losses. The intersection of organisational rationalities with broader social relations of inequality is not yet critiqued as being the basis of downturn.

Along with subverting the imagination of the organisation as a calamity, it will also be necessary to question the idea of layoffs as horror. Taras and Taras (1997) contend that when our interpretive frames are violated in significant ways, we tend to blame specific people as being responsible for these violations. But with respect to job losses and layoffs, it may be necessary to go beyond the blaming of a few organisational or political leaders. It may be necessary to lament the erosion of romantic and material cultures for considering justice in collective, poetic ways. Without a culture of laments, the imagery of horror is only likely to prevent grief from becoming a subversive moment.

The imagery of horror makes people empathise with the tragedy that has occurred in significant ways. But the people are still likely to feel that while the tragedy is horrible, nothing much could have been done about it. Horror erases the possibility of alternative dreams. It erases the prospect of subversive questioning and critique. Horror displaces potential tropes of justice with idioms of accepting the tragedy that is unfolding. It immobilises the potential to consider the historical events and organisational forms that could have discursively contributed to the tragedy.

By overcoming tropes of horror, employees can articulate their resentment in important ways. There is a significant paradox in the way in which innovation and efficiency are connected with each other. Once an innovation becomes widely dispersed and stabilised, it becomes the basis of a new efficiency paradigm. IT engineers are often caught within the intervals of this paradox which makes crisis inevitable. It will be necessary to mobilise crisis in alternative forms of lament and mourning to argue for newer organisational forms premised on the social relations of justice to emerge. Organisations premised on social relations of justice work with a multiplicity of stakeholders to pluralise our understanding of value.

The pluralisation of value must involve the regeneration of stories. The regeneration of stories involves an engagement with memory and vulnerability in ways which contest the unequal distribution of vulnerabilities. Layoffs occur because vulnerabilities are unequally distributed between organisational imaginaries and the concerns of employees. Organisational imaginaries assert the need to preserve themselves at the cost of workers. This has to be countered by the imagination of workers forming the premise of an organisational community, and the act of layoffs as destroying the fabric of the sense of community.

The precarious nature of IT work, a dominant industry narrative, disproportionately affect the lives of Dalit IT workers. Mahalingam, Jagannathan and Selvarj (2019) called for an intersectional approach to study workplace experiences of Dalits and women. Our study illustrates the unequal distribution of vulnerabilities and its adverse impact on the lives of Dalits. The Dalit narratives illustrate that they were subjected to an ethical loneliness (Stauffer, 2015). For Stauffer, ethical loneliness “is the isolation one feels, when one as a violated person, or as one member of a persecuted group, has been abandoned by humanity, or by those who have power over one’s possibilities (p.1).” Because of the caste blind narratives of neoliberal Indian organizations, Dalits face the dilemma whether to form solidarity with other Dalits or to make their caste identity invisible. The double bind subjects them to an ethical loneliness for which there is no recourse within the organizational structures. The invisibility (Rabelo and Mahalingam, 2018) of the suffering of Dalit IT workers within the larger narratives of layoffs needs to be addressed. We argue that the organizational practices that isolate and dehumanize Dalits in workplace needs to be identified.

Ignoring the humiliation structures of caste affects the ways in which worker’s communities can respond to questions of calls. For class solidarity to become a reality, it is necessary to counteract caste and gendered inequalities which prevail. The failure to counteract these inequalities results in an inability to enact stories of a lyrical community where the everyday can be negotiated in a poetic and romantic way. For social relations of equality to be sustained, we may need stories which remember the terrain of inequality and the need to refrain from this terrain. The memory of these terrains may need to be productively mobilised to ensure that the urge to preserve networks of solidarity becomes strong.

Layoffs are a re-arrangement of organisational space that draw on discourses of privilege. The re-arrangement structures harm on vulnerable figures in order to preserve the sovereignty and well-being of other figures. In many ways, the production of such well-being is contingent on the operation of episodic calamities. The calamities are a result of dialogical constitution of organisations. When organisations are constituted by managerial logics rather than dialogical fabrics, the excesses of rationality may have a tendency to manifest themselves in the form of calamities.

The excess of rationality arises as a result of people working in darkness about where organisations are headed, and the interface that they build with society. When employees work in darkness, regimes of inequality are consolidated inside organisations. In order to subvert the excess of rationality, it becomes important to build an element of the lyrical inside organisations. The lyrical becomes a reminder of the complexities that lie at the intersection employment, organising and society. These are not merely complexities of instrumental value, but hint at engaging with the reflective, poetic and political constitution of the social.

The poetic constitution of the social implies that actors can affectively tug at each other. Actors can discuss the engagement with nature and other elements of life in ways where contradictions are importantly taken into account. Corporations tend to believe that they can overcome contradictions by managing risk. Rather than the language of risk which enables layoffs and the imagination of alignment, the consciousness of contradictions situates tensions as a founding condition of the social. In this case, the engagement with the social outlines the need to engage with contradictions in ways which counteract inequalities.

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