

# Informal Labor, Formal Politics, and Dignified Discontent in India

Since the 1980s, the world's governments have decreased state welfare and increased the number of unprotected "informal" or "precarious" workers. As a result, more and more workers do not receive secure wages or benefits from either employers or the state. What are these workers doing to improve their livelihoods? Informal Labor, Formal Politics, and Dignified Discontent in India offers a fresh and provocative look into the alternative social movements informal workers in India are launching. It also offers a unique analysis of the conditions under which these movements succeed or fail. Drawing from 300 interviews with informal workers, government officials, and union leaders, Rina Agarwala argues that Indian informal workers are using their power as voters to demand welfare benefits (such as education, housing, and healthcare) from the state, rather than demanding traditional work benefits (such as minimum wages and job security) from employers. In addition, they are organizing at the neighborhood level, rather than on the shop floor, and appealing to "citizenship," rather than labor rights. Agarwala concludes that movements are most successful when operating under parties that compete for mass votes and support economic liberalization (even populist parties) and are least successful when operating under non-competitive electoral contexts (even those tied to communist parties).

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Continued after the Index





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For Carsten





## Contents

Lis	t of Tables	page xi
Lis	t of Figures	xiii
Acı	knowledgments	XV
Abbreviations		xix
Ι	Introduction: Informal Labor and Formal Politics	I
	1.1 Informal Labor Organizes in Unique Classes	7
	1.2 Informal Labor Organizes Even Under Neoliberalism	17
	1.3 States Condition Informal Labor Movement Effectiveness	23
	1.4 Informal Labor Movements Dignify Workers' Discontent	30
2	Struggling with Informality	32
	2.1 Building a New Class Struggle	34
	2.2 Creating a New Class Identity	58
	2.3 Conclusions	68
3	The Success of Competitive Populism	70
	3.1 Tamil Nadu: Substantial State Benefits for Informal Labor	73
	3.2 Populism: A Surviving Phenomenon	79
	3.3 Caste and Ethnic Nationalism Overlooks Informal Labor	
	(1800–1977)	82
	3.4 New Shades of Populism Protect Informal Labor	
	(1977–Present)	91
	3.5 Project from Below: Framing Informal Labor as	
	"Common" Voters	96
	3.6 Project from Above: Capitalizing on Informal Labor	
	Support	109

ix



X	Co	ontents
4	Communism's Resistance to Change 4.1 West Bengal: Few to Some State Benefits for Informal Labor 4.2 Communism: A Radical Class Agenda for Social Justice 4.3 Project from Above: Entrenching Power 4.4 Project from Below: Failing to Fit into State Interests 4.5 Shifting Politics: A Shift for Informal Labor 4.6 Conclusions	117 118 125 129 138 148
5	The Minimal Gains of Accommodation 5.1 Maharashtra: Some State Benefits for Informal Labor 5.2 Dominant Caste Power 5.3 Project from Above: Ensuring Economic Growth through Informal Labor 5.4 Project from Below: Finding a Political Voice in the Economic Agenda 5.5 Conclusions Conclusion: Dignifying Discontent	156 157 161 170 176 187
Αp	pendix I: Photos of Informal Workers in Construction and Bidi	207
_	pendix II: The Evolution of the Count of Informal Workers	215
-	pendix III: Interview Methodology	221
$Re_i$	ferences	225
Inc	dex	241



# List of Tables

I.	Informal Labor and Class Structure in India	<i>page</i> 11
2.	Construction and Tobacco in India	14
3.	Socioeconomic Characteristics in Three States	28
4.	Construction Workers Welfare Board	52
5.	Bidi Welfare Fund Financial Profile	54
6.	Bidi Workers Welfare Board	5.5
7.	Material Benefits (Worker vs. Welfare)	71
8.	Type of Benefit Received by City/State	71
9.	Official and Reported Wage by State and Industry (Rs.)	74
10.	Welfare Benefits from Tamil Nadu Construction Board	, .
	(1995–2008)	77
II.	Gains for Informal Workers in Tamil Nadu	83
12.	Informal vs. Formal Workers in India	218
13.	Indian Labor Force	219
ΤΔ.	National Sample vs. Study Sample by Industry	222





# List of Figures

Ι.	State theoretical framework	page 25
2.	Evolution of the construction movement	35
3.	Evolution of the bidi movement	36
4.	Number of disputes in bidi, construction, and all industries	42
5.	Reformulated model of state-labor relations	58

xiii





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Nearly twenty years ago, I arrived on the front door of a women's organization in India, eager to begin my internship and oblivious to the journey I was about to begin. As I entered the office, a tall woman from Kutch stared at me with a perplexed expression. "Have you come for the march for rag pickers?" she asked. In response to my blank stare, she squatted next to me to explain the march and other activities of the trade union for informal women workers that I had unknowingly come to work for. The lesson continued for the next year and a half, where the members and staff of the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) patiently introduced me to the informal workers I had seen but never noticed, challenged me to think beyond the development models I had so diligently learned, and inspired me to realize the voices that women workers were asserting every day. I thank SEWA, and especially Elaben, Reemaben, and Ushaben, for changing my worldview forever.

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χV



xvi

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xvii

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### **Abbreviations**

All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam ADMK **AITUC** All-India Trade Union Congress (CPI-affiliated)

BJP Bharatiya Janata Party

Confederation of Indian Industry CII

Congress of Indian Trade Unions (CPM-affiliated) CITU

Communist Party of India **CPI** 

CPI(ML) Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)

**CPM** Communist Party of India (Marxist)

College of Social Work **CSW** Dravidar Kazhagam DK

DMK Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam

**GDP** gross domestic product Government of India GOI

**ICLS** International Conference of Labor Statisticians

International Labour Organisation ILO

Independent Labor Party ILP Indian National Congress Party **INC** 

INTUC Indian National Trade Union Congress (Congress-affiliated)

Kolkata Municipal Corporation **KMC** 

Labour Progressive Federation (DMK-affiliated) LPF Member of Legislative Assembly (state government) MLA MP

Member of Parliament (national government)

National Congress Party NCP

**NMPS** Nirman Mazdoor Panchayat Sangam

NSS National Sample Survey on Employment and

Unemployment

xix



xx Abbreviations

NSSO National Sample Survey Organisation

OBC Other Backward Caste
PWP Peasants Workers Party
RPI Republican Party of India
SDP state domestic product

SEWA Self-Employed Women's Association

TMC All India Trinamool Congress

TMKTPS Tamil Maanila Kattida Thozilalar Panchayat Sangham

UF United Front

WBIDC West Bengal Industrial Development Corporation