### Informal Workers & the Indian State

RINA AGARWALA

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

WIEGO WORKSHOP

## Regimes of Accumulation

Agrarian

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History of informal vs. formal

#### **Industrial**

Regulations: Formal L; Formal K; SER

Space: Factory floor

Organization: Trade

Union

State-intermediary L & K

K-L relations include FW <u>AND</u>

**Financial** 

De-regulation: IW ideal; IK "fix"; non-SER normalized

Space: dispossession

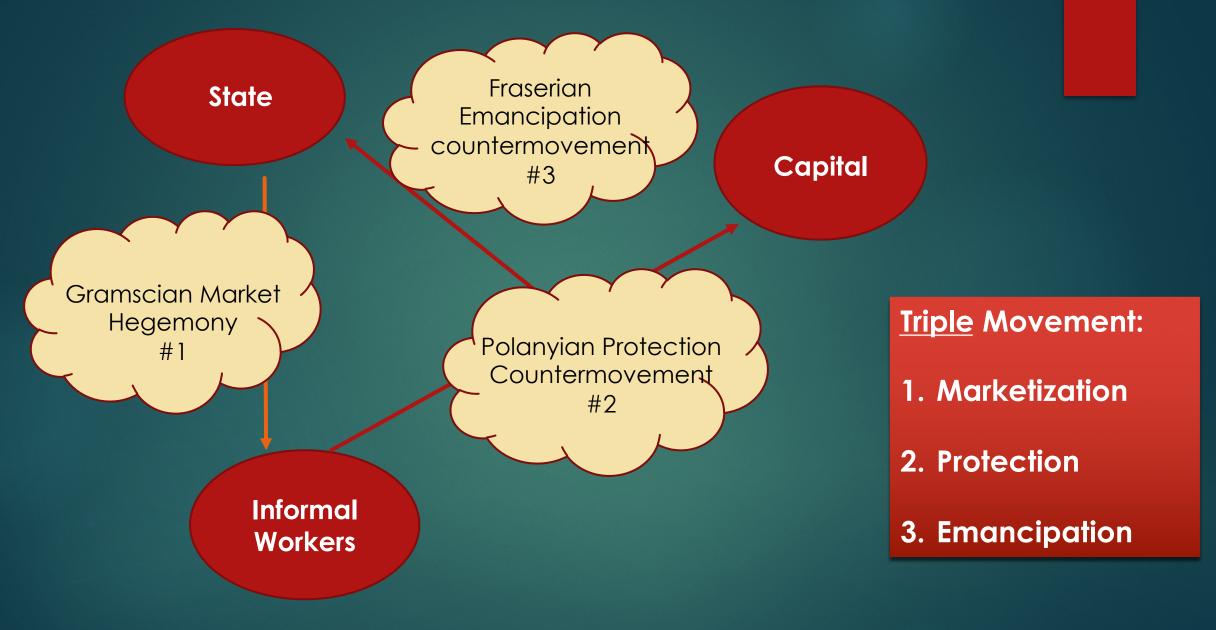
Organization: ?

State:?

IW as 'class in itself'

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IW as "class for itself"



Burrawoy 2003

Fraser 2013

## State's Hegemonic Project

#### Informality is the new and overt normal

- 50% rise in large, organized sector firms (private and public)
- New category: "informal-regular" (contract, lower wages, no non-wage benefits)
- Unequal, side-by-side employment (automobiles, garments)

Non-agricultural labor is growing; not "jobless"; just BAD jobs (not manufacturing)

- Services: 26% in 1999 to 31% in 2011
- Construction: 5% in 1999 to 11% in 2011

#### Informal work is increasingly male

- ▶Drop in female labor force participation rate since 1980s.
- ▶ Despite improved efforts to capture informal work
- ▶ Pronounced among poor households
- ▶Women becoming increasingly invisible (domestic work, garbage collection, homebased work)

# Joint Solidarity against State Project

IWs and FWs joint action for first time

- February 20-21, 2013: Longest mass strike since Independence
- Autoworkers strike in Maruti (Harayana in 2012)

Threatens basis of the state's political project of defining informal workers as an alterative to formal workers

Quick response: Altered business strategy to increase outsourcing to companies

## New Legislations

Trying to codify, regulate, and protect within contemporary employment relationships

(Street Vending, Bidi, Construction, Informal Workers' Social Security)

Domestic Workers into existing laws and new Comprehensive Legislation—WHY?

- ▶ RECOGNITION
- ▶ THREAT of enforcement
- Expand our notion of who is a worker, who is an employer, what is work

## Identity Cards

State <u>recognition</u> for their work

(Bidi manufacturing, construction, waste-pickers, home-based garment workers)

#### **Dignity**

Access to citizenship rights (education, water)

Against police harassment

Platform for demands on legal protection

\*Folding state into labor exploitation relationship

\*Folding SE into proletariat

### Welfare Boards

Construction Workers' Comprehensive Legislation & Welfare Boards

- Modicum of accountability on employers through tax
- Accrued massive sums to cover reproductive costs
- Mobilizational tool
- Creating an identity as "workers"
- Weekly off and timely payments

Mired with challenges

\*\*Remain the only attempt (by workers) to address informal workers' reproductive costs

Bidi (national); garment workers, domestic workers (some states)

### State conditions success & failure

Greater success in populist and liberalizing political-economies

Empowerment vs. cooptation

#### Global Counter-Movements

South to North?

More beneficiaries-women, migrants, occupations

Politics of Recognition-laws and identity

Politics of Redistribution using a rhetoric of "citizenship rights" as workers with reproductive costs

Variety of organization types-unions, NGOs, cooperatives

### Stage of Counter-Movements

Infant stage

But crucial stage of mobilization under common frame

Stage that precedes attainment of legal rights