

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>page</i> xi
<i>List of Figures</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xv
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xix
1 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		<i>Contents</i>
4	Communism’s Resistance to Change	117
4.1	<i>West Bengal: Few to Some State Benefits for Informal Labor</i>	118
4.2	<i>Communism: A Radical Class Agenda for Social Justice</i>	125
4.3	<i>Project from Above: Entrenching Power</i>	129
4.4	<i>Project from Below: Failing to Fit into State Interests</i>	138
4.5	<i>Shifting Politics: A Shift for Informal Labor</i>	148
4.6	<i>Conclusions</i>	153
5	The Minimal Gains of Accommodation	156
5.1	<i>Maharashtra: Some State Benefits for Informal Labor</i>	157
5.2	<i>Dominant Caste Power</i>	161
5.3	<i>Project from Above: Ensuring Economic Growth through Informal Labor</i>	170
5.4	<i>Project from Below: Finding a Political Voice in the Economic Agenda</i>	176
5.5	<i>Conclusions</i>	187
	Conclusion: Dignifying Discontent	189
	<i>Appendix I: Photos of Informal Workers in Construction and Bidi</i>	207
	<i>Appendix II: The Evolution of the Count of Informal Workers</i>	215
	<i>Appendix III: Interview Methodology</i>	221
	<i>References</i>	225
	<i>Index</i>	241