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Reshaping the social contract

Emerging relations between the state and informal labor in India¹

Since the late 1990s, a literature designed to examine the variable effects of “globalization” has grown exponentially in the social sciences.² Within this literature, several scholars have bolstered the significance of globalization by arguing that the economic policies and the social forces that integrate national economies are undermining the traditional role of the state in determining local outcomes (Castells 1997; Held et al. 1999; Teeple 2000). In particular, ruthless competition in the global marketplace is said to exacerbate pressures on governments to ensure economic survival by reducing costly interference in capital production (Harvey 1990; Held et al. 1999; Hyman 1992; Tilly 1995). Issues concerning labor protection have comprised a prime target area for such reduced government intervention in recent years.

These trends raise a pressing question: how have such changes affected state-labor relations? As states pull back on earlier levels of direct welfare provision and rhetoric, and they no longer hold employers accountable for the welfare of their employees, the proportion of informally employed workers who do not receive secure wages or benefits from either the state or their employer is increasing the world over (Benton 1990; Kundu and Sharma 2001; Portes and Schauflier 1993). Informal workers represent one of the poorest and most marginalized populations of the liberalization era. Yet little is known about their social and political location in the liberalized economy. What strategies are these workers using to improve their livelihood? What new institutions and relationships, if any, are they forging among state, capital, and labor as a response to the recent changes in structures of production? How do we conceive of the “state” and of “society” in the current era?

This study begins to address these questions using an in-depth examination of informal workers’ organizations in India, the largest democracy in the world. The informal sector consists of economic units that produce goods and services

1. This article was first published under the same title in *Theory and Society*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Aug. 2008), pp. 375–408. DOI 10.1007/s11186-008-9061-5 © Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008, reproduced with permission of Springer.

2. I use the term “globalization” to encompass the myriad of economic, social, political, cultural, and technological changes that are taking place to increase interdependence, integration, and interaction across national boundaries. As Charles Tilly writes, “Ideally, globalization means an increase in the geographic range of locally consequential social interactions” (Tilly 1995: 1).

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Table of Contents Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13

1. Understanding the eBook Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms

Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13

- Features to Look for in an Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
- User-Friendly Interface
- 4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13 User Reviews and Ratings
 - Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13 and Bestseller Lists
- 5. Accessing Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13 Free and Paid eBooks
 - Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13 Public Domain eBooks
 - Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13 eBook Subscription Services
 - Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13 Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13 eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13 Compatibility with Devices
 - Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13 Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13

Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13

- Interactive Elements Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
- 8. Staying Engaged with Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
 - Setting Reading Goals Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Seducing The Samaritan How Government Contracts Are Reshaping Social Services Pioneer Paper No 13
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks

14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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Introduction

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