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New Paradigms for Addressing Global Inequality

Bibliography

Table of Contents

Global (Racial) Capitalism, Legal Regimes, and Politics of Work **3**

Automation, Artificial Intelligence, Technology, and Work **8**

COVID-19 Pandemic, Work, and Migration **11**

Labor Organizing and Activism **16**

Migration, Migrant Labor, and Contingent Work **21**

Precarious Work and Progressive Policy **25**

Race, Gender, and Work **31**

Social Reproduction and Radical Care **37**

Radical Visions of a Technological Future/ a Future Beyond Work **43**

Note: This bibliography reflects the themes of, and includes work from speakers at, the 2021 Pop-Up Institute, "Beyond the Future of Work: New Paradigms for Addressing Global Inequality" (May 24-June 11, 2021).

Global (Racial) Capitalism, Legal Regimes, and Politics of Work

Agarwala, Rina. "The Development of Labor under Contemporary Capitalism." *Sociology of Development* 4, no. 3 (2018): 239–60.

◊ **Abstract:** This paper offers a revised theoretical model to understand the historical development of labor under capitalism. Drawing on Antonio Gramsci, Karl Polanyi, and Nancy Fraser, the revised model highlights how state politics and ideologies have reshaped formal and informal labor to fuel evolving accumulation models since the 1950s. It also deepens our analysis of the potential and limits of labor's contemporary countermovements. Potential advances must be read in terms of increased protection and increased recognition relative to earlier eras. Limits must be read relative to the hegemonic forces splintering workers' countermovements. Applying the revised model to the empirical case of Indian informal workers in various sectors, I illustrate how the Indian state used informal workers as a political actor (not just an economic actor) to organize consent for a powerful new hegemonic project of market reforms (of the Gramscian variety) that undid labor's twentieth-century gains and empowered large businesses, but retained democratic legitimacy with the mass labor force. I also expose and evaluate two kinds of countermovements emerging from below by Indian workers: self-protection movements (of the Polanyian variety) and emancipatory/recognition movements (of the Fraserian variety). India's recent hegemonic project enabled informal workers to counteract the dehumanizing effects of labor commodification by offering an alternative labor protection model. This model has the potential to redefine the working class (and its protection) to include multiple employment relationships for the first time. It also promises to recognize the social relations between multiple categories of vulnerable populations, reminding us that caste, gender, and class are mutually constitutive (rather than mutually exclusive). But this model is highly constrained by contemporary hegemonic forces, highlighting the complex relationship of society to state—one of contestation and, for the sake of survival, collaboration. *(Source)*

Azmanova, Albena. *Capitalism on Edge: How Fighting Precarity Can Achieve Radical Change without Crisis or Utopia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2020.

◊ **Abstract:** Azmanova's new critique of capitalism focuses on the competitive pursuit of profit rather than on forms of ownership and patterns of wealth distribution. She contends that neoliberal capitalism has mutated into a new form—precarity capitalism—marked by the emergence of a precarious multitude. Widespread economic insecurity ails the 99 percent across differences in income, education, and professional occupation; it is the underlying cause of such diverse hardships as work-related stress and chronic unemployment. In response, Azmanova calls for forging a broad alliance of strange bedfellows whose discontent would challenge not only capitalism's unfair outcomes but also the drive for profit at its core. To achieve this synthesis, progressive forces need to go beyond the old ideological certitudes of, on the left, fighting inequality and, on the right, increasing competition. Azmanova details reforms that would enable a dramatic transformation of the current system without a revolutionary break. An iconoclastic

critique of left orthodoxy, *Capitalism on Edge* confronts the intellectual and political impasses of our time to discern a new path of emancipation. *(Source)*

Bair, Jennifer, and Marion Werner. "New Geographies of Uneven Development in Global Formation: Thinking with Chase-Dunn." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 23, no. 2 (August 11, 2017): 604–19.

◊ **Abstract:** We discuss how Global Formation informs and resonates with our own efforts to understand the problematic of uneven development. We are especially interested in thinking about how Chase-Dunn's analysis of core/periphery reproduction at the height of what was commonly called the "New International Division of Labor" (NIDL) might help us make sense of more recent patterns of sociospatial fragmentation. To be sure, the specific cartography of the world system has been redrawn since the initial round of offshoring that sparked the NIDL formulation. Yet, these shifts have not closed the gap between the North and South. Instead, the dynamics of uneven development at the regional and national level have accelerated, as have corresponding "efforts to draw 'boundaries' delineating who will be 'cut in' and who will be 'left out'" from the benefits of ongoing accumulation (Silver 2003: 21). Developing a rigorous analytical framework to parse these boundaries and their political and economic implications could not be more timely, as we navigate the hangover precipitated by the 2007-8 financial crisis centered in the global North, the darkening clouds over the much celebrated BRICS, and the wave of populist politics breaking across the countries of the core. Below, we proceed by discussing three ways that Global Formation sheds light on the reproduction of global hierarchy in the contemporary period: new geographies of South-South uneven development; the uneven commodification of labor and the dynamics of the world class structure; and the new politics of uneven development in the global North. *(Source)*

Blackett, Adelle. "Introduction: Transnational Futures of International Labour Law." *International Labour Review* 159, no. 4 (September 23, 2020): 455-62

◊ **Abstract:** This Special Issue on transnational labour law is placed in the context of the ILO centenary and the challenge of achieving the objective of decent work in a new century, under distinct transnational pressures. The author argues that international labour law, as the normative core of transnational labour law, can play a crucial role – in conjunction with a wide range of actors and the ILO in its standard-setting and convenor capacities – in addressing this challenge and in reshaping the transnational legal architecture. *(Source)*

Davis, Dennis, Raphael Kaplinsky, and Mike Morris. "Rents, Power and Governance in Global Value Chains." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 24, no. 1 (March 22, 2018): 43–71.

◊ **Abstract:** This paper addresses the generation of rents and the distribution of gains in the global operations of governed Global Value Chains (GVCs) and seeks to provide an architecture for analyzing the governance of GVCs. It distinguishes between four sets of rent—gifts of nature; innovation rents; exogenously defined rents; and market power—and three spheres of governance—setting the rules— "legislative governance";

implementing the rules— "executive governance"; and monitoring rules and sanctioning malfeasance— "judicial governance." The exercise of governance power in GVCs over the generation, protection and appropriation of rents is considered though the lens of four sets of key GVC stakeholders—the corporate sector, civil society organizations, the nation state and supranational institutions. This general analysis is given flesh through three case studies: food-safety standards in GVCs; taxation policies and competition policies. In these sectors, the corporate sector is generally much more effective in governing rent generation and appropriation in the global operations of GVCs than are the three sets of non-corporate stakeholders. From this observation we offer a hypothesis that the capacity of non-corporate stakeholders, including national states, to govern GVCs is contingent upon the extent to which this coincides with the interest of the corporate sector. However, as noted, this balance of power between private and non-corporate actors is a contested terrain and dynamic in nature. *(Source)*

De Lara, Juan. *Inland Shift: Race, Space, and Capital in Southern California*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2018.

◊ **Abstract:** The subprime crash of 2008 revealed a fragile, unjust, and unsustainable economy built on retail consumption, low-wage jobs, and fictitious capital. Economic crisis, finance capital, and global commodity chains transformed Southern California just as Latinxs and immigrants were turning California into a majority-nonwhite state. In Inland Shift, Juan D. De Lara uses the growth of Southern California's logistics economy, which controls the movement of goods, to examine how modern capitalism was shaped by and helped to transform the region's geographies of race and class. While logistics provided a roadmap for capital and the state to transform Southern California, it also created pockets of resistance among labor, community, and environmental groups who argued that commodity distribution exposed them to economic and environmental precarity. *(Source)*

Eslava, Luis, Dense Struggle: On Ghosts, Law, and the Global Order. A. Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos (ed), Routledge Handbook of Law and Theory (Forthcoming), February 14, 2018.

◊ **Abstract:** Today's global order is characterised by a constellation of ever more closely-imbricated relationships among different laws, levels of government, managerial techniques, economic, political and social forces and deeply-engrained antagonisms. This chapter tries to rethink this – our – global order as a site of 'dense struggle', using a body of visual and ethnographic material gathered over a period of six months in 2009, when I accompanied a group of Internal Displaced People (IDPs) protesting in the city of Bogotá, Colombia. During this period, this group engaged in a long and unsuccessful protest for the recognition of their rights as IDPs against the local administration of Bogotá, the national government and various international institutions. In following their protest, their agonies, and a ghost that appeared in the middle of all of this, it is possible to appreciate some of the products of today's global order, and in particular what this order produces on its margins: home to the popular, the (supposedly) anti-modern, the otherworldly. Three suggestions emerge from this exercise. First, that in paying attention

to the products of today's global order it becomes possible to question anew what law does and how it is experienced in our global times. Second, this exercise helps us to recalibrate what our response should be once we remember that our assumedly uniform late-modern, globalised, capitalist and disenchanted present is healthily plagued by frictions and clashes – clashes through which other worlds speak. Finally, this exercise invites us to consider the value of approaching law ethnographically in these dense times. *(Source)*

Gordon, Jennifer. "Regulating the Human Supply Chain," *Iowa Law Rev*. 102, no. 445 (2017): 445-504.

◊ **Abstract:** Over the past decade, the United States has experienced a stunning 65% decline in undocumented immigration. While politicians seem unaware of this change, firms that once relied on local undocumented workers as a low-wage labor force feel it acutely. Such companies have increasingly applied to sponsor temporary migrants from abroad (sometimes called "guest workers") to fill empty jobs. In 2015, the number of migrant workers entering the United States on visas was nearly double that of undocumented arrivals—almost the inverse of just 10 years earlier. Yet notice of this dramatic shift, and examination of its implications for U.S. law and the regulation of employment in particular, has been absent from legal scholarship. This Article fills that gap, arguing that employers' recruitment of would-be migrants from other countries, unlike their use of undocumented workers already in the United States, creates a transnational network of labor intermediaries—the "human supply chain"—whose operation undermines the rule of law in the workplace, benefitting U.S. companies by reducing labor costs while creating distributional harms for U.S. workers, and placing temporary migrant workers in situations of severe subordination. It identifies the human supply chain as a key structure of the global economy, a close analog to the more familiar product supply chains through which U.S. companies manufacture products abroad. The Article highlights a stark governance deficit with regard to human supply chains, analyzing the causes and harmful effects of an effectively unregulated world market for human labor. Drawing on the author's original research into innovative public, private, and hybrid approaches to the governance of human supply chains, the Article sets out and evaluates a range of potential interventions, ultimately proposing a new supply chain liability that realigns risk and responsibility for the harms that attend the global recruitment of low-wage workers. *(Source)*

Kundnani, Arun. "The Racial Constitution of Neoliberalism." *Race & Class* 63, no. 1 (July 2021): 51–69.

◊ **Abstract:** Prevailing scholarship on neoliberalism fails to recognise that it generates its own distinctive forms of racial domination. Influential analysts such as Wolfgang Streeck, David Harvey and Wendy Brown assume or argue that racism exists today because neoliberalism's defeat of racial legacies is incomplete. This ignores how racism is reconfigured in ways that are specific to the historical moment of neoliberalism and dependent on a distinctive and substantial intellectual and political hinterland. A consideration of Friedrich Hayek's theory of cultural evolution reveals a contradiction in neoliberal thought between its aspiration to establish a universal market system and its dependence on particularist ideas of western cultural pre-eminence. This ideological contradiction correlates with the fact that globalisation produces masses of surplus

populations which are of no market value. A racial idea of culture is the means by which neoliberalism manages and works through its own limitations. Above all, 'race' provides a means of coding and managing the material boundaries between different forms of labour under neoliberalism: citizen and migrant, waged and 'unexploitable', bearers of entitlements and bare life. *(Source)*

LeBaron, Genevieve. *Combatting Modern Slavery : Why Labour Governance Is Failing and What We Can Do about It.* Cambridge; Medford: Polity Press, 2020.

◊ **Abstract:** Over the last decade, the world's largest corporations—from The Coca Cola Company to Amazon, Apple to Unilever—have taken up the cause of combatting modern slavery. Yet, by most measures, across many sectors and regions, severe labour exploitation continues to soar. Corporate social responsibility is not working. Why? In this landmark book, Genevieve LeBaron lifts the lid on a labour governance regime that is severely flawed and limited. She takes a close-up look at the millions of corporate dollars spent on anti-slavery networks, NGO partnerships, lobbying for new transparency legislation, and investment in social auditing and ethical certification schemes, to show how such efforts serve to bolster corporate growth and legitimacy as well as government reputations, whilst failing to protect the world's most vulnerable workers. To eradicate modern slavery and human trafficking in global supply chains a new approach is needed; one that confronts corporate power and profits, dismantles exploitative business models, and regulates the booming private industry of accounting firms, social auditors, and consultants that has emerged to 'monitor' and 'enforce' labour standards. Only worker-driven initiatives that uphold fundamental rights can protect workers in the contemporary global economy and make forced labour a thing of the past. *(Source)*

Automation, Artificial Intelligence, Technology, and Work

Atanasoski, Neda, and Kalindi Vora. *Surrogate Humanity: Race, Robots, and the Politics of Technological Futures.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2019.

◊ **Abstract:** In *Surrogate Humanity* Neda Atanasoski and Kalindi Vora trace the ways in which robots, artificial intelligence, and other technologies serve as surrogates for human workers within a labor system entrenched in racial capitalism and patriarchy. Analyzing myriad technologies, from sex robots and military drones to sharing-economy platforms, Atanasoski and Vora show how liberal structures of antiblackness, settler colonialism, and patriarchy are fundamental to human-machine interactions, as well as the very definition of the human. While these new technologies and engineering projects promise a revolutionary new future, they replicate and reinforce racialized and gendered ideas about devalued work, exploitation, dispossession, and capitalist accumulation. Yet, even as engineers design robots to be more perfect versions of the human—more rational killers, more efficient workers, and tireless companions—the potential exists to develop alternative modes of engineering and technological development in ways that refuse the racial and colonial logics that maintain social hierarchies and inequality. *(Source)*

Benanav, Aaron. *Automation and the Future of Work*. London: Verso, 2020.

◊ **Abstract:** In this consensus-shattering account of automation technologies, Aaron Benanav investigates the economic trends that will shape our working lives far into the future. Silicon Valley titans, politicians, techno-futurists, and social critics have united in arguing that we are on the cusp of an era of rapid technological automation, heralding the end of work as we know it. But does the much discussed "rise of the robots" really explain the long-term decline in the demand for labor? *Automation and the Future of Work* uncovers the deep weaknesses of twenty-first-century capitalism and the reasons why the engine of economic growth keeps stalling. Equally important, Benanav goes on to salvage from automation discourse its utopian content: the positive vision of a world without work. What social movements, he asks, are required to propel us into post-scarcity if technological innovation alone can't deliver it? In response to calls for a permanent universal basic income that would maintain a growing army of redundant workers, he offers a groundbreaking counterproposal. *(Source)*

Braunschweig, Bertrand, and Malik Ghallab. *Reflections on Artificial Intelligence for Humanity*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2021.

◊ **Abstract:** We already observe the positive effects of AI in almost every field, and foresee its potential to help addressing our sustainable development goals and the urgent challenges for the preservation of the environment. We also perceive the risks related to the safety, security, confidentiality, and fairness of AI systems, the threats to free will of possibly manipulative systems, as well as the impacts of AI on the economy, employment, human rights, equality, diversity, inclusion, and social cohesion need to be better assessed. The development and use of AI must be guided by principles of social cohesion, environmental sustainability, resource sharing, and inclusion. It has to integrate human rights, and social, cultural, and ethical values of democracy. It requires continued education and training as well as continual assessment of effects through social deliberation. *(Source)*

Moore, Phoebe V. "OSH and the Future of Work: Benefits and Risks of Artificial Intelligence Tools in Workplaces." In *Lecture Notes in Computer Science*, Vol. 11581, edited by Vincent G. Duffy, 292–315. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2019.

◊ **Abstract:** There are significant possibilities for workplace progress and growth in productivity with the integration of artificial intelligence (AI) applications and tools in workplaces. However, there are also important occupational safety and health (OSH)-related questions arising as AI is integrated into workplaces. Stress, discrimination, heightened precariousness, musculoskeletal disorders, and the possibilities of work intensification and job losses have already been shown to pose psychosocial risks, including physical violence in digitalised workplaces. These risks are exacerbated when AI augments already existing technological tools or are newly introduced for workplace management and design. Indeed, AI exaggerates OSH risks in digitalised workplaces, because it can allow increased monitoring and tracking and thus may lead to micro-management, which a prime cause of stress and anxiety. AI stresses the imperative of giving more credibility and potentially authority to prediction machines, robotics and algorithmic processes at work. But it is worth stressing that it is not technology in isolation that creates OSH benefits or risks. It is instead the *implementation* of technologies that creates negative or positive conditions. *(Source)*

Pasquale, Frank. *New Laws of Robotics: Defending Human Expertise in the Age of AI.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020.

◊ **Abstract:** AI is poised to disrupt our work and our lives. We can harness these technologies rather than fall captive to them—but only through wise regulation. Too many CEOs tell a simple story about the future of work: if a machine can do what you do, your job will be automated. They envision everyone from doctors to soldiers rendered superfluous by ever-more-powerful artificial intelligence. They offer stark alternatives: make robots or be replaced by them. Another story is possible. In virtually every walk of life, robotic systems can make labor more valuable, not less. Frank Pasquale tells the story of nurses, teachers, designers, and others who partner with technologists, rather than meekly serving as data sources for their computerized replacements. This cooperation reveals the kind of technological advance that could bring us all better health care, education, and more, while maintaining meaningful work. These partnerships also show how law and regulation can promote prosperity for all, rather than a zero-sum race of humans against machines. How far should AI be entrusted to assume tasks once performed by humans? What is gained and lost when it does? What is the optimal mix of robotic and human interaction? *New Laws of Robotics* makes the case that policymakers must not allow corporations or engineers to answer these questions alone. The kind of automation we get—and who it benefits—will depend on myriad small decisions about how to develop AI. Pasquale proposes ways to democratize that decision making, rather than centralize it in unaccountable firms. Sober yet optimistic, *New Laws of Robotics* offers an inspiring vision of technological progress, in which human capacities and expertise are the irreplaceable center of an inclusive economy. *(Source)*

Rhee, Jennifer. *The Robotic Imaginary: The Human and the Price of Dehumanized Labor*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018.

◊ **Abstract:** Tracing the connections between human-like robots and AI at the site of dehumanization and exploited labor. Jennifer Rhee traces the provocative and productive connections of contemporary robots in technology, film, art, and literature. Centered around the twinned processes of anthropomorphization and dehumanization, she analyzes the coevolution of cultural and technological robots and artificial intelligence, arguing that it is through the conceptualization of the human and the dehumanized that these multiple spheres affect and transform each other. *(Source)*

Sarangi, Saswat, and Pankaj Sharma. *Artificial Intelligence: Evolution, Ethics and Public Policy*. London: Routledge India, 2018.

◊ **Abstract:** What will the future be? A dystopian landscape controlled by machines or a brave new world full of possibilities? Perhaps the answer lies with Artificial Intelligence (AI)—a phenomenon much beyond technology that has, continues to, and will shape lives in ways we do not understand yet. This book traces the evolution of AI in contemporary history. It analyses how AI is primarily being driven by "capital" as the only "factor of production" and its consequences for the global political economy. It further explores the dystopian prospect of mass unemployment by AI and takes up the ethical aspects of AI and its possible use in undermining natural and fundamental rights.

A tract for the times, this volume will be a major intervention in an area that is heavily debated but rarely understood. It will be essential reading for researchers and students of digital humanities, politics, economics, science and technology studies, physics, and computer science. It will also be key reading for policy makers, cyber experts, and bureaucrats. *(Source)*

Steinhoff, James. *Automation and Autonomy: Labour, Capital and Machines in the Artificial Intelligence Industry.* Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.

◊ **Abstract:** This book argues that Marxist theory is essential for understanding the contemporary industrialization of the form of artificial intelligence (AI) called machine learning. It includes a political economic history of AI, tracking how it went from a fringe research interest for a handful of scientists in the 1950s to a centerpiece of cybernetic capital fifty years later. It also includes a political economic study of the scale, scope and dynamics of the contemporary AI industry as well as a labour process analysis of commercial machine learning software production, based on interviews with workers and management in AI companies around the world, ranging from tiny startups to giant technology firms. On the basis of this study, Steinhoff develops a Marxist analysis to argue that the popular theory of immaterial labour, which holds that information technologies increase the autonomy of workers from capital, tending towards a post-capitalist economy, does not adequately describe the situation of high-tech digital labour today. In the AI industry, digital labour remains firmly under the control of capital. Steinhoff argues that theories discerning therein an emergent autonomy of labour are in fact witnessing labour's increasing automation. *(Source)*

COVID-19 Pandemic, Work, and Migration

Barnes, Tiffany D., and Mirya R. Holman. "Essential Work Is Gender Segregated: This Shapes the Gendered Representation of Essential Workers in Political Office." *Social Science Quarterly* 101, no. 5 (July 2020): 1827-1833.

◊ **Abstract:** [This article aims to]… understand how gender structures the occupations of essential workers and which essential workers serve in political office. We first use population-level data by gender and occupation to examine the gender segregation of occupations deemed essential. Using the population composition as our baseline, we then examine descriptive representation using a new data set that codes the presence of essential workers in 30 state legislatures over 15 years. We show that men and women make up similar shares of the occupations considered essential during COVID, but the occupations that they hold are highly gender segregated. We find that women essential workers and those from women-dominated occupations are dramatically underrepresented in state legislatures. Documenting the (lack of) representation of essential workers, and particularly those from women-dominated occupations, in decision-making bodies is a critical first step to understanding policy making in response to COVID-19. *(Source)*

Bhorat, Haroon, Morné Oosthuizen, and Ben Stanwix. "Social Assistance amidst the COVID‑19 Epidemic in South Africa: A Policy Assessment." *South African Journal of Economics* 89, no. 1 (January 2021): 63-81.

◊ **Abstract:** In an attempt to minimize the negative economic impacts of COVID-19 on vulnerable households the South African government allocated R50 billion in additional social assistance spending. The cash transfer package included a temporary increase in existing grants and introduced a new "Covid grant." We assess the chosen package and compare it with an initial proposal to increase the Child Support Grant (CSG). Coverage, cost and welfare effects are calculated to measure the relative impacts in each case. We find that while a significant increase in the CSG delivers resources most progressively, the addition of the COVID-19 grant may potentially reach a much larger group of otherwise uncovered, vulnerable individuals. Critically, this extended coverage comes at a cost to the poorest households, via additional transfers to the upper income deciles. However, we identify several categories of vulnerable household groups which suggests that the workers most negatively affected by the pandemic are not necessarily those in the poorest households. The paper emphasises that social assistance to mitigate the consequences of COVID-19 should not be viewed necessarily as a standard poverty reduction exercise, but rather as an attempt to mitigate COVID-19-related income shocks for the vulnerable who were most negatively affected by the pandemic. *(Source)*

Crampton, Alexandra. "The Lie of Pandemic Pivot and Essential Work." *Qualitative Social Work* 20, no. 1-2 (March 2021): 193–99.

◊ **Abstract:** My emotional responses to this moment include feelings of anger, hope, and déjà vu. Although the scope and scale of this pandemic is unprecedented in our lifetimes, what has been especially hard is not necessarily new – nor entirely unprecedented – and therefore unavoidable. In this essay, I reflect on what was avoidable and call for better response. We must question the seemingly benign (if not optimistic) terms emerging as pandemic discourse, such as "pivot to a new normal" and "essential work," for what they reveal of social injustice and failure to avert future crisis. *(Source)*

Das, Diganta. "Regional Disparities of Growth and Internal Migrant Workers in Informal Sectors in the Age of COVID‑19." *Journal of Public Affairs* 20, no.4 (August 2020): 1-6.

◊ **Abstract:** Why does the migrated worker face with the crisis of livelihoods in general and informal sectors in India, particularly during the age of corona? Migrant workers in informal sectors constitute a major percentage of total workforces in India, who have contributed for the economic development. Due to the overlapping nature of migration, it would not be possible to estimate the exact numbers of migrated people in India. This article is an attempt to discuss about how workers are deprived in informal sectors. Again, the study also discusses how, in the age of coronavirus pandemic, millions of workers, faced with higher form of informalistion, faced with the threat of survival. Secondary data are used as methodology. This article argues that, in India, maximum numbers of workers, who migrated from poor Human Development Index (HDI)-scored

states to high HDI-scored states, faced with higher informalistion of their jobs, due to deprivation from basic rights in the age of Corona. *(Source)*

Dickerson, A. Mechele. "Protecting The Pandemic Essential Worker." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 85, no. 2 (May 2022): 177-199.

◊ **Abstract:** After states and cities tried to slow the spread of COVID-19 by issuing shelter-in-place and stay-at-home orders, the federal government and states declared that certain business sectors or industries deemed critical were required (or at least allowed) to remain open. Unfortunately, when businesses told the people we now call "essential workers" to keep working, no one told businesses what they needed to do to protect those workers. Low wage face-to-face (F2F) workers, disproportionately non-white workers without college degrees, largely avoided losing their jobs in the COVID-19 recession. However, the economic benefits they received did not outweigh the significant health risks they faced when they were forced into close and often prolonged contact with potentially infected co-workers and customers. To prepare for the next pandemic, this Article urges federal and state legislative bodies and regulatory agencies to develop pandemic essential worker (PEW) rules that give essential businesses incentives to keep their workers safe. To ensure essential F2F workers who perform jobs that become potentially lethal because of essentiality declarations are better protected during the next pandemic, I argue that essential businesses should either adopt default PEW rules or prepare individualized PEW protection plans after negotiating with workers or bargaining units. *(Source)*

Iskander, Natsha. "Qatar, the Coronavirus, and Cordons Sanitaires: Migrant Workers and the Use of Public Health Measures to Define the Nation." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (December 2020): 561–77.

◊ **Abstract:** This article looks at the use of public health strategies to define political membership in the nation. I examine the use of the cordon sanitaire to mitigate the novel coronavirus in Qatar. I argue that it acts primarily as a boundary to map out zones of political exclusion, splitting those who are entitled to protection from disease from those who are not. Through an analysis of the logic, application, and history of the cordon sanitaire in Qatar and elsewhere, I argue that it is only a more explicit example of the ways that governments have applied public health measures such that they apportion exposure to COVID-19, protecting some while mandating exposure for others. Exposure, or protection from it, has become a means to spatialize power and territorialize the national imaginary, separating full members from those who are excluded and reduced to their economic function. *(Source)*

McClure, Elizabeth S, Pavithra Vasudevan, Zinzi Bailey, Snehal Patel, and Whitney R Robinson. "Racial Capitalism within Public Health: How Occupational Settings Drive COVID-19 Disparities." *American Journal of Epidemiology* 189, no. 11 (November 2020): 1244-1253.

◊ **Abstract:** Epidemiology of the US coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) outbreak focuses on individuals' biology and behaviors, despite centrality of occupational environments in the viral spread. This demonstrates collusion between epidemiology and racial capitalism because it obscures structural influences, absolving industries of responsibility for worker safety. In an empirical example, we analyzed economic implications of race-based metrics widely used in occupational epidemiology. In the United States, White adults have better average lung function and worse hearing than Black adults. Impaired lung function and impaired hearing are both criteria for workers' compensation claims, which are ultimately paid by industry. Compensation for respiratory injury is determined using a race-specific algorithm. For hearing, there is no race adjustment. Selective use of race-specific algorithms for workers' compensation reduces industries' liability for worker health, illustrating racial capitalism operating within public health. Widespread and unexamined belief in inherent physiological inferiority of Black Americans perpetuates systems that limit industry payouts for workplace injuries. We see a parallel in the epidemiology of COVID-19 disparities. We tell stories of industries implicated in the outbreak and review how they exemplify racial capitalism. We call on public health professionals to critically evaluate who is served and neglected by data analysis and to center structural determinants of health in etiological evaluation. *(Source)*

Mosier, Miranda. "Working: Glimpses of the Pandemic From This Fine Place so Far From Home." *Qualitative Social Work* 20, no. 1-2 (March 2021): 105–109.

◊ **Abstract:** This manuscript was written for a special issue on Reflections on a Pandemic. In it, I write as an emerging scholar from a working-class background. The pandemic has underscored the divergence between my working life as an academic, which is unintelligible to those I love, and their "essential" work, which increasingly renders them expendable. In this essay I struggle with the tensions that other working-class scholars have articulated before me: I am tentatively welcome in a place that asks, or even demands, that I become someone whose work is unrecognizable to my loved ones. Through the use of reflective inquiry and (counter) narratives, I am working to alter social work education, creating space for others from working-class backgrounds who might find themselves in this fine place so far from home. *(Source)*

Rao, Nitya, Nivedita Narain, Shuvajit Chakraborty, Arundhita Bhanjdeo, and Ayesha Pattnaik. "Destinations Matter: Social Policy and Migrant Workers in the Times of Covid." *The European Journal of Development Research* 32, no. 5 (October 2020): 1639–61.

◊ **Abstract:** The national lockdown of India announced on March 24th 2020 in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, left millions of migrant labourers stranded in their destinations. Thrown out of their informal labour arrangements in cities and industrial centres, unable to return to their villages in the absence of transportation, they were stranded for over a month with no income, improper housing and often lack of food. This paper discusses the experiences of men migrating from Chakai block, Jamui district, Bihar, to four Indian states, namely, Kerala, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra. We compare their experiences across these four destination states in relation to the social policy response

following the national lockdown. Most workers are young men (16–35 years old) and their migration pattern is seasonal and circular. The emerging lessons provide inputs for social policy measures related to migrant workers in India. *(Source)*

Sarker, Mou Rani. "Labor Market and Unpaid Works Implications of COVID‐19 for Bangladeshi Women." *Gender, Work & Organization* 28, no. S2 (November 2020): 597-604.

◊ **Abstract:** Crisis impacts are never gender-neutral, and COVID-19 is no exception. The pandemic has further exacerbated the gender and socioeconomic inequalities, therefore, crucial to undertake a gender impact analysis of COVID-19. This perspective paper highlights women's vulnerability in the labor market and focused on the increasing unpaid workloads in the response to the COVID-19 outbreak. Focusing on various surveys, feminized sectors such as agriculture, garments have been hardest hit by the pandemic. Female workers have been rapidly lost their means to earn income and confined to homes. Beyond lost jobs and reduced working hours, the pandemic has also increased the time poverty of women. While pre-pandemic unpaid work burdens are well established as strong, the study indicates that burdens are escalated after-pandemic. Women balanced intensified unpaid care and domestic works simultaneously or make a tradeoff, without or minimal help from men. Such results suggest a gender-inclusive policy to minimize the effects of the pandemic, placing women at the center of focus. *(Source)*

Stevano, Sara, Tobias Franz, Yannis Dafermos, and Elisa Van Waeyenberge. "COVID-19 and Crises of Capitalism: Intensifying Inequalities and Global Responses." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 42, no. 1-2 (March 2021): 1–17.

◊ **Abstract:** The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed multiple structural flaws of global capitalism. These have been reproduced through the intensification of inequalities and reinforced through policy responses that have failed to protect the most vulnerable from the health and socio-economic impacts of COVID-19. The COVID-19 pandemic has also revealed the materiality of human activity and complex geographies of inequality. It has highlighted how inequalities embedded in relations of production, reproduction and global finance continue to perpetuate the divide between the Global North and South. Using an interdisciplinary political economy lens with a focus on the Global South, this Special Issue brings together contributions that explore the dynamics underpinning the intensification of inequalities during the pandemic and that analyse the initial policy responses to the COVID-19 crisis. *(Source)*

Suresh, Rajani, Justine James, and Balraju R. S.j. "Migrant Workers at Crossroads–the Covid-19 Pandemic and the Migrant Experience in India." *Social Work in Public Health* 35, no. 7 (September 2020): 633–43.

◊ **Abstract:** The social and economic crisis induced by Covid-19 in low- and middle-income countries could be long, deep, and pervasive, especially when viewed through the lens of migrant workers. Migrant workers in India tend to live and work in megacities in crowded conditions that do not permit social distancing, putting them at an

increased risk of contracting the disease. Migrant workers here face challenges accessing health care even in normal circumstances due to lack of health insurance, cost, administrative hurdles, lack of public health infrastructure, and lack of access to these facilities. The sudden lockdown due to Covid left lakhs of migrant workers in India stranded and on the road, having lost jobs and being left without income, food, and accommodation. Lakhs attempted to travel back home on foot only to be shuttled into shelters and relief camps hastily cobbled up as a last-minute response to the migrant crisis. This article analyzes the specific ways in which Indian migrant workers have been affected by the pandemic and examines the response of the government and its impact in mitigating and addressing the crisis. By doing so, it aims to provide insights for more comprehensive, inclusive, and effective migrant policies and operations involving multiple stakeholders at all levels.
(Source)

Swan, Elaine. "COVID-19 Foodwork, Race, Gender, Class, and Food Justice." *Gender in Management* 35, no. 7-8 (November 2020): 693-703.

◊ **Abstract:** The purpose of this paper is to consider the implications of the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic for future research on intersection feminist studies of foodwork. This paper offers a brief summary of feminist domestic foodwork research and COVID-19 food-related media commentary, focusing on race, gender and class. This paper shows how domestic foodwork during pandemic lockdowns and the wider contexts reproduced racial, classed and gendered inequalities and hierarchies. The paper is limited by the recency of the pandemic and lack of empirical studies but still offers recommendations for a post-pandemic intersectional feminist agenda for studies and policy interventions relation to domestic foodwork. The paper raises the importance of foodwork for feminist organisational studies, and how it consolidated and created racialised, gendered and classed inequalities during the pandemic, offering insights for future research and policy interventions around food and labour. *(Source)*

Zapata, Gisela P., and Victoria Prieto Rosas. "Structural and Contingent Inequalities: The Impact of COVID‐19 on Migrant and Refugee Populations in South America." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 39, no. S1 (December 2020): 16–22.

◊ **Abstract:** In a comparative assessment of the pre-pandemic living conditions of migrants and refugees in six South American countries, we analyse the structural and contingent challenges imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic on these populations. We argue that they are particularly exposed to the harmful effects of the pandemic, given their segmented incorporation into labour markets and their limited and fragmented access to and exercise of health, housing, and other social rights. The evidence points to a significant deterioration in their livelihoods and social inclusion, and potential profound changes in (im)mobility regimes caused by pandemic-induced restrictive measures. *(Source)*

Labor Organizing and Activism

Agarwala, Rina. "Redefining Exploitation: Self-Employed Workers' Movements in India's Garments and Trash Collection Industries." *International Labor and Working-Class History* 89 (2016): 107–30.

- ◊ **Abstract:** This article examines how self-employed workers are organizing in the garments and waste collection industries in India. Although the question of who is profiting from self-employed workers' labor is complex, the cases outlined in this paper highlight telling instances of how some self-employed workers are organizing as workers. They are fighting labor exploitation by redefining the concept to include additional exploitation axes (from the state and middle class) and forms (including sexual). In doing so, they are redefining potential solutions, including identities and material benefits, to fit their unique needs. By expanding the category of "workers" beyond those defined by a narrow focus on a standard employer-employee relationship, these movements are also fighting exclusion from earlier labor protections by increasing the number of entitled beneficiaries. These struggles provide an important corrective to contemporary analyses of labor politics that focus too heavily on the precarious nature of employer-employee relationships and too little on broader definitions of work, exploitation, and protection. These broader definitions better represent the world's mass of vulnerable workers and are being articulated from below. *(Source)*

Alfers, Laura, Phumzile Xulu, Richard Dobson, and Sujatha Hariparsad. "Extending Occupational Health and Safety to Urban Street Vendors." *NEW SOLUTIONS: A Journal of Environmental and Occupational Health Policy* 26, no. 2 (July 12, 2016): 271–88.

- ◊ **Abstract:** This article focuses on an action-research project which is attempting to extend occupational health and safety to a group of street traders in Durban, South Africa, using a variety of different (and sometimes unconventional) institutional actors. The article is written from the perspective of key people who have played a role in conceptualizing and administering the project and is intended to deepen the conversation about what it means to extend occupational health to the informal economy. It explores this question through a reflection on three key project activities: the setting up of a trader-led health and safety committee, an occupational health and safety training course, and a clinical health assessment. It concludes with a discussion of the issues that emerge from the reflections of project participants, which include the need to bring occupational health and urban health into closer conversation with one another, the need to be cognizant of local "informal" politics and the impact that has on occupational health and safety interventions, and the need to create greater opportunities for occupational health and safety professionals to interact with workers in the informal economy. *(Source)*

Bair, Jennifer. "Class Formation and Commodity Chains in the Making of Regional Monocultures: Agrarian Reform from above and below in Mexico's Henequen and Cotton Zones." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 19, no. 3 (July 2019): 487–505.

◊ **Abstract:** This paper analyses the rise and fall of two regional monocultures in Mexico: the henequen zone in the southern state of Yucatán and the cotton-growing area of La Laguna. Both regions experienced a dramatic expansion of commodity production between 1870 and 1910, but their key crops came to be cultivated under different labour regimes: debt peonage in the case of henequen and wage labour in the case of cotton. The process of class formation that unfolded in each region culminated in the 1930s in different kinds of crises. In Yucatán, a political struggle between hacienda owners and the federal government resulted in an agrarian reform "from above." In La Laguna, class conflict between rural wageworkers and the landed bourgeoisie forced an agrarian reform "from below." These previously distinct labour regimes converged in subsequent decades, however, as rural producers became de facto wageworkers on state-organized and state-administered production units known as collective ejidos. Ultimately, changes in the global markets for cotton and henequen, combined with the inability of the Mexican state to reconcile the political logic of agrarian clientelism with shifting commodity chain dynamics, resulted in the collapse of these regional monocultures in the late 20th century. *(Source)*

Collier, Ruth Berins, V. B. Dubal, and Christopher L. Carter. "Disrupting Regulation, Regulating Disruption: The Politics of Uber in the United States." *Perspectives on Politics* 16, no. 4 (December 1, 2018): 919–37.

◊ **Abstract:** Platform companies disrupt not only the economic sectors they enter, but also the regulatory regimes that govern those sectors. We examine Uber in the United States as a case of regulating this disruption in different arenas: cities, state legislatures, and judicial venues. We find that the politics of Uber regulation does not conform to existing models of regulation. We describe instead a pattern of "disruptive regulation", characterized by a challenger-incumbent cleavage, in two steps. First, an existing regulatory regime is not deregulated but successfully disregarded by a new entrant. Second, the politics of subsequently regulating the challenger leads to a dual regulatory regime. In the case of Uber, disruptive regulation takes the form of challenger capture, an elite-driven pattern, in which the challenger has largely prevailed. It is further characterized by the surrogate representation of dispersed actors—customers and drivers—who do not have autonomous power and who rely instead on shifting alignments with the challenger and incumbent. In its surrogate capacity in city and state regulation, Uber has frequently mobilized large numbers of customers and drivers to lobby for policy outcomes that allow it to continue to provide service on terms it finds acceptable. Because drivers have reaped less advantage from these alignments, labor issues have been taken up in judicial venues, again primarily by surrogates (usually plaintiffs' attorneys) but to date have not been successful. *(Source)*

Forbath, William E. *Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991.

◊ **Abstract:** Why did American workers, unlike their European counterparts, fail to forge a class-based movement to pursue broad social reform? Was it simply that they lacked class

consciousness and were more interested in personal mobility? In a richly detailed survey of labor law and labor history, William Forbath challenges this notion of American "individualism." In fact, he argues, the nineteenth-century American labor movement was much like Europe's labor movements in its social and political outlook, but in the decades around the turn of the century, the prevailing attitude of American trade unionists changed. Forbath shows that, over time, struggles with the courts and the legal order were crucial to reshaping labor's outlook, driving the labor movement to temper its radical goals. *(Source)*

Freshour, Carrie. "Poultry and Prisons." *Monthly Review* 72, no. 3 (July 1, 2020): 32–47.

◊ **Abstract:** Poultry-processing work lies within a larger web of carceral geographies that extend beyond the prison walls into factory floors, neighborhoods, and schools. These geographies depend on and are produced through racism, as the production of unequal vulnerability to premature death. Racial capitalism connects the poultry plant to the prison alongside the movement for abolition *beyond* the prison. *(Source)*

Gordon, Jennifer. "Roles for Workers and Unions in Regulating Labour Recruitment in Mexico." In Temporary Labour Migration in the Global Era, edited by Joanna Howe and Rosemary Owens, 329–350. Oñati International Series in Law and Society. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2016.

◊ **Abstract:** One of the most exploitative phases of transnational labor migration—recruitment for work abroad—takes place before a migrant has even left her home country. During the recruitment process, it is routine for recruiters and their agents to make false promises about the jobs on offer, charge would-be migrants fees that exceed their annual income, and offer loans at usurious rates, demanding property deeds as collateral. 2 These practices, and others even more disturbing, reflect the fact that recruitment is a functionally unregulated field. Origin countries are deeply conflicted about any enforcement that might limit their citizens' access to employment abroad,3 and destination nations too often regard what happens to migrants on other shores as none of their concern. Recruitment is also a heavily subcontracted industry, which allows the principle actors to avoid what liability exists by pointing to entities further down the chain. *(Source)*

Larson, Eric, ed. *Jobs with Justice: 25 Years, 25 Voices*. Oakland, Ca: PM Press, 2013.

◊ **Abstract:** The world today has no shortage of economic crises—or politicians and pundits who claim to have the vision that will get us out of the Great Recession. For 25 years, the labor-community coalition Jobs with Justice (JwJ) has endured the brutal vagaries of the global economy with a single alternative economic vision. By putting its ideas into practice, it has won powerful victories with working-class communities. Through a series of interviews and essays, this book allows the community, labor, immigrant, student, and faith activists that have built Jobs with Justice to show us why their economic vision matters. They tell us why the organization's core principle—the

power of solidarity between unions, community groups, and immigrant, student, and faith organizations—continues to drive its victories at the local, national, and international levels. They tell us how the belief in solidarity leads not only to short-term alliances, but also to transformed relationships and permanent coalitions. They tell us how it has led—and will lead—to concrete victories for social and economic justice. *(Source)*

Gyapong, Adwoa Yeboah. "Land Deals, Wage Labour, and Everyday Politics." *Land* 8, no. 6 (June 13, 2019): 94.

◊ **Abstract:** This article explores the question of political struggles for inclusion on an oil palm land deal in Ghana. It examines the employment dynamics and the everyday politics of rural wage workers on a transnational oil palm plantation which is located in a predominantly migrant and settler society where large-scale agricultural production has only been introduced within the past decade. It shows that, by the nature of labour organization, as well as other structural issues, workers do not benefit equally from their work on plantations. The main form of farmworkers' political struggles in the studied case has been the 'everyday forms of resistance' against exploitation and for better terms of incorporation. Particularly, they express agency through acts such as absenteeism and non-compliance, as well as engaging in other productive activities which enable them to maintain their basic food sovereignty/security. Nonetheless, their multiple and individualized everyday politics are not necessarily changing the structure of social relations associated with capitalist agriculture. Overall, this paper contributes to the land grab literature by providing context specific dynamics of the impacts of, and politics around land deals, and how they are shaped by a multiplicity of factors-beyond class. *(Source)*

Joaquin, Katie. "We Can Labor with Love: Immigrant Women Inspire New Forms for Organizing." *Reimagine* 19, no. 2 (2012): 61–63.

◊ **Abstract:** The United States remains a prevalent destination for 52 percent of the world's migrants. A majority of these migrants are women from Mexico, India, China, and the Philippines and many bring with them valuable knowledge gained from popular movements in their home countries. In the United States, they soon confront a dilemma that has challenged leftist organizers doing mass-based organizing who have built membership bases within tax-exempt nonprofit corporations whose political scope is limited by law. Migrant women have been pointing toward new solutions to the challenge and laying the groundwork we need to seriously confront the global economic interests preventing us from building a society that meets all of our needs. *(Source)*

Logan, Ryan I. "Being a Community Health Worker Means Advocating." *Anthropology in Action* 26, no. 2 (June 1, 2019): 9–18.

◊ **Abstract:** Community health workers (CHWs) participate in advocacy as a crucial means to empower clients in overcoming health disparities and to improve the health and social

well-being of their communities. Building on previous studies, this article proposes a new framework for conceptualising CHW advocacy, depending on the intended impact level of CHW advocacy. CHWs participate in three 'levels' of advocacy, the micro, the macro, and the professional. This article also details the challenges they face at each level. As steps are taken to institutionalise these workers throughout the United States and abroad, there is a danger that their participation in advocacy will diminish. As advocacy serves as a primary conduit through which to empower clients, enshrining this role in steps to integrate these workers is essential. Finally, this article provides justification for the impacts of CHWs in addressing the social determinants of health and in helping their communities strive towards health equity. *(Source)*

Merkel, Janet. "'Freelance Isn't Free.' Co-Working as a Critical Urban Practice to Cope with Informality in Creative Labour Markets." *Urban Studies* 56, no. 3 (September 11, 2018): 526–47.

◊ **Abstract:** For more than a decade, co-working spaces have proliferated in cities worldwide. The paper discusses co-working as a critical urban practice because these spaces give support to the rising number of freelance workers in culture and creative industries. Freelance workers are an 'invisible' workforce whose impact often remains 'hidden' (Mould et al., 2014), who are not sufficiently protected through social welfare regulations and do not enjoy the same social entitlements as employed workers. This paper uses the concept of informality to highlight ongoing informalisation processes of employment relationships as well as informal working practices in creative labour markets. It discusses the emergence of co-working as a practice of collective self-help and self-organisation to cope with and to potentially overcome the informality, uncertainty and risks associated with independent work. It argues that co-working can be seen in line with other practices of informal urbanism that become more prevalent in European and North American cities because of the lack of affordable housing, the retrenchment of the social welfare state and the imposed conditions of 'austerity urbanism'. *(Source)*

Migration, Migrant Labor, and Contingent Work

Altenried, Moritz. "Mobile Workers, Contingent Labour: Migration, the Gig Economy and the Multiplication of Labour." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, November 8, 2021.

◊ **Abstract:** The article takes the surprising exit of the food delivery platform Deliveroo from Berlin as a starting point to analyse the relationship between migration and the gig economy. In Berlin and many cities across the globe, migrant workers are indispensable to the operations of digital platforms such as Uber, Helpling, or Deliveroo. The article uses in-depth ethnographic and qualitative research to show how the latter's exit from Berlin provides an almost exemplary picture of why urban gig economy platforms are strongholds of migrant labour, while at the same time, demonstrating the very

contingency of this form of work. The article analyses the specific reasons why digital platforms are particularly open to migrants and argues that the very combination of new forms of algorithmic management and hyper-flexible forms of employment that is characteristic of gig economy platforms is also the reason why these platforms are geared perfectly toward the exploitation of migrant labour. This allows the analysis of digital platforms in the context of stratified labour markets and situates them within a long history of contingent labour that is closely intertwined with the mobility of labour. *(Source)*

Anwar, Mohammad Amir, and Mark Graham. "Hidden Transcripts of the Gig Economy: Labour Agency and the New Art of Resistance among African Gig Workers." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 52, no. 7 (October 2020): 1269–91.

◊ **Abstract:** In this article, we examine how remote gig workers in Africa exercise agency to earn and sustain their livelihoods in the gig economy. In addition to the rewards reaped by gig workers, they also face significant risks, such as precarious working conditions and algorithmic workplace monitoring, thus constraining workers' autonomy and bargaining power. Gig workers, as a result, are expected to have fewer opportunities to exert their agency – particularly so for workers in Africa, where the high proportion of informal economy and a lack of employment opportunities in local labour markets already constrain workers' ability to earn livelihoods. Instead, we demonstrate how remote workers in Africa manage various constraints on one of the world's biggest gig economy platforms through their diverse everyday resilience, reworking and resistance practices (after Katz, 2004). Drawing from a rich labour geography tradition, which considers workers to 'actively produce economic spaces and scales', our main theoretical contribution is to offer a reformulation of Katz's notions of 'resistance', 'resilience' and 'reworking' as everyday practices of gig workers best understood as 'hidden transcripts' of the gig economy (Scott, 1990). The article draws on in-depth interviews (N=65) conducted with remote workers during the fieldwork in five selected African countries. *(Source)*

Blackett, Adelle. *Everyday Transgressions: Domestic Workers' Transnational Challenge to International Labor Law*. Ithaca New York: London, 2019.

◊ **Abstract:** Adelle Blackett tells the story behind the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Decent Work for Domestic Workers Convention No. 189, and its accompanying Recommendation No. 201 which in 2011 created the first comprehensive international standards to extend fundamental protections and rights to the millions of domestic workers laboring in other peoples' homes throughout the world. As the principal legal architect, Blackett is able to take us behind the scenes to show us how Convention No. 189 transgresses the everyday law of the household workplace to embrace domestic workers' human rights claim to be both workers like any other, and workers like no other. In doing so, she discusses the importance of understanding historical forms of invisibility, recognizes the influence of the domestic workers themselves, and weaves in poignant experiences, infusing the discussion of laws and standards with intimate examples and sophisticated analyses. Looking to the future, she ponders how international institutions such as the ILO will address labor market informality alongside national and regional law

reform. Regardless of what comes next, Everyday Transgressions establishes that domestic workers' victory is a victory for the ILO and for all those who struggle for an inclusive, transnational vision of labor law, rooted in social justice. *(Source)*

Bowman, Catherine, and Jennifer Bair. "From Cultural Sojourner to Guestworker? The Historical Transformation and Contemporary Significance of the J-1 Visa Summer Work Travel Program." *Labor History* 58, no. 1 (November 16, 2016): 1–25.

◊ **Abstract:** Since the mid-1990s, the J-1 Summer Work Travel (SWT) program has quadrupled in size. While many J-1 visa holders are in the U.S. to study or conduct research, the primary activity of SWT participants is low-wage labor. We analyze the trajectory of the SWT program since its origins in the Fulbright-Hays Act, underscoring both change and continuity in the practical and discursive handling of what are, in effect, guestworkers. Our analysis reveals both longstanding concerns about the SWT program's risks to foreign and domestic workers, as well as repeated efforts by U.S. government officials and private sector stakeholders to justify its status as cultural exchange rather than temporary work. Yet despite these concerns, over the last two decades, the SWT program has become larger and less regulated. We explore these changes in the context of two contending forces shaping the labor market: on the demand side, a transformation in the organization of work towards 'fissured' workplaces and contingent employment, and, on the supply side, limited access to foreign labor due to political gridlock over comprehensive immigration reform. We conclude that the SWT program both reflects broader trends in managed migration and embodies the model of flexible migrant labor many employers now demand. *(Source)*

Doorn, Niels van, Fabian Ferrari, and Mark Graham. "Migration and Migrant Labour in the Gig Economy: An Intervention." papers.ssrn.com. Rochester, NY, June 8, 2020.

◊ **Abstract:** In urban gig economies around the world, platform labour is predominantly migrant labour. Yet the academic literature on the intersection of the gig economy and labour migration remains scant. Our experience with two action research projects, spanning six cities on four continents, has taught us how platform work impacts the structural vulnerability of migrant workers. This leads us to two claims that should recalibrate the gig economy research agenda. First, we argue that platform labour simultaneously degrades working conditions while offering migrants much-needed opportunities to improve their livelihoods. Second, we contend that the reclassification of gig workers as employees is by itself not sufficient to counter the precarisation of migrant gig work. Instead, we need ambitious policies at the intersection of immigration, social welfare, and employment regulation that push back against the digitally mediated commodification of migrant labour worldwide. *(Source)*

Gonzalez, Daniel. "Logistical Borderlands: Latinx Migrant Labor in the Information Age." www.societyandspace.org, April 12, 2019.

◊ **Abstract:** The overwhelming attention paid to the wall conceals the fluidity of the actual hi-tech US-Mexico border and obscures the full extent of its political violence.

Reconceptualizing the border a logistical infrastructure not only denaturalizes the border as a "fixed space" (De Lara 2018) that can be crossed, but also denaturalizes assumptions that the border is merely a technology of social exclusion. [This paper argues]…that we should not stop our analysis at border walls but should also turn our gaze to the border technologies that DHS employs in its immigration management practices. In doing so, we see how border enforcement is as much a violent project of social inclusion as it is of exclusion. Border logistics link a global supply of labor to the needs of racial capitalism and manage a particular type of work force— one that is knowable, traceable, rightless, and whose deportabilty is producible when the timing is right (such as at the end of harvest seasons). *(Source)*

Choo, Hae Yeon. *Decentering Citizenship: Gender, Labor, and Migrant Rights in South Korea*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016.

◊ **Abstract:** Decentering Citizenship follows three groups of Filipina migrants' struggles to belong in South Korea: factory workers claiming rights as workers, wives of South Korean men claiming rights as mothers, and hostesses at American military clubs who are excluded from claims—unless they claim to be victims of trafficking. Moving beyond laws and policies, Hae Yeon Choo examines how rights are enacted, translated, and challenged in daily life and ultimately interrogates the concept of citizenship. Choo reveals citizenship as a language of social and personal transformation within the pursuit of dignity, security, and mobility. Her vivid ethnography of both migrants and their South Korean advocates illuminates how social inequalities of gender, race, class, and nation operate in defining citizenship. Decentering Citizenship argues that citizenship emerges from negotiations about rights and belonging between South Koreans and migrants. As the promise of equal rights and full membership in a polity erodes in the face of global inequalities, this decentering illuminates important contestation at the margins of citizenship. *(Source)*

Gordon, Jennifer. *Suburban Sweatshops: The Fight for Immigrant Rights*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap, 2007.

◊ **Abstract:** Jorge Bonilla is hospitalized with pneumonia from sleeping at the restaurant where he works, unable to afford rent on wages of thirty cents an hour. Domestic worker Yanira Juarez discovers she has labored for six months with no wages at all; her employer lied about establishing a savings account for her. We live in an era of the sweatshop reborn. In 1992 Jennifer Gordon founded the Workplace Project to help immigrant workers in the underground suburban economy of Long Island, New York. In a story of gritty determination and surprising hope, she weaves together Latino immigrant life and legal activism to tell the unexpected tale of how the most vulnerable workers in society came together to demand fair wages, safe working conditions, and respect from employers. Immigrant workers—many undocumented—won a series of remarkable victories, including a raise of thirty percent for day laborers and a domestic workers' bill of rights. In the process, they transformed themselves into effective political participants. Gordon neither ignores the obstacles faced by such grassroots organizations nor underestimates their very real potential for fundamental change. This revelatory work

challenges widely held beliefs about the powerlessness of immigrant workers, what a union should be, and what constitutes effective lawyering. It opens up exciting new possibilities for labor organizing, community building, participatory democracy, legal strategies, and social justice. *(Source)*

Korsunsky, Alex. "Back to the Root? Immigrant Farmers, Ethnographic Romanticism, and Untangling Food Sovereignty in Western Oregon." *Culture, Agriculture, Food and Environment* 42, no. 2 (December 3, 2020): 114-24

◊ **Abstract:** Immigrants—especially those from farmworker or campesino backgrounds—have gained attention as promising recruits for a new generation of sustainable farmers. Nonprofits promoting this aspirational vision of food justice link sustainability to empowered workers and communities of color, and to the preservation or revival of (agri)cultural traditions. I present findings from ongoing research showing that Oregon nonprofit food sovereignty initiatives training Mexican immigrant farmers have achieved successes as cultural, community building, and educational programs, but have struggled to produce viable farm businesses. I contrast these farmers with the less ecologically oriented and less self-consciously "cultural" immigrant farmers who work without organizational support in the same region, and who find an aspirational agrarian good life in more conventional agricultural practices. I argue that activist and academic formulations of food sovereignty linking peasant heritage, sustainability, labor rights, and immigration justice may lead scholars to overstate immigrant farmers' actual propensity for "alternative" agriculture and ignore those immigrant farmers who fail to conform to this ideal. *(Source)*

Wright, Andrea. "From Slaves to Contract Workers: Genealogies of Consent and Security in Indian Labor Migration." *Journal of World History* 32, no. 1 (2021): 29–43.

◊ **Abstract:** This article examines how the mechanisms used by the British Empire to move indentured workers during the nineteenth were implemented in the twentieth century in order to move Indian workers to the oilfields of the Arabian/Persian Gulf and the continuation of this process into the present. Using archival and ethnographic material, this article explores shifting legal engagements with the discourse of consent and how consent is mobilized in regard to the treatment of migrant laborers. The article then considers how the securitization of oil impacted workers' rights and, particularly, issues around worker consent. Examining the continuation of the mechanisms used to move Indian indentured laborers, in conjunction with a rhetoric of security, gives insight into how the rights of workers have been actively curtailed while simultaneously framed as consensual. *(Source)*

Precarious Work and Progressive Policy

Bischoping, Katherine, and Adam D. K. King. "The Forgotten Work of Cultural Workers." *Labour / Le Travail* 84, no. 1 (2019): 259–78.

◊ **Abstract:** In recent years, efforts have been made to amass reliable statistics about cultural workers' hours, pay rates, and other working conditions, both in order to understand the precariousness of cultural work and to demonstrate the magnitude of cultural workers' contributions to the economy.1 We do not fault this endeavour or the desire to use a brief, accessible instrument to collect cultural-work data. Nor do we doubt the necessity of having reliable quantitative data about the material conditions of the creative cultural industries, particularly when such information could aid in the crafting of social policy to address widespread precariousness.2 However, our intervention into this method of understanding cultural work is to argue that concentrating on waged or otherwise income-earning work overlooks much of the diversity of what people do as they develop and create cultural products. *(Source)*

Blackett, Adelle. "Transnational Labour Law and Collective Autonomy for Marginalized Workers: Reflections on Decent Work for Domestic Workers." *Research Handbook on Transnational Labour Law*, (September 25, 2015): 230–44.

◊ **Abstract:** The emerging critical tradition in transnational labour law has fruitfully engaged with the literature on collective autonomy. Autonomy has come to be understood as relational, rather than individualistic, and is a capability to be supported and enhanced through the freedom of association and right to bargain collectively. The example of domestic workers—who have been at the centre of a flurry of recent international mobilization—demonstrates the importance of autonomy to transnational labour law. Domestic workers make social reproduction possible in market economies, yet they have faced exclusion from the corpus of labour law. As this reality is progressively reversed, more must be done than simply extending state 'protection,' while remaining oblivious to collective autonomy. In this respect, international instruments such as ILO Convention No. 189 and Recommendation No. 201, which account for the specificity of domestic work, offer helpful guidance. These new international standards were partly influenced by France's national collective agreements (CCNs), and they should continue to inform the development of the effective exercise of collective autonomy by all domestic workers, including migrant domestic workers, in France. *(Source)*

Campbell, Miranda. "'Shit Is Hard, Yo': Young People Making a Living in the Creative Industries." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 26, no. 4 (November 26, 2018): 524–43.

◊ **Abstract:** Contemporary social science research on the creative industries demonstrates inequities in accessing good work in this field. Nonetheless, youth still increasingly are seeking to create careers in these fields. However, economic indicators that register growing employment in the creative industries may not fully register the participation of youth. The Young People Making a Living in the Creative Industries research project sought to document the multiple income streams that youth draw on while attempting to make a living in creative fields, mapping the areas of challenge and success in the entry years to creative work. Respondents in the research project articulated an informed knowingness and resistance to the norms of unpaid work in the creative industries and forwarded gender and race as structural categories that impact the experience of

entry-level creative work. Respondents also articulated forming communities of care to respond to these challenges, including collectives, support groups, and other forms of networks, while highlighting the challenge of balancing community-based and economic motivations for creative industries work. The study highlights the role of community youth arts programmes on creative industries career incubation for youth, and the need to hear from youth themselves to better map youth participation in the creative industries. *(Source)*

Collier, Ruth Berins, V. B. Dubal, and Christopher L. Carter. "Disrupting Regulation, Regulating Disruption: The Politics of Uber in the United States." *Perspectives on Politics* 16, no. 4 (November 23, 2018): 919–37.

◊ **Abstract:** Platform companies disrupt not only the economic sectors they enter, but also the regulatory regimes that govern those sectors. We examine Uber in the United States as a case of regulating this disruption in different arenas: cities, state legislatures, and judicial venues. We find that the politics of Uber regulation does not conform to existing models of regulation. We describe instead a pattern of "disruptive regulation", characterized by a challenger-incumbent cleavage, in two steps. First, an existing regulatory regime is not deregulated but successfully disregarded by a new entrant. Second, the politics of subsequently regulating the challenger leads to a dual regulatory regime. In the case of Uber, disruptive regulation takes the form of challenger capture, an elite-driven pattern, in which the challenger has largely prevailed. It is further characterized by the surrogate representation of dispersed actors—customers and drivers—who do not have autonomous power and who rely instead on shifting alignments with the challenger and incumbent. In its surrogate capacity in city and state regulation, Uber has frequently mobilized large numbers of customers and drivers to lobby for policy outcomes that allow it to continue to provide service on terms it finds acceptable. Because drivers have reaped less advantage from these alignments, labor issues have been taken up in judicial venues, again primarily by surrogates (usually plaintiffs' attorneys) but to date have not been successful. *(Source)*

Dubal, Veena. "Wage Slave or Entrepreneur? Contesting the Dualism of Legal Worker Identities." *California Law Review* 105, no. 101 (February 2017): 101–59.

◊ **Abstract:** Today, whether a worker is legally classified as an employee or an independent contractor determines whether he or she is entitled to employment and labor law protections. With the proliferation of the on-demand economy, the doctrinal definitions and legal analyses of these categories are fiercely contested. While businesses have attempted to confine the definition of employee to limit their financial and legal liabilities and risks, public interest lawyers have worked to broaden the definition, ensuring that more workers are covered and protected by the law. How did U.S. law come to divide workers into these two categories, how have the definitions evolved historically, and how do workers today make sense of them? This Article challenges the duality of worker classification in employment regulation by positioning the employee and the independent contractor in U.S. legal history and in the lives of contemporary workers. Part I situates the debate in work law scholarship. Part II uses historical and legal archives to challenge

the prevailing assumptions about the employee and independent contractor classifications in employment and labor law. I argue that the existence of the dualism of worker categories is more recent than previously understood and that contemporary doctrinal tests reflect not bright line legal rules, but evolving political and cultural philosophies about work. Part III investigates the impact of these legal classifications on the ground. Through ethnographic research and analysis, I find that these categories of work have taken on social meaning for workers, often disrupting worker collectivities. The Article concludes that both the doctrinal analyses of the employee category and the lawyering methodologies used to advance the interests of workers must be more attendant to workers' realities. *(Source)*

Gyapong, Adwoa Yeboah. "Land Grabs, Farmworkers, and Rural Livelihoods in West Africa: Some Silences in the Food Sovereignty Discourse." *Globalizations* 18, no. 3 (January 30, 2020): 339-54.

◊ **Abstract:** The global land rush has spurred small, modest, and big anti-land grab mobilizations, notably the food sovereignty movement. The movement has been instrumental in representing the interests of small-scale family farmers whose livelihoods are threatened by capitalist control over land in the countryside. However, this dominant narrative tends to overlook or de-emphasize some important diversity within the peasantry. In West Africa, anti-land grab discourses emphasize family farming as a major collective action frame, focusing less on issues related to agricultural wage labour – farmworkers' access to land, food, and decent working conditions. If food sovereignty is to fully realize its potential power as a counter-narrative to neoliberalism, and as a possible democratic alternative for working people with differentiated and at times competing socio-economic interests, then demands that adequately reflect the agrarian struggles of the rural working people have to be put onto the agenda and engaged better than it is now. *(Source)*

Hyman, Louis. *Temp: The Real Story of What Happened to Your Salary, Benefits, and Job Security*. Reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 2019.

◊ **Abstract:** The untold history of the surprising origins of the "gig economy"—how deliberate decisions made by consultants and CEOs in the 50s and 60s upended the stability of the workplace and the lives of millions of working men and women in postwar America. Over the last fifty years, job security has cratered as the institutions that insulated us from volatility have been swept aside by a fervent belief in the market. Now every working person in America today asks the same question: how secure is my job? In *Temp,* Louis Hyman explains how we got to this precarious position and traces the real origins of the gig economy: it was created not by accident, but by choice through a series of deliberate decisions by consultants and CEOs--long before the digital revolution. Uber is not the cause of insecurity and inequality in our country, and neither is the rest of the gig economy. The answer to our growing problems goes deeper than apps, further back than outsourcing and downsizing, and contests the most essential assumptions we have about how our businesses should work. As we make choices about the future, we need to understand our past. *(Source)*

Prabha Kotiswaran. *Revisiting the Law and Governance of Trafficking, Forced Labor and Modern Slavery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

◊ **Abstract:** In the decades following the globalization of the world economy, trafficking, forced labor and modern slavery have emerged as significant global problems. States negotiated the Palermo Protocol in 2000 under which they agreed to criminalize trafficking, primarily understood as an issue of serious organized crime. Sixteen years later, leading academics, activists and policy makers from international organizations come together in this edited volume and adopt an inter-disciplinary, multi-stakeholder approach to revisit trafficking through the lens of labor migration and extreme exploitation and, in the process, rethink the law and governance of trafficking. This volume considers many key factors, including the evolving international law on trafficking, the relationship between trafficking, slavery, indenture and domestic migration law and policy as well as newly emergent techniques of governance, including indicators, all with a view to furthering prospects for lasting economic justice in a globalized world. *(Source)*

Merkel, Janet. "'Freelance Isn't Free.' Co-Working as a Critical Urban Practice to Cope with Informality in Creative Labour Markets." *Urban Studies* 56, no. 3 (September 11, 2018): 526–47.

◊ **Abstract:** For more than a decade, co-working spaces have proliferated in cities worldwide. The paper discusses co-working as a critical urban practice because these spaces give support to the rising number of freelance workers in culture and creative industries. Freelance workers are an 'invisible' workforce whose impact often remains 'hidden' (Mould et al., 2014), who are not sufficiently protected through social welfare regulations and do not enjoy the same social entitlements as employed workers. This paper uses the concept of informality to highlight ongoing informalisation processes of employment relationships as well as informal working practices in creative labour markets. It discusses the emergence of co-working as a practice of collective self-help and self-organisation to cope with and to potentially overcome the informality, uncertainty and risks associated with independent work. It argues that co-working can be seen in line with other practices of informal urbanism that become more prevalent in European and North American cities because of the lack of affordable housing, the retrenchment of the social welfare state and the imposed conditions of 'austerity urbanism' (Peck, 2012). *(Source)*

Murray, Catherine, and Mirjam Gollmitzer. "Escaping the Precarity Trap: A Call for Creative Labour Policy." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 18, no. 4 (September 2012): 419–38.

◊ **Abstract:** Drawing on a review of policy papers and cultural statistics from Canada and Europe, among others, this paper confirms a widespread belief in creative economy policies as panacea for revitalizing economies, while noting a general failure to acknowledge the role and the needs of creative workers. Existing policy instruments are mostly uncoordinated but can be divided into four categories entitled 'education and

training', 'awards and contests', 'business support' and 'social security policies', with the greatest emphasis on the first three. Escaping the precarity trap – precarity meaning existence without security – typical of much cultural work requires a rehabilitated notion of 'flexicurity' that includes exceptionalist, sub-sectoral, sectoral and generalist strategies to support cultural workers. The authors argue for a more holistic policy framework that uses a rights-based perspective and emphasizes social security measures. This approach, which we term 'creative ecology', is based on the intersection of social, labour and cultural policy. This paper thereby begins the response to calls to academics, practitioners and policy analysts to provide a route map out of the demoralized terrain of neo-liberalism with respect to cultural work. *(Source)*

Precarity Lab, *Technoprecarious*. London: Goldsmiths Press, 2020.

◊ **Abstract:** *Technoprecarious* advances a new analytic for tracing how precarity unfolds across disparate geographical sites and cultural practices in the digital age. Digital technologies—whether apps like Uber, built on flexible labor, or platforms like Airbnb that shift accountability to users—have assisted in consolidating the wealth and influence of a small number of players. These platforms have also exacerbated increasingly insecure conditions of work and life for racial, ethnic, and sexual minorities; women; indigenous people; migrants; and peoples in the global south. At the same time, precarity has become increasingly generalized, expanding to include even the creative class and digital producers themselves. This collaboratively authored multigraph analyzes the role of digital technology in multiplying precarity. The authors use the term precarity to characterize those populations disproportionately affected by the forms of inequality and insecurity that digital technologies have generated despite the new affordances and possibilities they offer. The book maps a broad range of digital precarity—from the placement of Palestinian Internet cables to the manufacture of electronics by Navajo women and from the production and deployment of drones on the U.S.–Mexico border to the technocultural productions of Chinese makers. This project contributes to, and helps bridge, ongoing debates on precarity and digital networks in the fields of critical computing, postcolonial studies, visual culture, and information sciences. *(Source)*

Prentice, Rebecca, and Geert De Neve. *Unmaking the Global Sweatshop: Health and Safety of the World's Garment Workers*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.

◊ **Abstract:** The 2013 collapse of Rana Plaza, an eight-story garment factory in Savar, Bangladesh, killed over a thousand workers and injured hundreds more. This disaster exposed the brutal labor conditions of the global garment industry and revealed its failures as a competitive and self-regulating industry. Over the past thirty years, corporations have widely adopted labor codes on health and safety, yet too often in their working lives, garment workers across the globe encounter death, work-related injuries, and unhealthy factory environments. Disasters such as Rana Plaza notwithstanding, garment workers routinely work under conditions that not only escape public notice but also undermine workers' long-term physical health, mental well-being, and the very sustainability of their employment. *Unmaking the Global Sweatshop* gathers the work of leading anthropologists and ethnographers studying the global garment industry to examine the relationship between the politics of labor and initiatives to protect workers' health and safety. Contributors analyze both the labor processes required of garment

workers as well as the global dynamics of outsourcing and subcontracting that produce such demands on workers' health. The accounts contained in Unmaking the Global Sweatshop trace the histories of labor standards for garment workers in the global South; explore recent partnerships between corporate, state, and civil society actors in pursuit of accountable corporate governance; analyze a breadth of initiatives that seek to improve workers' health standards, from ethical trade projects to human rights movements; and focus on the ways in which risk, health, and safety might be differently conceptualized and regulated. Unmaking the Global Sweatshop argues for an expansive understanding of garment workers' lived experiences that recognizes the politics of labor, human rights, the privatization and individualization of health-related responsibilities as well as the complexity of health and well-being. *(Source)*

Rittich, Kerry. "Formality and Informality in the Law of Work." In *The Daunting Enterprise of the Law : Essays in Honour of Harry W. Arthurs*, edited by Simon Archer, Daniel Drache, and Pierce Zumbansen, 109–23. Montreal, Canada: Mcgill-Queen's University Press, 2017.

◊ **Abstract:** That paradigm of employment which underpinned much postwar labor legislation in advanced economies became increasingly anachronistic… No longer, therefore, could public policy platforms, legal entitlements or union strategies be usefully constructed on the old paradigm. True, the nature of the new paradigm is even and no not yet clear… Which vision of social justice, whose aspirations, whose interest should labor of scholarship be concerned to protect? We know only that the old paradigm is likely gone forever, not what will take its place. If the emerging paradigm of work remains shrouded in the mist and still hidden from view, one thing seems reasonably certain: informal work is sure to form a constituent part of paradigm, making its mark on labor law at the same time. *(Source)*

Toit, Darcy du, ed. *Exploited, Undervalued and Essential: Domestic Workers and the Realisation of Their Rights*. South Africa: Pretoria University Law Press (Pulp), 2013.

◊ **Abstract:** Millions of domestic workers experience exploitation in the privacy of their employers' homes; also in South Africa they are to a large extent beyond the reach of legal protection. This book sums up four years of research on ways of realising their rights. It highlights their essential role, both as care-givers and in enabling their employers to work outside the home. Against the background of the Constitution and international law it examines ways of adapting the legal framework as well as alternative mechanisms, including new forms of organisation, for translating basic rights into effective regulation. *(Source)*

Torres, Rebecca, Rich Heyman, Solange Munoz, Lauren Apgar, Emily Timm, Cristina Tzintzun, Charles R. Hale, John Mckiernan-Gonzalez, Shannon Speed, and Eric Tang. "Building Austin, Building Justice: Immigrant Construction Workers, Precarious Labor Regimes and Social Citizenship." *Geoforum* 45 (March 1, 2013): 145–55.

◊ **Abstract:** Neoliberalization of the construction industry, in combination with Texas' anti-labor climate, has resulted in "precarious employment regimes" in Austin's construction industry. Austin is currently the second fastest-growing urban area in the United States and depends heavily on a Latino immigrant workforce to meet its construction demands. In 2009 a community-based worker center in Austin, Workers Defense Project (WDP), in collaboration with the University of Texas students and faculty, undertook one of the most extensive studies to date on the U.S. construction industry in order to better understand working conditions and to promote fair labor practices and legislation. The study took a participatory activist approach to research and included a survey of 312 construction workers, as well as 37 qualitative interviews with workers and construction industry leaders. Findings revealed an industry characterized by poor and dangerous working conditions, low and stolen wages, limited benefits and racialized divisions of labor, resulting in weakened social citizenship and exclusion. The study exposes the often unaccounted for social, economic and bodily costs of these precarious labor regimes on workers, families, employers and taxpayers. We conclude that the emergent spaces of activism and collective response carved out by immigrant civil society, in particular the worker center movement, are resulting in new forms of social citizenship that are empowering for immigrant workers. *(Source)*

Race, Gender, and Work

Agarwala, Rina, and Jennifer Jihye Chun. *Gendering Struggles against Informal and Precarious Work*. Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing, 2019.

◊ **Abstract:** Gender is a defining feature of informal/precarious work in the twenty-first century, yet studies rarely adopt a gendered lens when examining collective efforts to challenge informality and precarity. This chapter foregrounds the gendered dimensions of informal/precarious workers' struggles as a crucial starting point for re-theorizing the future of global labor movements. Drawing upon the findings of the volume's six chapters spanning five countries (the United States, Canada, South Korea, Mexico, and India) and two gender-typed sectors (domestic work and construction), this chapter explores how gender is intertwined into informal/precarious workers' movements, why gender is addressed, and to what end. Across countries and sectors, informal/ precarious worker organizations are on the front lines of challenging the multiple forms of gendered inequalities that shape contemporary practices of accumulation and labor regulation. They expose the forgotten reality that class structures not only represent classification struggles around work, but also around social identities, such as gender, race, and migration status. However, these organizing efforts are not fighting to transform the gendered division of labor or embarking on revolutionary struggles to overturn private ownership and liberalized markets. Nonetheless, these struggles are making major transformations in terms of increasing women's leadership and membership in labor movements and exposing how gender interacts with other ascriptive identities to shape work. They are also radicalizing hegemonic scripts of capitalist accumulation, development, and even gender to attain recognition for female-dominated occupations and reproductive needs for the first time ever. These outcomes are crucial as sources of

emancipatory trans- formations at a time when state and public support for labor and social protection is facing a deep assault stemming from the pressures of transnational production and globalizing markets. *(Source)*

Choo, Hae Yeon. "In the Shadow of Working Men: Gendered Labor and Migrant Rights in South Korea." *Qualitative Sociology* 39, no. 4 (July 16, 2016): 353–73.

◊ **Abstract:** Based on ethnographic research in South Korea, this article investigates the gendered production of migrant rights under the global regime of temporary migration by examining two groups of Filipina women: factory workers and hostesses at American military camptown clubs. Emphasizing gendered labor processes and symbolic politics, this article offers an analytical framework to interrogate the mechanisms through which a discrepancy of rights is generated at the intersection of workplace organization and civil society mobilization. I identify two distinct labor regimes for migrant women that were shaped in the shadow of working men. Migrant women in the factories labored in the company of working men on the shop floor, which enabled them to form a co-ethnic migrant community and utilize the male-centered bonding between workers and employers. In contrast, migrant hostesses were isolated and experienced gendered stigma under the paternalistic rule of employers. Divergent forms of civil society mobilization in South Korea sustained these regimes: Migrant factory workers received recognition as workers without attention to gender-specific concerns while hostesses were construed as women victims in need of protection. Thus, Filipina factory workers were able to exercise greater labor rights by sharing the dignity of workers as a basis for their rights claims from which hostesses were excluded. *(Source)*

David, Emmanuel. "Purple-Collar Labor: Transgender Workers and Queer Value at Global Call Centers in the Philippines." *Gender & Society* 29, no. 2 (November 18, 2014): 169–94.

◊ **Abstract:** This article examines new patterns of workplace inequality that emerge as transgender people are incorporated into the global labor market. Drawing on in-depth interviews with 41 transgender call center employees in the Philippines, I develop the concept "purple-collar labor" to describe how transgender workers—specifically trans women—are clustered, dispersed, and segregated in the workplace and how their patterned locations in social organizational structures serve a particular value-producing function. These patterned inclusions, I argue, come with explicit and implicit interactional expectations about how "trans" should be put to work in the expansion and accumulation of global capital. In this way, the study examines the production and extraction of queer value and the folding of trans women's gendered performances into commercial exchange. Data show how the affective labor of transgender employees is used to help foster productivity, ease workplace tensions, and boost employee morale. This study of transgender employment experiences opens new lines of inquiry for understanding gender inequalities at work, and it builds on scholarship that combines political economy approaches with transgender studies. *(Source)*

Fine, Robert, and Dennis Davis. *Beyond Apartheid: Labour and Liberation in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1991.

◊ **Abstract:** All too often, the struggle against apartheid is seen in single-issue terms - terms which oversimplify and distort the real nature of the struggle for freedom in South Africa. Beyond Apartheid offers a timely and provocative analysis of the liberation movement in South Africa, demonstrating that the roots of the present conflict can be traced back to the class struggles of the 1940s and 1950s. In a fusion of historical sociology and political theory, Robert Fine and Dennis Davis explore the complex and often problematic relationship between nationalism, socialism and democracy in the anti-apartheid struggle. They look, too, at the role of trade union organisation and the growth of working-class consciousness, the part played by community movements, and the increasingly important development of women's groups. And they consider the ways in which competing political groupings fought for leadership of the liberation movement as a whole. Beyond Apartheid provides a fuller understanding of the complex political reality underlying the struggle for democracy in South Africa. It is essential reading for all those concerned with the fight against apartheid, offering a breadth and depth of analysis that makes a singular contribution to our knowledge of the struggle. *(Source)*

Espi, Gabriel, David Francis, and Imraan Valodia. "Gender Inequality in the South African Labour Market: Insights from the Employment Equity Act Data." *Agenda* 33, no. 4 (December 3, 2019): 44-61.

◊ **Abstract:** In the years following the end of Apartheid, South Africa introduced the Employment Equity Act as part of legislation designed to address entrenched racial and gender inequalities. Through section 27 of the Act, firms are required to report on the representation and remuneration of their workers by gender and population group. In this study, unprecedented access to the data generated by this reporting was used to assess gender-based occupational segregation and pay gaps in 2015 and 2016. We found the data on employment to be relatively trustworthy and to show that women (and especially black and coloured women) continue to be under-represented in high-skilled and management positions. Substantial gender pay gaps were found, but the reliability of these estimates was made questionable by a high number of apparent errors and inconsistencies in the remuneration data. The data has several advantages over other household and firm surveys, but these issues undermine its potential for the estimation of gender pay gaps among workers matched on occupational skill levels. This analysis shows that more needs to be done to ensure that this data is appropriately processed and distributed, so that it can shed light on the state of women in the South African labour market and be used to effectively address inequalities in pay and representation. *(Source)*

Freshour, Carrie. "Cheap Meat and Cheap Work in the U.S. Poultry Industry: Race, Gender, and Immigration in Corporate Strategies to Shape Labor." In *Global Meat: Social and Environmental Consequences of the Expanding Meat Industry*, edited by Elizabeth Ransom and Bill Winders. MIT Press, 2019.

◊ **Abstract:** The global expansion of meat consumption is linked to the industrial production of meat, which relies on cheap inputs like feed grains (Winders 2017), the growth and consolidation of corporate power (see chapter 2), and the liberalization of

international markets (Winders et al. 2016). This chapter focuses on another key feature of global meat production: the maintenance of a cheap, global labor force. While the U.S. poultry industry creates trillions of dollars in annual revenues ($63.9 trillion in 2015) and hundreds of thousands of jobs (281,000 in 2017) (Kay 2018), the industry relies on and must maintain a cheap workforce. I make several arguments about labor in the U.S. poultry industry. First, the current labor conditions are reflective of and emerge from the historical conditions foundational to the industry. Second, there is a continuity in the reliance on marginalized groups as workers in poultry processing, even if these groups have changed over time. Third, the changes in which groups work in poultry processing are tied to dynamics of corporate practices and state policies. I demonstrate this third point by showing why poultry processing has recently shifted from relying heavily on undocumented immigrant women (Latinas) to reemploying African American women.1 I conclude with a brief discussion on the need for both local and transnational social movement organizing, as the largest firms, Tyson, JBS, and WH Group, consolidate power and expand operations across national borders, as seen in chapter 2. *(Source)*

Glover, Julian Kevon. "Customer Service Representatives: Sex Work among Black Transgender Women in Chicago's Ballroom Scene." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 120, no. 3 (July 1, 2021): 553–71.

◊ **Abstract:** This article investigates sex work among Black transgender women in Chicago's ballroom scene, drawing on ethnographic data to argue that Black transwomen engage in sex work as a practice of self-investment undergirded by an epistemological shift regarding the centrality of affective labor to their work. In so doing, interlocutors reap the benefits of deploying embodied knowledge—the harnessing and transformation of insight derived from lived experiences of racial, gender, and sexual subjection into useful strategies, tactics, and tools—to secure material and human resources necessary for survival. A focus on how Black transwomen live, despite continued physical, spiritual, socioeconomic, political, and cultural annihilation, remains critically important given the myriad indicators (low average life expectancy, low annual income, disproportionally high murder rate, etc.) that expose the world's indifference to the plight of this community and Black bodies writ large. Further, the author places interlocutors in conversation with Black feminist historians' and theorists' discussions of sex work among Black women to expose points of convergence between Black cis- and transgender women. The author also complicates narratives that link sex work to "survival" and subsequently obfuscate explorations of limited and situated agency among Black women that have significant historical precedent. *(Source)*

Makalani, Minkah. "Black Marxism." In *Black Intellectual Thought in Modern America*. Oxford University Press, 2017.

◊ **Abstract:** This chapter examines the radical, and often hidden, role of African American Marxists. It seeks to correct an intellectual and political myopia that either ignores black Marxists or sees them simply as pawns in the international Cold War. Marxists are often analyzed solely within the purview of the Communist Party, which obscures other aspects of black Marxism. If one understands black Marxism in the U.S. simply as black radicals

engaging Marxist theory and its organizational manifestations, then the proximity of that history to the history of the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) is understandable. The chapter specifically highlights the role of race, anticolonialism, and the civil rights concerns of black Americans within the Marxist tradition, altering Marxism's seemingly colorblind and class-based focus with an appreciation of African American thought. *(Source)*

Peng, Rui Jie. "Rightful Bargaining: Rural Women Making Claims for Social Provisions in China's Targeted Poverty Alleviation Program 1." *Sociological Forum* 36, no. 3 (May 5, 2021): 799–823.

◊ **Abstract:** Previous studies of claims-making on authoritarian states have focused on how the aggrieved use episodic protests to challenge the state's authority or adopt alternative group strategies to circumvent repression. Few studies have thus far applied these insights regarding groups' innovative strategies and their interactions with the state apparatuses to explore individuals' claims-making at the microlevel. Based on 15 months of ethnographic fieldwork in southwest China, this study analyzes how rural ethnic minority Qiang women actively engage various levels of government officials to demand enhanced social provisions. These women play off stereotypical gender assumptions about them to appear as nonthreatening subjects who accommodate state priorities for poverty alleviation and social stability. They also engage state officials and exploit (not always successfully) the government's official rhetoric and internal divisions to secure much-needed social provisions. I call this type of gendered individual claims-making "rightful bargaining." Yet, paradoxically, the study also reveals that, because the state's legitimacy is founded precisely on economic growth and the appearance of popular consent, the incremental material gains these women achieve inadvertently reinforce the authoritarian regime's overall legitimacy, domination, and control. *(Source)*

Rittich, Kerry. *Recharacterizing Restructuring: Law, Distribution, and Gender in Market Reform*. The Hague; Boston: Kluwer Law International, 2002.

◊ **Abstract:** In the last decade, market-centered economic reforms have been implemented in a wide range of developing and transitional countries under the auspices of the international financial institutions. Whether or not they deliver the promised prosperity, they appear to be associated with widening economic inequality as well as disadvantage for particular social groups, among them women and workers. *Recharacterizing Restructuring* argues that such effects are neither temporary nor accidental. Instead, efforts to promote growth through greater efficiency inevitably engage distributive concerns. Change in the status of different groups is connected to the process of legal and institutional reform. Part I analyzes the place of law and institutional reform in current economic restructuring policies. Through post-realist legal analysis and institutional economics, it discusses the role of background legal rules in the allocation of resources and power among different groups. Part II traces how disadvantage might result for women in the course of economic reform, through an analysis of the World Bank's proposals for states in transition from plan to market economies. It considers such

foundational issues as the place of unpaid work in economic activity, as well as the gendered nature of proposals to re-organize productive activity and the role of the state. *(Source)*

Ruberg, Bonnie. "The Precarious Labor of Queer Indie Game-Making: Who Benefits from Making Video Games 'Better'?" *Television & New Media* 2, no. 8 (May 29, 2019): 778-88.

◊ **Abstract:** This article looks at issues of precarious and exploited labor surrounding contemporary queer independent video game making. In recent years, there has been a marked rise in indie games made by and about lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) people. These games and their creators are commonly lauded for inspiring change in the mainstream game industry and making the medium of video games more diverse and therefore "better." However, this cultural narrative obfuscates the socioeconomic challenges faced by many queer indie game-makers. Drawing from interviews conducted by the author, this article presents a counter-narrative about the work of developing video games by and about marginalized people. Although such games are often described as "easy" or "free" to make, they in fact entail considerable, and rarely fairly compensated, labor. Simultaneously, value is being extracted from this labor by companies who look to queer indie games for inspiration, which translates into profit *(Source)*

Stevano, Sara. "Classes of Working Women in Mozambique: An Integrated Framework to Understand Working Lives." *Review of International Political Economy*, (March 3, 2021), 1–23.

◊ **Abstract:** Feminist political economy has illuminated the gendered dimensions of the globalisation of production. Whilst this literature provides essential insights on gendered exploitation in export-oriented industries, women's work in localised labour markets in the Global South remains underexplored. This paper seeks to address this gap by putting into dialogue three bodies of literature – feminist political economy of globalisation, political economy of development in southern Africa and the social reproduction of the everyday. It proposes an integrated conceptual framework to analyse women's working lives and applies it to northern Mozambique. It makes two key findings. First, the lives of those working in localised labour markets are shaped by global capitalism through extreme fragmentation of labour regimes forcing people into multiple precarious forms of work – a process that entails the appropriation of women's productive and reproductive labour. Second, the imperatives of social reproduction shape employment trajectories and expose differentiation among working women, seen for example through gendered constraints to mobility, care obligations and contributions to ceremonies. The implications are that the analysis of women's working lives needs to capture three key aspects: social differentiation among working women, temporal and spatial dynamics of the everyday and the centrality of the *reproduction of the social*. *(Source)*

Social Reproduction and Radical Care

Bargawi, Hannah, Randa Alami, and Hurriyah Ziada. "Re-Negotiating Social Reproduction, Work and Gender Roles in Occupied Palestine." *Review of International Political Economy*, (January 5, 2021), 1–29.

◊ **Abstract:** This article uncovers the crisis of social reproduction in Occupied Palestine in the context of severe economic and political turmoil by specifically highlighting the ways in which impacts have been felt differently by men and women. It does so by considering the interactions of production and reproduction. The article confirms that, as a result of economic hardship, women, particularly married women, are increasingly participating in the formal and informal labor market. These women have been forced to renegotiate their domestic and caring responsibilities alongside paid work, within a context of very limited state or private sector provision of care services. While time-use survey findings suggest little change in men and women's time-use between 1999/2000 and 2012/13 in general, qualitative interviews provide a more nuanced picture. Furthermore, the narrative that responsibility for managing care of children and elderly relatives as well as domestic work lies solely with the wife/mother is near universal. Respondents also did not voice demands for greater investment in child and elder care services by private firms or by the state, suggesting a strong individualization of responsibility for social reproduction in Occupied Palestine today. What remains to be seen is a) how representative these findings are for other groups, particularly poorer, rural families in Palestine and b) what the longer-term consequences of these changes might bring for societal gender norms in Palestine and in other contexts. *(Source)*

Chaudhry, V Varun. "Trans/Coalitional Love-Politics." *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (November 1, 2019): 521–38.

◊ **Abstract:** This essay works at the intersection of black feminism and trans studies to reflect on the radical possibilities for the futures of transgender studies and politics. Drawing on ethnographic data with a large-scale LGBTQ service organization, and focusing specifically on an example of the backlash that a black cisgender- and queer-identified woman received for coordinating a transgender-focused event, the article interrogates the ways in which the cisgender/transgender binary, pervasive in trans studies and trans organizing, counterintuitively reinforces the racialized gendered subjugation of black women. To circumvent the subjugation of black feminine bodies and thus harness the radical potential of trans studies and organizing, the author proposes a conception of trans coalitional love-politics. This is a reading and political practice that explodes the cis/trans binary and thus imagines more robust possibilities for racialized gendered justice. *(Source)*

Choo, Hae Yeon. "Speculative Homemaking: Women's Labour, Class Mobility and the Affect of Homeownership in South Korea." *Urban Studies*, (November 5, 2019): 148-63

◊ **Abstract:** Since the 1960s, urban South Korea has seen a series of real estate booms characterised by a huge surge in the construction of apartment complexes and skyrocketing housing prices. In this environment, many South Koreans have begun to view their homes as a source of profit-making. Through in-depth interviews, I examine how women in South Korea have emerged as agents of this urban transformation by engaging in 'speculative homemaking', an activity that merges the domestic work of household management with the work of real estate speculation. This article investigates how South Korean women's gendered practices are embedded in the larger landscape of women's work for class mobility and reproduction, highlighting class-divergent pathways to homeownership that are propelled by distinct affect – fear, anxiety and ease. Demonstrating how speculative logic pervades the domestic and the everyday, this article foregrounds the significance of gendered labour and affect for the study of urban processes and class formation. *(Source)*

Crosby, Christina, and Janet R. Jakobsen. "Disability, Debility, and Caring Queerly." *Social Text* 38, no. 4 (December 1, 2020): 77–103.

◊ **Abstract:** As one approach to the left of queer, the authors explore the juncture between queer studies and disability studies. Queer disability studies offers ways of conceptualizing the world as relationally complex, thus contributing additional pathways for the long project of rethinking justice in light of the critique of the liberal individual who is the bearer of rights. Debility, disability, care, labor, and value form a complex assemblage that shapes policies, bodies, and personhood. Putting disability and debility in relation to each other creates perverse sets of social relations that both constrain and produce queer potentialities, connecting affect and action in unexpected ways. A queer materialist focus on nonnormative labor opens the possibility of revaluing domestic work and caring labor generally as a first step to shifting relations between disabled people and those who do the work of care. Building social solidarity from the ground up requires both a queer theory of value and a geopolitical model of disability as vital components for queer materialism. Through a combination of embodied narrative and activist examples, the analysis frames the complexities of care and possibilities for a similarly complex coalitional politics. *(Source)*

Greene, Joss. "Labor of Love: The Formalization of Care in Transgender Kinship Organizations." *Organization*, (February 24, 2021): 930-48.

◊ **Abstract:** While prior research shows how community-based organizations (CBO's) create new social ties and solidarities, we know less about CBO's that formalize preexisting relationships of care. Analyzing transgender nonprofits as a strategic case, this article develops the concept of kinship organizations: organizations that incorporate norms, networks, and resources from kinship systems into a formal organization that provides regular social services. Drawing on 7 months of ethnography and 36 formal interviews with staff and clients, I explore how transgender kinship organizations function, develop, and impact broader transgender community. Kinship organizations are highly responsive to crisis, are able to leverage personal and organizational resources,

and are therefore capable of providing personalized rapid-response care to very precarious transgender people. On the other hand, subsuming kinship within a nonprofit transforms relationships of mutual care into unidirectional service relationships and relationships of chosen family into work-based hierarchies. This account of kinship organizations contributes to the theory on organizational development and provides new conceptual tools for analyzing boundaries between organizations and communities. *(Source)*

Horwood, Christiane, Lyn Haskins, Laura Alfers, Zandile Masango-Muzindutsi, Richard Dobson, and Nigel Rollins. "A Descriptive Study to Explore Working Conditions and Childcare Practices among Informal Women Workers in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa: Identifying Opportunities to Support Childcare for Mothers in Informal Work." *BMC Pediatrics* 19, no. 1 (October 25, 2019).

◊ **Abstract:** Although women working in the informal economy are a large and vulnerable group, little is known about infant feeding and childcare practices among these women. The aim of this study was to explore childcare practices among mothers in informal work. A cross-sectional survey among mothers with children aged < 2 years working in the informal economy in an urban and a rural site in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Participants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling. This study provides a preliminary description of informal women workers who, despite having stable work, are vulnerable, low paid and food insecure. These women may require support to provide optimal childcare and nutrition for their children. *(Source)*

Kim, Jina B., and Sami Schalk. "Reclaiming the Radical Politics of Self-Care: A Crip-of-Color Critique." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 120, no. 2 (April 1, 2021): 325–42.

◊ **Abstract:** Since 2016, searches for and discussions of self-care in the United States have increased significantly. While authors who identify as people of color and/or queer critique the capitalist co-optation of this term by linking it conceptually to the work of Audre Lorde, engagement with disability remains conspicuously absent all around, given that Lorde's use of this concept comes from her 1988 essay on cancer, "A Burst of Light." This article proposes a reclamation of the radical crip, feminist, queer, and racialized roots of self-care offered by Lorde. Using crip-of-color critique, this article argues that a radical politics of self-care is inextricably tied to the lived experiences and temporalities of multiply marginalized disabled people. It attempts to hold the complexity of claiming time for ourselves to slow down, to take care, while also understanding the real urgency of our contemporary moment. This piece thus proposes that, while crip time is often about slowing and adapting models of time and productivity, crip time as a concept is also urgently needed to understand self-care outside of capitalist imperatives. *(Source)*

Leap, Braden, Kimberly Kelly, and Marybeth C. Stalp. "Choreographing Social Reproduction: Making Personal Protective Equipment and Gender during a Neoliberal Pandemic." *Gender, Work & Organization* 29, no. 3 (January 29, 2022): 758-777

◊ **Abstract:** Feminist scholars explore the gendered aspects of social reproduction within neoliberal contexts where the responsibility for reproducing daily and intergenerational life is shifted onto individuals and civil society groups. Using qualitative data from 665 self-administered online questionnaires and 78 interviews with individual makers living in the United States who fabricated and distributed personal protective equipment (PPE) in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, we consider the gendered contours of this socially reproductive labor that emerged at the household and community levels in response to a pandemic that has been transformed by decades of neoliberal governance strategies. As makers creatively utilized multiple kinds of labor to provide PPE for others, they both reproduced and subverted gendered inequalities in their households and communities. We draw on the "choreography of care work" literature to develop a conceptual framework for future considerations of social reproduction that highlights how its often ignored intricacies are centrally important to how gendered inequalities are reproduced and/or reworked amid disasters. Like a complex dance that is rewritten and enacted in emergent manners, makers creatively deployed multiple kinds of labor within shifting networks of people, technologies, and institutions to ensure social reproduction during the ongoing pandemic. *(Source)*

Lewis, Sophie. "Cyborg Uterine Geography: Complicating 'Care' and Social Reproduction." *Dialogues in Human Geography* 8, no. 3 (November 2018): 300–316.

◊ **Abstract:** Most geographers have sided with 'cyborgs' (technonatural subjects) against 'goddesses' (e.g. Mother Earth) on questions of embodiment. In itself this provides no justification for the relative dearth (in geography) of theorizing 'with' the uterus as a site of doing and undoing; what I propose to call uterine geography. 'Uterine' relations are fundamentally cyborg, animatedly labouring and not only spatial but spatializing: they make and unmake places, borders, kin. This includes not only abortion, miscarriage, menstruation and pregnancy (whose transcorporeal and chimeric character is well documented in medical anthropology) but also other life-enabling forms of holding and letting go that do not involve anatomical uteri (such as trans-mothering and other alter-familial practices). Despite our discipline's ostensible interest in co-production, hybridity and the more-than-human, the 'doing' aspects of intra and interuterine processes have tended to be black-boxed in accounts of care economies and social reproduction. The proposed remedy is deromanticization: an approach that critically politicizes uterine relations as historically contingent and subject to amelioration through struggle. Potential aides include Maggie Nelson's idea that 'labor does you', Suzanne Sadedin's account of gestation's mutual hostility and the concepts of 'sym-poiesis' and 'metramorphosis'. One notable consequence of this expanded concept of the uterine is that 'assisted reproduction', as it is characterized today, ceases to be categorically separate from other kinds of reproduction. *(Source)*

Ross, Andrew. "Is Care Work Already the Future?" *New Labor Forum* 30, no. 1 (January 3, 2021): 12-18

◊ **Abstract:** The outburst of mass protest during the pandemic pause brought new hope to the abolitionist cause—one of the oldest struggles in the Americas. Nor did the energy dwindle; the BLM movement's sustained challenge to white supremacy was a primary

battleground of the 2020 election and its aftermath. But the employment crisis around which the insurgency grew proved to be consequential in another way. The pandemic economy's reliance on "essential workers," like that nurse at the protest, highlighted how indispensable care work is to the day-to-day operations of our lives. Long taken for granted and dominated by women and/or workers of color, these occupational roles were thrust into the limelight. With the growth-driven engines of capitalism at a standstill, the care economy was revealed as the only one that really mattered, and the centrality of its workers pointed the way forward to a more sustainable social ecology. If planetary life is to survive, care needs to be elevated to a top priority of our societies, for the long term and not simply in times of public health emergencies. This essential work can no longer be a marginal sector of waged (or unwaged, household) labor, it will have to be undertaken by everyone. Part of that common enterprise will involve bringing new meaning to the old call for the dignity of labor. In this regard, it is perhaps fitting that nurses' unions have emerged as among the most progressive voices in the labor movement. *(Source)*

Shah, Alpa, and Jens Lerche. "Migration and the Invisible Economies of Care: Production, Social Reproduction and Seasonal Migrant Labour in India." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 45, no. 4 (July 21, 2020): 719-34

◊ **Abstract:** This paper focuses on the processes of migrant labour exploitation which are crucial for capitalist growth and the inequalities they generate. Ethnographic research conducted in different sites across India shows how patterns of seasonal labour migration are driven by class relations marked by hierarchies of identity (caste and tribe) and the spatial geopolitics of internal colonialism (region) – differences that are mobilised for accumulation. Labour migration scholarship has mainly explored sites of production. We extend recent social reproduction theory (SRT) and an older literature on labour migration and reproduction to argue that the intimate relationship between production and social reproduction is crucial to the exploitation of migrant labour and that this means we have to place centre-stage the analysis of invisible economies of care which take place across spatiotemporally divided households, both in the place of migration and in the home regions of migrants. Furthermore, we develop recent work on SRT and migration to argue that an analysis of kinship (gender over generations, not just gender) is crucial to these invisible economies of care. This analysis is important in showing the machinations of capitalist growth and for political alternatives. *(Source)*

Sharmila Rudrappa. *Discounted Life : The Price of Global Surrogacy in India*. New York ; London: New York University Press, 2015.

◊ **Abstract:** India is the top provider of surrogacy services in the world, with a multi-million dollar surrogacy industry that continues to grow exponentially. Some scholars have exulted transnational surrogacy for the possibilities it opens for infertile couples, while others have offered bioethical cautionary tales, rebuked exploitative intended parents, or lamented the exploitation of surrogate mothers—but very little is known about the experience of and transaction between surrogate mothers and intended parents outside the lens of the many agencies that control surrogacy in India. Drawing from interviews with surrogate mothers and egg donors in Bangalore, as well as twenty

straight and gay couples in the United States and Australia, this book focuses on the processes of social and market exchange in transnational surrogacy. It interrogates the creation and maintenance of reproductive labor markets, the function of agencies and surrogacy brokers, and how women become surrogate mothers. The book argues that this reproductive industry is organized to control and disempower women workers and yet the interviews reveal that, by and large, the surrogate mothers in Bangalore found the experience life affirming. The book explores this tension, and the lived realities of many surrogate mothers whose deepening bodily commodification is paradoxically experienced as a revitalizing life development. Itdelineates how local labor markets intertwine with global reproduction industries, how Bangalore's surrogate mothers make sense of their participation in reproductive assembly lines, and the remarkable ways in which they negotiate positions of power for themselves in progressively untenable socio-economic conditions. *(Source)*

Stevano, Sara, Alessandra Mezzadri, Lorena Lombardozzi, and Hannah Bargawi. "Hidden Abodes in Plain Sight: The Social Reproduction of Households and Labor in the COVID-19 Pandemic." *Feminist Economics* 27, no. 1-2 (March 2021): 271-287.

◊ **Abstract:** This article deploys a feminist political economy approach centered on social reproduction to analyze the reconfiguration and regeneration of multiple inequalities in households and the labor markets during the COVID-19 pandemic. Based on this approach, the analysis unpacks the multiple trajectories of fragility the current crisis is intervening on and reshaping in the home and in the world of work, and their gendered and racialized features across the world. It shows how the pandemic and the measures to contain it have further deepened the centrality of households and reproductive work in the functioning of capitalism and argues that the transformative potential of the crisis can only be harnessed by framing policy and political responses around social reproduction and its essential contributions to work and life. *(Source)*

Tuck, Eve. "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities." *Harvard Educational Review* 79, no. 3 (September 2009): 409–28.

◊ **Abstract:** In this open letter, Eve Tuck calls on communities, researchers, and educators to reconsider the long-term impact of "damage-centered" research—research that intends to document peoples' pain and brokenness to hold those in power accountable for their oppression. This kind of research operates with a flawed theory of change: it is often used to leverage reparations or resources for marginalized communities yet simultaneously reinforces and reinscribes a one-dimensional notion of these people as depleted, ruined, and hopeless. Tuck urges communities to institute a moratorium on damage- centered research to reformulate the ways research is framed and conducted and to reimagine how findings might be used by, for, and with communities. *(Source)*

Radical Visions of a Technological Future/ a Future Beyond Work

Benanav, Aaron. "A World without Work?" *Dissent* 67, no. 4 (2020): 45–52.

◊ **Abstract:** The internet, smartphones, and social media have transformed the way we interact with each other and the world around us. What would happen if these digital technologies moved off the screen and further integrated themselves into the physical world? Advanced industrial robotics, self-driving cars and trucks, and intelligent cancer-screening machines presage a world or ease, but they also make us uneasy. After all, what would human beings do in a largely automated future? Would we be able to adapt our institutions to realize the dream of human freedom that a new age of intelligent machines might make possible? Or would that dream turn out to be a nightmare? The new automation discourse asks just these sorts of questions and arrives at a provocative conclusion: mass technological unemployment is coming, and it must be managed by the provision of universal basic income, since large sections of the population will lose access to the wages they need to live. Do the automation theorists have this story right? *(Source)*

Benjamin, Ruha. *Race after Technology: Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code*. Cambridge: Polity, 2019.

◊ **Abstract:** From everyday apps to complex algorithms, Ruha Benjamin cuts through tech-industry hype to understand how emerging technologies can reinforce White supremacy and deepen social inequity. Benjamin argues that automation, far from being a sinister story of racist programmers scheming on the dark web, has the potential to hide, speed up, and deepen discrimination while appearing neutral and even benevolent when compared to the racism of a previous era. Presenting the concept of the "New Jim Code," she shows how a range of discriminatory designs encode inequity by explicitly amplifying racial hierarchies; by ignoring but thereby replicating social divisions; or by aiming to fix racial bias but ultimately doing quite the opposite. Moreover, she makes a compelling case for race itself as a kind of technology, designed to stratify and sanctify social injustice in the architecture of everyday life.This illuminating guide provides conceptual tools for decoding tech promises with sociologically informed skepticism. In doing so, it challenges us to question not only the technologies we are sold but also the ones we ourselves manufacture. *(Source)*

Benjamin, Ruha. *Captivating Technology: Race, Carceral Technoscience, and Liberatory Imagination in Everyday Life*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2019.

◊ **Abstract:** From electronic ankle monitors and predictive-policing algorithms to workplace surveillance systems, technologies originally developed for policing and prisons have rapidly expanded into nonjuridical domains, including hospitals, schools, banking, social services, shopping malls, and digital life. Rooted in the logics of racial disparity and subjugation, these purportedly unbiased technologies not only extend prison spaces into the public sphere but also deepen racial hierarchies and engender new systems for social control. The contributors to *Captivating Technology* examine how carceral technologies are being deployed to classify and coerce specific populations and whether these innovations can be resisted and reimagined for more liberatory ends. Moving from traditional sites of imprisonment to the arenas of everyday life being reshaped by carceral technoscience, this volume culminates in a sustained focus on justice-oriented approaches to science and technology that blends historical, speculative, and biographical methods to envision new futures made possible. *(Source)*

Beyond Gender Research Collective. “Drowning in the Cloud: Water, the Digital and the Queer Potential of Feminist Science Fiction.” *Palgrave Studies in Science and Popular Culture*, 2022, 197–221.

◊ **Abstract:** Water is frequently associated with a naturalized, trans-exclusionary understanding of womanhood. In this chapter we challenge this association. Focusing on the cyborgs of feminist SF and the waters in which they swim, gestate, and struggle, we theorize water as a technology that plays a crucial role in the self-consciously unnatural politics of queer resistance. In order to navigate these turbulent waters we have deployed the methodology we call Collective Close Reading—a practice of nonhierarchical knowledge production founded on a complex web of interdependence. In this way we seek to model the watery, cyborg collectivity depicted in the strange worlds of feminist sf. We swim together, beyond, against, and into gender. *(Source)*

Cárdenas, Micha. *Poetic Operations: Trans of Color Art in Digital Media.* S.L.: Duke Univ Press, 2021.

◊ **Abstract:** In *Poetic Operations* artist and theorist micha cárdenas considers contemporary digital media, artwork, and poetry in order to articulate trans of color strategies for safety and survival. Drawing on decolonial theory, women of color feminism, media theory, and queer of color critique, cárdenas develops a method she calls algorithmic analysis. Understanding algorithms as sets of instructions designed to perform specific tasks (like a recipe), she breaks them into their component parts, called operations. By focusing on these operations, cárdenas identifies how trans and gender-non-conforming artists, especially artists of color, rewrite algorithms to counter violence and develop strategies for liberation. In her analyses of Giuseppe Campuzano's holographic art, Esdras Parra's and Kai Cheng Thom's poetry, Mattie Brice's digital games, Janelle Monáe's music videos, and her own artistic practice, cárdenas shows how algorithmic analysis provides new modes of understanding the complex processes of identity and oppression and the intersection of gender, sexuality, and race. *(Source)*

Costanza-Chock, Sasha. *Design Justice: Community-Led Practices to Build the Worlds We Need*. Editorial: The Mit Press, 2020.

◊ **Abstract:** An exploration of how design might be led by marginalized communities, dismantle structural inequality, and advance collective liberation and ecological survival. What is the relationship between design, power, and social justice? “Design justice” is an approach to design that is led by marginalized communities and that aims expilcitly to challenge, rather than reproduce, structural inequalities. It has emerged from a growing community of designers in various fields who work closely with social movements and community-based organizations around the world. This book explores the theory and practice of design justice, demonstrates how universalist design principles and practices erase certain groups of people—specifically, those who are intersectionally disadvantaged or multiply burdened under the matrix of domination (white supremacist heteropatriarchy, ableism, capitalism, and settler colonialism)—and invites readers to

"build a better world, a world where many worlds fit; linked worlds of collective liberation and ecological sustainability." Along the way, the book documents a multitude of real-world community-led design practices, each grounded in a particular social movement. Design Justice goes beyond recent calls for design for good, user-centered design, and employment diversity in the technology and design professions; it connects design to larger struggles for collective liberation and ecological survival. *(Source)*

Braham, Kira. "Victorian *Vita Activa*: Work Ethics and Prowork Politics." PhD Dissertation, 2020.

◊ **Abstract:** It is a truth universally acknowledged that the Victorians were obsessed with work. "Except for 'God,'" wrote Walter Houghton in 1957, "the most popular word in the Victorian vocabulary must have been 'work'" (242). The frequency with which the Victorians wrote about work has been generally misinterpreted as unreflective acclamation. Yet, not all Victorian authors blindly extolled the virtues of work. Rather, many were engaged in a vivid and contentious debate about the meaning of work and its role in individual and collective life. For the authors under study in this dissertation, work was important. It was the key to both individual well-being and collective advancement. But work was not valued regardless of its context and character. In the Victorian era, the centrality of work—the recognition of its importance—made it a subject not of endless praise but rather of constant scrutiny. The Victorian discourse of work was responding directly to the socioeconomic upheaval caused by industrialization and was thus grounded in colossal but nevertheless concrete questions concerning the organization of labor and relations of production. But "work" was a capacious term for the Victorians that exceeded the bounds of economic activity. "Work" could mean paid employment, but it could also refer to a wide range of other engagements and activities. Even when it was economic activity under discussion, defining work was intimately intertwined with ethical and political concerns. Work's semantic ambiguity thus signaled the underlying presence of passionate debates. "As reason had been to the Enlightenment," Alan Mintz has noted, "work was to the Victorians: an overarching term that sanctioned a multitude of diverse, often antagonist positions" (1). Behind work's multitude of definitions lay a multitude of arguments about what work should be. *(Source)*

Makalani, Minkah. "The Politically Unimaginable in Black Marxist Thought." *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism* 22, no. 2 (July 1, 2018): 18–34.

◊ **Abstract:** One of the appeals of imagining a future alternative to the political present is the possibility of shedding modernity's constitutive colonial assemblages and its conceit of the inevitability of human progress. Yet it remains something of a paradox that even at their most radical, such imaginaries are premised on that which is already intelligible and draw on standing models of social organization and political association in putting forward claims for an alternative future. This essay examines black Marxists thinkers such as Frantz Fanon, C. L. R. James, Aimé Césaire, Walter Rodney, and Amílcar Cabral as representing a strain of black Marxist thought pursuing what the author calls the politically unimaginable—a mode of thought and orientation that pursues forms of

political association for which one lacks the historical models and even the theoretical language to fully conceptualize what one hopes to bring into existence. *(Source)*

Marez, Curtis. *Farm Worker Futurism: Speculative Technologies of Resistance*. University Of Minnesota Press, 2016.

◊ **Abstract:** How one of America's key social movements led the way in using new media for justice. *Farm Worker Futurism* reveals that the historical role of technology has had much to do with depicting the lives of farm laborers—Mexican migrants in particular—in the United States. This book explores the friction between agribusiness and farm workers through the lens of visual culture. In *Farm Worker Futurism*, one comes face-to-face with the techno-fascism that was routed around daily by the collective actions of laborers who hacked the future with anticipatory illuminations and critical disturbances. This is not science-fiction, but it is futurity-as-history that drives science-fiction into the present for activist, artists, and critics. Curtis Marez has written a unique and highly accessible book that calls on us to perform the speculative seeding of the future as farm workers to make new worlds grow now. *(Source)*

Ridley, LaVelle. "Imagining Otherly: Performing Possible Black Trans Futures in Tangerine." *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (November 1, 2019): 481–90.

◊ **Abstract:** In this article the author focuses on Mya Taylor's singing performance as Alexandra in the 2015 comedy-drama film Tangerine as a performative index of black trans women's futures. Contextualizing her performance within the larger, dangerous world for most black trans sex workers that the film portrays largely without critique, the author argues that this scene offers Alexandra, and black trans viewers of the film, a brief reprieve from the anxieties of social and state oppression and allows her (and us) to breathe, and within that breath to imagine toward radical futures that resist the binary of resistance and compliance, to imagine otherly. The author draws on black trans studies, black feminist theory, and black cultural and media studies to articulate how this film as a unique and crucial moment of black trans cultural production also offers us a key moment in theorizing black trans epistemology. *(Source)*

Taylor, Astra. *The People's Platform: Taking Back Power and Culture in the Digital Age*. New York: Picador, Henry Holt and Company, 2015.

◊ **Abstract:** The Internet has been hailed as an unprecedented democratizing force, a place where all can participate equally. But how true is this claim? In a seminal dismantling of techno-utopian visions, The People's Platform argues that the Internet in fact amplifies real-world inequities at least as much as it ameliorates them. Online, just as off-line, attention and influence largely accrue to those who already have plenty of both. A handful of giant companies remain the gatekeepers, while the worst habits of the old media model—the pressure to seek easy celebrity, to be quick and sensational above all—have proliferated in the ad-driven system. We can do better, Astra Taylor insists. The online world does offer a unique opportunity, but a democratic culture that supports work

of lasting value will not spring up from technology alone. If we want the Internet to truly be a people's platform, we will have to make it so. *(Source)*