

**Voices from Margins**  
Praxis COVID-19 Webinar Series **37**

**Labour Codes: Implications for Informal Sector Workers**

**Speakers**  
Moderated by Tom Thomas, Praxis

1. The Industrial Relations Code by Dr Rahul Sapkal, TISS Mumbai
2. The Code on Social Security by Akriti Bhatia, PAIGAM
3. The Occupational Safety, Health and Working Conditions Code by Dr Ashish Mittal, Occupational Health Consultant

Conclusion by Dr Subir Sinha, SOAS  
Q&A by networks and collectives working with informal sector workers

Day: Wednesday  
Date: October 14, 2020  
Time: 3 pm IST (GMT +5.5)

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Promoting Human Rights and Democracy

## COVID 19 Pandemic Voices from Margins Webinar Series

### Webinar 37: Labour Codes: Implications for Informal Sector Workers

**Date: October 14, 2020**

**Minutes**

#### Panelists

**Panelist 1:** Akriti Bhatia is a researcher, activist and media professional. She is the Founder of PAIGAM (People's Association in Grassroots action and movements) - an aggregator of activists, researchers, practitioners and organizations that aims to bring together social efforts at the local, national and global levels through media advocacy and action research. She holds a PhD from Delhi School of Economics and Masters in Sociology from JNU. She has been the founding partner of Jan Ki Baat (an on-ground public opinion media platform), hosts a show called 'Shram Aur Hum' on Workers Unity, an independent workers' media platform.

**Panelist 2:** Dr. Ashish Mittal (MBBS, AFIH, MBA, DHHM, LLB), a medical, law and management graduate has been working as Occupational Health Consultant for last 25 years. He is CQI & IRCA certified ISO 45001:2018 Lead Auditor (Occupational Health & Safety Management Systems). Recently he has been involved in making SOP's, advising various national, international industries, institutions and other stakeholders on COVID – 19 and faculty for webinars for National Institute of Disaster Management (NIDM) & Association of Occupational & Environmental Health (AOEH). He is Founding Member of Occupational Health & Safety Management Consultancy Services (OHS-MCS), International Conference on Occupational & Environmental Health (ICOEH), Association of Occupational & Environmental Health (AOEH), In the Service of Mankind (ITSOM), Labour Resource Centre (LRS), India Ban Asbestos Network. He has been member of the teams for designing / advocating / implementing the complete rehabilitation of workers suffering from occupation

**Panelist 3:** Dr. Rahul Sapkal is an Assistant Professor at Centre for Labour Studies, School of Management and Labour Studies at Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. He holds PhD (magna cum laude) from the European Doctorate in Law & Economics program, provided jointly by Hamburg, Rotterdam (Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands) and Bologna and Masters in Development Studies from Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. Broadly, his research intervenes in the areas of Labour Economics, Economic Analysis of Laws, Development Economics, Future of Work, Informal Economy, Precarious Employment, Economics of Inequality and Discrimination, Industrial Relations and Econometrics. He is an economist by training, but he draws upon work from an interdisciplinary approach of social sciences for his research and teaching.

**Panelist 4:** Subir Sinha is a political theorist teaching in the Department of Development Studies at SOAS. He writes on the political agency of workers in the fishery sector and informal employment, on political demands made by the rural poor for collective rights to nature, on fascist tendencies in Indian politics, and on the nature and contradictions of Indian capitalism.

**Tom, Praxis, Moderator:** Good afternoon. Welcome to the 24<sup>th</sup> Webinar of Covid 19 Voices from the Margins Series. My name is Tom and I work with Praxis. Over the last 36 webinars of this, we have been able to bring on

board a range of voices to dialogue with those voices and to amplify those voices through our own individual efforts as well as organisational efforts of reaching it out to a much larger audience. Many of you have been very active through your own social media handles and your organisational efforts and so on. The idea behind these webinar series was at a time when people were unreachable, their concerns were not being heard, in usual times itself it is not being heard. The attempt was to reach out and see what is the status and the affect of pandemic so on and so forth. Today, the 37<sup>th</sup> edition we will be looking at labour codes and its implications for informal sector workers and this is brought together to you by Praxis and Partners in Change. Today's webinar is not about listening directly to community voices, slight change in the format because it's a very specialised subject and vast majority need to understand both the workers and those who are concerned about workers. The panelists will take us through the implications of these labour codes and then we will have people clarifying and engaging with it. On our Panel we have Akriti from PAIGAM, Dr. Mittal, an Occupational health Consultant and Dr. Rahul Sapkal, Assistant Prof. from TISS and Dr. Subir Sinha from SOAS, UK. Their full profile will be available in the chat section; therefore, I am not elaborating on it. Today's conversation will be multi-lingual and whatever isn't in English will be transcribed in the chat box. You can raise questions in the chat section.

Before we move to our panelists, just few things to set the context for today. The core idea is because the labour rights as we see is something that has been fought by workers over the centuries from being slave master to being an industrial worker, then fighting for their rights to reduce the work hours that was finally globally accepted as eight hour a day. Labour as a component of production relationship, to me it's the most important component of production relationship that is driving any economy, that is producing any goods is essentially a product of the interaction between the labour and the capital and if you look at centurial kind of comparison there have been huge gains and if you look at the past decade also there has been a decline in what was achieved, its almost as if we are waling back in history of labour right, more in favour of industry, capital and the master than the labour. Labour codes have been brought in hurried manner, and is now a law, we need to look at what is in it. This also comes at a time entire country is dealing with the pandemic and the labour codes seem as walking back in history of the workers' rights. The right to strike is a right for demanding or disapproval of a policy this labour code has made it impossible to legally do a strike. Let me bring the expert on board. First panelist will be talking about Social security.

**#Panelist 1 Akriti:** Taking forward what you spoke. These are actually not labour code but capital code or employer code that are complying with crony interests. Another thing labour codes, EIA and agriculture laws were put out in the name of transparency for feedback. The experts and activists got stuck in the feedback, our time should have gone instead into mobilisation and creating awareness among workers and the people. When we look at the aspect of social security, we need to see it in the context of privatisation. What is happening with LIC is going to have a direct implication on ESIC. And even EPFO is also on the agenda by this government. There was a demand for universalisation of social security, but we see whatever is already available is under threat. There was a news that EPFO fund will be sent to PMGKY that will give autonomy to government how to use it. Even covid pandemic, that was unprecedented there was no unemployment benefit and instead retrenchments are continuing. It was also being diluted through various popular schemes. Atal pension yojana, and others that re not adequate but short-term election driven that doesn't really assure coverage to workers who are in huge distress. The 2008 Social security Act has also been diluted. The social security act has also been diluted. The main issues in the 4 codes is the ambiguity of language that tends to exclude more and more workers than including them. These changes in laws are also being diverted by introducing a number of schemes at the same time. Ambiguity of language is one of the major challenges and gaps across all the 4 codes. It is more of excluding in nature rather than being inclusive. Through all of these schemes the benefits they were supposed to get are also being diluted. We are going backwards now. The problem is that they have tried to uphold the threshold. EPF only for establishments for 20 or more workers. ESI only where there are 10 or more workers, will be applicable. In other codes these thresholds and benchmarks are changing. This is a deliberate ambiguity so that there is confusion. So that the workers will be stuck in legal battles and justice will

not be served to them. In gratuity, pension maternity there are shifting benchmarks too, where coverage has been made vague. There are varied and misleading definitions of establishments, factory, employee. Each code has different categories and can be contradictory as well. Similarly, gratuity, compensation in injury there can also be seen shift in the thresholds. The definitions of important terminologies are varying in the codes. Even in wage work there are a lot of ambiguities. Good thing about this code is that have included Gig Economy workers, home based workers which was also a long-standing demand of many of the gig economy workers associations. But here too a lot of ambiguities are present. There is a tendency towards centralisation. As per rules of Section 152, the Centre has been given the backdoor to make changes through rules and notifications. Dangerous trends that one finds. A lot of this is being done in the name of ease of doing business, larger good, covid, they are trying to evade from all sorts of social security benefits. The cases of wage theft have also increased. While in the world we see covid benefits, we are in a very backward kind of a route. SS Code is an eyewash that promises in its preamble to universalise protection but its actually carving out ways for evading. One has to read the four codes together to understand the implications. There is no mention of tea estate workers, beedi workers, agricultural workers and even there are wage limitations. This contractual labour different legal amendments where the SS has been evaded. The fixed-time employment has been brought in wherein social security can be stopped. Although ILO convention mentions 9 benefits India has not ratified this, in SS legislation many of these are not covered. All four codes have inconsistencies that are deliberate.

Tom: No policy is naïve and thank you Akriti for taking us through this. Now Dr. Mittal can take us through the Occupational Health and Safety Code.

**#Panelist 2 Ashish Mittal:** We are looking at something that was recommended in 2002 by the board and these codes have passed in the Parliament now. What we are looking at is how the things have been changed by these codes. There was a recommendation that codes for safety and occupation health be separate but it is together. The OHS Code has been made by combing 13 acts, including Workmen Compensation Act, 1923 • The Factories Act, 1948 • Dock Workers (Safety, Health and Welfare) Act, 1986 • Building & Other Construction Workers Act • The Plantation Labour Act, 1951 • Inter-state Migrant Workers Act, 1979. The Employee State Insurance (ESI) Act, 1948 • The Mines Act, 1952. The code is being applied in mines workers. This will be not be implemented in establishments having less than 10 workers. The main lacuna behind is establishments which has conditions of health hazards will 9 employees, how will it be governed under code? Code considers banks, clinics as an establishment with requirement of registration within 60 days there will be a need for second new registration once the rules are made and notified, then there will be a need to register again. Once rules are formulated, we will have to see the working conditions, welfare facilities and other things that will be spelt out for all the establishments. Here, it says one cannot work more than six days except motor vehicles. For working hours for women- now it says about night shifts with consent allowed for women. Working Hours for Women as per this new provision female workers/women can work during night shifts with their consent. Also, the time slot for such night shift shall be from 7p.m. and before 6a.m., which shall also be approved by the central or state govt. Boards under this Code will be set up at State and National level - so we see a come-back of bureaucracy. Universal application may get diluted again. There was an intent for universal coverage, but if it is broken up into state boards then this aim of universality is defeated. As per the per code the occupational safety boards will be formed at both State and National Level. There is again a chance of dilution and the intent of universal coverage may not happen in actual There is an intent to dilute the universal coverage and it states for the different rules in different states. The field inspection is being diluted too. Also, it says that the inspection process will be carried out with prior information. Also, it gives the establishments the convenience of self-reporting. Many industrial accidents happened during the COVID. Also, If the field inspection will be diluted it will increase more industrial accidents. Compliance with working conditions and working hours is being diluted. In past 5 months around 125 industrial accidents have already taken place. The employee fails to comply with the health reporting then a fine of Rs. 10,000 will be fined. But the field inspection process has many aspects which overrules the onsite examination. Provisions like these are debatable. Another thing the appointment letter has been made statutory, so if you were employed even for ten days- the employer will

have to give you an appointment letter. The employee is supposed to report about access to provisions, but if the inspector has been removed then who will he inform? The on site inspections have already been diluted.

The definition of contract labour has been changed. If the contract labour is a regular contract labour eg. security guard, the duty of the principal employer has been abolished. The employer of the placement agency was earlier held responsible for the health safety. Now it has ended the employee employer relationship. Factory definition has been changed- '20 with use of power and without use of power 40 workers'. The argument behind increasing the number is to increase the ease of business. The restaurant and the hostels have been emitted from the definition. One has to review the rules which will be used to implement these codes. The medical examination of the construction workers is mentioned but the rules will clarify if these will be implemented. We will have to see how the rules will be implemented. They state that more people will be included in the medical examination - construction workers will be included. but this we will only know when the rules come out.

#Panelist 4 Dr. Rahul Sapkal, TISS: IR Code is the backbone of the labour laws because it has the power that strikes a balance between the employer, the employees unions and the state. It is an amalgamation of all three codes. The background- the justification for this code came from Second National Commission Report, wherein an advisory was issued that the plethora of labour laws need to be combined. The recommendations were given in the name of rationalisation of the law, procedural aspects to be rationalised not the substantive part. But the way it has been done it has impacted.

- It combines the Trade Unions Act, 1926 (TUA), the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act, 1946 and the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 (IDA) (GoI 2019). The last one is the most powerful act because it tells us which industry will be regulated, which not be regulated, in case of disputes how would they be addressed or resolved, in case if factory is locked down, what are the rights of workers, how can they claim their proceedings are all governed by the last act. It provided a balance between the employer and the worker and state plays the role in balancing that negotiating power.

First impact, the threshold limit has been made to 300 from 100. Earlier it used to be firms with 100 workers, now this threshold is 300. From the firms ranging from 200-300 will not come under Industrial Dispute act. In case the standing order act is applicable, then the workers can be removed at a sudden. If the company decides to shut it down, they need permission from the government. This clause has been removed; within two months they can shut down. Another problem is the categorisation of workers, the way the law provides- Who will be in white collar, blue collar, managerial, may not be applicable. Manner in which working hours get defined may not be applicable, as visible during covid 19, states had increased working hours which has already had a negative impact. In fact, state like Gujarat had approached the Supreme Court, and the SC later squashed the regulation. But 12 states have already changed it, this means that universalisation may not happen. A lot of workers will be left out of the application of the labour laws. Similarly, if standing order is not applicable till 299, in case any worker can be removed and the worker will not have the right to dispute the action taken against him. This takes the power from the workers to go to courts. workers will not have the right for grievance redressal. Similarly, all the grievance redressals have also been diluted. In the present laws we have Conciliation councils and courts, and all these mechanisms have also been diluted in the new code, so that the workers do not have the right to take you to court and everything is sorted through mediation and reconciliation is a private mechanism, wherein two parties who can pay good mediator and arbitrator will benefit.

Data from 2000-2015 you can see the threshold on the bottom axis. Over a period of time 71% of the Indian firms will be without standing orders and the codes will not be applicable for them. Threshold limit of 300 companies is applicable to only 30% of the companies. The Ratio of contractual workers (yellow line) also increases significantly in firms with more employees. The definition brackets have been increased, to include philanthropic and social etc "social" has not been defined and this could also be misused. Social category of

institutions has not been defined- arbitrary, chances of being misused. industrial dispute has been expanded to include individual bargains, this is good but if you connect individual and collective dispute and go on a strike- eg. if in a factory, if 50% employees decide to take a CL, it will be considered as strike and legal action will be initiated against a worker. The new Code Bill expands the definition to 'strike' to include "the concerted casual leave on a given day by fifty per cent. or more workers employed. If 50% employees decide to take a CL and take a voluntary strike (like Air India) this will now be considered a strike and can invite investigation.

Workers definition has been expanded, to include sales promotion employees but it will be applicable in govt aided and it is silent about all those in wholesale retail sales promotion. Only government promoted- eg. khadi village, handloom have been included but non-governmental retail industry has not been included.

Earlier categories of supervisors were not different from worker, now his wage rate has been increased from 6,500 to 18000. But how did they arrive at 18,000 - this is very low. Anup Satyapati Commission recommended 22000, and if less, then include them in in wage category.

NHRC has now stated that sex workers should be considered as workers, but they have no mention in the Codes. Self-employment is 41 % in India, and if they are not included this will mean we miss a very big chunk of workers. there is no mention of Gig economy workers, sex workers and own account workers in the Act. The domestic services been excluded. Tribunals have been diluted. Fixed term employed will be treated with at par with regular employee, can be removed anytime, but has been allowed gratuity. Fixed term employees were introduced in garment industry in 2016, but the question of automatic absorption was kept loose, was ensured after SC intervention.

Employer definition- employer and aggregator have been excluded, notice period has been twisted, tribunals have been diluted, has undone whatever was done in workers' rights in last seven decades. The Code claimed to universalise the law, but the codes have given selective power to the states wherein state can exempt any industry.

There was narrative about parity between pro--worker and pro-employer states. Gujarat was considered pro-worker. The blue line shows labour productivity, but the wages are falling. In contrary, in Maharashtra you have real wages as higher and productivity lesser. You see that a binary narrative is being created. We need to see how we can bring about changes in the Codes. SC direction, Art 142 there are some amendments which have been squashed, we need to see how like-minded people can come together to bring about change

## **Question and Answers**

**Question (Mishty Varma):** Migrant workers are being regarded as contract labour. How would this benefit either of them? Could you please explain?

**Answer (Dr. Mittal):** ISMW under OHS Code is different, initially it was some agent or contractor who brings them now voluntary workers will covered under the ISMW. Appointment letters and provisions will be applicable to them under this code.

**Question (Mishty Varma):** Occupational Diseases are covered in Social Security Code too. But the schedules in both Codes are different. Isn't this a serious conflict?

**Answer (Dr. Mittal):** OHS Code has three schedules, Workmans' Compensation Act and Employees Social Insurance Act is covered SS Code. I don't know how they are overlapping in those two codes. Under OHS Code, Factories Act there are three schedules. The Second Schedule regarding the Occupational Exposure Limits for different chemicals has been converted to List of Matters, where machinery and other things are covered.

**Answer (Akriti):** In principle, O D HB do come under SS but this is not given actually will actually accrue. There is ambiguity not conflictual but confusion has been created. Will depend how enterprise will be defined.

**Question (Pradeep):** 71% is huge. Is there any sectoral disaggregation?

**Answer (Rahul):** It is in my paper I can provide you.

**Question (Mishty Varma):** There don't appear to be any provisions for workers/migrant workers/contract workers in the event of an Emergency, such as the current Pandemic.

Lakshmi Lingam: Industries might breakdown their work processes and open multiple establishments with less than 300 workers.

**Question (A Karuppiyah, Gethu Group, Tirupur):** PF shares are not paid properly in a few companies. At this point when the worker tries to get the PF amount outstanding, they will tell you that there is no PF amount in your account. What action will be taken against the company that does not pay PF for this? What is the procedure for this in the Labour Code?

**Answer (Rahul):** You can ask Circle officers of Provident Fund, file a legal case and if they don't pay in 6 months there are penalties due on them. But generally, litigation takes time 3-4 years. There is a legal route. Now in the new code we have to see how penalty is working.

**Question (Pompi Banerjee):** Given that now NHRC has released the advisory acknowledging sex workers as informal workers, how does this now impact their access to services and rights?

**Answer (Rahul):** NHRC asked for compliance report from States. There are certain types of workers like sex workers, fishermen, domestic workers needs to be aligned since they are most vulnerable to livelihood risk. Under India Law, they are not scheduled, in these codes they should have included all these sections but it's a missed opportunity. How seriously states take NHRC's recommendations, we don't know.

**Question (R Rajeswari, Gethu Group):** Have all the benefits available to permanent employees working in a company been made available in this Labour Code to make the same benefits available to employees working on a contract basis?

**Answer (Rahul):** Fixed term employment was something that was there before these codes in 2016 to increase employment in textile and leather industry, they have increased the fixed-term employment. Studies show fixed term employment is highly exploitative. What we see that they end up working 72 hours in a week. And their wages are also 23% less than regular workers. The moment you accept as permanent doesn't have a time frame. The guarantee should come from rule of law.

**Answer (Akriti):** None of the benefits get accrued to non-permanent workers. They can't unionise or even do collective bargaining. Contractualisation is to evade Social Security. EPFO employer can be held accountable. There are two things: whether it is contributory who is paying how much. But the major change non-payment of wages is shifting to civil than criminal.

**Question (Stephen Ekka):** With the new definition will the temporary and permanent worker distinction in tea plantation will no more be there? Have we lost all the good benefits that PLA gave us or many of them are replaced in the 4 labour codes? I can see mention of plantation workers only in the Occupational Safety, health and Working condition Code.

**Answer (Rahul):** Actually yes, they have removed all the scheduled industry under section 5A so all benefits to tea and rubber plantations has gone. This is worrisome because these are occupations that will have health hazard, so only health hazard provision has been kept. Minimum goes to scheduled industry first and then to non-agrarian industry. If you remove that provision, for instance, Assam government was about to constitute a committee for revision of minimum wage next year, will the tea plantations also be the ones where minimum

wages will be applicable. They also have no idea because the whole schedule industry has actually gone. This will have larger implications since most of the plantation workers are dalit and Adivasi, who had fought but now the entire schedule has gone.

**Question (Katyayani Chandola):** Are plantation workers covered by ESI or are they covered by Employees' Compensation under OSH?

**Answer (Dr. Mittal):** It's not covering ESI and compensation because that is being covered in Social Security code. If there is over lapping of those codes for tea plantation then it will be applicable to them.

**Rahul:** With respect to this specific question, ESIC has a jurisdiction if they prove that they have thousand workers who are working in hazardous industry and there you require community level cleaning, because ESIC has done in state of Rajasthan, where stone cutters and brick-kiln workers where civil society was active, it was brought up that they had lung issue and bronchitis and it was recurring occupational diseases. There was community level cleaning by civil society where at least you could have diagnosis.

**Question (Nimisha-Oxfam):** if appointment letter is made mandatory for every worker, even for a short span of employment, how does it impact the contract workers?

**Answer: (Akriti)** Eg. Gig workers, assumed that sort of self employed where they can switch off and on as per the convenience. When they go to zonal offices, they are not given offer letters, Aggregators and tech-companies do not call themselves employers. Sub-recruitment pattern, layers of contractualisation, where accountability is being evaded. There are no compensation even though big companies are involved. Similarly, Contractualisation means no paper work or legal thing to be taken care of.

**Questions (Pooja):** how the roles of trade unions are affected under the new law?

**Answer (Akriti):** Rahul has pointed out what the Industrial Relations code is doing. It is delegitimising unions and strikes as well. If you are seeking permission, no employer is going to grant you that permission. It's a complete attack on resistance.

**Question (Samiksha Kapoor):** can you explain in detail how these codes will affect domestic workers?

**(Hemlata):** How will it impact Home based?

**Answer (Akriti):** Home based workers have been covered in Social Security, and domestic workers have been not been mentioned. If they come under wage workers or self-employed, that ambiguity has been kept.

**Question (Piyush Sharma):** What are the implications of IR code on contract workers and does it provide more powers to the management? If yes then how?

**Tom:** Yes, it does.

Two more questions that Dr. Subir can answer.

**Question (Subhash Lomte):** can any Govt. bring labour laws contradictory to the ILO conventions & human rights charter & also contradictory to Indian constitution??

**Panelist 4 Subir Sinha:** It has been extremely educational hour and a half for me. The details given by Rahul and Mr. Mittal show a very alarming picture. There was already always a very loaded playing board, in favour of capitalists and against labour. Covid has made it far more asymmetrical both formally and informally, the power of labour to strike, the power of labour to be able to defend its already existing rights, let alone the power of labour to expand the rights are needed in the current situation. All are being curtailed not just only in India, but every other country. Because making labour available to capital at as low a cost, has become a growth model for most developing countries. If you think in terms of ease of doing business, it says I am repressing the rights of my labours so that they can't claim their due, and Country A can say we will repress our labour more than

country B can do. It is also taking place at the historical point of weakness of trade unions, in the chat it is very heartening to see a number of new organisations in small towns by sector, by trade and so on and so forth. We may think this as a transitional moment, and we should think what the new organisations are doing. That particular process can feed into the policy making process, especially with respect to two things. I was quite struck, by Rahul's statement that people actually charging to explain the labour codes. In on of Praxis Webinar, it was stated by production unit level activists, that there is very low level of information is available to workers, regarding what their rights are. We need to start from there, awareness what their rights are. Because the awareness renewal of newer organisations, we are not going to have a better legislation but we will be able to prevent the misuse of legislation and manipulation of law to the advantage of working people. So, two things come out of today's discussion how wide and diverse is Indian labour scene now. What a blunt hammer the government is using to suppress it. There are state and sector wise variations, Dr. Rahul has mentioned, how productivity is going up but the remuneration is going low, compared to Maharashtra where labour get more in comparison to their productivity. This needs to be looked into because it tells us about the power of labour vis-à-vis capital. In Gujarat since 1960's the suppression of labour by state force or private force, has been historically been part of that. It has placed the entire situation into a further turmoil. For instance, in garment, it says recovery will require some hard steps, some sacrifices, sacrifices that will come from informal sector workers. The onslaught on the workers is not jus about their life and livelihoods but also their political rights. Look at the way how solidarity with other organisations can be done. On the question of ILO, it doesn't really have any enforcement mechanism, particularly countries which are powerful, countries which are heavily indebted, countries which are smaller, countries dependant on UN can have some ILO intervention but ILO enforcement in large country like India is unlikely to be. Because there is consciousness that nation-states should defend their sovereignty. I will end by saying greater support for worker organisations, greater worker organisations, even though it involves political risks that we see across the country on charges of enemies of the state. It is a moment for confrontation but it's a crucial moment. A defeat for labour will result in a further reduction of labour rights, rather than a defence or expansion of those rights.

Quick Comments:

**Rahul-** Last three questions. In April no worker should be removed. 67 per don't do not have contract. Oral contracts cannot be litigated in Court of law as a result 8 crore could not have rights to go to the Court. Labour code no where mentions about contract. There will be despotism of flexibility, they will force on you, flexibility and they will make you so weak that you will not think about your rights but two square meals for tomorrow. Second point, Trade union is a political constituency who have positions, if you take away that political constituency then who will fight. Corporate model where there will be labour consultancy. Civil society should take a lead and mobilise workers.

**Akriti:** What Praxis is doing is impressive. We need aggregate get research, activism and practice. The mobilisation the onus lies on us for dedicated activism.

**Dr. Mittal:** there are many issues, OH will take a back seat. More struggles will be there. Starting with definition and last will be OHS.

**Tom:** Thank you. There is lot to take away. There is a need for larger solidarity and alliance is absolutely essentially. You can get in touch with us we can loom at ways of clarifying in greater details any more question. The irony is the state that should be the protector of powerless is actually doing the opposite. Two of the world billionaires will be Indians but the nation will be much poorer. Labour will not be seen as the prim driver of the production process. Thank you everyone. Its been an overwhelming response we have huge number of participation. This has been the regular series. 38<sup>th</sup> we would be looking at farmer reforms in next webinar. We will be closing the series by the end of the month, 28<sup>th</sup> October. When we started there was lack of information

on what is happening ground. Now it is happening at various organisational platforms and movements are opening up. However, the idea will continue-to bring unheard voices in policy.