Towards Security, Dignity and Justice: A Labour Helpline for Construction Workers



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# ABSTRACT

Estimates vary on the percentage of India's informal workforce, with numbers ranging from 85–93 per cent (Mohanty, 2019). Despite being a majority that contributes significantly to the country's gross domestic product, the needs and demands of informal workers are far from being understood and addressed. The unregulated nature of work makes them victims of an exploitative system.

The construction sector employs the second-highest number of informal workers, next only to agriculture. Their contribution to building cities is immense. However, they face indignity, insecurity and injustices of various forms. This case study details how a Labour Helpline set up by Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA), a non-profit development organisation, has been instrumental in ensuring just wages, access to welfare and safe working conditions for construction workers. By supporting wage recovery, facilitating access to social security schemes and empowering workers with rights awareness, the Helpline aims to ensure decent work for construction workers.

# LIFE AS A CONSTRUCTION WORKER: AN OVERVIEW

'I worked at a mill for 10 years before arriving in Navi Mumbai many years ago. Mill work was seasonal and hence, I was employed for six months in the year. Eventually, as the mills deteriorated in value in the market, I found myself employed for only four months in a year. The money earned was not sufficient to sustain a living and hence, I decided to visit Navi Mumbai along with my younger brother in search of employment. I soon began working in Navi Mumbai for 15 days and would return to my village as I had to take care of my family. This back and forth stopped when my brother suggested that I migrate with my family to Navi Mumbai. I started visiting the nakas<sup>1</sup>, where hundreds of labourers congregate on any day. It was really difficult to find work at the beginning as I did not know anyone personally. Eventually, after interacting with people, I started to get work. Once, when I completed the work, the contractor refused to pay my wages. He even abused me and said that whatever the case, he would not be making the payment'.

Sunil Sarkate's account<sup>2</sup> of seeking and sustaining a dignified livelihood in the city is one shared by millions migrating to the city to be employed in India's

1 | Labour markets located at road junctions where labourers congregate daily to seek work 2 | Worker names have been masked in the paper to protect their identities construction sector, the second highest employer after agriculture. In 2013, it was estimated that over 40 million workers were employed in construction and real estate and this number is estimated to reach 67 million by 2022 (The Economic Times, 2018). The numbers are not surprising, and are possibly even an underestimation, given the disaggregated nature of the work and the lack of quality data. The data on growth in the construction sector in recent years reveals the scale of operations and an estimate of employment prospects. To take a few examples, from April–January 2018, 6,439 km of roads/highways were constructed, an increase of 17 per cent from the previous year. The civil aviation ministry recently approved the construction of 18 new airports in the country (Sinha, 2018). Additionally, the government's Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana—Housing for All Mission (Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, n. d.), led to a spurt in construction activity across the country. At the same time, the country's ongoing agrarian crisis has also accelerated migration from rural to urban areas. It is estimated that almost 25-30 people migrate to urban areas in search of better livelihood options every minute (Pranav, 2018).

Building and other construction workers work across different kinds of projects. Their needs and demands often go unheard and unsupported, because for every worker who is unable to or refuses to take up the job there are a hundred more willing to work. Skewed demand and supply works in favour of contractors, and unregulated employment is the norm.

# LOCATING WORKERS IN THEORY: IN BRIEF

'Informal workers are not the "marginal" or "temporary" entities depicted in early development theories. Rather, they are—and have always been—central to the sustenance of modern economies' (Agarwala, 2011). The size of the informal sector, at 91 per cent of the country's working population, offers a broad indication of the scale of this workforce (Mishra, 2018).

In his seminal book *The Precariat* (2011), Guy Standing offers multiple ways of looking at the precariat<sup>3</sup>, whose characteristics have much in common with the construction workers being studied in this paper. One of the perspectives, which can be correlated with the life and conditions of informal workers, looks at the precariat as people who lack seven forms of labour-oriented security that were pursued as part of the industrial citizenship agenda (summarised below):

- Labour market security: Adequate income earning opportunities
- Employment security: Protection against arbitrary dismissal, regulations on hiring and firing, etc.
- Job security: Ability and opportunity to retain a niche in employment, etc.

- Work security: Protection against accidents and illness at work, limits on working time, etc.
- Skill reproduction security: Opportunity to gain skills, through apprenticeships, employment training, and so on
- Income security: Assurance of an adequate stable income
- Representation security: Possessing a collective voice in the labour market

Moreover, the 'precariat' are described as being in a '... status that offers no sense of career, no sense of secure occupational identity and few, if any, entitlements to the state and enterprise benefits that several generations of those who saw themselves as belonging to the industrial proletariat or salariat had come to expect as their due'. Standing also refers to the increasing hostility towards migrant labour worldwide, of them being perceived as 'an emerging dangerous class'. He further adds, 'A group that sees no future of security or identity will feel fear and frustration that could lead to it lashing out at identifiable or imagined causes of its lot.'

# ANALYSING THE NATURE OF CONSTRUCTION WORK

Migrant workers usually seek work in one of two wayseither via labour markets (colloquially known as *nakas*) at the start of the day, or by seeking employment at formal construction sites<sup>4</sup>. Given the labour-intensive nature of the sector and relatively easy entry points, informal workers are absorbed in a range of building and construction activities, either as skilled labour (painters, electricians, plumbers, etc.) or as unskilled labour. The

<sup>3 |</sup> The Oxford Dictionary defines 'precariat' as, people whose employment and income are insecure, especially when considered as a class 4 | Although informal workers to the city may seek employment in diverse ways, we have considered these two primary categories as it is most prevalent among the workers we have been interacting with since 2012, when our engagements with informal workers began.

immediate nature of work with short payout cycles helps attract and absorb many at low-wages.

Among the two categories of workers employed, *naka* (daily-wage) workers are far more insecure than workers on construction sites, as they are hired usually on short-term projects (from a few days to a few weeks), and keep having to search for work. This necessitates the need for engaging with multiple builders and contractors repeatedly, and to negotiate one's terms of engagement and pay. Moreover, there is no certainty of work and since this kind of work usually lacks any formal contractual agreement of employment (unlike in the case of workers employed at formal construction sites), daily-wage workers often end up working in far more inadequate conditions, may regularly be denied pay, and may find themselves helpless in the face of all these challenges. It becomes easier for the contractor to cite

inadequate quality of work or a range of other reasons to deny pay, given that there is no formal agreement to regulate the work being undertaken. On the other hand, workers employed at construction sites usually stay on the premises and work on the same site for the same contractor or builder until the project is completed, and usually receive their wages on a monthly or weekly basis.

Just as it is with all informal workers (working either as domestic workers, truckers, street vendors, etc.), construction workers too lack security at work, and this makes them vulnerable to exploitation. Further, their lack of adequate identity documents (such as Aadhaar cards, voter identity cards, PAN cards, etc.) magnifies their vulnerability. Even if migrant workers hold these proofs from their home state, the lack of portability of such documents across state borders render them useless to access state specific welfare.

# **PROTECTIVE PROVISIONS AND GAPS**

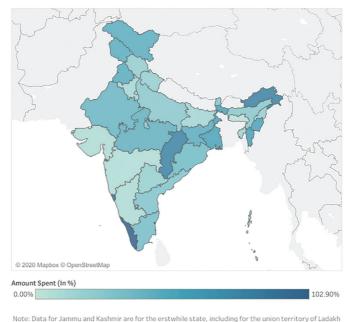
The Building and Other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1996 (BOCW Act, 1996)<sup>5</sup> and The Building and Other Construction Workers' Welfare Cess Act, 1996<sup>6</sup>, were enacted for the protection and welfare of informal sector workers of the aforementioned categories, resulting from a long struggle for worker rights. States were expected to set up Welfare Boards to deliver schemes and benefits to the construction workers within their boundaries. Within Maharashtra state, which is the focus of this paper, the Board was established in 2007. To avail welfare schemes within the Board, a worker must be registered under the Board. To register, a worker must furnish a 90-day certificate of employment sanctioned by the employer. By placing the onus of registration on the worker, the Act has absolved the employer from responsibility and liability towards registration. 'Contrast this with similar beneficial legislations like Provident Fund or ESIS, where both the registration of a worker as well as the employer's contribution are compulsory' (Abhayankar

and Chakraborty, 2019).

The Welfare Cess Act 1996 states that a welfare cess (which is one-two per cent of the total construction cost of a project) be collected from the employer to run the Board and deliver the necessary schemes to the workers. Some of the benefits the workers are eligible for include educational and medical assistance, financial assistance, etc. (Department of Labour, Government of Maharashtra, n. d.).

However, even 23 years since the BOCW Act was passed, its implementation remains poor. In July 2019 it was reported that even 25 per cent of the country's construction workers is yet to be registered (Abhayankar and Chakraborty, 2019). The state of Maharashtra is among the worst-performing states, with registration of only 6,10,000 workers and only 7 per cent cess disbursal from the total collected amount of INR 5,483 crore in 2017 (Banerjee and Kashyap, 2019). 'The national

<sup>5 |</sup> Ministry of Labour and Employment, Government of India. (2018, January 2, last page update). The Building and Other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1996 (27 of 1996). Retrieved from: https://labour.gov.in/whatsnew/building-and-other-construction-workers-regulation-employment-and-conditions-service-act 6 | The Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Cess Act, 1996. (n.d.). Retrieved from: https://legislative.gov.in/sites/default/files/A1996-28\_0.pdf



#### PERCENTAGE OF CESS WELFARE FUND SPENT BY EACH STATE

Note: Data for Jammu and Kashmir are for the erstwhile state, including for the union territory of Ladakh



average of cess distributed through all the schemes is just Rs 499 per worker, per year' (Ibid.).

Moreover, although the Maharashtra State Welfare Board was formed in 2007, registrations started only from 2013 onwards and even then the process was very slow. One of the biggest challenges is that since daily-wage workers are often employed for short-term work, it is almost impossible for them to produce a 90-day certificate of work. This is not always the case for workers employed at construction sites who find it easier to produce the certificate for registration.

Further, one of the biggest obstacles towards workers' access of schemes has been their lack of awareness of the BOCW and Welfare Cess Act and its obligations to them, and their larger rights consciousness as workers. Lack of awareness often extends on the side of the builders and contractors too. A recent news article quoted a builder from Vadodara, Gujarat, saying, 'I employ workers on a project basis, and we have a munshi who gives them a card. The card is only meant to mark the days they come to work and they are paid at the end of the month or when the project ends. I have never known about this registration process' (Banerjee and Kashyap, 2019).

The government's efforts towards enhancing people's awareness has been unsatisfactory and ineffective, and this is further compounded by the challenges encountered in the registration process, which is timeconsuming, and reveals the lack of will towards effective implementation. While the informal worker would earlier need to go to the Labour Commissioner's office for registration, a Government Resolution of 27 June 2017 by the Urban Development Department, Maharashtra, stated that urban local bodies (ULBs) should take leadership to issue the 90-day certificate to workers to make this a decentralised process (Government of Maharashtra, 2017). This was followed by another Government Resolution by the Industries, Energy and Labour Department, Maharashtra, on 2 January 2018, which stated that worker registration should be made faster and the ULBs should allocate special officers to expedite the process (Government of Maharashtra, 2018). Despite these provisions, the speed of registration remains abysmal. Many government officers themselves are not aware of the recent Resolutions and are often

resistant in engaging more on this, or furthering the work in this regard.

Akhil Rathod, originally from Akola district in the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra has been in Mumbai for as long as he can remember. He reflects on the nature of work one gets at *nakas* and shares that if it is a favourable season, you can expect to find work; else it is very difficult. He really hopes for strong support from the government with regards to his job and other social security. Rathod says, 'Being a *naka* worker, it is difficult to get the 90-day certificate from the contractor. Even then I managed to request one of the contractors and got the certificate made. It has been a year now since I submitted the form to the BOCW Welfare Board. Still, every time I visit the office, they keep delaying the process saying the senior officer is on leave today or the higher-ups have not sent any circulars or notifications and so on'.

Or take the case of Kamla Narvade, who hails from

Nanded, Marathwada, in Maharashtra and has been a *naka* worker since 2000. She has been visiting the Nerul *naka* for the past 19 years to take up work as a painter across projects in Navi Mumbai. She is registered under the BOCW Welfare Board since the past two years and says, 'Even though my registration is done, I have not got any benefits yet. There are new people in the [municipal corporation] office and they are now questioning the 90-day work certificate that the same office gave us. They keep delaying the whole process by saying come tomorrow or come after two days and so on. It has been almost two years now and nothing has moved forward'.

Workers' lack of awareness of and access to their rights, and its impact on their life and livelihood has been analysed with regard to their situation in Navi Mumbai. The rationale for YUVA to select this city to engage with construction workers stems from the high rate of real estate and construction activity which it has witnessed in the past few decades.

# THE CASE OF NAVI MUMBAI: A GROWING HUB OF CONSTRUCTION

Navi Mumbai was planned as a satellite city in the 1970s to help decongest the burgeoning city of Mumbai. Located to the north-east of the city of Mumbai, New Bombay (as it was formerly known) was administered by the newly-set up town planning authority, the City and Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra (CIDCO). A spate of infrastructural projects took hold over the city from its formative years, attracting hordes of migrants. The city's area of around 16,000 hectares of land has been planned and utilised for residential, commercial and industrial use activity (Hindustan Times, 2019). Through the city-building efforts, by the mid-1990s, there were more people living in informal settlements in the city, largely the migrant labour and other informal workers, rather than the number of people in the surrounding villages (Vijapurkar, 2015).

Even today, Navi Mumbai attracts migrants from across the country. Daily labour markets or *nakas* are found in areas like Panvel, Turbhe, Nerul, Belapur, Vashi, to name a few. Each *naka* witness the lineup of thousands of workers seeking employment daily. In a 2013 survey, YUVA estimated that about 4,000 workers assemble across just seven *nakas* in the city daily, within six of 14 sub-nodes of Navi Mumbai (National Institute of Urban Affairs, 2014). There is no official updated count of those seeking work at *nakas* to this day.

'I was engaged in railway wiring work at 45 locations across Navi Mumbai, and brought together nine other labourers to do this particular job with me. The contractor owed us a total of INR 90,000 for which he wrote me a cheque but later, asked me not to deposit it before a certain date. Sensing a suspicion, I went ahead and deposited the cheque which bounced. I started contacting the contractor but to no avail. It has been almost two years now and the contractor has disappeared. I had to take a loan to pay the nine labourers, which left me highly indebted' says Ajay Rathod, a worker from Belapur *naka* in Navi Mumbai.

Workers like Ajay face multiple vulnerabilities. To address

worker vulnerabilities and help them access their rights, YUVA has been working actively. The following section details the theory of change that has helped design and drive interventions.

# THE THEORY OF CHANGE

YUVA's theory of change is rooted in the need for addressing three broad aspects that informal workers frequently need to contend with:

- the desire for formalisation
- the need to uphold and enhance worker productivity (which includes questions of just working conditions) and,
- every worker's right to just and adequate wages.

The three aspects were arrived at, based on the organisation's assessment of informal worker needs and as a complementary strand to existing developments in the field and the prevailing literature on the topic. This section provides a short overview on these three aspects, followed by a more detailed explanation of how YUVA's theory of change relates to each, and builds on the existing discourse with an intervention plan to tackle the challenges faced by the country's informal workforce, especially those in the construction sector.

## **ON FORMALISATION**

Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO) provides a succinct perspective on the formalisation of informal labour, and what it could mean for different workers within its ambit. Specifically for construction workers, it could translate to 'more regular work, higher wages, skills training: masonry, carpentry, and other construction skills, safety regulations, accident insurance and workers' compensation, ID cards, registers or other proof of days worked' (WIEGO, n.d.). The call for formalisation was also voiced by the World Bank in its draft World Development Report 2019, which mentioned that 'regardless of how work may be changing, for low and middle-income countries, it is persistent informality and low-productivity employment that poses the greatest challenge' (Mishra, 2018). The lack of credible and regular data on job creation in the country, has further made it difficult to estimate the gravity of the informalisation challenge. Limited implementations of The Building and Other Construction Workers (BOCW) and Welfare Cess Act have also compounded concerns within the informal labour sector.

## **ON PRODUCTIVITY**

The guestion of labour productivity within the Indian informal sector has been documented to some extent. While a few papers have exclusively focused on labour productivity in the construction industry (Thiyagu and Dheenadhyalan, 2015; Ghate and Minde, 2016), others have provided a more macro view of the sector as a whole. Abraham's paper reveals how, although informal workers may have moved 'in the direction of relatively higher productivity sectors, the allocation of workers in employment types has not been towards the most productive activity/jobs in that new sector, instead, it has been towards relatively less productive informal activities. The increase in labour productivity from structural change is dampened as workers who move out of agriculture are employed in low productive activities in the non-agricultural sector'. This is further corroborated by information from the KLEMS India database on employment and productivity by the Reserve Bank of India, which shows that although the construction sector accounted for a third of new jobs in post-liberalised India, it has not helped people find productive jobs. In fact, 'construction has among the lowest productivity among

the top job-generating sectors' (Bhattacharya, 2018).

# **ON THE WAGE QUESTION**

	Sectors	1980-81 and 1990-91 (in%)	1990-1991 and 2015-16 (in%)	Share in total workforce in 2015-16 (in%)	Productivity per worker (Rs. 1,000/ worker in 2015-16)
Я	Construction	20.13	35.74	14.40	126.56
á	Trade	24.84	14.56	10.04	235.78
2	Miscellaneous services (includes real estate brokerage)	7.38	8.43	5.02	415.53
₩0	Transport and storage	9.78	7.44	4.29	255.39
ŧ	Education	3.13	6.26	3.22	222.13
ags	Business services	1.47	5.99	2.18	811.68
4	Hotels and restaurants	2.49	3.75	1.89	123.53
۲	Gems, jewellery and misc. manufacturing	3.02	2.46	1.43	87.19
嗇	Food products, bevrages and tobacco	4.92	2.28	2.42	158.72
ø	Financial services	2.42	2.26	1.11	1259.52
\$	Health and social work	0.81	2.07	1.08	290.04

Share of new non-farm jobs created between

Note: only sectors which account for at least 1% of the total workforce have been consider here

The International Labour Organization's recently published India Wage Report provides a comprehensive look at the 'high levels of segmentation and informality' of the Indian labour market (International Labour Organization, 2018). The report details how 'low pay and wage inequality' continue to remain large obstacles in the way of decent work and inclusive growth. Moreover, gender wage gap continues to remain a problem.

Narayanan's paper, 'Informal Employment in India', highlights the lack of detailed India-specific studies on the sector and the tendency to draw from observations based on Latin American countries, which may not reveal the nuances reflective of India. His paper suggests that 'informal workers earn less than formal workers not only because they have different human capital attainments and individual characteristics, but also because they face discrimination in terms of lower returns to their characteristics than their formal counterparts'. Narayanan argues that while skill development has been focused on in recent policies to address informal employment issues, it is inadequate if measures are not looked into to address discrimination faced by workers (Narayanan, 2015).

India has four central laws on wages and emoluments-the Equal Remuneration Act, 1976, the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, the Payment of Bonus Act, 1965 and the Payment of Wages Act, 1936. However, even 83 years after the Payment of Wages Act was passed, employers are still able to bypass payment of wages, with fines for this ranging from merely INR 1,500–7,500 (Aiyar, 2019).

The ILO report (International Labour Organization, 2018) identifies some strategies to help low-paid workers access minimum wages, such as 'conducting information and awareness raising activities, reinforcing labour inspections, strengthening the role of workers' and employers' organizations, and imposing sanctions and penalties'. While the report emphasises the need for balanced minimum wage setting and collective bargaining for inclusive wage standards, it does not say much on the non-repayment of earned wages, which is a frequent challenge voiced by informal workers, and one that YUVA seeks to address through its interventions.

# DETAILING YUVA'S THEORY OF CHANGE

YUVA is committed to helping informal workers access their right to work, wages and welfare through interventions that seek to empower workers in a holistic sense. The organisation seeks to formalise informal work engagements in the city by encouraging registrations and interactions among workers and the BOCW Welfare Board. This is seen as not just a stepping stone towards recording workers' identity in the city, and facilitating their access to support in the short-term, but also as an opportunity to increase networks and rapport among informal labour and officials towards broaderlevel change in the longer run. Sustained focus towards improving workers' rights awareness and an emphasis on encouraging them to form and strengthen collectives (which they can take ownership of) is aimed at developing their voices and demands, so that they may better articulate their needs and take steps to realise their rights. The focus on labour empowerment is also intended to encourage workers to build their capacities and skills, seek more productive areas of work, just and adequate wages for their work, and more formalised systems of engagement. YUVA's focus on self-determination is aimed at strengthening personhood, so that those who have been empowered can further inspire others and lead them on a journey of transformation. Further, by working with informal workers at nakas and construction sites, YUVA aims to share knowledge and experiences across the sector, to help workers better understand the challenges and vulnerabilities faced and how they may be effectively overcome. YUVA has also focused efforts on democratising knowledge and encouraging its dissemination in diverse ways, offering platforms for informal workers to share their knowledge and experiences with one another, and co-create more inclusive and just cities. The organisation's theory of change is connected to its three-pronged methodology, which guides all interventions:

- A 360-degree integrated development model at the grassroots level involving interventions in interrelated domains—empowerment, habitat, livelihood, governance—to ensure comprehensive change
- Formation and strengthening of networks and collectives as a key solidarity-building strategy to address the issue of shrinking democratic spaces for Indian civil society
- Policy research and advocacy based on evidencebased knowledge to drive dialogue on inclusive and equitable policymaking

YUVA's Labour Helpline, detailed in the next section, concretises the theory of change in the form of a holistic intervention that seeks to address labour insecurity and injustice. By offering round-the-clock support to informal labourers, it visions the creation of a more just future for the country's marginalised millions.

# A HELPLINE TO ADDRESS INFORMAL WORKER WOES

# INTRODUCING THE LABOUR HELPLINE

Since 2012, YUVA has been operating a Labour Helpline to offer direct support to construction workers facing distress. The helpline aims to help workers address injustice at work via a process-driven systematic framework where the workers' queries can be formally lodged and addressed, so that their access to just wages, welfare and adequate working conditions is upheld. Further, the Labour Helpline works towards just and dignified livelihoods for construction workers by empowering them with rights awareness and enhancing their access to social security schemes via registrations under The Building and Other Construction Workers (BOCW) Act. Within Maharashtra, the Labour Helpline is operational in Thane, Raigad, Palghar and Mumbai Suburban districts. The Labour Helpline is just one part of YUVA's visioned Migration Resource Centre (MRC) which aims to support and empower migrant workers and address their issues holistically, to create more equal cities of the future. In addition to the work of the Labour Helpline, the MRC aims to help migrant workers enhance their broader rights awareness, develop a voice and form collectives to fight for their rights. The MRC also aims to help workers access legal entitlements in the city, and offers counselling and other guidance-oriented services to support people.

Although the formal ambit of the Helpline's functions are to do with case handling and resolution, given the interconnectedness of the issues, the Helpline often takes up associated initiatives that fall within the MRC umbrella of interventions to strengthen workers' understanding and access of rights. The team conducts mass awareness drives (often at *nakas*) to help more workers easily approach and access its services. Informative pamphlets are distributed to encourage discussions on labour rights and share more information on rights, services, schemes, etc. The awareness drives often include discussions on the current legal developments, Acts passed, Acts amended, schemes started, schemes discontinued, process to be followed to be eligible for such schemes and so on. Training sessions are also held to further support the workers, strengthen their knowledge, critical thinking and analysis of the prevailing situation and to encourage them to take steps to access their rights.

# DETAILING THE HELPLINE APPROACH

The Labour Helpline operates through a strong processdriven approach. A strong partner network ensures that the case is resolved via suitable interventions. Case documentation and data management processes are stringently followed throughout case interventions. Complaints received usually fall in either of the two categories:

- Non-payment of wages even though the worker has performed the work
- Bonded labour, where the worker is employed against his will, sometimes because he may have been unable to repay a prior loan of the employer

When a call is received on the Labour Helpline, the complaint and case details are registered. Caller details are verified at a subsequent in-person meeting. The complaint is shared with the Helpline Manager whose first attempt is to see if the case can be resolved

without any legal intervention. Among the most common cases received are that of wage recovery, and in most cases the contractor agrees to repay the worker within the next two to four days. When the case is not resolved through the first attempt, the complaint is forwarded to the concerned office (para-legal experts, investigating officers, labour officers, or the District Labour Superintendent) based on its nature. The Labour Helpline follows up on the case diligently, while remaining in touch with the caller and sharing updates at each stage. If the Government Labour Office needs to be approached, a notice is issued under the Payment of Wages Act, 1936. The case now reaches the judicial court where a lawyer's support is taken and the case notice is sent to three parties—the labourer, the contractor/developer/ builder, and the YUVA Helpline, which acts as a mediator in the case. A date is fixed and the case is heard in the Labour Court in Bandra, Mumbai. In case of any threats or danger felt to the life of the worker, police protection is sought under the same order by the Government Labour Office.

To prove that the worker was employed by the contractor in question and worked for a given number of days, the attendance card and on-site registers act as important pieces of evidence. The recorded phone calls of the worker and the contractor also act as strong supportive evidence. To prove that the labourer has not been paid dues, the statements of the worker and the contractor, as recorded by the Labour Helpline, are produced before the court. In nine out of ten cases, the contractor confesses to the non-payment and rightfully pays the wages to the worker.

In case the contractor refuses to confess, the other workers who worked on-site may need to testify in court. Once the proceedings are complete and the contractor makes the necessary settlement, the case is closed. In certain cases, where the contractor is not reachable, the Labour Helpline approaches the principal employer, the builder.

The non-payment of wages is tackled by the Helpline using the legal backing of legislations such as:

- Workmen Compensation Act, 1923 when the worker is unwell and incapable of performing the work but is still forcibly made to complete the job, the contactor/employer would be held liable
- Minimum Wages Act, 1948 when the worker is not paid fair wages for the work done or is made to work more than the permissible number of working hours, the contractor/employer would be held liable
- Bonded Labour System Act, 1976 where the worker works against his/her will, the contractor/employer would be held liable

 Payment of Wages Act, 1936 – in case of nonpayment from the principal employer within one month of the completion of work, the contractor is liable to pay the full amount to the worker

Wage recovery forms a major part of the overall complaints that the Labour Helpline receives, and the focus given to this reveals how YUVA attempts to tackle the issue of non-payment of earned wages. The Labour Helpline's case-handling experiences reveal that the wage dilemma is not an issue faced only by naka workers but even workers at formal construction sites.

# A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF HELPLINE OUTREACH, ACTIVITIES AND PERFORMANCE

Since 2012, the Labour Helpline has received over 600 complaints, recovering a total of more than eighty lakh rupees wages due. Almost 80 per cent of the complainants are in the age group of 20–40 years, with most of the complainants being men.

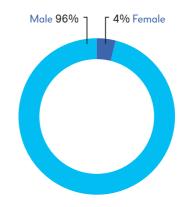


A Labour Helpline case intervention in progress

Among the complainants, 64 per cent are migrant labour from across the country, mainly from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The remaining 36 per cent represent workers who have migrated from other districts of Maharashtra, such as Satara, Jalgaon, Dhule and so on. Among all the complaints received, almost 93 per cent are from workers working in Navi Mumbai and Mumbai. The remaining 7 per cent includes workers working in Lonavala, Panvel, Thane, and Palghar.

During and even after a case has been resolved, the Helpline remains in touch with the worker to facilitate

#### GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE COMPLAINTS RECEIVED



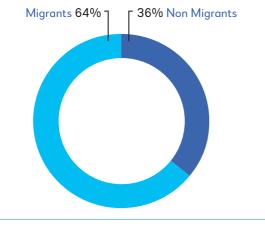




Source: Compiled from YUVA's Labour Helpline archives, 2013–2019

their registration under the BOCW Welfare Board to receive benefits. The Helpline regularly conducts awareness sessions about the various provisions stated in the BOCW Act of 1996, to help workers better understand the need for registration and the kind of documentation needed for it, and what they could gain from it. Post registration, regular follow-ups by the

#### NO. OF MIGRANTS AMONG COMPLAINANTS



Source: Compiled from YUVA's Labour Helpline archives, 2013-2019

Helpline team are critical to understand if the registration has been satisfactorily completed, and to check whether the benefits under the various schemes are being delivered. If this is not the case, the Helpline advocates for faster registration processes and smoother delivery of benefits.

From its formative years, the Labour Helpline has focused on awareness drives to reach out to workers, and help them better understand how it can offer them support. In the early years, the Labour Helpline focused on outreach through innovative ways, via direct discussions and interactions and also through associated support initiatives, such as by setting up regular health camps for workers and their families. Given their lack of access to healthcare, these camps proved to be really useful in building relations with the workers. Eight *balwadis* (early childcare and nutrition centres for children) were also run in Navi Mumbai to extend welfare to workers' families and their children, better understand their emeraina needs and demands, and work with them towards the realisation of their rights. Over time, the work of the Labour Helpline has been increasingly spread through word-of-mouth, especially by those who have benefited from its services. Mass awareness drives help the Helpline team reach out to 200 daily-wage workers at a time.

Regular training sessions have also been conducted at six labour *nakas* in Navi Mumbai (in Turbhe, Nerul, Kharghar, Koparkhairne, Belapur, and Kalamboli) to strengthen capacities and leadership skills among workers, help them explore more productive areas of work and facilitate their overall empowerment. Awareness and training sessions have focused on gender sensitisation, social justice, social security awareness and other topics. Over time, these sessions have led to the growth of five leaders (also known as *shramik mitras*) at each naka where the Helpline has outreach.

# CHALLENGES FACED BY THE LABOUR HELPLINE

The Labour Helpline has faced significant challenges through its journey over the years.

#### INFORMAL WORKERS ARE OFTEN HESITANT TO APPROACH THE HELPLINE IN THE FIRST PLACE

Fearing potential repercussions and backlash from their employers—many of whom are already known to the labourers from beforehand—many construction workers take a while to approach the Helpline. They are also dissuaded by the thought of the paperwork and formalities needed, and the legal action that may arise from their complaint. Dipak Kamble, Labour Helpline executive from YUVA, shares his experiences in this regard. 'There is strong resistance from the worker's side at times. He is of the opinion that the contractors and builders are influential people and there's no point in fighting them as no positive result would come out of it. Instead, the workers feel that when the contractor comes to know of the registered complaint, he might come to the *naka* and create a ruckus. There have been cases of fights as well. In some cases, the contractor and the worker belong to the same village and hence, they refrain from coming forward to complain'. Over time, the Helpline team has been able to overcome this challenge more easily, given the rapport they have built with workers over the years. Their regular training sessions and presence at nakas has built confidence about their commitment and capabilities, and many workers who have benefited from the Helpline have gone on to assure other workers about the benefits of registering complaints at the Helpline.

## WORKERS ARE OFTEN NOT AWARE OF THE LABOUR HELPLINE AND HOW IT CAN HELP THEM ACCESS THEIR RIGHTS

This reason often restrains workers from approaching the Helpline to register complaints, let alone explore registration under the Welfare Board to access social security schemes. Many workers do not fully understand the operations of the Labour Helpline and hence, feel it is unnecessary to register a complaint. Being unaware of or distrustful of the schemes being delivered by the state, they display a lack of will to do anything in this regard as well. The Labour Helpline's constant focus on more outreach, and the use of newer strategies and mediums to reach out to workers, has helped address challenges to some extent.

## REACHING OUT TO WOMEN WORKERS IS CHALLENGING

Women are often more accepting of the current work environment, even when it is exploitative. This can also be ascribed to social conditioning—women are often expected to suffer in silence and they tend to internalise this behaviour from a young age. The challenge to reach out to women continues, and the team has been reevaluating strategies to connect with more women and help them come forward and access their rights.

## CHALLENGES ARE ALSO FACED IN INTERACTIONS WITH THE NEXUS OF BUILDERS AND CONTRACTORS

Builders and contractors are generally known to have a strong hold over the workers. Their sphere of influence in local areas is often quite effective in silencing workers' voices and demands. Moreover, this is not a homogenous category, as many contractors have risen from the ranks of workers themselves, and are vulnerable in front of the main builder. Najeeb Shaikh, a worker engaged at a construction site in Vashi, is a petty contractor who was previously a labourer. He employed six labourers to complete a job at a ward office construction site in Vashi. The main contractor refused to pay and claimed that he had left the city, never to return. In this case, the Labour Helpline supported the petty contractor's search efforts to track the main contractor. The ward officer helped get in touch with the main contractor and arranged a meeting. The case is currently ongoing.

## LABOUR HELPLINE EXECUTIVES AT YUVA HAVE SOMETIMES RECEIVED THREATS, ONCE THE COMPLAINT HAS BEEN LODGED

Helpline executives have sometimes been asked to de-register the complaint and let it go. Threats of physical coercion have been made, and the contractors have been adamant about not responding to the worker's demands.

#### BOCW REGISTRATION AND ACCESS TO SCHEMES IS CHALLENGING

As already discussed, the mandatory 90-day certificate of employment for registration under the BOCW Board is a challenge for construction workers, especially daily-wage labourers. Failure to acquire the certificate makes the worker ineligible for benefits and schemes offered by the Board. Even after registration, challenges abound, as scheme delivery is extremely slow. This results in disappointment among the workers, and they may be demotivated enough to discourage others from participating in this exercise. 'The delay of the Board in delivering benefits makes it difficult for us to approach workers at the various *nakas* to increase outreach. They say, you have come previously too, filled various forms, but nothing really happened. Saying so, they do not entertain us anymore', says Farzana Shaikh, Labour Helpline associate at YUVA.

## NAKA OUTREACH HAS BEEN A CHALLENGE, GIVEN THE EXISTING POWER STRUCTURES AT PLAY

For instance, when the Labour Helpline first approached workers at the labour *naka* at Panvel, they were driven off by well-established trade union leaders who had a strong hold over the naka. Some of these leaders used to charge the workers in exchange for work opportunities. The matter even escalated to a physical stand-off, but eventually, through meetings and discussions with some of the influential *naka* leaders it was resolved. YUVA also gradually began to work with some of these leaders, encouraging them to strengthen their leadership skills and work towards the protection of workers' rights.

### EACH CASE PRESENTS ITS OWN NUANCES, AND REQUIRES A FOCUSED AND CONTEXT-APPROPRIATE RESPONSE AND HANDLING STRATEGY

The Helpline team needs to constantly reevaluate and implement newer strategies, to effectively handle the range of cases that come its way. Every case offers new opportunities for learning, to better work with informal workers and help them access their rights.

# **IMPACTS OF THE LABOUR HELPLINE**

The impact of the Labour Helpline can be mapped at different levels:

## At the individual and family level

#### **GAINING ACCESS TO EARNED WAGE**

Ramji Sahu, hailing from Chhattisgarh, has been working at a construction site in Ulwe, Navi Mumbai. He has been working in Mumbai for the past 10 years, engaged in plastering work at different construction sites. He registered a complaint with the Labour Helpline at the end of 2017 regarding non-payment of wages by the contractor. 'I knew about the Labour Helpline as I worked in Kharghar before I started working here in Ulwe. When the contractor in Ulwe refused to pay me, I straightaway approached the Labour Helpline. After constant efforts, spanning over one and a half years, the Labour Helpline helped me recover a total amount of INR 62,000 from the contractor. I am really grateful for all the follow-ups done as the pressure exerted by them on the contractor forced him to eventually make the payment', he says. Sahu was able to take care of household expenses with the wages recovered, thus impacting his family's well-being too.

## ENHANCING ONE'S RIGHTS AWARENESS AND PRODUCTIVITY POTENTIAL

The Labour Helpline's focus on rights awareness sessions, conducted in innovative formats, helps workers better understand their human rights and strategise on steps to better access them. With a stronger understanding of the labour landscape, workers are also able to reflect more on how their productivity can be maximised through their work in the sector, and how they can take active steps towards this.

'My wife accompanies me to the *naka*. She seeks work there too', says Rajesh Narvade, attributing his improved understanding of the importance of equal opportunities at work and equal compensation for all irrespective of gender, to the gender sensitisation sessions conducted by the Helpline.

Sushil Nikose attended the awareness session on the Right to Information (RTI) Act conducted by the Labour Helpline in 2018. Post the session, he felt more motivated to unite workers and take forward their issues and questions by filing RTIs. He feels more empowered, knowing how an RTI can help him access critical information, and take ahead advocacy efforts.

# FURTHERING ACCESS TO BASIC NEEDS AND SERVICES

Daily-wage workers spend hours seeking work, often with no access to basic services (provision of water, toilets, etc.). Through interventions with workers and the focus on their training and capacitation, YUVA and workers' collectives have undertaken advocacy measures to seek the provision of basic services at *nakas*. As a result of the efforts, two functional toilets were constructed at two *nakas*, at Turbhe *naka* in April 2018 and at Nerul *naka* in February 2019. More advocacy efforts are ongoing to extend basic services to construction workers, as they are engaged in the arduous job of finding work.

## DEVELOPING A VOICE TO RESIST INJUSTICE AT WORK

Through all its interventions, the Labour Helpline has focused on strengthening the voices of workers to help them resist injustice in its many forms and actively work towards the protection of their rights. Be it unsafe and dangerous conditions at work, harassment, poor pay, extended working hours, or other forms of workplace violence and exploitation, the Labour Helpline aims to help strengthen workers' resistance. As Nilesh Narvade, a construction worker, says, 'We have a right to fair wages for the construction work we engage in. No one can deprive us of our dues'.

#### At the community level

## WORKERS ARE BEST AMBASSADORS OF THE HELPLINE

In recent years, most of the Labour Helpline outreach is driven across communities by workers who have previously interacted with the Helpline. Even after they have returned to their villages, workers have told their friends and relatives to approach the Helpline if they face any problems at work. The Labour Helpline has received complaints from workers who have migrated from as far as Jharkhand, Odisha, Rajasthan, and Karnataka for grievance redressal.

The work of the Labour Helpline has been taken forward by *shramik mitras*—informal workers themselves who have benefited from the Helpline's work. With first-hand knowledge of how the Labour Helpline operates, and how it can support the needs of workers, *shramik mitras* play a crucial role in spreading the word about the Helpline and its allied activities among their networks.

#### **GROWTH OF COMMUNITY LEADERS**

Many of the *shramik mitras* have also, subsequently, developed as leaders among workers, given their detailed understanding of rights and active efforts towards its realisation. Regular, intensive training sessions with them further help *shramik mitras* update their knowledge on labour rights, renew strategies to access rights, and connect more distressed labour with the Helpline and the Migration Resource Centre. *Shramik mitras* also play a leading role in encouraging workers' collective formation and strengthening, to further take forward their demands in a stronger manner.

Datta Hingole, a *shramik mitras*, shares his experience: I have been visiting the Kharghar naka for as long as I can remember. It used to be really difficult to get work initially as I did not know anyone at the *naka* personally. Eventually, as I interacted with people, I started to get work regularly. One time, after the completion of work, the contractor refused to pay me. I heard from someone at the naka that a non-profit named YUVA runs a Labour Helpline in Navi Mumbai. I approached the Helpline and within 4–5 months my money was recovered. I am really grateful to the Helpline for their regular followup and visits to the contractor's house, which exerted pressure on him. Then I decided that the awareness about such a Helpline should not be restricted to myself. I started telling everybody at the naka about the Helpline and also my own experience. Today, there are 10–15 labourers at Kharghar naka who work with me and together we support YUVA's work and other workers here at the naka. Being a *shramik mitra*, I truly feel that only by uniting our strength can we move forward and make our voices heard. I have attended 3-4 training sessions held by YUVA to help tackle our challenges and I plan to be regular at attending these sessions as they are quite informative'.

#### At the systemic level

## A STRONG NETWORK TO DRIVE SYSTEMIC CHANGE

The Labour Helpline is connected to not just construction workers but also contractors and developers—the principal employers of the workers. Relationship building with these stakeholders has helped drive smoother mediation in cases for stronger impact. The Helpline team also connects with government stakeholders, especially the Labour Department and Municipal Corporation, through weekly meetings pertaining to the 90-day certificate challenge, case follow-ups, by sharing notices issued to the contractor with the labour office on a need-basis, and so on. The Helpline is also connected to supportive partners such as other non-profits, organisations, registered unions, advocates and individuals whose collective support and inputs help in better case resolution. Network meetings, scheduled twice or thrice yearly, help better understand the country-wide labour situation and plan for challenges and needed interventions.

## BUILDING ON AND STRENGTHENING ADVOCACY EFFORTS

Constant advocacy efforts with the state machinery, and the pressures exerted by partner networks, have been aimed at smoothening workers' registration process towards formalisation and speeding up the delivery of welfare schemes to the workers. With the passing of the two Government Resolutions in 2017 and 2018, which have directed the urban local bodies to play a much bigger role in the workers' registration process, there has been some forward momentum on this issue. However, a lot more remains to be done to streamline the process and help workers access schemes.

In the last few weeks, the Migration Resource Centre team has also approached the Chief Secretary of the Labour Department to review the registration provision as urban local bodies are still not playing an active role in registration. The Chief Secretary has recognised YUVA's efforts, and further queried this at the labour office, placing the officials under pressure to respond and work towards this. Although steps such as these take time to lead towards tangible impact, the Helpline remains committed to it for the broader systemic change it can help unfold.

#### DEVELOPING THE LABOUR HELPLINE AS A STATE-MODEL MODEL FOR WORKER RELIEF

The Labour Helpline's work has been recognised by the Labour Commissioner's office, and YUVA has also

submitted proposals for the institutionalisation of this model. As the state has been keener on creating a model solely for the case intervention aspects, and not on larger questions of labour empowerment, it has not been taken further. However, YUVA remains hopeful of being able to take the Helpline as a model of work in the future.

# THE ROAD AHEAD

The labour landscape is fast changing. A few months ago, the Indian government proposed the introduction of four labour codes (on wages, social security, industrial safety and welfare, and industrial relations) with the stated objective of simplifying the 44 existing labour laws (The Indian Express, 2019). If the draft Labour Code on Social Security and Welfare is passed, for instance, it will lead to the repeal of the BOCW Act, lapsing all the hard-won registrations of workers, leading to the collapse of the existing Welfare Boards, and requiring new registrations of informal workers (who will all be registered under the same Board, irrespective of their nature of work). Further, the welfare cess will be directed into a common social assistance fund (Sharma, 2019). Similarly, the current Code on Wages, which aims to consolidate and simplify four major wage-related legislations is seen to dilute critical provisions needed for the protection of workers. Its national floor minimum wage of INR 178, which states can fix at their discretion but not further reduce, is actually seen a decline in real wage terms (being only INR 2 more than what was declared two years ago) (Mehrotra and Jayaram, 2019). This calls into guestion how migrant labour are expected to maintain even basic consumption and dignified living ways at this wage rate. While there has been much debate and criticism of the Labour Codes, it remains to be seen whether it will be successfully resisted or not.

Meanwhile, there has been growing uncertainty of work in the construction industry, especially in recent years. While public investment in housing and toilet construction increased, private investment has remained sluggish. Measures like demonetisation have lent a further blow to the sector. Especially for unskilled labour, driven to construction work due to the lack of other opportunities in agriculture, this is a cause for concern (Gopalakrishnan, 2019). Moreover, the lack of reliable data on the informal sector is a serious challenge. As the National Statistical Committee noted in its 2012 report, 'It is increasingly realised that lack of reliable statistics on the size, distribution and economic contribution of the sector has been a major constraint in providing a realistic understanding of the significance of the Indian economy, leading to its neglect in development planning' (Mohanty, 2019).

In such trying times, the work of the Labour Helpline towards helping the marginalised access just wages and working conditions, will remain even more critical. The Labour Helpline will remain committed to holistic support and empowerment of informal workers at multiple levels. In the coming years, the Labour Helpline aims to do more, along with YUVA's Migration Resource Centre, to tackle worker vulnerabilities and help each worker access rights and enjoy livelihood security.

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At the community-level, through an integrated 360-degree approach, YUVA delivers solutions on issues of housing, livelihood, environment and governance. Through research, YUVA creates knowledge that enhances capacity building. Through partnerships in campaigns, YUVA provides solidarity and builds strong alliances to drive change.