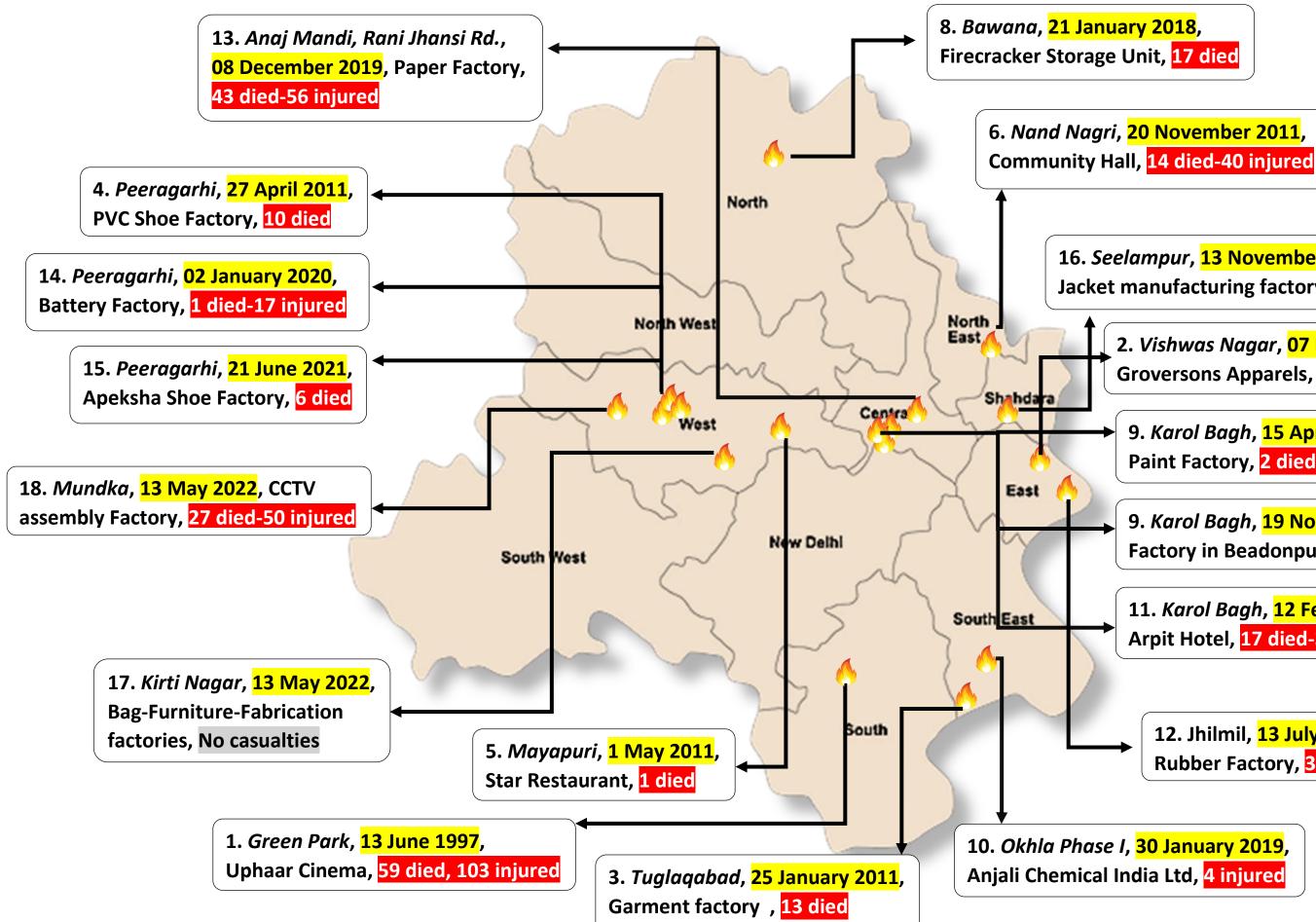
# EASE OF DOING VIOLATIONS

The Mundka Factory Fire and a Pattern of Criminal Negligence in Delhi's Industrial Areas

A Report by OLLECTIVE Delhi

# FIRE INCIDENTS IN FACTORIES OF DELHI





16. *Seelampur*, 13 November 2021, Safety Jacket manufacturing factory, 5 injured

> 2. Vishwas Nagar, 07 December 2005, Groversons Apparels, 12 died

9. Karol Bagh, 15 April 2017, Paint Factory, 2 died-2 injured

9. Karol Bagh, 19 November 2018, Factory in Beadonpura, 4 died

11. Karol Bagh, 12 February 2019, Arpit Hotel, 17 died-35 injured

12. Jhilmil, 13 July 2019, Rubber Factory, 3 died



Q 226

17 668

⊥

0 4,051

### The Sadness Narrative

The narrative of sadness and tragedy narrative obscures the criminal negligence on part of government officials in collision with the owners continuing illegal practices of unsafe working conditions for the sake of profit. The family members of a deceased person, who have died because of the inhuman working conditions and systemic negligence are often angry and are in desperation, not just saddened. It raises the doubt whether the thoughts of the political leaders are really with the families, or with the owners of the factories, who are temporarily in a mess!

#### **INTRODUCTION**

30 workers died in West Delhi's Mundka industrial area after a CCTV and router assembly plant caught fire in the afternoon of Friday, 13 May 2022. A majority of those who died were young migrants from Bihar, Punjab and Haryana, including 22 women, earning between ₹6,500 to ₹7,500 per month. The facts of the case are now well known.

A team from *COLLECTIVE* Delhi visited the site and Sanjay Gandhi Memorial Hospital where the deceased were taken on the morning of 14 May. We found that the property had not received necessary clearances from the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) for industrial use and tenant verification had not been undertaken by Delhi Police. Neither had working conditions been inspected by the Delhi Government's Labour department, nor had the requisite compliance approvals been granted by its Fire Services department. The corporateowned press repeatedly termed the incident as a 'tragic accident', with condolences messages tweeted by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal.

After having conducted several such fact-finding visits in the past, including another factory fire in Delhi's Anaj Mandi area which killed 43 workers and severely injured 67 in December 2019, a familiar pattern appeared soon after<sup>1</sup>. Compensation packages for the deceased were announced from the PM's National Relief Fund and the owner of the factory premises and the manufacturing company were arrested by Delhi Police under the IPC's sections 304A— 'causing death by negligence'—and 308— 'attempt to commit culpable homicide'.

The Mundka incident was big, otherwise these incidents draw marginal attention. On the same day of the Mundka incident, fire broke out in three bag factories at Kirti Nagar. The very next day, on 14 May, another major blaze was reported in Delhi's Narela industrial area.

This report argues that fire deaths and other occupational hazards are a 'tragic' but necessary cost for profit-making in the national capital's industrial hubs today. The maze of approvals required for operationalising such manufacturing units are seen as an impediment to India's growth story. Indeed, these 'costs of compliance' are sought to be reduced by recent changes in labour laws which promise greater 'ease of doing business' in India (see pg.4).

Workers' deaths and injuries make headlines only when they are of a shocking magnitude. Post-facto remedies, such as arrests and compensation packages, attempt to pacify public anger when such incidents are in the limelight. Rarely do such arrests result in powerful corporate owners being convicted (pg.12). The structural conditions which push these largely-unregulated industries into violating all safety norms remain unchanged. Many times, these small-scale plants are integrated into massive, transnational supply chains as 'outsourcing agencies' or 'vendor companies' serving major corporate monopolies (pg.6). This is seen as the only possible path to economic growth for 'developing' nations like India.

1. COLLECTIVE Delhi. 8 December 2019. 'It is normal for a hundred workers to burn in New India: Factfinding report on the Anaj Mandi factory fire'. <u>shorturl.at/kowJ9</u>.

#### **INTRODUCTION**

We are not alone. In 2012, a garment manufacturing unit in Dhaka, Bangladesh caught fire, killing 117 workers and injuring over 200. Tazreen Fashion was a major supplier for the US armed forces and retail chains like Walmart. Investigations revealed inhumane 'sweatshop' working conditions that had been flagged for years before the tragedy. Militant protests by garment workers forced the Bangladesh government to declare a day of mourning and institute new workers' safety laws. The factory owners were charged with 'death by negligence' 14 months after the incident, a first in the South Asian manufacturing hub's history. The trial drags on close to a decade later<sup>2</sup>. Meanwhile, another garment manufacturing plant collapsed in April 2013, killing over 1,100 workers<sup>3</sup>.

We do not write these words to shock anyone. Working people of the world have borne these miseries for far too long to be shocked by a few more deaths at the altar of profit. We merely call on you to take sides.

In 1911, New York City, USA, the Triangle Shirtwaist factory fire killed 146 garment workers, the majority of whom were immigrant women. It spurted a powerful working women's movement that fought for some of the workplace protections that the rich now take for granted. Yet, incidents like Mundka and others, outlined in the report that follows, remind us that we have a world to win for dignified lives and livelihoods of the toiling majority.

We leave you with the words of the socialist union leader Com. Rose Schneiderman, who said at a memorial for the Triangle Shirtwaist fire martyrs:

This is not the first-time girls have been burned alive in the city. Every week I must learn of the untimely death of one of my sister workers...

We have tried you citizens; we are trying you now, and you have a couple of dollars for the sorrowing mothers, brothers and sisters by way of a charity gift...

The strong hand of the law beats us back, when we rise, into the conditions that make life unbearable...

Too much blood has been spilled. I know from my experience it is up to the working people to save themselves. The only way they can save themselves is by a strong working-class movement.<sup>4</sup>

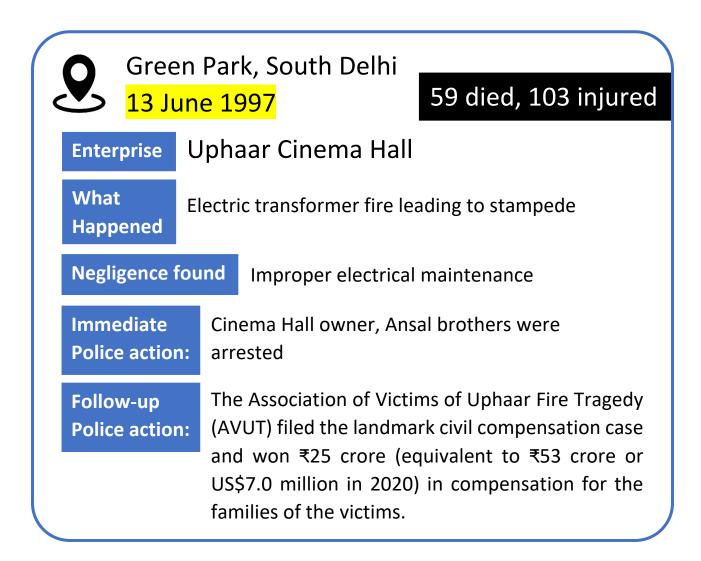
 The Daily Star. 16 May 2022. '9 years of Tazreen tragedy: Victims don't believe justice will ever be done'. <u>shorturl.at/civN0</u>
 Wall Street Journal. 20 November 2013. 'Safety Groups Agree on Standards for Bangladesh Garment Factories' <u>shorturl.at/fFI13</u>
 Rose Schneiderman. 2 April 1911. 'We Have Found You Wanting'. <u>shorturl.at/cwAV7</u>

# The word 'accident' obscures the very fact that the overwhelming majority of the industrial injuries are caused due to inadequate safety measures ensured by the owners to extract maximum profit.

# The word 'accident' obscures the fact that who gets 'lucky', today, has a class character.

Management is able to control, to some degree, the factors that produce 98% of all workplace accidents. Uncontrollable acts account for 2% of all workplace accidents. (Source: dgfasli.gov.in, 2019-20, Introduction to effective Incident/Accident analysis, pp-3)

The word 'accident in doing a lawful act' is defined in Section 80 of IPC as- "Accident in doing a lawful act. —Nothing is an offence which is done by accident or misfortune, and without any criminal intention or **knowledge** in the doing of a lawful act **in a lawful manner by lawful means** and **with proper care and caution**." (Bold ours). Any person having minimum knowledge of industrial conditions in India will not be able to fit the cases of industrial injuries into this legal definition of 'accident'.



#### **ACCIDENT OR HOMICIDE**

## In June 2017, Rajasthan government directed the Police department to not to register cases under 304 but under 304A in cases of industrial fatalities. The government defended the move in the name of promoting 'ease of doing business'<sup>5</sup>.

304 IPC (non-Bailable): Culpable homicide not amounting to murder. — "Whoever commits culpable homicide not amounting to murder shall be punished with - imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, or with fine, or with both, if the act is done with the knowledge that it is likely to cause death, but without any intention to cause death, or to cause such bodily injury as is likely to cause death."

304A IPC (Bailable): Causing death by negligence. — "Whoever causes the death of any person by doing any rash or negligent act not amounting to culpable homicide, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both."

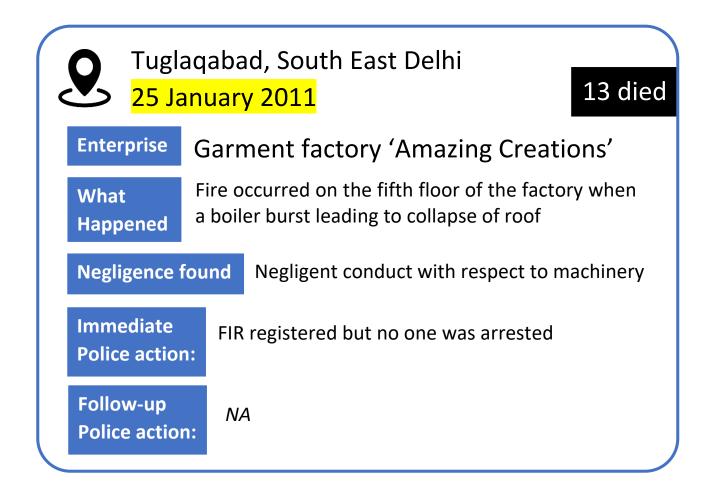
5. <u>https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/jaipur/rajasthan-directs-cops-not-to-invoke-section-304-in-industrial-accident-cases/articleshow/59374841.cms</u>



In India, the factory owners and corporations are usually not charged with severe clauses with the belief that it will harm the investment-friendly atmosphere. Different countries including the UK and Australia have laws to hold corporations and their officials accountable in cases of deaths/injuries caused by serious lapses in the safety management.

The Committee for Reforms in Criminal Laws set up by the Ministry of Home Affairs, has asked for responses through a questionnaire<sup>6</sup>, which includes the question- 'Should "Corporate Homicide" be penalised as an offence under the I.P.C.? If yes, what should be the elements and quantum of punishment for the offence?'

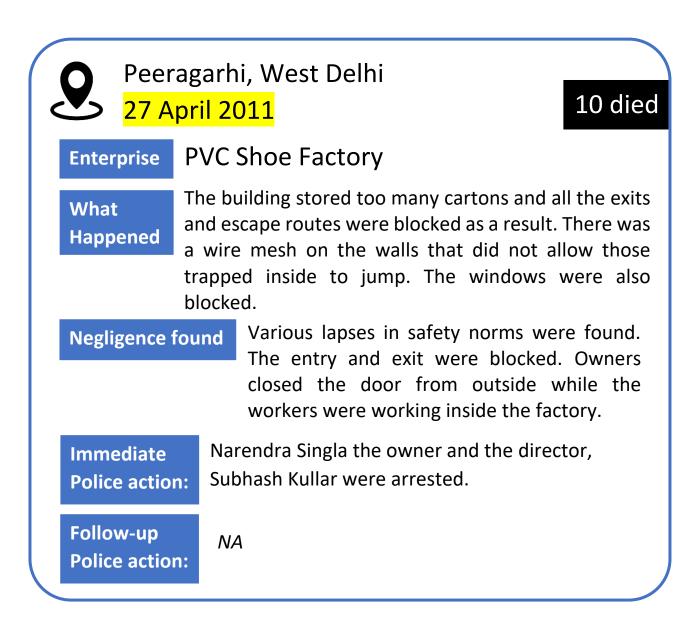
6. <u>https://criminallawreforms.in/questions-pdf/Questionnaires-for-Consultation-on-Substantive-Criminal-Law.pdf</u>



# Can profit-making motive ever ensure safe and dignified working conditions?

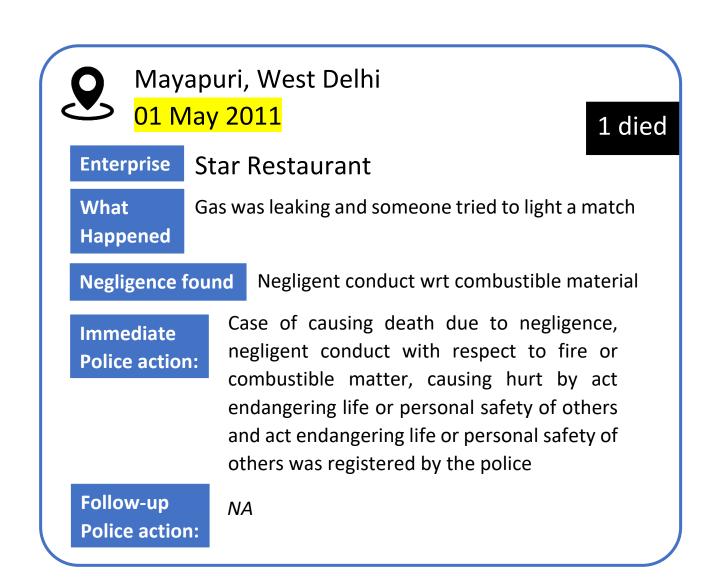
It is said that if the bribe paid to administrative officials to avoid inspections plus the average cost incurred on compensating workers in cases of injuries over a particular period remains significantly below the cost of installing safety measures in a factory, the factory owner will find it profitable to keep workers unsafe.

The bigger and established corporations generally subcontract the labour-intensive and hazardous activities outside their factory premises to other small companies who operate outside the purview of law. So, even when industrial safety becomes a public issue, the target is made on the smaller companies who remain in the lower-tier of the value chains.



# Various departments of the local civil and police administration remain hand-in-glove with the owners.

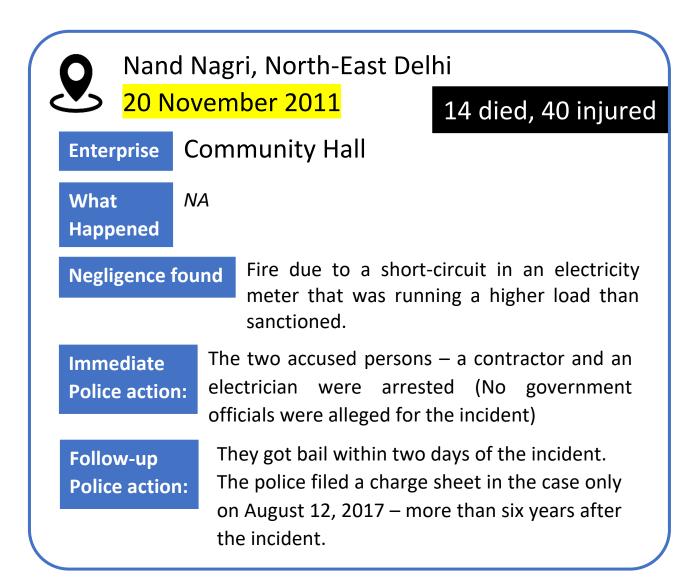
Political parties get funding from these owners and remain on their side.



# Industrial irregularities/injuries do not find space in mainstream media till the issue becomes sensational.

# The low-paid, precarious, economically and socially marginalised workforce of these factories do not have enough resources to voice their concerns.

14 pub-goers had died from asphyxiation in December 2017 when two South Mumbai rooftop bars caught fire. The posh Kamala Mills shopping district remained shut for days and Mumbai Police arrested the owners of the premises, the bars as well as two municipal corporation employees. Notably, they were charged under section 304 of the IPC—'culpable homicide not amounting to murder'.



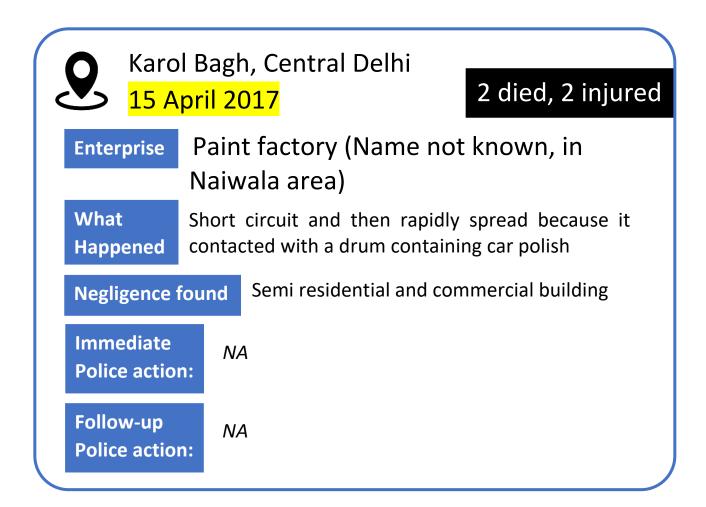
#### **ABSENCE OF MECHANISM OF REPORTING/INSPECTION**

The data on the number of fatal and non-fatal accidents in Delhi per year, collected by the office of Labour Commissioner, gov of NCT Delhi, shows a steady decline from 1988 to 2009. It was 1214 in 1988 and it dropped down to 40 in 2009.

This data cannot be interpreted in terms of reduction in the number of actual occurrences of industrial injuries, but an absolute fall in the government mechanism to collect data of industrial injuries<sup>7</sup>.

The data regarding the number of factories inspected during 2011-2016, shows a steady decline of inspection rate. (Data collected by DGFASLI through correspondence with Chief Inspector of Factories of States/ UTs, page-116) Source: DGFASLI (draft, undated), pp-116

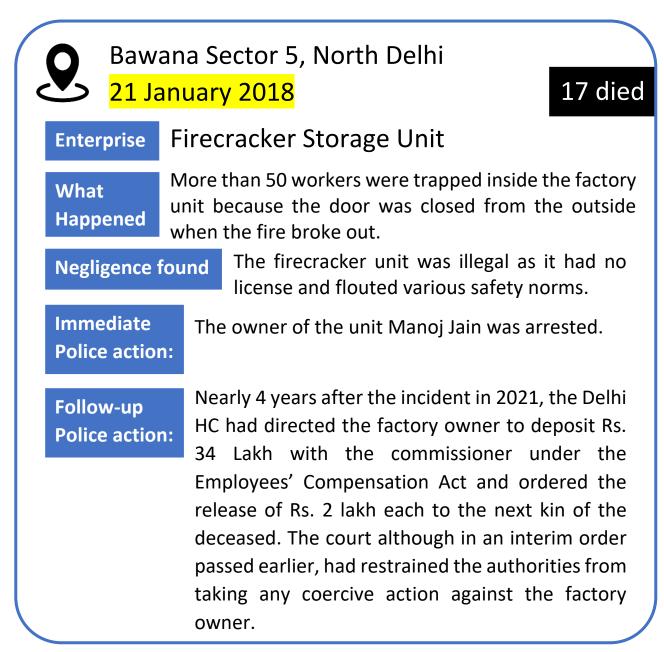
7. <u>https://labour.delhi.gov.in/content/industrial-accidents</u>



#### **ABSENCE OF MECHANISM OF STRONG DETERRENT**

Arresting the owners just after any 'big' incidents are not just the eyewash but also a way to save the owners from public outrage. Almost inevitably, the owners get bail after a few days/months when the media attention subsides. In almost no cases, the owners got a jail imprisonment, as the police dilute the cases over time.

The available data of 2011-16 shows that no imprisonment has been awarded in cases of industrial injuries/deaths (pg-12, of this report). Even in major cases of industrial injuries, the media attention subsides after the peak period and there is no reporting of what happened to these cases and usually all the accused get free with minor compensation.



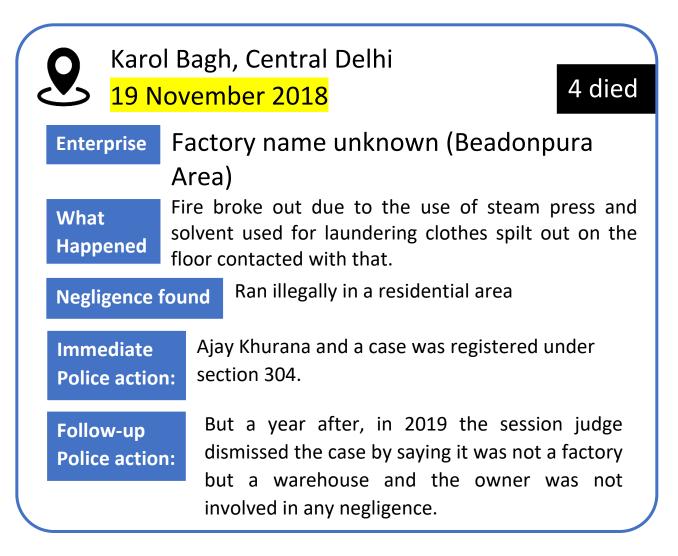
## Most of the factories are not registered, nor do they submit returns. Even for registered companies, the government does not even care to fulfil its formal responsibility of inspecting.

Even if a factory inspection happens, it usually ends up in an extralegal settlement between owners and officials.

The other relevant departments responsible for giving permission to building plans after checking safety requirements are hand-in-glove.

Economic Census of 2016<sup>8</sup> reveals that industrial units employing 10 or more workers account for only 1.66% of the total units in the non-agricultural sector. Thus, the Labour Code excludes the overwhelming majority of establishments from the coverage.

8.<u>https://msme.gov.in/sites/default/files/All%20India%20Report%20of%20Sixth%20Economic%20C</u> ensus.pdf

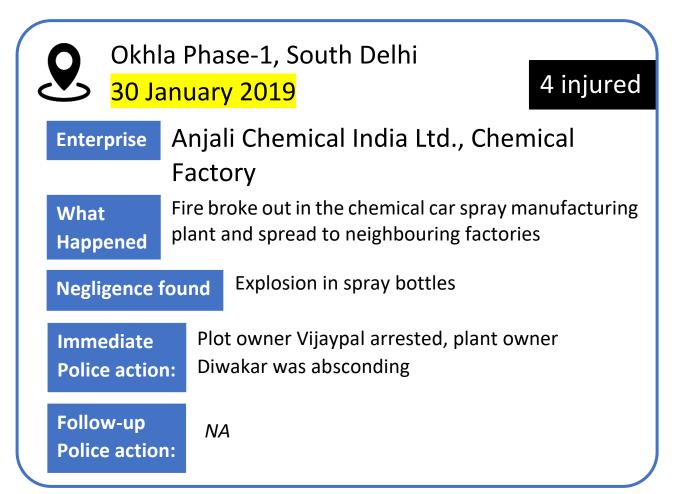


#### Prosecution & Convictions under Section 92 & Section 96A in the Factories Act 1948 during 2011-2016 in Delhi

Year	Pending from Previous year	Launched during the year	Decided during the year	Convictions	Imprison -ment (Person)	Total fine Imposed (Rs.)	Fine Imposed per Conviction (Rs.)
2011	394	398	107	107	0	13,77,000	12,869
2012	554	100	421	421	0	35,96,000	8,542
2013	233	22	166	166	0	1,58,900	957
2014	89	88	53	53	0	5,82,000	10,981
2015	124	63	27	27	0	3,22,000	11,926
2016	160	90	53	53	0	6,98,500	13,179
Total				827	0	67,34,400	8,143

Source: compiled from "National Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) Profile" (draft, undated in dgfasli.gov.in), pp-117-122.

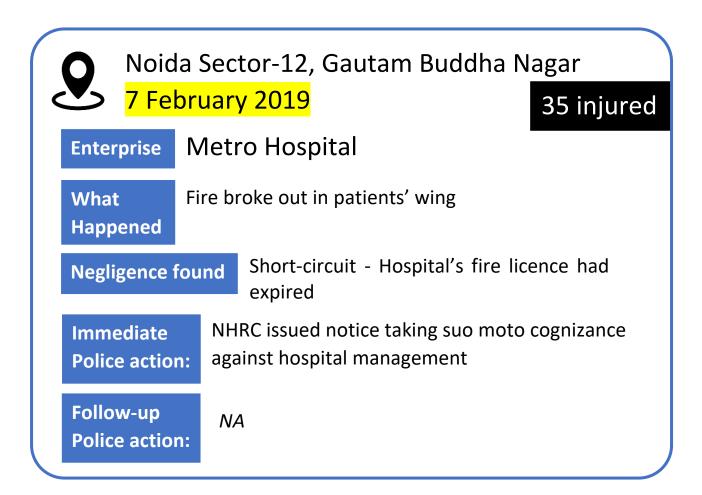
The data shows an abysmally low amount of penalty imposed on an average for the cases of industrial injuries. In no cases, imprisonment of the responsible persons has been awarded.



"The informal sector is at present not getting covered by any OSH legislation. For ratification of ILO convention 155, the informal sector will have to be covered under an enabling OSH legislation. Further, ratification of ILO convention 187 will be possible only after putting the national OSH programme."

National Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) Profile<sup>9</sup> (draft, undated in dgfasli.gov.in), Prepared by: Directorate General Factory Advice Service and Labour Institutes in collaboration with International Labour Organization (ILO). It also recommends a framework in agriculture and MSMEs.

9. <u>https://dgfasli.gov.in/sites/default/files/service\_file/Nat-OSH-India-Draft%281%29.pdf</u>

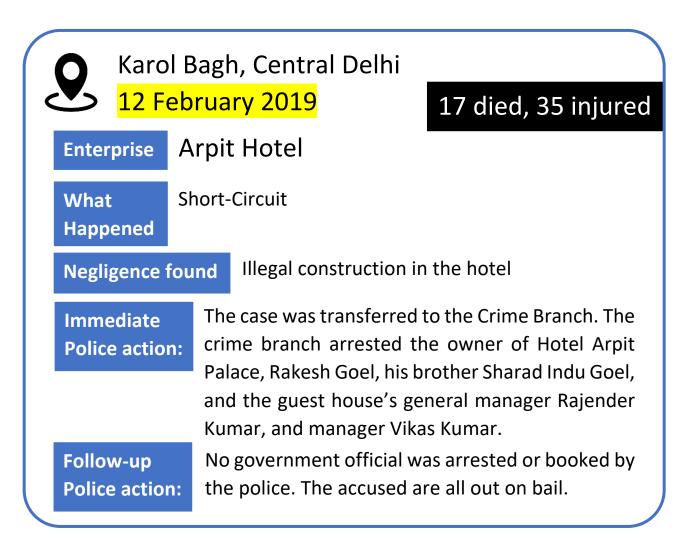


# "This study therefore raises an ontological question – are we waiting for an 'accident' to occur to address the issue of safety and health at workplace?"

This was the concluding sentence of the Report on 'Workplace Health and Safety: A Study of Select Small Scale Manufacturing Units in Delhi' by Rinju Rasaily<sup>10</sup> (2017) conducted by V.V. Giri National Labour Institute. It also recommended -

"Systematic data compilation on industrial health and addressing issues arising from it; improving enforcement system in consonance with changes in the industrial climate and understanding the nuances of workers' conditions at work is imperative."

#### 10. https://vvgnli.gov.in/sites/default/files/NLI\_Series\_No.\_128-2017-Rinju\_Rasaily.pdf



#### **RECOMMENDATIONS IGNORED**

"Workers participation in *Safety Committees* should be by elected representatives. These representatives should have a right to inspect all workplaces in their premises."

"The compensation laws should be framed in such manner that there should be least time gap between the claim and actual receipt of the compensation"

Quoted from 'Occupational Safety and Health in India: Legislations inadequate', Binoy Acharya<sup>11</sup> (undated), Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), New Delhi.

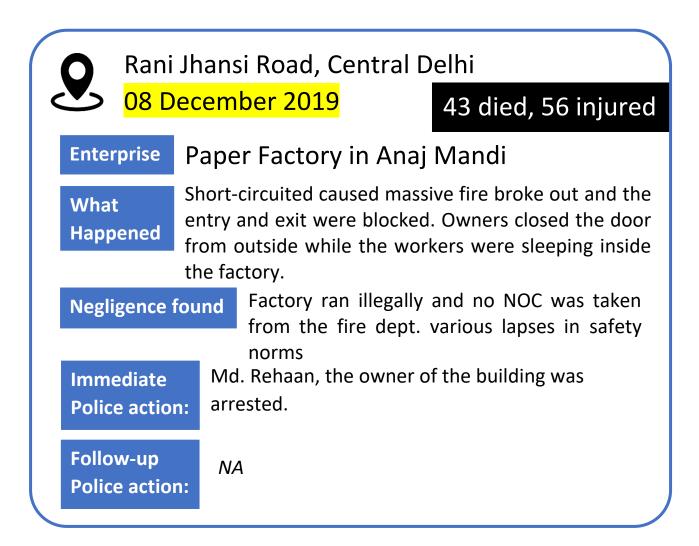
11. https://www.pria.org/knowledge\_resource/Occupational\_health\_And\_Safety\_In\_India\_-\_Legislations\_Inadequate\_1.pdf



Excerpts from recommendation in PUDR report, *Trapped to Death: Deaths from Fire at a Garment Factory in Viswas Nagar*, Feb 2012, People's Union for Democratic Rights, Delhi<sup>12</sup>.

- 1) "Legal proceedings against the management of Groversons for the violation of basic labour norms related to occupational health and safety;
- 2) Legal proceedings against officials of the Labour and Industry Department of the Delhi Government"

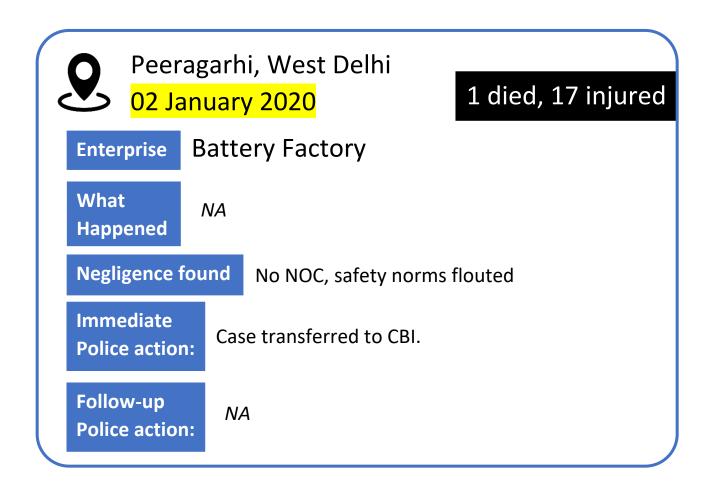
12. https://www.pudr.org/trapped-death-deaths-fire-garment-factory-vishwas-nagar



#### FURTHER DILUTION OF LAWS IN OSHWC

The Occupational Safety, Health and Working Conditions (OSHWC) Code throws away a large section of workers from the ambit of labour law, from even within the miniscule minority for which the earlier law was applicable.

The OSHWC code 2020 applies only to establishments that have more than 20 workers if they have an official power connection, and more than 40 workers if they don't have the power aid supply. This was 10 and 20 respectively, in earlier laws. For contract workers, the minimum threshold was 20 earlier, now it has been made 50.



# The new Labour Code exempt millions of from safety coverage,

#### working as-

- Domestic workers
- Home-based workers
- Self-employed workers
- Agricultural workers
- ASHA workers, Anganwadi workers and other scheme workers
- Workers in plantations that are less than
  5 hectares in size and with less than 10 workers
- Workers in the offices of the central govt and state govts (with the exception of provisions
- relating to contract labour)
- Workers involved in activities relatable to the sovereign functions of the government, gig workers and platform workers
- Apprentices under the Apprentices Act

- Supervisory personnel drawing wages of more than Rs. 18,000/- per month
- Workers in warships
- Armed Forces personnel
- Audio-visual workers whose remuneration exceeds the amount notified by the central govt
- Building and other construction workers engaged in construction work for own residential purposes of an individual or a group of individuals where the total cost of the work does not exceed Rs. 50 lakhs or a higher amount that may be notified by the govt
- New factories, or any class of new startups may be exempted from safety provisions in 'public interest' and emergencies

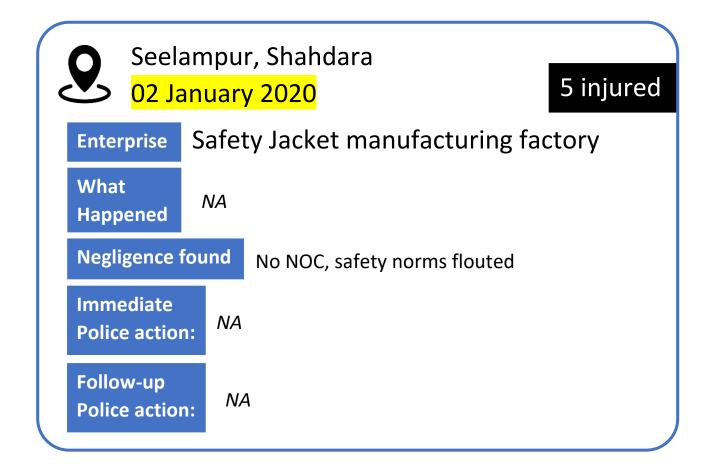
and many others.

Peeragarhi, West Delhi 21 June 2021							
Enterprise	Apeł	peksha International Shoe Factory					
What Happened		he workers worked overnight and were trapped on ne top floor.					
Negligence f	ound	The company flouted many fire safety norms as they had no emergency fire exit and no fire extinguisher. They also had illegal construction and the godown was overloaded which had blocked the staircase.					
		lice had arrested both the owners Pankaj rg and Surbhi Garg.					
Police action: Gai		bhi Garg got bail. NGT admitted that Pankaj rg was in cognizance and the deceased ould get compensation.					

#### FURTHER DILUTION OF LAWS IN OSHWC

In the name of 'flexible' working hours, the new code violates the international norm by allowing more than 8 hours work a day and hence, effectively making the non-payment of overtime legal.

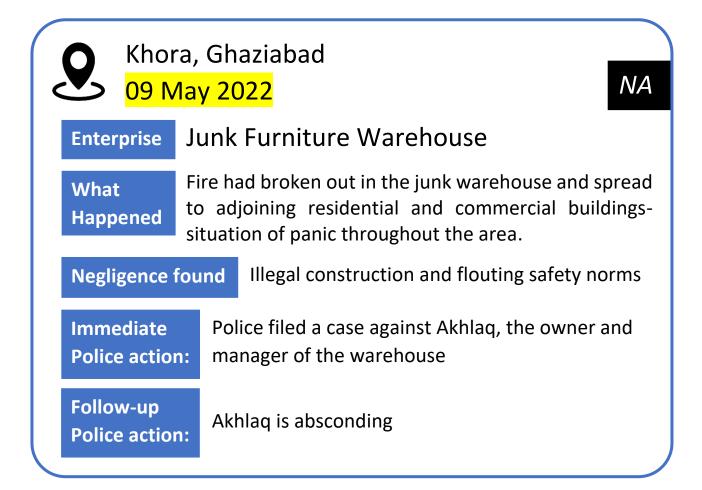
The code keeps the threshold for making a Safety Committee too high. It is 500 workers for factories; 250 for building and construction workers; 100 for the mine workers.



#### FURTHER DILUTION OF LAWS IN OSHWC

OSHWC code introduces worker liability for industrial accidents, with fine up to Rs.1 lakh and/or imprisonment. It also says, offences for which the employee will be found liable, employers cannot be made liable except for failure to take reasonable preventive measures. This effectively will put the burden of cases on the workers/staff and the employers will get away.

The OSHWC code allows for 'web-based inspection' and presumes that the 'use of technology will reduce the violations'. In reality, the excuse of using technology is a blatant attempt to dilute the entire system of inspections in order to protect and indulge the employers.



# Fact Sheet on Mundka Fire

- The fire is believed to be started by a short circuit in factory of Cofe Impex Pvt Ltd, a CCTV camera and router manufacturing and assembling company.
- The fire claimed 30 lives as per Government records, however, witnesses and families say the number is much higher.
- The injured were taken to Sanjay Gandhi Memorial Hospital.
- As per locals, most of the workers were women. Out of 30 people died, 22 were women.
- The building had single entry-exit point and only one staircase.
- The building did not have clearance from the fire department and was not equipped with fire extinguishers.
- The fire service took over an hour and a half to arrive at the scene
- Goel brothers, owners of the factory were arrested. An FIR was registered against them under sections 304 (punishment for culpable homicide not amounting to murder), 308 (attempt to commit culpable homicide), 120 (concealing design to commit offence punishable with imprisonment) and 34 (common intention) of the Indian Penal Code.
- The owner of the building, Manish Lakra was arrested while a case under IPC sections pertaining to causing death by negligence was lodged.
- Police reported that building owner had applied for factory licence in 2016.
- PM Narendra Modi announced Rs 2 lakh compensation each from PMNRF for the next of kin of those who lost their lives and Rs 50,000 for those who were injured.
- Delhi chief minister Arvind Kejriwal announced a compensation of Rs 10 lakh for the families of the deceased and Rs 50,000 for those who were injured.



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