

The Human Right To Livelihood And Its Relevance During A Global Pandemic

¹Deepanjan Sen Gupta

¹PhD Research Scholar

¹Department of Political Science,

¹University of Delhi, New Delhi, India

Abstract: The paper interrogates the moral, legal, and political foundations of socio-economic rights, particularly the right to work and livelihood, within the global human rights discourse and the Indian constitutional framework. It traces the evolution of human rights from early modern conceptions of liberty to the post-World War II normative order codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966). The study argues that the human right to livelihood is indispensable to the realization of human dignity, political participation, and substantive freedom. Drawing on philosophical positions from Henry Shue and Amartya Sen, it critiques the marginalization of socio-economic rights as secondary to civil and political rights. Using the COVID-19 pandemic as a contemporary lens, the paper examines India's legal and institutional mechanisms, particularly constitutional jurisprudence under Article 21 and Directive Principles. It assesses the State's failures in protecting citizens' right to livelihood. Empirical insights from field interviews illustrate the disproportionate socio-economic vulnerabilities across caste and class. The paper concludes that prioritizing human dignity over market or state imperatives is essential to realizing a just and humane global order.

Index Terms - Human Rights, Livelihood, Right to Work, Dignity, COVID-19 Pandemic, Global Justice, Economic Inequality

Introduction

The conception of Rights traces its origins to the very first hierarchically organized cohabitation among humans. Since then, men and women have lived in a relation of domination and subordination within the bounds of society, and in every age, the oppressed have raised a banner of resistance against the established structure. With the advent of modernity, Human Rights became the expression of this discontent, which went beyond mere exhortations of the past to precise legal and constitutional guarantees of liberties and opportunities (MacIver, 1951). In particular, the discourse around international law, which had been obsessed with the Westphalian State's absolute sovereignty over its citizens, was altered in favor of the individual. The compartments of domestic and international became diluted, and people, by virtue of being human beings, were accorded rights against the arbitrary exercise of power.

In the aftermath of the Second World War and the tragedy of the Holocaust, humanity came together to reassert the value of life and liberty beyond the dictates of the State. The Nuremberg Trials became a watershed moment in the development of international law as the actions of the absolutist state that threatened the peaceful cohabitation of mankind were questioned and punished, keeping in mind the inherent value of human life (Tomuschat, 2006). The framing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (hereon referred to as UDHR) in 1948 became the first concrete step taken at the global stage towards a discourse in the public morality of world politics that made the individual, divorced from her national, ethnic, linguistic, and spatial specificity, the singular iota of global concern (Bietz, 2011). What followed was an acute proliferation of the endless normativity of Human Rights standards which, in turn, ushered in an 'Age of Rights' (Baxi, 1994). In time, a general agreement was formed regarding the morality of Human Rights, which began to be construed as an impetus to radical change. The procedural implications of such considerations and the burden that it disproportionately placed on the State slowly became a bone of contention (Beitz, 2011).

The debate around Human Rights has continuously evolved and broadened to encapsulate the myriad aspects of human existence. It is generally understood to have progressed from giving recognition to civil and political rights against the State, such as the freedom of thought and expression, association, etc, followed by recognising the positive role of the welfare state, through welfare programmes and social legislation, such as the right to work and education, in ensuring socio-economic upliftment of the downtrodden. The most recent developments in the Human Rights discourse have been towards recognising the rights of minorities and the State's responsibility towards maintaining their cultural identity. (Tomuschat, 2014). The scope of the present work must be restricted to a brief description of the socio-economic rights envisaged under the Human Rights doctrine, focusing on the right to work, livelihood, and social security. A review and critical assessment of contemporary literature on the topic will be attempted, followed by situating these rights in the present pandemic situation. The effort made through this analysis is to theoretically and normatively ground the Social rights with a closer analysis of the human rights doctrine in India and its violations during the pandemic.

International Legality of Economic Rights

The UDHR, under Article 23.1, envisions that all human entities should possess the liberty to work under a chosen form of employment, under favourable working conditions, and be protected from the sudden loss of such employment. Additionally, the third sub-clause makes provisions for fair and equitable remuneration, which is to be supplemented by other forms of social protection. Article 4 of the same document prohibits slavery and servitude, which can be extended to encompass the modern-day industrial environment of countries that have a poor record of labour protection, such as the infamous Chinese sweatshops. Article 22 accords recognition to a right to social security ensured through a national and international collaborative effort. And finally, Article 25.1 formulates a right to an adequate standard of livelihood which would allow access to the basic necessities of a dignified life and security against the unforeseen or unavoidable events of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age, or other lack of livelihood (UNGA, 1949). In essence, the economic basis of amour propre as imagined in the Declaration means continuous access to adequate means of livelihood, which must be protected even through the most chaotic scenarios of human existence. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (hereon referred to as ICESCR) further expands the ambit of economic rights under the umbrella of Human rights. Article 6 of the covenant states that parties to the covenant recognize 'the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain her living by work which she freely chooses and accepts'(UNGA, 1966).

The signatories to these covenants essentially recognise that there should be adequate opportunities for people to work, a free choice of whether to work or not, and where to work, and that a certain degree of security of such employment must be assured (Gilbert, 2016). Adequate opportunities encompass ensuring the hiring process is non-discriminatory and there are adequate avenues to further one's capabilities and skills to ensure employability. It also imposes a collective social responsibility to help secure job opportunities for all in an effort to reach full employment. A free choice to work envisages that no one should be forced to work, either below a dignified standard and remuneration or forced via contractual obligation. The security aspect protects against arbitrary and malafide dismissal (ibid). These considerations, then, become central to any attempt at codifying labour laws and ensuring dignified work from a Human Rights perspective.

To delve deeper into the normative backdrop of the International consensus around these rights, one must understand the very essence of work and its indispensability to the human condition. It is through remunerative work that one becomes able to acquire the basic necessities for a minimally good life. Work gives the individual an opportunity to harness her productive capacities. It is also an agency that allows individuals to socialize and collaborate in cooperative activities. Work affords a sense of self-esteem, validation, and allows the individual to feel a perception of belonging(Elster, 1998). It is through work that the individual situates herself in society and the progressively globalizing world. The Human Right to Livelihood (Shankaran, 2012) and associated universal morality should be a major influence on local norms, subject to the processes of democratic legislation (Benhabib, 2013).

The Human Right to Livelihood

Human Rights have been a subject of scholarly inspection since before the conception of a universally acceptable Bill of Rights. The post-war scenario and the efforts of the world leaders like Franklin D Roosevelt gave impetus to the acceptability of universal human rights to the extent that they became a particularly important class of moral consideration. They began to be construed as a set of minimum standards required of political institutions to find recognition on the international podium (Scanlon, 1979). It is believed that this recognition extends beyond the countries whose legal system outwardly pays heed to these rights, but to virtually all countries (ibid). However, basing the claim of universality upon the mutually imposed threat of non-recognition goes back to the Westphalian understanding of the state. No longer are the mechanisms of state action in need of constant international recognition to function, and their actions are solely directed by the needs of the state, with very limited attention given to global ethics. The recent Burmese aggression against its minority groups, the Chinese project of cultural homogenization, and India's falling ranks on the Hunger Index are just a few examples of how human rights considerations do not have much impact on state policy. State repression and dwindling social security net continue unabated.

Another dimension is the relative urgency of civil and political rights as compared to socio-economic rights. The supposed indivisibility of the human rights framework fails when we consider the hard facts. Article 2.1 of the Social Covenant sets out what each of the parties commits itself to do concerning the enforcement of these rights, namely to "take steps, individually and through international assistance and co-operation...to the maximum of its available resources, to achieve progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Covenant." In contrast, the Civil and Political Covenant commits its signatories to immediate compliance, to "respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory the rights recognized in the present Covenant". This is because of the simple fact that political rights, such as freedom of thought and expression, are assumed to be less burdensome on public resources than economic rights, such as universal access to education or full employment. However, this understanding severely underestimates the resource drain that a functioning democratic system and its law enforcement entail, which, in turn, are prerequisites to the enforcement of these political rights.

Progressive realization and the related institutional lethargy in enforcing economic rights have been further aggravated by the intellectual response to these rights. The likes of Henry Shue have developed a philosophical approach in defence of economic rights as being linked to the complete realization of political rights. The argument is that universal access to food, education, healthcare, and a constant source of income are crucial to full political participation (Shue, 1996). Although a philosophically cogent assertion, the relegation of economic rights to the status of a means to an end rather than an end in itself significantly dilutes its capacity of moral suasion and influence over state policy. This is made apparent in the Indian case as most economic rights provided in the Constitution, other than the general restriction upon the State from hindering free access to a chosen profession, are non-justiciable. Resultantly, the Human Development Index placed India at the rank of 131 out of the 189 countries assessed, and the Global Hunger Index placed it at 94th among 107 countries, even after seventy-three years of its independence and significant growth in its productive capacity and revenue collection.

A similar distinction has been made by Amartya Sen between the 'constitutive role' and the 'instrumental role' of freedom in the development process (Sen, 2001). The former refers to the inherent importance of substantive freedoms such as being able to avoid deprivations like starvation and undernourishment, along with freedoms that are associated with being literate, enjoying political participation, and uncensored speech etc. The latter relates to freedoms as interrelated and their advancement is judged from the measure of advancement of development as a whole (ibid). The latter interpretation restricts the imagery of a developed society and prioritizes some freedoms over others. The former perspective is much more ethically sound as it perceives rights from a deontological lens, but the real question should not be what freedoms are more important, but what the inherent importance of human life requires. To separate the conscious human being from the animal, we must not allow the law of the jungle to dictate the laws of society. A civilized society that is hierarchically organized is farcical if it claims a moral high ground over animal existence. Human life must be worthy of

living, and no one should be deprived of this essential condition. Political rights ensure freedom to govern and be governed, but economic rights ensure a dignified life. It is only on full bellies and competent minds that man is free to speak and participate in the political constructs that he created to ensure this very end.

David Beetham stipulates that since ensuring full realization of economic freedoms require a redistribution of resources and power, both within and between States, there exists a general status quoist outlook (Beetham, 1995). The centrality of the democratic state must be recognized in perpetuating disparities. Socialist authors such as Nicos Poulantzas and Ralph Miliband have found the State apparatus guilty of being solely sensitive to the interests of Capital and, in this regard, would not do any more than pay lip service to the demands of human rights. They might have downplayed the role of international stimulus in influencing the actions of the State and state authorities but the profit-oriented setup of an increasingly globalized international arena would not cajole States into taking steps detrimental to the interests of the market economy or the bourgeois. This can be sufficiently evidenced by the international consensus around rejecting redistributive strategies like the Tobin Tax and Global Resources Dividend (Pogge, 2001).

Joshua Cohen propounds a theory of human rights minimalism that emphasizes the value of toleration and ethical pluralism to derive a universally acceptable and decidedly 'thin' notion of what is the meaning of rights. This attempt at redefining human rights to garner universal assent does not preclude ambitious human rights projects, as these would not be objectionably intolerant. This, he calls, Justificatory Minimalism, which means that human rights must be presented autonomously, independent of particular philosophical or religious theories that might be used to explain and justify its content. He theorizes that this can be achieved by reducing the philosophical content of human rights to the needs of the membership in the global political community. Human rights are seen as basic preconditions to ensure membership in the political community. This diminishes the ethical depth of human rights and continues to fixate on Man as a political animal. It should not be out of contractual obligations that we should effort at creating conditions of a dignified life. Human beings might be situated individuals but the essence of human life transcends political and cultural constructs. Dignified life must become the focus of our considerations and universality must be based on the one commonality in this world of divergent cultures and religions, the human being.

Are Indians Free to Work?

India was among the forty-eight members of the United Nations who voted in favour of the UDHR in 1948. It also became a signatory of the ICESCR in 1979. In lieu of its commitment to assure the rights of man to its citizenry, the Indian State has worked towards structuring a rights doctrine that generously took from these international covenants and the core ethic that they espouse. The process ensued even before her independence from foreign yoke. The 1931 Karachi session of the Congress was a significant juncture in this process as it passed a resolution on Fundamental Rights which guaranteed basic civil rights along with socio-economic rights in the form of free and compulsory education, reduction in rent and revenue, relief from agricultural indebtedness, regulation of usury; better working conditions including a living wage, restricted working hours, protection to women workers; and a right to organize and form unions (Chandra, Mukherjee, Mukherjee, Panikkar and Mahajan, 2016). At the cusp of independence, the founding fathers of the nation continued in their adherence to the ethical standards that developed during the freedom struggle, nationally and globally. The historic Objectives Resolution that was moved in the Constituent Assembly by Pandit Nehru beautifully captured the essence of the Human Rights doctrine through its assurances of 'Justice, social, economic and political; Equality of status, of opportunity and before the law; Freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action' along with adequate safeguards to the minorities (Kashyap, 1994). The Resolution provided guiding principles to the making and future application of the Constitution and was later immortalized as its Preamble (ibid).

The Fundamental Rights chapter of the Constitution provides for justiciable provisions that include negative rights, prohibiting the State from denying equal and unprejudiced access to public employment under Article 16. Provisions were also added to allow the State to positively discriminate in favour of the backward classes of citizens. Article 19(g) enforced the right of all citizens to practice any profession or avocation, trade or

business, subject to public interest and proper qualifications (Bakshi, 1996). The most important of all the rights given under the chapter is the Right to Life and personal liberty guaranteed under Article 21 as it deals with the most precious Human Right and forms the arc of all the other rights (Hansaria, 1993). The Indian Judiciary has laboured to expand the scope of Article 21 beyond its simplistic interpretation as a limitation upon the State, as noted in the *Kharak Singh v State of UP* case (Jani, 2013). While dwelling on the question of whether the definition of ‘life’ under Article 21 extends to a right to adequate means of livelihood in the *Olga Tellis* case, the Supreme Court reiterated that “The sweep of the right to life conferred by Art. 21 is wide and far-reaching. It does not mean merely that life cannot be extinguished or taken away as, for example, by the imposition and execution of the death sentence, except according to procedure established by law. That is but one aspect of the right to life. An equally important facet of that right is the right to livelihood because, no person can live without the means of living, that is, the means of livelihood. If the right to livelihood is not treated as a part of the constitutional right to life, the easiest way of depriving a person of his right to life would be to deprive him of his means of livelihood to the point of abrogation. Such deprivation would not only denude the life of its effective content and meaningfulness, but it would make life impossible to live” (AIR 1986 SC 180 para 32-33).

The right to adequate means of livelihood saw a further proliferation when the Court gave its judgement in the *Delhi Transport Corporation v. Mazdoor Congress and Others* case, saying, “The right to life includes the right to livelihood. The right to livelihood, therefore, cannot hang on to the fancies of individuals in authority. The employment is not a bounty from them, nor can its survival be at their mercy. Income is the foundation of many fundamental rights, and when work is the sole source of income, the right to work becomes as much fundamental” (AIR 1991 SC 101 para 223).

Further, part four of the Constitution, which deals with Directive Principles of State Policy, enjoins upon the State the duty to make effective provisions for securing the right to work and right to public assistance in cases of unemployment. Peculiarly, the word ‘right’ is used only in one instance throughout the part, under Article 41, which commands the State to direct its policy towards ensuring the right to work, access to education, and public assistance (Bakshi, 1996). The text of this Article is analogous to Article 15 of Dr Lautherpacht’s Draft of the International Bill of Rights of Man and is inherently derived from the need to protect people from undeserved want or unemployment (Devi, Maswood, and Reddy, 2002). When read with Article 43, it provides for minimum wage, a living wage, a decent standard of living and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities (ibid). These provisions and interpretations become especially relevant in difficult circumstances such as the present pandemic, and questions must be raised as to whether the State has fulfilled its constitutional mandate.

An Investigation into the Plight of the Average Indian

The Covid-19 infection reached India on the 27th of January, 2020, when a 20-year-old female reported symptoms of dry cough and sore throat in Kerala (Andrews, Areekal, Rajesh, Krishnan, Suryakala, Krishnan, Muraly, and Santhosh, 2020). On March 22, 2020, the Prime Minister called for a People’s Curfew (“Janata Curfew”), urging people to stay indoors for a day. This acted as a prelude to the key action of the Government of India to slow down the spread of the novel coronavirus that came on March 24, 2020, when the Prime Minister declared a nationwide lockdown for 21 days, until April 14, 2020. India’s lockdown was dissimilar to those in other countries because it was announced with only four hours’ notice, giving people little time to prepare for what would come to be known as among the most stringently implemented worldwide, according to the Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker (Narayan and Saha, 2020).

The impact of the lockdown on the Indian economy was akin to the domino effect. The first victim was the production of goods and services, which resulted in zero capacity utilization in non-essential sectors like automobiles. Essential sectors like agriculture, FMCG, and pharmaceuticals faced severe supply bottlenecks. Consequently, employment fell drastically, as can be evidenced by the increased demand for work under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme. (Kumar, 2020). Production came to a standstill, which brought down fresh investment, and as household income declined, the economy experienced

deflation. Savings began to dry up due to salary cuts and massive unemployment. According to the data revealed by the Ministry of Corporate Affairs, over 2300 companies were shut down in and around the Capital, and small businesses suffered the most due to subdued demand. Public sector investment fell as well due to the redirecting of resources into managing the pandemic. The Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy noted that the unemployment rate peaked at 23.5 per cent in April 2020 and remained at 21.7 per cent in May 2020 (Nanda, 2020).

A series of informal surveys was conducted by the author to gauge the on-ground impact of the nationwide lockdown on the average citizen’s access to livelihood. A group of ten respondents was selected from Gurugram in Haryana, a relatively developed district with a fluid supply chain, access to institutionalized credit, and high demand for goods and services. Gurugram is also a preferred spot for many BPOs, banks, and tech giants. The ten participants represent different sectors of the economy along with different cross-sections of society, with varying levels of education.

Five of the participants own retail stores in Gurugram, all of which are based out of rented properties and sell essential commodities and thus were not forced to stay shut during the lockdown. When asked about their average sale through the year 2020, they all accepted a significant dip around March and April, immediately after the declaration. The ballpark figures of their average daily sales are represented in the following graph.

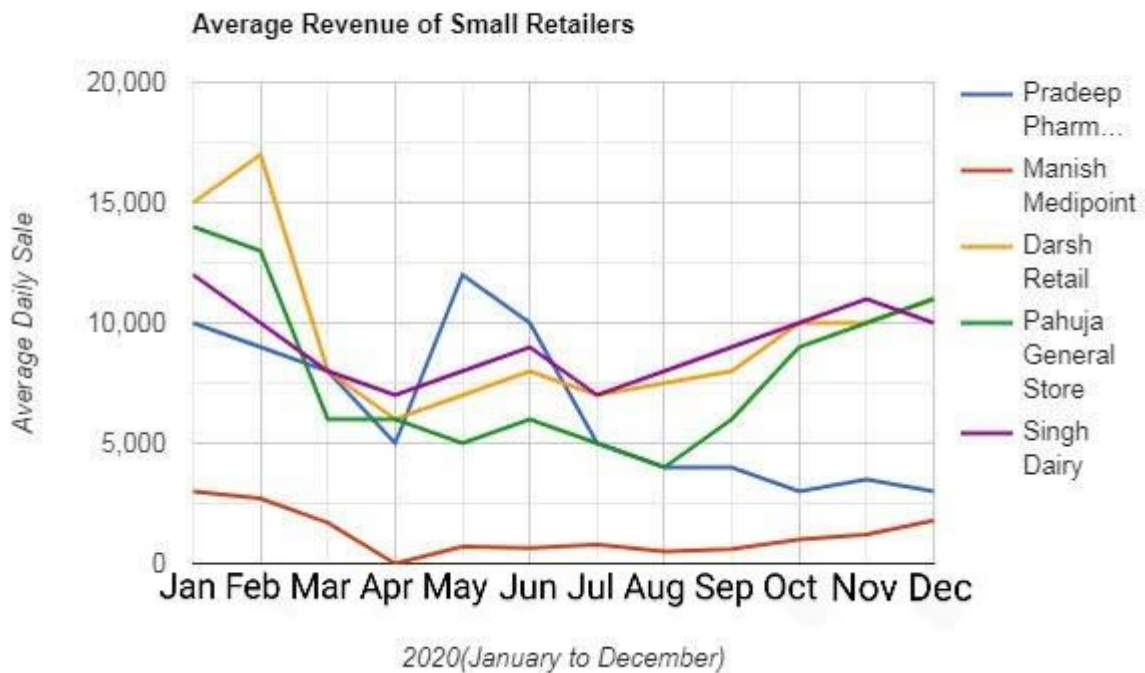


Figure 1: Average Revenue of Small Retailers (2020)

Rohit Bagri, the proprietor of Pradeep Pharmacy, accepted that he made some opportunistic sales in unregulated masks and sanitisers during the initial days of the lockdown, which is represented by the abnormal spike in the graph during the months of May-June. Once the government classified these products as essential and began regulating their prices, profits began plummeting. This was further hastened when the production of these products could not meet the demand. Darsh Retail’s owner, Nipendra Singh, claimed that they were pushed to the extent of almost pulling down the shutter on their business as their landlady refused to reduce their rent during the lockdown. Rohit was luckier in this regard as his landlord agreed to a reduced rent for five months starting from April. Although, since he belongs to a poor family and the revenue from this shop is the sole source of livelihood that feeds a family of five, the reduced rent did not go far in aiding his condition. He admits that he has been paying back a loan that he took in March from a local moneylender at an inflated rate of interest to keep his business afloat.

Manish Semwal, the proprietor of Manish Medipoint, said that he chose to close down his shop for a month to prevent any chances of an infection. It was an added consideration that his shop is located in an area whose demography is dominated by daily wage workers, who, according to him, were at a high risk of getting infected. The social aspect of this choice must also be considered as he belongs to an upper-caste Brahmin family, which has enough social and material capital that allow him to pay rent without opening his shop for a month and continue his business through a stretched period of subdued demand. Sahil Pahuja, the owner of Pahuja General Store, made a similar choice of life over livelihood. His choice was even easier as not only does he come from a well-off family, but he is also the owner of his shop and hence did not face the added burden of rent. It is significant to note here that Rohit Bagri belongs to the Dalit community and hasn't completed his schooling. Harpreet Singh of Singh Dairy is also the owner of his shop but he chose to struggle through the pandemic by staying open and even delivering essentials to people's doorsteps. He had started his business only a year back by selling a significant amount of immovable property and could not afford to close his establishment.

The above analysis makes it apparent that there persists a caste-based disproportion in material ownership and access to resources, which further aggravates the hurdles to universal access to means of sustenance. The upper caste retailers are also significantly, at least diploma holders, which signals a bias against the Depressed Classes concerning access to education. On further questioning, Rohit Bgri opened up about his childhood and how he used to skip school to work at a medicine shop, where he learnt some basics that later allowed him to open his own shop. While talking about the legality of his business, he accepted that he paid a person for his Diploma in Pharmacy, which is required to become a licensed pharmacist. This raises the curious question of whether inaccessibility to education of this one person can cause violations of the right to medical care for all those who visit his shop without a proper prescription and to whom he sells medicines without prerequisite knowledge. This multiplier effect of non-enforcement of basic human rights put the urgency of their realization into perspective. Generationally inherited discrimination in access to resources must be halted and the State must play the key role in the process.

The other five respondents represent the formal economy. Kandarp Gupta, a postgraduate in computer engineering, held down a steady job at Samsung. Originally, he was working in Samsung's R&D division in Bangalore, but when the lockdown ensued, he returned to Gurugram as he was allowed to work from home. He said he did not suffer much economically, even though he faced an imminent danger of a salary cut, which never materialized. He supposed that it was because global demand for cloud storage and memory, Samsung's primary source of revenue, went up due to the wholesale shift to online mediums of communication and the terabytes of data it generated. Sumit Sharma, a graduate from Delhi University, works as a sales executive at Policy Bazaar. After a few initial hurdles, his company was able to facilitate work from home, and his job resumed. His primary job is to sell health insurance policies to interested customers, and he claimed that due to the coronavirus threat, his sales targets became much easier to achieve. These were scenarios where an external stimulus to the market resulted in someone's monetary benefit. The opposite happened with another respondent named Sajal Kumar, who worked at Paisa Bazaar, a constituent entity of Policy Bazaar. Two months into the lockdown, he was unceremoniously fired from his job on the flimsy grounds that the company was not getting many customers looking for investments and had to let go of some employees. This is exemplary of the blatant disregard of Corporate entities towards labour laws and raises questions about their enforcement. Shakti Chauhan, who worked at an automobile production plant, said that he had to quit his job as he was forced to sit at home without pay and had no other choice but to look for another avenue of sustenance. The plant has since become operational, but due to the lack of any support from the Government, the brunt of the pandemic was faced solely by the employees. Keetri Singh, a former Civil Services aspirant who decided to quit her preparation after four years and look for a job, was forced to sit at home without an opportunity to work. She said that she fell prey to depression after she failed to qualify for the exam and needed to find a place to go to every day and escape familial pressures to get married. Her attempts were thwarted due to the limited job opportunities in the pandemic, the result of which, she said, was that she had to consult a psychiatrist. This highlights the linkage between work and individual self-esteem and how one situates herself in her society

through participating in remunerative work and how the denial of such participation may be catastrophic to her mental peace and the core idea of a dignified life.

Conclusion

The Human Rights framework may not be universally applicable or concessions based on cultural disparities may be needed, but the inherent ethic of the doctrine must be adhered to. Human life should not be subordinated to cultural relativism or the level of development. The Social rights encapsulated in the international covenants must be given their due regard for the sole reason that they play an essential role in ensuring a dignified life. The problem arises when States become predisposed to protecting the system rather than the individual. This was made clear by the Indian Government's systemic policy paralysis that was brought to the fore during the pandemic. All efforts, ranging from moratoriums to corporate debtors, diluting labour protections, and making limited efforts to provide the citizens with an adequate social security net, were directed towards the preservation of the system. It was during this interregnum that Indian Billionaires increased their wealth by 35% while the downtrodden were subjected to a series of avoidable hardships, and the State is a common culprit to both the atrocities. Governments have always pitted the interests of the people against unhindered capital accumulation. Policy suggestions like Direct Benefit Transfers and Universal Basic Income appear as glorious solutions to the systematic deprivation of the human right to life and livelihood, but the issue is in the institutional denial of considering the human rights ethic as the principal motivator of policy formulation. The individual has been subordinated to the social constructs of economy and polity and has become insignificant in front of the towering structures of wealth and power. Till this ethic of prioritizing human life over all other considerations is infused in the modern political systems, universal access to social rights can never be realized.

References

- [1] Andrews, M., Areekal, B., Rajesh, K., Krishnan, J., Suryakala, R., Krishnan, B., Muraly, C., & Santhosh, P. (2020). First confirmed case of COVID-19 infection in India: A case report. *Indian Journal of Medical Research*, 0(0), 0. https://doi.org/10.4103/ijmr.ijmr_2131_20
- [2] Bakshi, P. M. (2025). *The Constitution of India*. Universal LexisNexis.
- [3] Baxi, U. (1994). Human Rights Education: The Promise of the Third Millennium?.
- [4] Beetham, D. (1995). What future for economic and social rights? *Political Studies*, 43(1), 41–60. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1995.tb01735.x>
- [5] Beitz, C. R. (2009). *The idea of human rights*. Oxford University Press.
- [6] Benhabib, S. (2013). *Dignity in adversity : Human rights in troubled times*. John Wiley & Sons.
- [7] Chandra, B., Mukherjee, M., Mukherjee, A., Mahajan, S., & Panikkar, K. N. (2003). *India's struggle for independence, 1857-1947*. Penguin.
- [8] Chandra, J. (2021, January 25). Indian billionaires increased their wealth by 35% during the lockdown, says Oxfam report. *The Hindu*. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/oxfam-study-shows-rich-got-richer-during-pandemic/article33655044.ece>
- [9] Elster, J. (2001). Is There (or Should There Be) a Right to Work? In K. P. Schaff (Ed.), *Philosophy and the Problems of Work: A Reader*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- [10] Gilibert, P. (2015). Labor human rights and human dignity. *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 42(2), 171–199. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0191453715603092>
- [11] Hansaria, B. L. (1993). *Right to life and liberty under the Constitution*. N.M. Tripathi.
- [12] Hemalatha, D. V., Maswood, S., & Yuvakumar, R. B. (2002). RIGHT TO WORK AS FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT: ILLUSION OR REALITY? *Journal of the Indian Law Institute*, 44(2), 269–272. JSTOR. <https://doi.org/10.2307/43951812>
- [13] Jani, N. (2013). Article 21 of Constitution of India and right to livelihood. *Voice of Research*, 2(2), 61-66.
- [14] Jewish Theological Seminary of America Institute for Religious and Social Studies, & MacIver, R. M. *Great expressions of human rights; a series of addresses and discussions*. Kennikat Press.
- [15] Kashyap, S. C. (1994). *Our Constitution*. NBT India.

- [16] Kumar, A. (2020). Macroeconomic consequences of a lockdown and its policy implications. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 55(39), 34-40.
- [17] Mathew, J. C. (2021, March 9). 2,395 companies shut down in Delhi in Apr 2020-Feb 2021; 1,936 in UP, 1,322 in Tamil Nadu. *Business Today*. <https://www.businesstoday.in/current/economy-politics/10113-companies-shut-down-in-india-from-apr-2020-feb-2021-delhi-tops-the-list/story/433365.html>
- [18] Sankaran, K. (2012). The human right to livelihood: Recognizing the right to be human. *Comparative Labor Law & Policy Journal*, 34(1), 81–94.
<https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/cllpj34&div=8&id=&page=>
- [19] Nanda, P. K. (2020, May 5). *India's unemployment rate climbs to 27.1%, 121.5mn out of work: CMIE*. *Mint*. <https://www.livemint.com/news/india/india-s-unemployment-rate-climbs-to-27-1-121-5mn-out-of-work-cmie-11588683100926.html>
- [20] *Olga Tellis & Ors vs Bombay Municipal Corporation & Ors. Etc* , (Supreme Court of India July 10, 1985). <https://indiankanoon.org/doc/709776/>
- [21] Pogge, T. W. (2001). Eradicating Systemic Poverty: Brief for a global resources dividend. *Journal of Human Development*, 2(1), 59–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649880120050246>
- [22] Scanlon, T. M. (2003). Human rights as a neutral concern. In *The Difficulty of Tolerance: Essays in Political Philosophy* (pp. 113–123). chapter, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [23] Sen, A. (2001). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford University Press.
- [24] Shue, H. (1980). *Basic rights*. Princeton University Press.

