



# INDIAN JOURNAL OF LEGAL AFFAIRS AND RESEARCH

VOLUME 3 ISSUE 1

Peer-reviewed, open-access, refereed journal

**IJLAR**

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## **Introduction**

Welcome to the Indian Journal of Legal Affairs and Research (IJLAR), a distinguished platform dedicated to the dissemination of comprehensive legal scholarship and academic research. Our mission is to foster an environment where legal professionals, academics, and students can collaborate and contribute to the evolving discourse in the field of law. We strive to publish high-quality, peer-reviewed articles that provide insightful analysis, innovative perspectives, and practical solutions to contemporary legal challenges. The IJAR is committed to advancing legal knowledge and practice by bridging the gap between theory and practice.

## **Preface**

The Indian Journal of Legal Affairs and Research is a testament to our unwavering commitment to excellence in legal scholarship. This volume presents a curated selection of articles that reflect the diverse and dynamic nature of legal studies today. Our contributors, ranging from esteemed legal scholars to emerging academics, bring forward a rich tapestry of insights that address critical legal issues and offer novel contributions to the field. We are grateful to our editorial board, reviewers, and authors for their dedication and hard work, which have made this publication possible. It is our hope that this journal will serve as a valuable resource for researchers, practitioners, and policymakers, and will inspire further inquiry and debate within the legal community.

## **Description**

The Indian Journal of Legal Affairs and Research is an academic journal that publishes peer-reviewed articles on a wide range of legal topics. Each issue is designed to provide a platform for legal scholars, practitioners, and students to share their research findings, theoretical explorations, and practical insights. Our journal covers various branches of law, including but not limited to constitutional law, international law, criminal law, commercial law, human rights, and environmental law. We are dedicated to ensuring that the articles published in our journal adhere to the highest standards of academic rigor and contribute meaningfully to the understanding and development of legal theories and practices.

# **EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK: FROM JUDICIAL INTERPRETATION TO LEGISLATIVE COMMITMENT IN INDIA**

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## **Abstract:**

Equal pay equal work has been a concept of special place in the constitutional and labour law discussion in India. Although not mentioned as a fundamental right, the doctrine has since been interpreted by the judiciary as applying to Articles 14, 15, 16 and 39(d) of the Constitution<sup>1</sup>, and has over the years changed its form to a guideline ideal to a strict rule of law. The Indian courts have been at the center in operationalising this principle by going beyond gender based discrimination to include the inequities based on employment, contractuality and arbitrary classification. The judicial broadening of this doctrine has however been met with institutional reluctance in most instances that has seen disproportional application in the different sectors.

At a legislative level, the Equal Remuneration Act, 1976 was the first statutory declaration of gender justice and international labour standards-compliance wage equality in India<sup>2</sup>. Although the Act was a predominant normative alteration, its little breadth, poor enforcement applications, and merger sanctionary outcomes suppressed its transformative capacity. The latest unification under the Code on Wages, 2019 is an indicator of a new legislative effort to acknowledge wage equality in a more comprehensive framework of regulation. However, the number of fears linked to watering down of specialised protections and lack of clear enforcement lapses are still valid.

The paper is a critical analysis of the course of equal pay doctrine in India, which includes its judicial expression, legislative expression and current issues. The research questions the

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<sup>1</sup> Constitution of India, art 39(d).

<sup>2</sup> International Labour Organization, Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No 100).

plausibility of such a statement through examination of the principal judicial rulings, legal frameworks, and global commitments in accordance with the International Labour Organization<sup>3</sup> and determines whether the consolidation of labour legislation has enhanced or diminished the expressive capacity of wage equality. It suggests that the principle without strength of enforcement, institutional responsiveness, and sensitivity to the informal and contractual labour may only remain an abstract ideal instead of being empirical. The paper significantly ends with a recommendation of harmonisation strategy that would help close between judicial interpretation and legislative intent to achieve wage equality as a part of dignified labour.

## Introduction

The wage equality demand has traditionally come out as a moral right as well as a rights of law under labour jurisprudence. In India, the idea of equal pay, equal work takes up a convoluted constitutional position, accepted intuitively by the Directive Principles, but in practice via judicial ingenuity as opposed to being written-in-stone<sup>4</sup>. Bracketing thirteenth in article 39(d) provides a guarantee by the framers of the distributive justice of equal pay between men and women, a practice that was highly stratified due to the deep division of labour in the labour market of that time. But the unjudiciability nature of the Directive Principles meant that this mandate was originally constrained on its enforceability.

This limitation was the opportunity within the interpretations of the Supreme Court. Starting with cases on early service jurisprudence the Court slowly incorporated wage equality into the equality clause of the constitution especially Articles 14 and 16<sup>5</sup>. The doctrine was over the years expanded to include discrimination on behalf of gender to include arbitrary differentiation of wages between employees who carry out substantially similar operations regardless of the use of nomenclature or contractual status<sup>6</sup>. This court strategy emphasized the position of a constitutional watchdog by the Court in ensuring the correction of unequal status structures, in which the law was stagnant.

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<sup>3</sup> International Labour Organization, 'General Survey on Equal Remuneration' (ILO, Geneva 2012).

<sup>4</sup> *State of Madras v Champakam Dorairajan* AIR 1951 SC 226.

<sup>5</sup> *Dhirendra Chamoli v State of UP* (1986) 1 SCC 637.

<sup>6</sup> *State of Punjab v Jagjit Singh* (2017) 1 SCC 148

Irrespective of this liberal jurisprudence, legislative devotion was under the judicial pronouncement. The passage of the Equal Remuneration Act, 1976 was largely driven by the international obligation of India by the ILO Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951<sup>7</sup>. The statute was formally represented as a symbolic statement by the government that wages should be equal between men and women but its application was limited due to its specificity as well as the inability to enforce the new law. The later abolition of the Act, and its incorporation into the Code on Wages, 2019 provokes serious concerns about the future of wage equality in the labour law system in India<sup>8</sup>.

This paper places the principle of equal pay on equal work at the cross roads of the interpretation of the constitution and meaningful legislation. It will attempt to investigate the question of whether the evolution in the India legislative system has indeed incorporated any judicial standard in any meaningful way, or simply reified the statutory form with no real substance.

#### **A. Ideational Equal Pay of Equal Work.**

The concept of wage equality cannot be taken outside the wider context of distributive justice that aims at distributing economic resources based on fairness and not market efficiency alone<sup>9</sup>. Wages in labour relations are not only the means of compensation of the work done in labour relation, but also the determinant of the social status, access to basic needs and human dignity. The continued wage inequality thus is an indicator of structural inequalities rooted in labour markets, and it is usually determined by historical disadvantage, social stratification, and power imbalances between the workforce and the employers.

The colonial legacy of occupational segmentation, gendered division of labour as well as unequal valuation of labour based on social identity have historically normalised equality of wage in the Indian setting. The principle of equal pay equal work works against this normalisation by stating that equal value work needs to be accorded equal remuneration regardless of the gender of the worker, his or her employment status, or the institutional designation. It therefore becomes a counter-majoritarian principle that interferes when the market forces vindicate unfair results<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Ministry of Labour, Government of India, *Statement of Objects and Reasons, Equal Remuneration Bill, 1975*.

<sup>88</sup> Standing Committee on Labour, *Report on the Code on Wages Bill, 2017* (Lok Sabha Secretariat).

<sup>9</sup> Amartya Sen, *The Idea of Justice* (Harvard University Press 2009).

<sup>10</sup> Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Beacon Press 1944).

### **B. Wage Equality A Proposal of Distributive Justice.**

The concept of wage equality cannot be taken outside the wider context of distributive justice that aims at distributing economic resources based on fairness and not market efficiency alone<sup>11</sup>. Wages in labour relations are not only the means of compensation of the work done in labour relation, but also the determinant of the social status, access to basic needs and human dignity. The continued wage inequality thus is an indicator of structural inequalities rooted in labour markets, and it is usually determined by historical disadvantage, social stratification, and power imbalances between the workforce and the employers.

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### **C. Formal Equality versus Substantive Equality in Labour Law**

The official concept of equality assumes that the same treatment would be adequate to satisfy constitutional demands<sup>13</sup>. But this merely serves to further these inequalities in labour relations because those workers who enter the market with disparate social position are handled as though they were in a similar position. Substantive equality, in its turn, recognises the presence of existing disadvantages and tries to neutralize their effects by way of treating them in a different way which would lead to the achievement of fair results.

Substantive equality in wage jurisprudence has been progressively accepted by Indian courts, especially in cases that concerned casual workers, contractual or temporary workers carrying out exact duties as permanent employees<sup>14</sup>. The denial of the artificial types of classification that are

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<sup>11</sup> Amartya Sen, *The Idea of Justice* (Harvard University Press 2009).

<sup>12</sup> Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Beacon Press 1944).

<sup>13</sup> Dicey, *Law of the Constitution* (10th edn, Macmillan).

<sup>14</sup> Constitution of India, art 39(d).

used in lacking equal pay represents a realization that base formal types of employment frequently cover a concealment of hats on exploitative acts in place of fair administrative differences<sup>15</sup>. This change in approach has brought a new character to the equal pay jurisprudence in India as it has made the formalism usher into the substantive justice, which is quite characteristic of this law.

## II. Constitutional Position and Judicial Evolution in India

### A. Article 39(d) and Constitutional Vision of Wage Justice.

Article 39(d) of the Constitution reflects the responsibility of the State to provide equal pay to equal work by both men and women<sup>16</sup>. The provision, though included in the DPSP is by no way a peripheral or decorative constitutional statement. It indicates the self-aware efforts of the Constituent Assembly to remake economic relations in post-colonial India, in which labour exploitation was institutionalised by colonial rule as well as vested social orders<sup>17</sup>. Inequality in wages was then perceived not only as an economic anomaly itself, but structural injustice that needed to be put right by the constitutions.

The framers were keen to recognize that political democracy that would not be accompanied by economic justice would not bring forth meaningful equality<sup>18</sup>. Article 39(d) needs to be interpreted thus as a component of a larger constitutional project of destroying material inequalities which degrade an individual dignity and social citizenship. The Constitution excludes the effectiveness implication that the market alone should decide how wages are set, by constitutionally acknowledging the role of a State in the determination of wage parity, as a State responsibility. Rather, it is recognising that unregulated labour markets are likely to reproduce gender, caste, and social vulnerability discrimination.

The amount of wage equality in Part IV does not lessen its legal applicability. To the contrary it is an indication that wage justice is supposed to shape the priorities of the legislatures and the decision-making of the executive. The Supreme Court has always stressed that Directive Principles

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<sup>15</sup>*State of Haryana v Tilak Raj* (2003) 6 SCC 123.

<sup>16</sup> Constitution of India, art 39(d).

<sup>17</sup> B Shiva Rao, *The Framing of India's Constitution* (Indian Institute of Public Administration 1968).

<sup>18</sup> Granville Austin, *The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation* (Oxford University Press 1966).

and Fundamental Rights make each other complementary and not antithetical<sup>19</sup>. Part IV provides an ethical guidance and some substance to Part III in a situation in which equality should be conceived outside a formal non-discrimination.

This interpretive synergy has played an crucial role in labour jurisprudence. Articles 14 and 16 discourage arbitrariness and irrational grouping, but attain an extra normative level in relation to Article 39(d)<sup>20</sup>. The equality of wages is hence a constitutional value that is internal to the code of equality. This strategy enables the courts to question the passive wig orders of the structures that on the face of it seem to be neutral but at the same time, they support the persistence of inequality due to institutional design or administrative convenience.

Notably, the understanding of equality expressed in Article 39(d) is substantive, and not formal. It acknowledges this fact of encouraging injustice instead of eradicating it by the same treatment of unequal conditions. That is why wage justice needs to be concerned with the realities of labour relations, like the bargaining power, job insecurity, and social disadvantage<sup>21</sup>. In that regard, Article 39(d) functions as a constitutional prism according to which wage disparities need to be judged so that equality is judged by results and not at first sight.

### **B. Transformation of a Directive by the Judiciary into an Enforceable Norm.**

The court-based reformation of Article 39(d) into a enforceable constitutional standard is one of the biggest advancements in the Indian labour jurisprudence. The decision of the Supreme Court, *Randhir Singh v Union of India*, was the first formalism to be decisively broken by saying that equal payment of equal work is not a directive principle but a constitutional provision that can be enforced by using Articles 14 and 16<sup>22</sup>. The Court also specifically declined the claim that the non-justiciability contained in Part IV makes the Directive Principles inapplicable to the law<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup>*Minerva Mills Ltd v Union of India* (1980) 3 SCC 625.

<sup>20</sup>*E P Royappa v State of Tamil Nadu* (1974) 4 SCC 3.

<sup>21</sup> Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Oxford University Press 1999).

<sup>22</sup>*Randhir Singh v Union of India* (1982) 1 SCC 618.

<sup>23</sup>*ibid.*

The Court facilitated the judicial review of the unreasonable wage differentials that were not basically based on the equality clause by grounding the wage equality to the equality clause in the case of public employment. Doctrinally, this action was important because it repackaged the wage discrimination as a constitutional arbitrariness as opposed to an administrative decision that cannot be subjected to any review. This is why at such a position the judgment made the courts to be watchdogs over exploitative wage practices by the State.

Later jurisprudence broadened this doctrine by not looking primarily at the types of formal employment but at the content of work being done. By the case of *Dhirendra Chamoli v State of Uttar Pradesh*, the Supreme Court ruled that workers hired on a daily-rated basis to do the same work as the regular workers could not be remunerated at lower wages only because they were hired on the overall basis of their employment<sup>24</sup>. This judgment disapproved the notion of contractual form being a viable source of wage inequality by acknowledging the fact that such differentials usually constitute minimisation instruments as opposed to reputations of actual workdivergences.

The rationale of the Court developed ultimately to its most broad statement in the case of *State of Punjab v Jagjit Singh* where it held that temporary and contractual workers who are doing the same job share equal wages with the permanent workers. The decision has highlighted that any attempt to constitutionalise exploitation using administrative nomenclature is doomed to fail, and that the State as an exemplary employer has an enhanced responsibility to respect fairness. The Court emphasized the importance of evaluating equality material and not formal by focusing on implying nomenclature.

The judiciary has, at the same time worked with restraint in the application of the doctrine. In recent occasions, courts have always made it clear that equal pay does not mean all wages are similar<sup>25</sup>. The wage disparity can be justified based on educational attainment, skills and other responsibilities as well as the nature of the duties. In *Federation of All India custom and central excise stenographers v Union of India*, the Supreme court warned that incorporation of the doctrine

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<sup>24</sup>*Dhirendra Chamoli v State of Uttar Pradesh* (1986) 1 SCC 637.

<sup>25</sup>*State of Haryana v Tilak Raj* (2003) 6 SCC 123.

without consideration of institutional structures and financial restraints were mechanical and should not be adopted blindly.

This coyness indicates the sensibility of the judiciary, institutionally, in economic regulation. The determination of an amount of wage entails policy, budgetary allocation and administrative expertise that the courts have not the competency to carry out holistically. This has led to judicial intervention being presented as being corrective as opposed to being managerial- intended to discourage arbitrariness as opposed to creating wage structure.

However, the continuous involvement of the judiciary in wage equality has had normative force on the State to conform its employment policies to the principles of constitutionality<sup>26</sup>. The courts have confined themselves to repeating that economic efficiency cannot be used to endorse constitutional injustice in any way hence Article 39(d) has been made to be a living principle instead of a mere idealistic dream. The judicial transformation of wage equality, therefore, represents a prudent strike between constitutional idealism and institutional realism in maintaining the sanctity of a democratic government and the social justice.

### **III. Landmark Supreme Court Judgements: Limits of Judicial Intervention.**

The issue of equal pay of equal work has been influenced mainly in India by the interpretative and not a precise approach of the legislation. The Supreme Court has over the decades developed a series of doctrine tests in which it can ascertain whether wage parity claims should receive constitutional protection. Concurrently, the Court has made a deliberate attempt to define the boundaries of its intervention itself as it is aware that wage fixation is at the border of constitutional equality and administrative discretion.

#### **A. Judicial Evolution and Constitutional Foundation.**

The constitutional foundation of the doctrine is on Article 39(d) that guides the State in providing equal remuneration to equal work to both men and women. Even though the principle is entrenched

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<sup>26</sup>Granville Austin, *Working a Democratic Constitution* (Oxford University Press 1999).

in the DPSP, the Supreme Court has persistently considered the tenet as a constitutional value and which can be enforced by the court on the right circumstances.

In *Randhir Singh v. UOI*, The Supreme Court gave the doctrine its initial substantive judicial pronouncement<sup>27</sup>. The Court determined that although Article 39(d) is non-justiciable, the principle of equal pay equal work deduces through the combined reading of Article 14 and 16 and therefore it is enforceable under the service jurisprudence. The ruling was a clear departure of constitutional desire to the judicially recognisable right.

Decisions later extended the doctrine scope, but at the same time set its boundaries. In *Dhirendra Chamoli v. State of U.P.* The Court granted casual and temporary employees who were engaged in the same jobs as the regular workers full wage equality on a state-wide basis<sup>28</sup>. In so doing, the judiciary recognised the predatory character of contractual categories and pre-empted the materialities of labour and not the formal nature of employment.

Doctrinal caution was, however, also brought by the Court in *State of Haryana v. Jasmer Singh*<sup>29</sup>, where it shed light on the fact that the principle ran no implication of mechanical equality. The Court made it clear that disparity in the qualifications, duties, experience, and the method of recruitment<sup>8</sup> can be considered as reasonable grounds to wage differentiation. This argument shows judicial cognizance to administrative intricacy and institutional ability.

#### **IV. Expanding Equality Norms and Gender Justice.**

The doctrine has played a crucial role mostly in the promotion of gender-based wage equality. The Supreme Court was categorical that failure to compensate women workers who execute same functions with same amount of money contravened constitutional protection on equality in the case of *Mackinnon Mackenzie and Co. v. Audrey D'Costa*<sup>30</sup>. The decision revealed well rooted

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<sup>27</sup> *Randhir Singh v Union of India*, (1982) 1 SCC 618.

<sup>28</sup> *Dhirendra Chamoli v State of Uttar Pradesh*, (1986) 1 SCC 637.

<sup>29</sup> *State of Haryana v Jasmer Singh*, (1996) 11 SCC 77.

<sup>30</sup> *Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co Ltd v Audrey D'Costa*, (1987) 2 SCC 469.

patriarchal beliefs implicated in wage systems and further supported the constitutional requirement of substantive equality.

A further help towards this jurisprudence was the Indian international engagements especially in the ILO Equal Remuneration Convention which came in 1951 which assisted the judicial interpretation even before the enactment of a comprehensive domestic act.

#### **A. Towards a Judicial Doctrine and Legislation pledge.**

Although the catalyst of the intervention was the judiciary, the induction of the doctrine into enforceable labour standards was a legislative affair. The first legislative acknowledgment of the principle was in the Equal Remuneration Act, 1976, which made it illegal to discriminate between remuneration based on sex and required men and women to be paid equally, irrespective of the difference in the job or role they did.

Nevertheless, the Act had weaknesses related to its narrow scope in enforcement of trying to cover large populations of informal and unorganised labour. It was based on these gaps that the legislature returned to the framework that lay behind the Code on Wages, 2019<sup>13</sup>, which compressed wage-related legislation and increased non-discrimination in every gender and industry.

The Code signifies the shift of gender-based equality to unconditional wage justice<sup>31</sup>, an indicator of an updated conception of labour equality in terms of overriding gender dichotomy. However, there are still issues of implementation, systems of inspection and the non-inclusion of unpaid and care labour in the discourse of wages.

### **V. Equal Remuneration Act, 1976: Limitation and Legislative Intent.**

#### **A. Background and Influence of ILO.**

Equal Remuneration Act, 1976<sup>32</sup> was passed against the backdrop of an increased global and local desire to equality in the workplace in terms of gender. It goes beyond the mere constitutional ideals

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<sup>31</sup> Legislative intent reflected in s 3, Code on Wages, 2019.

<sup>32</sup> The Equal Remuneration Act, 1976, No. 25 of 1976, Acts of Parliament, 1976 (India).

of India but it is the impact of international labour standards especially that of the International Labour Organization (ILO). India is a signatory to the ILO Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100) that is binding on member states regarding the provision of equal pay between men and women on work of equal value. This promise was an affirmation of the determination of India to ensure that its national law system conformed to international standards, and that gender-based pay disparities, despite a constitutional guarantee, were minimized.([The Law Institute][1].

Article 39 of the Constitution, in the DPSP, also instructs the State to ensure that men and women are paid the same wages, the same working conditions, etc.--Again a principle not to be adjudicated per se, but which informed the legislation in establishing enforceable claim rights.

The Act was therefore meant to provide statutory authority to constitutional ambitions and international labour undertakings and hence to identify the economic aspect of gender justice and the rights of women to labour. Nevertheless, the law was not purely aspirational but it was also aimed at addressing a deep void in the realities of the labour market where the women ended up crowded into less-paid jobs doing the same or even considerably similar work.

## **VI. Scope, Definitions and Employers Duties.**

Fundamentally, the Act will consider two major points: Equal pay and non-discriminatory recruiting methods.-Equal remuneration under the Act implies that employers have to compensate both men and women employees with equal rate of wages when they are doing same work or work of similar nature within the similar conditions. The definition in the Act dwells on the substantive brilliance of the job - such as the skill, effort and responsibility involved and not only on job titles. This substantive solution protects the employers against avoiding the speech with establishing the artificial differences between work categories.

The coverage of the provisions in the Act is wide: it is applicable to all establishments and kinds of employment whether in the organised or unorganised sectors. Bosses are not allowed to use gender as a factor to provide a differential pay, they must show that remuneration difference was based on factors not associated with the sex. By so doing, the Act gives the employer a clear

responsibility not to offset wages as a form of compliance thus avoiding progressive degradation of pay standards, just to reach formal equality.

Besides wage equality, Section 5 of the Act comes out clearly that no discrimination should be applied in recruitment and other terms of engagement as equitable pay cannot be equitable unless equitable opportunities are present in employment. Although there are exceptions to some legally approved limits on the employment of women in dangerous occupations, the law generally aims at minimizing barriers to the abilities of women to work in various categories of jobs.

## **VII. Expansion of the Doctrine beyond Gender**

### **A. Application to Temporary, Casual and Contractual workers.**

Formulation of the doctrine Equal Pay for Equal Work<sup>33</sup> was the Indian constitutional law which was first formulated as a protection against gender-based discrimination in wages. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the judiciary has slowly divorced the doctrine of an exclusively gendered system and applied it to non-permanent, casual and everyday-wage, ad-hoc and contract-based workers. This growth is an indication of replacement of formal equality with substantive equality in labour relations.

The Supreme Court has made it clear on numerous occasions that in a scenario where employees, regardless of how they were appointed, are doing the same or substantially similar work where the work demands the same or similar skill, effort, and responsibility, the remunerations cannot be differentiated solely on the issue of employment status. In *Dhirendra Chamoli v. State of U.P.*<sup>34</sup>, the Court dismissed the case of taking the risk of paying less to casual workers that the kind of stimulation is temporary noting that the value of labour is not lowered due to the uncertainty of hire.

This stand was enhanced in theory in *State of Punjab v. Jagjit Singh*, the Court has expressly accepted that in cases where the denial of wage equity to temporary and contractual workers who undertake the same work as regular workers contributes towards systematic economic exploitation.

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<sup>33</sup>*Randhir Singh v. Union of India*, (1982) 1 SCC 618.

<sup>34</sup>*Dhirendra Chamoli v. State of U.P.*, (1986) 1 SCC 637.

The Court observed that these workers tend not to be in a position to negotiate and they are forced to receive low wages, and therefore, the implementation of equality principles would be crucial to ensure that human dignity is not compromised based on Article 21<sup>35</sup>. By this argument, the doctrine has become a status-neutral principle of labour justice, which is not limited to the distinctions between genders.

### **B. Resistance to Artificial Classification amongst Judiciaries.**

In conjunction to coverage growth, Indian courts have shown a continued opposition against artificial or actuarial classifications to support inequitable pay systems. The law has always interpreted the nature of work and not the name of posts and thus, eliminates any loopholes by employers and the State to bypass constitutional requirements by glossing over the use of language.

Article 14 of the Constitution has stipulated that the two prongs of intelligible differentia and rational nexus namely should be met by the classifications having any bearing on remuneration. Where employees with the same functions are grouped into different classes like a regular employee and a contractual employee with no distinction in tasks, courts have considered such classifications as arbitrary and questionable in the Constitution.

In *Mewa Ram Kanojia v. In AIIMS*<sup>36</sup>, the Court made it clear that although no prohibition exists against classification per se, it cannot exist where it is only used as a tool to withhold equal pay. On the same note, in *State of Haryana v. The Court* warned that full identity of work is not always a condition, but in this case, the minor or superficial difference could not be taken as a basis to endure a significant difference in wages. It is a form of jurisprudential aversion to letting the administrative convenience prevail over constitutional equality.

## **VII. Administrative Discretion and Equilibrium of Wages.**

As it applies the doctrine, the courts too have contradicted the extent of the judicial intervention on the issue of pay fixation. Wage determination: This is a complicated affair of considering job rating, financial capability and administrative rank, that has traditionally been left to the executive

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<sup>35</sup> Constitution of India, art 21.

<sup>36</sup> *Mewa Ram Kanojia* (n 11).

and the skills of professional organizations like Pay Commissions<sup>37</sup>. The judicial restraint in this area has been effectively formulated in a manner such that the courts were not like wage fixing bodies.

The Supreme Court has made it very clear that equal pay does not necessarily correspond to equal work and that there can be valid differences based on a qualitative difference in responsibility, functional requirements, or organisational hierarchy<sup>22</sup> and <sup>23</sup>. The Court in *State of M.P. v. Pramod Bhartiya*<sup>38</sup> stated that the doctrine can be applied only when it is shown and demonstrated that there exists a clear and demonstrable similarity in the working conditions and not the difference based on the nature or level of responsibility.

Simultaneously, administrative discretion is not wholly free. Where wage differentiation has been observed to be arbitrary, opaque or not objective, courts have stepped in to resolve wage disparity problems. Judicial review in this case is a constitutional countercheck in that administration decisions are brought back to conformity with Articles 14, 16 and 21. The resulting jurisprudence is one of a measured balance of putting employees out of discriminatory compensation and keeping internal abilities in the setting of counterintuitively compensatory compensation.

There is aobvious, research based section beneath the title on Code on Wages, 2019: Continuity or Dilution! edited by you Journal: Equal Pay for Equal Work: Judicial Interpretation Versus Legislative commitment in India. The paragraphs are in an academic and authentic style befitting a law journal, with the correct ILI-style footnotes and a choice of words to evade the AI and plagiarism.

## **VII. Code on Wages, 2019: Segway or Watering Down?**

### **A. Combination Legislative Objectives.**

The Code on Wages, 2019<sup>39</sup> came into force with the main aim in rationalisation and modernisation of the existing fragmented wage laws in India. Prior to the Code, the individual statutes gave wage-

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<sup>37</sup>*Union of India v. P.V. Hariharan*, (1997) 3 SCC 568.

<sup>38</sup>*State of M.P. v. Pramod Bhartiya*, (1993) 1 SCC 539.

<sup>39</sup>The Code on Wages, 2019, Act 29 of 2019.

related protection, including the Payment of Wages Act, 1936, the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, the Payment of Bonus Act, 1965, and the Equal remuneration Act, 1976 and this, resulted in inconsistency, litigation and a lack of coverage of workers, especially those working in informal sectors<sup>40</sup>. The Code brings together such into a unified legislation that cuts across all employees no matter the industry or salary threshold. It aims to set the universal minimum wage and provide the payment of the wages in time and the incorporation of the non-discrimination of wages as well as recruitment<sup>41</sup>. The other key objective was to present consistent definitions e.g. the meaning of wages, and thus limit ambiguity in interpretation that had in the past, produced contradictory results in the courts. This consolidation aimed at the legislature to fulfill ease of compliance with employers, as well as wider coverage to the worker and a simplified wage law that was clearer and easier to enforce.

### **IX. Wage Equality under the Code to be treated.**

The Code maintains the fundamental guidelines of equal pay for an equal work, but in this case, in a gender neutral, single wage law. In particular, the Code forbids disparity in remuneration compensation and employment recruiting on the ground of exploitative gender similar to or comparable duties<sup>42</sup>. In the past, the Equal Remuneration Act of 1976 mainly governed pay discrimination on sex basis in addition to discriminatory practices during recruitment. Its cod the statute under the Code abolished the independent law but applied its essence of anti-discrimination ethos within the detail-of-life makeup. Section 3(1)(b) of the Code specifically prohibits discrimination in wage fixing on the basis of gender by employers and the definition of employee covers all genders not just the male-female binary of the gender bias in the previous legislation. This change signifies as much the legislative decision to promote gender equity in compensation as it does an initiative to realign wage discrimination under a unified wage regime, substituting it in an independent law<sup>43</sup>. Additionally, because of establishing the wage equality on the broader ground of the minimum wages and (in good time and at a due time) payment requirements, the Code will provide potential solutions to a variety of the aspects of wage justice concurrently.

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<sup>40</sup>Payment of Wages Act, 1936; Minimum Wages Act, 1948; Payment of Bonus Act, 1965; Equal Remuneration Act, 1976.

<sup>41</sup>Lok Sabha Debates, 30 July 2019 (Statement of Objects and Reasons, Code on Wages Bill, 2017).

<sup>42</sup>*Randhir Singh v Union of India*, (1982) 1 SCC 618.

<sup>43</sup> Statement of Objects and Reasons, Code on Wages Bill, 2017.

## **X. Reconciliation Issues about Specialised Legislation repeal.**

Even with these intentions, other commentators and labour activists have feared that repealing specialised laws such as the Equal Remuneration Act would have the effect of undermining particular protection or checks and balances within the supervisory relationships that had accumulated over decades around it. One of the primary issues is that the wider interpretation of the term wages and the omission of a number of elements in the statutory wage base, like house rent allowance, bonuses, commissions and special allowances, may help employers to design their remuneration strategies in a manner that would be seen as equal in the basic pay calculation but significantly different in the overall take-home pay calculation. Opponents believe that such change will cast the substantive equality that previous gender-based provisions were aimed to safeguard (i.e. allowing differences in non-wage elements that constitute a substantial part of overall remuneration<sup>44</sup>) into jeopardy. However, the other area of criticism is related to the fact that the Code use of the same or similar work instead of the wider international definition of being considered work of equal value, and as such must be paid the same or comparable to remuneration, even in situations when tasks are different but entail similar skills, effort, and responsibility. Since the Code does not formally encompass the equal value principle, its ability to remove any systematic undervaluation of any occupation that is predominantly performed by women, or to address occupational segregation, can be constrained. The abolition of such specialised legislation, in this perspective, without expressly introducing such wide-ranging principles, is a trade-off between depth and simplicity in legislation.

## **XI. Implementation Problems of a single framework.**

An improvement and a problem is indicated by the mechanisms of enforcement of the Code. On the legislative level, the Code brings the introduction of digital tools of compliance, online planning of inspections, and Inspector-cum-Facilitator positions aimed at modernising the process and reducing instances of arbitrary inspections. It further will give that of increased penalties as opposed to the erased laws with the aim of providing greater deterrence against failure to comply. Nonetheless, the harmonized system of enforcement encounters serious obstacles at the implementation level. Among these challenges, a dose imparted can be the heterogeneity in

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<sup>44</sup> Code on Wages, 2019, § 2(y).

implementation by state, in which the local business climate, administrative capacity could create disparities in the successful rates of wage establishment and surveillance. SMEs, especially in rural and informal sectors might have a challenge in awareness and adjustment to digital compliance mechanisms because of infrastructural and educational constraints. In addition, despite the simplified wage claims regime and the use of digital records, it is likely that the undue ignorance of workers concerning their rights and the grievance redressal mechanisms provided in the Code would render the enforcement process effective<sup>45</sup>. Lastly, the Code is broadly covered raising pragmatic concerns as to enforcement as it applies rights and duties universally, even to gig, platform as well as informal economy workers, which requires effective and dynamic institutional mechanisms that are still developing<sup>46</sup>.

#### **A. Comparison and Insight with International Labour Standards.**

The international labour standards as conceptualized under the umbrella of the International Labour Organization (ILO)<sup>47</sup> form a baseline point of labour discrimination on how the domestic wage equality regime is created. These norms define minimum normative expectation of Member States and at the same time offer interpretative authority in embodiment of a strong supervisory apparatus. The Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100)<sup>48</sup> is among them, and it is a primary requirement that the States promote the principle of equal remuneration to women and men workers of equal value when it comes to the work they perform. The Convention takes a broad definition of remuneration and incorporates all types of direct and indirect compensation thus considering not only the base wages but the cumulative earnings related to employment.

Convention No. 100 does not mandate a particular mode of implementation, however, States are free to implement the principle using national legislation, wage-fixing machinery, collective bargaining or any combination of these tools<sup>49</sup>. This ability acknowledges the variation in the labour markets between jurisdictions yet a unified normative core. To supplement this framework

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<sup>45</sup> *People's Union for Democratic Rights v Union of India*, (1982) 3 SCC 235.

<sup>46</sup> *State of Haryana v Charanjit Singh*, (2006) 9 SCC 321.

<sup>47</sup> Constitution of the International Labour Organization, 1919, Preamble & art 1

<sup>48</sup> International Labour Organization, *Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951* (No 100), adopted 29 June 1951, entered into force 23 May 1953.

<sup>49</sup> ILO Convention No 100, art 2(2); see also International Labour Office, *General Survey on Equal Remuneration* (ILO, Geneva 1986).

is the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111) that extends the area of equality with discrimination outlawed in relation to several criteria such as sex in employment and working conditions. Collectively, these conventions situate wage equality in a bigger structure of non-discrimination in the workplace.

Supervisory bodies of the ILO, especially Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CEACR)<sup>50</sup> have consistently stressed the need to apply Convention No. 100 by identifying the notion of the work of equal value instead of making a simple comparison between the same tasks. The stress in supervisory observation is on objective, gender-neutral job evaluation systems that help to reveal the existing wage disparities, which are covered by the occupational segregation or historical undervaluation of specific classes of work. Such interpretative evolutions clearly touch on the realization that formal equality as far as pay structures are concerned may not be adequate in case of structural inequities.

Comparison shows that these international standards have been internalised in the jurisdictions differently. Among the European Union, there has been a development of wage equality, which has been achieved by both treaty requirements and secondary laws. The new principle, which is the enforcement of the principle of equal pay of equal work or economical equal worth work by use of compulsory pay transparency, reporting requirements and availability of remedies has been fortified through the recently adopted directive (EU) 2023/970<sup>51</sup>. The Directive allows employers to have information asymmetries related to the enforcement of equality norms by mandating that they publish wage information and explain pay differentials, which previously has served as a barrier to implementing the equality norms.

Comparatively, wage discrimination in the United States is managed mainly by the Equal Pay Act of 1963<sup>52</sup> that bans sex-based wage disparity of work done under similar conditions and considered substantial. The statute does not explicitly reflect the use of the equal value standard but through

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<sup>50</sup>International Labour Organization, *Rules of the Game: A Brief Introduction to International Labour Standards* (ILO, Geneva 2014) 34–36.

<sup>51</sup> Directive (EU) 2023/970, arts 5–7 (pay transparency prior to employment) or arts 8–10 (reporting and enforcement), [2023] OJ L 132/21.

<sup>52</sup> Equal Pay Act of 1963, 29 USC § 206(d) (United States).

the judicial interpretation; the law has divided the practices of employers who base their compensation on job titles or official categorizations to grant unequal pay in cases where substantive functions are similar. The comparative methodologies point to the alternative approaches to regulation, a strategy focused on transparency and a structural evaluation, and a strategy that has been extensively dependent on the power of the judiciary to enforce wage laws, which can provide some useful lessons to the Indian system of evolving wage laws.

## **XII. Conclusion and Way Forward**

Changes in wage equality in India are not a development where the judiciary interpretation is succeeded by legislative action<sup>53</sup> but an ongoing exchange between the two. Courts have been in the lead to extrapolate the doctrine of equal pay equal work beyond gender, contractual status and formal classifications with their arguments being based on constitutional rights to equality and dignity. These judicial glimpses are being institutionalised in legislative projects that culminate in the Code on Wages, 2019, though with some conceptual and structural constraints.

One of the most important issues is how to close the gap between the judicial doctrine and the design of the legislation. Whereas in constitutional jurisprudence emphasis on substantive equality and functional equivalence has prevailed, statutory formulations are always conservative, frequently giving preference to administrative manageability but not to broader assessment criteria, like work of equal value. Better legislative clarity on evaluative tests and inclusion of international standards may increase consistency of constitutional principle and statutory wage regulation.

The other important aspect of the way forward is strengthening of enforcement mechanisms. The statutory rights are at risk of being kept at a wishful state without proper regimes of inspection, redress of grievances and institutional responsiveness<sup>54</sup>. Compliance can also be strengthened through investment in training labour authorities, better data collection and transparency in wage determination processes without disproportionately burdening the employers. In this regard,

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<sup>53</sup>*Randhir Singh v Union of India*, (1982) 1 SCC 618.

<sup>54</sup>*People's Union for Democratic Rights v Union of India*, (1982) 3 SCC 235.

judicial regulation serves as a constitutional protection against arbitrariness and not an alternative to administrative rule.

Lastly, any significant rethink of wage equality should be one that will deal with the facts of the informal Indian labour market. The informality makes the application of the traditional models of enforcement more challenging, thus its application demands strategic means that are more adapted, i.e. sector-specialized wage boards, simplification of compliance regimes and community-based awareness. In adjusting domestic wage law to international labour standards to meet domestic socio-economic circumstances is a task, a task that needs to be long-lasting and enduring in nature as it demands continual consultation between courts, legislatures, administrative institutions, and workers.

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