DECENT WORK AND INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT: THE CASE OF BULAWAYO METROPOLITAN PROVINCE (CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT) ZIMBABWE

By

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (MA) in Social Policy and Labour Studies in the Faculty of Humanities

To

Rhodes University

February 2019

Abstract

Zimbabwe, similar to other developing countries experiences a high level of informal employment. However, most informal jobs are situated in very poor working conditions and are characterised by decent work deficits. Despite the fact that various studies have shown the importance of the informal economy in that it provides livelihood earning opportunities for the majority of people in the Global South, it has remained a largely forgotten sector in policy making in most countries. It is, therefore, important that informal work be taken seriously and efforts must be made to improve working conditions for the urban working poor in the developing world.

The purpose of this study is to investigate on the self-reported experiences of informal workers to understand their perspectives surrounding the concept of decent work in the Zimbabwean context. The case study is the Bulawayo metropolitan province, and this study targeted informal workers who trade within the central business district. The study also aimed to measure the decent work deficit scores between two economic sectors (food and clothing traders). This was done by testing the suitability of the Edward Webster Decent Work Deficit Index as a methodology of measuring decent work at a micro level. The analysis is based on a mixed methods study which was carried out through the use of a semi-structured survey. The study revealed that decent work for the sampled informal workers meant work related improvements, insurances and risk management, right of expression and business advancement skills which closely resembles the International Labour Organisation's conceptualisation of decent work. The study also highlighted that childcare assistance and disability insurance are concepts which remained excluded in the current conceptualisation of decent work.

The thesis offers a new policy angle which shows that to promote decent work the concept of heterogeneity must be adopted because inequalities persist within the informal economy. The study also suggested that the Edward Webster Decent Work Deficit Index can be used as an appropriate methodology of monitoring the progress towards achieving decent work at the micro level i.e. industry or individual level. This is because since the formation of the decent work concept; the International Labour Organisation has only provided a methodology of how to measure the progress of decent work at the county level. The survey findings revealed that food vendors scored more poorly on the decent work deficit index compared to the clothing traders. The study also identified that food vendors and clothing traders are faced with different challenges which suggests that policy makers must take that into consideration when attempting to design policies or programmes which are aimed at assisting informal workers.

Key Words: Informal employment, decent work, decent work deficit index, heterogeneity, segmentation

Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is solely my own work and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it at any university for a degree. The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge all the informal workers in Bulawayo who participated in this study, without their contribution this thesis would have remained a pipe dream. I value their time and commitment which they inputted into my study.

I would to like to also acknowledge the masters scholarship which was awarded to me by the Rhodes Unit Neil Aggett Labour Studies Unit which enabled me to pursue my postgraduate studies which turned out to be an awesome experience. I would like to extend my gratitude to the Bulawayo Vendors Trust Association and the Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economy Associations for assisting me during the challenging fieldwork period which was burdened with a lot of challenges, risk, and economic hardship. This thesis would not have been possible without the huge contribution of the President of the ZCIEA Bulawayo Chapter, Musawenskosi who deserves special praise for the role she carried out in the streets assisting me with the distribution of my questionnaires in the hot Bulawayo weather.

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Prof Michael Rogan and co-supervisor Dr Laura Alfers for their encouragement, patience, kindness, effort and guidance throughout this study. I will forever treasure the fruitful relationships we made.

Since my arrival at Rhodes University, I have been supported by many people but an instrumental mentor who goes by the name Dr. Paul Mason is one person who helped me when no one else could to believe in myself, I greatly value his time, patience, friendship and motivation he provided during this defining period of my life. I'll forever cherish those hours you invested, sometimes meeting me twice in one week for three hours in one go but never bored with reviewing my work.

Special thanks to the following research centres: Africa Centre for Cities, DataFirst, and the Southern Africa Labour Development and Research Unit which are all based at the University of Cape Town for providing me with the necessary capacity building initiatives which helped me to analyse my data. I would also like to thank the Rhode University Centre of Postgraduate Studies which was under the leadership of Professor Sioux McKenna who assisted me a to grasp the concept of academic writing during my first masters year

My list of gratitude would not be complete if I failed to point out my colleagues such as Nosithembiso Hala, Kelvin Ncube, Henford Ndlovu, Phillip Williot, Eddie Cottle, Nimi Hoffman, Valance Wessels, and Akhona Madalane, and Yahaya Kassim Ally who made sure that my wellbeing was always taken care of during my stay in Grahamstown, South Africa.

Dedications

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my parents and family who have been the source of guidance, encouragement, and support throughout my entire life.

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Abbreviations

Aet……....Asiye eTafuleni

AFSUN.....Africa Food Security Urban Network

BCC.....Bulawayo City Council

BVTA.....Bulawayo Vendors Trust

COSATU……..Congress of South Africa Trade Unions

DRC.....De-Regulation Committee

DWDI.....Decent Work Deficit Index

EPWP.....Expanded Public Works Programme

ESAP.....Economic Structural Adjustment Programme

FIFA……. Fédération Internationale de Football Association

FTLRP.....Fast Track Land Reform Programme

GOZ.....Government of Zimbabwe

ICLS.....International Conference of Labour Statisticians

ILO.....International Labour Organisation

LFS.....Labour Force Survey

LRA.....Labour Relations Act

MBO.....Membership Based Organisation

MBOs.....Membership Based Organisations

MDC.....Movement for Democratic Change

MDGs.....Millennium Development Goals

MGNREGS.....Mahatma Ghandi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme

MSME.....Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises

NASVI……. National Association of Street Vendors of India

NSSA.....National Social Security Authority

NUM…….National Union of Mineworkers

PICES.....Poverty Income Consumption and Expenditure Survey

POS.....Point of Sale

SAP.....Structural Adjustment Programme

SDGs.....Sustainable Development Goals

SEWA…….Self Employed Women's Association

STATA……...Statistics and Data

SWOP.....Society, Work and Development Institute

TNDP.....Transitional National Development Plan

VAT.....Value Added Tax

WIEGO..... Women in Informal Employment Globalising and Organising

ZANU-PF.....Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front

ZCIEA.....Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economy Associations

ZDWCP.....Zimbabwe Decent Work Country Programme

ZIMRA……Zimbabwe Revenue Authority

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

There is a revived interest in the informal economy globally (Chen, 2012). This interest is spurred by the fact that in recent times informal employment has grown to very high levels, has expanded in many contexts and is now the dominant type of employment in the Global South (Chen, 2012). In addition, Chen & Beard (2018) indicate that at present the informal economy is creating more employment opportunities than the formal economy and that most people in urban areas are employed in the informal economy. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2018) reports that two billion workers representing 61.2 per cent of the worlds employed population earn their livelihoods from within the informal economy. More than two-thirds (69.6 per cent) of the employed population in developing countries is in informal employment and 85.8 per cent of employment in Africa is informal (ILO, 2018).

An important segment of workers who are found within the informal economy are street vendors whose occupation remains the most visible of all informal workers (Chen, 2012; Roever & Skinner, 2016). Though statistics on street vendors remain difficult to come by contemporary studies have shown that street vending accounts for a large share of urban employment in developing countries (Roever & Skinner, 2016). Roever & Skinner (2016:360) argue that the share of street vending is higher in countries where trade is an important part of the economy. Trade is a significant source of employment for women in sub-Saharan Africa and accounts for 51 per cent of all women informal workers outside agriculture (Roever & Skinner, 2016:360). However, as important as street vendors are, they have remained unrecognized, unprotected, frequently stigmatized and viewed as a nuisance which must be eradicated by many local governments in developing countries (Potts, 2007; Kamete, 2013; Roever & Skinner, 2016).

Against this background, the informal economy is very important in the Zimbabwean context because, since the turn of the millennium, the country has been bedevilled by high rates of unemployment (Shinder, 1998; Jones, 2010; Muchichwa, 2015). In addition, Jones (2010) highlights that since 2000 Zimbabwe's main economy has been turned into what has become known as the [1]kukiya-kiya economy. Crucial in this regard the informal economy has demonstrated that it can play a vital and efficient role in creating livelihood earning opportunities for most of the population during an economic recession (Muchichwa, 2015).

[1] This is a local term used by Shona speaking people which refers to exploiting and taking advantage of any economic situation available. In the siNdebele language the term is translated as ukusanganisa or ukudoba-doba (Jones, 2010).

1.2 Problem Statement

The term informal economy can be defined as economic activities which are highly vulnerable, unprotected, unregulated and are minimally or not registered at all with formal state entities (ILO, 2002). Workers in the informal economy differ in status in employment and can be segmented as either falling under self-employment, wage employment, unpaid family work or members of producers' cooperatives (Chen, 2012). In most cases informal workers are not subjected to a standard employment relationship and formal labour regulations are not applicable to them (Obeng-Odoom & Ameyaw, 2014). This study sought to generate new insights as to how the International Labour Organization (ILO) can overcome the dilemma in the informal economy where there is an ever-increasing labour force which is unregulated and remains unprotected by state labour laws (ILO, 2002; Chen, 2012).

Decent work is a concept which seeks to promote a more equitable economic environment where all workers are entitled to employment security, freedom, recognition and dignity (ILO, 2002). Its four objectives are employment creation, guaranteeing rights at work, extending social protection and promoting social dialogue. Based on the background which has been provided, this study sought to investigate the self-reported experiences of informal workers to understand their perspectives surrounding decent work. The purpose of doing this was to critique and assess the relevance of the international concept of decent work in relation to informal workers in the global south where the working environment is different from western working environments. In the context of the informal economy where labour and social protections are absent, efforts must be made by researchers to understand what possibilities exist for promoting decent work. This study aims to contribute to this discussion through a study of informal workers in one area of Zimbabwe. The case study area is the Bulawayo metropolitan province, and this study targeted specifically the informal workers who trade within the Bulawayo central business district.

1.3 Research Objective

The objective of this study is to find out what decent work means for workers in the informal economy. This research question is examined through the lens of a case study of street traders in Bulawayo. This is of prime importance in the Zimbabwean urban context because informal work remains the largest source of employment for most of the economically active population (ZimStat, 2015). Against this background, the focus of this study was to understand how food vendors and clothing traders viewed their own working conditions and how they would prefer these conditions to be improved. The study uses a comparative approach with the objective of

finding similarities and differences in decent work deficit index[2] (DWDI) scores between the food vendors and clothing traders. This was to find out the challenges faced by the two groups of informal workers in establishing decent work. This was also done to investigate whether social and economic divisions are great between different types of informal workers.

1.4 Research Questions

The main research questions of this study are:

1. What are the main indicators of decent work from the perspective of the informal workers?

2. How does this differ from other major conceptualisations of decent work, for example the definition established by the ILO and other who have worked on the concept?

3. Does the idea of decent work differ according to different groups within the informal economy? What are the differences?

4. Along which social and economic divisions do the greatest differences lie, between types of worker, between genders, between place of work?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This research is motivated by the fact that this study wanted to explore challenges faced by two groups of informal workers who occupy different places of work but both trade in public spaces. For example, food vendors are normally scattered and occupy street pavements and have temporary makeshift stalls whilst clothing vendors operate in fixed designated trading areas. A key concern is that access to economic opportunities and treatment are not equal in the informal economy. For example, food vendors are subjected to difficult licensing systems than other informal workers and their work is more closely regulated by public health acts.

Another motivation is that most workers in Zimbabwe earn a livelihood in the informal economy and this has proven to be a viable coping strategy in countering low levels of absorption by the formal sector (Mlambo, 2017). Bulawayo is Zimbabwe's second largest city located in the southern part of the country. The rationale behind the selection of the case study area is that Bulawayo has continued to experience considerable growth in the informal economy due to factors such as the slow rate of economic revival, decline in real wage earnings, and a high cost of living (Mlambo, 2017).

[2] The concept of DWDI will be explained in section 1.7 of this chapter and will form the basis of my conceptual chapter three.

This study seeks to fill the gap in literature that currently exists on informal employment and decent work at a global level. Most studies in Zimbabwe on the informal economy have been carried out with an emphasis on sustainable livelihoods and very little research exists on the decent work agenda apart from Luebker's (2008) research on informal workers in Glenview, Harare. A sustainable livelihoods approach focuses on analysing the activities which people carry out to make a living (Scoones, 2015). A decent work approach is concerned with improving the working environment and rights to which all workers are entitled (ILO, 2002). Most studies on decent work have been done in developed countries and have focused mostly on the quality of work standards of formal employees (Dahl et al, 2009; De Bustillo et al, 2009). This provides a considerable motivation for this research to fill the missing gap by investigating the differences (heterogeneity) between different groups of informal workers and assessing the feasibility of the Zimbabwe Decent Work Country Programme from 2012 to 2017. This research intended to bring about new insights on how to better the working conditions of informal workers in Zimbabwe.

1.6 Limitations of the study

The fieldwork was undertaken after the peaceful military coup which took place in Zimbabwe on the 15th of November 2017. This event created a tense atmosphere in the country but the situation later improved after soldiers were recalled to their barracks. The researcher followed the recommendations which were made by the Rhodes University Ethics Committee on safety of the researcher and the study participants because this event had the impact of preventing the fieldwork from being carried out. This event did affect the study because the traders feared that the researcher was collecting information which could be used to remove them from their places of work at a later stage.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter two reviews the literature on the informal sector. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section provides a review of literature which exists on the origins and debates surrounding the informal sector, misconceptions associated with informal employment, drivers and constraints of decent work in the informal economy and heterogeneity and segmentation in the informal economy. This section comes to a conclusion by providing a review of literature on street vendors. The second section of this chapter is based on the informal economy in Zimbabwe and identifies gaps which exist in the literature which this study aimed to fill. Chapter three provides the conceptual framework on decent work which was adopted for the study. This chapter also focuses on the Edward Webster Decent Work Deficit Index which supports the methodology of the study and highlights how this index has been

adopted into this study. Chapter four focuses on explaining the research methodology and outlines the limitations and challenges encountered during the research process. Chapter five focuses on presenting and describing the research findings for the fieldwork. Chapter six focuses on providing an analysis and discussion of the research findings which were highlighted in the previous chapter. Chapter seven forms the conclusion of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2:

Unpacking the Informal Sector/Economy: A Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Having provided an introduction as a starting point to the thesis in Chapter one, this chapter provides a review of key literature relevant to the study. The chapter is structured into two sections as follows. The first section consists of a subset of literature which revolves around the concept of informality. This section begins by conceptualising the three key working definitions which are used to refer to informality. The chapter proceeds to providing a brief literature review on the four main theories which have been debated over time as possible explanations for the creation of the informal sector. The section will then proceed to provide a review of literature on the misconceptions which are associated with informal employment. This section will explain the drivers and constraints of decent work in the informal economy. The remaining part of this section will shed more light on the importance in understanding heterogeneity in the informal economy as this is central to understanding the logic of the research and the scholarly gap which this research intended to fill. Heterogeneity is a concept which can be defined as meaning differences between people. This concept is linked to a study of decent work because for policy makers to promote decent work, they should be in a position to understand that informal workers are differentiated in many ways. Therefore, this should be taken into consideration when analysing informal workers.

The concept of segmentation in the informal economy by gender and employment status will be discussed next as it bears a close relationship with the concept of heterogeneity. This section will come to an end with a review of literature on street vendors which is an important theme in understanding the struggles which these informal workers have faced, as this thesis is based exclusively on street vendors. The second section of this chapter is focussed on reviewing literature specifically related to the informal economy in Zimbabwe. The key areas of interest in this section are the history of the informal economy in Zimbabwe, gender dynamics in the informal economy, economic contribution to the national economy and the relationship between the informal economy and the state.

2.2 Informality; Working Definitions

The literature reveals that an overall definition of the informal economy has proven to be challenging for academics for over four decades (Obeng-Odoom & Ameyaw, 2014). Chen (2018:28) points out that there are three key official statistical terms and definitions which are used to describe informality. Firstly, in 1993, the International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) crafted a definition of the informal sector to mean production and employment that took place in small and or unregistered enterprises (ILO, 1993). Secondly, informal employment refers to all employment which is not covered through social protection, both within and outside the informal sector (ILO, 2003; Chen, 2018). Thirdly, the informal economy refers to all units, activities and workers so defined and the output from them (Vanek et al, 2012; Chen, 2018). Based on these three elements, this has provided much broader and inclusive definitions of informality when compared to previous ones (Chen, 2007; Chen, 2018). However, scholars cited in the literature such as Sinha & Kanbur (2011) and Wilson (2011) argue that despite the presence of these three definitions countries continue to differ on how they conceptualise the informal economy and this has made comparisons difficult. The next section addresses the origins and debates surrounding the informal sector.

2.3 The Informal Sector: Origins and Debates

There have been many postulations regarding the origins of the informal sector. This discussion and debate has evolved from the 1950s to date. This lengthy debate has resulted in there being four dominant schools of thought which have sought to explain the causes of informality (Chen, 2012; Chen, 2018; Ogando et al, 2016). In the literature Chen (2012) suggests that the dominant approaches to explaining the informal economy are the dualist, legalist, structuralist and the voluntarist schools of thought. Lloyd and Leibbrandt (2018) point out that there are many paths to informal employment and the four main theories provide explanations with regards to the different alternatives which people take.

The literature on the origins of the informal sector reveals that the concept of dualism was suggested by scholars such as Boeke (1942; 1961) and Furnivall (1939; 1941) from their studies in South East Asia. These scholars, Furnivall, 1941; Boeke, 1942 and Lewis, 1954 argued that less developed countries were made up of two economies. The first being the capitalist economy which was more capital intensive and the subsistence economy which operated along traditional pre-capitalist modes of production. Dualist scholars advanced the thought that the informal sector comprised of marginal economic activities which had no relationship with the formal sector and were a source of income for the urban poor (ILO, 1972; Hart, 1973; Sethuraman, 1976; Tokman,

1978). The legalist school of thought argues that informal workers made the decision to operate informally to avoid the costs and time involved during formal registration (De Soto, 1989; De Soto, 2000). This postulation was popularised by Peruvian economist Hernando De Soto who was promoting the interests of street vendors and informal work and labelled it as the key to survival. Proponents of the structuralist school of thought such as Standing (1999) have pointed out that globalisation has contributed to the growth of informal employment in many developing countries. Structuralists argue that capitalism drives informality through formal firms trying to reduce labour costs and increase profits at the expense of workers and governments (Moser, 1978; Castells & Portes, 1989). Scholars such as Portes et al, 1989; Castells & Benton, 1989 argue that the informal economy was structured in such a way that it became a permanent secondary and dependent feature of modern capitalist development. The voluntarist school of thought advanced the notion that informal workers deliberately avoid formal regulation and taxation and opt to operate informally (Maloney, 2004). Understanding each of these four perspectives suggests that there are different methods which can be used as drivers and constraints of decent work. The next section addresses the misconceptions which continue to surround informal work.

2.4 Misconceptions associated with Informal Employment

Scholars involved with the World Bank such as Schneider & Enste, 2000; Schneider et al, 2010; and Feld & Schneider, 2009 have been identified as being at the forefront of propagating the misconceptions that the informal economy is the shadow economy. Schneider et al (2010) define the shadow economy as all market based legal production of goods and services which are hidden from public authorities because of the need to avoid the payment of taxes, social security contributions, meeting labour market standards and participating in national surveys. In addition, Chen (2012) suggests that other approaches cited in the literature argue that the informal economy in developed countries is viewed as promoting illegal and underground production; where underground production is conceptualised as production activities which are concealed from the state (United Nations Statistical Commission, 1993). The informal economy differs from the shadow economy in that it focuses on providing legal goods and services whilst the shadow economy thrives on the opposite.

Informality has been misinterpreted to mean disorder, yet the reality of this assumption is the opposite (ILO, 2002). The informal economy functions in an orderly fashion and has its own set of rules, arrangements and institutions which when merged together form its own political economy (ILO, 2002). The only misinterpretation is that informal workers operate on the

periphery of the law, but this does not mean that they do not abide by and follow the regulations of the state (ILO, 2002; WIEGO, 2015).

A hugely cited misconception in the literature which has been commonly associated with informal workers is that they avoid paying taxes and fees to the state (Roever & Skinner, 2006; Chen, 2018). The literature reveals that because of the assumption that informal workers operate freely at the expense of the state, policymakers have subjected the informal economy to continuous harassment, intimidation and persecution (Peters, 2009; Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Adaawen, 2012). Contemporary research reveals that street vendors pay a variety of taxes and operating fees to the state (Roever, 2014; Adamtey, 2014; Budlender, 2015; Kanbur & Keen, 2015). In addition, WIEGO, 2015 and Chen, 2018 argue that informal traders pay value added tax (VAT) but are unable to charge it onto their goods when selling their wares. Contemporary research in countries such as Ghana and Nigeria has suggested that if the state dialogues with informal workers through their respective associations, they are more likely to pay their taxes (Joshi & Ayee, 2002; Meagher, 2013). Chen & Beard (2018) argue that a challenge exists in that informal market traders and street vendors are not accessing any benefits from paying these operating fees and taxes. If these misconceptions continue to be perpetuated by critics of informal employment, it could mean that policymakers and government officials will continue to have a negative perception of the informal economy. This could work against any attempts of promoting decent work in the informal economy. The following section reviews the literature on the constraints of decent work in the informal economy.

2.5 Constraints of Decent Work in the Informal Economy

This section will first proceed to identify the constraints of decent work in the informal economy. The ILO (2002), Bamu-Chipunza (2018) identify the law as a constraint to decent work in the informal economy. Bamu-Chipunza (2018) argues that a gap exists between international law, constitutional laws and labour laws. Bamu-Chipunza (2018) argues that international law guarantees informal workers the right to a safe and healthy workplace as a human right, however, these are not provided for in labour laws. According to Bamu-Chipunza (2018) the law can be retrogressive to the informal economy. For example, the wording in the South African Labour Act does not allow for informal traders organisations to register as trade unions.

Scholars in the literature such as Standing, 1999; Webster et al 2008 argue that globalisation is leading to the creation of informal employment which lacks basic protections and decent working standards. It has been argued in the literature by Philip, 2018; Webster et al 2008 argue that the structure of the economy which favours large business over small enterprises is a constraint to

decent work in the informal economy. Philip (2018) argues that structural factors constrain the growth and limits the potential of informal enterprises in the South African context.

Gender discrimination has also been identified in the literature as a challenge to the achievement of decent work in the informal economy. Ogando et al (2017) argue that gender inequalities mean that women are not entitled to the same income earning opportunities as their male counterparts. Furthermore, biological, religious and cultural factors limit the potential of women to realising decent and gainful employment opportunities (UNIFEM, 2005).

Scholars such as Hart, 1973; ILO, 2003 argue that migration is a constraint to decent work. These scholars argue that the persistent trend of rural-urban migration means that the phenomenon of informal employment will continue to persist in poor working conditions. This is because rural migrants do not usually end up finding formal employment opportunities in the city as expected and resort to informal work as a livelihood strategy.

Local governance and urban planning have been oriented in a punitive way with regards to the informal economy. Scholars such as Chen & Beard, 2018; Roever & Skinner, 2016 argue that the literature identifies that the construction of malls and town-house complexes often displaces informal workers such as street vendors from their desirable places of work to unattractive areas. For example, during the run up to the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup in South Africa, the Durban Municipality proposed to construct a mall in the Warwick Junction Market area which was ultimately rejected by advocacy efforts by an advocacy organisation called Asiye eTafuleni (Chen & Beard, 2018). The next section focuses on the drivers of decent work which are some of the strategies which can be used to overcome the constraints of decent work.

2.6 Drivers of Decent Work in the Informal Economy

The literature identifies that organising is a driver of decent work in the informal economy. Scholars such as Chen & Beard, 2018; Saha, 2017; Roever & Skinner, 2016 argue that organising within the informal economy helps give informal workers a collective voice which enables them to dialogue more effectively with policy makers, law makers and representatives in government. For example, the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) has been cited in the literature as being instrumental in organising street vendors in India and mediating evictions with municipal officials on behalf of street vendors. SEWA and the National Association of Street Vendors of India (NASVI) successfully lobbied for legal reform which ultimately resulted in the National Policy on Urban Street Vendors of India 2004. Another example cited in the literature is the work

of Asiye Etafuleni (AeT) which is an organisation which provides urban planning design and legal support to informal workers in the Warwick Junction in Durban (Chen & Beard, 2018). The following section will review the literature on the constraints to decent work in the informal economy such as law, globalisation, gender, local governance and urban planning.

Scholars such as Alfers et al, 2016 and Bamu-Chipunza, 2018 have identified social protection as one driver of decent work within the informal economy. Alfers et al (2016) argue that social protection can be used as a tool to promote decent work. An example of this is seen in the Phephanathi Platform which is based in the Warwick Junction markets in Durban, South Africa which seeks to extend occupational health and safety to informal workers. This example has shown that it is possible to organise informal workers around the issue of social protection which they are currently denied in most cases. The next section introduces the concept of heterogeneity which is important to understanding the diversity surrounding informal workers.

2.7 Heterogeneity in the Informal Economy

Contemporary literature reveals that scholars associated with the WIEGO network have advanced the argument that the concept of heterogeneity must be included when analysing the informal economy. Scholars such as Chen & Beard, 2018; Chen, 2012 argue that the informal economy is heterogeneous in nature and this means that is comprised of different forms of economic activities in multiple economic sectors. Heterogeneity is a key characteristic of the informal economy in developing countries (Unni & Rani, 2003; Chen, 2012; Skinner, 2018). The term informal sector was found to be a misleading term in explaining the complex heterogeneous economic activities which characterise this nature of work. This is because a sector represents one specific economic activity yet this type of work comprises of multiple economic sectors. According to Fourie (2018) the term informal economy is both an inclusive and acceptable term to represent the diverse group of workers and enterprises in urban areas who operate informally.

Informal workers differ according to their place of work, branch of economic activity, status in employment and through occupational groups. Place of work and geographical location are a major cause for concern for informal workers (Fourie, 2018). This is why spatial dynamics must be taken into consideration when using the concept of heterogeneity in the informal economy (Fourie, 2018). For example, provinces, metropolitan areas, non-metropolitan areas. Towns and cities all have different sizes and manifestations of informal employment. Therefore, it is crucial that policymakers support different provinces and local governments with the own tailored informal economy solutions. It remains significant to note that the diversity of informal workers means that the problems and needs which they face are bound to be different (Chen, 2018; Fourie,

2018). Informal workers can be categorised according to occupational group. For example, they can be clothing traders, food vendors, home workers and waste pickers. Classifying informal workers according to occupational group sheds more insight into the daily work experiences these workers face and helps one understand the different risks which they are exposed to whilst at work.

Informal workers can also differ according to status in employment and can be classified under self-employment, wage employment, unpaid family worker and members of producers' cooperatives (Chen, 2012; Rogan et al, 2017). Rogan et al (2017) argue that it is important to focus on the differentiation of status in employment because this is a crucial lens in identifying how working conditions and risks affect informal workers in developing countries. It is also important to acknowledge heterogeneity of the informal economy by economic activity/industry (Fourie, 2018). This is because different industries/economic sectors are faced with different challenges to grow and remain competitive hence they require different policy responses (Fourie, 2018). This means that each group of informal workers requires a specific tailor-made solution to address challenges which affect the nature of their work.

Most studies which have been carried on the informal economy in Zimbabwe have not focused on the concept of heterogeneity. This is the scholarly gap which this research aimed to make a valuable contribution to by providing an intra-sectoral comparative analysis as to how decent work relates to food vendors and clothing traders. Policy related research must consider that informal workers occupy different work spaces, represent different economic sectors, value chains, occupational groups and genders etc. A South African study of decent work conditions between security guards and clothing traders by Webster & Sefalafala (2016) revealed that there is an importance to disaggregate sectors when looking at working conditions from the view of formality or informality. Having demonstrated the importance of the concept of heterogeneity in understanding the differences amongst informal workers; in the next part of this chapter it is necessary to explain gender dynamics and segmentation in the informal economy.

2.8 Segmentation in the Informal Economy by Gender and Employment Status

Segmentation is the process of dividing informal workers into groups. Segmentation may also occur using criteria such as gender, economic sector and race. For example, the segments can be based on employees, informal wage workers-regular, own-account operators, informal wage workers-casual, industrial/homeworkers and contributing family workers. Segmentation differs from heterogeneity because it focuses on homogeneity which means the state of being similar.

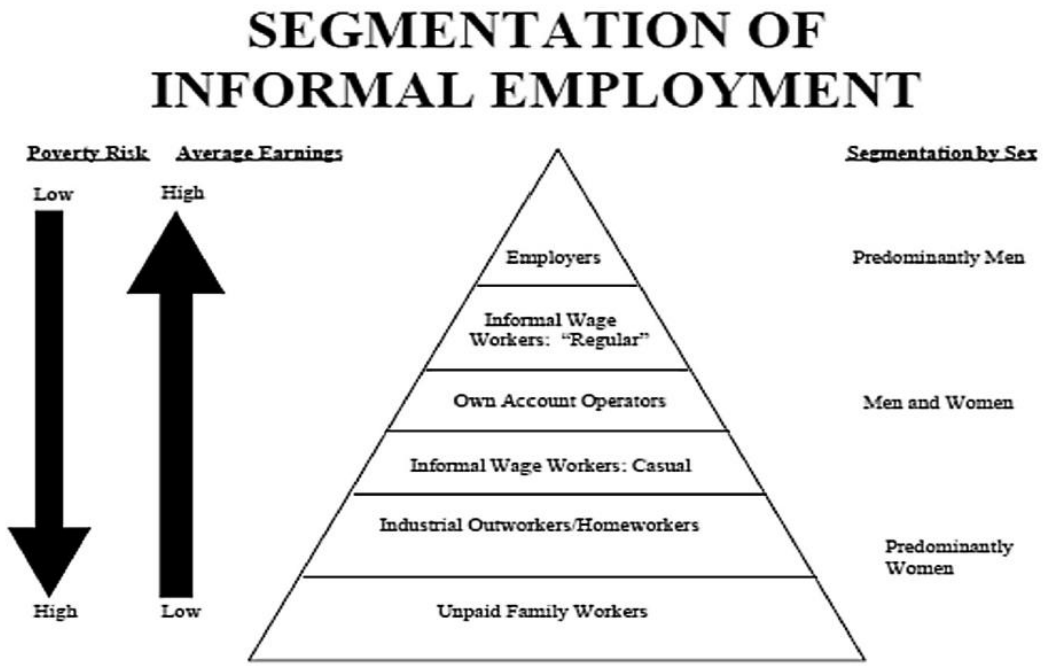
There is also some literature available on gender disparities and the challenges which exist in the informal economy. Scholars in the literature such as Chen, 2018; Ogando et al, 2016 argue that women and men are impacted differently in the highly vulnerable segmented informal economy. The literature identifies individual challenges which highlight that women suffer double discrimination in the informal economy. Firstly, from being undermined as women as they are a majority in an economic sector which is poorly supported by government. Secondly, due to their occupation as informal workers (UNIFEM, 2005; Saha, 2017). A more recent body of literature on a study on the personal experiences of women and men who work as informal waste collectors in four cities, Ogando et al, 2016 centred their research on examining to what extent occupational, political-legal, economic and social dynamics impact gender differently in the urban informal economy. A key finding of this study was that gendered power dynamics play a significant role in accessing opportunities in the segmented urban informal economy. Women remain vulnerable to institutionalised gender-based harassment in the labour market when interacting with the state, local government and fellow male workers.

UNIFEM, 2005; Saha, 2017; Lund & Nicholson, 2004 argue that gender inequalities are high between men and women in the informal economy when it comes to income and earnings. Lund & Nicholson (2004) indicate that at a global level, women are under-represented in high income activities and over-represented in low income activities. Ogando et al (2016) argue that women are relatively poor when compared to their male counterparts in the informal economy. Likewise, Lund & Nicholson (2004) highlight that the income gap in the informal economy is higher between men and women than it is in the formal economy. Recent studies by Saha, 2010; Saha, 2014 on street vendors in India found out that differences in gender have an impact on income earning opportunities in the informal economy. Chen (2018) argues that women earn lower incomes when compared to their male counterparts and this is mostly due to the fact that women are located in the lower levels of the informal economy. The income gender gap in the informal economy is a topic which has been articulated extensively in the literature by various scholars such Chen, 2018; Saha, 2017; Lund & Nicholson, 2004 who have pointed out the differences in earnings and incomes opportunities between men and women despite them doing the same work.

The literature reveals that Chen (2018) has advocated that for policy makers to fully understand poverty in the informal economy, they must be able to understand the process of segmentation that takes place within it. In the late 1990s, the WIEGO network developed a multi-segmented model of informal employment defined according to status in employment. The six segments which highlight employment status in the WIEGO model are; employers, informal wage workers, own account workers, casual wage workers, industrial outworkers/subcontracted workers, and

unpaid contributing family workers (Chen, 2018; Rogan et al, 2017; Chen, 2012). The WIEGO hierarchical pyramid provides an illustration of how economic risks and poverty vulnerability are differentiated within the informal economy. This is depicted in Figure 1 below, which shows that segments at the top of the pyramid have a lower poverty risk and have higher earnings whilst the opposite is the reality for the segments which are located at the bottom of the pyramid.

Figure 1: WIEGO Model of Informal Employment: Hierarchy of Earnings & Poverty Risk by Employment Status & Sex



Source: UNIFEM (2005); Chen (2018); Chen (2012); Rogan et al (2017)

Scholars within the WIEGO network such as Chen, 2018 have advanced the school of thought that to promote decent work within the informal economy policy makers should take the concept of segmentation into consideration because it is important in showing inequalities. Chen (2012:4) argues that within a country the informal economy is highly segmented be economic sector, place of work, status of employment and within these segments by social group and gender. This helps give more clarity in explaining the segmented nature of the informal economy. Each segment in the WIEGO pyramid is characterized by a different employment status and this pyramid can be further analysed from a gendered perspective (Chen, 2012). The pyramid illustrates that the upper segments of the informal economy are dominated by men whilst the bottom end of the informal economy is dominated by women. This provides a conceptualisation that gender disparities which exist in the informal economy need to be considered when addressing the challenges which are faced broadly by informal workers. Each segment has its own level of poverty risk and average

earnings associated with it and women are perceived to have a higher risk of poverty and low earnings when compared to men.

Another challenge cited in the literature by Chen, 2004; Chen, 2005 is that critics of informal employment seem to lack an understanding that there is an essential relationship between informality, poverty and inequality. Therefore, it is crucial to point out that each segment has its own unique needs and challenges (Chen, 2012). For example, the needs and challenges of an informal wage worker and an informal own account operator are distinct and need to be addressed separately. This resonates with the words of Rogan et al, 2017 who points out that policy response to each segment of the informal economy must be different, or suited to different needs. The next section of this chapter focusses on the literature which exists on the relationship on street vendors because this group or segment of informal workers are the main focus of this study.

2.9 Street Vendors

An important theme identified in the literature includes the failure of governments in developing countries to recognise informal workers; in particular street vendors and their enterprises as contributing economic agents (Chen 2018). The lack of recognition continues despite the fact that studies have revealed that in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), informal trade accounts for 43 per cent of all informal non-agricultural employment (Adamtey, 2014). Contemporary research which has been carried out on street vendors by the African Food Security Network (AFSUN) pointed out that in their study 70 per cent of the 6 453 households surveyed across eleven SSA cities sourced their food from informal outlets once a week. Similarly, Steyn et al's (2013) review of twenty-three studies which focussed on food found that adults had a thirteen to fifty per cent daily energy intake from street foods. Scholars such as Chen & Beard, 2018; Roever & Skinner, 2016; D'Haese & Van Huylenbroeck, 2005; Bissiker, 2006 argue that this research has significantly contributed to highlighting the role that informal food vendor's play in providing food to very food insecure households in African countries. Similarly, Battersby (2015) in Fukuda-Parr & Taylor (2015) argues that food vendors are part of the urban food system and have a critical role to play in strengthening food security amongst the urban poor. The popularity of informal food retailers stems from their flexibility in their location, longer operating hours and their ability to be responsive to poor households needs and this makes them a preferred option when compared to formal retail outlets (Battersby, 2015). Saha's (2017) extensive research on street vendors in India argues that they have an important role to play in the urban economy and indicates that this can be illustrated through the backward and forward linkages which they operate through. For example, street vendors

generate demand for services provided by formal shops and suppliers by purchasing their goods from them (Roever & Skinner, 2016).

A debate which recurs in the literature is the struggle surrounding street vendors, local governments and public space (Saha, 2017; Roever & Skinner, 2016; Kamete, 2013; Potts, 2007). Rogan et al (2017) indicates that the first point of contact between informal workers and the state is at the local government level. Chen & Beard, 2018 argue that this is because local governments and municipalities are accorded jurisdiction over urban areas where most informal work such as street vending is carried out in public spaces. Scholars such as Chen (2018), Chen & Beard (2018), Saha (2017), Roever & Skinner (2016), Kamete (2013) and Potts (2007) all argue that many local governments in developing countries have adopted an exclusionary approach with regards to dealing with informal workers in urban areas. The exclusionary approach has been driven by the belief and aspiration of attaining a 'world class city' status which includes among its objectives, the desire to develop and modernize existing infrastructure and facilities with close similarity to European development patterns (Wekwete, 1994; Potts, 2007a; Kamete, 2013). Contemporary research into the rationale behind negative policies towards street vendors by scholars such as Roever & Skinner (2016) has revealed that local governments associate street vendors with 'backwardness and dirt' and cite them as a negative factor to attracting international investors and tourists. This illusion of achieving modernity through world class clean cities in developing countries has led to a biased urban city planning policy which is largely in favour of global capital (Kamete, 2013). Chen & Beard (2018) support the previous postulation and clarify that very little space is provided to street vendors, even licensed ones within the city centre.

Recent scholarship on the exclusion of informal workers has been advanced by the WIEGO network who have suggested that street vendors are mostly excluded through three practices namely; relocation, eviction and regulation (Roever & Skinner, 2016). For example, exclusionary tendencies include practices such as extreme large-scale violent evictions, relocation to marginal trading locations and the continued ongoing harassment of street vendors by state officials. The criminalization of street vending suggests that their activities are not viewed as being part of the economy but are viewed as an urban governance problem (Chen, 2018; Skinner, 2018). Numerous examples of these three processes have been reviewed from the literature with extreme cases such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Nigeria and Malawi have been explored (Roever & Skinner, 2016; Kamete, 2013). However, an important gap in research which has been noted by Roever & Skinner, 2016 is the lack of studies which have focused on the daily challenges that street vendors face, even when licensed because of their uncertain access to urban space. This is one area in which this research intended to contribute to by documenting the working experiences of some licensed street

traders in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. The following section of this chapter provides a historical overview of the informal economy in Zimbabwe.

Section Two

A Literature Review on the Zimbabwe Informal Economy

2.10 Introduction

The previous section reviewed the literature which exists on the origins of the informal sector, working definitions and misconceptions which are associated with informal employment. The previous section also reviewed literature on the concept of heterogeneity and segmentation in the informal economy which has been advanced by the WIEGO network and contemporary scholars such as Chen, 2018; Rogan et al, 2017; and Webster et al, 2016 who argue that it is important to disaggregate informal workers according to different segments to facilitate for a much inclusive and gender sensitive policy making process. The previous section came to a conclusion with a review of literature on street vendors which has been cited as one occupation which has played a significant role in the debate on the informal economy. This section reviews the literature which exists on the informal economy in Zimbabwe and these are the key areas of focus: history, gender, economic contribution and relationship of the state with the informal economy.

2.11 Informal Employment in Zimbabwe: A Historical Overview

There exists a numerous amount of literature on the historical evolution and growth of the informal economy in Zimbabwe. Scholars in the literature such as Mlambo & Kayizzi-Mugerwa, 1991; Durevall & Mlambo, 1995; Weeks and Mosley, 1996 argue that the ability of the Zimbabwean economy to create employment as well as absorb labour began to decline in the mid-1970s and this situation worsened in the 1980s. Ncube (2000) agrees with this assertion and provides evidence that the share of formal sector component of total employment declined from 47 per cent in 1982 to 31 per cent in 1995.

Scholars in the literature such as Mhone, 1995; Muchichwa, 2015 argue that Zimbabwe is one of the few countries in Africa that had a small informal economy upon achieving independence from colonial rule. Table 1 below illustrates that pre-independence in 1969, Zimbabwe -formerly Rhodesia at the time- had an informal sector which was only 2.1 per cent of the entire workforce. Three main narratives dominate the literature and will be explained in this section. In 1980, Zimbabwe's informal economy was estimated to be at 10 per cent[3] of the total labour force (Mcpherson, 1991; Mhone, 1995). Ncube (2000) argues that this low figure can be explained by the fact that the informal economy was neglected by the colonial government and labour statistics

[3] This statistic differs with the data which is presented in Table 1 because of irregularities in informal sector data in Zimbabwe.

were deliberately manipulated to depict a shortage of labour in Zimbabwe. Whilst on the other hand, other authors such as Muchichwa, 2015 argue that restrictive migration policies limited the movement of Africans from rural to urban areas to search for formal employment. Scholars such as Morris, 1976; Ncube, 2000 argue that another explanation with regards to the small informal economy size is that the Zimbabwe state inherited a dual economy which was a result of the process of primitive accumulation which forced African people off their land to become wage labourers. The dual labour market can be defined as a labour market which is separated according to race where one catered for whites and the other for black Africans (Ncube, 2000). Also, a dual labour market involves one which caters for formal employment whilst the other may cater for informal employment. However, scholars have different explanations regarding the growth of informal employment in Zimbabwe in different periods across time and these will be explained in detail below (Peters-Berries, 1993; Gibbon, 1995; Ncube, 2000; Muchichwa, 2015).

Table 1: Sectoral Composition of Gainful Employment in Zimbabwe 1969, 1982 and 1986/87

Year	**1969**	**1969**	**1982**	**1982**	**1986/87**	**1986/87**
Sector	**No.**	**Percentage**	**No.**	**Percentage**	**No.**	**Percentage**
Formal	716	44.6	1,044	47.1	1,102	35.3
Commercial Agriculture	259	16.0	275	12.4	312	10.0
Non-agriculture	457	28.6	769	34.7	790	25.3
Communal and Small-scale farming	868	54.1	1,041	47.0	1,789	57.3
Informal	34	2.1	131	5.9	231	7.4
Non-agricultural	n. a	n. a	n. a	n. a	100	3.2
Total	1,618	100.0	2,216	100.0	3,123	100.0

Source: World Bank: (1991: 8)[4]

It is important to note that other scholars in the literature cite the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) as one of the main contributory causes for the growth and expansion of the informal economy in Zimbabwe. Muchichwa (2015) argues that the role of the government as the 'employer of last resort' began to diminish from 1991 under the ESAP period. Authors such as Mhone, 1995; Gibbon, 1995; Ncube, 2000 and Muchichwa, 2015 argue that the ESAP led to massive retrenchments, the closure of companies and the reduction of the public sector in the year 1993. For clarification, Ncube (2000) points out that during the ESAP period the private and public sectors retrenched between 20 000 and 26 000 formal workers. Sachikonye in Gibbon

[4] The data are drawn from different sources and are therefore not fully comparable. However, the direction of change indicated by the data is considered reliable. The estimate of informal sector employment, defined by the Zimbabwe Labour Force as individuals working in a non-registered establishment is considered grossly underestimated (World Bank:1991). This applies to tables 1 and 2.

(1995) argues that significant retrenchments of workers occurred in the textiles and clothing, paper products, footwear, metal products and steel and mining economic sectors. Sachikonye in Gibbon (1995) points out that by March 1993, about 8 000 workers were retrenched in the clothing and textiles sub-sector and several textile companies closed down. Peters-Berries, 1993; Gibbon, 1995; Mhone, 1995; Muchichwa, 2015 argue that retrenchments catalysed the exodus of many formally employed people to the informal economy.

Informal employment increased from 10 per cent of total employment in 1980 to 23 per cent in 1992[5] and subsequently rose to 30 per cent in 2003 (Muchichwa, 2015). The slight growth of informal employment from 1992 to 2003 can be explained in many ways. However, as mentioned earlier the major cited challenge in the Zimbabwe economy during this period was the negative impact of the structural adjustment programme (Peters-Berries, 1993; Ncube, 2000; Muchichwa, 2015). Peters-Berries (1993) argues that the ESAP allowed for the Labour Relations Act (LRA) to be amended to facilitate quicker retrenchments of formal workers. Furthermore, the role of the government in overseeing labour disputes was greatly shifted to employment councils. This resulted in more than 30 000 workers from parastatals and the civil service being retrenched (Peters-Berries, 1993). Muchichwa (2015) argues that a subsidiary factor is the drought of 1991/92 which has been viewed as another contributing reason, which forced agricultural workers and rural inhabitants to migrate to urban areas to look for formal employment, which they failed to find and opted for informal employment. Matondi (2012) argues that the failure of the fast track land reform programme (FTLRP) led to the crumbling of the agriculture sector which catalysed the de-industrialisation of the economy.

Scholars in the literature such as Mcpherson, 1991; CSO, 2006; ZimStat, 2012; ZimStat, 2015 argue that the growth of informal employment increased rapidly from 30 per cent in 2003 to 84.5 per cent in 2011 and steadily rose to 94.5 per cent in 2014 or 5.9 million people. Muchichwa (2015) argues that the huge increase in informal employment from the period 2003 to 2011 can be attributed to the factors surrounding the Zimbabwe economic crisis which was at its peak during this period. The literature identifies that the severe economic decline of the Zimbabwean economy in 2008 and the hyperinflation which stood at 231 million per cent forced the remaining formal employees to quit their formal jobs and turn to informal employment for survival (Muchichwa, 2015). Authors in the literature such as Muchichwa (2015) argue that it must be noted that at this stage, the informal economy became the bedrock of the Zimbabwe economy and this has

[5] According to Grabrucker et al, 2018 this differs with a level of 39.7 per cent in 2004 reported by ILO. These figures should be treated with caution due to data issues such as discrepancies in definitions and sample design etc.

continued until the present. The following section describes the gender distribution in the informal economy in Zimbabwe.

2.12 Gender shares in the Zimbabwe Informal Economy

A considerable amount of literature exists on women and the informal economy in Zimbabwe. Scholars in the literature such as Moyo et al, 1984; Mcpherson, 1991; World Bank, 1991b; Peters-Berries, 1993; Mead, 1994; Mhone, 1995; and Muchichwa, 2015 who carried out earlier studies on the informal economy in Zimbabwe all argue that women have dominated a major share of the informal economy in Zimbabwe because colonial labour policies restricted their participation to household duties and communal agricultural activities. According to Ncube (2000) Zimbabwe inherited a colonial dual labour market which included wage and gender biases. Ncube (2000) argues that the colonial administration in Zimbabwe -formerly Rhodesia- used the labour market to advance its policy of discrimination. For example, the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 which governed labour policy at that time did not define Africans as employees and this forced them to earn a livelihood through the wage labour market (Ncube, 2000).

Scholars cited in the literature such as the World Bank, 1991b and Muchichwa, 2015 argue that women have been historically disadvantaged in accessing education and formal employment opportunities which restricted their full participation in the formal economy and forced them to seek a livelihood in the informal economy. Key studies cited in the literature on the informal economy in Zimbabwe by the ILO/SATEP, 1984; World Bank, 1991b; Peters-Berries, 1993 found that women engaged in less skilled activities and occupied specific economic sectors such as textiles, retail trade, vegetable selling and food catering whilst the lucrative economic sectors such as transport and mining were dominated by men.

Peters-Berries (1993) argues that the importance of the informal economy with regards to women's economic emancipation in Zimbabwe has been understated by government institutions since 1980. Statistics revealing the share of female composition in the informal economy have been reviewed by various sources in the literature such as the World Bank, 1991b; CSO, 2006; ZimStat, 2012 and Muchichwa, 2015. Table 2 below shows that female composition in the informal economy accounted for 39.2 per cent in 1982 and decreased slightly to 35.0 per cent in the period 1986[6]/87. Mcpherson (1991) estimated the share of women's participation in the informal economy at 57 per cent in 1991. Women share in informal employment decreased slightly to 53 per cent in 2004

[6] The data in Figure 1 was drawn from different sources and is therefore not fully comparable. However, the growth of women participation in the informal economy is reliable. Statistics for 1969 are not present because they were under review at the time the report was prepared.

and this figure remained constant according to the 2011 labour force survey (CSO, 2006; ZimStat, 2012). Female participation in the informal economy declined marginally from 53 percent in 2011 to 49 percent in 2014 (ZimStat, 2015). According to Muchichwa (2015) the recent decline of female participation could be explained by the ongoing closure of formal companies and industries. Muchichwa (2015) argues that redundancy has forced men to compete for livelihood earning opportunities along with marginalized women in the already congested informal economy). The next section highlights the economic contribution of the informal economy to the Zimbabwe gross domestic product (GDP).

Table 2: Composition of Gainful Employment in Zimbabwe by Gender 1969, 1982 and 1986/87

Year	**1969**		**1969**		**1982**		**1982**		**1986/87**		**1986/87**	
	Male		**Female**		**Male**		**Female**		**Male**		**Female**	
Sector	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Formal	630	n.a	86	n.a	878	97.3%	166	60.8%	830	91.0%	272	65.0%
Informal		(34)[7]			24	2.7%	107	39.2%	83	9.0%	148	35.0%
Total		(750)			902	100.0%	273	100.0%	913	100.0%	420	100.0%

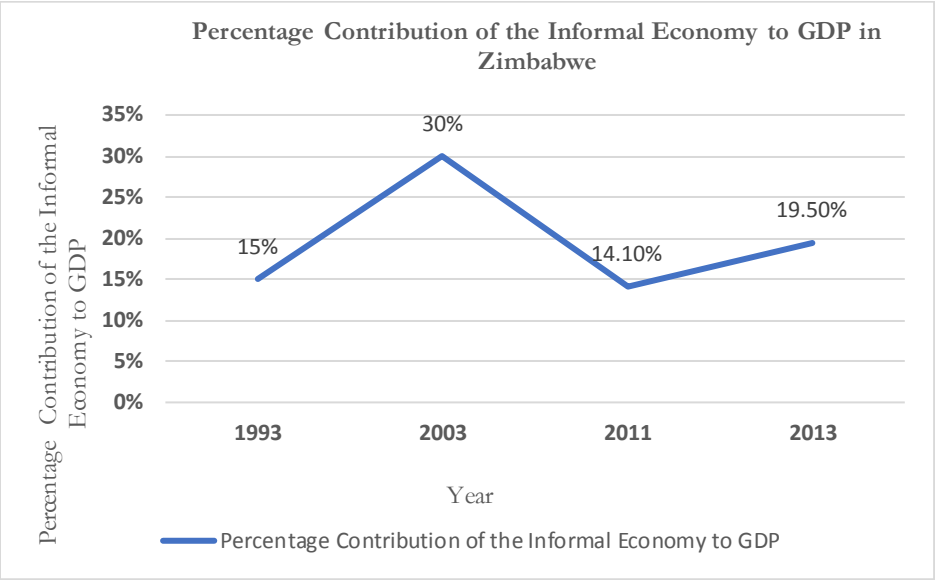
Source: Bennell, (1990); World Bank: (1991b: 8); Census of Population, (1982); Advance Census Report, (1982), Labour Force Survey, (1986/87)

2.13 Economic Contribution of the Informal Economy to the Gross Domestic Product

Fourie (2018) argue that GDP is one measure which may be used to highlight the contribution of the informal economy to the national economy. Overall the economic contribution of the informal economy to GDP has been widely debated and a strong argument has been made by authors in support of this in the Zimbabwean context. In the literature various scholars and studies such as Gemini, 1993; Makochekanwa, 2010; ZimStat, 2013; Muchichwa, 2015 and ZimStat, 2015 have been instrumental in highlighting the economic contribution of the informal economy to the Zimbabwe GDP. Figure 2 on the next page highlights the contribution of the informal economy to the GDP of Zimbabwe from 1993 to 2013. The statistics on the next page point out that in 1993 the informal economy contributed 15 per cent to GDP, which increased to 30 per cent in 2003 during the crisis period. From 2003, the informal economy contribution to GDP decreased rapidly to 14.10[8] per cent in 2011 and marginally increased to 19.50 per cent in 2013 or a total value added of US$ 1.73 billion (ZimStat, 2013; Muchichwa, 2015).

[7] Data in brackets was under review during the time and was not provided for in the table above.
[8] This differs slightly with the Poverty Income Consumption Expenditure Survey (PICES) survey which reported informal sector contribution to be 14. 2 per cent in 2011.

Figure 2: Percentage Contribution of the Informal Economy to GDP



Source: Gemini (1993); Makochekanwa (2010); Muchichwa (2015); ZIMSTAT (2015)

In a recent study on the informal economy in Zimbabwe by Medina et al (2016), their research findings estimated that US$ 7 billion was believed to be circulating within this economy. This study's findings bear equal resemblance to the FinScope micro, small and medium enterprises (MSME) survey study which was conducted in 2012 and concluded that the revenue circulating within the Zimbabwe informal economy was estimated to be more than US$ 7.4 billion. According to Muchichwa (2015) previous studies magnify the economic importance of the informal economy within the Zimbabwean context though it continues to receive little or no recognition from the state for its efforts in sustaining the economy.

Dube and Casale (2017) have made a valuable contribution to the literature on informal sector taxes in Zimbabwe. According to Dube & Casale (2017) data on the contribution of informal workers and enterprises to the tax base of the government is scant because the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA) faces serious challenges with regards to carrying out its mandate of tax collection in the complex informal economy. Dube & Casale (2017) point out that presumptive tax collections increased from US$ 1.39 million in 2009, which represented 0.14 per cent of total tax revenues, to US$ 13.1 million in 2011 which represented 0.45 per cent of total tax revenues. Presumptive tax legislation was introduced to broaden the government revenue base because of the increase in informal enterprise activities in Zimbabwe (Dube & Casale, 2017).

According to Muchichwa (2015) the main challenge with informal enterprises is that they do not pay income tax which is collected from the employer making it difficult for ZIMRA to account for taxation in this economy. In a study on informal workers in Harare, Dube & Casale (2017) revealed that tax compliance amongst informal workers is very low with only individuals and enterprises in easily identifiable sectors being taxed such as those working in the taxi minibus industry and hairdressing salons.

Bird & Zolt (2008) argue that the informal economy reduces the tax revenue base of the national government. Dube & Casale's (2017) findings pointed out that the lack of cohesion between the Finance Ministry and ZIMRA who are responsible for tax collection in Zimbabwe is one major explanation with regards to the non-compliance in payment of taxes by those in the informal economy. According to Dube & Casale (2017) selective application of tax regulations, corruption at the ports of entry and a weakened state are important factors to consider when analysing the failure of the informal economy to fully realise its tax potential. The following section of this chapter reviews literature on the relationship between the state and the informal economy since 1980 till present.

2.14 The Relationship of the State with the Informal Economy 1980-2018

The literature surrounding the state and the informal economy acknowledges that Zimbabwe inherited a state from its colonial predecessors that had laws and regulations which suppressed African communities from establishing urban enterprises (World Bank, 1991; Peters-Berries, 1993). For example, these include but are not limited to the Companies Act of 1973, Urban Councils Act Chapter 214, Bulawayo Hawkers and Street Vendors by-law of 1973, Public Health Act, Licensing Act, and the Zoning Regulations Act. The World Bank (1991b) and Peters-Berries (1993) argue that these laws were crafted and implemented with the objective of curtailing African entrepreneurship. According to Peters-Berries (1993) informal workers failed to register their enterprises because the Companies Act had a long and demanding registration process which required one to produce documents of investment capital, title deeds and collateral which they did not have. The unnecessary lengthy and arduous requirements of this Act restricted informal workers from formally registering their enterprises so that they could acquire state assistance and fall under the legal regulatory framework (World Bank, 1991b; Peters-Berries, 1993). The literature indicates that the findings of two studies carried out by ILO/SATEP (1989) and McPherson (1991) revealed that the legal and regulatory framework was hostile to informal workers. An interesting finding by McPherson's (1991:27) study was that informal workers did not view the legal environment as a problem but that they were forced to adapt to it.

There is also some literature available on informal work and urban planning in Zimbabwe. Scholars such as Kamete (2013) argue that urban planning has failed to incorporate informal livelihoods in city plans. Potts (2007) points out that the colonial-era anti-informality approaches to urban planning in Zimbabwe have been extended into the post-independence period and have been adopted by the current government. The literature indicates that the regulatory urban by-laws, which are overseen and enforced by urban councils have had a strong impact on the informal economy because they control and restrict the sale of goods and services in urban towns and cities (Leiman, 1984:12; World Bank, 1991; World Bank, 1991b). The World Bank (1991b:38) argues that zoning regulations made it illegal for informal enterprises to take place in the residential areas which crippled informal workers from flourishing when conducting home based work. The World Bank (1991b) and authors such as Peters-Berries (1993), Kamete (2013) argue that the urban by-laws and regulations are archaic and are no longer able to provide guidance for local authorities on how to deal with the present situation of a highly informalised Zimbabwean economy and only act as a deterrent towards small scale business development.

Peters-Berries (1993), Muchichwa (2015) argue that in the early years after independence the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) advanced and supported the informal economy. According to Muchichwa (2015) from 1980, the government set out to address colonial imbalances in the broader economy. This saw two economic policies namely; the Growth with Equity-1981 and the Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) - (1982-85) being implemented with the objective to promote and formalize informal employment. However, GoZ (1991:12) points out that the thrust of these policies aimed more to address social inequities such as the land re-distribution programme, free primary education and payed less attention to the national economic situation which was born out of a system which was meant to perpetuate inequality between the white minority and the majority African natives. In the 1990s, the Zimbabwe government began to relax some of these regulations to promote the development of informal enterprises (GOZ, 1991:12) In August 1991, the De-Regulation Committee (DRC) was created by the Government of Zimbabwe with the objective of reviewing and amending retrogressive by-laws and regulations that impeded small-scale businesses and informal employment (Peters-Berries, 1993).

According to Peters-Berries (1993) the DRC was also created with the objective of creating employment through self- entrepreneurship in the informal economy to counter the impending unemployment crises which was as a result of the structural adjustment programme. This review process was to provide for a conducive working environment for informal workers and enterprises to operate in. However, the World Bank, (1991:10) argues that the Public Health Act, Occupational and Safety Act, Urban Council Act, Regional Town and Planning Act were not

amended because of the lack of knowledge on which specific by-laws impeded informal employment. Scholars noted in the literature such as Leiman, 1984; World Bank, 1991; Peters-Berries, 1993; Potts, 2007; Kamete, 2013 argue that the various Urban Planning Acts and by-laws remain the stumbling blocks of legislation which hinder the informal economy from realising its full potential. Peters-Berries (1993) argues that though the concept was good, implementation lacked coordination and willingness of government ministries in tackling this exercise with consensus. The central government made an error by leaving the reviewing and relaxing process of by-laws to respective Ministries and local councils who failed to implement their part.

Despite the initial promise to support the informal sector GOZ (1986:103), scholars such as Potts, 2007; Kamete, 2013; and Tibaijuka, 2005 argue that the actual reality is a contrasting tale because informal workers have remained a target of harassment and bribes by state agents such as the local authorities and police. From the year 2000, government attitude towards the informal economy radically changed for the worse. Most of the scholars in the literature point out that the politically motivated Operation Murambatsvina -Move the Rubbish- which was a large-scale violent eviction exercise of informal workers which was initiated in Zimbabwe in 2005 is cited as an extreme and harsh case of state violence against the informal economy (Tibaijuka, 2005; Potts, 2007a; Kamete, 2013). The existing literature on the Zimbabwe informal economy identifies that 700 000 urban dwellers lost their homes and source of livelihoods (Tibaijuka, 2005; Potts, 2007a).

Presently, scholars such as Kamete (2013) argue that the government has not changed its attitude in defending the ideology that informal economic activities are known as 'hubs of illegal activities'. Potts (2007a) argues that a scholarly gap exists in exploring the relationship between electoral politics and informality because there is currently a strong anti-ruling party rhetoric which is dominating most towns and cities in African states such as Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia. For example, the brutalisation of informal workers in towns and cities in Zimbabwe can be associated with the fact that Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) has rarely won parliamentary seats in these constituencies in the last few national elections. Therefore, Potts (2007a) suggests that it is relevant to point out that in the Zimbabwe case the onslaught against street vendors is closely associated with the fact that the opposition party which is the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) has a strong backing from the urban electorate. The chapter will conclude with an outline on the Zimbabwe Decent Work Country Programme (ZDWCP) and will position the gap in research which this study aims to fill in this context.

2.15 Zimbabwe Decent Work Country Programme

The Zimbabwe Decent Work Country Programme is a national development plan of action that seeks to provide solutions to current socio-economic challenges which include amongst others unemployment, and informal employment. Through various initiatives such as the Youth Employment Support, Jobs for the Unemployed and Marginalised Young People (YES-JUMP) and the Enhanced Social Protection Programme (ESPP), it aims to promote the creation of decent jobs and productive employment opportunities for all Zimbabweans. It also aims to promote the ratification and implementation of international labour standards such as international measures to eliminate child labour in Zimbabwe Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No.87) and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No.98), the strengthening of social dialogue and social protection systems (Ministry of Labour and Social Services, 2012). A review of the literature reveals that very few studies have been done on decent work and the informal economy in Zimbabwe with the exception of Luebker's (2008) survey on informal workers in Glen View, Harare. This is the gap which this study aims to fill with specific reference to Bulawayo metropolitan province. Scholars cited in the literature such as Ghai (2002:30) argue that more research is required to collect data relating to decent work characteristics of informal workers.

According to Luebker (2008) informal workers were faced with a wide range of decent work deficits which was a similar finding in studies done in other countries. Luebker (2008) argued that huge gender differences exist in the informal economy with reference to average weekly incomes with men earning three times more than women. Luebker (2008) also argued that the type of economic sectors where informal workers were positioned is crucial to resilience or vulnerability against poverty. For example, his study of informal workers in Harare revealed that women were more engaged in trade related activities such as the selling of fruits and vegetables and this generated low profit margins for them.

Luebker (2008) advanced the postulation that the current framework of decent work in Zimbabwe largely excludes informal workers from benefiting from any social protection assistance. Luebker (2008) argued that because informal workers do not have a standard employment relationship, this meant that they are not entitled to employment related benefits such as paid sick leave, maternity and annual leave. Luebker's (2008) study revealed that informal workers in Glenview, Harare had a social dialogue deficit with very few reporting to having any prior knowledge of organisations that represented their interests.

In sum, this thesis aimed to make a valuable contribution to the literature review on the informal economy in Zimbabwe by adding new research which incorporates the concept of heterogeneity which has not been explored in the Zimbabwean context. This thesis also aimed to add new knowledge on the daily challenges which street vendors face, even when they are licensed and registered by the local municipalities. Also, as will be highlighted in the next chapter, the significant scholarly contribution of this thesis is directly related to Zimbabwean literature on decent work and informal employment which is scarce at the moment.

2.16 Conclusion

This chapter provided a background on the four major theories which have been cited as possible causes of informality. It also provided insight into the misconceptions which are currently associated with informal employment. The chapter also explored various terminology which are most commonly used to refer to various forms of informality. This chapter crucially highlighted the concept of heterogeneity and segmentation which are important principles for modern policy making to take into consideration so as to properly promote the informal economy. The chapter demonstrated the growth and economic importance of informal employment in the Zimbabwean context with a specific reference to women. Finally, the chapter presented concrete examples of the contradictory nature of the state towards the informal economy. As stated earlier, this chapter also clarified the current gap in knowledge which exists on decent work and informal employment in the Zimbabwean context as the motivation for carrying out this study. It is important to understand all these factors because decent work is driven and constrained by multiple factors such as organising, law, by laws and migration to mention but a few. The following chapter presents a discussion on the conceptual framework on decent work which guides the analysis of the study.

Chapter 3:

Conceptual Framework on Decent Work

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter a review of key literature on the informal economy and the historical overview on the growth in informal employment in Zimbabwe was provided. The central aim of this chapter is to contextualise the study with specific reference to decent work and lay out the theoretical tools which will be used during the analysis phase. The definitions presented here will be contrasted with those which the informal workers come up with in Chapter six. This chapter will begin with a conceptualisation of the decent work agenda and its four components which are employment opportunities, promotion of workers' rights, social protection and social dialogue. The chapter will then proceed to provide a definition of the concept of decent work deficits which will outline the rationale to the study. Special attention is paid to the debates which have surrounded the concept of decent work since its inception. The Edward Webster decent work deficit index will be described at a conceptual level while its operationalisation will be explored in the following methodology chapter. This chapter will come to conclusion by providing more background as to where and in which economic sectors this index has been used in South Africa and how it compares and differs with other attempts in other contexts to measure decent work deficits.

3.2 The concept and components of decent work according to the ILO

The concept of decent work was introduced by the ILO in 1999 in a report by its Director-General at the 87th International Labour Conference (ILO, 1999; Webster et al, 2015; Saha, 2017). Decent work is a concept which seeks to promote opportunities where all workers are entitled to employment security, freedom, equality, recognition and dignity (ILO, 2002a). It must be borne in mind that decent work is a goal, and not a standard, to be achieved for all workers (ILO, 2002a; Webster et al, 2015). [9]In recent times, the popularity of this concept has seen it being included into the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as Goal eight (Mackett, 2017). The decent work agenda consists of four objectives which are employment creation, guaranteeing rights at work, extending social protection and promoting social dialogue. The four objectives are interrelated and reinforce each other as shown through Figure 3 below (ILO, 2006). Ghai (2002) supports this point by stating that decent work incorporates previously separated dimensions of work into a

[9] SDG Goal 8 is focusses on decent work and economic growth.

single framework allowing relationships between these concepts to be explored. The following section of this chapter will examine each of the four components and show how they link into the broader decent work agenda.

Figure 3: The Decent Work Agenda and its Four Pillars

Source: ILO (2006:56)

3.2.1 Employment Opportunities

This pillar of decent work is born out of the realisation that finding employment is proving to be a challenge for many and on the other hand precarious employment is on the rise. A lack of growth and livelihood earning opportunities which provide earnings above minimum poverty levels is a serious concern (ILO, 2006). This objective is concerned with converting existing bad jobs into decent jobs through various initiatives such as skills reproduction and the improvement of existing infrastructure where people work, for example those who work in the informal economy in public spaces (Webster, 2011). South Africa has attempted to promote this goal through the implementation of employment guarantee schemes of two days a week through the expanded public works programme (EPWP). By way of comparison, in India, the Mahatma Ghandi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) is an employment guarantee scheme which provides one hundred paid days of work for each rural household (Webster, 2011).

3.2.2 Social Protection

Social protection has been defined as benefits that society provides to individuals and households- through public, private and collective measures- to guarantee them a minimum standard of living and to protect them against low or declining living standards arising out of a number of basic risks and needs (van Ginneken, 2003; ILO, 2006). The social protection pillar is intended to protect against the risk of losing income (Ghai, 2002; ILO, 2006). This objective considers that all workers are vulnerable to physical, economic and social hazards such as illness, death, occupational hazards and retrenchment (Lund & Srinivas, 2000). These hazards have the ability to affect a household's living standards (ILO, 2006). The rationale behind the social protection agenda is that when these

hazards strike, individuals must have mitigatory measures in place such as social assistance measures which will help reduce the impact of these shocks. This goal aims at establishing different forms of social protection for all workers (Webster et al, 2015). The ILO (2017) estimates that only 29 per cent of the world's population are catered for under comprehensive social protection systems whilst 71 per cent or 5. 2 billion people have no such cover or are only partially protected. The major reason for this, van Ginneken (2003) argues, is that most workers in developing countries are employed outside the formal sector whilst the social protection system remains designed to cater for those employed within the formal sector. Enhancing social protection can be done through the promotion of a global social protection floor which may include aspects such as a basic pension, child benefits, healthcare access, temporary employment guarantee schemes and income transfers for the long term unemployed (Cichon et al, 2011). For example in South Africa this is being done through a social grant system which provides child support grants, grants for older persons, disability grants to mention but a few. Another example can be learnt from Brazil's implementation of a social welfare programme called the Bolsa Familia which is a family grant which provides conditional cash transfers to poor Brazilian households and assists their children to access education and health for free (Webster, 2011).

3.2.3 Promotion of Workers' Rights

The protection of rights at work is a universal principle which applies in all countries and is part of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and ILO Conventions (ILO, 2006). This rationale of this goal is rooted in the belief that all workers have rights, regardless of whether they work in the formal or the informal economy (Webster et al, 2015). This is the most important objective which facilitates the achievement of the three other decent work objectives (ILO, 2006).

3.2.4 Social Dialogue

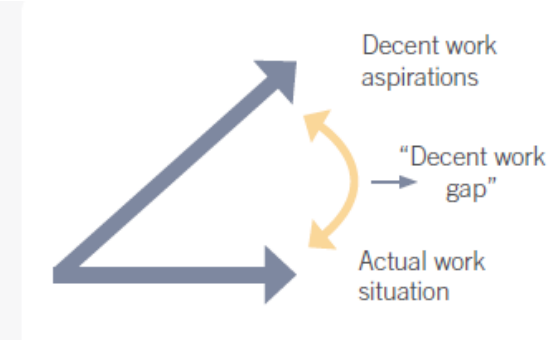
This objective stresses the need for workers to present their grievances, defend their interests and negotiate with employers and authorities for better wages and working conditions (Ghai, 2003:113). This objective promotes the right to organise and bargain collectively and is protected by the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention (Convention 87, 1948) and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention (Convention 98, 1949) (Luebker, 2008). The ILO shares the opinion that promoting this objective is a convenient way to resolve worker related conflicts because for most workers social dialogue takes place within their working environments- amongst workers and between their employers (Ghai, 2002; Webster et al, 2015). This agenda exists as a result of limitations in organizations and institutions which restrict workers from expressing their grievances (ILO: 2006:94). For example, farmworkers, home based

workers, domestic workers and workers in the informal economy are currently faced with challenges in organising themselves to participate in labour related platforms (ILO, 2006). Therefore, Luebker (2008) states that Convention 87 is important to the social dialogue objective because it advocates for inclusivity for all workers, even those who are informally employed.

3.3 Conceptualising Decent Work Deficits

Decent work deficits can be conceptualised as the gap between the actual working situation and the desired decent work aspirations (ILO, 2001; ILO, 2006). This is highlighted in Figure 4 below. For these deficits to be reduced research needs to be undertaken to identify why they exist in the first place (ILO, 2006). It is important to measure decent work deficits because negative outcomes such as poverty, hunger, and social conflict can be traced back to the absence of decent work conditions. Measuring decent work deficits helps identify current work related problems and helps to set the stage for policy makers to suggest immediate and medium term future strategies and programmes to help ameliorate the situation (ILO, 2006). Monitoring decent work deficits at regular intervals enables governments to track progress of local development interventions and their impact on achieving long term decent work goals (ILO, 2006). The following section of this chapter unpacks the debates which have surrounded the concept since its inception.

Figure 4: Decent Work Deficit



Source: ILO (2006:93)

3.4 Debates surrounding Decent Work

The debate includes some scholars who share the view that promoting decent work is essential because simply creating jobs for the sake of doing so leaves many people in a vulnerable position, similarly to the unemployed, which is counterproductive to the developmental agenda of any country (ILO, 2007; Wicaksono & Priyadi, 2016; Moussa, 2017). Whilst, other scholars hold the view that decent work is a challenge to being competitive in the era of globalisation (Sparks, 2010). Cohen & Moodley (2012) point out that promoting decent work in a labour market which is

dominated by high unemployment levels could divert much needed resources from actually creating employment itself.

The promotion of gender equality is at the centre of decent work (ILO, 2009). This is because women remain disproportionately marginalised in their places of work, both in the formal and the informal economy and are more insecure than men (Saha, 2017). Moussie & Alfers (2018) argue that childcare protection remains one gap which is not provided for in the current decent work agenda. This has led to women in the informal economy bringing their children to work and this affects their ability to make more earnings (ILO, 2009). The poor working conditions informal traders are exposed to also have a direct negative bearing on the growth and development of their children (Saha, 2017).

From the framing of the concept of decent work, a challenge has existed as to how it should be measured and how progress towards the achievement of this goal should be assessed (Ghai, 2003; Webster et al, 2008; Webster et al, 2015). Earlier attempts which proposed to measure this concept using indices which ranked countries were abandoned because scholars thought that it would have little impact at policy making level (Standing, 2008). At tripartite meeting of experts in 2008 on the measurement of decent work in Geneva, one of the conclusions was that due to the multifaceted nature of the concept, both quantitative and qualitative indicators would be used to monitor and evaluate the progress towards achieving decent work at country level (ILO, 2008; Webster et al, 2015). The ten ILO indicators of decent work which have been considered over time are: employment opportunities, adequate earnings and productive work, decent hours of work, combining work family and personal life, equal opportunity and treatment, safe working environment, work that should be abolished, social protection, promotion of social dialogue and workplace relations (ILO, 2008; Webster et al, 2015; Webster et al, 2016).

In recent times, a number of scholars have voiced their criticisms on the decent work concept (Standing, 2002; Webster et al, 2015; Mackett, 2017). Sinaga (2018) argues that the concept of decent work fails to take into account different social and cultural contexts. It must be noted that the goal of achieving decent work is country specific because social and economic environments differ by country (Ghai, 2002; ILO, 2006). More recent debates on decent work have centred on the argument that although the ILO provides guidelines on the measurement of this concept at the macro-level (country level), the organisation has failed to provide guidance on the measurement at the micro level (individual, firm and industry level) (Mackett, 2017). The limitation of this is that although countries are able to measure progress at a national scale, important decent work data is ignored at the individual level and this has serious implications for countries which

are dominated by informal employment (Ghai, 2002; Mackett, 2017). Bonnet et al (2003) points out that the complexity surrounding this concept is such that it is still evolving making it difficult to have measurements which are applicable at all levels.

There is a growing body of literature which points out that the lack of data poses another challenge in measuring decent work (Ghai, 2002). This is because measuring decent work using existing nationally representative surveys is challenging because most labour force surveys are not designed to focus on working conditions but are centred on quantifying statistics related to labour force participation (Anker et al, 2002). This problem gives rise to a challenge in there being a lack of internationally comparable datasets to facilitate for comparison across countries (Ghai, 2003; Burchell et al, 2013; Mackett, 2017). The concluding section of this chapter will show how the DWDI addresses some of the challenges cited within the debate surrounding decent work, and provides clarity as to where, how and in which economic sectors it has been used in several studies.

3.5 The Edward Webster Decent Work Deficit Index

The Edward Webster's decent work deficit index (DWDI) is a methodology which captures nine of the ten indicators of the ILO decent work agenda and is important when measuring decent work deficits of employees and own account workers (Webster et al, 2008; Webster et al, 2016). The DWDI measures decent work at an individual level (micro level) and is more suitable to evidence-based policy making when compared with the ILO methodology of assessing decent work which only measures this concept at a country level (macro level). In this study, the DWDI was used to address context specific needs for different workers who are employed in the Zimbabwean informal economy. Decent work is very relevant to the informal economy because most if not all informal workers are vulnerable to a variety of shocks and require assistance to improve their working and living conditions. Webster et al (2015:142) points out that further research is required to test the DWDI in other industries which are dominated by vulnerable workers in South Africa and other countries to ascertain how applicable it is as a methodology to measure decent work deficits in other contexts.

The DWDI has also been used in a study on five low wage economic sectors (clothing, mining, paper, metal, and catering) by Webster et al (2008) to measure the decent work deficit levels of a selected sample of workers in each of the stated economic sectors in South Africa. The study made use of Standing's (1997) seven variables of security in the workplace to define decent work at the individual level. The seven variables were labour market security, employment security, job security, work security, skills reproduction security, representation security and income security. The study revealed that clothing and mining workers occupied the higher end of the value chain

which is associated with greater workplace security because they had higher scores on the DWDI. On the other hand, workers in shebeens, taverns and collectors of recycling material occupied the lower end of the value chain which is associated with low levels of workplace security (Webster et al, 2008). An important finding of this study was that information on decent work deficits is lost if decent work is not disaggregated according to its ten variables. (Webster et al, 2008). The authors proposed that future studies on decent work should disaggregate economic sectors by the ten variables found in the DWDI.

The DWDI has been used to measure the decent work deficit levels among private security guards in Gauteng, South Africa (Webster & Sefalafala, 2016). A mixed-methods survey was used by Webster & Sefalafala, 2016 in this study found out that the decent work scores were higher amongst formally employed security guards but declined as one's occupational status became outsourced and self-employed. The findings revealed that stability and security at work, adequate earnings and productive work, social protection and promotion of social dialogue were the most mentioned indicators of decent work (Webster et al, 2016). The DWDI has also been used in a comparative study to assess decent work in the security, farming and hospitality industries in Gauteng, South Africa (Webster et al, 2015; Webster and Sefalafala, 2016). The study found that workers in all three economic sectors experienced similar decent work deficits, such as poor earnings, limited benefits, long working hours, poor work-life balance and social dialogue. However, farmworkers experienced the lowest decent work scores when it came to working hours and work-life balance.

Webster et al (2008) pointed out that informality is best studied through including the lens of a value or supply chain. Many labour studies scholars have argued that the informal economy has been wrongly conceptualised as an isolated segment of the economy which has no relationship with the formal and global economy (Lund & Nicholson, 2004; Webster et al, 2008; Argawala, 2009; Valodia & Devey, 2012). This generalised view of the informal economy conceals the formal and informal inter-dependent market linkages which exist between both economies (Argawala, 2009; Chen, 2012). Webster et al (2008) study found that informality is best viewed as a continuum where economic activities are connected in a hierarchical value or supply chain. The value chain analysis follows the entire chain of ownership and the activities involved in the production of a good from its raw to finished state (Lund & Nicholson, 2004; Chen, 2012). The study confirmed that a value chain is dominated by unequal power relations and the location of workers in the value chain determines the level of risk which they are vulnerable to such as bribes and financial losses.

In addition to the Webster DWDI, other measures of decent work have been constructed at the individual level (micro level) e.g., by scholars such as Standing, 2002 and Moussa, 2017. These scholars used their own methodologies on how to measure decent work using the recommended ILO indicators. An example of how this was done is highlighted by Mackett (2017) who points out that an attempt was made to measure decent work by including questions surrounding this concept in the survey instrument (questionnaire) used in the Gauteng City-Region Observatory Quality of Life Survey. The methodology used in the Gauteng survey differed with Webster's methodology (the DWDI). This is because the authors of this survey chose not to separate the indicators of decent work but opted to measure decent work as a single indicator against other variables such as age, gender, education level, industry, race and migration.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided the background to the decent work concept and highlighted how each of its four objectives are interrelated and work towards achieving the overall goal. A central criticism to the decent work agenda is that from its inception, the ILO only managed to provide macro-level indicators on how to measure this concept and provided no guidance on how to measure decent work deficits at the micro level i.e. industry and individual level. In summary I have demonstrated the suitability and potential of the DWDI as a methodology for measuring decent work deficits at the individual level. Decent work and its deficits have been defined 'from above' largely by international organisations and academics. The point of this thesis is to understand decent work 'from below' using the perspective of informal workers themselves. The following chapter presents the methodology which was adopted for the primary research and will shed more light as to how the DWDI was adapted for the study.

CHAPTER 4:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter highlighted some of the debates which have centred on the conceptualisation and operationalisation of the measurement of decent work. This chapter provides an overview of the methodology on decent work which was adapted in this study (Webster Decent Work Deficit Index). This chapter begins by providing a brief background to the study area. Next, the chapter provides an overall outline of the aims and objectives of the study. The chapter then proceeds to describe the research design and methodological approach which was adopted for the empirical component of the research. Most importantly, this chapter will show how the DWDI was adapted for this study and will provide a definition of key variables. The data capturing, editing and analysis procedures will also be discussed. In the concluding section of this chapter, the research limitations and ethical considerations will be identified.

4.2 Brief information about the study area

The research is based within the Bulawayo central business district area. Figure 5 below shows the location of Bulawayo metropolitan province in the country. Bulawayo is Zimbabwe's second largest city located in the southern part of the country. The rationale behind the selection of the case stud area is that Bulawayo has continued to experience considerable growth in the informal economy due to factors such as the slow rate of economic revival, decline in real wage earnings, and the high cost of living (Mlambo, 2017).

The 2012 census estimated the total population for the Bulawayo province stood at 653 337. Bulawayo's economically active population was 430 972 in 2012 of which 27 per cent (71 491) were unemployed and 72 per cent (189 697) were employed (ZimStat, 2013). The reason why the central business district was selected is because this is where most commercial activities take place in the city and because of this fact it is where a lot of informal workers operate.

Figure 5: Map showing the location of Bulawayo

Source: Mbiba & Ndubiwa, 2008

4.3 Research Aims and Objectives

The concept of decent work has its origins with western formal working environments and until recently failed to take into account that situations would be different for countries in the global south (Aufderheide et al, 2013). Up to now, working conditions of informal food vendors and clothing traders in Bulawayo Zimbabwe have remained undocumented, possibly because most studies done on the informal economy in Zimbabwe have paid little attention to decent work more generally. Against this background, the overarching objective of this study is to find out what decent work means in the informal economy from the perspective of informal workers themselves. This research aimed to proffer suggestions to the challenge concerning decent work deficits which are experienced by informal workers and sought to contribute to this discourse with a specific reference to the Zimbabwean context. The study followed sub objectives which were:

- What are the main indicators of decent work from the perspective of the informal workers?
- How does this differ from other major conceptualisations of decent work, for example the definition established by the ILO and others who have worked on the concept?

- Does the idea of decent work differ according to different groups within the informal economy? What are the differences?
- Along which social and economic divisions do the greatest differences lie, between types of worker, between genders, between place of work?

4.4 Research Approach and Design

Research can be subdivided into two, viz. empirical research and non-empirical research (Mouton, 2001). Empirical research is based on finding answers to real life problems whilst non-empirical research is based on conceptual driven problems. Mouton (2001) asserts that empirical research questions require one to collect new data or work with existing data. Mouton (2001) points out that empirical research is driven by real life problems and it is only when the research problem has been clearly identified where one can begin to design how the study will be carried out.

In this study, the researcher opted to use a simultaneous mixed methodology design because of its flexibility. Tashakkori & Teddlie (1998) point out that using a simultaneous mixed methodology allows the researcher to collect both the quantitative and qualitative data at the same time. Furthermore, the researcher was guided by key arguments of labour scholars such as Tipple (2006), Webster et al (2008), Webster et al (2015), Monteith & Geisbert (2016) who all agreed that numerical indicators alone are not sufficient in capturing the holistic nature of decent work which is inclusive of qualitative indicators such as social dialogue. The benefit of using a mixed methodology is that it can provide complementary and contrasting sources of data which may be used as part of a strategy of triangulation (Hammond & Wellington, 2013). Qualitative data in the form of words can be used to add meaning to numbers and vice versa (Hammond & Wellington, 2013). Mixed methodology is thus appropriate to be used when exploring a phenomenon in greater depth such as in this case.

4.5 Methods of Data Collection

As already stated in the literature review, data on informal workers and in particular street vendors is non-existent in Zimbabwe which made it preferable to collect primary data. This is because the Zimbabwe Labour Force Survey does not include any statistics on street vendors. Roever & Skinner (2016) point out that data on street vending is only obtainable in countries whose labour force surveys include a question on place of work and/or have an occupational code for street vendors. This will be explained in detail in the sections that follow.

4.5.1 Sampling Procedure

Sampling is defined as a selection of a number of units from a much larger population (Allan & Skinner, 1991; Hammond & Wellington, 2013). Ogando et al (2016:439) points out that there are well documented challenges with collecting representative data on informal workers. Accordingly, it was not possible to draw a probability sample because data on informal workers in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe does not exist because informal workers, as in other contexts, are difficult to enumerate. This encouraged the researcher to use a non-probability purposive sampling design which would be suitable for the study and could be carried out in a short space of time. Three non- probability sampling techniques -purposive sampling, snowball sampling and convenience sampling- were used to support the data collection process. Purposive sampling involves the deliberate selection of the sample consisting of units which the researcher believes have the broadest knowledge of information on the subject of study (Kuzel, 1992; Yin, 2011). It enabled the researcher to select informal traders who were useful to the study because of the heterogeneity of the informal economy which would have posed a challenge if this technique was not used. The researcher specifically looked for characteristics such as one being a food vendor or clothing trader who were trading in public spaces such as along street pavements, along roads in the city, taxi ranks, in designated street market facilities or were mobile street traders. This criterion of selection was used because most street vendors within the Bulawayo central business district trade from public spaces and remain at high risk to harassment and intimidation from state authorities.

Snowball sampling is a non-probability technique which is used when building a sample using referrals. This is mostly used when working with populations that cannot be easily identified (O'leary, 2004). Snowball sampling is relevant when used in alliance with convenience sampling because it allows the researcher to follow a lead through referrals from existing interviewees. This technique proved to be very efficient during the study because interviewees referred the researcher to their colleagues whom they perceived had additional information which was of importance to the study. For example, snowball sampling was useful when informal traders' organisations referred the researcher to their members trading locations within the central business district. Convenience sampling involves the selection of research participants who are the easiest and closest to recruit to participate in a study (Hammond & Wellington, 2013). The researcher used this technique when interviewing participants who were close to another street trader who was of importance to the study.

The survey sample consists of 70 combined clothing traders and food vendors most of whom were self-employed and trade within the Bulawayo central business district. This group of informal

workers were used for the quantitative aspect of the survey. The researcher decided to select a sample size of 70 cases as an appropriate number to be able to conduct a comparative survey within the constraints of a self-funded master's project. Due to the fact that the universe of informal traders within the Bulawayo central business district is unknown, the researcher opted to work with a cost effective number of seventy informal traders. This was out of the realisation that interviewing 150 informal traders was out of the budget of the researcher. The figure of 70 informal traders was derived after consultation with the researchers academic supervisors on what was feasible for a masters project.

Moreover, Yin (2001) states that when working with a complex research topic which requires in depth data collection it is acceptable to work with a smaller number of units that will be examined intensively. The choice of the sample size can be justified in the words of Hammond & Wellington (2013:138) who argue that decisions to sample are difficult to make for any researcher without adequate knowledge of the entire population from which the sample is drawn. Ncube (2000) articulates that when analysing the Zimbabwean labour market, the unavailability and the lack of accuracy of data on informal employment has always proven to be a challenge.

The researcher sent out 100 questionnaires to the research participants and only received 70 questionnaires back. This means that 30 questionnaires were not used for the data analysis. The reason for this is because some of the questionnaires were either lost by the participants, some of the informal workers were absent from work on the date of collection, some of the returned questionnaires were incomplete, torn or had pages missing and were discarded. Using the informal traders organisations did provide an advantage in that it helped speed up the process of data collection. The challenge of working with these organisations was that the researcher had to specifically identify the informal traders who were members of these informal organisations. This made the data collection process a bit slow.

The selection criteria for the study was based on the nature of work i.e. food vendors and clothing traders and the location of work i.e. within the Bulawayo central business district. The researcher chose to focus on the two economic sectors because they dominant and visible forms of informal employment in the Bulawayo central business district. The central business district was selected as the location for the study because this is the epicentre of where commercial activities are carried out in the city and this is also where conflict over urban space between local government and the informal workers occurs the most.

Two informal traders' organisations assisted the researcher with distributing some of the questionnaires to their members. The Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economy Associations

(ZCIEA) is a national membership-based organisation which was formed in 2002 by the merging of a coalition of twenty-two informal trader's associations (Luebker, 2008). ZCIEA was formed with the objective of developing a single strong voice to represent the different informal trader's organisations. The organization was formed with the purpose of representing and protecting the interests of most Zimbabweans who are self-employed in the informal economy. The Bulawayo Vendors and Traders Association (BVTA) is a membership based organisation that consists of vendors and informal traders that operate from within the Bulawayo metropolitan province. BVTA became operational on the 30th of October 2015 after being registered formally as a trust. BVTA has been carrying out advocacy and research programmes to assist informal traders who are often faced with legal challenges. BVTA offers business support services which include assistance with vendor license registration, business training, financial literacy and linking vendors with microfinance lending institutions (BVTA website).

4.5.2 Survey Questionnaires

Surveys refer to the systematic collection of data from a survey population (Hammond & Wellington, 2013: 137). As stated previously, the main purpose of this survey was to find out what informal workers thought to be decent work in their context. The fieldwork was carried out by the researcher with the assistance of the aforementioned organisations and their coordinators in the street vending bays. The researcher distributed 70 semi-structured questionnaires to both clothing and food vendors. The quantitative questions were included in the questionnaire to enable a percentage proportion to be generated on the Webster DWDI for purposes of comparison between the food vendors and the clothing traders. The qualitative questions were included to capture the personal experiences and views of the informal workers. The questionnaire was based on four indicators of decent work which are work security, representation security, income security and decent hours of work. The survey also included questions on supply-chain dynamics and the nature of the enterprise.

This study used the survey instrument to:

- identify the challenges which are encountered by the two groups of informal workers.
- explore the conceptualisation of decent work from Zimbabwean informal workers.
- identify gaps which exist in the current conceptualisation of decent work.
- provide a descriptive account of the working experiences of the informal traders.

4.6 The Edward Webster Decent Work Deficit Index

This section begins by providing a background to the decent work deficit index. The latter part of this section motivates why this index was considered desirable and shows how it was adapted into the study. The origins of the index can be traced to Standing's (1997:8) seven variables of security in the workplace which was developed to quantify the level of security in a formal job (Webster et al, 2008). The seven variables are labour market security, work security, representation security, income security, improving work conditions, decent hours of work, social protection and supply chain dynamics. The Webster index consists of quantitative and qualitative indicators which help to measure and establish the level of decent work currently existing amongst any group of workers. In a study that aimed to develop a decent work policy framework, Society Work Development and Work Institute (SWOP) scholars argued that decent work is a long-term objective which must be measured over time with the assistance of quantitative and qualitative indicators (Webster et al, 2009).

Webster et al (2015) point out that the DWDI is distinctive in monitoring progress towards achieving decent work because it focusses on individual workers in particular occupations at industry level. This differs from standard approaches which measure job quality at country level (Leschke, 2008; Watt and Finn, 2008; Munoz de Bustillo et al, 2011). As highlighted earlier in Chapter three, the ILO index measures decent work at the country level and this is not sufficient in explaining decent work at the industry or individual level. This tool was adopted for the study because the researcher thought it was the most suitable methodology of decent work which has been previously used on informal workers in South Africa and could be applied to the study.

The DWDI was not used as is, but was adapted to the study and modified to suit the research participants and the context under study. Three indicators (representation security, income security, decent hours of work) were measured by a single question whilst the work security indicator was measured by two questions. Indicators of security such as skills representation security, job security (career) and employment security were omitted from inclusion in the questionnaire because they were inappropriate for the informally self-employed. This is because these variables are more suited for people who in a standard employment relationship. The advantage of this methodology is that it allowed the researcher to make a comparative analysis of how these two groups of informal workers score on the decent work deficit index and was particularly useful when designing the questionnaire. Webster's index is important to this study because it enabled the researcher to provide a holistic description on the current working conditions of informal workers using ILO standardized indicators.

The researcher opted to use the binary response option (Yes/No & 0/1) because this is the technique which Webster proposes should be used when constructing the DWDI. One strength of using binary numbers is that it simplifies the data analysis process. However, using the binary responses does come with some limitations in that it somewhat falsely implies a presence or absence of an absolute standard. The researcher was of the opinion that binary responses were better represented on the DWDI through the use of a bar graph, however a Likert scale could have been an option. The Likert scale uses the strongly disagree, disagree, don't care, agree and strongly agree responses options. However, the researcher chose not to use the Likert scale method because from the results of the pilot survey it was evident that the informal workers were highly unlikely to understand how to respond to Likert scale questions. Using the binary option allowed for the informal traders to easily answer the questions so that the questionnaire could capture both data and personal stories. However, the argument introduced in Chapter two about heterogeneity tends to suggest the need to at least engage with a less binary instrument.

4.6.1 Decent Work Deficit Index Calculation

The calculation of decent work followed Edward Webster's Decent Work Deficit Index (Webster et al, 2016:208). Four indicators of decent work were quantitatively analysed vis. work security, representation security, income security and decent hours of work. Table 3 below shows how decent work was measured for each variable.

The DWDI is interpreted in the following manner- 0 means an absolute decent work deficit- the lowest score which is on the scale, and 1 means maximum decent work is attained. This applies for all the domains.

Table 3: Showing domains and indicators of Decent Work in this study

Domain	**Indicator**	**Question used to measure decent work**	**Source of the Question**	**Threshold Criteria**
Work Security	Quantitative	Do you feel safe at work 0.No 1.Yes	This question was adapted as is from Edward Webster's Decent Work 2008 Questionnaire.	0-Feel unsafe at Work 1-Feel safe at Work
	Quantitative	Does the work you do have any negative effects on your health 0.Yes 1.No	This question was adapted as is from Edward Webster's Decent Work 2008 Questionnaire	0-Work affects my Health 1-Work does not affect my Health.

Representation Security	Quantitative	Are you currently a member of an informal traders association 0.No 1.Yes	This question was adopted from Malte Luebker's 2008 Questionnaire on Decent Work and Informal Employment.	0-Not a member of an informal traders association 1-A member of an informal traders association
Income Security	Quantitative	Do you earn the same amount of money on a daily/weekly basis 0.No 1.Yes	This question was adapted as is from Edward Webster's Decent Work 2008 Questionnaire.	0- Do not earn the same amount of money 1-Earn the same amount of money
Decent Hours of Work	Quantitative	Average number of hours worked per day	This question was adopted from Malte Luebker's 2008 Questionnaire on Decent Work and Informal Employment.	0-I work 8 hours and above 1-I work 8 hours and below

4.6.2 Variables

Some of the questions which were used in this survey were extracted from previous questionnaires such as WIEGO's Informal Economy Monitoring Survey, South African's Living Conditions Survey (Statistics South Africa), Survey of Employers and Self-Employed 2001 (Statistics South Africa), Malte Luebker's 2008 Questionnaire on Decent Work and Informal Employment, a survey of workers in Glenview, Harare and Webster's Decent Work Index Questionnaire of 2008. The researcher selected these questions from the above sources because they have been previously used in surveys which are relevant to informal workers. Some of the questions from the Webster 2008 questionnaire were not used in this study because they were not appropriate for the context, economic sector and nature of occupation.

Due to the fact that the DWDI was not adopted as it has been used in earlier studies, there is a need to clearly define the variables as they were used in this study. The indicator domains for this study were extracted from Webster's Decent Work Index Questionnaire of 2008. This is because these domains have been used successfully in studies on informal workers in South Africa. The indicators are good for the domains under which they fall because they apply to some of the variables which highlight security in the workplace (Webster, 2008). After careful consideration of

the context of the study, the following variables which are explained below were used in constructing the DWDI. The following four variables were used in the construction of the DWDI.

Work Security

This quantitative variable measures the level of safety at work, protection from accidents and health hazards for informal workers.

Representation Security

This is a quantitative variable which measures the level of participation of informal traders in membership based organisations (MBO). This variable highlights the influence of the MBOs in organising informal workers.

Income Security

This quantitative variable measures whether informal workers earn the same amount of money on a daily basis.

Decent Hours of Work

This is a quantitative indicator which measures the average number of hours worked by the informal workers in comparison with ILO international set guidelines on the number of hours a person can work per day. The ILO's Hours of work (industry) Convention 1919 (No.1) sets a limit of 48 hours per week or 8 hours per day for a six-day week (Bescond et al, 2003; Tipple, 2006).

The following qualitative variable (social protection) is not part of the DWDI, however, it is being used to explain other dimensions of decent work.

Social Protection

This is a qualitative indicator which captures the informal trader's views on them joining the national social security scheme (NSSA) in Zimbabwe.

The following topic provides qualitative data which was sourced from the respondents.

Personal Working Experience of being an Informal Trader

This is qualitative data which highlights the personal working, lived experiences and the challenges which have been faced by informal workers.

4.7 Pilot Study

A pilot study was carried out before the actual full-scale fieldwork was done. This was done to test and identify gaps and weaknesses in the research instrument. The main objective of the pilot study was to test the research process and find the suitable method of distributing and collecting the questionnaires which was then selected. The pilot survey was carried out by interviewing ten informal traders in the Bulawayo central business district. The pilot study assisted the researcher to identify how much time would be spent on average per interview. The feedback and response rate of the pilot study informed the researcher who then made revisions and strengthened the final questionnaire. The results from the pilot study helped improve the phrasing and wording of the questions including the chronological sequence. The researcher proceeded to remove difficult and vague questions from the questionnaire.

4.8 Methods of Data Analysis

A statistical package called Stata was used to analyse the quantitative data. The researcher captured raw data manually into the Stata software programme and a dataset was created. Qualitative data was analysed differently from the quantitative data. The qualitative data was manually analysed by reading through the responses from the participants. Key words and phrases were identified through their repetition and usage from the survey questionnaire and themes were generated.

4.9 Data Analysis

The researcher began the analysis by providing a descriptive account on the demographic composition of the survey population. This was done by analysing gender, education, economics sector, number of dependants and status in employment variables.

Next, the researcher proceeded to construct the DWDI and this followed the layout presented in table 3 above. To calculate decent work for each of the four variables, the researcher used the following formula to make a proportion which could be represented on the index.

Decent work= Individuals with decent work÷ (Total number of those with decent work + those without decent work)

Qualitative data such as social protection, and personal experience of being an informal trader were analysed manually through using thematic analysis.

4.10 Research Limitations and Ethical Considerations

The researcher is a student at Rhodes University Neil Aggett Labour Studies Unit in South Africa and this knowledge was bound to raise the suspicions of the informal traders who on occasion thought that the researcher was a state undercover operative. In Zimbabwe, informal employment and street vending is a politically sensitive issue. To reduce bias in their responses, the researcher introduced himself as a Rhodes University student and provided a research access letter to all traders which explained the academic objective and the intentions of the study. The researcher also approached informal traders organisations such as BVTA and ZCIEA and they assisted by referring him to their traders on the streets.

The nature of participants proved to be challenging to interview. This is because the interviews were conducted at the vending bays and street pavements during working hours. Street vendors were always occupied and busy because they had to attend to customers whilst the interviews were being carried out. This reduced the number of minutes which could be spent talking to them as well as the flow of the interview because of constant interruptions. The researcher tried to reduce this obstacle by purchasing goods from the street traders and then proceeding to interview them. 'Buying' the traders' time proved to be a better strategy of gaining their attention and establishing a working relationship. However, insufficient funds meant the researcher was not able to interview the initial intended 150 street traders. Hammond & Wellington (2013: 138) point out that it is acceptable when carrying out survey research to provide a small gift or reward to the interviewees to increase questionnaire response rates.

Every research project is affected by unforeseen events. However, it is key that a successful research plan is flexible enough to adapt to changing situations (Clark & Causer in Allan & Skinner, 1991). The research fieldwork was affected by the challenging financial crisis which was ongoing at the time. The lack of cash in hand circulating in the economy made it difficult to print questionnaires and travel to meet the street traders in the central business district. Non-sampling errors could not be avoided such as non-responses to certain questions. However, the researcher tried to minimise this error by double checking the completed questionnaire whilst in the field.

The researcher had to finish the fieldwork before the intended completion date because of the heightened tension between the Zimbabwe central government and the street vendors. This was after the Minister of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing Minister July Moyo issued a 48-hour ultimatum on the 20th of January 2018 to illegal street vendors and pirate taxi operators to vacate the streets or face military intervention. The fieldwork was to a lesser extent

limited by state police and municipal police patrols. The researcher reduced vulnerability by not conducting any interviews where the police raids were taking place.

4.10.1 Ethical Issues

The study was approved by the Rhodes University Ethics Committee prior to conducting the fieldwork. The researcher followed the Rhodes University Ethical guidelines which informs researchers about how to carry out a study when dealing with human participants. Recommendations from the ethics committee were adopted and the researcher always conducted the fieldwork in a space which was safe for him and the respondents. Permission was also sought from the Bulawayo City Council (BCC) through the office of the town clerk and approval was granted for the study to be conducted. The BCC access letter may be found attached in the appendix section of the thesis. Permission was granted to the researcher by the traders to capture photos of their working spaces and goods.

4.10.2 Confidentiality of the Research Participants

Confidentiality of the participants was protected throughout the research process. The names and identities of the research participants were not documented. This was done to promote and adhere to ethical norms and values of research. Prior to participating in the interview, the researcher explained the objective, risks and benefits of participating in the study to individuals who were interviewed. Research participants who agreed to participate in the interview proceeded to give their consent by signing a consent form. The consent form can be found attached in the appendix section of the thesis.

4.11 Conclusion

A mixed methods approach was adopted for the primary research. The study adopted the use of a survey as the most appropriate design for the study. The chapter elaborated how the DWDI was adopted into the study and its importance in measuring decent work deficits. The chapter also defined the variables as they were used in the DWDI in this context. The lack of reliable data on informal workers informed the researcher to make use of non-probability sampling techniques in the form of purposive and snowball sampling. With regards to the instruments for data collection, a semi-structured questionnaire was identified as the most suitable tool which would capture the perceptions of informal workers on decent work. The final section of the chapter highlighted the research limitations and the ethical and confidentiality issues which had to be followed during the entire pre and post data collection phase. The following chapter presents the findings of the

empirical survey which was carried out in the Bulawayo central business district in Zimbabwe during the period from December 2017 to January 2018.

CHAPTER 5:

PRESENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on presenting the research findings of the fieldwork which was carried out in the Bulawayo central business district. The chapter begins firstly by providing demographic information of the sampled respondents. Four variables are outlined in this section, namely; age, gender, level of educational attainment and number of dependants. The chapter proceeds to highlight the supply chain dynamics of both the clothing traders and the food vendors because it is important to identify where the informal traders' source their goods. The importance of the supply chain dynamics analysis is that it demonstrates the inter-connections between the formal, informal and global economies and provides possibilities for the extension of decent work. This section gives clarity as to the different challenges which both informal workers groups are faced with when acquiring and purchasing their goods.

The chapter proceeds to present the qualitative findings of what the informal workers thought decent work was in the Zimbabwean context. The themes which will be highlighted include work related improvements, insurances and risk management, right of expression and business advancement skills.

Importantly, this chapter also presents the findings of the decent work deficit index scores. Firstly, this is done through illustrating decent work deficit scores between the two economic sectors. Secondly, this is done through presenting the decent work deficit scores between the two genders who participated in the study. The chapter also provides the findings of two qualitative indicators of decent work-social protection and personal working experience of being an informal trader. The reason for including the qualitative indicators is because it was previously highlighted in the conceptual framework and methodology chapter that decent work consists of both quantitative and qualitative indicators.

The chapter comes to a conclusion by highlighting which of the indicators of decent work form the core of the decent work concept according to the Zimbabwean informal workers. This was done by triangulating the statistical quantitative findings with the qualitative responses on decent

work of the informal workers. Qualitative responses as an example of data source triangulation were used to gain a comprehensive understanding of the variables which were under investigation.

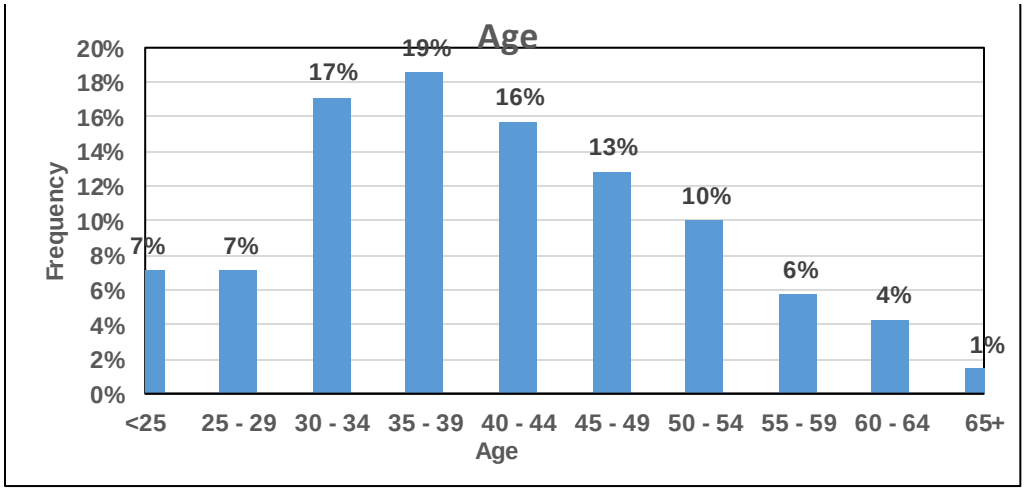
5.2 Demographic Profile

The demographic section provides a description of the research participant's ages, gender status, level of educational attainment and the number of dependents which they supported.

5.2.1 Age

As previously stated, the researcher interviewed seventy participants and their ages ranged from twenty to sixty-five years. Figure 6 below illustrates that most of the research participants dominated the (30-34), (35-39) and the (40-44) age group categories. Of the participants interviewed seventeen per cent were between the ages 30-34, nineteen per cent between 35-39 and sixteen per cent between the ages 40-44.

Figure 6: Age of Respondents



5.2.2 Gender

The gender composition of the entire sample revealed that there was a higher presence of women (66 per cent). This is shown in Figure 7 below. As highlighted in the pie chart below, the level of women participation is substantially higher than what the Zimbabwe LFS reported in 2014 as previously pointed out in the literature review chapter. The researcher is aware that the high percentage of women in informal work in Bulawayo central business district is likely due to the difference in the sampling methodology used which is different to the one which is employed when carrying out the Zimbabwe LFS.

Figure 7: Gender Distribution

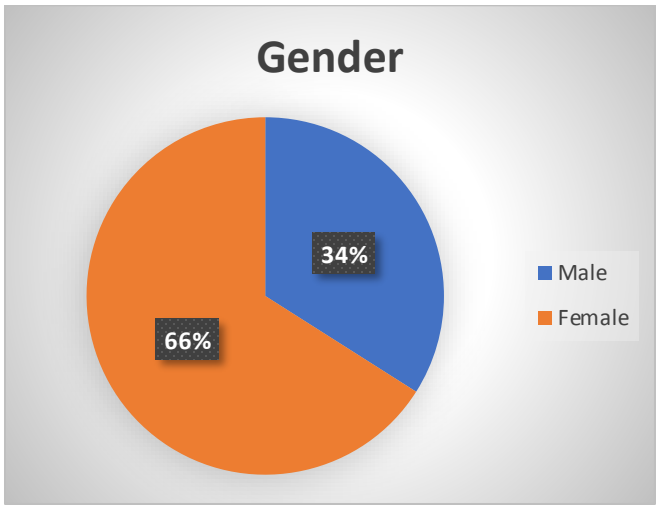


Figure 8 below shows gender disaggregated by economic sector. The bar graph below reveals that women had a higher share of the food vending sector at 70 per cent compared to their male counterparts whose share was 30 per cent. Women also dominated the clothing trading sector and had a share of 61 per cent.

Figure 8: Gender by Economic Sector

5.2.3 Level of Educational Attainment

The findings revealed that there was no individual in the sample who did not attend school or failed to complete primary education. The level of educational attainment in Figure 9 below, shows that fourty-three (61%) of the respondents completed secondary school education. This figure is higher than the 2014 Zimbabwe LFS results which recorded a level of 46 per cent secondary school completion rate amongst the informally employed. The reason for this may be attributed to the

small sample size which was used in this survey when directly compared with the sample size used when carrying out the LFS. Ten (14%) of the respondents noted that they had some previous exposure at tertiary level but did not complete their university degrees or college diplomas. Seven (10%) of the respondents reported that they had completed formal tertiary education and hold honours and master's degrees from various Zimbabwean universities. The findings reveal that the sample possesses similar characteristics to the level of education in the overall Zimbabwe informal economy. The findings reveal that women dominate higher levels of education and are not comparable to the Zimbabwe 2014 LFS findings which point out that women dominate lower levels of education whilst men dominate higher levels of education.

Figure 9: Educational Attainment

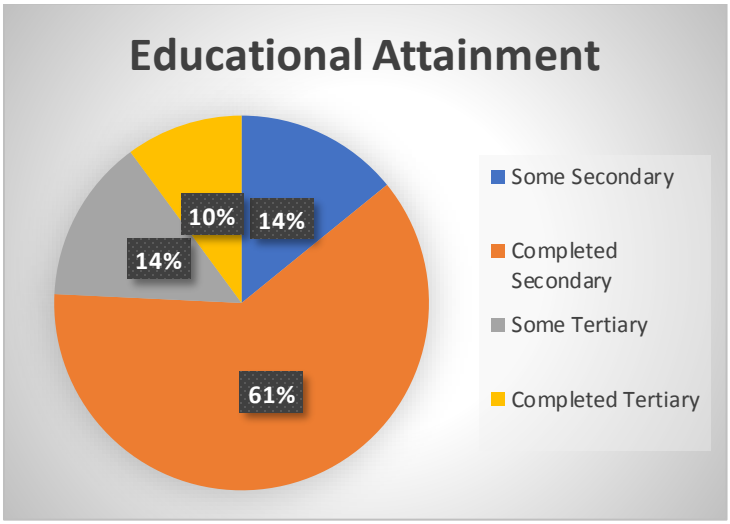


Table 4 below shows that women in both worker groups had better advancement in education than their male counterparts. This could be due to the small sample size as well as the fact that informal street vending is an occupation which has been historically dominated by women as previous studies have shown in the literature review chapter.

Table 4: Education Attainment

	Clothing traders		Food vendors		Full sample		
Education	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Total
None	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Some Primary	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Completed Primary	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Some Secondary	16.67%	2.77%	8.8%	0%	12.86%	1.43%	14%

Completed Secondary	33%	22%	44%	23.53%	38.57%	22.86%	61%
Some Tertiary	5.55%	8.33%	11.76%	2.9%	8.57%	5.71%	14%
Completed Tertiary	5.55%	5.55%	6%	2.9%	5.7%	4.3%	10%
Frequency	22	14	24	10	46	24	70

5.2.4 Number of Dependants

Sixty-four respondents reported that they had dependants who they were supporting using the earnings which they derived from carrying out informal trade work. Table 5 below shows that the average number of dependants per informal worker was four, whilst the minimum was zero and the maximum number of dependants noted in the study was twelve. Only six respondents pointed out that they did not have any dependants to take care of or support. The research findings revealed that fifty respondents or 71 per cent of the entire sample were sole earners for their dependants. Disaggregated statistics reveal that clothing traders had a higher number of sole earners thirty; compared to food vendors who had twenty. Using a gendered lens, a key finding is that women had a higher number of dependants at one hundred and sixty-eight compared to men who reported to have eighty-six dependants in total. On the other hand, using an economic sectoral approach reveals that food vendors have more dependants than clothing traders as highlighted in table 5 below.

Table 5: Dependants

Economic Sector/ Gender	Observations	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
Respondents with Dependants	64	4	0	12
Food Vendors	30	5	0	12
Clothing Traders	34	3	0	6
Gender-Female	43	4	1	8
Gender-Male	21	4	0	12

5.3 Supply Chain Dynamics

This section identifies the source of the goods sold by informal traders. As highlighted in Table 6 below, fifty-eight per cent of food vendors purchased their goods from formal enterprises within the Bulawayo CBD during the early hours of the morning. This finding indicates the intertwined relationship which exists between the formal and the informal economies, as discussed in the literature review chapter. Whilst on the other hand, twenty-three per cent of food vendors reported that they buy their goods from other informal food vendors. The latter food vendors pointed out that they were unable to wake up very early in the morning to travel to the CBD so that they can purchase their goods from the formal enterprises and prefer to buy from other informal food vendors at a more convenient time. In addition, the food vendors indicated that household duties which involved preparing children for school, taking their young children to early childhood development (ECD) facilities and primary school made it impossible for them to start work early in the morning. The goods which food vendors sold to their customers varied from fresh vegetables, fruits, snacks, cooked food, traditional food, and different legumes. An interesting finding was that a significant number of food vendors reported to be selling airtime for a very marginal profit. All food vendors pointed out that the choice of goods which they sell is dictated by the demands and needs of their customers who extend to the general public. Figures 10 and 11 provide a visual picture of the food vendors working environments and shows the types of goods which they were selling.

Table 6: Shows the Supply-Chain Dynamics of where informal traders source their goods (Author 2018)

Economic Sector				
Acquire Goods	**Food Vendors Frequency**	**Percentages**	**Clothing Traders Frequency**	**Percentages**
1. Grow them	4	12%	0	0%
2.Natural Resources	0	0%	0	0%
3. Street Vendor	2	6%	1	3%
4.Informal Enterprise	8	23%	3	8%
5. Formal Enterprise	20	58%	0	0%
6.Formal Suppler- Sell on Commission	0	0%	0	0
7. Other (Specify)	0	0%	32	89%

Total	34	100%	36	100%

As highlighted above in Table 4 above, eighty-nine per cent of clothing traders reported that they acquired their goods from other sources. Clothing traders who were selling bales of second hand clothing (mabhero)[10] reported that they purchase their goods from middlemen and women who source the bales from outside of the country from countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, Italy and the United States of America. Other clothing traders reported that they purchased their bales of clothing from middlemen who advertise and sell them on social media platforms such as Facebook and delivery is done to their doorstep nationwide. Whilst, other clothing traders pointed out that they travel to neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania and buy their clothes from shop owners there and then smuggle and bribe their way back into the country at the ports of entry. The clothing traders pointed out that the bales they buy are packaged either according to children's clothes only, ladies clothes only, men's wear only or mixed-variety of clothing. Figure 10 provides a visual picture of an example of a street market in the Bulawayo CBD and shows how some of the goods are displayed for the customers.

Figure 10: Clothing Traders Selling Sites within the Bulawayo CBD

Source: Author 2018

[10] Local colloquial term that is used for the English word bale.

Figure 11: Example of goods at a dothing stall

Source: Author 2018

Figure 12: Example of a Food Vending Site along the street pavement

Source: Author 2018

Figure 13: Food Vendors selling within the Bulawayo CBD

Source: Author 2018

Figure 14: Female Food Traders along the Bulawayo City Hall

Source: Author 2018

5.4 Decent Work in the Zimbabwean context

As the qualitative data was processed there were recurring responses which were raised by the research participants in relation to the question on decent work which they were asked to complete during the survey. This section presents the combined views of the clothing traders and food vendors on what they thought to be decent work in the Zimbabwean context. The information is presented according to themes as pointed out by the informal workers. The themes and categories are tabulated in Table 7 and then are described in detail.

Table 7: Themes and Categories on Decent Work

THEMES			
Work Related Improvements	**Insurances and Risk Management**	**Right of Expression**	**Business Advancement Skills**
Decent Trading Markets	Health Care Insurance	Social Dialogue	Entrepreneurial Skills Advancement and Financial Support
Adequate Sanitation at Work	Disability Insurance	Respect of Informal Workers' Rights at Work	

Occupational Health and Safety	Pension Assistance	No Harassment and Victimisation	
		Recognition and Dignity	

Theme 1: Work Related Improvements

Most of the participants felt very strongly about having work related improvements as one important criteria for them to have a decent working environment. The following categories -work related improvements, adequate sanitation at work and occupational health and safety are explained below.

Decent Trading Markets

The research findings revealed that both groups of informal workers were in support of a clean working environment as one of the key priorities for work to be termed decent. The informal workers pointed out that they aspire to have constructed trading stalls which are well positioned within the central business district and where there is access to pedestrians as this is where their enterprises thrive the most. The interviewed workers also stated that the desired market stalls should adequately protect the trader and their goods from unfavourable weather conditions. The informal workers pointed out that their ideal trading market should have storage facilities and must have security mechanisms in place to combat issues such as theft and damages. The informal workers believed that having a permanent trading market will greatly reduce the amount of time which they spend per day setting up and taking down their displayed wares. In addition, the respondents shared the opinion that having storage facilities would assist them in saving the transportation and storage fees which they are currently incurring at present.

Adequate Sanitation at Work

The informal workers indicated that a decent working environment should encompass basic sanitation facilities which include running water and restroom facilities. The women traders spoke directly to this grievance and reported that the current situation regarding a lack of restrooms greatly affects their ability to have a safe space when going through their monthly periodic cycles. The women informal traders pointed out that the current ablution facilities are not comfortable for them to use, are very dirty and unhygienic. The female traders suggested that decent restrooms should be cleaned daily and must be accompanied by incinerators to promote menstrual hygiene

and the safe disposal of sanitary ware. The informal traders argued that the municipality should desist from issuing out tenders to companies to construct public toilets because most of these toilets end up becoming 'pay toilets' which is discriminatory and not inclusive to the poor workers. All informal workers were in agreement that the provision of water is a basic human right and is essential in promoting personal hygiene.

Occupational Health and Safety

The informal workers pointed out that they are not exempted from physical accidents whilst they are at work. The traders argued that every workspace which is termed decent should have occupational health and safety measures in place so that they are protected from hazards such as fires, falling trees and burst sewage spills flowing along the road onto where their goods are displayed. The traders recommended that each market stall/flea market should have fire extinguishers and that informal workers should be capacitated on how to use them. The traders added that informal workers should be trained on how to conduct first aid and a first aid box should be present on site at their places of work.

Theme 2: Insurances and Risk Management

Throughout the responses, they were indications that the participants placed a high value on insurance against physical, economic and old age risks.

Pension Assistance

Most of the informal workers who were interviewed proposed that one of the requirements for their work to be deemed as decent is for them to be awarded pension assistance once they are over the retirement age[11].

Health Care Insurance

The informal workers pointed out that health care insurance is a necessity for all workers and should not be a benefit enjoyed by the few who are formally employed. In addition, the clothing traders argued that the right to health is a basic human right which must be accorded to all workers. The traders suggested that health care must be free for all and should be subsidized by the government so as to accommodate the working poor who are mostly found in the informal economy.

[11] This point will be explained in detail under the social protection theme which is discussed in the following section of this chapter.

Disability Insurance

The informal workers suggested that the state should provide a disability insurance grant to them in the event that one got injured whilst at work and became incapacitated to continue to perform informal work.

Child Care Assistance

A number of women informal workers voiced their concerns over how bringing children to work affects their ability to earn more income. Some women pointed out that when their children fall sick they have to stay at home and take care of them which directly affects their ability to go to work. Also, some traders pointed out that having to take their children to ECD facilities first in the morning delays the time they can arrive to work making them less economically competitive to their male counterparts. The informal workers proposed that the state should make ECD facilities more accessible to the working poor so that their children can be accommodated.

Theme 3: Right of Expression

The ability for informal workers to voice their concerns, dialogue and assist in policy making without intimidation were cited as crucial examples of how the state can show its appreciation and recognition of their work.

Respect of Informal Workers' Rights at Work

The informal workers indicated that having their rights at work respected is one of the issues which they take seriously. The interviewees clarified that if they were respected as responsible citizens who have rights there would be no need to have running battles with the police. The traders pointed out that their rights are protected by the Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013) which entitles them to freedom to work and protection from discrimination.

Social Dialogue

The research findings revealed that most of the informal workers who were interviewed pointed out that the ability to air out their grievances without fear of victimisation is one of the key requirements of decent work. The food vendors argued that without dialogue between them and the local government the fighting between street vendors and police will never end. The traders recommended that they need to be taken seriously by the local and central government and must be consulted, present and make input on issues relating to their social and economic welfare.

No Harassment and Victimisation

All informal workers who participated in the study agreed that a decent informal job must not be accompanied by harassment or extortion through the payment of bribes because they are legal economic actors and are not promoting illicit activities.

Recognition and Dignity

All informal workers indicated that they would appreciate it if they can be recognised and respected by the central and local government for the job which they perform. The clothing traders pointed out that once they are recognised this would lead to their work having some form of dignity which at the moment does not exist.

Theme 4: Business Advancement Skills

The responses revealed that some of the informal workers felt the need to be capacitated with business skills which would enable them to record daily transactions, track enterprise performance and seek financial assistance from microfinance institutions and banks.

Entrepreneurial Skills Advancement and Financial Support

The traders identified that they would like to be assisted with low interest rate loans to enable them to grow their enterprises. The clothing traders cited that the current interest rates on loans are very high and unattractive. Furthermore, some of the informal workers pointed out that they would like to be trained in business skills and attend seminars for them to learn about new business and funding initiatives. The next section presents the decent work deficit index scores of the sampled informal workers.

5.5 The Decent Work Deficit Index of the Informal Workers

As previously highlighted the DWDI is a methodology which measures decent work deficits across quantitative variables. This methodology was adopted into this study and is used to reveal how the two groups of informal workers faired in relation to four decent work quantitative variables. The objective of using this index is to disaggregate decent work by economic sector and by gender so as to find out differences and similarities. As formerly stated in the conceptual chapter, the advantage of using this index is that it is able to measure decent work at the individual and economic sector level something which the ILO has not yet provided guidance on how this can be done. The DWDI is interpreted in the following manner- 0 is the lowest score which is on the scale, and 1 means is the maximum score which can be attained. The lower the score the better

and a high score is bad because this means the higher the decent work deficits i.e. absolute decent work deficit.

Firstly, this section highlights the decent work deficit index scores across economic sector. Next, the DWDI will be disaggregated by gender to highlight gender differences in the informal economy. Figure 15 and figure 16 were constructed using quantitative data which was generated from the survey questionnaire. The graph in figure 15 shows the disaggregated decent work deficit index scores across five variables which are namely, decent hours of work, income security, representation security, health and safety at work.

Figure 15: Decent Work Deficit Index by Economic Sector

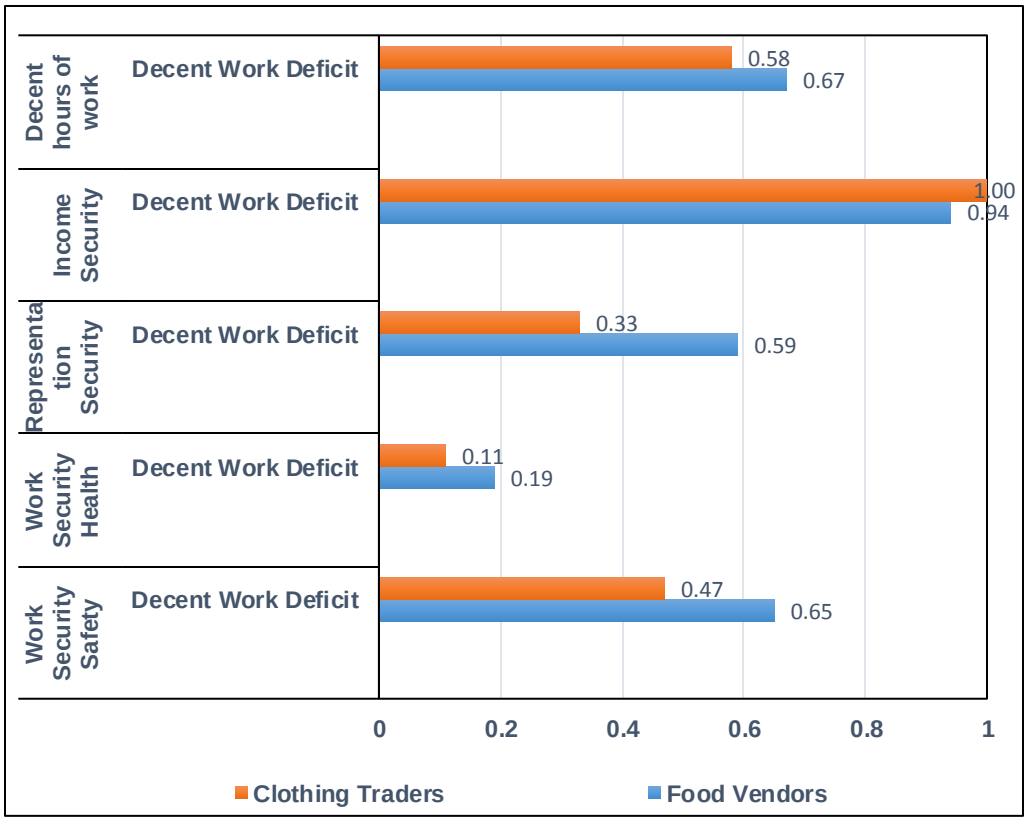


Figure 15 reveals that food vendors had a slightly higher decent work deficit score of 0.67 when it came to decent hours of work variable as compared to the food vendors who scored 0.58 on the index. The index scores suggest that from the sampled informal workers, food vendors worked more than eight hours on average per day when compared to the clothing traders who reported to work less than eight hours per day hence; food vendors have a higher score on the index.

The research findings reveal that all clothing traders reported a decent work deficit on income security. This is illustrated in figure 15 by the clothing traders having an absolute income security

deficit score of 1. By contrast, food vendors scored slightly lower decent work deficit index score than the clothing traders on the income security index with a score of 0.94. However, figure 15 reveals that both the clothing traders and the food vendors have an income security decent work deficit. The high scores on the income security variable can be explained by the fact that both groups of informal workers revealed that personal experiences such as the payment of bribes, transportation costs, storage costs, and the lack of point of sale (POS) machines in a cashless economy have a severe strain on their ability to earn a secure income.

For the representation security variable food vendors had a higher decent work deficit score of 0.59 whereas the clothing traders had a slightly lower score of 0.33. This finding indicates that from the total sample clothing traders had a higher representation in informal traders associations which advanced their interests and on the other hand food vendors were not well represented in informal traders associations. This finding suggests that it is more challenging to organise food vendors as compared to clothing traders. This finding bears similar resemblance with Luebker's (2008) findings on informal workers in Glenview Harare where it was pointed out that in his study informal workers had a very low participation and membership rates in informal workers organisations. An interesting finding in this research is illustrated in figure 15 which reveals that both the clothing traders and the food vendors had very low presence of decent work deficit scores on the health variable. Clothing traders scored 0.11 on the index whilst food vendors had a score of 0.19. This finding suggests that the work which both informal workers conducted has very little impact on their health status. The findings on safety at work reveal that clothing traders are safer at work because they had a slightly lower score 0.47 on this variable. In contrast, the food vendors are less safe whilst at work as this is revealed by their higher score of 0.65 on the index. The reason for this is because clothing traders mostly ply their trade in designated municipality trading sites. This is whilst food vendors mostly carry out their trading in isolation and in illegal areas such as on street pavements and are more vulnerable to harassment and extortion from municipal and state police. In summary, the findings presented in figure 15 illustrate that food vendors have higher decent work deficits in four indicators (decent hours of work, representation security, work security-health and work security-safety) when compared to clothing traders who have lower scores.

5.5.1 DWDI of the Informal Workers disaggregated by Gender

This section highlights the decent work index scores disaggregated by gender. The objective of doing this was to highlight gender differences and similarities in the informal economy. Also, the

index is able to identify which variables posed as challenges to attainting decent work for the respective genders.

Women reported having better access to decent hours of work compared to men. This is revealed in figure 16 by women scoring 0.55 and men scoring 0.75 on the index. This suggests that women had better hours of work and worked mostly eight hours and below compared to their male counterparts who reported that they worked more than eight hours per day.

Figure 16: Decent Work Deficit Index by Gender

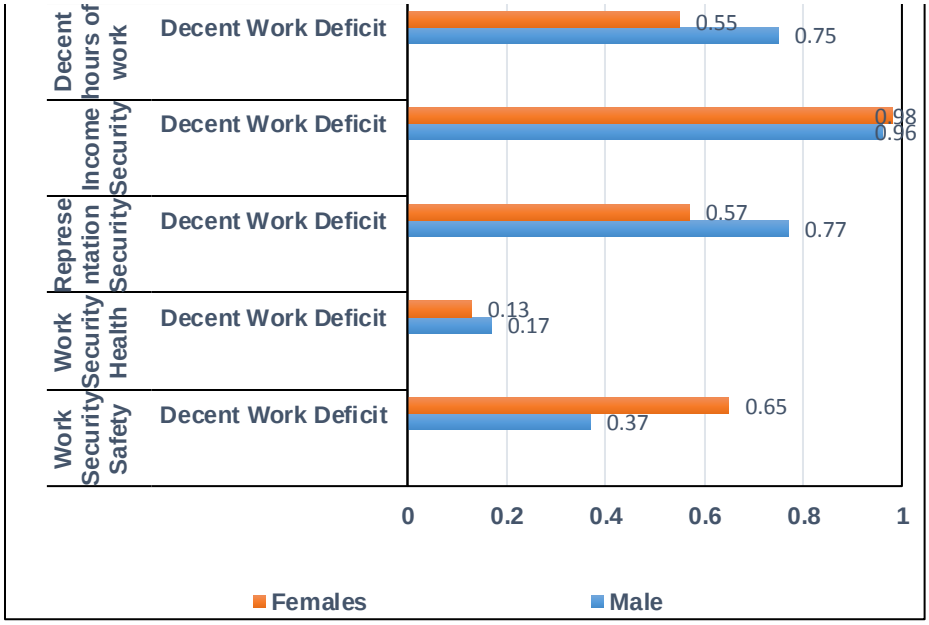


Figure 16 reveals that both men and women reported having a high decent work deficit for the income security variable. Female informal traders scored slightly higher at 0.98 compared to their male counterparts who scored slightly less at 0.96. This score suggests that both men and women are vulnerable to factors which affect their income security such as bribes and loss off goods etc.

Male informal traders have a higher decent work deficit score higher at 0.77 compared to females who scored 0.57 for the representation security variable. This finding suggests that women are more proactive in organising themselves, forming and joining informal traders associations which represent their work interests whilst men are not.

Both sexes reported very low scores for the work security-health variable. Figure 16 shows that women scored 0.13 on the index and in contrast men scored slightly higher at 0.17. This score suggests that street vending as an informal occupation does not affect informal workers' health status to a large extent.

Women reported that they are not safe at work and in contrast men pointed out that they are safe at work. This is illustrated in figure 16 with women scoring 0.65 compared to men who scored 0.37 on the index. This score suggests that women in the Zimbabwe informal economy are vulnerable to challenges such as extortion, harassment, sexual harassment, physical violence, intimidation, intra-vendor rivalry and theft more than their male counterparts. Safety at work is an important variable which has a close relationship with the income security variable. The following section explains the findings for the two stand-alone decent work qualitative variables which are social protection and personal experience of being an informal trader.

5.5.2 Social Protection

This section presents the qualitative responses of both the clothing traders and the food vendors with regards to joining the proposed social protection scheme which was proposed for them by the National Social Security Authority (NSSA).

The findings show that the overall response to this question was very positive. This is shown by the fact that fifty-five respondents pointed out that they were in support of joining the voluntary contributory pension scheme which aims to include previously excluded groups from pension assistance such as informal workers. The informal workers expressed optimism in this initiative and indicated that it was more of a security plan for their future when they would no longer be able to work. Some of the clothing traders shared the opinion that the policy must at its core have the interests of the street vendors/traders at heart. Two female food vendors who were trading from the Bulawayo City Hall street market pointed out that:

"We want a pension fund so that when we cannot carry our tomatoes we can stay at home and get our pension fund"

"It is a noble idea, hope the local authority, the Bulawayo City Council chips in then it is going to be productive"

The findings also revealed that twenty-eight respondents shared the opinion that this was a bad idea and were not in support of it. Their concerns ranged from the view that they were not consulted as intended beneficiaries before and during the drafting phase and therefore were not willing to accept an imposed policy onto them. The food vendors argued that the financial and macroeconomic situation of Zimbabwe is unstable and the constant change of currencies poses as a huge risk to joining the proposed pension fund or any social assistance programme. The words of one middle aged male clothing trader pointed out that:

"…*this initiative must be approached with caution, as government once eroded formal workers' pension funds before in 2008*". Nine respondents abstained from answering the question citing that they had no prior knowledge of this proposed pension fund for informal workers.

5.5.3 Personal Working Experience of being an Informal Trader

This section provides the qualitative personal working experiences which both types of informal workers pointed out during the field work. This information is presented according to themes and is disaggregated according to worker type.

5.5.3.1 Food Vendors

Harassment

The research findings revealed that most food vendors have been harassed by state and municipal police more than once. The food vendors highlighted that this has affected their confidence and permanence of trading within the central business district. In addition, a follow up elaboration to this response was that most food vendors who had experienced police raids which resulted in their goods being confiscated or damaged pointed out that confiscated goods were never returned by both state agents (police and municipal police). The food vendors pointed out that harassment and intimidation from state and municipal police was higher at the core of the central business district and became less as one traded on the outskirts or the periphery of the city centre.

Earnings

The food vendors indicated that their earnings have been decreasing over the years because of the declining economic environment which has been ongoing in Zimbabwe for close to two decades. The food vendors highlighted that one explanation to the decrease in their earnings is that there are now many food vendors in the city centre as compared to a few years ago when there were not that many.

Lack of Sensitivity of Disability

The research findings also revealed the personal experiences of a few disabled informal food vendors. The disabled food vendors pointed out that for them they had noticed a change in the way in which the state interacts with them. These food vendors elaborated that back in the day the state through the local government used to respect them as vulnerable members of society and were exempted from any municipal police raids or harassment. The disabled food vendors pointed out that over the years the situation has drastically changed and currently they are harassed and are victims of some form of state violence and intimidation.

Inter-Vendor Rivalry

Some of the findings revealed that registered food vendors had fought over trading space before with unregistered food vendors and this affected their working relations. The registered food vendors pointed out that it is the unregistered food vendors who could be blamed for issues to do with cholera because they are not cautious with the environment which surrounds them.

5.5.3.2 Clothing Traders

Payment of Bribes

Clothing traders pointed out that they faced a lot of challenges when it came to importing their goods into the country. The most cited reason for this occurrence was that most clothing traders complained about having to pay bribes to Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA) officials at the ports of entry so that their bales of second-hand clothing may be allowed into Zimbabwe. One male clothing trader who was trading from the Bulawayo City Hall Khotama clothing market indicated that:

"*My personal experience is that being a clothing trader is not easy. There are a lot of challenges that come across especially to those who get their goods from outside the country and also the bad conditions that we work under eg bad weather, no shelter, no storage facilities"*

Earnings

Clothing traders pointed out that their earnings are affected by having to pay for storage of their goods at overnight makeshift storing facilities such as fuel stations, garages and vacant warehouses in the central business district. Other clothing traders pointed out that the BCC only allowed them to trade at the 'weekend market' called Khotama and this meant that they had only two days of economic activity per week and this greatly hampered their earnings. Clothing traders also pointed out that storage facilities also reduced their earnings because the individuals who provide these services have to be paid.

Some clothing traders pointed out that their ability to profit from selling school uniforms has been reducing because of the influx of China shops within the central business district which are offering clothing goods at lower and more attractive prices for the customers. The following response was obtained from a female clothing trader who is selling her goods in the outskirts of the city centre:

"I'm into clothing trading, well as of now with the increase in China shops the informal sector is facing a lot of competition with the lower prices, pupils are now turning to buy from the China shops, hence we are having fewer customers these days"

Currency Challenges

All the clothing traders who were interviewed pointed out that using the 'bond note' which is a local currency which does not have exchange value outside the country greatly impacts on their ability to purchase goods in other countries. The traders pointed out the current cash crisis which is affecting the country means that their earnings are reducing daily. Also the traders highlighted that because they do not have access to a POS machine, they are not able to keep up to date with the current terms of trade which involves the use of plastic money.

Lack of Adequate Trading Stalls

Clothing traders highlighted that their enterprises and goods are greatly affected by harsh weather conditions (extreme sunlight, rain, dust) because they trade in open air spaces. Clothing traders indicated that because their clothes are displayed directly on the floor they are directly exposed to the sun every day and this makes them fade and lose quality. Two female clothing traders who were trading from the 6th Avenue clothing market captured this struggle:

"We *are only provided with trading space with no shelters, in the open space, our goods no storage, we are not covered with medical cover*"

"It becomes hectic when it starts to rain and when the sun is hot. There are no proper sheds and sometimes there is no running water and the council doesn't empty the refuse bins on time so it becomes hazardous to health"

5.6 Core Indicators of Decent Work in Zimbabwe

The statistical findings were triangulated with the qualitative findings from the informal workers. As far as income security is concerned both the clothing traders and food vendors reported having financial challenges and were not making much profits. The qualitative responses have a similar resemblance with the quantitative score on income security as shown in figure 15 and 16 which depicts a very high score (decent work deficit) for this variable. The qualitative findings revealed that payment of bribes, transportation costs and storage fees affect daily and monthly earnings of the informal workers. The challenge on income security is illustrated by the following comments from three female food vendors:

"The volume of customers varies with the payments of people when they get their monies"

"…because business gets low in the mid-month and picks ups on month end"

"The business changes with time, weather and availability of staff"

The qualitative findings showed that income security (earnings) was cited by most participants as a major constraint to them realising their full potential as informal workers. This suggest that it is another core indicator of decent work for Zimbabwean informal workers. One female food vendor who was trading from the street pavement along Lobengula Street explained that:

"Thina njengamavendors ubunzima esihlangana labo yokuthi icity council isithathela nsuku zonke esikuthengisayo"

This can be translated as *"us as vendors the main challenge that we face is that the city council confiscates our goods everyday"*

With regards to decent hours of work it is interesting to point out that there were no qualitative responses or complaints on this variable. The most cited response was that the traders pointed out that profits are not determined by how many hours one works but are determined by location, peak hours during the day and peak periods during certain days of the month. For example, food vendors pointed out that their peak hours were early in the morning, mid-afternoon and evening when people knock off from work. Whilst for clothing traders their business received a lot of customers during events such as the opening of schools, weekends and public holidays.

The representation security indicator measures the participation of informal workers in informal traders associations. The decent work deficit index score of participation in informal trader associations (Figure 15) is lower for clothing traders as compared to food vendors. This statistical finding does tally with the qualitative responses which indicated that most informal workers interviewed complained about not having a voice to enable them to dialogue with the local municipality.

From both the quantitative and qualitative findings the researcher deduced that work security (safety) is a core indicator of decent work in the Zimbabwean context. As far as work security is concerned both informal trader groups reported having a mixed experience. The decent work deficit index score is lower for clothing traders and this may be due to the fact that clothing traders mostly occupy spaces which have been designated for them by the municipality hence their work is less illegal. In addition, clothing traders pointed out that to enhance security at their work places they employed guards to protect their goods from threats such as theft.

In contrast, most food vendors reported that they are not safe at work and this is because they occupy illegal spaces within the central business district which were not designated to them by the municipality. Furthermore, the fact that food vendor's trade in scattered and isolated spaces makes

them easy targets for the police to harass, confiscate goods and extort bribes from them. Two female food vendors pointed out that:

"Vending site not secure, no one to look after your stuff when using toilet facilities. Stalls not secure/open spaæ and inconveniently located close to the road"

"I am not safe at work because I sell my goods in fear"

The qualitative responses pointed out that safety at work is closely tied with health security and occupational health and safety at work. A Female trader pointed out that health hazards as well as vehicle traffic pose as risks to their livelihoods. This is explained in the following quotations below:

"Direct sunlight is not good for my health because of hypertension"

"Health hazards when the refuse is not collected on time (cholera)"

"…traffic is a challenge because the site is near to the main road and it's an open space"

Throughout the qualitative responses it is evident that social protection is another core indicator of decent work. This is illustrated through the overwhelming response by the informal workers who were in favour of insurances and risk management. As previously highlighted, some of the proposed social protection initiatives included pension assistance, health care insurance, disability insurance and child care assistance.

Lastly, the provision of business training, and loans was a recurring response in the qualitative findings. The traders pointed out that for them to grow their enterprises they would like to receive more training around entrepreneurial activities. The youth who also participated in the study also pointed out that the current loans which are being issued out to youth through government ministries such as the Ministry of Youth, Sport, Arts and Recreation had high interest rates which were not profitable for someone who is starting up an enterprise. The informal workers indicated that access to financial assistance in the form of loans is one major concern for them.

5.7 Conclusion

The chapter presented the research findings of the data which was collected during the fieldwork in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. The qualitative findings revealed that the informal workers suggested that decent work for them involved work related improvements, insurances and risk management, right of expression and business advancement skills. The quantitative findings clearly showed that overall clothing traders score highly on the decent work deficit index to food vendors. This was illustrated by the fact that clothing traders had higher scores in decent hours of work,

representation security, work security (health) and work security (safety) than food vendors. Food vendors had a slightly higher score than clothing traders on only the income security variable which was very insignificant. The findings revealed that income security, work security, representation security, social protection and business advancement skills are the core indicators for the informal workers in the Zimbabwean context.

Chapter 6:
Analysis and Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented and described the research findings for the fieldwork which was carried out in Bulawayo central business district. The central aim of this chapter is to provide an analysis and discussion of the research findings which were reported in the previous chapter. The chapter begins by firstly providing a discussion on the grassroots understanding of decent work in the Zimbabwean context. This chapter then proceeds to highlight the differences in the Zimbabwean conceptualisation of decent work from the ILO, differences in organising between informal workers, and place of work. This chapter also highlights how the value chain analysis can be used to promote social protection within the informal economy. The chapter then provides a discussion on the importance of mainstreaming gender into the decent work agenda. The chapter comes to a conclusion by discussing the suitability of the DWDI as a methodology of measuring the progress of attaining decent work at the micro level.

6.2 Grassroots understanding of Decent work in the Zimbabwean context

To the researchers' knowledge, this is one of the very few studies that has investigated the concept of decent work with a specific reference to informal employment in the Zimbabwean context. The conceptualisation of decent work which emerged from the findings suggests that informal workers in Zimbabwe are more aligned towards the structuralist school of thought. The structuralist perspective is one of the four analytical lenses which were reviewed in the literature which help explain the origins of the informal sector. Philip (2018) argues that the structure of the economy is the main factor which is responsible for perpetuating decent work deficits in the informal economy because it is in favour of larger companies at the expense of small enterprises. The structuralist perspective is similar with most of the challenges which the informal workers raised which were concerned with the structure of the economy which disadvantages them. For example, the informal traders pointed out that the costs of owning a POS machine are high yet their enterprises are existing within a cashless economy. This has made it difficult for them to make a living. Philip (2018) argues that to promote the informal economy, policy makers must deal with structural factors which caused its formation. To counter structuralist causes of decent work deficits in the informal economy, recent debates have suggested that governments put in place regulations that force global companies to cede a share of their profits to provide social protection

schemes for their subcontracted informal workers or face exclusion and boycott of their products in the international market.

The findings of the survey do have a resemblance with the voluntarist perspective which was reviewed in the literature. This is because all the respondents highlighted that informal work for them is a means for survival because they are unable to acquire formal employment. Despite the fact that food vendors and clothing traders score poorly on the DWDI, this thesis argues that this does not devalue the livelihood earning opportunities which people get by carrying out this type of employment. The majority of the sample pointed out that informal employment is a livelihood survival strategy. Therefore, providing benefits and incentives to formalise would be a positive option for informal workers to consider. For example, access to capital can be used as a strategy to lure informal workers to formalise their enterprises.

The findings of the perceptions surrounding the concept of decent work revealed that the informal workers suggested that a combination of work related improvements, insurances and risk management, the right to expression and business advancement skills would be sufficient in enabling decent work conditions within the informal economy. This resonates with scholars such as Grimm & Paffhausen, 2015 who argue that giving informal workers access to public space such as water, electricity, childcare facilities and business support services has the potential of impacting positively to the informal economy. The next section discusses the core indicators of decent work in the Zimbabwean context.

6.2.1 Core Indicators of Decent Work

This study revealed that the core indicators of decent work differ according to context, gender, economic sector and between types of workers. For example, clothing traders prioritised the provision of business training and loans whilst on the other hand the food vendors were interested in income security and safety at work as their core indicators of decent work. This contrasts with the findings of a study which was done in South Africa on security guards by Webster & Sefalafala, 2016 who found out that stability and security at work, adequate earnings and productive work, social protection, and the promotion of social dialogue were noted as core indicators of decent work. This could suggest that context and the type of employment do have a bearing on the core indicators of decent work. This is a significant contribution because studies reviewed in the literature by scholars such as Webster et al, 2016 identified that core indicators of decent work differ according to industry and economic sector. The following section discusses the differences in the Zimbabwe conceptualisation of decent work from the ILO.

6.2.2 Differences in the Zimbabwe conceptualisation of Decent Work from the ILO

The top-down approach by academics, experts and international organisations of defining decent work has been identified in the literature as being exclusionary of the views of informal workers (Webster, 2016). This thesis offered a bottom-up approach which highlights local viewpoints which have not been captured by the international community. The qualitative findings in the supply-chain dynamics section revealed that the current conceptualisation of decent work excludes care work yet this is an important issue if the economic field is going to be levelled between both men and women. Scholars such as Moussie & Alfers, 2018; UNIFEM, 2005 argue that childcare protection remains one gap which is currently not being catered for in the decent work agenda. The qualitative findings on earnings show that women are unable to compete on an equal level with men because they are restricted due to unpaid care responsibilities which they have to perform for their children. Moussie & Alfers (2018) argue that access to childcare is an important element of income security and social protection for women informal workers because it serves to protect women's earnings by allowing them to work whilst having children to feed. The following section discusses the differences in organising between informal workers.

6.2.3 Differences in Organising between Informal Workers

This thesis raises the argument that the representation security indicator of decent work is heavily reliant on the economic sector. A study by Webster et al (2008) on five economic sectors i.e. clothing, mining, paper, metal and catering revealed that mining scored highly on the representative security indicator. The authors of this study argue that workers in the mining sector have a collective voice and are protected by a strong employers association, chamber of mines, National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), Federated Miner Union, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). In contrast, informal workers who were interviewed in this study scored differently on the representation security indicator. The fact that clothing traders scored higher than food vendors on the representation security indicator provides some evidence to the assertion that this indicator is reliant on the type of economic sector. Authors cited in the literature have argued that informal workers continue to score poorly on this indicator because this type of work is not well represented and informal workers nature of employment reduces their bargaining power.

The framing of organising within the conceptualisation of decent work is too narrow and this restricts the possibilities of promoting this amongst informal workers. This resonates with an important debate which has been raised by Webster et al, 2016 who argues that it is time for different typologies of power to be used in organising informal workers. For example, Webster et

al (2016) highlights that structural power is associated with the formal economy and is based on workplace bargaining. Webster et al (2016) argues that for informal workers to organise themselves effectively, it is time that they adopt associational and symbolic sources of power. This suggests that informal workers could organise themselves around churches and faith based organisations (FBOs). Symbolic power could give informal workers the ability to form alliances and coalitions with trade unions and political parties.

The Zimbabwe Constitution of 2013, Section 65 (1) guarantees the right that people have to organise themselves. However, the research findings point out that there is a legislative gap with aligning the Constitution of Zimbabwe with labour laws and in particular the Labour Relations Act Chapter 28:01 which governs labour relations in the country. The Zimbabwe Labour Relations Act Chapter 28:01 only recognises trade unions, employer organisations and federations and this means that informal workers organisations cannot register as trade unions because they do not adhere to a standard employment relationship which is a requirement by the law. Research by scholars such as Luebker, 2008 has revealed that informal workers in Zimbabwe perform very dismally when it comes to representation security. This finding was also highlighted in the DWDI in figures 15 and 16 in the previous chapter which illustrated that the participation of informal workers in organisations that represent their work interests was very low.

Scholars such as Webster et al (2016) argue that a crucial challenge facing the informal economy is that the nature of occupation as well as the nature of work can prevent informal workers such as street vendors from organizing themselves. This bears similar resemblance with the findings on representation security variable on the DWDI. It is easier for clothing traders to organize themselves as compared to food vendors. This suggests that within the informal economy organising differs by gender, occupation and also economic sector. The results disaggregated by gender on figure 16 in the previous chapter reveal that women have a lower decent work deficit index score on the representation security variable as compared to men. This resonates with the work of UNIFEM (2005) who argue that in the informal economy it is much easier for women than men to organize, and form or join informal traders associations although they are at times restricted by cultural limitations. Andrae & Beckman (2010:87) argue that each segment of the population must find common ground in their struggles and organize themselves instead of waiting for trade unions which are not conventionally suited for their type and nature of work. The next section discusses the social and economic divisions between place of work.

6.2.4 Place of Work

The results of the study show that place of work is important to be considered in the conceptualisation of decent work. This is because the study highlighted that safety at work was intertwined with the place of work for the informal workers. For example, workers on the outskirts of the central business district reported to be safer from state police abuse whilst this was the opposite for those who traded closer to the core of the city centre. The previous chapter revealed that food vendors are more vulnerable to challenges such as intimidation, harassment, eviction and extortion more than the clothing traders. This could be because food vendors are located on street pavements, traffic intersections and are usually isolated and haphazard when compared to clothing traders who trade in designated spaces most of the time. The research findings on safety at work were most likely expected because similar studies on street vendors by Roever & Skinner, 2016 has revealed that informal workers are vulnerable to relocation because of their places of work. The literature has shown that at the current moment, worker related benefits are strictly associated with the place of work. For example, people who work in conventional working environments are likely to be provided with employee benefits compared to those who work in non-conventional work spaces such as street pavements and taxi-ranks. This was an expected finding because informal workers who trade from non-conventional work spaces are denied any form of state assistance or worker related benefits.

6.3 Discussion of heterogeneity in decent work

The preceding chapter highlighted that the decent work concept must begin to incorporate analysis according to economic sector. The DWDI in the previous chapter illustrated that within the informal economy inequality and differences exist. The current conceptualisation of decent work does not follow this approach but analyses decent work from a broad perspective. This study shows that to promote decent work in the informal economy the type of economic sector must be taken into consideration. This is because the challenges which are faced by informal workers are different in every economic sector. For example, it makes much more sense to have different charges for trading licenses for food vendors and clothing traders instead of having one uniform cost. This is because both traders' profits margins are not comparable and furthermore, food vendors are vulnerable because they sell perishable goods.

The qualitative findings on the personal working experience of being an informal trader show that the challenges which both informal workers groups face are quite different in nature. The implications of this finding suggest that decent work does differ according to occupations within the informal economy. The food vendors are mostly affected harassment, extortion, lack of

sensitivity of disability and inter-vendor rivalry. The food vendors' personal experiences differ with the clothing traders who reported to be affected by the payment of bribes, storage fees, transportations costs, currency challenges and the lack of adequate trading stalls. This finding aligns with the arguments of WIEGO scholars such as Skinner, 2018; Chen, 2018; Chen & Beard, 2018; Chen, 2012; and Rogan et al, 2017 who all argue that the concept of heterogeneity means that policy makers must be able to deal with the challenges which affect informal workers in terms of economic sector, value chains and occupations. This suggests that the current one size fits all approach to policy making is inconsistent with the different needs of informal workers. As shown in Figure 15 in the preceding chapter, food vendors overall experience a core deficit of decent work and are thus worse off and more vulnerable than clothing traders. The next section discusses the importance of why the value chain analysis may be used to promote social protection within the informal economy.

6.4 Using the Value Chain Analysis to promote Social Protection within the Informal Economy

Scholars such as Lund & Nicholson (2004) argue that the value chain approach can be used to identify stakeholders who are directly involved with a particular economic sector and may suggest possible roles which these stakeholders may implement to improve social protection within the informal economy. The supply-chain dynamics findings of the food vendors does show that there is a possibility of formal firms playing a role in promoting social protection in the informal economy. This is because the relationship between the formal firms and informal food vendors is very close because of the daily trade between them. Lund & Nicholson (2004) argued in the literature that the value chain analysis can assist in identifying the rights and entitlements of informal workers through public provision. This suggests that local governments/municipalities do have a role which they can play in improving decent work conditions in the informal economy especially when it comes to issues such as occupational health and safety (Bamu-Chipunza, 2018).

This dissertation highlighted that the supply chain dynamics is useful to be incorporated into the decent work conceptualisation. Supply- chain dynamics provides an effective framework of analysis when conducting any research which focuses on decent work. This is because the supply-chain dynamics approach traces the origin of where goods are being sourced from by the informal traders and identifies the risks and vulnerabilities associated along the value chain. The current ILO framework on decent work does not incorporate supply-chain dynamics and this serves as a weakness in critically solving decent work deficits in the informal economy. The findings on supply-chain dynamics in Section 5.3 demonstrate that clothing traders mostly source their goods

from outside of Zimbabwe which makes them part of the global clothing value chain. Whilst on the other hand, most of the food vendors source their goods from local wholesalers and this makes them part of the local value chain. The opportunity of promoting decent work seems more viable for the informal food vendors than the clothing traders. This is because food vendors are part of local value chains which can provide opportunity as well as assistance in promoting decent work. For example, because of the formal and informal connections it is easier for formal businesses to facilitate decent work for the food vendors in the form of physical upgrades on markers, lower prices/discounts for being loyal customers, construction of toilets etc. For clothing traders who are part of global value chains their ability to have decent work is more challenging as they are susceptible to risks and vulnerabilities which they have very little control over. The next section provides a discussion on occupational health and safety for informal workers.

6.5 A Discussion on Law, Occupational Health and Safety for Informal Workers

Bamu-Chipunza (2018) argues that there is a gap between international law which entitles informal workers the right to occupational health and safety and national laws which do not cater for this for those employed in the informal economy. A gap currently exists in Occupational Health and Safety Acts which were not originally designed to incorporate informal workers in non-conventional workplaces. An interesting finding that was not expected in the study was the low scores on decent health which both informal workers groups reported on the DWDI. This is in contrast with what has been cited in the literature that informal workers are at a huge risk to occupational health hazards because of the unconventional places of work which they occupy in public spaces (Bamu-Chipunza, 2018). A failure by local governments to provide occupational health and safety measures means that the costs and risks associated with health maintenance are carried fully by informal workers especially women. Bamu-Chipunza (2018) argues that when attempting to promote decent work, policy makers must understand that different occupational groups and economic sectors within the informal economy are exposed and susceptible to different health and safety hazards which will require different interventions when dealing with this challenge.

Better access to the law and protection by the law can go a long way in promoting decent work for informal workers. Chen (2012) suggests that reducing the time which is taken to formally register informal enterprises and issue them with trading licenses would help drive decent work in the informal economy. However, challenges with the law featured prominently in the qualitative findings in the form of harassment and extortion by state and municipal police. This highlighted

the importance of the law in uplifting the working conditions of informal workers. The following section unpacks the importance of gender being mainstreamed into the decent work agenda.

6.6 The importance of gender being mainstreamed into the decent work agenda

The differences in gender scores between women and men on the DWDI suggest that any remedies to improve decent work deficits in the informal economy will have to take gender differences and inequalities into consideration. The results of the DWDI highlight the importance of having access to informal employment data which is disaggregated by gender. The ZDWCP points out that the lack of gender disaggregated data means that policymakers are unable to propose gender sensitive indicators which could reduce decent work deficits for women in the informal economy.

The survey sample shows that gender is an important component which must be mainstreamed into decent work initiatives. Women make up the bulk of the research participants in both of the informal workers groups. This resonates with scholars such as Chen, 2018; Saha, 2017 who argue that women are over represented in the informal economy but are mostly located within low-income activities. The ILO (2002), UNIFEM (2005) argue that gender is an important lens which must be mainstreamed into the decent work agenda because the informal economy is bedevilled by gender inequalities. This is revealed in the DWDI in the previous chapter which is disaggregated according to gender which illustrates that women are not safe whilst at work. The research findings do differ with the work of scholars cited in the literature such as Chen, 2018 and Bamu-Chipunza, 2018 who argue that women in the informal economy are more at risk to poverty, hence any initiative to promote decent work should take this into consideration. The findings show that both women and men score poorly on the income security indicator.

Women dominate both samples of the informal workers groups. This finding is similar to previous studies which were reviewed in the literature which pointed out that women occupy unprofitable sectors within the informal economy such as fruit and vegetable trading (World Bank, 1991; Luebker, 2008; Chen, 2018). This is one factor which has been reviewed in the literature for perpetuating the income gender gap between men and women in the informal economy. The next section provides a discussion on the suitability of the DWDI as a measure of decent work at the micro level.

6.7 Suitability of the DWDI/Evaluation of the Methods

Figures 15 and 13 show that the Webster index has a lot of advantages which can be adopted by the ILO to measure decent work. The DWDI addresses a methodological challenge which was

cited in the conceptual chapter with regards to the measurement of decent work at the micro level. This is against the background that the ILO only offers macro-level -country level- indicators and over the years has failed to prescribe a methodology of measuring decent work at the micro-level -individual level- (Webster et al, 2015). The DWDI has the potential to profile decent work conditions of informal workers in different value chains, industries and can facilitate for comparability. The DWDI has shown that it is more useful to policymaking because it is able to disaggregate decent work scores according to gender and economic sectors and highlight key inequalities which exist in the informal economy. The results from the DWDI also illustrate that the Webster methodology is capable of monitoring the progress of attaining decent work from a gendered perspective, something which is not prescribed by the ILO. The current ILO conceptualisation of decent work lacks clearly defined gender sensitive indicators and does not have any monitoring mechanisms for this in place. Therefore, the DWDI conceptual framework proved that it has the potential to be adopted internationally as methodology of measuring decent work at the micro-level. Authors such as Webster et al (2016) argue that this methodology is key to monitoring industry specific performance towards achieving decent work and may support evidence-based policy making. This study showed that the DWDI as a methodology can be adopted to suit the context of informal workers in any economic sector and country.

6.8 Conclusion

In conclusion it can be noted that this chapter provided a discussion of the research findings which were presented in Chapter Five. The chapter identified that the current conceptualisation of decent work does not include childcare as one of its important pillars of social protection. This chapter also highlighted the importance of mainstreaming gender into the decent work agenda. Most importantly, this chapter highlighted why it is important to incorporate differences according to economic sector in the decent work agenda when it comes to policy making on the informal economy. The chapter also identified why the DWDI is a suitable methodology of measuring decent work at the micro level. The next chapter forms the conclusion to the thesis.

Chapter 7:
Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the analysis and discussion of the research findings which were presented in Chapter five. This chapter will summarize the thesis by providing the research questions, procedure taken to answer the research questions, conceptual framework, the outcome of the literature review and the reflections of the DWDI. This chapter will provide an overview of the key findings in relation to the three main research questions and will highlight areas for future research.

7.2 Research Questions

This study was driven by the following questions:

1. What are the main indicators of decent work from the perspective of the informal workers?

2. How does this differ from other major conceptualisations of decent work, for example the definition established by the ILO and others who have worked on the concept?

3. Does the idea of decent work differ according to different groups within the informal economy? What are the differences?

4. Along which social and economic divisions do the greatest differences lie, between types of worker, between genders, between place of work?

7.3 Procedure taken to answer the Research Questions

The fieldwork for this study was carried out in the Bulawayo central business district because this is where the majority of informal traders ply their trade. The researcher carried out a mixed methodology survey to investigate the research questions. The primary tool used in this study was a questionnaire which included both open-ended and close-ended questions. The qualitative responses were required in order to capture the personal views of the informal traders about what they thought was decent work in their context. The researcher used a non-probability technique called purposive sampling to select the research participants. The main purposive sampling techniques which the researcher used snowball sampling and convenience sampling. The researcher selected seventy participants and was assisted by two informal traders associations, namely, the BVTA and ZCIEA. The researcher physically distributed the questionnaires to the

informal traders at their places of work. The main purposive characteristics which the researcher used to select the participants were based on the nature of work, location of work, occupation and economic sector. The close-ended questions enabled the researcher to find out if there were any differences between the two groups of informal traders.

7.4 Conceptual Framework

The underlying conceptual framework for this study was the Edward Webster Decent Work Deficit index. This conceptual framework was selected because it is a methodology which captures nine of the ten indicators of the ILO decent work agenda. The DWDI was also selected because the literature review revealed that it was one of the few methodologies which have been used to measure decent work deficits at the micro level. This is against the background where the ILO has failed to provide or suggest any methodologies on how to measure decent work at the micro level. This conceptual framework was also selected because it has the potential to highlight heterogeneity and differences between two or more groups of informal workers. The review of literature revealed that there is a debate on how the decent work concept should be measured at the micro level to facilitate for comparability across economic sectors, industries and occupations.

7.5 Outcome of the Literature Review

The four analytical lenses identified in the literature on the origins of the informal sector suggest that they may be used in promoting decent work in the informal economy. This is because each school of thought has its own possible explanations regarding the formulation as well as challenges experienced in the informal economy. This suggests that a multidimensional approach is important to solve the challenges faced in the informal economy. The literature identified that the concept of heterogeneity has the potential to inform policy makers on how to better prescribe possibilities for decent work for different informal workers. The literature also revealed that at the moment, definitions surrounding decent work are mostly expert derived by organisations such as the ILO, leaving a knowledge gap for socially derived definitions which was the objective of this thesis.

The review of the literature on the Zimbabwe informal economy revealed that these are the key areas of focus, history, gender, economic contribution and relationship of the state with the informal economy. The literature pointed out that most studies which have been carried out on the Zimbabwe informal economy have not focussed on the concept of decent work. The literature review also identified that very little research exists on the challenges which are faced by formally registered and licensed street vendors. Finally, the literature also highlighted that the concept of heterogeneity in the informal economy has been poorly explored in the Zimbabwean context.

7.6 Overview of the Research Findings

This thesis demonstrated through a sample of food vendors and clothing traders that to promote decent work within the informal economy it is important to take the concept of heterogeneity into consideration. This is because informal workers differ by various factors such as status in employment, economic sector, place of work and income opportunity suggesting that their needs and challenges needs to be addressed separately.

The study contributed to the growing debate surrounding the methodology of measuring decent work at the micro scale. This was done by adopting the DWDI which proved to be a suitable method of tracking the progress of attaining decent work at the micro level, something which the ILO has failed to suggest since the concept was developed.

The study showed that decent work is not a universal applicable concept. Despite the sampled informal workers having similar perceptions compared to the ILO conceptualisation of decent work, the emergence of issues such as child care assistance and disability insurance show that these are Zimbabwe context specific decent work requirements. This thesis also suggested that it is important to give informal workers the opportunity to define and conceptualise decent work in their own context because this gives them a voice which may help contribute positively to their prolonged struggle.

The study also showed that income security, representation security, work security and social protection are the core indicators of decent work according to the informal workers who were interviewed by the researcher.

7.7 Reflections on the DWDI

The researcher found it difficult to aggregate the decent work variables into one single score, it is however possible to be carried out. A high score on the DWDI is interpreted as bad because a lower score which is closer to zero is desirable. The DWDI has a challenge with representing the decent hours of work variable. This is because the question during the interview did not have a binary response option. To address this challenge, the researcher had to recode the numbers of hours into two categories to simplify the analysis. The categories are 0 representing people who worked 8 hours and above and 1 representing people who work 8 hours and below.

The DWDI has a challenge with allowing the inclusion of qualitative decent work variables such as social protection. Some different methods of analysis have chosen to combine all the variables of decent work into one single score. The advantage of the DWDI is that is separates each indicator

of decent work and the researcher is of the opinion that one is able to learn more about these variables when studying them in this way.

7.8 Areas for Future Research

The research was conducted prior to the Egodini Bus Terminus underwent upgrades and reconstruction into the Egodini Mall and Intermodal Public Transport Interchange. Due to this, the researcher suggests that studies must be carried out to assess whether and how this project impacted on the possibility of promoting decent work amongst informal workers within the Bulawayo central business district. The next section provides policy recommendations.

7.9 Policy Recommendation

Global telecommunication companies in Zimbabwe must contribute a share of their profits to uplifting informal workers working conditions. This serves as an example of formal firms/companies contributing to establishing/promoting decent work for informal workers who sell their products without receiving any profits. The qualitative research findings revealed that most food vendors were reported to be selling airtime for local telecommunication companies such as Econet, Netone and Telecel. The research identified the need that policy making on decent work must be able to address this gap because it is unfair that telecommunication giants are reaping benefits at the expense of informal workers labour which is not remunerated.

7.10 Conclusion

The goal of the study was to find out what informal workers thought decent work was in the Zimbabwean context. This was done by interviewing food vendors and clothing traders who play their trade within the Bulawayo central business district. The study also sought to understand what are the similarities and differences between the two economic sectors (food and clothing traders) in relation to the challenges they face in establishing decent work practices. The study was supported by the Edward Webster Decent Work Deficit Index which helped measure both quantitative and qualitative indicators of decent work. This index was the most suitable methodology for this study because the literature identified that there was no prescribed ILO methodology of measuring decent work at the micro level which was one of the sub objectives of this study. The findings show that informal workers suggested that decent work for them involved work related improvements, insurances and risk management, the right to expression and business advancement skills. The study also found that food vendors had more decent work deficits compared to clothing traders who had much better scores on the DWDI. The study also found that it is important to mainstream gender into decent work policy making because women suffer

from gender inequalities within the informal sector which perpetuates poverty within their households. This study also revealed that it is important to incorporate the concept of heterogeneity and segmentation into decent work because informal workers differ in many ways and remedies to assist them have to be context specific and tailor made for them. Finally, the research showed that if policy makers use the value chain approach there is a possibility for formal firms to contribute to enhancing decent work in the informal economy. The research was conducted with the hope that over time, policy makers will adopt some of the suggestions which emerged from this study and help improve the working and living conditions of informal workers in Zimbabwe.

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Appendices

Institute of Social and Economic Research
Rhodes University

ETHICAL STANDARDS FORM

Any project in which humans are the subject of research requires completion of this form and submission, for approval, in the first instance, to the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) Research Committee. Where required in terms of the ISER Research Policy and the Rhodes Ethical Standards Committee (RUESC) Manual, further approval from RUESC might be required.

Protocol number: **ISER-ERC-2017-3**

(to be assigned by ISER Research Committee)

1 Title of research

Decent Work and Informal Employment: The case of Bulawayo Metropolitan Province (Central Business District) Zimbabwe.

2 Investigator particulars

2.1 Internal investigators

Name	Principal Investigator	Co-PI	Supervisor	Student	Other (specify)
Shaka Bob			Dr. Mike Rogan	Yes	
			Dr. Laura Alfers		

2.2 External investigators

Name	Protocol role

Decent Work Index Questionnaire

Introduction: I am a masters student from Rhodes University in South Africa. I am conducting research on decent work and informal employment in the Bulawayo central business district. The purpose of this study is to learn more about what informal workers (street vendors and clothing traders) understand to be decent work in the Zimbabwean context. The interview is voluntary and you can stop me at any point during the interview if you wish to do so. The information that you share with me will be kept confidential and anonymous.

NB: Please tick the appropriate boxes

Date and place of work_____

1. Demographics

1.1) Gender *(Please tick the appropriate box*)

Female	0	
Male	1	
Other	2	

1.2) Age_____

Education level

1.3) What is the highest level of education you have completed? (*Please tick the desired Education code)*

Level of Education Codes

None	00	
Some Primary	01	
Completed Primary	02	
Some Secondary	03	
Completed Secondary	04	
At least some tertiary	05	
Completed tertiary	06	
Don't know	07	

2. Enterprise/Employment

2.1) Which job category best describes your main occupation? *Please tick one response*

Self employed	01	
Employer	02	
Contributing family member (paid or unpaid)	03	
Employee	04	
Other	05	

2.2) Where do you usually conduct your business? *one response allowed*

Fixed stall in a market	01	
Vehicle, cart, temporary stall in a market	02	
Street stall (not in a market)	03	
No fixed location/Mobile	04	
Other	05	

2.3) Why did you choose to sell at this site?

1	only site I could get	
2	allocated by the council	
3	where my family/community has always worked	
4	Other	

2.4) How do you ensure that there is space available for you to trade? *Please circle your answer*

1= Informal agreements with other traders 2= Permit to trade here – space is allocated by authorities 3= Arrive Early 4= Pay someone to look after site	5= Don't do anything 6= Do not always trade from this space 7= Other 8= N/A (mobile trader)

2.5) If you are self-employed, do you have a vending license?

1	Yes	
2	No	
3	Don't Know	

2.5.1) If you are an employee, does the enterprise which you work for have a vending / trading license?

1	Yes	
2	No	
3	Don't Know	

3. Supply Chain Dynamics

3.1) What are the main good(s) which you sell?

_____

3.2) How do you acquire the goods which you are selling?

1	Make or grow them myself	
2	Acquire them free (natural resources, salvaged)	
3	Buy them from another street vendor	
4	Buy them from an informal enterprise	
5	Buy them from a formal enterprise	
6	Acquire them from formal supplier to sell on commission	
7	Other (Specify)	

3.3) If you acquire your goods from a formal enterprise, do you think that they should contribute to improving your working conditions?

1	Yes	
2	No	

3.3.1) If so, how could the formal enterprise improve your working conditions? _____

_____
___

3.4) Why do you sell the types of goods that you do?

1	It's what the customers want	
2	It's what other informal traders sell	
3	It's what the formal traders around here sell	
4	It's what I/my family have always sold	
5	Other	
6	Don't know	

3.5) Who buys from you?_____

3.6) Do you have access to running water toilet where you work?

1	Yes	
2	No	

3.7) Do you have access to a toilet where you work?

1	Yes	
2	No	

3.8) Do you have access to storage for your goods?

1	Yes	
2	No	

3.8.1) If no storage is provided, where do you store your goods after work? _____

4. Labour Market Security

4.1) Can you tell me about your personal experience of being an informal trader in the clothing/street vending sectors*? Please write below the sector which you belong to when explaining*

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5. Work Security

5.1) 5.1.1) Do you feel safe at work?

1	Yes	
2	No	

5.1.2) Why?_____

_____

_____

_____
_

5.1.3) Are there any regulations that make it safer?_____

_____

5.2) 5.2.1) Does the work you do have any negative effects on your health?

1	Yes	
2	No	

5.2.2) If Yes, please specify_____

_____

5.3) How is refuse or rubbish collected or removed from your working area?

01	Removed by local authority/private company at least once a Week	
02	Removed by community members, contracted by the Municipality, at least once a week	
03	Communal refuse dump	
04	Own refuse dump	
05	Removed by traders at least once a week	
06	Dump or leave rubbish anywhere	
07	Other	

6. Representation Security

6.1) 6.1.1) Do you know of any organisations that represent your work interests?

01	Formal	
02	Informal	
03	None	

6.1.2) Are you a currently a member of an informal trader's association?

1	Yes	
2	No	

6.1.3) If yes, what is the name of this organisation_____

6.1.4) How long have you been a member of this organisation? (*days*) (*months*) (*years*)

6.1.5) If not, how do you communicate your challenges and interests to relevant authorities?

_____

7. ***Income security***

7.1) 7.1.1) Do you earn the same amount of money on a daily/weekly basis?

1	Yes	
2	No	

7.1.2) If No, why_____

7.1.3) In the last working week, how many hours did you work per day? _____ (hours)

7.1.4) In the last working week, how many days did you work?

01	5 days	
02	6 days	
03	7 days	
04	Other	

7.1.5) In the last 7 days, were you absent from work?

1	Yes	
2	No	

7.1.6) If Yes, why? *Please tick one response*

00	Not Absent	
01	Own illness or injury	
02	Caring for family or others	
03	Other family obligations (funerals/meetings)	
04	Bad weather	
05	Unrest (violence)	
06	Reduction in economic activity	
07	Other reason, specify	

7.2) Where do you save your earnings?

01	Formal banks	
02	Informally	
03	No Savings	
04	Other	

7.2.1) If you save you earnings informally, where do you save it? Please explain_____

_____

7.3) How many people do you support in your household using your earnings?_____

Explain_____

_____

7.4) How many people living with you, other than yourself have an income or earnings?_____

8. Improving work conditions

8.1) What do you understand to be decent work? _____

_____

_____

_____

8.2) Do you currently encounter any problems with respect to the work you are doing?

	Encountered the problem? Yes/No
a) Insecurity of vending site/ problems securing a vending site when needed	
b) Difficulty negotiating lower prices from suppliers	
c) Difficulty negotiating higher prices from customers	
d) Harassment by local authorities (e.g. police or other officials)	
e) Confiscations of goods/ difficulty getting merchandise back after it is confiscated	
) Evictions/ lack of support during evictions / lack of protection from or warnings before evictions	
g) No relevant training in accounting, marketing, other business skills	
h) Lack of information about local regulations / training in dealing with local authorities	
i) Difficulty negotiating with other street vendors / mitigating conflicts among street vendors	
) No assistance with court cases or other legal strategies	
k) Competition from large retailers or supermarkets	
l) Other: specify	

8.3) What is your view on joining the voluntary pension contribution scheme proposed by the National Social Security Authority (NSSA) _____

_____

8.4) 8.4.1) Are you aware of any Government Policies, or Bulawayo City Council resolutions which have been implemented to improve your working environment?

1	Yes	
2	No	
3	Don't know	

8.4.2) If yes, please explain_____

_____

8.5) Which representatives of the state do you encounter regularly?_____

_____

8.5.1) Do they play a positive or negative role in improving your working conditions? Please explain

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for talking to me

RHODES UNIVERSITY
Where leaders learn

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11 December 2017

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Shaka Keny Bob (17B0937) is a registered masters student from Rhodes University, Neil Aggett Labour Studies Unit in South Africa. He is conducting a research on decent work and informal employment in the Bulawayo central business district. The purpose of this study is to learn more about what informal workers (street vendors and clothing traders) understand to be decent work in the Zimbabwean context. Please kindly assist him fulfill his fieldwork requirements.

Yours faithfully,
Dr John Reynolds
Head: Neil Aggett Labour Studies Unit

City of Bulawayo

Town Clerk's Office
Municipal Buildings
Fife Street
P.O.Box 591
Bulawayo

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08004700 (Telone) (09) 71290

14/03/18

REF: JBM/MZ.74-00-00

Sharea Keny Bob
Neil Aggett Labour Studies Unit
Institute of Social & Economic Research
Grahamstown, South Africa

Dear Mr/~~Mrs~~/~~Miss~~ Bob

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH ON COUNCIL PREMISES: Research on decent work and informal employment in the Bulawayo Central Business District

Your letter on the above matter refers.

Please be informed that Council acceded to your request to carry out research within Bulawayo City Council premises subject to the following conditions:

a) You should submit a copy of your research findings after completing the research exercise.
b) Council is to be indemnified against any accident/mishaps, which may occur during the conduct of the research.

Accordingly you may approach any of Council's Service Departments as appropriate for assistance.

Yours faithfully

TOWN CLERK

CITY OF BULAWAYO
TOWN CLERK'S DEPT.
14 MAR 2018
HUMAN RESOURCES DIVISION
P.O. BOX 591, BULAWAYO
TEL: +263 (9) 75011

Decent Work and Informal Employment: The Case of Bulawayo Metropolitan Province (Central Business District)

Consent Form: Adult Questionnaire

This is a study about Decent Work and Informal Employment in Bulawayo Central Business District. I am a masters student from Rhodes University in South Africa. The purpose of this study is to learn more about what informal workers (street vendors and clothing traders) understand to be decent work in the Zimbabwean context.

Before we begin the interview, we want to make sure you understand the following information about the study:

• Your participation is entirely voluntary. You may refuse to take part in the interview, and you may stop at any time if you do not want to continue. You also have the right to skip any question or questions if you do not wish to answer them.

• The time it takes to complete the interview will vary depending on how many sections of the questionnaire are relevant to you, but the average amount of time for this interview is about 30 minutes.

• You have the right to ask questions at any point before the interview, during the interview, or after the interview is completed.

• The information that you share with me will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. While the data collected will be used for research purposes, information that could identify you will never be publicly released in any research report or publication.

By signing below, you signify that you agree to participate in the study, and that your participation is entirely voluntary.

SIGNATURE DATE

Signature of respondent

SIGNATURE DATE

Signature of researcher

If you have any questions or need to know more about this research please contact me on (+27) 062 2633 277 or email me at shakab81@gmail.com