Labour Conditions for Construction

Labour Conditions for Construction

Building cities, decent work & the role of local authorities

Edited by

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and

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This edition first published 2009 © 2009 Blackwell Publishing Ltd

Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007. Blackwell's publishing programme has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

Registered office

John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, United Kingdom

Editorial offices

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, United Kingdom 2121 State Avenue, Ames, Iowa 50014-8300, USA

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Labour conditions for construction: building cities, decent work and the role of local authorities / edited by Roderick Lawrence and Edmundo Werna. – first edn.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4051-8943-9 (hardback: alk. paper)

Construction workers – Employment.
 Construction industry – Employees – Health and hygiene.
 Work environment.
 Labor policy.
 Quality of work life – Government policy.
 Local government.
 Administrative responsibility.
 Lawrence, Roderick J. II. Werna, Edmundo.

HD9715.A2L33 2009

331.2'046900973-dc22

2009001745

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Set in 9.5/12.5 pt Palatino by Aptara $^{\textcircled{\$}}$ Inc., New Delhi, India Printed in Singapore

1 2009

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Contributors

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Cedric Lambert trained as a sociologist at the University of Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium. He has been working as a scientific collaborator at the University of Geneva since 1989. He has conducted small and large-scale surveys on a number of subjects including housing and urban development, using both quantitative and qualitative research methods. He has worked on research grants for the Swiss National Science Foundation for Scientific Research, the Federal Office of the Environment, Forests and Landscapes. He has also completed in-depth analyses of data and statistics for the Geneva Canton and City administrations. He has been an elected municipal officer in the Municipality of Versoix, Geneva, since 2006, and in 2008–2009 he served as the Mayor.

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Dr Jill Wells is one of the leading world experts on the construction industry. She is a social scientist/development economist with a degree in economics from the London School of Economics and a Ph.D. in development studies from the University of Wales. She has many years' experience in research and development work focused around the construction sector, with field experience in East Africa (Kenya and Tanzania) and Asia (India, Bangladesh and Vietnam). Her specific areas of expertise are construction industry development and environmental and labour issues related to construction (including work on labour migration, the informalization of employment relationships and occupational health and safety). She has worked as Construction Specialist at the headquarters of the ILO, as a Reader at the Faculty of the Built Environment of South Bank University (London) and as a consultant for international organizations and African governments. She has published widely. Currently, she works at Engineers Against Poverty in London.

Dr Edmundo Werna is an expert in construction and urban development, currently working at the International Labour Organization. His preceding assignment was at the headquarters of the United Nations Volunteers Program, where he designed its urban agenda. Previously, Werna consulted to several development stakeholders, such as the European Commission, World Bank, UN-Habitat, UNCDF/UNDP and WHO. He has also had extensive academic experience, in British, Brazilian and Italian universities and the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars (USA). He has published six books, plus many chapters in edited books and several articles in scientific journals. He is also a member of the editorial board of

Habitat International. Werna received prizes such as the Earth Summit 2002 Sustainable Development Award (given by RCA/Stakeholder Forum for Our Common Future), the O. Koenigsberger Award for Best Article of Habitat International (1996); honours mention for two articles in the Jorge Hardoy Prize (2000). He co-wrote a chapter of the edited book which won the British Medical Association's Prize for Best Book (1997). One of his WHO projects was chosen as best practice for the Hanover 2000 Exhibition. Two UNV projects also received prizes, and a third one has been selected as Best Practice for the UN-Habitat/Dubai Awards.

Foreword

"The city is a collective space belonging to all who live in it. The inhabitants of cities have the right to conditions which allow their own political, social and ecological development but at the same time accepting a commitment to solidarity. (...) The Municipal authorities encourage, by all available means, respect for the dignity of all and quality of life of the inhabitants".

A total of 354 cities signed this statement as part of the *European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City* adopted in St-Denis, France on 18 May 2000.

The acknowledgement of employment creation as a tool for poverty alleviation is an increasing concern of local authorities. Decent work emerges as an inherent part of social, economic and cultural human rights. Currently UCLG cities are preparing a *World Charter-Agenda of Human Rights in the City* that will contribute to further strengthening the commitment of the local level.

Growing urbanization is resulting not only in a new way to use the planet's resources but also in greater concentration of the labour force and increasing responsibilities for local governments which are the main promoters of infrastructure investments and employment in that sector.

Cost efficient urban development with competitive advantages and high standards are two of the most important challenges to be faced and balanced. Through decentralization in many countries, local authorities increase their role in urban development. They apply construction standards through building codes and promote employment and working conditions through local policy and campaigns.

Currently, globalization challenging the national boundaries of labour policies and political and functional decentralization is changing the roles of local authorities that act simultaneously as employers, regulators and promoters of urban development. This especially affects their relations with migrants, who are vulnerable to changes in the demand of construction-related employment. These factors increase the role of local governments that imply corresponding new responsibilities, including the protection of internationally recognized human and labour rights.

United Cities and Local Governments are the united voice and world advocate of democratic and local self-government. UCLG and its founding

organizations have a long history of advocating local governments before the United Nations in all issues of importance for local communities.

This book is a wonderful opportunity to open a new dimension of the debate, acknowledging the key role that local governments need to play in the formulation and enforcement of International Labour Standards in relation to urban development.

UCLG is looking forward to a closer collaboration with the International Labour Organization (ILO), fostering together the exchange of experience in urban employment management and the development of international policy in this field with a strong input from local governments.

Elisabeth Gateau Secretary General United Cities and Local Governments

Foreword

Labour is on the agenda of municipal governments throughout the world. I can amply attest to this as a mayor during three terms of office in Diadema¹, an industrial city in the metropolitan region of Sao Paulo, with 400,000 inhabitants and a surface area of 30.7 km². I have also had the opportunity to confirm this in my trips to other cities in Brazil and different countries, taking part in local government events, and through liaising with fellow mayors.

Poverty is a major issue in cities and towns throughout the developing world, and this is linked to lack of opportunities for productive and decent employment. It is difficult to think about a way out of poverty that does not entail more jobs and better working conditions.

Urban unemployment and under-employment still abound. However, cities and towns are full of potential and opportunities. Usually, local governments are caught up between the urgency to address poverty, and the challenges to take advantage of the opportunities which could address this problem. In both accounts, local authorities need guidance. The process of decentralization taking place throughout the world, and indeed with an advanced pace in Brazil, has caught many local authorities unprepared, particularly with respect to the issue of labour. Capacity building has been initiated by local authorities to address different issues such as housing, water, sanitation, education and health. However, labour remains a challenge. The need for knowledge and guidance is pressing, and labour in urban areas is still a gap in the policy agenda. Therefore, this book is a timely and important contribution, including analytical material as well as case studies which could inspire and even guide local authorities and other stakeholders.

While providing useful general information on urban labour and the role of local authorities, the book also adds value with its specific focus on the construction sector and related activities. Local authorities have a particular role to play in this sector for several reasons. First, construction is responsible for the very existence and growth of cities and towns. Construction has a great potential for employment creation, but at the same time has many challenges in regard to improvement of working conditions.

In my own experience in Diadema, I would like to mention two examples:

- (1) The development of professional training at the local level. In 1993, at my first term as mayor, I created a professional training school which became a Foundation in 1996. The school offers more than 120 short-term training courses (three to twelve months), some of them in partnership with the productive sector. About 20 of these are related to construction. The novelty is that we had a training course in construction exclusively targeting women.
- (2) A social entrepreneurship program. Since 2003, Diadema has trained small and local entrepreneurs in the area of food and recycling. Tapioca Project targeted small street vendors of tapioca (regional food, like the crêpe in France) and Clean Life Project fostered informal garbage collectors to create a recycling cooperative.

While such initiatives have brought benefits for the workers, further ideas, such as those included in this book, are welcome.

The book also includes case studies in three cities. One of them, Santo André, is close to Diadema. I know well their good efforts. It is good to see their initiatives documented and analyzed in the book. It is also worth noting that the research that led to this book triggered a new concrete project in Santo André, in which the cities of Diadema and Osasco have also collaborated. This is just an example of the application of the knowledge included in the book which, I am sure, will be of value to many local authorities throughout the developing world.

José de Filippi Jr Engineer, three times mayor of Diadema.

Note

(1) Diadema was the first city in Brazil (1982) to have a mayor from PT (Workers Party). In 2008, the party had its sixth victory.

Preface

The idea for this book originated from an action-research project carried out by the University of Geneva (UNIGE) and the International Labour Organization (ILO), with funding from the Geneva International Academic Network (GIAN). The editors of the book were also the coordinators of the research project – Roderick Lawrence for UNIGE and Edmundo Werna for the ILO.

Roderick Lawrence was motivated to participate in this international research project because it applied a humanistic perspective that needed to adopt an interdisciplinary research approach. This meant that the project was an extension of his previous research and numerous publications in the field of housing, building and urban planning. He accepted the challenge to work with university colleagues and international civil servants in order to formulate and apply an integrated framework that simultaneously considers the key dimensions of decent work. From the outset he argued that if these key components could not be integrated then the concept of decent work would not be applied; instead it would be another sector based analysis.

Edmundo Werna's motivation came from the fact that the research was an opportunity to combine important aspects of his current work with ILO's increasing interest in the role of local authorities in regard to the 'world of labour'. He also shares Lawrence's enthusiasm regarding a humanistic perspective and interdisciplinarity.

The project started from discussions between the editors/coordinators about the importance of the theme as well as the possible complementarities for working together. UNIGE, being an academic institution, had the qualifications to conduct the investigatory part of the project. The ILO had significant operational experience on the theme, as well as a network which facilitated contacts with professionals to support the research and with the institutions to be investigated. The objective of the GIAN was precisely to promote partnerships between academic and international institutions in Geneva. Therefore, there was a clear common ground shared by the UNIGE, ILO and GIAN, leading to the development of the research, followed by the editing of this book.

The editors would like to thank Randall Harbour of GIAN for all his support as well as technical contributions throughout the whole process. At the ILO, thanks are addressed to Elizabeth Tinoco, Chief of the Sectoral Activities Branch; and Johanna Walgrave, at the time Director of the Social Dialogue, Labour Law, Labour Administration and Sectoral Activities

Department. The Executive-Director, Juan Somavia, is also acknowledged for his promotion of the decent work concept and its application. We hope that the book contributes to this objective. At the same time, Edmundo Werna would like to note that the ILO is not responsible for opinions expressed in this book, and for possible faults and criticisms.

In the completion of the case studies, several people contributed to the research by providing oral information and documents. They are too many to mention here but all have our gratitude. The author of the chapter on Dar es Salaam wishes to thank Eva Lupembe for her support to the research. The author of the chapter on Santo André thanks Alex Abiko for providing preliminary data. The box on Esmeraldas was based on data provided by Jaime Vasconez.

Terms and Abbreviations

AIIPA Access to Information and Protection of Privacy

Act [CAP 10: 27] No. 5/2002. Harare: Government

Printer

CABS Central Africa Building Society
CBA Collective Bargaining Agreement

CIFOZ Construction Industry Federation of Zimbabwe Chimurenga Revolution or national uprising. Term used to

describe uprising of Africans against colonial intrusion in the 1890s (*First Chimurenga*), the armed struggle for national independence in the 1970s (*Second Chimurenga*) and the ongoing land reform, struggle for economic independence and

sovereignty (Third Chimurenga)

CSO Central Statistical Office

EIAs Environmental Impact Assessments

EPZ Export Processing Zone
GDP Gross Domestic Product
GoZ Government of Zimbabwe

Hlalani Khule Also called Garikai, the ongoing housing program

following Operation Restore Order

HDI Human Development Index

ICDS Inter-census Demographic Survey(s)
ILO International Labour Organization

IM-LFS Indicator Monitoring Labour Force Survey(s)
Incidence rate The number of injuries per 1,000 insured labour

force members

Injiva A status term used to describe Zimbabweans

working abroad, especially in South Africa -

supposedly 'rich'

Insured labour force The population at risk of being injured or

contracting an occupational disease. Ideally, this

should include all working persons. For

Zimbabwe, the insured population is taken as that insured under the National Pension Scheme.

I 1E . D 1

LED Local Economic Development

MDC Movement for Democratic Change – Opposition

Political Party

NAC National Aids Council

NECNational Employment CouncilNEPADNew Partnership for AfricaNPSNational Pension Scheme

NSSA National Social Security Authority

Occupational injury An injury resulting from an accident during the

course of employment

Operation Tsvina or Swina is dirt and

Murambatsvina / Murambaswina means he or she

who is tidy and does not want dirt. Operation Murambastvina or Restore Order was the government's label for the 2005 program to relocate and reorganize urban informal sector

activities.

POSA Public Order and Security Act [CAP 11: 17] No.

1/2002. Harare: Government Printer

SADC Southern Africa Development Community

SI Statutory Instrument

Stand A term used in Zimbabwe to refer to any

undeveloped piece of land or plot reserved for development (industrial, commercial, housing, services, etc.) irrespective of whether or not it is

serviced or surveyed.

TNF Tripartite Negotiating Forum

WCIF Workers' Compensation Scheme operated by the

Ministry of Public Service and Social Welfare

ZANU (PF) Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic

Front)

ZAPU Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZBCA Zimbabwe Building and Construction Association

ZCATWU Zimbabwe Construction and Allied Trades

Workers Union

ZCTU Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

ZOHSC Zimbabwe Occupational Health and Safety

Council

ZUCWU Zimbabwe Urban Councils Workers' Union

Dedication

Roderick Lawrence would like to dedicate his contribution to this book to his sons Xavier, Adrien and Kevin and wishes each of them will have many years of interesting employment ahead.

Edmundo Werna dedicates his work on the book to his daughter, Emiliana, who has been a great source of inspiration even for a book which has not much to do with her universe.

Acknowledgements

This international research project was funded by the Geneva International Academic Network (GIAN-RUIG) and the authors acknowledge this generous support with sincere thanks (http://www.ruig-gian.org). The authors also express their appreciation to all those persons who have provided documentation, made suggestions, or participated in interviews during this project.

Introduction

Roderick Lawrence and Edmundo Werna

What is decent work? Does it differ from a well-paid job, or a safe working environment? Does it deal with conventional characteristics of employment in both the formal and the informal sector? How can local authorities promote decent work? This book answers these and many other questions. The concept of decent work was first presented by the ILO Director-General, Juan Somavia, in his report to the International Labour Conference in June 1999. He stated that the primary goal of the ILO today is to promote opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work in conditions of freedom, security and human rights. Decent work is the converging focus of all its four strategic objectives: the promotion of rights at work, employment, social protection and social dialogue. Thus, the concept of decent work is broadly based on four components: employment generation, social security, rights in the workplace and social dialogue.

This book presents the results of an international applied research project 'Promoting Decent Work in Construction and Related Services: the Key Role of Local Authorities'. The research project analyzed whether the concept of decent work is known and applied by local authorities in the construction sector and related services. This interdisciplinary research project involved a multi-method study of documentary sources and indepth case studies in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and Santo André (Brazil). The book is the product of research carried out by the University of Geneva and the ILO with financial support from the Geneva International Academic Network from November 2005 until November 2007.

Since 1999, the concept of decent work has been promoted and encouraged in different ways and in different regions, countries and economic sectors. Diverse authors have proposed interpretations and indicators in order to better observe the evolution of working conditions and make international comparisons. Therefore, some key questions have emerged from diverse contributions. Is the concept of decent work applicable only to countries with a certain level of economic development and institutional structure, or is it valid across countries with different levels of development, economic structures and socio-economic institutions? What are the goals and main features of the four components of decent work? Is it

possible to develop indicators and outline trends towards or away from decent work in different countries?

There have been significant changes in the world since the 1990s. To say the least, there has been a major global shift towards decentralization, giving local authorities much more leverage and responsibility (although not always proportionate to each other) to deal with local matters. Consequently, it is expected that local authorities should play an important role in labour issues, taking into consideration the significant problems related to the generation of new employment and the improvement of existing employment conditions which abound in cities and towns, particularly in developing countries. However, this is still a largely under-researched subject, as are many other topics addressed in this book.

The objective and importance of this book

The contribution of this book is different to other writings on decent work. Although many publications on decent work focus mainly on the roles and responsibilities of actors in the private sector, the contribution of other actors and institutions in the public sector, especially local authorities, should not be ignored. Local authorities do play an important role in economic development, especially through a range of policies and programs in the construction sector and related services (utilities). If empirical research shows that local authorities have made significant contributions to the implementation of decent work, then it is necessary to identify the means and measures that have been applied. On the contrary, if local authorities have not been active, then it is important to understand why they have not been key players in the promotion of decent work. For example, is this related to a lack of understanding of issues, such as significant cuts in public sector budgets combined with increasing trends towards privatization? Or is it related to the fact that the concept of decent work is still unknown or not used by many politicians and employees working in local authorities?

The purpose of this book is to present and analyze the challenges and potential of local authorities to promote decent work by studying the case of the construction industry and related services (utilities). It combines theoretical analysis and case-studies, with recommendations to both practitioners and academics. The research presented in this book is at the interface between knowledge and practice in different disciplines and professions, including:

Employment policies and labour processes in urban areas (with appropriate inferences from connected fields, including poverty alleviation and social protection against vulnerability).

- (2) Municipal management and governance (with appropriate inferences from related fields, such as decentralization and public-private partnerships).
- (3) Policies and practices of private companies in the construction industry about their employees' working conditions. These should not be isolated from national employment policies and practices.
- (4) Social dialogue, which has facilitated the preceding sets of policies and practices. Social dialogue plays a prominent role in policy making for the creation of decent work. It will also be used in the third phase of this project to communicate the results.

This book is an interdisciplinary contribution addressing urban labour, with a specific focus on the concept of decent work, local authorities and the construction industry. It also makes some inferences to utilities due to their relation to construction. The importance of these topics and their interrelations is elaborated in detail in Chapters 1 and 2. For the purpose of this introduction, these topics are summarized below. These introductory paragraphs also explain the importance of focusing on developing countries.

Labour in urban areas and the concept of decent work

It is already common knowledge that employment generation and improvement in employment conditions are important issues for most elected governments around the world. At the same time, there is ample data on the work-related problems faced by a large part of the population—such as low wages, mistreatment, lack of rights, poor occupational health and safety standards, as well as unemployment or under employment. These problems are particularly acute in developing countries, resulting in an alarming level of poverty. In this context, there are specific reasons for paying attention to urban areas.

Urbanization is a global phenomenon. The twenty-first century has been called the urban century. The urban population of the world has been drastically expanding, both in absolute and in relative terms, especially in the developing world. According to data compiled by UNDP (1999), in 1970 the ratio of city dwellers in developing as opposed to industrialized countries was one to one. Today this ratio is nearly two to one. It will be three to one by the year 2015, and will approach four to one by 2025. Since 1970, 1.23 billion urban residents have been added to the world population, 84% of which have been in less-developed regions. Historically, the rural population throughout the world has been larger than the urban one, but according to UNCHS/Habitat (2006), the year 2007 marked the point in history when both populations became equal. The global trend is that

the urban population will continuously outgrow the rural population in the years to come.

Cities and towns are pivotal for development. They are the engines of economic growth. There is a growing amount of evidence about their role in the emerging era of globalization and land markets (Keivani *et al.*, 2001; McGreal *et al.*, 2002; Parsa *et al.*, 2004). They serve as centres for finance and producer services, and are areas of innovation production and the powerhouses of manufacturing and consumer markets. Thus, cities play a crucial role in global, national and regional economies. In sum, there is an economic rationale for investing in urban development.

However, the fact that cities and towns generate significant wealth does not mean that they are devoid of poverty. There are still huge intraurban socio-economic differentials, as analyzed in detail, for instance, by UNCHS/Habitat (2006) and Werna (2000). While a small proportion of urban citizens in developing countries live in comfort, large numbers still live in poverty. One strong indicator is that there are some 998 million people living in slums in cities throughout the world – one out of every three urban residents (UNCHS/Habitat, 2006). In short, we are witnessing what Nicholas You (2007) describes as the urbanization of poverty. Therefore, there is also a social and ethical rationale for investing in urban development in order to combat poverty. Furthermore, there is an intrinsic connection between poverty and labour. It is difficult to imagine how (urban) poverty can be addressed if the majority of the urban poor work in inadequate conditions, or do not have access to employment at all.

Therefore, there are grounds to take a closer look at labour issues, with a bid to address urban poverty. Decent work is a framework used by the ILO and other organizations to analyze and address issues related to such a theme. It is a comprehensive framework. However, the concept of decent work and its related indicators still has gaps, and these limitations are addressed in this book. It is anticipated that the analysis provided will contribute to strengthening the concept of decent work and its potential contribution to addressing labour related problems.

Local authorities

During the period that globalization has accelerated, decentralization has also become a key concept throughout the world. While there are many variations between countries, both power and management have been decentralized to the local level almost everywhere, in one way or another. The role of local authorities in development has increased, and it has also been reinforced by the creation or strengthening of several associations and networks. Cities and towns are the catalysts of economic growth because they have provided land, infrastructure and services for an increasing share of the global economy.

Therefore, from an economic perspective, it is important to address existing labour-related deficits by promoting a workforce better prepared to face the growing challenges of producing for and competing in a globalizing market. At the same time, there is also a social motivation, that is the scale of urban poverty and its connection to labour-related deficits. For these social and economic reasons, it is reasonable to expect that local government authorities directly involved in the daily management of cities and towns should play a significant role in addressing such labour-related deficits.

However, it is surprising that the role of local authorities in promoting decent work has not received the attention it deserves in recent publications. There have been some general notes, which typically highlight the problems faced by local authorities in fulfilling this role. Therefore, it is necessary to analyse these problems if they are to be overcome. At the same time, it is vital to search for good practices which can be replicated. This book also contributes to that objective.

Construction sector

Construction is vital for human settlements because this industry produces the very fabric of cities and towns. The construction industry is one of the major providers (and in many instances, the primary provider) of work in urban areas, especially in terms of unskilled labour. Further to direct employment on construction sites, the industry provides a range of other jobs, such as the production of building materials and equipment, and post-construction maintenance. It is also worth noting that, in parallel to their jobs in formal building activities, a large number of construction workers supply an important service to other groups of low-income workers through voluntary support and self-help building. For all these reasons, both the quality and quantity of employment in the construction sector have a significant impact on urban development in general and on the alleviation of urban poverty in particular.

Whilst the construction industry is crucial for human settlements, it faces serious challenges related to its workforce in many countries, such as a lack of proper training, high accident rates and large numbers of illegal or unorganized workers. Therefore, there is a good basis for selecting construction to be the subject of an in-depth analysis.

Construction, as opposed to other sectors of the urban economy, also provides a broader scope and potential for local authorities to intervene in labour markets. First, local authorities are playing a strong – and increasing – role in construction, either via the direct execution of public works and/or in some form of partnership with the private sector. In both cases, there is scope for intervention regarding labour, either because construction workers are directly employed by the local authorities, or because

such authorities can impose prerequisites on private contracts via procurement regulations. Construction activity is also regulated through planning and building codes, which constitute further instruments for local authorities to address labour issues (although such codes may be limited in regards to labour, they may supplement other measures).

For the above reasons, recommendations made in this book are derived from an analysis of the role of local authorities in promoting decent work in construction. These recommendations are particularly significant for urban development in general and urban poverty alleviation in particular. Some recommendations may also be applied to other sectors or to the urban economy in general.

Related services (utilities)

While the focus of this book is the construction sector, it was also decided to include some information related to utilities, here referred to as 'related (to construction) services', because there is a strong interface between these and the construction sector. First, construction and utilities complement each other as the two basic physical components of human settlements. In addition, utilities and construction often fall under the same administrative rules or unit in a local government. Finally, there is an overlap between the construction workforce and that involved in utilities, particularly in water, sewerage and electricity, especially in the developing world. For the purpose of this book, such services include the provision of water, sewerage and electricity, as well as solid waste management.

Developing countries

Both the theoretical analysis and the case studies provided in this book are focused on developing countries. In these countries and their cities, decent work deficits abound. Therefore these countries must deal with most of the problems and challenges related to the issues addressed in this book. It is also precisely in this context that local authorities face the greatest number of difficulties and challenges. Despite much talk about the benefits of globalization, the construction industry and related services face a number of particular and more pressing problems in developing countries. In sum, it is in the developing world that recommendations can make a difference and where support is needed.

Structure of the book

Chapter 1 presents the concept of decent work. It summarizes numerous definitions and interpretations of it, and presents a study of its four key components. It concludes with a detailed presentation of the methodology

used for this research. Each case study has been completed following this methodology and guidelines for field research. The case studies analyze the present situation of each of the selected cities, as well as the national and local contexts, the employment and decent work situation, and, when possible, examples of good practices.

Chapter 2 addresses the general theme of labour. It is organized around the concept of decent work, which is the comprehensive concept used by the ILO and other organizations addressing the 'world of work'. After a presentation of some earlier propositions by ILO specialists to measure decent work, this chapter presents a proposal for the measurement of the four key components using several indicators. This chapter provides background information for the understanding of all chapters of the book.

Chapter 3 considers decent work in the specific context of urban areas, local government initiatives and the construction sector. First, it analyses labour in urban areas. Then, it highlights the evolution of the role of local authorities in the global economy, and specifically in the promotion of decent work, with special attention given to the construction sector and related services. Some examples of good practices concerning the implication of local authorities in employment generation and the promotion of decent work are presented.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present the case studies in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and Santo André (Brazil). Each case study presents the situation of each of the selected cities, the national and local context, the decent work situation – which has been qualified using decent work indicators – and examples of good practice in the field. The challenges of implementing decent work at the local level are considered. Examples of good practice from other cities are also summarized to illustrate different ways and means of promoting decent work at the local level.

Chapter 7 presents the conclusions, some recommendations and a set of guidelines for international organizations, and national and local authorities concerning the promotion of decent work at national and local levels. These recommendations and guidelines could be reapplied to the construction and other sectors of the economy, especially in developing countries. The conclusion stresses the relevance of decent work as a concept that should be interpreted as a local and global challenge.



building cities, decent
work & the role of
local authorities

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Conceptual and Methodological Issues

Roderick Lawrence and Mariana Paredes Gil



This chapter traces the origins of the concept of decent work that are associated with some international non-binding agreements. The chapter also presents definitions of decent work used by academics and professionals in the last decade. The content and interrelations of the four key components of decent work are multidimensional and it is noteworthy that conflicts and contradictions between these components have been identified. This chapter also presents criteria for understanding the links between decent work, the construction sector and the initiatives of local authorities. These criteria have been used to define and apply the methodology used in the research which gave origin to this book. The chapter concludes with a description of the research methodology and the availability of sources of information for the three case studies.

1.1 What is decent work?

Decent work was introduced by the ILO Director-General, Juan Somavia, in his first report to the International Labour Conference in June 1999 (ILO, 1999a: 3) using the following words: 'The primary goal of the ILO today is to promote opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work, in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity. Decent work is the converging focus of all its four strategic objectives: the promotion of rights at work, employment, social protection and social dialogue'¹.

Fields (2003: 239) wrote that 'decent work is a new welcome way of achieving the ILO's historic task, for it has shifted the focus to outcomes: what kinds of work people are doing, how remunerative and secure this work is, and what rights workers enjoy in the workplace'. The concept of decent work calls for the creation and promotion of employment, but this should not be the only goal. It also refers to acceptable employment conditions and respect for workers' rights as well as their standard of living.

According to ILO (2002c: 19) decent work is a broad concept of living and working conditions. In general, decent work is a way of guaranteeing human dignity for everyone:

It is about their job and their future prospects, their conditions of work, the balance between work and family life, the possibility of sending their children to school or withdrawing them from child labour. It is about gender equality, equal recognition and training of women so that they can make decisions and take control of their lives. It is about (their) personal capacity to compete in the market, to keep up to date with new technological skills and stay healthy. It is about developing business skills and receiving a fair share of the wealth they have helped to create and not to be the victim of discrimination. It is about having a voice in the workplace and the community.

A similar kind of humanistic interpretation is proposed by Rodgers (2001: 17): 'Decent work does not refer only to wage employment in large firms. It reflects a broader notion of participation in the economy and the community. It is argued that decent work, rather than just employment or income, should be a basic goal of development, which is equally valid in low income and high income situations.'

Majid (2001: 1) notes that decent work implies the formulation of initiatives allowing the development of the different dimensions of daily life that impact on living and working conditions. It enables a working person to attain a decent life. These dimensions are presented as the strategic components of decent work, which are employment, security, rights in the workplace and social dialogue.

Decent work is an objective common to all societies, which varies according to the customs and conditions of each country. Ghai noted that:

Working people in all societies desire freedom of association and oppose discrimination, forced labour and child employment in hazardous and harmful situations. They wish to participate through social dialogue in decision-making affecting their work and lives, both at the level of the enterprise and the nation and at the regional and global levels. Likewise, all people in all societies desire work in conditions of dignity and safety and with adequate remuneration. Finally, a modicum of social and economic security in work and life is a universal aspiration.

(Ghai, 2005: 2)

Decent work is a goal. The International Labour Organization (ILO, 1999a: 4–5) emphasizes that 'it reflects in clear language a universal aspiration of people everywhere. It connects with their hopes to obtain productive work in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity. It is both a personal goal for individuals and a development goal for countries.'

The various definitions just briefly presented here confirm that decent work is a much broader concept than the generation of paid work or the simple quantity of work. Decent work means not only the promotion of employment, but good employment conditions with adequate social protection and respect for the rights of workers. Decent work also signifies the promotion of equality among workers and fostering social dialogue.

1.1.1 Origins of the concept

There are some international agreements which preceded the introduction of the concept of decent work in 1999 and which have had an influence on its definition. In particular, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948), the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (1966), the *Declaration on the World Summit for Social Development* (1995), and the *Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work* (1998) have all provided the foundations for the decent work concept. It is important to highlight some of the principal elements of these non-binding agreements that have inspired the decent work concept.

It is noteworthy that Article 23 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) states that:

- (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
- (2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

- (3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family, an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
- (4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

The idea of employment permitting a convenient standard of living is highlighted in Article 25 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948):

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

In 1966, the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* pursued the same objectives. In Article 6, it evokes: 'The State Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts, and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right.'

In particular, Article 7 specifies the objectives concerning employment conditions:

The State Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of just and favourable conditions of work which ensure, in particular:

- (1) Remuneration which provides all workers, as a minimum, with:
 - (a) Fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value without distinction of any kind, in particular women being guaranteed conditions of work not inferior to those enjoyed by men, with equal pay for equal work;
 - (b) A decent living for themselves and their families in accordance with the provisions of the present Covenant.
- (2) Safe and healthy working conditions.
- (3) Equal opportunity for everyone to be promoted in his employment to an appropriate higher level, subject to no considerations other than those of seniority and competence.
- (4) Rest, leisure and reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay, as well as remuneration for public holidays.

In 1995, the *Declaration on the World Summit for Social Development*, highlighted the general commitment of 'supporting full employment as a basic policy goal' in its Part C:

We commit ourselves to promoting the goal of full employment as a basic priority of our economic and social policies, and to enabling all men and women to attain secure and sustainable livelihoods through freely chosen productive employment and work.

To this end, at the national level, we will:

(a) Put the creation of employment, the reduction of unemployment and the promotion of appropriately and adequately remunerated employment at the centre of strategies and policies of Governments, with full respect for workers' rights and with the participation of employers, workers and their respective organizations, giving special attention to the problems of structural, long-term unemployment and disabilities, and all other disadvantaged groups and individuals.

These international non-binding agreements form a base for the definition of decent work. The cited norms and rights represent a broad framework for the principles of decent work. Although these non-binding agreements represent some principles for the concept of decent work, they do not constitute all the levels that characterize this multidimensional concept.

1.2 Conceptual issues

Decent work is a concept at the interface between knowledge and practice in different disciplines and professions including:

- Employment policies and labour processes in urban areas, with appropriate linkages to fields including poverty alleviation and social protection against vulnerability (ILO, 2004b).
- Municipal management and governance, with explicit inferences from related fields such as policy sciences concerned with decentralization and public-private partnerships (refer to Chandler & Lawless (1985) for a review).
- Policies and practices of private companies in the construction industry on the working conditions of their employees. These should not be isolated from national employment policies and practices, as noted by Jose (2002).

1.2.1 Interrelations between the four key components of decent work

The four key components of the decent work concept are very different and each of them has its own characteristics. However, several contributions show that these characteristics are closely interrelated and that they jointly collaborate in the achievement of common objectives for a whole

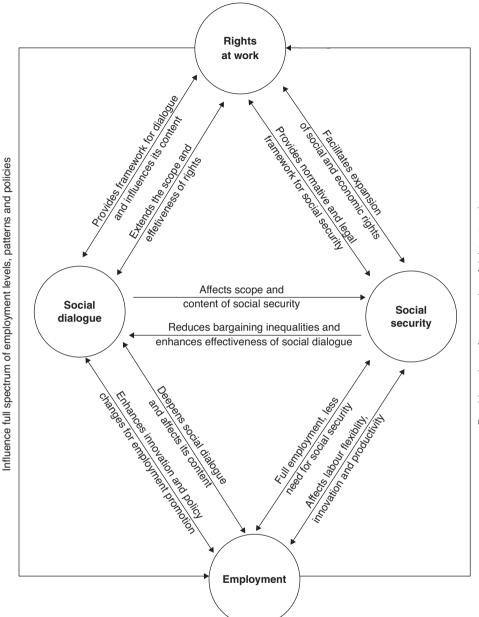


Figure 1.1 Interdependencies between rights at work, employment, social security and social dialogue.

Source: Ghai, D. (2005) Decent work: Universality and Diversity. Discussion Paper No. 159, International Institute of Labour Studies, ILO, Geneva, p. 16 (reproduced by kind permission of the ILO).

society (Ghai, 2005; 2006). Following Ghai's analysis, illustrated in Figure 1.1, some features of the interrelations between the four main components of decent work will now be summarized. The first important interdependency issue is how employment levels impact on social security systems. If the level of paid employment in the formal sector is relatively low then this will increase the need for some types of social protection. Thus, both the content and financing of social security systems are influenced by the proportion of workers in each work category. In addition, the distribution of the labour force into different work categories also influences the modes of negotiation between workers unions and employers associations. This affects workers' opportunities and limits their capacity to negotiate other issues such as their rights (Hepple, 2003).

The second point concerning these interrelations is that a developed system of social security can have an effect on labour flexibility and encourage innovation and productivity in employment (Baccaro, 2001). Additionally, a good coverage of the social security system could assist in the development of rights at work, and more broadly in the establishment of social and economic rights. In general, there is a strong relation between social security and rights at and beyond the workplace (Hepple, 2003). In principle, social protection constitutes a strong basis for the extension of social and economic rights.

Third, rights to a minimum wage or a safe work environment have an impact on the form and even the volume of employment (Saith, 2004). In the same way, rights at work (like the right to freedom of association) affect the degree of social protection. With respect to social dialogue, rights at work provide a strong basis for social discussion and also influence the content and purpose of social dialogue.

Finally, we emphasize some interdependencies between social dialogue and the other dimensions of decent work (Kuruvilla, 2003). Social dialogue has a direct impact on the structure and conditions of work. In principle, social dialogue amplifies the sphere as well as the effectiveness and execution of workers' rights. Social dialogue permits negotiations concerning rights at work like social security, minimum wages or adequate conditions of work.

1.2.2 Contradictions and conflicts between components of decent work

Ghai (2005: 15–17) stated that there are two different points of view concerning the conflicts between the key dimensions of decent work. These have been grouped into the interpretations of the neo-classical and institutional schools.

The neo-classical school

The neo-classical school affirms that all state interference in the free performance of market forces leads to inefficiencies in resource allocation and, consequently, to slow growth and wage and employment expansion (except when these are designed to correct market malfunctions). This school maintains that state interventions (for example minimum wages, social security financed through levies on enterprises and collective bargaining) have an undesirable impact on growth, employment and wages owing to discouraging effects on investments, savings and innovations. Additionally, several measures, such as unemployment benefits and welfare payments tend to aggravate unemployment. In developing countries, the neo-classical school argues that the creation of minimum wages and the process of trade unions and collective bargaining have negative economic and social impacts because they concern only a small minority of the labour force. They deform the economies, stress inequalities between working people and restrain investment and job creation. Under these conditions, the introduction of social security systems also has a negative impact

The institutional school

The institutional school argues that despite correcting market failures, state interventions which create rights at work, collective bargaining, tripartite consultations, minimum wages and social security, play a role in political and social stability, reduce economic inequalities, and elevate productivity and innovation. For institutionalists, state interventions tend to alleviate economic fluctuations and enable economic activity and employment to achieve and maintain high levels. Minimum wages and social protection help to develop workers' productivity through better nourishment, superior health and greater security. Trade unions, collective bargaining and tripartite consultations offer an instrument for workers' participation and information allocation, thus increasing mutual trust, sense of responsibility and motivation for better work. In terms of developing countries, the institutional school maintains that due to excessive underdevelopment and mass poverty, the state has to participate in a more substantial way in order to reduce extreme poverty and lower or remove structural barriers to growth.

The viewpoints of these two schools present the major arguments concerning contradictions and conflicts between the four components of decent work. Both interpretations of the neo-classical and institutional schools illustrate the dilemma between efficiency and equity. The dichotomy between the two schools can be observed as a translation of the debate on inequalities in a globalizing economy and the liberalization of markets. The World Development Report 2006 entitled *Equity and Development* stated that while 'some see globalization – greater global integration – as a source of equalization, others see it as a source of widening inequalities, with richer countries and corporations making rules that benefit themselves at the cost of the weak, poor, and voiceless' (World Bank,

2005: 206). It seems difficult to identify the best way to analyze the conflict between the two schools and, of course, between the ways of reacting to globalization and its consequences – specifically what state intervention implies in the employment and other sectors.

It is noteworthy that the two viewpoints presented here highlight the contradictions between the components of decent work. As Ghai (2005: 17) states, a good accord depends on the nature and development of state intervention, as well as labour standards, together with the way in which these components are introduced and expanded. According to the author 'there is, however, widespread agreement that respect of fundamental civil, political, social and economic rights, including core labour standards, is essential for human dignity and indispensable for political stability and sustainable and equitable development'.

Even if we cannot come to any conclusions about the impact of state interventions and the interrelations between the different components of decent work, it seems important to us to insist that interdependencies and/or contradictions should not be presented as a global or normalized issue. Their importance depends largely on national policies and structures as well as on the relative importance attributed to each of the components of decent work.

1.2.3 Universality of the decent work concept

Despite the existence of contradictions among the four key components of decent work, the universality of its objectives cannot be challenged. Ghai (2002: 2) stated this as follows:

All workers, whether in state enterprises, the formal or informal economy or self-employment, desire levels of remuneration in cash or kind that provide at least a minimum standard of living for their families. They also wish to work in safe and healthy conditions and to have a secure livelihood. Like other citizens, workers in all categories also seek the right to form their own organizations to defend and promote their interests and to participate in decisions that affect them as workers.

Nevertheless, as Godfrey (2003: 27) notes, the context in which the main objectives of decent work are considered is different from country to country. The capabilities of this objective will depend on the structure and characteristics of the local and national economy, as well as on the degree of salaried employment, the role of the government and local authorities involved, and the nature of the labour market in each type of sector.

Majid (2001: 2) noted that the accomplishment of a strategic objective for the promotion of decent work is principally measured by the achievement of improving the lives of all. It is evident that the institutional and policy frameworks in which these objectives are developed vary in and between each country and region, according to their own history and customs, and economic and social structure. Therefore, the relative importance given to each decent work objective is best established by each society. Thus, each country, each region and each local authority should define its own decent work agenda and policies according to local circumstances.

1.3 Understanding the interrelationships between employment, construction and local authorities

At the outset, the research envisaged explicit relationships between employment conditions (specifically the promotion of decent work), the construction sector and related services, and the policies and programs of local authorities. These relationships are represented in Figure 1.2. They have not been found in the literature survey of the promotion of decent work, specifically in the construction sector or by the initiative of local authorities. It is anticipated that this framework will provide an innovative theoretical and methodological contribution that will not only enlarge current interpretations of decent work, but also illustrate the pertinence of decentralization and show how the construction sector can contribute to the promotion of decent work and, therefore, to sustainable development at the local level.

Each of the three interrelated subjects shown in Figure 1.2 should be interpreted within the broad economic and political context in which they occur. This context includes national policies and programs in employment and economic development which impact on the construction and other related sectors (education and professional training, housing and community services, social protection and welfare). For example, educational policies that explicitly address continuing education or retaining programs for unemployed workers may or may not be explicitly targeted in the construction sector. Local authorities always implement their

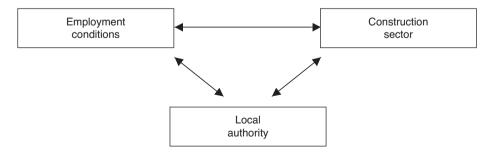


Figure 1.2 Interrelations between employment conditions, the construction sector and local authorities

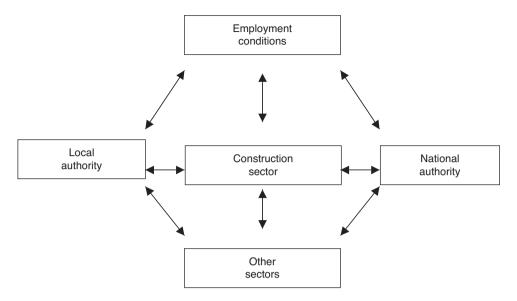


Figure 1.3 Interrelations between employment, construction and other sectors, at both national and local levels

policies and programs within this national context as shown in Figure 1.3. This does not imply that they cannot and do not question national policies and programs. However, if they decide to define different goals and priorities, then this should be documented. This kind of information is crucial and was obtained for each case study. In addition, the policies and programs of local authorities ought to deal with specific local conditions, especially problems such as relatively high unemployment, discrimination or lack of training in the construction sector.

The relationship between local and national policies and programs is dependent on the roles and responsibilities of public authorities at both these administrative levels. Since the 1990s, there has been an increasing willingness to decentralize these roles and responsibilities from the national to the local level. Therefore, in each case study it was important to develop a clear understanding of the scope and limitations of local authorities with respect to employment, and the construction and other sectors. It was also important to compare the construction sector with other sectors in order to identify the specificity of employment conditions in the former.

1.4 Criteria for defining indicators of decent work

A list of indicators adapted to the construction sector has been developed and tested in order to measure the four key components of decent work in either a quantitative or qualitative capacity. These indicators are presented in Chapter 2. They are explicitly related to the four key components of decent work:

- The employment component involves different dimensions such as employment opportunities, paid employment and conditions in the workplace, including safety.
- The social security component concerns social security insurance, old age pensions and others types of social protection for workers.
- The workers' rights component includes forced labour, child labour, inequality in the workplace and freedom of association.
- The social dialogue component involves union density coverage, collective bargaining coverage and other types of social dialogue between employers, government and workers.

1.4.1 Criteria for the construction sector

The construction industry includes both formal and informal production. The relationships between these two sectors can be strong or weak and they may change over time (ILO, 2002a). Data has been collected for the following list of criteria at the national and local levels and, where available, in both the formal and informal sectors:

- Volume of full-time and part-time work
- Volume of shift-work, seasonal work and bonded work
- Level of unemployment
- Salary/wages of workers
- Equity: discrimination against workers (children, women, foreign workers)
- Number of professional accidents
- Level of absenteeism and authorized sick leave
- Profile of workers by age, gender, nationality and level of education/ training

1.4.2 Criteria for local authorities

The performance of local authorities in the promotion of decent work in the construction sector and related services should be evaluated with respect to policies and programs which have been approved by the local administration and/or the national government (Ghai, 2006). Structured interviews have been used to obtain qualitative and quantitative information about:

- Policies and programs for employment in general
- Policies and programs in the construction sector and related services

- Policies and programs on social protection and welfare
- Policies and programs on professional training (apprenticeships and reinsertion)
- Policies and programs on urban community services and infrastructure

The international research project on which this book is based has confirmed the pertinence of analyzing policies, programs and projects in precise sectors at both national and local levels. This is an important finding of this publication because the vast majority of contributions consider decent work only in terms of a broad economic and political framework without reference to sector based initiatives. The exceptions to this customary approach are a limited number of contributions which focus on agriculture. It is important to note that sector-based contributions may be useful in the future to compare the amount of progress made towards decent work in different sectors and also to highlight similarities and differences.

1.5 Research methodology

The research project on which this book is based comprised two main phases which involved a range of methods and collaboration. Phase 1 included a synthesis and critique of recent published contributions on decent work. It also included the definition of criteria and sources of information in order to formulate a set of indicators able to assess decent work in the construction sector in precise localities, based on a synthesis of recent contributions. These are presented in Chapter 2. Phase 2 involved the completion of case studies by field research in three municipalities using the criteria and methodology validated in Phase 1. The case studies evaluated the strengths and weaknesses of policies and programs for the promotion of decent work in each municipality using a set of indicators. This phase was intended to validate the proposed indicators and methodology, which can be reapplied in other localities to measure trends towards or away from decent work. The results of the three case studies are presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. A set of guidelines and recommendations which can be reapplied in diverse localities are presented in Chapter 7.

This research protocol applied a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. An important aim and contribution of the project was to define and validate a set of indicators to evaluate the capacity of local authorities to promote decent work in the construction sector. In order to achieve that goal, it was necessary to define and evaluate criteria about decent work, the construction sector (and related services), and the policies and projects of the local authority in each of the four chosen cities. The findings of this research are presented in Chapters 2 and 3.

1.5.1 Case studies in local authorities

The three case studies were respectively in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and Santo André (Brazil). Case study methodology has been used in the social sciences and in professional practice throughout the twentieth century (Yin, 1994). A case study is designed to examine the particularity and complexity of a specific case in its naturally occurring setting, using several research methods. A longitudinal perspective may be necessary in order to identify whether or not there have been changes over time.

Our three case studies were proposed in order to apply and validate a conceptual framework and research methodology that could be reapplied in many other situations to study the relationship between employment/decent work, the construction sector, and related policies and programs at both the local and national levels. There is no intention to make statistical comparisons between the case studies. However, even though the context and conditions in these local authorities may be very different, some analytical generalizations have been considered using qualitative and quantitative research methods in order to verify whether or not these relationships are succeeding in each local authority.

The case study for each local authority included three types of empirical research:

- Type 1: the first part of each case study involved the collection and analysis of data and information about employment conditions, specifically in relation to criteria for decent work in the construction sector, at both the national and local levels, and including the formal and informal sectors. Access to data and statistics at both the national and local levels has been acquired for the years 1990 and 2000 in order to have both a comprehensive data set and information about all criteria. (If not available for these years, others could be proposed reasonably close to those years.)
- Type 2: the second part of the case studies was meant to identify links between the data and information obtained in the previous phase and the policies and programs applied in the construction sector at both local and national levels. The key task was to provide a set of quantitative and qualitative indicators for the four dimensions of decent work in both the formal and informal sectors using the criteria and measures established by the project management team.

In this phase, the empirical research also involved structured interviews with staff from each local authority and representatives of employers' associations and workers unions. A guide to these interviews was developed by the project team in order to follow the same procedure in each of the four selected case studies. These interviews were meant to obtain qualitative information about the goals and outcomes

- of policies and programs in employment, especially in the construction sector, as well as to discuss examples of best practices and cross-check information provided by the different persons and documents.
- Type 3: the third part of each case study included site visits to projects
 that were identified as being examples of best practice. Random interviews with companies and workers permitted the verification of the
 information obtained in the two previous parts of each case study.

1.5.2 Methodology for case studies

The case studies illustrate how criteria can be used systematically to assess the extent to which local authorities are key actors in the promotion of decent work. The case studies have validated the conceptual and methodological frameworks proposed. They have also identified obstacles to the promotion of decent work in the construction sector by local authorities. Some ways and means of overcoming these obstacles have been considered. Specific features of the sources of information used in each case study will be summarized in the following paragraphs.

Bulawayo

A major source of statistical information in Zimbabwe is the Central Statistical Office (CSO). This office was the source for the bulk of statistics on wages, working hours and unemployment. A second key source of statistical information was the National Social Security Authority (NSSA) which collects data on public social security, health and safety, and pensions. Only information considered 'safe' was released for the study, because this information is not for public use. All statutes are sold to the public by the Government printer in Harare and Bulawayo, although some documents can be out of print, in which case one has to depend on libraries such as the one at the University of Zimbabwe. A range of other institutions have sector-based data and written requests were sent to employers and employees' organizations in both Harare and Bulawayo. In addition to the statistics and grey literature, semi-structured, in-depth, face-to-face interviews were conducted with key informants at the CSO, the NSSA, Zimbabwe Congress of Trace Unions (ZCTU), Bulawayo City Council, the National Employment Council (NEC) in Bulawayo and other employers and employees' organizations. The interviewees in Bulawayo included a number of directors in construction firms from the larger organizations, the Construction Industry Federation of Zimbabwe (CIFOZ), as well as from the smaller organizations of indigenous firms, the Zimbabwe Building and Construction Association (ZBCA). Interviews were also held on construction sites with informal sector builders to establish conditions in the sector, with operators at best practice sites (mainly the Kelvin North Industrial Incubator Shells) and with directors of construction firms involved in the implementation of Bulawayo City's innovative strategies in urban development and decent work.

In the Bulawayo case study, an attempt is made to present statistics and information on decent work indicators, along with a statistical summary of the decent work situation prevailing in the country since the 1990s. Given the need to relate national conditions to local ones, some illustrations are taken from outside Bulawayo, the case study city. Details of the links between local authority policies in urban development and construction and their likely impacts on the decent work agenda in the construction sector were analyzed and are presented in Chapter 4. These also include elements from the limited examples of best practice identified at the local level. Workers' rights, social dialogue and dispute resolution are also discussed. This discussion highlights the legal and political climate within which decent work must be pursued at all levels. Bulawayo City appears to have little input in this sector of decent work outside the area of its legislated jurisdiction.

For the Bulawayo case study, meetings were organized with representatives from the Ministry of Public Service (specifically from the department of Labour and Social Welfare), the National Social Security Authority, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, the Zimbabwe Construction and Allied Trades Workers Union, the National Employment Council for the Construction Industry of Zimbabwe, the National Employment Council for Engineering and Iron and Steel Industry, the Zimbabwe Railways Artisans Union, the Zimbabwe Building Contractors Association (ZBCA) and the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce. Other important institutions contacted were the Labour and Economic Development Research Institute of Zimbabwe (LEDRIZ), the Institute of Development Studies and the University of Zimbabwe (namely the Department of Rural and Urban Planning).

Regional and national information was provided by the ILO Subregional Office for Southern Africa in Harare. Additional information was provided by Reliance Construction Pvt Ltd, G.G. Hardware and Construction Pvt Ltd, Belmont Construction Pvt Ltd and Tzircalle Brothers Pvt Ltd. At the local level, the following institutions were contacted: the Mayor and the City of Bulawayo (specifically the Department of Housing and Community Services), as well as the Department of Planning and the Bulawayo Branch of the Zimbabwe Urban Councils Workers Union. Other institutions consulted included the Pumula South Extension, the Kelvin North Industrial Incubator Shells, Cowdray Park and Nkulumane South.

Dar es Salaam

For the Dar es Salaam case study, much of the data has been extracted from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) of 1990/91 (URT, 1993) and the Integrated

Labour Force Survey (ILFS) of 2000/01 (URT, 2001). The results of the two surveys are not always strictly comparable; for example the cut-off point for the inclusion of enterprises in the informal sector rose from five employees in 1990/91 to ten in 2000/01. It should also be noted that data was only available from the labour force surveys for five of the decent work indicators suggested by the study team (unemployment, low wage rate, hours of work, wage inequality between genders and child labour) and only at the national level for all activities combined². There was no regular source of data for the following indicators: working days lost, social security coverage, proportion of the population over 65 not covered by pension schemes, wage inequality according to place of birth, trade union density and collective bargaining. Data from the labour force surveys was therefore supplemented by evidence gleaned from studies undertaken in recent years, as well as from a few ad hoc surveys, notably the Informal Sector Survey of Dar es Salaam (URT, 1998).

Labour Force Surveys were undertaken in 1990/91 and 2000/01 and it was generally possible to make meaningful comparisons between the situations at these two dates and to highlight trends. The Labour Force Surveys (LFS) are national surveys carried out by the central Government. There are no independent local sources of data, but some of the data in the 2000/01 survey was reported separately for Dar es Salaam, although not in 1990/91, so trends in employment in the city are not always detectable. Additional sources of hard data were the Employment and Earnings Survey of 2001, the Tanzania Informal Sector Survey of 1990 and the Dar es Salaam Informal Sector Survey of 1995.

Data is available for most (although not all) of the decent work indicators suggested by the study team. Where statistical data was not available, other sources have been consulted, in particular, two studies commissioned by the International Labour Organization (ILO) investigating the terms and conditions of employment on 11 large construction sites and in the informal construction sector respectively. Other qualitative data collected and analyzed can be considered in three categories:

- Background material covering aspects of Tanzania's political, economic and social development in their forty-five years of independence.
- Materials describing the legal framework for decent work, including a number of Acts of Parliament.
- Documents describing and evaluating some of the donor funded initiatives, past and ongoing, in Dar es Salaam, including a detailed report of working conditions on one of the projects.

Interviews were conducted with key personnel in order to fill gaps in information and ascertain the views of local officials on the responsibility of local authorities for employment generation. Dar es Salaam has four

councils: three municipal councils and the Dar es Salaam City Council, which is responsible for coordination. A total of eight interviews were conducted with officials of the Dar es Salaam City Council, but only two with the municipal councils, who proved to be extremely difficult to pin down. Interviews were also conducted with two employer representatives and two workers' organization representatives, as well as with the following: the Chairman of the Hannah Nassif Community Development Association, the project manager of the World Bank Local Government Support Project, the manager of the informal construction workers project; the Chief Technical Advisor of the ILO project 'employment creation in municipal service delivery in East Africa: improving living conditions and providing jobs for the poor'.

All interviews were semi-structured with a short list of key questions, allowing the respondents to talk freely on the subject and to express their views in their own words. The author conducted all interviews, with the assistance of Eva Mbuya from the University of Dar es Salaam, except for those at municipal level, which were conducted by Eva Mbuya alone (and mostly in Swahili).

Additionally, the following institutions were also contacted: the College of Engineering and Technology, University of Dar es Salaam; the UN volunteer, UNV/UNDP/ILO project 'Support to informal construction workers in Dar es Salaam'; the Hanna Nassif Community; the Kinondoni Municipal Council; the Ilala Municipal Council; the Temeke Municipal Council (specifically the Community Infrastructure Upgrading Program) and the National Construction Council, Coordinator of the ILO project 'Baseline study of labour practices on large construction projects in Tanzania'.

At the Dar es Salaam City Council, the following departments or sections were contacted: the Building Section, the Transport Unit and coordinator of Dar Rapid Transit (DART), the Community Infrastructure Upgrading Program (CIUP), the Planning Department, the Safer Cities Project and others. Concerning more specifically social dialogue, the following institutions were contacted: the Trade Union Congress of Tanzania (TUCTA); Tanzania Mines and Construction Workers Union; and the Tanzania Mines, Energy, Construction and Allied Workers Union (TAMICO).

Santo André

The objective for the case study in Santo André was to analyze information at both the national and municipal levels for the years 1992 and 2001 in order to study the evolution towards or away from decent work. However, it was found that data on employment conditions for Santo André was not always available. This is a common characteristic of large countries such as Brazil because information is not separated into categories at the municipal level. Sometimes, data was only available at level of the Metropolitan

region of São Paulo (MRSP) and the ABC region (which includes Santo André along with six other municipalities). Additionally, statistics specifically related to the construction sector were not easily found, especially at the local level. Sometimes information provided by staff from different departments and secretariats of the Santo André Municipality and by representatives of workers' unions has been used. In this case study, general statistical data has been collected from the Inter-union Department of Statistics and Socio-economic Studies (DIESSE) and the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE).

In Brazil, as in the majority of large countries, statistical information has not been separated into categories at the municipal level, but often only at the regional level. In the case of Brazil, this has made it difficult to find published data specifically about Santo André. For that reason, some data has been obtained through interviews with staff of the different secretariats and departments of the Municipality of Santo André. Also, interviews were held with delegates from workers' unions and employers' associations.

The empirical analyses of the interdisciplinary research project applied a methodology that combines quantitative and qualitative information and data. It is divided into three specific parts. The first part involves the collection and analysis of data and information on employment conditions specifically related to criteria about decent work in the construction sector at both the national and the local levels including both the formal and informal sectors for the years 1992 and 2001. The second part is intended to identify links between the data and information obtained in the previous phase and the policies and programs applied in the construction sector at both local and national levels. In this phase, the empirical research also involves structured interviews with staff from different departments and secretariats of the municipal authorities and representatives of employers' associations and workers' unions. These interviews also provide qualitative information about the goals and outcomes of policies and programs in the employment and construction sectors, as well as discussing examples of best practices. The third part of our methodology included site visits to projects that were identified as being examples of best practices.

Whenever possible, the magnitude of the informal sector among the working population has been emphasized. However, it has to be noted that it is extremely difficult to present reliable data about employment in the informal sector, both at national and local levels, given that there are differing interpretations of this sector. It has been particularly difficult to quantify the actual size of the informal labour force, especially in the construction sector.

One of the main problems encountered by the research team was the lack of data and information that could be obtained in a suitable format. For example, not all the relevant information could be obtained for the years 1992 and 2001. In particular, information at the national level

frequently dealt with different periods from that available at the local level, making it difficult to compare and gain an understanding of the different research topics.

In the Santo André case study, several people from different departments of the Municipality of Santo André were contacted and met: the Department of Development and Regional Action, the Department of Urban Development and Housing, the Department of Education and Professional Training, the Department of Social Inclusion, the Department of Employment Generation, the Department of Public Services and Works, the Economic Observatory, the Program of Workers' Health and the Public Centre of Employment, Labour and Income (CPETR).

Meetings were organized with the Sacadura Cabral Homeowners' Association, as well as the Brazilian Studio of Art in the Construction Sector. Meetings were also organized with representatives of workers associations, such as the National Confederation of Workers in the Construction Sector (Workers Union in the Construction Sector in Santo André) and the International Federation of Building and Wood Workers (IFBWW), along with representatives of employers associations, such as the São Paulo Union of the Construction Industry (SINDUSCON São Paulo). More statistical data was provided by the Inter-union Department of Statistics and Socio-economic Studies (DIESSE) in São Paulo.

In a more general way, information was also provided by the ILO Regional Office for Latin America in Lima, as well as the ILO Headquarters in Geneva.

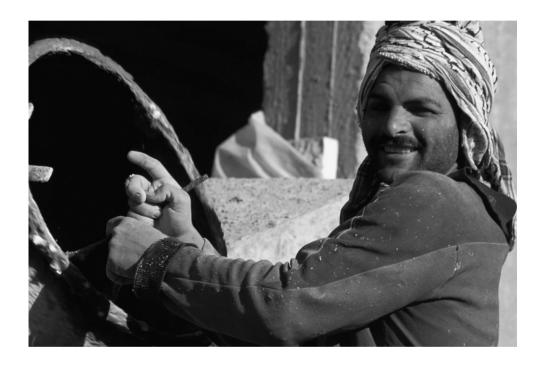
Notes

Chapter opening image: Banners showing security rules and prohibiting child labour on a construction site in Bangalore. Photograph courtesy of Marcel Crozet, ILO.

- (1) The term 'productive work' can be understood as referring only to mercantile work and therefore omits all those activities which are not tradable. Basically, there is no specific element which could clarify this topic. According to Juan Somavia, the ILO Director-General (ILO, 1999a: 21), 'without productive employment, the goals of decent living standards, social and economic development and personal fulfilment remain illusory'. Somavia also highlights that there is no 'consensus on the policies most likely to create jobs: for some the issue is one of growth, for others it is labour market flexibility. Some believe that the answer lies in human skills and capabilities, others in policies to share out available work.'
- (2) The exception is data on unemployment, which is shown separately for Dar es Salaam in 2000/01.

Measuring Decent Work

Mariana Paredes Gil



This chapter presents a review of numerous proposals to define, classify and measure the four key components of decent work. Each of these components is presented, together with its sub-components and the indicators that have been defined to measure them. At the end of this chapter, Table 2.1 presents a synthesis of all the indicators proposed and tested in the case studies. It is important to note at the outset that, although there is general consensus on the four key components of decent work, the sub-components are not always classified in the same way. For example, working conditions, including health and safety, are classified under social protection in ILO documents, whilst in this book, working conditions have been included as a sub-component of employment: a classification which follows the recommendations made by authors noted in the text.

2.1 Review of proposals to measure decent work

Since 1999, the ILO has published conceptual, empirical and operational studies on decent work. Four main propositions to measure decent work have been suggested by specialists from the different departments and sectors of the ILO in order to study the evolution of decent work in both qualitative and quantitative analyses.

First, Ghai (2003) presented the suitability of different indicators applied to the four major components of decent work: employment, social protection, workers' rights and social dialogue. Each of these four components is represented by a limited number of indicators which can usually be measured in a large number of countries. Accordingly:

While the first two components of decent work refer to opportunities, remuneration, security and conditions of work, the last two emphasize the social relations of workers: the fundamental rights of workers (freedom of association, non-discrimination at work, and the absence of forced labour and child labour), and social dialogue, in which workers exercise their right to present their views, defend their interests and engage in discussions to negotiate work-related matters with employers and authorities.

(Ghai, 2003: 114)

Ghai states that there are some decent work indicators which are applicable in industrialized countries, economies in transition and developing countries, whereas others are easier to measure either in industrialized countries, or specifically in countries in transition or developing countries only.

Second, Anker *et al.* (2003) introduced a core set of 30 decent work indicators. The authors did not follow the four major components of decent work. Instead, they translated the concept into six dimensions of decent work:

- *Opportunities for work* refers to the need for all persons (men and women) who want to work to be able to find work.
- Work in conditions of freedom underscores the fact that work should be freely chosen and not forced on individuals, and that certain forms of work are not acceptable in the twenty-first century.
- Productive work is essential for workers to have acceptable livelihoods for themselves and their families, as well as to ensure sustainable development and competitiveness of enterprises and countries.
- Equity in work represents workers' needs to have fair and equitable treatment and opportunities for employment. It encompasses absence

- of discrimination at work, access to work and the ability to balance work with family life.
- Security at work is mindful of the need to help safeguard health, pensions and livelihoods, and to provide adequate financial and other protection in the event of health and other contingencies.
- Dignity at work requires that workers should be treated with respect at work, and be able to voice concerns and participation in decisionmaking about working conditions.

A fundamental element is the worker's freedom to represent his/her interests collectively.

Anker et al. note that 'the first two dimensions of decent work - opportunities for work and freedom of choice of employment – are related to the accessibility and adequacy of work. The other four dimensions - productive work, equity, security and dignity – are related to the extent to which accessible and freely admitted work is decent' (Anker et al., 2003: 151–152). In this study, statistical indicators of decent work are considered through the eyes of the general population, in order to recognize the general characteristics and detailed indicators of decent work. Thus, ten groups of indicators are proposed. These are completed by an eleventh group which recapitulates essential aspects of the economic and social context (which describes characteristics of the economy and population that form the context for determination levels and patterns, and the sustainability of decent work). The 11 groups of indicators are: employment opportunities¹, unacceptable work, adequate earnings and productive work, decent hours, stability and security of work, balancing work and family life, fair treatment in employment, safe working environment, social protection, social dialogue and workplace relations, and economic and social context of decent work (Anker et al., 2003: 153–155).

Third, Bescond *et al.* (2003) presented a list based on the 30 indicators proposed by Anker and colleagues. The authors selected seven indicators with data compiled from national labour force surveys conducted in recent years. Their selection measured decent work 'deficits' in terms of low hourly pay, excessive working hours due to economic or involuntary reasons, national unemployment, children not at school (as a proxy for child labour), youth unemployment, the male-female gap in labour force participation, and old age without pension. Bescond *et al.* (2003: 180) highlighted that 'each indicator is introduced, with a brief discussion of its significance, issues related to the quality and international comparability of the relevant data and, where pertinent, alternative approaches.' The authors combined these seven indicators to create a composite index which would measure the decent work deficit at a national level. The chosen indicators are frequently added so that a decent work profile may be constructed by aggregating information for each country. For countries with complete data, the

indicators can be included – with or without a weighting according to the population share – in order to acquire an average score for each country as a whole. The resulting single element may be considered as an index of decent work at a specific point in time. Bescond *et al.* (2003: 205) stress the idea that decent work has different meanings for different categories of people:

For children, decent work means no work at all (or at least no work that conflicts with their schooling). For adults who are currently employed, decent work primarily means adequate pay and no excessive hours of work. For the unemployed, decent work means finding a job (quickly). For the elderly who are no longer economically active, decent work means receipt of an adequate pension from earlier employment. For the young unemployed and for economically active women, an additional consideration is their relative positions with regard to unemployed adults and economically active men, respectively.

Finally, Bonnet *et al.* (2003) have presented a family of decent work indicators applicable at three levels: the macro-level (aggregate), the meso-level (workplace) and the micro-level (individual). This analysis was based on their previous findings (Bonnet *et al.*, 1999). They argued that at the aggregate (macro) level, the purpose of decent work is proposed 'in terms of creating laws, regulations and institutions that enable a growing number of people in all societies to work without oppression, in reasonable security and with steadily improving opportunity for personal development, while having enough income to support themselves and their families' (Bonnet *et al.*, 2003: 213–214). Whilst at the meso-level (workplace), a decent work situation is defined as 'one that provides adequate security for workers while fostering the dynamic efficiency of their enterprises'. Finally, at the micro-level (individual) 'decent work consists of having good opportunity to work with adequate levels of all forms of work-related security'.

The authors suggest seven forms of labour-related security: labour market security, employment security, job security, work security, skill reproduction security, income security and representation security. They propose to create indices based on different combinations of these indicators and thus construct the Socio-economic Security Database. This database consists of five components – three at the macro-level, one at the meso-level and another at the micro-level.

For each security, three types of indicators are required:

(1) Input indicators of national and international instruments and rules to protect workers, such as the enactment of basic laws or the ratifications of ILO conventions on work-related hazards, unfair dismissal, the right to organize, etc.

- (2) Process indicators of mechanisms or resources through which legislated principles and rules are realized, such as public expenditure on a particular form of security, labour inspection services, labourrelated tripartite boards, etc.
- (3) *Outcome indicators* showing whether or not the inputs and processes are effective in ensuring worker protection. These indicators might include the unemployment rate and the percentage of workers covered by collective agreements or receiving benefits or pensions, etc.

(Bonnet et al., 2003)

For each form of security, three dimensions can be measured (Bonnet *et al.*, 2003: 216):

- The extent to which the government or constitution of the country is committed formally to its promotion.
- The extent to which its institutions give effect to that commitment.
- The extent to which the observed outcomes correspond to reasonable expectations.

The data gathered is used to create the family of decent work indices and the indicators of each form of security are identified. These are then combined to create a composite security index by means of a normalization procedure (based on the one used by the UNDP for the Human Development Index):

Normalized value X = [actual value – minimum value]/[maximum value – minimum value]

Hence:

The actual value is the score achieved by the country on a particular indicator, the minimum value is the lowest value achieved by any country, and the maximum value is the maximum achieved by any country. The average values of all normalized security indices are calculated, and the result is normalized to give values of the decent work index, ranging from 0 (lowest or worst) to 1 (highest or best).

(Bonnet et al., 2003)

The majority of indicators proposed by the different authors can be considered as performance indicators, which measure change over time in response to policy implementation and/or local economic and social situations. These noteworthy proposals collectively represent a broad vision of the measurement of decent work. Our proposition is based on all of them and takes elements from each contribution according to our systemic interpretation of the measurement of decent work. In our opinion, the best

way to analyze the decent work situation in a specific country or city (and also to compare different countries or cities) is by using a precise set of indicators for the four key dimensions of decent work. In this way, trends towards or away from decent work can be identified at both national and local levels.

This set of decent work indicators should be composed of indicators which are generally available in a large number of countries, and which come from reliable quantitative databases (such as national surveys and censuses) and qualitative sources (questionnaires and interviews with representatives for different economic actors). In addition, these indicators should be clearly and precisely defined in order to ensure that the same issues are being measured in the different countries or cities. It is also important to define different indicators for the four components of decent work for national or international comparisons. Although creating a decent work index can make comparisons between countries much easier, it may also overlook some locally specific characteristics when combining the indicators and therefore skew the analyses and results.

We prefer to keep some key indicators for each of the four main components of decent work and to make comparisons between these components where possible. In the following sections of this chapter, we will present our proposition for a set of indicators to measure decent work. This list is divided according to the four components of decent work: employment, social security, workers' rights and social dialogue. Where possible, concrete examples of indicators are also presented. The degree to which decent work is applied can be measured using performance indicators for each of the different components. These indicators provide information about the degree of achievement for a particular goal and thus measure the extent to which decent work objectives are met. In addition, indicators may be used to evaluate the performance and progress of these objectives over time, as well as to make comparisons between countries. However, due to conceptual limitations and restricted data availability, it is often impossible to measure an objective exactly. Sometimes an approximate estimation is given. Also, although ideally such indicators should provide a direct measure of a set goal, this is not always possible; in some cases an indirect measurement has to be used. Ghai (2005: 18) stated there is seldom one single indicator that is likely to determine an outcome. Another important element to emphasize is that indicators of the components of decent work can be quantitative and/or qualitative.

The set of decent work indicators proposed in this chapter is based on the four main components of decent work: employment, social security, workers' rights and social dialogue. The goal has been to propose a set of indicators which can be used in all countries. Given that there will be some cases where not all indicators can be measured, we suggest some additional indicators which could be used in order to complete the data. Anker *et al.* (2003: 152) have noted that it is important to keep in mind

that any internationally adequate set of ILO decent work indicators will need to be considered as a minimum set. For this reason, we recommend adapting indicators to countries, regions and specific economic sectors in order to be more specific and to identify complementary decent work indicators. In addition, it is important to remember that when international comparisons are made, errors are likely. Bescond *et al.* (2003: 186) noted that these mistakes occur not only because of differences between national data definitions, but also due to the differences in the configuration of accessible data. Egger (2002: 172–173) argued for a step-by-step approach to international comparability using available indicators and data, progressively refining definitions and expanding existing regular surveys or performing new ones.

2.2 Indicators of the employment dimension

The notion of decent work involves the existence of employment opportunities for all those who are available for and looking for work. An important element of decent work is the employment characteristics of a population in a country, region or city. Our proposition follows Ghai's (2003) suggestion that the employment dimension should be apprehended according to three aspects: employment opportunities, remuneration of employment and working conditions.

2.2.1 Employment opportunities

According to Anker *et al.* (2002: 9), employment opportunities can be measured in a positive way, in terms of employment and labour force activity corresponding to the population base. Employment opportunities can also be measured in a negative way, in terms of unemployment, underemployment and the absence of employment opportunities. Several authors have noted that there are some indicators which have traditionally been used to measure employment opportunities. These include:

• The labour force participation rate (LFPR) Before describing this indicator, it is important to explain how broad our definition of the labour force is. Labour force participants include both employed and unemployed adults. Although not all countries define a legal working age, in this case we include all people aged between 15 and 65 in the working age population, as is the case in a large number of international comparisons.

To draw on Bescond *et al.* (2003: 200), we will define as 'employed' those people who 'participate in the production of goods and services, if only for an hour during a short, specific reference period

or if they are normally in employment but happen to be away from their work during that period. They may be employers, employees, self-employed workers, domestic helpers, apprentices or members of the armed forces.'

Following the definition of Anker *et al.* (2002: 10), the labour force participation rate measures the level of economic activity of the working-age population in a country. It is a general indicator of the level of labour market activity and gives an outline of the distribution of the economically active population in a country. In other words, the LFPR determines the ratio of the total number of people employed and unemployed with respect to the total resident working age population. Thus LFPR = EPR + UR.

The employment-population ratio (EPR)

The employment-population ratio measures the portion of the working age population which is employed. It provides information on the extent to which an economy offers employment in the formal sector. An important advantage of this indicator, suggested by Ghai (2002: 11), is that it provides information on the number and proportion of individuals in the population of working age who are employed in the production of goods and services. In addition, the EPR covers all categories of workers. However, it does not consider the informal sector.

Nevertheless, Ghai (2002: 11) noted that one of the major sources of change in the EPR across several countries is the participation of women in the labour force. The differences in the extent of the participation definition explain the variations. Thus, in a large number of developing countries, 'women working at home, whether looking after children and the aged or engaged in food preparation, manufacturing, transporting water and wood, or doing repairs are not counted as members of the labour force'. This custom considerably reduces the ratio of employment. Another weakness of the EPR as a measure of work opportunities, noted by Ghai (2002: 11–12), is that it does not give information on the hours worked. Thus, sporadic or self-employed activities are treated in the same way as a work day of eight hours.

An example of the employment-population ratio is given by the *OECD Factbook* 2005, which presents the EPR for all the OECD countries from 1990 to 2003. In Spain, 51.8% of the working age population was employed in 1990 (EPR = 0.518), whilst in 2003, 60.7% of the working age population was employed (EPR = 0.607), (OECD, 2005: 95).

• The unemployment rate (UR)

The unemployment rate measures the number of unemployed people as a proportion of the labour force. According to the ILO and Anker *et al.* (2002: 11), a person of working age is classified as unemployed if 'he/she was not employed or has not worked for even one hour in any economic activity (paid employment, self-employment, or

unpaid work for a family business or farm), while being available for work, and had taken active steps to seek work during a specified recent period'.

Bescond et al. (2003: 190) suggest that national labour force surveys are complete and represent internationally comparable sources of data for measuring unemployment. However, Anker et al. (2002: 12) indicate that it is important to use the unemployment rate as an indicator carefully because several aspects of unemployment statistics are not comparable across countries due to methodological differences (e.g. the data source, age group covered, how trainees and other particular categories of workers are counted, and the criteria for deciding what constitutes an active search for paid work). In addition, Godfrey (2003: 8) explains that the unemployment rate can be an awkward measure because the level to which a job-seeker can afford to desist from work (opportunity cost) will vary from one country to another. In industrialized countries this will vary according to the amplitude of the unemployment benefit system, while in developing countries lacking an unemployment benefit system, most of those looking for work must obtain a source of income. Ghai (2002: 13) noted that unemployment rates are often reported to be low in developing countries 'because people cannot afford to stay unemployed'. Thus, 'most potentially unemployed persons either do not actively search for employment, falling into the category of discouraged workers, or they seek a living in the overcrowded informal economy'.

An illustration of the unemployment rate (UR) is given also by the OECD Factbook 2005. For the OECD, 'unemployed persons are defined as those who report that they are without work, that they are available for work, and that they have taken active steps to find work in the last four weeks' (OECD, 2005: 108). For example, in Greece 6.9% of the labour force was unemployed in 1990 (UR = 6.9), while 9.3% of the labour force was unemployed in 2003 (UR = 9.3), (OECD, 2005: 109).

2.2.2 Remuneration of work

Ghai (2002: 14) notes that an important characteristic of decent work is that workers should benefit from paid employment. This is one element of the quality of work. Anker *et al.* (2002: 23) stress that all individuals who work or seek work do so in order to earn an income and ensure economic well-being for themselves and their families.

Two indicators are proposed to measure remunerated employment:

Low wage rate

This indicator is the proportion of the population earning less than half the median wage. Bescond *et al.* (2003: 182–183) note that the

formulation of this indicator – as a percentage of the median wage – makes it independent of national currencies and, therefore, facilitates international comparisons. Another asset of this indicator is its wide applicability, even in countries which have not adopted minimum wage legislation or which have set the legal minimum wage below the current market wage.

Average earnings in selected occupations

Anker *et al.* (2002: 26) explain that the choice of specific occupations should be made carefully. Some criteria would be: male-dominated and female-dominated occupations, occupations in tradable and non-tradable sectors, skilled and low skilled occupations.

2.2.3 Working conditions

The range of criteria covered by working conditions may include night work, hours of work, weekly rest, paid leave, and occupational health and safety. In regards to hours of work, we propose two indicators presented by Anker *et al.* (2002: 30): 'excessive hours of work' and 'time-related underemployment rate'.

Excessive hours of work

The first indicator is measured as the percentage of employed persons working more than the threshold number of hours, by status of employment (normally depending on each country). Nevertheless, Anker et al. (2002: 31) note that the excessive hours indicator is susceptible to a number of factors in addition to real hours worked. These factors include the degree of precision in the measurement of hours worked (which varies from country to country) and the proportion of self-employment in total employment. Sometimes, the case of selfemployment is confused with non-economic activities and, therefore, workers in this situation could tend to report higher numbers of work hours. Another important point, highlighted by Anker et al. (2002: 31), is that in many cases excessive hours of work occur for economic reasons. Most people who combine two or more jobs do so because the income from one job is not enough to maintain their families. It is important to separate excessive hours of work for economic reasons from long or excessive hours of work for other involuntary reasons, such as the nature of work, exceptional circumstances, corporate norms, etc., and voluntary reasons, such as ambition or passion for work. In practice, it may be difficult to make a distinction between excessive hours for 'voluntary' and 'economic' reasons. Therefore, it is important to exercise due care when applying the excessive hours of work indicator.

Time-related under-employment rate

The second indicator used is the time-related under-employment rate, which is measured as the percentage of the employed population working less than a certain number of hours, but who is available and wanting to work additional hours. As Anker *et al.* (2002: 32) explain, time-related under-employment occurs when the 'hours of work of an employed person are insufficient in relation to an alternative employment situation in which the person is willing and available to engage'. This means: willing to work additional hours, available to work additional hours and working less than a threshold number of hours in terms of working time during the reference period².

Unfortunately, we have not found any examples of this indicator in practice. However, and in order to illustrate differences in working hours between different countries and sectors, here are some examples of working hour thresholds. According to the ILO, in 2003, 44.8 hours per week were actually worked in the construction sector in Brazil, whereas the average for all economic sectors was 42.2 hours per week (LABORSTA)³. In the same year, 43.1 hours were worked in the construction sector in Chile, with a threshold of 43.3 hours calculated for all economic activities. Data was also collected for India, where a threshold of 46.8 hours was worked per week in the construction sector and 46.4 hours were worked in the global economy.

As noted earlier, conditions of work include not only hours of work, but health and safety in the workplace. Anker *et al.* (2002: 49) state that by its very nature, work is exposed to some degree of risk. Risk can appear in several forms, such as repetitive tasks, long hours, exposure to harmful substances, noise, psychological pressure, physical aggression and others. The degree of risk varies according to the occupation, economic activity, type of establishment and characteristics of workers.

In order to measure safety at work, we propose two indicators:

Number of accidents and deaths at work

The number of accidents and deaths at work is one widely used indicator measured in relation to the employed population. This indicator can be measured as a proxy per 100,000 employees, for example. Therefore, it is generally known that on construction sites all around the world, the risk of accidents is higher than in other workplaces. According to the ILO, every year at least 55,000 accidents are reported in the construction sector (ILO, 2000c: 4). This implies that an accident occurs in the construction sector somewhere in the world almost every ten minutes. Ghai (2002: 17) notes that in many countries it is hard to obtain information about the consequences of detrimental working environments. However, it is well known that over time 'certain work processes and the use of certain equipment and materials can result in

serious health hazards and diseases'. In addition, disorders related to stress and anxiety are becoming frequent in some working situations.

We will now provide a few examples of workdays lost due to injuries, although there is no data for a proxy of 100,000 employees. As noted by the ILO, 25,098 cases of lost workdays due to injury were registered in the construction sector in Brazil in 2000, while in the same period there were 323,568 cases in the general economy. This means that in Brazil in 2000, 7.75% of injuries with lost workdays happened in the construction sector. In the same year in El Salvador 2038 cases of injury with lost workdays were registered in the construction sector, while 22,845 cases were registered for all economic activity. This means that 8.92% of injuries with lost workdays occurred in the construction sector. The Ecuadorian Institute for Social Security (Instituto Ecuatoriano de Seguridad Social⁴) highlights that for the year 1990, 229 accidents and 23 deaths were reported at the national level. For the year 2000, 138 accidents and 0 deaths were reported at the same level. In this case, data was not available for the construction sector.

Occupational injury insurance coverage In this case we refer to the percentage of employees covered by insurance in relation to injury in the workplace in the construction sector. However, most of the data collected and much of the attention paid to occupational health and safety concerns the formal economy. In contrast, working conditions in developing countries, particularly in the construction sector, tend to be much worse when compared with other types of work (farms, slums, mines, etc.).

Another important element concerning safety at work is the ILO Safety and Health in Construction Convention (167), adopted in 1988. Although this had only been ratified by 23 countries (by February 2009), it is important to note here that this convention exists, because it represents the unique international norm that specifically considers health and safety in the construction sector.

Another important point related to working conditions is the interrelationship between work and family life, emphasized by Anker *et al.* (2002: 38–40). Nowadays, a significant demand for family-friendly work is coming from women, owing to their increasing participation in the paid labour market. Therefore, an indicator can measure the relative importance of paid work and family life:

Employment rate for women with children under compulsory schoolage

This should be a rate for all women aged 20–49 who have decided to have children and maintain their paid work. Anker *et al.* (2002: 39) state that 'official labour force statistics classify women with young children as employed, whether they are at work or on maternity leave with the

expectation of returning to the same employer'. The authors suggest we be aware of those cases where women are forced to go back to work for economic reasons. This kind of situation should not be considered as decent work, since women do not have the option to go back to work.

Paid leave

Another indicator used to analyze conditions of work should be the number of days of paid leave. Bonnet *et al.* (2003: 221) propose that this indicator can be measured as the average of annual paid leave (holidays), adjusted for the portion of workers in formal paid employment.

Comfort and hygiene conditions

This indicator is difficult to measure, because there is not much official information in a number of countries. Comfort and hygiene conditions should be measured as a qualitative indicator referring to the presence of a comfort and hygiene infrastructure in workplaces, including a first aid room, staff room, canteen, showers and toilets.

2.3 Indicators of the social security dimension

According to the ILO, social security 'encompasses the broad areas of income security, health protection and the assurance of safe and healthy working conditions, all of which are closely interrelated' (ILO, 2003a: 52). Ghai (2002: 17) noted that social security systems were proposed 'to meet people's urgent subsistence needs and to improve protection against contingencies'. The crucial problem is that these systems were generally meant only for salaried employees in the formal sector.

Anker *et al.* (2002: 52) stressed that the measurement of social security should try to quantify the extent of coverage offered for its three principal aspects: population coverage (in terms of access, entitlements and contributions), benefits levels and expenditures. Therefore, we propose the two following indicators for measuring the social security dimension of decent work:

Public social security expenditure

This indicator measures the public resources devoted to social security as a percentage of the GDP (statistics for total social security, health services and old-age pensions). However, as Ghai (2002: 18) notes, this indicator does not concern 'the efficiency with which these resources are used'. Ghai (2005: 17–19) insists on differentiating between industrial and transition countries on the one hand, and developing countries on the other, in order to measure the indicators of social security effectively. In industrial and transition countries, the ratio of public social security expenditure to GDP provides a good indicator of the coverage

and level of benefits accorded to workers. Nevertheless, as previously noted, in developing countries, where a large part of the working population is employed in the informal sector, these social security systems are insufficient to meet the essential needs of the population.

Old age pension

Bescond *et al.* (2003) argue that this indicator measures the number of people who receive a pension as a result of their past economic activity. However, and in order to have a better indicator of this subject, the authors suggest separating those 'persons in receipt of a pension or income from a property or investment', from those 'persons who receive a pension based on their past economic activity' (Bescond *et al.* 2003: 203).

Anker et al. (2002: 55) suggest another important, but not readily available indicator: health insurance coverage. Saith (2004: 28) emphasizes a significant lack of social security indicators; a poor country may have a very low rate of formal pension coverage, but in reality have good quality elderly care provided by family members. The system may even be better than in developed countries, where family ties are weaker and there is less financial dependence on family members. In this type of system, a greater rate of pension coverage may imply better old age care. For this reason, it is important to establish the need for social protection and the extent of insecurity, and then measure the coverage of requirements specific to each society. An essential element of the social security dimension is the coverage of the national social security system as well as all its characteristics (such as the population and spheres covered, and the system reform, if any). Thus, even if this qualitative element does not facilitate comparisons among countries (for obvious reasons) it seems important to improve understanding of the social security systems in each country, region or city being studied.

In principle, although the establishment of social protection systems distinguishes development objectives in many countries, in reality the majority of social security structures do not correspond to the needs of workers in some economic sectors, especially in the construction sector. Generally, the health of workers in industrial sectors is determined to a broad extent by the quality of their shelter, water supply, hygiene conditions and health services, as well as their earnings and poverty levels. In other words, 'the deficits in decent work, such as low and fluctuating income as a result of uncertain and insecure employment lead to extreme vulnerability among workers when income is lost' (ILO, 2003a: 52). Days lost from work as a result of work-related injury, disease, invalidity, death or natural disasters generate deficiencies among workers. These workers have to confront social and health risks occurring in the hazardous and unstable situations characteristic of many industrial sectors.

2.4 Indicators of the workers' rights dimension

Decent work must be work that is acceptable to society. It is therefore necessary to know the incidence of unacceptable work, both to ensure that such work is excluded from indicators of employment opportunities and also to measure progress towards its elimination. The main concern here is with forced labour, child labour under abusive conditions, discrimination at work and freedom of association.

2.4.1 Forced labour

In 1930, the ILO Convention No. 29 concerning 'Forced or Compulsory Labour' defined forced labour as: 'all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily'. Forced labour is very difficult to measure precisely. As Anker *et al.* (2002) explain, it is hidden since it is illegal and immoral. Thus, it is not just difficult to measure but 'it would be systematically under-reported using typical household or enterprise surveys' (Anker *et al.* 2002: 20–21). It is therefore very hard to find a good indicator of forced labour as a constituent of decent work. An alternative can be found using indirect qualitative measures of forced labour using ILO studies and reports on human rights abuse.

2.4.2 Child labour

According to the UNICEF Report *The State of the World's Children 2006* and following the latest estimations from the ILO, '246 million children between 5 and 17 are engaged in child labour. Of these, nearly 70% or 171 million children are working in hazardous situations or conditions, such as mines, with chemicals and pesticides in agriculture, or with dangerous machinery' (UNICEF, 2005: 46).

There is no official minimum age standard for working. Each country can freely choose an age, according to its own law. However, the ILO Convention No. 138, Article 1, published in 1973, specifies that 'Each member for which this Convention is in force undertakes to pursue a national policy designed to ensure the effective abolition of child labour and to raise progressively the minimum age for admission to employment or work to a level consistent with the fullest physical and mental development of young persons.'

Article 2 of the Convention states that:

- (1) Each member . . . shall specify, in a declaration appended to its ratification, a minimum age for admission to employment or work within its territory . . .
- (3) The minimum age ... shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and, in any case, not be less than 15 years.

Another important convention concerning child labour is the *Convention* on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1989, which stipulates in Article 32:

- (1) State Parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous, to interfere with the child's education or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.
- (2) State Parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of the present article. To this end . . . State Parties shall in particular:
 - (a) Provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment;
 - (b) Provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment;
 - (c) Provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article.

Ghai (2002: 20) stated that child labour is widespread in developing countries in different forms, such as work on family farms or enterprises. It is important to take care when distinguishing the circumstances where child labour is harmful to the health and well-being of children and to their future prospects. These situations include children working in mines, factories and on construction sites, as well as work in dangerous and unhealthy environments. Worst of all is the exploitation of children in sexual commerce, forced or bonded labour, armed conflict and human trafficking.

Following the ILO Convention No. 182, Article 2, published in 1999, the worst forms of child labour include:

- all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- (2) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- (3) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

Child labour is particularly significant in some specific sectors, including the construction sector. UNICEF noted that 'one boy in every four and more than one in every three girls working in construction suffers work-related injuries and illness' (UNICEF, 2005: 47).

Anker et al. (2002: 18–19) suggest two indicators to measure child labour:

Children not attending school

The percentage of children not attending school (percentage by age) is a good proxy measure for unacceptable child labour, as well as being a useful indicator and goal in its own right for child welfare. According to UNICEF in its *State of the World's Children 2006*, the ratio (net) of primary school attendance in Namibia in 2004 described only 78% of children of compulsory primary school age (UNICEF, 2005: 114). This means that 22% of Namibian children of compulsory primary school age do not go to school, and that they are probably working.

Children in wage employment or self-employment activity rate Children working as employees or in self-employment are a second proxy indicator for unacceptable child labour. This often occurs under exploitative conditions and is detrimental to children's health, safety and morals. This interferes with school attendance and educational performance and this in turn decreases lifetime employment options. These forms of child labour can damage children physically and/or mentally. They also prevent children from going to school, therein harming the productive capacity of the future workforce. According to UNICEF, in 2004 child labour affected 23% of children in Vietnam and 14% in India (UNICEF, 2005: 130).

It should be noted that for UNICEF, child labour represents the percentage of children aged 5 to 14 years of age involved in child labour activities at the moment of the survey. A child is considered to be involved in child labour activities under the following classification:

- (1) Children 5 to 11 years of age that during the week preceding the survey did at least one hour of economic activity or at least 28 hours of domestic work.
- (2) Children 12 to 14 years of age that during the week preceding the survey did at least 14 hours of economic activity or at least 42 hours of domestic work.

Figure 2.1 shows the worst forms and relative importance of child labour in the world. Hence, the majority (59%) of the worst forms of child labour represent children in forced and bonded work, followed by children in prostitution and pornography (19%). Together they constitute almost 80% of the worst forms of child labour.

According to the ILO (2002d: 35–36), the following definitions are counted as unconditional worst forms of child labour:

(1) Trafficked children: based on the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children, child trafficking is defined as 'the recruitment, transportation,

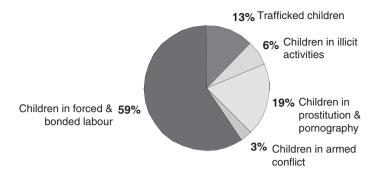


Figure 2.1 Children in unconditional worst forms of child labour Source: Own composition, based on ILO (2002d) Every Child Counts: New Global Estimates on Child Labour, International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) and Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC), International Labour Office, Geneva. p. 25.

transfer, harbouring or receipt of a girl or boy of less than 18 year of age for the purpose of exploitation'. In this case, this is limited to children trafficked for sexual and economic exploitation, including '(a) child prostitution; (b) other forms of sexual exploitation such as the use of children for pornography; and (c) forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery and servitude'.

- (2) Children in illicit activities: in this case, reference is made to the ILO Convention No. 182 which refers to children in illicit activities as 'children involved in the production and trafficking of drugs'. Following this emphasis, this case therefore includes 'children in drug manufacture, including work in poppy plantations and trafficking of illegal substances'.
- (3) Children in prostitution and pornography: according to the Optional Protocol for the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, adopted by the UN General Assembly on 25 May 2000. Child prostitution includes 'the use of a child in sexual activities for remuneration for any form of consideration'; and child pornography refers to 'any representation, by whatever means, of a child engaged in real or simulated explicit sexual activities or any representation of the sexual parts of a child for primarily sexual purposes'.
- (4) Children in armed conflict: this refers to 'any person under 18 years of age who is part of any kind of regular or irregular armed force or armed group in any capacity, including cooks, porters, messengers, and those accompanying such groups, other than purely as family members. It includes children recruited for sexual purposes and forced marriage.'

(5) Children in forced and bonded labour: 'forced child labour can be distinguished from the other forms of child of labour through the presence of one or more of the following elements: (a) a restriction of the freedom to move; (b) a degree of control over the child going beyond the normal exertion of lawful authority; (c) physical or mental violence; and (d) absence of informed consent'.

2.4.3 Inequality at work

Inequality at work is a characteristic that should be eradicated if acceptable workers' rights are to be achieved. The *World Development Report 2006* proposed the measurement of inequalities in different spheres, such as inequalities in health, inequalities in education, and economic inequalities. It stated that when we talk about inequalities we are referring to: 'systematic differences in opportunities for individuals and groups who differ only in skin colour, caste, gender or place of residence; predetermined characteristics that can be argued as morally irrelevant' (World Bank, 2005a: 28). Inequality is difficult to measure, because it is a qualitative characteristic of human groups and therefore variable between cultures and societies. For these reasons, we propose to analyze discrimination instead of inequality.

In its policies to reduce inequalities at work, the ILO emphasizes discrimination at work which involves the denial of equality of treatment and opportunity to individuals in their own right or as members of a social group. According to the ILO Convention No. 111, Article 1 (1958), discrimination comprised: 'any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation'.

In 1995, the Beijing Declaration from the Fourth World Conference on Women stipulated Government participants' commitment to promote:

The equal rights and inherent human dignity of women and men along with other purposes and principles enshrined in the *Charter of the United Nations*, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and other international human rights' instruments, in particular the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* and the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, as well as the *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women* and the *Declaration on the Right to Development*.

In addition, the elimination of discrimination at work also means fair treatment. This implies working without harassment or exposure to violence, some degree of autonomy, fair handling of grievances and the resolution

of conflicts. The most commonly used discrimination indicators concern gender, but in principle other similar kinds of indicators may also be used. As the ILO Global Report *Time for Equality at Work* stated 'whatever the form of discrimination – be it based on race, sex, age, disease or disability – its elimination tends to require a similar set of policy devices. These range from consistent and effective regulatory and institutional frameworks to suitable training and employment policies' (ILO, 2003c: xii).

According to the ILO Global Report, 'discrimination in employment and occupation takes many forms, and occurs in all kinds of work settings' (ILO; 2003c: 1). In a general way, 'to discriminate in employment and occupation is to treat people differently and less favourably because of certain characteristics, such as their sex, the colour of their skin or their religion, political beliefs or social origins, irrespective of their merit or the requirements of the job' (ILO, 2003c: 15). Moreover, all types of discrimination have one common feature: it 'entails treating people differently because of certain characteristics, such as race, colour or sex, which results in the impairment of equality of opportunity and treatment' (ILO, 2003c: 1).

The difference between direct and indirect types of discrimination at work needs to be considered. Following the ILO Global Report concerning discrimination at work, direct discrimination occurs 'when regulations, laws and policies explicitly exclude or disadvantage workers on the basis of characteristics such as political opinion, marital status or sex' (ILO, 2003c: 19). Contrarily, indirect discrimination 'may occur when apparently neutral rules and practices have negative effects on a disproportionate number of members of a particular group irrespective of whether or not they meet the requirements of the job'. Thus, 'indirect discrimination may also occur when differential treatment is accorded to particular categories of workers' (ILO, 2003c: 20–21).

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, endorsed in 1979 by the UN General Assembly, stated in its Article 11:

State Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality between men and women, the same rights, in particular:

- (1) The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings
- (2) The right to the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment
- (3) The right to free choice of profession and employment, the right to promotion, job security and all benefits and conditions of service and the right to receive vocational training and retraining . . .

- (4) The right to equal remuneration, including benefits, and to equal treatment in respect to work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of quality of work
- (5) The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave
- (6) The right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions, including the safeguarding of the function of reproduction

Our proposition of indicators for discrimination is related to gender. However, these indicators can also be used to measure discrimination at another level or between different groups of workers. Four indicators may be used to measure gender discrimination:

- The male-female gap in labour force participation
 Bescond *et al.* (2003: 200–201) noted that the male-female gap in the
 labour force participation rate is the desegregation by sex and by age
 of the labour force participation rate (LFPR). An indicator of the malefemale gap in labour force participation measures the extent to which
 women enter the labour market relative to men across different countries. The authors remind us that this gap may be narrowing in some
 countries due to a decline in male participation, not because of an increase in female participation in the labour force.
- Unemployment rate for men and women
 Generally speaking, unemployment rates have always been higher for
 women than for men. As the ILO Report *Time for Equality at Work*(2003c: 42) noted, 'women, and for that matter other discriminatedagainst groups, may adjust to deteriorating labour market conditions
 by accepting shorter working hours rather than no work at all, and
 therefore become underemployed and, in the face of discrimination,
 become discouraged and abandon active job seeking altogether.' The
 ILO Report also specified that there are differences between men and
 women in terms of employment status. Thus, men often have regular and more highly remunerated positions, while women 'are often in
 peripheral, insecure, less-valued positions'. In addition, women represent the majority of home workers, casual workers and temporary
 workers (ILO, 2003c: 42).

To illustrate the gap between the unemployment rate for women and men, we present statistics from the *Panorama Laboral 2005* published by the ILO Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean in 2005. According to the ILO, during the first semester of 2005 the urban unemployment rate in Colombia represented 15% of the total labour force population, but this affected women and men in different ways. For women, the urban unemployment rate for the first semester 2005

described 17.6% of the female labour force, whereas it concerned only 12.6% of the male labour force during the same period (ILO, 2005a: 92).

Differences in earnings

Some authors highlight the difficulties in defining a precise indicator for measuring differences in salaries between men and women owing to their concentration in different occupations and economic sectors, as well as differences in the number of hours worked.

For the ILO, discrimination in paid wages is an important illustration of what discrimination at work means. The ILO (ILO, 2003c: 47) clarified that 'discrimination in remuneration occurs when the main basis for the determination of wages is not the content of the work to be performed, but rather the sex, colour or personal attributes of the person performing the work.' In order to really examine discrimination in remuneration, the ILO has presented two proposals. The first 'distinguishes between inequalities due to individual characteristics such as levels of education, skills, or seniority, and inequalities due to discrimination'. The second proposition 'focuses on inequalities amongst groups and finds that women's earnings in certain occupations, sectors, skills or levels of pension are typically lower than men's, irrespective of individual abilities' (ILO, 2003c: 47).

Distribution of skilled jobs
 The distribution of men and women across levels of responsibility is an important measure of equal treatment in employment. One indicator of this is the extent to which women are employed in positions of authority and decision-making, such as managerial and administrative positions.

2.4.4 Freedom of association

Freedom of association is necessary for workers and employers to protect their interests, to coordinate common activities and to participate in negotiations and dialogue concerning their interests. Following Ghai's contribution (2002: 24–26), two quantifiable indicators are proposed:

• The number of countries having ratified Conventions No. 87 and 98 Convention No. 87 refers to 'freedom of association and protection of the right to organize' and Convention No. 98 refers to the 'right to organize and to bargain collectively'. However, ratification of a Convention does not necessarily guarantee that the country that signed it respects the necessary conditions for freedom of association.

In 2007, according to the ILO, Convention No. 87 had been ratified by 145 countries out of the 178 members of the Organization, and 154 countries had ratified Convention No. 98. Violations of freedom of association among workers in the construction sector are common. These

abuses vary from regulatory restrictions and anti-union practices to physical violence and even repression.

• Index of civil rights

One of the most frequently used indices of civil rights is the civil liberties index, prepared by Freedom House. This index is based on comprehensive subjective evaluations by human rights experts who collect evidence globally. The civil liberties index is based on a checklist including: freedom of expression and belief, association and organizational rights, rule of law, personal autonomy and individual rights.

According to Freedom House, each country and territory is assigned a numerical rating, on a scale of 1 to 7. A rating of 1 indicates the highest degree of civil freedom and 7 the least amount of civil freedom. For example, in 2005 Freedom House calculated the Brazilian, Ecuadorian and Tanzanian civil liberties index as 3, while the civil liberties index of Zimbabwe corresponded to a rating of 6.

It is important to mention the general acknowledgement that the Freedom House indices are sometimes accused of being biased, even if unintentionally, owing to their pro-North American perspective.

Thus, according to the International Relations Center – Right Web⁵, 'Although frequently cited in press reports and academic works, the reports and studies produced by Freedom House and its affiliates have been criticized for their alleged partiality towards US interests.'

2.5 Indicators of the social dialogue dimension

Anker et al. suggest that social dialogue 'refers to any type of negotiation, consultation or exchange of information between representatives of governments, employers and workers on issues of common interest relating directly to work and economic and social policies' (Anker et al., 2002: 55– 56). According to the ILO, 'a prerequisite for social dialogue is the existence of social partners that have both the capacity and the will to engage responsibly in the various forms of social dialogue at different levels' (ILO, 2003c: 70). The process of social dialogue can help to build efficient labour market institutions and to achieve consensus on issues concerning decent work deficits. The extent to which workers can express themselves on work-related matters and participate in defining their working conditions is essential: 'The ability of workers to organize freely to defend their interests collectively in negotiations with the employer is a pivotal element of democracy in the workplace and effectiveness of social dialogue' (Anker et al, 2002, 55–56). For the social dialogue dimension, we suggest the following indicators:

Union density rate
 This refers to the number of union members expressed either as a percentage of the non-agricultural workforce or as a percentage of

wage and salaried workers. Kuruvilla (2003: 5) notes that on some occasions union density has been utilized as an evaluation of union strength and the capability of social dialogue. He explains that in industrialized countries, a positive correlation between union density and any other measure of tripartite or bipartite industrial relations has been observed. Nevertheless, this measure is problematic in non-industrialized countries where this correlation is not straightforward. In other countries, union density as an illustration of union strength and as a base for social dialogue is dubious because unions are not independent and are subject to strict control. Another important point is the problem concerning the quality of data, particularly in terms of data compilation methodology and density estimation.

An additional difficulty of the union density rate noted by Kuruvilla (2003: 30) is that this indicator does not automatically describe the presence of real social dialogue. Nevertheless, Ghai (2002: 25) notes that 'in general, the higher the union density, the stronger the defence of workers' interests in negotiations with employers and the government, and the greater the participation by workers in matters affecting their work'.

Collective bargaining coverage rate

This refers to the number of workers covered by a collectively negotiated wage agreement. Kuruvilla (2003: 5) notes that collective bargaining coverage has been considered an evaluation of bipartite industrial relations in countries where negotiation was usually executed at the workplace. Collective bargaining coverage has also been considered a measure of tripartite industrial relations in countries where negotiation was attained at the national level. This is a concrete measure of the real degree of social dialogue because it gives a quantifiable indicator of the number of workers actually covered by collective bargaining agreements. However, in many countries collective bargaining coverage does not represent the right to bargain. Kuruvilla (2003: 31) notes that collective bargaining coverage (even if measuring the force of trade union activity in the workplace) does not estimate the quality of collective agreements.

The two social dialogue indicators of union density and collective bargaining coverage should be used carefully. Hepple (2003: 19–20) noted that in industrialized countries, union density and collective bargaining coverage have dramatically declined and that the employment contract has lost much of its analytical value because paid work is increasingly performed outside conventional employment relationships.

It is also important to note that in cases where workers are allowed to form and/or join organizations and to bargain collectively, there are often requirements and restrictions in national legislation which restrict their movements. In general, collective bargaining agreements (and that implies collective bargaining negotiations) are concluded in sectors and enterprises where there is a significant number of permanent workers. Thus, these agreements usually defend the rights and concerns of permanent workers, whereas those of daily, temporary or seasonal workers (typically the majority of workers in the construction sector) are often not considered.

Strikes and lockouts

Chernyshev (2003: 2) noted that one measure of the failure of social dialogue is the utilization of strikes or lockouts. As he observed, the ILO Resolution concerning statistics of strikes, lockouts and other action due to labour disputes gives the following definitions:

- A strike is a temporary work stoppage effected by one or more groups of workers with a view to enforcing or resisting demands or expressing grievances, or supporting other workers in their demands or grievances.
- A lockout is a total or partial temporary closure of one or more places of employment, or the hindering of the normal work activities of employees, by one or more employers with a view to enforcing or resisting demands or expressing grievances, or supporting other employers in their demands or grievances.

Industrial action – strikes and lockouts – could consequently be the most important characteristic of social dialogue, in terms of media coverage and public impact. At the same time, in some cases the deficiency of strikes (and lockouts) can signify the absence of the right to strike (or lockout) and/or a fragile social dialogue. In order to be able to compare international measures of strikes and lockouts, Chernyshev presented the 'rate of days not worked per 1000 employees' as the most useful indicator. Usually, this threshold is determined in terms of the number of workers involved, the length of the dispute, the number of days lost, or a combination of all or some of these measures. Nevertheless, Kuruvilla (2003: 32) also notes that it is important to use these indicators carefully because the absence of strikes and lockouts will not necessarily mean a positive interpretation of social dialogue.

According to the ILO (LABORSTA), in 2004, five strikes and lockouts were registered in Peru in the construction sector out of a total of 107 strikes and lockouts in the entire economy. During the same period, 11 strikes and lockouts were recorded in Algeria in the construction sector out of 35 for all sectors. Even if this data does not give any details about the exact number of days not worked, it does give an idea of the great number of strikes and lockouts in these countries.

Degree of participation in decision-making
 Another feature of social dialogue suggested by Ghai (2002: 28) concerns workers' participation in the running of their enterprise, whether in the formal or informal economy. Workers' participation can

consist of a broad range of factors, varying from representation on the governing boards and executive committees to playing an active role in the management of training by occupational health and safety committees. The degree of participation in decision-making processes can be understood by studying labour laws, institutions, procedures and practices existing in each country.

• Participation at the national level

In this case, we refer to direct participation in policy formulation and implementation using various measures, such as the representation of different social and economic groups on ministerial committees. According to Ghai (2002: 29), there are no simple indicators to measure the degree or efficiency of social dialogue at the national level. The degree of participation in decision-making suggests that it is important to analyze the laws, institutions, procedures and powers of consultative bodies and then their actual performance.

It is also important to highlight the significant role of the state in facilitating and promoting all forms of social dialogue, 'creating the overall environment within which contributions of workers, employers and other concerned civil society groups are elicited and reflected in policy outcomes' (ILO, 2003c: 70).

2.6 Synthesis

This chapter has presented a broad set of decent work indicators based on the four main components of decent work. The primary objective has been to select indicators that would be easy to measure in all countries. However, we recommend that these indicators are adapted to the specific conditions and customs of each country, city and economic sector, in order to be more precise. Whenever possible, additional indicators of decent work should also be considered to give a broader view. Initially, the idea was to find a set of indicators with no ranking between them. Ideally, they should all have the same weighting as all the different indicators are measuring a precise characteristic of one of the four components of decent work. We acknowledge that in some situations, some indicators might be more complicated to calculate and monitor. For that reason, we have proposed to use qualitative information as well, in order to complete, and sometimes to confirm, the available quantitative data.

For the case studies presented in this book, we have suggested some indicators from the list in this chapter which are more pertinent for the construction sector. Thus, the selected indicators presented in Table 2.1 have also been classified and listed according to the four key components of decent work: employment, social security, workers rights and social dialogue.

Table 2.1 Indicators of decent work adapted to the construction sector

I Indicators of employment

- 1 Unemployment rates 1990–2000¹
- 1.1 Unemployment rate in all sectors at the national level
- 1.2 Unemployment rate in all sectors at the city level
- 1.3 Unemployment rate in the construction sector at the national level
- 1.4 Unemployment rate in the construction sector at the city level
- 2 Low wage rates 1990-2000²
- 2.1 Low wage rate in all sectors at the national level
- 2.2 Low wage rate in all sectors at the city level
- 2.3 Low wage rate in the construction sector at the national level
- 2.4 Low wage rate in the construction sector at the city level
- 3 Safety at work 1990–2000³
- 3.1 Working days lost owing to accidents in the workplace per 100,000 wage earners in all sectors at the national level
- 3.2 Working days lost owing to accidents in the workplace per 100,000 wage earners in all sectors at the city level
- 3.3 Working days lost owing to accidents in the workplace per 100,000 wage earners in the construction sector at the national level
- 3.4 Working days lost owing to accidents in the workplace per 100,000 wage earners in the construction sector at the city level
- 4 Hours of work, 1990-20004
- 4.1 Hours of work in all sectors at the national level
- 4.2 Hours of work in all sectors at the city level
- 4.3 Hours of work in the construction sector at the national level
- 4.4 Hours of work in the construction sector at the city level
- 5 Legislation on working conditions 1990-2000

Factual evidence on national legislation concerning paid holidays, hours of work per week, remuneration of overtime, night work, shift work and hygiene/comfort in the work place should be analyzed. The same information should be compiled for cities, because specific legislation could have been introduced by the local authority to deal with some or all of these working conditions. In addition, legislation which is specific to the construction sector should be analyzed for both the national and city levels.

6 Employment and informal sector 1990-2000

When data concerning the indicators of employment in the construction sector (unemployment rate, low wage rate, safety at work and hours of work) is available for the informal sector, it must be presented.

Il Indicators of social security

- 7 Public social security coverage rate 1990–2000⁵
- 7.1 Social security coverage rate in all sectors at the national level
- 7.2 Social security coverage rate in all sectors at the city level
- 7.3 Social security coverage rate in the construction sector at the national level
- 7.4 Social security coverage rate in the construction sector at the city level

(Continued)

Table 2.1 (Continued)

- 8 Old age pensions 1990-2000⁶
- 8.1 Old age pension coverage rate in all sectors at the national level
- 8.2 Old age pension coverage rate in all sectors at the city level
- 8.3 Old age pension coverage rate in the construction sector at the national level
- 8.4 Old age pension coverage rate in the construction sector at the city level
- 9 Social protection for workers 1990–2000

Factual evidence about national legislation concerning the legal age of retirement and paid sick leave, in both the public and the private sectors in 1990 and 2000 should be analyzed.

- It is also important to know whether there are workers' associations or cooperatives and NGOs that contribute in some way to promoting social security. The specific characteristics of the construction sector at both the national and city levels should be analyzed.
- 10 Social security and informal sector 1990-2000

When data concerning the indicators of social security in the construction sector (social security coverage rate and old age pensions) is available for the informal sector, it must be presented.

III Indicators of workers' rights

- 11 Wage inequality between genders 1990–2000⁷
- 11.1 Wage inequality between men and women in all sectors at the national level
- 11.2 Wage inequality between men and women in all sectors at the city level
- 11.3 Wage inequality between men and women in the construction sector at the national level
- 11.4 Wage inequality between men and women in the construction sector at the city level
- 12 Wage inequality according to workers' places of birth 1990-20008
- 12.1 Wage inequality between natives and foreigners in all sectors at the national level
- 12.2 Wage inequality between natives and foreigners in all sectors at the city level
- 12.3 Wage inequality between natives and foreigners in the construction sector at the national level
- 12.4 Wage inequality between natives and foreigners in the construction sector at the city level
- 13 Child labour 1990-20009
- 13.1 Child labour rate for all sectors at the national level
- 13.2 Child labour rate for all sectors at the city level
- 14 Legislation on workers' rights 1990-2000

Factual evidence on national legislation or legally binding conventions that outlaw discrimination against workers (owing to age, health status or nationality) should be stressed. The same information should be compiled for cities, because specific legislation could have been introduced by the local authority to deal with some or all of these workers rights. Legislation which is specific to the construction sector should also be analyzed for both the national and city levels.

15 Workers' rights and informal sector 1990-2000

When data concerning the indicators of workers' rights in the construction sector (wage inequality between genders, wage inequality according to workers' places of birth and child labour) is available for the informal sector, it must be presented.

Table 2.1 (Continued)

IV Indicators of social dialogue

- 16 Union density rates 1990-2000¹⁰
- 16.1 Union density rate in all sectors at the national level
- 16.2 Union density rate in all sectors at the city level
- 16.3 Union density rate in the construction sector at the national level
- 16.4 Union density rate in the construction sector at the city level
- 17 Collective bargaining coverage rates 1990-2000¹¹
- 17.1 Collective bargaining coverage rate for all sectors at the national level
- 17.2 Collective bargaining coverage rate for all sectors at the city level
- 17.3 Collective bargaining coverage rate for the construction sector at the national level
- 17.4 Collective bargaining coverage rate for the construction sector at the city level
- 18 Legislation on social dialogue 1990–2000
- Factual evidence on national legislation or any legal framework concerning social dialogue (union density rights, collective bargaining rights, right to strike, etc.) should be stressed. The same information should be compiled for cities, because specific legislation could have been introduced by the local authority to deal with some or all of these social dialogue rules. Legislation which is specific to the construction sector should also be analyzed for both the national and city levels.
- 19 Social dialogue and informal sector 1990-2000
- When data concerning the indicators of social dialogue in the construction sector (union density rate, collective bargaining coverage and/or others) is available for the informal sector, it must be presented.
- ¹ Calculated by measuring the proportion of the working age population unable to find work.
- Measured by the number of employed persons earning less than half the median wage at the national level. For city levels, the low wage rate could also be based on the national level.
- 3 It is recommended to use wage employment as the denominator in order to facilitate comparisons between sectors and between cities.
- ⁴ Calculated by measuring the proportion of wage earners working more than 48 hours a week.
- ⁵ Calculated by measuring the proportion of all employed persons of the working age population insured against the risks of unemployment and sick leave.
- ⁶ Calculated by measuring the proportion of people aged 65 or over without pension coverage.
- ⁷ Measured by the wage ratio between the median male wage and the median female wage.
- 8 Measured by the wage ratio between the median wage for natives and the median wage for foreigners. Can be completed or replaced by the wage inequality between local and national workers, depending on the case analyzed, for all four indicators.
- ⁹ Measured by the proportion of children between 10 and 14 not attending school. In this case, it may be difficult to find information concerning only the construction sector.
- Calculated by measuring the proportion of all employed persons (in the private and public sectors) of the working age population members of a trade union. In this case, if possible, data should be distinguished for private and public sectors.
- Calculated by measuring the proportion of all employed persons ((in the private and public sectors) of the working age population covered by a collectively negotiated wage agreement. In this case, if possible, data should be distinguished for private and public sectors.

Notes

Chapter opening image: Construction worker at a building site in Jordan. Photograph courtesy of J. Maillard, ILO.

- (1) 'Employment opportunities' opportunities for work; 'unacceptable work' and 'decent hours' work in conditions of freedom; 'adequate earning and productive work' productive work; 'fair treatment in employment', 'balancing work and family life', and 'social dialogue and workplace relations' equity and dignity at work; 'safe work environment', 'social protection', 'stability and security of work' security at work.
- (2) There is no international definition of the working hours threshold, so this can be defined on a country by country basis.
- (3) http://laborsta.ilo.org
- (4) http://www.iess.gov.ec (consulted February 2009).
- (5) http://rightweb.irc-online.org

3 Local Authorities and the Construction Industry

Mariana Paredes Gil and Edmundo Werna



This chapter begins with a discussion on the concept of decent work in the context of urban areas in developing countries. Next, the chapter analyzes the evolution and new roles of local authorities in a globalizing economy during a period when decentralization has been promoted. The subsequent section analyzes the labour aspects of the construction industry. The chapter then brings together the themes raised in the previous sections by analyzing the role of local authorities in promoting decent work in the construction sector.

3.1 Decent work in urban areas

Cities and towns are not merely places to live, but also places to work. Given the magnitude and rapidity of urbanization, a crucial challenge is to create more and better quality employment in urban settlements. Work is mainly and often the only way to avoid urban poverty. Urban areas are places of opportunity and have provided jobs for enormous numbers of rural migrants and urban-born residents. However, in the developing world the expansion of urban populations is outpacing employment opportunities and urban areas need to be more efficient in creating decent jobs.

The ILO report *Global Employment Trends 2005* points out that there are 184 million people in the world who do not have jobs. This number increases to at least one billion if underemployed people are taken into account. Over the next ten years, the ILO estimates that 500 million people will join the world's job markets, most of them young people in developing countries. They will join the 184 million unemployed and the 550 million working poor, all wanting to use their talents and abilities in a productive and gainful way. Therefore, a large number of jobs must be provided by the end of this decade, simply to employ all those entering the labour market. This would require not only improved economic growth, but also policies and programs to increase the impact of this on opportunities for decent and productive work. The inability of cities and towns to productively absorb the influx of urban workers and generate enough quality jobs has led to rising levels of poverty and insecurity.

At the same time, cities and local governments have a number of comparatively advantageous areas for employment creation, although these are often misunderstood or poorly exploited. A large number of people have to resort to informal employment and many work in precarious conditions. Many in the informal economy are working long hours for low pay without any form of representation or social protection – often in dangerous, and sometimes violent and illegal activities.

Apart from a number of publications produced, notably by the ILO (which can be classified as 'grey literature'), publications on urban development scarcely analyze decent work in urban areas, and can be described as if 'urban analysts "have entered the city through the house

and the bathroom", i.e. through housing and residential infrastructure, rather than through the place of work and the market' (Miller & Cohen, 2008: 4).

However, there are some notable exceptions, which will be analyzed below. In addition, a number of contributions approach aspects of decent work, although without reference to this broad concept. They will also be analyzed below. This section will show that the role of local authorities has been mentioned but has not received the in-depth analysis it deserves. Prominent exceptions include two articles by members of the research team which produced the present book (Lawrence *et al.*, 2008; Paredes Gil *et al.*, 2008).

3.1.1 Employment dimension

The following paragraphs present a general analysis of the key components for the employment dimension of decent work in the specific context of working conditions in urban areas.

Employment generation

By far the bulk of the urban literature dealing with labour issues concentrates only on employment generation. Many publications which analyze urban economy broadly have also brought to light the issue of employment generation across different sectors. Apart from these publications, traditionally there has been a focus on the informal sector, self-employment and on small-scale enterprises, with particular emphasis on the populations of low-income settlements. The construction industry is frequently mentioned for its employment-generating role (UNCHS-ILO, 1985; Werna, 2001). The ILO has contributed with a number of publications, including a comprehensive report (ILO, 1996) for the World Summit on Human Settlements held in Istanbul, 1996. Other publications referring to specific aspects of employment generation significant to urban areas include, for example, the informal sector (Musiolek, 2002) and community contract (Tournée & van Esch, 2001).

The literature in urban development has also often used the concept of livelihoods, which interfaces with employment generation (Rakodi & Lloyd-Jones, 2002). However, it is important to bear in mind that, 'livelihoods' and 'decent work' are not the same thing. Livelihoods include some aspects of employment creation but also issues related to other subjects, such as land and nutrition; in essence it has a *community-centred approach*. Decent work includes a comprehensive view of employment generation and is linked to the other aspects of the 'world of work'. It has a *labour-centred approach*. Nonetheless, the urban livelihoods literature has contributed to the understanding of income generation.

One important set of publications usually linked to livelihoods (although sometimes to income generation specifically), is those dealing with

assets. The importance of assets has been widely promoted by the World Bank. Types of assets include human, social, physical, natural and financial capital. This analysis is understandably important from a decent work perspective, as it focuses on the types of capital necessary for a person to generate income. Apart from a number of authors (mostly related to or influenced by the World Bank) who have a more holistic approach to assets, contributors to urban development studies have usually paid attention to physical capital. For example, the role of housing as a basis for employment – such as home-based enterprises and the role of housing for rest and recuperation of workers, etc. (Werna, 2000). This echoes the earlier quotation from Miller & Cohen (2008: 4), that urban analysts 'have entered the city through the house and the bathroom'.

Literature on what can be regarded as physical capital continues to be produced, such as the in-depth analysis by Tipple (2005) about home-based enterprises in cities in the developing world. Majale (2008), in turn, provides a recent analysis from the perspective of decent work by linking employment creation to urban planning in Kenya.

Since the mid-1990s, there have been a growing number of urban studies dealing with social capital. Several studies have identified a link between social capital and economic growth in developing countries, including income generation. Krishna & Uphoff (1999), for example, found a positive relationship between levels of social capital (as measured by informal networks and mutual support) and the performance of settlements with a watershed conservation and development program in India. Narayan (1997) found a link between involvement in voluntary associations and household welfare in Tanzania. Bazan & Schmitz (1997) carried out an in-depth study in the town of Dois Irmaos in Southern Brazil which highlighted a strong association between the development of the local industrial community and their stock of social capital. Both UNV (2001) and Werna (2000) provide a broad analysis of the role of social capital in urban development, with implications for employment generation. A more recent contribution related to decent work is by Mitra (2008), who focuses on the importance of social capital for generating or improving employment based on data from New Delhi, India, with special attention to migrant workers and the informal sector. This contribution also includes an analysis of the construction industry and highlights its importance.

Two other recent publications on employment generation – beyond the assets approach in general and in the specific realm of social capital in particular – are Kantor (2008) and Miller & Cohen (2008). The first contribution focuses on income generation via employment diversification in Kabul, Afghanistan, and includes an analysis of social protection, another key component of decent work. Miller & Cohen (2008) wrote an ILO contribution to the Cities Alliance (an initiative of the World Bank, UN-Habitat and other partners). This text includes a broader rage of elements of employment generation following the decent work concept. Miller &

Cohen (2008) also emphasize the role of the construction industry as a generator of employment in urban areas. However, while local authorities have been mentioned in Miller & Cohen (2008) and indeed in other papers noted before, they did not receive attention as a distinct subject of analysis.

Contributions on urban development have placed an emphasis on the role employment generation plays in urban poverty reduction. However, while it is important to create jobs for newcomers or those who are unemployed, there are a large number of people already in the urban labour market experiencing other types of decent work deficits. This also has an impact on urban poverty. Therefore, it is also essential to address the other aspects of decent work.

Employment conditions

Inadequate working conditions still abound in urban areas. For instance, the ILO (2006e) notes that the figures for health problems and accidents across different sectors of urban work are still high, especially for the majority of developing countries. Many publications within the urban development literature mention the existence of poor working conditions in general, but without an in-depth analysis. One exception specifically related to health is the literature on healthy cities promoted by the World Health Organization and its corresponding Health Cities project. Health Cities includes a perspective on 'health in the workplace' which overlaps with the occupational health and safety perspective but also includes a settings approach. This has helped to highlight aspects of the employment conditions of urban workers (Barten *et al.*, 2006; Werna *et al.*, 1998).

Recently, Barten *et al.* (2008) provided a broad review of occupational health and safety in urban areas, with particular attention to informal workers. While the ILO has produced many publications on occupational health and safety, as well as other aspects of employment conditions, the urban context has not gained attention as a predominant locality of analysis. There are a few urban-related papers providing data on specific places.

3.1.2 Social protection

Today, many urban workers do not have access to an adequate system of social security, including health care, pay for holidays and protection against loss of pay when they are unable to work due to unemployment, ill-health, accidents or old age. Lack of social protection is a major cause of urban poverty, especially – but not only – for those who work in the informal sector. Living and working conditions expose workers to risks on a daily basis and these go beyond occupational health and safety. Risks of

illness, disability, accidents and premature death are high when there is no clean water or proper sanitation, when there is exposure to fire and flood, dangerous electrical wiring, casual use of toxic substances, dehumanizing working conditions, overcrowding, crime and substance abuse.

Exposure to these multiple risks is high and people living and working in low-income settlements are the least protected. The quality of health care is lowest in the areas where they live and work. Emergency services, such as fire brigades, are virtually absent in these settlements. Awareness campaigns and subsidies for safety measures often do not reach the working poor. Therefore, the poor work hard to survive, but without social protection. Should one income earner in the household be injured or become sick, the household can fall into absolute poverty, child labour or debt bondage.

In response to their vulnerability, poor people in cities have at times mobilized their resources and organized their own risk defence through mutual health protection or community surveillance. The coverage and benefits of these schemes remain limited by the poverty of their members. Also, these are proving woefully unequal to the challenge raised by the HIV/AIDS epidemic (which could be an occupational health issue but in many cases is not related to the workplace). HIV/AIDS threatens the livelihood of many workers and those families, communities and enterprises that depend on them.

The urban development literature has generally neglected the above issues, perhaps with the exception of some analysis of the HIV/AIDS situation in urban areas. The ILO has produced a number of publications which provide data on social protection in urban areas (ILO, 2008a; 2008b). A contribution by Frota (2008) provides a broad coverage of the topic and explains the importance of decent work in combating urban poverty and exclusion.

3.1.3 Workers' rights

Informal workers in urban areas are particularly at risk because their relation with employers as well as the government is not regulated. Therefore, it is difficult or impossible for them to demand rights. Migrant workers are also often at risk because they have to get by with unacceptable working conditions in order to survive in a foreign city. Child labour is also a harsh reality which deserves special attention because of the moral imperative and, in addition, because it impacts on future adults. Today, with rapid urbanization, rising poverty and a growing number of children orphaned by the HIV/AIDS epidemic, young people are increasingly vulnerable to exploitation in illegal, underground and hazardous activities. In addition to these direct impacts, child labour undermines education, which is a prerequisite for children and youth to find decent and

productive work later in life. The ILO estimated that in 2000 there were approximately 186 million child workers under the age of 15, with about 110 million under the age of 12¹.

Children working in cities tend to come from poor families. They work mainly in manufacturing, trade and domestic services. In all three sectors, they work long hours for low wages. Where traditional social regulation (apprenticeships) is not in operation, they are completely without protection. On the streets or on waste dumps, which are home and workplace for so many, they can be seen sorting rubbish, carrying loads and surviving any way they can. Girls, who are mainly in domestic service, are exposed to physical, psychological or sexual abuse from their employers.

As already mentioned, the informal sector has been a predominant object of analysis in the literature which deals with employment generation in urban areas. A number of publications have also highlighted the plight of informal workers in relation to their rights. However, there is no consensus in sight regarding a comprehensive solution. Recommendations range from those who advocate formalization of the informal sector to those who advocate that it should simply not be discriminated against; that if 'left alone', it will thrive. One way or another, there is a message regarding the need to respect the rights of informal workers.

In parallel, the literature on gender and (urban) development, which has grown steadily since the 1980s, has repeatedly analyzed issues relating to deficits in the rights of female workers. It has highlighted the fact that women are worse off than men and that this type of gender inequality needs to be addressed. A number of recent papers highlight the plight of women in the urban labour market, for example Mitra (2008), Majale (2008) and Kantor (2008) among others.

Working children have also been the subject of much attention, being one aspect of a broad analysis of the plight of children in cities and towns. This analysis also included other issues, such as housing and homelessness, health, violence and education, etc. (Christensen & O'Brien, 2003; Werna et al., 1999). Some contributions that address working children from an urban labour perspective come from Barten et al. (2008), Bourdillon (2006), Kantor (2008) and Srinivas (2008). There seems to be some consensus that working children are a very serious problem, in need of being addressed. The role of many actors as part of the solution has been mentioned – from government (both central and local) to NGOs, private sector actors, communities, religious institutions and others. A definite solution does need a concerted effort owing to the complex set of causes that generate this social problem.

There has been less attention related to urban migrants, although they constitute a large and particularly important group of workers; their key issues concern rights and working conditions. There are many papers on migrant workers in general but these lack an urban perspective. Others have a sector-based focus – including the construction sector – but again,

without an urban perspective. One notable exception is Klink (2008), who notes that the literature on the relationship between the international migration of workers and development lacks a perspective specific to urban areas. His contribution analyzes this issue and makes recommendations for a research agenda. Other papers include references to migrant workers in urban areas using a broader analysis, such as Srinivas (2008).

3.1.4 Social dialogue

The low level of organization among the majority of urban workers – especially, although not only, in the informal economy – is a major cause of concern. Socially viable cities cannot exist without the involvement and fair representation of the majority of urban workers in decisions that affect them.

Social dialogue includes participation. However, the bulk of the literature on participation in urban areas focuses on low-income communities. It dates back to the 1960s with the pioneering work of John Turner (Turner, 1967; 1968; 1977; Turner & Fichter, 1972). Today, this subject is represented by a large volume of publications (Viloria-Williams, 2006; World Bank, 2005b). It is a consolidated approach which has been, and continues to be, widely used by both local and international actors.

Participatory approaches have brought benefits for low-income communities, leading to the physical upgrading of their settlements as well as to the improvement of social services, including educational and health facilities. They have also helped local authorities and other stakeholders to better understand the needs of low-income communities. However, these approaches have been limited in the promotion of decent work.

Since the 1990s, the importance of a city-wide participatory approach has been acknowledged. For example, the concept of 'participatory budgets', pioneered by the city of Porto Alegre in Brazil, has been debated around the World. This approach is applied in many municipalities in different (developing and also some developed) countries. It is promoted by international organizations such as UN-Habitat. However, this kind of approach has been limited in relation to the promotion of decent work issues.

Both community-based and city-wide participatory approaches have brought some labour-related benefits, especially regarding employment generation in the context of small enterprises and self-employed producers. While this is commendable, there are many other issues which need to be addressed in order to achieve decent work in urban areas. For example, a large number of workers still lack the basic elements of social protection and/or respect of their rights. These are important issues for reducing urban poverty, yet are seldom addressed in participatory processes.

Two recent papers have attempted to address this gap, using a broad view on city-wide social dialogue (Van Empel, 2008; Van Empel & Werna,

2008). While different forms of social dialogue have been extensively used by the ILO and other institutions to promote decent work, these contributions explain that city-wide social dialogue is still developing. They argue that social dialogue has a potential to benefit different stakeholders, with some illustrations from different places around the world.

Williams (2007) wrote a paper which provides a complementary perspective to the above. It focuses on how the ILO official constituents – associations of unionized workers and formal enterprises, as well as central governments – could engage in a participatory process together with informal workers and low-income communities. Other actors, such as cooperatives and local governments, are also included in the picture. Again, the construction industry is mentioned for its employment generating potential. However, it was beyond the scope of the paper to provide an in-depth analysis of the role of local authorities.

Another important paper, by Jason (2008), focuses on the process of social dialogue in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Jason presents a concrete case study of how the informal construction workers organized themselves and have benefited from such a process.

All the abovementioned types of social dialogue provide important participatory platforms for improving the generation of employment and quality of work in urban areas.

3.1.5 Cross-cutting analyses

There are two key ILO papers which present a broad view of decent work in urban areas (ILO, 2004a; ILO 2006e). The first provides useful data in different aspects of decent work and highlights some actions taken to address the existing deficits. The second is a recent summarized presentation of an ILO strategy in urban areas.

With reference to the above papers, Werna (2008) presents decent work in his introduction to a special issue of the journal *Habitat International*, which focuses on urban labour. Most of the papers included in this special issue address specific aspects of decent work and have been mentioned before in this chapter. Three papers with a broader perspective are Srinivas (2008), Lawrence *et al.* (2008) and Paredes Gil *et al.* (2008). Srinivas links the international scene (e.g. globalization and international trade) to the local economy, dove-tailing into concrete illustrations from one country (India), one city (Bangalore) and one sector of the urban economy (construction). The joint paper by Lawrence *et al.* (2008) focuses on indicators of decent work, whilst Paredes Gil *et al.* (2008) brings the discussion to the specific context of Santo André (Brazil).

The literature in this chapter includes many accounts of decent work deficits. Hence, a fundamental question is why urban workers face so many problems. As Werna (2008) notes, there is still probably not enough attention being paid to urban labour. This is reinforced by the traditional,

but still current, notion that the answer lies in rural economic development, which per se would bring the urban poor back to rural areas and address urban poverty. This proposal may not be shared by urban planners, but still prevails among professionals in many other fields that do influence what happens in cities and towns. Many also share the idea that it is through policies of the Ministry of Labour at the national level that change can occur. This may be true, but only partially. Of course not all problems can be addressed by urban policies. For example, much depends also on economic growth and a stable political environment in each country. Nonetheless, policy decision-makers with a stake in urban development can and should make a difference. Many papers presented above highlight the role of local authorities. Yet such authorities still deserve a specific focus of attention.

3.2 Local authorities

Decentralization has become a major concept and trend throughout the world, especially during the 1990s, with significant implications for local authorities. In particular, local authorities play a strong role in the construction sector and related services, either via the direct execution of public works and/or in some form of partnership with the private sector. At the same time, as already noted, decent work continues to be a crucial issue, particularly in developing and transition countries.

This section of the chapter is based on an analysis prepared by Klink (2006) as a foundation for the research which generated the present book. In short, Klink noted that, although a lot of theoretical and empirical work has been undertaken, the role of local authorities in generating decent work has been largely ignored.

3.2.1 Evolution of the role of cities in the global economy

An important trend observed in recent decades is the new territorial and competitive role of cities in the global economy: local stakeholders, instead of passively depending on macro-economic and micro-economic forces in movements related to globalization, have become increasingly concerned about the potential competitive advantages of large cities and metropolitan regions. This trend has grown in parallel to changes in overall macro-and micro-economic frameworks in Europe and the USA since the 1970s, and in many developing countries since the mid-1980s. As a result of this economic restructuring, cities and metropolitan areas have been increasingly engaged in new challenges related to local development and income and employment generation without depending exclusively on national initiatives.

Since the 1970s, national governments have increasingly retreated from traditional Keynesian-style, active macro-economic management policies aimed at full employment and income generation. Therefore, these policies have become difficult to implement. They have lost some of their effectiveness in the context of an increasingly deregulated international economy characterized by massive volatile flows of international financial capital. At the same time, the continuing tendency towards de-regularization and trade-liberalization has had impacts on the behaviour of companies, especially of those that have been operating within relatively protected domestic markets. Hence, these companies initiated a series of micro-economic adjustments aimed at managerial and technological modernization. These processes increased all levels of productivity, but they did not always create immediate positive effects on employment. Indeed, in many cities distinguished by relatively obsolete industrial structures, the increase in productivity and the shift away from industrial towards tertiary employment resulted in losses in the total number of those working in formal employment.

A great number of cities and metropolitan areas have been affected by the impact of macro- and micro-economic restructuring. The bottom line of experiences in different cities was to create the right conditions for internal development, taking advantages of the local skills available in each city. The essence of these experiences was the awareness that a productive mobilization of public and private actors and skills would permit the creative use of globalization, instead of becoming its passive victim. Simultaneously, it could also improve urban productivity and citizens' salaries, working conditions and quality of life.

A second point, underlined by Klink (2006), regarding the new role of cities and urban regions is related to their potential to encourage cooperation among local stakeholders through participatory processes. Klink notes that the nation state has been challenged: on the one hand, its macroeconomic apparatus has lost effectiveness in light of the size and instability of massive flows of financial capital at the global level. On the other hand, given the global transformation towards more democratic and diversified local communities, national authorities have lost out against local and metropolitan systems of governance that are closer to local constituencies. Considering the increase of the network society, local communities in urban areas would also have new ways and means to evade conventional national borders and networks. Today, they can exchange experiences on a global level.

In the specific case of developing countries, a gradual process towards decentralization has been observed. Additionally, an increasing number of cities and metropolitan regions in developing countries are experimenting with innovative tools of direct democracy, such as participatory budgeting, city visioning, cooperatives and strategic planning.

3.2.2 New roles for local authorities

As a consequence of ongoing changes to the role of cities within the national and international development context, the roles of local authorities and urban management are also changing. Klink highlights changes in the culture of urban management and the role of local authorities in the European and North American context since the 1970s. Three aspects are relevant.

First, local leaders are starting to incorporate new themes and change previously established priorities on policy agendas. Therefore, while the management of a set of urban services (such as housing, basic sanitation, health and education) does not disappear from the policy agenda, at the same time, issues like competitiveness, sustainable employment and income generation have gained strategic importance as a consequence of the national government's gradual retreat from these areas.

Second, there is an evolving international situation characterized by an increasing level of competition among cities which constrains local authorities to engage in innovative and area-based strategies for urban and economic revitalization. An increasing number of cities are beginning to adopt more flexible institutional arrangements and are willing to acquire new responsibilities. Klink (2006) underlines that there are many examples of this trend in Latin American countries, particularly where there are strong local governments.

Third, there is also a growing perception of new urban governance. Since the 1990s, local governments have launched democratic processes that enable many actors to participate in a multi-stakeholder society. This trend, noted by Helmsing (2001: 9–10), symbolizes a contrast with the previous custom, by which local authorities were considered as mere implementing agents, frequently without much participation from public and private stakeholders. The concept of governance involves negotiation processes through which a set of governmental and non-governmental actors (such as community based associations, public-private partnerships, labour unions, enterprises, etc.) work together for collective goods and policy-making. Additionally, the result of urban planning itself is shifting from comprehensive and detailed master plans towards more operational and area-based strategic plans elaborated and discussed with a wide range of stakeholders from the local community.

The ongoing shift in the culture of urban management and local governance has also become increasingly relevant for developing countries since the beginning of the 1990s, especially in Latin America. Thus, a growing number of cities are acquiring new responsibilities without formally being directly responsible for these domains. Having recognized the impossibility of acting as single service provider, many local authorities are accepting a 'new participatory framework that increasingly involves local actors in delivering services and building physical infrastructure' (ILO, 2004a: 21). With this new approach, local authorities have maintained a crucial role,

particularly in the establishment and implementation of a regulatory framework. For example, local authorities can define standards for infrastructure and construction, contracting processes and land regulations, as well as imposition for the private sector. Local authorities can also play an important role in articulating the needs of their cities and residents because they serve as their representatives at the national and international levels. Thus 'in this capacity, they need better access to policy-formulation at the higher level; they need to be involved in drawing up policies that will eventually affect them and the people they govern'. In addition, 'local authorities need to provide an enabling environment for local development, and in particular, to establish partnerships for employment creation' (ILO, 2004a: 21).

Klink (2006) notes that his review of the existing literature on the changing roles of cities and local authorities within national and international contexts enables some preliminary conclusions. In general, there is a lack of detailed studies on a decent work perspective within the traditional programs of local authorities in public works and other construction-related issues. However, ample references exist concerning the evolution of the role of local authorities within a globalizing economy. As a result, there have been original evaluations of local economic development and employment strategies in general (such as cooperatives, clusters, incubators and micro-finance, etc.). However, even within these evaluations, there is a lack of a decent work perspective concerning the role of local authorities and their tasks with respect to construction and related services.

Another finding of the literature review is the existence of empirical research concerning the role of local authorities as important actors in poverty alleviation strategies. Klink (2006) found that in Latin American countries that have implemented a strategic decentralized policy, local governments are concerned about establishing and implementing inclusive policies through safety nets, minimum income programs and other compensation plans targeted at the most vulnerable population groups.

In sum, this section has introduced the specific analysis of local authorities, which will now be complemented with an analysis of their role in the construction sector. However, it is important to provide an overview of the construction sector itself. This book also includes information on related services (utilities) for the reasons explained in the introduction. However, as the focus is mainly on the construction sector, the next section does not include an analysis of utilities. The subsequent section deals with both construction and utilities through the perspective of the role of local authorities.

3.3 The construction sector

In 2001, the ILO published a report on labour in construction. It was the basic document for the tripartite international meeting *The Construction*

Industry in the Twenty-first Century: Its Image, Employment Prospects and Skill Requirements, which involved representatives of workers and employers, as well as national governments. The report was a major undertaking, prepared by Jill Wells with contributions from many leading authors from around the globe (ILO, 2001c). Follow-up work carried out by the ILO on working conditions in the construction sector confirms that this report remains pertinent. For these reasons, the present section is based on data from this report.

3.3.1 The construction sector: definition and general characteristics

The construction sector produces a wide range of products, from individual houses to large buildings and major infrastructure, including roads, power plants and petrochemical complexes. In most countries output is roughly equally divided between housing, other buildings and civil engineering projects. Although attention is mostly focused on new construction, the renovation and maintenance of existing structures accounts for almost 50% of total construction output in some of the more developed economies and an even greater share of employment.

The enterprises engaged in construction activity are equally diverse. They range from self-employed individuals providing a service to private house owners in the local community to multinational firms operating on a global scale. However, the vast majority of enterprises involved in on-site construction are small and local. Despite much talk of 'globalization' and the existence of an international construction industry, more than 95% of construction activity is still undertaken by firms from within the country, region or neighbourhood.

In recent decades there has been a marked shift towards flexibility. There is an increasing tendency among enterprises in construction (as in other industries) to outsource the supply of goods and services required in the production process. Building materials, plant and equipment are generally purchased or hired from other enterprises. Specialized services are supplied by subcontractors, and labour by 'labour agents'. Design and engineering services are also provided by quite separate professional entities.

Wells (1986: 56) provided a list of five indicators by which the actual performance of the construction sector may be evaluated in any country:

- (1) The extent to which the construction projects in a country's development plan are actually implemented in the specified time.
- (2) The percentage of imports in the total construction output.
- (3) The degree of development of local skills and of local participation in contracting.
- (4) The extent of development of local building materials industries.

(5) The overall efficiency/productivity of the construction sector and the extent to which construction plans are implemented within the cost limits set.

Using these five indicators, it is possible to evaluate the relative weight and performance of the construction industry in a national economy, but not in terms of employment significance. This book includes a proposal for specific indicators on decent work in construction. The next section presents information on the labour characteristics of the sector.

3.3.2 Implications for decent work

The following sections explicitly address the implications of the contextual conditions of employment in the construction sector on the promotion of decent work using the diverse roles and responsibilities of local authorities.

Employment generation and conditions of work

The products of the construction industry are fixed in space, so production takes place on a project-by-project basis with the production site constantly moving. This implies that the labour force should also be mobile. The construction industry has a long tradition of employing migrant labour. During the process of economic development, work in construction provides a traditional point of entry to the labour force for migrant workers from the countryside. Construction work is often the only significant alternative to farm labour for those without any particular skill or education, and it has special importance for the landless.

When the pool of surplus labour from the countryside has been used, or there is a shortage of local labour for other reasons, labour may be recruited from overseas. Migrant construction workers are generally from less developed countries and lower wage economies with labour surpluses. Many European countries also rely heavily on migrant workers to fill jobs in the construction sector. Workers are from poorer countries in Europe or further afield (Turkey or Africa). Migrant labour is also significant in the countries of the Arabian Gulf, with small populations and large construction programs financed by revenue from petroleum markets. In the past decade, migration for work in construction has become a significant phenomenon in East Asia, where huge differentials in demographic characteristics and wages have led to a 'siphoning' of migrant workers from lower to higher wage economies.

Despite migration flows to richer countries, the majority of construction workers are still in developing countries. The distribution of construction employment is almost the exact reverse of that of output. While three-quarters of output is in developed countries, three-quarters of

employment is in the developing world. However, as many construction workers in these countries are informally employed, and therefore not counted in official data, the real number is much higher.

The reason for the greater employment-generating potential of construction activity in developing countries can be traced to differences in technology. There is a very wide choice of technology available for most types of construction and the technology adopted tends to reflect the relative cost of labour and capital. In the richer countries, where labour is expensive, machines have largely replaced workers in many of the tasks involved in new construction (although repair and maintenance is still very labour intensive). In developing countries, where labour is cheap, the majority of tasks are undertaken by manual methods with minimal use of machinery and equipment.

While construction has a large potential to generate jobs, instability of employment is one of the major problems the industry is facing. Fluctuations in demand, the project base of construction and the widespread use of the contracting system all conspire to make it difficult for contractors to obtain a steady flow of work which would allow them to provide continuity of employment. Hence, there is a constant friction between employers' needs for 'flexibility' and workers' needs for stable employment. It has become the norm for construction workers to be employed on a short-term basis, for the whole or part of a project. This implies no guarantee of future work. The number of casual and informal workers has greatly increased in both developing and developed countries.

In 'triangular employment relationships' (contractors – subcontractors and labour agents – workers), workers' rights are often unclear. Subcontracted workers may face less protection from the law than those who are directly employed. The same applies for the informal sector. This custom also imposes a considerable barrier for training in the industry. Spain is one good illustration because there has been a narrowing of the development of skilled labour there in recent decades. The heightened division of labour into ever more specialized trades, which is implicit in subcontracting, limits the range of skills that can be acquired in any one enterprise. This means that all-round craftsmen and general supervisory workers are very difficult to train. In many countries, the public sector used to provide stable employment and good ground for training, but its training role has diminished as public sector units have been disbanded.

Construction work is one of the most dangerous occupations in terms of health and safety. Data from a number of industrialized countries shows that construction workers are three to four times more likely than other workers to die from accidents at work. Many more suffer and die from occupational diseases arising from past exposure to dangerous substances, such as asbestos. In the developing world, the risks associated with construction work are much greater; available data would suggest three to six times greater. It is estimated that 95% of serious accidents involve workers

employed by subcontractors. Most of these workers are on temporary contracts, which in a context of fluctuating demand, encourages them to work long hours in order to make the most of work while it lasts. They are also less likely than workers on permanent contracts to gain the training and experience required to work safely in a dangerous working environment and are in a weaker position to refuse to work in unsafe conditions. A construction worker with a fixed-term contract is three times more likely to suffer an occupational accident than one with a permanent contract. Informal workers are also particularly vulnerable. While many formal workers still lack training in health and safety, this is even more prominent in the informal sector. However, the causes of health problems and accidents are well known, and almost all are preventable.

Social security

The increased recourse to casual and temporary work, as well as subcontracting all around the world in the past 30 years, has resulted in a significant reduction in the number of construction workers covered by social security schemes:

In some countries this has happened because temporary workers have been excluded from the provisions of labour legislation. In many more cases there is provision for temporary workers to receive benefits, but they are not claimed. There are also reports from a number of countries of total abuse, such as employers deducting contributions from wages but failing to forward them.

(ILO, 2001c: 35).

In general, 'temporary employment status means that the majority of construction workers enjoy little or no social protection (income security or social security)' (ILO, 2001c: 43).

There is evidence from many countries that employers do not pay into social security funds for workers who are on temporary contracts. Hence, the workers who are most in need receive no health care, no holiday pay and no protection against loss of pay when they are unable to work due to unemployment, ill health, accidents or old age.

Rights at work

Basic labour rights are frequently ignored in the construction industry. 'In many countries construction workers are excluded by law from joining trade unions because of their temporary employment status, because they are self-employed or because they are foreign' (ILO, 2001c: 43). Discrimination between workers on the basis of gender, place of birth and temporary or permanent contracts in the terms and conditions of employment

is common in both developing and developed countries. In regard to migrants specifically, while many countries have recognized their dependence on such workers and have attempted to regularize and control the process of migration for work in the construction industry, there are still many foreigners working illegally. These workers are extremely vulnerable to exploitation.

Social dialogue

Social dialogue with employers – and also with governments – has traditionally been a powerful mechanism for workers to bargain collectively for better wages and better working conditions. However, nowadays the vast numbers of temporary, casual, informal and unemployed workers find it very difficult to organize themselves and engage in social dialogue. Even worse, in some cases, the law does not allow temporary, self-employed or foreign workers to join trade unions. In general, in a large number of countries, 'both workers' and employers' organizations have been seriously weakened by the increased fragmentation of the industry. Collective bargaining has been undermined almost everywhere and collective agreements, where they exist, are applied to a small and decreasing proportion of the workforce' (ILO, 2001c: 30).

3.3.3 Recommendations for action

Given that the characteristics and trends of the construction industry that have generated the challenges and problems discussed in this chapter are likely to continue, it is important to discuss ways in which to address these challenges and problems. The following suggestions are also based on ILO (2001c).

There is evidence that the employment-generating potential of construction investment for some types of infrastructure may not have been fully realized. This stems from constraints in the planning and procurement of projects, as well as in the lack of capacity in the local construction industry, particularly in developing countries. In many of these countries, construction investment is at a very low level. The way forward is to expand the volume of output and employment in the sector, for example through the development of public-private partnerships and an appropriate choice of technology.

Innovative solutions should be considered regarding the training of workers. For instance, the training of master craftsmen to train young workers will improve the on-the-job apprenticeship system, as already shown in several countries. Another worthwhile way to supplement skills acquired through the apprenticeship system is to issue target groups with training vouchers, which they can spend according to their requirements.

This has been demonstrated, for example, in a project in Kenya. Also, the involvement of subcontractors, labour contractors and intermediaries in joint training schemes, with cost reimbursement, seems to be essential if these schemes are to be effective in meeting the real needs of the industry.

In terms of health and safety, in some countries it is still necessary to update the laws regulating this area. In many other countries, although appropriate laws are already in place, there is a problem of enforcement. By and large, there are never enough inspectors to police even the big sites, let alone the myriad of small ones. Corruption is also a problem in many places. The way forward is to change the role of labour inspectors to one of education and prevention, as opposed to inspection and prosecution. This is already being adopted in a number of countries, but should also be considered in several countries still lagging behind.

There have also been some experiments with safety cards. For example, the Construction Industry Development Board of Malaysia has pioneered a scheme to make every construction worker undergo a health and safety induction course. Each participant is issued with a green card. Those without the card would be barred from entering construction sites. Contractors who fail to send their workers to undergo the training have been threatened with blacklisting. Contractors for major projects are also required to send their management staff to attend the training course. A similar scheme is in operation in a number of developed countries, including Australia, Ireland and the United States. However, securing real improvement in occupational health and safety requires more than advice and training. To meet this challenge, many insurance initiatives have been applied in developed countries, which offer financial incentives to encourage employers to implement accident prevention strategies. For example, a lower annual premium if claims are reduced or a surcharge on excessively high levels of claims. Switzerland and Germany are examples of countries which use this kind of scheme, with significant advice and support offered to employers from the insurance providers.

An alternative that might be more appropriate in developing countries – where insurance schemes are not well developed – is to take the costs of health and safety measures out of competition by including them in the prime costs of a competitively tendered contract. Migrant workers comprise a significant share of construction workers in many countries. Therefore, they deserve special attention for inclusion in benefit schemes.

In terms of social security, where there are state insurance schemes that apply to permanent workers, attempts can be made to extend these to all workers. In many countries, however, a new approach may be required, with schemes specifically tailored to the needs of construction workers. In Australia, unions in the construction industry have responded to the prevalence of short-term employment by developing collective industry agreements at the state level for portable benefit systems. These schemes allow construction workers to accrue benefits on the basis of length of

service in the industry, rather than with a specific firm. The Government of the Republic of Korea, in turn, has recognized the special needs of construction workers, introducing a law which is a mutual aid project for retirement allowances. Some states in India have been operating a Construction Workers Welfare Board which is funded by a levy on all building works.

In terms of social dialogue, it is important to seek new roles for trade unions and other actors. In many countries, particular sections of the workforce are not allowed to organize themselves and therefore cannot join trade unions. This is often the case with migrant workers. When this happens, the existing trade unions should campaign to remove the legal restrictions, therefore allowing all workers to join the unions. It is also important for trade unions to secure positive improvements in collaboration with employers. In Canada, for example, there have been joint activities to raise the levels of safety, quality and productivity.

While trade unions are adopting new roles, other new organizations are joining in campaigning for workers. In India, for example, the National Campaign Committee on Central Legislation for Construction Workers has campaigned to procure better legislation to protect workers in the sector. There are also cases of informal construction workers who have organized themselves, such as in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

All these suggestions may help to improve labour conditions in the construction sector. However, not all labour problems in construction stem from the characteristics of the industry. For example, much also depends on economic growth and a stable political environment in each country. But many of the suggestions in this chapter are now within the legal reach of local governments. In addition, local governments may also promote other suggestions through their municipal programs and related activities. Whether and how this has taken place so far is analyzed in the next section of this chapter.

3.4 Local authorities and decent work in the construction sector and related services

This final section brings together local authorities and the construction industry, adding related services to the analysis. This section is also based on an analysis prepared by Klink (2006) as a foundation for the research which generated the present book.

Local authorities have increasingly assumed new roles beyond the mere management of urban services (such as housing, basic sanitation, education and health services). The entrepreneurial dimension of public urban management (as reflected in the rise of strategies and employment generation, local economic development and poverty alleviation) has become a prominent feature of the new urban agenda with local authorities. Nevertheless, there seems to be little evidence of how, at least at the local level, these managerial and entrepreneurial agendas reinforce and consolidate decent work programs, especially in the construction sector and related services.

The construction sector and related services are considered pertinent for the promotion of employment. In principle, the construction industry and related services constitute one of the major providers – and, in many instances, the primary provider – of work, particularly for unskilled or poor workers. In addition to direct employment on construction sites, the industry provides a large number of other jobs, such as in the production of building materials and equipment and post-construction maintenance. It is precisely for these reasons that it is important to analyze the construction sector and related services, and to evaluate the existing functions and responsibilities of local authorities in the promotion of decent work.

According to Radwan (1997), local authorities can play an important role in the promotion of employment and decent work in the construction sector and related services. First, local authorities can influence investment policies – especially in infrastructure and housing – in order to have a larger impact on employment creation and poverty alleviation: 'the investments that are of greatest benefit to the urban poor are all conducive to labour-intensive technologies – and hence job creation – and provide direct improvements to the urban environment' (Radwan, 1997: 323–324).

Second, the role of the urban informal sector should not be underestimated; local authorities should support it. Radwan stated that 'improving basic urban services and infrastructure provides one 'win-win' scenario that can improve incomes, productivity and working conditions in the urban informal sector' (Radwan, 1997: 324). Alliances between labour unions and informal sector associations should be encouraged in order to better organize and represent all types of urban workers. For this reason, Radwan (1997: 324) notes that there is a need for programs capable of providing 'basic social security, health care and urban services, [and which would] upgrade the physical working and living environment of the informal sector, improve productivity and incomes, and help the self-employed to organize and strengthen their bargaining power and be aware of their rights'. Decent work can also be promoted at the urban informal sector level under these conditions.

A third aspect is the development of alliances at the local level for greater employment and the promotion of decent work. Radwan (1997) notes that local governments 'have to increasingly forge partnerships with the private sector, employers and workers' organizations, different levels of government, and nongovernmental and community based organizations' (Radwan, 1997: 325).

The following paragraphs present some existing approaches that promote decent work using interactions between local governments and other relevant actors as participants in the promotion of employment policies. The first approach concerns partnerships between local actors and the

private sector. Through privatization and changes in their procurement regulations, local authorities provide new market opportunities for the whole private sector, including local business. Nevertheless, local authorities have to be careful and implement appropriate policies, regulations and incentives in order to ensure the effective promotion of employment respecting the rights of workers and conditions in the workplace, as well as the other dimensions of decent work. The ILO (2004a: 24) noted that care should be taken to guarantee that this does not enhance the vulnerability of workers or working conditions. In some cases, privatization has been used by local authorities as a way to reduce costs. However, sometimes 'workers engaged ... by private companies, may be subject to poor working conditions, long hours and sub-standard wages; they may have no proper contract of employment and no social security benefits.'

The second approach is known as community contracting. One example of this approach is briefly presented in Box 3.1. This example of the Kalerwe experience shows how a local authority can provide technical support and create an enabling environment for community contracting in urban infrastructure. In general, local authorities can help communities to organize themselves and to become actors in employment promotion, often in infrastructure works. As noted by ASIST-Africa, 'the main aim of community contracts is to actively involve communities in the planning and implementation of construction activities. In a community contract, the community or community groups are always the implementer or contractor' (Tournée & van Esch, 2001: 34). According to the ILO, 'community contracts have been used for urban infrastructure construction and maintenance and for the delivery of public services' (ILO, 2004a: 26). Nonetheless, 'community contracts need a conducive environment and it is therefore important to enhance the capacity of local authorities to anticipate needs, design works, manage contracts and work in partnership with community groups' (ILO, 2004a: 37).

Box 3.1 Kalerwe: a community contract experience, Uganda

Kalerwe is a low-lying unplanned settlement in Kampala, Uganda, where the inadequate drainage network resulted in severe flooding during the rainy seasons. In addition to damage to property, living conditions became very unhygienic due to the overflow of latrines and the mixing of water with uncollected rubbish. The existing primary drain and four secondary drains were not functional. This situation provided a breeding ground for mosquitoes and the site was used as dumping ground for all kinds of waste, thus leading to an increased incidence of water-borne diseases.

Resident Committees (RC) and the Kampala City Council (KCC) were well aware that the solution to the flood problem would be the

construction of a main drain. As there was high unemployment and the drain had to be constructed through a densely populated area, it was decided that labour-based methods and community contracts would be the most appropriate way to implement the works. The Kalerwe Community Based Drainage Upgrading Project was carried out from April 1993 to March 1994, after which time project management was delegated to the community.

The funding agencies for this project were UNDP, the Government of Uganda, the Kampala City Council (staff and office facilities) and Kalerwe residents (labour). Technical service was provided by the ILO. The funds were channelled through a Project Management Team (PMT) which signed community contracts with Local Project Committees (LPCs). These committees included community members living in a certain area of the Kalerwe settlement. The community contract was assigned to that LPC representing the area the drain was crossing at the time. The community contracts were labour only contracts, and the procurement of material and equipment was carried out by the PMT. The primary drainage channel (2.4 km) was treated as major works. Therefore no community contribution towards construction costs occurred. The secondary channels (1.4 km), considered minor works, involved a direct community contribution of 33% of the total labour costs.

The notable issues in this contract were:

- Although the community was involved in the planning and design, it did not have full control. The capacity building of the community in initiating and planning these types of works was a minor aspect of the project.
- The community as contractor (local project committees) was only responsible for the labour input. There was a clear task division between the Project Management Team (contracting authority) and the contractor (the local project committees).
- The works were carried out effectively and efficiently. However, maintenance has been a problem. During project implementation it was envisaged that maintenance on the main storm water drain would be carried out with decentralized government funds and implemented under community contracts. However, the decentralized government funds were not available directly after the completion of the infrastructure and maintenance has only taken place in an ad hoc manner.

Sources: Tournée & van Esch (2001) Community Contracts in Urban Infrastructure Works: Practical Lessons from Experience. Advisory Support, Information Services and Training for Employment-Intensive Infrastructure Development (ASIST-Africa), International Labour Office, Geneva, pp. 23–25.

The third approach is based on local economic development (LED), which is 'a process of participatory planning through partnerships between local government, the business community and the civil society' (ILO, 2004a: 26). LED intends to recognize and realize strategies for territorial development based on the comparative advantages of specific areas. In sum 'the overall objectives of LED are to promote economic development, employment creation and poverty reduction at the local level.' This facilitates negotiation and consensus between the different actors. One example of the role played by local authorities in urban, economic and social development is the FUNACOM program, presented in Box 3.2.

Box 3.2 The FUNACOM program in São Paulo, Brazil

FUNACOM was one aspect of a radical political program introduced by the newly elected *Partido de Trabalhadores* (Workers' Party) in the Municipality of São Paulo between 1989 and 1992. The Workers' Party adopted a comprehensive and participatory approach to the problems of the city, including those of the informal (and illegal) settlements. It encouraged a process of community negotiation in order to develop an action plan for the city, not only with a view to improving the overall environment, but also to achieve a more equitable one. The new action plan comprised an urban policy based on the mobilization and support of local communities. It introduced a new regulatory framework for land use, zoning and building standards. It sought to mobilize financial resources through the restructuring of an existing fund ('the municipal fund to support housing for low-income people' – FUNAPS) and redeployment of municipal resources.

In essence, the program allocated funds directly to the families involved in order to improve housing and infrastructure facilities throughout the city. Families organized themselves into community associations (autonomously functioning legal associations) and were assisted both in the formulation and implementation of local projects by technical assistance teams. The projects, developed in consultation between the community associations and the technical assistance teams, were submitted to FUNACOM for approval. Through this program, the community not only decided on the nature and standards of local projects, but was also responsible for the management and allocation of finances, and participated in the construction process.

Some 'strengths' of the FUNACOM program included:

 The high level of community participation and the decentralized nature of the program ensured that it effectively countered problems of political patronage.

- The localized nature of the project and flexibility of the program resulted in appropriate choices of standards and technologies, according to the preferences, needs and monetary resources of each community.
- The local authority adopted decentralized procedures and accepted local decision-making. The local authority also began to develop public-private partnerships for land development.

The FUNACOM program, as one of the shelter programs initiated by the municipal authority of São Paulo between 1989 and 1992, achieved much greater success in targeting the needs of the urban poor than previous administrations. The program was able to both mobilize local communities to participate effectively and to generate substantial local resources to improve the living and environmental conditions of the urban poor.

Sources: Klink (2006) The Role of Local Authorities in Promoting Decent Work: Towards an Applied Research Agenda for the Construction and the Urban Development Sector. Working Paper No. 243, SECTOR, ILO, Geneva, pp. 16–17. UNCHS (1996) The Human Settlements Conditions of the World's Urban Poor. UNCHS, Nairobi, pp. 243–250.

Denaldi (1997) Viable self-management: the FUNACOM housing program of the São Paulo municipality. *Habitat International*, **21** (2), 213–227.

The fourth approach involves the strengthening of urban social dialogue. According to the ILO, conventional processes of social dialogue and collective bargaining usually occur at the national, sectoral or enterprise level between representatives of government and employers' and workers' organizations. Thus 'in the urban context, local authorities can develop their own complementary approaches for an expanded social dialogue, drawing in all the partners at local level' (ILO, 2004a: 25). The aim is to develop a platform which enables the different actors concerned – local authorities, community organizations, formal and informal employers' organizations, local trade unions and workers in the informal sector, along with the Ministry of Labour and other ministries – to share information, consult, negotiate and allocate decision-making.

The fifth approach is the elaboration and implementation of public works and Employment Intensive Infrastructure Programs (EIIP) of the ILO as an instrument of employment generation. EIIP was created in the mid-1970s as part of the ILO response to the deteriorating employment situation in developing countries. A specific example of EIIP in related services is included in Box 3.3.

The principal objective of this approach is to influence investment policies so that they have a greater impact on employment creation and poverty alleviation:

Box 3.3 Selective solid waste collection and recycling in Recife, Brazil

Recife is the capital city of a state in north-eastern Brazil with a population of 1,300,000 people. The city is confronted with poor infrastructure resulting in the limited collection and treatment of domestic sewerage and solid wastes. The contamination of water by wastes and the high incidence of water-related diseases lead to high costs to the public. The municipal institutions therefore turn to social structures and community approaches as alternatives to public services.

The Program of Selective Collection and Recycling of Solid Waste was initiated in 1993. It aims at behavioural change for reducing the production of solid wastes, encourages and promotes the commercialization of recyclable material and stimulates the generation of income. Men, women, children and adolescents work in cooperatives or other community based organizations, generating income through sustainable activities.

The continuity of the initiatives undertaken by the municipality, together with the residents for the Selective Collection of Urban Garbage is ensured by a strong emphasis on environmental education and the high participation of both community-based organizations and the private sector. Through environmental and hygiene education, people learn to separate recyclable materials at the source and donate them to groups which collect, sort and sell them for a living. The difficulties that occurred in the implementation period were caused mainly by the lack of management capacity building and by strong fluctuations in the market price of recyclable materials. Continued partnership between the public and private sectors is an important element of the program. Recyclable materials will continue to be part of the urban waste and industries will continue to be interested in obtaining them.

The results achieved are as follows:

- 73% increase in recycled materials in two years
- 62% annual increase in volume of material for recycling
- 482 ton/month reduction in solid waste
- 56.5% reduction of special operations for waste collection and 2856 dump sites reduced to 124 (43.5% reduction)
- 5796 tons/month less garbage collected
- 5 to 20 years expansion of the life of dump sites

Source: 'United Nations Earth Summit + 5 Success Stories' http://www.un.org/esa/earthsummit/recycle.htm (consulted 21 March 2007)

In most developing countries a high percentage of government investment budgets, as well as gross fixed capital formation, is allocated to infrastructure creation and maintenance. By demonstrating how such infrastructure can be created and maintained in a cost-effective manner with labour-intensive methods, the program has a major impact on creating sustainable employment with available existing resources. Furthermore, by directing such investments towards the needs of low-income groups, the program has a double impact on poverty alleviation, both through the infrastructure itself, and through the employment created during construction and maintenance.

(ILO 2000d: 9)

Therefore, and as highlighted by Klink, employment-intensive infrastructure programs can be considered as 'launch pads' for small contractors to enter into the public construction market. One example of the implementation of EIIP in the provision of community infrastructure is the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) described in Box 3.4. Unfortunately, there is still no evaluation of how local government can generate these processes. Also, it is important to remember that it should not be assumed that this approach automatically generates decent work.

Box 3.4 The Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS), India

The Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) introduced in Maharashtra in the early 1970s was an innovative anti-poverty intervention. The EGS provides a guarantee of employment to all adults above 18 years of age who are willing to do unskilled manual work on a piece rate basis. The scheme is self-targeting in nature. It is totally financed by the State Government. The main objectives of the EGS are to improve household welfare in the short term (through provision of employment) and to contribute to the development of the rural economy in the long term through strengthening rural infrastructure. Works undertaken by the EGS have to be productive. There is an elaborate organizational set-up for the EGS. Initial planning is generally done by the Revenue Department, while implementation is carried out by the Technical Department.

The unique feature of the EGS is its insurance nature. In principle, every person willing to work for the statutory minimum wage can get a job under the EGS. Being permanent, EGS is the major anti-poverty measure in Maharashtra State and relies on 10% to 14% of the State's development budget.

From a modest beginning of only Rs18.8 million in 1973, the scheme expanded to an expenditure of Rs2350 million in 1991 and from 4.5 million person days of employment in the first year to approximately

(Continued)

190 million person days in 1986. This subsequently declined to 80–90 million person days after 1989.

During its lifetime the EGS has, with certain fluctuations, produced between one to two billion workdays of paid employment each year: equivalent to an average of about half a million men and women being at work throughout the year (this means that the EGS has reduced under-employment and unemployment in the state by around 20%).

Some studies have shown that the average period worked per person varies between 25 to 160 days and that the money earned constitutes between one-third and two-thirds of the total income of participating households.

In spite of a variety of difficulties, observers state that none of the other Indian anti-poverty programs have sustained large-scale operation for such a long period or dealt as effectively with corruption and other administrative problems.

Based on estimates at the combined level, it can be concluded that the contribution of the EGS to the total employment/under-employment in the state varies from around less than 10% to 33%. However, the equivalent of 10% to 30% of full-time employment has an impact on a much larger part of that population group because EGS employment is considered only as supplementary or part-time employment.

Sources: ILO (2000d) Employment-intensive Investment in Infrastructure: Jobs to Build Society. International Labour Organization, Geneva, p. 49.

Dev, S.M. (1995) India's (Maharashtra) Employment Guarantee Scheme: lessons from long experience. In: J. von Braun (ed.) *Employment for Poverty Reduction and Food Security*. IFPRI, Washington, pp. 108–143.

The sixth approach uses the strategic role of alternative procurement and tendering procedures. In order to promote decent work, local authorities can include additional criteria in traditional tendering contracts, such as the employment of disadvantaged groups and excluded populations. Watermeyer (2006) proposes to evaluate the role of targeted procurement as an instrument of poverty alleviation and job creation in infrastructure projects: 'Targeted procurement provides employment and business opportunities for marginalized/disadvantaged individuals and communities. It enables social objectives to be linked to procurement in a fair, transparent, equitable, competitive and cost effective manner.' Targeted procurement has been used within the South African context, where it has been incorporated in the Constitution of 1996 'to address good governance concerns and to use procurement as an instrument of social policy' (Watermeyer, 2006: 27) and in order to target those groups excluded under the apartheid system. Box 3.5 shows an interesting

example from Esmeraldas in Ecuador, in which the local government used public works to generate employment for young people who have been involved in violence and/or crime.

Box 3.5 Esmeraldas: employment for young adults

The high levels of unemployment and under-employment in Esmeral-das have been a major concern and challenge for the local authority. In 2000–2001 the unemployment rate in the city was estimated to be between 68% and 73% of the total working population. These statistics mean that about 70% of the workforce living in Esmeraldas is self-employed and/or active in the informal sector.

Given these conditions, the municipality has encouraged the establishment of new productive activities in the city. It has also ensured that the execution of public sector programs and projects include a component of local labour.

As a preliminary step to authorize the construction of the first largescale commercial complex by a private business group in the centre of Esmeraldas, the mayor proposed to hire young unskilled labourers who were among the members of local youth gangs. The mayor personally guaranteed that their behaviour and performance would be exemplary.

The results of this initiative were entirely satisfactory both from the point of view of the entrepreneurs and for the young people involved. Many young labourers had the chance to demonstrate their abilities and to learn a trade for the first time in their lives, leaving behind their dangerous criminal life. Nevertheless, and even if the experience was satisfactory, employment was limited in time and did not imply any period of training for workers involved or any commitment from the employers.

Sources: Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos (2001), Encuesta de Empleo, Desempleo y Subempleo, Área Urbana, INEC, Quito.

Documentation supplied by the Provincial Government of Esmeraldas, and by the Ministry of Labour (Representation in Esmeraldas).

The six approaches identified by Klink (2006) unveil different types of potential for local authorities' interventions in labour markets, particularly in the construction sector. Apart from generic references in the literature mentioned in the first section of this chapter, there is a lack of more detailed studies about the potential of decent work within the construction-related agendas of local authorities. Klink notes that there are ample references about the new productive role of local government within the globalizing economy (resulting in innovative evaluations of local economic development and employment strategies). However, these evaluations are deficient from a decent work perspective. Second, a set of more

empirical analyses that focus on the role of local authorities as strategic actors within poverty alleviation strategies does exist. In the more decentralized framework found in Latin American countries, the potential role of local authorities in setting up and applying inclusive policies through safety nets, minimum income programs linked to school attendance and other compensation strategies targeted at the most vulnerable population groups has been highlighted. The noteworthy example of gender equality promotion based on initiatives by the national government of Norway is an innovative example, presented in Box 3.6, which has rarely been used in

Box 3.6 Working towards gender equality in employment, Norway

Approximately 43% of employed women in Norway work part time, while men work full time or even overtime. This situation means that there are inequalities in the labour market, as well as in the delegation of responsibility, conditions of income and promotion in career paths. To improve the workforce potential of female workers, men need to share childcare tasks. In workplaces, it should be highlighted that men are not just workers but also parents.

Norway has formulated and implemented public engagements for families with small children. These arrangements make it possible for both parents to combine work with childcare. Flexibility has been reinforced with longer periods of paid leave; leave for fathers has been extended to six weeks. Action has also been taken to facilitate the combination of part-time work with paid parental leave. In addition, the national Government has attributed high priority to providing full-day care coverage, including post-school activities.

In 2007, the Norwegian Government presented at parliament a White Paper entitled *Men and Gender Equality*, the first document of its kind in the world. Summarising this document, Slungärg stated that 'equal parenthood is the key to equality. Equality at work, where both men and women take part in the labour force and contribute their expertise, experience and skills is, in turn, the key to increased productivity and economic growth.'

In order to promote gender equality in the context of working life, the Norwegian Parliament adopted a new law in December 2003 requiring companies to nominate women to at least 40% of board positions.

Sources: Slungärg (2006) The experience of Norway in working towards gender equality in employment. In: ECOSOC, Full and Productive Employment and Decent Work: Dialogues at the Economic and Social Council. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Office for ECOSOC Support and Coordination, United Nations, New York, pp. 130–131.

other so-called developed countries. Broadly speaking, Klink has noted that the majority of innovative examples are related to economic inclusion and community solidarity, without many links to the construction-related services provided by local authorities. The authors of this book have found little evidence to question this conclusion.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has separately analyzed three core subjects of this book: decent work in urban areas, the role of local authorities and the context of the construction sector. These core subjects were then explicitly interrelated. Given that there are very few publications on the implementation of decent work by local authorities, this book has tried to bridge this gap and will present specific case studies in the following chapters. Only a few examples of good practice have been found, frequently without reference to the concept of decent work. Still, it has been worthwhile analyzing these concrete case studies. They have illustrated the added value of good practices and helped understand why problems are found in some projects and programs initiated by local authorities. From this perspective, recommendations for future practice are included in the last chapter of this book.

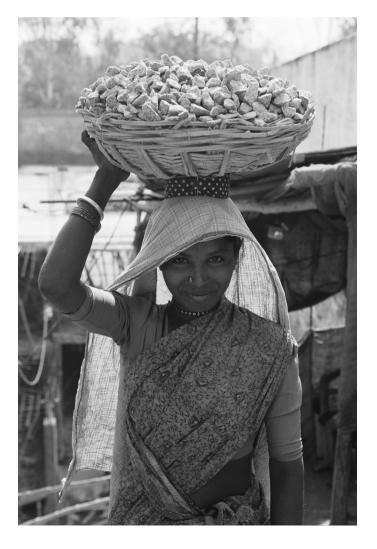
Note

Chapter opening image: A woman carrying more than 30kg of stone slabs on her head for a construction site in Indonesia. Photograph courtesy of J. Maillard, ILO.

(1) www.ilo.org/ipec

7 Conclusions and Recommendations

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This concluding chapter presents some findings based on the analysis of the preceding chapters. The concept of decent work has been on the international labour agenda for nearly a decade. It has been debated in academic and professional forums. However, there is not much evidence to confirm the initial hypothesis that local authorities are playing a key role in implementing it in their municipalities via initiatives in the construction sector. Therefore, there still remains significant potential for innovation, despite the efforts that have been made and some good practices noted in this book. The guidelines and recommendations presented in this chapter are intended to help improve the dissemination and implementation of decent work at the national, and particularly at the local, levels in the immediate future.

7.1 General findings

Earlier chapters in this book clearly show that decent work remains a marginal concept, particularly at the local level. Recently, the ILO has made a major effort to implement the concept at the national level, and decent work country programmes have been designed throughout the world. However, application of the concept at the local level remains limited to a handful of cities and, to date, the ILO does not have a comprehensive plan to scale it up. The cases analyzed in this book have also shown that stakeholders at the local level generally lack a comprehensive understanding of the concept.

Since it was introduced by the ILO in 1999, decent work has been debated in academic and professional publications. This book confirms that there are numerous interpretations of it. In addition, several sets of indicators have been proposed to quantify decent work. However, these innovative contributions are not widely known. Consequently, a significant allocation of human and other resources is necessary for the concept of decent work to be better understood. In parallel, it is important to promote the concept for application at the local level.

The need for improved dissemination at the local level is illustrated by the case studies presented in this book. The concept of decent work was only known and applied in one of the three local authorities: Santo André. The field research found that both staff of the municipality of Santo André and representatives of workers unions were familiar with the concept of decent work, but none of the representatives of employers' associations or the working population knew about the concept. In the other selected cities, the concept of decent work was unknown.

There are indications that decent work may not have been applied at national and local levels for a number of reasons. First, decent work is a complex, multidimensional concept that includes four components and numerous sub-components. It is also a concept that is meant to deal with conventional sector based initiatives about employment generation, social

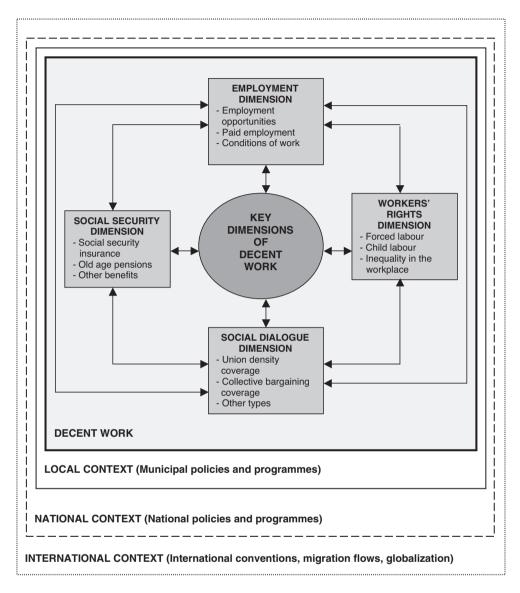


Figure 7.1 Context and Interdependencies between the components of Decent work

security, rights at the workplace and social dialogue. Hence it is meant to consider a vast number of conditions and requirements as well as the interrelations between them. The key question is whether this is feasible. This research project indicates that a positive answer to this question will depend on a number of contingent factors.

One contingent factor concerns current compartmentalized approaches that analyze working conditions. It is important to emphasize the idea that decent work is a multidimensional concept, as shown earlier in Figure 1.1.

In principle, unless the four key dimensions of decent work are considered simultaneously, the concept is not applied in its broadest sense. Therefore, and in order that decent work is effectively implemented, cross-sector cooperation is necessary. This required collaboration will imply challenges for actors and institutions at both the national and the local levels who commonly work in specific sectors. They will have difficulty dealing with the complexity of decent work until administrative reforms are instigated.

Another contingent factor is the principle that employment generation, social security, rights at the workplace and social dialogue need to be considered in terms of international conventions, national legislation and cultural customs. Hence, decent work is embedded in a broad institutional, political, economic and cultural context that ought to be understood at the local level by those actors and institutions who want to apply the concept. These contextual conditions have been explicitly considered and they are well illustrated by the case studies. Indeed, these contextual conditions are so important that the research team has decided to modify the conceptual framework proposed by Ghai (2005) that was reproduced in Figure 1.1. The new representation of decent work in Figure 7.1 clearly shows the four key components of decent work embedded in the local, national and international context.

Another important finding is that decent work should not be interpreted as a monolithic concept but as a multidimensional one that varies according to geographical and temporal factors. The four key components of decent work need to be considered in terms of the relative weightings of their subcomponents in precise localities. The case studies show how differences exist between countries and cities. This is an important finding that indicates that the subcomponents of decent work need to be assessed and understood by in-depth analytical studies at both the national and local levels. To date there are few contributions that address the need for methodological innovation. However, the implementation of decent work will depend on an accurate understanding of locality specific conditions which are embedded in a national and an international context. Therefore it is not unfair to claim that the research methodology that has been formulated and tested in this project can serve as a framework for future contributions.

This international research project has confirmed the pertinence of analyzing policies, programmes and projects in precise sectors at both national and local levels. This is an important conclusion of this project because the vast majority of contributions consider decent work only in terms of a broad economic and political framework without reference to sector based initiatives. The exceptions to this customary approach are a limited number of contributions that focus on agriculture. It is important to note that sector based contributions can be useful in the future to compare progress towards decent work in different sectors, and also highlight similarities and differences.

The set of indicators proposed to measure decent work was subdivided into the four components of decent work. The case studies validated this approach for the measurement of trends towards or away from decent work. The application of the set of decent work indicators in the case studies has shown that the selection of indicators was pertinent, and that these indicators were easy to identify in the different contexts at national and local levels for both the whole economy and the construction sector. In addition, they can be sourced from reliable quantitative databases (such as national surveys and censuses) and qualitative sources (questionnaires and interviews, for example).

The hypothesis of finding these indicators at the national and local levels for the whole economy and for the construction sector has been verified by the case studies. This approach permitted country and city level analyses and also enabled researchers to identify the role of the construction sector in the national economy. The selection of two time periods permitted analysis of the evolution of the socio-economic situation in the cities and countries. It is important to stress that this set of decent work indicators can be reapplied to other local authorities and countries.

Local governments, as well as other stakeholders, including workers' associations, cooperatives and community groups should explicitly be involved in policy implementation. Often the roles and responsibilities of these actors are underestimated. For example, the role of local authorities in the creation of employment, the procurement process and financing arrangements should not be forgotten when dealing with decent work. Although local authorities have rarely applied the concept of decent work, six examples of best practices are included at the end of Chapter 3. It is hoped local authorities will adopt a more proactive role in the near future.

7.2 Recommendations and guidelines

The following set of recommendations and guidelines are presented as one of the achievements of the international research project presented in this book.

Recommendation 1: actors and institutions involved in the promotion of decent work

Until now, the majority of contributions on decent work have been addressed to governments and the private sector at national level. These two audiences are important but limited. More concern should be given to identifying and working with all relevant actors involved in the promotion of decent work, bearing mind the importance of the local level. Local governments, as well as other stakeholders, including local worker' associations, cooperatives and community groups, are often overlooked but should not be neglected.

Public sector clients – for instance a ministry, a department of the central government, a local authority (regional, district or municipal) or even a community group – can create an adequate environment for successful project implementation.

Community groups – through community-based organizations (CBOs) – are becoming more and more important actors and are playing an increasing role in project identification, management, operation and maintenance with positive effect.

Contractors – central actors in the construction sector and in public procurement actions – can influence the attainment of social objectives included in the promotion of decent work. As responsible for the terms and conditions under which labour is engaged, they can enhance local involvement by subcontracting, and/or buying from local suppliers. They can also generate employment by using labour-based techniques.

We recommend the inclusion of all the different stakeholder groups involved in the generation of employment and the promotion of decent work, as shown by the case studies in Bulawayo and Santo André.

Guideline 1 All relevant actors involved in the promotion of decent work – national and local governments, community groups, cooperatives, workers, contractors and others – should be invited to participate in the decision-making and implementation processes. Both national and local platforms for dialogue between these actors and institutions can be proposed to facilitate communication and coordination.

Recommendation 2: emphasis on globalization and migration flows

The importance of taking into consideration not only the local but also the regional, national and international contexts should not be underestimated. Despite some recent contributions, there is still is a need for much more research on globalization, migration, urbanization and decentralization. These are relevant processes that ought to be understood when studying labour conditions in any locality.

Globalization is a phenomenon that influences countries all around the world. It has social, economic and political repercussions at local and national levels. The social and labour aspects of globalization are related to key dimensions of decent work, as shown by the case studies, particularly Bulawayo.

Globalization trends have been characterized by a greater integration of markets. Nevertheless, their impact on labour and population movements have been limited and regulated by severe immigration laws and policies. Globalization has important implications for international labour migration, acting as 'push and pull' factors. It has led to connections between labour markets. In parallel, globalization has also provoked great inconsistencies in employment opportunities, income and living standards.

In terms of migrant workers in the construction sector, several countries have acknowledged their dependence on such workers and tried to control and regularize the process of migration for the construction industry. However, there are still many people working illegally without any type of rights. Additionally, the recruitment process is often highly abusive and does not reflect the principles of decent work.

Guideline 2 Local conditions related to decent work should be analyzed bearing in mind regional, national and international processes. The context – not only local, regional and national but also international – should always be taken into consideration. Special attention should be given to cases where migration is significant in order to facilitate the integration and social welfare of migrant workers.

Recommendation 3: measurement of progress towards decent work

The measurement of progress towards decent work by the continual collection of quantitative and qualitative data is necessary in order to identify achievements and obstacles. The main problem hindering this objective is missing information at the local level. Commitment from national and local authorities is necessary to instigate and maintain a coordinated information system, which includes the set of indicators defined and validated during the research project presented in this book.

The categorization of the employed population is often based on traditional types of workers and does not take into consideration casual, temporary workers or informal workers. Reforms in the collection and analysis of data are necessary in order to monitor existing categories of the working population.

The aim of measuring decent work is to analyze labour using an individual approach rather than considering household income. We recommend median income as a more precise indicator than the poverty line, which is a more relative measurement.

It is important to distinguish clearly between the *relative* definition of the poverty line (e.g. 50% or 66.6% of the median income) and the *absolute* definition (e.g. US\$2 per day). The absolute definition refers to levels of minimum income in order to satisfy basic needs (which is difficult to measure satisfactorily), while the relative definition refers to a lack in relation to the rest of the population (thus, even in a rich country, where every person's basic needs are met, a part of the population could still have a subjective sense of poverty in relation to others). This second concept is closely related to the notion of inequality.

Guideline 3 Collaboration between ILO offices, national statistics offices and national social security authorities should be strengthened, especially in regards to protocols for data collection and analysis in different localities. There is an urgent need to overcome missing information. In order

to optimize the use of labour standards and decent work indicators, cities and local authorities should be consulted by ILO staff and, where necessary, training programmes should be provided.

Recommendation 4: from general discourse to practical implementation Today there are too few incentives for local authorities to define and implement policies and projects that promote decent work. The ILO ought to be more proactive in promoting initiatives that could serve as beacons for change. Consequently, a large allocation of human and other resources is necessary in order to improve diffusion of the concept of decent work so that it can be much more widely applied.

In order for the decent work concept to become more widely known and more pertinent at the local level, we recommend that the ILO broaden its work beyond traditional stakeholders and expand its collaboration to more micro-level partners. The results of the Bulawayo case study suggest that the ILO should take a multi-level approach at the local level, working with National Employment Councils, local authority strategic teams, employers associations and employees unions.

Guideline 4 In order for the decent work concept to be better understood and more pertinent at the local level, it is imperative that the ILO adopt a strategic implementation plan, including an information and dissemination policy that broadens its work beyond traditional stakeholders and expands its collaboration to more micro-level partners.

Recommendation 5: benefits and challenges of decent work

The costs and investments necessary for the implementation of decent work in practice have not been considered. The benefits of decent work are rarely debated or publicized in regard to the local level, either by the ILO or/and national and local authorities. These benefits could be analyzed for target population groups at both national and local levels and from both short and long-term perspectives. There are several indications that the monetary and non-monetary investments necessary for the implementation of decent work need to be discussed further, including at the national level.

It is essential to distinguish economic and employment conditions in developed countries from those in transition and developing countries. In the case of developed countries, the costs and investments for the implementation of decent work will be smaller, as these countries already have a considerable legal structure and labour standards in place. For these reasons benefits of the implementation of decent work can be tabled. On the contrary, in transition and developing countries, the implementation of decent work will face more challenges. Costs and investment requirements will be higher because legal structures are often weak or inexistent and labour standards are not applied or do not reflect the reality of the

majority of the working population who work as casual, informal or home workers. Consequently, in transition and developing countries, the benefits will only be recognized over a medium to long-term period. This is often the reason why public and private actors in transition and developing countries meet with difficulties in implementing decent work; it takes too much time, it is expensive and it does not immediately resolve the problems of the manual worker population.

Guideline 5 There is an urgent need to monitor the human and financial resources required to implement decent work in specific localities, and the positive outcomes of these investments. The ILO should provide a protocol for monitoring projects and policies at the local level in countries with different economies in order to achieve this objective in a systematic way.

Recommendation 6: clarification of conventional categories: the case of temporary workers

Research and practice on labour issues tend to rely heavily on the categories of formal and informal workers. Whilst the informal sector remains important (see next recommendation), overemphasis on this formal-informal dichotomy does not capture structural changes in the world of labour, such as the occurrence of large numbers of temporary workers. This has consequences for decent work and needs to be addressed.

First, it is important to explore the possibilities of social security coverage for temporary workers through existing social security schemes. There is evidence from many countries that employers do not contribute to social security funds for those workers who are on temporary contracts. Hence the workers who are most in need receive no health care, no holiday pay and no protection against loss of pay when they are unable to work due to unemployment, ill-health, accidents or old age. Many of the self-employed (without employees) are believed to be actually working for employers, but without social security contributions. Similarly, most workers on temporary contracts are not entitled to benefits during periods of unemployment between contracts.

When full social protection is not feasible because of limited financial capacity, we recommend that priority be given to needs which are most pressing for the workers concerned. It is essential to have specific health and safety proposals at the design stage in order to identify possible risks and how to deal with them. In the case of serious accidents, when it is not possible to include casual unskilled workers under the official social security system, accident insurance will need to be provided to pay for disability, death, serious medical expenses and loss of income. The best option for dealing specifically with minor accidents in community contracting may be the creation of some form of local fund that can respond quickly to meet medical expenses.

Second, regarding social dialogue, it is important to recognize local informal groups that represent workers (such as NGOs, CBOs and workers groups who can develop home-grown solutions). Another important point is to discuss mechanisms for implementing labour standards in advance of work. Social dialogue with employers, and also with governments, has traditionally been a powerful means for workers to bargain collectively for better wages and improved working conditions. However, the vast numbers of temporary, casual, informal and unemployed workers today find it very difficult to organize themselves to engage in social dialogue.

The case study in Dar es Salaam explicitly emphasized the high number of casual workers, namely in the construction sector, and the importance of considering them in the implementation of policies and projects to promote decent work.

Guideline 6 Specific policies should be developed and strategic actions should be applied in order to deal with temporary and casual workers in the promotion of decent work. Reforms in data collection are necessary.

Recommendation 7: the importance of the informal sector

During recent decades, the informal sector has been growing all around the world and the majority of new employment in the last decade has been in the informal economy. This situation is accentuated in developing and transition countries. Therefore, the increase of the informal sector has been related not only to the capacity of formal firms to absorb labour but also to their willingness to do so. More firms are decentralizing production and organizing work through flexible specialized production units, some of which remain unregistered or informal. As part of their efforts to improve competitiveness, firms are increasingly operating with a small core of wage employees with regular terms and conditions based in a fixed formal workplace and a growing periphery of atypical and often informal workers in different types of workplaces dispersed in different locations. These measures often include outsourcing or subcontracting and a shift away from regular employment relationships to more flexible and informal employment relationships.

In the developing world, where the informal sector is very important, protection against social risks has been provided by the family or community. Where the formal and traditional systems are inexistent, several examples of informal social insurance mechanisms based on principles of solidarity and reciprocity occur. In recent years, various groups of informal workers have set up their own micro-insurance schemes. One option is to form organizations among workers, which enables them to achieve various objectives, including stronger negotiating power with regard to the government as well as public and private health providers, sharing of knowledge and greater financial stabilization through reinsurance. A second option is to allocate more effort to the promotion of micro-insurance,

since a large part of the target population may still not be aware of the benefits of such a scheme.

We recommend that local authorities play an important role in setting up area-based social protection schemes and working in partnership with local groups, CBOs and civil society.

Guideline 7 Workers in the informal sector should be taken into consideration as a category of all employed persons. Social security, safety and health insurance systems should be implemented for this group of workers, as has been done for those employed in the formal sector.

Recommendation 8: lack of application of the labour legislation

Instability of employment is one of the major problems in the construction sector. Fluctuations in demand, the project base of construction and the widespread use of contracting all conspire to make it difficult for contractors to obtain a steady flow of work which would allow them to provide continuity of employment. Hence, there is a constant friction between employers' needs for 'flexibility' and workers' needs for stable jobs. Construction workers are conventionally employed on a short-term basis, for the duration of the whole or part of a project, which means no guarantee of future work. This results in an increasing number of temporary and informal workers. Therefore, we recommend that labour legislation is also applied to temporary and informal workers.

The problem in the construction sector is not a lack of labour law, which exists at the national and local levels. The real problem is the lack of efficient instruments to ensure that labour laws are applied and monitored. Contracts in the construction sector can be used and important instruments for the implementation of labour standards can be enforced. It is useful to show the benefits of these standards not only for workers, but also for employers and contractors.

Guideline 8 Legal and administrative measures should be implemented to ensure that all rights and responsibilities in labour laws are applied. Monitoring and surveillance are essential and sanctions should be enforced when legislation is not respected.

Recommendation 9: procurement initiatives

Procurement can play an important role in the implementation of decent work and the achievement of social objectives. Targeted procurement is a system for awarding tenders that provides the option to set goals for achieving contractually enforceable socio-economic objectives, retaining donor rules of competition, fairness, efficiency and transparency. Procurement initiatives have been used to support local economic development, promote growth within the small business sector and target the

unemployed through poverty alleviation. Nevertheless, it is important to have appropriate planning and design, clearly identify goals and possess the ability and willingness to apply sanctions.

Frequently, labour-standards in contracts are not implemented because they are not monitored or enforced through incentives and/or sanctions. Two Swiss examples, presented in Boxes 7.1 and 7.2, illustrate incentives aimed to enforce the implementation of labour standards; the first uses procurement whereas the second is related to certification. The Certification of Equal Compensation for Women and Men is a Swiss initiative to enforce equality of salary between men and women in the private sector. The Federal Law for Public Markets prescribes a legal framework for Swiss public markets which respected labour standards, namely workers' rights.

7.3 Conclusion

During the last decade, policies and projects that counteract increasing levels of unemployment and human vulnerability (especially the precarious nature of an increasing share of paid work) have become a high priority for some international organizations –including the International Labour Organization – many national and regional governments in both developed and developing countries, and local authorities. Therefore, the principles of decent work are an important target for institutions and actors at the international, national and local levels.

In the context of a globalizing economy, it has been increasingly recognized that local authorities provide the main location, infrastructure, community services and workforce for a growing share of the emerging global economy as well as other economic sectors. Cities and municipalities are key actors in the generation of Gross Domestic Product. Therefore, local authorities can be the catalyst for the promotion of decent work that guarantees income, equity, security and dignity to members of local communities. They can also be the arena for decent work, living conditions, social security and dialogue between members of civil society. This role has rarely been adopted and the example of Santo André is a notable exception. It is hoped that other local authorities will follow the examples of best practice included in earlier chapters.

This book has clearly shown that much more needs to be done at the global, national and particularly local levels. The principles of decent work should not be considered as constraints but as the catalyst for change towards better living and working conditions. It is hoped that this book has presented avenues for the improved dissemination and implementation of decent work in order to achieve this objective.

Box 7.1 Federal Law on Public Procurement in Switzerland

The Federal Assembly of the Swiss Confederation adopted the Federal Law on Public Procurement in December 1994 and this entered into force on 1 January 1996.

The Federal Law on Public Procurement ensures that Swiss federal authorities respect certain principles in regards to potential suppliers in all tendering procedures.

According to the law (Article 8), when initiating public procurement, a Swiss authority is required to insure that the principles related to worker protection and working conditions are respected by potential suppliers (Al. 1, lit. b). The Swiss authority must also guarantee that the potential suppliers respect equal salary treatment between women and men (Al. 1, lit. c).

The Federal law also specified that the Swiss authority can control, or make a third party control, the implementation and respect of the obligations cited above by the supplier. Upon request, the supplier shall prove the fulfilment of its obligations (Al. 2).

Non-fulfilment of the above-mentioned obligations by a supplier allows the Swiss authority to exclude this supplier from tendering procedures or to revoke the contract if it has been awarded (Art. 11, lit. d).

'Art. 8: Principes et conditions de participation:

- (1) Les principes ci-après doivent être observées lors de la passation de marchés publics:...(b) pour les prestations fournies en Suisse, il n'adjuge le marché qu'à un soumissionnaire observant les dispositions relatives à la protection des travailleurs et les conditions de travail...(c) il n'adjuge le marché qu' à un soumissionnaire garantissant à ses salariés l'égalité de traitement entre femmes et hommes, sur le plan salarial, pour les prestations fournies en Suisse.
- (2) L'adjudicateur est en droit de contrôler ou de faire contrôler l'observation des dispositions relatives à la protection des travailleurs, aux conditions de travail et de l'égalité de traitement entre hommes et femmes. Sur demande, le soumissionnaire doit apporter la preuve qu'il les a respectées.
 - Art 11: Exclusion de la procédure et révocation de l'adjudication:

L'adjudicateur peut révoquer l'adjudication ou exclure certains soumissionnaires de la procédure ainsi que les rayer de la liste...notamment lorsque:

(d) Ils ne satisfont pas aux obligations fixées à l'article 8.

Source: Swiss Confederation, Federal Law on Public Procurement http://www.admin.ch/ch/f/rs/c172_056_1.html (consulted on 5 April 2007).

Box 7.2 Certification of Equal Compensation for Women and Men, Switzerland

Many private sector enterprises in Switzerland claim to have a salary policy which respects equality between men and women. On the other hand, figures published by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office show a difference of more than 20% between the salaries earned by women and men. The equal-salary certification allows companies to test their equal compensation policies in total confidentiality.

This initiative is a partnership between Véronique Goy Veenhuys, founder and coordinator of equal-salary, and Yves Flückiger, director of the Employment Observatory (OUE) at the University of Geneva. Professor Flückiger has developed an equation of salaries, a scientific tool which has been approved by the Swiss Federal Court in its decision of 2003. Following this decision, several major Swiss corporations have asked the OUE to evaluate their compensation policies, expressing both a concern and a need.

By becoming equal-salary certified, an enterprise has proof that it respects equal compensation for men and women and can communicate openly about its salary policy. By defusing a source of conflict, the enterprise can directly influence employee motivation and its ability to attract the best female candidates. Equal-salary helps to improve the corporation's image both internally and externally with customers, suppliers and other stakeholders.

By making it part of their corporate strategy, the equal-salary certification helps enterprises to improve their financial performance.

The Swiss Confederation financially supports the project through funds allocated by Swiss law to the equality of men and women.

The Equal-Salary Certification Board has also been established and is comprised of prominent Swiss women and men who support equality in general and the equal-salary in particular. As noted by the Advisory Board: 'Equal salaries for men and women for equal work' must become a reality in Switzerland. Thanks to its close collaboration with enterprises committed to putting this concept into practice, equal-salary is certainly an initiative that contributes to this aim.

Source: http://www.equal-salary.ch (consulted on 20 August 2008).

Chapter opening image: A woman carrying a basket of stones weighing more than 20 kg on her head, on a construction site in Hyderabad, India. Photograph courtesy of Marcel Crozet, ILO.

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