Decent work and informal employment: A survey of workers in Glen View, Harare

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Abstract: The present paper analyzes the results of a *Survey on Informal Employment* that was carried out in the Harare suburb of Glen View in November 2006. While open unemployment among respondents is low, the large majority hold informal jobs. However, while informal employment provides much-needed employment opportunities, working conditions are often poor. The paper highlights a number of decent work deficits: Many workers spend excessive hours at work and yet generate incomes that are insufficient to meet their basic needs. Further, informal workers are generally excluded from formal social security systems and lack adequate social protection. And while over a quarter of all formal workers feel represented by the ZCTU and other workers' organizations, only few informal workers believe that any organization or group expresses their concerns. Their most pressing problems include the rising cost of inputs, low incomes, and the confiscation of goods by police. Operation Murambatsvina had a disproportionately negative effect on informal workers and is a significant factor behind the overall deterioration in respondents' work situation since 2004. By contrast, the recovery programme Operation Garikai reached only very few informal workers. The survey finds no indications that workers enter the informal economy a deliberate attempt to obtain cost advantages. On the contrary, employers and own-account workers in the formal sector generate substantially higher profits than their informal counterparts.

JEL classification: E26, J21, J81.

Résumé: Le présent document analyse les résultats d'une *Enquête sur l'emploi dans le secteur informel* réalisée à Glen View dans la banlieue d'Harare en novembre 2006. Bien que le chômage déclaré soit peu important parmi les personnes interrogées, la grande majorité d'entre elles occupent des emplois du secteur informel. Néanmoins, même si le secteur informel fournit des opportunités d'emploi plus que bienvenues, les conditions de travail dans ce secteur sont souvent médiocres. Ce document fait ressortir un certain nombre de déficits de travail décent : pour de nombreux travailleurs, le temps passé au travail est tout à fait excessif et ne suffit pourtant pas à générer un revenu leur permettant de subvenir à leurs besoins fondamentaux. En outre, les travailleurs du secteur informel sont généralement exclus des systèmes officiels de sécurité sociale et ne bénéficient donc d'aucune protection sociale adéquate. D'autre part, alors que plus d'un quart des travailleurs du secteur formel se sentent représenté par le ZCTU ou d'autres organisations syndicales, seuls quelques travailleurs du secteur informel, très peu nombreux, ont le sentiment que leurs préoccupations sont relayées par une organisation ou un groupe quel qu'il soit. Leurs problèmes les plus pressants comprennent notamment le coût croissant des facteurs de production, la faiblesse de leurs revenus et la confiscation de leur marchandise par la police. L'Opération Murambatsvina a eu un effet négatif disproportionné sur les travailleurs du secteur informel et constitue un facteur déterminant dans la détérioration globale depuis 2004 de la situation professionnelle des personnes interrogées. Par contraste, l'Opération Garikai n'a touché que très peu de travailleurs du secteur informel. L'enquête ne trouve aucune indication selon laquelle des travailleurs s'installent dans l'économie informelle dans le but délibéré d'en retirer des avantages en matières de coûts. Au contraire, les employeurs et les travailleurs indépendants du secteur formel dégagent des profits bien supérieurs par comparaison avec leurs homologues du secteur informel.

Classification JEL: E26, J21, J81.

Resumen: En el presente documento se analizan los resultados de una *Encuesta sobre Empleo Informal* llevada a cabo en Glen View, barrio de Harare, en noviembre de 2006. Aunque el índice de desempleo visible entre los encuestados es bajo, la gran mayoría trabaja en empleos informales. No obstante, si bien el empleo informal proporciona oportunidades laborales muy necesarias, las condiciones de trabajo son a menudo bastante precarias. En el documento se destacan numerosos déficits del trabajo decente. Muchos trabajadores, a pesar de dedicar una cantidad excesiva de horas al trabajo, no generan ingresos suficientes para cubrir sus necesidades básicas. Por otra parte, los trabajadores informales suelen quedar excluidos de los sistemas formales de seguridad social y carecen de una protección social adecuada. Y si bien más de la cuarta parte de todos los trabajadores formales se consideran representados por el Congreso de Sindicatos de Zimbabwe (ZCTU) y otras organizaciones de trabajadores, sólo muy pocos trabajadores informales creen que alguna organización o grupo expresa sus opiniones. Entre sus problemas más acuciantes cabe señalar el creciente costo de los insumos, ingresos bajos y la confiscación de bienes por la policía. La Operación Murambatsvina tuvo efectos desproporcionadamente negativos en los trabajadores informales y es un factor que ha contribuido sobremanera, desde 2004, al deterioro general de la situación laboral de los encuestados. En contraposición, la Operación Garikai, programa de reconstrucción iniciado posteriormente, benefició solamente a muy pocos trabajadores informales. Los resultados de la encuesta no hallaron indicios de que los trabajadores se integren a la economía informal en un intento deliberado de obtener ventajas de costos. Por el contrario, los empleadores y los trabajadores independientes del sector formal generan beneficios muchísimo más elevados que sus homólogos del sector informal.

Clasificación JEL: E26, J21, J81.

The Policy Integration and Statistics Department

The Policy Integration and Statistics Department pursues the ILO's decent work and fair globalization agenda from an integrated perspective. It consists of the Bureau of Statistics and the Policy Coherence Group.

The central objective of the latter is to further greater policy coherence and the integration of social and economic policies at the international and national level. To this end, it works closely with other multilateral agencies and national actors such as Governments, trade unions, employers' federations, NGO's and universities. Through its policy-oriented research agenda, it explores complementarities and interdependencies between employment, working conditions, social protection, social dialogue and labour standards. Current work is organized around four thematic areas that call for greater policy coherence: Fair globalization, the global poor and informality, macro-economic policies for decent work, and emerging issues.

Labour statistics play an essential role in the efforts of member States to achieve decent work for all and for the ILO's support of these efforts. These statistics are needed for the development and evaluation of policies towards this goal, for assessing progress towards decent work, and for information and analysis of relevant labour issues. The ILO Bureau of Statistics works with integrity, independence and high professional standards to provide users within and outside the ILO with relevant, timely and reliable labour statistics, to develop international standards for better measurement of labour issues and enhanced international comparability, and to help member States develop and improve their labour statistics. It maintains strong professional relationship with national statistical systems and with statistics offices of other international agencies.

Director of the Policy Integration and Statistics Department: *Stephen Pursey*
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This paper is part of the Policy Integration and Statistics Department's ongoing work on the measurement of informal employment and decent work, and aims to aid the ILO's constituents (workers, employers and government) in their efforts to formulate coherent policies towards realizing decent work in the informal economy.

Preface

Like in most developing countries, informal employment is an important source of livelihoods for many people in Zimbabwe. Faced with a lack of employment opportunities in the formal sector, Zimbabweans have displayed great ingenuity to create jobs for themselves as carpenters, street-vendors, cross-border traders, sculptors or brick-moulders. These jobs have kept many people in employment, and thus have helped to avoid high open unemployment despite adverse economic conditions. However, most informal workers find themselves on the fringes of the law – they often lack the required license, or violate zoning by-laws that ban commercial activity from residential areas. Many of these by-laws and regulations originally date back to the colonial period. Back then, they were introduced by the settler government and in a deliberate attempt to suppress independent African economic empowerment and to protect white-owned businesses.

The ILO has recognized the potential of the informal sector early, and was in fact instrumental in shaping its understanding. An influential ILO publication, dating back to 1972, studied the informal sector of Kenya in great detail and was among the first to challenge the conventional portrayal of the informal sector as backward and inefficient. Instead, it emphasized the scale of economic production in the informal sector and the dynamism of its indigenous entrepreneurs. Today, the ILO focuses on promoting decent work for the informal economy. For us, informal workers are – above all – human beings who deserve the same respect and enjoy the same rights as workers in the formal sector. Based on the ILO's Decent Work Agenda, we thus work with our constituents (Governments, workers and employers) to create productive employment opportunities, to enhance rights, to improve social protection and to strengthen representation and voice in the informal economy.

The present paper explores some of the challenges faced by informal workers, using the example of Glen View, Harare. The report is based on a survey carried out in close collaboration with the Department of Geography & Environmental Science at the University of Zimbabwe. The survey findings highlight that informal employment is the predominant source of employment among survey respondents, and show that informal workers generally face poor working conditions. Despite working long hours, the returns to them are often insufficient to meet even the most basic daily needs. Moreover, informal workers generally lack effective social protection and do not belong to any organization that would give them a strong collective voice. The paper also discusses how Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai have affected informal workers. It complements a paper on "*Employment, unemployment and informality in Zimbabwe: Concepts and data for coherent policy-making*" by the same author.

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Acronyms and abbreviations

CPI	Consumer Price Index
CSO	Central Statistical Office [of Zimbabwe]
EMCOZ	Employers' Confederation of Zimbabwe
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ICLS	International Conference of Labour Statisticians
ICSE	International Classification by Status in Employment
ILC	International Labour Conference
ILO	International Labour Office / International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISIC	International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities
LFS	Labour Force Survey
MSEs	Micro and small enterprises
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NSSA	National Social Security Authority
OG/HK	Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle
OM	Operation Murambatsvina
PDL	Poverty Datum Line
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
RBZ	Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SEDCO	Small Enterprise Development Corporation
SNA	System of National Accounts
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZCIEA	Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economy Associations
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZFU	Zimbabwe Farmers Union

Decent work and informal employment: A survey of workers in Glen View, Harare

I. Introduction: Informal workers in Glen View[‡]

Like in other African countries, informal employment plays a major role for livelihoods in Zimbabwe (see Xaba et al., 2002). In fact, job creation in the informal sector and in households can explain why unemployment has remained low in Zimbabwe, despite a growing labour force and declining formal sector employment. However, incomes derived from informal jobs are low for the vast majority of workers, often in the face of long hours of work. This, as well as the low-skilled nature of jobs and inadequate occupational health and safety provisions, illustrates that informal jobs might provide a means of survival, but are often far from what could be called decent (Luebker, 2008).

The present paper will discuss some aspects of informality in greater detail, adopting the perspective of decent work. Decent work is a multidimensional concept that refers to the "opportunities for men and women to obtain decent and productive work in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity" (ILO, 1999 and 2001). Access to employment opportunities is therefore only one aspect of decent work, and the analysis will address it together with social protection, rights at work and social dialogue between workers, employers and the government. The paper is based on a Survey on Informal Employment that was carried out in the Harare suburb of Glen View in November 2006. It adds to the analysis of the 2004 Labour Force Survey that is presented in a companion paper (Luebker, 2008). Although this small-scale survey cannot rival the regular Labour Force Surveys (LFS) in terms of sample size and national coverage, it complements them in several ways:

i. The main motivation behind the survey was to listen to the experiences of informal workers – how they make their livelihoods, what problems and challenges they face, and what their most pressing needs are. Thus, some of the questions asked in the survey are specific to informal workers and others refer to dimensions of decent work that were not covered by the LFS, such as social security and collective representation and voice. The survey therefore gives a more detailed insight into the situation of informal workers than the standard survey instruments can.

ii. The survey aims to help understand the gap between the popular perception of high unemployment and the low unemployment rates measured by the standard instrument. To this end, it contains the conventional questions that allow determining a respondent's labour force status, and asks respondents whether they think of themselves as unemployed or not. On this basis, one can see how far workers on perception of their employment status from the statistical classification, and for which type of workers this is most frequently so.

[‡] This survey was carried out in collaboration with Department of Geography & Environmental Science, University of Zimbabwe, Harare. Professor Daniel S. Tevera and Dr. Lazarus Zanamwe acted as academic advisers, and Webster Gumindoga, Agreement Hlanganayi, Precious Mahlatini, Annie Mangwanda, Barbra Masunga and Gift Mudozori carried out the interviews, questionnaire coding and data-entry in a most professional manner. The valuable contribution of all of the above is acknowledged with great gratitude. However, the responsibility for the analysis rests solely with the author.

iii. Further, the survey classifies all workers according to the enterprise-based concept and the job-based concept of informality. For the latter, it contains both the proxy operationalization that was applied in the companion paper and the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality, as suggested by Hussmanns (2004). This allows to conclude how similar the estimates for informal employment are under the different methodologies, and to test the applicability of full operationalization in the Zimbabwean context.

iv. Finally, the survey aims to study how the respondents' situation has changed since June 2004, the time of the fieldwork for the last Labour Force Survey. In particular, respondents were asked to assess the impact of Operation Murambatsvina and the subsequent recovery operation (Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle) on their work.

The analysis adds to the results that were obtained on the basis of the 2004 Labour Force Survey that are presented in a companion paper (Luebker, 2008). This paper also discusses the concept of informality and the colonial legacy that led to the formal/informal division, the statistical definition of employment, unemployment and informality and the overall economic context in Zimbabwe at some length. Therefore, the present paper does not duplicate the theoretical introduction and refers readers to the relevant Section II of the companion paper.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: In Section II, it begins by outlining the survey characteristics and the sampling design, and then analyzes the labour force status of respondents and groups all workers according to the two concepts of informality. The section then discusses whether respondents see themselves as employed or unemployed, and in how far this matches their classification under the ICLS definition. The analysis proceeds by discussing which activities formal and informal workers are engaged in. Section III will address working conditions from the perspective of the Decent Work agenda and discuss incomes and poverty, hours of work, social security and leave entitlements and the representation of informal workers in social dialogue. It also goes into the most pressing problems informal workers face, what their needs for assistance are and whether they have received any assistance. Section IV then considers in how far respondents' situation has – according to their own judgment – improved or deteriorated since 2004. In particular, it presents data on the impact of Operation Murambatsvina and the subsequent recovery operation on livelihoods and working conditions. Section V concludes by summarizing the main findings and discussing their relevance for policy formulation.

II. Employment, unemployment and informality

a. Survey characteristics and sampling design

As discussed above, the survey was conceptionalized as an *ad hoc* survey that complements the regular data collection through labour force surveys (and could possibly inform future LFS). Faced with limited resources, no effort was made to draw a nationally representative sample. Rather, the survey confined itself to one Harare suburb: Glen View, a high-density area located to the South-West of the city. Although its population is certainly less well-off than those living in the low-density residential areas in the North of Harare, Glen View is not one of the most deprived areas of the capital. Unlike the 'spontaneous settlements' of Epworth or Porta Farm, it is a planned suburb with an orderly grid of avenues and crescents and single-story houses hat are connected to the electricity grid and public water supply.[1] In addition to the houses erected in the colonial period, it features some recent medium-density developments. Prior to Operation Murambatsvina, Glen View was well-known for its small-scale furniture industry that is now largely confined to one new complex near Willowvale Road.

The preferred sampling technique would have been to draw a random sample from a register of all residents. However, since the last census dates back to 2002, no complete and current population register was available as a sampling frame. Instead, a random sample was drawn with the help of a two-stage cluster sampling technique:

1. Based on a detailed map of Glen View (scale 1:5000), the suburb was divided into 334 geographical clusters.[2] Smaller streets formed natural cluster units of approximately similar size, and the main roads and open spaces were divided into smaller sections to obtain clusters of comparable size. Schools and other government buildings were excluded for practical reasons.

2. *First sampling stage*: A complete list of all clusters was made, and then each cluster was assigned a random number. The 40 clusters with the highest random numbers were selected as sampling areas.

3. *Second sampling stage*: Each sampling area was visited by a team of two interviewers, who selected approximately every fifth person of working age that was present in the cluster.

The sampling universe therefore consisted of all persons of working age (i.e. 15 years old and above) who were present in Glen View outside schools and other government buildings at the time of the interviews (regardless of whether they reside in Glen View itself or not). Since each person had an equal chance of being included in the sample, the requirement of random sampling is fulfilled. Fieldwork was carried out from

[1] For an overview of settlement types in Zimbabwe, see Potts (2006).

[2] The sampling area was delimited by the Harare municipal boundary in the South-West, Willowvale Road and 17th Avenue in the North-West, and by the boundary towards Glen Norah in the East. It hence includes all built-up areas of Glen View, and some open areas like those along the river in the East of Glen View and near Partenda Way. Clusters were identified on the basis of Surveyor-General's maps Harare TR8017 (ed. 2) and TR8019 (ed. 2).

November 27th to 30th, 2006.[3] All those who were selected for an oral interview were informed about its basic objectives, assured of the confidentiality of their responses and asked if they volunteered to answer (see Appendix 4 for the questionnaire). Of the total gross sample of 446 persons, some 40 persons opted out, leaving a realized net sample of 406 respondents (see Table 1). The overall response rate of 91 per cent is relatively high and – more importantly – even across gender and age groups so no obvious response bias by demographic characteristics can be detected.

Table 1: Characteristics of total sample and realized sample (by gender and age group)

	Total sample	Refusals	Realized Sample	Realized sample in % of total sample
All selected individuals	446	40	406	91.0
Male	174	13	161	92.5
Female	272	27	245	90.1
Aged 15-24	135	11	124	91.9
Aged 25-39	208	18	190	91.3
Aged 40 and above	95	10	85	89.5

Note: The respondents' age is unknown in seven realized interviews and for one refusal. Data were initially collected for the age groups 40-64 and 65 and above. However, the age group 65 and above remained almost empty (eight in the realized sample, no refusals) so that these were combined into a single group for ease of interpreting the results.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

Although the net sample size for just over 400 is small by the standards of the LFS, it still provides useful insight into the situation of informal workers and can serve the purposes outlined in the introduction. However, readers should keep in mind that the results do not have the same accuracy as those obtained from a labour force survey (see Appendix 1).[4] While the main objective was to gain deeper insight into the working conditions of informal workers, the sampling design necessarily leads to the inclusion of some formal workers. Since Glen View, as a residential area, includes no large industrial estates and only few offices and shops, there is nonetheless a (welcome) sampling bias towards informal workers. When reading the results, readers should also keep in mind that they are only representative for Glen View and not for all of Harare or Zimbabwe. However, there is nothing that would suggest that the experience of informal workers in Glen View differs fundamentally from that of other high-density suburbs in Harare or, for that matter, in Zimbabwe's other urban areas.

b. Labour force status

During a pre-test carried out in mid-November 2006, the interviewers experimented with two questionnaire versions that used different questions to establish the labour force status of participants. The first version contained the familiar question "Did you work for one

[3] A few remaining interviews in one cluster were carried out on December 1st, 2006.

[4] In principle, there is the possibility that the cluster sampling technique introduces additional sampling error. This is especially the case when the number of selected clusters is small, the number of selected individuals per cluster is large, and when clusters are relatively homogenous in themselves (see Blalock, 1972: 523ff.). However, this source of sampling error was minimized by selecting a relatively large number of clusters (40) and, on average, only around 10 individuals within each cluster. Further, the intraclass correlation for a number of important variables (hours worked, average incomes per week, etc.) turned out to be not significantly different from zero, i.e. clusters were heterogeneous.

hour or more in the last 7 days?", followed by the same prompt as in the 2004 LFS (see CSO, 2005a). The alternative version read:

> "What have you been doing for a living over the past 7 days?".

and interviewers were instructed to write down a detailed description of activities over the past seven days. Where necessary, interviewers asked further questions to gain accurate information on a respondent's status in employment and the industrial sector; the records also allowed the classification of those who are usually at work but who were temporarily absent from work (e.g. due to paid annual leave or sick leave).

The unanimous experience of interviewers was that the alternative questionnaire version was far simpler to administer to the target group: respondents reported on their income-generating activities, and it was left to the interviewers (who had received training) to classify them as employed or not employed according to the relaxed ICLS definition (see ICLS, 1982). By contrast, the conventional questionnaire version often led to discussions on whether a particular activity – say, street vending – should be seen as work or not. This did not only cause confusion, but also established a bias for the question on self-assessed unemployment (see Section II.d. below). Therefore, the alternative version was used for the survey. Those who had done no work (and were not temporarily absent from work) were asked whether they were available for work and whether they have been actively seeking work to establish whether they are unemployed or outside the labour force.

Table 2: Labour force status under the relaxed definition of unemployment (%)

	Persons	In % of all respondents	In % of labour force
Employed	312	76.8	82.8
+ Unemployed (relaxed definition)	65	16.0	17.2
Thereof: Unemployed (standard definition)	26	6.4	6.9
Thereof: Available non-seekers	39	9.6	10.3
= Labour force	377	92.9	100.0
+ Outside labour force	29	7.1	
= Total population	406	100.0	

Note: The unemployed (standard definition) are those who where available for work during the past 7 days and have been actively looking for work during the past 30 days; available non-seekers have been available for work during the past 7 days, but have not been looking for work during the past 30 days. Under the relaxed definition of unemployment, available non-seekers are considered as unemployed and therefore as labour force participants. Number of missing cases is nil.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

The breakdown by labour force status is found in Table 2. As can be seen, the vast majority carried out some economic activity that qualifies as employment under the international definition.[5] Of those without work, 65 respondents were classified as unemployed under the relaxed definition of unemployment (i.e. available for work). Of the unemployed, 26 were also unemployed under the standard definition (i.e. available for work and actively looking for work) and 39 were available non-seekers (i.e. available for work but not actively looking for work). Another 29 respondents were outside the labour force (i.e. not available for work). Thus, the labour force participation rate was, at 92.9 per cent, relatively high and the unemployment rate (relaxed definition) stood at 17.2 per cent. This is above the national average of 9.4 per cent for 2004 (see Luebker, 2008: Section III.a.), but actually below the urban unemployment rate of 22.9 per cent that was found in 2004 (CSO, 2005a: 62).

[5] A detailed discussion of the concepts employment and unemployment is found in (Luebker, 2008).

As Table 3 shows, there are large differences in labour force status between age groups and by gender. Labour force participation is marginally higher for men (95.0 per cent) than for women (91.4 per cent) and highest in the middle age group from 25 to 39 years. However, there are significant gender differences in employment-to-population ratios: while 87.0 of all men of working age are employed, only 70.2 per cent of women are in employment. Hence, unemployment rates are far higher for women (23.2 per cent) than for men (8.5 per cent). Consistent with the findings from the 2004 LFS (see Luebker, 2008: Section III.a.), young women are again the worst affected group, with an unemployment rate of 40.6 per cent, compared to a far lower male youth unemployment rate (17.8 per cent). The overall youth unemployment is still considerable at 31.2 per cent. In fact, more than half of all unemployed respondents fell into the youth age group. Open unemployment is thus mainly a problem of young workers, many of them recent school-leavers, who face particular problems to enter the labour market (see also ILO 2005a, 2005b).

Table 3: Labour force participation rate, employment-to-population rate and unemployment rate by age group and gender (%)

	Age Group			All age groups
	15 to 24	25 to 39	40 & above	
Total LF participation rate (a)	87.9	96.3	91.8	92.9
Male LF participation rate (a)	88.2	100.0	91.7	95.0
Female LF participation rate (a)	87.7	93.5	91.8	91.4
Total employment-to-population ratio (a)	60.5	84.2	84.7	76.8
Male employment-to-population ratio (a)	72.5	96.4	87.5	87.0
Female employment-to-population ratio (a)	52.1	74.8	83.6	70.2
Total unemployment rate (b)	31.2	12.6	7.7	17.2
Male unemployment rate (b)	17.8	3.6	4.5	8.5
Female unemployment rate (b)	40.6	20.0	8.9	23.2
n =	124	190	85	406

Note: (a) Expressed as percentage of the total population within the age group; the age group was unknown for 7 respondents. (b) Expressed as percentage of labour force within the age group; unemployment refers to the relaxed definition.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

c. Informality under the enterprise-based and the job-based concept

Informality can be measured either on the basis of the enterprise-based concept or the job-based concept of informality.[6] The Survey on Informal Employment contained an operationalization for both concepts. For the enterprise-based concept of informality, the approach already adopted in the companion paper was used: all non-agricultural, unregistered enterprises were included in the informal sector and all registered enterprises and government constitute the formal sector. Communal and resettlement farmers as well as households with paid domestic employees were grouped as household production units.

The breakdown according to the enterprise-based concept of informality (Table 4) shows that the informal sector is by far the most important employer for those included in the survey sample: it accounts for 81.6 per cent of all jobs, followed by the formal sector with 11.9 per cent and households with 6.5 per cent. The relatively low contribution of households is explained by the fact that the sample was drawn in an urban area and thus

[6] See ICLS (1993), Hussmanns (2004) and Section II.b. of the companion paper (Luebker, 2008).

contains few communal and resettlement farmers. Disaggregated by gender, it again becomes clear that men have privileged access to formal sector jobs: some 18.1 per cent of male workers were employed in the formal sector, compared to 7.0 per cent of female respondents. However, since these figures are expressed as a percentage of all employed persons (and not all labour force participants), and given that women face higher unemployment, they actually understate gender differences in access to formal sector employment. Again, with respect to age, smaller differences in access to formal sector employment become evident: as in the 2004 LFS, youth and older workers are least likely to be employed in the formal sector.

Table 4: Informality according to the enterprise-based concept, by age group and gender (in % of employed persons)

Enterprise-based concept of informality	Age Group			Gender		Total
	15 to 24	25 to 39	40 & above	Male	Female	
Formal sector enterprises	11.0	13.1	11.1	18.1	7.0	11.9
Informal sector enterprises	80.8	83.1	83.1	79.0	83.7	81.6
Households	8.2	3.8	3.8	2.9	9.3	6.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n =	73	160	72	138	172	310

Note: Only employed respondents are listed; age was unknown for five respondents.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

The job-based concept of informality was applied to the survey in two different ways: with the proxy-operationalization that was used for the 2004 LFS in the companion paper, and the full operationalization as recommended by Hussmanns (2004: 16f.; see also ILO Bureau of Statistics, 2004). Under either approach, own-account workers, employers and unpaid family workers are classified according to the institutional sector in which they work. Thus, only the classification of employees differs. The proxy operationalization simply groups all permanent employees as formally employed and all temporary and casual employees as informal workers. By contrast, the full operationalization classifies all those as informal workers who lack one of the following: paid annual leave; paid sick leave; or employer-funded contribution to a pension fund (ibid.). In the current survey, this definition was applied on the basis of the first two criteria only. Therefore, all those employees who lack paid sick leave and/or paid annual leave are considered to be informally employed.

Table 5: Informality by job-based concept, proxy and full operationalization

	Job-based concept (proxy operationalization)		Job-based concept (full operationalization)	
	Cases	In %	Cases	In %
Formal employment	46	14.7	38	12.2
Informal employment	266	85.3	274	87.8
Total	312	100.0	312	100.0

Note: For a full explanation of the two operationalizations, see text.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

Both approaches lead to very similar results: under the proxy operationalization, 85.3 per cent of all employed respondents were classified as informally employed, compared to 87.8 per cent under the full operationalization (see Table 5 and Appendix 2). The difference is mainly due to the fact that some permanent employees do not have paid annual leave and/or paid sick leave. The proxy operationalization consequently underestimates (rather than exaggerates) the extent of informality. This is a welcome finding since it means that the proxy operationalization produces a conservative estimate

of informal employment. Analyses that make use of existing labour force surveys that lack the full operationalization – such as that of the Zimbabwe 2004 LFS in the companion paper – can hence claim that estimates of informality derived with the proxy method are solid and err on the side of caution. However, if the full operationalization of the job-based concept were introduced into future LFSs, this would improve the accuracy with which the job-based concept can be applied (see also Hussmanns, forthcoming).

Table 6: Informality according to the job-based concept, by age group and gender (in % of employed population)

Job-based concept of informality	Age Group			Gender		Total
	15 to 24	25 to 39	40 & above	Male	Female	
Formal employment	8.0	15.6	9.7	16.4	8.7	12.2
Informal employment	92.0	84.4	90.3	83.6	91.3	87.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n =	75	160	72	140	172	312

Note: Only employed respondents are listed; age was unknown for five respondents. Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

The current analysis will use the full operationalization in all tabulations (rather than the proxy operationalization). The basic breakdown between formal and informal workers (Table 6) shows a familiar pattern: again, male workers (16.4 per cent) hold formal jobs far more often than their female counterparts (8.7 per cent), and it is the middle age-group from 25 to 39 that has the highest share of formal workers.

A comparison between Table 4 and Table 6 reveals that the results are very similar under either concept of informality. This is largely due to the significant overlap between the groups included under the enterprise- and the job-based concept of informality. As can be seen in Table 7, the vast majority of all workers (80.3 per cent) are classified as informal under either concept, and another 10.0 per cent are classified as formal under both concepts. By contrast, only 1.9 per cent is grouped as informal under the job-based concept but as formal under the enterprise-based concept, and an even smaller group of 1.3 per cent is formally employed in the informal sector. Also, a large majority of workers in households are classified as informally employed. In an urban setting (i.e. without a significant proportion of communal agriculture) the two concepts of informality thus lead to very similar groupings. This contrasts with the data from the 2004 LFS where 80.7 per cent of all workers were classified as informal under the job-based concept, but only 23.7 per cent under the enterprise-based concept. Unlike in the companion paper, little additional insight is gained from using both concepts alongside each other. So, in the interest of parsimony, the remainder of the paper will largely be restricted to the job-based concept of informality.

Table 7: Simplified matrix of informality according to enterprise-based concept and job-based concept of informality (in % of employed population)

Enterprise-based concept of informality	Job-based concept of informality (full operationalization)		Total
	Formal employment	Informal employment	
Formal sector enterprises	10.0	1.9	11.9
Informal sector enterprises	1.3	80.3	81.6
Households	1.0	5.5	6.5
Total	12.3	87.7	100.0

Note: Number of valid cases is n = 310.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

d. Self-assessed unemployment

The data presented so far confirm two key findings from the companion paper: First, even though the survey was carried out in an urban area, unemployment is relatively low and was estimated at only 17.2 per cent. Second, under both concepts of informality only a small minority is employed in the formal sector (11.9 per cent) or holds formal jobs (12.3 per cent). Again, widespread informal employment can explain why, despite an apparent lack of jobs in the formal sector, unemployment has remained relatively low even when measured according to the relaxed ICLS definition of unemployment (see ICLS, 1982).

However, as was argued in the companion paper, the popular conception of employment and unemployment often differs from the definition used by labour statisticians (for evidence from Europe, see e.g. Richiardi, 2002). Anecdotal evidence from the pre-test confirmed this: even respondents who were visibly working while the interview took place (e.g. selling vegetables by the roadside) frequently denied that they were working. To gain a better understanding of respondents' own perception of their labour force status, they were asked the following question:

> "When you talk to friends and family, and they ask you '*Are you unemployed?*', how do you answer? Do you say '*I am unemployed*', or do you say '*I am employed*'? Or how else do you describe your situation?".

Although the interviewers generally carried out the interviews in Shona, they read out the parts set in italics above in English in order to preserve the meaning of the English terms.

Table 8: Self-assessed unemployment by respondent's labour force status (%)

	Labour Force Participants		= All labour force participants	+ Outside labour force	= All respondents
	Employed	Unemployed (relaxed definition)			
I say I am unemployed	43.4	90.8	51.5	79.3	53.6
I say I am employed	31.8	3.1	26.8	3.4	25.2
I say I am self-employed	20.3	1.5	17.0	3.4	16.0
I say I am informally employed / doing something, etc.	2.6		2.1		2.0
I say I am an employer	0.3		0.3		0.2
I say I am not working / a pensioner, etc.	1.6	4.6	2.1	13.8	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n =	311	65	376	29	405

Note: Answers where statistical definition and perception of respondent coincide are highlighted in grey; number of missing cases is 1.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

The results from this experimental question confirm that there is a wide gulf between how statisticians and ordinary workers view unemployment (Table 8). Overall, some 51.5 per cent of all labour force participants said that they are unemployed – compared to an unemployment rate of 17.2 per cent under the relaxed ICLS definition. Perceived unemployment differs markedly between groups: among those who are classified as 'unemployed' under the relaxed ICLS definition, a vast majority of 90.8 per cent (correctly) identified themselves as unemployed. Similarly, among those outside the labour force (i.e. those not available for work), an overwhelming majority of 79.3 per cent (incorrectly) thought of themselves as unemployed and only 13.8 per cent gave an answer that corresponds to their statistical classification (pensioner, not working,

etc.). Among those who are working, a majority said so: some 31.8 per cent identified themselves as employed, and others described themselves as "self-employed" (20.3 per cent), used descriptions such as "informally employed" and "doing something" (2.6 per cent) or were employers (0.3 per cent). However, a sizable share of those who are working (43.4 per cent) saw themselves as unemployed.

It is plausible that these are respondents who work, but lack what they would regard as a "proper job" and thus think of themselves as unemployed. Table 9 thus differentiates the answers of employed respondents by the job-based concept of informality, and the expected contrast becomes apparent: only 21.1 per cent of all formal workers see themselves as unemployed, compared to 46.5 per cent of informal workers. In the latter group, only 27.5 per cent answered that they were "employed" while others used terns such as "self-employed" (21.6 per cent) and, less frequently, expressions such as "informally employed" or "doing something"(2.9 per cent).

Table 9: Self-assessed unemployment, employed respondents by job-based concept of informality (%)

	Job-based concept of informality		All employed respondents
	Formal employment	Informal employment	
I say I am unemployed	21.1	46.5	43.4
I say I am employed	63.2	27.5	31.8
I say I am self-employed	10.5	21.6	20.3
I say I am informally employed / doing something, etc.		2.9	2.6
I say I am an employer	2.6		0.3
I say I am not working / a pensioner, etc.	2.6	1.5	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
n =	38	273	311

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality. Answers where statistical definition and perception of respondent coincide are highlighted in grey; number of missing cases is 1.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

Turning to the status in employment (Table 10), the vast majority of informal workers (86.9 per cent) are own-account workers (excl. farmers), followed by a small group of casual employees (6.2 per cent). This supports the conclusion that informal employment is first and foremost self-created employment, rather than informal wage employment. The small group of informal wage employees are predominantly domestic workers employed by private households, and not employees in enterprises. Further, only 1.8 per cent of informal workers are employers running informal sector enterprises. All of these were micro-enterprises with no more than five employees, and profits of less than ZW$ 100 000 per week.[7] There is thus no evidence that large employers deliberately avoid formality. By contrast, employers account for 10.5 per cent of those with formal jobs; their formal sector enterprises were also greatly more profitable than those of their informal competitors. The largest group of formal workers were permanent paid employees (50.0 per cent), but there is also a substantial share of formal own-account workers (31.6 per cent).

[7] Or less than US$ 50 per week, using the prevailing black market rate; see Footnote 10.

Table 10: Employed persons by status in employment and job-based concept of informality (%)

Status in employment	Job-based concept of informality		Total (all employed respondents)
	Formal employment	Informal employment	
Paid employee (permanent)	50.0	2.9	8.7
Paid employee (casual / temporary / contract / seasonal)	7.9	6.2	6.4
Employer	10.5	1.8	2.9
Own-account worker (communal & resettlement farmers)	0.0	2.2	1.9
Own-account worker (other)	31.6	86.9	80.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
n =	38	274	312

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality. The sample contained no unpaid family workers.
Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

e. Branches of economic activity

Table 11 reveals that informal jobs are mainly in distribution, restaurants and hotels (60.9 per cent), followed by a far smaller share in manufacturing (19.7 per cent). This is consistent with earlier studies that found a shift from manufacturing towards trade and, more generally, services. For example, this trend emerges from a series of three surveys carried out in the 1990s among non-agricultural micro and small enterprises (MSEs) that were predominantly in the informal sector. According to the study, the share of manufacturing MSEs declined from 71.6 per cent in 1991 to 42.4 per cent in 1998, and the share of MSEs engaged in trade rose from 21.1 per cent to 45.2 per cent over the same period (McPherson, 1998: 30). Although the present survey uses a different unit of observation (employed persons rather than enterprises) and the coverage is narrower (Glen View rather than national), the data provide some indication that the shift from manufacturing towards services has continued.

The importance of the tabulation category "Distribution, restaurants and hotels" for informal employment warrants a closer disaggregation that is provided in Appendix 3.[8] Out of the 167 informal workers in this category, some 127 respondents work in retail trade outside stores, e.g. as street vendors or informal traders operating from home. The largest single group sells fruit and vegetables (71 respondents), followed by 'freezits' (brightly coloured ice) and soft drinks (15 respondents) and products such as soap, floor polish and cooking oil (14 respondents). However, the range of products sold by informal traders goes far beyond this and includes airtime (i.e. refill cards for mobile phones), watches, bags, books, bikes and, in the case of two respondents, marihuana.[9] Most of these informal traders were women (90) and far fewer men (28).

[8] Due to the small size of the sub-sample, the table uses absolute numbers, rather than percentages, to highlight the limitations of the small sample and to avoid an undue impression of accuracy.

[9] In a sample of 274 informal workers, these two drug dealers where the only ones who offered illegal services or products.

Table 11: Employment across branches of activity, by gender and job-based concept of informality (%)

Branch of economic activity (ISIC Rev. 3 tabulation category)	Gender		Job-based concept of informality		Total (all employed respondents)
	Male	Female	Formal employment	Informal employment	
Agriculture, hunting and fishing (A & B)	2.1	4.7	0.0	4.0	3.5
Manufacturing (D)	27.1	15.7	28.9	19.7	20.8
Construction (F)	2.9	0.0	0.0	1.5	1.3
Distribution, restaurants & hotels (G & H)	50.0	62.8	28.9	60.9	57.1
Transport and communication (I)	5.7	1.7	10.5	2.6	3.5
Finance, real estate and other business activities (J & K)	3.6	0.0	5.3	1.1	1.6
Public administration, education and health (L, M & N)	1.4	2.3	15.8	0.0	1.9
Other services (O)	6.4	8.1	2.6	8.0	7.4
Private households with employed persons (P)	0.7	4.7	7.9	2.2	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n =	140	172	38	274	312

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality. No respondents were employed in Mining and quarrying (D), Electricity, gas and water (E) and Extra-territorial organizations and bodies (Q).

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

For street vending, the barriers of entry are relatively low and the capital requirements are modest for a number of products, such as fruit and vegetables. Nonetheless, some informal barriers of entry may exist, e.g. a new street vendor is well advised to obtain the consent of established traders before setting up a stall in their direct proximity (see Mupedziswa and Gumbo, 2001: 38). A great number of traders have entered the same market and follow essentially the same business model (e.g. buying tomatoes and onions in bulk, and then re-selling them). The downside is that profit margins and volumes fall due to heavy competition, and subsequently incomes remain low (see Section III.a.). Using the terminology of Fields (1990), these workers can be attributed to the "easy entry informal sector" with undesirable working conditions. At the other end of the scale, far fewer respondents were employed in activities that require a greater capital stock or specialized skills, such as the repair of motor vehicles (10 respondents) or household goods (10 respondents). Another area with higher entry barriers is cross-border trade (15 respondents), where capital requirements can be substantial and respondents must be dispensable from home for several days in sequence and, to travel abroad, need a passport (which can be difficult to obtain).

Although manufacturing was the second most important category, far fewer respondents were employed in this sector (65 compared to 167 in trade). The disaggregation in Appendix Table 3 shows that, roughly speaking, manufacturing can be divided into two broad clusters: the first is a female-dominated cluster with relatively low barriers of entry, consisting of garments and crocheting. A total of 21 women were engaged in these activities. The second cluster is male-dominated and centres on light manufacturing of articles made of metal, concrete and wood. With 16 respondents (of whom only two were women), the single most important class is furniture, reflecting Glen View's history as a centre of the furniture industry. Furniture is also the only branch of manufacturing that provides a relatively high share of formal jobs (5 out of 16). Other manufacturing activities include making household hardware (6 respondents), articles out of concrete and plaster (4 respondents, mainly making concrete bricks) and floor polish (4 respondents).

Although the questionnaire did not explicitly ask about links to cross-boarder trade, a number of respondents volunteered this information. In addition to the 15 respondents who stated cross-border trade as their main activity, another six carried it out as a secondary activity, and an equal number either sourced inputs directly from abroad or relied on cross-border traders for inputs or to export their products. The latter was, for example, the case for women who made bedspreads and clothing and found little domestic demand for them. Trade links are particularly strong with South Africa and Botswana, but also exist with Mozambique, Zambia and other countries. In total, some 9.9 per cent of all informal workers mentioned direct or indirect links to cross-border trade, a number that would probably have been higher if the survey had explicitly asked for this information. Even so, the result shows that informal cross-border trade has an employment impact beyond those who work as cross-border traders by providing other informal workers with inputs and an export market for their products.

Taken together, manufacturing and distribution, restaurants and hotels account for just over 80 per cent of all informal jobs. Nonetheless, the informal economy is far from homogenous and not restricted to petty manufacturing, trade and related activities. Examples of diversity include hairdressers, operators of street side phone-shops, a person renting out and selling videos, a professional footballer, a freelance song-writer, a photographer, several artists making sculptures or designing T-shirts, and a professional gambler. All of these were own-account workers, and none of them had registered an enterprise (and only a small fraction possessed a license). None of them made a fortune from these activities – the commercially most successful of the above listed examples was one of the sculptors, who earned about ZW$ 45 000 per week (or about US$ 22 at the black market rate). As argued above, there is no evidence that those engaged in the informal sector benefit from their informal status and make excess profits by avoiding formality. Rather, they operate on a small scale at the economic margins.

III. Informality and decent work: Working conditions in Glen View

a. Incomes and poverty

A decent income that supports the economic well-being of a worker and his or her family is a central aspect of decent work, and for most people gaining an income is the primary reason to work. At the same time, measuring incomes accurately in surveys is notoriously difficult. Whereas permanent wage employees generally know how much they earn (but may be reluctant to disclose this information), the task of measuring incomes is particularly difficult for informal own-account workers: their incomes tend to fluctuate and they generally do not keep accounts that would give them a precise overview. Moreover, it is often difficult to distinguish between a day's turnover (or 'intake') and the actual profit that remains after inputs and other costs have been deducted. The Survey on Informal Employment used the following question

> "If you account for all the costs and expenses you have, how much income were you left with on an average day during the past 7 days?".

Interviewers were instructed to use the information they previously gained on the respondent's work to ask about any hidden costs the respondent might not have taken into account (e.g. transport to buy goods). In cases where the respondent did not know the profit he or she made, interviewers noted down the typically daily intake and the cost for inputs, etc., to estimate a daily profit. Another question asked respondents if they incurred any other yearly or monthly costs, such as license fees or stall rents. This allows making a reasonable estimate of daily earnings and, combined with the question on the number of days worked per week, an estimate of weekly income.

Another problem is that, given the high inflation, nominal income data are not very informative unless linked to the purchasing power of the reference period. The conversion of the income figures from Zimbabwe dollar into foreign currency does not offer a clear-cut solution, given the multiple and rapidly changing exchange rates of the Zimbabwe dollar and the absence of a reliable purchasing power conversion.[10] Therefore, as in the companion paper, the Poverty Datum Line (PDL) published by the Central Statistical Office can be used as an anchor. According to the CSO, the PDL for a single person living in Harare was ZW$ 45 814 in November 2006. In other words, the total cost to meet minimum living requirements was estimated at just above ZW$ 45 000 per month, or about ZW$ 10 690 per week. However, with monthly inflation running at 30 per cent in November, consumer prices were significantly higher at the end of the month than in early November. Correcting for inflation, the weekly PDL was approximately ZW$ 11 620 for the recall period.[11]

[10] During the week of the fieldwork (November 26th to December 1st, 2006), the official exchange rate remained static at ZW$ 250 to the US$, the UN exchange rate was adjusted from ZW$ 330 (Monday) to ZW$ 1200 (Friday), and the black market rate moved from ZW$ 2000 (Monday) to ZW$ 2400 (Friday). For the sake of convenience, foreign readers might want to use the rate of ZW$ 2000 to convert income data.

[11] The monthly inflation rate of 30.4 per cent translates into a compound daily CPI increase of 0.91 per cent. A basket of goods that cost ZW$ 1 515 on November 15th would thus have cost ZW$ 1 335 on November 1st and ZW$ 1 736 on November 30th. For the purposes of the weekly poverty line, the total cost from November 22nd to November 28th was used; it is equivalent to ZW$ 11 620.

Table 12: Harare supermarket prices (Christmas specials), 28 November 2006 (in ZW$)

	Supermarket chain				Average
	Spar	TM	Bon Marché	Gutsai	
Castle Lager, 375 ml	950	390			670
Cigarettes (Madison), 20s	1045	1045			1045
Tagless tea bags (Tanganda), 100s		1390	1420		1405
Margarine (Stork), 500 g			1900		1900
Corn flakes (Willards), 300 g	1549		3105	3190	2615
Dishwashing liquid (Powerbrite), 750 ml	4065			4345	4205
Squish Squash Lemon & Lime , 2 lts	4360	4500			4430
Bacon (middle cut rashers), 250 g			4885		4885
Rice (different brands), 2 kg		5650	5800		5725
Whiskey (cheapest brand), 750 ml		18000	18000		18000

Source: The Herald (Harare), 28 November 2006.

However, it must be emphasized that the inflation-adjusted poverty line is still extraordinarily low. A brief look at the supermarket prices as of late November, displayed in Table 12, reveals that: a weekly shopping budget of ZW$ 11620 would have just sufficed to fill a shopping trolley with 2 kg of rice, a packet of corn flakes, a pound of margarine and 100 tagless tea bags – even when taking full advantage of Christmas offers. Moreover, this would still leave expenses such as housing, transport or hospital fees unmet. Consequently, the designation of those above the poverty line as "non-poor" does not imply that they are leading a "comfortable life". In fact, most of them would still find themselves struggling for survival.

As emphasised in the companion paper (see Luebker, 2008: Section IV.d.), poverty is a concept that is measured on the level of households: whenever a household's total income is insufficient to support all household members, all members of that household are deemed poor. To compute a reliable poverty headcount, one would need complete information on the incomes of all household members. Collecting such information was beyond the scope of the Survey on Informal Employment. Nonetheless, the data allowed making an approximate estimate of poverty. On average, every working Zimbabwean has to support one dependent family member (ibid.). Hence, his or her income would need to be twice the PDL of ZW$ 11620 (i.e. ZW$ 23240) to allow him or her to support an additional household member. Rounded downwards, the following tables therefore group those with weekly incomes of ZW$ 20000 or below as a memorandum item to capture those who would be considered poor if they had to support one additional household member.

The first finding that becomes apparent from Table 13 is that a large proportion, 62.8 per cent of all employed respondents, falls below the threshold of ZW$ 20000. Moreover, a substantial share of respondents falls far short of this threshold: 21.3 per cent earned between ZW$ 5001 and ZW$ 10000 per week, and 20.9 per cent only ZW$ 5000 or less. To put this into perspective, for about a fifth of all respondents, a week's income was insufficient to buy a 2 kg packet of rice (priced at ZW$ 5725). As already observed on the basis of the 2004 LFS, women disproportionately suffer from low incomes: while only 11.4 per cent of all male workers fell into the bottom category, the corresponding share of women was 29.3 per cent. Overall, just over half of all men had incomes below the (approximate) poverty threshold of ZW$ 20000, compared to almost three quarters of women. Looking at top incomes, some 12.9 per cent of all male workers earned more than ZW$ 100000 per week, but only 3.3 per cent of women. Consequently, mean incomes for men (ZW$ 66174) were three times higher than for women (ZW$ 22314).

Table 13: Employed respondents by weekly cash earnings and gender or job-based concept of informality (%)

Earnings per week	Gender		Job-based concept of informality		All employed respondents
	Male	Female	Formal employment	Informal employment	
Up to ZW$ 5 000	11.4	29.3	17.1	21.5	20.9
ZW$ 5 001 to ZW$ 10 000	18.9	23.3	28.6	20.2	21.3
ZW$ 10 001 to ZW$ 20 000	22.7	18.7	20.0	20.6	20.6
ZW$ 20 001 to ZW$ 50 000	25.8	18.7	8.6	23.9	22.0
ZW$ 50 001 to ZW$ 100 000	8.3	6.7	8.6	7.3	7.4
ZW$ 100 001 and above	12.9	3.3	17.1	6.5	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Memo: up to ZW$ 20 000	53.0	71.3	65.7	62.3	62.8
Mean	66 174	22 314	126 975	30 922	42 844
Median	18 000	9 250	12 000	13 000	12 500
n =	132	150	35	247	282

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality. Number of missing cases is 30.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

The breakdown between formal and informal workers is, at first sight, counter-intuitive: the share of those with incomes below the threshold is just below two-thirds for both groups. However, one needs to keep in mind that the figure for formal workers is based on a relatively small sample and therefore vulnerable to distortions. For example, three domestic workers (or 8.6 per cent of the sample) with incomes below ZW$ 5 000 were classified as formal workers on the basis of their statement that they benefited from paid leave and had access to health insurance (although they were employed in households, rather than in the formal sector). Other formal workers with very low incomes included two public sector workers (a cleaner and a teacher) and a number of employees in manufacturing and distribution. With high inflation, employees often see the purchasing power of their wages erode before wages are adjusted upwards. On the other hand, there was a substantial group of formal workers with incomes in the top bracket above ZW$ 100 000 (including three employers) so that mean incomes were about four times higher for formal workers (ZW$ 126 975) than for their informal counterparts (ZW$ 30 922).

Table 14 uses the status in employment to differentiate further between different types of workers. Paid employees, especially those who are in a casual employment relationship, are at the bottom of the income pyramid: none of them fall into the top income group, and around three-quarters of them have incomes below the threshold of ZW$ 20 000. In the case of casual employees, more than half actually have incomes of ZW$ 5 000 or less. The mean incomes of employees are ZW$ 12 764 (casual employees) and ZW$ 16 144 (permanent employees), respectively. Own-account workers are somewhat better off, with weekly mean incomes of just under ZW$ 35 000. Nonetheless, over 60 per cent of them have incomes not exceeding ZW$ 20 000. By far the best off group are employers who reported mean weekly incomes of over ZW$ 430 000, or about ten times the average of the entire sample.[12] While this figure is driven up by some employers with extremely high incomes, the median income of ZW$ 82 500 is still far above the median for the entire sample, ZW$ 12 500 (i.e. half the sample has incomes below this line, and half of the sample incomes that exceed it).

[12] Despite the small number of cases, an independent samples t-test showed a statistically significant difference (t = 8.318, sign. = 0.000) between mean incomes of employers and non-employers. The same holds for the natural logarithm of incomes (t = 4.695, sign. = 0.000).

Table 14: Employed respondents by weekly cash earnings and status in employment (%)

Earnings per week	By status in employment					All employed respondents
	Paid employee (permanent)	Paid employee (casual, etc.)	Employer	Own-account worker (farmer)	Own-account worker (other)	
Up to ZW$ 5 000	28.0	52.6	[0.0]	[33.3]	18.1	20.9
ZW$ 5 001 to ZW$ 10 000	24.0	5.3	[0.0]	[33.3]	22.9	21.3
ZW$ 10 001 to ZW$ 20 000	28.0	15.8	[25.0]	[0.0]	20.3	20.6
ZW$ 20 001 to ZW$ 50 000	8.0	21.1	[12.5]	[0.0]	24.2	22.0
ZW$ 50 001 to ZW$ 100 000	12.0	5.3	[25.0]	[33.3]	6.2	7.4
ZW$ 100 001 and above	0.0	0.0	[37.5]	[0.0]	8.4	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Memo: up to ZW$ 20 000	80.0	73.7	25.0	66.6	61.3	62.8
Mean	16 144	12 764	438 195	25 666	34 596	42 844
Median	9 000	5 000	82 400	10 000	13 006	12 500
n =	25	19	8	3	227	282

Note: Number of missing cases is 28. Income groupings for categories with less than ten respondents are in [brackets].

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

Several authors have argued that some entrepreneurs enter the informal sector by choice since this allows them to avoid taxation and the indirect cost of regulation (e.g. Maloney, 2004). Following this line of thought, it is sometimes alleged that informal enterprises enjoy a competitive advantage and, by avoiding the cost of formality, can reap excess profits. On the other hand, formality entails considerable advantages such as easier access to bank credit and a secure legal status that should give formal enterprises an advantage over their informal competitors. Which of the two effects is stronger is an open question. To compare the two types of enterprises, Table 15 groups all employers and own-account workers (excluding communal and resettlement farmers) according to the enterprise-based concept of informality. Despite the relatively small number of cases, the unambiguous finding is that small formal sector enterprises are far more successful: employers and own-account workers with formal sector enterprises reported mean weekly cash earnings of roughly ZW$ 275 000, compared to only ZW$ 33 000 for their informal competitors.[13]

Earlier studies have shown that micro and small enterprises involved in manufacturing are far more profitable than those engaged in street vending (McPherson, 1998), and highlighted the low incomes of women informal traders (Mupedziswa and Gumbo, 2001: 40ff.). The present study corroborates these findings: manufacturing workers had average weekly earnings of ZW$ 84 045, almost three times higher than those in distribution, restaurants and hotels (ZW$ 29 252; see Table 16). However, the relatively high mean incomes in manufacturing are, in part, the result of a few outliers (two employers with very high incomes). If median incomes are taken as a basis of comparison, the gap between manufacturing (ZW$ 14 350) and distribution, restaurants and hotels (ZW$ 12 765) narrows. Further, the large tabulation category "Distribution, restaurants and hotels" is in itself relatively heterogeneous, and includes activities as varied as formal sector retail trade, cross-border trade, street vending and illegal drug trade. The category is therefore further disaggregated into three groups: by far the highest incomes were reported by the two drug dealers in the sample (just over ZW$ 300 000), followed by those engaged in activities other than retail trade outside stores (mean: ZW$ 46 180, median: ZW$ 21 000). This compares to the very modest incomes of street vendors and other informal traders

[13] Using a t-test for independent samples, the difference between mean incomes is significant at the 0.001-level (t = 5.818). The same holds for the logarithm of incomes (t = 3.604; sign. = 0.000).

(retail trade outside stores, excl. drug trade). With mean incomes of only ZW$ 18 559 (median: ZW$ 12 000), they are near the bottom of the income pyramid. A quarter of them earn ZW$ 5 000 or less (i.e. not enough to buy 2 kg of rice from a week's income), and some three-quarters of them earn less than the threshold of ZW$ 23 240 that would be needed to support the worker and one additional dependent (not tabulated). Thus, informal traders are a group that is disproportionately affected by poverty.[14] As argued above, the generally low incomes of informal traders are a direct consequence of the large number of vendors, and the pressure on volumes and margins that results from intense competition.

Table 15: Employers and own-account workers by weekly cash earnings and enterprise-based concept of informality (%)

Earnings per week	Enterprise-based concept of informality		All employers and own-account workers (other)
	Formal sector	Informal sector	
Up to ZW$ 5 000	0.0	18.3	17.2
ZW$ 5 001 to ZW$ 10 000	33.3	21.1	21.9
ZW$ 10 001 to ZW$ 20 000	13.3	21.1	20.6
ZW$ 20 001 to ZW$ 50 000	6.7	25.2	24.0
ZW$ 50 001 to ZW$ 100 000	6.7	6.9	6.9
ZW$ 100 001 and above	40.0	7.3	9.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Memo: up to ZW$ 20 000	46.6	60.5	59.7
Mean	275 187	33 106	49 980
Median	49 980	14 000	14 350
n =	15	218	233

Note: Excludes own-account workers (communal and resettlement farmers).

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

Table 16: Mean and median weekly cash earnings by branch of economic activity (ZW$)

Branch of economic activity (ISIC Rev. 3 tabulation category)	Mean earnings per week in ZW$	Median earnings per week in ZW$	n =
Agriculture, hunting and fishing (A & B)	[18 667]	[9 500]	6
Manufacturing (D)	84 045	14 350	59
Construction (F)	[46 667]	[15 000]	3
Distribution, restaurants & hotels (G & H)	29 252	12 765	164
Excl. retail trade outside stores and drug trade	46 180	21 000	43
Retail trade outside stores only, excl. drug trade	18 559	12 000	119
Drug trade only	[301 550]	[301 550]	2
Transport and communication (I)	[127 718]	[17 160]	9
Finance, real estate and other business activities (J & K)	[42 186]	[7 500]	4
Public administration, education and health (L, M & N)	[21 858]	[8 280]	5
Private households with employed persons (P)	[13 648]	[4 300]	9
Other services (O)	22 767	16 000	23
Total	42 844	12 500	282

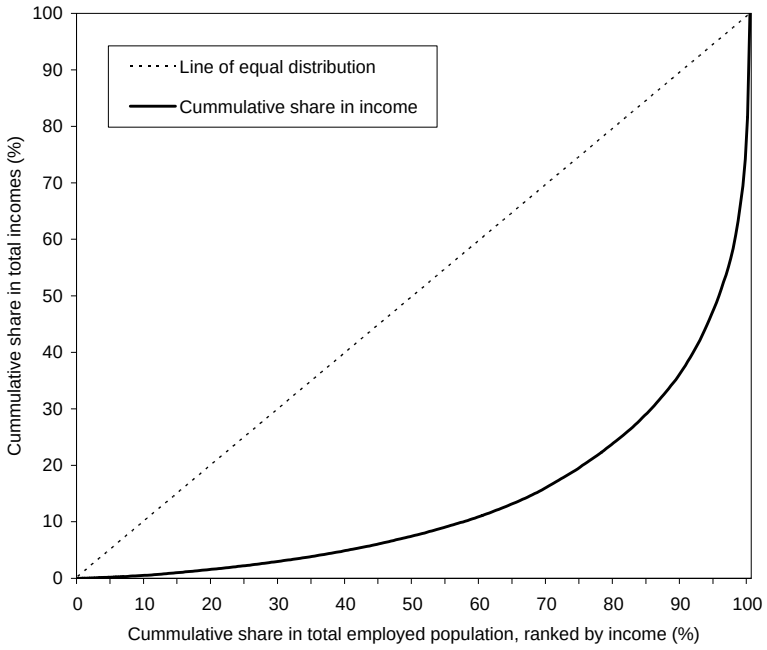
Note: Number of missing cases is 28. Data for categories with less than ten respondents are in [brackets].

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

[14] Another group with very low incomes are domestic workers (mean: ZW$ 13648, median: ZW$ 4300), though the number of cases (n = 9) is too low to describe their exact income situation.

As has already become apparent, the distribution of incomes within the sample is highly unequal. As a group, the top 10 per cent of employed persons had a share of 63.0 per cent in total incomes, and a quarter of all incomes went to just two individuals (or 0.7 per cent of the sample). Both of these top earners were employers in the formal sector (running a furniture business and commuter omnibuses, respectively). By contrast, the poorest half of all workers had a share of just 7.5 per cent in total incomes. The distribution of incomes can be visualized with the help of the Lorenz curve, as in Figure 1. In order to draw it, all employed respondents were ranked by income, from the lowest to the highest. The curve then plots the share of a population group (e.g. the bottom 50 per cent) on the horizontal axis, and this group's share in total incomes on the vertical axis (e.g. 7.5 per cent). The dotted line is what would theoretically result if all respondents had equal incomes, and is sometimes called the line of equal distribution (or 45 degree line). The farther the Lorenz curve is away from this line, the more unequal is the distribution of incomes. The size of the area between the Lorenz curve and line of equal distribution, expressed as a share of the total area below the 90 degree line, is a commonly used measure for inequality, the Gini coefficient. It ranges between one (a single person has all income) and zero, which signals perfect income equality. The Gini coefficient for the weekly incomes of employed persons in Glen View is 0.724, which confirms the impression of a highly skewed income distribution.[15]

Figure 1: Lorenz curve for weekly cash earnings of employed persons



Note: See text for explanation.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

b. Hours of work

The data collected on working time show a great diversity between individual respondents (Table 17). On average, employed respondents worked a standard work week of 43.3 hours, but this masks the polarization between respondents who worked 19 hours or less (20.8 per cent) and those who worked very long hours. Almost 40 per cent exceeded the threshold of 48 hours per week: some 10.9 per cent worked excessive hours

[15] The calculation is based on the Brown formula, see Brown (1994).

(49 to 59 hours) and a further 28.7 spent 60 or more hours at work, a category know as extreme hours (equivalent to six working days with 10 hours each; see Lee et al., 2007). The high share of respondents who work very long hours is driven by informal workers (rather than formal workers, where the proportions are much smaller). Very long hours of work are often a result of inadequate hourly incomes, prompting workers to put in more hours in an attempt to increase their overall earnings. Extreme hours can also reflect work of relatively low intensity (and, related to this, low productivity and income) where no straightforward distinction between work and non-economic activities can be made. This is typically the case for vendors who operate from home or who have a stand directly in front of their home, and can attend to domestic duties when there is no business.[16]

Table 17: Employed persons by hours actually worked during the reference week, by gender and job-based concept of informality (%)

Hours actually worked per week	Gender		Job-based concept of informality		All employed respondents
	Male	Female	Formal employment	Informal employment	
Up to 19 hours	19.7	21.7	13.9	21.7	20.8
20 to 39 hours	18.2	25.3	19.4	22.5	22.1
40 to 48 hours	16.1	18.7	36.1	15.0	17.5
49 to 59 hours (excessive hours)	11.7	10.2	13.9	10.5	10.9
60 hours and more (extreme hours)	34.3	24.1	16.7	30.3	28.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean hours worked	46.7	40.5	41.8	43.5	43.3
n =	137	166	36	267	303

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality. Number of missing cases is 9.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

Again, there are important gender differences in average working time: men generally work longer than women (46.7 hours vs. 40.5 hours). However, even among women almost a quarter work extreme hours, compared to about a third among men. These differences are in line with the results from the 2004 Labour Force Survey (see Luebker, 2008: Section IV.c.). The LFS results also showed that women generally carry a double burden of employment and domestic work, while the majority of men either contribute little time to domestic work or no time at all.

c. Social security and leave entitlements

One of the four main pillars of the Decent Work Agenda is to provide workers with a minimum of social protection and social security. Social security has been defined as "benefits that society provides to individuals and households – through public and collective measures – to guarantee them a minimum standard of living and to protect them against low or declining living standards arising out of a number of basic risks and needs" (van Ginneken, 2003). Some of these risks are listed in the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952 (No. 102) that identifies nine areas, namely medical care as well as benefits in case of sickness, unemployment, old age, employment injury, family circumstances, maternity, invalidity and widowhood. However, in practice some 90 per cent of the population in African and South Asian low-income countries are not covered by formal social security arrangements (van Ginneken, 2003: 70). As van

[16] Among informal workers, 42.7 per cent worked from home and another 7.7 per cent on a street directly in front of their home.

Ginneken argues, "[t]he fundamental reason for low social security coverage in developing countries is that many workers outside the formal economy are not able or willing to contribute a relatively high percentage of their incomes to financing social security benefits that do not meet their priority needs" (van Ginneken, 1999: 66).

This phenomenon can also be observed in Zimbabwe, where the formal social security system was designed in colonial times to benefit the white settler minority and has historically been biased in favour of white formal sector workers (Kaseke, 2003a). Although the racial bias was removed at independence and some steps have been made to include informal sector workers, social security programmes have effectively remained the domain of formal sector workers. As Kaseke (2003a) discusses in more detail, this applies to occupational pension schemes as well as to the *Pensions and other Benefits Scheme* and the *Accident Prevention and Workers' Compensation Scheme* (both of which are administered by the National Social Security Authority, NSSA). Thus, workers outside the formal sector generally have to rely on informal support systems (Kaseke, 2003b).

Table 18: Health care coverage and leave entitlements of employed persons (%)

	Enterprise-based concept of informality			Job-based concept of informality		All employed respondents
	Formal sector enterprises	Informal sector enterprises	Households	Formal employment	Informal employment	
No coverage of health care costs by employer or insurance	61.1	93.3	78.9	52.8	93.4	88.7
Not benefiting from paid sick leave	51.4	92.5	75.0	39.5	93.1	86.5
Not benefiting from maternity leave (female respondents only)	36.4	97.9	92.3	33.3	98.1	93.4
Not benefiting from paid annual leave	52.8	96.8	85.0	36.8	98.2	90.7

Note: based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality. The minimum number of valid responses is 36 (formal sector), 252 (informal sector), 19 (households), 36 (formal job), 273 (informal job) and 309 (all respondents) for the three questions covering male and female respondents, and for the question on maternity leave 11 (formal sector), 143 (informal sector), 13 (households), 12 (formal job), 155 (informal job) and 167 (all respondents).

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

The survey results confirm that the large majority of informal sector workers and those employed in households lack social security coverage and employment-related benefits, such as paid sick leave and paid maternity leave as well as paid annual leave. For example, 93.3 per cent of all workers in the informal sector and 78.9 per cent of those employed in households do not have any coverage of health care expenditure, either through insurance or directly through their employer (Table 18). This reflects the fact that most workers in the informal sector are own-account workers (see Luebker, 2008: Section IV.d.) and hence do not have an employer who would register them with a health insurance and contribute towards the insurance premium. However, even among workers in the formal sector, a majority of 61.1 per cent does not benefit from health care coverage. When the job-based concept of informality is used, the results are very similar: 93.4 per cent of those with an informal job have no health care coverage, as do 52.8 per cent of those with a formal job.[17]

[17] Regrettably, due to an error in questionnaire design, no information on pension contributions was obtained.

The picture is very similar when it comes to entitlements to maternity leave, paid annual leave and sick leave. Again, well over 90 per cent of all workers in the informal sector do not benefit from these entitlements, or – for the large group of own-account workers – do not have any income when they are absent from work due to illness or maternity, or when taking leave. The situation is slightly better for household workers, some of whom are given paid leave or continue to receive their wages when they are absent due to sickness. For those holding formal jobs, the proportions are significantly smaller, ranging from one-third to two-fifths. This is unsurprising, given that, for employees, the entitlement to paid annual leave and paid sick leave is the defining characteristic that designates them as holding "formal jobs" (which is why Table 18 also provides a breakdown by the enterprise-based concept of informality).[18]

In sum, informal workers are particularly vulnerable to adverse events. They are generally excluded from NSSA programmes such as the *Pensions and other Benefits Scheme* and the *Accident Prevention and Workers' Compensation Scheme* that provide insurance against occupational injuries and cater for old age. Furthermore, illness can mean economic hardship as informal workers, most of whom are own-account workers, do not benefit from paid sick leave and have no coverage for their healthcare expenditure. Although the situation for formal workers is better, the data show that their coverage is far from universal.

d. Social dialogue, voice and representation

Promoting social dialogue between workers, employers and government is another strategic objective of the Decent Work Agenda. Its foundation lays the right to organize and to bargain collectively that is protected by two ILO conventions: the "Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention" (Convention 87, 1948) and the "Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention" (Convention 98, 1949). Both are so-called fundamental labour standards that are part of the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, adopted in August 1998, and hence are binding for all ILO member states. More than 80 per cent of all ILO member countries have ratified the two conventions, among them Zimbabwe who ratified them in 2003. The right to freedom of association and collective bargaining is also re-affirmed in numerous international documents, such as the SADC Social Charter.

Under Convention 87, "[w]orkers and employers, without distinction whatsoever, shall have the right to establish and, subject only to the rules of the organisation concerned, to join organisations of their own choosing without previous authorisation" (Article 2). The two conventions contain a number of detailed provisions that protect workers' and employers' organizations from government interference, prohibit their dissolution or suspension, and ban legislation that impairs the guarantees provided for in the convention. When a workers' or employers' association holds the view that a member state has failed to respect a convention, Article 24 and 25 of the ILO Constitution give it the right to make a representation to the ILO Governing Body, and under Article 26 a complaint can be filed against a member state. Alleged violations of Conventions Nos. 87 and 98 are usually examined by the Committee on Freedom of Association that can make recommendations on how the situation could be remedied.[19]

[18] This, however, is not the case for employers and own-account workers who have formal sector enterprises, who are classified as formal regardless of leave entitlements (Hussmanns, 2004: 18).

[19] In the case of Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and other union confederations have repeatedly made use of these mechanisms and reported a number of alleged violations. The latest complaint against

An important aspect of Convention 87 is that it applies to all workers,[20] and hence includes those in the informal economy. However, in practice trade unions have traditionally concentrated on organizing workers in the formal sector, who are easier to mobilize. Nonetheless, there are numerous associations of informal workers. An example is South Africa, where informal workers engaged in activities like construction, minibus taxis, clothing and street trading have formed sectoral organizations of varying strength and longevity (Goldman, 2003). One of these organizations, the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Businesses (ACHIB), was formed in 1986 and lobbied for the legal recognition of street vendors, organized a number of marches and participated in the re-drafting of street trading by-laws at the end of the Apartheid regime (Lund and Skinner, 1999: 32f.).

In Zimbabwe, a number of smaller informal economy associations were formed in the 1990s, including better-known associations such as the Cross-Border Traders Association and the Tuck Shop Owners Association, among others. A review of informal economy associations by Kanyenze (2004) discusses attempts to support such initiatives; in his words, "[a] major weakness of [past] initiatives was their lack of co-ordination, which ran to the extent of duplication (in some cases), fragmentation, over-dependence on donor funding, and lack of strategic vision" that left some of these projects "in limbo" when donor funding was withdrawn after 1999 (ibid.: 28). In response to the fragmented organizational structure, the ZCTU (that had previously made efforts to organize informal

the Government of Zimbabwe was presented by the ICFTU and was examined by the Committee on Freedom of Association as Case No. 2365. The allegations referred to "the deportation of and refusal of entry to foreign trade unionists collaborating with the ZCTU; the sponsoring of a rival faction within the ZCTU in its efforts to undermine the ZCTU leadership; breaking up ZCTU meetings; raiding ZCTU headquarters and unlawfully seizing union property; launching inquiries into allegations of financial malpractice to harass the union; and several instances involving the arrest, detention, and beating of ZCTU members and officers – many of which were committed in the course of suppressing a demonstration organized by the ZCTU on 13 September 2006" (344th Report of the Committee on Freedom of Association, March 2007). The government's reply and the conclusions and recommendations made by the committee can be found in document GB.298/7/1.

Independently of this, the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations has repeatedly made observations on Zimbabwe. In June 2008, the Committee "noted with great concern that there had been continued failure over several years to eliminate serious discrepancies in the application by Zimbabwe of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (No. 87)." The committee further "regretted the continual recourse made by the Government to the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and lately, to the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act of 2006, in the arrest and detention of trade unionists for the exercise of their trade union activities, despite its calls upon the Government to cease such action. […] The Committee took note with deep concern of the vast information presented to it concerning the surge in trade union rights and human rights violations in the country and the ongoing threats to trade unionists' physical safety. […] The Committee emphasized that trade union rights could only be exercised in a climate that was free from violence, pressure or threats of any kind. […] It recalled that it was essential to their role as legitimate social partners that workers' and employers' organizations were able to express their opinions on political issues in the broad sense of the term and that they could publicly express their views on the Government's economic and social policy." The committee also urged governments that had ratified Convention 87 to consider submitting a complaint against Zimbabwe under Article 26 of the ILO's constitution, and called upon the Governing Body to approve a commission of inquiry. (See ILC, Report of the Committee on the Application of Standards, Provisional Record of the 97th Session, Geneva, 2008.

See also http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/country_profiles.basic?p_lang=en&p_country=ZWE.)

[20] Under national legislations, some limitations may apply to the armed forces and the police (Art. 9, C87; Art. 5, C98) and public servants engaged in the administration of the State (Art. 6, C98).

workers) launched an initiative to form an single national umbrella body in 2001 (ibid.: 37). This led to the formation of the Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economy Associations (ZCIEA) with the objective to "organize, establish, promote and protect the interest of the informal economy traders in Zimbabwe" (ZCIEA, n.d.). Through a Memorandum of Understanding signed in August 2004, the ZCIEA and the ZCTU formalized their relationship. Although the ZCIEA's organizational structure consists of some 25 chapters and 125 informal economy associations, it is difficult to assess its current organizational strength. Chapters such as that in Chitungwiza, a town of 320 000 inhabitants located some 30 km South of Harare, maintain an office that is accessible to members. However, its membership register was compiled prior to Operation Murambatsvina, during which many members lost their stalls, work shelters or homes, and thus contains many contact addresses that are no longer current.[21] A more recent initiative is the formation of the Zimbabwe National Association of SMEs that organizes small and micro enterprises and also has the ZCIEA among its members. The association aims to give small and micro enterprises (many of them informal) an effective voice in Zimbabwe's national social dialogue institutions; the ILO has provided technical assistance to the association over the past three years.

Table 19: Awareness of organization, association or group that expresses respondent's concerns, all employed persons (%)

Organization, association or group that expresses respondent's concerns	Job-based concept of informality		In % of all employed persons
	Formal employment	Informal employment	
ZCTU and affiliated trade unions	13.2	0.4	1.9
Company-level works council	5.3		0.6
Informal economy associations, etc. (a)	7.9	1.1	1.9
Sports, arts and social clubs	2.6	1.1	1.3
Small Enterprise Development Corporation (SEDCO)	5.3	1.1	1.6
Other government ministry or agency (b)	5.3	0.7	1.3
ZANU-PF		0.4	0.3
Church or religious group	2.6	0.4	0.6
NGOs and Charities	2.6	0.7	1.0
UNICEF		0.4	0.3
Commercial bank / micro-credit scheme		0.7	0.6
other		1.1	1.0
Respondent is aware of an organization, association or group that expresses her/his concerns, but cannot recall its name	2.6	2.9	2.9
Respondent is not aware of any organization, association or group that expresses her/his concerns.	52.6	89.1	84.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Memo: Workers organizations, total (c)	26.4	1.5	4.4
n =	38	274	312

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality. (a) The category "Informal economy associations, etc." includes Tuck Shop Owners Association of Zimbabwe, Willowvale Brick Moulders Association, Road-Port Cooperative, Zimbabwe Farmers Union (ZFU), Cross Border Traders Association, and the Commuter Operators Association. (b) The category "Other Government ministry or agency" includes the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprise Development, the Zimbabwe National Water Authority, the Social Dimension Fund (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare), and the Ministry of Youth Development and Employment Creation; (c) includes ZCTU and affiliated trade unions, company-level works council, and informal economy associations, etc.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

[21] Personal observation and interview with the Secretary of the Chitungwiza chapter of the ZCIEA, November 2006.

The Survey on Informal Employment included two questions to assess in how far trade unions and the various informal economy associations are known to informal workers, and how strong their membership base is. Rather than prompting the support of specific organizations (which might have biased results upwards), the survey used an open question:

> "Do you know of any organization, association or group that expresses the concerns of people in your situation?".

Respondents could name any organization, association or group they felt was representing their concerns, or, in other words, whomever they recognized as a 'voice' of their interests. The large majority of all employed respondents – some 84.6 per cent – knew of no such organization. In particular, 89.1 per cent of those with informal jobs were not aware of any organization, association or group that expressed their concerns. This compares to 52.6 per cent of those holding formal jobs (Table 19).

Just over a quarter of all formal workers (26.4 per cent) and a small fraction of informal workers (1.5 per cent) named a workers organization as a representative of their interests. Among them were the ZCTU and its affiliated trade unions, company-level works councils and informal economy associations such as the Tuck Shop Owners Association of Zimbabwe, Willowvale Brick Moulders Association, Cross Border Traders Association and the Commuter Operators Association. Other respondents felt that their concerns were expressed by social and arts clubs (1.3 per cent), the Small Enterprise Development Corporation (1.6 per cent), another government ministry or agency (1.3 per cent), ZANU-PF (0.3 per cent), a church or religious group (0.6 per cent), NGOs and charities (1.0 per cent) or even UNICEF (0.3 per cent) or a commercial bank or micro-credit scheme (0.6 per cent). However, while some of the latter are membership-based associations, none of them qualify as workers' organizations in the sense of the ILO conventions.

The question "Are you a member of such an organization, association or group?" was, with few exceptions, almost universally denied (not tabulated). Among those holding a formal job, one respondent identified herself as a trade-union member, and among those holding informal jobs, two said they were members of a micro-credit scheme, and one each mentioned that they were members of a church and ZANU-PF, respectively. Thus, out of a sample of 38 formally employed respondents, only one respondent (or 2.6 per cent) belonged to a workers' organization, and no one out of the sample of 274 informally employed respondents. This, as well as the results of the previous question, support the conclusion that informal workers (or at least those in Glen View) are effectively not organized and lack a strong organization that they recognize as a voice for their concerns.

e. Problems faced by workers

If informal workers lack the organizational structure to advance their interests, this is certainly not for want of work-related problems. The survey asked all employed respondents to name up to three work-related problems, using the following question:

> "Do you currently encounter any problems with respect to the work you are doing? And if so, what are the greatest problems you face?".

Again, the question was phrased in an open way, leaving it up to respondents to identify their most pressing problems (rather than prompting specific issues). The advantage of this approach is that the responses reflect the immediate priorities of interviewees and are not biased towards possible concerns identified by the researcher. However, since answers were restricted to a maximum of three priorities, one cannot conclude that respondents who did not name a specific issue are not faced with this problem – all one can do is to say that they did not consider it among their most pressing concerns. Therefore, answers are

likely to reflect the most immediate difficulties, rather than long-term needs. There is also the additional difficulty that workers will only name those problems they are actually aware of and that certain types of problems are likely to be under-reported. A well-known example is that workers tend to be oblivious to occupational health and safety hazards. Self-reported risks thus often diverge substantially from those identified by experts (see Loewenson, 1998).

In total, some 90 per cent of all employed respondents identified at least one work-related problem (Table 20). The single most frequently mentioned concern was inflation and the increasing cost of inputs (29.8 per cent), a share that is especially high among those with informal jobs (31.0 per cent). Related to this, some 18.3 per cent named the lack of capital to buy the inputs they need for their work. Both reflect the rapid erosion of the purchasing power of the Zimbabwe dollar at the time of the interviews, when inflation was running at 30 per cent on a month-on-month basis and at 1 100 per cent on a year-on-year basis[22] (see also Luebker, 2008: Section II.c.). The pre-eminence of the issue highlights the vulnerability of workers to rising prices since they typically do not hold wealth in assets such as real estate or gold that protect them against inflation. Low incomes where the second most frequently cited problem among informal workers (27.7 per cent), and actually the most frequently mentioned issue among formal workers (34.2 per cent).

Table 20: Work-related problems identified by employed respondents (%, multiple responses possible)

	Job-based concept of informality		In % of all employed persons
	Formal employment	Informal employment	
Inflation / increasing cost of goods and inputs	21.1	31.0	29.8
Lack of capital to buy required inputs	21.1	17.9	18.3
Low incomes	34.2	27.7	28.5
Long working hours	5.3	1.1	1.6
Confiscation of goods by police / fines	5.3	25.5	23.1
Lack of permanent working structure	7.9	12.4	11.9
Insecurity at work place	18.4	10.6	11.5
Electricity cuts during working hours	0.0	3.3	2.9
Accidents / health and safety issues	7.9	1.5	2.2
Weather (too much / too little rain)	0.0	4.0	3.5
Need for social security (health, income)	0.0	0.4	0.3
Information on how to get a license	0.0	0.4	0.3
Other problems (a)	0.0	1.8	1.6
No problems specified	15.8	9.1	9.9
n =	38	274	312

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality. (a) Thieves steal from agricultural plots; damage to goods during transit; late payment by customers.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

Problems with the police, like fines for illegal vending and the confiscation of goods, were named by a quarter of all informal workers (25.5 per cent), but only by 5.3 per cent of those holding formal jobs. The problem is particularly acute for informal traders, who are frequently targeted by police and charged with violating price controls or trading by-laws

[22] See the inflation statistics provided by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe at http://www.rbz.co.zw/about/inflation.asp. With year-on-year inflation having breached 100 000 per cent for the first time in January 2008, the inflation level in November 2006 looks modest in hindsight.

(whose introduction can be traced back to the colonial period; see Mkandawire, 1985; Mhone, 1996; Ndoro, 1996; and the discussion in Luebker, 2008: Section II.a.).[23] Public health is also frequently cited by the authorities for their intervention, a concern that is valid for perishable food items such as meat and fish that can pose a serious health hazard when they are stored without refrigeration.[24] Similarly, public health is a convincing rationale to persecute those who sell drugs and other illicit substances. In the case of the survey in Glen View, out of the total of 128 interviewed informal traders, only one sold meat and fish, and two were drug dealers selling marihuana. The overwhelming majority of all informal traders (some 97.6 per cent) sell products that are neither particularly hazardous nor banned, predominantly fruit and vegetables, soft drinks and household items (see Appendix Table 3). Nonetheless, 42.4 of these informal traders reported problems with the police as one of their most urgent problems, a figure that was even higher among those operating on a footpath, street or open space (58.3 per cent).[25] Although the products they sell are legal, they come in conflict with the authorities because they cannot produce the right paperwork: out of the 128 respondents who were engaged in retail trade outside stores, only one owned a registered enterprise and only three had a valid trade license.

Smaller, yet still substantial groups of workers ranked the lack of permanent working structures (11.9 per cent) and insecurity at the workplace (11.5 per cent) among their most urgent problems. The disruption of work through electricity cuts (2.9 per cent), accidents and health and safety issues (2.2 per cent) and the weather (3.5 per cent) were mentioned less frequently. Although the question was directed at immediate work-place problems, some long-term concerns such as the need for social security (0.3 per cent) and the need for information on how to get a license (0.3 per cent) were also listed by some respondents.

f. Assistance received and workers' perceived needs

Another set of questions dealt with the perceived need for assistance, and the assistance that workers have received in the past. The first question covered any support that workers might have obtained over the past 12 months:

> "Have you received any kind of assistance to improve your working situation since November 2005? By assistance we mean anything that helped you to improve your working situation, whether provided by local government, a ministry, a self-help organization, an NGO, family or friends, or by others?"

As seen in Table 21, only a small minority of workers received some kind of support: some 18.4 per cent of formal workers and 15.7 per cent of informal workers. For informal workers, the dominant source of help was friends and family (11.3 per cent), and only a small fraction benefited from assistance by government, an NGO or another organization such as a commercial bank (2.6 per cent). Thus, support programmes for small and

[23] The Herald, "Crackdown on illegal vendors hailed", 20 Jan. 2004; Zimbabwe Mirror, "Harare municipality vows to intensify war against vendors", 16 Feb. 2004; The Herald, "City Launches Blitz Against Illegal Vendors", 11 Sept. 2007; The Herald, "130 Vendors Arrested", 14 Sept. 2007.

[24] Ironically, although police often cite public health concerns as a reason for interventions, confiscated foodstuffs have in the past been sold to the public. In one incident, three members of a Glen View family are said to have died of cholera after consuming contaminated fish they had bought from a police auction. See Independent Online [South Africa], "Zimbabwean villagers succumb to cholera", 9 Feb. 2006; and SABC, "Zimbabwe pledges US$ 110 000 to fight cholera wave", 14 Jan. 2006.

[25] The number of cases is n = 125 and n = 36. Both figures exclude the vendor selling meat and fish and the two drug dealers. Cross-border traders are classified under 'other wholesale trade'.

medium enterprises – in as far as they exist – effectively by-pass the large majority of informal workers. An example is the government-sponsored Small Enterprise Development Corporation (SEDCO) that demands that prospective borrowers produce a certificate of incorporation, hence excluding informal sector enterprises that are, by definition, unincorporated.[26] Among formal workers, a slightly higher share (5.3 per cent or two respondents) benefited from assistance provided by government, an NGO or another organization. (However, the case numbers are too small to make a definite statement). The dominant type of assistance was loans and financial support, from which just over eight per cent of workers had benefited at some stage over the past 12 months.

Table 21: Assistance received by employed respondents over the past 12 months (%)

	Job-based concept of informality		In % of all employed persons
	Formal employment	Informal employment	
Assistance received, total	18.4	15.7	16.0
By source of assistance:			
Friends or family members	7.9	11.3	10.9
Government, NGO or other organization	5.3	2.6	2.9
Other source / source not specified	5.3	1.8	2.2
By type of assistance:			
Fertilizer and seeds	0.0	1.1	1.0
Finance / loan	8.1	8.6	8.6
Other / type of assistance not specified	8.1	5.6	5.9
No Assistance received	81.6	84.3	84.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
n =	38	274	312

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

The second question asked respondents whether they need any assistance:

> "If you need assistance, what kind of assistance would you need?"

Rather than being prompted, it was left to respondents to identify up to three possible types of assistance. This brings with it the difficulty that workers will only name those types of assistance they are aware of. It is likely that elements like training (see Siddiqui and Nyagura, 1993; Haan, 2001) or association-building will be less frequently named, even if they could be a useful tool to improve the situation of informal workers. Answers thus reflect perceived needs, and are not necessarily an objective evaluation of actual needs.

The most commonly cited need was capital, particularly among informal workers (84.3 per cent) and to a lesser extent among formal workers (57.9 per cent; see Table 22). Informal workers frequently stated that they needed capital to buy inputs (52.6 per cent), to expand their current business (17.5 per cent), or to start a more lucrative business (9.9 per cent). A second group of needs cluster around workplace improvements (19.6 per cent), named again more frequently by informal workers (20.1 per cent). Among them, the largest group said they needed a working structure (16.4 per cent) and others wanted a secure working place with a shade (2.6 per cent). Among formal workers, some demanded higher wages (7.9 per cent) and better information on how to run their business (7.9 per cent).

[26] See SEDCO website at www.sedco.co.zw, accessed in December 2007.

Table 22: Need for assistance, all employed respondents (%, multiple responses possible)

	Job-based concept of informality		In % of all employed persons
	Formal employment	Informal employment	
Capital, total (a)	57.9	84.3	81.1
Capital to buy inputs	26.3	52.6	49.4
Capital to start a lucrative business	5.3	9.9	9.3
Capital to expand the current business	10.5	17.5	16.7
Capital to secure a license	5.3	4.0	4.2
Capital (use not specified)	10.5	2.9	3.8
Workplace / workplace improvement, total (a)	15.8	20.1	19.6
Working structures	13.2	16.4	16.0
A secure working place with a shade	0.0	2.6	2.2
Ventilation of the work place	2.6	0.7	1.0
Stall located in the central business district	0.0	0.7	0.6
Reduction of inflation / prices / cost of forex	2.6	1.1	1.3
Better wages for employees	7.9	1.8	2.6
Information on management of business	7.9	1.5	2.2
Organization that expresses people's concerns	5.3	1.1	1.6
Assistance required by individual (kind not specified)	7.9	2.6	3.2
No assistance needed	5.3	4.0	4.2
n =	38	274	312

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality. (a) Since several respondents mentioned the need for capital / working structures twice, the sum of the individual items is greater than the total.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

IV. The impact of Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle

The lives of many informal workers have undergone profound change and disruption between June 2004, when fieldwork for the last Labour Force Survey was carried out, and November 2006, the date of the Survey on Informal Employment. The country's economic crisis deepened during this period, and year-on-year inflation accelerated from 400 per cent to 1 100 per cent.[27] In addition to this adverse economic context, many informal workers were directly or indirectly affected by Operation Murambatsvina (Operation Restore Order) that was launched by the government of Zimbabwe in May 2005. In the words of the Chairperson of the Harare Commission, the operation aimed "to enforce by-laws to stop all forms of illegal activities" (Saturday Herald, 28 May 2005). Shortly afterwards, the government announced an urban reconstruction programme named "Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle" (Operation Rebuilding and Reconstruction / Live Comfortably) that was to provide housing and workshops to those affected by Operation Murambatsvina.

In line with its overall objective to listen to the experiences of workers, the Survey on Informal Employment included several questions on changes in respondents' work situation and on the impact of Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle had on their livelihoods. The current section presents the findings from these questions and first discusses overall changes since June 2004 (Section IV.a.) and then addresses the impact of Operation Murambatsvina (Section IV.b.) and Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle (Section IV.c.). Finally, it analyzes in how far the effect of the two operations can explain overall changes in respondents' work situations (Section IV.d.).

a. Changes in workers' situation since June 2004

The questionnaire first asked respondents to recall their work situation in June 2004,[28] and then to make an overall assessment of how this compares to their current situation:

> "If you compare your present working situation to your situation in June 2004, would you say that all in all your situation has improved, or it has become worse? Or has there been no change?".

The answers thus record changes since June 2004 as they are perceived by workers themselves, rather than reflecting an outsider's judgement. In total, some 62.7 per cent of all respondents said that their personal situation had become worse, compared to 23.3 per cent who said it had improved; a further 14.0 per cent said that there had been no change to their situation since June 2004 (see Table 23). Respondents with formal jobs said slightly more frequently that their situation had improved than those with informal jobs. In any case, a majority of formal and informal workers alike reported a deterioration. Unsurprisingly, only a small fraction of the unemployed (15.8 per cent) perceived their current situation as an improvement on June 2004, and the overwhelming majority either reported no change or deterioration.

[27] See Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, inflation statistics on http://www.rbz.co.zw/about/inflation.asp.

[28] Due to limitations of space, the results of this question are not tabulated.

Table 23: Change in respondent's situation since June 2004, by labour force status and job-based concept of informality (%)

	Employed, by job-based concept of informality		Unemployed (relaxed definition)	Outside labour force	Total (all respondents)
	Formal employment	Informal employment			
Respondent's situation has improved	31.6	24.4	15.8	16.0	23.3
Respondent's situation has worsened	57.9	64.7	63.2	48.0	62.7
No change to respondent's situation	10.5	10.9	21.1	36.0	14.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n =	38	266	57	25	386

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality. Number of missing cases is 30.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

b. The impact of Operation Murambatsvina

In May 2005, the government of Zimbabwe embarked on a large-scale operation in urban areas around the country and ordered the destruction of houses, outbuildings, market stalls and workshops that were deemed illegal. The name of the operation, Murambatsvina, is officially translated as "Restore Order" but more literally translates into "Drive out Trash". Among Zimbabweans, it is simply known as the "Tsunami", in reference to the damage caused by the Indian Ocean earthquake a few months earlier. On the occasion of the launch of Operation Murambatsvina, the Chairperson of the government-appointed Harare Commission, Ms Sekesai Makwavarara, explained the official rationale behind the programme:

> "This is a programme to enforce by-laws to stop all forms of illegal activities. These violations of by-laws are in areas of vending, traffic control, illegal structures, touting/abuse of commuters by rank marshals, street-life/prostitution, vandalism of property infrastructure, stock theft, illegal cultivation, among others have led to the deterioration of standards thus negatively affecting the image of the city. […] Operation Murambatsvina is going to be an ongoing massive exercise in the CBD [central business district] and the suburbs which will see to the demolition of all illegal structures and the removal of all activities at undesignated areas, […]." (Saturday Herald, 28 May 2005).

The operation thus deliberately targeted informal workers who are, as discussed in the previous section, almost invariably in violation of one or the other by-law: the vast majority of them has no valid license, others violate zoning by-laws by operating in residential areas or other undesignated places[29], and peri-urban farmers grow maize and others crops in contravention of the ban on all cultivation within the urban perimeter. Most of these by-laws have their origin in the colonial period when the white settler regime designed them as an instrument to hold back any independent economic activity of the suppressed majority (see Mkandawire, 1985; Mhone, 1996; Ndoro, 1996; see also the discussion in Luebker, 2008: 4f.). Although some of these colonial era regulations were repealed after independence – most importantly the pass laws that restricted freedom of movement –, others remained technically valid and continued to be enforced (albeit to different degrees).

[29] As pointed out by the Government of Zimbabwe (2005: 34) "[u]nder Zimbabwean law, a vendor can be guilty of an offence either for operating without a licence, or for operating at an undesignated place".

Like in many African countries, Zimbabwe's current building code also has its origin in the colonial period. As Potts discusses, nearly all former African colonies "have inherited a complex paraphernalia of regulations and by-laws pertaining to, for example, building materials, room size, distance between houses and from the edge of a plot, the building of new structures on-plot and development of non-residential activities" (Potts, 2006: 281). While these regulations generally remained in the legal code after independence, they have been widely ignored throughout Africa – as is evident from the vast unplanned urban settlements in many African countries. Zimbabwe revised some of its minimum housing standards after independence to make housing more affordable (see Government of Zimbabwe, 2005: 13f.), but the government has tolerated only very few spontaneous settlements. Potts argues that "[n]o other African country has maintained such continuity of official resistance to such settlements" (Potts, 2006: 284).

Operation Murambatsvina targeted the few existing squatter camps, such as Hatcliffe Extension and Epworth which are both located just outside Harare. Nonetheless, the description of Operation Murambatsvina as a "slum clearance exercise", that is often found in Western media, is in fact highly misleading, since most of the affected high-density areas do in no way resemble the slums that are common in other parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Glen View, for example, has an orderly grid of roads (some of them tarred) and most houses are connected to electricity, water supply and the sewage system (although utility black-outs are now common). Under the government's home ownership policy, rental houses built in the colonial period were sold to tenants so that they now hold legal titles to their dwellings and the plots they are built on (Government of Zimbabwe, 2005: 11f.).

However, while the tenure to their plots is legal, owners or lease-holders often erected extensions, outbuildings and cottages without planning permission on their compounds in addition to the main building. Structures such as kiosks or workshops were also in violation of zoning by-laws that ban commercial activity from residential areas. It is in this sense that cottages – which provided housing for lodgers and income for landlords – and other buildings were deemed "illegal structures" and their destruction was ordered.[30] Ms Anna K. Tibaijuka, UN Special Envoy for Human Settlement Issues in Zimbabwe, noted that Operation Murambatsvina was "based on a set of colonial-era laws and policies that were used as a tool of segregation and social exclusion" and called for their complete suspension (Tibaijuka, 2005: 7f.).[31]

In addition to "illegal" buildings, the destructions reportedly also affected buildings erected with planning permission (Potts, 2006). According to the UN Special Envoy, Ms Tibaijuka, Operation Murambatsvina "was carried out in an indiscriminate and unjustified manner, with indifference to human suffering, and, in repeated cases, with disregard to several provisions of national and international legal frameworks" (Tibaijuka , 2005: 7). In particular, the UN Special Envoy argued that Operation Murambatsvina violated human rights such as the right to adequate housing and the rights to life, property

[30] Although the authorities invoked the Regional Town and Country Planning Act (1976), they arguably did not follow the due process stipulated in the Planning Act and, in particular, did not give the owners the 30 day notice period that would have allowed them to regularize buildings deemed illegal; see the discussion in Tibaijuka (2005: 57f.).

[31] Relevant acts include the Regional Town and Country Planning Act (1976) and the Housing Standards Control Act (1972) that are still in force. As the Government of Zimbabwe (2005: 27) points out, "[m]any restrictions relating to low income housing schemes and units have been relaxed" after independence. In particular, the Regional Town and Country Planning Act (1976) has been amended nine times since independence (ibid.: 36).

and freedom of movement (ibid.: 62). By her assessment, demolitions and forced evictions led to a "humanitarian crisis of immense proportions" (ibid.: 9):

> "Hundreds of thousands of women, men and children were made homeless, without access to food, water and sanitation, or health care. Education for thousands of school age children has been disrupted. Many of the sick, including those with HIV and AIDS, no longer have access to care. The vast majority of those directly and indirectly affected are the poor and disadvantaged segments of the population." (ibid.: 7).

Beyond the immediate humanitarian impact, the UN Special Envoy also reported a substantial impact on employment and livelihoods:

> "The livelihoods of all directly affected households have either been destroyed or placed in serious jeopardy. In many instances, there is compounded suffering as homeless and displaced people are unable to pursue their occupation or maintain their source of income. […] For many of those rendered homeless, housing structures were their most valuable asset. Many traders in the informal sector, […], have had their stock confiscated or destroyed. The loss of capital is therefore substantial. […] Homeowners who used to rent out parts of their plots to shack dwellers have lost this source of income as a result of the demolitions. […] However, remaining landlords are reported to have sharply increased rent, increasing the pressure on tenants and making it more difficult for evictees to find alternative accommodation in urban areas. […] Thousands of those who used to work in the informal sector have lost their livelihoods as a result of the crackdown on flea markets, tuck-shops, craft markets, vending stalls and urban agriculture." (Tibaijuka, 2005: 35f.).

Although there is some debate about the exact number of people who were affected, there is a general agreement in the literature that Operation Murambatsvina indeed turned out to be the "massive exercise" as which it was heralded by the Chairperson of the Harare Commission. According to the figures published by the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development, some 92 460 housing structures were destroyed during the course of the programme, directly affecting 133 534 families. In addition to this, some 32 538 illegal SME structures were demolished around the country and 78 people's markets were destroyed in Harare alone.[32] Combining these figures with data on average household size from the 2002 Census and data on SME employment, the UN Special Envoy estimates that

> "some 700,000 people in cities across the country have lost either their homes, their source of livelihood or both. Indirectly, a further 2.4 million people have been affected in varying degrees" (ibid.: 7).

This estimate is broadly supported by the findings from a survey carried out by the Mass Public Opinion Institute (MPOI) in October 2005. Bratton and Masunungure (2006: 31) conclude from the survey results that about 2.7 million adult Zimbabweans were either directly or indirectly affected.[33] For the main sample (i.e. those outside transit camps for displaced people), the main effects were destruction of dwelling (50 per cent), eviction from home (37 per cent), closure of business (31 per cent), arrest for illegal trading (18 per cent) and job-loss (25 per cent; see ibid.: 32). On the basis of a survey of 20 689 urban homesteads, ActionAid and the Combined Harare Residents Association (2005) extrapolate that about 1.2 million people were affected by Operation

[32] As reproduced in Appendix 1 of Tibaijuka (2005).

[33] The survey question referred to an effect of OM either on the respondent himself/herself or his/her immediate family. This can be justified, given that a negative impact on one family member has repercussions for all members of the immediate family (see Bratton and Masunungure, 2006).

Murambatsvina.[34] The survey also found that the primary source of income was disrupted for about 70 per cent of all surveyed urban residents (ibid.). Under any of the three estimates, a substantial proportion of Zimbabwe's population of around 11.6 million was affected either directly or indirectly. However, since Operation Murambatsvina concentrated on urban areas, the impact on the country's 4.1 million urban residents was disproportionate.[35]

The government of Zimbabwe contested the estimates of the UN Special Envoy and stated that "[t]he Report grossly exaggerates the number of people who were affected by the Operation" (Government of Zimbabwe, 2005: 7). The government's response to the report instead states that there only were "1 077 households at the transit centre in Harare, 892 in Bulawayo and 726 in Mutare" at the time of the visit, and disputes the UN Special Envoy's extrapolation from the number of demolished structures (ibid.: 29f.).

The government also accused the report of using a "value-laden and judgemental language which clearly demonstrates inbuilt bias against the Government and the Operation" (ibid.: 7). In particular, the government contested the report's conclusion that the "Operation was carried out in a manner that violated 'national and international legal frameworks'" and stated that it was "legal in terms of Zimbabwean Laws and consistent with international provisions" (ibid.). The report's "assertion that the Operation was based on a 'set of colonial-era laws and policies'" smacked of double standards as the government had "an obligation to enforce the laws of the land". The government also asserted that it continued to promote the role of the informal sector in the economy, but wanted to "see an informal sector which operates within the confines of the law" (ibid.: 8).

In the Survey on Informal Employment, the wording of the question on Operation Murambatsvina was carefully chosen to avoid any response bias and presented positive and negative effects as equally possible outcomes:

> "Let us briefly talk about Operation Murambatsvina, and how it has affected the work you were doing, or the way you make a living. All in all, would you say that Operation Murambatsvina has improved your personal work situation, or has it made your personal work situation worse? Or has Operation Murambatsvina had no effect on you?".

The question also avoided soliciting general assessments by stressing that it only referred to the respondent's personal situation. It was narrower than the question used by the MPOI survey that asked if respondents themselves or members of their immediate family had been affected by Operation Murambatsvina (see Bratton and Masunungure, 2006).

Just under two-thirds of all respondents reported that Operation Murambatsvina had a negative impact on their personal work situation, and about a third said that it had not affected them. Only a small minority of 3.2 per cent said that Operation Murambatsvina had improved their personal work situation (see Table 24). The impact of Operation Murambatsvina varies greatly between different groups of respondents: Among those currently holding an informal job, some 72.9 said that Operation Murambatsvina had negatively affected them, compared to 55.3 per cent of formal workers. Smaller, but still substantial shares of the unemployed (33.8 per cent) and those outside the labour force (50.0 per cent) reported such a negative impact.

[34] Despite its comprehensive coverage and large sample size, Potts (2006: 276ff) raises some doubts on the accuracy of these findings and discusses shortcomings of the sampling methodology.

[35] The population figures are taken from the 2002 Census (CSO, 2004). Hence, they do not take into account population changes between 2002 and 2005.

Table 24: Effects of Operation Murambatsvina, by labour force status and job-based concept of informality (%)

	Employed, by job-based concept of informality		Unemployed (relaxed definition)	Outside labour force	Total (all respondents)
	Formal employment	Informal employment			
OM has improved respondent's situation	5.3	2.9	3.1	3.6	3.2
OM has made respondent's situation worse	55.3	72.9	33.8	50.0	63.4
OM has had no effect on respondent's situation	39.5	24.2	63.1	46.4	33.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n =	38	273	65	28	404

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality. Number of missing cases is 2.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

The finding that a relatively large share of Glen View's populace was adversely affected by Operation Murambatsvina is in line with the previously cited studies. Bratton and Masunungure (2007) report that 54 per cent of Zimbabwean adults were victimized by Operation Murambatsvina, either directly or indirectly (i.e. a member of their immediate family was affected). However, in Harare the impact was far more pervasive and 72 per cent alone reported the destruction of a dwelling. Similarly, the Combined Harare Residents Association and ActionAid (2005) found that some 71 per cent of Harare's population was affected by Operation Murambatsvina. Compared to this, the current survey produced an estimate that is some eight percentage points lower. In addition to the narrower wording used in the questionnaire, one possible explanation for the difference is that the current survey was carried out some 18 months after Operation Murambatsvina (unlike the other surveys, that were done in the direct aftermath). One can thus expect some population movements, with some of those made homeless or jobless by the operation leaving Glen View and others moving to the suburb from rural areas.[36]

Respondents were also asked to explain how Operation Murambatsvina had affected their work, or the way they make a living. In order not to bias responses into a certain direction, the question was deliberately phrased in an open manner and the interviewers wrote down the full answers that were later grouped and coded to enable their analysis (see Table 25). Of the small group who reported a positive impact, some stated that they were now living in a better and healthier environment (1.2 per cent). This echoes the government's stated rationale "to create a better and healthy environment" through the operation (Government of Zimbabwe, 2005: 30). One respondent, a municipal worker who was himself involved in the planning and execution of Operation Murambatsvina, said that it had reduced his workload. Others said that the operation had reduced overcrowding and competition (1.2 per cent). Among them was a drug dealer who praised Operation Murambatsvina for making some of his competitors homeless, thus forcing them to leave for the rural areas.

As documented above, by far the largest share of respondents (63.4 per cent) reported negative consequences. A substantial group said that their working premises were destroyed, leading to the loss of their jobs (20.3 per cent). Others were prevented from selling goods by the police or the city council (9.4 per cent) or temporarily stopped working (2.5 per cent). Another large group of respondents was affected by the destruction of cottages or other outbuildings. They lost rental income (6.7 per cent), lost their shelter or had to share it with more people (12.6 per cent), or faced higher rental charges in the aftermath of Operation Murambatsvina (1.2 per cent). Others were evicted from their former house or working premises (4.7 per cent). By driving customers out of the suburb

[36] In fact, some 4.2 per cent of all respondents stated that they were not affected by Operation Murambatsvina since they were staying in the rural areas at the time (see Table 25 and the discussion below). This alone would explain half of the difference.

or reducing their income, Operation Murambatsvina also had a negative impact on demand (13.9 per cent) and some respondents were faced with supply problems (1.7 per cent) or the disruption of water and electricity supply (0.2 per cent). The impacts described by respondents from Glen View are thus very similar to those listed by the UN Special Envoy (see above).

Table 25: Nature of impact of Operation Murambatsvina, all respondents (%)

	Cases	In % of total
Total, positively affected	13	3.2
Nature of impact (multiple responses possible):		
Positive effects, not further explained.	2	0.5
We are now working in better and healthier environment.	5	1.2
Has reduced the work for municipal workers.	1	0.2
Reduced overcrowding/competition.	5	1.2
Total negatively affected	256	63.4
Nature of impact (multiple responses possible):		
Negative Effects, not further explained.	2	0.5
The destruction of the working premises lead to loss of job.	82	20.3
Prevented from selling goods by the police or city council.	38	9.4
Temporarily stopped working.	10	2.5
Destruction of cottages lead to loss of rental income.	27	6.7
Destruction of cottages lead to loss of shelter/overcrowding.	51	12.6
Destruction of cottages lead to higher rental charges.	5	1.2
Evicted from former house/working premise.	19	4.7
Negative impact on demand (fewer customers).	56	13.9
Negative impact on supply (fewer suppliers).	7	1.7
Disruption of utility supply (water, electricity).	1	0.2
Total not affected	135	33.4
Nature of impact (multiple responses possible):		
Nothing has changed for me / Not affected.	53	13.1
I was staying in the rural areas.	17	4.2
I was not working.	43	10.6
I was selling goods to other countries.	3	0.7
I was selling goods/operating from home.	7	1.7
I was working in the formal sector.	5	1.2
I was doing nothing which was illegal.	10	2.5
Total	404	100.0

Note: Number of missing cases is 2.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

Among the third who said that they were not affected by Operation Murambatsvina, a relatively large group simply stated that the programme had implied no change for them personally (13.1 per cent of all respondents). Others explained that they were staying in the rural areas at the time (4.2 per cent) or that the operation has had no impact on their work since they were not working when it took place (10.6 per cent). Others offered the nature of their work as an explanation: they were either selling goods to other countries (0.7 per cent), operating from home (1.7 per cent), working in the formal sector (1.2 per cent) or stated that they were doing nothing which was illegal (2.5 per cent).

To sum up, the survey results show that Operation Murambatsvina had a direct negative impact on a majority of respondents, and in particular on informal workers. They suffered from the destruction of working premises, were prevented from selling goods, and were

faced with a lack in demand in the aftermath of the operation. In addition, the destruction of cottages and other outbuildings affected many respondents either as landlords, tenants or since they had to share their accommodation with those who were displaced. By contrast, only very few respondents said that they had benefited from Operation Murambatsvina (some of whom were unintended beneficiaries, like the drug dealer cited above).

c. The impact of Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle

On several occasions, the government of Zimbabwe stressed that Operation Murambatsvina was conceived as "a precursor to Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle whose objective is to provide decent and affordable accommodation as well as create an enabling and conducive environment that promotes small and medium scale business enterprises" (Government of Zimbabwe, 2005: 16). As part of Operation Garikai, "basic housing units and small and medium enterprise factory shells have been and are being, constructed" and "[t]he intended beneficiaries, who are primarily those affected by the operation, [were] taking up occupancy" at the time of writing in August 2005 (ibid.: 6). The government concluded that

> "the benefits that are already beginning to be ushered by Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle and the enthusiastic response of our people, bear clear testimony that the government's policies are consistent with the aspirations of our people." (ibid.: 9)".

According to the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development, the programme's targets include the construction of 91 flea markets, 176 factory shells and 7 478 houses and the provision of 200 000 residential stands.[37]

However, there has been substantial debate in Zimbabwe in how far these targets have been achieved. Newspaper reports have claimed that the implementation of Operation Garikai was beset by serious managerial and resource constraints, leading to delays and shortfalls behind the initial targets.[38] Non-governmental organizations also alleged that Operation Garikai often bypassed those affected by Operation Murambatsvina and therefore its indented beneficiaries, and that houses and stands were instead allocated to public officials, members of the ruling ZANU-PF or their close relatives (see e.g. Solidarity Peace Trust, 2006).

The Survey on Informal Employment set out to measure the impact of Operation Garikai, using a question akin to the one presented in the previous section:

> "And what about Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle, how has it affected your work and your income situation? All in all, would you say that Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle has improved your situation, or has it made it worse for you? Or has it had no effect on you?".

The answers show that, well over a year after the launch of the Operation Garikai, only 2.5 per cent of all respondents had benefited from the programme (see Table 26). A small group of 0.7 per cent said that Operation Garikai had actually made their situation worse, and the largest single share (85.6 per cent) stated that they had not benefited so far. Another 11.2 per cent were unaware of any programme by that name and heard about for

[37] See the ministry's web-site at www.mlgpwud.gov.zw/local_government.htm.

[38] See e.g. Zimbabwe Independent (October 14, 2005), 'Garikai' bears no fruit for homeless; The Standard (October 31, 2005), Furore over 'Operation Garikai' beneficiaries; Financial Gazette (November 3, 2005), Operation Garikai: govt fails to deliver; The Standard (March 19, 2006), Chombo owns up to 'Garikai' corruption.

the first time during the interview.[39] That data indicate that formal workers, 5.6 per cent of whom report a positive impact, might have benefited more than their informal counterparts (although case numbers are too small to draw a firm conclusion).

Table 26: Effects of Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle, by labour force status and job-based concept of informality (%)

	Employed, by job-based concept of informality		Unemployed (relaxed definition)	Outside labour force	Total (all respondents)
	Formal employment	Informal employment			
OG/HK has improved respondent's situation	5.3	2.6	0.0	3.7	2.5
OG/HK has made respondent's situation worse	2.6	0.4	0.0	3.7	0.7
OG/HK has had no effect on respondent	86.8	85.3	89.2	77.8	85.6
Respondent is unaware of OG/HK	5.3	11.7	10.8	14.8	11.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n =	38	273	65	27	403

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality. Number of missing cases is 3.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

The detailed tabulation in Table 27 shows that only four respondents, or 1.0 per cent, were allocated a stand under Operation Garikai. The positive effects attributed by other respondents to Operation Garikai were: reduced competition (0.5 per cent); reduced overcrowding (0.5 per cent); and freedom from police harassment (0.2 per cent). Of the three respondents (or 0.7 per cent) who had reported a negative impact, one did not further explain its nature and one each said that he was now working in an inadequate space, or had to vacate a residential stand to make way for commercial stands built under Operation Garikai.

The large group of those who were not affected (or who experienced no net effect) offered various explanations for this. Some said that they were not working at the time (6.5 per cent), working in the formal sector (1.2 per cent) or were living in the rural areas (2.0 per cent) and thus believed that they did not qualify for the inclusion under the programme. Others simply stated that nothing had actually materialized for them (40.9 per cent) or said that Operation Garikai had, in general, not delivered any results on the ground and they only knew it from the media (11.9 per cent). Still others said that Operation Garikai had benefited only members of ZANU-PF and those with the right connections, which they themselves lacked (6.0 per cent). Three respondents (or 0.7 per cent) said that although they had obtained a new working space, this was no improvement to their previous situation since the working space was inadequate or too expensive.

[39] By contrast, Operation Murambatsvina was universally recognized.

Table 27: Nature of impact of Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle, all respondents (%)

	Cases	In % of total
Total, positively affected	10	2.5
Nature of impact (one response only):		
Positive effects, not further explained.	1	0.2
I secured a stand.	4	1.0
Less competition as there is now fewer people selling.	2	0.5
Reduced overcrowding.	2	0.5
No longer bothered by the police.	1	0.2
Total, negatively affected	3	0.7
Nature of impact (one response only):		
Negative effects, not further explained.	1	0.2
Now working at inadequate place.	1	0.2
Was instructed to vacate residential stand to make room for commercial stands.	1	0.2
Total, not affected / no net effect	345	85.6
Nature of impact (one response only):		
Not affected, reason not specified / n.e.c.	49	12.2
Not working at that time.	26	6.5
Working in a formal sector.	5	1.2
I was in the rural areas.	8	2.0
Was not involved in it / nothing materialized for me.	165	40.9
Nothing has happened in reality / only know OG/HK from media.	48	11.9
Benefited only ZANU-PF members and those with connections.	24	6.0
Don't know how it was operated / how to benefit.	17	4.2
New working space is inadequate / too expensive.	3	0.7
Respondents who are unaware of Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle	45	11.2
Total	403	100.0

Note: Number of missing cases is 3.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

d. Explaining changes since June 2004 with the impact of Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle

The previous two sections have shown that almost two-thirds of all respondents were negatively affected by Operation Murambatsvina, and that Operation Garikai only reached a very small fraction of Glen View's population. The current section will explore in how far the impact of the two operations is linked to the overall change in respondents' working situation (see Section IV.a.). This is done through an OLS regression, a parsimonious statistical technique to explore multivariate relationships. The dependent variable is the change a respondent experienced in her or his personal work situation, recoded so that -1 represents a negative change, 0 no change and 1 a positive change. Against this dependent, several dummy-coded[40] independent (or explanatory) variables are regressed: a positive impact of Operation Murambatsvina; a negative impact of Operation Murambatsvina; a

[40] They take the value of 1 if the characteristic is given and of 0 if it is not given. In the case of Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai, no variable is introduced for the answer category "no effect" since this information is already contained in the two other variables.

positive impact of Operation Garikai; a negative impact of Operation Garikai; a dummy for female respondents; and a dummy for respondents aged 40 years and older.

The first regression model introduces all of these variables alongside each other (see Table 28). However, only one of the explanatory variables is statistically significant: a negative impact of Operation Murambatsvina (level of significance: 0.000). This means that respondents who were negatively affected by Operation Murambatsvina are more likely to report an overall deterioration of their personal work situation since June 2004 than those who were not. This shows that the effects of Operation Murambatsvina were still persistent at the time of the interviews, carried out some 18 months after the programme was launched. By contrast, the regression coefficients on both dummy variables referring to Operation Garikai are far from significant (level of significance: 0.679 and 0.822). This implies that Operation Garikai had no measurable, statistically significant impact on the overall situation of respondents.

Table 28: OLS-Regression to Explain Changes since June 2004

	Model 1			Model 2		
	Coeff. (b)	Std. Error	Sign.	Coeff. (b)	Std. Error	Sign.
(Constant)	-0.020	0.097	0.835	-0.015	0.068	0.829
Positive effect of Murambatsvina	0.221	0.238	0.352			
Negative effect of Murambatsvina	-0.538	0.091	0.000	-0.585	0.085	0.000
Positive effect of Garikai	0.107	0.259	0.679			
Negative effect of Garikai	0.105	0.463	0.822			
Dummy for female respondents	0.018	0.087	0.833			
Dummy 40 years and older	-0.195	0.102	0.056			
Adjusted R^2 =	0.111			0.109		
n =	379			386		

Note: The dependent variable has been re-coded as follows: -1 = situation has become worse, 0 = no change since June 2004, 1 = situation has improved. All independent variables are dummy-coded.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

Turning to the two demographic variables, there is no evidence that the situation of women has developed in a way that is systematically different from those of men; the regression coefficient of the 'female' dummy is not statistically different from zero. However, there is some indication that older respondents have experienced a disproportionate deterioration of their personal work situation. Although the regression coefficient (level of significance: 0.056) fails the traditional significance test at the 0.05-level, it would be considered significant if the more generous threshold of 0.10 is applied.

As a robustness check, Model 2 carries over only the significant variable from the first model. It confirms that having experienced a negative impact of Operation Murambatsvina is a highly significant predictor for an overall deterioration in a respondent's work situation. Excluding the other independent variables does not materially change the numerical value of the regression coefficient, and the adjusted R^2 remains virtually unchanged at about 0.11. As a further robustness check, a multinomial logistic regression was performed on the data (not tabulated). It corroborated the finding that a negative impact of Operation Murambatsvina is a highly significant predictor for an overall deterioration in a respondent's situation (significance: 0.000), and that Operation Garikai had no statistically significant impact on their overall situation.[41]

[41] In addition, the variable "40 years and older" was significant at the 0.05-level, but the size of the effect was much smaller than for Operation Murambatsvina.

V. Decent work and informal employment: Summary of main findings from Glen View

The current paper presented the results of a Survey on Informal Employment that was carried out in the Harare suburb of Glen View in November 2006. In addition to the standard questions on employment status and incomes, the survey contained several questions on social security coverage, voice and representation, and the most pressing problems faced by both formal and informal workers. The findings corroborate the conclusions drawn on the basis of the 2004 LFS in the companion paper (Luebker, 2008) and show a pattern of low incomes, vulnerability and precariousness that is familiar from informal workers elsewhere. This reinforces the urgency to promote decent work in Zimbabwe's informal economy (see ILO 1999, 2001, 2002).

As laid out in the introduction, the survey had a fourfold objective, namely to apply different operationalizations of informality; to investigate the gap between the statistical definition of unemployment and the popular notion of the concept; to describe the situation of informal workers from the perspective of the Decent Work Agenda and to assess their needs; and to explore changes since June 2004 and which impact Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai had on respondents' personal work situation. The main findings are summarized in turn below.

The application of different concepts of informality led to the following results:

- Under the enterprise-based concept of informality, some 81.6 per cent of all employed respondents worked in informal sector enterprises, compared to 11.9 per cent in formal sector enterprises and 6.5 per cent in households. The importance of the informal sector is, in part, explained by the fact that the sample was drawn from an urban area. This is also the reason why few communal and resettlement farmers were included in the survey, and the household sector (to which they are attributed) plays only a minor role.

- Under the job-based concept of informality, informal employment is the predominant form of employment: some 87.8 per cent of all employed respondents were grouped as informal workers under the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality. The share of informal employment is particularly high among youth (92.0 per cent) and women (91.3 per cent), while men and those in the middle age-group (25 to 39 years) have greater access to formal jobs.

- Both operationalizations of the job-based concept of informality lead to very similar results. The proxy operationalization (that was also used in the companion paper) actually gives a slightly lower estimate than the full operationalization. This is a welcome finding from a methodological perspective since it indicates that estimates derived from existing labour force survey data with the help of the proxy operationalization are conservative, rather than exaggerating informality.

- There is a substantial overlap between the enterprise-based and the job-based concept of informality. Some 80.3 per cent of all respondents were classified as informal under both concepts, and some 10.0 per cent as formal. The remainder are either household workers (5.5 per cent) or classified differently under the two concepts (2.9 per cent). For the sake of parsimony, the paper therefore restricted its analysis to the job-based concept of informality.

The survey also confirmed that unemployment is relatively low under the ICLS definition, but that far more workers perceive themselves as unemployed:

- The total unemployment rate under the relaxed ICLS definition was estimated at 17.2 per cent, which is consistent with earlier findings for urban areas. More than half of all unemployed respondents fell into the age group from 15 to 24 years, supporting the finding of the companion paper that open unemployment is predominantly a problem of youth. Again, the most severely affected group were young women with an unemployment rate of 40.6 per cent.

- The relatively modest overall unemployment rate contrasts with respondents' own perception of their situation: more than half thought of themselves as unemployed. The divergence between actual unemployment and perceived unemployment is explained by the fact that almost half of all informal workers view themselves as unemployed, whereas the majority of formal workers see themselves as employed. Many workers thus seem to recognize only formal employment as employment.

The survey produced rich insights into the situation of workers in Glen View, and covered the many different aspects of the Decent Work Agenda:

- Trade and related activities such as repair and maintenance are the main source of employment and account for roughly 60 per cent of all informal jobs. Street vending and other forms of informal retail trade are the single most important source of work, in particular for women who sell items with low profit margins such as fruit and vegetables. Another 20 per cent of all informal workers are in manufacturing, including male-dominated activities such as furniture making and female-dominated activities like sewing and crocheting. Nonetheless, there is substantial diversity – the sample contained hairdressers, operators of street side phone shops and a free-lance song writer.

- Income inequality in the sample was extremely high, as evident from a Gini coefficient of 0.724 for all employed respondents. The lowest earning workers were casual employees, and the best earning were employers running formal sector enterprises. One large group of workers on the economic margins were street vendors and other informal traders, of whom half earned less than ZW$ 12 000 per week, and a quarter less than ZW$ 5 000 (i.e. less that the cost of 2 kg of rice).

- There are also large gender differences with respect to income: weekly mean incomes of men are roughly three times those of women, and median incomes of men are about twice as high. Although men work slightly longer hours per week, the main explanation for this discrepancy is that women are over-represented in activities that generate paltry returns, such as street vending and crocheting, while men are more often engaged in activities with higher returns, such as making furniture. Men are also more likely to hold formal jobs or to be employers.

- Informal workers are largely excluded from formal social security arrangements and do not enjoy benefits such as health insurance or paid sick leave. This makes them particularly vulnerable to adverse events, such as prolonged illness. Since they are predominantly own-account workers, the large majority of them also do not have paid annual leave or maternity leave. However, even among formal workers, only about half have coverage for health care expenditure, and just over a third lack paid sick leave, maternity leave and annual leave, respectively.

- Further, informal workers are by-and-large unaware of any organization that represents their interests, and none of the informal workers who participated in the survey was a member of workers organization. This highlights that informal workers lack strong grass-roots associations through which they can participate in social dialogue. By contrast, a quarter of all formal workers said that their concerns were represented by a workers organization such as the ZCTU and its affiliated unions.

- High inflation and the rising cost of inputs, the lack of working capital, as well as trouble with the police are the main problems faced by informal workers. The latter is particularly acute for informal traders that are frequently targeted by police and have their goods confiscated. Although the products they sell are mostly legal and not hazardous, they get into conflict with the authorities because they lack the official recognition of their activity and generally do not possess a trade license.

- Support programmes for small and micro enterprises largely bypass informal workers: Only 16 per cent of them received some kind of assistance over the past 12 months, and the dominant sources for this were friends and family. Respondents identified capital as one of their most urgent needs (81 per cent), followed by new working structures or workplace improvements (20 per cent).

The survey results also shed light on Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai, and how this affected workers in Glen View:

- Almost two-thirds of all respondents (62.7 per cent) said that their overall work situation had deteriorated since June 2004, compared to just under a quarter who said that it had improved (23.3 per cent). A further 14.0 per cent reported no overall change. Informal workers were slightly more likely to report deterioration than those who have a formal job.

- Operation Murambatsvina had a direct negative impact on a majority of respondents (63.4 per cent), and informal workers were disproportionately affected: They suffered from the destruction of working premises, were prevented from selling goods, and were faced with a lack in demand in the aftermath of the operation. In addition, the destruction of cottages and other outbuildings affected many respondents either as landlords or tenants. Only very few respondents (3.2 per cent) said that they had benefited from Operation Murambatsvina.

- The subsequent recovery exercise Operation Garikai reached few of those who had suffered from Operation Murambatsvina (i.e., its intended beneficiaries). Only 2.5 per cent of all respondents said that they had benefited from it in some way, and only 1.0 per cent said that they had actually secured a stand under the programme. Some 85.6 per cent of all respondents did not benefit from Operation Garikai, and a further 11.2 per cent said they were unaware of the exercise.

- Using an OLS regression, the impact of Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai was linked to overall changes in respondents' work situation since June 2004. A negative impact of Operation Murambatsvina turned out to be the only statistically significant explanatory variable. The results confirm that respondents who were negatively affected by Operation Murambatsvina are more likely to report an overall deterioration in their personal work. Operation Garikai had no measurable, statistically significant impact on the overall situation of respondents.

These results highlight that informal workers face a broad range of decent work deficits, a finding that is familiar from other countries (see ILO, 2002). Although a small minority of informal workers makes a reasonable income, most operate on the economic margins. They are engaged in activities where the returns to labour are low, such as street vending and crocheting. This is especially true for women, who constitute the majority of informal workers. There is nothing to suggest that they enter informality as a deliberate choice in order to evade taxes and regulation. On the contrary, the data show that those who have set up a formal enterprise and become employers are economically immensely more successful. These findings underline the urgency of improving the working conditions of informal workers and to ease their transition to formality.

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Appendix 1: Confidence intervals

With the exception of population censuses, most surveys do not cover the whole population but rely on a random population sample to draw conclusions about the characteristics of the entire population. The sample size is a crucial determinant of the accuracy of the derived estimates of population characteristics: the lower the sample size, the more likely are the findings to be affected by sampling error (i.e. that the properties of the sample differ from those of the population it is drawn from). This must be kept in mind when interpreting the results of the *ad hoc* survey on informal employment. To give the reader a feeling for the accuracy of the findings based on the Survey on Informal Employment, Appendix Table 1 (below) lists 90 % confidence intervals for proportions and sample sizes typical for the survey (assuming simple random sampling).

This example demonstrates how the table can be read: When a survey with the sample size of n = 400, finds that 10 per cent of the sample share a certain characteristic (e.g. they are unemployed), with a certainty of 90 per cent the true value for the population is within the range of ± 2.5 percentage points around the sample value. Therefore, the 90 per cent confidence interval runs from 7.5 per cent to 12.5 per cent. For comparison, the Table also provides the confidence intervals that can be obtained with far larger sample sizes, such as the one of the 2004 Labour Force Survey.

Appendix Table 1: Confidence intervals for proportions and sample sizes typical for the 2004 LFS and the ad hoc Survey on Informal Employment in Glen View

Proportion found in sample, in %	With 95 % likelihood, the population value is within this range around the sample value:				
	n = 37000	n = 18500	n = 400	n = 300	n = 200
95.0	0.2	0.3	2.1	2.5	3.0
90.0	0.3	0.4	2.9	3.4	4.2
75.0	0.4	0.6	4.2	4.9	6.0
50.0	0.5	0.7	4.9	5.7	6.9
25.0	0.4	0.6	4.2	4.9	6.0
10.0	0.3	0.4	2.9	3.4	4.2
5.0	0.2	0.3	2.1	2.5	3.0

Proportion found in sample, in %	With 90 % likelihood, the population value is within this range around the sample value:				
	n = 37000	n = 18500	n = 400	n = 300	n = 200
95.0	0.2	0.3	1.8	2.1	2.5
90.0	0.3	0.4	2.5	2.8	3.5
75.0	0.4	0.5	3.6	4.1	5.0
50.0	0.4	0.6	4.1	4.7	5.8
25.0	0.4	0.5	3.6	4.1	5.0
10.0	0.3	0.4	2.5	2.8	3.5
5.0	0.2	0.3	1.8	2.1	2.5

Proportion found in sample, in %	With 80 % likelihood, the population value is within this range around the sample value:				
	n = 37000	n = 18500	n = 400	n = 300	n = 200
95.0	0.1	0.2	1.4	1.6	2.0
90.0	0.2	0.3	1.9	2.2	2.7
75.0	0.3	0.4	2.8	3.2	3.9
50.0	0.3	0.5	3.2	3.7	4.5
25.0	0.3	0.4	2.8	3.2	3.9
10.0	0.2	0.3	1.9	2.2	2.7
5.0	0.1	0.2	1.4	1.6	2.0

Source: Calculated on the basis of Blalock (1972: 211f.).

Appendix 2: Informality under the full and the proxy operationalization of the job-based concept of informality

Appendix Table 2 (below) show that the proxy operationalization and the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality group respondents in a very similar way. Some 11.2 per cent of them where classified as formally employed under both concepts, and 84.3 per cent as informal workers. By comparison, only 4.5 per cent (i.e. 1.0 per cent plus 3.5 per cent) were attributed to different categories under the two concepts. In total, the proxy operationalization leads to a slightly lower estimate of informal employment.

Appendix Table 2: Informality by job-based concept, proxy and full operationalization

		Job-based concept (full operationalization)		
		Formal employment	Informal employment	Total
Job-based concept (proxy operationalization)	Formal employment	35 (11.2 %)	11 (3.5 %)	46 (14.7 %)
	Informal employment	3 (1.0 %)	263 (84.3 %)	266 (85.3 %)
	Total	38 (12.2 %)	274 (87.8 %)	312 (100.0 %)

Note: For a full explanation of the two operationalizations, see Section II.c.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

Appendix 3: Breakdown of employment in distribution, restaurants & hotels and in manufacturing by ISIC tabulation class, gender and job-based concept of informality

Appendix Table 3: Employment in distribution, restaurants & hotels sector by 3-digit ISIC class, gender and job-based concept of informality

Economic activity (ISIC Rev. 3 class)	Gender		Job-based concept of informality		All employed respondents
	Male	Female	Formally employed	Informally employed	
Maintenance and repair of motor vehicles (5020)	10	0	3	7	10
Sale of motor vehicle parts and accessories (5030)	0	1	1	0	1
Wholesale. of non-agricultural intermediate products, waste, scrap (5140)	3	0	0	3	3
Wholesale of machinery, equipment , supplies (5150)	1	0	1	0	1
Other wholesale trade (5190), thereof:	3	12	0	15	15
Cross-border trading	*3*	*12*	*0*	*15*	*15*
Non-specialized retail trade in stores (5210)	2	2	3	1	4
Retail sale in non-specialized stores, food & beverages (5211)	0	1	0	1	1
Retail sale food, beverages., tobacco in specialized store (5220)	1	0	0	1	1
Retail trade not in stores (total) (5250), thereof:	28	90	1	127	128
fruits & vegetables	*21*	*50*	*0*	*71*	*71*
airtime	*0*	*1*	*0*	*1*	*1*
fish & meat	*1*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*1*
drinks & freezits	*1*	*14*	*0*	*15*	*15*
sweets, cigarettes, biscuits	*2*	*2*	*0*	*4*	*4*
vim, soap, floor polish, cooking oil,	*2*	*12*	*0*	*14*	*14*
clothes	*1*	*8*	*1*	*8*	*9*
bags, books, cassettes	*2*	*0*	*0*	*2*	*2*
watches, bikes, blankets & hardware	*3*	*0*	*0*	*3*	*3*
drugs (marihuana)	*2*	*0*	*0*	*2*	*2*
other / not classified	*3*	*3*	*0*	*6*	*6*
Repair of personal and household goods (5260)	10	0	1	9	10
Hotel; camping and other short-stay accommodation (5510)	0	1	1	0	1
Restaurants, bars and canteens (5520)	2	1	0	3	3
n =	70	108	11	167	178

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

Appendix Table 4: Employment in manufacturing by 3-digit ISIC class, gender and job-based concept of informality

Economic activity (ISIC Rev. 3 class)	Gender		Job-based concept of informality		All employed respondents
	Male	Female	Formally employed	Informally employed	
Production of meat and meat products (1511)	1	0	1	0	1
Other food products (1540)	0	2	0	2	2
Made-up textile articles, except apparel (1721)	0	3	0	3	3
Knitted and crocheted fabrics and articles (1730)	0	7	0	7	7
Wearing apparel, except fur apparel (1810)	0	11	1	10	11
Leather and articles of leather (1910)	2	0	0	2	2
Printing and related activities (2220)	1	0	0	1	1
Other chemical products (2420)	1	0	1	0	1
Soap, detergents, perfumes, cleaning, toilet prep. (2424)	2	2	0	4	4
Plastic products (2520)	1	0	1	0	1
Articles of concrete, cement and plaster (2695)	4	0	1	3	4
Other fabricated metal products (2890)	1	0	0	1	1
Treatment, coating of metals; mechanical engineering (2892)	1	0	0	1	1
Cutlery, hand tools and general hardware (2893)	6	0	0	6	6
Other fabricated metal products, nec (2899)	1	0	1	0	1
Other electrical equipment, nec (3190)	2	0	0	2	2
TV/radio receivers; sound and video app.; assoc. goods (3230)	1	0	0	1	1
Furniture (3610)	14	2	5	11	16
n =	38	27	11	54	65

Note: Based on the full operationalization of the job-based concept of informality.

Source: Survey on Informal Employment (Glen View, Harare), November 2006.

Appendix 4: Questionnaire

Survey on Informal Employment

November 2006

[*Introduction text*] **Good morning / good afternoon, my name is _____ and I am from the Department of Geography of the University of Zimbabwe. We are currently carrying out a survey to find out what ordinary people do for a living. If you don't mind, I would like to ask you a few questions about your work. Everything you tell me will be treated confidentially. I will not even ask you for your name so that no one can find out what you told me. Participation is of course voluntary and takes only a few minutes. Is it all right for you if I ask you a few questions?**

[*If refused tick below and note down basic characteristics below, using your own judgment*]

A	REFUSED
1	refused
B	**SEX**
1	male
2	female

C	AGE
1	15-24
2	25-39
3	40-64
4	65 +

D	**EMPLOYMENT STATUS** [note down]
E	**INDUSTRIAL SECTOR** [note down]

SECTION I: CURRENT WORKING CONDITIONS

Q1: What have you been doing for a living over the past 7 days?
[Write down detailed description below, also if not employed etc.]

[*Classify main activity below – ask for the information you need. Reference period is past 7 days*]

[Q2*A: Classify employment status; one response only.*]

1	Paid employee (permanent)	5	Own account worker (other)
2	Paid employee – casual / temporary / contract / seasonal	6	Unpaid family worker
3	Employer **2AA:** No of employees:		
4	Own account worker (communal & and resettlement farmer)	99	[refused / don't know]

[Q2*B: Classify by industrial sector; one response only.*]

1	Agriculture, hunting and fishing	6	Transport and communication	11	Private domestic
2	Mining and quarrying	7	Finance, insurance and real estate	12	other
3	Manufacturing	8	Public administration		
4	Construction	9	Education services		
5	Distribution, restaurants & hotels	10	Health	99	[not stated]

[ASK ONLY IF RESPONDENT WAS NOT WORKING FOR ONE HOUR OR MORE:]

Q1C: Were you available for work in the last 7 days?	1	yes	2	no
Q1D: Did you look for work in the last 30 days?	1	yes	2	no

[PLEASE CONTINUE WITH QUESTION 16]

Q2: How many days did you work since last _____ [enter current week-day]?

Q3: On the days you worked, how many hours did you work on average per day?

[If total less than 1 hrs / week, go back to Q1C]

Q4: If you account for all the costs and expenses you have, how much income were you left with on an average day during the past 7 days? [Use the information gained in Question 1 to ask about any cost the respondent might not have taken into account – e.g. transport to buy goods. If respondent does not know profit made, note down intake and cost separately and work out daily total. Clarify type and reference periods of cost and intake.]

Q5: Are there any other yearly or monthly costs necessary for your work that you have to pay for? [Note down amount and type of cost, and how much time they cover, e.g. "yearly license fee of ZWD 4000" or "monthly electricity bill of ZWD 2500"]

Q6: Do you currently encounter any problems with respect to the work you are doing? And if so, what are the greatest problems you face? *[Rank up to three problems, or state that respondent has no problems.]*

Q7: Have you received any kind of assistance to improve your working situation since November 2005? By assistance we mean anything that helped you to improve your working situation, whether provided by local government, a ministry, a self-help organization, an NGO, family or friends, or by others? *[Note down type of assistance and who provided it.]*

Q8: If you need assistance, what kind of assistance would you need? *[Rank up to three priorities, or state that no assistance needed]*

Q9: Do you know of any organization, association or group that expresses the concerns of people in your situation? *[Note down exact name.]*

Q10: Are you a member of such an organization, association or group? *[if Yes, note down name.]*

A	1	Yes	2	No

B:

Q11: If you work for yourself, do you have a license and/or a registration? Or if you work for someone else, does the establishment you work for have a license and/or is it registered?

A: License	1	Licensed	2	Not licensed	99	[refused / don't know]
B: Registration	1	Registered	2	Not registered	99	[refused / don't know]

Q12: Do you benefit from paid annual leave or from compensation instead of it?

1	Yes	2	No	3	Do not know	99	[refused]

Q13: In case of incapacity to work due to health reasons, would you benefit from paid sick leave?

1	Yes	2	No	3	Do not know	99	[refused]

Q14: In case of birth of a child, would you be given the opportunity to benefit from maternity leave?

1	Yes	2	No	3	Do not know	4	Not applicable	99	[refused]

Q15: Are you expenses for health care covered by your employer or by a health insurance?

1	Yes	2	No	3	Do not know	99	[refused]

Q16: When you talk to friends and family, and they ask you "ARE YOU UNEMPLOYED?", how do you answer? Do you say "I AM UNEMPLOYED", or do you say "I AM EMPLOYED"? Or how else do you describe your situation?

1	I say that I am unemployed	3	I describe my situation as the following [*write down*]: 11 12 13 14 15 16
2	I say that I am employed		
99	[refused / don't know]		

SECTION II: PAST DEVELOPMENTS

Q17: Now, let's talk a bit about the past. Could you please try and remember your own working situation in June 2004. What were you doing back then?

[Q17*A: Classify employment status; one response only. // Reference period is June 2004*]

1	Paid employee (permanent)	5	Own account worker (other)
2	Paid employee – casual / temporary / contract / seasonal	6	Unpaid family worker
3	Employer	88	Not working
4	Own account worker (communal & and resettlement farmer)	99	[refused / don't know]

[Q17*B: Classify by industrial sector; one response only.*]

1	Agriculture, hunting and fishing	6	Transport and communication	11	Private domestic
2	Mining and quarrying	7	Finance, insurance and real estate	12	Other
3	Manufacturing	8	Public administration		
4	Construction	9	Education services		
5	Distribution, restaurants & hotels	10	Health	99	[not stated]

[Q17C & D: *Establish license / registration status.*]

C: License	1	Licensed	2	Not licensed	99	[refused / don't know]
D: Registration	1	Registered	2	Not registered	99	[refused / don't know]

Q18: If you compare your present working situation to your situation in June 2004, would you say that all in all your situation has improved, or it has become worse? Or has there been no change?

1	My situation has improved since June 2004	3	there has been no change for me since June 2004
2	My situation has become worse since June 2004	99	[refused / don't know]

Q19: Let us briefly talk about Operation Murambatsvina, and how it has affected the work you were doing, or the way you make a living. All in all, would you say that Operation Murambatsvina has improved your personal work situation, or has it made you personal work situation worse? Or has Operation Murambatsvina had no effect on you?

[Attention: DO NOT to include effects of Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle under Q19 & Q20.]

1	OM has improved my work situation.	3	OM has had no effect on my work situation.
2	OM has made my work situation worse.	99	[refused / don't know]

Q20: Could you explain how Operation Murambatsvina has affected your work or the way you make a living? [If response above is "no effect", ask:] **Could you explain why Operation Murambatsvina has had no effect on you?**

Q21: And what about Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle, how has it affected your work and your income situation? All in all, would you say that Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle has improved your situation, or has it made it worse for you? Or has it had no effect on you?

1	OG/HK has improved my situation.	88	[Respondent does not know about OG/HK]
2	OG/HK has made my situation worse.		
3	OG/HK has had no effect on me.	99	[refused]

Q22: Could you explain how Operation Garikai / Hlalani Kuhle has affected you? Or why has it had no effect on you?

SECTION III: DEMOGRAPHICS

Q22: In which year were you born? _____

Q23: What is the highest level of education you have completed? [If A-level, prompt for diploma etc.]

0	None	4	Grade 4	11	Form 1	15	Form 5	20	Diploma/certificate after primary
1	Grade 1	5	Grade 5	12	Form 2	16	Form 6	21	Diploma/certificate after secondary
2	Grade 2	6	Grade 6	13	Form 3	Standards, etc:		22	Graduate/postgraduate
3	Grade 3	7	Grade 7	14	Form 4			99	[refused/don't know]

Q24: What is your marital status?

1	never married	3	divorced/separated	88	living with partner
2	married	4	widowed	99	[refused]

Q25: How many adults and how many children and babies live in your household and eat together? Please count everybody, including yourself.
Number of adults: _____ Number of children and babies (0 to 17 years): _____

Q26: And how many adults and how many children contribute to the income of the household, including yourself?
Number of contributing adults: _____Number of contributing children (0 to 17 years): _____

Q27: Apart from yourself, how much did the other household members earn during the past seven days in total? _____ [If income is monthly, please divide by 4.]

Q28: Location of establishment: *[Ask if necessary!]*	1	On a footpath, street, or open space			2	At a market
	3	In respondent's home	33	Street in front of own home	4	In someone else's home
	5	In another permanent/fixed location			6	No fixed location

Q29: Sex [*Note down without asking!*]	1	male	2	female

Thank you for taking the time to talk to me! [*Or other closing statement.*]

I date and AM or PM [circle]	II sample cluster	III interviewer
_____/ _____ 2006 AM or PM		

IV coding (initials and date)	V data entry (initials and date)	VI checked (initials and date)

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