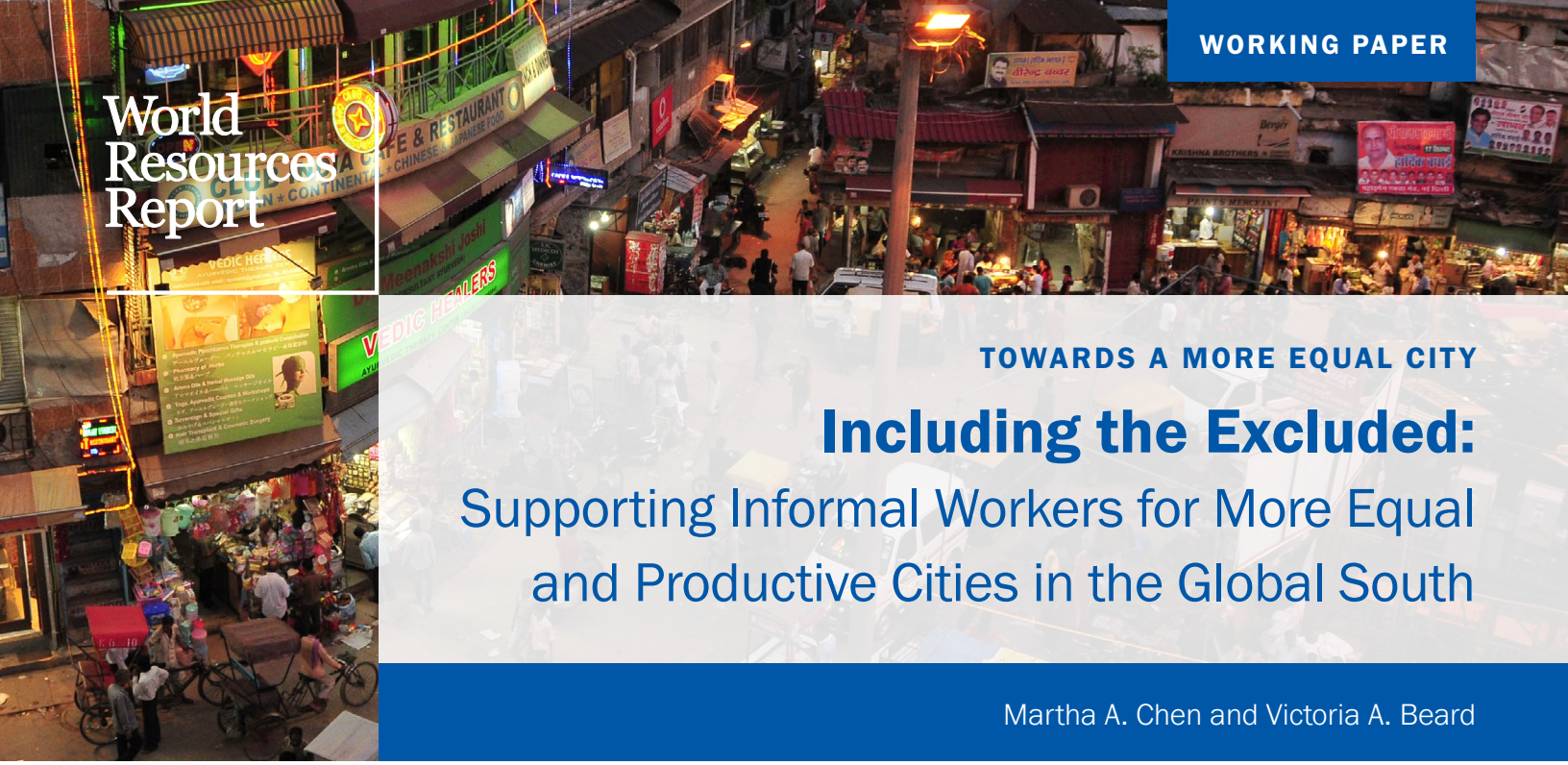

WORKING PAPER

World Resources Report

TOWARDS A MORE EQUAL CITY

Including the Excluded:

Supporting Informal Workers for More Equal and Productive Cities in the Global South

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CONTENTS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Highlights

The informal economy accounts for 50 to 80 percent of urban employment in cities across the global South.[1] Informal employment comprises over three-quarters of urban employment in Africa, over half of urban employment in Asia and the Pacific, and just under half of urban employment in Latin America and the Caribbean.[2]

Informal enterprises generate from one-quarter to one-half of gross domestic product or value added outside agriculture.[3]

Informal and formal economic activities are inextricably linked through the exchange of goods and services and global supply chains.

For cities to be productive they need to support informal workers; however, most cities are either ambivalent or hostile towards urban informal workers.[4]

Home-based workers, street vendors, and waste pickers are three large groups of self-employed urban workers upon whom city policies have a direct impact. These groups typify the needs of the urban informal working poor for public services, public spaces, and public procurement, respectively.

WIEGO
Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing

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A growing number of cities are taking a more inclusive approach to informal workers and their activities, offering security of tenure and equitable access to core services to home-based workers; promoting regulated but equitable access to public spaces for street vendors; and integrating waste pickers into solid waste management systems.

Most inclusive approaches are the outcome of advocacy campaigns and legal struggles mounted by organizations of informal workers and supported by coalitions of allies.

The creation and reform of local economic development plans, urban land use plans, urban policy, and laws and regulations must be participatory and include informal workers, those who represent informal workers, and other relevant stakeholders.

More than Half of Urban Employment is Informal in the Global South

Cities represent the world's future, but that future is uncertain. Cities already produce more than half of the world's gross domestic product (GDP)[5] and are home to more than half of the world's population.[6] The dominance of cities will continue to grow as another 2.5 billion people move to urban areas over the next 30 years, mostly in Asia and Africa.[7] Yet while cities are the engines of innovation, creativity, and economic growth, they are also sites of growing inequality, political strife, and environmental degradation. Given this tension, there is a need for negotiation, balance, and consensus on the policies and practices that shape cities and affect everyone's ability to live, move, and thrive in cities.

A major but often overlooked dimension of city life is the large and growing share of informal employment in the urban workforce. Informal employment—including self-employment in informal enterprises and wage employment in informal jobs—represents more than half of urban employment in the global South, and as much as 80 percent in some cities and countries.[8] The prospect of employment will continue to attract rural migrants to cities. However, there are not enough formal jobs in cities to meet demand, so the informal economy is likely to continue to expand.[9] Recognizing the size and persistence of the informal economy, this paper examines how cities in the global South can create policies, regulations, and practices that support informal workers, thereby reducing inequality while promoting economic productivity and environmental sustainability.

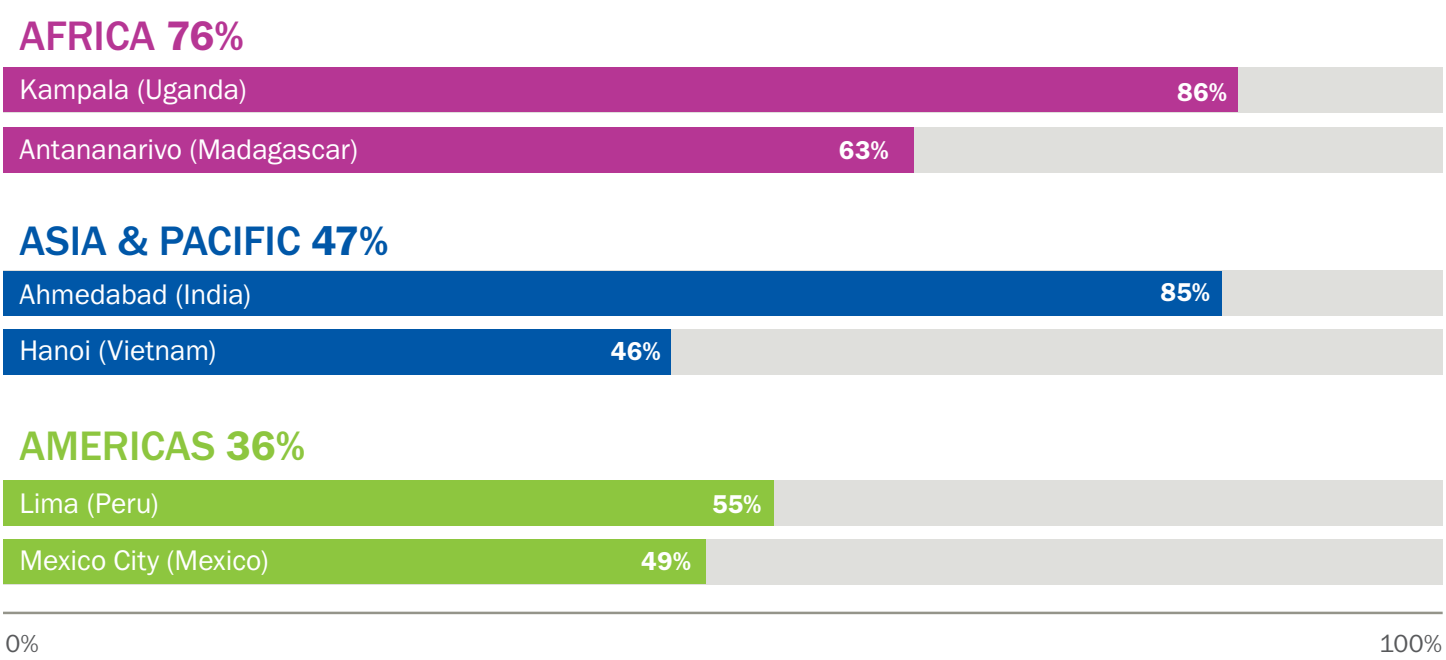
If cities are to be more equitable and productive, they need to support the economic rights of the urban working poor in the informal economy. Many city governments in the global South take an exclusionary approach to informal livelihood activities. These cities stigmatize informal workers as people who avoid taxes and regulations, represent unfair competition to formal firms, inappropriately occupy public space, create congestion and unsanitary conditions, and pose public health risks. This view is particularly harsh on the informal self-employed who need access to public services, public spaces, and public procurement to pursue their livelihoods. This view fails to recognize that informal economic activities not only represent a livelihood strategy of the working poor; they also constitute the broad base of the urban economy, supplying goods and services to the formal economy and contributing to urban economic growth. In a growing number of cities, organizations of informal workers are advocating, with some success, for more inclusive urban policies, regulations, and practices. This paper concludes that inclusive cities are more equitable, productive, and environmentally sustainable.

About This Paper

This paper focuses on three occupational groups—home-based workers, street vendors, and waste pickers—for a few reasons. First, these groups represent a significant share of urban informal employment, and an even larger share of urban informal self-employment.[10] Second, each group illustrates the need for specific public goods and services that cities directly control. Third, these groups are emblematic of what informal workers need to become more productive. Home-based workers need equitable access to core public services. Street vendors need public space in good locations to vend. Waste pickers need the right to bid for public procurement contracts to collect, sort, and recycle waste.

The paper also describes, in less depth, informal construction and transportation workers, many of whom are wage employed. Large numbers of informal wage workers are also engaged in domestic work and labor-intensive manufacturing that are beyond the scope of this paper. For informal wage workers, the relationship with their employer is primary and has the greatest impact on their livelihoods and well-being. For the informal self-employed, notably the three sectors we have chosen to analyze in-depth in this paper, the relationship between worker and city is primary, as the city has the power to either enhance or undermine the livelihoods of these workers.

Figure ES-1 | **Most of the urban workforce in the global South is informal**



Notes: Region percentages show average share of informal employment in urban employment by region (2004–2010). City bars show share of informal employment in the urban workforce, selected cities (2003–2015).
Source: WIEGO Dashboard, 2018.

This paper is based largely on the knowledge, experience, and research of the Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO) network, which works with and supports organizations of informal workers in cities across the global South. For the past 20 years, WIEGO has been instrumental in reconceptualizing the informal economy and informal employment, promoting the collection of official national data on the phenomena, building organizations and networks of informal workers, and supporting organizations of informal workers in their advocacy campaigns and legal struggles.

The paper is part of the World Resources Report (WRR), *Towards a More Equal City*. The report examines whether equitable access to core urban public services can help achieve a more economically productive and environmentally sustainable city. The first set of research papers examines this question from the perspective of a core urban service. A second set of papers examines this question from the perspective of a pressing thematic issue, such as this paper on the urban informal economy and another on urban expansion. The third set of papers examines how and why cities transform (or do not transform) to become more equal. This third set of papers takes a synoptic, cross-sectoral, and longitudinal approach to examining this question in eight cities in the global South.

The Exclusionary City

Most cities have adopted an exclusionary approach to informal workers and their livelihood activities, as illustrated by the constraints and barriers faced by the three groups of self-employed informal workers featured in this paper.

Home-based workers produce many goods and services for domestic and global markets from their homes, often in informal settlements and slums. Some examples of the range of goods they produce are textiles, garments, shoes, sporting goods, airplane cushions, and automobile parts. They also assemble electronic goods and package pharmaceutical products. These workers are negatively affected by evictions and relocations; unequal access to core public services (notably, electricity, water, sanitation, and transportation); and single-use zoning regulations, which ban commercial activities in residential areas.

Street vendors sell goods and services in convenient locations, typically at lower prices. Most city governments issue too few licenses or permits for the large numbers of street vendors who work in the city. Every day around the world, there is at least one forced eviction of street vendors.[11] Some are large-scale violent evictions. In other cases, evicted vendors are relocated, but often to marginal locations with low customer traffic. Vendors are exposed to ongoing forms of harassment by police and city officials, including demands for bribes or fines and confiscation of goods.

Waste pickers collect and sort waste to reclaim recyclable items that are used by industries as raw or packing materials. Despite the public service they provide to the city, the environment, and the economy, waste pickers are often denied access to waste, or face confiscation of the waste by city authorities or municipal street cleaners. Organizations of waste pickers are rarely allowed to compete with private companies for solid waste management contracts.

The Inclusive City

A limited but growing number of cities in the global South are adopting a more inclusive approach to informal workers and their economic activities. The following are examples of more inclusive approaches that cities have taken towards home-based workers, street vendors, and waste pickers, largely in response to the advocacy and legal actions of worker organizations:

> For the last 45 years, India's Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), a trade union of 1.5 million women informal workers, has collaborated with city governments to provide core public infrastructure services by organizing workers and linking them to specific city government departments responsible for housing, electricity, sanitation, and water.[12]
>
> Established in 1992, HomeNet Thailand, an organization of home-based and other informal workers in Thailand, negotiated with the Bangkok Mass Transport Authority (BMTA) between 2013 and 2014 to leverage transportation services for home-based workers relocated from central Bangkok to the outskirts of the city.[13]
>
> Starting in the late 1990s, the city government in Durban (eThekwini metro), South Africa, and then a local nongovernmental organization (NGO), have helped preserve and upgrade a natural market of approximately 7,000 to 8,000 street vendors.[14]
>
> The city government in Bhubaneshwar, India, designated vending zones for street vendors in 2006. The city government in Ahmedabad, India, has relocated around 500 evicted street vendors to the open area where they used to vend after it was converted into a heritage plaza.[15]
>
> Since the early 1990s, waste pickers have received recognition and support from cities across Latin America, including Buenos Aires, Argentina; Belo Horizonte, Brazil; and Bogotá, Colombia.[16] This support included providing buildings for sorting and storing waste, making motorized vehicles available to transport waste, and awarding municipal contracts to waste picker organizations.

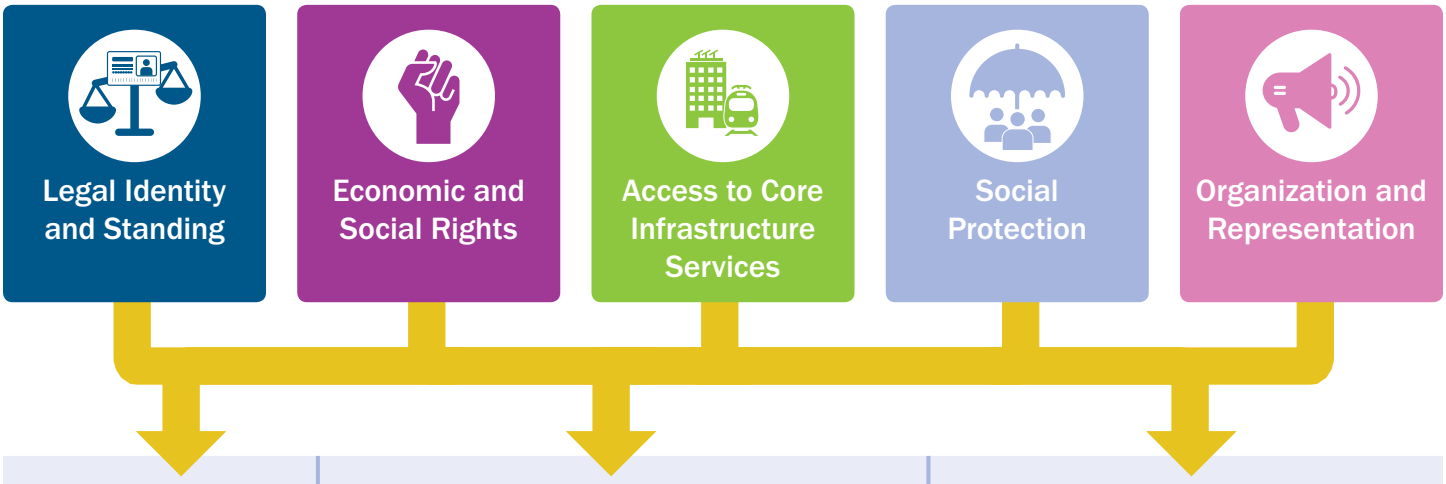
These examples emerged out of ongoing negotiations between organizations of informal workers and cities. In some cases, the promising example was replicated elsewhere. For instance, the Bogotá model of waste picker integration has been replicated in eight cities across Colombia.[17] In others, there have been setbacks or threats to the gains made. In all cases, there is a need for ongoing negotiations and engagement between the organizations of informal workers and city governments to sustain the gains made.

Recommendations

The following is a list of specific actions cities can take to support the economic rights of the urban working poor in the informal economy and thus make cities more equitable, economically productive, and environmentally sustainable:

> *Increase informal workers' access to public services, public spaces, and public procurement.* City governments and local officials need to acknowledge the economic contribution informal workers make to the urban economy and reduce harassment and penalization of such workers. A prime example of negative policy and practice are evictions of informal workers from workspaces and residential areas, which are also industrial hubs, and relocating them to city peripheries. Cities should provide core public services to informal workers to make their workplaces more productive; grant regulated access to public space for informal workers to pursue their livelihoods; and allow organizations of informal workers to compete for public procurement to increase demand for their goods and services.

Figure ES-2 | **What informal workers need from inclusive cities**



HOME BASED WORKERS

- Freedom from forced relocations and zoning restrictions
- Secure tenure and upgrading of their homes-cum-workplaces
- Basic infrastructure services—water, electricity, sanitation
- Occupational health and safety services

STREET VENDORS

- Freedom from harassment, bribes, confiscation of goods, forced evictions and relocations, and arbitrary warrants and arrests
- Right to vend in public spaces in central locations, near pedestrian and customer traffic
- Integration of natural markets of street vendors in urban zoning, land allocation, and market development plans
- Fair, transparent, and participatory system for allocating licenses and permits
- Basic infrastructure services at their vending sites, including shelter, water, sanitation, and storage facilities

WASTE PICKERS

- Freedom from harassment and confiscation of collected waste and reclaimed materials by city officials
- Access to waste
- Right of their organizations to bid for solid waste management contracts as paid service providers for collecting, recycling, and transporting waste
- Space and equipment for collecting, transporting, sorting, and storing recyclable materials, including safety equipment and clothing

Reform laws and regulations so they support informal workers. Cities should make it easier for the informal self-employed to register their businesses. They should make taxation progressive and transparent and assess what taxes and operating fees informal workers already pay. Cities also need to assess which informal workers are liable for income taxes, personal or corporate, as many earn less than the threshold for such taxes, and which informal operators are liable for payroll taxes, as few hire workers. Cities should extend benefits to workers in exchange for paying taxes.

Include informal worker leaders in participatory policymaking and rule-setting processes. City authorities, urban planners, and policy specialists should ensure meaningful participation of informal workers and their representatives in economic development planning, rule-setting, and collective bargaining processes, including forums that bring together stakeholders that represent government, the private sector, and informal workers. Cities should integrate informal economy activities into local economic development plans and urban land allocation plans. In so doing, cities should recognize that informal settlements are often thriving industrial hubs, and where many home-based businesses are located. Cities should recognize and protect natural markets for vendors, and recognize that waste pickers contribute to cleaning streets, reclaiming recyclables and reducing carbon emissions.

Support coalitions for change. The inclusive approaches towards informal workers and their livelihoods highlighted in this paper were brought about by coalitions for change comprising organizations of informal workers, supported by activist allies, negotiating with local governments. Allies include lawyers, academics, and NGOs. Coalitions for change help monitor and highlight the situation on the ground, write letters to the press, organize policy dialogues, and provide technical assistance to advocacy campaigns.

Conclusion

As urban population growth continues, and often exceeds employment growth, struggling and emerging cities need to recognize and value the informal economy as an integral contributing component of the urban economy.[18] The informal economy creates more jobs than the formal economy, particularly for low- and middle-income groups, and significantly contributes to economic growth.[19] Cities cannot become more equal or more economically productive if they exclude the vast majority of their workforce, and especially the working poor. The politics of change should not be underestimated. There are very real competing interests, both economic and political, for control of public space, public services, and public procurement. The best way forward is to include organizations of informal workers, along with other stakeholders, in the formal processes of urban governance and management to negotiate policies and plans that balance competing interests and promote social and economic justice.

Abbreviations

AEC	Ahmedabad Electricity Board
AeT	Asiye eTafuleni
AMC	Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation
ARB	Asociación de Recicladores de Bogotá
BMTA	Bangkok Mass Transport Authority
CBO	Brazilian Occupation Classification
DIAL	Développement, Institutions et Analyses de Long terme
GDP	gross domestic product
GVA	gross value added
ICLS	International Conference of Labour Statisticians
IEA	International Energy Agency
IGG	I Got Garbage
ILO	International Labour Organization
IRD	Institut de Recherche pour le Développement
LRC	Legal Resources Centre
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MHT	Mahila Housing SEWA Trust
MNCR	Movimento Nacional dos Catadores de Materiais Recicláveis
MTE	Excluded Worker Movement
NASVI	National Association of Street Vendors of India
NGO	nongovernmental organization
SAWPA	South African Waste Pickers Association
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SEWA	Self-Employed Women's Association
TAICO	Tanzanian Informal Construction Workers Association
TERI	The Energy and Resource Institute
UHC	Universal Health Coverage
VAT	valued-added tax
WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing
WRR	World Resources Report

1. MOST OF THE URBAN WORKFORCE IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH IS INFORMAL

For the first time in human history, more people live in cities than in rural areas, and the trend towards urbanization is accelerating. More than half of the world's gross domestic product (GDP) is produced in cities,[20] and cities account for approximately two-thirds of global energy demand and 70 percent of the world's CO_2 emissions.[21] Cities will determine the world's economic and environmental future, but that future is uncertain. Some observers see modern cities as engines of innovation and creativity, with the power to drive economic growth and improve the human condition.[22] Others see cities as sites of growing inequality and strife, places where the rich enjoy unchecked consumption, living in gated communities or gilded high-rises, while the working class lives in deteriorating neighborhoods and informal settlements.[23]

Most cities are a composite of these contradictory realities. Inequality is on the rise in cities around the world, in part because employment growth in cities has not kept pace with population growth. Urban revitalization and displacement of the working poor is often driven if not by the affluent themselves then by visions of modern, world-class, smart cities that privilege the wealthy and powerful. This vision does not leave much physical or policy space for informal settlements and livelihood activities, which are the dominant forms of housing and economic activities in cities across the global South.[24]

Some development practitioners associate the informal economy with low productivity and meager incomes. However, it contributes to urban and national economies in significant and diverse ways.[25] It generates more jobs than the private or public sectors.[26] For example, in India, 36 percent of all enterprises are home-based.[27] Informal workers produce high-end goods and services used in the formal economy, such as airplane cushions, brand-name shoes, and world-class soccer balls, as well as low-cost goods and services consumed by all economic classes. This production alleviates poverty and contributes to the whole city's economic growth.

Recent estimates suggest that informal enterprises generate from one-quarter to one-half of GDP or gross value added (GVA) outside agriculture: 50 percent of nonagricultural GVA in countries in West Africa, 46 percent in India, 29 percent in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, and 25 percent in Latin America.[28] These estimates do not include the contribution of informal wage workers who work for formal firms (in the public or private sectors) or for households (as domestic workers or landscapers), and thus are substantially understated.

Mexico is the only country that has estimated the contribution of its total informal workforce, inside and outside informal enterprises. The informal workforce represents around 60 percent of the total Mexican workforce and generates just over 30 percent of the country's total GVA.[29] The contribution of

Box 1 | Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO)

For more than 20 years, the WIEGO network has sought to improve the status of the working poor, especially women, in the informal economy by increasing their voice (through stronger organizations and greater representation); their visibility (through improved statistics and research); and the validity of their work (through legal recognition and identity). WIEGO does so by:

- helping to build and strengthen organizations and networks of informal workers;
- promoting the representative voice of informal worker leaders in relevant policymaking and collective bargaining processes;
- improving statistical measurement of informal employment;
- undertaking research on the characteristics and dynamics of informal employment;
- documenting good practice examples of policies and laws in support of informal workers; and
- creating platforms for informal worker leaders to engage with government and other stakeholders.

WIEGO is well-known for its ability to bridge ground-level reality and mainstream discourse, link local and global advocacy, and build sector-specific networks of informal worker organizations. These networks exist in four sectors of workers—domestic workers, home-based workers, street vendors, and waste pickers—and have more than 1,000 affiliates in 85 countries.

Source: WIEGO, 2017b.

informal workers outside informal enterprises (17 percent) is greater than the contribution of those who work inside informal enterprises (13 percent), according to tabulations by the National Statistical Institute of Mexico.[30] These estimates underscore the significant contribution the informal workforce (both inside and outside informal enterprises) makes to Mexico's national economy.[31]

Many urban planners and policymakers stigmatize the informal workforce as not complying with regulations and taxation, having low productivity, being a source of crime and unsanitary conditions, and contributing to congestion. While there is some justification for such views, city officials fail to recognize the contributions that informal workers make to the urban economy as a whole. They do not acknowledge that the urban informal workforce generates employment, incomes, and GDP. Others view the informal economy as a "shadow economy" of illegal activities or operators.[32] Still others associate the formal economy with modern economic development and the informal economy with more traditional economies.[33] The reality is far more complex. Overly simplistic and dualistic understandings miss the dynamic, overlapping, and interdependent relationship between formal and informal economic activities.[34]

In response to the rise of urban informality and inequality, a growing number of cities have introduced more inclusionary policies and practices towards informal workers. In Thailand, one organization successfully negotiated transport services for home-based workers who had been relocated from central Bangkok to the city periphery.[35] In cities in India, the Philippines, and South Africa, street vendors have successfully protested laws banning street trade and secured the use of strategically located public space.[36] In Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and India, municipalities have begun to integrate waste pickers into the municipal solid waste management system, recognizing that they provide a core service and contribute to environmental sustainability.[37] There is enough evidence to confirm that sustained collective action by organizations of informal workers can facilitate urban policies, plans, and practices that are inclusionary and make cities more equitable.

This paper is based largely on the knowledge, experience, and research of the Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO) network (see Box 1).[38] The paper has three main sections. The first presents recent official data on the size, composition, and contribution of the informal economy.

Box 2 | Statistical Terms and Definitions Regarding Informal Employment

The International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) has adopted three related statistical terms and definitions that globally pertain to informal employment. These terms are often used interchangeably and thus imprecisely:

- **Informal sector** refers to the production and employment that takes place in unincorporated small or unregistered enterprises.[a]
- **Informal employment** refers to employment without legal and social protection—both inside and outside the informal sector.[b]
- **Informal economy** refers to all units, activities, and workers so defined and the output from them.[c]

Together, informal workers and enterprises form the broad base of the global workforce and economy.

Sources: a. ILO (International Labour Organization), 1993; b. ILO, 2003; c. Vanek et al., 2012.

The next two sections detail exclusionary and inclusive approaches cities have adopted towards three illustrative groups of urban informal self-employed workers: home-based workers, street vendors, and waste pickers. Most of the examples of inclusive approaches are the outcome of negotiations by organizations of informal workers and their supporters, including the WIEGO network, and the government and other stakeholders over sustained periods of time.

Despite predictions to the contrary, the informal economy has persisted or grown in many places. In the struggling and emerging cities that are the focus of the World Resources Report (WRR), *Towards a More Equal City*,[39] over half of the urban workforce is informally employed; as much as 80 percent in some countries.[40] Most informal workers are self-employed.[41] This paper critically examines different approaches that cities have taken towards the informal self-employed and their livelihood activities.[42] After presenting recent data on the size, composition, and contribution of the informal economy, the paper highlights a series of actionable areas for urban change agents to make cities more inclusive and productive.

2. THE URBAN INFORMAL WORKFORCE IS LARGE, PERSISTENT, AND DIVERSE

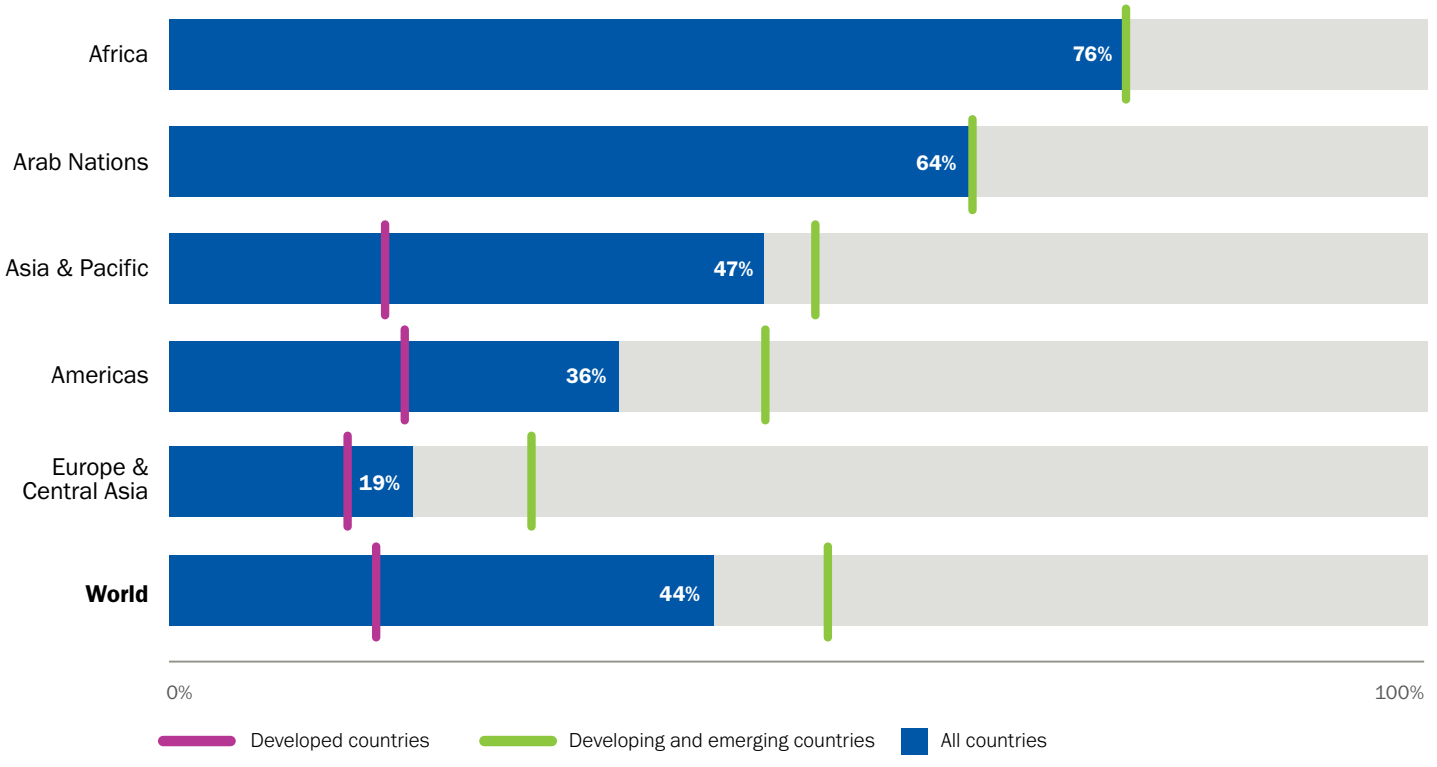
Given the sheer size and persistence of the informal economy, a good deal of effort has gone into rethinking and measuring the phenomenon over the past two decades. Most analysts have focused on the largest segment of the informal workforce: the self-employed. However, the informal workforce includes both self-employed persons in informal enterprises and wage workers hired informally by formal enterprises, informal enterprises, or households. New statistical concepts, definitions, and measures have been adopted to capture the full range of informal employment (see Box 2).[43]

Size and Composition

Globally, informal employment represents just over 60 percent of *total* employment and nearly 44 percent of *urban* employment.[44] In many cities in the global South, 50 to 80 percent of the workforce is informally employed.[45] Informal employment comprises over three-quarters of urban employment in Africa, two-thirds of urban employment in Arab nations, over half of urban employment in Asia and the Pacific, and nearly half of urban employment in Latin America and the Caribbean (see Figure 1).[46]

Within these regions, there is significant variation among subregions and countries. South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa (excluding the southern cone) have the highest prevalence of urban informal employment.[47] In India, for example, informal employment represents 80 percent of total urban employment.[48]

Figure 1 | **Half or more of all employment in the global South is informal, with the highest rates in Africa (and South Asia)**

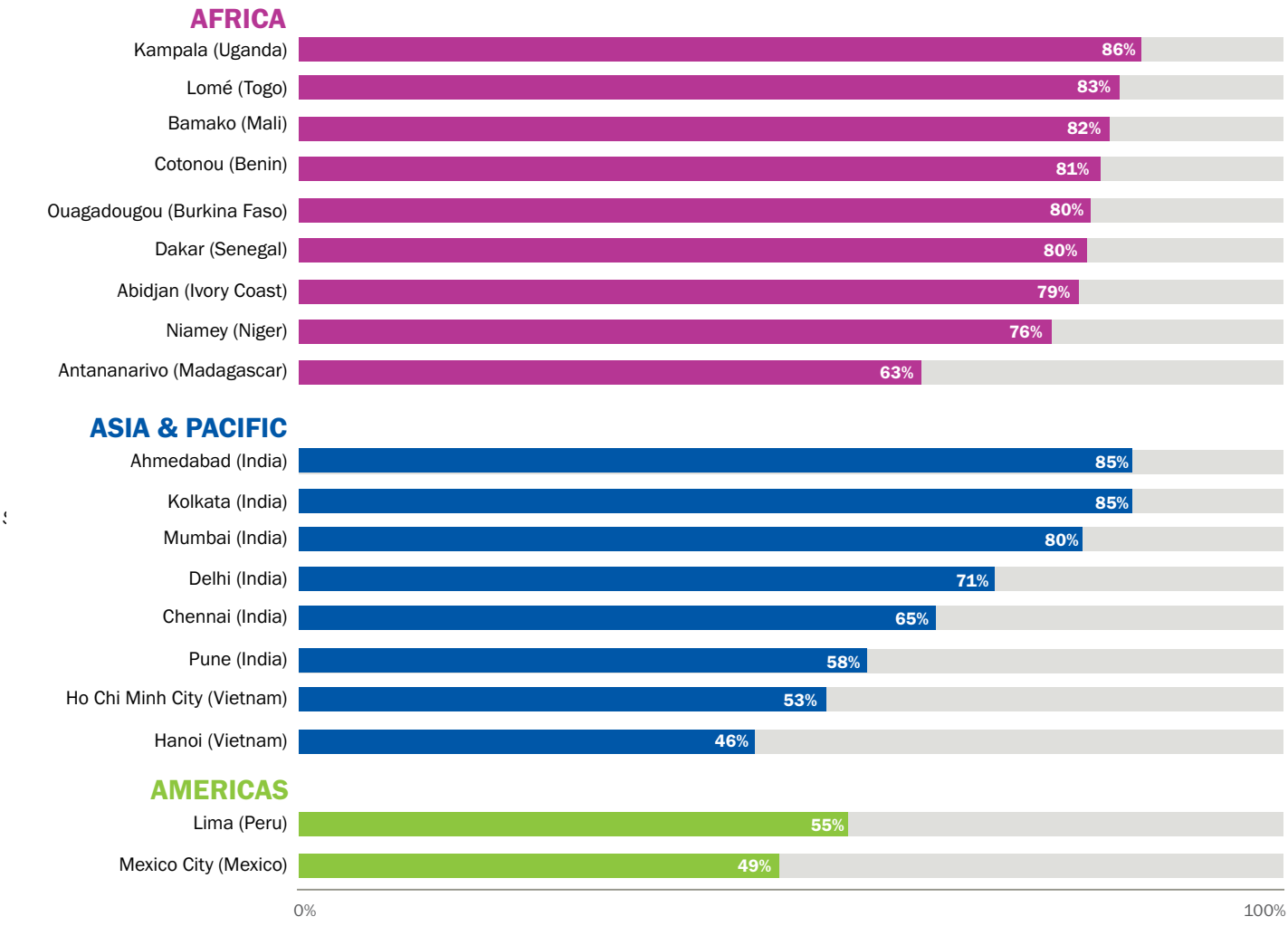


Notes: South Asia has a higher rate of informal employment than Africa: 78 percent. Because South Asia is grouped with more developed countries in Asia and the Pacific Islands in the chart, this fact is not visible.
Source: ILO, 2018.

Because city-level samples in labor force surveys are often too small, city-level estimates are rare.[49] However, the French research institute, Développement, Institutions et Analyses de Long terme (DIAL), a joint research unit of Paris-Dauphine University and the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD), worked with national statistical offices to carry out city-level surveys in 11 cities in the global South (see Figure 2).[50] Subsequently, the WIEGO network commissioned national statisticians in India, Mexico, and Uganda to generate estimates of informal employment in several cities. The prevalence of informal employment was highest in African and South Asian cities, followed by Lima, Hanoi, Mexico City, and Ho Chi Minh City.[51]

Although there are significant differences between countries and regions, these estimates show that rather than being the exception, informal employment is in fact the norm in most cities in the global South.[52]

Figure 2 | **Informal employment is between 46 and 85 percent of total employment in selected cities (2003–2015)**



Source: WIEGO Dashboard, 2018.

Sector of economic activity

The urban informal workforce is heterogeneous. For purposes of analysis and policymaking, it is useful to classify the different groups of urban informal workers by the sector of economic activity in which they are engaged, their status in employment, and their place of work. In most cities across the global South, urban informal workers can be found in the three main sectors of urban economic activity: construction, manufacturing, and services (including trade, transport, waste picking, and a range of personal services, notably domestic work). See Figure 3 for the percentage distribution of urban informal workers in India across different sectors of economic activity.

Status in employment

It is important to first identify whether informal workers are self-employed or wage-employed, then subdivide them into more homogeneous subcategories. The urban informal self-employed, who are the focus of this paper, include:

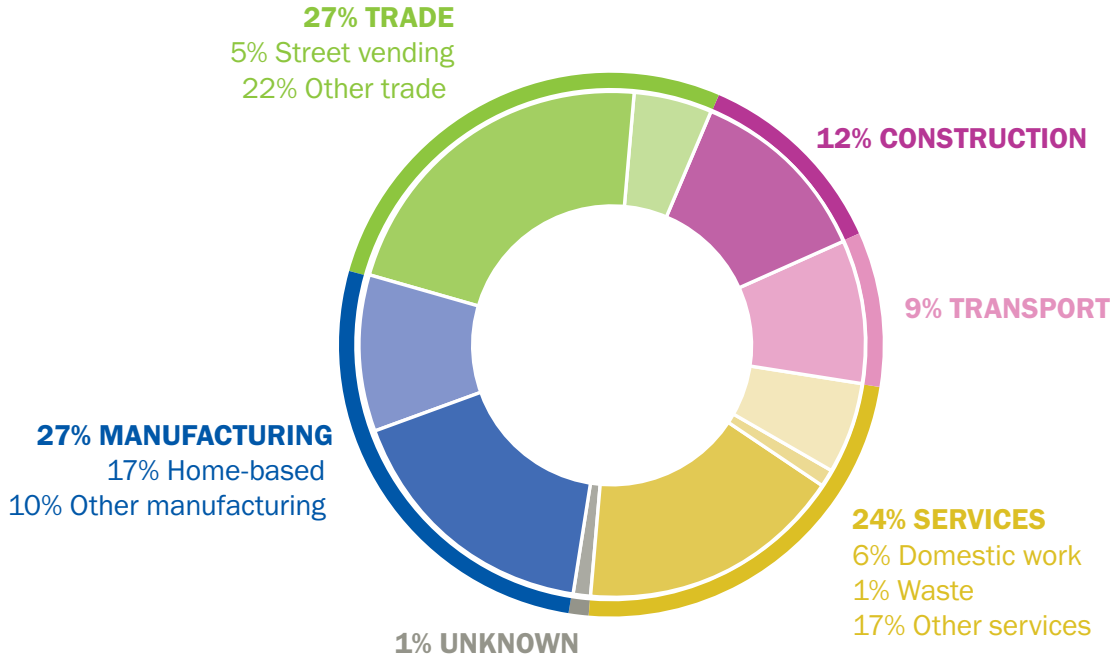
- employers: those who hire others;
- own-account workers: those who do not hire others (single-person operators or heads of family firms);
- contributing family workers: family members who work without pay in family firms; and
- members of informal producer cooperatives (where these exist).[53]

In Asia and Latin America, informal employment outside agriculture is almost evenly split between wage and self-employment.[54] However, self-employment dominates in sub-Saharan Africa.[55] Among the informal self-employed, own-account workers (who do not hire others) is the largest category, followed by contributing family workers. Few informal self-employed are employers.[56]

Place of work

Urban workplaces are widely seen to include factories, shops, or offices, as well as formal service outlets such as hospitals and schools. But this view excludes the workplaces of millions of urban informal workers. While some urban informal *wage* workers are engaged in factories, shops, or office spaces, most informal *self-employed* work is in so-called "nonstandard" workplaces, notably private homes and public spaces.

Figure 3 | **Distribution of urban informal workforce in India by sector of economic activity**



Source: Chen and Raveendran, 2014: 10.

Informal workers who work from home face several business-related disadvantages. While some are engaged in traditional artisan production for local customers, others create products for more distant markets with limited market knowledge and access.[57] The size, condition of their homes, and access to core services affects the type of work they do and how productive they can be.[58] Specifically, the amount of space for work, for storage, the home's cleanliness, and whether it has electricity and water all affect productivity.[59] In the emerging city of Ahmedabad, India, some women from low-income households whose homes are dilapidated report that no one is willing to outsource work to them because of the condition of their home. Despite having the sewing skills for garment work, these women have to resort to working as casual day laborers or waste pickers.[60]

Many street vendors work on sidewalks or in traffic intersections providing goods and services to consumers at all times of day. These public spaces also serve as collection sites and routes for waste pickers who collect, sort, and recycle waste.[61] Other public spaces used by street vendors include parks, fairgrounds, and municipal markets. These public spaces serve different purposes at different times of day.[62]

The advantages of working in public spaces are demonstrated by the competition and demand for them. City authorities can respond in different ways to this situation,[63] ranging from prohibiting informal workers from being in public spaces, to relocating them to alternative sites, to regulating and negotiating the use of public spaces.[64] These different policy options have markedly different impacts on informal workers. Street vendors and waste pickers who experience harassment, have their merchandise confiscated, are fined, physically assaulted, evicted from public spaces, and/or relocated have higher business costs and are less productive.[65] These practices make the supply of goods and services less accessible, reliable, and affordable for the customers or clients of street vendors and waste pickers.

Given the costs of operating informally, many street vendors and waste pickers are willing to pay licensing or operating fees—provided that the procedure is simplified, the fees are not excessive, and the benefits are ensured.[66] Street vendors would like city governments to recognize and protect their "natural markets" because such areas are convenient sites for both vendors and their customers.[67] Waste pickers would like city governments to recognize and protect their right to access waste in public spaces because they contribute to solid waste management and a healthier urban environment.

Specific Occupations or Trades

In this paper, we have chosen to focus on three occupational groups to illustrate the challenges faced by informal workers—home-based workers, street vendors, and waste pickers. As noted earlier, these three groups represent a large share of urban informal employment, and an even larger share of informal self-employment.[68] In addition, the city and its policies directly impact these workers, and each group illustrates the need for specific public goods. Specifically, home-based workers need equitable access to core public services; street vendors need public space in good locations to vend; and waste pickers need the right to bid for public procurement contracts to collect, sort, and recycle waste.

Home-based workers

Home-based workers are found in many sectors of economic activity, from artisan production, to labor-intensive manufacturing, to electronic assembly, to packaging pharmaceuticals. Home-based workers are key players in many global supply chains, constituting the base of production for export-led growth in many countries. Home-based work represents a significant share of total urban employment; for example, 6 percent in urban South Africa and 14 percent in urban India.[69] While home-based work tends to be associated with manufacturing, many home-based workers are in trade; for example, 23 percent in Buenos Aires.[70] In most countries, the majority of home-based workers are self-employed, while a minority are subcontracted workers.[71]

Street vendors

Street vendors offer a wide range of goods and services in convenient and accessible locations. They contribute to a desirable pattern of urban mixed land use and preclude the need to construct additional physical structures, although they need transportation services to and from these locations. Street vendors contribute an essential service to all socio-economic segments of the population by offering low-cost goods in small quantities at convenient locations. A study of 11 cities in sub-Saharan Africa found that 70 percent of the

Box 3 | Informal Construction Workers in Cities of the Global South

The construction industry in cities of the global South has experienced unprecedented growth and is expected to continue to grow due to the need for large infrastructure projects, the demand for housing, and expanding commercial and industrial economic activity. The construction sector is labor-intensive, and the employment created per unit of investment is relatively large compared to other economic sectors.[a] For example, in 2013, in Indonesia and the Philippines, the construction sector accounted for a 6.6 and 5.6 percent share of GDP, respectively.[b] Similarly, in Tanzania, the construction sector contributed 5.5 percent to GDP in 2004.[c]

Work in the construction sector is diverse and ranges from unskilled manual laborers to highly skilled tradespeople. Women are almost exclusively at the bottom of this hierarchy and are vulnerable to sexual harassment and wage discrimination.[d] Many employers in the construction industry have reduced their permanent employees in favor of seasonal, casual, or contract workers, most of whom are informally employed and lack employer contributions to their social protection.[e] Among construction workers, 66 percent in Mexico, 74 percent in Malaysia, 85 percent in the Philippines, and 90 percent in Egypt are casual or self-employed.[f] These workers are often hired through intermediaries. The construction industry's preference for more casual and temporary labor relations has resulted in the erosion of social protection coverage, including accident insurance.[g] As stated in a recent report by the International Labour Organization (ILO), "policies and legislation often do not recognize informal construction workers, and weak enforcement of existing laws means that workers lose protection."[h]

The construction industry also has a high rate of dependency on migrant workers (domestic and international). Migrants are disproportionately hired under temporary, short-term contracts or are self-employed. These employment opportunities at the lower end of the construction hierarchy are at higher risk for workplace injuries and fatalities.[i] Unskilled construction work is often "survival" work, especially for migrants who cannot find alternative employment.[j] According to a recent ILO (2016) report, "The propensity for employers to often provide makeshift or substandard housing for construction migrants, coupled with immigration laws that tie workers to a single employer for extended periods of time can make some migrants extremely reliant on their employer, and thus vulnerable to employer abuses."[k]

Through dialogue between the government, employers, and informal construction workers in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, informal construction workers have formed the Tanzanian Informal Construction Workers Association (TAICO). In a policy dialogue with government and employers, TAICO representatives reported that their lack of official recognition excluded them from bidding on public sector projects.[l] The workers requested that the government set aside some capital funds to purchase products and services from informal construction workers.[m] They also requested that the city hire informal labor to maintain urban infrastructure.[n] In response, the Tanzanian government introduced a policy whereby organizations of informal construction workers are eligible to bid on projects worth a maximum of Tsh. 75 million (approximately US$60,000).[o] The government also developed a course specifically tailored to urban informal construction workers in Dar es Salaam.[p] Finally, a foreign construction company operating in Tanzania requested a database of TAICO's member groups to search for workers in building trades.[q]

Sources: a. ILO, 2014: 18; b. Olanrewagu and Abdul-Aziz, 2015: 11; c. Ishengoma and Lokina, 2017: 1; d. ILO, 2014: 18; e. ILO, 2014: 19; f. Jason, 2008: 201; Wells and Jason, 2010: 108; g. ILO, 2014: 19; h. ILO, 2014: 20; i–j. Buckley et al., 2016: 2; k. ILO, 2016: 2; l. Wells and Jason, 2010: 116–17; m–n. Jason, 2008: 201; o. Jason, 2008; Wells and Jason, 2010: 120; p–q. Jason, 2008: 201.

6,453 households surveyed obtained food from informal vendors, with 59 percent of households reporting that they patronized informal food vendors at least once a week.[72] More food-insecure households tended to rely on informal food vendors.[73] In a study of mostly sub-Saharan African cities, adult daily energy intake from street vendors was between 13 and 50 percent, and in several cities, food from street vendors contributed approximately half of daily protein to an adult diet.[74] Street vendors represent 4 percent of urban employment in India, between 12 and 24 percent of urban employment in eight African cities, and 15 percent of nonagricultural employment in South Africa.[75]

Waste pickers

Around the world, large numbers of people from low-income and disadvantaged communities make a living and create value from waste. Waste pickers collect, sort, recycle, and sell materials, and this helps reduce carbon emissions. In many cities in the global South that lack adequate solid waste management, solid waste is either burned, which contributes to air pollution, or accumulates on the city's periphery or in landfills. Waste pickers help reduce accumulation of solid waste in streets, public spaces, and urban water resources. In a 2006 study of six cities, more than 70,000 people and their families were responsible for recycling about 3 million tons per year.[76] In terms of waste pickers' environmental contribution, one study found that in three cities, "waste pickers recovered approximately 20 percent of all materials that entered the waste stream," reducing greenhouse gases and mitigating climate change.[77] An estimated 24 million people worldwide, of whom 80 percent are informal, make their living picking waste.[78] Waste pickers constitute around 1 percent of urban employment in many countries.[79]

The other major urban sectors, which are largely informal, are construction, domestic work, factory-based manufacturing, and transportation. Most of the informal workers in these sectors are wage workers. The World Resources Report (WRR), *Towards a More Equal City*, includes a paper on accessibility, mobility, and transportation in cities in the global South. This paper will provide more detailed analysis of informal transportation. Boxes 3 and 4 summarize the working conditions, demands, and collective action of informal construction and transport workers in cities of the global South.

3. EXCLUSIONARY CITIES

Exclusionary cities inhibit the productivity of informal workers through inadequate governance, policies, and urban planning, and a lack of financial investment. City governments and municipal officials in both the global South and North tend to over-regulate, relocate, and otherwise penalize informal workers and their livelihood activities. Informal workers face multiple barriers in pursuing their livelihoods, despite their contribution to low-income households, the general public, and the broader economy.

Most cities perceive the informal self-employed as avoiding taxes and regulations. Yet most informal self-employed do not earn above the threshold for personal or corporate income tax and few are liable for payroll taxes, as most do not hire other workers.[80] Also, many urban self-employed pay operating fees of various kinds (notably for permits or to rent space), as well as bribes to operate securely. Most pay a valued-added tax (VAT) on the supplies they buy for their enterprises without being able to pass on this cost to their customers or to claim business rebates (as their businesses are not registered).[81] For example, in a 2012 WIEGO-led study of five cities (Accra, Ahmedabad, Durban, Lima, and Nakuru), "nearly two-thirds of the 743 street vendors sampled paid for a license, permit, or access to public space, and that many paid value-added tax on their purchases."[82] In Accra and Kumasi, Ghana, informal traders in public built markets pay yearly, quarterly, monthly, or daily tolls to local and national authorities.[83] These fees contribute a significant proportion of total metropolitan revenue in these cities.[84] As described in Box 5, formalization is the most common policy response to informal workers and their economic activities, but this approach has its own contradictions and challenges.

In many cities, the impasse between the needs of informal workers and the concerns of city government is a no-win situation, disadvantageous to both the productivity of the city and the livelihoods of poor households. Cities can enable a way out of this impasse by promoting and engaging in negotiated agreements between informal workers and other stakeholders.

Home-Based Workers and the Challenge of Housing and Core Services

Home-based workers are directly affected by their level of access to adequate, secure, and affordable housing, and to core public services, notably clean, reliable, and affordable energy, water and sanitation, and transportation. Home-based workers are also negatively impacted by single-use zoning regulations, which ban commercial activities in residential areas.

Adequate, secure, and affordable housing

For home-based workers, housing is an essential productive asset. Too often their homes are small or of poor quality. In South and Southeast Asia, especially, seasonal rains force many home-based workers to suspend or reduce production because of leaky roofs, flooding, and humidity.[85] This is because many products such as incense, screen-printed textiles, and processed foods cannot dry under such conditions.[86]

Box 4 | Informal Transportation Workers in Cities in the Global South

In many cities in the global South, a dual transportation system exists, one formal and another informal (sometimes referred to as paratransit in African and South Asian contexts). Paratransit encompasses a wide range of motorized as well as nonmotorized forms of transportation, including minibuses, vans, auto rickshaws, cycle rickshaws, bicycle taxis, motorcycle taxis, and shared taxis.[a] In some cities, paratransit emerged in the absence of a public transportation system. In others, it extends an existing public transportation system to areas not covered, thus providing "the last mile of service."[b] In many places, paratransit provides a lower cost mobility option. Employment in paratransit also provides a critical livelihood source for the poor and economic opportunities for migrant laborers.[c]

To provide a sense of the magnitude of employment in the transportation sector, consider the case of Bangladesh, where just 1,500 buses and 27,000 trucks belong to the state Bangladesh Road Transport Corporation,[d] compared to the private sector, which has approximately 80,000 trucks that informally employ over 500,000 workers.[e] In addition, there are 70,000 mini-trucks and mini-bus drivers, some 120,000 auto rickshaw drivers, 250,000 cycle rickshaw pullers, and 50,000 taxi drivers.[f] The informal transportation workers are subject to irregular wage payments and 16- to 20-hour work days.[g] In a detailed study of informal transportation workers in the Philippines, 41 percent of drivers worked 10 to 12 hours per day, 6 to 7 days per week.[h] Informal workers have weak bargaining power because they operate as independent units, are in direct competition with each other, and are often subject to exploitive working relationships. For example, many rickshaw drivers cannot afford to buy their rickshaws so they rent them at high daily rates.

Many city governments in the global South are indifferent or hostile to informal transportation operators. Cities rarely provide enabling infrastructure, such as demarcated lanes for nonmotorized informal transportation or locations at which to stop safely. These cities limit permits for informal transportation operators out of concern that they cause congestion and degrade air quality. Another challenge for transportation regulators is safety in informal transportation.[i] In 2011, the Indian Supreme Court ruled that any type of vehicle that provides transportation must be registered and pay taxes, or else it can be seized.[j] This made informal operators particularly vulnerable to rent-seeking behavior and underscored the need to organize and professionalize.

In 2008 in Fazilka, a small town in Punjab, India, Fazilka Ecocabs organized cycle rickshaw drivers as a registered social enterprise to "strengthen and professionalize the unorganized network of cycle rickshaw drivers and to promote it as an affordable and environmentally sustainable means of transport for short distance travelling requirements."[k] Approximately 300 to 450 cycle rickshaw drivers enrolled in the organization. Rickshaw drivers were trained in road safety and drivers signed a "Code of Conduct."[l] The municipal council responded by creating rickshaw stands in five zones.[m] The smaller stands have a toilet and tea stall, and the larger stands also have a repair shop and canteen. In return for the rent-free space, the tea vendor often acted as a coordinator, dispatching rickshaws.[n] Rickshaw clients benefit from greater accountability, comfort, safety, price transparency, and reliability of the service.[o] Drivers experienced increased incomes, access to loans from nationalized banks at a 4 percent interest rate, and access to health care services, free legal aid, and educational support.[p] Ecocabs is working in 22 cities in Punjab representing approximately 300,000 cycle rickshaw drivers.[q]

Sources: a–b. TERI and UN-HABITAT, 2013; c–h. ILO, 2014: 31 ; i–j. ILO, 2014: 32–34; k–l. ILO, 2014: 33; m–q. ILO, 2014: 32–34.

Occupational health and safety is another critical issue for home-based workers.[87] Workers face ergonomic risks that stem from sitting on the floor or at low tables, engaging in repetitive motion, and putting in long work hours, and workers also face exposure to toxic substances.[88] These risks are compounded when the home does not have proper ventilation or access to core urban services, such as water, electricity, and sanitation.[89] In a 2012 WIEGO-led study, home-based workers in Ahmedabad, Bangkok, and Lahore identified four main occupational health and safety hazards: body aches and pains; blisters, cuts, or burns; eye irritation and strain; and respiratory problems.[90]

The location of their home is also a concern to many home-based workers. Relocations far from existing livelihood networks result in loss of work and lower incomes. Families cope by reducing expenditures or by allocating additional household resources to transportation.[91] Examples of coping strategies include removing children from school or using poorer quality education and health services and purchasing household necessities on credit or by taking loans from moneylenders.[92]

Equitable access to core services

Lack of core infrastructure services is a major problem for home-based workers. For example, home-based workers suffer from an unreliable supply and high cost of electricity, both of which are common in many cities.[93] This impacts the use of lighting and electrical machines, forcing some workers to use manual machines. The lack of access to water and sanitation services, untreated and accumulated waste in open or nonexistent drains, and noxious canals and ponds all negatively affect the health and productivity of home-based workers. Time spent collecting water or disposing of garbage represents an opportunity cost, taking time away from remunerative work.

Home-based workers regularly leave their homes as part of their work.[94] The distance between their homes and markets, contractors, and customers, and whether they have access to affordable public transport, impacts the time and money spent transporting goods, productivity, and ultimately their earnings.[95] Inadequate public transport means that home-based workers cannot get work orders or raw materials on time, thereby risking reduced payments, rejected goods, or canceled work orders. Walking long distances to collect raw materials or deliver finished goods can also lead to exhaustion and poor health.

Transport is of concern for those who live or work on the periphery of cities.[96] In Ahmedabad, India, home-based workers relocated to the urban periphery report that their work orders have decreased, as contractors were not willing to travel further to distribute work.[97] In three Asian cities, Ahmedabad, Bangkok, and Lahore, "home-based workers reported spending an average of US$20 per month on transport, representing around 30 percent of total work-related expenditures."[98] The case of home-based workers illustrates that more equal access to secure, well-located, and well-serviced housing can help address the challenges of urban employment and urban growth.

Box 5 | Contradictions and Challenges to Formalizing Urban Informal Workers

For some policymakers, formalization means shifting people out of informal employment into formal wage jobs. However, most struggling and emerging cities are not creating enough jobs for the unemployed, much less for those employed in the informal economy. To many observers, formalization means registering and taxing informal enterprises—but there are contradictions to this approach. As previously noted, many informal enterprises and workers pay various taxes and operating fees, and most earn below the threshold for corporate or personal income tax. City governments should enable a more inclusive and equitable approach to formalization through policies and planning that promote:

- more formal job opportunities;
- incentives for informal operators to register their businesses and for employers, both formal and informal, to hire workers formally; and
- support for the informal workforce through access to public services, public spaces, and public procurement; legal and social protection; and improved terms of trade and employment.

Sources: Chen, 2012; ILO, 2015.

Street Vendors Subject to Harassment, Confiscations, and Evictions

Street vending poses a difficult challenge to urban policymakers, planners, and government officials—there is tension in balancing the use of public space by pedestrians, vehicles, and vendors. Most cities leave little room for street vendors—even licensed ones—to operate in public spaces, especially in prime or central locations.

Exclusionary practices towards street vendors range from everyday harassment to large-scale, violent evictions.[99] In less severe eviction cases, vendors are relocated, but often to less desirable locations with low pedestrian traffic and inadequate facilities.[100] Routine harassment by local officials and the police includes thefts, verbal abuse, physical threats, or bribes. Recent research and media coverage provide strong evidence that city policies and practices tend to be negative towards street vendors around the world.[101]

WIEGO's analysis of online news identified 50 major evictions of street traders between 2013 and 2015 in cities across the global South.[102] In some cases, the evictions were violent.[103] Ongoing harassment was common in most cities.[104] New laws banning street trading were reported in Angola, Jordan, Malawi, Mali, Nigeria, the Philippines, and Zambia. In response, cases in which street vendors experienced human rights violations were investigated in a range of countries, including Angola, Bangladesh, China, Egypt, Mexico, and Rwanda.[105]

Recent case studies illustrate the complex politics that result when city governments decide to inhibit street vendors from using public spaces in central business districts. In Bogotá, Colombia, from 1988 to 2003, a government-led campaign relocated street vendors from public space in the city center to government-built markets in less central locations.[106] The vendors who were relocated to the government markets experienced improved working conditions but declining income levels.[107] In Cusco, Peru, around 3,500 informal traders were relocated from city-center streets to new off-center markets for, it was argued, the benefits of middle-class tourists and residents.[108] However, the new off-center markets excluded the poorest traders and led to the emergence of unplanned alternative city-center locations for informal trade.[109]

Street vendors are sometimes evicted or relocated out of politicians' desire to cater to middle-class residents. Often, politicians attract or reward urban voters by either banning street vendors (to woo elite voters) or allowing street trade (to woo street vendors and other working poor). For example, a new mayor and council "bent on cleaning up the capital" encouraged the violent eviction of street traders in Lusaka, Zambia, a struggling city.[110] In Ghana, decentralization has led to more frequent changes in local authorities, who then use evictions of street traders as "a common way to impress the public."[111]

Another common motivation for evictions is the pursuit of the ideal, modern, and hygienic city. In contrast, street vending is seen to symbolize backwardness and "dirt," and is therefore assumed to inhibit investors and tourists.[112] In the discourse on urban economic development, vendors become the "new undesirables of the urban landscape."[113] This is the dominant logic behind a range of evictions, including the government ban on street vending in Hanoi, Vietnam,[114] the removal of street vendors from Mexico City's Historic Center,[115] and the relocation of street vendors in Belo Horizonte, Brazil.[116] In Quito and Guayaquil, Ecuador, an urban renewal policy designed to "clean" the cities also served to displace indigenous street vendors.[117]

As an alternative to evictions, local authorities, the police, and mafia elements often extract payments from vendors who lack legal standing. In most cities, the number of vendors exceeds the number of available licenses.[118] In Nairobi, Kenya, 7,000 licenses and formal sites were offered for an estimated 500,000 street traders.[119] In São Paulo, Brazil, in 2009, only 2,200 out of an estimated 100,000 vendors had licenses.[120] In many cities, food vendors are subject to complex licensing systems that can create opportunities for low-level bureaucrats and officials to extract rents.[121] For example, in Ahmedabad, India, licenses for vegetable vendors specify 21 restrictions on when, where, and how they can sell.[122] The challenges faced by home-based workers and street vendors point to the need to focus policy on the convergence of urban land and labor markets in the pursuit of more equitable and productive urban growth.[123]

Waste Pickers Denied Access to Waste and Waste Management Contracts

Modern waste management systems that seek to improve public health and promote social order often overlook the contributions of informal waste pickers and the need to recycle. As modern waste management systems are implemented, informal waste pickers become increasingly marginalized and stigmatized.[124] As public authorities take on the responsibility for waste collection and disposal, these reforms leave little or no room for informal workers to earn a living from waste.[125]

In cities with limited or no waste collection services and no municipal recycling system, waste pickers are often the sole providers of these services. However, municipal officials and city planners ignore and undervalue waste pickers' contributions to the economy and environment. More cities are issuing exclusive contracts to private companies for the collection, transport, and disposal of solid waste and recyclables.[126] Privatization threatens the livelihoods of waste pickers. Despite providing a public service, waste pickers remain largely invisible. If recognized at all, waste pickers tend to be stigmatized.

The barriers that city governments and local officials impose on the livelihoods and productivity of urban informal workers are well illustrated by the cases of home-based workers, street vendors, and waste pickers. A city's housing and zoning policies, as well as its provision of core public services, can determine the economic viability of workers whose homes, often in informal settlements, double as their workplaces. How a city allocates and regulates the use of public space is of critical importance to street vendors. Finally, whether a city allows organizations of waste pickers to bid for solid waste management contracts has a major impact on their livelihoods.

4. INCLUSIVE CITIES

Organizations of urban informal workers are increasingly forming federations and forging coalitions to demand more inclusive cities that recognize, value, and support their livelihood activities. Through a series of consultative processes, organizations and networks of home-based workers, street vendors, and waste pickers have come to agreement on a common platform of what an inclusive city means to them (see Figure 4).[127]

This broad agenda essentially calls for cities to recognize and value the urban informal workforce, inviting them to participate in relevant rule-setting and policymaking processes. In response, a limited but growing number of cities have extended access to public services, public spaces, or public procurement to urban informal workers in recognition and support of their livelihood activities. What follows is a set of promising examples of inclusionary city policies and practices towards the three sectors of self-employed informal workers highlighted in this paper.

Public Services for Home-Based Workers

Home-based workers have built organizations that facilitate access to adequate, secure, and affordable housing and negotiate with cities to provide access to core public services.

Housing and infrastructure services for home-based workers in India

The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), a trade union of 1.5 million informal workers in India, has developed three sister organizations that provide housing finance and basic infrastructure services to home-based workers and other informal workers: SEWA Bank, a cooperative bank owned and managed by SEWA members; SEWA Grih Rin Ltd., a for-profit housing finance company; and Mahila Housing SEWA Trust (MHT), a not-for-profit institution that provides or leverages infrastructure services and promotes more inclusive urban policies.[128] SEWA Bank and SEWA Grih Rin have proved that home-based workers use and repay housing loans to build or buy a house, make repairs, or add on to an existing structure.[129]

The SEWA MHT, often in partnership with the government, provides infrastructure services to upgrade informal settlements and slums, including drainage, sanitation, electricity, and street lights. It also provides technical advice on how to improve or expand existing houses and build new ones. In Ahmedabad, India, SEWA MHT collaborated on a cost-sharing project called Parivartan ("change") with the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) and private companies, which extended a package of infrastructure services to 45 slum settlements (3,386 households).[130] The package included water connections, underground sewerage and toilets for individual households, storm water drainage, road paving, solid waste management, and street lighting.[131] SEWA MHT's role was to mobilize slum residents to join the project and form community-based organizations. The residents then shared the costs of the service provision and monitored service delivery.[132]

Figure 4 | **Platform of demands by organizations of urban informal workers**

HOME BASED WORKERS	STREET VENDORS	WASTE PICKERS
• Freedom from forced relocations and zoning restrictions • Secure tenure and upgrading of their homes-cum-workplaces • Basic infrastructure services—water, electricity, sanitation • Occupational health and safety services	• Freedom from harassment, bribes, confiscation of goods, evictions, arbitrary warrants and convictions, arbitrary relocations • Right to vend in public spaces in central locations near pedestrian and customer traffic under fair and reasonable conditions (which balance competing rights of different users of public spaces) • Integration of natural markets of street vendors in urban zoning, land allocation, and market development plans • Fair, transparent, and participatory system for allocating licenses and permits • Basic infrastructure services at vending sites, including shelter, water, sanitation, and storage facilities	• Access to waste • Freedom from harassment and confiscation of collected waste and reclaimed materials by city officials • Recognition for their economic and environmental contributions • Integration as paid service providers for collecting, segregating, recycling, and transporting waste in solid waste management systems • The right of their organizations to bid for solid waste management contracts • Space and equipment for collecting, transporting, sorting, and storing recyclable materials, including safety equipment and clothing • Equipment for processing reclaimed waste (e.g., balers, compactors, and grinding and pelleting machines) • Ban on the use of incineration and landfill disposal technologies that are harmful to the environment and the livelihoods of waste pickers

Source: WIEGO, 2014.

SEWA MHT has also collaborated with the Ahmedabad Electricity Board (AEC) to ensure the availability of safe, reliable, and legal electrical supply to slum communities. SEWA MHT negotiated the delinking of land tenure from electrical service, and "substituted it with an indemnity bond that requires slum dwellers to sign an agreement stating they will not pursue any legal proceeding with AEC if they are evicted or relocated from their homes."[133] Through this program, "over 100,000 houses in the slums of Ahmedabad have accessed legal electricity connections."[134] SEWA MHT has also persuaded the AEC to adjust its policies and systems for poor households. The electricity board has adopted monthly rather than bi-monthly billing, so bills are paid in smaller installments, and introduced the use of waterproof electrical meters outside homes.[135] SEWA MHT has replicated these interventions elsewhere in Gujarat and in nine other Indian states, and began working in Bangladesh and Nepal in 2014.[136]

Transport services for home-based workers in Thailand

HomeNet Thailand, an organization of home-based and other informal workers in Thailand, in alliance with other civil society organizations, has successfully advocated for the Universal Health Coverage (UHC) scheme, the Homeworkers Protection Act, and Domestic Workers Ministerial Regulation to benefit informal workers. The UHC scheme entitles all informal workers to universal health coverage and the legislation entitles home-based workers and domestic workers to a minimum wage, occupational health and safety protection, and other fundamental labor rights.[137]

HomeNet Thailand has also facilitated a series of dialogues between home-based workers and other residents of resettlement areas on the outskirts of the city to identify shared transport concerns, prioritize requests, and prepare for meetings with officials. It then convened policy dialogues between residents, including HomeNet members, and relevant government agencies to achieve cooperation across all districts to address these transportation issues. As a result of these negotiations, the Bangkok Mass Transport Authority (BMTA) approved two additional buses from the resettlement area to a main market area and has promised to build a pedestrian bridge over a dangerous road crossing in the resettlement area.

Public Space for Street Vendors

In a growing number of cities, groups of street vendors have mobilized and successfully negotiated with municipal governments. In Baguio City, the Philippines, a street food vendor association used letter-writing campaigns and other organizing strategies to successfully fight the 2007 Baguio City bylaws that banned street trade in the central business district.[138] These vendors won selected cases that enabled them to legally use public spaces.[139] In Durban, South Africa, street vendors in a central precinct, Warwick Junction, have won three legal cases, as detailed in Box 8.[140] In Colombia, India, and Mexico, the constitutional courts have responded to the struggles of street vendors to claim their right to work. The courts have filed judgments that address the rights of regulated access to public space.[141]

National law and designated vending sites for street vendors in India

Since its founding in 1998, the National Association of Street Vendors of India (NASVI), together with SEWA and other organizations, has engaged with the Ministry of Urban Development to adopt a national policy on street vending. The policy was adopted in 2004, revised in 2009, and supplemented by a national law in 2014 that regulates and protects street vending.[142] The policy recommended "that state and local governments register street vendors, issue identification cards to street vendors, and amend legislation and practice to reduce the vulnerabilities of street vendors."[143] The policy mandated the establishment of vending committees that feature representatives from street vendor organizations, local government, police, and local communities to identify designated zones for vending and hawking.[144]

The national policy was not widely implemented because in India, local governments are controlled by state governments, and only a few state governments followed the national policy.[145] In response, NASVI and SEWA demanded a national law for street vendors. A draft law was formulated by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation in consultation with NASVI, SEWA, and other street vendor organizations, and was approved by the Parliament of India in February 2014.[146]

The 2014 Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act mandates that "local vending committees should be set up in each local jurisdiction and that cities have to negotiate with these local vending committees to determine where best to locate and how best to regulate street vending in each locale."[147] Box 6 describes how the national policy and law have been implemented in one city in India.

Resettlement of evicted street vendors at a heritage site

The national law on street vendors in India is implemented to varying degrees and in various ways across states and cities. In Ahmedabad, in Gujarat, nearly 180 natural street vendor markets have been demolished or are under threat of demolition due to different urban development schemes and projects.[148] In 2016, the government of Gujarat adopted a state law on street vendors modeled on the national law.[149] Box 7 describes the eviction and negotiated resettlement of vendors from Bhadra Fort Market.

Infrastructure, design, and legal services for street vendors and market traders in Durban

Warwick Junction, a precinct in Durban, an emerging city in South Africa, houses up to 8,000 street and market traders. It was viewed as a "best practice" example of local government management of street vending from the late 1990s to 2009. The approach included regular consultations with street vendors that resulted in their high level of self-regulation and a sense of ownership. However, in preparation for the FIFA World Cup in South Africa in 2010, the city government changed its policies regarding Warwick Junction and threatened to build a mall in the center of the market. Box 8 explains how two city officials left their government jobs and started an NGO called Asiye eTafuleni ("come to the table" or "let's negotiate" in isiZulu) to continue the inclusive practices started by the city.

Box 6 | Designated Vending Zones in Bhubaneshwar, India

Prior to 2007, street vendors in Bhubaneshwar, an emerging city, were treated as illegal entities, encroaching on public space.[a] Municipal inspectors and police would harass street vendors and threaten to confiscate their merchandise. This resulted in an environment of distrust and ongoing struggles between local authorities and street vendors.

Officials would initiate anti-encroachment drives attempting to contain or eliminate vendors. In response, vendors would stage massive protests. At times this would result in the city allowing the vendors to temporarily continue vending, but these interim concessions were not a permanent solution.[b]

Both authorities and vendors recognized the need for a balanced policy, as both sides realized the ongoing struggle benefited no one. Finding a solution would require peaceful negotiations. After multiple rounds of discussions between the vendors' organization and public officials, zones for vending were agreed upon in December 2006.[c] Under this legally sanctioned model, as of 2011 there were 54 vending zones with approximately 2,600 fixed kiosks.[d] Critical to the success of this policy was the participation and partnership of all relevant stakeholders in planning and implementation.

Bhubaneshwar was one of the first cities in India to acknowledge street vendors as an integral part of the city's economy and to designate space for them through a complex public, private, and community partnership.[e]

Sources: a. Beard et al., 2016; b. Bhowmik, 2001; c. Kumar, 2012; d. Mohapatra, 2011; e. Kumar, 2012.

Box 7 | From Eviction to Negotiated Resettlement: Bhadra Fort Market in Ahmedabad, India

As part of its efforts to "beautify" Ahmedabad, an emerging city, in 2011 the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) worked with the Archaeological Survey of India to develop plans to renovate the Bhadra Fort and build a pedestrian esplanade from the old city to the Sabarmati River. A plan was set to convert the open area where the Bhadra Market had operated for decades into a heritage site called the Bhadra Fort Plaza. The market included 576 vendors to sell clothes, handbags, costume jewelry, shoes and sandals, and household goods.

In January 2012, all the vendors of Bhadra Market were evicted without any plans for where they would be relocated. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) negotiated with local government and police officials to allow the vendors to relocate around the closed-off plaza construction site until the heritage plaza was completed. At that time, the municipal commissioner was vague about whether a space in the restored plaza would be granted to the vendors, stating, "Let the work begin and the vendors will accommodate themselves."

Despite long-standing tensions from the uncertainty created by the eviction, a Bhadra Fort Market Committee was formed in 2011 with the help of SEWA. The Market Committee was composed of 12 men and 13 women. To form the committee, SEWA divided the original market area into seven zones. Each zone elected a representative to the committee, which meets as needed; when the court case was active, it met as often as three times a week. With the announcement to renovate the plaza, the committee renamed itself Bhadra Chowk Heritage Natural Market Committee.

In November 2014, as a result of ongoing advocacy by the Market Committee and SEWA, the AMC announced that it planned to open space for the vendors in the restored plaza. The Market Committee made a list of long-time vendors to whom spaces and identification cards would be allocated once the restoration work was completed. At times the AMC threatened to not fulfill this commitment, but SEWA and the Market Committee responded by resuming negotiations. As a result, the AMC announced it would hold a drawing that would allow only 150 vendors to be accommodated in Bhadra Fort Plaza; the rest would be relocated one kilometer away. The Market Committee decided not to participate in the drawing and instead staged a protest outside the Town Hall where the drawing was to take place.

The AMC proceeded with the drawing in a completely empty room and decided that shoe vendors could remain in the temple area near the fort, while coconut and flower vendors—who cater to those who visit the temple—would be relocated. The Market Committee appealed to the High Court, arguing the vendors should decide how to allocate space. The court granted a stay order on the planned relocation, with the stipulation that the Market Committee, SEWA, and the AMC reach an agreement. The municipal commissioner agreed that the vendors could decide on the allocation and design of space, and SEWA and the Market Committee resumed negotiations.

The design of the market and a process for allocating space was decided through a series of meetings between the Market Committee, an architect, SEWA, and the vendors. After this design was presented, the AMC requested that the number of vendors be reduced from 576 to 503. The Market Committee and SEWA agreed to this number. They then submitted copies of the design and a final list to the High Court and to the AMC, and demarcated the spaces in the plaza with yellow paint in accordance with the agreed-upon design.

The AMC approved the design, as well as funding for tables and platforms for the vendors. The relocation of the 503 vendors at the heritage plaza began in November 2017. As of March 2018, the resettled vendors had not yet been issued identification cards as promised, and the legal memorandum of understanding between the market committee, SEWA, and the AMC had not been signed. However, a stay order from the court bans the removal of the 503 vendors from the Bhadra Fort Plaza.

Notes: This story was originally published by Martha Chen as part of the 2016 Ostrom Workshop and has since been updated with new information. For more details, see Chen, 2016.
Sources: Chen, 2016; Chen, 2018.

Box 8 | Early Government Support, Current NGO Support: Warwick Junction Market in Durban, South Africa

In the late 1990s, the Durban (eThekwini metro) Municipality began an inner-city regeneration and management program that recognized and supported informal workers.[a] The program developed sector-specific interventions, including a mix of capital investment, design equipment, and curb-side services, as the result of consultations with vendors in the Warwick Junction Market area. The intervention was designed to address the lack of infrastructure, shelter, and storage.[b]

Leading up to the FIFA World Cup in South Africa, the Durban (eThekwini metro) Municipality shifted its priorities from in-city regeneration to building the stadium and related infrastructure. As a result, in the mid-2000s, two local government officials in charge of the regeneration and urban management program left their jobs to form Asiye eTafuleni (AeT) to continue their work.[c] Today, AeT continues to "provide design, legal, and other support to street vendors, market traders, barrow operators, and waste pickers in Warwick Junction."[d]

AeT promotes a consultative approach pioneered by its founders. To help design and implement each of its projects, AeT forms a project committee with representatives from relevant market committees or worker organizations in Warwick Junction. As Richard Dobson, former city official and founder-director of AeT, recently noted, "It is only because of the self-organization and decision-making by the informal workers of Warwick Junction that it is possible to do the work we do."[e]

AeT's methods proved particularly useful in February 2009, when the Durban (eThekwini metro) Municipality announced its plans to grant a 50-year lease of public land to a private developer to build a shopping mall on the site of the Early Morning Market, a fresh produce market in the middle of Warwick Junction.[f] These plans sought to redesign the whole area and direct pedestrian traffic—estimated at 460,000 commuters a day—past the mall instead of the informal traders, thus threatening the viability of all street vendors and market traders in the Junction.[g]

There was enormous opposition to the municipality's proposal, which led to a major civil society campaign against the development. AeT led the effort to file two legal cases against the city. One case challenged the fact that the city awarded the contract to a private real estate developer without issuing a call for bids. The other case opposed the development on the basis of the Early Morning Market's historic significance (the building was 100 years old in 2010).[h]

AeT and the Legal Resources Centre (LRC) filed a third legal case against the city after a police woman confiscated the goods of a registered street vendor in the Warwick Market.[i] In February 2015, the High Court ruled that impoundment and confiscation of street vendor goods is "unconstitutional, invalid and unlawful" and that the city should amend its bylaws accordingly.[j] In addition, the court ruled that the city is no longer exempt from liability for the loss of the goods: In other words, local authorities and police can be held liable if trader goods "disappear."[k]

AeT facilitated claimants' access to the LRC and monitored daily developments in the market, including alerting LRC to the city's harassment of vendors.[l] These vendors were supported by a strong network of trader and civil society organizations. In addition, a group of professional urban practitioners gave advice on environmental impact assessment processes, urban design, heritage legislation, and architectural inputs, all of which contributed to the court proceedings.[m]

In April 2011, the municipality revoked its 2009 decision to lease the market land for the construction of a mall.[n] The municipality noted "little prospect of the legal challenges relating to the current proposal being resolved."[o] This was a major victory for the street vendors, market traders, and barrow operators who transport goods through the market.

Notes: This draws from the work of Caroline Skinner and has since been updated with new information. For more details, see Skinner, 2010.

Sources: a. Dobson et al., 2009; b–c. Chen, 2016; d. Chen, 2016 ; e. Chen, 2016: 15; f. Chen, 2016; g. Personal communication between the authors and R. Dobson, Durban, South Africa. August 2016; h–i. Chen, 2016; j–k. Chen, 2016: 15; l. Chen, 2016; m. Chen, 2015: 11; n–o. Chen, 2015: 12.

Public Procurement of Waste Picker Services

In cities across the global South, waste pickers are building organizations and filing legal claims to preserve their occupation and exercise their right to publicly procure waste. Urbanization and privatization of solid waste management occurred earlier in Latin America than in other regions of the global South, spurring the organization of waste pickers. Over the past 30 years across Latin America, increasing numbers of waste pickers have organized and mobilized through legal struggles and advocacy campaigns.[150] The first organization of waste pickers took place in 1962 in Medellín, Colombia.[151] During the 1980s, NGOs encouraged waste pickers across Colombia and Brazil to organize.[152] Meanwhile, the first efforts to integrate waste pickers into municipal solid waste management systems began in Brazil in the 1990s.[153]

Integration of waste pickers in municipal solid waste management in Brazil

Brazil is one of the world's most progressive countries when it comes to integrating waste pickers into municipal solid waste management systems. Porto Alegre and Sao Paulo (in 1990), Belo Horizonte (1993), and Santo Andre (1997) were the first municipalities to integrate waste pickers and their cooperatives into their solid waste management systems.[154] The need to upgrade existing solid waste management systems, coupled with concerns about the environment and the livelihoods of the urban poor, provided the impetus for municipalities to work with waste pickers.

In 1998, a national forum called Waste and Citizenship began to help increase the visibility of waste pickers and their integration into solid waste management.[155] This effort inspired other groups of waste pickers nationwide to organize and eventually led to the founding of the Brazilian national movement of waste pickers (Movimento Nacional dos Catadores de Materiais Recicláveis [MNCR]). Although many challenges to full integration remain, the National Waste Policy was approved in 2010, which recognized their contributions and created a legal framework that allows their cooperatives to be contracted as service providers, including at the 2014 FIFA World Cup.[156] Since 2002, Brazil has included *catador de material reciclável* ("collector of recyclables") as a legitimate occupation in the Brazilian Occupation Classification (CBO).[157]

Since 1993, Belo Horizonte, the capital city of Minas Gerais State in southeastern Brazil, has considered inclusive solid waste management as a municipal priority.[158] The city introduced legislation that makes recycling, social inclusion, job creation, and income generation the four main pillars of inclusive solid waste management.[159] This led to an integrated solid waste management model in 1993 that promoted segregation at source and incorporated waste pickers.[160] It also resulted in improvements to the landfill's operation, encouraged recycling of public construction waste, composting, and environmental education, and improved working conditions for informal waste workers.[161]

Integration of waste pickers in municipal waste management in Colombia

Waste pickers in Colombia have struggled for more than two decades and have filed legal claims to preserve their occupation.[162] The Asociación de Recicladores de Bogotá (ARB), an association of cooperatives representing more than 2,500 waste pickers in Bogotá, has aggregated claims and filed legal cases on behalf of all waste pickers in both the city and the country.[163] As a result of the efforts of ARB, the national association of waste pickers, and WIEGO:

> The Constitutional Court of Colombia passed three landmark judgments in support of waste pickers and their right to earn a livelihood. The first, in 2003, ruled that the tendering process for sanitation services by municipal governments had violated the basic rights of the waste-picking community. A second ruling in 2010 mandated that cooperatives of waste pickers, not only private corporations, had the right to bid for solid waste management contracts.[164]

A third ruling in 2011 stopped efforts to privatize solid waste management in Bogotá.[165] It ordered the municipality and the ARB to develop a proposal to integrate waste pickers into the city's solid waste management system by the end of March 2013.[166]

In response to the 2011 ruling, Bogotá de-privatized half of the city's waste collection, transport, and disposal.[167] With the help of WIEGO and others, the ARB submitted a bid to the municipal government. In March 2013, the municipal government started to pay waste pickers in Bogotá to collect, transport, and sort recyclable waste.[168] As of mid-2017, 15 organizations of waste pickers with around 4,000 members were being paid for these services, covering an estimated 80 percent of households in the city.[169] ARB has collection sites and routes in 16 of the city's 21 administrative subdivisions.

A 2014 national decree upholding the December 2011 order of the Constitutional Court required cities across Colombia to recognize and pay waste pickers to collect, transport, and sort recyclables.[170] Since that ruling, because of the joint efforts of ARB, the national association of waste pickers, and WIEGO, eight other cities across Colombia are now paying waste pickers for their collection and recycling services.[171]

Transport and other services for waste pickers in Argentina

During Argentina's economic crisis in the early 2000s, waste pickers in Buenos Aires successfully lobbied municipal authorities to use a train to transport their carts and the waste they collected between the city's outskirts and its center.[172] The seats in the former passenger train were removed to accommodate the waste pickers' carts. This achievement was part of a larger effort by waste-picking cooperatives, which organized and demanded political support to legitimize waste picking and obtain support such as childcare and food kitchens. Since 2007, waste pickers in Buenos Aires have become increasingly organized, affiliating with the Excluded Worker Movement (MTE), and have begun to operate with official uniforms, designated minibuses, and warehouses for sorting and storing waste.[173]

There is no single or linear path towards a more inclusive, equal, and productive city. The promising examples in this section highlight the significance of long-term struggles and negotiations by organizations of informal workers with support from activist allies.

Promising waste picker initiatives in Asia and Africa

Promising initiatives regarding waste pickers are under way in Asia and Africa. South Africa has a national association of waste pickers, the South African Waste Pickers Association (SAWPA), and a project that integrates waste pickers into Johannesburg's solid waste management system.[174] In India, the Association of Indian Waste Pickers is a national association whose affiliates have negotiated identification cards for waste pickers in nearly 20 cities and contracts for waste pickers in some cities.

In the emerging city of Bengaluru, India, an organization of waste pickers called Hasirudala ("green force") has used the cloud-based platform I Got Garbage (IGG) to negotiate contracts for waste pickers to collect segregated waste from apartment buildings, offices, and companies.[175] Under this model, uniformed, trained waste pickers collect and further sort the segregated waste, sell the dry recyclables to scrap dealers, and compost the wet waste or take it to government-run composting centers. In Pune, India, another emerging city, a union of waste pickers established SWaCH, a member-owned and managed waste picker cooperative, and negotiated a contractual agreement with the municipal government for SWaCH members to provide door-to-door waste collection for city households.[176]

There is no single or linear path towards a more inclusive, equal, and productive city. The promising examples in this section highlight the significance of long-term struggles and negotiations by organizations of informal workers with support from activist allies. In the case of Durban, the shift in the city's mindset and policies towards informal workers is closely linked to a specific historic moment—namely, the lifting of apartheid in South Africa. In some cases, the promising example was replicated. For example, the Bogotá waste picker integration model has been replicated in eight other cities across Colombia, and the Belo Horizonte model has inspired several cities across Brazil. In others, there have been setbacks or threats to the gains made. For example, the Durban city government threatened to build a mall in the center of Warwick Junction, which was resisted through the courts.[177] In all cases, to sustain the gains made, there is a need for coalitions, ongoing negotiations, and continued engagement between city governments and organizations of informal workers.

5. SUPPORTING INFORMAL WORKERS TO ACHIEVE MORE EQUAL AND PRODUCTIVE CITIES

The contribution of informal workers needs to be recognized and valued as an integral part of economic growth in cities in the global South. The informal economy creates more jobs than the formal economy, and most of the urban workforce is in the informal economy.[178] Cities cannot reduce poverty, become more equal, or be more economically productive if they exclude the majority of their workforce. Cities could become more productive and environmentally sustainable if they adopted a more inclusive stance towards the informal workforce.

Cities need an inclusive policy approach that recognizes informal workers and values their contributions to the urban economy. Existing urban laws, regulations, and rules tend to exclude and penalize informal workers and their livelihood activities. An inclusive approach would combine regulation with protection, rather than repression and relocation. The organizations of informal workers (along with other, often excluded citizen groups) should be integrally involved in urban planning processes. The productivity of cities in the global South depends on a hybrid urban economy that embraces economic diversity. As SEWA founder Ela Bhatt has framed the goal:

> The challenge is to convince the policymakers to promote and encourage hybrid economies in which micro-businesses can co-exist alongside small, medium, and large businesses in which the street vendors can co-exist alongside the kiosks, retail shops, and large malls.... Just as the policymakers encourage biodiversity, they should encourage economic diversity. Also, they should try to promote a level playing field in which all sizes of businesses and all categories of workers can compete on equal and fair terms.[179]

Governance, policymaking, and planning that is inclusive of the urban informal economy is difficult but not impossible. It requires a shift in the mindsets of government officials, economic policymakers, and urban planners to recognize and value the contributions of the urban informal workforce. It requires increasing the visibility of informal workers in official statistics and including the voice of informal workers in policymaking and rule-setting processes. Ultimately, it requires officially recognizing the legitimacy and validity of the informal workforce and the contribution their livelihood activities make to the broader urban economy.

What follows is a set of key areas for action for city governments and other urban change agents who seek more equal, productive, and environmentally sustainable cities:

Increase informal workers' access to public services, public spaces, and public procurement. City governments and local officials need to consider whether and when evictions from workspaces and residential areas are necessary (for example, for public safety). Relocating informal settlements and informal livelihood activities to cities' periphery increases the costs of doing business and decreases productivity, not only for those who are relocated but for the city as a whole. This is due to the cost of extending core public services, including transport, to the periphery. Cities cannot become more productive and equal if the majority of their workforce is shifted to the outskirts of the city, without adequate core public services and public transport. Cities should provide core public services to informal workplaces to make them more productive, grant regulated access to public space for informal workers to pursue their livelihoods, and allow organizations of informal workers to compete for public procurement to increase demand for their goods and services.

Reform laws and regulations so they support informal workers. Existing laws, regulations, and rules that exclude and penalize informal workers and their livelihood activities need to be changed. Cities should make it easier for the informal self-employed to register their businesses. They should make taxation progressive and transparent and assess what taxes and operating fees informal workers already pay. Cities also need to assess which informal workers are liable for income taxes, personal or corporate, as many earn less than the threshold for such taxes, and which informal operators are liable for payroll taxes, as few hire workers. Cities should extend benefits to workers in exchange for paying taxes.

Include informal worker leaders in participatory policymaking and rule-setting processes. City authorities, urban planners, and policy specialists should ensure meaningful

participatory processes that involve informal workers, as well as all relevant stakeholders, to negotiate consensus solutions and plans. Cities should integrate informal economic activities into local economic development plans and urban land allocation plans. In so doing, cities should recognize that informal settlements are often thriving industrial hubs, bustling with informal businesses, many of them home based. Cities should also recognize and protect the natural markets where street vendors congregate, as these are located where there is a steady flow of pedestrian customers. Furthermore, cities should recognize that waste pickers contribute to improved urban sanitation; they clean streets, reclaim recyclables, and reduce carbon emissions by reducing the amount of waste that ends up in open dumps, landfills, or incinerators. If informal workers are not involved, the design and implementation of policies, plans, and laws will not be appropriate, fair, or equitable. Informal workers and their organizations have a long-term perspective on and stake in more productive and equal cities.

Support coalitions for change. The politics of change should not be underestimated. There are very real competing interests, both economic and political, for control of core public services, public spaces, and public procurement. City governments tend to favor the powerful—politicians, corporations, real estate developers, and economic elites—not informal workers and their organizations. This paper has demonstrated that urban informal workers have power when they are organized and, through their organizations, have been demanding more inclusive and equitable urban policies, regulations, and practices for many years. These organizations have given collective voice to some of the world's most disadvantaged workers, such as home-based workers, street vendors, and waste pickers, and have achieved important victories. The legal and policy victories in Accra, Ahmedabad, Bangkok, Belo Horizonte, Bogotá, and Durban would not have been possible without the informed and sustained policy efforts of organizations of informal workers, with the support from broad coalitions of allies. Informal workers and their organizations often resort to informal channels of influence, seeking support from whichever power brokers will listen to their needs and demands, or they seek to redress their concerns through the courts. If cities aspire to increase economic productivity and improve their environment, a better way forward is to include informal workers in the formal processes and institutions of urban governance, planning, and finance.[180]

Recent global commitments provide a normative framework for inclusive cities

In 2015, the United Nations adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which included Goal 11 to make cities inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable. Also in 2015, the ILO approved Recommendation 204 concerning the "Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy," which calls for city governments to regulate access to public space for informal workers to pursue their livelihoods and for governments at all levels to create an enabling environment for informal workers to exercise their right to organize and bargain collectively (with employers or governments, as needed) and to participate in policy dialogues in the transition to formality.[181] In 2016, at the Habitat III summit, the global community adopted the New Urban Agenda, which calls for informal livelihoods to be integrated into urban planning.[182]

The organizations of informal workers who joined the campaign for SDG Goal 11, fought for the key provisions in ILO Recommendation 204, and advocated for recognition and integration into the Habitat III New Urban Agenda are now engaged in trying to ensure these global victories are implemented at the city level in ways that enable, rather than inhibit, their livelihoods. Their struggle for more inclusive, fair, and equal cities continues. We hope this paper will encourage city governments, economic policymakers, urban planners, and urban change agents at all levels to engage with informal workers and support their livelihood activities.

If we hope to achieve more equal, productive, and environmentally sustainable cities, then there is an ongoing need to promote the representative voice and economic rights of all citizens, including the working poor in the informal economy. As this paper illustrates, this requires coalitions of organizations of informal workers with experienced, informed, and committed supporters. The voice of informal workers needs to be represented in relevant policymaking and collective bargaining processes. This requires new mindsets, economic models, and planning paradigms that recognize urban informal workers as legitimate economic actors worthy of policies, laws, and practices that create more equal opportunities and ultimately more equal cities where everyone can live, move, and thrive.

ENDNOTES

1. ILO, 2018.
2. ILO, 2018.
3. ILO and WIEGO, 2013.
4. In this paper, we use the term "informal livelihoods" to refer to the economic activities and resources that the working poor in the informal economy use to earn a living.
5. Dobbs et al., 2011: 1.
6. United Nations, 2014: 1.
7. United Nations, 2014: 1.
8. ILO, 2018.
9. Ghani and Kanbur, 2013: 20.
10. The WIEGO network has been working closely with national statisticians in different countries to improve the identification of these workers in official statistics. In the process, a better picture has emerged of the significant number of informal workers in these important but overlooked groups in the urban workforce.
11. Roever and Skinner, 2016.
12. Sinha, 2013.
13. Alfers and Lund, 2012; Namsomboon and Kusakabe, 2011.
14. Dobson et al., 2009; Personal communication between the authors and R. Dobson, Durban, South Africa. August 2016.
15. Kumar, 2012.
16. Schamber, 2012; Dias, 2011d; WIEGO, 2017a.
17. Chen, 2015.
18. For an explanation of the criteria used to classify cities as struggling and emerging, see Beard et al., 2016.
19. ILO, 2018; Herrera et al., 2012.
20. Dobbs et al., 2011: 1.
21. IEA, 2016; C40 Cities, 2018.
22. Glaeser, 2011; Glaeser and Joshi-Ghani, 2015; Florida, 2002.
23. Boo, 2012; Davis, 2006; Florida, 2017.
24. For an in-depth analysis of housing challenges in cities in the global South, see King et al., 2017.
25. Levy, 2007.
26. ILO, 2018; ILO and WIEGO, 2013.
27. Government of India, 2014.
28. ILO and WIEGO, 2013.
29. ILO and WIEGO, 2013: 21.
30. ILO and WIEGO, 2013: 21.
31. This data does not include migrant workers or remittances.
32. Schneider, 2011.
33. Elbahnasawy et al., 2016; Potts, 2008: 152.
34. Potts, 2008.
35. Alfers and Lund, 2012; Namsomboon and Kusakabe, 2011.
36. Milgram, 2011; Dobson et al., 2009.
37. ILO and WIEGO, 2013: 48.
38. There are more than 1000 organization affiliates within the WIEGO network, with about 4 million members in some 90 countries.
39. For an explanation of the struggling and emerging cities classification, see Beard et al., 2016: 8–9.
40. ILO, 2018.
41. ILO, 2018; Beard et al., 2016.
42. This paper focuses on the informal self-employed, as cities' rules, plans, and policies regarding who can do what and where have a more direct impact on the self-employed than the informal wage employed. Of course, a city's approach to housing and transport also impact informal wage workers, determining the distance between their places of residence and work and the time/cost involved in their daily commutes.
43. The ILO, the International Expert Group on Informal Sector Statistics (called the Delhi Group), and the WIEGO network have worked closely to develop and promote the expanded statistical definition of "informal employment" that includes both self-employed in informal enterprises and wage employed in informal jobs; they have also expanded the concept of the informal economy to include both groups, their activities, and their output. The ILO and the WIEGO network have proposed that a new category called "dependent contractor" be added to the International Classification of Status in Employment, which is up for review by the International Conference of Labour Statisticians in 2018.
44. ILO, 2018.
45. ILO, 2018.
46. ILO, 2018.
47. ILO, 2018.
48. Chen and Raveendran, 2014: 4.
49. Statistics for specific cities are not readily available and tend to be prepared only on special request. This is because the sample size at the city level is too small in many labor force surveys, requiring special effort to link labor force data with census data to prepare appropriate sampling weights.
50. Herrera et al., 2012.
51. WIEGO Dashboard: http://www.wiego.org/dashboard/statistics.
52. WIEGO Dashboard: http://www.wiego.org/dashboard/statistics.
53. ILO, 2003. Status in employment is used to delineate two key aspects of labor contractual arrangements: the allocation of authority over the work process and the outcome of the work done and the allocation of economic risks involved. In labor force statistics, there is another category of employment status: paid contributing members of cooperatives.
54. Vanek et al., 2014.
55. Vanek et al., 2014.
56. Vanek et al., 2014.
57. Chen, 2014b.
58. Chen, 2014b.
59. Chen, 2014b.
60. Unni and Rani, 2000.
61. Chen, 2008.
62. Chen, 2008.

63. Chen, 2014b.
64. Chen, 2014b.
65. Chen, 2014b.
66. Chen, 2014b.
67. Chen, 2014b.
68. The WIEGO network has been working closely with national statisticians in different countries to improve the identification of these workers in official statistics. In the process, a better picture has emerged of the significant number of informal workers in these important but overlooked groups in the urban workforce.
69. Chen and Raveendran, 2014: 11; ILO and WIEGO, 2013: 46.
70. ILO and WIEGO, 2013: 46.
71. ILO and WIEGO, 2013.
72. Crush and Frayne, 2011: 798.
73. Crush and Frayne, 2011: 781–802.
74. Steyn et al., 2013: 1363–74.
75. Chen and Raveendran, 2014, 11; Herrera et al., 2012: 95; Wills, 2009: 3.
76. Schinberg et al., 2010: 12. The six cities included in the study were Cairo, Cluj-Napoca, Lima, Lusaka, Pune, and Quezon City.
77. Schinberg et al., 2010: 15; UN-Habitat, 2010.
78. ILO, 2013: 37.
79. ILO and WIEGO, 2013: 48; Vanek et al., 2012.
80. Kanbur and Keen, 2014.
81. Valodia, 2012.
82. Roever, 2014: 53.
83. Adamtey, 2014; King, 2006.
84. Adamtey, 2014; King, 2006.
85. Chen and Sinha, 2016.
86. Chen and Sinha, 2016.
87. Chen and Sinha, 2016.
88. Tipple, 2006; Mehrotra and Biggeri, 2005.
89. Chatterjee and Thomas, 2014.
90. The 2012 WIEGO-led study in 10 cities included home-based workers in 3 Asian cities: see Chen, 2014a; Chen and Sinha, 2016: 347.
91. Chen and Sinha, 2016.
92. Chen, 2014a.
93. For an in-depth analysis of energy challenges in cities in the global South, see Westphal et al., 2017.
94. Chen and Sinha, 2016.
95. Chen, 2014a.
96. Chen and Sinha, 2016.
97. Mahadevia et al., 2014.
98. Chen and Sinha, 2016: 21.
99. Roever and Skinner, 2016.
100. Roever and Skinner, 2016.
101. Media coverage is likely to be biased towards significant events, such as large-scale evictions, and less likely to document the more mundane existence of street vendors, especially in terms of inclusivity.
102. Roever and Skinner, 2016.
103. Roever and Skinner, 2016.
104. Roever and Skinner, 2016.
105. Roever and Skinner, 2016.
106. Donovan, 2008.
107. Donovan, 2008.
108. Pottie-Sherman, 2012.
109. Bromley and Mackie, 2009.
110. Hansen and Vaa, 2004: 68.
111. King, 2006: 117.
112. Roever and Skinner, 2016: 363.
113. Öz and Eder, 2012: 297.
114. Eidse et al., 2016.
115. Crossa, 2009.
116. Carrieri and Dutra Murta, 2011.
117. Swanson, 2007.
118. Bhowmik, 2005.
119. Lyons and Snoxell, 2005: 1078.
120. Alcântara et al., 2014, cited in Roever and Skinner, 2016: 364.
121. Roever and Skinner, 2016.
122. Mahadevia et al., 2013, cited in Roever and Skinner, 2016: 364.
123. Land markets and urban expansion will be discussed in a future WRR working paper on urban expansion in the global South, forthcoming 2018.
124. Dias, 2014.
125. Rogers, 2005.
126. Dias, 2016; Dias and Alves, 2008; Medina, 2007; Scheinberg and Savain, 2015.
127. This platform is the set of common needs and demands of informal workers coming out of consultative processes, facilitated by WIEGO, to prepare informal worker leaders for the tripartite discussions on ILO Recommendation 204 and the Habitat III Summit, as well as ongoing advocacy campaigns and negotiations at the city and national levels. To prepare for the two-year, standard-setting discussion on "Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy" at the 2014 and 2015 International Labour Conference, WIEGO convened three regional workshops that involved 55 organizations of informal workers from 24 countries who generated a common platform on what type of formalization informal workers want and need. In addition, during the preparatory process for the Habitat III summit, WIEGO consulted with organizations of urban informal workers from Asia, Africa, and Latin America through focus group discussions, interviews, and surveys.
128. Sinha, 2013.

129. SEWA Bank, 2017; SEWA Grih Rin Ltd., 2017.
130. Rusling, 2010: 5.
131. Rusling, 2010.
132. The package of basic infrastructure services was provided on a cost-sharing basis as follows: the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation bore the cost of taking services to the entrances of individual slums and each of the partners paid one-third of the total on-site capital costs (Rusling, 2010).
133. Sinha, 2013: 6.
134. Mahila Housing SEWA Trust, 2017.
135. Vryenhoek, 2012.
136. Sinha, 2013.
137. Alfers and Lund, 2012; Namsomboon and Kusakabe, 2011.
138. Milgram, 2011.
139. Milgram, 2011.
140. Dobson et al., 2009.
141. Meneses-Reyes and Caballero-Juarez, 2014.
142. Chen et al., 2013.
143. Chen et al., 2013: 10.
144. Chen et al., 2013.
145. Chen et al., 2013.
146. Based on WIEGO's experience supporting SEWA and NASVI in the campaign.
147. Douglas, 2017.
148. Chen, 2013.
149. Personal communication between the authors and M. Shah and S. Trivedi of SEWA and Devi-ben, an evicted street vendor who then resettled in the Bhadra Fort Plaza, Ahmedabad, India. February 2018.
150. Chen, 2015.
151. Chen, 2015.
152. Chen, 2015.
153. Dias and Silva, 2017.
154. Dias and Alves, 2008: 1.
155. Dias, 2011d.
156. Dias, 2011b.
157. Dias, 2011c.
158. Dias, 2011d.
159. Dias, 2011d.
160. Dias, 2011d; Dias, 2011a.
161. Dias, 2011d; Dias, 2011a.
162. Based on the experience of the WIEGO team in Bogotá; WIEGO, 2017a.
163. Based on the experience of the WIEGO team in Bogotá; WIEGO, 2017a.
164. Chen, 2015; WIEGO, 2017a.
165. WIEGO, 2017a.
166. WIEGO, 2017a.
167. Chen, 2015: 1.
168. Chen, 2015: 1.
169. Chen, 2015: 1.
170. Chen, 2015.
171. Chen, 2015.
172. Schamber, 2012.
173. Schamber, 2012.
174. This is based on WIEGO's experience helping establish and support the South African Waste Pickers Association (SAWPA).
175. This is based on WIEGO's experience working with Hasirudala ("green force"); I Got Garbage, 2017.
176. For an in-depth analysis of waste pickers in Pune, see a forthcoming (2018) case study of urban transformation in Pune that is part of the WRR Towards a More Equal City series.
177. Dobson et al., 2009; Chen, 2015.
178. ILO, 2018; Herrera et al., 2012.
179. Based on personal communication with Ela Bhatt, founder of SEWA.
180. Further analytical work is needed to understand the interaction between informal workers with city finances, including participation of informal workers in city budgets, financing instruments that help serve their needs, and ultimately the financial impact on their incomes and the urban economy.
181. ILO, 2015.
182. UN-Habitat, 2017.

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ABOUT THIS WORLD RESOURCES REPORT

This is the fourth working paper in a series of working papers that comprise the World Resources Report (WRR), *Towards a More Equal City*. It will be followed by other working papers on urban expansion, water, sanitation, and transportation. To obtain an electronic copy of this paper, and/or other working papers, and to view supporting materials please visit www.citiesforall.org.

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