



## Social Protection Discussion Paper Series

### **Extending Social Protection to Informal Workers in the Horticulture Global Value Chain**

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**June 2002**

Social Protection Unit  
Human Development Network  
The World Bank

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# **EXTENDING SOCIAL PROTECTION TO INFORMAL WORKERS IN THE HORTICULTURE GLOBAL VALUE CHAIN**

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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Globalisation has led to important changes in the nature of work, and workers access to social protection. In large parts of the global economy work is becoming increasingly informalised, both in important global export sectors as well as domestic production. The expansion in flexible, precarious and insecure forms of work is also associated with an increase in female participation in paid work. Social protection systems designed for formal employment are often inaccessible to informal workers and particularly women. Globalisation has limited the ability of governments to finance social welfare programmes through public expenditure, but at the same time new actors and institutions have emerged as potential avenues for social protection. An important challenge is how to develop social protection in ways that can harness the contribution of all potential stakeholders to increase support for the expanding army of informal workers linked to the global economy.

A global value chain approach provides a handle to explore the linkages between informal workers and social protection in the context of a global economy. It facilitates this by allowing us to trace out the changing nature of supply relations between companies integrated into sectoral value chains that are increasingly dominated by large global buyers, and different forms of employment that exist at specific points along the value chain. It further allows us to examine the particular social risks workers face arising both out of the nature of their employment and the functioning of the value chain. Combining this approach with a Social Responsibility Matrix helps to map out the institutions with linkages to the value chain and changes in the articulation of their relationships arising partly from their connections to global value chains in which dominant firms exert governance. These institutions may have direct or indirect connections, and are located in the domains of market, state, community and household operating from a global to community levels. From this we are able to identify existing forms of social protection, and their relevance to specific groups of workers along the continuum from formal to informal employment. This framework facilitates the development of more innovative analysis of ways in which social protection can be extended to informal workers involving different institutions based on their changing relations and interaction with global value chains.

This paper is based on a case study of one sector - horticulture - drawing on the specific examples of fruit exports from Chile and South Africa to the United Kingdom. It uses the horticultural value chain to explore inter-connected employment, social risks, and social protection for informal workers in the sector. Horticulture has rapidly expanded through the process of globalisation. Technological innovation in the sector has facilitated the year round rotation of exports from developing and developed countries to meet changing global consumption patterns. The distribution segment of this value chain is highly concentrated and capital intensive. Increasingly, traditional wholesale markets in the sector are being replaced by integrated value chains dominated by large supermarkets. Yet the production end is very heterogeneous, with a large number of fragmented producers supplying high quality produce at different points of the year. Many of the risks arising from agricultural production and competitive global markets are born by these

producers. The only buffer they have within the chain is the flexible use of informal labour.

In the source locations, horticultural production generates significant informal employment at the peaks of the season, much of this female. The pattern of this employment is very heterogeneous, ranging from skilled formal work to migrant informal work. In Chile and South Africa over one half of workers are in the 20-40 year age range, many with families. Employment ranges from permanent formal work, through to temporary, seasonal, migrant and contract labour. More informal work is concentrated at the height of the season, particularly in harvesting (where men predominate) and in packing (where women predominate). In both countries, the increasing use of contractors is allowing growers to outsource their labour requirements, further distancing them from any obligations in terms of employment rights or social protection.

Informal workers face intensified social risk arising out of the nature of the sector, and the informality of their employment relationship. These include:

- high levels of insecurity of employment, low and variable wage levels often based on piece rates;
- annual periods of out of season unemployment, and the risk of poverty arising from the low levels of remuneration and variability of earnings in out of season employment;
- lack of many or all of the employment benefits available to permanent workers;
- general health risks arising out of the use of pesticides and fungicides along with the intensity of physical labour;
- reproductive health issues arise, ranging from access to sanitary facilities in the fields, to the potentially harmful effects of chemicals on the reproductive cycle of women workers and the noted incidence of malformed children born to fruit workers;
- minimal cover for disability and old age beyond limited state benefits;
- absence of labour organisations and poor knowledge of rights and entitlements.

Combining a value chain approach with a Social Responsibility Matrix allows the mapping of channels of social protection that could be developed for informal workers in horticulture. The relevant institutions can be grouped into market, state, community and households, along global and domestic space. In Chile and South Africa, there are signs of increasing government recognition of these workers through legislation. However the combination of poor coverage and poor enforcement of rights and entitlements reinforces the vulnerability of informal workers.

Expansion of private sector provision of health care and insurance, pensions, and insurance of work related injuries is also largely bypassing informal workers in the sector who do not or cannot make the requisite contributions to qualify for benefits. Private sector codes of conduct are expanding in export horticulture as global buyers, especially UK supermarkets, come under pressure from consumer groups and civil society organisations to limit poor employment conditions amongst their suppliers. These provide another channel, working through the global value chain. Codes of conduct raise the issue of how to develop shared responsibility between employers and other actors in the value

chain for the standards of employment and social protection for all workers, including informal workers.

In both Chile and South Africa, labour and community organisation amongst dispersed and often physically isolated horticultural workers, is weak. However, community based provision, linked to state and market provision, could be one avenue through which social protection be developed, especially given the weak attachment by off-farm informal workers to any particular employer. In Chile some schemes based on NGO-union linkages on the one hand, and government, employer, and community partnerships on the other, have set up specific projects. These are often limited in scope and time, but have the potential to be extended to wider areas of provision.

In sum, horticulture involves a significant level of informal employment, with high levels of insecurity and social risk, but low levels of income and social protection. Workers in this sector are largely excluded from existing coverage or benefits, which favour those in more stable employment with stronger attachment to an individual employer. Using a value chain approach, and a social responsibility matrix, we have explored both the current weaknesses but also potential opportunities for extending social protection to this group of workers. Given the increasing informalisation of work in the context of a global economy, this is a key challenge for social protection.

# EXTENDING SOCIAL PROTECTION TO INFORMAL WORKERS IN THE HORTICULTURE GLOBAL VALUE CHAIN

*Armando Barrientos and Stephanie Ware Barrientos\**

## INTRODUCTION

This paper examines how to extend social protection for informal workers in horticulture. Globalisation has important implications for social protection. It creates the conditions for the integration of production in the South with markets in the North implying greater opportunities but also greater risks for workers in the developing world. Horticulture is a very good example of this. In the growing export of fruit from developing countries to the North, traditional markets and wholesalers are being increasingly displaced by direct commercial linkages between formally independent companies and growers, or global value chains, in which large buyers and their agents are able to play a dominant role. These chains create direct linkages between Southern workers and producers, and Northern supermarkets, and their workers and consumers. However, the firms within these chains are not immune from global competition and the pressure to reduce prices and costs (including labour). At the labour intensive ends of these chains, a significant number of jobs are temporary, precarious, low paid and predominantly female. The expansion of horticulture has been associated with a growing informalisation of work linked to global export sectors in both developed and developing countries as suppliers strive to reduce costs and maintain their competitive edge.

The production of social protection has also been affected by globalisation. Employers have to adjust to a more sharply competitive environment, labour organisations have weakened and state provision has been reduced with greater emphasis on private sector provision. International organisations and national governments are

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increasingly aware that globalisation raises demand for social protection and of the need to strengthen capacity. It is also necessary to look outside conventional formal social protection to international linkages to exploit and strengthen alternative sources of protection.

In this paper, the main examples used will come from a comparison of the fruit export sectors of Chile and South Africa. Both these countries have a well-established export trade in fresh fruit, and have been presented as successful examples of sectoral integration into the global economy in Latin America and Africa. In both countries, exports generate high levels of employment in the fruit growing regions and there is reasonable data availability. Both countries have benefited from political conditions to set in place appropriate social protection mechanisms for workers in the sector, and South Africa in particular has seen a significant increase in legislation to enhance provision since the 1990s. The paper also identifies the value chain links to the United Kingdom, where supermarket domination in food retailing is particularly advanced, and where there are also high levels of informal employment.

The paper builds on the two distinct conceptual frameworks of social protection and value chains (Section One), in the context of horticulture in Chile and South Africa (Section Two) and identifies the key features of informal employment in horticulture (Section Three). It examines social risks faced by these workers and their households (Section Four), before evaluating existing forms of social protection (Section Five), and identifying potential avenues for extending social protection among these workers (Section Six). The key conclusions and areas of further research and policy developments are set out in the concluding section (Section Seven).

## **1. GLOBALISATION, VALUE CHAINS, AND SOCIAL PROTECTION**

### ***1.1. The challenges of globalisation***

Globalisation has played an important role in stimulating the rapid expansion of horticultural exports over the past two decades through the liberalisation of markets and application of advanced technology and transportation systems.<sup>1</sup> These have facilitated the rapid movement of fresh perishable products across large distances in a short time to meet changing consumer demands for the year-round provision of staple and exotic fruit and vegetables. The development of more integrated value chains linking production to consumption, increasingly dominated by large supermarkets, has also helped to facilitate this process, but has not necessarily mitigated the competitive pressures on companies and producers operating in the sector. Horticulture is thus a reflection of the many advances made through globalisation, but it also involves risks for those operating within global export markets. The liberalisation of trade and increased competition between countries exporting horticultural produce leave countries more exposed to volatility in supply and demand. At a micro level, many of these risks are transferred to workers in the horticultural sector, especially in the more labour intensive ends of production and retailing. This is reflected in the widespread use of informal employment within the sector. Lack of social protection is clearly an important problem facing horticultural workers, particularly those with informal status.

### ***1.2. Value chain analysis***

Horticultural exports increasingly flow through global value chains in which dominant buyers play a key role. A value chain 'describes the full range of activities that are required to bring a product from its conception, through its design, its sourced raw materials and intermediate inputs, its marketing, its distribution and its support to the final consumer' (Kaplinsky 1998, p.13). A value chain approach incorporates analysis of the network of agents that facilitate the range of activities supplying commodities along the global chain (Kaplinsky 1999, 2000; Schmitz and McCormick 2002). It examines the increasing integration and articulation of commercial relations between companies and

agents along the chain, that remain formally independent of each other, especially in 'buyer driven' chains that are typical of large retailers and global brand name companies (Gereffi and Korzeniewicz 1994).

A critical element in the analysis of value chains is the increasing dominance of particular firms and their agents over other firms at different nodes along the chain. This includes the governance global buyers are able to exert over suppliers and producers within their chains. It facilitates control over many aspects of production and distribution without formal ownership, and without assuming the risks of production themselves. This approach extends Gereffi's analysis of global commodity chains, which he defined as a set of 'interorganizational networks clustered around one commodity or product, linking households, enterprises and states to one another within the world-economy' (Gereffi and Korzeniewicz 1994:2). Much analysis of value chains to date has tended to concentrate on the industrial elements of the chain (Dicken et al 2001), but the approach can and should be extended to incorporate linkages to households, community and state, which are particularly relevant when workers are the focus.

The study of the horticulture value chain provides a useful framework for the analysis of the different forms of formal and informal work found at different points within a sectoral chain. Export horticulture has generated a large concentration of employment within certain locations in developing countries. The sector requires modern agricultural production techniques and high levels of capital investment to facilitate the export of fresh produce around the world. The employment it generates varies from highly specialised and skilled jobs, through permanent manual jobs, to a wide variety of informal forms of work, in which the majority of the workforce is found. The informality and heterogeneity of most horticultural work partly results from of the seasonality of production, but is also a result of the increasing flexibility of labour as found in many global export sectors (Standing 1999). The combination of seasonality and flexibility of labour provides important challenges in developing social protection policies for this group of workers. But their integration into global value chains also opens up the potential of developing new forms of social protection, involving different actors and institutions involved in or linked to the chain.

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<sup>1</sup> Horticulture is botanically defined as including fresh fruit and vegetables, along with some plantation crops, species and ornamental plants depending on certain characteristics (Mathew 1990). Within supermarkets, these form the core of 'fresh produce' and are often sold alongside fresh flowers.

### ***1.3. Social Protection***

Renewed concern with the scope and effectiveness of social policy in developing countries against the background of globalisation has led to a reworking of the notion of social protection. Social protection consists of “public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk, and deprivation which are deemed socially unacceptable within a given polity or society” (Conway, de Haan et al. 2000). There are important nuances in the definition of social protection used by different donor agencies reflecting their specific outlook. The World Bank’s view, for example, defines social protection as consisting of public interventions “to assist individuals, households and communities in better managing income risks” (Holzmann and Jorgensen 1999, p4). The emphasis on agency and income protection is in line with the Bank’s social risk management strategy. The ILO, on the other hand, sees social protection defined by basic rights. It is defined by “entitlement to benefits that society provides to individuals and households – through public and collective measures – to protect against low or declining living standards arising out of a number of basic risks and needs” (von Ginneken 2000).

There is consensus around the view that social protection can provide a more appropriate framework for addressing rising poverty, vulnerability, and inequality in the context of current conditions in developing countries (See Box 1). Social protection involves a number of strands which make this possible:

- It emphasises the need to provide support to the poorest (de Haan 2000).
- It acknowledges the variety and heterogeneity of risks affecting individuals, households and communities, and therefore acknowledges the multidimensional nature of poverty (Lund and Srinivas 2000).
- It emphasises risk and vulnerability and therefore addresses the dynamic nature of poverty (de Haan 2000). In this sense, social protection is ‘forward looking’ in seeking to develop interventions to reduce risk and vulnerability.
- It draws attention to the range of programmes and institutions providing social protection, from formal social insurance programmes, to the universal provision of health and education, to informal social networks, micro-insurance, and intra-household support (Esping-Andersen 1999). It acknowledges the limited provision of public social protection, and the absence of a welfare state, in the developing

world. It draws attention to the need to ‘crowd in’ and articulate existing forms of social protection (Murdoch 1998).

- It addresses the impact of globalisation on the demand and supply of social protection. Globalisation raises the need for social protection because it generates greater risk and uncertainty particularly among the poor (Rodrick 1997). It also involves a shift from government as the primary vehicle to a wider range of programmes, entitlements, and stakeholders in the provision of social protection.
- It highlights issues of governance and participation in the design, financing, and provision of social protection (Social Protection World Bank 2001).

#### **Box 1. Protecting what? Capabilities and entitlements**

A broader notion of social protection fits in better with the new paradigm in development theory emphasising human and social development. Sen (1985; 1999) argues that well being cannot be reduced to the commodities a persons has control of, but must also include the capacity to translate commodities into characteristics, and these into functionings. As he put it, “how well a person is must be a matter of what kind of life he or she is living, and what the person is succeeding in ‘doing’ or ‘being’”(Sen 1985). A broader notion of social protection can focus on expanding capabilities (what people can do) as the objective of public interventions, as opposed to concern with only commodities (food security), or solely income (basic income support), or purely labour standards (basic rights).

A value chain approach provides a potentially powerful lever for combining the analysis of the informalisation of work and changing forms of social protection in a global economy. It provides pivotal insights through:

- exploring the interaction between the different companies and agents integrated into chains, the particular forms of governance that operate along chains, and how these mediate the activities of firms operating in a competitive global economy;
- helping to unpack the different forms of work (which forms a continuum from formal through to informal) that can co-exist within the same sector, providing different roles in the provisioning of global supply;
- helping to identify the specific risks and vulnerabilities of different groups of workers as affected by their positioning and linkages to a chain. This facilitates analysis of the complexities of their risks and vulnerability, as well as the potential entitlements and capabilities of workers within the context of particular sectors linked into global value chains;

- helping to identify external institutions and actors that have linkages to the chain, including market, civil society, state, community and household, and helping analyse the changing forms of leverage they are able to exert at different points of the chain and the potential alliances between them.

Combining value chain analysis and social protection can help identify the different entitlements and capabilities of specific groups of workers to social protection both through their integration into work in the chain and through wider public provision. It also facilitates examination of the potential roles different institutions linked to the chain can play in developing social protection, and how these can be enhanced through changing alliances and partnerships between them.

#### ***1.4 An institutional framework for analysing social protection among informal workers: a sectoral social responsibility matrix***

Lund and Srinivas (2000) argue for the need to develop an institutional framework for studying social protection for informal workers. Such an institutional approach, as they put it, “is the first step in enabling the gendered analysis of all actors in the system of social protection...” (p.12). In this section, a formulation of such an institutional approach is done for informal horticultural workers by combining the concept of social responsibility by different stakeholders with value chain analysis.

This paper builds on the notion of a Social Responsibility Matrix that maps out the main institutions linked to global value chains that are or could be participating in the production of social protection. From the definition of social protection, it follows that a wide range of institutions and actors are involved in the production of social protection. In essence four key groups of institutions can be identified: the state, markets, community organisations, and the household. A justification for this categorisation is not included here, as it has been widely used in a range of literature including labour market behaviour and institutions (Blank 1994; Freeman 2000), and welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen 1999). Facing a rise in unemployment, individuals may access state benefits, take up a second job, find assistance from their communities or NGOs in the form of micro-insurance, or access private transfers from other household members. These represent the four key institutional groups identified above.

Globalisation has added an international dimension to these four groups of institutions. The interventions of multilateral organisations, for example in the setting of

labour standards, the design and implementation of structural adjustment programmes, or the establishment of human rights and environmental standards, have wider resonance in a globalised world. Similarly, integration through global value chains provides a basis for tracing the institutional actors linked at different levels to the chain cross cutting global to local and the pressures and alliances these can generate. For example the capacity of international NGOs to put pressure on brand name companies and retailers over working conditions, to focus political influence and resources on vulnerable groups on a global basis, and to make a strong case for their participation, demonstrates the extension of community values to a global level. Finally, household responses to changes in labour market opportunities now include labour migration and mobility.

A Social Responsibility Matrix is presented in Chart 1 below maps out the main institutions involved in social protection for workers in horticulture along two key dimensions.<sup>2</sup> The first dimension groups the institutions into state, market, community

<b>Chart 1: A Social Responsibility matrix for Informal Workers in Horticulture</b>		
Domain	Domestic	International
State	National Government Ministries Labour Inspectorate	ILO, WB, EU, ECLAC, WHO, ISSA
Market	Exporters Employers/Producers Labour contractors Trade unions Private insurance and welfare providers (pensions, health, etc.)	Supermarkets Importers MNEs Ethical Trade Initiative
Community	Domestic NGOs, Political Parties Community organisations Church organisations	International NGOs Consumer organisations
Household	Extended household	Migrant relatives

<sup>2</sup> This approach builds on the work of Gough and Wood (Woods 2001), who developed an Institutional Responsibility Matrix (IRM) in an attempt to provide a framework for the analysis of social policy in the context of developing countries. In their view, conventional social policy analysis, which focuses on the role of the state in welfare provision, cannot be applied directly to developing countries. In the latter, markets, and therefore wage labour, are not dominant; the state is very limited in its scope and operation; and kin and other social relationships constitute the moral basis for welfare support. The IRM, in their view, “represents a more universalistic, abstract conception to embrace the notion of welfare and development mix” (p.6). It extends social policy analysis by including community organisations, and supra-national components.

and household.<sup>3</sup> The second dimension focuses on the domain of these institutions: domestic versus international. The rationale for using these dimensions is to capture the values, incentives, and constraints setting the parameters in which these institutions operate.

In developing a sectoral social responsibility matrix and combining this approach with global value chain analysis, the paper aims to identify, analyse and evaluate existing linkages between these actors and institutions. More importantly, the analysis will also help to identify the missing institutions and linkages in the production of social protection to informal workers in the global value chain in horticulture. This will be done in Section 4 below, after the specific nature of the value chain and employment in horticulture has been examined.

## **2. THE HORTICULTURE VALUE CHAIN: CHILE AND SOUTH AFRICA**

### ***2.1. The horticultural sector in the global economy***

Horticulture has come to prominence over recent decades due to the rapid expansion of fresh produce sourcing globally. Certain developing countries with the right climatic and production conditions have been able to expand their horticultural exports, and there has been a rapid expansion in this type of trade globally (Teubal 1987; Hinton 1991; Jaffee 1993; Le Heron 1993; Rabobank 1993; McMichael 1994). The rate of growth of fruit, vegetables and flowers between 1985-92 in Central America was 17.2% per annum, and in South America (excluding Brazil) was 48% per annum (Thrupp 1995). In Sub-Saharan Africa, horticultural exports have doubled since 1980, and in 1996 they exceeded the region's exports for coffee, cotton and all other individual commodities other than cocoa (Theon and Godfrey 2000). World trade in edible horticultural products had a total value by 1988/9 of US\$40.3 billion, exceeding the trade in cereals of US\$38.6 billion (Jaffee 1993).

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<sup>3</sup> The national-market cell includes a wide range of institutions, many of which are for profits, but also some can be not-for profits. Further research will specify these in more detail.

**Box 2. Main Regions and Countries Where Horticulture makes a Significant Economic Contribution**

The main developing countries to benefit from the expansion of horticultural exports initially were Latin American countries able to supply mainly the north American market during its off season, and Sub-Saharan African countries able to supply mainly European markets during their respective off seasons (CEPAL 1990; Barham et al. 1992; Jaffee 1993; Thrupp 1995; Murray 1996; Barret et al. 1997). Export production has also more recently been developed in some Asian countries, particularly India (Fresh various editions; Eurofruit various issues). The volume and value of 'off season' exports from Chile and South Africa is given in Table 1.

	<b>Volume of Exports (tons)</b>	<b>Value of Exports (US\$ million)</b>	<b>Estimated % exported to EU</b>
	530,350	700	76
	1,309,263	1,292	30

Source: (Barrientos, Dolan, and Tallontire 2001)

This expansion has been stimulated by a number of facets of globalisation. The adoption of export-led growth in developing countries has stimulated those with a comparative advantage in horticultural production to specialise in these high value exports. Export production has also been facilitated by the use of modern technology during the process of production, post-harvest preparation, cooling, storage and transport (Jarvis 1994). A high-tech 'cool chain' keeps fresh produce in computer monitored, atmospherically and temperature controlled conditions, prolonging 'shelf life' and extending the export period of these perishable products. This facilitates the year round purchase of horticultural produce globally (Wrigley and Lowe 1996; Burch and Goss 1999).

**2.2. The global value chain in horticulture**

Fresh produce was traditionally sold through a complex web of exporters, importers and wholesale markets, with long and often fragmented distribution chains. Increasingly, distribution channels are becoming more integrated in the global horticultural value chain. This is in part through the operation of large multi-national firms such as Dole and Del Monte, that are directly involved in all stages of the chain from production, packing through export, cool chain, storage, transport to the final point of distribution. It is also occurring through the establishment of coordinated supply networks, involving many actors, usually dominated by large buyers (mainly supermarket

chains in Europe and, to a lesser extent, North America).<sup>4</sup> These work with a small number of importers and exporters in different countries handling their year round requirements from across the world. Despite the increase in vertical integration and role of dominant buyers along the value chain, the supply base itself remains relatively fragmented and diverse. Factors behind this include the global seasonal rotation of sourcing with constant shifts between producers, and the fact that production takes place within a wide variation of local contexts, shaped by local customs, patterns of land ownership, and systems of production.

In Chile and South Africa production is characterised by medium sized commercial farms,<sup>5</sup> with very few large-scale plantations or smallholders. This is due to land tenure conditions. Production patterns elsewhere depend to an important extent on the evolution of land tenure. Figure 1 below outlines the fruit value chain from Chile and South Africa. Chile is the larger producer, but ships a smaller percentage of its fruit to Europe than South Africa. Both export homogeneous fruit varieties, particularly grapes, apples and pears, and once they reach their destination, there is little to differentiate the fruit, on a country basis.

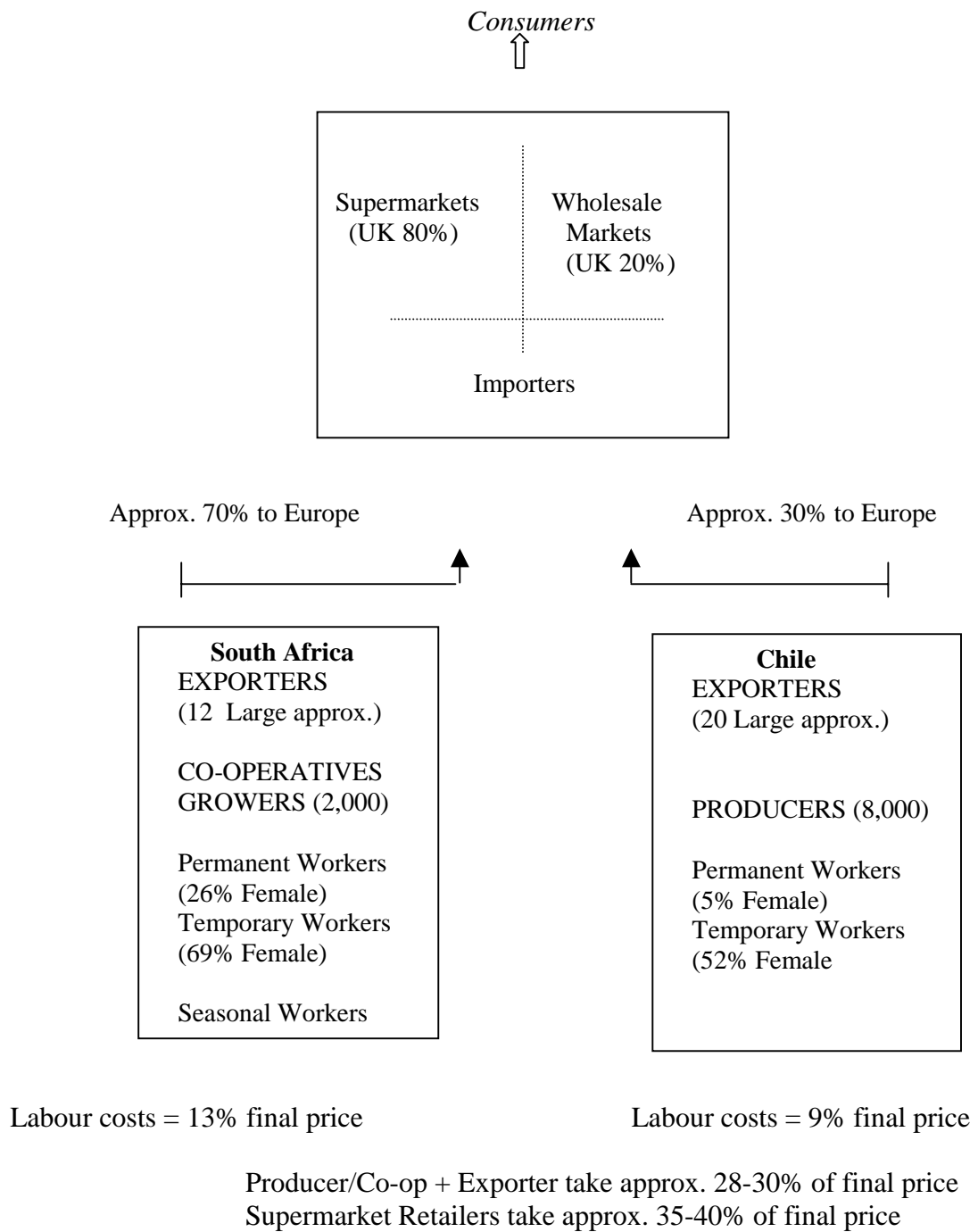
Producers are operating at the point of the value chain where the risks from agricultural production are highest and are subject to a volatile pricing system on the international markets. They have to make significant investments in modern technology and new production methods to sustain the high quality levels demanded in the global fruit market. Producers are often squeezed in their returns, and their portion of the value of the final price is relatively low compared to other sectors of the value chain. Production still remains subject to the vagaries of weather, pest or disease, and it is the producers who bear these risks, and who suffer the most when adverse conditions prevail. This is important to understand, because the only group remaining at the base of the value chain, onto whom they can off load some of the risk, is the labour force, and particularly the more flexible seasonal workers where the highest levels of female employment are found.

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<sup>4</sup> This is particularly so in the UK, where multiples are the direct recipients of approximately 80 per cent of fresh produce, only 20 per cent going via the more traditional wholesale markets.

<sup>5</sup> Estimates of average fruit farm size are: (a) in Chile 14 hectares, but this includes farms producing for the domestic market which are small, and (b) in South Africa approximately 25 hectares (Barrientos, Bee, Matear and Vogel 1999; Barrientos, McClenaghan and Orton 1999)

**Figure 1. Overview of the Global Value Chain for South African and Chilean Deciduous Fruit**



### 3. EMPLOYMENT AND THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP IN THE HORTICULTURE VALUE CHAIN

#### 3.1. Productive activities and employment across the horticulture value chain

Friedland has analysed the fresh fruit and vegetable sector using an industrial organization approach (Friedland 1994). He divides the sector into three key segments according to the productive activity involved: production, distribution and marketing. He argues that the production and marketing segments tend to be located in specific countries, and are national or regional in character. They are the more labour intensive, employing larger numbers of people. In contrast, the distribution segment is very capital and energy intensive. The industry is described as a dumbbell, in which national production and marketing are ‘two large weights on each end connected by the narrow channel of distribution’ (Friedland 1994: 179).

A typology of employment in the value chain is presented in Table 2 below. At the production end, employment is concentrated particularly within the growing and packing segments. Here, there is diversity and flexibility, with a relatively small amount of formal and high level of informal female employment. Once the produce leaves the packhouse, it enters the ‘cool chain’ distribution funnel as described above, which is highly capital intensive. The retail end of the chain is much more labour intensive. Here again high levels of informal female employment dominate.

Type of Firm	Factor Intensity	Employment type	Female Employment	Tasks linked to informal work
Supermarkets	Labour	Core permanent staff , majority part time hours and shift work	High	Shelf filling, checkout, counters, floor
Importers	Capital	Skilled labour	n/a	n/a
Transportation	Capital	Skilled labour	n/a	n/a
Exporters	Capital	Skilled labour	n/a	n/a
Packhouses	Labour	Small permanent core, majority semi-skilled seasonal labour	High	Sorting, grading, packing and related tasks
Farm/Packers	Labour	Small permanent core, majority semi-skilled seasonal and general labour (inc. migrant and contract)	High % in packing lower in fieldwork	Sorting, grading, packing, thinning, pruning, picking and related tasks
Farms	Labour	Small permanent core, majority semi-skilled seasonal and general labour (inc. migrant and contract)	Medium in fieldwork	Thinning, Pruning, picking, and related tasks

N/a = information not available

Estimates of levels of employment in export horticulture are not very reliable (See Appendix 1). Case studies indicate that permanent employment forms only a small percentage of total employment, as shown in Table 3 below, and a large proportion of employment is temporary or seasonal. Horticultural employment is highly concentrated in the key producing regions in each country, with very little alternative work. This poses a particular problem for out of season income generation in those areas for the large informal workforce.

<b>Table 3. Estimates of employment in horticulture/retailing value chain in selected countries, and share of temporary and female employment</b>			
	<b>Employment</b>	<b>% Female</b>	<b>% Temporary</b>
UK Supermarkets	100,000	75	70 of women
South African deciduous fruit	283,000	53	65-75
Chilean fruit	336,739	5 permanent; 52 temporary	85

Sources: (Penn and Worth 1993; Kritzinger and Vorster 1995; Barrientos and Perrons 1999; Barrientos, Dolan and Tallontire 2001; de Klerk date unknown).

Table 3 shows the significant level of female employment within the sector, and women are particularly concentrated in temporary forms of employment. In Chile, for example, 53 percent of temporary workers but only 5 percent of permanent workers are female. In South Africa, 69 percent of temporary and casual workers, but only 26 percent of permanent workers are female (Barrientos, Dolan and Tallontire 2001). This partly reflects the delicate handling of the fruit required in packing, and the perception that women have ‘nimble fingers’ to do this skillfully. It also reflects employers' use of flexible female labour to buffer against risks of variability in production or price. Supermarkets that are the primary retail output for horticultural produce in the UK also have a high proportion of informal employment, largely female. They are able to vary staffing levels to meet shopping peaks, and extend opening up to 24 hours a day. Flexible female employment helps to facilitate the functioning of both ends of the global value chain (Barrientos and Perrons 1999).<sup>6</sup>

### **3.2. Worker characteristics**

**Gender and life cycle.** The age and life cycle profile of horticultural workers varies by country and status of work depending on local social conditions and the supply

and demand of labour. There does not appear to be a strong trend to employ young unattached female workers that has been found in some manufacturing sectors (Elson and Pearson 1981; Fernandez-Kelly 1994). Case studies indicate that in South Africa and Chile, as in many other countries, the majority of both male and female horticulture workers are in their 30s and 40s, with families. This is shown in Table 4 below. Younger workers of 19 years or less are more in evidence in Chile than in South Africa (particularly male), but in both countries this age group forms a minority of the total workforce.<sup>7</sup> The majority of workers are between 20 and 39 years of age. In Chile this age grouping accounts for 55 percent of men and 68 percent of female workers, and in South Africa 64 percent of male and 75 percent of female workers. At the other end of the age range, older workers are a larger section of the labour force in South Africa, where 33

**Table 4. Age and marital status of temporary workers in horticulture  
Panel A. Age of fruit workers (as % of sample in each country)**

Country	Chile (1)		South Africa (2)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Age				
19 and less	34	17	3	5
20-29	42	38	34	39
30-39	13	30	30	36
40-49	6	9	22	13
50 and over	5	6	11	6

**Panel B. Marital status of fruit workers (as % of sample in each country)**

Country	Chile (1)		South Africa (2)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Status				
Single	65	37	22	30
Married/ Cohabiting	29	47	75	66
Widowed/ Separated	6	16	3	4

Sources:

(1) Rodríguez and Venegas (1991) Based on a study of temporary workers only (excluding permanent workers) in 6 valleys in Regions III, V, Metropolitan, VI and VII. Sample size: 220 male and 238 female temporary workers.

(2) Kritzinger, Prozeski and Vorster (1995) Based on a sample of all deciduous fruit workers (permanent and temporary) in the Western and Northern Cape. Sample size: 353 male and 351 female workers.

<sup>6</sup> It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into detail on the use of flexible female labour at the supermarket end of the value chain. See Barrientos and Perrons (1999) for a more detailed exposition.

<sup>7</sup> The reasons for this difference are unclear, and would need further investigation. There is little evidence that there is significant use of child labour in export horticulture in Chile and South Africa, although anecdotal accounts suggest there is some employment of children during school holidays.

percent of male and 19 percent of female workers are 40 years or over. This could be accounted for by the fact that horticulture is much longer established in South Africa with coloured workers traditionally living on farm until retirement. In Chile export horticulture is more recent, and workers living off farm do not have the same length of attachment to employers.

In both countries married or cohabiting workers dominate, with the exception of male workers in Chile 65 percent of whom are single. The figures for South Africa partly reflect the fact that much on-farm labour was traditionally employed on a family basis, with male permanent workers obtaining employment (and housing) on condition that their spouses worked on the farm when required. In Chile most workers live off-farm, and are employed on an individual basis. Rodriguez and Venegas (1991) found that fruit workers had on average 3.1 children in Chile, and in South Africa Kritzinger, Prozeski and Vorster (1995) found that 48 percent of fruit workers had one to two children, and 39 percent had three or more children. During the height of the season both parents plus other adult household members are likely to be working long hours. Whilst there is some crèche provision for young children in both countries, there is rarely any provision for adolescents who are thus left alone, leading to problems with delinquency and in Chile particularly teenage pregnancies (CAFOD personal communication).

***Migration: domestic and international.*** It is known that migration is an important issue in many countries specialising in export horticulture, yet there has been very little research or information produced on this. In Chile and South Africa there is internal migration of different types. In Chile, fruit workers from the central regions migrate North (where there is a labour shortage) to work at the start of the season, before moving to work South in their own regions of residence. In South Africa apartheid shaped a racial division between coloured workers who were allowed to live on farm in the Cape region, and migrant African workers (usually from the 'homelands') who were only allowed to migrate during the season. Since the end of these restrictions, internal migration of African workers has continued, but African workers also now live in townships or communities within the fruit growing areas. There is some evidence that men are more likely to migrate than women, although women are also often found amongst migrant labour. In Chile there is little evidence of transborder migrants working in export fruit, but in South Africa information suggests there is some transborder migration from other

African countries, much of this is illegal. There are important implications for social protection arising from this relating to access to entitlements.

### **Box 3. Increasing Use of Labour Contractors in Chile and South Africa**

In Chile, there has been an increase in contract labour. It is defined by Diaz as a triangular relationship between the worker, the supplier of labour (contractor) and the user of labour. It is most common in the North of Chile, where there is a labour shortage and the season starts earliest. Here it was estimated that 25-50 percent of labour is contracted, sourced from *temporeros* in the south, where the season starts later. Contractors are also increasingly supplying labour further south. It is estimated that 15-20 percent of labour is thus contracted in the sector (Diaz, 2000).

In South Africa, there is a rapid move away from the use of on-farm permanent and seasonal labour to the use of off-farm seasonal and contract labour, resulting from the post-apartheid regulation of labour and rising labour costs in the sector. It is part of a general trend to greater casualisation and externalisation of labour, where businesses rely on outside contractors rather than employ labour themselves, increasingly for labour-only tasks (Theron and Godfrey 2000). In horticulture du Toit and Fadeela (2001) define contract labour as workers hired by a third party, who remains responsible for their hiring, and concludes commercial agreements to supply labour to individual farmers. In this study 53 percent of farmers were now using contractors, of these 17 percent were labour-only and the rest management services contractors.

A recent case study of 18 apple farms in Grabouw and Ceres in South Africa found that half had started to use contract workers. Here, there was no particular trend in terms of size or position of farm, a key determinant was whether the producer had established good relations with a labour contractor relative to other sources of available seasonal labour (Barrientos and Kritzing 2002).

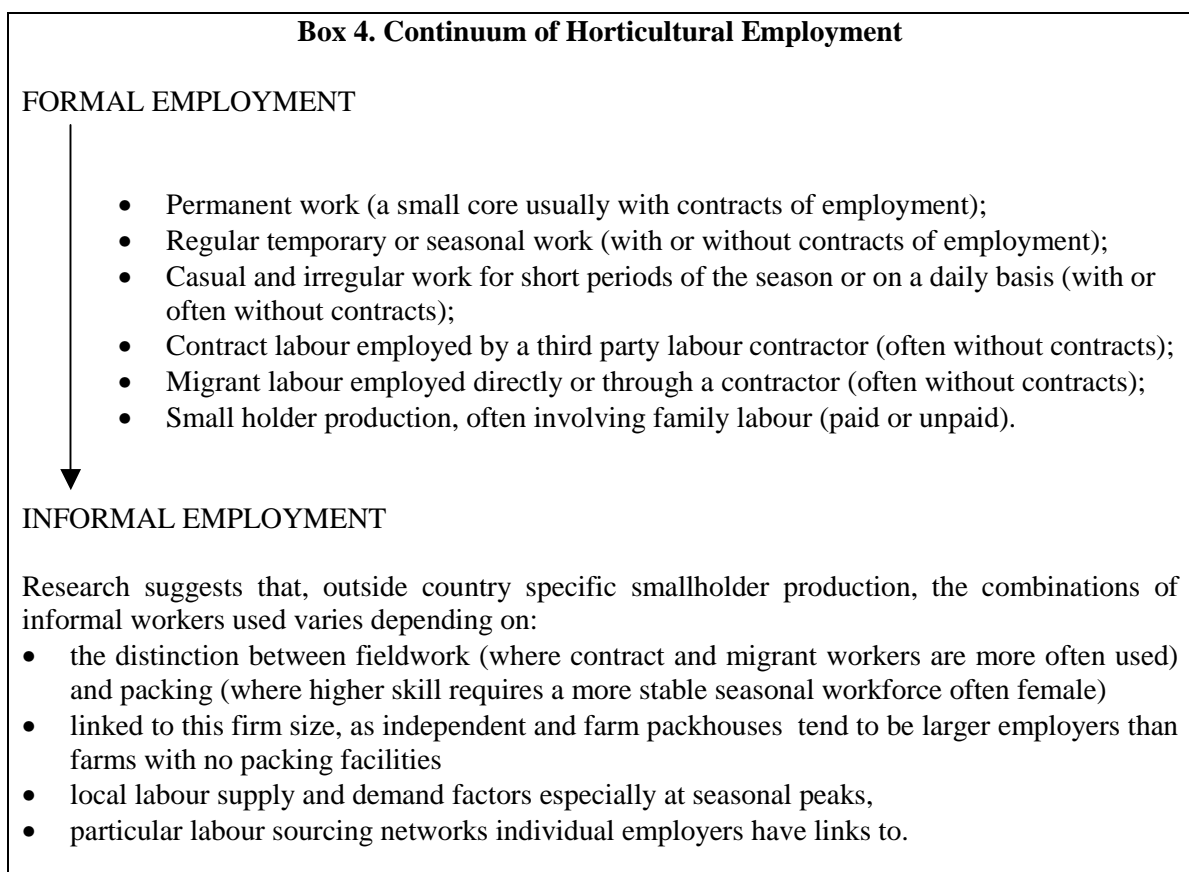
In both countries, contractors provide either general labour or more specialised labour, e.g. maintenance of irrigation systems. Workers are usually employed on a daily basis, and wages are piece-rate. It is extremely rare for contractors to have written contracts with workers, or to meet legal employment protection. However, workers with skills and good productivity are able to earn reasonable rates, and to extend their working period (some for 12 months) through working for a contractor. There is no guarantee of work, and insecurity remains a major factor. Social protection is difficult to enforce given the informality and fluidity of contract labour. There is a strong argument that where employers use contract labour, they should be co-responsible for ensuring employment standards.

***Contract Labour:*** Case studies indicate that there has been a rapid expansion over recent years in the use of contract labour, where a contractor employs labour, that is then provided on a third party basis to producers (See Box 3 above). The labour contractor is responsible for the employment conditions and pay of the workers, removing this responsibility from the producer themselves. This is an area that is only beginning to be researched, and information remains limited. The use of contract labour reflects a further increase in the ‘flexibilisation’ of employment, and the vulnerability and insecurity of these workers is often greater than those in more stable forms of employment relationship. It also represents a challenge to the extension of social protection in the

sector, as the employer (i.e. contractor) is more difficult to trace or monitor than a more stationary producer or exporter.

### 3.3 The employment relationship

There is a significant diversity in employment relationships within the horticultural sector, both across and within locations. This results from a number of factors including the seasonal nature of work, the diversity and fragmentation of producers and employers, the volatility of output due to natural conditions, and the attempts by producers to transfer risks to workers. Employment diversity and heterogeneity in horticulture reflects the ‘continuum’ from formal to informal forms of working identified by Lund and Srinivas (2000) (See Box 4).



There is no consensus on categories to define these types of work, and there is often lack of clarity, particularly in the use of the terms ‘temporary’, ‘seasonal’ and ‘casual’. Furthermore, in many countries common usage does not necessarily concur with legal definitions of the categories, which also vary between countries. Permanent workers and regular temporary or seasonal workers have stronger ties to one employer. Irregular

casual and seasonal, migrant and contract workers have weaker ties to any particular employer (although some may return to the same employer season after season).

There is often a high level of flexibility of employment within the sector, with non-permanent workers moving from one employer to another during or between seasons. There is also often flexibility in non-permanent work undertaken at different points within the season (although this will vary by location and country). Flexibility clearly results in part from seasonality, but it also reflects labour practices adopted by employers in order to reduce their contractual commitment to workers. This often has a strong gender bias, with women being concentrated in more 'flexible' forms of work than men. Contracts of employment are more common amongst permanent workers, but less often found amongst informal workers. In Chile, Venegas found that the likelihood of temporary workers having a contract depended on the size of the employer (1993). Amongst large producers and export firms 70 percent of temporary workers had contracts, but amongst smaller producers only 15 percent of them had them. In South Africa, Barrientos, McClenaghan and Orton (1999) found that 42 percent of workers had no contract, and that amongst those with contracts, only 3 percent possessed a written copy of a signed contract. In some countries, it is possible to employ workers on a 'temporary' basis for periods up to ten or eleven months a year, and to lay them off for just long enough to avoid the legal status of a 'permanent' worker. The increasing use of contractors to supply labour in South Africa and Chile, which along with migrant labour displays the highest forms of informality, suggests a tendency towards growing informalisation.

Forms of wage payment within the sector are varied, and can change according to individual employer, tasks performed, form of employment, productivity of specific groups of or individual workers, or stage of the season. An individual worker with the same employer could receive different forms and levels of payment as the season progresses. Payments to workers can be based on:

- Fixed weekly wage rates.
- Fixed daily wage rates for days worked.
- Minimum fixed wage plus bonuses according to overall productivity of team or enterprise.
- Minimum fixed wage plus piece rate according to productivity of individual.
- Piece rates only based on productivity of work team or individual worker.

Only permanent workers receive payments all year round, and are more likely to receive a standard weekly wage. Informal workers are more likely to be on piece rates, and their wages often have to cover long periods of out of season unemployment (a discussion of wage levels can be found below)

#### **4. GENERAL AND SPECIFIC RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH HORTICULTURE**

This section examines the general and specific risks affecting workers in horticulture in the South. It begins with a characterisation of social risks, and moves on to a brief discussion of the sources of risk for informal workers in horticulture. It draws some conclusion on the level and scope of social risks for these workers in Chile and South Africa. Future research will need to extend the analysis to workers situated in the Northern end of the chain.

##### ***4.1. Categories of social risk and informal workers***

Temporary workers in horticulture are, like those workers in more formal employment, exposed to a common set of social risks and contingencies including unemployment, sickness, maternity, asset loss, disability, work related injuries, old age, and death. These social risks describe the probability that these events materialise, and have adverse outcomes for the worker and her household. Workers' exposure to social risks of this kind depends on the frequency, duration, intensity, and covariance of these events (see Appendix 2 for more discussion on this).

In addition to core risks, workers in specific industries have greater or lesser exposure to social risks, such as health and safety at work for example. Informal workers are also affected by their greater exposure to social risks arising from the nature of their employment relationship. For example workers in horticulture have a higher exposure to unemployment than average because of the seasonal nature of their work. Compared to others in the sector, informal horticulture workers are much less likely to be protected by employment rights, they are also less likely to be able to benefit from a stable employment relationship, and related employer provided social protection.

##### ***4.2. General and specific risks affecting informal workers in horticulture***

A brief discussion is provided below on the risks affecting informal workers in horticulture.

*Unemployment and underemployment* are a very important risk for those in informal employment in horticulture. There is a high incidence of unemployment among seasonal workers, and an absence of alternative employment opportunities e.g. developing off-season forms of income generation. Unemployment is a particular problem in South Africa, which is shedding its permanent agricultural workforce.

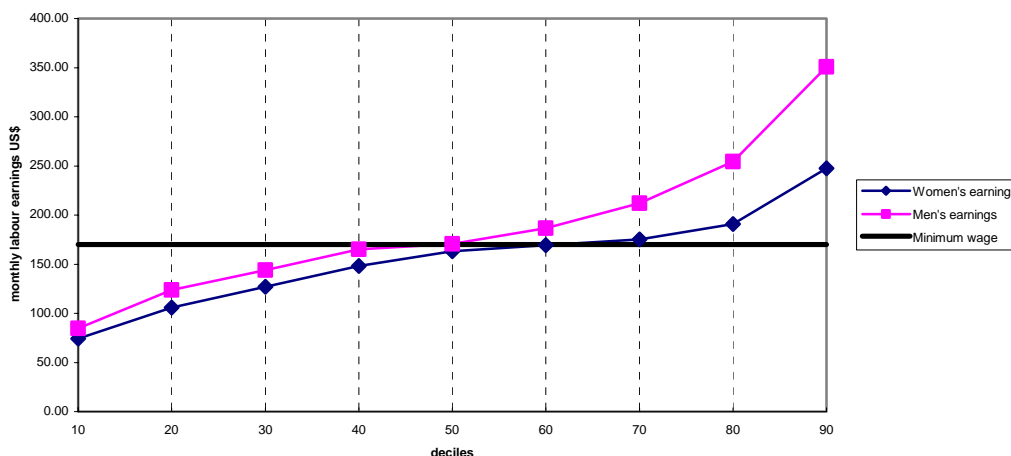
*Income poverty* describes the risk that income is insufficient to cover basic household needs. This affects all workers to a degree, but is particularly acute for informal workers in horticulture (See Box 5 below).

**Box 5. Income poverty risks among temporary workers in agriculture in Chile and South Africa.**

Income poverty is widespread among women working in export horticulture. Employment is seasonal and it is irregular within the season. On average, temporary workers manage 4 months of employment in agriculture annually. In addition, wages are low and variable, and a primary source of complaint against employers is that wages are not paid in full.

**Chile.** In the analysis below, we have extracted data from CASEN98, a nationwide household survey, on agricultural workers. The data were collected between November and December 1998, at the start of the export season in the central region. The distribution of monthly labour earnings for men and women temporary workers is given in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2 Labour earnings by decile and sex for temporary workers in agriculture in Chile 1998



As can be seen from the Figure, one half of male temporary workers in agriculture receive wages below the minimum wage, and 60 percent of women temporary workers are paid below the minimum wage. The distribution of labour earnings is very similar between men and women but a large gap develops from the 7<sup>th</sup> decile.

**Box 5. Income poverty risks among temporary workers in agriculture in Chile and South Africa (cont'd)**

Poverty risks apply to households. Table 5 below compares the per capita household independent income of women permanent and temporary workers in agriculture with the nationwide distribution of the same measure of income. The Table reports the proportion of these workers found in each quintile. If over 20 percent of workers are found in a particular quintile, it implies over-representation. If less than 20 percent of workers are located in a particular quintile, it means our group of workers are under-represented in that quintile. Women temporary workers are substantially over-represented in the lower income quintiles, and substantially under-represented in the higher income quintiles. The difference existing between permanent and temporary workers captures the increased risks arising from informality.

**Table 5. Locating permanent and temporary women in agriculture within the national income distribution in Chile**

Proportion of women workers in quintile		
Quintile of per capita autonomous household income	Permanent	Temporary
1st	26.10	24.23
2nd	24.31	39.57
3rd	21.79	25.44
4th	18.13	8.95

Elaborated by the authors using CASEN98 data. Autonomous income excludes government transfers

A further measure of poverty risk is the proportion of women temporary workers' whose per capita household income are below the poverty line, basic subsistence income, and the indigence line, basic food costs. In 1998, 4 percent of women temporary workers in agriculture had per capita household incomes below the indigence line, and 19.8 percent below the poverty line.

**South Africa.** Aggregate data for wages by agricultural sector and region was available at the time of study, but not reliable disaggregated for the horticultural sub-sector. In the Western Cape (where deciduous fruit is dominant) average farmworker earnings in cash were approximately R720 (plus an equivalent 20 per cent in other forms of remuneration for formal on-farm workers). This was above the average cash wage for farmworkers in the country as a whole of R544 (Department of Labour 2001).

A recent case study of apple farms in Grabouw and Ceres found wages in cash varied from R650 (Euro 93) per month for a seasonal general worker to R2400 (Euro 343) per month for a supervisor. Contract workers on the same farms could earn between R20 (Euro 3) per day lowest up to R60 (Euro 9) per day depending on task and point of season, whilst supervisors in contract teams could earn up to R500 per week (Barrientos and Kritzinger 2002). However, these workers received no other form of remuneration.

Minimum wage determination for agriculture is currently under consideration, a key recommendation is a scale from R400 to R750 per month depending on magisterial district (Department of Labour 2001). It is also estimated that the wage needed to put an average household above the poverty line is R650 (Euro 93) (Bhorat et al. 2001). On this basis, some contract workers on the monthly lowest equivalent of R400 (Euro 57) would be earning below the recommended minimum wage for their district, and below the average wage necessary to keep a household above the poverty line.

*Health.* The health risks, and especially reproductive health risks (see Box 6 below) faced by workers in horticulture are significant, but have not been sufficiently well researched. This is in part because legislation and regulation has focused mainly on conditions that are easily observed, and can be linked directly to the working environment. In the case of horticulture, acute conditions arising from pesticide intoxication are recorded and acted upon. Longer term, low observability, conditions arising from work are another matter, especially where the link between these and the working environment is less direct. Poor knowledge of the effects of the working environment on health, both among employers and workers, is another factor.

**Box 6. Reproductive Health Risks of *Temporeras* in Chile**

Reproductive health issues are also important, especially among women of child bearing age and their male partners. Workers in informal employment, where the majority of female employment is found, are less likely to secure work if pregnant, and to receive maternity leave or benefits. This is an extremely sensitive issue, because of the possibility of a link between the use of pesticides and higher rates of child malformation observed in the areas where fruit growing is concentrated (a particular issue raised in Chile).

Research in Chile has increasingly highlighted the risks to women's health of working in export horticulture. Medel and Riquelme (1994) report that the 'Regional Hospital in Rancagua carried out a study of malformation among the newly born between 1975 and 1990. It was found that the rate of malformation per 1000 live births in the Region was 3.6 as opposed to 1.93 for the country as a whole. In 93 percent of cases of malformation, the mother was a *temporera*, or the parents had been exposed to agriculture-related toxic products. This Region has the highest concentration of export horticulture in the country'.

Hygiene and sanitation is also an important source of health risk. Lack of drinking water, or toilets, can lead to stomach problems and infections. Together with the cold and humidity in the cold storage and packing, these are responsible for a high incidence of cystitis among these workers.

Health risks arise from a number of factors. The use of toxic products by temporary workers without adequate training and protective clothing has been identified as a significant problem by a number of sources. Workers come into contact with toxic products in the application of pesticides, the handling of the fruit and the trees, and the fumigation of the fruit in the packing. The symptoms associated with the use of toxic products include allergies, eye soreness, and dermatitis. The longer term effects have not received much attention, but these could be substantial.

Hygiene is an issue for workers, especially in the fields, and for the sanitary standards of the fruit and vegetables they are handling. Increasingly global buyers are

insisting on improvements in sanitary conditions, and portable 'portaloos' are mushrooming in many fields in the fruit growing areas

The physical demands and long hours of work result in muscular pain and discomfort, lumbago, and rheumatism. Because the link between the work environment and these health conditions is less direct, and in many cases the conditions are longer term, it fails to be identified correctly. A preventive health test carried out with 95 *temporeras* (the Chilean term used for female temporary fruit workers) in the 9<sup>th</sup> Region of Chile in 1996, found that 56 percent had muscular problems, 44.3 percent psychological problems, 37.1 percent stomach problems, 34 percent eye problems, and 16.5 percent skin problems. Interestingly, when asked whether they had a work related health problem, only 9.3 percent of *temporeras* answered yes (Sernam 1999).

There is increasing evidence that informal employment in horticulture is associated with poor health, and may have longer term effects which are not been fully researched into. The conditions of work may themselves lead to behavioural problems with adverse effects on health. It has been reported there is high incidence of alcohol and drug consumption among informal workers<sup>8</sup> and of mental illness.

*Injuries or death from accidents* during transportation to and from work are an important issue that has led to legislation changes in Chile, and to media attention in South Africa. This is particularly important for casual and seasonal workers living at a distance from places of work and who travel on a daily basis. For migrant workers living in hostel accommodation, this has also been raised as an issue in South Africa. Where labour contractors are involved, these often provide transport of poor quality, with risk of accidents.

*Disability.* As regards disability, there are no studies touching on this issue. In fact, there are few studies of the extent of morbidity and mortality among informal workers, especially as these workers are rarely entitled to disability and survivor pensions, and this is the point at which statistics of this kind are collected. Informal workers are rarely covered by disability insurance (See Box 7 below).

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<sup>8</sup> South Africa traditionally had the 'dop' (tot) system where workers received free alcohol. This has largely been dropped on export fruit farms, but alcohol dependency remains a particular problem.

### **Box 7. Informal Workers and Disability Insurance in Chile**

There are two sources of disability insurance for workers in Chile, neither of which is accessible to informal workers in horticulture. Disability arising from work-related accidents is insured through individual retirement plans. These have an extra contribution covering disability insurance, and provides earnings related pension benefits. The problem is that very few temporary workers are affiliated to these pension plans (See Box 8 below). In addition, a condition of entitlement to disability pensions is that the worker is contributing at the time of the accident. A further condition is that the loss of working capacity is at least 50 percent. After prolonged debate, entitlement to a disability pension has now been extended for unemployed workers, to one year after the start of the unemployment spell. However, these workers are only entitled to a much reduced benefit. Temporary workers are at greater risk because of their irregular contribution record, and affiliation gaps.

In cases of disability arising from causes unrelated to work, there is a state benefit of around one fifth of the minimum wage, paid to the disabled with no other means of support. The number of benefits available in the country at any point in time is capped, and the allocation of benefit is done on a needs assessment by social workers.

Source: Barrientos (1998)

*Homelessness and poor housing conditions* is an issue particularly for on-farm workers in South Africa, where permanent workers were traditionally provided with housing. Since ESTA (the Extension of Security of Tenure Act 1997), there has been a trend to move workers off-farm, or not to replace on-farm labour. Lodging conditions are an issue for migrant workers in both South Africa and Chile. Many migrant workers live in accommodation usually provided on farm or close to the place of work. Conditions can vary, but personal visits have revealed some appalling conditions. In Chile and increasingly in South Africa temporary workers live in their own housing separate from their work. Off farm seasonal and contract workers often live in rural or urban shantytowns where housing conditions can be appalling, with lack of infrastructure or sufficient sanitation.

*Longevity risk* refers to the strong likelihood that workers in informal employment will outlive their resources in old age, especially as they are not covered by employment based pension schemes. In South Africa, the risk is significantly reduced by the existence of the social pension. As there is no counterpart of the social pension in Chile, the longevity risk for Chilean informal workers in horticulture is substantially higher.

*Ignorance concerning entitlements*, particularly on their legal employment rights, is an important problem in both Chile and South Africa. In South Africa it is a particular

problem given low levels of literacy.<sup>9</sup> Whilst educational levels amongst fruit workers are low relative to national standards in Chile, illiteracy is not as significant as South Africa. Isolation in rural communities and lack of access to means of communication compounds the problem of poor information.<sup>10</sup>

*Social and political exclusion* is a key risk for informal workers in horticulture. Historically unionisation has been low in agriculture, and this is particularly the case in export horticulture. In Chile only 1 percent of informal workers in horticulture are unionised (Falabella 1990), and in South Africa estimates of union membership vary from 2 and 8 percent at the most optimistic (Murphy 1995). Traditional rural unions are weak in addressing the needs of temporary, casual and migrant workers, and tend to have a male bias that is poor in addressing the needs of women workers.

## ***5. Social protection for informal workers in horticulture – a social responsibility analysis***

This Section focuses on the production of social protection for informal workers in the horticultural value chain. The analysis takes up the social responsibility matrix presented in Section 1.4 above, and discusses in more detail existing social protection for these workers, and limitations. A central aim is to identify and examine the linkages across institutions in the production of social protection, and more importantly, the presence of gaps.

### ***5.1 Institutions and institutional linkages in social protection***

This paper combines a global value chain analysis and the social responsibility matrix to map out the key institutions involved in social protection for informal workers in horticulture. It is important to take this analysis a step further by focusing on the linkages across institutions. The aim is to consider interrelationships across the different participants in the value chain, which result in the actual or potential production of social protection for horticultural workers.

The key institutions identified in Chart 1 above are presented in Figure 3 below, in a way that focus attention on existing, and more importantly on missing, links between actors and institutions. The private/market participants are on the left hand side of Figure

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<sup>9</sup> Ten to eleven percent of farmworkers in South African deciduous fruit have no schooling, and 21 percent less than four years of schooling (Kritzinger, Prezoski and Vorster 1995).

3, while the right hand side consists of public agencies. In between these, other organisations such as NGOs and trade unions are included. The institutions operating in a global or international domain are located at the top, while those operating in the local domain are placed at the bottom of the Figure. These actors and linkages will be explored in some detail in the sections that follow.

Conventional views on social policy sustain that the right hand side of the Figure has a role in compensation for the social risks arising from the operation of the left hand side institutions (Polanyi 1957). In developed countries, the welfare state was developed to fulfil this role. In present day developing countries the situation is different. Multilateral institutions have encouraged national governments to develop social protection, as exemplified by the labour standards enshrined in ILO conventions. In many cases, national governments have not been able to implement or enforce these, and have lacked the capacity to extend and develop social protection around a welfare state.

Globalisation is placing significant pressures upon the relationship between the right and left hand sides of the chart. On the one hand, globalisation reduces the tax base of national governments, for example through the migration of high skilled workers, the restrictions on taxes brought about by the need to remain competitive in international markets, and the growth in internet commerce (Tanzi 2000). On the other hand, it changes the articulation of relations between firms and institutions linked to global value chains, depending on the forms of governance that operate along chains. At the same time, the concentration of economic risks on the South, and within the South on more vulnerable sectors, raises the demand for social protection (Rodrick 1997). If social protection is to be extended in the context of globalisation, therefore, new roles and partnerships have to be developed between the different actors linked to the value chains in which many informal workers are now located. Mapping the value chain and inter-connected social responsibility helps us consider the actual and potential roles these actors can play in extending social protection.

## **5.2 Multi-lateral and State social protection**

The discussion will begin by examining social protection through the right hand channel (d1 to d3) in Figure 3 below. ILO core labour standards (freedom of association,

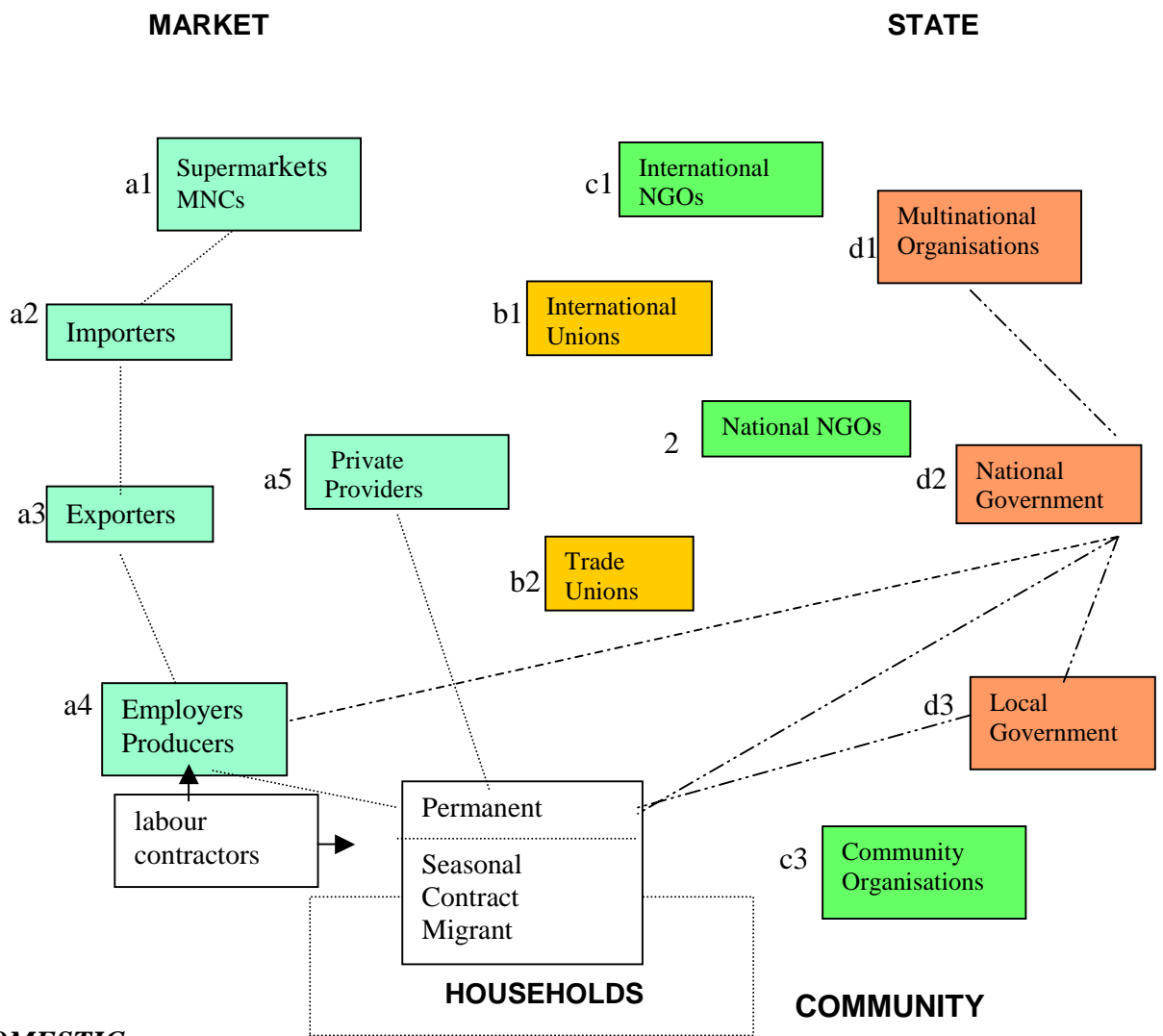
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<sup>10</sup> In South Africa rural advice centres have played an important role in providing fruit workers with access to information and pursuit of their rights. These are currently being centralised into more urban based

elimination of forced labour, abolition of child labour, elimination of discrimination in respect to employment and occupation) and non-core labour standards (conditions of work, safety and health at work, income security, fair treatment) apply in principle to all workers, and therefore to informal workers in horticulture. Whilst ILO conventions were designed with all workers in mind, their translation into national legislation has often led to a focus on permanent, full time, employees in the formal economy. This has also given

**Figure 3. Value Chain and Social Protection Linkages**

**GLOBAL**



**DOMESTIC**

Note: Dotted lines = existing channels of social protection

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Justice Centres, which could limit access by more remote rural workers.

a gender bias in the coverage of workers by the core conventions (Sabates-Wheeler and Kabeer 2002). Deficiencies in the administrative capacity and legal powers of labour inspection further restricted the enforcement of national legislation.

Recent changes in approach at the ILO stress that the spirit of the regulations apply to all workers, and particular attention is currently being paid to informal economy workers, implicit in the 'Decent Work for all' declaration. There are encouraging signs that the Chilean and South African governments are taking steps to incorporate informal workers under the labour legislation, but change has been limited so far. In South Africa, agricultural workers, and especially seasonal and temporary workers, remained outside the main provision of labour law until the early 1990s. Since then, there has been an important extension of regulation of the employment relationship to cover agricultural workers, and, to a lesser extent, seasonal and temporary workers. The Agricultural Labour Act of 1993 extended, for the first time, basic conditions of employment to agricultural workers. These included a maximum working week, access to maternity leave and sickness leave, and holidays. Seasonal and temporary workers employed for four months or less were excluded from some of these employment benefits such as sick leave and annual holidays. Infringement of the terms of the legislation by employers was widespread (Barrientos, McClenaghan, and Orton 1999).

Other important labour legislation, such as the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1993 also excluded seasonal or temporary workers. The new Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1998 went further in extending some of these benefits to seasonal and temporary workers who are now entitled to sickness benefit and annual leave. The Act also increases the formalisation of employment by requiring written contracts and associated information of workers rights. As regards unionisation, the 1995 Labour Relations Act enshrines the right to belong to a union, and encourages workers participation through workplace forums, but it does not provide for full union access to farms and restricts workplace forums to large employers. Unlawful evictions of on farm workers were prohibited by the Extension of Security and Tenure Act of 1997, but has contributed to a move away from the employment of on-farm permanent workers.

In Chile, labour legislation has been consolidated in a Labour Code since 1932, and from 1932 to 1973, the basic premise of the labour legislation was the protection of workers as the weaker party. The legislation encouraged unionisation and collective

bargaining, and contained many employment protection provisions. In 1973, the military government reversed many of the provisions protecting workers. It made strikes unlawful, extended the reasons for dismissal to cover political and union activities, as well as national security. It also restricted collective bargaining to firm level unions. The emphasis was on reducing termination costs, and restricting industrial action. The impact of these changes on the agricultural sector are stark. Unionisation rates in agriculture were 42.4 percent in 1973, above the average due to the impact of land reform in the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s. By 1985 the national unionisation rate fell to 5.2 percent, and the recovery reached only 9 percent in 1991. The last figure reflects the restoration of democracy in 1990, and the impact of labour reforms restoring some of the employment rights lost during the dictatorship.

The emphasis of labour reforms since 1990 has been mainly to improve workers mobility and training, and to a lesser extent the extension of social protection. At the same time, there is limited, but increasing, recognition of the needs for social protection among temporary workers. Legislation introduced in 1994 for the first time explicitly defined a category of temporary worker. This provided the initial impetus for the incorporation of these workers under the labour legislation (Venegas 1993). The legislation introduced some specific regulations applying to temporary workers. It requires that employers issue a written labour contract, and that this is registered in the Labour Office after 28 days of continuous employment. It also requires that adequate provision is made by employers relating to housing, transport, and food consumption. It makes provision for the use of school facilities as crèches in school holidays, and makes fruit producers responsible for payroll contributions to social insurance programmes where workers are employed through a labour contractor.

These measures were extended by further legislation in 2001, in two important respects: the requirement of minimum standards of hygiene relating to food consumption, and transport. Both these constituted a response to related transport and health hazards reported in the press. In what was also a response to public concerns, the legislation now requires the registration of labour contractors.

In conclusion, labour conventions and related national legislation have been focused on permanent, full time workers. The link between d1 and d2 shown in Figure 3 is weakened by this. There is limited, but increasing, recognition that informal workers need to be brought under existing labour legislation. The measures adopted so far fall

short of a significant upgrade in social protection for these workers, and there is extensive evidence that these rights are repeatedly ignored by employers. Enforcement thus remains a major problem for informal workers in horticulture.

### **5.3 Market Social Protection**

The social protection channels running along the left hand side of Figure 3 are examined in this section

#### *Private formal social protection*

Informal workers are generally excluded from the provision of social protection programmes, some of which are employment based, such as health, sickness, old age, and disability insurance (See Box 8 below). Increasingly, these are government mandated, but privately provided. This is shown in Figure 3 as the linkage from d2 to Permanent workers, and to a5. Employers play no part in this, as it is the responsibility of workers to make contribution to pension and health insurance programmes. The increasing privateness of provision militates against the extension of this social protection to informal workers (Barrientos and Firinguetti 1995).

In Chile, health insurance is provided through a mixture of employment-based insurance, and public provision of last resort (Barrientos and Lloyd-Sherlock 2000). There is free public provision available to indigents, but the coverage of services is very restricted (mainly emergency and primary health care). In order to access secondary and tertiary health care workers need to demonstrate a contributory record. Most informal workers in horticulture have access to health care as indigents only.

As regards pensions, Chile has a mandatory individual retirement plan pension system. Workers are required to contribute 10 percent of their earnings to an individual retirement fund with a private pension provider, and a further 2-3 percent to cover an additional disability and survivor insurance premium, and the charges of the private providers. Workers can access their retirement fund on reaching retirement age at 60 for women and 65 for men. Government's role is to mandate the participation of workers and to provide minimum pension guarantees for workers with at least 20 years of contributions, but with insufficient funds at retirement (Barrientos 1996; Barrientos 1998). This minimum pension benefit is around 80 percent of the minimum wage. Chile has a non-contributory pension benefit for people over 75 or disabled with no other means of support. The benefit is around 20 percent of the minimum wage, but the absolute

number of pensions in payment at a point in time is fixed. Programmes directed to cover costs of work related injuries are strictly contributory in Chile, requiring a contribution of around 1 percent of earnings, depending on industry affiliation.

**Box 8. Low Coverage of Formal Social Protection Programmes in Chile**

Rates of coverage of formal social protection programmes are low for temporary workers in agriculture in Chile. Data from a 1998 Household Survey (CASEN) shows a significant coverage differential existing between permanent and temporary workers in agriculture.

**Table 6. Coverage of pension plans and contract of employment among agriculture workers in Chile in 1998**

	<b>Permanent</b>	<b>Temporary</b>
Percent not contributing to a pension plan	48	67
Percent without a contract of employment	20	64

Source: Dirección del Trabajo (2000).

There are a number of reasons for the low rates of coverage among these workers. Firstly, employers are reluctant to facilitate affiliation to social protection. Workers need to have a written contract to participate in these programmes, but a written contract imposes other labour responsibilities on employers such as maternity leave and restrictions of employment termination. Employers are not required to make any pension contributions so that these are discounted in full from workers' pay. Employers incur costs of collecting and paying in these contributions but these have not been estimated. Secondly, payroll contributions may deter some workers from affiliation. Payroll contributions are around 21 percent of earnings in Chile, including 13 percent towards individual retirement plans, 7 percent towards health insurance, and 1 percent for work related injuries insurance cover. Workers perceive payroll contributions as a pure tax because they stand little chance of collecting benefits (women need to reach 60 years of age and have 20 years of contributions to be in a position to collect the minimum guaranteed pension benefit. Temporary workers who work 4 months a year on average would need to work for 60 years to qualify for the minimum pension benefit. In addition, the poor have a pressing need for cash. Thirdly, pension fund managers are for-profits private corporations and have few incentives for ensuring contributions are collected especially from workers in irregular employment, and in rural areas (Barrientos 1996; Barrientos 1998).

In South Africa, health care, pensions and work related injuries are mainly publicly provided, but in remote rural areas workers are often dependent on employers providing access to these programmes (transportation to health providers for example). South Africa has a wide range of voluntary private pension plans, but coverage is concentrated among high earners. The non-contributory pension plan, the 'social pension' pays a means tested benefit from age 65 for men and 60 for women. The maximum benefit is around US\$70 per month, and constitutes a key source of income for poorer households (Lund 1993; Case and Deaton 1998; van der Berg 1998).

### *Emerging codes of conduct*

A more recent approach to extending social protection, working through the left hand side of Figure 3 above, can be found through private sector codes of conduct, that are increasingly being applied along the global value chain in horticulture (See Box 12 below). Codes of conduct covering employment conditions are being introduced by a growing number of global buyers, particularly supermarkets in Europe and the UK but less so in the US. As a result, codes are more prevalent in South African horticulture (which primarily supplies European markets) than Chilean horticulture (which primarily supplies the US). They have arisen in part from pressure exerted by civil society organisation such as NGOs, consumer groups, and trade unions over employment conditions among suppliers. In part they also reflect increasing governance of value chains by global buyers, leading to a standardisation of management, production, environmental, and social conditions of supply.

Codes of conduct are potentially another means of extending social protection within horticulture, and other consumer sectors via the global value chain, as shown by the linkages from a1 to a4 in Figure 3. Their efficacy depends on their content, and on the extent of their enforcement. Where codes of conduct specify core labour rights, gender equality, a living wage, health and safety and adherence to national legislation, they could become an important complement to other mechanisms of social protection for workers. Continued pressure from civil society organisations could also help to improve the content of codes, and multi-stakeholder participation provides another mechanism of enforcement where labour inspectorates and national mechanisms are weak. Alliances have formed across stakeholders (horizontally in Figure 3) including multinationals, NGOs, and trade unions, as in the Ethical Trading Initiative in the UK.

The fact that codes operate along supply chains also highlights the importance of understanding those chains, and the position of workers within them. Many global value chains contain sub-contracted production, and the employment within them is fragmented through continuum from formal to informal as discussed above. Companies introducing codes often initially only work with their immediate suppliers, but increasingly they are realising they need to extend their codes to employment conditions of sub-contracted producers, and could include labour contractors. Again, pressure from NGOs and trade unions at a local level is encouraging this. The potential to extend the use of private sector codes as a means of social protection also raises questions as to:

- Who within the supply chain is responsible for ensuring codes (and related social protection) are adhered to (the global buyer, intermediary agents and/or the immediate employer)?
- What is the relationship between the private sector, national government and civil society organisations in relation to social protection?
- What is the relation between local, national and international organisations both within and connected to the value chain in terms of the provision of social protection?

This is a fast developing area of activity for social protection. It opens up the potential for new multi-stakeholder approaches to social protection in the context of a global economy, where the state alone no longer has the means or capability to be the sole or main provider, particularly for those in employment and linked (however indirectly) to global value chains.

The growing use of labour contractors in South Africa and Chile threatens to break this channel of social protection. Contractors have tenuous links to other parts of the market channel, and rarely observe their obligations as employers imposed by labour regulation and legislation. Contract labour is a major challenge to the social protection of informal workers, which needs to be addressed through regulation and by enforcing co-responsibility by employers and labour contractors in the observance of social protection rights.

#### **5.4. Community based social protection**

This section examines the NGO and trade union channels, and their linkages to community based social protection. Given the lack of attachment of many informal horticultural workers (especially those living off-farm) to a particular employer, a potential avenue for improving social protection is via the communities in which they live.

However, there is very little evidence of informal community based social protection among *temporeras*, which is associated with their lack of unionisation, fluid employment in space and time, absence of a tradition of informal support, and weak solidarity values among them and in society as a whole. Voluntary organisations have emerged mainly as a result of external action, government programmes, NGOs, and

sustainability is a large problem (see Box 9 below). A survey of organisations among *temporeras* found 102 of them in the Central Region, with one third aimed at improving working conditions and earnings capacity.

Voluntary action on social protection has focused mainly on improving earnings capacity through the off-season period through the acquisition of new skills, micro-enterprise formation, and producer cooperatives. These projects have had varying degrees of success in the short run, but are usually short lived. Another target of public programmes and community organisations is childcare. This is an acute problem for *temporeras* because the season coincides with school closures, and in any case they work long hours and through the week (average hours of work for *temporeras* in Chile is 55.4 per week, compared to 48.4 for agricultural workers as a whole). Public programmes have brought together local government representatives, producers, schools and community organisations to use school facilities during the school holidays for child care for *temporeras*. In South Africa, many fruit workers traditionally lived on farm, and paternalism of the farmer provided an important source of protection, often including child care provision in the season. This is changing with the modernisation of the employment relationship, and the shift of workers off farm. Community forms of social protection could thus become important, but information on this to date is limited.

**Box 9. The experience of the *Casa de Temporeras*, Santa Maria de los Andes, Chile.**

The *Casa de Temporeros* in Santa Maria was a centre for temporary workers set up in the 1980s in the Aconcagua Valley north of Santiago, with the support of international NGOs. The broad aim of the centre was to encourage social organisation and participation among local temporary fruit workers, and more specifically to provide permanent premises and institutional support for the provision of services and information to these workers. These services included childcare, help with the provision of food and basic necessities, information on government programmes and legal rights, education and training, and support for small projects to provide out of season employment and income.

Linked to this was a local inter-firm union established in 1989, connecting workplace demands with social, self-help and out of season projects. In this union, local fruit workers contributed 21 percent of the membership by 1993, a much higher representation than in the national agricultural unions (Falabella 1993). The membership were mainly female, which had strong representation in the leadership. The *Casa de Temporeros* and unions were able to provide an integrated and independent basis for the co-ordinating activities relating to work, childcare, welfare and education. These centres were for both male and female temporary workers, but women tended to be very active within them.

Financial support from Norway helped set up another six centres, covering 60 percent of the fruit producing areas. Following the return to democracy, however, international NGO funding was significantly reduced, and the *Casas de Temporeras* declined through the mid 1990s, until they finally closed down. Some of the unions remain active.

The potential to develop community based social protection could be enhanced through horizontal linkages between NGOs, trade unions, government agencies, and employers.

### **5.5. Households**

There is only limited scope for diversification among informal workers households, given high dependence on fruit employment due to mono-cultivation in fruit growing regions. In South Africa, on-farm employment reflected a strong gender division of labour, with permanent employment for men on the assumption that their female partner works on a temporary or seasonal basis. This was based on gender relations in which men were seen as the primary breadwinner, with women's primary responsibility in the reproductive sphere, making only marginal contributions to household income through seasonal earnings. The shift out of on-farm labour has reshaped this gender pattern, and both men and women within a household can now be employed on a temporary or limited term basis.

In Chile, the evidence of household diversification is also weak. Venegas (1993) reports a significant degree of concentration of seasonal work among *temporeras'* households, with both men and women working in this capacity. She reports that close to 50 percent of households with *temporeras* have no members with permanent, stable employment (p.53). This militates against the perception that women workers contribute only marginal income to the household, but underlines the precarious basis of total household income for many temporary workers. She also reports that 50 percent of *temporeras* have per capita household incomes below the poverty line (p.57). The capacity of households to provide social protection is therefore limited by the lack of diversification in employment and the shift to informal forms of work for both men and women in horticulture.

## **6. LESSONS AND POLICY: ORCHESTRATING SOCIAL PROTECTION**

Having examined the provision of social protection for informal workers in horticulture, this section will focus on what lessons can be drawn for the future development of social protection policy for these workers, and will identify research and data needs.

- *Orchestrating Social Protection I.* Incorporating informal workers fully under existing labour legislation must be a top priority. This involves extending the concept of worker used in labour standards and national legislation to cover the full range of informal work. This also requires a strong focus on reshaping existing mechanisms for the enforcement of labour regulations covering these workers at the national level (See Box 10 for a discussion of the effects of poor enforcement of social protection rights in Chile). In Figure 3, this involves strengthening the linkages between the right hand side institutions, d1 to d2 in particular.

**Box 10. *Temporeras* and Formal Social Protection in Chile's VI Region.**

There are few surveys's targeted on social protection, and this makes Teresita Selamé and Lucía Morales 2000 Survey of *temporeras* in Chile especially noteworthy (Selamé and Morales 2000). The survey obtained responses from 252 *temporeras*. The results of the analysis shows poor access of *temporeras* to pension and health insurance, 54.1 percent are not affiliated to a health insurance plan, and this figure is 57.1 percent for women. Because among those who reported affiliation some had worked without contracts, or had made payroll contributions but the employer failed to transfer to the health insurance plan, in the last 12 months, actual entitlements to health insurance can be accessed only by a subset of these workers.

The interesting results relate to reported infringements of basic legal rights. Only 28.4 percent of respondents (32.3 percent for women) reported no infringement of legal rights by their employers. Of the total number of infringements, the most important were non-payment of overtime (29.7 percent), actual payments falling below agreed payment (23 percent), no contract of employment (20.1 percent), payroll contributions being deducted from the pay packet by employer, but not deposited in workers health or pension plans (17 percent).

Among the workers reporting one or more infringements, only 18.5 percent made a complaint to the labour inspectorate (15.5 percent among women). Among the 29 workers who had made a complaint, 18 felt no action had taken place, 5 had received a visit from the labour inspectorate, 3 had had partial restitution of payments due, and 3 reported the employer had continue to infringe basic rights. It is not surprising that when asked what kind of support they needed, the majority felt that stronger enforcement of rights by the labour inspectorate was a key priority.

- *Orchestrating Social Protection II.* Extending coverage of public programmes for informal workers in horticulture. Due to the nature of their employment relationship, informal workers have very limited access to public programmes. In some cases, this is due to the fact that entitlement is dependent on more or less continuous employment, or because of the cost recovery and other administrative

gatekeeping, or because of the location of public providers. In some cases (see Box 11 below), these barriers can be overcome through internal coordination of government agencies. The fact that this is not automatically forthcoming points to the low policy priority governments have placed upon the social protection needs of informal workers. Extension of social protection provided to informal workers can be a low cost and effective solution to their needs. In the Figure 3, this involves coordination of government agencies at the national and local levels, with government programme managers and employers having an important role in the administrative changes required. This implies strengthening the linkages between d2 to d3.

**Box 11. Extending Health insurance to *Temporeras* in Chile – A Promising Development?**

Public service provision to informal workers is a potentially fruitful avenue for extending social protection to them as shown by a recent policy change in Chile aimed at extending coverage of health insurance to the *temporeras*.

In Chile, there is a choice of private or public health insurance. Workers are required to contribute 7 percent of their earnings to a health insurance plan reimbursing a proportion of health care expenditures. High earnings workers can opt for a private provider, but low and medium earnings workers are mostly covered by the public health insurance plan offered by FONASA (Fondo Nacional de Salud). These can access out patient and secondary health care from public or private health providers. Those without income and the very poor have only limited access to public health care. As a high proportion of *temporeras* work without contracts, they could only access basic health care as indigents for most of the year, which provided a strong disincentive for affiliation.

President Ricardo Lagos made a commitment during his presidential campaign to review this, and once elected he asked the government women's service SERNAM to negotiate with FONASA to extend cover for out patient and secondary health care for 12 months to *temporeras* with 3 months of payroll contributions. Later the contribution requisite was reduced to 60 days. This rule change now provides all-year-round health insurance cover for *temporeras*, and in fact for all workers on temporary or fixed contracts.

There were substantial administrative problems in implementing this new regulation, given the irregular nature of *temporeras'* employment, the absence of contracts of employment, and the bureaucracy associated with cost recovery in public hospitals. The practical solution was to provide the *temporeras* a card, which on presentation at the appropriate health provider guarantees their access to health care without further administrative hurdles. The new card was introduced in January 2002.

- *Orchestrating social protection III.* The value chain in horticulture provides significant opportunities to develop social protection linkages (see Box 12). As noted above, concerns by retail firms in the North relating to labour standards further down the Southern end of the chain have led to the establishment of codes

of conduct particularly in South African horticulture which exports mainly to European markets. These codes provide a new development in social protection, both in terms of the new stakeholders involved, as well as the transnational scope. They also provide a different channel for the implementation of labour standards and national legislation. There are linkages here to government and multilateral organisations, which could be exploited to extend social protection. In Figure 3, these linkages would connect a1 to b1 and c1, but especially d1. An important point is that as codes of conduct are voluntary, they cannot replace labour legislation. (Barrientos, McClenaghan and Orton 1999; Barrientos, Dolan and Tallontire 2001). As noted above, to the extent that many codes use ILO core conventions, they have a potential to complement multi-lateral and state social protection on the right of Figure 3.

#### **Box 12. Private Sector Codes of Conduct and South Africa**

There is a plethora of private sector codes and their content is variable. The more progressive encompass ILO core conventions and include compliance with relevant national legislation. For example the ETI Baseline Code includes (ETI 1998):

- Freedom of association and collective bargaining;
- no discrimination or unequal pay;
- safe and hygienic working conditions;
- no child or forced labour;
- a living wage and no excessive working hours;
- regular employment and no harsh treatment.

Codes are also being introduced by supermarkets and others within the global value chain, setting employment conditions their suppliers have to meet. They are often monitored by the supermarkets or by professional social auditors. The process of developing codes has in some cases involved collaboration between private sector companies, NGOs, and trade unions, in a multi-stakeholder approach. This is particularly so in the UK Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI) and US Social Accountability International (SAI) standards.

Codes of conduct are meant to improve the employment conditions (including social protection) of all workers, but the extent to which women benefit is an issue. Research in African horticulture has shown that there are gender limitations in codes of conduct that need to be addressed if they are to cover all workers equitably:

- Codes of conduct are often designed on the implicit assumptions of permanent employment, and are less relevant to informal employment conditions.
- Some codes of conduct are weak or negligible in their coverage of gender employment issues such as equal pay and sex discrimination (except codes following the ETI and SA800, as they are based on ILO core conventions).
- Few codes extend to employment related issues, that can be particularly important for women workers, such as reproductive rights, child-care provision or sexual harassment.
- Codes do not address the underlying gender norms that lead to the concentration of women in informal work where their conditions of employment and social protection is poorer.

The gender sensitivity of codes will therefore need to be improved if they are to address the specific employment conditions of seasonal and temporary workers that are predominant in horticulture.

Barrientos, McClenaghan and Orton (1999) and Barrientos, Dolan and Tallontire (2001)

- *Orchestrating Social Protection IV.* Involving public and private participants in social protection. Figure 3 showed the full range of potential stakeholders involved in the production of social protection for informal workers in horticulture. Other examples of policy development show the difficulties present in involving many stakeholders, with different agendas, time scales, and priorities (Brugha and Varvasovsky 2000; Varvasovsky and Brugha 2000; Grindle 2001). Bringing participants together requires leadership setting a common agenda, and the identification of common interests. In Figure 3, this implies developing linkages between a4, b2, c3, and d2 and d3. This approach has yielded some improvements in Chile (see Box 13).

**Box 13. Commissions Set up to Extend Social Protection to *Temporeras* in Chile.**

In January 2001, SERNAM set up four (and a half) tripartite commissions with participation of employers, workers' representatives and government departments to consider ways in which the welfare of temporary workers in horticulture could be improved (Sernam 2001). This followed a strong lead from the President of Chile. The four commissions cover Health and Safety at Work led by the Health Ministry, Childcare, led by SERNAM, Pesticides led by the Ministry of Agriculture, and Training led by SENCE (the training agency). In addition, the Ministry of Labour attempted parallel discussions on labour conditions (this is the half commission). The participation by employers included the Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura (landowners association), the Federacion Gremial de Productores de Fruta (fruit producers association), and the Asociación de Exportadores de Chile (exporters association). Participation by workers was patchy and was limited to the commission on pesticides. The commissions met during 2001 and developed plans of action under their remit. The labour conditions commission did not get off the ground. As a whole the commissions have made positive advances in generating support and consensus on policy by stakeholders, and have had an important effect in coordinating policy efforts among the different government agencies. At the same time, a number of difficulties were identified. It was difficult to ensure worker representation, policies adopted by the commissions can be more effectively implemented in those areas under government control, but need further work to implement them on the ground (crèches for example, need cooperation at the local levels from producers and national and local government agencies). Employers are reluctant to engage in discussions on labour conditions, largely because of the strong veto in this area of government policy they exercise in practice.

- *Orchestrating Social Protection V.* Empowering informal workers. The hardest but surest way of extending social protection to informal workers in horticulture is to secure their empowerment and participation. The evidence for South Africa and Chile shows that this is a hard challenge. Established organisations, such as trade unions, which could represent these workers, have not done so in the past. The seasonal or temporary nature of their employment, as well as their gender make

up, has militated against this. Very few grass roots organisations representing these workers have emerged in the past, and these have not been able to sustain themselves over time. The influence of community based social protection in Chile and South Africa has been weakened by social sector reform. Policy design has largely bypassed informal workers, and it has been difficult to incorporate them in policy discussions. Further thinking and action is needed here, especially by considering the experiences of other countries. This involves developing linkages from the 'bottom up'. At the same time, this is the only way of securing a meaningful and sustained improvement in their social protection.

## **CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH**

Globalisation poses important challenges for social protection. It has increased the demand for social protection as changes in the labour market and the employment relationship concentrate risks among the most vulnerable workers. It has changed the parameters, and the agents, involved in the provision of social protection. Using a value chain analysis of horticulture and a social responsibility matrix of the actors and institutions involved in the production of social protections for workers in the sector, the paper developed an analysis of social risks affecting these workers, and the linkages and channels involved in social protection. Combining these two frameworks helped to focus on the constraints and opportunities in extending social protection for informal workers in horticulture.

The paper outlined the main components of a value chain analysis of horticulture, and showed how it applies to this sector in Chile and South Africa. It then focused on the implications for employment and the employment relationship. It found that globalisation has resulted in the rise in employment in horticulture, and that this labour force is predominantly female and informal. In horticulture, risks are offset down the supply chain, and employers are under significant competitive pressures to evade their legal and moral responsibilities, exacerbated by the use of labour contractors. The most vulnerable workers are the ones absorbing most of the risks, and women are concentrated in this group.

This was followed by an analysis of the sources of social risks faced by these workers. Informal workers share a common set of social risks with all workers, but in addition they face a higher concentration of risks arising from the sector they work in, and

from the nature of their employment relationship. This was helpful in identifying the areas where interventions to extend social protection are most needed, and the inadequacies of existing channels of social protection. The provision of formal social protection is limited for workers in informal employment, and especially so for workers in the horticulture sector. Labour standards as applied by national legislation usually exclude informal workers, and the deficiencies in enforcing what legal protection they are entitled to are substantial. Market provision of social protection also excludes these workers. Formal social protection designed for formal employment is seldom attractive to informal workers. Private providers of social protection programmes, increasingly common in the developing world, have few incentives to incorporate informal workers in horticulture, and especially female informal workers.

On the other hand, the integration of horticultural exports into markets in the North has created new channels for social protection, seeking to reduce the environmental, and social protection, gap existing between the South and the North. This has led to the development of codes of conduct implemented by producers at the instigation of northern firms. Increasing governance of value chains by dominant buyers creates new channels for extending social protection to informal workers, and enhances the effectiveness of potential linkages across private sector, civil society, and government agencies to provide social protection.

Community organisations are weak, and there is a poor level of unionisation among temporary workers because of the fragmented nature of their employment (in space and time) and because of the orientation of trade unions towards formal employment and that of political parties towards state action. Household employment diversification opportunities are restricted, among other factors, because of low skill levels on the supply side, and mono-cultivation on the demand side.

How to extend social protection for informal workers in horticulture? The findings from our analysis point to a number of areas where expansion of social protection is necessary and feasible. Two overarching conclusions must be set out first. Firstly, there is a need to develop, where they are missing, and strengthen, where they exist, linkages across all four main groups of institutions involved in producing social protection: markets, the state, community and households. This may sound a common sense point, but in the context of the linkages in social responsibility as set out in Figure 3, it acquires direction and purpose. The problem with existing social protection is that the left and

right hand sides of the Figure work independently of each other. Secondly, the key point is that the hardest but surest way of extending social protection is to empower informal workers themselves. In the context of Figure 3, this implies creating linkages from the bottom up, which are almost non-existent at present. Some of the detailed information provided in the Boxes shows what has worked so far, and what is needed. More specifically, the means of orchestrating social protection presented above need close consideration.

The paper can only be taken as a contribution to discussion of these issues, and important gaps and omissions remain. In the course of the research for this paper, a number of areas where further research is needed were identified. The main ones are:

- The issue of whether the conditions we were able to observe in Chile and South Africa apply to other countries was one that we grappled with constantly. It is important to investigate whether other countries have similar experiences, throughout the global value chain in both the north and south.
- Knowledge of the role of households in producing social protection for informal workers in agriculture is limited. This is in part because of the lack of reliable household data. There is an urgent need to generate these, perhaps through supplements to nationwide household surveys. The availability of better household data from Chile was extremely useful, and its absence from South Africa limiting.
- More research is needed on changing forms of migrant and contract labour.
- More research is needed on the development of partnerships in social protection which incorporate direct worker participation.

## APPENDIX ONE

### How many *temporeras* are there in Chile?

There are important limitations in the measurement of the number of *temporeras* from available data. Table 7 below shows alternative estimates and the data source .

**Table 7. Alternative estimates of the number of *temporeras* in Chile**

Data Source	Estimated number of <i>temporeras</i>	Time/sample
CASEN Survey 1998 Nationwide household survey aimed to evaluate impact of public programmes	57,000	November/December, 1 week reference period, stratified sample
National Agriculture Census 1997 dedicated survey of agricultural activity	70,093	April/May, 1 week reference period, agricultural areas
National Employment Survey 1999	60,780	October/December, nationwide
Venegas (1995) estimation for 1995	162,500	estimated from land use and temporary employment statistics

(Dirección del Trabajo, 2000)

As shown in the Table, the wide range of the estimates of the number of *temporeras* reflects the difficulties in producing statistics on these workers. The fruit season for Chile runs from September to March for the country as a whole, but there is a three month window of activity which shifts starting from the North of the country, and a much shorter period of peak activity also shifting in space and time. In any case, the timing of all the surveys above does not coincide with periods of peak activity, and therefore suggests an underestimate of the number of *temporeras*. The reference period for the survey data collection is also too short given the large fluidity of employment in this sector. As a useful pointer for the extent of underestimation of women's temporary employment, a supplementary survey on women's employment in conjunction with the National Employment Survey asked women inactive at the time of the survey whether they had engaged in paid employment in the last year, roughly one half of the respondents

stated having had worked for at least a week, and 21.3 percent of these had done so in agriculture (Barrientos 1997).

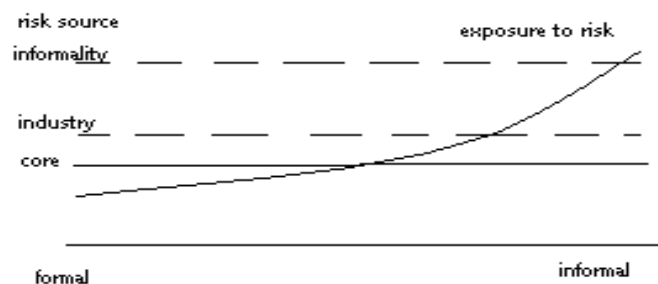
The spatial sampling of the surveys is also problematic from the point of view of *temporeras*. In terms of household location, a significant proportion of temporary and seasonal workers in agriculture live in urban or peri-urban areas, around one half of *temporeras*. This means that dedicated household surveys such as agricultural censuses are likely to miss out a lot of these workers. This also applies in part to establishment surveys, because a significant proportion of packing houses, and cold storage, are located in urban or peri-urban areas.

## APPENDIX TWO

### Exposure to risk and informality

Risks can be defined as “uncertain events and outcomes with known or unknown probability distributions” (Siegel and Alwang 1999). In the present context, we are interested in events and outcomes threatening the consumption and well being of workers and their households. Health risks affecting workers, for example, are defined by the probability that a worker may have poor health and by the outcome of this on the consumption and well being of the workers and her household. Note that the outcome of poor health is mediated by household resources, including in this case strategies to minimise outcomes from poor health such as health insurance. It is useful to refer to these risks as social risks. They are social because they affect directly social welfare, and because the realisation of these events and their outcomes can be reduced by social interventions.

**Figure 4. Exposure to risk and informality**



The Figure above shows how core social risks are overlaid with industry risks and the risks specific to informal workers. Core risks refer to contingencies covering all workers such as unemployment, disability, or death. Industry risks are those risks specific to employment in agriculture, for example, such as health risks arising from the use of pesticides or fertilisers. Informality risks, on the other hand, are risks arising from the nature of the employment relationship, such as risks of dismissal without compensation, risks arising from the absence of maternity benefits, and those arising from the temporary nature of employment.

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