Trends in work and employment in rapidly developing countries

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Abstract

Over the few decades we have seen significant changes in the global economy and, correspondingly, to the nature of work. The emergence of a number of middle-income countries (MICs), such as China and India, on to the global economic stage has drawn millions of workers into the global labour market. Yet the rapid economic growth of these MICs raises a number of questions about type and quality of employment that is being created in these countries and what this means for the health and well-being of those living and working there. The aim of this chapter is to explore the trends in work and employment in the rapidly developing MICs (Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico and the Russian Federation). The data show we can see a number of common trends across the MICs. All have undergone some form of structural transformation which has seen employment in agriculture decline and employment in the service sector grow. However, this has not necessarily led to the growth of good quality jobs. Indeed, the data point to rising unemployment in some MICs and the persistence of a high rates of employment in the informal sector. Moreover, there are worrying signs that gender inequalities in labour market participation are widening in a number of MICs. There are concerns that these trends could lead to an increase in work-related disability and poor health across the developing countries.

Keywords: developing countries, labour market, structural transformation, informal work, vulnerable employment.

1. Introduction

Over the few decades we have seen significant changes in the global economy and, correspondingly, to the nature of work. The emergence of a number of middle-income countries (MICs), such as China and India, on to the global economic stage has drawn millions of workers into the global labour market and shifted the poles of global economy away from its traditional centres in the Global North. Yet the rapid economic growth of these MICs raises a number of questions about type and quality of employment that is being created in these countries and what this means for the health and well-being of those living and working there (Hyde & Theorell, 2018). Understanding the nature of employment and work in these countries is essential if we are to ensure that economic growth does not come at the cost of human health and disability. As the WHO Commission on Social Determinants of Health (CSDH) has clearly stated, the creation of fair employment and decent work are key factors for reducing inequalities in health both within and between nations (CSDH, 2008). This goal has been enshrined in the UN's Sustainable Development Goals which have identified the need to 'Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all' for all countries. Encouragingly there also evidence that there is now greater awareness about occupational health and safety risks in developing countries (Kortum & Leka, 2014). However, many workers in these countries do not have decent work and face serious threats to their health and an increased risk of work-related disability as a consequence. Hence the aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the trends in employment and work in the rapidly developing MICs in order to better grasp the occupational health and psychosocial work environment challenges that these workers face.

Most developing countries have pursued some form of development model based around economic growth. These models vary due to the incorporation of different approaches, such as the degree of openness or closedness to globalization, opportunities for regional integration, reliance on the private sector or state sector as the key driver for growth, use of technology, and more recently, changes in social policy and the creation of a more flexible labour market. All these factors have had both positive and negative effects on occupational structures. These differences notwithstanding, we can see a number of common trends across the MICs. All have undergone some form of structural transformation which has seen employment in agriculture decline and employment in the service sector grow. However, the proportions employed in industry has remained relatively stable, leading to concern that a number of counties are undergoing 'premature deindustrialization' (Kuhn, Milasi, & Yoon, 2018). In addition, there are fears that the types of jobs that are being created in these countries, especially in the service sector, are characterised by less contract duration and job security, more irregular working hours (both in terms of duration and consistency), increased use of third parties (temporary employment agencies), growth of various forms of dependent self-employment (like subcontracting and franchising) and also bogus/informal work arrangements (i.e. arrangements deliberately outside the regulatory framework of labour, social protection and other laws) (Quinlan, 2015). Consequently, a large share of the labour force remains employed in low productivity activities in informal sector or are trapped in vulnerable forms of employment. Many are self-employed, work in a household enterprise without outside workers, or work in a family business without pay. Low labour participation rates and high unemployment are also issues of concern; women, in particular, are less likely to enter the labour force, while in many countries a growing number of youth are filling the ranks of the unemployed. In addition, with the exception of a minority of formal sector workers, most workers are vulnerable to abuse, poor

working conditions, risk of exploitation, and lack of income protection (Cho, Margolis, Newhouse, & Robalino, 2012)

2. Labour force trends

About 75% of the global labour force (which counts about 2400 million people) lives and works in developing countries. This figure has remained remarkably stable over the past few decades. However, this apparent stability masks some regional and international variation within the developing economies (Kuhn et al., 2018). This is to be expected as developing countries are not a homogenous group but are divided by geography, demography, culture, political systems and income level. To address this heterogeneity, most analyses focus on clusters or groups of developing countries. The most common approach is to group together countries by region, e.g. Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, etc. This is quite a natural approach as it fits with the way most of us are taught to see the world, e.g. as continents on maps. However, relying simply on geographical proximity is problematic as countries within a region may still differ in terms of their economic growth, labour market composition and employment policies. To avoid this issue, we have decided to use the World Bank's schema for country classifications by income level. More precisely we have taken the middle-income countries (MICs) as our base, as these are the countries that have seen the greatest economic growth within the developing world. The World Bank classifies lower middle-income economies are those with a GNI per capita between $1,026 and $4,035; upper middle-income economies are those with a GNI per capita between $4,036 and $12,475; high-income economies are those with a GNI per capita of $12,476 or more. However, even within this group there are wide disparities in the rates of growth. Over the past decade a number of alternative classifications have emerged to try to capture these emerging or newly industrializing countries, such as BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China), BRICS (BRIC + South Africa), MINT (Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey) and CIVETS (Colombia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Egypt, Turkey and South Africa) (Frank, 2013; Reuters Staff, 2010). However, for the purposes of this chapter we have taken an empirical approach and will focus, when possible, on the six countries which have had the greatest increase in GDP between 1991-2017. These are Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico and the Russian Federation, which, reassuringly are the countries that tend to feature in these other schemata.

As table 1 shows, in contrast to the aforementioned stability of the MICs as a whole, we can see quite wide disparities in the change in the size of the labour market between these six emerging economies. Here we can see that the Russian Federation experienced an actual decrease in their labour force whilst in Mexico the labour force almost doubled in size over this 28-year period

[Table 1 about here]

However, the key issue is not the size of the labour force but the rate of labour market participation in the population, specifically the extent to which there are any gender inequalities in participation. In many developing countries women often work on farms or in other family enterprises without pay, and others work in or near their homes, mixing work and family activities during the day. Even in the MICs access to well-paid jobs for women remains unequal. Hence, female labour market participation is often seen as good indicator of the development of a country and its commitment to addressing gender inequalities. Moreover, a low female participation rate drives adult employment rates down and keeps an important source of human capital idle. However, as we can see from the data in figure 1, although

labour market participation has improved for women in some of the rapidly developing countries since the early 1990s, e.g. Brazil and Mexico, it is still way below than the rate for men. More worrying is that in a number of the countries, notably India which was already at a low level in 1992, the rate has actually fallen over the past few decades.

[Figure 1 about here]

3. Trends in unemployment

Despite showing signs of recovering from the impact of the global financial crisis MICs have experienced a significant increase in unemployment rates between 2014 and 2017. This has again been driven by major economic downturns, in part due to the commodity price slump in many large economies, such as Brazil and the Russian Federation (Kuhn). Here it appears that the faster growing economies have been harder hit. By 2017 the unemployment rate had risen to 6.3% in the upper-MICs whilst it has remained relatively stable at around 4.5% in the lower-MICs since 2010. Within the rapidly developing economies we can see that there are very different trends and levels in the rate of unemployment (see figure 2). Whilst unemployment rates in India and China have remained very stable, at around 4-5%, unemployment rates have been much more volatile in other countries. The mid-1990s was a notable period of high unemployment in the Russian Federation with rates near 14%. However, by 2017 these were just slightly than those in China. Conversely the rates in Brazil have dramatically shot up, nearly doubling from around 7% in 2014 to 13% in 2017. Clearly this poses issues for those seeking employment in this country.

[Figure 2 about here]

This is especially so as unemployment may be linked to an increase in informal employment and vulnerable employment in developing countries. In a situation of job scarcity workers may be forced to accept informal, precarious or dangerous jobs. Hence, unemployment rates can impact on overall employment quality and the presence of informal work arrangements, within which workers typically lack adequate social protection, are generally paid less and have poor working conditions (Janta, Ratzmann, Ghez, Khodyakov, & Yaqub, 2015).

4. Structural transformation of the workforce

Over the last few decades, the adoption of various models of development, technological advancements and industrial changes have all reshaped the landscape of labour and led to a structural transformation of the economies in the rapidly developing MICs. The process of structural transformation is typically characterized by the gradual reallocation of production factors from traditional activities (e.g. agriculture and low value-added manufacturing) to modern activities (e.g. high value-added manufacturing and services). This shift from primarily mining, forestry and agricultural economies to industrial economies with a growing service sector has modified the composition and profile of the labour force and led to a redefinition of the labour market. At the same time, they have spurred changes in the structure and composition of the workforce, in the organization of work as well as in labour relations, and they have further given rise to a new international division of labour. Across all income groups, an ever-increasing number of workers in the MICs are projected to be employed in the service sector, while the employment share in agriculture is set to continue its long-term downward trend.

Furthermore, the share of manufacturing employment is expected to continue its decline in upper-MICs, and to grow only marginally in lower middle-income ones, raising concerns about 'premature deindustrialization', in which the MICs are seeing declining shares of industrial employment at earlier stages of economic development compared to the high-income countries. For the MICs as a whole the proportion of the workforce employed in agriculture has fallen from 51% of the workforce in 1991 to 27% in 2017. Conversely the proportions employed in the service sector has grown from 27% in 1991 to 48% in 2017. However, the proportions in employed in industry have remained relatively constant over the period at between one-fifth and one-quarter of the workforce. There are concerns that rather than leading to the growth of higher quality, stable employment in the formal sector, as happened in the high-income countries, this process of premature deindustrialization could lead to the growth of informal and vulnerable employment in the developing economies (World Employment and Social Trends, 2018).

4.1 Declining employment in agriculture

However, as figure 3 shows, these aggregate figures mask wide international variations. Although, all countries have seen a decline in the proportion of those employed in agriculture the relative size of the agricultural workforce remains higher in India (42%) and Indonesia (31%) than the average for the MICs. Conversely rates started low and remained low in Russia, falling from 10% to 7% over the 28 years. Amongst the most rapidly growing countries, China has experienced the fastest fall in the relative size of the agricultural workforce. In 1991 rates were close to those in Indonesia, but by 2017 they had fallen to the same level of Mexico and Brazil.

In many respects this is seen as a good news story for worker's health. Agricultural work is often very physically demanding and dangerous. The rate of fatal occupational accidents is generally higher in the agricultural sector than in the industrial or service sectors in the lower and middle income countries (Hämäläinen, Takala, & Kiat, 2017). Those employed in this area can be at risk of exposure to chemicals and other toxins (Abhilash & Singh, 2009) as well as living in poor conditions and can have higher rates of poor health behaviours (Roy & Chowdhury, 2017).

4.2 A stagnant industrial sector?

There was concern throughout the 1990s that through the process of economic globalization multinational corporations would shift their manufacturing capacity from the developed economies to the developing economies in order to capitalize on lower wages and weaker employment protection in those countries (Ahasan, 2001; Dicken, 2007; Kamuzora, 2006). The extent to which this was actually borne out in practice are still being debated. However, these debates highlight the fact that the process of industrialization of the developing economies took place within a radically different world than that of the higher income countries. The process of structural change followed by many developing countries has often differed significantly from the path taken by developed countries over the past century. In particular, compared to developed countries, the majority of developing countries, especially those in Latin America and Africa, have witnessed contracting shares of both employment and output in the manufacturing sector at relatively lower levels of income per capita (ILO, 2015a; Rodrik, 2016). This phenomenon of 'premature deindustrialization' has been found to have important consequences for both the speed of development and the type of employment created.

As already noted when we look at the MICs as a whole it appears as if the relative size of the industrial workforce has remained quite stable across the 28-year period. However, when we look at the trends for the individual countries in figure 3, we can see that this appearance of stability belies a great deal of individual variation. There has been a notable convergence to the mean amongst the individual countries. For example, 34% of Russian workers were employed in industry in 1991 compared to 15% in India. By 2017 the figures were 27% and 24%. Hence the extent to which these countries are experiencing premature deindustrialization differs widely. However, this does not mean that all the jobs that are created in these emerging industrial sectors are good quality jobs. Figures from India show that whilst the incidence of fatal as well as non-fatal accidents has declined from 65.59 per 1000 persons in 1980 to 0.90 in 2011, the proportion of fatal injuries has increased from 0.2% in 1980 to 5.4% in 2006 and 10% in 2011. Also, whilst relatively few studies have reported statistics on occupational diseases figures that exists show that between 38-55% of workers in slate pencil and precious/semi-precious

[Figure 3 about here]

stone manufacturing suffer from silicosis , 30-49% of workers in in textile and jute manufacturing report byssinosis and the prevalence of asbestosis has been reported to be 3-9% among workers involved in its manufacture (Suri & Das, 2016). A key reason for the persistence of these hazardous jobs in developing countries is that liberalized trade has come together with a transfer of obsolete and hazardous technologies and machinery, relocation of occupational hazards, such as hazardous chemicals, new work and organizational processes, an increase in assembly line, low quality and precarious jobs (Kortum, Leka, & Cox, 2010).

4.3 The growing service sector

Whilst employment in agriculture is falling and employment in industry is stagnant or only slowly expanding, the picture is reversed when we look at the relative growth of employment in the service sector (Figure 3). There is a clear group of countries, Russia, Brazil and Mexico, which already had a relatively well-established service sector in 1991. Still, all 3 countries saw an increase and, for example, by 2017 almost 70% of the workforce in Brazil was employed in this sector. However, although all countries saw an expansion of this sector the growth was much faster in China which went from having the lowest level of service sector (17%) in 1991 to having rates comparable to Mexico, Russia and Brazil by 2017 (56%). At the other end of the scale the relative size of the service sector in India has remained stable and, as a consequence, it is falling behind the wider group of MICs.

This shift from employment in agriculture to services is often heralded as a positive development both for the wider economy, leading to the growth of productive jobs in the services sector, and for workers escaping the back-breaking work in the countryside. However, for many developing and emerging countries this shift has been associated with employment growth in the low-productivity services sectors, such as the retail trade, often as informal own-account workers or casual workers, where working conditions are often poor (Cho et al., 2012; Kuhn et al., 2018). Perhaps the clearest example of this has been the growth in call centres throughout the MICs. These have been called ‘electronic sweatshops’ due to limited task variety, little control over when to take calls and how long to spend on them and other restricting circumstances (Lin, Chen, & Lu, 2009; Sprigg & Jackson, 2006; Sprigg, Smith, & Jackson, 2003; Sprigg, Stride, Wall, Holman, & Smith, 2007). These conditions have been shown to

lead to inadequate sleep, job stress and poor physical health amongst Indian call centre workers (Rameshbabu, Reddy, & Fleming, 2013)

Hence, although these figures point to a trend toward the structural transformation of these rapidly developing MICs, with a shift from largely agrarian economies to a growing service sector, we must take into account the impact on forms of employment and working conditions. Such a transformation will only lead to improvements in living standards if it can generate more and better jobs. However, as we have seen the rapid growth of ICT services in recent years in some emerging countries, notably India, has not generated sustainable employment opportunities or high quality jobs for the large majority of the population (Kuhn et al., 2018)

5. The growth of vulnerable employment

Across the globe, millions are trapped in vulnerable employment positions due to the socio-political and economic status of the country. Although precarious employment helps deal with the growing issue of unemployment, it leaves the 'vulnerable' workers suffering from uncertainty and often deplorable working conditions. The ILO (2018a) defines vulnerable workers as 'Own-account workers and contributing family workers [who] have a lower likelihood of having formal work arrangements, and are therefore more likely to lack elements associated with decent employment, such as adequate social security and a voice at work'. Lack of a decent job with a decent wage, security, health & safety, and access to fundamental rights, are becoming universally distressing issues that demand urgent attention. Beyond this, a vulnerable worker may suffer from lack of uncertainty as to the duration of employment, is helpless to work with multiple possible employers or a disguised or ambiguous employment relationship, lack of access to social protection and benefits usually associated with employment, low pay, and substantial legal and practical obstacles to joining a trade union and bargaining collectively, are some perils of precarious employment. Finally, such workers do not get regular jobs even after years of service and acquiring of skills, and they end up being unable to escape temporary work (Zhou, 2006).

The progress towards reducing vulnerable employment across the world has stalled since 2012. In 2017, around 42% of workers worldwide are estimated to be in vulnerable forms of employment. This rate is expected to remain particularly high in the developing and emerging countries, at above 76 % and 46%, respectively. Of greater concern, there are fears that this trend might go into reverse with the number of people in vulnerable employment projected to increase by 17 million per year in 2018 and 2019. Workers in vulnerable forms of employment are typically subject to high levels of precariousness, in that they are more likely to be informally employed, have fewer chances to engage in social dialogue and are less likely to benefit from job security, regular incomes and access to social protection than their wage and salaried counterparts (Kuhn et al., 2018)

The proportion of male workers who can be classified as in vulnerable employment has fallen across the middle-income countries as a whole over the past 28 years. However, the rates are still very high and nearly every second male worker was still in vulnerable employment in 2017. Moreover, these average rates mask wide international variations amongst the fastest growing middle-income countries. It is

clear from the figures that the levels of vulnerable employment are much higher in India and have not changed much over 1991, remaining at around 80% of the male workforce. At the other end of the scale the rates of vulnerable employment are lowest in Russia and, although there has been a slight increase, it has remained under 10% of the workforce. The levels and trends for women are very similar to those for men (figure 4). Overall the rates have fallen since 1991 in all countries since Russia. However, the rates remain alarmingly high in India (81%) and Indonesia (56%). As the term suggests these workers are very often found in the lowest level of the occupational hierarchy with appalling conditions at work and limited or no access to social security (see Box A for a more detailed review of vulnerable employment in India).

[Figure 4 about here]

These poor working conditions coupled with being in a weak bargaining position means that many vulnerable workers face exposure to occupational health hazards (Quinlan, 2015).

BOX A: Vulnerable employment in India

One of the most significant challenges faced by India is of growing incidences of precarious employment across many sectors (Sapkal & Sundar, 2017). Although neo-liberal economists argue that precarious jobs can act as a springboard for economic growth however, it has proven to be a great risk to the nation's economic growth and development (Sundar, 2012). As non-standard forms of employment, including contract labour, informal employment and involuntary temporary and involuntary part-time work, continues to rise in India, fundamental questions about the social costs of economic growth are being asked.

With a rapid wave of liberalization and privatization beginning in 1990's, India witnessed the entry of MNC's and accelerated globalization which created a boom in vulnerable jobs. It is well documented that nearly 81% of all employed Indians earn their living by working in the informal sector, with only 6.5% in the formal sector and 0.8% in the household sector (International Labour Organization, 2018b). In fact, the ILO report suggests that the Asia-Pacific region will add 23 million jobs between 2017-19, aided by employment growth in South Asian nations, especially India, however, a lot of the jobs being created are of poor quality despite strong economic growth and some 77% of workers in India will have vulnerable employment by 2019 (Kuhn et al., 2018). The vast majority of workers in India represent the informal/ unorganized sector. The shift from agricultural jobs has not brought any respite as most of the workers moved to the industries such as construction and manufacturing in the recent years, which is propelled by the high rates of internal migration in India (Agrawal & Chandrasekhar, 2015). According to latest National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) estimates, the construction sector is one of the most predominant sectors employing labour migrants and is also a sector which has seen a rapid increase in employment in the recent years (Srivastava & Sutradhar, 2016). What is appalling is that most of the new jobs being created in the formal sector are actually informal because the workers do not have access to employment benefits or social security (ILO Country Office for India, 2016). In India, evidence shows people enter the informal economy not by choice, but because of lack of opportunities in the formal economy and the absence of other means of livelihood (Woetzel, Madgavkar, & Gupta,

2017). Moreover, the numbers stuck in precarious work in the Indian public sector are far higher than in the private sector. This raises the question why the Indian government has not taken action on this vital issue to protect the 'have not' workers.

Vulnerable employment and informal jobs often intersect with other forms of disadvantage posing even greater threats to health and well-being. Studies show that women and children employed in manufacturing suffer from lower wages, less control over decision-making and the risk of sexual harassment (Mandal, 2009; Saiyed & Tiwari, 2004). Children engaged in the manufacturing sector often work for 6 hours or more per day in poorly ventilated, dark, unhygienic and dusty conditions (Tiwari & Saha, 2014). Exposure to such hazardous conditions, especially for those so young, is a cause for concern in a country that already has a high level of work-related disease and injury. It is estimated that the annual incidence of occupational disease in India is between 924,700 and 1,902,300 and results in around 121,000 deaths (Leigh, Macaskill, Kuosma, & Mandryk, 1999). The rates of occupational injury are even higher. Based on the survey of agriculture injury incidence Mohan and Patel (1992) estimated annual incidence of 17 million injuries per year, (2 million of which were moderate to serious) and 53,000 deaths per year in agriculture alone.

The Union and the State governments in India engage in labour regulation and follow established labour laws. However, most labour laws, save a few like the Minimum Wages Act of 1948, cover workers in the organized sector, that is, workers in the industrial establishments, shops, and commercial establishments employing 10 or more workers (T. S. Papola, Pais, & Sahu, 2008). The Indian Planning Commission has proposed several measures to enhance the welfare of workers in the area of occupational safety and health (Joseph, Injodey, & Varghese, 2009). However, in spite of this the intricacies of labour laws are more than often used by the rich and the powerful to either hinder welfare measures or else prolong adjudication to the detriment of vulnerable workers like contract and informal workers who are underprivileged and insecure (Kumar, 2015). It is time to expose the deplorable situation of vulnerable workers. The laws and regulations need rethinking and reforms to adequately address the present and emerging employment challenges ensuring basic fairness and security to workers and balancing the interests of workers and employers.

For example, many farmers in Latin America and the Caribbean combine subsistence production with temporary wage labour in more developed enterprises. However, these jobs tend to be characterised by hazardous working conditions and low pay. Hence, even though as we have seen earlier in the chapter, the proportion of those employed in agriculture countries like Brazil and Mexico have declined these new working patterns have led to a change in the epidemiological profiles of agricultural laborers and subsistence farmers. Nowadays traditional health risks such as malnutrition, parasitism, and endemic diseases are found side by side with new problems such as occupational cancers and musculoskeletal diseases (Pan American Health Organization Program on Workers' Health, 2001). In addition to this the high level of job insecurity and weaker bargaining power amongst vulnerable workers has also

encouraged widespread presenteeism in many countries, both sickness presenteeism (when workers go to work when ill) and long hour presenteeism (when additional unpaid hours are worked because it is 'expected' or workers fear losing their job) (Cooper & Lu, 2016; Evans-Lacko & Knapp, 2016; Quinlan, 2015). This is a concern as studies have shown that presenteeism increases the risks of poor health for the worker (Lu, Lin, & Cooper, 2013; Wang, Schmitz, Smailes, Sareen, & Patten, 2010) and also can also have wider health effects, e.g. transmitting infections and illnesses to other employees or customers.

6. Informal work

The ineffectiveness of the global economy to create high quality jobs has led to the rapid growth of the informal employment in developing (and increasingly in developed) countries. The informal economy comprises more than 60% of the global labour force and more than 90% of Micro and Small Enterprises (MSEs) worldwide. However, this is a very diverse 'economy' which manifests itself in a variety of forms across and within economies. According to the ILO informal work refers to all economic activities by workers and economic units that are not covered or insufficiently covered by formal arrangements either in law or in practice. Hence, as minimum standards for working conditions tend to be defined only for the formal sector, those working in the informal sector workers are not protected by any national labour laws. They also do not receive employer-based health insurance or pensions. The International Conference of Labour Statisticians (2003) defines informal workers as: (1) own-account workers and employers in their own informal sector enterprises; (2) contributing family workers; (3) members of informal producers' cooperatives; and (4) employees holding informal jobs. Across the developing countries there appears to have been a steady rise in the informal labour market.

Developing countries have higher shares of informal employment than developed countries. Although they represent 82% of world employment, but 93% of the world's informal employment is in developing countries. More than two-thirds of the employed population in developing countries are in informal employment, while less than one-fifth of the employed population are in developed countries (International Labour Organisation, 2018). In sub-Saharan Africa the informal sector is growing. Around 60% of the working population in Africa are in the informal sector. However, this varies widely across the continent from 34% in South Africa to around 90-95% in Benin, Chad and Mali (Eijkemans, 2001). Across Latin America and the Caribbean, the incidence of informality also remains high. The mean share of informal employment in total employment across countries in the region is around 58%, ranging from 25% in Uruguay to over 83% in Bolivia. This share is also high in countries with relatively higher levels of income, such as Chile, Brazil and Argentina, where it stands above 40%, exceeding 53% in Mexico and 60% in Colombia. In addition, in some countries, including Mexico, Paraguay and, to a lesser extent, Brazil, the incidence of informal jobs is also significant among formal enterprises (Kuhn et al., 2018; Quinlan, 2015). Similar trends are evident in the Russian Federation where temporary employment rose from around 2% in 1992 to over 14% in 2008, though it then declined to 8% in 2011. However, much of this temporary employment is informal. In 2002 65% of all informal employees were employed on a fixed-term, project-based, or casual basis in 2002, although this had fallen marginally to 59% in 2007 (International Labour Organisation, 2016). Overall, the data on trends over time for selected MICs (figure 5), show that the rates of informal employment have remained relatively stable over the past

decade. Only in Vietnam has there been a discernible fall, but this has merely returned the rate to what it was before the global financial crisis.

[Figure 5 about here]

It needs to be noted that there is a high degree of overlap between informal, precarious and vulnerable employment (International Labour Organisation, 2016; Quinlan, 2015). For example, even there are fewer women than men in informal employment, women in the informal economy are more often found in the most vulnerable situations, for instance as domestic workers, home-based workers or contributing family workers, than their male counterparts (Kuhn et al., 2018).

BOX B. Informal work in India

The informal sector is an integral part of Indian economy. It generates about 60% of the national income and of 88 million women workers only 4.5 million work in the organized sector. The informal economy and employment in the informal sector has been growing in India and several studies have indicated the expansion of informal employment in India and growing informality of work in both formal and informal sectors subsequent to the introduction of labour market flexibilization policies, which are part of the economic reform project in India (George, 2016; Ghosh, 2008; Goldar & Aggarwal, 2010; Maiti & Mitra, 2010).

Recent NSSO data on employment and unemployment (2012-13) show that only 13% of the Indian workforce had minimum social security entitlements such as provident funds, pension, gratuity, health care and maternity benefit. We can, hence, comfortable say that as much as 83% of the Indian workforce is in the category of informal workers. The sectors, which have the highest share of informal employment, were construction (99%), agriculture, accommodation and food service activities (98%) and allied activities (96%). The extent of informality could be understood from the share of workers who did not have any social security entitlements and other statutory benefits. As the data shows nearly 72% of the Indian workforce did not have any social security benefits and their share was 80% rural and 63% in urban India (see George and Sinha 2018). Similarly, George and Sinha (2018) noted that 85% of workers in rural and 72% in urban India did not receive formal employment contracts; 70% did not have paid leaves and 32% in rural and 12% of workers in urban areas had daily basis wages. Most importunately there is a substantial wage gap between regular and casual workers both in rural and urban India (T. Papola & Kannan, 2017). Precarious and atypical employment increased in formal sector as well. As per the data presented by Papola and Kannan (2017) based on the NSSO surveys, informal employment in formal sector was nearly 51% of the formal sector in 2009-10, which increased to 56% in 2012. Similarly, uunionization declined in India (George & Sinha, 2018). According to the Ministry of Labour only 1% of the Indian workforce is unionised and about 97% of the membership is in the formal sector. The presence of trade unions or other forms of workers collective is minimal in the informal sector, where labour right violations are rampant (George & Sinha, 2018).

We have also examined the health protection schemes available to the workers to shed light on the direct interconnectedness of informality and health protection. Nearly 77% of workers in rural and 72% in urban areas are not covered under any health insurance scheme. While employees in

the organised sector were covered under the employer's health insurance scheme public sector continues to be the major provider of health insurance in the informal sector. However, as already indicated the coverage is lower (20%).

7. Conclusion

The vast majority of occupational health and work environment research has been undertaken in the high-income countries of the developed world. However, nearly three-quarters of the global workforce is in the developing countries. The Chinese workforce alone exceeds that of the European Union. The rapid economic growth that these countries have experienced has the potential to lift millions out of poverty and to create decent jobs for the growing global workforce. However, until relatively recently, tackling psychosocial risks in the workplace and occupational health has not been a priority in developing countries because of competing social, economic, and political challenges (Nuwayhid, 2004). Therefore, if we are to successfully meet the UN Sustainable Development Goal to 'Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all' we need to better understand and engage with the labour market and employment conditions in the developing countries.

What the figures in this chapter show is that there has been a significant growth in the size of the labour market across the rapidly developing MICs. This could in part be due to the structural transformation that has occurred throughout the developing world as more and more people are leaving agricultural work to find work in the industrial and, rapidly expanding, service sector. However, this has not necessarily led to the growth of good quality jobs. Indeed, the data point to rising unemployment in some MICs, notably Brazil, and the persistence of a high rates of employment in the informal sector. Moreover, there are worrying signs that gender inequalities in labour market participation are widening in a number of MICs. Also, although we have presented the data for the different dimensions of employment separately, in the real world there are significant intersections between them. It is those who are the most disadvantaged, often women and children, who will be most likely to engage in informal and/or hazardous work, which, in turn, are likely to cause injury and/or disease and will, consequently, most likely lead to increased poverty, creating a vicious cycle. On the basis of these trends it is possible that we are facing a real epidemic of occupationally related health and disability across the developing countries.

It is encouraging that there is a growing awareness of the threats to health posed by working conditions in the developing countries. Organisations such as the ILO and Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO) have an active presence in many countries and are working with employers, policy makers and workers to improve working conditions. However, more needs to eb done. In many countries, there are neither the resources nor the institutional structure to deal with the control of occupational hazards. Services are also scarce because many managers and employers have failed to recognize the relationship between the workplace, health and development. We also face a huge data deficit in these countries many of whom do not regularly collect data on working conditions. In order to better advocate for improvements in the quality of work we need the sort of robust data and

analyses that has been carried out in the high-income countries over the past few decades. Without this hard evidence it will be a challenge to convince policy makers and practitioners to take action.

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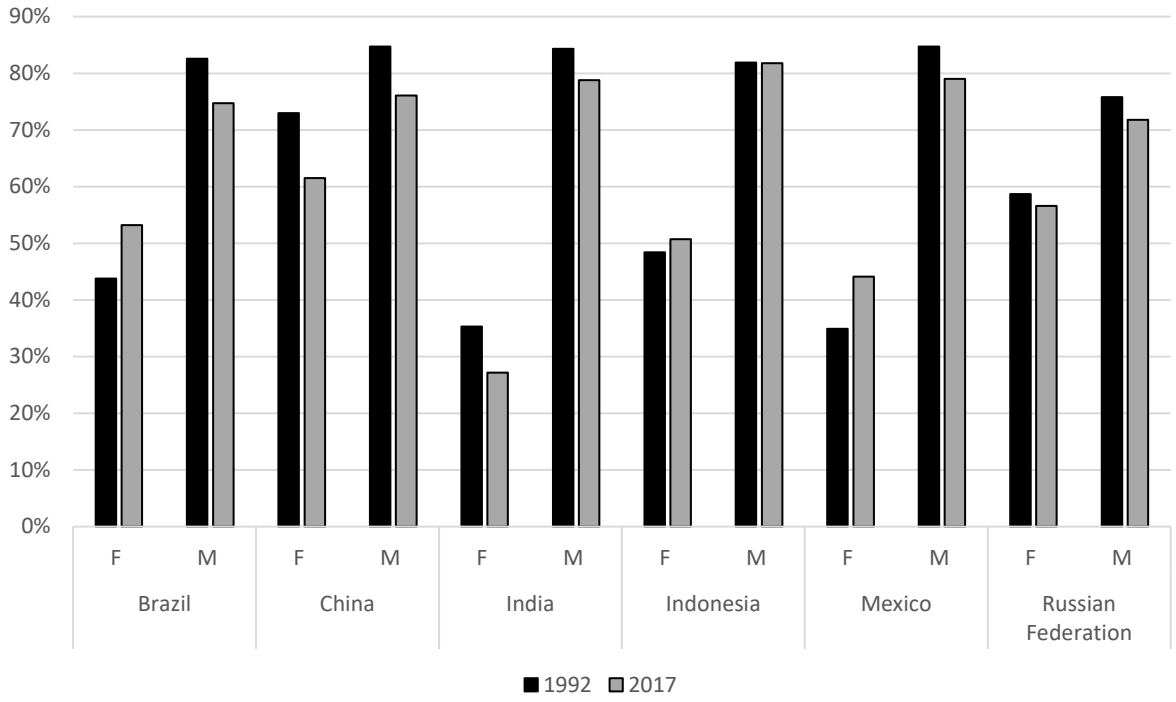
Figures and tables for Trends in work and employment in rapidly developing countries

Table 1. Size of the labour market in rapidly developing countries 1991-2017

	1991	2017	Change 1991-2017 (%)
Brazil	61,720,617	104,278,222	68.95
China	648,168,644	786,738,207	21.38
India	335,309,031	520,194,130	55.14
Indonesia	76,000,177	127,110,965	67.25
Mexico	31,461,036	58,072,901	84.59
Russian Federation	76,344,438	75,638,703	-0.92

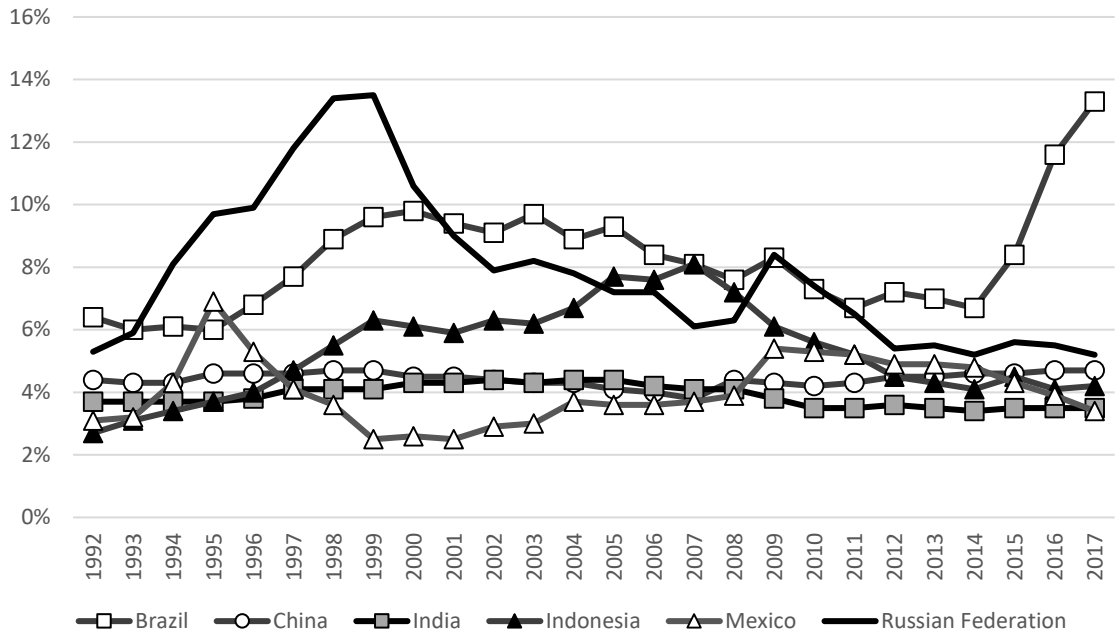
Source: ILOSTAT

Figure 1. Labour force participation rates for men and women in rapidly developing countries



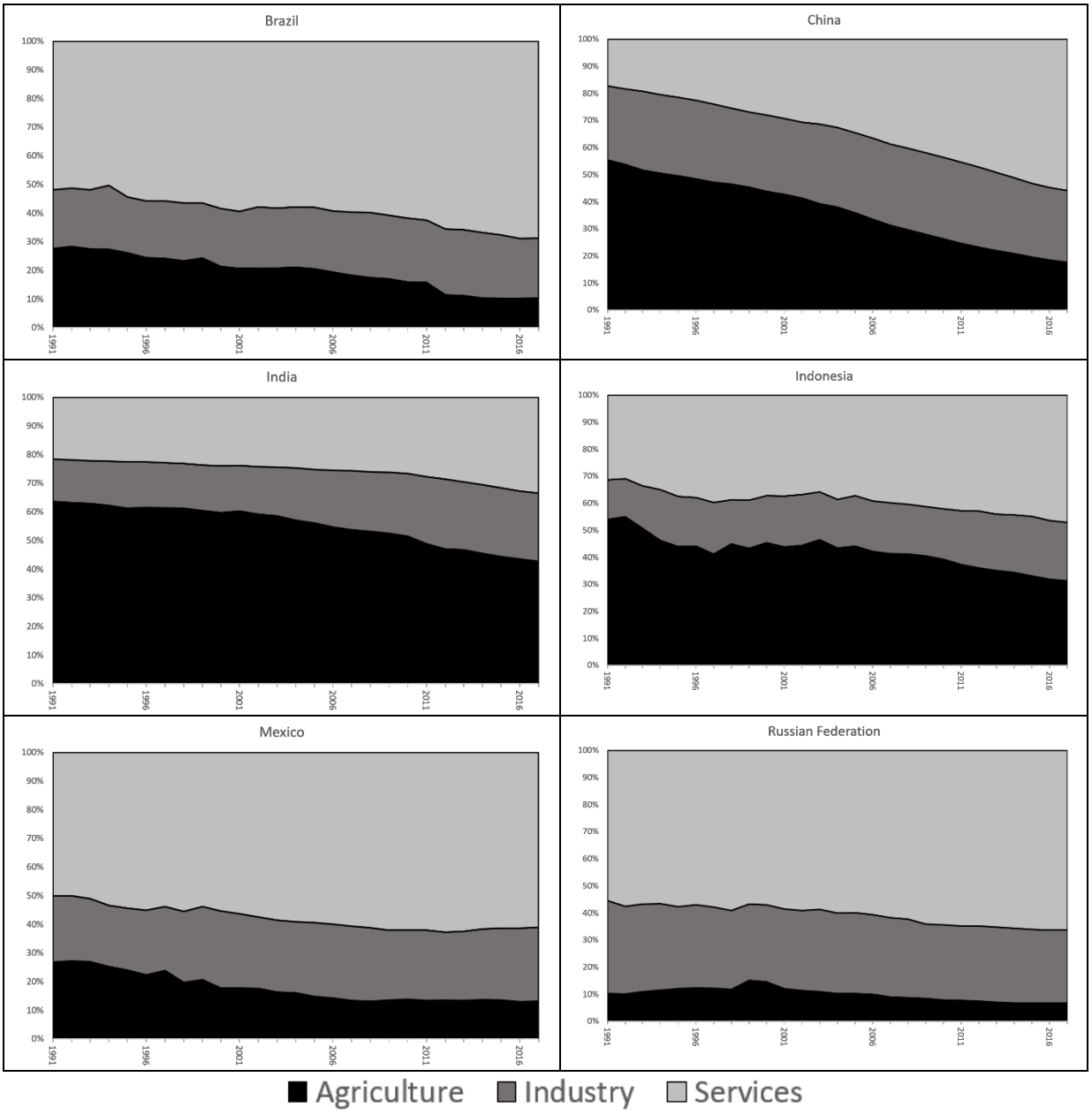
Source: ILOSTAT

Figure 2. Trends in the unemployment rate in rapidly developing counties 1992-2017



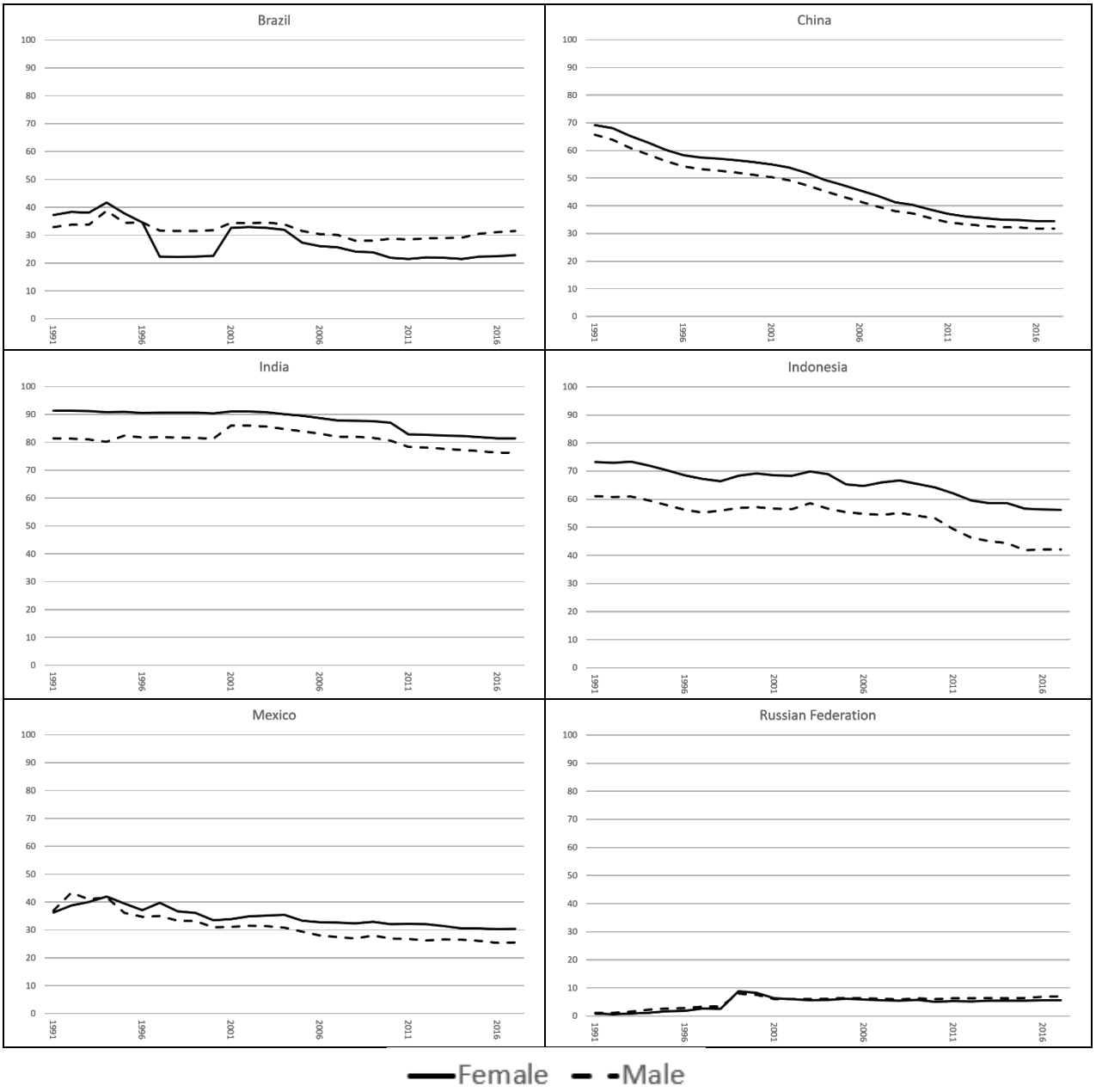
Source: ILOSTAT

Figure 3 Employment in agriculture, industry and services in rapidly developing middle-income countries 1991-2017



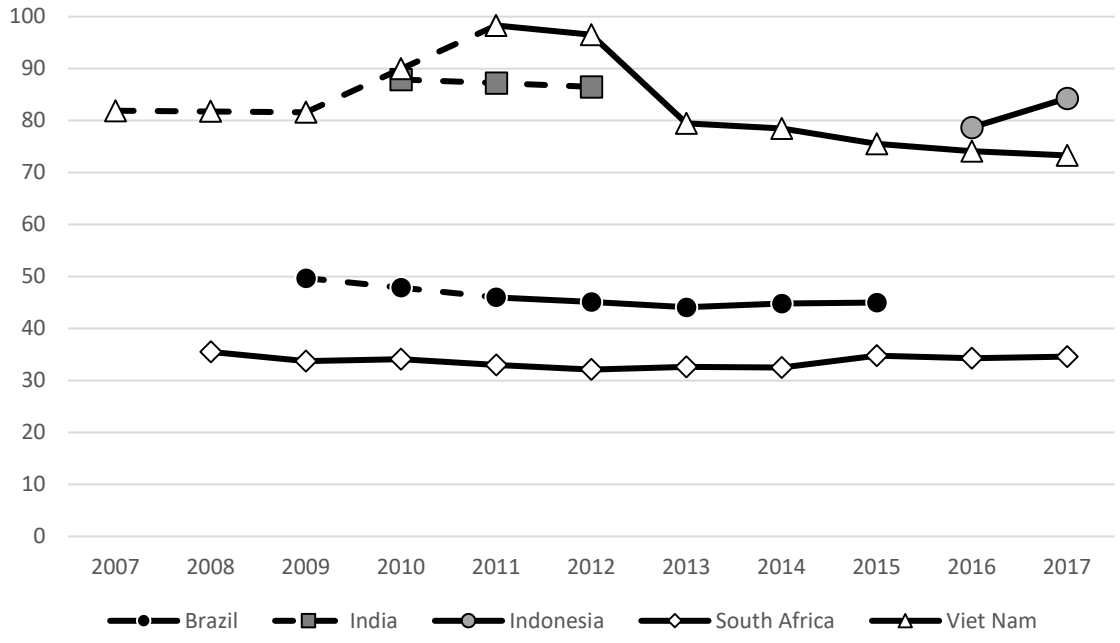
Source: ILOSTAT

Figure 4. Proportion of male and female workers in vulnerable employment in rapidly developing countries 1991-2017



Source: ILOSTAT

Figure 5. Informal employment as a percent of employment for selected middle-income countries (%)



Source: ILOSTAT