Chapter 1
Convention 87: Freedom of Association

Introduction

The right to freedom of association is a fundamental principle and right at work. Article 2 of Convention 87 (Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948) states that this right applies to “all workers without distinction whatsoever.” The Convention makes clear that regardless of the existence of an employment relationship, the manner in which work might be arranged, or the nature of the workplace, all workers (those who receive wages and those who are self-employed) have the right to form and join an organisation without previous authorisation”. Further, ILO Recommendation 204 (Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy Recommendation, 2015) specifically provides, at Article 16(a), that, “Members should take measures to achieve decent work and to respect, promote and realise the fundamental principles and rights at work for those in the informal economy, namely: freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining.”

Despite the provisions of Convention 87 and Recommendation 204, the ILO supervisory system (primarily the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CEACR) and the Committee on Freedom of Association (CFA)) has not yet developed a robust body of observations, direct requests, conclusions, or recommendations to guide governments, workers’, and employers’ organisations to address the many specific problems which arise for workers in the informal economy. This chapter seeks to provide guidance to workers and trade unions on the issues they may want to raise with the ILO supervisory system so that it can develop targeted observations and recommendations which workers can then use to advocate with their respective governments for necessary legal and institutional reforms. Of course, any such reforms should be made in full consultation with worker organisations, especially those in the informal economy.

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2. See, e.g., ILO Committee of Experts, General Observation on Convention 87 (2009) (“In many countries around the world, the informal economy represents between half and three-quarters of the overall workforce. The Committee, in reaffirming that Convention No. 87 is applicable to all workers and employers without distinction whatsoever, is heartened by innovative approaches taken by governments, workers’ and employers’ organisations over recent years to organize those in the informal economy but observes that these are few and far between and that the full benefits of the Convention rarely reach the informal economy.”), online at https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:13100:0::NO:13100_COMMENT_ID:P11110_COUNTRY_ID:P11110_COUNTRY_NAME:P11110_COMMENT_YEAR:3066686::2008. See also, Report of the CEACR, Observation on Convention 87, Turkey (2010), Report of the CEACR, Observation on Convention 87, Senegal (2011), CFA Report No. 326, Case no. 2103 (Mexico, 2001), CFA Report No. 363, Case no 2602 (Republic of Korea, 2012).
3. Indeed, the only exception is found in Article 9 of Convention 87, which gives states the flexibility at the national level to regulate the extent to which the convention applies to members of the police or the armed forces.
5. If your country has ratified Convention 87, comments may be sent either to the CEACR (depending on the reporting cycle), or a complaint may be filed to the CFA. If your country has not ratified Convention 87, you can still file a complaint to the CFA.
6. ILO Committee on Freedom of Association, Compilation of Decisions (2018) ¶ 1526 (“The Committee recalled that, according to the Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy Recommendation, 2015 (No. 204), in designing, implementing and evaluating policies
Below we have identified some common legal issues which could frustrate the exercise of the right to freedom of association for workers in the informal economy. The text notes where there are existing relevant observations by the ILO supervisory system, if any, and suggests how to best raise these issues. In all cases, it would be important that your submissions to the ILO supervisory system start with the statement that “all workers in the informal economy have the right to freedom of association” before raising specific concerns.

It is important to consult with organisations of workers in the informal economy in your country on the submissions in relation to each issue. If you are unable to identify national organisations, you can contact the International Domestic Workers Federation,7 StreetNet,8 HomeNet,9 and the International and the International Alliance of Waste Pickers10, among others, for assistance.

1. Scope Of Labour Law

A. Total or Partial Exclusion

The constitutions of many countries extend the right to freedom of association to all workers or all citizens. Further, many constitutions also enshrine a right to equality and freedom from discrimination, meaning the state cannot discriminate between workers due to different statuses of employment. Yet the labour and/or trade union laws of most countries, even those with the constitutional rights described above, exclude workers in the informal economy. They do so by defining the scope of application of those laws to those who are in an employment relationship. Depending on the law, the description of the employment relationship may be broad and include non-standard work and some categories of informal employment, such as domestic work, but in many cases the definition makes clear that the law only applies to workers who are in permanent full-time employment in the formal economy.

Some labour laws explicitly exclude some or all workers in the informal economy, such as:

- **Armenia**: Section 6 of the 2018 Law on Trade Unions applies only to those with employment contracts.11
- **Uganda**: Sections 2 and 3 of the Labour Unions Act of 2006 and Sections 2 and 25 of the Labour Disputes Arbitration and Settlement Act of 2006 applies only to employees employed by an employer under a contract of service.12
- **Croatia**: Section 4(1) of the Labour Act does not cover self-employed workers.13
- **United States**: Section 2(3) of the National Labor Relations Act specifically excludes domestic workers and agricultural workers from the term “employee”.14

**Recommendation:**

If workers in the informal economy in your country are excluded from the labour and/or trade union law because it only applies to those with an employment relationship or with an

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7 https://idwfed.org/
8 https://streetnet.org.za/
9 https://www.homenetinternational.org/
10 https://globalrec.org/
12 ILO, Committee of Experts, Direct Request on Convention 11 – Uganda (2011) (“while the 1995 Constitution provides that every person shall have the right to freedom of association, the existing legislation only covers employees in the formal sector, whereas agriculture forms a large part of the informal sector.” It also noted that “the National Union of Plantation and Agricultural Workers only covers workers in commercial agriculture and does not include medium-sized and smallholder farms where the majority of the workforce are.”) online at https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:13100:0::NO:13100:P13100_COMMENT_ID:P13100_COUNTRY_ID:2331510,103324
employment contract, this should be raised with the ILO supervisory system as it is a clear violation of Convention 87. In your submission, you should urge that the labour law be amended to apply to all workers - including those in the informal economy. Alternatively, you could urge the government to create a separate legal regime for self-employed workers in the informal economy that nevertheless extends an equal right to freedom of association, but which may also take into consideration the unique issues which may arise for workers in the informal economy. In any case, it will be important that the trade unions are able to represent workers (not only employees) and to negotiate with the entity(ies) that determine the worker’s terms and conditions of work – whether or not an employer.

If the problem in your country relates to the exclusions of specific occupations that are often associated with the informal economy from the protection of labour law (e.g., domestic workers, agricultural workers), you should also urge that these exclusions be repealed. To the extent relevant, you could also cite the constitutional provisions in your country that guarantee rights to freedom of association or trade union rights to “workers” (rather than employees) or to “everyone” or “all citizens” or which provide that all citizens be treated equally and without discrimination.

B. Non-Union Associations

In some countries, workers in the informal economy are not entitled to form or join a union but are permitted to form an association under laws used to establish NGOs or other civic associations. However, these laws do not afford the same rights and protections as laws protecting trade unions and their activities, including the right to bargain collectively or strike.

For example:

Bosnia Herzegovina & Republica Sprska: While workers in the informal economy may form associations (under the FBiH Act on Associations and Foundations and RS Act on Associations and Foundations), these associations do not provide the same guarantees to workers in terms of the right to organise and associated rights.15

Cambodia: Workers who are not permitted to form unions under the Trade Union Act, including most workers in the informal economy, may form associations under the Law on Associations and NGOs (LANGO). However, the law limits the ability of associations to draw up constitutions and rules, to elect representatives, to organise activities and formulate programs without interference of the public authorities.16

Pakistan: The Industrial Relations Act (IRA) 2012, the Balochistan Industrial Relations Act (BIRA) 2022, the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Industrial Relations Act (KPIRA) 2010, the Punjab Industrial Relations Act (PIRA) 2010 apply only to formal sector workers. Workers in the informal economy can only establish or join associations established under Societies Registration Act, 1860.17

Recommendation:

If workers in the informal economy in your country are only able to form an organisation under a law regulating associations, this should be raised with the ILO supervisory system. In your submission, you should explain that these workers have the right to form or join a union of their choosing under Article 2 of Convention 87. You should identify those portions of the labour law which defines a trade union to exclude workers who are not in an employment relationship. Further, it would be important to indicate the restrictions that the associations’

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Applying International Labour Standards to the Informal Economy

Applying International Labour Standards to the Informal Economy

Applying International Labour Standards to the Informal Economy

law imposes on the structure and governance of the association, the activities it may or may not undertake (for example limits on collective action or advocacy), the restrictions on sources of its funding, and the association’s ability to associate or affiliate with other organizations, including unions. Also, if relevant, be sure to explain that collective agreements entered into by an association usually cannot be enforced in the same way as a collective agreement concluded between and employer and a registered trade union.

2. Minimum Membership Number

The labour laws of most countries require a minimum number of members to apply for and to maintain legal registration. The existence of a minimum membership requirement is not itself a violation of freedom of association; however, “the number should be fixed in a reasonable manner so that the establishment of organisations is not hindered. What constitutes a reasonable number may vary according to the particular conditions in which a restriction is imposed.”

Bangladesh: The ILO noted that the law sets a minimum membership number of 20 percent of the total number of workers employed in the establishment in which a union is formed, and requested the government to “reduce[e] the minimum membership requirements to a reasonable level, at least for large enterprises, and ending the possible cancellation of trade unions that fall below minimum membership requirements.”

India: The ILO noted that section 4(1) of the Trade Union Act, 1926, as amended in 2001, [which imposes a minimum of at least 10 per cent or 100 workmen, whichever is less], imposes an excessively high minimum number of members for the formation of unions, at both enterprise level and industry level.

Myanmar: The ILO noted and “request[ed] the Government to take steps to review the 10 per cent membership requirement with the social partners concerned, with a view to amending section 4 of the Labour Organisations Law so that workers may form and join organisations of their own choosing without hindrance.”

The ILO has previously found a minimum of 20 members may be reasonable. In the context of the informal economy, or indeed in any country with a high number of micro or small enterprises, it is important to allow a relatively low number of workers to establish a union, as a high number such as in the examples above could create difficulties in forming a union.

Recommendation:

If the law in your country establishes a minimum membership requirement which creates obstacles to forming a union in the informal economy, this should be raised in your comments to the ILO. Explain how such requirements have or could frustrate the ability of workers in the informal economy to form a union and ask the Committee to urge the government to lower the minimum number necessary to form a union. As explained in the next section, this is particularly important if there is a high minimum number for the establishment of sectoral or occupation-based unions – which is a more common form of organisation in the informal economy given the lack of a direct employer in most cases.

3. Union Structure

For many workers in the informal economy, their “workplace” is not in an enterprise but in the public space (such as street vendors, waste pickers, informal transport operators) or in a private home, including their own home (such as domestic workers, care workers).
workers, and industrial outworkers/homeworkers). However, many labour laws require unions to form pyramidal structures, with the establishment of lower-level, enterprise-based unions, which then in turn affiliate to create sectoral or occupational unions. For workers with no fixed workplace, or multiple workplaces, this traditional workplace-based structure creates obvious problems. The more appropriate structure for workers in the informal economy may be a union organised on a sectoral, occupational, or geographical basis, which unifies workers by a common purpose rather than a common employer. However, many labour laws also require a high minimum number to form such sectoral or occupational unions, which creates yet another obstacle (even where such unions can be formed without first organizing enterprise-based unions).

Cambodia: The Law on Trade Unions provides for an enterprise union model whose requirements are often very difficult to meet by workers in the informal economy, and the law in practice does not allow for the creation of unions by sector or profession.23

Armenia: Section 2 of the Law on Trade Unions requires over half of workers’ organisations operating at the territorial level to form a sectoral union.24

Guatemala: Section 215(c) of the Labour Code requires a membership of “50 percent plus one” of the workers in the sector to establish a sectoral trade union.25

4. Other Requirements for Union Registration

The labour laws of most countries require a union to register with the government in order to have legal rights to operate and carry out its activities. Normally, workers seeking to form a union will have to complete and file an application. However, most applications were developed with the formal economy in mind and may contain requirements that would be difficult or impossible for workers in the informal economy to provide. Similarly, some laws require this information to also appear in the union's bylaws or constitution, which raises similar problems. As such, these provisions likely violate Article 3(2) of Convention 87, which states that “public authorities shall refrain from any interference which would restrict this right or impede the lawful exercise thereof.” The section below sets out instances in which the labour laws of a country likely infringe on the rights of workers in the informal economy and which amount to “previous authorisation” and an interference that “restricts this right or impedes the lawful exercise thereof.”27

- Many labour laws or regulations require an applicant to provide the name and address of the em-

Recommendation:

If these requirements (pyramid structure and/or high minimum membership for sectoral unions) are an issue in your country, you should raise them in your comments to the ILO supervisory system. You should ask the Committee to urge the government to amend its laws so that workers, including those in the informal economy, can form unions most suitable to their needs (by workplace, sector, occupation, geography, etc.) without the requirement to establish lower level, enterprise-level unions. Further, the minimum number to form a sectoral, occupational, or other union must be reasonable.26


26 See, e.g., CFA Compilation, ¶ 439 (finding a minimum number of 30 workers would be acceptable in the case of sectoral trade unions).

27 The Labour Court in South Africa held that where the labour laws prevent non-standard workers from exercising their right to freedom of association, the state is guilty of “previous authorisation”, which is in violation of its international law obligations. See, Simunye Workers’ Forum v Registrar of Labour Relations Case No. J 1375/2022 (South Africa)
Applying International Labour Standards to the Informal Economy

Employer, the workers of which the union is seeking to represent.28

**Recommendation:**

Such a requirement assumes an employment relationship. If this is an issue in your country, this should be raised in your comments to the ILO supervisory system. You should explain how such a requirement has or could frustrate the ability of workers in the informal economy to form a union and urge that the law be amended to waive such a requirement for unions of workers with no formal employer. Instead, a union of workers in the informal economy should be able to use another address, including the address of a supportive trade union or an NGO.

- Many labour laws require applicants to provide the address of the union’s office and/or include this information in its bylaws/constitution.29

**Recommendation:**

Unions of workers in the informal economy may not have the resources for office rent – especially at the time of registration.30 Such a requirement assumes assets which can be difficult even for some workers in the formal economy to raise. If this is the case in your country, this should be raised in your comments to the ILO. You should explain how such a requirement has or could frustrate the ability of workers in the informal economy to form a union and urge the law be amended to provide for alternatives where the union may be able to receive official correspondence, such as the offices of trade union or NGO.

- Some labour laws require the payment of fees for processing a union application.

**Recommendation:**

As with the previous point, such a requirement assumes assets which can be difficult even for some workers in the formal economy to raise. If this is the case in your country, this should be raised in your comments to the ILO supervisory system – especially where the fees are more than nominal. You should explain how such a requirement has or could block the ability of workers in the informal economy to form a union and urge that the law be amended to either waive such fees, or to reduce the fees to a truly nominal amount.

- Some labour laws require the founders of the proposed union to provide ID cards, including in some cases ID cards issued by the employer.31

**Recommendation:**

Many workers in the informal economy may not have a national ID card, and certainly not one provided by an employer. If this is an issue in your country, you should raise this in your comments to the ILO supervisory system and urge that the law be amended to waive workplace ID cards where there is no formal employer. If the law requires a national ID card, this too should be addressed, either by accepting alternate forms of identification, or require the state to provide ID on the spot and free of charge.

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28 See, e.g., Uganda, Labour Unions (Registration) Regulations, Regulation 5(e)(iv) (“An application for registration shall be accompanied by a statement of the following particulars — iv the name and address of each officer’s employer.”)

29 See, e.g., Argentina, Trade Union Associations Law, Article 10; Bangladesh, Labour Act, Section 179(1); Botswana, Forms A1, A2 and A3 under the Trade Unions and Employers’ Organization Act, 2004; Colombia, Substantive Labour Code Art 362; Guatemala, Labour Code, Article 221; Uganda, Labour Unions Act, Act 7 of 2006, Sec. 15; United States, LMRDA, Section 431(a).

30 In a similar situation, the CFA found that “it is contrary to Convention No. 87 to demand information from the founders of an organization such as their telephone number, marital status or home address (this indirectly excludes from membership workers with no fixed abode or those who cannot afford to pay for a telephone).” See, CFA Compilation of Decisions, ¶ 433.

31 See, e.g., Bangladesh, EPZ Labour Act Section 94 (requiring submission of national ID cards with application to form a Worker Welfare Association). See also Honduras, Labour Code Section 510 (requiring a having a citizenship or identity card to be a union officer).
• Some labour laws require union officers to be literate or have other formal educational requirements.\(^{32}\)

**Recommendation:**

The ILO has already found literacy requirements to be an obstacle to freedom of association, especially for migrant workers.\(^{33}\) This can be an even greater obstacle for some in the informal economy. If this is the case in your country, this should be raised in your comments to the ILO and urge that such a requirement be repealed.

• Some labour laws prohibit workers with a criminal record from running for union office\(^{34}\). However, informal work is often criminalized, and a criminal record based on vagrancy or illegal hawking (a charge commonly made against street vendors), would create obvious issues regarding registration.

**Recommendation:**

The ILO has already found requirements around criminal convictions can be an obstacle to freedom of association, especially when the activity condemned is not prejudicial to the aptitude and integrity required to exercise trade union office.\(^{35}\) If this is an issue, you should raise this in your comments to the ILO – especially if vagrancy, hawking or similar laws are on the books and have led to criminal sanctions against workers. Not only should the labour law be amended to remove overbroad prohibitions on criminal records, but of course the criminal laws themselves should be repealed or at the very least not applied to those who are otherwise lawfully carrying out their work.

5. UNION ASSETS

A. Management of Assets

Many labour laws require union assets to be deposited in banks,\(^{36}\) and for audits to be undertaken on a regular basis.\(^{37}\) Some labour laws also require a union to provide the name of the bank where union assets are held at the time of registration or designate a specific bank where union assets must be deposited.

**Recommendation:**

While it is appropriate for the law to require a union to safeguard their members’ assets, including by depositing those funds in a bank, minimum deposit requirements at many banks can frustrate the ability of unions in the informal economy to open or maintain an account. If this is an issue in your country, you should raise this in comments to the ILO, and urge that the government ensure that banks create accounts for unions in the informal economy with small asset requirements.

Similarly, while there is nothing wrong with requirements to audit accounts, some unions in the informal economy will have few assets and the costs of a professional audit may be prohibitively expensive. If this is an issue in your country, you should raise this in your comments to the ILO supervisory system and urge that the law be amended so that the audit requirement applies to unions with assets exceeding a certain amount, so it does not create problems.

\(^{32}\) See, e.g., Honduras, Labour Code Section 510; Cambodia, Trade Union Law Section 20.


\(^{34}\) See, e.g., Jordan, Labour Law Section 114 (“No person shall be elected to the membership of the administrative board of a trade union if he is not a registered worker or full-time employee therein, or if he has been convicted of a felony or of an offense involving dishonourable or immoral conduct.”)

\(^{35}\) See, OFA Compilation ¶ 625.

\(^{36}\) See, e.g., Eswatini, Industrial Relations Act, Section 29 (1) The constitution of an organisation shall include the following: (m) provision for the banking and investment of the organisations funds); Zambia, Industrial and Labour Relations Act, Application Form (“10. The provision for the vesting and safe custody of the funds and property of the representative body, and the banking and investment of the funds, maintenance, inspection and periodical auditing of its accounts and other financial records are set out in rule No. __________ of the constitution of the representative body.”)

\(^{37}\) See, e.g., Bangladesh, Bangladesh Labour Act Section 179; India, Trade Unions Act, Section 8, Myanmar, Labour Organizations Act, Section 10.
B. Sources of Income

Dues: Although the matter of payment of member dues should be left to unions to decide in their constitutions and bylaws, as well as the consequences of non-payment, some labour laws require a union to collect dues from their members. Of course, in the informal economy, members cannot always afford the payment of dues. In some cases, the failure to collect dues would disqualify counting the non-paying member for the purpose of obtaining or maintaining union registration, or in determining which union is most representative for purposes of bargaining.

Nicaragua: Section 32 of the Regulation on Trade Union Associations (1998) lays down certain grounds on which a worker may lose his or her trade union membership, including non-payment of dues, without explaining the reasons, for a period of three months. The ILO held that this is a matter which should be determined by the workers themselves in their statutes and not by the public authority. Of note, some of the more established unions of workers in the informal economy have been able to register themselves as a trade union in countries that allow their registration and have also registered an association that accepts donations and supports the trade union. This is the case for the Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) in India and the La Unión de Trabajadores y Trabajadoras de la Economía Popular (UTEP) in Argentina.

Grants and Donations: Some unions in the informal economy may depend to some extent on external sources of funding, including from national or foreign donors. Unfortunately, some labour laws impose limitations or prohibitions on receiving grants or donations, or more specifically foreign grants or donations. This has an obvious impact on the ability of such unions to support their members’ activities.

Algeria: The ILO requested the Government to amend section 534 to remove the requirement to obtain prior authorization from the public authorities concerning donations and bequests from trade unions or foreign organizations.

Russia: The Law on Control of Activities of Persons Under Foreign Influence defines foreign influence as a support provided by, among others, international and foreign organizations, and non-compliance with the requirements of the law entails a dissolution of the organization in question. Trade unions are not exempted from the legislation.

Recommendation:

Dues collection is important to the sustainability of a trade union and helps avoid the pitfalls of over-reliance on long-term foundation support. However, the setting of dues, collection of dues and the consequences of non-payment should be a matter for the union to decide. If the law in your country legislates the payment of dues or the consequences of non-payment, this should be raised with the ILO supervisory system. The ILO should be asked to remind the government that such matters should be left to union constitutions and bylaws.

Recommendation:

The ILO Committee on Freedom of Association has made clear that, “Provisions which restrict the freedom of trade unions to administer and

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Applying International Labour Standards to the Informal Economy

utilize their funds as they wish for normal and lawful trade union purposes are incompatible with principles of freedom of association. If the law in your country restricts the sources of union income, including donations from foreign organizations, this should be raised with the ILO supervisory system. The ILO should be asked to urge the government to repeal restrictions of foreign funding for legitimate trade union activity.

6. Concerted Activity

The ILO legal framework recognizes a universal human right to engage in collective bargaining and collective action, emanating from the right to freedom of association. This right should be exercised without regard as to the status of the workers under national law as a worker, employee, or other category. However, workers in the informal economy can face particular obstacles to exercise these rights.

- In some legal systems, the right to strike is an individual right. The right can be exercised at the initiative of the individual, though almost always collectively. See, e.g., France. In other countries, the right requires no authorization and may be exercised by any group of workers, unionized or not. See, e.g., Italy, Uruguay, South Africa, and Hungary. In others, the right is a collective right which may only be exercised by a trade union. See, e.g., Germany. In those countries where the right to strike belongs only to the union, this presents an obvious problem in those countries where workers in the informal economy are unable to form or join a union, in law or in practice.

Recommendation:

The CFA has determined that it is not a violation of the right to freedom of association “making the right to call a strike the sole preserve of trade union organizations.” However, it would be useful to raise this issue with the ILO if the law or practice makes it difficult or impossible for workers in the informal economy to form or join a trade union. It cannot be consistent with principles of freedom of association to vest the right to strike only in a union while at the same time denying the right to form a union to any group of workers.

- Some laws limit the use of the right to strike to the exhaustion of a collective bargaining process under formal procedures set forth in the labour code. However, if workers in the informal economy have no right to bargain collectively, because they are unable to form a union or are only able to form non-union associations, they would not be able to strike legally. The ILO has for many years emphasized that the right to strike is broader and should be exercised outside of the collective bargaining context.

Recommendation:

If the law in your country limits legal strikes to the exhaustion of the collective bargaining process, it would be useful to raise this issue with the ILO - especially if the law or practice make it difficult or impossible for workers in the informal economy to strike. Of course, the ILO should urge governments to ensure that workers in the informal economy have the right to form a union and bargain collectively, whether in the labour code or similar law, and ensure that the right to strike is also protected.

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41 ILO, CFA Compilation, ¶683.
42 CFA Report 376, Case no 2786, Dominican Republic (2015) (“The Committee requested the government to take the necessary measures to ensure that workers who are self-employed could fully enjoy trade union rights for the purposes of furthering and defending their interest, including by the means of collective bargaining.”)


44 See CFA Compilation ¶756.
45 See CFA Compilation ¶766.
7. Specific Groups of Workers

A. Migrant Workers

In many countries, either regular or irregular migrant workers are unable to form or join unions or are unable to run for office in said unions. As such, it may be difficult to form a union in occupations dominated by migrant workers. The ILO has found that such limitations violate the right to freedom of association of migrant workers.\(^{46}\) Of course, migrant workers often form a large portion of the workforce of the informal economy, often because of barriers to entering the formal workplace, including for reasons of immigration status.

**Kuwait:** The ILO noted that Section 99 of Labour Law of 2010 requires Kuwaiti nationality to establish a trade union organization and Ministerial Order No. 1 of 1964 requires migrant workers to have a work permit and to have resided in the country for five years in order to join a trade union organization.\(^{47}\)

**Mauritius:** The ILO noted that Section 13 of the ERA 2008 requires non-citizens to hold a work permit in order to be members of a trade union.\(^{48}\)

**Recommendation:**

If the law in your country limits the right of either regular or irregular migrant workers to form a union, or to hold union office, you should raise this as a violation of the right to freedom of association generally. Be sure to note that such limitation has a particular impact on work in the informal economy – especially those occupations where migrant workers predominate. You should also note if the law in your country requires a work permit. While countries generally have the right to determine who enters the country for the purpose of work, once a worker is employed in a country, the worker’s migratory status should not create an obstacle to exercise their freedom of association.

B. Women

As the Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights explained in its General Comment, “women are overrepresented in the informal economy, for example as casual workers, home workers or own account workers, which in turn exacerbates inequalities in areas such as remuneration, health and safety, rest, leisure and paid leave.”\(^{49}\) The UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association further noted that, “The discriminatory impact of excluding workers in the informal economy from the right to organize is hence multiply felt, as it both restricts such workers’ ability to access their right to freedom of association as such, and prevents them from using that right from advocating for and hence improving their access to other social and economic rights.”\(^{50}\) Moreover, this discrimination must be understood in intersectional terms. As the CERD Committee recently explained regarding the situation of domestic workers in Zimbabwe, the informal sector and domestic work are “both sectors in which Black women predominate and face low wages, poor working conditions and racist dehumanizing treatment from employers and customers of different racial or ethno-linguistic identities which is reminiscent of the pre-independence era.”\(^{51}\)

**Recommendation:**

If women in your country are concentrated in the informal economy, or in specific occupations in the informal economy, and that the law denies such workers the right to freedom

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\(^{46}\) See CFA Compilation ¶¶ 320-24.


\(^{49}\) CESCR, General Comment No. 23 on the right to just and favourable conditions of work (2016), para. 47(d), available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/5550a0b14.html.


\(^{51}\) CERD Committee, Concluding observations on the combined 5th to 11th periodic reports of Zimbabwe, UN Doc. CERD/C/ZWE/CO/5-11 (16 Sept. 2021), para. 31.
Applying International Labour Standards to the Informal Economy

of association, in whole or in part, the gendered dimension should be raised in your comments to the ILO supervisory system. Moreover, if the impacts affect specific women workers as a result of race, ethnicity, caste, sexual orientation or gender identity, or other bases of discrimination, it would be important to highlight this while reporting to the ILO.

8. Specific Occupations or Arrangements of Work

A. “Gig” Work

The ILO’s supervisory bodies have considered the application of ILS, both in law and practice, in the context of the platform economy. In its 2020 General Survey, the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CEACR) emphasized that “the full range of fundamental principles and rights at work are applicable to platform workers in the same way as to all other workers, irrespective of their employment status”. The CEACR has referred explicitly to the Employment Relationship Recommendation, 2006 (No. 198) and the number of possible indicators that can be considered to determine the existence of an employment relationship. It has also indicated that “the principle of the primacy of facts is helpful, particularly in situations where the employment relationship is deliberately disguised”.

Recommendation:

Some work on digital platforms is clearly a misclassified employment relationship, while other work is less clearly so. In any case, whether an employee, self-employed, or some intermediate status, workers have a right to freedom of association. Thus, if the law in your country does not recognize the right of workers hired through digital platforms to exercise their freedom of association, this should be raised with the ILO supervisory system and urge the law to be amended accordingly.

B. Agricultural Work

While not all agricultural work is in the informal economy, much agricultural work tends to be. This often includes seasonal workers and day labourers. The ILO has promoted the right of agricultural workers to freely associate since 1921, via Convention 11, in recognition of the fact that they were often specifically excluded. Indeed, Article 1 provides, “Each Member... which ratifies this Convention undertakes to secure to all those engaged in agriculture the same rights of association and combination as to industrial workers, and to repeal any statutory or other provisions restricting such rights in the case of those engaged in agriculture.” However, over 100 years later, agricultural workers, and especially those in the informal economy, face significant obstacles to the exercise of the right to freedom of association.

Pakistan: While the Industrial Relations Act 2012; Punjab Industrial Relations Act, 2010 and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Industrial Relations Act, 2010 provide in their section 1(3) that they apply to “all persons employed in any establishment or industry” in the covered territory, and even though agriculture does not figure among the activities explicitly excluded from the scope of these Acts, they do not appear to cover agricultural establishments.

Cook Islands: While Section 8 of the Employment

52 See, for example, CEACR observations on CS8 (Syria 2012, Ireland 2017, Haiti 2012); CFA Case No. 2602 (Korea), No. 2786 (Dominican Republic).
54 Id., ¶ 327.
55 Ibid.
56 Id., ¶ 230.
57 Countries which have ratified Convention 141 have an obligation to promote the development of rural workers’ organizations.
58 ILO, Committee of Experts, Observation on Convention 11 – Pakistan (2023), online at https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:13100:0::NO:13100:P13100_COMMENT_ID:P11110_COUNTRY_ID:P11110_COUNTRY_NAME:P11110_COMMENT_YEAR:4323139:103166:Pakistan2022 ("the Committee urges the Government to take adequate measures to ensure that federal and provincial Industrial Relations Acts are amended so as to expressly cover all agricultural workers, including those in the informal sector, and to enable them to enjoy the rights conferred by the Convention in law and in practice.")
Relations Act applies to all industries, including agriculture, Section 3(b) excludes independent contractors under a contract of services. The ILO therefore questioned whether farmers working on their own account would be covered by the law.\(^{59}\)

**Recommendation:**

As much work in agriculture is informal, whether in law or in practice, if the law in your country does not recognize the right of “all those engaged in agriculture” to exercise their freedom of association, this should be raised with the ILO supervisory system. You should urge that the law be amended to extend the right to freedom of association to such workers.

### C. Domestic Workers

Domestic workers have frequently been excluded from labour law, including the right to freedom of association. The impact on domestic workers as a result is unsurprising. As the ILO explained:

At present, domestic workers often face very low wages, excessively long hours, have no guaranteed weekly day of rest and at times are vulnerable to physical, mental, and sexual abuse or restrictions on freedom of movement. Exploitation of domestic workers can partly be attributed to gaps in national labour and employment legislation, and often reflects discrimination along the lines of sex, race, and caste.\(^{60}\)

At its 100th Session in June 2011, the ILO took the landmark step of adopting the Domestic Workers Convention No. 189 (C 189), and the corresponding supplementary Recommendation No. 201 (R 201). Article 1(b) of the Convention covers “any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship”. The Convention “includes domestic workers engaged on a part-time basis and those working for multiple employers, nationals and nonnationals, as well as both live-in and live-out domestic workers.”\(^{61}\) The Convention’s definition of “domestic worker” excludes solely those workers who perform domestic work “only occasionally or sporadically and not on an occupational basis” (Article 1(c)). The expression “and not on an occupational basis” was intended to ensure the inclusion in the definition of “domestic worker” of day labourers and similar precarious workers, including care workers.\(^{62}\) Article 3(2) of Convention 189 explicitly recognizes that the right to freedom of association applies to domestic workers and requires states to guarantee its promotion and realization. However, the right to freedom of association remains elusive for many, including as a result of frequent isolation in the home.

**Italy:** While Italy extends the right to freedom of association to domestic workers, it questioned the extent to which domestic workers’ freedom of association and collective bargaining rights are effectively promoted and ensured in practice.\(^{63}\)

**Ecuador:** The minimum membership requirement of 30 workers and the requirement that workers must be from the same undertaking prevents most domestic workers from forming unions. Factors including a high degree of dependence on the employer and the frequent isolation of domestic workers make it particularly difficult for domestic workers to establish and join unions.\(^{64}\)

\(^{59}\) ILO, Committee of Experts, Direct Request on Convention 11 – Cook Islands (2019), online at https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:13100:0::NO:13100:P11110_COUNTRY_ID:P11110_COUNTRY_NAME:P11110_COMMENT_YEAR:3959546,103291,Cook%20Islands,2018 (“The Committee requests the Government to indicate whether self-employed workers (farmers working on their own or within their family) enjoy the rights of association and combination under the Convention and, if so, to indicate the relevant legislative provisions. If no legislation provision provides for this right, the Committee requests the Government to consider, in consultation with the social partners, the amendment of the law with a view to allowing “all those engaged in agriculture” the full exercise of freedom of association.”)


\(^{61}\) ILO General Survey (2022), ¶ 569.

\(^{62}\) Id ¶562-63.


Recommendation:

If the law in your country does not fully extend the right to freedom of association to domestic workers, this should be raised in your comments to the ILO supervisory system. Even if the right is protected in law, you should identify practical obstacles to the exercise of these rights, including dependence on employers, isolation, threats, or coercion, among other factors.

D. Home Workers

The Home Work Convention, No. 177 (1996) defines home work as “work carried out by a person (i) in his or her home or in other premises of his or her choice, other than the workplace of the employer; (ii) for remuneration; (iii) which results in a product or service as specified by the employer, irrespective of who provides the equipment, materials or other inputs used". Eleven countries have so far ratified the Convention. The CEACR's 2020 General Survey, Promotion Employment and Decent Work in a Changing Landscape, identified three categories of homeworkers:

- Teleworkers
- Home-based Digital Platform work
- Homeworkers in (domestic and global) supply chains (also known as industrial outwork or subcontracted outworkers)

Article 4 of Convention 177 provides that states must promote “equality of treatment between homeworkers and other wage earners” and “in particular, in relation to: (a) the homeworkers' right to establish or join organisations of their own choosing and to participate in the activities of such organisations”. According to a recent ILO publication, countries have taken various approaches to regulating freedom of association for home workers.

For example, homeworkers’ right to organize is expressly recognized in the Philippines. In Argentina, home work legislation regulates the registration of professional associations of employers and workers, respectively, which may, inter alia, request the competent authority to convene wage committees. In Chile, the employer must inform remote workers and teleworkers in writing about the existence of trade unions that are legally constituted in the enterprise. In Spain, remote workers may exercise their collective representative rights in accordance with the provisions of the law. For this purpose, these workers must be assigned to a specific work centre of the company. In Germany, legislation provides for the establishment of sectoral home work committees, composed of workers’ and employers’ representatives, with a chair appointed by public authorities. The right of homeworkers to organize is also recognized in Bulgaria.

However, many home-based workers are excluded from labour laws because they are considered to be independent contractors under the labour law. In other cases, such workers are included for only limited purposes, such as for taxation and social security. In others, they are included only if they have a formal contract of employment. Countries have taken various approaches to bring home workers into the scope of labour law.

Expanding the definition of ‘employer’ to include intermediaries, contractors, and sub-contractors.

- Section 274 of Ecuador’s Labour Code (as amended in 2018) defines employers in homework as ‘manufacturers, traders, intermediaries, contractors, subcontractors, pieceworkers, etc., who give or commission work in this manner. It is immaterial whether or not they supply the materials and tools, or whether they fix the wage by the piece, by work or in any other way’.

- Article 155 of Philippines Labour Code defines the employer of a homeworker as “any person, including intermediaries, contractors, and sub-contractors..."
natural or artificial, who for his account or benefit or, on behalf of any person residing outside the country, directly or indirectly, or through an employee, agent contractor, sub-contractor, or any other person:

I. Delivers, or causes to be delivered, any goods, articles, or materials to be processed or fabricated in or near a home and thereafter to be returned or distributed in accordance with his directions; or

II. Sells any goods, articles, or materials to be processed or fabricated in or about a home and then rebuys them after such processing or fabrication, either by himself or through some other person.

Often homeworkers do not know who they work for and if they and their organisations try to find out, they are threatened with losing their employment. This has implications for exercising their right to freedom of association and collective bargaining. Paragraph 5 of Recommendation No. 184 states that the law should provide for the employer to furnish homeworkers with the name and address of the employer and intermediary. Paragraph 18 of R 184 states that “Where an intermediary is used, the intermediary and the employer should be made jointly and severally liable for payment of the remuneration due to homeworkers, in accordance with national laws.”

Expanding the definition of “employee”: Paragraph 12 of Recommendation No. 198 calls on Members to define the conditions (such as criteria and indicators) applied to determine the existence of an employment relationship, and refers to two such conditions, namely subordination and dependence. Paragraph 13 of Recommendation No. 198 provides a list of indicators that could also serve to determine the employment status of homeworkers (see chapter II).  

- Section 200A of the Labour Relations Act No 65 of 1995 (South Africa) includes seven rebuttable presumptions that the worker is an employee. For example, where the worker is provided with the tools of the trade, the onus is on the employer to prove that they did not provide the tools.

- Section 6 of Consolidation of Labour Laws (Brazil) states that ‘no distinction shall be made between work performed in the employer's establishment, domestic work and remote work where the criteria for presumption of an employment relationship have been met’.

- Section 1 of Act No. 3846/2010 (Greece) provides that “the agreement between the employer and the employee for the provision of services or work, for a fixed or indefinite period of time, especially where work is paid by the piece, telework, homework, shall be presumed to disguise a dependent employment contract if such work is provided in person, exclusively or primarily to the same employer for nine consecutive months.”

- Section 1 of Act No. 877 (Italy) on rules protecting homeworkers ‘provides that subordination, for purposes of the Act, occurs when the homeworker is required to comply with the guidelines of the entrepreneur concerning the execution and the characteristics and requirements of the work.’

**Recommendation:**

If the law in your country does not fully extend the right to freedom of association to home-based workers, this should be raised in your comments to the ILO supervisory system. Identify how the law excludes home-based workers, whether it is an explicit exclusion, a too narrow definition of employer or employee, or another reason. Where home-based work is a form of disguised employment or non-standard work,

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71 ILO General Employment Survey (2020) at 210 – 212.


73 https://www2.senado.leg.br/bdsf/bitstream/handle/id/535488/cit_e_normas_correlatas_1ed.pdf

74
that should also be explained. You may want to point the ILO to some of the examples above as to how best to address these issues.

9. Other Types of Laws Affecting Work in the Informal Economy

While labour laws present some of the greatest challenges to workers in the informal economy, other laws of general applicability can also impact workers in the informal economy.

For example, many countries have laws prohibiting unpermitted public gatherings or gatherings over a certain size. This could block the ability of unions in the informal economy to hold a union meeting in the public places where they work. For example, the law of Bangladesh gives the government broad discretion to ban assemblies of more than four persons.

**Recommendation:**

If the law in your country limits public gatherings, including by requiring prior authorization or by capping the number of people who may lawfully gather in public, it would be useful to raise this issue with the ILO supervisory system - especially if such limits have resulted in unions being unable to obtain a permit or if a gathering was halted for lacking a permit or exceeding the maximum size of a gathering.

Further, some countries have laws which prohibit the otherwise lawful activity of the worker, which of course also impacts their ability to associate and form a union. These often take the form of vagrancy or hawking laws which are used to criminalize the work of street vendors and waste pickers. Indeed, vagrancy laws remain widespread across former British colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean. These include:

- Nigerian Criminal Code Act, §§ 249–50
- Criminal Procedure Act § 6 (Act No. 3/1873) (Antigua & Barbuda)

Importantly, the African Court on Human and People’s Rights issued an advisory opinion in 2020 that found that vagrancy laws violated the rights to liberty, equality, dignity, a fair trial, freedom of movement, and to be free from discrimination.

**Recommendation:**

If the law in your country prohibits or criminalizes street vending, waste picking/recycling or other work undertaken in public places, directly or through regulatory requirements which are unreasonable or impossible to meet, it would be useful to raise this issue with the ILO supervisory system. If one’s work is unreasonably prohibited, it is therefore impossible to form or join a trade union. Further, many labour laws contain provisions which prohibit the union from promoting illegal activity. Such a provision applied to street vending, recycling and other work would obviously undermine the right to freedom of association of workers carrying out legitimate work.

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75 See, Christopher Roberts, Discretion and the Rule of Law: The Significance and Endurance of Vagrancy and Vagrancy-Type Laws in England, the British Empire and the British Colonial World, 33 Duke Journal of Comparative and International Law 181, 246 (2023) (finding such laws “have been used to force populations to work, both by penalizing non-work and by forcing potential workers into the labor force through detention and fines. Over and above their use to coerce work directly, they have served to limit populations’ bargaining power, both by limiting their ability to freely negotiate their terms of work and by limiting their mobility.”)

76 Id.