THE SPACE OF STREET VENDING IN URBAN POLICY PLANNING, GHANA: STRATEGIES AND PRACTICES TOWARDS INCLUSION

BARNABAS ADDI (10706684)

Politecnico di Milano
School of Architecture Urban Planning
Construction Engineering

Supervisored by
Professor Carolina Pacchi

Thesis submitted in Partial Fulfillment for an MSc in Urban Planning and Policy Design

Photo credit: unsplash.com

Author

Barnabas Addi (10706684)
barnabas.addi@mail.polimi.it

Politecnico di Milano
School of Architecture Urban Planning
Construction Engineering

Submitted in partial fulfillment for an
MSc. in Urban Planning and Policy Design

Supervisor

Professor Carolina Pacchi

Department of Architecture and Urban Planning, Politecnico di Milano

POLITECNICO
MILANO 1863

Photo credit: Derrick Sumpter Jr

Acknowledgement

To God be the glory and honour for such grace, the Spirit of wisdom and the strength to going through my Master's programme in Urban Planning and Policy Design. His wisdom has guided me during the course of this thesis research. ***"I will praise the Lord, who counsels me; even at night my heart instructs me. Therefore my heart is glad and my tongue rejoices; my body also will rest secure.." (Psalm 16:7,9).*** I am heartily grateful to my supervisor, Professor Carolina Pacchi, for her forbearance, dedication and invaluable constructive comments and suggestions throughout the research process. Most importantly, the conducive and friendly environment that enabled my confidence in pursuing this research. I really appreciated your motherly gesture you've shown me.

A special thanks to my parents, Mr John Baptist Dwebajia Addi and Mrs Stephanie Kumangamo Addi, for their constant prayers and support in pursuing my master's programme. May God richly bless you and keep you to old age. **I dedicate this thesis to honour my mother, Stephanie, who did not have the privilege to sit in a classroom,** but dedicated to prayers and wished best of it to her children in their academic careers. **Mummy! This one is for you**

I also wish to acknowledge the support of my friends during my career in Polimi and the development of my thesis, particularly to Dr Raphael Anamasia Ayambire and Gideon Abagna Azunre (PhD) for their assistance. To the rest of my professors, studio group members and friends, I appreciate you all for making my Polimi experience a great one to remember.

Abstract

Globally, urban public spaces have become important resources for the urban poor. The majority of the urban poor and low-income urbanities indulge in street vending to eke their living in the cities. It has become an integral part of the growth of cities and the use of urban public spaces, particularly in cities of the global South. The visible expression of these activities in rapidly urbanizing cities and their urban public spaces present space management problems to city authorities and urban planning practitioners. Conventional literature has documented a cloud of traditional planning practices and policy tools; eviction, force relocation, harassment, raiding and confiscation of vendors' wares, among others, to regulate these activities. These approaches have repeatedly proven futile, and vendors have remained resilient and defied all forms of intolerance. The intricacies and trajectories of this phenomenon are evident in the fast urbanizing Ghanaian cities as city authorities continue to battle with vendors over the control and use of these spaces. This thesis argued that using these aggressive and repressive measures to manage street vending is ethically inappropriate and practically ineffective. They have consistently failed and proven incapable of removing these activities from urban spaces. Therefore, urban planning practitioners and policy makers must resort to inclusive and spatial integrative approaches to deal with the complexity of street vending. This thesis aimed to explore more effective and inclusive strategies for regulating street vending in cities in response to this call.

The study shows that street vending activities in Ghana are growing substantively due to rapid informal urbanization and the lack of employment opportunities for youth in the cities. However, the regulation of these informal activities are characterized by ambiguous regulatory frameworks: on the one hand, they quite endure vending, on the other hand, intolerance due to the pursuit of modernity and world-class cities. The result further indicated that policies trajectories of Ghana ardently contributed to the ambivalent actions and exclusion of street vending in the cities.

Learning from emerging practices, the analysis of the case studies – The Indian National Policy/Act on Street Vendors, Warwick Urban Renewal Project and Memorandum of Understanding between the street vendors association (FEPTIWUL) and Monrovia City Corporation) – indicated that street vending can be effectively managed if policies turn to be more inclusive and spatially integrating vending spaces in cities rather than the repressive methods. The lessons from the case studies are juxtaposed with the experience of Ghana to develop a robust policy strategy for regulating street vending in Ghanaian cities. Four key policy strategies are recommended; (1) A national policy on the street vending, (2) demarcate vending sites and recognize natural emerged vending sites in cities and spatially integrate them at all levels of urban planning, (3) Design and develop structures infrastructure for street vendors, and (4) involve street vendors in the urban policy process and harness their potential in managing urban spaces.

Abstract

A livello globale, gli spazi pubblici urbani sono diventati risorse importanti per i poveri. La maggior parte dei essi e delle città a basso reddito si dedicano alla vendita ambulante per guadagnarsi da vivere nelle città. È diventato parte integrante della crescita delle città e dell'uso degli spazi pubblici urbani, in particolare nelle città del Sud del mondo. L'espressione visibile di queste attività nelle città in rapida urbanizzazione e nei loro spazi pubblici urbani presenta problemi di gestione dello spazio alle autorità cittadine e ai professionisti della pianificazione urbana. La letteratura convenzionale ha documentato una nuvola di pratiche di pianificazione tradizionali e strumenti politici; sfratto, trasferimento forzato, molestie, razzie e confisca delle merci dei venditori, tra le altre cose, per regolare queste attività. Questi approcci si sono ripetutamente dimostrati inutili e i fornitori sono rimasti resilienti, sfidando ogni forma di intolleranza. Le complessità e le sfaccettature di questo fenomeno sono evidenti nelle città ghanesi in rapida urbanizzazione mentre le autorità cittadine continuano a combattere con i venditori per il controllo e l'uso di questi spazi. Questa tesi ha sostenuto che l'utilizzo di queste misure aggressive e repressive per gestire la vendita ambulante sia eticamente inappropriato e sostanzialmente inefficace. Hanno costantemente fallito e si sono dimostrati incapaci di rimuovere queste attività dagli spazi urbani. Pertanto, i professionisti della pianificazione urbana e i responsabili politici devono ricorrere ad approcci inclusivi e integrativi spaziali per affrontare la complessità della vendita ambulante. Questa tesi mira ad esplorare strategie più efficaci e inclusive per regolare la vendita ambulante nelle città in risposta a questa chiamata.

Lo studio mostra che le attività di vendita ambulante in Ghana stanno crescendo notevolmente a causa della rapida urbanizzazione informale e della mancanza di opportunità di lavoro per i giovani nelle città. Tuttavia, la regolamentazione di queste attività è caratterizzata da quadri normativi ambigui: da un lato, sopportano abbastanza le vendite, dall'altro, l'intolleranza dovuta alla ricerca della modernità e delle città di livello mondiale. Il risultato ha inoltre indicato che le traiettorie politiche del Ghana hanno contribuito ardentemente alle azioni ambivalenti e all'esclusione della vendita ambulante nelle città.

Imparando dalle pratiche emergenti, l'analisi dei casi di studio – The Indian National Policy/Act on Street Vendors, Warwick Urban Renewal Project e Memorandum of Understanding tra l'associazione dei venditori ambulanti (FEPTIWUL) e Monrovia City Corporation – ha indicato che la vendita ambulante può essere gestite efficacemente se le politiche diventassero più inclusive e integrando spazialmente gli spazi di vendita nelle città piuttosto che utilizzando metodi repressivi. Le lezioni tratte dai casi di studio sono giustapposte all'esperienza del Ghana per sviluppare una solida strategia politica per la regolamentazione della vendita ambulante nelle città del Ghana. Si raccomandano quattro strategie politiche chiave: (1) Una politica nazionale sulla vendita ambulante, (2) delimitare i siti di vendita e riconoscere i siti di vendita naturali emersi nelle città e integrarli spazialmente a tutti i livelli di pianificazione urbana, (3) Progettare e sviluppare infrastrutture per le strutture per i venditori ambulanti e (4) coinvolgere i venditori ambulanti nel processo di politica urbana e sfruttare il loro potenziale nella gestione degli spazi urbani

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements III

Abstract IV

Abstract V

List of Tables XI

List of Figures XII

Acronyms XIII

Chapter One 1

General Introduction 1

1.1 Stage setting: Urbanization and the informal economy 2

1.2 Problem Statement and Rationale 5

1.4 Situationalizing and Scope of the study 9

1.5 Research Organization 4

Chapter Two 15

Diving through Concepts and Theories 15

2.1 Chapter preview 16

2.2 Complexity Theory. 16

2.3 Informality and the Informal economy 20

2.3.1 Ecocnomic informality *24*

2.3.2 Spatial informality *25*

2.3.3 Spatial dimension of informalities *26*

2.4 The Right to the City 28

2.5 The Concept of Public Space 32

2.6 Summary 33

Chapter Three 37

The informal economy and street vending: A global picture 37

3.1 Introduction **38**

3.2 The informal economy and street vending **38**

3.2.1 Components of the informal economy ***41***

3.2.2 Driving forces of the informal economic ***43***

3.3 How big is the informal economy? A statistical picture **44**

3.3.1 Magnitude and composition of the informal economy ***44***

3.4 Street Vending as a global phenomenon **47**

3.4.1 What Street vending entails ***47***

3.4.2 Why Street vending? Characteristics and working conditions ***49***

3.4.3 Size and composition of street vending ***51***

3.4.4 Facts about Street vending ***53***

3.4.5 Contribution of street vending to cities ***53***

3.6 Street vendors facing city authorities; Global overview **54**

3.6.1 Urban planning and the informal street vending ***55***

3.6.2 Urban Planning response to street vending (exclusion and punitive mechanisms) ***56***

3.6.3 Street vending and the law ***59***

3.6.4 Towards inclusive practices ***59***

Chapter Four **62**

Contextualizing Street Vending: Ghana's Experience **62**

4.1 Introduction **63**

4.2 Background of the Study **63**

4.2.1 Profile of Ghana ***63***

4.2.3 The Local Government system of Ghana ***64***

4.2.4 Cities' profile ***65***

4.3 The informal economy in Ghana **70**

4.3.1 A brief history of the informal economy and street vending in Ghana ***70***

4.3.2 Components of the informal economy in Ghana *71*

4.3.3 Statistical brief of Ghana's informal economy *71*

4.3.4 Compositions and size of the informal economy in Ghana *72*

4.4 Street vending in Kumasi **74**

4.4.1 Street vendor and the use of public spaces in Kumasi *75*

4.4.2 Typologies of street vendors identified in Kumasi city *78*

4.4.3 Constructing the problem of street vending *80*

4.4.3.1 City Authorities *80*

4.4.4 Legal and Regulatory Frameworks to street vending in Ghana *84*

4.5 Summary **86**

Chapter Five **89**

The space of street vending in urban policies and planning responses ... **89**

5.1 Introduction **90**

5.2 Recognition of street vending in urban policy **90**

5.2.1 Results and discussion on the policy assessment *91*

5.3 Planning reaction to street vending in Ghana **97**

5.3.1 Eviction through decongestion *98*

5.3.2 Relocation approach *100*

5.3.3 Harassment *101*

5.3.4 Merchandise Confiscation. *102*

5.4 Pros and Cons of the ongoing policy in regulation street vendors **102**

5.5 Street vendors self-mobilization: Towards recognition and inclusion **104**

5.6: Summary **108**

Chapter Six **110**

Research Methodology and Selection of Cases Studies **110**

6.1 Introduction **111**

6.2 Research Methodology **111**

6.2.1 Research Design ***111***

6.2.1.1 Data collection process 111

6.2.1.2 Analytical Method 114

6.2.2 Policy Assessment Methodology ***114***

6.2.2.1 Policy analysis criteria 115

6.2.3 Selection of case studies and data collection technique ***115***

Chapter Seven **123**

Case Studies **123**

7.1 Introduction **124**

7.2.1 Context brief and policy overview ***124***

7.2.2 The policy development process ***125***

7.2.3 The Content of the Policy ***126***

7.2.4 Policy Implementation ***128***

7.2.5 Critical Analysis of the policy/the Act Content ***131***

7.3 Case Study II: Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project, Durban, South Africa **132**

7.3.1 Project overview ***132***

7.3.2 Project design process ***134***

7.3.3 Project design strategy ***135***

7.3.4 Implementation ***135***

7.4 Case study III: Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between street vendors (FEPTIWUL) and the Monrovia City Corporation (MCC) **137**

7.4.1 Project Overview ***137***

7.4.2 The MoU development process ***139***

7.4.3 Content of the MoU ***140***

7.4.4 Implementation. ***141***

7.4.5 Critical Analysis 141

7.5 Impact of the case studies on the regulation of street vending 142

7.6 Insights from the Case studies and implication for the Ghanaian Context 142

7.6.1 Lessons from the India National Policy/ The Act on Street Vendor 2014 142

7.6.2 Lessons from the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project 144

7.6.3 Take home from the Monrovia City MoU between FEPTIWUL and MCC 145

Chapter Eight 151

Discussion, Policy Strategies and Conclusions 151

8.1 Summary 149

8.1.1 The growth of the informal economy and street vending in Ghanaian cities 149

8.1.2 The space of street vending in Ghanaian urban policy planning 150

8.1.3 Approaches adopted to deal with street vending urban Ghana, particularly Kumasi. 154

8.2 Key Findings and discussions 152

8.3 Policy strategies to regulate street vending in Ghana 154

8.3.1 National policy on street vending 154

8.3.2 Demarcation of the vending sites 155

8.3.3 Design and development of vendors' spaces 156

8.3.4 Street vendor participation and potential in managing urban spaces. 157

8.4 Research contribution, limitations and further research areas 160

8.5 Conclusion 161

References 164

List of Tables

Table 3.1: Regional distribution of informal sector employment by sex 46

Table 3.2: The myths and facts about street vending 52

Table 4.1: Population age 15 years and older employed in the informal sector by sex, locality of residence and region 73

Table 5.1: Policy assessment on the space of street vending in policy planning 93-94

Table 5.2: Pros and Cons of the various policy tools 105

Table 6.1: Literature search methodology 116

Table 6.2: Identified regulatory instruments in managing street vending in public spaces 119-120

Table: 7.1: Impacts of case studies on regulating street vending 143

Table 7.2: Summary of Lesson Learned and Implication for regulating street vending in Ghana 146

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Ghana in the context of Africa 12

Figure 1.2: Map of Ghana showing capital cities and the study cities 13

Figure 3.2: Holistic Framework of the informal economy by WIEGO group.....39

Figure 3.1: Street vendors in India 46

Figure 3.3: The share of informal employment to total employment globally as 2016 47

Figure 4.1: Structure of Ghana's Local Government System adopted from the Local Governance Act (2016).....65

Figure 4.2: Accra Metropolitan Assembly in Greater Accra Region.....67

Figure 4.3: Map of Kumasi Metropolitan Area in Ashanti Region 68

Figure 4.4: Share of informal occupations in Urban Ghana 72

Figura 4.5: A map showing Kumasi Central Market and other places of street vending in Kumasi.....76

Figure 4.6: A cluster of stationary foodstuff vendors at Kumasi CBD.....77

Figure 5.1: Policy strategies in used by city authorities to regulate street vending.....97

Figure 5.2: Ongoing decongestion activities in Accra.....99

Figure 6.1: Research design.....113

Figure 7.1: Stakeholders involvement and role in the India National Policy on Street vending ...127

Figure 7.2: Bhubaneswar policy model for creating street vendors zone, adopted from Kumar (2012:2).....130

Figure 7.2: Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project.....136

Figure 8.1: Street vendors policy process and strategies.....159

Acronyms

AMA	**Accra Metropolitan Assembly**
GSS	**Ghana Statistical Service**
IGF	**Internal Generated Fund**
KMA	**Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly**
MMC	**Monrovia City Corporation**
MoU	**Memorandum of Understanding**
MTDP	**Medium Term Development Plan**
NGOs	**Non Governmental Organizations**
NUP	**National Urban Policy**
PPP	**Public Private Partnership**
SAP	**Structural Adjustment Programme**
SDGs	**Sustainable Development Goals**
SSA	**Sub-Saharan Africa**
WIEGO	**Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing**
SEWA	**Self Employed Women's Association**
NASVI	**National Association of Street Vendors of India**
GLSSR7	**Ghana Living Standard Survey Round 7**
GNAHV	**Ghana National Association of Hawkers and Street Vendors**
KMA	**Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly**
AMA	**Accra Metropolitan Assembly**
MTDP	**Medium Term Development Plan**
IHVAG	**Informal Hawkers and Vendors Alliance of Ghana**
CBD	**Central Business District**
KPTA	**Kejetia Petty Traders Association**
KKTA	**Kumasi Kejetia Traders Association**

Chapter One

General Introduction

1.1 Stage setting: Urbanization and the informal economy

The Global is experiencing unprecedented population growth. From an estimated population of 7.7 billion in 2018, the world's population is projected to grow to nearly 8.5 billion in 2030 and 9.7 billion by 2050 (UNDESA/PD, 2019). However, it is increasingly concentrated in urban areas. The future of the world population is Urban. More than half (55%) of the world's population is already living in urban areas since 2018. Further projections indicated that the share of the urban population would increase to 68% at a growth rate of 2.5% by 2050. This growth is not evenly distributed across the globe. African and Asia are anticipated to account for nearly 90% of the urban population growth (UNDESA/PD, 2019). The drama of urbanization is particularly a challenge in emerging economies and a threat to the sustainable development of cities in the global South (Ayambire et al., 2019). It is already stifling and overwhelming cities and governments' ability to deliver urban social services and job opportunities to serve the growing urbanities.

55% of the World's population lived in urban areas

While urbanization has often been a positive force to economic growth, poverty reduction, and human development, it is a challenge to cities and a struggle for the urban poor in many parts of the global South. The criticality of urbanization and its associated problems in the cities manifest in various urban informalities – as coping strategies through which most urbanites survive (AlSayyad, 2004; Roy, 2002; 2005; Azunre et al., 2021). This ranges from the politics and processes of space organization and regulation to economic activities as the pattern of growth and living in urban areas (Banks et al., 2020; Rigon et al., 2020; Roy, 2015). Employment opportunities and better living conditions do not accompany informal urbanization. Instead, it is widening the inequalities and urban poverty gap in developing countries. With the burgeoning of the informal economy, street vending has become a promising source of employment and livelihood for thousands of the urban poor and low-income groups. Recently, it is escalated due to the acute problem of jobs in the formal sector (Roever, 2014). Over 2 billion (over 61%) of the world's employed population eke a living in the informal economy (International Labour Office, 2018).

Ghana and many other African countries are witnessing unprecedented population growth and rapid urbanization. Ghana's urbanization dilemma is unfolding a plethora of intertwined urban problems. A peculiar phenomenon is the expansion of informalities of various forms. The issue of informal economy and street vending is the occupation of urban public spaces leading to massive pedestrian and vehicular traffic congestion. Accra and Kumasi are the prominent Ghanaian cities with the heftier share of the urban population (Ayambire et al., 2019; Cobbinah & Niminga-Beka, 2017), and they are testimonies of the urban problems. Urbanization in Ghana is mainly rural-urban migration,

natural growth, and fast urbanizing of formerly rural areas (Ayambire et al., 2019). However, it is occurring within the domain of urban informalities. That is, slums proliferation and spreading of informal economic activities (Azunre et al., 2021; Gillespie, 2016). The 2015 Labour Force Report indicated that about 90% of the labour force age 15 and above were employed in the informal sector (GSS, 2016).

The growth of the informal economy has gained international momentum in urban discourse. Policymakers, development practitioners, and academics increasingly acknowledged the challenge of the informal economy in the sustainable development of African cities (ILO, 2018; Roy, 2015). However, managing the informal economy has long been a burden on city authorities, lacking a precise path in the regularization and integration in urban policy planning and designing cities. Street vending is the most significant component, largely visible, and highly manifested form of the informal economy in the global South (Azunre et al., 2021; Bhowmik, 2010; Bonnet et al., 2019; Brown & Mackie, 2018; Omoegun et al., 2019; Roever & Skinner, 2016). Street vending mainly occurs in urban public spaces that initially were not designed for trading purposes but are perceived and used by the urban poor to sustain a livelihood (Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011: Brown, 2006). Street vendors and many other informal workers such as waste pickers and rickshaw pullers rely on public spaces to carry out activities that provide them with a living (Chen et al., 2018; Skinner et al., 2018).

Share of informal employment in Ghana (GSS, 2016).

Street vending has become an integral aspect of cities' urban economies and growth in the global South (Afrane, 2013; Bhowmik, 2010; ILO, 2018). They are central to the use of urban public spaces in developing countries (Brown, 2006, 2017; Skinner et al., 2018). As key players of urban life, street vendors play a pivotal role in the functioning and growth of cities in Ghana. Its contributions to the urban economy, maintenance of urban poverty, and livelihood cannot be underestimated. Thus, an essential contributor to Sustainable Development Goals (Goal 1=No Poverty and Goal 2= Zero hunger) may be seen as myths without the functioning of the street economy. Other studies have reported the revenue contribution of the street vendor to Metropolitan Assemblies (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). However, they also contribute to the myriad and chronic problems of the cities in the South.

Despite the centrality of the urban street economy in the global South, street vending has hardly been recognized as a component of the cities, captured and mainstreamed in the conventional urban policy planning (Batréau & Bonnet, 2016; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). Street vendors worldwide have suffered various exclusion and repressions, both in public spaces and in urban policies. With a renewed focus on contemporary urban policies under the rubrics of "recovery of public spaces" and city beauty, street vendors have been tagged as cordon and constructed as villains to create vibrant public spaces in the cities (Chen

& Carré, 2020). Such constructed views have subjected street vendors to constant repression in their occupation of urban public spaces. Various reasons accounted for such actions, ranging from the legitimacy of street vendors' use of public spaces and cities' development priorities to problems street vending imposes on public spaces (Roever, 2014; 2016). To some extend, urban policies and city by-laws criminalized the activities of street vending in cities (Omoegun et al., 2019; Onodugo et al., 2016; Onodugo & Ezeadichie, 2019; WIEGO, 2020b).

Ghana is one of the fast-growing economies in West Africa. With an estimated population of 31 million (GSS, 2020), urban areas are home to the majority of the population. More than 56.1% of the countries population lives in urban areas (Ghana Urbanization Think Tank, 2019), particularly in cities. The urban economy grows primarily through the expansion of informal economic activities. In most cities in Ghana, for instance, Kumasi, public space such as pavements, open space, roadsides, pedestrian footbridges, underdeveloped or unoccupied space at the CBD are filled with various activities of street vending (Afrane, 2013; Gillespie, 2016; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011). The ever presence of vendors in dozens of prime urban public spaces has been a source of conflicts between city authorities and street vendors.

In Kumasi, Urban public spaces are valuable spaces for street vending's livelihoods

On the one hand, city authorities envisioned that public spaces are not for vending activities, and street vending in public space is an encroachment (Acheampong, 2019; Afrane, 2013; Steel et al., 2014). Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) holds a modernist vision of urban order that markets stall vending and repressing street vendors in public spaces (Okoye, 2020). On the other hand, urban public spaces are valuable spaces for street vending's livelihoods (Barimah Owusu & Abrokwah, 2013; Skinner et al., 2018). Their enduring presence in public space challenges local authorities and their unreal visions (Okoye, 2020).

The dichotomies between the street vendors and city authorities and actions of intolerance and repressions have gained significant academic attention with a large body of ethnographic research across cities (Acheampong, 2019; Onodugo et al., 2016; Steel et al., 2014). There is a wide gap in research exploring strategies and practices in the policy environment to regulate street vending. An analysis of exclusionary practices which street vendors face across cities in the Global South indicated eviction is very common from city to city (Roever & Skinner, 2016; WIEGO, 2020b). In recent, international organizations and some governments have called for the recognition and inclusion of the informal economy in urban planning and policies and space design (ILO, 2017; 2021). The urban informal economy itself is a complex microsystem in urban areas. Thus, designing appropriate policies to regulate street vending and tackling the problems associated with vending activities in urban public spaces remains a challenge to urban planners and policy makers. There is a considerable research gap in

the milieu of urban policy planning (Deléchat & Medina, 2020) that is to be filled. To mediate between the hostility against street vendors and the call for inclusive city planning and formalization of the informal economy, this master's thesis focus on developing a robust policy tool and practical strategies for managing street vending in cities.

Recent studies increasingly focused on the interplay and hostile relationship between city authorities and street vendors, particularly the various forms of repressions by the local government authorities (Morange, 2015; Omoegun et al., 2019; Racaud et al., 2018; Roever & Skinner, 2016; Steel et al., 2014; Xue & Huang, 2015). The search for inclusive strategies and practices to manage the informal economy, particularly street vending in Ghanaian cities, remains a gap in scholarship and practice. Therefore, there is the need for research-based policies to inform planning practices and strategies in regulating street vending in the cities. This thesis fills the gap by exploring more inclusive and less hostile procedures regulating street vending in urban public spaces. The research critically examines the problem of street vending and some recommended or popularly referred good practices across the global South as the basis to propose practical and promising measures to integrate and regulate street vending in urban policies. With a central focus on Ghanaian cities, this thesis does so by constructing the problem of vending in public spaces, finding the place of street vending in urban policies, and the various repressive actions by city authorities to curb the activities in urban public spaces. Exploring these key areas provides the basis to rethink the place of street vending in cities and the use of urban public spaces – informing policy toward inclusive city planning.

1.2 Problem Statement and Rationale

The informal economy has been an integral part of the growth of cities for decades. Many low-income urbanites, particularly slum dwellers, find their livelihood from all forms of informal economic activities (Gillespie, 2016; Obeng-Odoom, 2011; Roy, 2011). Street vending tends to be lush among cities of the Global South due to several factors. Both internally, common to the socio-demographic characteristics (low-level of education, poverty, and other factors) of actors and external factors (i.e., minimal economic growth), generate employment opportunities and better living conditions. With the widespread acute job opportunities and poverty, street vending has become the domain for regular urban employment among low-income groups (Acheampong, 2019; Haug, 2014). Conventional literature and population projection have established that human pressure on cities is primarily because of their economic attractiveness, leading to informal settlements and economic activities. City authorities are confronted with new challenges of providing public infrastructure and managing public spaces.

The space of street vending in urban policy planning

Street vending is one of the many forms of informalities that has become significant to the use of urban public spaces (Brown, 2017). This growing phenomenon presents new urban management challenges to city authorities. Street vending has been an integral part of cities growth for decades, yet, lacks recognition, integration in cities' planning and is regarded as illegal in many countries. For instance, in Nigeria, both the national constitution and cities' bye-laws tend to criminalize street vending on legality -pirate and economic grounds (Omoegun et al., 2019; Onodugo et al., 2016). The problem of street vending in Ghanaian cities, particularly Accra and Kumasi, is the increasing number of vendors in public spaces at the CBDs, thus resulting in struggles for and control over public spaces, increased pedestrian and vehicular traffic, and environmental problems and conflicts among various actors (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). Street vending is one of the highly regulated activities in cities (WIEGO, 2015) of the global south, yet the most challenging component to regulate due to its modus operandi.

There exist dichotomies between local authorities with a "modernist vision of urban order" and street vendors occupation of urban public spaces for their livelihoods. These dichotomies on the use and control of urban public spaces often resulted in conflicts and repressive action by city authorities to reclaim public spaces. The primitive of such hostile attitudes of city authorities emanates, first from the spatial management challenges street vending poses on public space (Afrane, 2013; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011; Steel et al., 2014). Some of these problems include; congestion, block of pedestrian ways and impede vehicular traffic, sanitation, noise pollution, and spatial conflicts (land use conflicts) (Afrane, 2013; Gillespie, 2016; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011). Second, the desire to improve urban public spaces, create modern cities and achieve political goals (Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011). As Brown and colleagues noted, local authorities are always in an ambivalent relationship with the informal ec0nomy (Brown et al., 2015), specifically, street vendors

The Dichotomies between "modernist vision of urban order" and street vending

In recent times, ambitions of the modern urban future have shaped urban policies towards a certain goal. For instance, the incarnation of neoliberal policies to reorder urban spaces and develop global cities (Batréau & Bonnet, 2016; Graaff & Ha, 2015; Kamete, 2017; Morange, 2015), city beautification (Spire & Choplin, 2017) and modern markets development (Okoye, 2020), among others have become the central focus of central governments and city authorities. These desires have converted to city authorities framing the problem of street vending as nuisances to contemporary cities development and encroachment on public spaces (Brown, 2017; Gillespie, 2016; Morange, 2015; Okoye, 2020). In Indian cities such as Delhi and Mumbai, these new urban values accorded to nuisance demonstrate the effort to become world-class cities (McFarlane, 2012). Emulating such values in many Africa

cities, Vanessa Watson described such desperate planning goals of city authorities as "Africa urban fantasies" (Watson, 2014) and planning motives that sweep the poor away (Watson, 2009).

Conventional literature has documented a cloud of traditional practices; eviction, force relocation, and other forms of exclusionary measures often used by city authorities to get rid of street vendors from the streets and central spaces in the CBD's (Omoegun et al., 2019; Roever & Skinner, 2016; Spire & Choplin, 2017; Steel et al., 2014). Despite the frequency of such repressive actions and struggles between city authorities and vendors over the control of public spaces, street vendors have remained resilient. They have defied all forms of intolerance (Martínez et al., 2017).

Over decades, dealing with the problem of street vending has remained a bottleneck on cities authorities in Ghana [particular reference to the urban struggles in Accra and Kumasi], strangling with various approaches, both persuasive and coercive actions to cleanse the streets and other important public spaces of vendors (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011; Spire & Choplin, 2017; Steel et al., 2014). However, such measures have proven futile and often failed to yield the intended results. Yet these traditional actions of cities' "clean up" (i.e. Decongestion) persisted as the official policy tool at the disposal of the city authorities and urban planners in managing street vending (Okoye, 2020; Roever, 2014; Spire & Choplin, 2017). Marthy Chen described its phenomenal presence and resilience in cities as an activity that has come to stay in the short, medium, and long round (Chen, 2012).

The orthodox practice of eviction and forced relocation has proven incapable of dealing with Street vendor

With the current process of informal urbanization in Ghana and other Sub-Saharan African counties (UNDESA/PD, 2019), the number of street vendors is anticipated to increase, and congestion in the few prosperous cities is destined to worsen in the near future. The responsibility of urban planners, policy makers, and city mayors have become critical in managing the increasing numbers of street vendors in public spaces and creating an inclusive and sustainable urban environment (Chen, 2016; Chen et al., 2018; Skinner et al., 2018). An inclusive urban environment where the desired public spaces are developed while protecting the livelihoods of the urban poor. Maintaining the quality of urban public spaces and regulating street vending has become a crucial responsibility of city authorities. The intensity of these activities and their occupation of copious parts of urban public spaces has become critical to contemporary urban planning.

Over the years, the orthodox practice of eviction and forced relocation has proven incapable of dealing with vendors' enduring presence in public spaces. Are these policy tools still relevant in creating the desired urban future of African cities? There are emerging inclusive

practices and policy strategies pioneered in a few countries and cities which have proved more effective in regulating street vending and managing public spaces. New urban policy needs to build on these positive planning practices towards more inclusive and bottom-up strategies to regulate public spaces in contemporary cities. The urgency to recognize street vending as an intrinsic component of the cities' development of the global South cannot be postponed. This is because (a) street vending has gained a central position in the use of urban public spaces, (b) the manifestation of street vending in cities stems from complex and dynamic processes which simple regulatory frameworks cannot address, (c) The continuous growth in the number of actors in cities and lastly (d) the resilience and resistance of street vendors to all forms of repressive actions and neglection has direct consequences in shaping the future of these cities.

How can urban planning integrate in urban public space planning?

Unlike other countries such as Guinea, Liberia, India, South Africa, and Kenya, where legal frameworks and inclusive policies are increasingly used to regulate street vending, Ghana is yet to realize the future of street vending in national and urban policy planning. With no national policy to regulate street vending, City authorities are left at their dispensation to adopt various tools necessary to deal with the actors. The experience of Ghanaian cities such as Accra and Kumasi is not different from other African cities. City authorities are always on their feet to evict vendors from the CBDs, whether fair or foul (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). But street vendors always find their way back to the same settings after decongestion activities. Sometimes, city authorities use force relocation to confine vendors in satellite markets (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008). These methods often fail because they are highly top-down approaches and do not recognize the role of street vendors in the planning process. They also lack critical assessment of the 'modus operandi' of the street vendors in public space. Generally, street vending in Ghana lacks recognization in urban policies and city planning (Acheampong, 2019; Afrane, 2013; Osei-boateng, 2012; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). The traditional practices of decongestion via evictions have been unproductive. At the same time, such measures often negatively impact local government resources and the livelihoods of street vendors. The rapid urbanization and its associated growing number of street vendors require new regulations that prioritize inclusive practices and integrated urban policies.

It is important to reiterate the urgency of urban policy attention towards recognizing street vendors as central elements of cities in the global South and explore pragmatic practices for regularization and integration towards sustainable and inclusive cities. The Covid-19 pandemic has necessitated this call as it has crushed the livelihoods of informal economic activities in cities (Deléchat & Medina, 2020). The cleavage demonstrating the difference of interest between street vendors and city authorities in urban spaces creates hostile relationships in

controlling public spaces. The frequency of such disruptions and hostile relations is critical to achieving just and inclusive cities, as indicated in SDG 11 (Bonnet et al., 2019; ILO, 2018; Rigon et al., 2020). The prevalence and persistence of informal economic activities in cities are marked as a challenge to sustainable development (Azunre et al., 2021; Deléchat & Medina, 2020). Academians and development practitioners have acknowledged the central challenges of the New Urban Agenda. Likewise, the objective of Agenda 2063 to ensure quality employment within the rapid urbanizing African cities is questionable without attention to the informal economy (ILO, 2018).

The campaign to formalize urban informalities has become a central policy focus of the international community in advocating for national and city-level policies to support the informal sector (ILO, 2017; 2018). For instance, The New Urban Agenda emphatically stipulate the exigency to integrate urban informality into the urban fabrics to obtain inclusive cities (UN-Habitat III, 2017:7). However, designing effective policies strategies to tackle the rapid growth of street vending activities remains a challenge due to the complexity and multiple layers that unfold its existence within and across countries (Deléchat & Medina, 2020). The street vending component is typically a kind in many cities, yet many cities are unable or reluctant to support this category of informal urban livelihoods in the quest to manage and improve the quality of urban public spaces (Roever & Skinner, 2016)

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

As stated in the preceding sections, managing street vending in public spaces remains a challenge to city authorities. Whiles regulating street vending in cities is largely repression and intolerance, there is a growing body of positive regulatory practices; less hostile and more inclusive. This thesis explores inclusive strategies and practices to manage street vending in public spaces. The study answered the following research questions:

1. What is the situation of urban street vending in Ghanaian cities?
2. What is the context of street vending in urban policies in Ghana?
3. How is the problem of street vending in public spaces constructed and managed by city authorities?
4. What policy strategies and practices could be adopted to manage street vending in Ghanaian cities?

Kumasi, Ghana

1.4 Situationalizing and Scope of the study

The scope of the study focuses on the regulation of street vending

activities across cities globally. It looks at various regulatory mechanisms adopted by city authorities and policy frameworks supporting or repelling vending in cities regarding the Ghanaian context. The study chooses the experience of Ghanaian cities as a case study to respond to the underlined questions. The selection of Ghana (refer to Figure 1.1 and Figure 1.2) for this study is based on the following reason:

Firstly, the familiarity and encounter of the phenomenon of street vending in the cities allow the author to extensively account Ghana's experience of street vending and various forms of action to regulate the cities from an ethnographic perspective. The knowledge of the context also offers the author an opportunity to access secondary data and primary data to support the analysis.

Secondly, the growth of the informal economy, particularly street vending in Ghana, remains increasing. It has often been recognized as one of the complex urban problems that city authorities and urban planners have to deal with (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). The history of the informal economy in Ghana is traced back to the colonial (Osei-Boateng, 2011; 2012). Yet, it remains a challenge in the planning and development of the cities. In 1958, street vendors and hawkers on the street of Accra were asked to relocate their activities from the streets. To date, eviction and relocation remain largely the tools at the repertories of city authorities in managing and regulating street vending. Afrane (2013) indicated that the street economy had been an integral part of the growth of Ghanaian cities. Yet, it has not been given adequate attention toward inclusion (Okoye, 2020; Osei-Boateng, 2012). City authorities across major urban areas are strangling with appropriate approaches to regulating street vending as the frequent traditional eviction and relocation approaches do not seem promising tools. A narrative by Gillespie summarizes the experience of street vending experience in Ghanaian cities:

"It is a Thursday afternoon in June 2011, and I am chatting to Fuseini, a street hawker selling clothing close to Accra's central Makola Market. Despite the recent passing of a by-law making informal street trade an arrestable offence in the city, the street bustles with people buying and selling a multitude of goods. The traders are visibly edgy as they keep an eye out for the green uniforms of the Task Force, whose job is to clear them from the city streets. Fuseini tells me about his brother, also a street trader, who refused to let the Task Force confiscate his stock and was hit over the head with a paving stone and put into a coma. Despite nearly losing his brother, Fuseini cannot afford to obey the Task Force and leave the street to cars and pedestrians as the city authorities dictate. Due to the lack of employment opportunities in Accra, he explains, he has no choice but to ignore the by-law and return to hawk his wares day after day". (Gillespie, 2016: 1)

Third, Ghana's urbanization process is remarkably occurring within the domains of urban informalities (i.e. the proliferation of informal settlements and the growth of informal economic activities). The minimum growth of formal employment hardly paced with the growing urbanization and labour force (Osei-boateng & Ampratwum, 2011). The majority of the urban poor in Accra and Kumasi resort to informal activities as coping strategies to sustain a living in the city. Street vending in Ghana has assumed a central role in the functioning of cities and the reality of city life.

Lastly, a large body of literature has extensively explored the characteristics of the informal economy (Afrane, 2013; Haug, 2014; Obeng-odoom, 2011, 2014; Osei-boateng, 2012; Osei-Boateng & Ampratwum, 2011; Owusu et al., 2013), it's weight in the urban economy (Roever & Skinner, 2016), dichotomies and conflicts between street vendors and city authorities regarding the use of public spaces (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Barimah Owusu & Abrokwah, 2013; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011; Spire & Choplin, 2017; Steel et al., 2014) in Ghana. Ghana has remained one of the focal points of WEIGO research on street vending in Africa (Baah-boateng & Vanek, 2020; Okoye, 2020; Roever & Skinner, 2016; WIEGO, 2020a, 2020b, 2021). While most of these studies recommended the inclusion of street vendors urban policies and city planning, little has delved into concrete policy strategies and practices for managing street vending in Ghana. Given the continuous repression and exclusion of street vendors, the international community (ILO and WIEGO policy research groups) have campaigned to formalise and include street vending in cities. Some governments have positively responded to street vending. Regulating street vending through inclusive practice in Ghana is still a bottleneck among policy makers and city authorities. Given the centrality of street vending in the functioning of the global South, this thesis contributes to research by exploring various strategies adopted by Ghanaian city authorities in the management of street vending while providing inclusive strategies for positive engagement with street vendors. The complexity theory, urban informality, right to the city, and the concept of urban public spaces are employed to untie the intricacies of street vending and cities extensively.

Figure 1.1: Ghana in the context of Africa

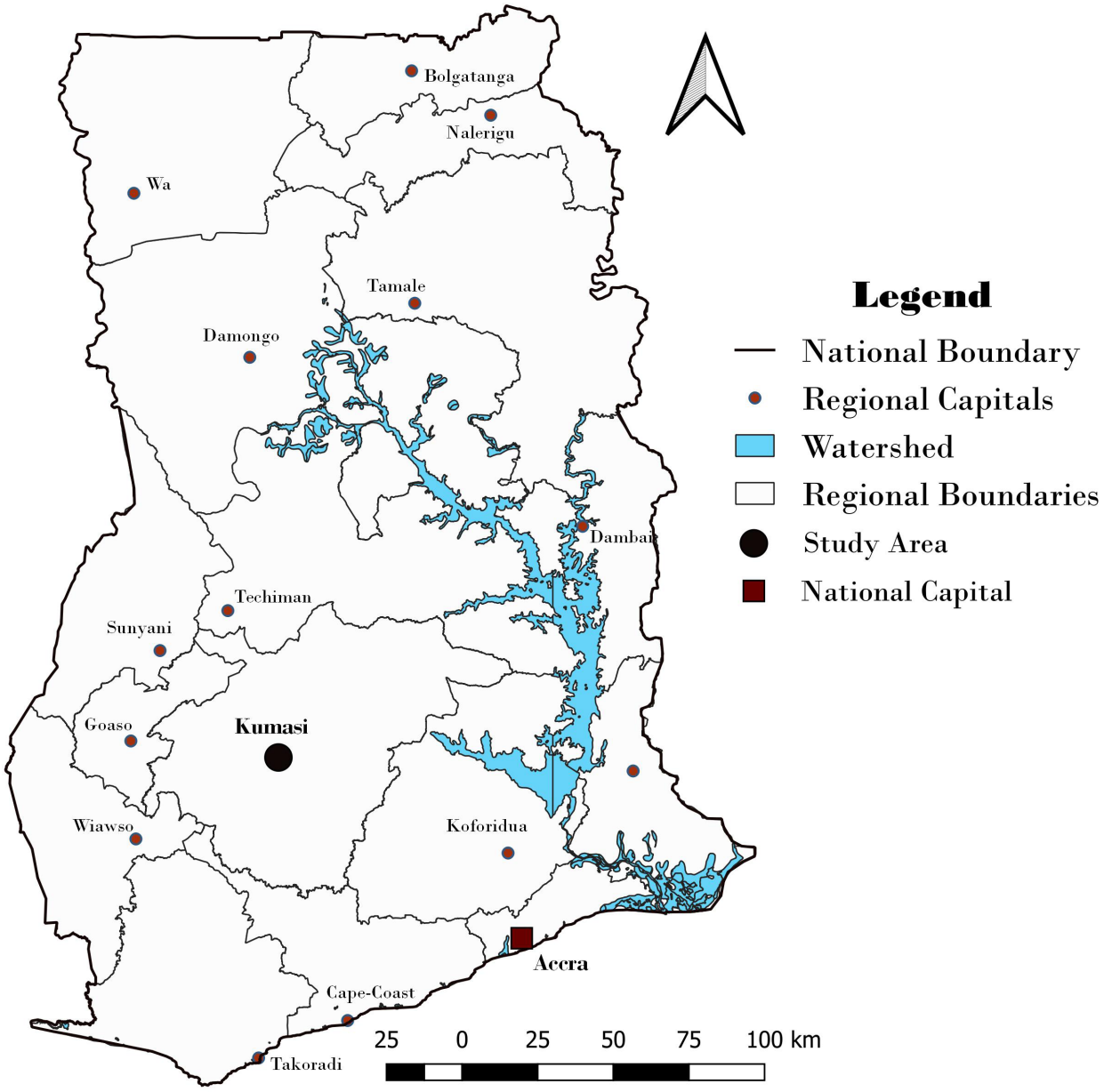


Figure 1.2: Map of Ghana showing capital cities and the study cities

1.5 Research Organization

The study is organized into eight interrelated chapters, including the introduction section. Chapter two attempted to build a conceptual and theoretical framework underpinning the studies (i.e. to better understand the special phenomenon of street vending within the complexity of the city and the broader scope of informalities in cities) and, in practice, to recall the urgency to include street vendors in cities planning. The third chapter cast the spec on the literature of the informal economy and street vending as a global phenomenon. This is followed by a contextualized overview of street vending in Ghanaian cities, specifically Kumasi. The fifth chapter is devoted to finding the place of street vending in Ghana's urban policy planning and attempts to analyze the policy tools used by city authorities to regulate street vending. Chapter six detailed the methodology employed to conduct the research. In chapter seven, the thesis critically discussed and analyzed emerging practices in regulating street vending and drew lessons to inform new practices toward integrating vendors. The last chapter concluded the study by developing an inclusive policy strategy for managing street vendors in cities. It emphatically accentuates the need to recant from the general hostile attitudes and policing of street vending in urban public spaces.

Chapter Two

Diving through Concepts and Theories

2.1 Chapter preview

The context of this study is grounded on some theories of urban planning. In other to understand the intricacy and eminence of street vending in cities of the global South that provoke the need for its inclusion, this chapter is dedicated to outlining various theories and concepts relevant to researching street vending and its space in the complex urban environment. In a nutshell, four planning theories are carefully and briefly discussed and tailored to the space of street vending in urban policy planning from a scholarly perspective. This includes a) Complexity theory, b) Urban informality and the informal economy, and c) The Right to the City theory, and d) The concept of public space.

2.2 Complexity Theory.

For decades, the theory of complexity has been in the discourse of life science following the work of Charles Darwin. Complexity in science has vigorously been applied to social science to provide a new understanding of cities, economies, and the growth of societies. The complexity theory was imported into social science, particularly in planning theories and practices following analogic and synthetic analysis of the planning concepts and ideas in dealing with social phenomena of cities (Batty, 2005; Byrne, 1998; Hayek, 1978). Urban planning as an activity on its own is a complex process, just as the components and the problems of the cities and, most importantly, the behaviours that make up the city are complex (Batty, 2013). In short, theoretical regards of cities originated in the late nineteenth century with concern for order, beauty, and efficiency. They primarily employ science theories to understand cities and planning for cities through top-down approaches in the quest for order and efficiency (Batty & Marshall, 2012).

By the mid-twentieth century, the progress of social science in a more positivist means has brought complexity theory to urban planning theory and practice discussion by the provocative work of Jane Jacobs (1961)_her famous book "The death and life of great American cities." Her attack on city planning and concepts was centred on the simplistic nature of modern planning notions to prescribing solutions that are perhaps contrary to how cities work_diversity, the functioning, and meaning of living in the city (Batty,2011: 10). Jacobs highly criticized dominant planning concepts such as garden cities, green belts, uniform zoning, segregated corridors of movement. In her opinion, they were insufficient and inappropriate to the very problems contemporary cities pose. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth, city planning was attacking the problem of cities like in physical science (Jacobs, 1961). In the last chapter of her book, "The kind of problem the city is," Jane Jacobs recount Dr Warren Weaver's exploration of the stages of development in scientific: (1)

the ability to deal with problems of simplicity; (2) the ability to deal with problems of disorganized complexity; (3) the ability to deal with problems of organized complexity. (Jacobs, 1961: 429)

As Dr Weaver further stated, the problem of simplicity and the problem of disorganized complexity could be probed by physical science methods. However, life science faces the problem of organized complexity (Jacobs, 1961). Social science, like life science, have to deal with complex structures that are in a way organized (Hayek, 1978)

Linking this to cities, Jane Jacobs further indicated that the kind of problem the city poses is neither a problem of simplicity nor disorganized complexity. Instead, they pose problems of organized complexities, which cannot be simply treated as did in physical science but with simple non-normative rules. In contrast, she pointed out that conventional modern city planning theorists have consistently mistaken cities as problems of simplicity and disorganized complexity, and planners alike had failed to see cities from the reality they exist. They have tried to analyze and treat them as such. The fact is that;

Cities happen to be problems in organized complexity….With variables which interrelated in an oragnic whole

"Cities happen to be problems in organized complexity, like the life sciences. They present "situations in which a half-dozen or even several dozen quantities are all varying simultaneously and in subtly interconnected ways." Cities, again like the "life sciences, do not exhibit one problem in organized complexity, which if understood explains all… The variables are many, but they are not helter-skelter; they are "interrelated into an organic whole." (Jacobs, 1961: 433)

Cities are heterogeneous networks of multiple relations, functions, activities, and practices_showing a clear example of complex systems or structures (Moroni, 2015). As Jacobs highlighted, the complexity of the urban problems is because the cities themselves are made up of several components that function as a whole. Hence the problems of the city do not emanate from a single source, or do the elements present a single problem at a time; the problems are formed out of a complex process. Such critique of Jacobs has resulted in embracing the city as a kind of emergent complexity and heterogeneity of cities (Batty & Marshall, 2012)

Since then, many planning theories have adopted complexity theory and system theory in catchphrases; the city as a living organism; the city as a complex system; the city as a complex social-spatial system; Cities and complexity to describe the city. They present comprehensive perspectives of the dynamic nature of the urban environment in the context of complexity theory using models that embrace the complex processes and elements of the city which function as a whole. Scholars such as Michael Batty in (Batty, 2005; Batty & Marshall, 2012), Portugali in (Alfasi & Portugali, 2007; Portugali, 2000, 2016), Hayek (1978) have extensive import complexity and system theories in their

studies of the city and its spatial organization. Other such as David Bynre (1998) has significantly explored how complexity theory is brought into social science. According to Hayek (1978), social science has to deal with structures of essential complexity.

In Batty's view, cities are products of a large number of individuals and collective decisions that are not confined to any prescriptive plan_ ***"cities do not develop in strict accord to with any grand plan"*** (Batty, 2005: 107). Like living organisms, they are too complex, heterogeneous, and more responsive to their broader environment. According to Hayek (1978), a complex system is composed of a) a large number of components whose interaction is iterative and recursive (i.e., non-linear); B) many direct and indirect feedback loops; c) unintentionally emergent forms of order; d) self-organizing and; e) dynamic and adaptive. These views are shared by many other scholars (Anderson, 1999; Batty & Marshall, 2012; Portugali, 2000, 2016), who employ the metaphor of complexity to describe the city. Hayek further stated that certain structures have intrinsic complexity, implying that their discrete elements interrelate with each other to create an emergent pattern (Hayek, 1978). According to Juval Portugali, the city is an open and complex system. This is construed that the city as a complex system is self-organizing (Portugali, 2000). Self-organization as self-coordination has largely been a challenge to planning. The idea of self-coordination in city planning has to be imposed on various agents or actors otherwise uncoordinated socio-spatial system (Moroni et al., 2020). Juval Portugali (2000) further stated that the city is an open system because it is part of the larger environment through flows of migration and a complex system because it involves many individuals in iterative relationships. In a complex system like the city, self-organization is a prime feature of its structure, yet it seems much emblematic as it applies in cities (Moroni, 2015). Complex phenomena often present a general pattern of character that persists as a whole (Hayek, as noted by Moroni, 2015).

The central focus of the complexity theory in urban planning is an argued for planners and city authorities to embrace city a complex system which dealing with, as mentioned by Jane Jacobs, requires a) process thinking, b) inductive reasoning, and c) seeking ***"unaverage"*** generalization of the behaviour of the city's component (Jacobs, 1961). It argues that urban planning should devise new and bottom-up processes to intervene in situations of the city rather than traditional procedures that have become inadequate to manage the problem of the contemporary city. Orthodox planning theory More fashionably, planning needs to embrace complexity through plans, policies, and regulatory frameworks that involve all the city's components and understand the intrinsic relationship of these various elements that make up the city. However, in today's milieu of urban planning, particularly the global South, planning has geared towards

creating imaginable cities which has failed to reflect the reality and complexity of the Africa city life (Watson, 2014).

The metaphor of cities as complex systems is highly manifested in the cities organization in the Global South (Auerbach et al., 2018). They are products of the complex interplay structures and agencies_complex spatiality of the urban form and behaviour of the components (Parnell & Oldfield, 2014). Urban complexity in the global South, as argued by Auerbach et al. (2018), takes a unique blatant form in informal settlements and labour market - informal employment. A situation born out of rapid urbanization thus accentuates the complexity of the urban social and economic life. Yet, planning approaches to dealing with this ever-increasing complexity general remain reluctant to change and face the realities of cities of the South (Acheampong, 2019; Onodugo & Ezeadichie, 2019; Vanessa Watson & Agbola, 2013; Watson, 2009). It is crucial to indicate that complexity theory is a critical tool to understanding how cities of the global south function. According to (Amoako et al., 2019), applying complexity theory in studies of the global South is helpful because it allows scholars and policy makers to iron the intricacy of the problems they face.

The relevance of the complexity theory in this thesis is that I argued that city authorities and planners in the global South need to think of the rapidly urbanizing cities as complex evolving spaces, which need critical analysis of the various components. The theory suggested that cities have several interrelated elements whose interaction shapes their growth. It implies that in intervening in the cities affairs, one needs to be conscious of actions and reactions their component (Amoako et al., 2019). The cities are becoming more complex, with emerging components characterized by myriad forms of informalities and presenting problems that cannot be dealt with by simple solutions. As cities increasingly grow in complexities, attention is paid to institutional norms and laws governing the city (Bostic et al., 2016) – in a bid to reflect the new urban realities. There is an urgent need to recognize the composition of cities of the global South and how the various components interrelate and function. The cities as complex systems with multiple and complex features are invoked here to denote that street vending is a component of the complex urban socio-spatial system. It is a complex element of the city that needs recognition and appropriate regulation. As will see in the proceeding sections, urban planners and city authorities have failed to recognize multiple features of the city (Watson & Agbola, 2013). The Informal economy, particularly street vending across cities of the South, lacked recognition and inclusion. Planners and city authorities deal with the many problems of the cities through traditional eviction, relocation, and displacement. Official policy tools seek to remove street vendors rather than painstakingly seeking appropriate strategies to regulate these activities and configure

them in the urban environment. Street vending is not regarded as a component of the larger urban environment. Their disorganized complexity seen on the streets is dealt with appropriately to impose order in the city. Nevertheless, are street vendors rid of the streets? No. They are an integral component of the cities that require adequate attention and bottom-up approaches to regulate them.

2.3 Informality and the Informal economy

The urban transformation processes in developing countries are completely different from what pertains to the developed World (Roy, 2015). The concept of informality emerged as a provocation to dominant economic and city conceptual models in many developed countries (Hart, 1985; Roy and AlSayyad, 2004). The growth of cities in the global South indicates different urban realities that defy conceptual models of cities in developed countries. Such new forms of urban informality have challenged the relevance of the old (AlSayyad, 2004). Planning practices in the south are constantly criticized for borrowing and replicating concepts from the global North (Roy, 2005; Watson, 2009). However, the incongruity of urban realities in the global South (i.e., the production, organization, and use of space) against the emulated planning concepts have fostered the production and reproduction of informality (Roy 2015) – they are "unplanned" and "unregulated" situations in cities (Roy, 2005).

The prevalence and growth of the informal economy in the Global South is worth noting in urban studies. Due to the centrality of the concept of informality as an organizing logic of cities, it is convenient to discuss informality in the discourse of street vending (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008). In this brief section, I discussed the concept of urban informality and its relation to street vending activities as parent theory to this study study

The dilemma of rapid urbanization currently taking place in cities of the South has intensified the struggles and marginality of the urban poor (AlSayyad, 2004). Many urbanites are scrambling to cope and adapt strategies to sustain a living in these cities (Azunre et al., 2021; Moser, 1978). **Urban informality has become a new form of urbanization** (Chigwenya, 2021) **and living in cities (AlSayyad,** 2004). The restructuring of the global economic production, recession, economic crisis, the experience of urbanization, and the neoliberal globalization that is reordering cities is widening the inequality gaps and significantly increasing the number of urban poor and their associated informal activities in various urban areas (AlSayyad, 2004; Rakowski, 1994). Informality has long been debated in a much critique dichotomy between formal and informal or extreme continuum of legality and illegality (Banks et al., 2020; Rakowski, 1994; Rigon et al., 2020). But the informal continuum is somewhat intrinsically

connected to formal activities (Roy & Alsayyad, 2004). In recent times, scholars (Banks et al., 2020; Rigon et al., 2020) have argued that the reality of urban informality is gaining shifting attention in the global South. Roy stated that there is an urgency for urban studies and planning to move beyond these dichotomies of developed countries models and developing countries problems (Roy, 2005)

Urban informality is dominantly situated in the global South. Given its importance in the management of cities, informality has become a prime issue confronting cities in the 21st century and poses a significant challenge for urban policies (Xue & Huang, 2015). It has recently dominated the agenda of international development and urban planning theories and research (Azunre et al., 2021; Roy, 2005). Not only is there growing recognition of the significant presence of informal works and housing in urban economies of the global South, but the efforts of international organizations and city governments across the globe to manage urban informality (Roy, 2005, 2015). Roy stated that informality had become a prominent and integral component of many cities in the global South, and their urban settings are unsustainable without the existence of informalities (Roy, 2002, 2005). Nevertheless, informality is not an exclusive concept of the developing countries; it is also manifesting in developed countries (ILO, 2018; Roy, 2005)

Though urban informality has been hotly debated with various conceptualizations and definitions (Kanbur, 2009), its description and composition in academic theories and urban planning practices lack precision (Marx & Kelling, 2019). This can be attributed to its complexity (Rakowski, 1994) and the diversified meanings accorded to the concept of informality and application in multiple phenomena outside standard practices (Marx & Kelling, 2019; Roy, 2015). Yet, in another strand, it is often and narrowly applied within specific domains (Afrane, 2013; Banks et al., 2020; Rigon et al., 2020). The concept is elusive and often problematic to describe, rending it somehow chaotic (Roy, 2015). Due to such intricacies, academicians, policy makers, and development practitioners often find it challenging to interpret and direct policy precisely (Rakowski, 1994). Informality has become a framework for understanding infiltration practices in informal economic activities and informal settlements development within formally planned cities (Dovey & King, 2011, p.12).

Several scholarly definitions have attempted to describe informality by attributing it to certain phenomena. For instance, Roy defined urban informality as a polyvalent concept that is rooted in the economic debate of the 1970s. It concerns capitalism, informal work, and marginality (Roy, 2015). Informality is a state of exception from order of urbanization (Roy, 2005). Alsyayad (2004) also argued that informality is viewed as a marginalized sector characterized by survival activities of the urban poor. It involves urbanization activities

and practices outside the realm or on the margins of policy regulations (Rakowski, 1994; Sandoval et al., 2019). It is convergently viewed as an "organizing logic, a system of norms that govern the process of urban transformation itself" (Roy & Alsayyad, 2004: 5; Roy, 2005:3). "Informality operates through the constant negotiability of value" (Roy & Alsayyad, 2004: 5). In a sharply contrasting view, McFarlane (2012) stated that the focal idea of informality is represented by unorganized and unregulated labour, which in reality is often organized and disciplined. Departing from the economic picture of informality, Roy further argued that "informality must be understood as a mode of producing and regulating space" (Roy, 2015:3)

"informality must be understood as a mode of producing and regulating space" (Roy, 2015:3)

Urban informality inevitably tettered to the initial idea of the informal sector (AlSayyad, 2004; Chen, 2012; Roy, 2005, 2015). The term was initially coined by Keith Hart in seminal work on "Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana – focusing on low-income economic activities of unskilled migrants in Accra, Ghana (Hart, 1973). Hart (1993: 68) termed the "informal sector" as a "world of economic activities outside the organized labour force". He noted that despite the domination of capitalism, the migrants were actively engaged in activities that had "autonomous capacity for generating incomes". Similarly, the International Labour Organization subsequently used the "informal sector" in Kenya to categorized marginal activities but profitable, efficient small-scale enterprises organized outside the formal sector economy (ILO, 1973). As argued by Marty Chen, both studies recognized informal activities as coping strategies to living in the city and further stressed the economic potential of the sector to generate employment and reduce poverty (Chen, 2012).

As an economic reality, the informal economy or informal sector has been fairly discussed from different perspectives (Chen, 2012). Modern capitalists have opined that the informal sector will increasingly be absorbed by industrialization in developing countries (Chen, 2012; Roy, 2015). However, as Hart (1985) mentioned, the informal emerged as a diverging view of modern capitalism's presupposition.

In the opinion of Roy, Hart's work demonstrated certain forms of marginality and informality that can be considered a structural feature of urban economies (Roy, 2015: p. 818). By the 1980s, the debate of the informal economy expanded to include the ongoing changes that are taking place in developed countries. Scholars such as Rakowski (1994) and Chen (2012) have classified these debates into dominant thoughts regarding nature and composition and causes and the relationships with the formal sector. They include a) Dualist, b) structuralist c) Legalist, and d) the Volumtarist. These focal points of the debate focused on a "slice of the pie" rather than the whole pie and complemented with specific policy direction to regulate the informal sector.

a) ***The Dualists*** approach considers the informal economy from the lens of dichotomy. Here, it comprises marginal activities that are distinct and excluded from and not directly linked with the formal sector or the modern capitalist development (Chen, 2012). The dualist conceptualization first stemmed from the original concept of the informal sector by Hart (1973) and ILO (1972). Hart "proposed that the maeger activities of the small-scale entrepreneurs be contrasted with the formal economy of governance and organized capitalism"(Hart, 1985:55). Secondly, the characteristics of the developing countries economies: first, the capitalist mode of production and the second, the subsistent production (Acheampong, 2019) as survival strategies of the permanent urban poor (Rakowski, 1994). Attention here is paid to the imbalance in the labour of labour supply and demand by industrialization. And also, the mismatch between people skills (as described, people with deficient human capital and are trapped in marginal jobs due to their characteristics (Rakowski, 1994: p 503) and the structure of modern economic production (Chen, 2012; Rakowski, 1994). In short, the focal argument is a mismatch between the demand and supply dynamics of labour. The policy focus of the dualists is more regulation that fosters the productivity of informal sectors

b) ***The structuralist.*** In sharp contrast to the dualist perspective, the structuralist sees the informal economy as subordinate units of the formal economy_micro-enterprises and workers who serve to reduce the cost of production and increase the competitiveness of the capitalist firm (Castells & Portes, 1989; Moser, 1978). Pioneers of the structuralist argued that the instinct of the capitalist progress incites informalities, a reaction of formal firms to labour and state regulations to increase their competitiveness in the market (Chen, 2012). Thus subordination to petty traders and traders (Acheampong, 2019). According to Rakowski, the structuralists rejected the dualism approach to the informal economy (Rakowski, 1994). Hence the "informal economy is not a set of survival activities performed by destitute people on the margins of society" (Castells & Portes, 1989: p. 11). Therefore, it is a form of productive activity that is intrinsically connected to the formal economy (Brown, 2017; Chen, 2012).

c) ***The Legalist*** (mostly known as the de Soto approach) conception of the informal sector as a set of small-scale entrepreneurs who choose to operate informally to overcome the cumbersome of bureaucracy and avoid the cost, time, and efforts involved in the formal procedures for legal recognition (de Soto, 1989, 2000). Thus, the "hostile legal systems lead the self-employed to operate informally with their own informal extra-legal norms." (Chen, 2012: p.8). Hence, the informal sector is born out of excessive state regulations. The panacea in de Soto description is less state regulation and more of enabling market policies to unleash the potentials of the informal entrepreneurs (de Soto, 1989, 2000)

d) ***The Voluntarist*** argued that the informal economy is a set of entrepreneurs who weigh the cost and benefits of informality relative to formality and deliberately choose to operate outside the formal sector. They seek to avoid regulations and taxes (Chen, 2012). The critical debate of this perspective leans that the informal sector is a strategy to evade taxes, regulations, and production costs, hence creating unfairness in the market competition. It is therefore born out of a calculated decision by small entrepreneurs to exist outside the formal sector. Formalization becomes the policy focus of this dominant. It brings the informal sector under the law and enables regulation (Chen, 2012).

Yet the expanding debate – widely among developed countries – recognized another controversial approach of the informal sector which cut across the four thoughts. It lingers between illegality and underground production activities. Illegal as forbidding activities by law and performed by unauthorized persons whiles underground production, as legal activities but covert from authorities' regulations (Chen, 2012: p. 9).

In conceptualizing informality, Kanbur proposed that informality and formality should be seen in direct relation to economic activities in the presence of specified regulation (Kanbur, 2009). However, Mcfarlane proposition of rethinking informality argued that formality and informality are often conceived of as (1) territorial formation (e.g. informal settlements), (2) a category of working groups (e.g. informal labour), and (3) forms of organization (e.g. between structured and unstructured, ruled-based and unruled) (McFarlane, 2012: 90-91). It is neither one thing nor the other, but several phenomena. In the dominant historical discussion of informality, it is converged into two strands: first, economic informalities espousing infiltration in urban economies to generate income and second, spatial informalities in urban housing production (Azunre et al., 2021; Banks et al., 2020; Batréau & Bonnet, 2016; Rigon et al., 2020; Roy, 2005). Urban informality per se suggests a particular urban quality to informality (Marx & Kelling, 2019:496). Using conditions as a descriptive qualifier, they further claimed that the different conceptualization of informality is roped in specific situations of placemaking (ibid). This can be seen in the two perspectives of informality.

2.3.1 Ecocnomic informality

As already pointed out by Hart, the informal economy is a world of economic activities that fall outside the purview of organized labour and state regulation. Economic informality comprises three key components: ***informal economy, informal sector, and informal employment*** (Azunre et al., 2021). The informal economy refers to "all economic activities by workers and economic units that are- in law or practice – not covered or insufficiently covered by formal arrangements" (ILO, 2013: 42). It encompasses a wide range of economic activities and works without any job-based social protection. They include

street vending, home-based jobs, domestic work, waste pickers to all forms of short-term contracts (Bonnet et al., 2019; Chen, 2012). The informal sector is defined as all employment and production activities, both inside and outside the unincorporated and/or unregistered enterprises, non-agricultural activities (ILO, 2013). informal employment includes jobs and works of all kinds within informal enterprises, formal firms, and household activities without legal and social protection or entitlement to employment benefits (Bonnet et al., 2019; ILO, 2013). It is argued that workers in the informal economy do so not by choice but mainly due to unavailable alternative sources of livelihood (Bonnet et al., 2019; ILO, 2017). Given the characteristics of informal activities, they are usually associated with poor urbanities and often face several problems and vulnerabilities.

2.3.2 Spatial informality

Spatial informality is manifested in the growth informal settlement and slums

An important dimension of urban informality is the informal urban settlement and space, which is called spatial informality. Spatial informality often refers to the politics and processes used in producing and regulating spaces (Brown et al., 2014; Roy, 2002, 2015). The appropriation and claim of urban spaces for shelter development are formal termed informal settlements (Azunre et al., 2021). The take-home from these views is that informality is the process in which the urban poor meticulously engage their effort in self-help construction of dwelling for shelter (Alan in Roy & Alsayyad, 2004)). Informal settlements or housing ranges from squatting to rental or self-developed structures. It includes all forms of shelter that regard illegal and falls outside state regulation. They lack security of tenure and essential urban services such as potable water, improved sanitation, inadequate living space, and durable structures (UN-Habitat, 2016). And often do not comply with formal planning regulations (Rigon et al. Due to tenure insecurity, residents are constantly exposed to eviction by city authorities (UN-Habitat, 2016). The growth of informal settlements in cities of developing countries is strongly influenced by rapid rural-urban migration, the development of the informal economy, housing market dynamics, and the politic of urban governance (Gillespie, 2016; Obeng-Odoom, 2011). From this perspective, informality is regarded as a complementary of unsustained urbanization. That is, where the space of habitation and livelihood pattern has become the norm of city organization (Brown & Mackie, 2018). Informal settlements are formed from multiple relations, actors and elements in the informal economy (Roy & Alsayyad, 2004). Such relations and processes unveil the complexity of the informal economy.

Though the informal settlement lacks vital services and better living conditions, they are self-sustaining and self-reliant and often meet the resident's daily needs within the informal economy (Rigon et al., 2020). The majority of the residents rely solely on the informal

economy for subsistence - production and supply of various goods and services through street hawking, petty trading, artisan, local crafting, and home services (Wekesa et al., 2011). Most urban dwellers throughout Africa cities live in informal housing and directly work and conduct their business within the informal economy. Tracing the history of slums in Ghana, Obeng-Odoom (2011) demonstrated a close relationship between the informal economy where slum residents make their living. Roys affirmed this in India on ***"Slumdog cities"*** in Dharavi - the Subaltern Urbanism indicated the informal settlement bustling with enterprises and small-scale businesses and services by residents of the informal settlements and the entire Mumbai and beyond (Roy, 2011). The intrinsic relationship between informal settlement residents' livelihood and the proliferation of the informal economy (Rigon et al., 2020). A relationship that is not linear instead of interdependence (Obeng-Odoom, 2011)

Based on Spatial informality and informal economy, it can be construed that informalities are necessary coping practices by the poor urbanites. Empirical data analysis suggested a significant overlap between casual employment and being poor (Bonnet et al., 2019). As Chigwenya stated, urban informality has become the new form of urbanization and the act of living in the cities (Chigwenya, 2021). Despite the relevance of informalities as coping strategies of living in cities, the general non-conformity of informal activities has spatial implications for planning cities. There has been little attention to informality in urban policy (Batréau & Bonnet, 2016; Chigwenya, 2021; Roy, 2005). In the academic arena and policy realm, the discourse of informality is dominantly referred to as labour, works, and employment (Chen & Carré, 2020). It is also seen as a pattern of housing development (Roy, 2002, 2005). Street vendors are actors commonly found in the production of both categorized of informalities. Informalities of different forms have spatial implications for urban planning as the activities primarily occur in urban public spaces. Thus the spatial dynamics of urban informality and its relevance to urban planning.

2.3.3 Spatial dimension of informalities

In one of the dichotomy critiques of informality, Banks et al. (2020) argued that informality, on the one hand, can be seen as a problematic unregulated and unplanned urban reality that opted to be regulated through planning. On the other hand, informality ought to be embraced as the tenacity of marginalized behaviours against formal exclusion. Informalities, in many ways, occurs in spaces. Although Banks et al. (2020) acknowledged non-spatial forms of informality (i.e. politics and governances and services in the absence of formal institutional services), the end products are intrinsically expressed in spaces. Reconnecting to the two dimensions of informality discussed here, economic and spatial – neither the development of informal

informality ought to be embraced as the tenacity of marginalized behaviours against formal exclusion.

The end products are intrinsically expressed in spaces, visually in urban public spaces

settlement/slums nor the organization of informal economic activities (street vending in particular) conforms to formal planning rules and regulation. Informality can therefore be thought of as resistance to spatial order. It can also be seen as a natural spatial organization – how urbanites make and live in their cities. It does not suggest that the non-conformity to formal spatial rules and regulations implies that informality is entirely unregulated. It is regulated through a complex set of norms outside the realm of state institutions. Roy's organizational logic of informality, expressed in informal settlements, constitutes complex rationality – through complex interactions among urban actors (Roy, 2005). This idea is summed up in Azunre et al. (2021) view stating that spatial informality constitutes the politics and processes involved in the production and regulation of spaces.

The reality is that informality is extensively visible and expressed in urban physical spaces that contradict formal planning rules. In other words, the by-product of informalities finds expression in urban space. Street vendors occupation of urban public spaces is one of the problematic forms of informality that present urban spatial management challenges to cities. According to Batréau & Bonnet (2016), street vending is defined as small-scale retailing activities in public spaces. These include sidewalks, pavements, pedestrian ways, transport terminals, and traffic jams with clusters of pedestrians and vehicles (Afrane, 2013; Morange, 2015; Steel et al., 2014). Street vending, therefore, sits between the two-pronged of informalities, economic and spatial – i.e., the activity itself is economically informal but primarily expresses spatial terms. The large visibility of street vending in the public space has become a concern of city authorities' (Brown, 2017; Chen et al., 2018; Roever, 2014) as the activities are challenging to manage.

Generally, the non-conformity and non-compliance to institutional spatial planning norms pose huge space management problems to city authorities and planners. Spatial informality is problematic because it is difficult to tame and confined spatially. Mcfarlane (2012) consolidated this view of informality as legally, visually, socially and spatially illegitimate. However, it is a necessary behaviour which urban planners are called to integrate into planning cities and allocation of public spaces. The dilemma of managing informalities in urban spaces have become critical as urban planners and city authority are called upon to celebrate the creativity of informal actors while achieving their urban development goals. In this role, Roy (2005) argued that informality is produced, reproduced and maintained by state institutions via rules. In other words, state institutions in the quest to bring informality to the formal realm often replicate them in diverse ways. How then can informality be regulated as an integral component of the city? Coping with informalities in urban planning may be tenuous. It is inescapable in imagining and developing future cities. Recognizing informalities and the actors in urban policy planning can potentially reduce the burden

on urban planners and city authorities in managing urban spaces. In sum, informalities are integral cities development and therefore serve as an inspiration for imagining urban futures.

2.4 The Right to the City

"The Right to the City" has been a clarion call for a rethinking of the new urban order since its theoretical supposition by the French Marxist geographer Henri Lefebvre in late 1960 (Brown, 2017). It has since occupied a central position in urban discourse. According to David Harvey's genealogy accounts of the concept of "The Right to the City," it emanated from the revolts of the 1960s against modernism destruction and appropriation of urban spaces (Harvey, 2008; 2012). It has then been used and reshaped by many scholars and researchers recent (Harvey 2008, 2012; Mayer 2012; Mitchell, 2003; Purcell, 2002) who have invoked the idea of the right to the city, both in the field of urban studies and social movements studies, particularly in planning theories. It is frequently used as a catchphrase or provocative term due to its potential contribution to the politic of urban democracy (Purcell, 2002; Harvey 2012). According to Purcell, the peculiarity and common use of the term "the right to the city" among scholars of these two disciplines indicates a radical reform in the city's political, social, and economic relations. (Purcell, 2002). In Brown's view, the right to the city is a paradigm for urban inclusion, and it challenges the social and political capitalist mode of space appropriation (Brown, 2017)

According to Lefebvre, the concept of the right to the city refers to the process and struggles in everyday life from movements to a right to participate in urban space production (Lefebvre, 1968; 1996). Lefebvre's notion of the right to the city exist and complement his marvelling interest in the place of urban space under the wakening interest of capitalism and modernization (Attoh, 2011). Picking from his theory of the production of space, Lefebrve stated that the social production of urban space encompasses a critical analysis of urban reality and everyday life (Lefebvre, 1968: p. 185). And this of the fact that the urban space and the city's everyday life are intrinsically linked, and they are at the same time products and production processes of relations. Purcell interpreted Lefebvre idea of space as connected to everyday life, social relations, and political struggle, and it is socially produced by these factors that shape it (Purcell, 2002)

The production, access, and use of urban spaces are central to Lefebvre's notion of the right to the city (Friendly, 2013). He argued that all inhabitants in the city have the right to access and appropriate the urban space (Lefebvre, 1968). The city is referred to as holistic, focusing on the physical context, social relations, and everyday life (Lefebvre, 1991). However, it is a contrasting view of the city by professionals in urban planning. Connecting the city to the idea of

'pathology of space,' Lefebrve stated that such phraseology of urban spaces makes planners, urbanists, or architects see themselves as 'doctors of space' (Lefebvre, 1991: p. 99). Planners' roles in sharpening urban spaces from this perspective are limited to expert knowledge and the increasing dominance of the modern capitalist mode of production. As challenged by Lefebvre, the modernist conception of space is a "conceived space" of professionals that differ from the urban realities of the city's everyday life (Friendly, 2013). In recent times, neoliberal policies are organizing and restructuring spaces, creating classes, segregation, and disenfranchising the rights of low-income urbanities (Chigwenya, 2021).

In Lefebvre's conception, a city is a place where different people of classes with diverse intentions of its spaces participate in the tussles over the city image, both in the presence and future (Friendly2013). Central to the conception of the right to the city, Lefebvre instated that the city is an "oeuvre" with a tendency for commerces and exchange predominantly in the use of the cities' streets and squares (Lefebvre, 1996). In Attoh's interpretation, the city is an oeuvre or a work produced through the everyday actions and labour of the city's inhabitants (Attoh, 2011). Mitchell also recalled that the cities were public places for social interaction and exchange (Mitchell, 2003). In this regard, cities' inhabitants have the fundamental right of being part: living and conducting economic activities in the city and participating in the decision-making process that shapes the city.

The right to the city in one strand is complex and, in another sleeve, a fluid concept (Purcell, 2002) which allows forming diverse perspectives from different academic disciplines and conceptions of forms of human rights. On the one hand, the right to the city in urban studies draws attention towards a renewed focus and radical restructuring of political, economic, and social relations in the city (ibid). In social movements, on the other hand, the right to the city is a popular slogan for social mobilization (Mayer, 2009) and claims for inclusion in cities. It calls to embrace the struggles of the various marginalized groups in society (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). It is, therefore, ***"a collective right rather than an individual right" (***Harvey, 2012: P. 4) which fuels the activities of social movements. In Lefebvre, the right to the city is like "a cry and a demand... a transformed and renewed right of urban life" (Lefebvre, 1996: 158). As Purcell (2002) further writes, the "Right to the city is in itself not a method of reform, rather a quest for profound urban change to guarantee citizens right at all level of urban decision.

he right to the city is "a collective right rather than an individual right"

Social movement seeking the right to the city demands inclusion in the decision-making processes that produce the urban space. As Harvey rightly stated, the right to the city is a working slogan and political ideal (2008). It is a social justice right for the redistribution of resources (Mayer, 2009). It is also the right of the city inhabitants to

appropriate urban spaces, which include access to the city's physical spaces, occupy and utilized for one's needs (Lefebvre, 1996). As Davis mentioned, informal actors in everyday life constantly encroach and occupy urban public spaces to sustain themselves, notwithstanding their direct exclusion from formal works and the housing market (Davis, 2006). Abigail Friendly construed this appropriation of urban space to meet the needs of the city inhabitants and support the creation of meaningful life of all persons in the city (Friendly, 2013).

The openness idea of the right to the city, according to Mitchell and Heynen (2009), is worth embracing and can serve as a tool for inclusion and concerns for the urban struggles of the underprivileged class. According to Attoh, the openness of the right to the city concept may permit many forms of rights, including the right to housing, participation in urban design and policy decisions, against police brutality, and collective good like beauty and aesthetics (Attoh, 2011). ***"The right to the city legitimates the refusal to allow oneself to be removed from the urban reality by a discriminatory and segregative organization"*** (Lefebvre, 1996: p. 195). Hence, the right to the city signifies the constitution and re-constitution of spatial-temporal units that allow for the function of the city's everyday life. According to David Harvey, claiming the right to the city, in a sense, implies a claim of certain power in shaping the process of urbanization and the way cities are made and remade (Harvey, 2008; 2012: p. 5).

The work Lefebvre envisaged the application of the right to the city at all levels of decisions regarding the production, access, and use of urban public space. Hence, space figured a central position in his opinion of the right to the city and the production of space (Purcell, 2002; Harvey, 2012). The expanding view of space is viewed in three lenses: a) Perceived_denoting to the concrete space surrounding the everyday life of the peoples, b) Conceived space_refers to the abstract space (i.e., creative ideation and representation of space), and c) Lived space which corresponds to the real-life experience of space by people (Lefebvre, 1991). It is crucial that planning the city requires intuitive regard for the everyday experiences of urban life in the cityscape (i.e., tolerance of uses and idea of what the city space is). Assenting this view implies that planning urban spaces should be a descriptive product of planners and influential interests and the realities that characterize each city in context. However, the modernist vision that has shaped urban spaces has witnessed exclusion and regulation of what is or is not permitted in urban spaces (Brown, 2017).

Resenting the words of Robert park on the city as "man's most consistent and on the whole, his most successful attempt to remake the world he lives in more after his heart's desire", David Harvey narrated that given that Park is right of his description "the question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from the question of what

kind of people we want to be, what kinds of social relations we seek, what relations to nature we cherish, what style of life we desire, what aesthetic values we hold" (Harvey, 2012:3-4). Similarly, Peter Marcuse asked an intriguing question "Whose right is it about, what right is it, and to what city?" (Marcuse, 2009: 185). Intricate desires have shaped the city as a complex system through power relations. In the era of capitalism, what is permitted in the cityscape is merely directed by the will-power and resource of the few elites. The quest for tolerance in the use of urban space has become a spatial issue that requires fair rules for co-existence. The attitude (i.e., discretional biases) of cities authorities towards certain users of urban public spaces calls out the question of social justice or the just city.

Embrace Lefebvre's right to the city implies tolerance, involvement, inclusion, and above all, subscribing to the ideal of democracy in defining the city. For a just city to exist, there must be tolerance of various rights to the use of urban public space. As Mitchell and Heynen (2009) rightly mention, putting in practice the right to the city connotes supporting and concern for the urban struggles of the marginalized groups. The struggle over public spaces in cities is a call to pay attention to the working poor, as Mitchell (2003) noted. The urban working poor lack the right to the city, and their livelihoods suffered integration in city planning (Chen, 2014). The appropriation and claim for public space in Lefebvre thought of "the right to the city" implies that various actors, urbanites, or users of urban public space per se have the right to appropriate the urban spaces according to needs. It means allowing the urban poor to claim urban spaces to support their livelihoods (Chigwenya, 2021). Human rights have become central in all relations of life; hence, urban planners and political authorities need to pay attention to and consent to this enchanting voice of the right to the city. There is a need for tolerance (Chiodelli & Moroni, 2014) regarding diversified views of urban spatial problems. One of the biggest challenges of the urban planner is how to deal with the issue of informalities in the cities (Roy, 2015). The hectic of coping with the urban informalities should not translate to repression and hostilities; instead, it requires fair rules for coexistence (Chiodelli & Moroni, 2014).

In this thesis, I argued that there is a need to recognize and embrace the daily livelihood struggles of the urban poor. Like any other person in the city, street vendors, traders, and hawkers have a legitimate right to access and vend on public spaces for the purposed of meeting their needs. However, this is not limited to street vendors' access and use of public spaces, but their involvement in creating these spaces. The inherent relationship of the right to the city and the production [and/or the use] of Lefebvre's urban space is central to street vending activities. Consenting to this right to the city in the organization of the urban environment calls for inclusive measures in dealing with urban informalities. This right to the city is claimed by street

vendors, primarily through collective action (collective right) (Brown, 2017; Gillespie, 2016). The right to the city should consequently see the urban poor constantly tussling the tendency of neoliberal urban planning policies, which act as invisibly force to exclude them in accessing and appropriating urban public spaces. It is crucial to acknowledge that the failure to recognize street vendors' right to the city has resulted in street vendors' mobilization and collective claims in challenging authorities for their right to vend in public spaces (Brown, 2017). Urban space is crucial to street vending, thus critical to cities planning towards a desirable urban environment.

2.5 The Concept of Public Space

Urban public space, particularly the street, has become a central theme in the field of urban studies (urban planners, architects, urban designers, and geographers), particularly regarding the post-industrial transformation and contestation in contemporary cities (Jalaladdini & Oktay, 2012; Mela, 2014; Tonnelat, 2010). The definitions of urban place are inherently related to Lefebvre's right to the city and production of space as discussed in the preceding section (Lefebvre, 1991, 1996), but reasonably argued on vitality.

Urban public spaces are the physical and visually accessible part of the city that is open to all persons and fosters interaction among urbanities (Jalaladdini & Oktay, 2012. Various definitions in literature share a central idea of urban public space concerning accessibility and Activity (Jalaladdini & Oktay, 2012). For instance, Brown stated that public spaces are shared grounds that allow people to perform the functional and the daily rituals of a given community, but a critical asset for the working poor (Brown, 2006; 2017). Jalaladdini and Oktay further explained that urban public space is the part of the city that is openly accessible to everyone and usage (i.e., what they use these spaces for). But these public spaces, as Brown's explained, these public spaces are exclusively and narrowly defined to include streets, squares, plazas and parks without sidewalks, vacant sites that are of interest to the informal economy (Brown, 2017). She further argued that:

"For many of the urban poor with limited space in the home, external space – often the street – plays a multitude of roles, as a place for socializing, play and ceremony, and a crucial but highly contested place of work" (Brown, 2017: 77)

The reality of urban life occurs in public spaces in complex and subtle forms and functions or relations, capable of containing a diversity of behaviour, use, and activities (Jalaladdini & Oktay, 2012). Lefebvre emphasizes that cities as places for exchange. The urban public space produces the city life, social interaction, and crucial share of the urban economy transactions in market trades, sidewalks, café's, and street vendors (Montgomery as cited by Jalaladdini & Oktay,

The reality of urban life occurs in public spaces in complex and subtle forms and functions or relations, capable of containing a diversity of behaviour, use, and activities (Jalaladdini & Oktay, 2012)

2012). Suppose it is the urban public space that organizes what characterizes cities or urban life. In that case, it implies that the production and regulation of spaces must follow suit to the kind of life that defines each city in context. Public spaces should be open and accessible to all urbanites. On the contrary, Brown (2017) noted that public spaces are far from being public concerning access and right of use. Thus, the ongoing evictions of street vendors from the streets have become a global scandal and socially unjust.

Struggles and controls characterize the creation, access, and use of public space in contemporary cities. In many cases, the public authorities' control and exclude certain actions public spaces is grounded on the fact that they are produced, maintained, and regulated by public institutions for the general interest of the public, thus the search for vitality on the use of public spaces (Mela, 2014). The exclusion of "undesirable" actions from their in situ form on urban public spaces aims to recover public spaces. (Tonnelat, 2010). According to (Jalaladdini & Oktay, 2012), the vitality of urban public space "refers to a safer, more desirable, and more attractive space which has the capacity for offering more choices for social activities as well as being a place for cultural exchanges" (2012). While highlighting vitality as essential for sustainable cities development, city authorities have misinterpreted this idea. They seek urban vitality by brutality. The actions are commonly grounded on certain issues; congestion, sanity, and aesthetic nature of the urban environment (Afrane, 2013; Roever & Skinner, 2016). This struggle over public space has resulted in the exclusion and eviction of street vendors from the city_ what is termed urban revanchism (Brown & Mackie, 2018; Mackie et al., 2014; Parnell & Oldfield, 2014; Roever & Skinner, 2016).

I have in the previous concept described "the right to the city" extensively elaborated the reality of urban life and the interest of street vendors in public spaces. The idea of urban public space is implored to stress further their importance in organizing the city life and the contemporary contention over the control and use of these spaces. City authorities hold an undivided power in the regulation of urban public spaces. I argued here that it is essential to regulate the use of public spaces; however, such action should protect the interest of the various users, including street vendors, rather than destruction. Street vendors have become constant users of urban public space.

2.6 Summary

The city is a complex organic system with many variables the interact in a non-linear manner. Complexity and diversity are important for cities to become robust, flexible and function properly. Therefore, urban planners and city authorities must pay attention to these complex elements and their roles in the planning and development

of cities. The topic of informality in recent times has clambered the ladder of urban policies and planning discourse as the activities have potential spatial implications for the planning of contemporary cities. Informality in its atypical forms is not new to the evolution and development of cities. It has become a central point of urban discussion due to the increasing complexities of cities, the challenges posed to the rapidly urbanizing cities, and the changing values of cities development. The end product of urban informalities is manifested in urban spaces, thereby presenting space management problems that city authorities need to address. The question then is what problems do informalities present to the management and regulation of urban spaces? What makes them problematic to regulate by formal planning rules? How can planning be more effective to integrate complex informality into formal spatial planning and policy development? How can urban planners embrace informalities as a potential resource for organizing urban life and imagining future cities? Finding answers to these questions could be seen in the regulation of street vendors in cities

Street vendors are important elements of cities as they contribute to sustaining them and upholding urban life in various forms. In the Global South, what characterizes and constitute cities is much more informal than it is formal. However, urban policies have disregarded the intricacy of urban informality as an inseparable element of cities development in both the present and the future. The interesting question remains how to recognize and support urban informalities – regulating street vending in urban public spaces without compromising the rights of the urban poor and young people who honestly appropriate public spaces to survive in the cities? City authorities and urban planners have an essential role in managing this inexorable urban dilemma through democratic and participatory procedures. This can be developed by harnessing the potentials of street vendors associations for effective planning towards regulating the vending in public spaces. Globally, street vendors continue to identify themselves in micro-organizations to collectively bargain for their right to the city and vending spaces.

Chapter Three

The informal economy and street vending: A global picture

3.1 Introduction

Informality, particularly street vending, is the most visible and controversial component of the informal economy, widely manifested as a global phenomenon but with high prevalence in the global South. Before proceeding with the detailed elaboration of street vending in cities, it is important to understand the broad composition of the informal economy within which street vending exists as a microcosm. What are the components of the informal economy? What are the drivers of the growth of the informal economy? Why are street vending and the use of public space remains a site of contestation in cities? How is street vending regulated by cities authorities? The informal economy embodies broad situations across and within economies with diverse characteristics, activities, and actors (ILO, 2018). It is imperative to understand the dynamics of the informal economy and street vending as yardsticks to inform appropriate regulation of city activities. As a microcosm of the broad informal economy, street vending is a worldwide phenomenon but is dominated in developing countries. The preceding chapters (chapters 1 & 2) have introduced my stance in this study and the theoretical underpinnings. This chapter is devoted to detailing the informal economy and street vending while establishing a global phenomenon of street vending from a statistical picture to various regulatory approaches both in the global South and the global North.

3.2 The informal economy and street vending

To open the discussion of street vending, it is inevitable to look first at the emergence (refer to section 2.3) and composition of the informal economy. The informal economy is a widespread global phenomenon (Deléchat & Medina, 2020). It is not conclusive whether the informal economy originated from developing countries or developed countries. But as Hart coined the term "informal sector" from the experience of developing countries, various scholarships have followed in situ, primary because of its prevalence. The growth of the informal economy in highly developed countries, as Sassen (1994) noted – is the result of immigration from developing countries and the subsequent replicated activities of migrants as survival strategies of their home countries

The informal economy is heterogenous, broad and involves a large-scale of productive but mostly menial activities. According to ILO, the informal economy encompassed the informal sector as employments and production in unincorporated and unregistered or small enterprises and informal employment as employments without social protection. It thus ranges from own-accounts workers to employers and employees in informal enterprises (ILO, 2013: 42). This definition has pointed out four main groups of workers within the informal employment: (1) Own account workers, (2) employees, (3) employers, and (4) contributing (unpaid) family workers. An earlier holistic framework (fig. 3) by the

WIEGO group classified informal employments or workers in a six-segment model, which added casual day labourers and outsourced industrial workers (Chen et al., 2005). As demonstrated in Fig.3, these different groups experience different levels of risk, earnings, and gender segmentation and causes. The premise of this model is explored in "4Es" Causal Theory emanated from the four dominant schools of thought (i.e., Dualists, Structuralists, Legalists, and Voluntarists). They are represented as (1) Exclusion – from formal works due to lack of skills, (2) Exploitation – formal firms exploiting informal workers, (3) Entry Barriers – excessive regulations, and (4) Exit – from formal regulation

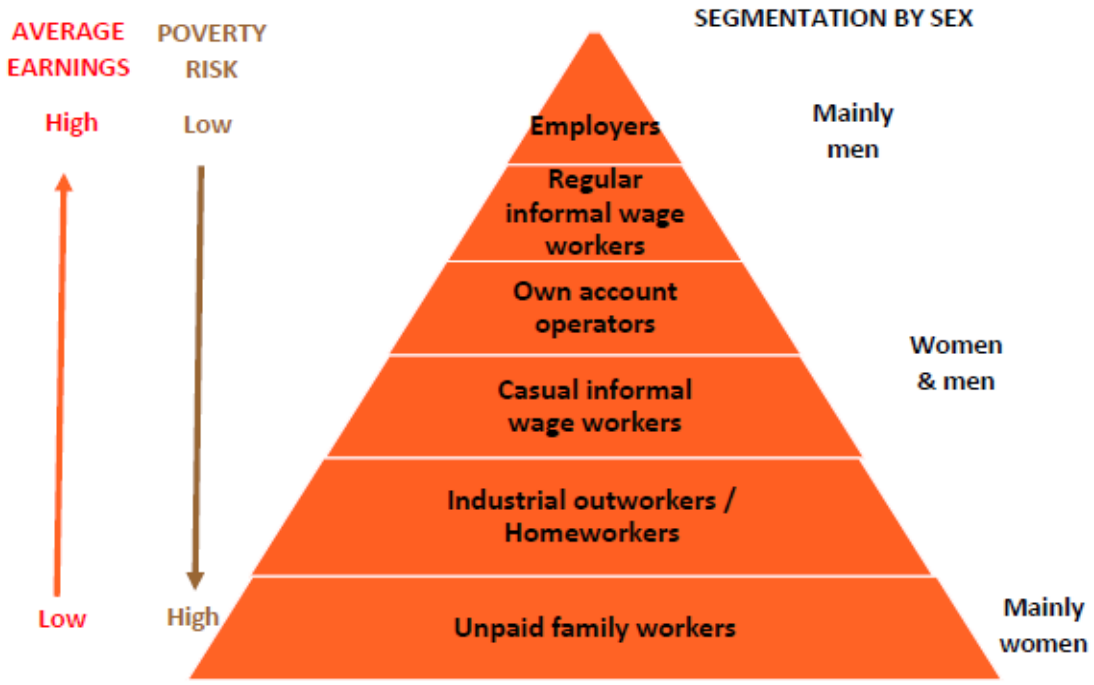


Figure 3.1: Holistic Framework of the informal economy by WIEGO group

The informal economy definition is summarized to comprise a wide range of jobs and economic activities without work-based social protection. Thus the informal economy represents a diversified set of economic activities, employment, and enterprises not regulated or protected by the government (Chen, 2014). As ILO clarified, the informal economy refers to all economic activities by workers and economic unit - in law or practice -not covered or sufficiently covered by formal arrangements" (ILO, 2017).

By work categories, the informal economy is classified into four key components. They include "street vending, Home-based work in global and domestic value chains, waste-picking and domestic work to short-term contract work" (Bonnet et al., 2019: 1). This includes market traders, food vendors, and people involved in the value chain of goods supply but either temporally engaged in paid or unpaid activities. Despite the diversity, a large part of the informal economy occurs in urban public spaces (Chen et al., 2018; Chen & Carré, 2020)

The informal economy is significant to the growth of cities and sustaining livelihoods across the globe. Brown establishes that the informal economy has become a structural feature of growing urban economies and contributes substantially to their Gross Domestic Production (Brown, 2017). It is an important sector that creates job opportunities, produces and supplies goods and services at relatively lower prices.

Though the informal economy shares a sizable number of urban employment, economic theories and urban planners continue to stigmatize and ill-treat it as illegal, underground, black, or grey activities (Chen 2012; 2014). She further argued that the informal economy should not be seen through the lens of illegality because most of the informal workforce constitute poor workers who struggle to earn an honest living against all odds. It is important to acknowledge that the pioneering studies of the informal economy (Hart, 1973; ILO 1972) emerged from this lens and recommended policy recognition and inclusion. In recent, what is portrayed across cities worldwide are punitive measures geared towards expelling the informally employed groups and their livelihoods. City authorities and policy makers have continued to subject the informal economy and its actors to a constant attack, eviction, force relocation (Chen & Carré, 2020; Roever, 2014, 2016; Roever & Skinner, 2016; WIEGO, 2020b) and rejection, particularly the street vending component with the prime objective of reclaiming urban public spaces.

Though many of the original debates on the informal economy lanes on the dichotomies of formal and informal, it has assumed renewed attention in recent times. The informal economy is no longer a distinction between formal and informal but part of the complex set of fragmented interrelations of cities (Chen & Carré, 2020). From this perspective, street vending and the informal economy are analyzing not as static conditions related to structural problems of poverty and marginality but a dynamic

practice of constant negotiations among urban actors in appropriation and use of public space (Chen & Carré, 2020; Forkuor et al., 2017). It implies that city authorities and policy makers need to recognize the integral relation of the informal economy in cities, especially in the global south and reform planning practices and policies for inclusion.

3.2.1 Components of the informal economy

Four main categories of the informal economy are recognized both by ILO and the WIEGO group for statistical and policy planning. First, domestic workers. Domestic workers represent a significant part of the informal economy workforce. Though the ILO convention 189 has recognized domestic workers as workers, most domestic works operate informally with no clear terms of arrangements, registration and inclusion in labour regulation (WIEGO, 2015). Domestic workers often work in private households as drivers, gardeners, cleaners, security, cooks, and babysitters. According to ILO, domestic workers may work full-time or part-time by single or multiple employers who engage their services at fixed monthly stipends or freelance.

Second, home-based workers constitute a significant number of informal employments both in developed and developing countries. Home-based workers are identified across all industries, both in formal and informal businesses. They are engaged in producing goods and services in or near individual homes for local, domestic, or global markets. Globally, the sector employs 260 million workers (Bonnet et al., 2021). It constituted the most significant form of informal employment in Asia Majority of the home-based workers fall within two large occupations: a) Self-employed home-based workers in services, sales, craft, and trade. These are primarily family-based activities that often engage the labour of other family members without wages. And b) Sub-contracted home-based workers. Many large factories or firms, particularly in the garment, textile, and footwear manufacturing companies, outsource the primary production process to home-based workers. New industries such as IT involves individuals in the assembling process of electronics (WIEGO, 2015).

The logic of outsourcing production from formal firms is to cut down costs and maximize profit (Bonnet et al., 2021; WIEGO, 2015). The structuralist has stressed this on the relationship between the formal and the informal sector (Castells & Portes, 1989; Moser, 1978) and manufacturing industries in developed countries outsourcing their production to the informal economy in developing countries (Bhowmik, 2010). It is one of the common features of post-industrialization (Chen, 2012; Rakowski, 1994). A significant proportion of the informal workers in China are employed in this category.

Another extensive category of workers of the informal economy is waste

pickers. The statistical picture shows that about 20 million people in developed and developing countries live from informal waste picking or recycling waste (ILO, 2013). Waste pickers in cities perform both an environmental function and an economic role in cities. Actors in this category mainly earn a living by collecting, sorting, recycling, and selling crews disposed of by households or companies. This is either collected from the streets, private water bins at the doorstep of homes or dumpsites/landfills. Informal waste pickers are classified into three groups: (1) unorganized or autonomous waste pickers who independently collect waste and sell them for profit, (2) organized waste pickers working through cooperatives or associations, and (3) contract waste pickers dominant in Latin America (Dias, 2016). For instance, informal recycling manages 80% of the cardboard and 90% of aluminium in Brazil (ibid). WIEGO group argued that waste pickers contribute significantly to waste management in cities of developing countries by reducing the cost and volume of waste in cities while offering services to households not covered by municipal waste services (WIEGO, 2015). Dias (2016) also argued that waste pickers contribute to; (1) cities' solid waste management system- by reducing the waste burden on formal waste management organizations, (2) the environment- by reducing greenhouse emission and ensuring sanity and quality public spaces, and (3) the economy- by creating employment monetary value from waste. She further stated that waste pickers in the global south are often stigmatized, ignored, and undervalued by urban planners and local authorities despite their environmental and economic contribution.

In recent years, e-waste management has become a growing concern of African cities and international organizations due to their environmental impact (Asibey et al., 2020). Waste, electrical and electronic equipment are discarded devices collected, dismantled, and sorted for reuse. The e-waste recycling activities involve dismantling, stripping, or extensive burning of electronics to fetch valuable and reusable components. Unlike other solid waste pickers, e-waste activities are environmentally sensitive and pose health risks to both workers and residents. It remains a livelihood of the young people living in slum communities (Asibey et al., 2020; Gillespie, 2016). Agbogbloshie, the largest informal settlement in Ghana, host the world's largest E-waste management site (Asibey et al., 2020).

Lastly, Street vending is a critical component, most visible (on the street and central parts of cities) and contested element of the urban informal economy, an important livelihood strategy of the urban poor, source of employment for young people and new migrants (Bhowmik, 2010; Bonnet et al., 2019; Brown, 2017; Mackie et al., 2014; Roever, 2014). According to Brown, street vending encompasses all legal, commercial activities in public spaces, whether mobile, semi-mobile or fixed. Whereas the street economy embraces a broader concept and involves all commercial activities that profit from the street, ranging from transport workers to food

vendors, porters, and small-scale producers (Brown, 2017), street vending is limited to petty traders and hawkers in urban centers. Street vending embrace the sale and purchase of goods and service on the streets. It deals with a wide range of goods, including prepared food and fresh produce, clothes, artisan or craft items, manufactured items, hardware, consumer electronics, phone accessories, herbs and medicine, sales of recharge cards, haircutting, among others (Brown, 2017; Xue & Huang, 2015; WIEGO, 2020b). Street vendors' customers are usually, but are not limited to, low-income residents who opt for cheaper goods; they also include domestic and foreign tourists who purchased these and recommended vending for convenience (Xue & Huang, 2015). All urbanites do not share this idea as shop owners and elites – the middle class often play a villain role in street vendors activities. While there is no comprehensive statistical data on street vendors in many cities, the intensity of the activities and vendors occupation can be seen from an eye level.

Among these four categories of the informal economy, street vending represents the most contentious occupation in urban spaces. It is the most vulnerable element and has suffered the rage of city authorities' repressions, lacking precise policy strategy towards formalization and adequate statistical data to guide policy decisions in many cities. Roever stated that the policy approaches to street vending in the 1970s were of tolerance and valued as a survival resource that complements cities experiencing rural-urban migration and weak economic progress (Roever, 2014). In recent times, street vendors have rarely been treated with the same measure of digital and tolerance as Bhowmik (2010) noted earlier. Such actions are vowed in the name of the 'recovery of public space' and 'public image (Chen & Carré, 2020).

3.2.2 Driving forces of the informal economic

The theoretical debate presented in chapter two explored varying factors due to scholars' perspectives on the informal economy. This includes deliberate actions of both individuals and firms to avoid the formal economy, avoid tax contribution, and comply with standards and bureaucracies of formal regulations. Deléchat & Medina (2020) opposed such views as they are banal and misconceived descriptions of the growth of the informal economy in contemporary cities. Its global coverage covers varying situations and grows for many reasons beyond the narrow conception of deliberate actions. As further argued by Bonnet et al. (2019), most people do not work informally by choice or by deliberate attempts to escape formal regulation. However, it is primarily due to the absence of opportunities – the quest to survive in contemporary cities.

Another critical factor widely acknowledged across countries in the global South is the impact of neoliberal policies. During the 1980s, many African countries and Asia were sinking in deep economic burdens. In response, International Monetary Fund (IMF) imposed the

Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in developing countries with conditions to manage the debt burdens (Brown & Mackie, 2018). As a neoliberal policy programme, the structural adjustment programme was a crafted mouthpiece of capitalism that requires downsizing public workers to free governments finance (Acheampong, 2019). It impacts significantly on the phenomenal growth of the informal economy. As Bhowmik (2005) wrote of India, street vending activities sharply increased during the 1990s following the introduction of SAP. Similar experiences are reported in Ghana (Acheampong, 2019; Osei-boateng, 2012) and Nigeria (Onodugo & Ezeadichie, 2019). The informal economy became a refuge for formal workers who lost their jobs due to public sector downsizing. Many resorted to street vending to eke a living for themselves and their households.

Furthermore, industrial societies have had a growing number of informal workers during and after the deindustrialization period. Again, in Indians informal economic history, Bhowmik further stated that most informal workers are former factory workers who have lost their employment due to the closure of industries. The working class with little to no skills than manpower is directly absorbed by the informal economy. Not only did the closure of industries drag former industrial workers into the informal economy, but also most of the industrial activities were outsourced to the informal economy (Bonnet et al., 2021)

The growth of the informal economy is also pointed to as a response to recent economic crises or downturns. Economists have also recognised the expansion of the informal economy during various economic crises, the 1980s deindustrialization and economic crisis, the global financial crisis in 2008 (Chen, 2012). The ongoing global health crisis (Covid-19 pandemic) has already impacted formal and informal employment; workers of all sectors lost their jobs to ease the financial burden of companies. The informal economy, primarily street vending, is the worst hit by Covid Pandemic as lockdown restrictions halt pedestrians movement, vehicular traffics, and market activities closure. The impact on street vendors' livelihoods will likely lead to a permanent loss of income (WIEGO, 2020a). In addition, while market traders were permitted to trade at a particular time, street vendors were denied every opportunity to vend in public spaces. The covid-19 pandemic is raging havoc on the informal economy. The aftermath of the pandemic is likely to exacerbate vending activities in the cities and the growth of casual workers.

3.3 How big is the informal economy? A statistical picture

3.3.1 Magnitude and composition of the informal economy

Many of the recent comprehensive trend analysis indicates that the informal economy is experienced in every single country. It is estimated that 61% (2 billion) of the global employed population is engaged in the

61%

2 billion of the world's employed population are engaged in the informal economy

informal economy (ILO, 2018). However, the share of informal employment across regions varies drastically, ranging from as low as 20% in developed countries to as high as 90% in developing countries. According to the ILO Statistical Picture of the informal economy (see figure 3 and table 3.1), Africa account for the vast majority (90%) of the employment is informal. Asia followed with (68.2%) and the Arab states (65.6%). About 40% in America and 25.1% in Europe and central Asia (ILO, 2018). Further breakdown to regional levels reveals that that Sub-Saharan Africa economy employs the highest, at about 90%. Southern Asia follows with over 88%, North Africa 68%, while in Latin America and the Caribbean, the informal economy employed 54% (Bonnet et al., 2019; ILO, 2018). The conclusion from this statistical picture suggests a strong correlation between the level of socio-economic development and the incidence of informality (Bonnet et al., 2019; Deléchat & Medina, 2020; ILO, 2018).

The informal economy employs up 90% in developing countries

Informal work, thus market trading and street vending, are linked with gender inequality. It is estimated that two out of three informal workers in developing countries are women (Deléchat & Medina, 2020). Women are dominating the informal economy and largely constituting the most vulnerable categories of the informal economy.

Figure 3.2: Street Vendor in India

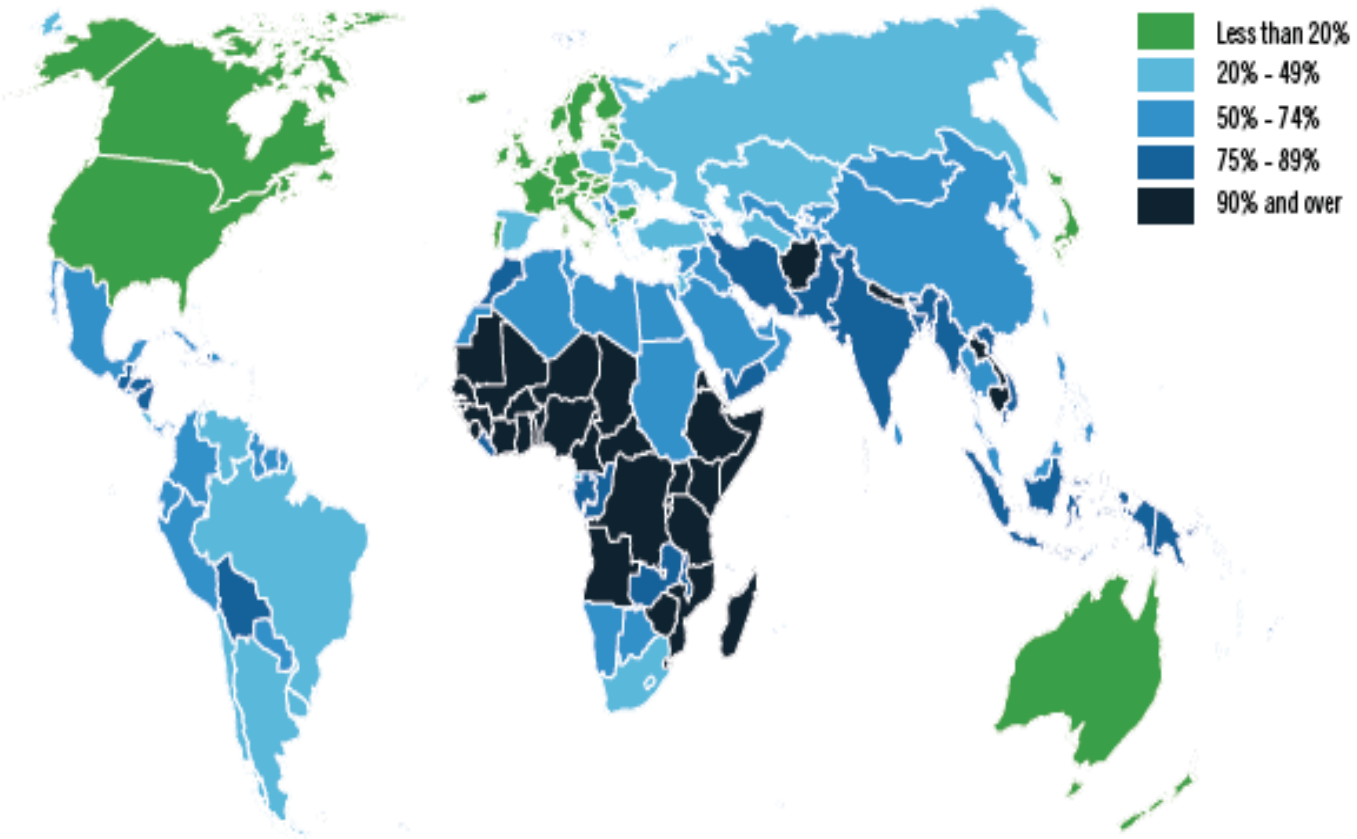


Figure 3.3: The share of informal employment to total employment globally as 2016

Table 3.1: Regional distribution of informal sector employment by sex

	Total employment			Non-Agricultural employment		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Asia and the Pacific	71	74	67	63	65	58
Southern Asia	88	87	91	78	78	77
East and South-Eastern Asia (including China)	61	63	59	56	58	54
East and South-Eastern Asia (excluding China)	77	77	77	66	67	65
Sub-Saharan Africa	89	86	92	77	72	83
Southern Africa	40	38	42	36	34	38
Rest of sub-Saharan Africa	92	89	95	82	76	88
Latin America and the Caribbean	54	53	55	50	47	52
Middle East and North Africa	68	69	62	59	62	44
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	37	38	36	30	32	27

Source: ILO tabulated, Bonnet et al., (2019: 10)

3.4 Street Vending as a global phenomenon

3.4.1 What Street vending entails

Street vending usually occur in urban public spaces including, sidewalks, pavements, bus terminals, on roads, pedestrian footbridge and squares and other unoccupied space

According to WIEGO (2020), street vending is a central component of urban economies worldwide. It offers relatively easy access to a wide range of goods and services in public space. It is extensively studied as a survival strategy, which has endured excessive policing over the years (Batréau & Bonnet, 2016). Traditionally, street vending is situated in cities of global South: Africa, Latin America and Asian cities (Batréau & Bonnet, 2016; Brown, 2017; Recchi, 2020). It is also growing through minimal rate large cities across developed countries, including European and North America (Boels, 2014; Recchi, 2020). In cities like Rome, Italy; Madrid, Spain; Los Angeles and New York in the United States have ample evidence of street vending with an in-suit practice of repressions similar to what pertains in the global South (WIEGO, 2020b). Recchi (2020), in her comprehensive review of street vending in developed countries, stated that street vending is no more a residual activity of the global South that will fade out in the future. Instead, it is a continuously growing phenomenon that is spreading rapidly worldwide.

Who are these street vendors? What pushes them into street vending? What kind of problems do they pose to cities? And what challenges do they face in the use of urban public spaces? These are intriguing questions to understand the global phenomenon of street vending and how city authorities respond to it. According to Bhowmik (2005; 2010), a street vendor is defined as anyone who offers goods for sale on streets, pavements, and sidewalks without owning such spaces or permanent structures but with temporary static or mobile stalls. It is a small-scale retail activity that occurs in public spaces (Batréau & Bonnet, 2016). Cross defines informal street vending as the production and selling of legal goods and services in urban public spaces, not formally regulated by law and on temporary structures (Cross 2000 as cited by Recchi, 2020). Recchi (2020) noted that street vending is usually defined in formal and informal or regulated or unregulated dichotomies. The street vending activity is quite heterogeneous in nature and the mode of operation among actors. Despite the broad range of goods and services provided by street vendors, there are slight regional and national level variations worldwide and how vending activities are organized. What is common in the different forms of street vending is that they mainly occur in urban public spaces.

As the name describes it, street vending activities are conducted in diverse urban open spaces (Roever, 2014). Vendors often pile their wares in such places to attract customers who are mainly pedestrians. It may be stationary by occupying a site public space or mobile where vendors move around with their wares on pushcarts or in baskets, or on their heads (Bhowmik, 2005). Each of these categories often experienced different

degrees of violence and working conditions (Recchi, 2020). Most vendors use fixed stalls, stands, tables, kiosks or mobile stands such as bicycles, carts, trolleys or cars, perhaps bare grounds on blankets, racks or mats (Roever, 2014). Others hang their goods, for instance, clothes on walls or trees or fences, to display their items to potential customers.

In developing and developed countries, existing literature distinguishes two main categories of street vending by their working streets. (1) Mobile or itinerant vendors undertake vending activities by moving from one place to another all day long, searching for customers. (2) Fixed or stationary vendors occupy public space and conduct their activities daily on the same spot over the short or long term but have no legal claim of such spaces (Batréau & Bonnet, 2016; Bhowmik, 2005; Hanser, 2016; Okoye, 2020; Roever, 2014). This kind of space appropriation among vendors takes place through self-regulation and mutual understanding. While local authorities allot few vendors spaces, most street vendors have no authorized sites of operation. Latent conflicts between vendors over space appropriation are resolved through ordinary negotiations and moral acceptance since none could claim rightful ownership over the said space.

Although street vending is found in urban public spaces, vendors are not randomly distributed. Instead, they tend to cluster in strategic locations with a high flow of pedestrians and vehicular traffic (Afrane, 2013; Brown, 2017). Along main roads, in front of shopping centres, pedestrian walkways, footbridges, and major road junctions. Street vendors in Mexico and Colombia are always clustered around historical centres (Martínez et al., 2017). In Africa, CBDs remain the central places for street vending activities due to the concentration of diverse business activities and their role as transport hubs; collect and redistribute the urban population. However, city authorities are reluctant to accommodate street vendors within the CBDs and often turn to eject from such spaces

Street vendors are engaged in an extensive range of activities. They may or many own the businesses or activities in which they operate. According to the WEIGO street vendors report (Roever, 2014), the activities can be grouped into three categories. First Buy-Sell: vendors engage in direct buy and sell activities. Vendors source goods from wholesalers and sell them for marginal profits in their vending posts or various public places. They may or may not own the wares they sell with their personal funds. They are mostly sourced from firms through mutual relationships or employed by firms. In Ghana, for instance, large production companies such A1 bread, Adinkra meat pie and many of the drinking water companies and retailers primarily employ street vendors to sell their goods. In recent times, all the telecommunications companies in Ghana rely directly on street vendors and other informal operators to service the clientele (Steel et al., 2014). Second, transformation: This category produces goods at home or on vending sites and sells them directly to customers on

the streets (i.e.those who own their business or work under formal or informal firms). Third, the services category provides a range of services that include repairs of shoes, garments, or electronics repairs, among others at their vending posts(Roever, 2014). The report revealed that about 96% of street vendors operate as own-account workers. Further, 51% of the vendors sourced their wares from formal enterprises, 27% from other informal wholesalers whiles sell their own produced goods.

Street vending, as noted, exist in cities as one of the coping strategies of disadvantaged migrants to survive and improve their living conditions (Bhowmik, 2005; 2010; Xue & Huang, 2015). Most likely, people with low education (Recchi, 2020; Roever, 2014). According to Roever, women are twice likely to be engaged in street vending activities (Roever, 2014). Many street vendors are relatively poor and opt to engage in these activities by necessity to make earns meet rather than a choice (Batréau & Bonnet, 2016). Street vendors are mainly dominated by marginal groups in developing and developed countries, often from the migrant population. Recci (2020) noted a strong relationship between informal street vending and immigrant status in developed countries. WIEGO affirmed that in Europe, with references to Italy and Spain, street vendors are often migrants from Africa and other countries.

Street vendors have allies who support their activities and, at the same time, strong opposers who seek to rid them off from the in cities. Empirical studies and documentation have revealed how customers of street vendors endorse vending activities in cities (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016; Xue & Huang, 2015) based on convenience, easy access to goods, and low prices for goods, among others. However, the public visibility of street vending in urban spaces opens vendors to constant harassment by state officials. According to Bhowmik (2010), they target city authorities and police in urban areas. Such actions are often incited by the middle class, who constantly grumbles about the inconveniency of street vending in public spaces and nuisances to the modernist view of the city. They argued and often prodded local authorities to defend the public interest of open spaces against street vendors. Street vendors, in their opinion, are encroachers on urban spaces. The proceeding section briefly discusses the contribution of street vending and forms of repressive action by city authorities.

3.4.2 Why Street vending? Characteristics and working conditions.

Many urban poor survive in cities by working directly in the informal economy, particularly street vending. As highlighted in the literature, poverty and lack of gainful employment in rural and urban areas are prime driving forces for the growth of the informal economy (Bhowmik, 2010). Informal economic actors are often poor than formal sector workers, though not exclusive. This is because they lack formal contracts and social protection (Deléchat & Medina, 2020),

earns marginal profits, often too little to cater for their household needs, and live in precarious situations that trap them into chronic poverty. As Bonnet et al. (2019) noted, informal workers face multiple problems, often poor and vulnerable to all forms of risk.

As informal workers, street vendors constantly face uncertainty, insecurity, and poor working conditions. And they lack access to public goods and services. Street vendors are twice likely to face workplace insecurity and the risk of losing their merchandise during decongestion operations. A significant portion of street vendors operates without the necessary infrastructure or support services (Racaud et al., 2018). This is because central governments and local authorities have been reluctant to provide a conducive environment for street vendors but tend to suppress them for taking over public spaces.

In the prime studies of Hart (1973), he identified four primary features of the informal economy that are particularly critical for people to be engaged in informal economic activities in developing countries. These include the following:

First, Low level-skill. Most informal economic activities, including street vending, are mainly labour intensive and require low-level skills or techniques. Literature shows that most street vendors in developing countries often have low educational backgrounds (Baah-boateng & Vanek, 2020; Roever, 2014)(Deléchat & Medina, 2020), who seek to employ themselves by vending on the streets. Genuinely, most people are vending because they cannot hope for employment in the formal sector (Bhowmik, 2010). Street vending activities require low professional skills, making it the most attractive site for low skilled personal. However, surviving as a street vendor requires a certain level of skills to compete or negotiate for space and customers (Roever, 2014). Street vendors are skillful players who interact with pedestrians or customers, drivers and city authorities in negotiating for spaces. The processes resonate with the rhythm of the city's daily life as described by Lefebvre (1996), "the music of the city."

Also, it is not limited to people with low or without skills. Recently, many university graduates confronted with precarious unemployment situations across African countries are pushed to the streets to make earns meet. Graduate employment has become a chronic disease in most African cities (Haug, 2014). The low skill factor directly resonates with the structuralist debate of the informal economy.

Second, low barriers to entry is a prominent feature of the informal economy, particularly street vending. This could be seen in two ways; (1) low skill requirement. Due to the low skill requirement, entry into street vending is comparatively easy. (2) limited capital requirement for starting up. These factors primarily draw most the young people "Not in

Education, Employment or Training" (NEET) and women into the street for making.

Third, low earnings. Street vending offers viable livelihoods, but most of these activities involve an extreme risk that outweighs their wages.

Finally, as already mentioned, most street vendors in developing countries and developed countries are migrants (Roever, 2014). This is because most migrants from impoverished rural communities lack formal skills or professional skills to be employed immediately. Due to low entry barriers and less skill requirement, street vending becomes the convincing occupation to migrate. The recent experience of street vending in European countries (precisely, Southern Europe) and North America is due to the increasing numbers of migrants from Africa and beyond (Boels, 2016; Recchi, 2020; WIEGO, 2020b).

Generally, the informal economy is characterized by low-level skill activities, irregular incomes and long working hours, undefined workplaces, unsafe and unhealthy working conditions. Street vendors working in open spaces are exposed to high environmental Hazards environmental effects such as sun or severe cold, the distraction of heavy rainfalls, which directly affect their health and damage of wares

3.4.3 Size and composition of street vending

Like the informal economy, street vending is more prevalent in many parts of the African continent, especially the mobile actors known as "Hawkers". Street vending constitutes a large proportion of non-agriculture informal employment in Africa. Street vendors are largely visible working groups in the cities, yet it is challenging to capture the numerical accuracy or extensively enumerate in an official census or survey (Roever & Skinner, 2016). For some reasons, including the highly mobile nature of street vending, seasonal or temporary, and large number involved without a place of work. This makes it challenging to compile precise data. However, the available quantitative data and qualitative information reveal that street vending shares many urban employments.

The size of street vending is relatively in regions where trade constitutes the domain of economic activities. As Sally Roever and Caroline Skinner revealed, trading accounted for 43% of all non-agricultural employment SSA, directly translated in the size of street vending at the city level. Recent statistics indicate that street vending constitute 12 to 24% of the informal employment in Africa; 13% in Dakar, Senegal; 19% in Cotonou, Benin; 24% in Lomé, Togo. National-level statistics show that street vending employs 15% in South Africa (Roever, 2014). However, Sub-Saharan Africa only accounted for 43% of non-agriculture informal employment (Roever & Skinner, 2016). Street vending in Asian cities

is slightly lower than other forms of work. For instance, about 14% in India, while major cities like Mumbai and Ahmedabad, street vending is significantly lower – 4.4% and 6.5%. In China, cities such as Hanoi and Vietnam, street vending employs up to 11% (Roever & Skinner, 2016; Roever, 2014). In Latin American cities, street shares a lower proportion of urban employment. For instance, street vending employment constitutes 9% and 2% in Argentina (Roever & Skinner, 2016).

There is a slight variation between men and women employed in the street vending. Several empirical studies suggested that women constituted a large share of employment in the informal sector and street vending than men in Ghana (Anyidoho & Steel, 2016: 7; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016; Steel et al., 2014:2). It affirms the findings of Roever (2014)- a compiled sector report on street vending by WIEGO. Primarily due to limited economic opportunities for women both in rural and urban areas and low level of education (ibid, 2014) and the low participation of women in formal employment (Roever & Skinner, 2016). For instance, in Ghana, Baah-boateng & Vanek (2020) found that both men and women employed in the street vending have little or lower-level education. However, men obtained higher education than women

Table 3.2: The myths and facts about street vending.

No.	Parameter	Myths	Facts
1	The use of public space	Street vendors operate in public spaces to avoid regulation	Street vendors are the most regulated agents in the city.
2	Tax payment	Street vendors do not pay taxes and fees for the use of public spaces	They pay taxes in various forms; fees, levies or market tolls, and license registration
3	Sanitation	Street vendors contribute to "crime and grime" in cities	Street vendors do clean their spaces and safeguard public spaces
4	Chaotic and order	Street vending is innately chaotic and lacks order.	Street vendors are self-organized. Lack of infrastructure creates congestion.
5	Organizing and collective bargaining	It is challenging to organize street vendors, and they cannot engage in collective bargaining	Street vendors in cities are increasingly associating themselves with smaller organizations to collective bargain for spaces and their right to the city

Source: myths and facts about street adopted from WIEGO compilation (WIEGO, 2015, 2020b)

3.4.4 Facts about Street vending

Street vending is often criticized with prolific perceptions, which negatively affected the activities and how policy illy responded to them. Some of these perceptions relevant to the use of public spaces are highlighted in table 3.2.

3.4.5 Contribution of street vending to cities

Street vending plays a pivotal role in sustaining cities' urban life and vitality in the Global South (Haug, 2014; Martínez et al., 2017; Onodugo & Ezeadichie, 2019)

Street vending plays a pivotal role in sustaining cities' urban life and vitality in the Global South (Haug, 2014; Martínez et al., 2017; Onodugo & Ezeadichie, 2019). It is difficult to quantify the contribution of street vending due to the complex and fragmented nature of street vending and general disregard for the sector. Yet, in qualitative terms, its role in the urban economy is profound. Street vending is critical to African cities not for the sole reason of creating employment opportunities for various actors, but their significant contribution to the urban life and sustaining the growth of their cities (in terms of local revenue, services and other necessities not provided by formal businesses). It is a source of income and livelihood for many urbanities in Ghana (Baah-boateng & Vanek, 2020). Street vendors are mainly responsible for creating vibrant city life in many African cities, otherwise not existing. As Roever & Skinner (2016) argued, street vendors contributions to urban life go beyond their self-employment. They create both demand for and supply of a wide variety of services, making it critical for the well-functioning of the urban centres. The activities often generate demand services for other informal actors such as transport operators and porters, thereby creating employment opportunities. Sometimes, they directly employ other vendors.

Street vendors bring everyday goods to many urban folks at affordable prices (WEIGO, 2020b). They offer a wide range of goods and services, including foodstuff, fresh vegetables, processed food and services) to urbanites at convenient and accessible locations and allows the majority of urban poor to access these vital services at relatively low prices (Chen, 2016), which would otherwise be a challenge for low-income households living in the cities. Street vendors are patent actors in giving life to the cities. Thus, they form the bedrock of cities growth and urban diversity in the Global South (WIEGO, 2021). Food vendors perform a profound role in urban food security by providing ready-made food for most urban populations. Socially, the food vendors protect the homeless and most urban poor from starving in the cities. The service of street vendors aid in reducing and maintaining urban poverty and the struggles of the poor is critical (Morange, 2015)

Conventional literature, perhaps, the voluntarists scholars hold that street vendors do not pay taxes yet earn income using public infrastructure or spaces. Such situations, as claimed, create unfair competition with formal enterprises (Chen 2012; WIEGO 2015). The claim is proven false. The street vendors pay various forms of taxes, fees and levies (Roever, 2014), and permits and licenses. Street vendors contribute revenue to cities authorities. Owusu-Sekyere et al. (2016) revealed that Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly in Ghana obtains about 70% of her internal generated fund from the daily tolls paid by vendors. This is not to conclude that informal economic actors do not intentionally or unintentionally evade tax. There is empirical evidence in Ghana that suggestion tax evasion in informal sector. For instance, Danquah & Osei-Assibey, (2016) estimated that in 2013, tax revenue of GH¢801,940.00 (US$334,142) was anticipated from the informal economy. However, the actual revenue collected recorded a drastic shortfall to GH¢205,589.32 (US$85, 662), indicating a lost of 74%. The drastic failure could be explained from the lack of recognition, attention and regulation informal economy. This suggests that if street vendors are appropriately regulated, they stand to be a better source of revenue to local governments.

3.6 Street vendors facing city authorities; Global overview.

City authorities have been hostile and repressive towards street vendors

Street vendors are always working under constant fear of police harassment and eviction. As Bhowmik argued, the visibility of vending activities in public spaces exposes street vendors to all forms of brutal treatment (Bhowmik, 2010:15). In many parts of the global south and recent experiences in highly developed cities, street vendors have suffered the rogue of city authorities' repressions and increasing hostility (WIEGO, 2020b), despite their central role in sustaining these cities and their citizens. In other incidences, local bye-laws or ordinances banned street vending in most cities. For instance, in Nigeria, Zambia and Zimbabwe, Laws banned or criminalized vending for selling fake products and public reasons (Gillespie, 2016; Onodugo et al., 2016; WIEGO, 2020b). The constructed problem of street vending as encroachers, congestion and aesthetic or beauty on urban public spaces has degenerated continuous conflicts between city authorities and street vendors. Due to such constructed views, city authorities continue to treat street vendors as illegal actors, encroachers on public spaces and pedigree of urban nuisance (Kumar, 2012). Urban planners and city authorities viewed street vending as atypical use of public spaces (Onodugo et al., 2016). On this premise, efforts to regulate these activities do not seek to accommodate them in public spaces; instead, they strive to rule them out of the city. Not only do street vendors face suppression from local government, but they also face unusual informal governance-the abusive use of power or position of individual officials to extract concessions in material and symbolic from street vendors (Roever, 2016)

Urban planning remains a robust tool at the disposal of local government

authorities to regulate the activities of street vending. However, city authorities have failed to do so effectively and inclusively; they often and inappropriately seek to regulate street vending by brutality rather than mutual or democratic actions. Racaud et al. (2018) convey these fuzzy mixed tools to regulating street vending as ambiguous regulatory frameworks – to illustrate the contradiction between the indubitable contribution of vending activities, the permitting and issuing of licenses to street vendors against the increasing cruelty and hostile attitude of city authorities towards street vendors. Roever also noted such indifferent practices in Durban, Lima and Nakuru (Roever, 2016). In the proceeding section, various repressive approaches adopted by city authorities in regulating street vending are briefly discussed.

3.6.1 Urban planning and the informal street vending

Urban planning in the global South traces its long history and foundation to planning theories and practices in the global North. Contemporary urban planning in African has remained a copy and paste (i.e., importing planning ideas), despite the different urban realities in these two regions (Onodugo & Ezeadichie, 2019; Watson, 2009). Urban planning remains largely a robust tool in sharpening the growth of African cities that are fast urbanizing with their associated informalities; the "informal urbanism" and the informal economy. The dogmatic of urban planning in the global South to recognize and confront its urban realities is epitomized in planning exclusion and repression of informal actors by local authorities (Acheampong, 2019; Onodugo & Ezeadichie, 2019). Vanessa Watson described this dysfunctional urban planning in the global South as planning that sweeps the poor away (Watson, 2009).

Street vending is what characterized urban growth and has occupied a large share of spaces in CBDs of African cities. It implies that planning for sustainable cities in Africa inevitably requires appropriate tools to regulate street vending. Nevertheless, urban planning in the global South has failed to recognize the role of the informal economy in the spatial organization of the urban environment. Planning responses are mostly confrontational (Rogerson, 2016), thus challenging the legitimacy of vendors to use urban public space for economic gains.

The root of such repressive actions first stemmed from the informal economy's dualism and legalist perspectives, which created differentials and incompatible relationships between what is formal and accepted and what is informal and disregarded. Such battles have been exacerbated by neoliberal urban policies in developing countries (Acheampong, 2019; Lund & Skinner, 2004; Onodugo & Ezeadichie, 2019; Roever & Skinner, 2016; Spire & Choplin, 2017). It is evident in urban China and Indian cities (Flock & Breitung, 2016; Graaff & Ha, 2015; Hanser, 2016). Also, in South Africa during the 2010 World Cup tournament (Roever, 2014), and Kenya (Morange, 2015) and Ghana (Spire & Choplin, 2017). Adama

(2021) and Xue & Huang (2015) argued that modernity and neoliberalism had paved the way for criminalizing street vending. The second factor is local governments' ill-attitude to the street economy emanated from the long perceived urban problems and environmental changes (Acheampong, 2019; Afrane, 2013; Roever & Skinner, 2016). Yet many of these problems are blamed on the unresponsiveness and failure of urban planning (Cobbinah et al., 2017; Acheampong, 2019).

Cities authorities globally have used various strategies to regulate or expel street vendors from the urban environment. Eviction, relocation, police harassment and brutality, confiscation of vendors' goods, and prosecution and fines are methods adopted by state institutions and local government authorities to control or regulate street vendors. Roever and Skinner classified these actions into three categories. This includes force eviction as the most extreme official policy, relocation as a compensation disregarded or delusive approach, and harassment as the less severe method used by state officials (Roever & Skinner, 2016). Such incongruous measures towards the ever-resilient activities have proved futile over the years (Marthy Chen, 2012; Roever & Skinner, 2016; Steel et al., 2014; WIEGO, 2020b); they tend to resurface in the same settings immediately after eviction and relocation. And the battle continues in that cycle.

More recently, there have been growing positive responses and practices identified in some countries. Onodugo & Ezeadichie (2019) argued that the state's recent positive attitude towards the informal economy is that many governments have recognized its inevitable presence and importance in creating alternative employment from formal employment in cities. Christian Rogerson describes state responses to street trading as a long continuum from violent repression and sustained eviction to less hostile approaches that and tends to recognize street traders in urban development (Rogerson, 2016)

3.6.2 Urban Planning response to street vending (exclusion and punitive mechanisms)

Urban planning responses to street vending are exclusionary and punitive

As stated earlier, current planning responses or state reaction to the street economy globally, particularly in the global South, is the dominant traditional practices of intolerance and hostile relationships between city authorities and street economic vendors (Onodugo et al., 2016). This section explores the various form of state or local authorities' reactions towards street vending in cities. These include (1) arbitrary eviction, (2) force relocation, (3) low-level harassment, and (4) merchandise confiscation.

First, eviction has become a widespread policy tool by state authorities to respond to street vending and other forms of informal activities in cities (Brown et al., 2015; Roever & Skinner, 2016). Eviction is a "violent action

where street vendors are simply removed from public space"(Roever & Skinner, 2016, p.4). Eviction exists a complex power struggle between city authorities and the urban poor for access and control over public space (Omoegun et al., 2019). Local authorities exert unequal power on street vendors by removing them and their activities from urban spaces. Some authors refer to this process as the expropriation of spaces from the urban poor capital gains (Frimpong et al., 2020). It has erroneously and exclusively been perceived that the complex urban problems, for instance, congestions are the product of street vending activities. In this case, eviction of vendors seems to be the only panacea to creating liveable urban spaces. The efficiency of this approach remains questionable amidst the persistent presence of the street vendors in the same places of eviction (Haug, 2014; Obeng-Odoom, 2011; Omoegun et al., 2019; Onodugo & Ezeadichie, 2019; Steel et al., 2014).

The street economy is often viewed as a nuisance and chaotic (Acheampong, 2019; Onodugo et al., 2016). Hence the treatment for such illness is by cleansing the street and freeing them from their usual activities. It can be generalized that this approach to the street economy is experienced in all countries in the global South, especially in Africa countries such as Ghana (Steel et al., 2014), Nigeria (Omoegun et al., 2019), Kenya (Morange, 2015; Racaud et al., 2018). Eviction experiences are widely large scale and coordinated events implemented by multiple state agencies at the local level (Roever, 2016). From one research strand, eviction incidence - thus, public space cleaning assumed political interplay during electoral politics and mega-events in cities. Another strand explains the effect of neoliberal urban governance. The recent version of eviction is the sweeping waves of neoliberal urban policies that prioritize private investment over public use of urban spaces (Morange, 2015; Roever, 2016; Roever & Skinner, 2016; Spire & Choplin, 2017). The quest for city beauty has resulted in embracing downtown "clean up' or "decongestion' as city planning goals, as in the case of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly, Ghana (Spire & Choplin, 2017). In Africa, "Street vendor evictions continue in a drive to 'beautify' and combat disease, but also to punish" (WIEGO, 2020b, P. 5).

For instance, Zimbabwe street vendors face violent evictions by the state government. In 2018, about 10,000 stalls were demolished by police and military men in the national capital. In 2015, Nairobi's city government evicted several hundreds of vendors from the city (Morange, 2015; Racaud et al., 2018). In Latin America, for instance, in San Paulo, Brazil, the City Hall launched a programme in 2018 to reclaim public spaces in the city. The new vision culminates in coercive actions; thus, police used tear gas to evict hundreds of vendors set to trade in the city center. The strategy primarily seeks to clear the streets of vendors (WIEGO, 2020b).

Secondly, forced relocation is another approach widely used to disperse street vendors outside CBDs. Towards compensation but disregarded

or delusive approach (Onodugo et al., 2016; Roever & Skinner, 2016) is used to relocate street vendors to marginal settings or satellite markets void of pedestrians. In cases, relocations attempt to push street vendors away from public spaces. However, they are mainly top-down by city authorities (Morange, 2015; Onodugo & Ezeadichie, 2019) without critical assessment and inclusion of vendors in the decision-making process. Its rationale premised on a clean city and a hygienic urban environment. For instance, an attempted relocation of the street traders resulted in a violent conflict in Nairobi (Morange, 2015). In Enugu State, Nigeria, street vendors and hawkers openly objected decision to relocate outside the CBD (Onodugo et al., 2016).

The third instrument is low-level harassment that is always backed by city By-laws. City or Metropolitan councils across many cities have formulated By-laws that prohibit unauthorized vendors or ban street vending in certain areas in CBDs. The approach is consistently applied and question the legitimacy of vendors accessing and using public access. As Sally Roever (2016:29) writes, harassment "emerges in situations in which the legitimacy of street vendors' access to public space is legally or politically ambiguous." An exclusion method is often used to stigmatize vendors and their occupation in the city. Nairobi, Kenya and Lima, Peru, have an extensively used license (Morange, 2015; Roever & Skinner, 2016) to limit the number of vendors in the city. Police officers and Task forces often harass vendors without a license or vending in space without authorization.

The issue of police harassment sometimes is discussed in academia as arbitrarily used of power by police offices to take bribes from vendors (Akuoko et al., 2013; Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Roever, 2016) or seize vendors items for personal use. As Akuoko et al. (2013) write, harassment in the form of bribes taken by officials or city guards comes in agreeable terms (i.e. official guarantee protection future vendors from future harassments). And the extreme of police harassment and humiliation was seen in Tunisia when "Mohamed Bouazizi, a street vendor who burnt himself to death to protest police brutalities" (Graaff & Ha, 2015:1).

Also, confiscation of merchandise has been one of the severe forms of hostilities against street vendors. Merchandise confiscation describes the use of coercion power to collect the goods or items of street vendors for vending in unauthorized spaces or as a ransom for payment of fines. City ordinances and Bye-laws guarantee local officials the power to seize vendor' merchandise as a deterrent or prevent unlicensed vendors from public space (Roever, 2016; Roever & Skinner, 2016).

The use of licenses by city authorities has a primary objective of selective exclusion of street vendors from the city centres. Hence, it is not for the sole reason of formalizing street vending activity but rather a schematic tool to remove vendors from the city. Such instances directly reflect what

David Harvey wrote on the selective inclusion and exclusion of desired behaviour that city authorities permit or prohibit in the city environment (Harvey, 2012:3-4). City bye-laws often justify such unwarranted actions as they tend to buttress all unjustifiable actions by city authorities legally. Sometimes, vendors are arrested or their goods confiscated to compel them to pay fines for illegal vending. This form of repression has multi-effects on vendors' livelihood and contributes to their vulnerability and poverty (Brown et al., 2015; Obeng-Odoom, 2011).

Another intriguing, perhaps the most critical and highly destructive policy tool is the placement of bans on street vending activities. Various local authorities and even national governments institute legal frameworks to ban street vending activities in the national constitutions. In 2007, Zimbabwe's government and the local government of Masvingo city banned all street vending activities in the national capital despite its heavy reliance on street vending activities for economic growth and various necessities (WIEGO, 2020b). In effect, as Chigwenya (2021) write, the Regional Town and Country Act do not recognize vending in urban spaces.

3.6.3 Street vending and the law

Regulating street vending is mainly by law and not by pragmatic actions. These prescriptive and normative rules often do not intend to coordinate or influence the behaviour of street vendors towards mutual co-existence but rather to prohibit, rule out or confine them from surfacing in public spaces where the question of nuisances is conceived. By-laws regulating street vending are often complex, irregular, and usually not accessible or spelt out to street vendors, leaving them vulnerable to police harassment, confiscations, and evictions. In extreme cases, city By-laws tend to criminalize vending activities at CBDs (Chigwenya, 2021). Local governments in many African cities do not only place bans on street vending, they but outlawed vending (Roever & Skinner, 2016). In Nigeria, for instance, national laws criminalized street vending activities, thus subjecting both vendors and their customers to fines or equivalent terms of imprisonment (Adama, 2021; Roever & Skinner, 2016). Criminalization of street vending forms the genesis of violent repression against vendors in all cities. It creates the legal basis for punitive measures such as confiscation, police harassment of vendors, both physical and verbal harassment, fines and other forms of unlawful attitude towards them (Adama, 2021; Roever, 2016).

3.6.4 Towards inclusive practices

Despite the widespread draconian policies towards street vendors, there is a growing trend of positive responses towards street vendors in some cities such as Durban in South Africa, Monrovia in Liberia, Delhi, and Mumbai in India, and even in Los Angeles in the United States

and Spain (Kamete, 2017; WIEGO, 2020b). Street vendors increasingly recognize themselves in associations to collectively resist state suppressions and bargain for space and recognition in urban policies. In Monrovia, the City Hall signed a Memorandum of Understanding between the Monrovia City Corporation, the Federation of Petty Traders, and the Informal Traders Union of Liberia. The agreement turns to recognizing the dignity and respect for petty street vendors and working in partnership to develop plans to ensure the spaces for vendors. The Indian Street Vending (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Act of 2014 requires local authorities to collaboratively develop schemes and Town Vending Committee, including vendors and legitimize their rights to vending on the street. (Government of India, 2014). Similar Acts have been established in Nairobi, Kenya (Morange, 2015), and Guinea (Conroy, 2010). In Los Angeles in the United States, the City Council, by ordinances, decriminalized street vending activities and removed the city's law banning street vending (Chou, 2017), even though the national government remains hostile to street actors (WIEGO, 2020b). Detailed elaboration of these growing practices is discussed subsequent chapter seven.


FORTUNER

Chapter Four

Contextualizing Street Vending: Ghana's Experience

4.1 Introduction

Having looked at street vending in the global context, the preceding discussion in this chapter aims to contextualise street vending experiences in Ghana. It does so by briefly presenting the profile of two major Ghanaian cities and the local government system and tracing the growth of the informal economy in Ghana and its composition, street vending, typologies, and use of urban public spaces in urban Ghana. This exploration is core to constructing the problem of street vending and policy responses in the proceeding chapter.

4.2 Background of the Study

The background socio-economic characteristics and demographic profile of the focus area (Kumasi) and the reference city (Accra) and Ghana are crucial to understanding the spatial dynamics and factors that influence the proliferation of various forms of informalities.

4.2.1 Profile of Ghana

Ghana, formerly known as Gold Coast, is a low-middle country in West Africa sub-region. According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census report (GSS, 2013), Ghana's population was 24,658,823. The population is estimated at 31,489,256[1] in 2020, with an annual growth rate of 2.2% (GSS, 2020). Generally, the population is youthful (with the age cohort of 0-25 sharing almost half of the total population). Ghana's population is predominantly urban. According to Ghana Urbanization Think Tank (GUTT)(2019), in 2018, 56.1% of the Ghanaian population was estimated to live in urban areas. Urbanization in Ghana is not unique as it appears similar in many other African cities. The rapid urbanization in Ghanaian is attributed to the natural increase of the urban population. Ayambire et al. (2019) also argued that the impact of migration, thus rural-urban drift to primate cities, is profound on Ghana's urbanization phenomenon. That is a high level of internal migration (Yankson & Bertrand, 2012). Accra and Kumasi are the primary recipients of the country's urban population because of their economic role.

Ghana's economy has changed substantively since the decline in the 1970s. It was projected as the world's fastest-growing economy in 2019[2] , driven mainly by its notorious Gold exportation, crude oil, and Cocoa, among others. In the last decade, Ghana has experienced remarkable economic growth, and such growth is not translated into creating adequate job opportunities (Owusu-Sekyere & Amoah, 2020). High unemployment remains a critical issue that hinders national development. The local economy is predominantly informal, sharing

1 A compiled data from the region population projects in 2020. Retrieved from Ghana Statistical Service webpage https://www.statsghana.gov.gh/#

2 World Economic Forum https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/05/ghana-is-set-to-be-the-worlds-fastest-growing-economy-this-year-according-to-the-imf/

about 90% of all employments in the country (GSS, 2019).

4.2.3 The Local Government system of Ghana

Ghana is constitutionally a three tie level of government: national, regional and local assemblies. The assemblies constitute the highest decentralized body in the local government system. The Local Government Act 2016 (Act 936) is the main legislative instrument that establishes and empowers the local assembles. Quite a number of legislative frameworks also conferred specific administrative roles to the local assemblies. They include; Civil Service Law 1993 (PNDCL 327), National Development Planning (System) Act 1994 (Act 480), National Development Planning Commission Act 1994 (Act 479), Institute of Local Government Studies Act 2003 (Act 647), Internal Audit Agency Act 2003 (658), Local Government (Departments of District Assemblies) Commencement Instrument 2009 (LI 1961), Local Government Act 2016 (Act 936) with Amendment (Act 940), Public Financial Management Act 2016 (Act 921), Land Use and Spatial Planning Act 2016 (Act 925) and the National Development Planning (System) Regulation 2016 LI 2232. These frameworks divvied centralized power to local government bodies.

The Local Government recognizes three types of assemblies (i.e. metropolitan, municipal and district) in Ghana, defined solely by population parameters. Ghana is divided into 16 regions (formerly ten until 2017) with 216 local assemblies (composing 6 Metropolitan, 56 Municipals and 154 Districts). There exist some other sub-structures under the MMDAs that do not hold power but perform delegated functions at the grassroots level: sub-metropolitan, sub-district, urban, town, zonal and area councils and the unit committee (see; Local Governance Act 936 (Act 2016),) the structure of the Local Government system is illustrated in figure 4.1. The organogram of the local government allows for the coordination of development from the local level to the central government. However, each local assembly holds a certain degree of independence on local development and regulations, particularly in urban areas. They are directly responsible for socio-economic and physical development, provision and maintenance of public infrastructure, public spaces, and passing rules and bye-laws for regulating activities within their jurisdictions. These functions give local governments extensive power for the regulation of social and economic life as well as the control of public spaces (Ghosh, 2021)

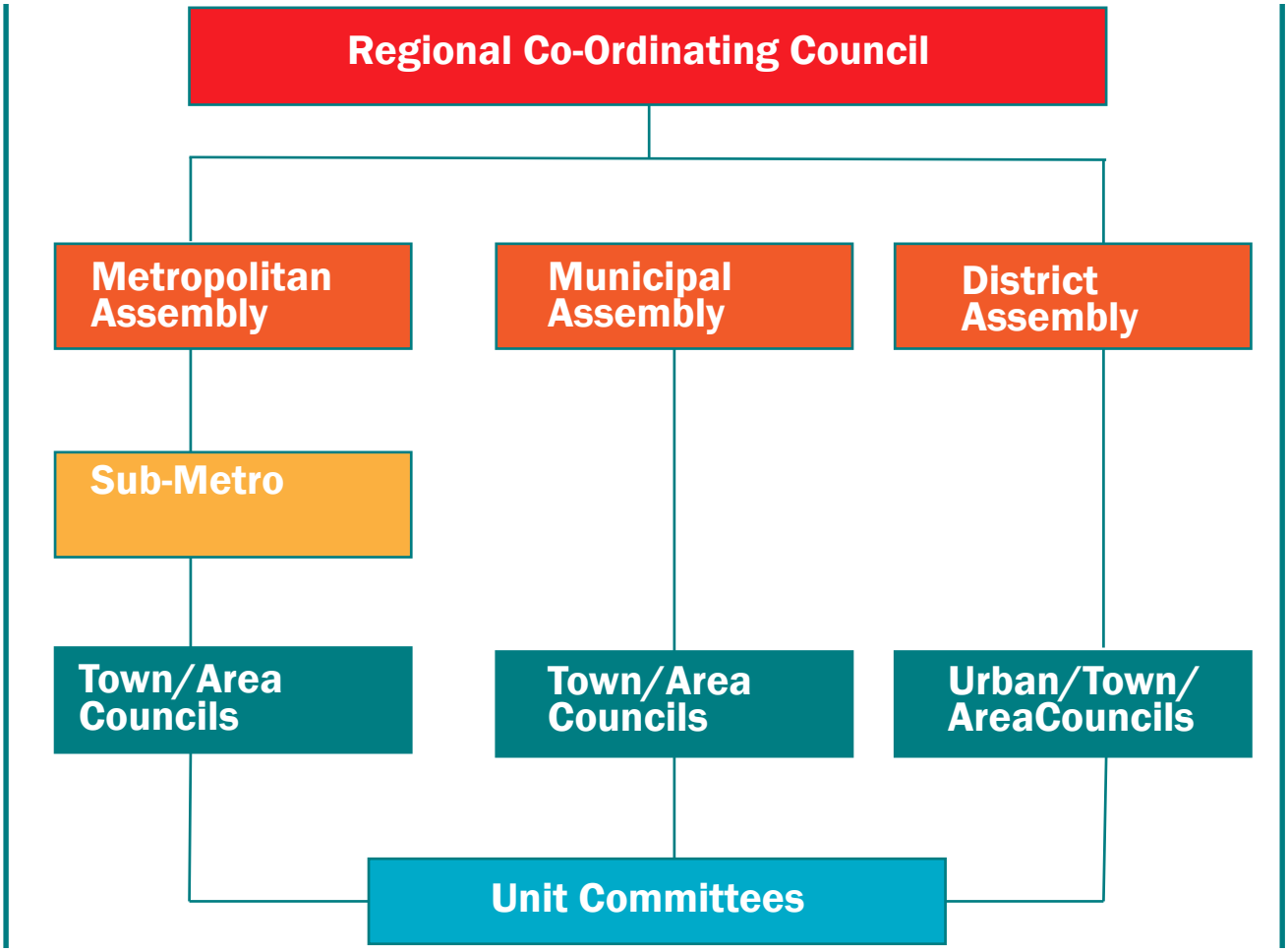


Figure 4.1: Structure of Ghana's Local Government System adopted from the Local Governance Act (2016)

4.2.4 Cities' profile

(a) Accra

Accra, Ghana's national capital, was founded by the Ga community in the 16th century (Yankson & Bertrand, 2012). Due to its central, political and economic functions, Accra is rapidly growing and remains Ghana's largest city and hub of national and foreign trades. The growth of Accra is strongly linked to colonial trading activities and the national administrative capital transferred from Cape Coast to Accra in 1877 (the then Gold Coast) (Dickson 1969 as cited by Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008). It has become the spur of Ghana's urban growth (Yankson & Bertrand, 2012). As the national capital, Accra holds all headquarters of government institutions, hosts corporate organizations, businesses, financial institutions, and many industries, making it the energy of economic growth in the country (Owusu et al., 2013a).

Like any other capital city in Africa, Accra is undergoing rapid urbanization and development, which is shaped by both the formal and informal sectors. According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census report, Accra Metropolitan Assembly total population was 1,665,086, representing 42% of the region's population. Out of this population, 46.7% are migrants (GSS, 2014). It covers a total land area of 139.674 square kilometres. About 46% of the urban population in Accra live in slums, while informal employment constitutes 86% of all employment (GSS, 2019). Its busy urban environment with many informal workers, proliferated slums,

commercial activities, pedestrian flow, and vehicular traffic makes the city conducive to street vending. Street vending takes place in almost all parts of the centres, famous are well notice of for these activities; Kwame Nkrumah interchange, Makola market and surroundings, CNB, Osu food court (see; Owusu et al., 2013).

As the national capital, Accra city authority converged to make the city a competitive world-class city. A goal that is being pursued with open neoliberal policies principles that sweep out the urban poor. Spire & Choplin (2017) stated that current urban transformations seek to conform to international standards – taking up large scale projects and rolling out street vending from the city. This mainly refers to constructing a new large-scale multi-purpose building called "The Octagon" at the CBD, which removed thousands of street vendors previously occupying the space. Street vendors continue to be marginalized and chased away by the authorities, despite their constant battle and negotiation with city authority for spaces (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Spire & Choplin, 2017; Steel et al., 2014)

(b) Kumasi

Kumasi is the second largest city in Ghana, next to Accra (see figure 4.2), with a total surface cover proximate to 214.3 square kilometres (i.e. 0.9% of the region's lands) and an estimated population of 2,035,064, with an annual growth rate of 4.8%. Kumasi, the capital city of the Ashanti Region, shares about 36.2% of the region's population (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). The city witnessed a rapid urban population growth in the past three decades resulting in a significant increase in informal economic activities. It is notorious for its prominent Ashanti Kingdom, a strong political forte and a highly influential body. Political power and governance operate parallel between the sturdy Traditional Authority and the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly regarding local development. However, the traditional authority extends beyond the metropolitan limits, and it controls precisely the land in the whole region.

Kumasi Central Market is the largest traditional market in West Africa, noted for widespread of informal economic activities

Thanks to Kumasi Central Market (positioned at the city's heart). It is arguably the largest traditional market in West Africa (Frimpong et al., 2020; Okoye, 2020). It provides the metropolis with a vibrant market and lots of pedestrians and vehicular traffic in the city's CBD. Kumasi's peregrination with a well endowed central inland transport terminal makes it accessible from all parts of the country (Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011; Takyi et al., 2020). Its strategic location (midway between the North and the South), vibrant market, and rich culture accord it a destination for migrants from northern and other African countries(Owusu-Sekyere & Amoah, 2020). With a pulsating of commercial and industrial activities (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016), Kumasi city plays a pivotal role as a commercial hub and distribution of goods and services. It is important to note that its assertation as

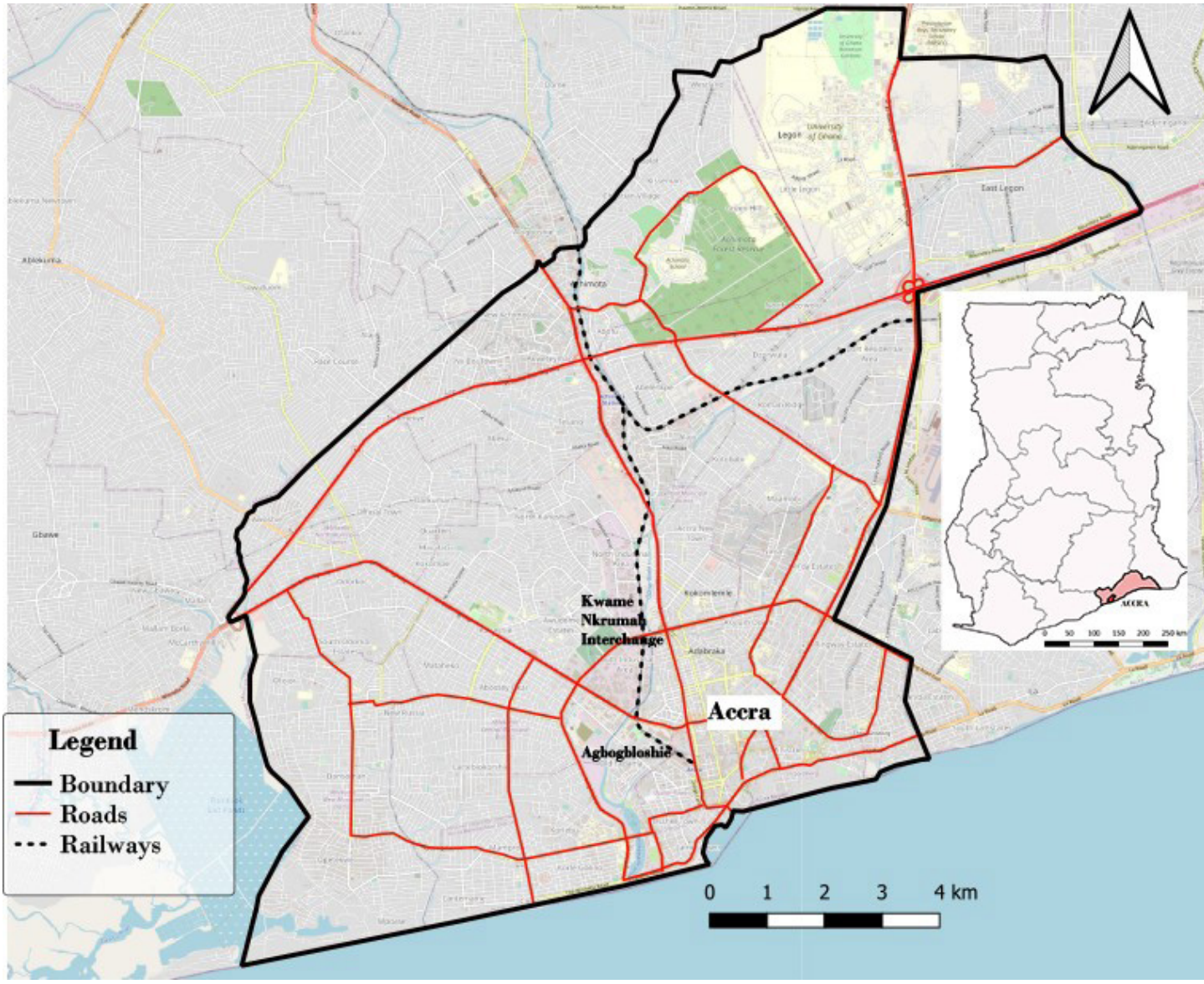


Figure 4.2: Accra Metropolitan Assembly in Greater Accra Region.

the largest market in West Africa is born out of the spatial extension of economic activities from the Central Business District, spilling over the city's peripheries. It is therefore intricately connected to informal economic activities of all kinds, well documented in the literature. The Central Business District embraces Kejetia ultramodern market, Central Market, Adum shopper centre, and other bustling commercial routes where street vending takes place.

According to the Local Governance Act 2016 (Act 936), political governance of the Metropolis is vested in KMA who exercises deliberative, legislative and executive functions within the Metropolitan Area. Its forte bye-laws guarantee it exclusive monopoly power in coercion for regulating the use and development of spaces.

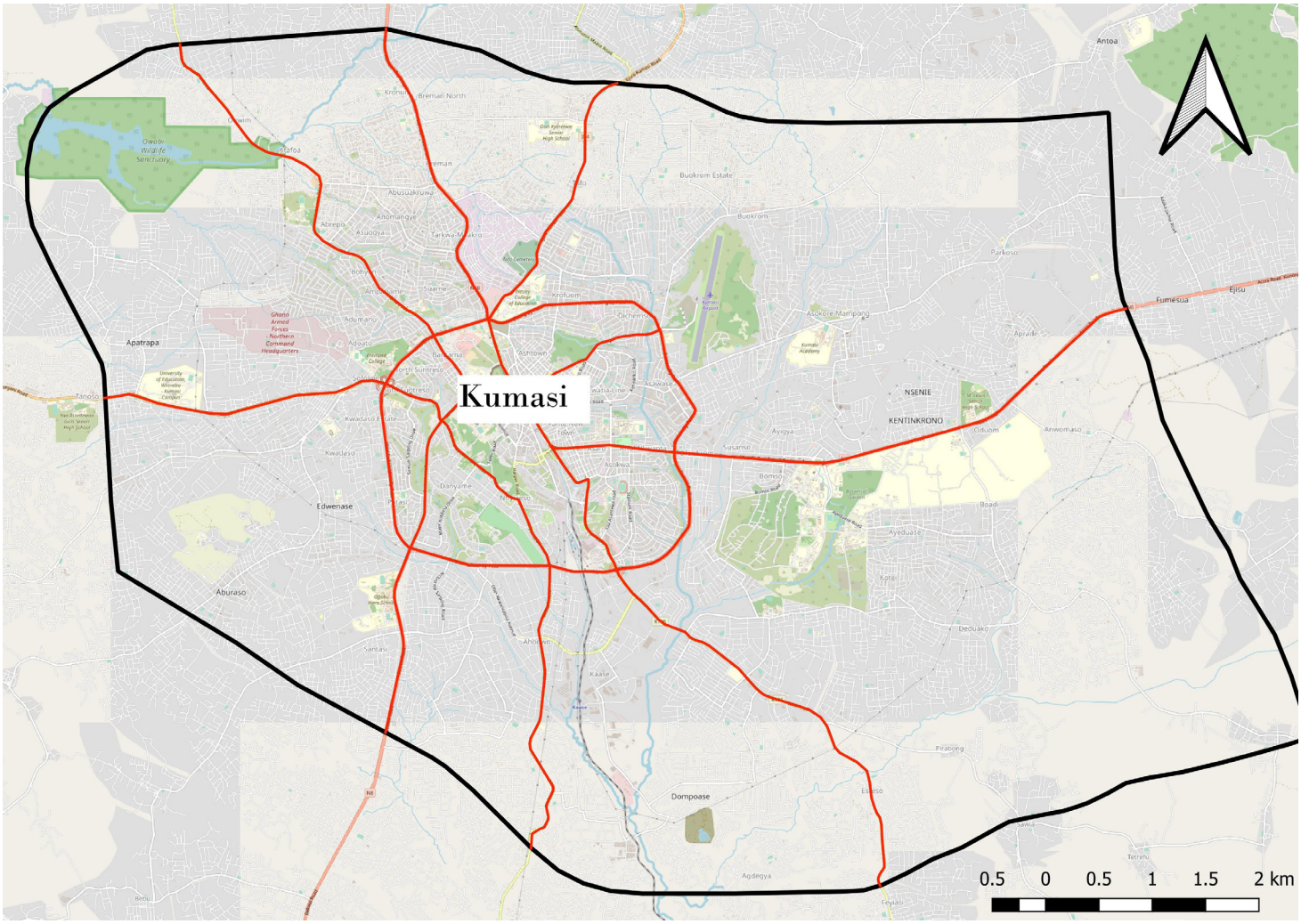


Figure 4.3: Map of Kumasi Metropolitan Area in Ashanti Region

Street vending in downtown Kumasi

4.3 The informal economy in Ghana

Ghana's economy and employment are predominantly informal, which has persistently grown alongside the formal sector. The former continues to increase over the years. As stated earlier (see chapter 1), the informal sector constituted 90% of all employments in 2018 (Acheampong, 2019; GSS, 2016;2019; ILO, 2018). According to the Ghana Statistical Service, the informal sector grew from 80% in 2000 to 86.1% in 2010 (GSS, 2013) and increased to 88.8% in 2014. Since 2016, the sector reached its 90% mark and remained so til2016 (GSS, 2016). The growth of the informal is evident in the increased number and intensity of vending activities at the CBDs and major routes in urban areas.

4.3.1 A brief history of the informal economy and street vending in Ghana

Historically, the informal economy has grown due to structural problems and excess state regulations (Anyidoho & Steel, 2016). Today, the informal economy has become an integral component of Ghana's urban economic growth (Afrane, 2013; Anyidoho & Steel, 2016; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016) and cities development. It has persisted in Ghana over a long period, and so does street vending. According to Clara Osei-Boateng (2011) and Osei-boateng & Ampratwum (2011), the informal sector in Ghana is traced to the beginning of colonial capitalism in the then called Gold Coast (before the birth of Ghana at independence, 1957). Haug (2014) also writes that the development of the informal economy in Ghana began as a gradual process that became the dominant model of employments after independence as the country began to experience rapid urbanization.

The discovery of the term "informal sector" only came to light following Keith Hart's seminal work in the 1970s in Ghana (Hart, 1973). Street vending in the Ghanaian cities is as old as the growth of the cities. In Ghana, the informal sector is expressed in two ways: human settlement (informal settlements and slums) and informal economic activities. Both of which substantively characterize the growth of the cities and the national economy. Instead of the informal economy disappearing as Ghana's economy grows (i.e. from low-income to low-middle income status (Okoye, 2020), as maintained by the modern capitalists (Osei-boateng & Ampratwum, 2011) instead, it is increasing and significantly dominating the economy as does in many other African countries (ILO, 2018).

The emergence and growth of the informal economy in Ghana is no different from what pertains to many African countries. It emerged due to a combination of internal and external factors (Okoye, 2020). Internally, through the concentration of development in a few cities and the associated urbanization (rural-urban migration) after independence

in 1957, unemployment, urban poverty, social exclusion and minimal growth in the formal sector. Externally, the global economic crisis in the 1970s and the subsequent adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the 1980s created massive unemployment. SAP retrenched many formal urban employments (Acheampong, 2019; Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Gillespie, 2016; Okoye, 2020; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). As Sharit Bhowmik (2005) noted, the evidence in Indian cities had been similar to the Ghanaian experience. Ghana witnessed a tremendous increase in street vending activities (Owusu et al., 2013a). They stated, "Street trading has intensified over the last... decades as it became the easiest avenue for people affected by SAP"(ibid:2). SAP's profound influence on Ghana's urbanization further intensified informal economy activities in urban areas (coping strategies to survive in the cities amidst economic hardship).

In recent times, the precarious formal employment situations, low skills among young peoples (Haug, 2014), migration to prime cities, Accra and Kumasi turns to be the leading causes of the informal economy proliferation. Owusu et al. (2013) also mentioned that unemployment, availability of cheap products, and dense urban traffic congestions aided the growth of street vending in Ghanaian cities. Chronic urban poverty and social neglection all substantively boost street vending (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016)

4.3.2 Components of the informal economy in Ghana

Ghana's informal economy is composed of five key components: (1) Domestic workers, (2) Home-based workers, (3) Market traders, (4) Street vendors, and (5) Waste pickers (i.e. domestic waste pickers and e-waste dealers) (Baah-boateng & Vanek, 2020; Osei-Boateng, 2011; Osei-boateng & Ampratwum, 2011; WIEGO, 2021). A chunk of the urban employment in Ghana is found in these economic sectors, employing both men and women and children alike. However, a significant number of the informal employments are found in other sectors such as head porters ("kayayei" mainly a by young women and teenage migrants from the northern part of Ghana (Osei-boateng, 2012)), cart pushers (transporting goods within the city), in the transport sector, apprentices (i.e. carpentry, mason, head dressing, dressing making, artisans and so on) and as well as casual labours (Acheampong, 2019; GSS, 2016; 2019). Market trading is the largest occupation of the informal economy in Ghana, dominated by women. Street vending is also significant by it lacks accurate statistical data.

4.3.3 Statistical brief of Ghana's informal economy

Many of the reports and studies suggested that informal street vending is significantly large in urban Ghana. However, a recent statistical snapshot by the WIEGO team found a relatively lower share of street

vending employment (3%) than other forms of informal employments (Baah-boateng & Vanek, 2020). Comparing these figures to the general trends in most African countries (see chapter 3, section 3.4.2), which ranges from 12% to 24% (Roever, 2014; Roever & Skinner, 2016), demonstrates a contradiction or a sort of deviation. A deviation that does not picture the reality of street vending in Ghanaian cities. As pointed out earlier by some authors (Afrane, 2013; Batréau & Bonnet, 2016; Brown & Mackie, 2018), measuring street vending defies accuracy for many reasons. This includes lack of working spaces, seasonal nature of most vending activities (part-time job to some actors), deliberate refusal (or ignorance) to report as street vendors for fear of stigmatization or sanction, and ultimately its mobile nature (i.e. itinerant vendors). The paucity of data on the street vending does not translate to its neglect or repression. Instead, it is important in the cities' growth and requires inclusion and physical spaces to accommodate them.

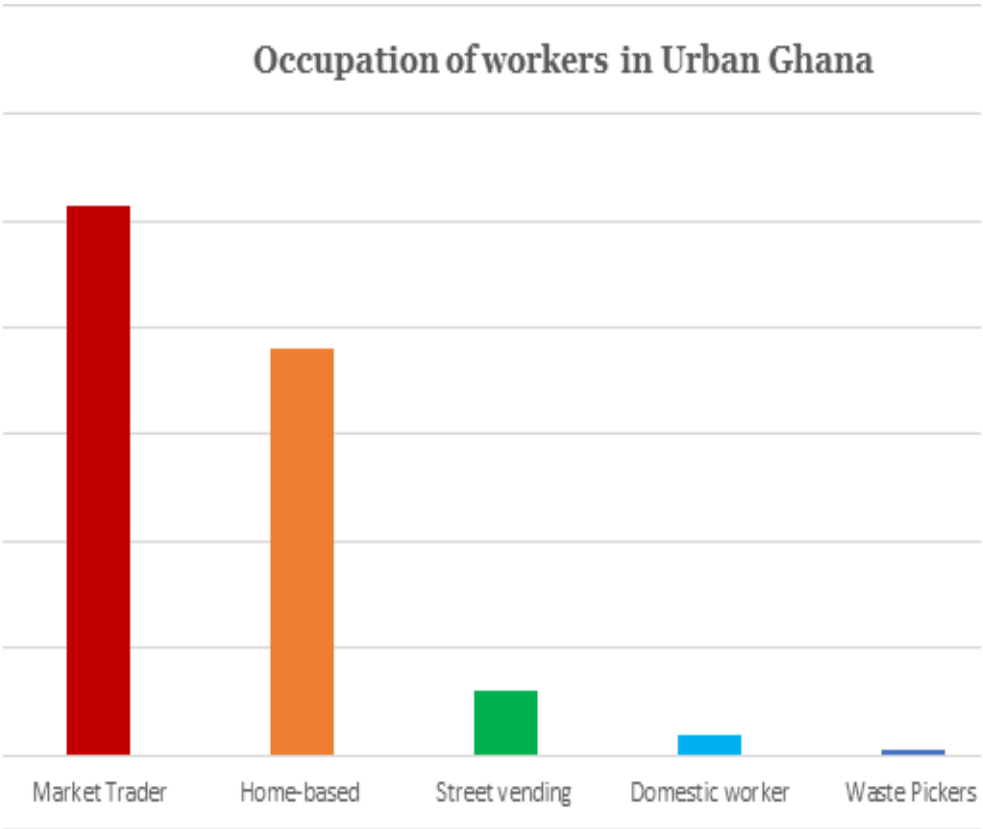


Figure 4.4: Share of informal occupations in Urban Ghana

Source: Adopted from Baah-boateng & Vanek (2020)

4.3.4. Compositions and size of the informal economy in Ghana

Out of the 90% of labour employed in the informal sector, 45.1% are males, and 54.9% are females (GSS, 2016). As shown in the table, the data varies between rural and urban areas and by region. The

data shows that informal employment in rural areas is as high as 96.2% compared to urban areas with 84.1%. However, females employed in the informal sector are higher in urban areas (57.7%) than in rural areas (52.4%). Nationally, Baah-boateng & Vanek, (2020) statistical brief show that nationally, 92% of women are employed in the informal sector compared to 86% of men. This is similar to the global phenomenon recorded by ILO statistics (ILO, 2018) and the WEIGO group (Bonnet et al., 2019). And it is attributed to the availability of formal jobs in urban areas. Men dominate formal employment in Ghanaian cities due to the disparities in education between men and women (Okoye, 2020; Osei-boateng & Ampratwum, 2011). The Ghana Living Standard Survey (Round 7) affirmed that females have a low Labour Participation rate in formal employments compared to males. This is primarily due to low education among women (26.1% of females have no education compared to 13.2%) (GSS, 2019). Also, women's participation in trade and service activities in urban areas is higher than in rural areas (GSS, 2016).

Several factors accounted for women dominance in the informal sector: (1) Gender gap in high educational attainment (Anyidoho & Steel, 2016; Baah-boateng & Vanek, 2020), (2) participation and attractiveness of most informal activities to women, such as trade and service activities (food vending and food produce), (3) lack of financial support among women (Akuoko et al.,

Table 4.1: Population age 15 years and older employed in the informal sector by sex, locality of residence and region[1]

1

Locality/ Region	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	percent	Number	percent	Number	percent
Ghana	8,345,636	90.0	3,763,071	45.1	4,582,565	54.9
Urban	3,972,763	84.1	1,682,205	42.3	2,290,558	57.7
Rural	4,372,873	96.2	2,080,866	47.6	2,292,007	52.4
Western	818,276	87.8	347,894	42.5	470,382	57.5
Central	800,810	91.5	342,760	42.8	458,050	57.2
Greater Accra	1,337,008	84.1	595,205	44.5	741,803	55.5
Volta	790,840	94.9	354,016	44.8	436,824	55.2
Eastern	983,552	90.8	473,729	48.2	509,823	51.8
Ashanti	1,454,211	86.4	636,716	43.8	817,495	56.2
Brong Ahafo	826,084	96.8	377,840	45.7	448,244	54.3
Northern	835,976	94.6	412,401	49.3	423,575	50.7
Upper East	281,656	90.6	131,330	46.6	150,326	53.4
Upper West	217,223	96.0	91,180	42.0	126,043	58.0

Source: Ghana Statistical Services (2016:84)

1 As at the time of compiling the 2015 Labour force document, Ghana was administratively divided into ten regions. By constitutive regulations, Ghana administrative regions were re-constituted into sixteen regions which is not shown in this data

2013), (4) flexibility of working condition, particularly street vending, (5) self-production and selling and (6) all the general factors such little skills, capital requirements, low entry barriers that contribute to the growth of the informal economy.

About 40.1% of the youth (aged 15-35) have no education, whereas only 3.8% obtained tertiary educational qualifications. The high proportion of youth without education directly contributed to the high unemployment and youth engagement in the informal economy. The report further revealed that 59.6% of the youth are employed. However, 90.3% of the youth employed are working within the private sector is mainly through self-employment and apprenticeships in informal economic activities (GSS, 2016). Private sector employment increased to 92.5% in 2017 (GSS, 2019). Greater Accra Region and the Ashanti Region have the highest share of informal employment at the regional level.

4.4 Street vending in Kumasi

The experience of street vending in Ghana occurs in both rural and urban areas. However, it is an attractive and boosting occupation in Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, Tamale, among others (Akuoko et al., 2013). Studies have shown that street vending is a prime occupation in the cities due to rapid urbanization, high unemployment, and the informal sector's attractiveness (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Gillespie, 2016; Haug, 2014; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). Street vending in Kumasi has taken a copious share of public spaces in the city's CBD, and it is widely distributed in all parts of the city. However, there is intense clustering and concentration of vending activities in strategic locations of interest. Owusu-Sekyere et al. (2016:908) fashionably described the intricacy of street vending in Kumasi as:

"As with many CBDs in Ghanaian cities, the scene is very chaotic and exhibits the process of natural selection (survival of the fittest). It is often difficult to distinguish traders from pedestrians as traders display their wares on unauthorized pavements and walkways"

The widespread vending in the city (Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011) reads that it presents spatial organization challenges and hectic responsibilities on city authorities to manage public space and improve the quality of these spaces.

Street vendors in Kumasi are engaged in a span of activities, including sales of used clothes, footwear, foodstuff and produce, snacks, vegetables, fruits, phones, and accessories. Empirical studies revealed that male vendors specialise in trading gadgets while most female counterparts are vending foodstuff, snacks, and prepared food (Akuoko et al., 2013; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). Typically, street vending in urban Ghana is a predominant occupation of first-generation migrants, mainly from the countryside. Recent studies in Accra,

Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah (2008) and (Owusu et al., 2013a), as well as the pioneering studies by Keith Hart (1973), affirmed that street vending in Ghana is relatively among the migrants' population.

4.4.1 Street vendor and the use of public spaces in Kumasi

Street vending and the use of urban public spaces in cities is quite intriguing as they perform both social and economic roles simultaneously. Scholars (Brown, 2006, 2017; Chen et al., 2018; Roever & Skinner, 2016) have written that urban public spaces are prime resources to the livelihoods of the urban poor in developing countries. Street vending may be seen as private capture of public space for gains which comes at a cost (Bostic et al., 2016). In Kumasi, Solomon-Ayeh et al. (2011) and Afrane (2013)[1] mentioned that urban public spaces are perceived and used for life-sustaining economic activities. Street vending in Kumasi takes place in all areas that can be classified as public spaces[2] . As far as street vending is concerned, urban public spaces are spots for contentions between different urban actors. Street vendors and the KMA authorities have explicit conflicting and competing interests in using these public spaces (Forkuor et al., 2017; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011). The conflict of interest and contestation in public space creates enmity and rivalries concerning access and control of urban spaces. The latter holds high institutional power, which is often used to marginalize the former through hostile policies and brutal actions to recover public spaces and maintain the city's public image (Anyidoho & Steel, 2016). Tonnelat (2010) writes that public spaces appear to be important sites for addressing emerging sustainable development issues and social justice. To maintain and improve urban spaces while safeguarding people's livelihoods directly depending on these spaces

At a glance, one could find street vending activities distributed haphazardly and in scattered locations. Almost every corner of the city is occupied with vending activities. Naturally, street vendors tend to congregate in strategic spaces where they can access customers. In the case of Accra, as Steel et al. (2014) stated, street vendors are located in strategic spaces where pedestrians and vehicular traffics are located. It has increasingly become rampant in Kumasi due to the following reasons: first, the failure of urban planning to provide spaces for vendors and its continued displacement of vendors from their settings. The frequent decongestion exercises seek to displace street vendors from the city.

Recently, street vendors and commercial vehicles in the city are randomly spread due to the demolition of the Kejetia transport terminal, a vending and transport hub for thousands of small scale

1 Solomon-Ayeh et al. (2011) provide an entensive empirical insight into vendors appropriation of public spaces in central Kumasi.

2 The definition of public spaces in this regard refers to open spaces, pedestrian walkways, pavements, alleys, footbridges, bus terminals, undeveloped spaces and vehicular spaces that are appropriated for the exchange of goods and services.

enterprises (Okoye, 2020). Since these vendors and their dependents must survive in the city, they tend to appropriate new spaces within the city center to support their livelihoods. Second, the intensity of vending activities in the city has resulted in high competition and search for new spaces. Most of the street vendors in the city have no authorized spaces for vending; only a few could secure stalls to sell in the market areas (Okoye, 2020; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011). Such a precarious situation has led to the random distribution of vendors throughout the city. The current situation has continued to fuel the confrontations between them and the authorities. At the same time, the high concentration of vendors in strategic locations often lead to conflicts with city authorities – who seek to formalize[1] the use of public spaces (Steel et al., 2014).

Figure 4.5: A map showing Kumasi Central Market and other places of street vending in Kumasi.

1 Formalizing the use of open space is used to refer to the effort of authorities to expel street vendor from the use of public spaces which were not intended for vending activities. For instance, pavement for pedestrians uses, not for vending. By formalization is to standardize the use of spaces

4.4.1.1 Locational characteristic of street vending

Various studies in Kumasi (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011) and in Accra (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Owusu et al., 2013a; Steel et al., 2014) have pointed to the locational characteristics and factors that influence street vendors' choice of places in the cities. Many reasons accounted for street vendors' locational choice, which is particularly critical to urban planning decisions. Perhaps, it explains why certain measures towards regularizing street vendors have proven futile over the years. In the cities, street vendors prefer to operate on the street and sideways or at busy road junctions, on public spaces in and around CBDs or mobile on the roads or in proximity to market areas and bus terminals. These choices are influenced by factors that can be classified as (1) economic factors, (2) space availability, and (3) planning decisions (Acheampong, 2019; Afrane, 2013; Owusu-Sekyere & Amoah, 2020; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011).

By economic factors, street vendors are desperate profit-seekers. Hence the selection of spaces for vending is primarily influenced by the availability of market (access to floating customers who are mostly pedestrians and passengers) to maximize sales. Major roads such as the Kumasi-Accra highway with huge flows of passager vehicles and traffics jams at important intersections (such as Amakom junction and KNUST junctions) provide suitable and convenient vending spaces to street vendors. Several traditional markets spontaneously emerged along most of the busiest routes (Frimpong et al., 2020). Empirical findings by Solomon-Ayeh et al. (2011) and Afrane (2013) shows that over 60% and 54.5% (respectively) of the vendors point to the availability of customers as the ultimate reason for their locations. For instance, at the Anloga Junction, most of the vendors are bread sellers whose targeted customers are the passengers exiting the city. Roadsides are perhaps the suitable sites for most itinerant vendors.

Owusu et al. (2013) also had similar results on vendors choice of location in Accra. Thus where customers flow, there is likely that street vendors will aggregate in such spaces and gradually develop a market. It emerges spontaneously (as actions of rational urban agents). However,

Figure 4.6: A cluster of stationary foodstuff vendors at Kumasi CBD

Photo credit: Pius Addi

identifying high market zones is by trial and error, sales experiences, and exchange of information among vendors (Acheampong, 2019; Owusu et al., 2013a). Cost-effectiveness is also an economic factor that likely influences vendors locational choices. For this reasons, vendors locate themselves in a 'no man's land', where they do not have to pay rent either to private landowners or the state

The second factor is the availability of spaces. Many times the locational choice of vendors may not be for only economic reasons, instead due to the availability of spaces. Most vendors have limited or no options in finding locations, and they tend to appropriate unoccupied spaces, which may offer them a good market. Following the increasing number of vendors in the city, suitable spaces for vending have become highly competitive among vendors and other users. Hence, vendors take theirs chances on any unoccupied sites they could yield good sales.

Lastly, the site of informal economic activities and street vending is concentrated mainly in areas that are either officially or unofficially usurped for specific activities (Afrane, 2013). Secondhand cloth vending areas along the (abandoned) railway line, foodstuff vendors at the entrance of Kumasi Central Market. Similarly, the Kwame Nkrumah Interchange is famous for vending of phones and accessories (see Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, (2008) and Owusu et al., (2013))

4.4.2 Typologies of street vendors identified in Kumasi city

Different types of street vending activities can be identified in Ghanaian cities. Three typologies are recognizable; (1) Itinerant or mobile vendors, (2) semi-stationary, and (3) stationary vendors (sedentary), as earlier pointed by Bhowmik (2005, 2010) in his studies of street vending in Asian countries.

Firstly, the itinerant vendors. The majority of the street vendors in central Kumasi are mobile. It comprised all vendors wading through vehicular traffic, on pavements and in regular bus terminals. Afrane (2013) writes that street vendors in Kumasi metropolis operate on all major roads, but traffic lights and major roads are preferred. This group of vendors offer light goods that allow them to be mobile and vend throughout the city in a day. Thus taking advantage of the different hours of the day from which pedestrians flow in certain areas. Vendors adopt marketing strategies by selecting multiple locations to respond to the city's temporal shifting with diurnal traffic congestions (Owusu et al., 2013a). Itinerant street vending is a traffic-dependent activity generated during different day hours (Acheampong, 2019). They offer impulse goods (i.e. snacks, toiletries, accessories and food beverages) in demand by passages, drivers and pedestrians alike.

Itinerant vendors are mainly characterized by young people aged 15-

30 and people in the early stage of their occupation. Child labour is commonly found within this category of vendors. They keep being mobile while searching and negotiating for spaces within the city. Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah (2008) street vendors build networks over time which aid them to secure spaces in the urban environment. "Hawkers", as they are known, " Hawkers " are derogative of their lack of control of working spaces and perceived precarious work status (Racaud et al., 2018) among itinerant street vendors. Solomon-Ayeh et al. (2011:24) construed that the age bracket dominating this category suggests street vending is "a tedious and energy-consuming activity, it is mainly the active and youthful population who get involved in it". The nature of mobile vending in Ghanaian cities is hazardous as vendors are continuously being exposed to street hazards. For instance, it was reported that "A motorcycle crushes 13-year-old street seller to death" [GhanaWeb:05/07/2021][1]

Stationary street vendors are commonly found at the heart of the city and major market areas. From foodstuff vendors to used cloths vendors, most are found vending in specific parts or locations in the city over time (i.e. for several days or years). They repeatedly use these spaces to trade their wares. This typology of street vendors used erected stalls or tablets or display their wares on the ground along roadsides, busy road corridors, pavements in front of shops or at the entrance of terminals, market centre (Kumasi central market) exists from the city. Most formal companies mentioned (the bread industries such as A1 Bread, Auntie Mary Bread and the like) all depend on street vendors to market their products. According to Acheampong (2019), stationary street vendors often comes about due to agglomeration, which may be influenced by the designation of specific spaces for certain activities like the "food market". Alternatively, aggregation of similar vending activities tends to result from the natural process of associating and locating closer to each other for market advantages. Stationary vendors are the largest group in the city (see; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011).

As experienced in most African cities, frequent decongestion exercises always severely impacted the sedentary vendors (Afrane, 2013). This does not suggest that itinerant vendors and other street vending groups are not being affected by these actions. Sedentary vendors often have their stalls destroyed and damage to their wares.

Third, the semi-stationary vendors. Between the mobile and the stationary vendors are those operating in semi-fixed modalities (in makeshift structure). These vendors use movable structures such as push-carts or light objects for vending in the city. They are exceptionally flexible and allow them to appropriate public spaces for their activities while frequent adjusting themselves to give other users their right of way (allowing vehicles to pass).

1 https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Motorcycle-crushes-13-year-old-street-seller-to-death-1302229

4.4.3 Constructing the problem of street vending

Street vendors have often been subjected to criticism and scorned for myriad urban dilemmas. Different stakeholders' perception of street vendors' occupation of public spaces and the effect on the quality of public spaces and urban life is largely negative (Donovan, 2008). Their occupation of public spaces raises contentions between them and some pedestrians, shop owners, and city authorities. However, most of these problems are propagated solely against street vendors can be sternly contested on the general lack of infrastructure and poor urban planning. This view can be observed from two perspectives: the perspective of urban planners and city authorities and the perception of shop owners and pedestrians.

4.4.3.1 City Authorities

It is undeniable that the activities of street vending contributes to the chronic urban problems in Ghanaian cities. However, there is mischievous attrition of the problem of street vending in cities. City authorities are at the forefront in managing the urban informal economy (Brown & Mackie, 2018). How city authorities viewed the street vendors directly influences their actions towards them. KMA authorities, like other African cities, have framed street vending as nuisances, encroachment, a peril to urban planning, environmental sanitation and health issues, and misery to urban beauty, which is the prime objective of city authorities and mayors (Acheampong, 2019; Afrane, 2013; Anyidoho & Steel, 2016; Gillespie, 2016; Okoye, 2020; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016; Steel et al., 2014).

Street vending is continued to be viewed as a nuisance rather than a necessary element of urban life (Akuoko et al., 2013). It is a necessary evil as far as the city's life is concerned. Such repulsive views have resulted in the continued marginalization, repression and invisibility of street vendors in urban policy planning (Onodugo et al., 2016). Street vendors in Kumasi have lacked recognition and faced a series of repressions since their existence. Such actions towards vendors have become grave in contemporary cities. Local assemblies in Ghana like Nigeria (Onodugo et al., 2016), Kenya (Morange, 2015), Zimbabwe (Chigwenya, 2021; Rogerson, 2016) have regarded street vending as nuisances and pose a challenge to creating a liveable urban environment. It is seen as the hotspot of persistent urban predicaments. KMA recognized the contribution of street vending to the urban economy, local revenue and city life (Afrane, 2013; Okoye, 2020; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). However, the related problems of street vending (i.e. congestion, waste production, marring of city's beauty, among others) seem to outweigh their relevance. The city authorities have undermined, neglected, and suppressed it. Lack of data on the informal sector, overcrowding in markets, non-utilization

of exiting markets, haphazard organization of economic activities and congestion at the CBD are identified as developmental issues that KMA faced with the informal economy (KMA-MTDP 2018-2022).

Five critical problems are highly attributed to street vending in central Kumasi: (1) City congestion, (2) encroachment on public spaces, (3) violation of planning rules (i.e. zoning codes), (4) health and environmental sanitation, and (5) Urban beauty and aesthetics. These are briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

The first critical issue is the problem of congestion. In Kumasi, street vendors are perceived as the prime source of congestion (Forkuor et al., 2017). The location of vending activities on road corridors and pavements blocks vehicular and pedestrians right of way (Afrane, 2013). Thus, street vendors are accused of encroaching streets, marring cities beauty, causing traffic jams and congestion in the cities (Obeng-Odoom, 2011). This particular issue may be fairly criticized on the grounds of poor planning and inadequate infrastructure development in the city. As Owusu-Sekyere et al. (2016) mentioned, it is a failure of KMA to provide infrastructure (commercial spaces at the CBD) to keep pace with the rapid urbanization and the demand for trading spaces and services. Private and commercial vehicles commuting in and out of the city have increased recently, and rarely could one find a parking lot in the city centre. These factors are responsible for the severe vehicular traffics and congestion.

Also, the development of the city substantively contributed to the problem of congestion. The rapid emergence of these traditional cities lacked careful layout of transport networks and building regulations (Adarkwa, 2012). The rampant development, non-conformity with building regulations, and infrastructural deficit are directly responsible for the chaos in the CBDs. Pavement barely exists on the busiest routes in the city. This perilous condition results in vehicles, pedestrians, porters and cart pushers, including street vendors, sharing the same spaces, thus creating the congestion problem in the city. The issue of street vendors taking over public areas and causing congestion is because only a few could secure stalls in provided markets (Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011). The efforts to improve the quality of these public spaces have been by regular brutal "decongestion" exercises (Kessey & Agyemang, 2013).

The second issue is that street vendors are painted as encroachers (i.e. An encroacher as a person who unlawfully occupies a piece of land) on urban public spaces. Urban public spaces are hitherto reserved for public uses (Afrane, 2013), street vendors appropriation for economic gains is regraded inapt and encroaching on public life. It implies that the use of public spaces for vending is unrightful. However, encroachment emerges due to the exclusion of vendors from

public spaces. Tom Gillespie (2016) expanded Bayat's concept of "quiet encroachment[1] " to explain how hawkers in Accra applied the idea to appropriate urban spaces to reproduce themselves

Thirdly, street vending is regarded as a hazard to urban planning. Street vending and associated informal economic activities in Kumasi have long been perceived as problematic and disruptive in the quest for an ideal, efficient and modern spatially planning (Acheampong, 2019; Okoye, 2020) directed towards creating world-class cities. Perhaps Accra Metropolitan Assembly is spearheading these future urban fantasies with the rapid transformation of vendors spaces into large-scale, complex buildings to feature global cities (Spire & Choplin, 2017). Okoyo (2020) reported that about 5,000 street vendors and 1,000 market stall vendors were removed to create space for the development Kumasi modern market. Rashford Acheampong (2019) further writes that urban planners and local government rude and hostile attitudes are rooted in their perceived views towards street vending as chaotic, disordered, backward and non-conformity with spatial planning regulations – land use plans. For instance, Afrane (2013) constructed this problem as a non-conformity to spatial regulations, conflicts and poses problems for land use planning.

The fourth point considers the urban beauty and aesthetics of the city environment. With flimsy umbrellas dotting out the entire city, street vending seems to rob off the city of its beauty. The scene at the CBD is chaotic and unappealing to the creation of beauty which forms the central focus of planning schemes. Again, Afrane (2013:14) plainly stated that "Planning schemes have been purposely designed to ensure and sustain the aesthetic view of the city". Street vending is seen to mar the beauty of planning schemes either developed or intended in the future. The presence of vending stalls and activities on or in front of planned structures rule out their aesthetic value (Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011). City authorities, therefore, seek aesthetic and urban beauty by sweeping out vendors rather than massive infrastructural development. In the instances where beauty is sort after by infrastructural development, street vendors pay the price by vending losing their spaces in the city (Okoye, 2020; Spire & Choplin, 2017)

The last issue concern the problem of sanitation and environmental pollution. The high concentration of vendors on the busiest pedestrian routes worsens the environmental issues of congestion, air and noise pollution, and poor sanitation (Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011). The act of vendors seeking customers attention (by ringing bells and shouting out loud) cause air pollution, whereas waste generated causes sanitation problems in the city. The discussion of urban sanitation problems completely hides the generally poor state of waste management that the cities face (Cobbinah et al., 2017). But the

1 Quite encroachment, a concept denoting the collective action by marginalized and excluded individuals to claim their right to the city and use of public space (see Tom Gillespie, 2016).

Kumasi Kejetia Market

blame is lavished wholely on street vendors activities.

4.4.3.2 Shop owner and pedestrians

The perceptions and problems of street vending are not only held by city authorities. Pedestrians and shop owners alike have held a negative impression of street vendors (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008) despite acknowledging their relative importance in the cities, thus serving them their necessities. Shop owners complain of street vendors overshadowing their businesses and blocking spaces at the frontage of their shops. On the other hand, some pedestrians held that street vending is a problem in the city due to their huge presence on pavements and sidewalks, resulting in pedestrian traffic and impede movements within the city (see Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah (2008) for empirical details). These structured views about street vending have led to shop owners filing complaints to remove street vendors at the frontage of their shops.

For instance, in 2019, a shop owner in Accra, Kaneshie, filed an official complaint to the Accra Metropolitan Assembly on hawkers taking over spaces in front of his shop. The complainer argued that the city authorities should immediately evict the vendors for encroaching[1]. Such complaints by shop owners often fuel the brutal actions of city authorities against street vendors. Their views of street vendors can be summarized in the following statement uttered by a shop owner:

"...evicting them (street vendors) will, for instance, help to ease traffic on the road. It would go a long way in boosting our sales and bringing orderliness to the market" (ibid: 198).

4.4.4 Legal and Regulatory Frameworks to street vending in Ghana.

Like any other sector, several legal frameworks relate to the regulation of street vending or empower institutions to take actions on street vending in public spaces. Osei-boateng (2012) recognized four main frameworks that relate to street vending. This include (1) Local Authority by-laws, (2) Employment-related Acts, (3) Income Tax Laws (4) Law on pirated products. Among these regulatory frameworks, Assembly's by-laws tend to have the most extreme and direct impact on street vending activities. It is because they intended to proscribe or prohibit vending in public spaces.

The first legal framework is the local assemblies' by-laws. The Local Government Act 936 (Act 2016) regulates spatial activities and empowers Local Assemblies to pass bye-laws for such activities. Section 181 of this Act permits local assemblies to enact bye-laws to regulate certain activities or undertake their institutional functions.

1 Manuel Lamptey, a shop owner complaint on street vendors occupation of spaces at the frontage of his shop https://ama.gov.gh/documents/HAWKERS.pdf

Accordingly, as Osei-Boateng (2012) writes, most local authorities have established bye-laws that permit or prohibit specific urban agents or behaviours within their Jurisdiction. Street vendors and residence of informal settlements or slums have suffered the wrath of these bye-laws as they laid the legal apparatus for continued eviction of street vendors and squatters to reclaim public spaces and lands. For instance, the bye-laws of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (to the extreme) makes it illegal to vend on the streets (Osei-boateng, 2012; Steel et al., 2014). Steel et al. (2014:4) construed that "it is a matter of location (i.e., space) rather than the activity." In Kumasi, vendors are prohibited to either erect stalls or openly vend in public spaces or vend in any part of the city without licenses (The Local Government Bulletin: Kumasi Metropolitan Bye-Law, 1998)

As already pointed out by Average Chigwenya (2021), in the case of Zimbabwe, city bye-laws provide local authorities with the legal backing to the use of coercion towards encroachers and undesirable behaviours in the cities. Street vending is not exempted from such behaviours as the activity is pictured as a nuisance in the eyes of local authorities.

Second, Employment related Acts. The Labour Act (651) and the National Pensions Act (766) acknowledge the responsibility of employers to contribute to the social security benefits to and protection of employment and working conditions of workers (Osei-boateng, 2012). A significant number of street vendors in Ghana are self-employed, and those working under employees rarely could count on any social protection and work contracts from their employees. This affirms the definition informal sector as comprises activities that lack social security (Chen, 2012)

Thirdly, Income Tax Law. Except otherwise exempted, all individuals or groups or private businesses are by law required to pay taxes on income earned from businesses or employment to the government. Street vendors are constantly challenged on the grounds of tax payment. Azunre et al. (2021) mentioned, tax evasion is often reported among the informal sectors and has consequently shaped the narrative that informal workers are deliberate tax evaders. This situation has remained controversial and accounted largely for the rude attitudes of local government authorities toward the street vendors. Provision of the Local Governance Act 936 (Act 2016) conferred power on District Assemblies to generate internal revenue through taxes, tolls, fees, levies, or fines, among others.

Street vendors often face the hostilities of city authorities due to perceived evasion of tax payments to local assemblies. However, street vendors pay various taxes through daily tolls, licenses, and levies directed to District Assembly's internal revenue. Okoye (2020)

reported that street vendors pay daily tolls (GH¢2 per day) to KMA. Owusu-Sekyere et al. (2016) also revealed that in 2016, street vendors tax contribution to KMA constituted about 70% of the Internal Generated Fund (IGF). In addition, street vendors pay Value Add Tax on purchasing and selling goods (Osei-boateng, 2012; WIEGO, 2015). This exempts those actors who produce and sell their own produces without following standardized procedures.

The last framework is the laws on pirated products. Piracy is concerned with the illegal production of goods under copyright protection and, thus, subjective to punishment or sanction under the law (Osei-boateng, 2012). The majority of the street vendors produce and sell their goods that are neither registered nor possess copyrights.

4.5 Summary

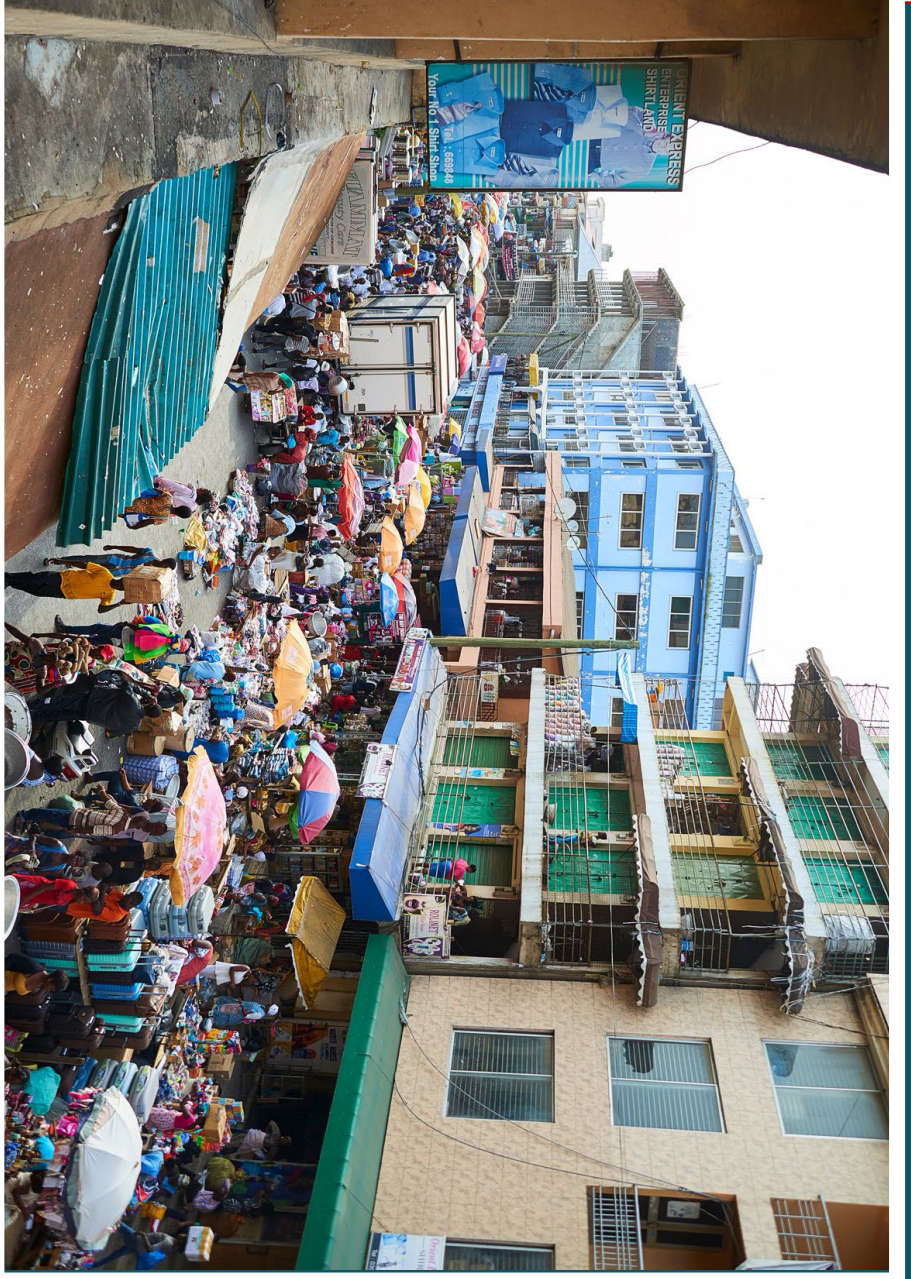
Street vending in contemporary cities presents new and complex challenges to city authorities responsible for managing urban public spaces (Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011). The activities seem to exacerbate the daunted urban problems. Public spaces in Ghanaian cities are important to sustaining the livelihoods of the urban poor. The growth of the informal economy and street vending is nothing new in the development of these cities. Whiles street vending contributes substantial to the city's life, the urban economy and revenue to the local assemblies in Ghana, the associated problems of street vending often undermines their relevance. It is a flaw to argue that street vendors pose no challenges to the vitality of urban public spaces. However, city authorities in Ghana, like other African countries, have attributed the habitual problems of the cities; congestion, planning failures, urban beauty, poor sanitation and environmental pollution, among others, to street vendors occupation of public spaces. It can be argued that the problem of congestion in most African cities goes beyond the activities of street vendors. Poor planning, infrastructural deficits, poor governance, rapid urbanization and the increasing number of vehicular traffic, among other peculiar urban issues, are the prime contributors to this complex urban problem.

In Ghana, three typologies of street vending can be identified in the cities; Itinerant street vendors – traffic-based operators, stationary vendors – operating on stalls along pavements and the semi-stationary vendors. Recently, street vendors have become randomly distributed, spreading and occupying almost every corner of the city walls and urban public spaces in downtown Kumasi. Frequent displacement of street vendors through decongestion has resulted in the random distribution of these activities in Kumasi.

Instead, such actions have produced, reproduced, and redistributed informal activities in different cities, intensifying the spatial problems

associated with street vending. The cures are rather worse than the diseases as they resultantly replicate the situations they intended to address. A particular instance is the eviction and relocation of street vendors in central Kumasi to construct the Kejetia Modern Market. The perceived problems of street vendors have been the mantra of city authorities hostility towards street vendors in a bid to reclaim and improve the quality of urban public spaces.

Vegetable vendors occupying public spaces



Street view of downtown Accra

Chapter Five

The space of street vending in urban policies and planning responses

5.1 Introduction

With an in-depth exploration of the activities of street vending in Ghana, this chapter ponders on two principal focuses of the study. First, its focus is on finding the space for street vending in urban policies. Second, it looks at the various policy action or approaches adopted by the city authorities to deal with this urban dilemma in Ghana. The general trend shows that street vending is likely to increase and persist in Ghanaian cities over an unforeseeable future. As far as street vending and the future of Ghanaian cities is concerned, it is imperative to examine existing urban policy frameworks and the provision made for street vendors - whether they intend to accommodate or repudiate vending. On this premise, the chapter will briefly exam key urban policies for the space of street vending. In addition, various regulative instruments and strategies used by city authorities are discussed and the pros and cons of these measures. This chapter ends with a presentation of vendors' organizations and efforts these associations have initiated to collaborate with city authorities towards pragmatic and inclusive regulations. The analysis suggests the possibility of resorting to collaborative approaches with street vendors to regulate these activities in urban public spaces.

5.2 Recognition of street vending in urban policy

There is a policy vacuum that exclusively and directly deals with the urban informal economy and street vending. However, various urban policies and legal frameworks indirectly respond to the call to support street vendors. In order to identify the space of street vending in Ghanaian urban policies planning, four key policy documents were considered for assessment (see the detailed procedure in the methodology section, chapter 6). Two of these policy documents (i.e. Ghana National Urban Policy Framework 2012 (NUP) and the Local Government Act 936 (Act 2016) are national policy and regulatory documents. The other two, KMA bye-laws and the Medium-Term Development Plan of KMA, are contexts specific to Kumasi city. This assessment seeks to answer two main questions: (1) Do the urban policy documents provide street vending? (2) Is there harmony or contradiction between national policies and local bye-laws or plans on matters of street vending?

The analysis of the policy documents mandates the adoption of an evaluation protocol. To identify the space of street vending, tripartite criteria was adopted to assess the selected policies. This exercise focused only on provisions made to either accommodate or repudiate street vending activity in urban space[1]. This includes (1) searching for statements concerning street vending or the informal economy through specific keywords such as the "the informal economy" or "street vending" or "hawkers" mentioned in the is policy documents; (2)

1 The assessment is not an evaluative or impact assessment of the policy document. Rather, it seeks to identify the place of street vending in the selected urban policies

interventions or objectives of the policy document that either support or rebels the activity of street vending in public space; and (3) Or the policy document does not regard or recognize street vending in cities. Second, at least two policy statements from each policy document are extracted for the evaluation. Third, each policy document was evaluated as "accommodating" in the urban policy document (Scored positive +) or "repudiating" by the policy document (Negative -). Urban policy documents that accommodate street vendors stress keywords such as support, recognition, provide for or promoting street vending. On the other hand, the urban policy documents are considered "repudiate" if the emphasis focuses on eviction, illegal or prohibits street vending activity in public spaces. Thus, this evaluation is supported by qualitative (content) interpretation of the statement.

5.2.1 Results and discussion on the policy assessment

Table 5.1 shows the scores and remarks of the policy documents assessment by their provisions for street vending or vendors. The assessment results show divergence, inconsistency and discontinuity regarding the regulation of street vending in cities. The two of these policies scored positive (NUP and KMA-MTDP 2018-2022) for indicating a statement of recognition of the informal economy. For instance, the NUP strongly outlined overarching and integrative policy objectives to support the informal economy and advocated for a change of hostile attitude by city authorities toward informal actors. Similarly, the KMA-MTDP indicated the need to strengthen the relationship between city authorities and informal labour organizations. However, it failed to translate this strategy into a precise action. It affirms the many claims of lack of recognition of street vending in cities' planning (Acheampong, 2019; Brown et al., 2015; Gillespie, 2016; Onodugo & Ezeadichie, 2019; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016; Steel et al., 2014). Street vending activities in Kumasi CBD are highlighted as critical development issues in KMA MTDP. However, its planned projects which proceed the identification of these issues, were wholly ignored. There is no plan either o address the problems street vendors pose to the city or actions to support street vending. This suggests that city authorities often respond to the problems of street vending via unplanned and ad hoc actions.

The remaining policy documents either do not recognize street vending activities, prohibit vendors from using public space, or create fuzzy frameworks that serve as abetment for various repressive actions. For instance, the Local Government Act 936 (2016), an overarching law regulating street vending, restricts street vendors from using urban public spaces. Furthermore, street vending is not recognized in urban economic planning, despite its heavy reliance on the informal economy. For instance, as specified in sections 96 and 97 (See regulatory statements in table 5.1) concerning the District Planning Authorities actions against nuisance, unauthorized development or inappropriate

use of public spaces, negatively affected how street vendors are treated in the city. The image of street vendors as encroachers and vending as nuisances in urban public spaces reflect how they are regulated in the cities. KMA city bye-laws generally rebel against street vending, and they either restrict vending by granting licenses to a few hawkers or prohibit hawkers from selling in public spaces. The law makes it illegal to vend without a license, yet authorities guarantee licenses to a limited number of vendors.

It can be observed that there is inconsistency and ambiguity between various levels (national and local) of policies and regulatory frameworks regulating street vending in Ghana. For instance, the NUP serves as a principal policy framework that various local assemblies must adopt for local policy planning. Rationally, local policies opt to reflect and serve to achieve the national urban policy objectives. However, the results revealed that this relationship is incoherent. The Local Government Act 2016, which follows the NUP, did not take into account the policy objectives of the NUP to support the informal economy and the changing attitude of city authorities towards the informal actors. Instead, it empowers local assemblies to act accordingly through bye-laws and local plans. These local bye-laws and the local development plans barely embrace street vending or intend to create adequate commercial spaces for vendors in the city. It implies that local policies and national regulatory frameworks lack harmony towards regulating street vending.

It is further observed that despite the campaign to acknowledge the role of the informal economy actor in the Ghanaian cities, the outdated draconian bye-laws remain the mantra for regulating street vending in urban areas. The complexity and inaccessibility of these bye-laws leave street vendors to the constant cruelty of law enforcement officials.

It is also realized that the intention to strengthen the capacity of informal labour organizations to engage in policy dialogue could serve as a U-turn to building a strong positive relationship between street vendors and city authorities and inclusive urban policy planning.

In summary, the analysis reveals that policy decisions in regulating street vending are incoherent. While national policies tend to advocate for reform attitudes towards street vendors, the exclusive power to deal with the problem of street vendors is reserved with local assemblies. NUP explicitly outlined general policy objectives to support the informal. Local assemblies retain the discretional power to manage or regulate the activities of street vending in the cities. Local policies are conflicting as they exhibit diverging interest in street vendors' occupation and use of urban public spaces. It was revealed that local policies barely seek to recognize street vendors and their use of public spaces. That notwithstanding, the intention to strengthen the capacity

Table 5.1: Policy assessment on the space of street vending in policy planning.

Policy Document	Description	Year
National Urban Policy (NUP) Framework 2012	NUP is Ghana's first comprehensive urban policy adopted to promote a sustainable, spatially integrated and orderly development of the urban environment. It provides the framework and direction for dealing with issues of urban governance and local economic development. The local assemblies are obliged to espouse it for formulating local plans	2012
Local Government Act 936 (Act 2016)	The Local Government Act 936 is the legal framework that establishes the local assemblies and empowers them to undertake certain decentralized functions. It also prescribed procedures to deal with planning situations.	2016
Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly Bye-Law	The Local Government Act permit local assemblies to make bye-law for the execution of functions conferred on them. These bye-law permits or prohibits certain behaviours, or actions authorities consider inappropriate, undesirable or illegal.	1998
KMA Medium Term Development Plan (MTDP) 2017-2021	The MDTP is a comprehensive four-year development plan that details various actions or projects to be implemented within the stipulated time. A procedural planning document prepared the guidelines of the National Development Planning Commission.	2018

Policy statement/ Objective	Score	Remarks
(a) Change official attitude towards the informal enterprises from neglect to recognition and policy support. (b) Ensure that urban planning provides for the activities of the informal economy. (c) Build up and upgrade the operational capacities of the informal enterprises. (d) Improve funding support for the informal economy.	+ + + +	The national urban policy is positive towards street vending. Under the objective to promote urban economic development, it mandated a changed attitude of officials – from neglect to recognition and policy support for informal enterprises - street vending. It accommodates street vending
(a) A District Planning Authority may effect or carry out an instant prohibition, abatement, alteration, removal or demolition of any unauthorised development carried out or being carried out that encroaches or will encroach on a community right of space or that interferes or may interfere with the use of the space. (b) The action to stop the encroachment on the community right of space shall be without prior notice.	- -	Street vendors are regarded as unauthorized users or encroachers on public spaces. The actions to curtail such encroachment prior to the provision of this Act result in constant eviction of street vendors without notices.
(a) A hawker shall not sell, offer or exhibit goods other than those in respect of which license has been granted. (b) A hawker shall not erect any stall or any other structure in any public space for the purpose of his trade or any businesses without the written consent of the KMA. (c) A hawker shall not obstruct or impede the free movement of vehicular or pedestrian traffic.	- - -	KMA bye-laws firmly resist street vending public spaces, and it prohibits, prevents and prohibits vendors from erecting stalls in public spaces for their activities. Hence, the bye-laws repudiate street vending and regard street vending as illegal or a violation of planning rules.
(a) Strengthen the capacity of informal labour unions to engage in social dialogue (SDG Targets 16.6, 16.7) (b) Build capacity of the informal sector (SDG Target 8.3)	+ +	KMA MDTP outlined strategies to strengthen capacity organizations and engagement with the actors. This is a positive step towards inclusive planning.

Accra Regional Minister dirceting demolishing activities in Accra

of street vendors' associations could drive more effective consultation and negotiation for common terms between both parties.

5.3 Planning reaction to street vending in Ghana

As Racaud et al. (2018) stated, regulating street vending in cities of the global south is characterized by ambiguous regulatory frameworks, a contradiction between economic importance and a hostile policy environment. Hence, regulatory policies linger between "quite" tolerance and extreme intolerance. I refer to this as "quite" tolerance because the policies seem to permit street vendors by issuing them licenses, which is limited to a few to restrict their numbers. Omoegun et al. (2019) explained intolerant policies as those that constantly seek to suppress street vendors. Such actions are either legal as justified by local bye-laws or illegal as impromptu on certain occasions. Eviction and confiscation of vendors wares are scored the most extreme form of intolerant policies (Roever & Skinner, 2016). In recent times, evictions are carried out alongside relocation.

Regulating street vending in Ghana demonstrated such ambiguities in policy planning. Cities authorities lack clear policy direction to regulating street vendors. A wander between persuasive and repressive tactics (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). Unfortunately, the latter tends to be the favourable set of tools often used to respond to street vendors occupation of urban public spaces, notwithstanding their repeated failures. The principal policy objective of KMA in regulating street vending do not intend to accommodate vendors in the cityscape, rather keep vendors out of the urban environment. This can be seen in the large-scale coordinated decongestion exercises and other actions intended to eliminate street vendors from the CBD. These actions tend to side with the city's vision as a "cleaner city".

While quite tolerance policies may be highlighted in the Ghanaian context (i.e. issuing of permits), this section focuses on the dominant actions, which inevitably turns to the intolerant and repressive strategies. These practices reinstate the work of (Roy, 2005) on the role of city authorities or local government to reproduce informality through spatially and legal exclusion. These policy strategies can be distilled into four domains:

(1) Eviction by decongestion

(2) Relocation

(3) Harassment

(4) Confiscation of merchandise

5.3.1 Eviction through decongestion

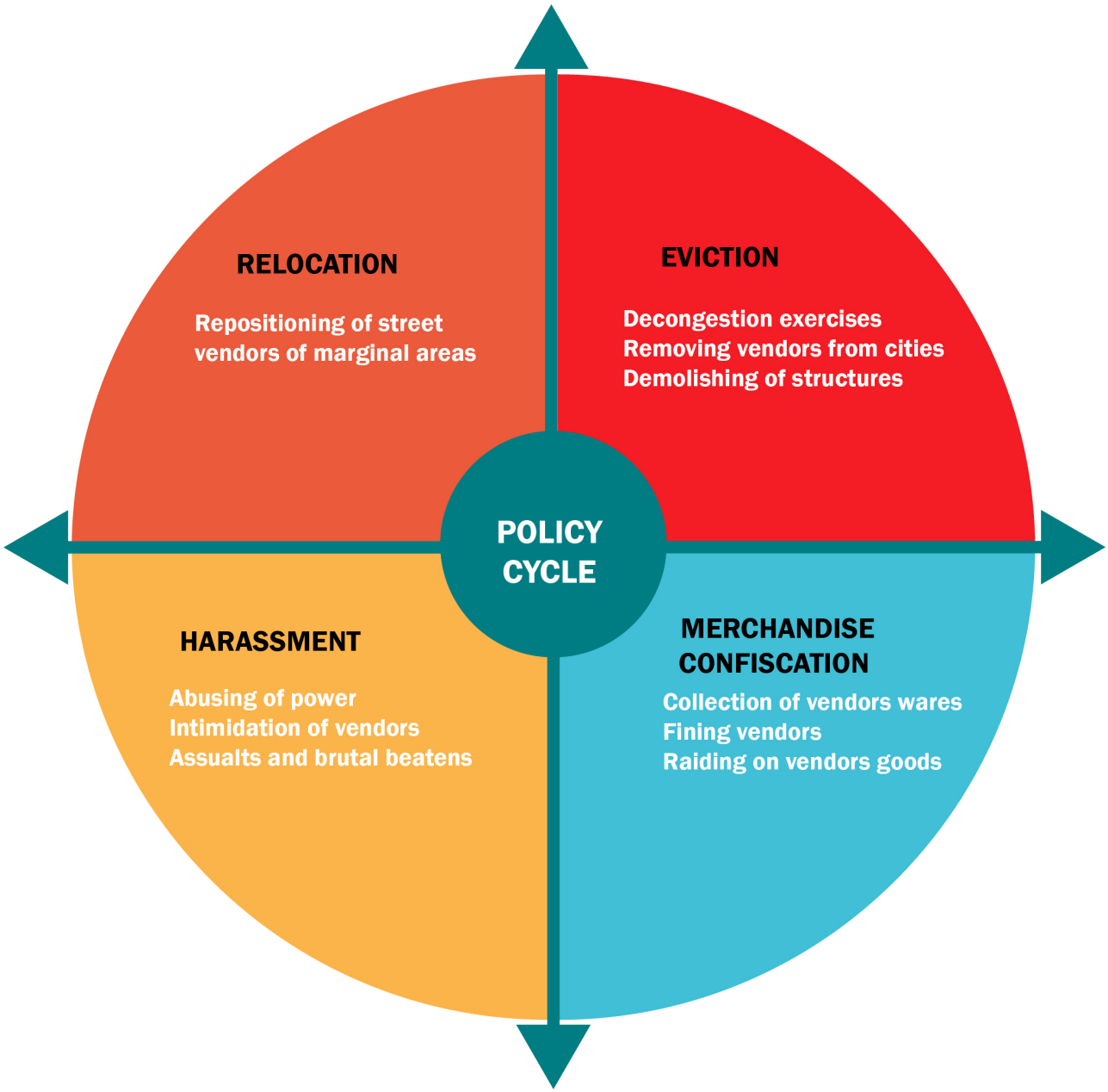


Figure 5.1: Policy strategies in used by city authorities to regulate street vending

Eviction by decongestion is by far the primary tool towards regulating street vendors occupation of urban public spaces (Kessey & Agyemang, 2013; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011). City authorities for the past decade have coined the term "decongestion" as a policy approach to clean up urban spaces perceived as undesirable. This policy tool has become widely used among Africa cities in this regard. Decongestion can be defined as "an operation undertaken by city managers to reduce and curb the high concentration of informal activities in a city" (Kessey & Agyemang, 2013:90). They further mentioned that decongestion intend to improve the quality of urban public spaces for the general welfare of urbanites and urban life. However, the actions come as parti pris often precluded from the exact motives. Cities authorities primarily seek to decongest cities' spaces, curb informalities, and impose order in the complex urban realm. The logic and motives are geared towards a "modern", "ideal" and "hygienic" image of the city (Roever & Skinner, 2016), which city planners and mayors firmly hold to gain a hero title in the battle of regulating street vending in cities. The image of street vending is tainted as a nuisance, a pictogram of chaos and disorder – invoking evictions mechanism to restore order and beauty to the city.

This policy instrument is popularly known as the "Bulldozer approach" (Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011), a derivative of bulldozers shredding vendors' structures. Street vending is painted as symptomatic of the enduring urban problems; poor urban sanitation, "dirt" or waste generation, congestion, backward. The activities are seen to undermine the effort to achieve modern city goals and development of global cities, thereby necessitating decongestion exercises to remove street vendors from urban public spaces - to maintain public order, beautiful urban environment and cleaner cities (Obeng-Odoom, 2011). The cleaning up of central public areas forms local governments overarching goal to encourage foreign investment within the neoliberal urban credo (Spire & Choplin, 2017)

In an attempt to clear these nuisances, city authorities periodically organize large-scale decongestion exercises to reduce the intensity (by removing stalls) of street vending activities in public spaces. Despite their significant and potential revenue contribution to the local assemblies, decongestion exercises directly targeted street vendors at the CBDs and other prime urban areas occupied by vendors(Acheampong, 2019; Ghosh, 2021) as well as squatters and informal settlements. Over the years, Accra city authorities have pursued this course towards obtaining "Millennium City" (Gillespie, 2016; Obeng-Odoom, 2011). City decongestion and slum clearance have become more frequent (Obeng-Odoom, 2011) and represent one of the most comprehensive and well organized brutal exercises and mass destruction in many African cities – to space up the urban environment.

For instance, since the beginning of 2021, Accra is has undergone

the rapture of continuous decongestion activities that left many traders in limbo and losing their businesses. The situation became intensive following the inception of the "Make Accra work Again" plan by the Greater Accra Regional Minister to make Accra a beautiful city. The Minister has spearheaded large-scale demolitions, evictions, and relocation of several street vendors, market traders and slum dwellers from downtown Accra, hoping to keep the city clean, beautiful and void of congestion and nuisance. He stated that "...apart from (street vendors, squatters etc.) making the national capital unattractive, the situation also posed a threat to security,... and decongestion exercise was part of the effort to ensure that Accra regains its lost glory" (Boateng, 2021). Most decongestion exercises are supplemented by deploying task force officials, who patrol the city to keep vendors from returning to the settings (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). In the case of the recent decongestion exercises in Accra, 800 security personnel were dispatched to support the activities.

Figure 5.2: Ongoing decongestion activities in Accra

Source: Make Greater Accra Work, 2021

The use of eviction mechanisms to spacing up Ghanaian cities is common and as old as the development of the cities and the growth of urban informalities. Whiles decongestion may often be ad hoc in preparation for major events, they have become formal planned activities in urban development policies. In Kumasi and Accra, decongestions are carefully planned activities, budgeted and implemented (almost quarterly) each year (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). This is evident in KMA Composite-Budget for 2019-2022:

"Activities under the sub-programme include implementing projects that would enable decongestion of the central business districts as well as other congested areas within the city..." (KMA, 2019:33)

Eviction sometimes occurs to free spaces for new development (Osei-boateng, 2012). Frimpong, Amoako & Asenso (2020) observed that Kumasi's retailscape is changing to conform to the modernist urban planning policies –an ongoing placemaking strategy involving the expropriation of urban spaces from street traders to modernize the cityscape. Under neoliberal credo, city authorities, landowners and private developers play a key role in gentrifying urban spaces (Okoye, 2020). City Authorities have adopted an entrepreneurial policy strategy that seeks to regenerate urban spaces for capital accumulation (Obeng-Odoom as cited by Gillespie (2016)). Particular instances can be pointed to the eviction of street vendors for the development of Accra Octagon and Kumasi Kejetia modern market (Okoye, 2020; Spire & Choplin, 2017)

5.3.2 Relocation approach

Sometimes, displaced vendors are offered alternative sites for vending. Relocation often comes alongside or proceeds evictions as an attempt to re-position street vendors place in the cities. In the quest to provide a lasting solution to the dilemma of urban public spaces, planners often offer street vendors new spaces. Typically, street vendors are relocated to markets, "satellite markets," or undeveloped spaces outside the vicinity of the CBDs. Donovan (2008) argued that relocation emerged as a policy tool that legally compromises the right to work and public spaces from which eviction lacks. The brutal evictions often stand the question of social justice and the right of street vendors to work. Human rights advocates particularly champion this debate, and street vendors self mobilized groups. Relocation has become the preferred tool where city authorities justly remove street vendors from the CBDs. However, relocation sites are usually remote areas void of infrastructure, services and customers. They rarely constitute viable alternative spaces for street vendors (Omoegun et al., 2019). The modus operandi of street vending is such that measures suggesting the creation of off-street markets may be bound to fall short.

In Ghanaian, relocation is enforced mainly by the local government in accordance with the urban creed of decongestion. In Kumasi, several satellite markets have been constructed to accommodate street vendors, and most of these market spaces have been abandoned. Concerning the two large scale eviction and relocation exercises in Accra and Kumasi, the city authorities designated areas to shelter evicted vendors and urged them to relocate to the satellite markets. For instance, as part of the Accra Octagon construction, two markets were assigned to street vendors. One newly created market, the Pedestrian Shopping Mall and an existing market, the Novotel Market, were in Odorna near the Kwame Nkrumah Interchange provided stalls to 1,2000 vendors (Spire & Choplin, 2017).

Similarly, following the construction of the Kejetia Modern Market, KMA designated three official sites to contain the evicted street vendors and market traders. Two of which are multiple-story store buildings dole out to store vendors. Race Course , the traditional relocation site of KMA, was the site dedicated to evicted street vendors who do not own shops in the former location. The site is barely an open-air space without structures or services (Okoye, 2020) and devoid of any active urban life and access to pedestrians. The street vendors were expected to be confined and never to return to the city centre.

From the above discussion, two similarities can be drawn from these relocation strategies (i.e. Accra Octagon development and Kumasi Kejetia Modern Market). First, relocation strategies facilitate the modernization goal of city authorities and the national government's plans to develop modern markets across cities in Ghana. The Kejetia Modern Market and the Pedestrian Shopping Mall was designed to accomplish this mission. However, the KMA relocation strategy was a blight as street vendors were thrown into vacant spaces, empty of infrastructure, services and access to customers. Second, the relocation approaches do not seek to configure traditional vending areas in the city's spatial planning but rather to expropriate vendors' spaces for modernist urban development. The inherent objective is to expel street vendors from the cityscape as they alleged to be nuisances rather important urban actors

5.3.3 Harassment

Unlike eviction and relocation, harassment comes in an ad hoc and random manner – frequently daily. As Roever (2016) stated, it questioned the legitimacy of street vendors' occupation of urban public spaces. Street vendors experience harassment of all forms daily, ranging from severe assaults to minimal hostile engagements with city officials. Law enforcement such as police and the task force with formal authority or informal governances – abusive use their power either for their selfish gains or suppress, disgust, or deter street

vendors from their activities. Harassments are regularly used to prevent street vendors from conducting retail activities in restricted or unauthorized places. The actions usually come as a scare stiff but threaten vendors and exploit them in many ways.

The KMA bye-laws on street vending specified that "Every Hawker shall produce for inspection a license granted under the Bye-kaws upon demand being made to him/her by a person authorized in written by the KMA" (The Local Government Bulletin: Kumasi Metropolitan Bye-Law, 1998: 263). Such requirements are practically impossible to meet either by licensed or unlicensed vendors at the spot of vending. The complexity of the law makes street vendors inevitably victims of constant abuse. There are no vending zones decorated to enable street vendors to carry out their vending activities. However, street vendors are harassed for vending in places authorities refer to as unauthorized for such activities.

Harassment temporarily suspends vending activities and dispersed street vendors from the public spaces. Task forces and police officers arbitrarily chase after vendors from restricted areas. This is usually characterized by physical assaults, damage of property and goods, and humiliation of vendors.

5.3.4 Merchandise Confiscation.

More closely to the harassment mechanism and sometimes, the worse approach to dealing with street vendors is confiscation of vendors merchandise. The bye-laws granted local authorities the extensive power to impound and confiscate street vendors wares if they are perceived to have contravened the rules and bye-laws governing the activity of street vending and the use of public spaces. The police and task forces have been the harelds to such ravage actions (Roever, 2016). Vendors found in restricted spaces are instantly fined a huge sum of money or had their goods seized by the task forces. Victims are often charged fines ranging from Ghc100 to Ghc300 ($18 to $50) before their items are given back to them (Kessey & Agyemang, 2013; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). Such action caused financial losses to street vendors and, at the same time, failed to deter them from returning to the streets.

5.4 Pros and Cons of the ongoing policy in regulation street vendors

The policy instruments discussed in section 5.3 have fairly received both critiques and lauds. The discussion here highlights the most relevant points on the pros and cons of each policy approach adopted by city authorities.

First, the use of decongestion and eviction policy tools in regulating

street vending has been upbraid and scolded for its faceless operation towards the urban poor. Mass decongestion activities are motivated because they immediately ease congestions in public spaces and free them of vending activities. However, eviction and its supplementary actions by task forces are hardly sustainable over the long run (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016; Steel et al., 2014). Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah (2008) and Steel et al. (2014) mentioned that street vendors usually adopt spatial strategies to elude eviction by practically and temporarily relocating themselves to new spaces within the city or being itinerant vendors that allow them to dodge evictions, harassments and task force brutalities. Obviously, eviction seems to address the problem of congestion in the immediate short term, but it could barely boast of its glory over a sustained period. Street vendors quickly return to their settings days after evictions or decongestion exercises are over (Owusu et al., 2013a). Unless otherwise such spaces are immediately developed into different landscapes, as in the case of Accra's Octagon and Kejetia Modern Market development, vendors gradually resume occupying these spaces over time. Hence eviction policies only succeed in spatially redistributing [and reproducing] informalities across the cityscape rather than ruling it out of the urban environment. It remained futile because street vendors have become adaptive to such recurring measures. This affirmed the role of city authorities in the reproduction of informalities urban areas (Roy, 2005, 2015). It can be construed that eviction exist as spatial strategy to exclude street vendors in cities. City authorities have remained reluctant to provide adequate and covenient commercial spaces to accommodate vending activities.

As WIEGO (2020b) report indicated, decongestion exercises have had adverse impacts on street vendors' livelihoods and local assemblies resources. Eviction mechanisms tend to lose-lose policy responses to the challenge of street vending. The general demolition exercises and the city "clean up" cause economic losses to most vendors. This includes loss of property, merchandise, financial hardships, and urbanites [Customers] who depend on street vendors for their daily necessities (Steel et al., 2014; WIEGO, 2020b). Eviction by decongestion has had a perverse role in exacerbating the vulnerability of street vendors. It increases the incidence of urban poverty, struggles among the urban poor, and permanent loss of jobs (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008). The majority of the vendors trade perishable goods on short-term loans or credits (Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011). These violent actions put vendors in huge debts as they stand the risk of losing their wares.

On the other side, the policy approach cruelly impacts street vendors and dwindles the local assemblies' revenue base. First, decongestion activities are costly to execute. For instance, in 2010, "it cost the KMA GH¢ 17,457,561 for its decongestion exercise" (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016:916). Assemblies, for example, KMA, have to pay for the service of the security personnel during the eviction activities and monthly

allowance for task forces in post-eviction management. Second, assemblies often lose a considerable amount of their internal revenue that is generated from the daily tolls of street vendors

Secondly, relocation may be hailed for providing alternative spaces for street vendors. However, most of the relocation strategies failed because they lacked a thorough assessment of the relocation sites and adequate consultation of street vendors in the planning and selection of alternative spaces. Decongestion and relocation decisions usually adopt top-down approaches to which street vendors are only obliged to abide. Three key issues principally accounted for the failure of relocation techniques; First, relocation sites are usually situated in marginal and flood-prone zones. A good example is the Pedestrian Shopping Mall in Ordona, Accra, undulated by water bodies and flooded with endangered vendors (Spire & Choplin, 2017). Second, satellite markets or relocation sites are often situated in remote settings, disconnecting vendors and their customers. It is evident in the development of the Pedestrians Shopping Mall as a relocation site for street vendors. The site is situated 2.3 km away from the vendor's previous location. This obviously explains why in most cases, street vendors reminded reluctant to move to new sites. These approaches usually flunk because vendors are detached from their customers and hardly make sales in their new isolated environments. This resulted in many of the built markets being deserted and street vendors returning to occupy new spaces within the city. In another strand, modern markets come with high [cost] rents beyond the financial capacity of most street vendors. Street vendors are willing to take the risk, resume the street, and increase their mobility, allowing them to play the "hide and seek" game to subvert harassment by task forces.

Thirdly, confiscation and harassment from task forces are similarly ineffective in regulating street vendors in public spaces (WIEGO, 2020b). Although such policy measures are damaging to the livelihoods of street vendors, vendors have remained resilient and have become adaptive to such daily engagement with task forces (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016; Steel et al., 2014). Harassment creates fuzzy platforms for unlawful practices, thus bribery and corruption. Both street vendors and city task forces are found to be engaging in informal practices and developing new relationships. These relations aid them to negotiate terms that guarantee vendors their place of vending and reward the other party either in kind or cash to guarantee vendors security of their working environment or further harassment (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). As Solomon-Ayeh et al. (2011) indicated, huge sums of moneies are allegedly collected from street vendors during such operations.

Task forces "[they] bargain with the offenders and either collect monies ranging from GH¢3 to GH¢5 or sometimes they take some of the wares of the traders as gifts and allow them to sell" (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016)

Table 5.2: Pros and Cons of the various policy tools

Policy Tool	Pros	Cons
Eviction by Decongestion	• Freeing up public spaces • Reduce the concentration of informal activities and ease congestion • Freeing underdeveloped spaces for new development	• Distraction to the city social and economic fabrics • Substantial financial losses and damage to property • Severe impact on street vendors livelihood and loss of capital • Stifles small-scale enterprises and employments • Failed to remove street vendors from the street permanently.
Force Relocation	• Provide street vendors with an alternative space to conduct their activities. • Protects the right of vendors to operate their businesses • Provide city authority with the legal basis for any action against street vendors occupying open spaces	• Disconnection of vendors from the customers • Reposition street vendor marginal lands and isolate areas • Unaffordability of government markets • Spaces lack services and infrastructure
Harassment	• Temporarily keep street vendors away from public spaces	• Serve as a platform for bribery and corruption • It questions social justice in cities. • It little scared of street vendors from encroaching spaces. • Damage of vendors wares
Merchandise Confiscation	• Punitive measure for breaching rules.	• Serve as a platform for bribery and corruption • It questions social justice in cities. • It little scared of street vendors from encroaching spaces. • Damage of vendors wares

5.5 Street vendors self-mobilization: Towards recognition and inclusion

Although the general policies environment continues to be hostile and repressive towards street vending, vendors across cities are increasingly organizing themselves, strengthening their collective voice, building their negotiation skills and devising new ways to work with city authorities and other stakeholders (Brown, 2017; WIEGO, 2020b). Also, to enable street vendors to collectively respond to the general oppressions (Omoegun et al., 2019). Such collective actions allow them to be resilient in the battle with city authorities for spaces – thus often responding in an attempt to subvert eviction policies. Brown (2017) indicated that street vendors often claim and reclaim urban spaces through collective actions. Street vendors often stake collective claims to public spaces through sustained use of available spaces and investment (Gillespie, 2016). Collective identities allow street vendors to be identified, engaged, and active in the policies formulation process.

It is important to note that in cities where emerging inclusive practices exist, the role of street vendors organizations is paramount – they are born out of the ability of street vendors' organizations to negotiate terms with city authorities for recognition and inclusion in cities. The power and potentials of street vendors self-mobilization can be seen in the changing face of policies and constitutional provisions that protect street vendors against unlawful actions by law officials and city authorities ambivalent actions (Roever, 2016). The India Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) is the pioneering organization that gained recognition since 1972 (Bhowmik, 2005; Chen, 2012; Roever, 2016) and has subsequently influenced policies and urban governance in favour of the informal workers in India. Until vendors in the city of Monrovia were able to organize themselves, build their negotiation skills and identify themselves with allies, the attitude of city authorities towards street vendors was not different from conventional practices across the Global South (Reed & Bird, 2020).

In the Ghanaian context, street vendors in Accra and Kumasi and other cities like Trakrodi, Tamale recognise themselves in such small groups. The Informal Hawkers and Vendors Alliance of Ghana (IHVAG) and The Ghana National Association of Hawkers and Street Vendors (GNAHV) were established in 2005 and 2007 respectively as a national alliance body with branches at various cities. Osei-Boateng (2012) indicated that GNAHV membership estimated over 30,000 in 2012, of which 95% are street vendors. In Accra, minor associations exist within various enclaves in the city; The Greater Accra Tomato Traders Association, Progressive Cooperative Onion Farmers and Trader Association in Agbogbloshie, New Makola Traders Union, among others. Similar exist in Kumasi; Kejetia Petty Traders Association (KPTA) (2,283 registered members), Kumasi Kejetia

Traders Association (KKTA), the Central Market Vendors Associations and Cloth Sellers Association (Okoye, 2020). Most of these groups are affiliated with the Ghana Trade Union Congress (TUC) and the StreetNet International (locally, StreetNet Ghana Alliance).

These associations aimed to be involved in the urban policy formulation process and make their voices heard to the government and major stakeholders. For instance, the Ghana National Association of Hawkers and Street Vendors were partially involved in constructing the Odorna Pedestrian Shopping Mall in Accra. Also, various unions, particularly the Onion traders in Agbobloshie, were consulted in the ongoing decongestion activities in Accra (The operation **"Make Greater Accra Work Again"**) and relocation of onion vendors to Adjen Kotoku Market[1] (Boateng, 2021). Though, such consultations are usually shallow, aiming at informing vendors of a decision taken by city authorities or giving information rather than seeking the opinions of street vendors. Victoria Okoye (2020) also writes on the case of Kumasi, stating that the consultation process for the modern market development excluded the leadership of the Kejetia Petty traders Association. The action resulted in a move by KPTA in collaboration with members of KKTA against KMA by filing a claim at the Kumasi High Court seeking to halt the construction processes. However, the effort failed due to improper procedure in registering their grievance.

In a policy dialogue involving the street vendors association (IHVAG) in Accra (refer to Box 1), the WIEGO group and AMA representative indicated that street vendors are willing to engage in a more democratic, less hostile and policy development. This serves as a starting point to engaging street vendors collaborative practices.

1 The Adjen Kotoku Market is a (suburb within the Ga West Municipality) satellite market which was started in 2008 and completed in 2011, originally intended to accommodate traders in the Agbogbloshie Market to ease congestion in the area

Box 1: Policy Engagement: A dialogue between Informal workers in Accra and relevnat stakeholders.

Below is a transcribe of the of policy dialogue involving Fifty five vendors from five markets in Accra. The diagolue aimed to find solution to old-aged issues of eviction and access to public spaces which remain the battle.

The Vice President of the IHVAG stated that, "we are doing our best, but in the sense of eviction, our policy makers normally don't include us. They take their decisions and the few things are hearing is: [that] they are coming to chase you from where you are selling. And when we move ahead to find out where they are chasing us to, that becomes a question mark"

Director of the Department of Gender, AMA: "What should the government do? Should the government look on? For all the streets to be used for vending? Should the government look on, for every corner to be for traders?

General Secretary of IHVAG: "From time immemorial up to now, every governmment do decongestions but still they are not succeeding. Suggestion. (1) Governmemnt are to look at the unemployment situation in Ghana....."

5.6: Summary

The findings from the policy analysis and regulatory approaches reaffirm the conclusion that street vendors across African cities are disadvantaged in the legal, regulatory and policy environment (Mitullah, 2004 as cited by Rogerson, 2016). As in the case of Ghana, the policy recognition of street vending is in a state of oblivion. The city authority points to street vending as a pressing issue in urban development. However, city authorities have failed to develop concrete measures to tackle such problems or appropriately integrate vendors into the urban sphere. This insinuates that actions towards the issue of street vending are impromptu, ad hoc and unplanned. The general policy environment – from the national level to the local level lacks coherence. They basically do not speak the same language regarding the regulation of street vending activities. As identified in this chapter, various policy instruments adopted by city authorities dramatically failed to rule out vending in urban spaces. Instead, these policies continue to reproduce informalities within the cityscape by dispersing and redistributing vending activities in other parts of the city.

Chapter Six

Research Methodology and Selection of Cases Studies

6.1 Introduction

The thesis is divided into three parts which inform the adoption of different methodologies to achieve the research objectives. The first part constitutes the literature review to explore the phenomenon of street vending and various policies instruments used by city authorities to regulate the activities in urban public space. It enables the researcher to understand the complex relation of street vending and the regulatory mechanisms to deal with this urban situation. The second part of the thesis aimed to find street vending in urban policy planning in Ghana. An exploratory method is employed by analyzing the content of identified urban policies in Ghana. The rationale is to find reasons for using various instruments at the city level to regulate street vending.

The thesis is divided into three parts.

At the core of this study is the analysis of emerging positive practices to draw lessons to inform planning practices in dealing with informalities in cities, specifically, street vending. Hence, part three adopted cases study methodology to explore some selected techniques. The literature review reveals that dealing with informalities in cities, mainly vending, is quite complicated and thus requires the combination of different approaches to effectively regulate street vending and the use of urban spaces. In this regard, the research seeks to explore diverse practices by selecting different approaches from different contexts, thus drawing valuable lessons for developing robust policy tools for managing street vendors in cities. The context similarities of the parent cases are essential as planning cultures may require the presence of specific characteristics and structures to make lessons useful and applicable to the Ghanaian environment. In sum, this chapter details the overall research methodology in conducting this research. It concluded with case selection and the analytical criteria for reviewing the case in the next chapter (see chapter 7)

6.2 Research Methodology

6.2.1 Research Design

The thesis adopted a methodical research process, as illustrated in figure 6.1. Collection of data, critical review and policy assessment primarily focused on the Ghanaian experienced. In this regard, a case study approach was used by applying a systematic literature review of secondary data. Secondary data in this study refer to all authentic published documents available online and accessible.

The research adopted a systematic literature review process, policy analysis and case studies review

6.2.1.1 Data collection process

The data gathering procedures adopted a systematic review to scientifically search and include relevant studies and reports for this study. A stepwise approach was used in this regard. First, inclusion criteria were established to aid the selection of documents to be included. The second

step focuses on the searching process for relevant data.

(a) Inclusion Criteria

As indicated earlier, the study relied solely on secondary data resources to answer the research questions. This includes peer-reviewed journal articles, institutional documentation (reports, videos, and website data), and grey literature (i.e. online news publications) that satisfies the established criteria. First, the article must be a published document focusing on the informal economy, specifically street vending in the global South. This includes peer-review journal articles, books and book chapters, research reports as well as working papers. Peer-review journal articles are the prime source of primary research on street vending and the use of public spaces. Second, the study must also be original, based on empirical studies or a rigorous analysis of conventional literature. Thirdly, the study must focus on a description of the characteristics of street vendors or a discussion on the relationship between street vendors and city authorities or policy instruments used by city authorities to regulate street vending in the global south. Here, priority is given to studies in Ghanaian cities. Considering this criterion, only articles that meet the criteria were included. Lastly, the review focused on more recent studies from 2010 to date. However, pioneering studies and rigorous ethnographic studies, for instance, Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah (2008) was considered in the case of Accra.

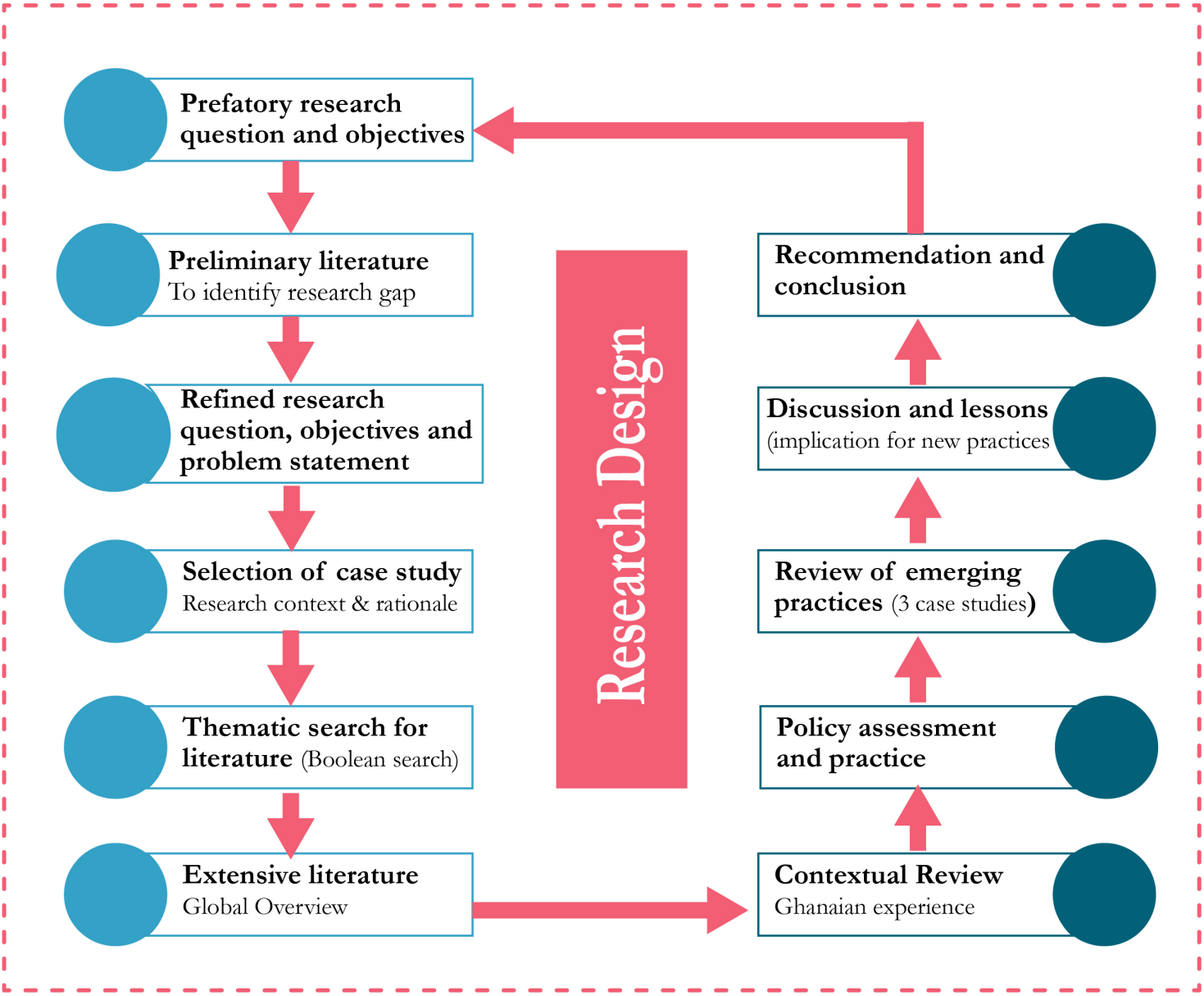


Figure 6.1: Research design

(b) Data searching process

The search process is guided by analytical themes that directly respond to the research question and objectives to select and identify the most relevant studies on the topic. This was done with the aid of pre-defined variables developed during the preliminary literature review of street vending and the use of public spaces (see Table 6.1). The searching process adopted the Boolean Search Methodology using a combination of keywords; "urban informality", "informal economy", "street vending", "urban public space", "regulation of street vending", "city authorities", "eviction" "decongestion", "relocation", Ghanaian cities", "Kumasi". These primary words were combined into form phrases and run in the search engineers (i.e. Google Scholar and Google) and institutional websites (e.g. WIEGO) to extract the literature from journal publishing repositories and institutional databases. Repositories of WIEGO and ILO were thoroughly searched for first-hand literature on statistical briefs, technical reports, working papers (concepts defined and composition of the informal economy). Priority in this regard is the specialization of these institutions on issues of the informal economy and street vending across cities globally. Also,

they have engaged in policy dialogue with street vendors and city authorities in different cities (e.g. the policy engagement with IHVAG and AMA) and have conducted extensive research on street vending and cities in both developing countries and developed countries (see (Roever & Skinner, 2016)). Some recommended documents on specific themes were identified from the WIEGO database and website.

The search procedure generates a large volume of data, hence the need for screening in following a systematic process: First, the abstract and conclusions were quickly read to grasp the content and scope of the articles before adding to the review. The aim is to reduce the unnecessary compilation of a large volume of documents. Second, a detailed content reading was to identify the problem of street vendors in cities, dichotomies between street vendors and city authorities, and various policies strategies used in regulating street vending[1]. In the analysis process, the main topic, objective of the study, research methods, and Geographical context are used to limit data on the Ghanaian context and other developing countries.

6.2.1.2 Analytical Method

The thesis adopted content and thematic approaches to analyse the secondary data. Both quantitative and qualitative data were used to describe the current situation of street vending in cities. Thematically, the study first presents a general overview of street vending experiences in cities, magnitude and size, the characteristics of street vending, the use of public spaces, and planning reaction in the broader context of the global south. The quantitative data analysis and comparison aimed to give a global and local picture of street vending in cities and implications for future urban planning. It is narrowed down to the Ghanaian context by zooming into some themes in detail. Thus, it looks at street vendors occupation of urban spaces, the problems posed to the cities, and various approaches city authorities have used to tackle these issues– using the experience Accra and Kumasi, with Kumasi as the primary focus.

6.2.2 Policy Assessment Methodology

The second part of this thesis employs an exploratory approach. The primary task was to identify national policy planning documents and local policies or regulatory frameworks (KMA) related to spatial planning and management of urban space development in Ghanaian cities. The national urban policy documents and regulatory frameworks were identified using the following procedure. Report from various institutions; The National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), The Ministry of the Local Government, Land Use and Spatial Planning Authority (LUSPA), Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD) and Kumasi Metropolitan

1 Downloading and reading of the reviewed documents was not an all-comprehensive one-time activity before starting the review process. However, this was guided by various themes, preceding chapter by chapter (i.e. each thematic analysis)

Assembly (KMA) were searched to identify these documents. Eight (8) related policy documents concerning the regulation of street vending were identified. To ensure that relevant policy document reflects contemporary practices, only established policy documents since 2000 are included. Following this process, only updated (Amended Acts, in the case of legal frameworks) versions were considered. In instances where there are no up-to-date documents, the available documents in practice were considered (a particular reference to KMA bye-laws, 1998).

Based on this simple process, only four policy documents were considered: Ghana National Urban Policy Framework 2012, the Local Governance Act 2016 (Act 936), Kumasi Metropolitan bye-laws, 1998 and the Medium Term Development Plan (2018-2022). These documents are national-level policies and regulatory frameworks: The National Urban Policy Framework 2012 and the Local Government Act 2016 (Act 936). The other two documents are local policy documents specific to the context of Kumasi city. A preliminary content analysis was conducted to identify the focus and relevance of the policy document to assessment objectives. For instance, Ghana National Spatial Development Framework (2015-2035) was excluded after the initial review as its content – it is a generic framework for national development

6.2.2.1 Policy analysis criteria

An assessment protocol was developed to aid the analysis of the documents. It was done using three-dimensional criteria to assess the selected policies for space of street vending in urban policy planning. The intention of this exercise focused only on provisions made to either accommodate or sweep away the activity of street vending in urban space. The procedure follows: (1) a search for specific keywords such as the "the informal economy" or "street vending" or "hawkers" mentioned in the is policy documents, (2) interventions or objectives that either support or rebel against the informal economy or street vending, and (3) if the policy document does not regards or recognize street vending. A content analysis was done on the extracted policy statement to determine whether the policy document intended to or provided for street vending or reacted against street vendors in the cities. Following this qualitative evaluation, the extracted statements are either scored Positive (+) or Negative (-) depending on how they respond to the phenomenon of street vending in urban public spaces.

6.2.3 Selection of case studies and data collection technique

The third part of the study focuses on drawing knowledge and lessons from some promising, more inclusive and less hostile practices in other countries or cities. This case study analysis aims to draw insight from emerging practices (regarded as effective or inclusive to the management of street vending in cities). The study adopted a non-probability sampling

Table 6.1: Literature search methodology

No.	Themes	Primary keywords	Secondary keywords	Resources	Website address
1	The informal economy, components and magnitude: A global overview.	-Informality -Informal economy -Street vending -Use of public space. -Urban policy planning -Regulating street vending -City authorities -Eviction Decongestion -Relocation -Harassment	-Characteristic of street vendors -Working places -Typologies of street vending -Urban life -Livelihoods -Employment -Nuisances -Neoliberal policies -Modern markets -Self-mobilization -Inclusive practices	**Search Engines** -Google Scholar -Google databases	https://scholar.google.com/ https://www.google.com/
2	Street vending as a global phenomenon				
3	Characteristics of street vending, contribution to cities and problems			**Publication Groups** Taylor & Francis Jstor Elsevier SAGE WIEGO ILO	- https://www.tandfonline.com/ - https://www.jstor.org/ - https://www.elsevier.com/ - https://www.sage.com/en-gb/ - https://www.wiego.org/ -https://www.ilo.org
4	The dichotomies between street vendor and city authorities				
5	Urban planning and the informal street vending in the Global south			**Other websites** GSS : https://www.statsghana.gov.gh/ KMA : http://kma.gov.gh/kma/ GLS : https://lgs.gov.gh/	
6	Policy approaches in regulating street vending in cities				

method to select three case studies that were briefly analysed. Lessons learnt are used to inform positive strategies for regulating street vending in Ghanaian cities. A purposive sampling approach was used t0 obtain three promising practices in regulating street vending in cities. The method ensures that the selection of cases was made with a deliberate intention to provide crucial information for effective policy practices and strategies to regulate the dilemma of street vending in urban public spaces. A stepwise approach was used following a pre-criteria.

First, the prime goal of this thesis is to assess emerging and promising practices used in

regulating street vending in cities. The case selection is geographically limited to the context of the Global South. This is because the practice of informality in cities of the global south demonstrates a certain degree of similarities. Hence, it is possible to draw pragmatic approaches and useful lessons for related experience in another context of its kind. Second, a list of recommended positive practices or regulatory instruments was compiled from the literature review as the sample frame from which three cases were identified.

Third, the selection of appropriate cases. To ensure that the selected cases reflect contemporary urban planning and policy practices, only emerging strategies since the last decade of the 20 century (the 1990s) to date were included in the sampling frame. The process has listed six (6) regulatory approaches from different cities across the Global South (see table 6.2 and figure 6.2). This procedure in selecting the case studies could be slapped with biases (i.e. not given a fair or equal chance to select each of the identified strategies in the sample frame in a representative manner). A protocol was further developed to explain the selection technique and consideration of relevant cases to resolve such potential critiques. This simple procedure is discussed as follow:

Diversity of approaches: The primary criteria taken into consideration of the diversity of the approaches. There is no one-side-fit-all approach to regulating the activity of street vending in cities. In this regard, to identify a small basket of diverse cases from the pool of potential cases, each identified regulatory instrument was briefly scanned to figure the type of instrument used. The diversity of the practices or strategies is a key parameter in the selection criteria. Diversity of practices is crucial to draw practical lessons from different regulatory instruments from other cities or countries and avoid redundancy. Four typologies of regulatory mechanisms can be identified; (1) National Policy Development, (2) Space and infrastructural development strategy, (3) contractual arrangement, and (4) City by-laws/ordinances.

Cases from India, south Africa and Monrovia were considered for review

Availability of information: For each identified regulatory instrument, a preliminary online search was done for important available information regarding the implementation of the mechanism. This includes official reports of the policy tool, evaluation reports, and scholarly reviews of the success or critique of the approaches. This procedure gives firsthand help to ensure that there is readily available and accessible information on the selected cases to aid the analysis.

Contextual similarities and inspiration for Ghana: The studies' primary goal is to design diverse strategies and practices for regulating street vending in Ghana by drawing inspiration from other good practices. The parent context and planning systems implemented the regulatory tools formed a critical part of the selection process. What basic socio-economic characteristics and similarities do the research look for

in the parent context? The first variable is the phenomenon of urban informalities, particularly street vending as dominant practice in the cities and the problems vending poses to the organization of the cities. Second, the system of local government practice and decentralized planning system gives city authorities the power to regulate spatial issues, thus regulating street vendors in cities. Third, the presence of an active street vendors organization and their involvement in managing vending activities in the cities.

Following a preliminary evaluation of the identified strategies against the defined criteria, three cases were considered. These include (1) The India National Policy/Bill on Urban Street Vendor 2014, (2) Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project, Durban, South Africa and (3) the Memorandum of Understanding between street vendors association and city authorities in Monrovia, Liberia. Though these are not exclusively regarded as the best practices in regulating street vending and the use of public spaces, they suggest that promising approaches could be scaled up from their successes and failures.

6.2.4 Case study Analytical methods and procedure

Analysis of the selected cases adopted content and thematic analytical procedures. Content-wise, this includes the policy overview, context brief, policy brief, policy development process, content and implementation. Since the cases are diverse and encompass policy, infrastructure projects and agreements, it will be inappropriate to use univocal criteria to analyze the regulatory instruments. Hence, analyzing the case studies emplored different themes. However, the common factors considered include the design of the regulatory mechanism, spatial dimensions of the regulatory instrument, vendors participation and role-played. An overview of the instruments is first presented, followed by a brief context introduction (i.e., basic characteristics of the parent city or country) to open to the socio-economic background of the cities.

The content and thematic are drawn and developed from the official project reports, policy documents and scholars reviews and evaluation of the various cases. The successes and failures of each case are considered an important part of the assessment process to draw useful lessons to inform new practices. The lessons drawn from each approach are juxtaposed with the experience of Ghana and various regulatory strategies adopted by city authorities. This is to help identify the gaps for informed policy planning.

Table 6.2: Identified regulatory instrument in managing of street vending in public spaces

No.	Regulatory Instrument	Country/City	Year	Brief Description
1	The India National Policy on Urban Street Vendor / Bill, thus Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihoods) and Regulation of Street Vending	India	2014	Both the National Street Vendors Policy 2004 and the Act 2014 affirmed a positive recognition of street vendors, their right to vend in urban public spaces and empowerment them against harassment. It also provides an inclusive framework for the management of vending in the cities.
2	Lima City Ordinance on Street Vending (locally known as the Coordinadora)	Lima, Peru	2014	In 2014 Lima City Council passed an Ordinance that mandated city authorities to include street vendor in the city's economic planning. The ordinance protects and authorized vending in public spaces and creating new spaces for street vendors
3	Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project	Durban, South Africa	1995	The renewal project was developed as part of the wide range of integrated area-based development. It integrated street vendors in city planning, services and recognition. Improve working condition, curbed the sanitation problems, ensure safety in the public space.
4	Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between street vendors association (FEPTIWUL) and Monrovia City Corporation (MCC).	Monrovia Liberia	2018	The Memorandum of understanding creates a contractual agreement between FEPTIWUL and the Monrovia City Corporation and stipulate measures for street vendors registration, spaces allocation, and public spaces management.
5	Informal trading Bye-laws	Johannesburg, South Africa	2009	Johannesburg city bye-law was drafted with open intention to recognize and support the activities of street vendors by protecting them against neglection and repression by city officials
6	Kenya Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihoods) Bill, 2019	Kenya	2019	The bill provides a legal framework for the recognition, protection and regulation of street vending in the country and identifies minimum standards for street vending activities.

Regulatory Instrument	Country/City	Brief Description
National policy and Bill	The Indian government, NASVI and SEWA (street vendors union).	Kumar (2012) Roever (2016) and Roever & Skinner (2016)
City bye-laws / ordinance	The City Mayor, city council, planners, and street vendors	Roever 2016 and steel et al., 2014
Space and infrastructural development strategy	City Council, Planners, and street vendors organizations	Marthy Chen & Carré (2020); Lund & Skinner (2004) and Onodugo et al. (2016)
Contractual arrangement	City government, Monrovia City Corporation (MCC), Street vendors organization (FEPTIWUL)	Namsamba (2017), Weeks (2012) and Reed & Bird (2019)
City bye-laws/ ordinance	Johannesburg City Council	
National Bill on street vending	Kenya National Government	Government of Kenya, 2019

Chapter Seven

Case studies

7.1 Introduction

What follows is a critical analysis of emerging practices in regulating street vending in cities. The three selected case studies are briefly presented, their impact in managing and defining vendors spaces in the respective cities and countries, and lessons learned and implications for Ghana. Three cases are presented here; (1) The India National Policy/Act on Street Vending, (2) Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project, and (3) The Memorandum of Understanding between street vendors (FEPTIWUL) and Monrovia City Corporation.

Location: India

Approach: Policy/Act

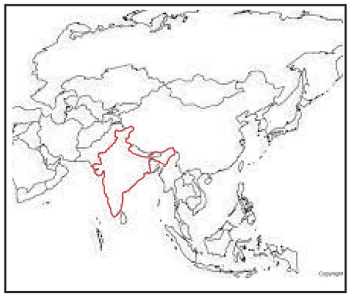
Year: 2009 & 2014

Status: On-going

Coverage: National-Level

Key stakeholders: Government of India, Municipal Assemblies, Private corperation, NASVI

Current Population: 1.38b



7.2.1 Context brief and policy overview

India is one of the few countries across the Global South to have develop a National Policy on Street Vendors. Since the 1985 Bombay High Court ruling, street vending in India has been highlighted as a policy issue that opted to be legitimized (Amis, 2016; Sinha & Roever, 2011). The first policy draft was promulgated in 2004 with the overarching objective of supporting and creating and conducive working environment for street vendor Urban Street Vendors. It was subsequently revised in 2009 based on the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector (NCELUS) recommendation. In 2014, the policy was advanced into an Act (i.e., the Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihoods and Regulation of Street Vending) Act 2014), henceforth referred to as 'The Act'). The policy/the Act explicitly recognized the contribution of street vendors to the urban economy and organization of urban life.

India was once an industrial giant in the global south [until the 1980s]. Many of the cities attracted a large portion of the rural population. Following the global economic crisis and deindustrialization process,

many Indian cities were confronted with ongoing industrial crises starting in the 1980s. By 1990, most of the manufacturing industries were completely shut down. The ongoing economic transformation, coupled with rapid urbanization and the ongoing downsizing of factory workers, created acute employment situations in the major cities. Street vending became a prime employment avenue for most low-income men and women – the number of people engaging in street vending increased substantively. The situation became worse following the introduction of the structural adjustment programme in 1991 (Bhowmik, 2005). It was estimated that about 2.5% of the urban population were directly employed through vending due to the further downsizing of state workers.

With rapid urbanization and the growing informal activities, street vending in central parts of the cities resulted in unprecedented congestion in the cities. Access to and use of urban public spaces became a tug of war between informal street vendors and the elite class (the middle class) and city authorities, driven by their "World Class Cities" ambitions (Sinha & Roever, 2011). The insurgence of neoliberal urban policies and the shift from a manufacturing-based economy to a service-oriented economy complicated the urban issues and contentions over urban spaces – large scale evictions of the street vendors and rapid urban transformation (raising of tall skyscrapers and gated communities in the inner city) (Chatterjee, 2013). Street vendors began to mobilize in reaction (protest) the actions of city authorities and address the concerns of using public spaces for vending activities. By 1998, the National Association of Street Vendors of India (NASVI) was formed alongside the existing SEWA in Ahmedabad formed in 1972. NASVI aligned itself with SEWA and allies include academic researchers and activists. These associations have spoken a unilocal voice in their effort to overturn the unlawful repressions by the city authorities and to create a supportive environment for street vendors across India. Their effort and direct participation influence the content and approach of the policy development

1972

SEWA, the first informal workers association to be recognized in policy planning

7.2.2 The policy development process

Initially, the street vendors association mobilized to protest eviction and other repressions from city authorities. The coming to being of the NASVA subsequently shifted their efforts and campaign for a long-lasting solution – from spontaneous protests in subverting evictions to creating a policy and laws for regulating vending activities (Bamhu, 2019). The first significant activity of NASVI after its birth in 1998 was research conducted on street vending in seven Indian cities. The study aimed to identify the problem of street vending in urban public spaces, characteristics, contributions and various regulations that contended vendors activities in the various cities (Bhowmik, 2005; Sinha & Roever, 2011). The research goal was to aid street vendors in proposing possible

working strategies and advancing the development of national policy to regulate street vending in India. The study presented factual data on vendors within the context of their urban environment. It concluded that street vending had become an occupation for many families due to the lack of alternative livelihood sources. The majority of the respondents were either former industrial workers or their partners have lost their jobs. It also found that vendors' services are in high demand for the majority of the urbanites and are essential to maintaining urban life. Thus recommended that city authorities and the legal environment should devise appropriate plans to protect them rather than evicting, harassing and seizing their wares (Sinha & Roever, 2011)

In 2001, NASVI presented its study findings to the government – the Ministry for Urban Development and intensified its campaign for a national policy on street vending. Following the campaigns, the Government of India established a National Task Force on Street Vending to formulate a policy to regulate street vending activities. Both the NASVI and SEWA and other stakeholders were called into the committee. The drafted policy prioritized the proposal of NASVI and echoed the Supreme Court ruling (1985) on street vending as a constitutionally protected practice, subject to reasonable restrictions (Sinha & Roever, 2011:4). The policy was launched in 2004 and subsequently revised in 2009[1] . In 2014, it was passed into a bill by the Indian Parliament.

7.2.3 The Content of the Policy

"This Policy recognizes that street vendors constitute an integral and legitimate part of the urban retail trade and distribution system for daily necessities of the general public. As the street vendors assist the Government in combating unemployment and poverty, it is the duty of the State to protect the right of these micro-entrepreneurs to earn an honest living. Accordingly, the Policy aims to ensure that this important occupational group of the urban population finds due recognition at national, state and local levels for its contribution to the society" (An excerpt from the Revised Policy 2009 by Sinha & Roever (2011))

The policy explicitly recognized the importance of street vending not only as a complement to acute urban employment but also as an essential role in supplying daily necessities and combating poverty. It does propose inclusive planning processes in regulating the activities of street vending in urban public spaces. Key elements of the policy include; (a) spatial planning norms; (b) demarcation of vending zones; (c) quantitative space norms, (d) provision of civil facilities and; (e) organization & participative processes; (f) self-management and self-regulation. These key focal areas of the policy are expanded into seven overarching policy objectives (see box 2) for effective implementation. It aims not only to promote the activities of street vending in urban public space but the active participation of

1 The National Policy of intent on street vending was an important step towards the incorporation of informal workers in urban policy planning. However, it did not have the legal "teeth" as laws. Hence street vendors were still facing.

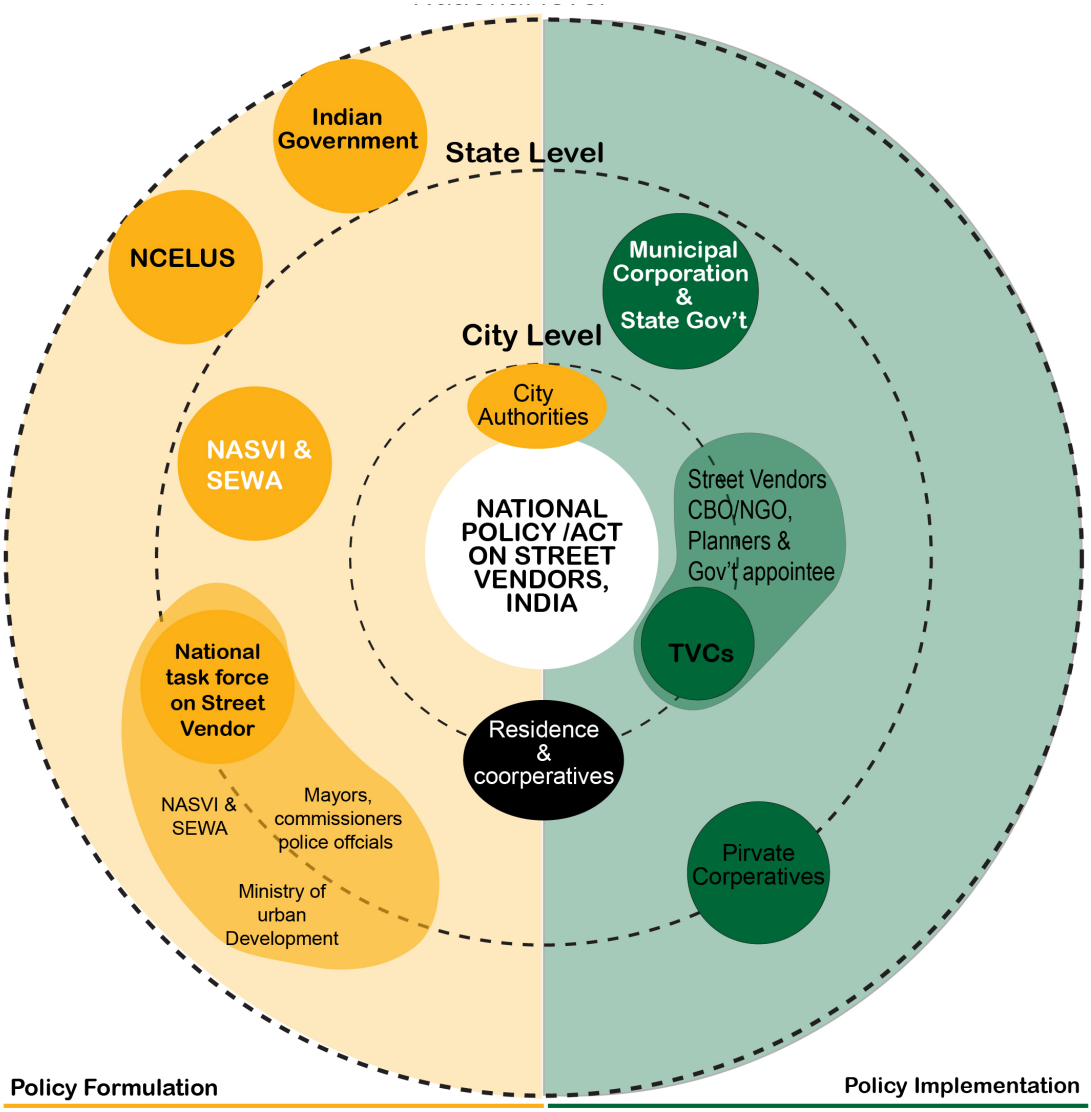


Figure 7.1: Stakeholders involvement and role in the India National Policy on Street vending

vendors in the regulations of the activities. At the core of the policy, it proposed establishing independent regulatory bodies – Town Vending Committees (TVCs) at the city level to facilitate, plan, organise, and regulate street vendors and their activities (Sinha & Roever. The delegated task of the TVC as directed by the Act include the following:

- Spatial planning taking into account natural markets, weekend markets, weekly haats, and night bazaars;
- Demarcation of vending sites;
- Design of carts to optimise space, keeping 'aesthetics' into consideration;
- Exhibit regulation and management of vendors;
- Proposal for solid waste management;
- Enumeration in allocated zones and;

- Monitoring food adulteration and compliance with Food Safety and Standards Authority.

The Act redistributed power previously exclusively held by local authorities and police to street vendors and civil organizations (Centre for Civil Society, 2019). For instance, the establishment and composition of the TVC membership shall be comprised 40%, street vendor, 10% as community-based organizations while the remaining constitute government appointees, planners and the municipal authorities. Self-regulation was introduced as a mechanism to shed the responsibility of managing vending zones and ensuring hygiene among street vendors are each enclave. To achieve the policy's goal, it outlined seven important objectives that give street vendors an audible voice, space, services and involvement in planning the cities (see in box 2).

Town Vending Committee is proposed to compose of 40% membership from the street vendors association

The Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihoods and Regulation of Street Vending) Act, 2014 legal enforce the policy statement, backing it with the "teeth" as a law (The Street Vendors Act, 2014). The Act, therefore, attempts to fill the policy lacuna, effectively regulate street vending activities by law, and create new channels for collaboration and negotiation between vendors and authorities. Both the National policy and the Act on street vendors recognized the existence of natural markets, which emerged spontaneously as places where sellers and buyers have traditional congregated – called 'heritage markets'. These spaces are by law precluded from any form of eviction and relocation. In addition to the provision, the Act (2014) explicitly restricted the power of local authorities and the use of ill-policy measures such as eviction, relocation and merchandise confiscation to regulate street vendors

Spatial planning must take into accounts the existence of natural markets as emergent order of the city life

"...natural markets where street vendors have conducted business for over fifty years shall be declared as heritage markets, and the street vendors in such markets shall not be relocated" (The Street Vendors Act, 2014:15)

7.2.4 Policy Implementation.

The policy statement has specified the intent of the government, states and cities and directed various city authorities to act accordingly concerning the management of street vending in urban areas. Following the policy enforcement, several states and cities have devised policy strategies to provide spaces for street vendors. About 28 states in India have initiated steps towards implementing the policy/Act. For instance, in Bhubaneshwar, the capital of Orissa, both street vendor association (the local branch of NASVI) and city authorities adopted the National Policy guidelines to develop a vending zone model which provided street vendors with viable commercial spaces and infrastructure (Kumar, 2012). The Bhubaneshwar policy strategy is considered one of India's thoroughly planned projects, allowing street vendors to propose vending sites. City authorities played the role of devising funding strategies by partnering with companies to finance the development of the street vendors zones (ibid). The first phase of the project development required the street vendors association and city authorities to map the spatial distribution of street vendors in the city and propose potential

Box 2: Content of revised National Policy on Street Vending (Policy Objectives)

1. Legal Status: To give street vendors a legal statusby formulating an appropriate law for creating legitmate vending and hawking zones in cities' plans

2. Civic Facilities: To provide facilities for appropriate use of identified spaces as vending/ hawking zones or Vendors' markets

3. Transparent Regulation: To enchew imposing limited on access to public spaces on access to public spaces through discretionary licenses rathe by nominal fee-based regulation of access, where the occupancy of space by the street vendors determines the allocation of space or creating new informal sector markets where space access is on a temporary turn-by-turn basis

4. Organization of Street Vendors: To promote, where necessary, the organizations of street vendors to facilitate their collective empowerment.

5. Participative Processes: To set up participatory process that involves firstly, local authority, planning authority and police; secondly, associations of street vendors; thirdly, resident welfare associations; and fourthly, other civil society organizations, among others

6. Self-Regulation: To promote norms of civic discipline by institutionalizing mechanisms of self-management and self-regulation in matters relating to hygiene, including waste disposal, etc. amongst street vendors, both in the individually allotted areas as well as vending zones/clusters with collective responsibility for the entire vending zone/cluster

7. Promotional Measures: To promote access of street vendors to such services as credit, skill development, housing, social security and capacity building. For such promotion, the services of Self Help Groups (SHGs)/Co-operatives/Federations/Micro Finance Institutions (MFIs), Training Institutes, etc., should be encouraged

sites for the development of vending zones. The second phase involves putting the selected site under a six-month probation period to identify its viability. Phase III of the project focused on the construction of the iron structure (Kumar, 2012). The success of the policy strategies owes to the partnership between the local government, community organization, street vendor associations, private entities (Sinha & Roever, 2011)

Notwithstanding the urgency to implement the Act, states and cities are confronted with limited resources and ambiguities of the Act. Implementation in many cities has not gone beyond the first step of establishing TVCs. The Centre for Civil Society progress report (2019) on the Act's implementation indicated that most of the contested issues – eviction continuous in other cities. The ambiguity of the legal definition, conflicts in demarcating no-vending zones coupled with varying interpretations of the Act allow authorities to leverage the fuzzy structures to evict street vendors (Alva, 2014) periodically. The report found that implementation of the policy/Act in some cities still lags. Some cities have not yet established TVCs, while others who have formed TVCs have not decided to regulate vending activities at the city level. In another instance, the report found that street vendors lack the adequate resource to actively participate in the implementation of the process in some cities (Centre for Civil Society, 2019). As a result, instead of 40% vendor representation in TVCs, the majority of the established TVCs have less than 20% vendors representation. Low vendors representation at TVCs results in a lack of transparency in the decisions making. Hence there is a mismatch between the policy statement on

Figure 7.2: Bhubaneswar policy model for creating street vendors zone

Source: Kumar (2012:2)

paper and the actual ground implementation (Amis, 2016)

7.3.5 Critical Analysis of the policy/the Act Content.

(a) Spatial Regulation

The management and allocation of public spaces remain the central contentious issues in regulating the activities of street vending cities. Physical and spatial regulation constitutes a critical component of the approaches to street vendors and urban public spaces. Contrary to the conventional practice and regulation of street vendors by eviction and relocation, the policy statement/ the Act recognizes the existence of nature markets as spaces that emerged spontaneously through the daily interaction among urbanites – between vendors and customers. Therefore, it calls on spatial planning norms to acknowledge the existence of these traditional congregated urban spaces and devise effective planning strategies to configure these urban agents and their spaces and activities in the general planning of the cities. The attribute of traditional emergent markets as 'heritage markets' demonstrates their value in the city's life and development. Hence, they are important spaces that must be preserved and be safeguarded against arbitrary and unscrupulous (the creed of capital accumulation by dispossession) regulations by city authorities.

The attribution of traditional emergent markets as 'heritage markets' demonstrates their value in the city's life and development.

The policy explicitly acknowledges the cities as complex systems with properties of emergent order, capable of being self-organized through self-coordination. Self-coordination refers to emerging processes – place-based actions and interactions shaped by the natural process of the urbanites. The protection of traditional emergent markets safeguards street vendors commercial spaces is a responsive planning approach that builds on the city's daily life. It does reflect the reality of the city's life rather than the perception of planners and authorities. The recognition of street vendors in areas considered **'natural markets'** goes against the conventional spatial planning practice of removing street vendors from urban spaces and relocating them in isolated areas (Sinha & Roever, 2011). It seeks order by configuring street vendors' spaces in the master, zonal, local and layout development plans. Spatial norms are obliged to incorporate natural markets at all levels of cities' planning.

The recognition of street vendors in areas considered 'natural markets' goes against the conventional spatial planning practice of eviction and relocation

Public spaces such as footpaths, sidewalks, pavements and portions of the street, if considered suitable for vending activities, shall be declared as vending zones to permit street vendors to conduct their activities. The demarcation of vending zones does not seek to reposition vendors in the cityscape (i.e. pushing them to the margins void of active city life). Rather, it carefully assesses viable urban spaces, including sidewalks, pavements and streets within the urban environment where street vendors can have a conducive trading space without compromising

the public interest and quality of urban spaces.

(b) Street vendors participation and stakeholders involvement

Another key component of the policy development and implementation is the central role played by street vendors associations. The commitment of street vendors is critical to formulating the policy and regulation of vending activities in the cities. The development of the policy stemmed from the street vendors ambition for a lasting solution to the challenges they face with city authorities. This triggered the move for a national policy on street vending. Again, the redistribution of the exclusive power of the local authorities to street vendors enables the power of vendors in the decisions that affect them. Street vendors constitute 40% of the TVCs team in charge of managing and regulation the activities. Vendors participation create the atmosphere for collectively devising effective strategies or models that protect vendors activities without compromising various rules and public interest.

(c) The use of urban public spaces

The demarcation of vending zoning does not exempt the use of public space for activities of street vending.

Regarding the use of urban public spaces, it can be observed from the policy provision that street vendors are not excluded from the use of public spaces. One of the key elements of the policy is the recognition of sidewalks, pavements and waiting areas as multi-functional spaces of which street vendors play a critical role in organizing city life. The demarcation of vending zoning does not exempt the use of public space for activities of street vending. It recommends a critical assessment of various viable urban spaces where vendors naturally congregated as the basis to contrive spatial plans and accommodate vendors within these spaces. The success of the policy as a leading example for replication in other contexts is the fact it attempted to dance to the tune of the street vending and adapt planning decisions to urban reality rather than strangling to pinning street vending to conform to conceived planning norms of Municipal authorities

7.3 Case Study II: Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project, Durban, South Africa

Durban is the third largest city in South Africa, with an estimated population of 3,176,254. The city is rapidly urbanizing and fast shaping itself to become a global city. The municipality's long-term goal is to become the most livable, vibrant and caring city in Africa by 2023 (C. Harvey et al., 2018). Despite such ambition, the recognition of informal traders – street vending as cultural heritage as part of the city, thus, mandate planning and urban policies to embrace street vending and create working spaces to accommodate them in the urban realm. Historically, government laws were steeped in racial discrimination,

Location: Durban, South Africa

Approach: Infrastructure design

Year: 1995-2001

Coverage: City Level, Durban

Key stakeholders: Durban City council, street vendors, European commission

Current Population: 3.17m

exclusion and infrastructural neglect, thereby fostering restriction, eviction and repression of informal traders from the city.

7.3.1 Project overview

The policing and regulation of street vendors under the apartheid was critical as national laws and city level bylaws systematically and explicitly outlawed the activities of street vending associated with the black community – racial positioning and access to economic opportunities (Lund & Skinner, 2004; Skinner, 2008). Lund and Skinner accounted that "until the late 1980s, local authorities kept a tight rein on street trading activities. It was very difficult to get a licence to trade and the laws required street traders to relocate continuously". Street vending creates important job and income opportunities for most of Durban's citizens, and it is critical to sustaining the city.

The Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project is one of the most efficient integrated urban infrastructure projects that incorporated the space of street vendors in urban planning. The main project aim was expressed as:

"...to improve the overall quality of the urban environment in the Greater Warwick Avenue and Grey Street area in terms of safety, security, cleanliness, functionality and the promotion of economic opportunities. The redevelopment of the Warwick Avenue area, specifically, should be geared towards promoting its primary role and function as a major regional hub for public trading and transportation, with a particular focus on the needs of the urban poor."

The project was developed to curb the congestion situation and poor

sanitation growing around the city's transport node. Warwick Junction was noted as the 'crime' and 'grime' hotspot of the city as poor traders, criminals and emerging slums residents jumbled together in and around the city's gateway (Skinner, 2008). The problem emanated first from the poor urban management and critical design – a confluence of roads, bus terminals, taxi, walkways, pedestrian footbridges and railway line criss-crossing in the areas – and the increased number of taxis and street vendors engaging in all sorts of activities in a bid to earn a living. Given the larger volume of commuters and pedestrians passing through the precint daily, the area spontaneously emerged as a natural market for street traders. The project development started in 1994 and was implemented within the context of political and administrative government restructuring in post-apartheid and adopting a democratic government system. It was planned as part of the citywide experiment of integrated area-based development in strategy to redevelop the metropolitan city.

Warwick Junction was noted as the 'crime' and 'grime' hotspot of the city

Street vendors immediately organized themselves – Self-Employed Women's Union (SEWU) in 1994, whiles the Durban City Council established the Informal Trade Management Board (ITMB) in 1995. Following a series of consultations, research and observation, the project was finally conceived in 1995 and launched in 1997 through several co-operatives and partnerships. For instance, "Traders Against Crime" was jointly formed by street vendors, South Africa Police Service and Durban Metropolitan Police (Skinner, 2008) to deal with crimes in the area. It was aimed to ease the congestion problems, reduce the concealed spaces, improve sanitation and lighting in the area while maintaining the spaces street vendors. It does transform the 'grey' space into a conducive and vibrant working environment for street vendors without necessarily evicting or relocating vendors from their traditional markets. The direct participation and consultation of street vendors in redesigning the space marks a turning point from the conventional procedure that regarded street vending as nuisance and exclusion by planning strategies. It is the first purposeful project that has celebrated street vendors in the city.

7.3.2 Project design process

The project team engaged in rigorous research and high-level consultation processes with street vendors and other users of the spaces and thorough participant observation of the daily use of the spaces and interactions among the urbanites. The design process recognizes the need to construct vendors markets that is functional to the dynamic actors, users and needs of the varying street vendors groups and how they appropriated the spaces for these needs. For instance, the traditional medicine market was one of the specialized designed spaces as the activities require open fire, which poses potential hazards to both traders and the general public. Instead of interdicting

the activities, the project team painstakingly worked closely with the vendors (mielies and 'Zulu delicacy) to design appropriate infrastructure that reduced the inherent public health risk associated with the activities. Understanding how the activities are carried out aided the project team to combine innovative and adaptative strategies to design suitable infrastructure for the vendors.

Similarly, stalls and stores were constructed using local cost material that allows various vendors from foodstuff to clothing and store-based operators to access the units at a lower cost. Before finalising the project design, the project team created different platforms and channels to allow street vendors and other users to share their opinions on the redevelopment.

7.3.3 Project design strategy

The effectiveness of the project is credited to the dynamism project design process. It is an unusual approach that prevailed under modernist urban planning in developing countries (Onodugo et al., 2016a). Instead of attempting to completely transform the space into a new landscape, through careful and thorough consultation, infrastructural design, and consideration of street vendors' specific needs, the project builds on the city's real life Skinner (2008) highlighted some key aspects of the project in managing street vending in cities; (1) Improved registration, sites allocation and appropriate operating charges on vendors, (2) Suggestion the establishment of area-based management zones, decentralizing management, (3) collaborative planning and management and sharing of responsibilities in the management of public spaces, and (4) high-level consultation. The project design outcome gave street vendors substantial recognition, maintained vendors' spontaneous natural markets and improved their working conditions, and supported the maintenance and cleanliness of the spaces.

7.3.4 Implementation

The successful implementation of the projects has addressed the associated problems identified in the area while giving street vendors better working spaces without causing congestion, pedestrian and vehicular traffic and distraction in the urban fabrics. Major infrastructural changes include improvement in pedestrian walkways, spatial redesign of vendors spaces, provision of services (Lund & Skinner, 2004) and infrastructure for vendors – water and electricity – accommodating over 8,000 vendors and 450,000 commuters daily. In about four years of implementation, the Warwick Junction was arrested for its sanitation problems, crimes, congestion and the public crinkle on pedestrian safety in the public spaces. The project achievements subsequently influence the creation of vending sites in the inner city of Durban and its Informal Economy Policy. The participatory

processes and innovative working structure at the heart of the project accounted for its successes and accorded it the best model towards integrating informalities in cities, mainly regulating and organizing vending. Using urban infrastructure projects to manage vending whiles achieving contemporary city development goals (C. Harvey et al., 2018; Onodugo et al., 2016; Skinner, 2008). Adopting an area-based management approach offsets the local government's coordination challenges and ensures smooth implementation, which initially threatens the project in the beginning. The complex project was split into smaller implementable activities, and various cooperatives were formed and tasked to perform these activities. The approach helped overcome the burden of the project management team.

The Warwick project has stirred a renewed focus of urban policies and city by-laws to integrate and support street vendors across South African cities. It compelled city authorities to reform the existing draconic policy against street vendors and obliged them to support and create spaces for street vendors. Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town increasingly followed suit with immediate amendments of the cities' bye-laws.

The U-turn in the policy arena sets in following the announcement in May 2004, giving South Africa the privileged to host the FIFA World

Figure 7.3: Aerial view of Warwick Junction

Cup 2010 (Skinner, 2008). The momentum of planning and policy integration begins to die off. Immediately, city authorities started cleaning their inner cities in preparation to present themselves to the world – shifting from integrating measures to the former practice of eviction and relocation and street vendors from public spaces in cities (C. Harvey et al., 2018). There is a disjunction between the policy intent and the actual ground implementation as the city authorities resurge its vision towards achieving Global City status.

7.4 Case study III: Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between street vendors (FEPTIWUL) and the Monrovia City Corporation (MCC)

Liberia's cities are the focal point of the country's development and rebuilding after the devastating chronic civil wars between 1989and 2003. Monrovia is home to about 40% of the Liberian population and the country's commercial and international trade hub. Rapid and continuous urbanization, mainly through rural-urban migration to the national capital, has been a norm during and after the wars. The pattern was influenced by the need for security protection and access to aids. Street vending in central Monrovia has become a regular activity by most of the urbanites and migrants. Despite the initial resistance towards the street vendors in the quest to rebuild a cleaner, orderly, and safer city, the municipal corporation is growingly viewing vending activities in the city's public spaces as critical economic contributors rather than nuisances.

Liberia's population live in Monrovia

Location: Monrovia, Liberia

Approach: Memorandum of Understanding

Year: 2014 & 2018

Status: On-going

Coverage: City Level, Monrovia

Key stakeholders: Monrovia City Corp. Cities Alliance, StreetNet, FEPTIWUL

Current Population: 1.6m

7.4.1 Project Overview

For years, the regulation of street vending in Monrovia was not different from the ongoing hostile policing of street vending in cities worldwide. Until street vendors began to march on and devise approaches to work with the Municipal corporation, the police constantly raided vendors and wares. The city ordinances prohibit selling in public spaces, yet street vending remains the sole option for many Liberians after years of terrible civil wars. The Monrovia city Memorandum of Understanding on street vending is hailed as one pioneering approach to regulating street vendors in cities. It thus recognizes the integral character of street vending to the cities' growth and development, imagining the city's future with street vendors and turning public to street vendors. It was a major turning point in a decade-long struggle – and showed the power of strong informal worker organizations in making positive change happen in urban areas" (Reed & Bird, 2020).

In response to the increasing police brutalities and raids, street vendors associations gradually emerged from various city enclaves in solidarity – self-mobilize to negotiate for vending spaces amidst the precarious employment situations confronting the city and its urbanites. The city ordinances obviate street vending, particularly food vendors, thereby giving ultimate power to the police to harass and raid vending activities irrespective of whatever they sell on public spaces and in market areas. The Federation of Petty Traders and Informal Worker Union of Liberia (FEPTIWUL) was first formed in 2009 as the National Petty Traders Union of Liberia (NAPETUL) with an estimated membership of 4,000 vendors. It was rebranded as FEPTIWUL after collation with other existing vendors organizations (i.e. Petty Traders Association). Its overarching goal seeks to ***"interceding and advocating for the social and economic emancipation and rights of all street sellers in Liberia and to inject into them the spirit of awareness, self-esteem and self-actualization"*** (Namsamba, 2017:4; Weeks, 2012:2).

At the onset, the association held solidarity marched from the City Hall to Monrovia centre to register their grievances and demonstrate their unity of purpose, thus staging their bravura negotiations processes with the Monrovia City Corporation (MCC). The association also aligned itself with StreetNet International in 2011, which offered the leaders four capacity-building tools: negotiations skills, collective bargaining, and advanced negotiations and strategy development (StreetNet Internatioanal, 2019). This empowered FEPTIWUL to advance its campaign for recognition and place in the city.

Since 2009, FEPTIWUL, the MCC, and various mayors have engaged in continuous negotiation, collective bargaining, and renegotiation of terms to guarantee the recognition of vendors' rights and access to urban public spaces for vending purposes. In 2014, the contentious

dialogue reached its first agreement. A new agreement (i.e., MoU) was re-instated in 2018. It is an ongoing experimental project subject to continuous negotiation between the two parties.

7.4.2 The MoU development process

The MoU development process started with an organized protest march to the City Hall, where the vendors presented their petition to the mayor and called for negotiation and bargaining with MCC. It faced strong resistance from the MCC because the proposal was unusual and stood to contravene and repel the long held draconic ordinances of the city. The 1975 city ordinance blatantly outlawed street vending while conferring the sole responsibility of public space management and sanitation exclusively to the MCC. It seeks to enhance the beautification and orderliness of the city. "The City Government shall bear the responsibility of cleaning sidewalks and streets ONLY" (Monrovia City Ordinance quoted by Weeks, 2012). Hence, the acceptance of the proposal directly implies breaching the archaic dogma of the city. The MCC declination of the negotiation is due to the purported view of street vendors as major contributors to the city's heaps of waste, thereby making sanitation management burdensome to the authorities. Proceeding with such flaws is prescribing the brutal eradication of street vendors to solve urban sanitation problems.

The MoU is a contractual arrangement between the street vendors association and the Monrovia City Corporation on the use of public spaces for vending

With the mayor's support, a meeting was convened involving various stakeholders, including the leadership of both parties. The objective was for MCC to retract its raiding actions on street vendors. MCC consented to the call and introduced licenses for vendors at the cost of $10. This was agreed upon with street vendors. However, there was no formal documentation. The MCC began registering vendors and issuing licenses to them. Soon than late, both national and city police resumed raiding and seizing vendors items. FEPTIWUL leadership pushed it complaints the president of Liberia, seeking her intervention. Following a meeting between the vendors and the president, FEPTIWUL was legally registered as a recognizable organization. MCC proposed a temporary vending site in central Monrovia and argued that the vendors move in to occupy the designated space. FEPTIWUL monitored its members to ensure compliance. By January 2010, the union established its task force to support the MCC in regulating the activities and ensuring members' compliance. The association late suggested that MCC sign an MoU as a formal approach to address all issues concerning their activities and reinstitute the license registration for vendors, which was later discarded (Weeks, 2012). The two parties did not agree upon this.

In 2010, the mayor proposed a new site in Monrovia CBD where vendors were called to relocate their activities to the area. However, the union refused to move without a signed MoU defining the terms and conditions

of using the assigned spaces. MCC adopted a force relocation method to move the vendors. Later, the site was assessed as inappropriate and endangered both vendors and vehicular traffic (i.e. it was located on the city's thoroughfare). Two new sites were subsequently proposed to the vendors on the outskirts of the city. However, FEPTIWUL rejected the new sites as they were not economically viable spaces for vending. Police raids continued until another negotiation was reached with temporary arrangements to permit street vendors to use public spaces (i.e. streets, sidewalks and pavements in the city centre) for vending activities. Piloting the provisional agreement had succeeded in reducing the congestion and confrontation between vendors and the authorities. This was then maintained over time until the official agreement was signed.

In 2014, the MoU was first signed by both parties, allowing street vendors to be registered and to conduct their vending activities in the city's public spaces without compromising the congestion and sanitation issues. FEPTIWUL established its sanitation team trained and resourced by the MCC to manage the waste at various vending sites. The regular dialogues allowed both parties to devise new ways and working arrangements without transcending on both parties' interests. On 27th September 2018, a new MoU was signed with MCC to allocate spaces for street vendors and allow them to regulate themselves and take responsibility for managing their waste in the city.

7.4.3 Content of the MoU

"We will restore your dignity and values as petty traders, not only because you're roaming the streets, but because you are movers and shakers of the economy"(Monrovia Mayor, 2018)

"We are turning the streets over to [FEPTIWUL]. They have a different perspective from how we look at the streets. They understand the needs in a different way because they see the street as a business place." (WIEGO, 2020b:46)

The MoU sought to recognise street vendors as crucial urban agents and the need to respect their rights and support their activities. The MoU is a set of agreements and arrangements between the street vendors and the city authorities – that enable both parties to deal with the issues regarding street vendors occupation of public spaces, registration, sanitation management, security, and taxes payment. The MoU stipulated a mapped area 'vending zones' where vendors are expected to establish their stalls and organize vending activities without police harassment.

While FEPTIWUL initially were reactive to the constant police brutalities, the continuous negotiation and bargaining enabled them to draft a Memorandum of Understanding with MCC to permit them

to use public spaces for their activities. The agreement spilt out terms and conditions with which both parties are bound to comply. Though the agreement is temporary as they are subjected to constant negotiation, it gives vendors secure working spaces.

At the core of the MoU is establishing a joint task force to oversee the interest of street vendors. With the support of the street vendors task forces, MCC is expected to assess and demarcate new sites for vending. It also sheds the responsibility of managing public spaces with street vendors by allowing them to be self-organized and self-regulate in the city's various enclaves.

7.4.4 Implementation.

Though the MoU is ongoing, it is being piloted in other cities as FEPTIWUL seeks to create a better working environment for its members across Liberia. It was implemented with the support of the Cities Alliance in collaboration with WIEGO and StreetNet International. Street vendors were envisioned as valuable actors and working partners with MCC and thus assumed a key role in implementing the Memorandum.

Already, FEPTIWUL has formed its sanitation team, trained, and engaged in the daily management of waste at vendors sites. The joint task force team also assesses and demarcates new spaces to recommend to MCC to designate for vending. So far, the MCC has secured 529 vending sites in central Monrovia, where vendors are currently conducting their activities. MCC's mandate is to commit to securing spaces to accommodate street vendors while street vendors assume the responsibility of managing and maintaining these spaces.

The implementation of the MoU has renewed the hostile relationship between street vendors and MCC and police officials in the following areas; (1) Formal recognition and legitimization of street vending both at the national and local level, (2) Organized placement of street vendors in public spaces, (3) Security of vending spaces and protection by local authorities, and (4) abolition of police raidings on street vendors (UN-Habitat, 2019)

7.4.5 Critical Analysis

(a) Spatial regulation

The adoption of the MoU has witnessed a changing pattern in public control or/and the use of public spaces. The resilience and resistance of street vendors towards unsettle relocations have allowed the city authority to re-imagine the use of public spaces from the city authorities' conceived view to the perspective of street vendors. In other words,

instead of continuous repression in an attempt to reposition street vendors spaces in the city, the MCC has acknowledged the important role of street vendors in shaping the contours of the city's life. Hence vendors are given the control of and responsibility to use and manage urban spaces. The spatial ruling on the use of the cities' urban spaces adopts integration and collaborative management rather than authoritative repression by city authorities in the quest for modernity.

(b) Street vendors participation

Street vendors [FEPTIWUL] played a hero role in the realization of the MoU. The self-mobilization of vendors marks the genesis of their actions towards collaborating with MCC. Thus street vendors pioneered the development of MoU for the regulation of street vending in Liberia. The regulation instrument adopts a bottom-up approach by allowing street vendors to develop working arrangements with the city authorities and assuming specific responsibilities as far as their vending activities are concerned to public welfare. Vendors manage their own waste via their sanitation management team dedicated to cleaning vendors spaces.

7.5 Impact of the case studies on the regulation of street vending

The analysis preceding section has had profound impacts on how urban planning and policies respond to street vending in urban public spaces in the respective cities and countries. The examined cases emanated from city-level initiatives and have or are gradually influencing national-level policies on the regulation of street vending. For instance, India National Policy /The Act on Street Vendors stems from Ahmedabad city and has strategically been advanced into a national policy and bill through the effort NASVI. Unlike the Indian case, the Monrovia MoU between street vendors and city council remains at the city level planning and has not yet sought a national policy to permanently regulate street vending. The lack of permanent arrangement and law backing these agreements may likely compromise the provisions of MoU. Despite the impact of these instruments on positive planning practice and responding to street vending, they also had some negative consequences on city planning and management of urban spaces. Table 7.1 highlighted some of these impacts wheedled out from the experiences of the parent context.

Table: 7.1: Impacts of case studies on regulating street vending

Case Studies	Positive Impact	Negative impact	Source
The India National Policy/ The Act on Street Vendor 2014	• Visibility of street vendors in urban planning and policy arena. A landmark in positive regulation of street vendors • Counterweight the ongoing repressive regulation measures against street vendors • Given street vendors a loud voice and strengthen their organization capacity • Demarcation of vending sites integrate and development of street vendors space in cities • It recognized and preserved the emergent order – the 'natural market' as an important urban resource. • Innovative infrastructure at the city level to accommodate street vendors	• The fuzzy and ambiguity in the Act create rooms for informal governance -abuse of power • Makes weak states and cities authorities "dogs without teeth" in regulating the misconduct of vendors • Legitimize police and state officials to prescribe punitive actions against vendors on breaching regulation	(Alva, 2014; Sinha & Roever, 2011)
Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project, Durban, South Africa	• Preservation of the street vendors working spaces. • Recognition of street vending as cultural heritage of the city. • Improve the working environment of street vendors by providing them with infrastructure. • Institutionalization of the approach and policy towards regulating street vending. • A turning point from the conventional regulation by exclusionary policy and repression.	• An Increasing number of street vendors in the inner city create management problems for city authorities.	(C. Harvey et al., 2018; Lund & Skinner, 2004; Skinner, 2008)
Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between street vendors (FEPTIWUL) and the Monrovia City	• Share responsibility in the use and management of public spaces • Landmark towards the development of long term policy for street vending. • Strengthen the capacity of street vendors organization and their ability as working partners with city officials • Organized placement of street vendors in public spaces	• The memorandum is temporary arranges	(UN-Habitat, 2019)

7.6 Insights from the Case studies and implication for the Ghanaian Context

Combining the extensive literature review, thorough analysis of the case studies and policies, and in-depth reflection allows drawing important lessons from the case studies to inform effective policing and regulation of street vending in cities. Although each country or approach adopted a different set of regulatory tools in managing street vending, the central language is the effort to recognize and integrate the spaces of street vendors in urban policies and the wider spatial planning and development of the cities. For instance, the India National Policy/ the Act on Street Vending employed mixed tools ranging from general policy framework to national-level laws and adopting models at the city level for creating infrastructure to house street vendors. Similarly, the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project adopted mainly an infrastructural based approach to regulating street vending and the accompanying problems. This is supplemented with volunteerism and harnessing the potentials of cooperatives. In what follows are the lessons drawn from each case study

7.6.1 Lessons from the India National Policy/ The Act on Street Vendor 2014

The Indian National policy/ the Act on street vendors has proved to be a site for drawing insights into the planning and regulating street vending. The first important lesson of the policy strategy is establishing an independent body (i.e. TVCs), composed of different interest groups, including the municipal government, street vendors organization, community-based organizations and residents – to regulate street vending. Urban planning departments in rapidly urbanizing cities in developing countries face millions of urban issues leading to shoddy planning and implementation – limited attention to tackling single and complex issues. Hence, the delegation of the planning function on street vending to autonomous departments (TVCs) enables in-depth planning and effective coordination and implementation.

Secondly, the representation of street vendors and other interest groups in the policy arena create transparency and assure compliance with terms and conditions. Such representation in the policy-making process is important to empower street vendors in urban planning and the politics of urban governance. It assures vendors' right to the city – the access to and use of urban public spaces and the ability to co-produce urban spaces. Furthermore, It eliminates potential biases in the city's policy formulation and planning decisions, previously exclusively reserved with city authorities.

Thirdly, urban planning opted to take into account the emergent order – natural markets – and spatially

Vendors in Central Monrovia holding a block-level meeting to discuss public space concerns intheir area.

Photo credit: Sarah Orleans Reed, WIEGO

.

7.6.2 Lessons from the Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project

The first and important lesson of the Warwick JunctionUrban Renewal Project is realising infrastructure development as a suitable tool for managing the problems vendors present to the city and its public spaces. Infrastructural development for street vendors is crucial for securing spaces for vendors and strategically organized vending activities in urban spaces – addressing the congestion problems associated with vending. Thorough planning, experimentation and designing suitable infrastructure that rhymes with the nature of vending is critical to meeting the modern urban vision rather than blind development. The combination of high-level consultations, participation of end users and participant observation and experimentation informed the design of the project and its successes. It tailored the modern infrastructure to fit into the dynamic nature of various vending activities (i.e., design-to-fit in urban realities rather than the traditional approach of cities-to-fit in perceived design fantasies). Blending appropriate and attractive infrastructure using innovative techniques enables the project team to deal with the complication in the project design and implementation. The keynote here is that urban planners and city authorities need to understand the rhyme of street vending activities and develop innovative and sustainable infrastructural solutions to spatial integrate vendors spaces in urban areas.

Second, vendors participation was a crucial feature that accounted for the project successes. It creates the environment for street vendors to partner with city authorities in dealing with the related problems of vending activities. However, it also enables vendors to embrace modern, innovative, and sustainable approaches in conducting street vending without imposing public welfare. Also, the participation allows street vendors to assume responsibilities willingly and organize themselves to manage their problems in the cities.

Third, adopting an area-based management approach, flexible operating structure, and openness of the project exposed the project conception to an invaluable range of knowledge and inputs that informed the project appropriateness – both in design and implementation management procedures. Adopting an area-based management strategy drew the city authorities and the project team closer to the vendors to critically assess their needs and modify the infrastructure to meet those needs. Such procedures foster shared knowledge in planning urban spaces.

Fourth, the commitment and willingness of street vendors to regulate themselves and take up roles in public space management. The first activity is the commitment of street vendors to voluntarily

cleaning up exercises. As part of the project, cleaning the accumulated dirt was necessary, and this took place section by section to avoid chaos and complication associated with mass decongestion. Durban Solid Waste Department worked closely with the street vendors and empowered them with tools and skills to manage sanitation at various vending sites.

The Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project has become symbolic of possibilities in regulating informalities in developing countries. The project's success indicates how inclusive planning approaches can effectively regulate street vending and sustainably create the desirable urban public spaces that authorities desperately seek to achieve. Infrastructural development is key to mitigating the problems street vendors pose to cities and the use of public spaces.

7.6.3 Take home from the Monrovia City MoU between FEPTIWUL and MCC

The first insight of the MoU is embracing street vending as crucial urban players in the city social and economic life. The signing of the MoU triggered a policy change and positive attitude towards street vending – a change in the draconic laws and policies against street vending allowed city authorities and vendors to explore new ways of policing and regulating the activities in urban spaces. In short, national laws and city-level policy should create a friendly environment to enable city authorities and street vendors to invent effective management strategies in regulating vending.

Second, the MoU agreement empowers street vendors to self-regulate themselves and maintain their spaces. This shifted completely from previous regulations that withhold such function solely on the MCC. The delegation of space management function to street vendors empower them to be responsible in using public spaces for vending. This reduced the workload of city authorities in maintaining clean and improved public spaces.

Thirdly, the sense of permitting various users of urban spaces to participate in the decision-making process and co-sharping of these spaces engender good governance and compliance to the latter in the use of public spaces.

Table 7.2: Summary of Lesson Learned and Implication for regulating street vending in Ghana

Case study	Successes	Failure	Implication for Ghanaian cities (other cities)
India National Policy/Act on Street Vendors	• The establishment of TVCs foster the development and management strategies to integrate vendors. • Backing street vendors policy by law mandated city authorities and planners to invent measures to spatially integrate vendors spaces in the cities • Demarcation of vending sites allow street vendors to spatially organized themselves in public spaces without impeding traffic flows • Research and enumeration of street vendors as fundamental to site selection and allocation of spaces • The funding strategy reduces the financial burden on municipal assemblies.	• Unclear procedure in selection and representation of street vendors in TVCs • Poor states and cities are unable to implement the policy. • The failure to outline measure for compliance and non-compliance of street vending to spatial regulation give city official the power to act unlawful. • Lack of skills and resources among street vendors makes difficult contribute effectively to decision making	Planning and regulation of street vending is not a matter of repression, eviction and continuous relocation, as these tools have proven futile in almost every city. Street vending can be positively regulated by creating effective regulatory frameworks and mandate city authorities to integrate vendors' spaces in the cities. Thus the need for a coherent and independent national policy on street vending. It is important to demarcate adequate vending zones in the cities to allow vendors organized themselves. There is also the need to establish an independent institution to manage street vending
Warwick Junction Urban Renewal Project	• Transformation of the grey public spaces into a modern infrastructure without compromising informal trading activities • Successful integration of vendors spaces into contemporary city vision • Harness the potential of street vendors in managing public spaces • Development of appropriate infrastructure that meets the need of various street vendors • Change the perception of street vending and the identity of the former Warwick Junction.	• Post-implementation management challenges due to consolidation of city departments • The change in urban vision negatively affected the regard for street vendors spaces	Development of street vendors infrastructure is key to addressing the congestion problems vending poses in urban public spaces. However, the design of street vendors spaces must be dynamic to meet the needs of various vendors. A failure in the Ghanaian context is the design of the Accra Pedestrian Shopping Mall. Also, city authorities opt to harness the potential of IHVAG to develop practical regulatory tools to manage vending
MoU	• Building the capacity of street vendors to contribute to sharping the growth of the city. • Securing sites for vendors and entrusted the management on street themselves. Such action incites responsible behaviour among vendors occupying public spaces.	The MoU is not a permanent agreement between street vendors and MCC, hence changes in the city development priorities, might shift to evicting vendors	If street vendors at the various enclaves of the city are organized, educated and delegated to maintain their spaces, it could effectively deal with the sanitation problems of vending in urban spaces.,

Photo Credit : Kojo Kwarteng

Chapter Eight

Discussion, Policy Strategies and Conclusions

8.1 Summary

Rapid urbanization in most developing countries unfolds new urban trajectories and complex urban issues that are particularly challenging to the metropolitan authorities. One of the surging phenomena in contemporary cities, particularly the African Continent, is the intricate folds of informality and the problem they present to the sustainable management of cities (Azunre et al., 2021; ILO, 2018). Globally, 61% of the employed population is directly employed in informal employments activities of all forms. The share of informal employment across regions varies drastically, ranging from as low as 20% in developed countries to as high as 90% in developing countries. Africa accounted for the majority, with 90% of informal employments (Bonnet et al., 2019; ILO, 2018). It has been estimated to reach 90% in Ghana since 2016 and has remained so (Acheampong, 2019; GSS, 2016;2019; ILO, 2018). To proceed with the discussion, it is important to recap shortly the research and findings gearing towards developing the policy strategies.

Africa accounted for the majority, with 90% of informal employments (Bonnet et al., 2019; ILO, 2018).

8.1.1 The growth of the informal economy and street vending in Ghanaian cities

Urban informalities and the growth of street vending in Ghana has become significant in the cities (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011). Kumasi and Accra, the highly populated cities in Ghana, serve as hubs of economic activities. The informal economy, predominated by street vending, is the primary contributor to the cities' development. As pointed out by some scholars, the phenomenon is an opaque reflection of a diverse combination of factors: years of continuous rapid informal urbanization, mainly through rural-urban drift, chronic urban poverty, political neglect and exclusion, lack of skills for employment, economic hardships, among other(Okoye, 2020; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016). Following the economic downturns and adoptions of neoliberal policies in the 1990s exacerbated urban migration's precarious urban employment situation. The intensity of graduate unemployment and the increasing numbers in Ghana have significantly contributed to this incidence (Haug, 2014). A regional statistical comparison revealed a strong connection between being poor and indulging in informal activities (Bonnet et al., 2019; Deléchat & Medina, 2020), thus street vending.

As could be identified in most African cities and also in developed countries such as Italy, Spain, and the United States of America, street vending in Ghana are mostly found among the migrant population as attempts to survive in the cities (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Batréau & Bonnet, 2016; Recchi, 2020; WIEGO, 2020b). Researchers (Afrane, 2013; Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Kessey & Agyemang, 2013; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016; Owusu et al., 2013b; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011; Steel et al., 2014) have demonstrated the integral component

of the informal economy, especially street vending to the growth of the present-day Kumasi and other cities in Ghana. In other words, street vending in Ghanaian cities is not a new phenomenon. However, it has become a severe conflictual urban issue due to trajectories of informal urbanization and the modernist urban visions that are unfolding new spatial imaginaries of the cities.

Four categories of informal sector employment are noted in the literature. These include domestic workers, Home-based workers, waste pickers and street vendors. Street vending is one of the many forms of informality, and it involves the negotiation for urban spaces and power contention with law enforcement officials and city authorities as they are visibly expressed in urban spaces and present management problems to city authorities (Brown, 2006, 2017; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011). Street vending mainly takes place in urban public spaces, including sidewalks, pavements, pedestrian footbridges, bus terminals, roadsides and lanes, mainly at the CBDs and intersection of major routes (Frimpong et al., 2020). This is because they are prime areas where vendors readily access their various customers. Kumasi, like any other Ghanaian city, the CBD are haphazardly laden with different informal activities in its open access areas – a direct product of planning failures (i.e. unplanned displacement of vendors from their natural settings). Three categories of street vending are identified in Ghana, Kumasi city. (1) itinerant vendors – often mobile throughout the city, (2) stationary with or without fixed stalls and (3) semi-stationary. Realizing these dynamics of street vending and how each appropriate urban space is useful for planning towards integration. It implies that street vendors cannot be confined in modernity market structures. Traditionally, street vending is a public space activity, and urban planning must acknowledge that as a reality.

8.1.2 The space of street vending in Ghanaian urban policy planning

In Ghana, street vending lacks a precise policy direction. National and local level policy are inconsistent on the regulation of street vending in cities

Unlike other African countries such as Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Zambia, where national laws and city level bye-law outlawed street vending, In Ghana, particularly Kumasi city, street vending is not an illegal activity by law. However, street vendors are neither given the needed space in the city nor a supportive environment to conduct their activities. According to Owusu-Sekyere et al. (2016), city authorities in Kumasi recognized the crucial role of street vending in the economic space of the city but has failed to incorperate them in city spatial and infrastructural development. Ghana urban policies lack a clear direction in the regulation of street vending. As revealed from the policy analysis (i.e., national and city level policies and regulatory frameworks), there is inconsistency and fragmentation in the street vending rules. On the one hand, the Ghana National Urban Policy explicitly outlined its policy objectives to support street vending and call on local governments to recant from their repressive attitude

towards informal actors. On the other hand, city-level bye-laws somewhat prohibit vendors' occupation of urban spaces and are excluded from local development plans (i.e. Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly Medium-Term Development Plan).

The inconsistency in Ghana's urban policy arena regarding the phenomenon of street vending implies that vending lacks considerable attention in urban policy planning. Furthermore, as indicated in KMA MTDP, the city authorities have failed to establish concrete plans to manage street vending, despite analyzing the problems it poses to the city. They often respond to these problems through ad hoc actions. In sum, out of the four policy documents analyzed, only the NUP shows clear objectives to support street vending. However, it lacks the legal backing to compel local government authorities to act accordingly. The NUP is a general policy framework and involves several urban development sectors. An independent policy on street vending stands as a mouthpiece to intensify the call to respond to the needs of street vendors at the city level.

8.1.3 Approaches adopted to deal with street vending urban Ghana, particularly Kumasi.

Following the policy analysis is the assessment of the approaches that have been adopted by the city authorities over the years to respond to the growth of street vending and problems they present to the cities' organization. Similar to the conventional approaches across cities in the global south, four dominant strategies were identified in the Ghanaian context:

(a) Eviction by decongestion

(b) Force relocation

(c) Harassment

(d) Merchandise confiscation

An assessment of these approaches (i.e. pros and cons) implies they have not been effective in attempt eject street vendors in the cities, especially at the CBDs. Earlier empirical studies in Ghanaian cities (Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016; Solomon-Ayeh et al., 2011; Steel et al., 2014) have established dichotomies between city authorities and street vendors on the use of urban public spaces. Despite the constant failure, these approaches have never been a lesson to city authorities. Eviction by decongestion has the traditional method through which city authorities in Ghana frequently used to remove vendors and space out congested areas in the CBDs. Local government authorities have coined 'decongestion' as the mantra for clearing street vendors from public space. Operation 'Let Accra Work Again' epitomized the

ambition of the city authorities in adopting decongestion. However, Steel et al. (2014) studies in Accra have proved why eviction usually slack and failed to deter vendors from the cities. Eviction and other forms of punitive regulatory tools often could count on the immediate successes of removing vendors from public spaces. However, they have hardly been sustainable as vendors gradually resume occupying their spaces. Not only does eviction impact the activities of street vendors, but it is also a financial burden to metropolitan assemblies. Although eviction sometimes, for instance, the operation 'Let Accra Work Again' is planned and well-coordinated, involving several departments, these actions are often employed randomly when authorities deem it necessary or in preparation for events.

The hostile attitude of city authorities and repressive actions oozes from the constructed problem of street vending. In Kumasi Metropolitan, like many other African cities, this perception is not different. As pointed out by studies (Acheampong, 2019; Afrane, 2013; Kessey & Agyemang, 2013; Okoye, 2020; Owusu-Sekyere et al., 2016), street vendors are imaged as nuisances and encroachers on public spaces, a threat to the city planning, source urban sanitation problems as well as misery to the city beauty. Such definitive conceptions have remained a potent political tool for excluding and subjugating street vendors. Again, the contemporary vision of the city, working for a cleaner city, has contributed to the general disregard for street vendors. The quest for modernity and the neoliberal motive of accumulation by dispossession has played a critical role in the expropriation of vendors spaces in Kumasi and changing urban retailscape (Frimpong et al., 2020). Okoye (2020) has revealed the exclusionary process adopted in the development of these modern retail spaces. That notwithstanding, street vending in Kumasi city have remained resilient in the face of hostile urban planning.

8.2 Key Findings and discussions

First, the research findings indicated that street vending in Ghana is a significant source of employment for both young people and adults, especially women in both urban and rural areas. It is revealed that the majority of the universities graduates, school dropouts and rural migrants are increasingly engaging in street vending as surviving strategies to living in the cities. There are a lot of post-secondary schools and university graduates ejected into the job market each year. However, the growth of these numbers does not correlate with formal employment opportunities, both in the public sector and private sector, thereby pushing a large number of graduates into street vending and other informal economic activities. The high incidence of graduate unemployment accounted for the growth of street vending. The intensity of street vending activities in urban public is due to unplanned urbanization taking place at a rapid pace. Rural-urban migration

among young adults and teenagers is common among impoverished communities as young people abandon their schools to seek employment in the cities. Research (Gillespie, 2016; Obeng-Odoom, 2011) show that the informal economy has become an attractive avenue of employment to young migrants from the countryside. This has continued to instigate the urbanization phenomenon and the expansion of

The studies found that public spaces such as pavements, roads, sidewalks, bus terminals, and footbridges are virtual spaces for street vendors' livelihood. However, street vending is highly concentrated at the CBDs, where vendors utilize vehicular congestion, pedestrian flows and various clusters to market their goods. Such concentration in large numbers at the CBDs has resulted in city authorities' congestion problems. The problem is graved due to lack of and poor planning. Although market motives determine the locational choice of street vendors, the indiscriminate location of vending activities in the cities, for instance, Accra and Kumasi, emanates from ongoing evictions and displacing of vendors from their natural markets.

Furthermore, street vending in urban policy planning is vague and blurred. It was found that the policies lack a clear focus on the regulation of street vending as national-level policies and local level plans and bye-laws diverge paths towards street vending. The ambiguities in urban policy planning and lack of recognition of street vending in urban space development leaves street vendors in uncertainty and constantly subjected to city authorities repressions. It appears urban planning responses to street vending are mainly through ad hoc measures as formal local development plans and policy turned a blind eye to street vending. The lack of clear policy direction or plans to deal with street vending implies that city authorities are unwillingly sustainably these inevitable urban issues. With the growing numbers of street vendors, congestion in nearly future would be one of the biggest obstacles bedevilling the urban life and city paranoia in Ghana. Therefore, planners and policy makers must begin to initial sustainable and inclusive measures towards integrating street vendors in the cities. They must be proactive rather than reactive.

, street vendors occupation of urban public spaces is daubed as a nuisance and the blight of the cities beauty. City authorities in Ghana have attributed the chronic urban problems, congestion, planning failures, urban beauty, poor sanitation and environmental pollution, among others, to street vending and vendors occupation of public spaces. The results indicated that street vending indeed contributed to the problems of cities. However, poor urban planning, infrastructural deficits and apathy towards the inclusion of street vending in urban policy planning and infrastructural development largely accounted for urban issues. Order and beauty are sought by expropriation of vendors space rather than intensive infrastructure investment.

Lastly, city authorities mainly employ traditional hostile policy approaches to regulating or managing the congestion and sanitation problems street vending presents to the cities. It was found that eviction by decongestion activities and unplanned relocation are the dominant mechanisms used across cities. These actions are primarily influenced by the modernist urban vision of city development and neoliberal creed of accumulation by dispossession in urban development – the expropriation of street vendor's spaces for large scale urban projects. As exclusionary policy measures, they aim to sweep the street vendors out of the city. This calls to question, where the just cities are? Where are the inclusive cities? It is crucial that responding to these questions inevitably requires city authorities to retract from the current draconic actions devise more inclusive steps towards urban street vendors

8.3 Policy strategies to regulate street vending in Ghana

The main aim of the extensive analysis and review of policy approaches and emerging practices aimed to develop robust implementable policy strategies for managing street vending in Ghana. The lessons from the case study review provide useful insight into structuring workable policy measures to regulate these cities' activities. Emerging from the discussion in chapter 5 and 6, four key policy strategies were established: (a) A national policy on street vending, (b) demarcation of vending sites, (c) design and development of vending spaces, and (d) Street vendors participation and potentials in managing urban spaces. The forthcoming discussion details and structures the strategies mentioned above.

8.3.1 National policy on street vending

National policy on street vending

(a) Policy framework and objectives.

Drawing from the success of the India National Policy on Street Vending, Ghana must develop an independent national policy purposefully to regulate street vending activities. An explicitly outlined policy aiming at integrating street vendors and their spaces in cities is indispensable to influencing the practices and local government attitude towards vendors. The recognition of street vendors' roles in the organization of the urban life and the coming to being of the national policy in India, subsequently reflected in the general practices and inclusion of vendors at various states and cities. Although a policy approach may lack the legal apparatus, unlike a law, the declaration of national-level policy intent directs both national and local governments authorities and morally obligate them to include vendors in the planning of the cities. Presently, there is a policy vacuum on the regulation of street vending in Ghana. Establishing a policy framework to resonate with the objectives of NUP and guidelines delineating practical actions for implementation

will inform positive practices in Ghanaian cities.

(b) Establishment of Urban Vending Management Committee

Local governments authorities, Metropolitan, Municipal, and District Assemblies held an extensive power and role in managing urban affairs. It is imperative that to implement a policy that regulates street vending effectively, there is the need to establish an independent board at the city level or Municipal Assemblies to assume the delegated function of managing and regulating street vendors in public spaces. Deriving from the successes of India's Town Vending Committee and Warwick Urban Renewal Project – Area-based management approach – aided the full implementation of local plans geared toward organizing vending and the associated problems. The dilemma of rapid informal urbanization and the increasing responsibilities of urban planners in tackling these issues has resulted in shoddy planning and poor implementation of sector-specific plans. Delegating the management of street vending would ensure effective regulation and implementation of sector plans.

Establishment of Urban Vending Committee at the city level

The committee should comprise various departments and organizations, including Town and Country Planning, Development Planning Office, National Board for Small Scale Industries (NBSSI), the Waste Management department and NGOs, available at the local assemblies and street vendors associations and branches of IHVAG. Such composition and involvement of street vendors will be helpful to developing appropriate plans and balancing the varying interests between vendors and city authorities. The committee's functions should include policy research, area-specific assessment to recommend developing vending spaces, engaging with street vendors, and monitoring. A reference case on the effectiveness of street vending committees could be seen from the Bhubaneswar policy model in India.

8.3.2 Demarcation of the vending sites

As part of the policy guidelines, there is the need for city authorities in Ghana to recognize existing vending spaces and demarcate more vending zones in the cities where vendors can stably organize their activities. In light of the rapid urban transformation and changing patterns of the urban retailscape (Frimpong et al., 2020), city authorities must create vending spaces to organize street vendors in the city. Kumasi city is fast transforming in this direction. As argued by Frimpong et al. (2020), there is the need to understand the vital role of these traditional market spaces in the city and safeguard them rather than expropriating from the urban poor as in the case of the Kejetia Modern Market project. The roadmap to including and integrating vending spaces starts from identifying these spaces as urban resources that emerged through the natural process of city life. In Kumasi city, such areas are commonly

found at the intersection of major urban routes and the city centre. Hence instead of expropriation and expunging of existing vending spaces in cities, they should be secured and protected.

Consistent with the protective measures, city authorities, through the established Urban Vending Management Committee, should demarcate more spaces to accommodate street vendors. Sites demarcation and allotment of spaces require a critical assessment of the suitability to street vending and a comprehensive compilation of vendors databases. Relocations failed, and many of the satellite markets developed by the local governments in Kumasi are deserted due to improper planning and analysis of their economic viability and suitability to vendors. A bottom-up approach through thorough consultation and engagement of vendors could improve outcomes of needful relocations.

The Urban Vending Management Committee and city authorities could collaborate with vendors at the various enclaves in the city to assess and select areas for vending. It is recommended that these designated spaces be subjected to piloting over time to validate their appropriateness. Therefore, due process should be followed to secure the plots and develop them for vendors.

8.3.3 Design and development of vendors' spaces

Ghana urban policies over the years have been schematically shaped by the motive of modernity – embracing the development of modern markets to curb hawking and street vending in public spaces (Okoye, 2020). Many of these markets have been abandoned due to locational marginalities, improper design and inaccessibility. This modernity vision could be pursued in a more fashionable way that includes vendors spaces while achieving cities' urban vision. Crucial lessons can be drawn from Warwick Urban Renewal Projects and Bhubaneswar street vendor infrastructural development model.

(a) Design.

Picking up from the approach of the Warwick project development, thorough research, participation and consultation are requisite factors in designing suitable infrastructure for street vendors. The modern market development serves as an opportunity should adequately plan and execute to avoid misappropriation of funds. After site selection, the piloting period should serve as a learning process in designing the permanent structures. Also, it is required that the design team works closely with the end-users (i.e. the vendors) to be informed of the infrastructure design. The ongoing process of modern markets development is planned and implemented at the expense and blindside of vendors, thereby leading to poor infrastructural development and subsequent abandonment by street vendors.

Also, the structure design and site planning should painstakingly identify various vendors' infrastructure needs and organise them accordingly. For instance, foodstuff vendors (see Figure 4.6) and other categories alike should be organized in groups. This is helpful to avoid congesting and random distribution of vending activities, strengthen vendors' associations and easy reach by authorities, and lastly, effective management of waste. Foodstuff vendors need different spaces and platforms from cloth vendors. The infrastructural design can achieve this goal by learning from the daily appropriation of the urban spaces and in-depth consultation with the diverse vending groups.

(b) Financing and development.

The majority of the MMDAs in Ghana heavily depend on national budget allocations to fund projects at the local level. This is a weakness to developing street vendors infrastructure at the city level. Hence, the thesis recommended the adoption of Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) funding models to construct these spaces. PPPs have proven an effective mechanism for financing, construction and management of several public projects in Ghana. According to Okoye (2020), the use of PPP financial models at MMDAs has been the modest strategy to funding the modern markets projects (i.e. financing, constructing, operating in Phases through cost recovery schemes). This indispensable opportunity should be harnessed to develop vending infrastructure. For instance, Build Operate and Transfer (BOT) could draw more real estate developers into funding several of their facilities.

Another funding approach city authorities could adopt is partnering with private entities such as corporate organizations and production companies to fund these projects in exchange for advertising spaces, tax exemptions, or development rights. The involvement of private partners is key to implementing vendors' infrastructure projects. This addresses the financial gaps often associated with many public projects.

8.3.4 Street vendor participation and potential in managing urban spaces.

(a) Participation in the policy-making process

As proven from the three case studies, the participation and role played by various vendors association were critical to the successful regulation of street vendors and the design of various policy tools. The policy dialogue organized by the WIEGO team in Accra indicated that IHVAG is ready to collaborate with the city authorities to find lasting solutions to the ongoing urban dilemma. Therefore, policy-makers, city authorities, and planners must invite the street vendors to a round-table discussion to develop strategies and working conditions that macerate the existing dichotomies in the use of urban spaces.

As stated earlier, this policy strategy is only commendable if the general urban policy and various regulatory frameworks recognize the crucial role of street vending in shaping cities' urban life and growth. The radical modernist urban vision, rapid unplanned urbanization and development, and urban land management issues threaten this planning approach. In Ghana, customary institutions have vested interest and ownership in about 80% of all lands. This may challenge the chances of securing spaces for vendors in prime areas. It is evident in the relocation site for evicted street vendors in Kumasi. Race Course, the site reserved for vendors in Kumasi city, is located in the peripheries. It has been abandoned due to the disconnection, lack of infrastructure and access to customers.

(b) Urban space management

Street vendors associations possess invaluable potentials that should be utilized in managing urban spaces. The finding shows that through self-regulation and self-organization, street vendors have established independent sanitation management teams, who are trained and equipped with tools to carry out cleaning activities at vendors' sites. The volunteering cleaning up exercises by the street vendors arrested the sanitation problems in the area. The Urban Vending Management Committee (i.e. the proposed vending management team) and the Waste Management Department at the MMDAs could liaison with vendors organizations to form and train these sanitation teams and equipped with tools to operate at the vending zones.

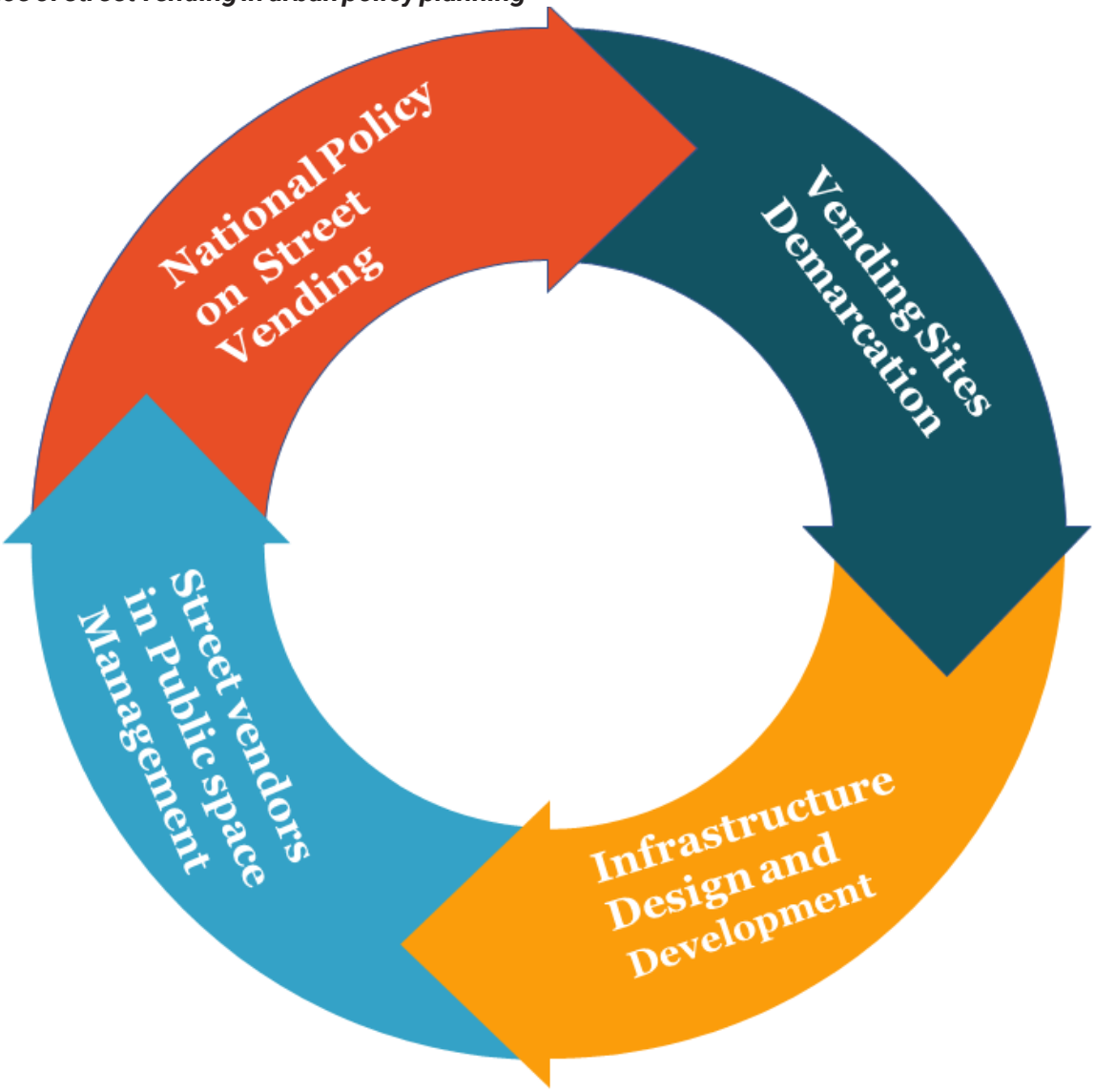


Figure 8.1: Street vendors policy process and strategies.

8.4 Research contribution, limitations and further research areas

Primarily, the thesis has examined the phenomenon of street vending in the broader context of the Global South and the Ghanaian experience, the various policing of street vending and their pros and cons, and the conflictual or hostile relationship between street vendors and city authorities. It analyzed case studies from other countries and cities and assessed urban policies in Ghana to establish the gap in policy planning and how urban planning should approach the street vendors. The proceeding discussion highlighted the key research contribution, probes further research areas and limitations to this thesis.

Firstly, the critical contribution of this study is that street vending is an integral component of cities, particularly in the Global South. It is an element of the complex contemporary cities, and it plays a critical role in organizing and sustaining urban life and development. The findings support the campaign to integrate street vendors and their spaces in the fast-evolving contemporary cities. Thus, the space of street vending must have a central place in city spatial and policy planning.

Secondly, by probing the pros and cons of the various repressive regulatory instruments and assessing emerging inclusive policy approaches, the study contributes to discoures of street vending. It further offered policy makers and urban planners an effective policy tool and strategies for regulating street vending. A crucial part of the policy tool is recognising street vending as important urban players in organizing urban life, demarcating vending zones and collaborating with street vendors to manage urban public spaces.

Furthermore, to resonating the call to formalize the informal economy's urban informalities towards developing inclusive cities, the research has delved into street vending as a microcosm of the broader phenomenon of informality and how it can be formalized. While sustainable development goals stress inclusive cities, maintaining street vendors in urban public spaces has been a contested issue in many cities. Thus, research provides an important insight to integrating street vending in public spaces towards achieving inclusive cities. Also, the study invoked the theory of complexity (cities as complex systems), the concept of informality and informal economy, and the right to the city as key theoretical frameworks for rethinking cities and the place of street vendors. It calls to mind the ongoing debate of urban informalities as an inseparable character of cities growth. Again, cities are complex systems, and contemporary cities have become more complicated than before. The thesis stresses the complexity of the city and suggests that urban planning treat each component as a particular part of the growth of individual cities.

Though several studies have investigated the topic of street vending and the hostile relationship between street vendors and city authorities, the novelty of the research is the search for the space of street vendors in urban policy planning. It does contribute to the literature by establishing the rationale for the general repressive policies adopted by city authorities.

Despite the study's substantive contribution to research, a handful of shortcomings are noteworthy and serve as new entry points for further studies and validation of the policy proposed policy strategy

Firstly, though the study drew lessons from diverse policy instruments to develop a robust policy tool for integrating street vending, the generalization and application of this policy tool may be limited. Applicable only to countries or cities where democratic and decentralized planning structures exist – Local government system. It can be concluded that the proposed policy measure perfectly fit the Ghanaian local government system. It may not be suitable to other contexts where the local government system does not exist.

Furthermore, the research is heavily based on the similarities of the socio-economic characteristics of countries (or cities) of the Global South as a parameter for replicating the lessons from the case studies and the proposed policy tool. The effectiveness of adopting this tool may require case-specific research of the local structures, resources, the level of organization of street vendors, and an enabling political environment to foster its implementation.

Also, the proposed strategies critically depend on street vendors participation, commitment, volunteerism, self-initiative actions and the ability to contribute to policy discussions. Empirical research is required to establish evidence of street vendors commitment and compliance to these favourable regulations. This includes the case studies (i.e. the Moronvian MoU between street vendors and MCC). For instance, street vendors' commitment to managing public spaces and acting responsibly in public spaces. The study is mainly a desk study and lacks empirical data to justify specific claims.

Lastly, further studies could delve into the challenges of implementing this policy proposal. As revealed from the case studies, implementing this policy tool may be challenging to city authorities and vendors alike. Hence, further studies could improve the implementation process and inform new guidelines.

8.5 Conclusion

The thesis primarily aimed to identify street vending in urban policy planning and spatial regulation in cities to draft effective policy

strategies for managing vendors activities in urban public spaces. An extensive review of the literature demonstrated that street vending is integral to the growth and development of these cities, particularly in the Global South. However, city authorities continue to be repressive towards vendors and adopt hostile approaches purposefully to eradicate this inexorable urban situation from the cities. Such aggressive attitudes emanate primarily from the dogma of modernity and neoliberal urban policy creed. Furthermore, analysis of Ghana urban policy framework shows there is general ambiguity and fragmentation of policies and laws regulating street vending. National policy directives are inconsistent with local-level planning, leading to policy vagueness and hazy in the management of street vending. Together with the lessons from the case analysis, the study concluded that adopting inclusive and collaborative strategies is more effective in dealing with street vendors' problems than the orthodox planning tools; eviction, relocation, harassment of street vendors.

Street vendors are generally resilient and skillful players, able to manoeuvre their ways in appropriating urban public spaces for their activities, thus rendering all efforts to eradicate them fruitless. The results show that the contention between vendors and city authorities over the control of spaces can be effectively managed if city authorities collaborate with vendors organizations. This requires formulating an independent national policy framework on street vending to oblige local authorities to involve vendors in the urban policy development process and spatially integrate vending space in cities' development. Building up from Ghana's government mission to develop modern markets serves as an avenue to involve street vendors in planning, designing, and developing these markets.

The India National Policy/Act on Street Vendors and the Warwick Urban Renewal Project offer a crucial policy framework and insight into the structuring policies on street vending and infrastructural development to integrate vending spaces in cities. Four key implications for Ghana (1) A national policy on street vending, (2) demarcation of vendors sites, (3) design and development of vendors structures, and (4) harnessing the potential of street vendors in managing urban spaces.

Photo Credit : Kojo Kwarteng

References

Acheampong, R. A. (2019). Spatial Planning and the Urban Informal. In Spatial Planning in Ghana, (pp. 269–288). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-02011-8

Adama, O. (2021). Criminalizing Informal Workers: The Case of Street Vendors in Abuja, Nigeria. Journal of Asian and African Studies, 56(3), 533–548. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909620930740

Adarkwa, K. K. (2012). The changing face of Ghanaian towns. African Review of Economics and Finance, 4(1), 1–29.

Afrane, S. (2013). The Spatial Dimensions of the Informal Economy in Kumasi, Ghana. Journal of Building and Road Research, 14(1), 3–18.

Akuoko, K. O., Ofori-Dua, K., & Forkuo, J. B. (2013). Women making ends meet: Street hawking in Kumasi, challenges and constraints. Michigan Sociological Review, 27(Fall 2013), 25–43.

Alfasi, N., & Portugali, J. (2007). Planning rules for a self-planned city. Planning Theory, 6(2), 164–182. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095207077587

AlSayyad, N. (2004). Urban informality as a "new" way of life. Urban Informality: Transnational Persectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia, 7–30.

Alva, R. J. (2014). The street vendors (protection of livelihood and regulation of street vending) Bill, 2013: Is the cure worse than the disease? Statute Law Review, 35(2), 181–202. https://doi.org/10.1093/slr/hmt021

Amis, P. (2016). Symbolic politics, legalism and implementation: the case of street vendors in India. Commonwealth Journal of Local Governance, 18, 36–47. https://doi.org/10.5130/cjlg.v0i18.4841

Amoako, C., Cobbinah, P. B., & Mensah Darkwah, R. (2019). Complex twist of fate: The geopolitics 1 of flood management regimes in Accra, Ghana. Cities, 89(January), 209–217. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2019.02.006

Ananya Roy, & Nezar Alsayyad. (2004). Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America and South Asia. In Ananya Roy & Nezar Alsayyad (Eds.), Lexington Books (Issues 1–250). Letington Books.

Anderson, P. (1999). Complexity Theory and Organization Science. Organization Science, 10(3), 216–232. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.10.3.216

Anyidoho, N. A., & Steel, W. F. (2016). Perceptions of Costs and Benefits of Informal-Formal Linkages : Market and Street Vendors in Accra , Ghana (Issue March).

Asibey, M. O., Lykke, A. M., & King, R. S. (2020). Understanding the factors for increased informal electronic waste recycling in Kumasi, Ghana. International Journal of Environmental Health Research, 00(00), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/09603123.2020.1755016

Asiedu, A., & Agyei-Mensah, S. (2008). Traders on the run: Activities of street vendors in the Accra Metropolitan Area, Ghana. Norwegian Journal of Geography, 62(3), 191–202. https://doi.org/10.1080/00291950802335806

Attoh, K. A. (2011). What kind of right is the right to the city? Progress in Human Geography, 35(5), 669–685. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132510394706

Auerbach, A. M., LeBas, A., Post, A. E., & Weitz-Shapiro, R. (2018). State, Society, and Informality

in Cities of the Global South. Studies in Comparative International Development, 53(3), 261–280. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-018-9269-y

Ayambire, R. A., Amponsah, O., Peprah, C., & Takyi, S. A. (2019). A review of practices for sustaining urban and peri-urban agriculture: Implications for land use planning in rapidly urbanising Ghanaian cities. Land Use Policy, 84(February 2018), 260–277. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2019.03.004

Azunre, G. A., Amponsah, O., Takyi, S. A., & Mensah, H. (2021). Informality-sustainable city nexus: The place of informality in advancing sustainable Ghanaian cities. Sustainable Cities and Society, 67(2021), 102707. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scs.2021.102707

Baah-boateng, W., & Vanek, J. (2020). Informal Workers in Ghana : A Statistical Snapshot (Issue 21).

Bamhu, P. H. (2019). Street Vendors and Legal Advocacy: Reflections from Ghana, India, Peru, South Africa and Thailand WIEGO Resource Documents Acknowledgements (Issue 14). www.wiego.org

Banks, N., Lombard, M., & Mitlin, D. (2020). Urban Informality as a Site of Critical Analysis. The Journal of Development Studies, 56(2), 223–238. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2019.1577384

Barimah Owusu, A., & Abrokwah, S. (2013). Geospatial analysis of Street Hawking in Accra Metropolitan Area. Journa of Geogrpahy and Geology, 5(4), 169–180.

Batréau, Q., & Bonnet, F. (2016). Managed Informality: Regulating Street Vendors in Bangkok. City and Community, 15(1), 29–43. https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12150

Batty, M. (2005). Cities and Complexity: Understanding Cities with Cellular Automata, Agent-Based Models, and Fractals. MIT Press.

Batty, M. (2013). Book Reviews. Journal of Regional Science, 53(4), 724–727. https://doi.org/10.1111/jors.12056

Batty, M., & Marshall, S. (2012). Complexity Theories of Cities Have Come of Age. Complexity Theories of Cities Have Come of Age, 21–45. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-24544-2

Bhowmik, S. (2005). Street Vendors in Asia : A Review. Economic and Political Weekly, 40(22/23 (May 28-Jun. 10)), 2256–2264.

Bhowmik, S. (2010). Street vendors in the global urban economy. Taylor & Francis.

Boateng, C. (2021, May 20). Making Accra work again collective responsibility — Regional Minister. Graphic Online. https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/making-accra-work-again-collective-responsibility-regional-minister.html

Boels, D. (2014). It ' s better than stealing : informal street selling in Brussels. International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 34(9/10), 670–693. https://doi.org/10.1108/I...Article

Boels, D. (2016). The informal economy: Seasonal work, street selling and sex work. In The Informal Economy: Seasonal Work, Street Selling and Sex Work (pp. 1–267). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-43123-9

Bonnet, F., Carré, F., Chen, M., & Vanek, J. (2021). Home-based Workers in the World : A Statistical Profile (Issue 27).

Bonnet, F., Vanek, J., & Chen, M. (2019). Women and Men in the Informal Economy – A Statistical Brief. In WIEGO (Issue January). WIEGO.

Bostic, R. W., Kim, A. M., & Valenzuala, A. J. (2016). Contesting the Streets: Vending and Public Space in Global Cities. Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research, 18(1), 3–10.

Brown, A. (2006). Space: Street Trading, Public Space and Livelihoods in Developing Cities (A. Brown (ed.)). ITDG.

Brown, A. (2017). Rebelstreet and the informal Economy: Street trade and the Law. (A. Brown (ed.)). Routledge.

Brown, A., & Mackie, P. (2018). Politics and street trading in Africa: Developing a comparative frame. Journal of Urban Research, 6(19). https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.4000/articulo.3612

Brown, A., Msoka, C., & Dankoco, I. (2015). A refugee in my own country: Evictions or property rights in the urban informal economy? Urban Studies, 52(12), 2234–2249. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098014544758

Brown, D., McGranahan, G., & Dodman, D. (2014). Urban informality and building a more inclusive , resilient and green economy (Issue December). http://pubs.iied.org/10722IIED

Byrne, D. (1998). Complexity Theory and the Social Sciences, An Introduction. In Routledge. https://doi.org/10.29173/cmplct8772

Castells, M., & Portes, A. (1989). World Underneath: The Origins, Dynamics and Effects of the Informal Economy. In A. Portes, M. Castells, & L. A. Benton (Eds.), The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries (pp. 11–37). John Hopkins University Press. https://doi.org/10.1177/001139290038002008

Centre for Civil Society. (2019). Progress report: Implementing the Street Vendors Act 2014.

Chatterjee, J. (2013). Gentrification in the mill land areas of Mumbai City: A case study. International RC 21 Conference 2013, August, 1–22.

Chen, Marthy. (2012). The Informal Economy: Definitions, Theories and Policies. WIEGO Working Paper, 1, 26. https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(94)90141-4

Chen, Marthy. (2014). Wiego manifesto.

Chen, Marthy. (2016). The Urban Informal Economy: Towards more inclusive Cities. Urbanet. https://www.urbanet.info/urban-informal-economy/

Chen, Marthy, & Carré, F. (2020). The informal economy revisited: Examining the past, envisioning the future. In ma Chen & F. Carré (Eds.), The Informal Economy Revisited (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429200724-34

Chen, Marthy, Vanek, J., Lund, F., Heintz, J., Jhabvala, R., & Bonner, Ch. (2005). Progress of Worlds' Women 2005.

Chen, Marty, Harvey, J., Kihato, C. W., & Skinner, C. (2018). Inclusive Public Spaces for Informal Livelihoods: A Discussion Paper for Urban Planners and Policy Makers. www.wiego.org

Chigwenya, A. (2021). Informality and the fight for rights to the city in Masvingo city, Zimbabwe. GeoJournal, 1(2004). https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-021-10399-1

Chiodelli, F., & Moroni, S. (2014). Typology of spaces and topology of toleration: City, pluralism, ownership. Journal of Urban Affairs, 36(2), 167–181. https://doi.org/10.1111/juaf.12028

Chou, E. (2017). Los Angeles decriminalizes street vending, but those with convictions still on the hook. Daily News. https://www.dailynews.com/2017/02/15/la-decriminalizes-street-vending-but-those-with-convictions-still-on-the-hook/

Cobbinah, P. B., Addaney, M., & Agyeman, K. O. (2017). Locating the role of urbanites in solid waste management in Ghana. Environmental Development, 24, 9–21. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envdev.2017.06.004

Cobbinah, P. B., & Niminga-Beka, R. (2017). Urbanisation in Ghana: Residential land use under siege in Kumasi central. Cities, 60, 388–401. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2016.10.011

Cobbinah, P. B., Poku-Boansi, M., & Peprah, C. (2017). Urban environmental problems in Ghana. Environmental Development, 23(May), 33–46. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envdev.2017.05.001

Conroy, J. D. (2010). A national policy for the informal economy in Papua New Guinea. Pacific Economic Bulletin, 25(1), 189–204.

Danquah, M., & Osei-Assibey, E. (2016). Informality and the tax gap : A case of non-farm enterprises in Ghana (Issue August). https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.24778.36801

Davis, M. (2006). Planet of slums. In New Left Review (Issue 26). https://doi.org/10.22296/2317-1529.2006v8n1p101

De-Soto, H. (1989). The other path. Harper & Row Publishers.

De-Soto, H. (2000). The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else. In Basic Books.

Deléchat, C., & Medina, L. (2020). What is the informal economy? Having fewer workers outside the formal economy can support sustainable development. Finance and Development, 57(4), 54–55.

Dias, S. M. (2016). Waste pickers and cities. Environment and Urbanization, 28(2), 375–390. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247816657302

Donovan, M. G. (2008). Informal cities and the contestation of public space: The case of Bogotá's street vendors, 1988-2003. Urban Studies, 45(1), 29–51. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098007085100

Dovey, K., & King, R. (2011). Forms of informality: Morphology and visibility of informal settlements. Built Environment, 37(1), 11–29. https://doi.org/10.2148/benv.37.1.11

Flock, R., & Breitung, W. (2016). Migrant Street Vendors in Urban China and the Social Production of Public Space. Population, Space and Place, 22(2), 158–169. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1892

Forkuor, J. B., Akuoko, K. O., & Yeboah, E. H. (2017). Negotiation and management strategies of street vendors in developing countries: A narrative review. SAGE Open, 7(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244017691563

Friendly, A. (2013). The right to the city: theory and practice in Brazil. Planning Theory and Practice, 14(2), 158–179. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2013.783098

Frimpong, B. E., Amoako, C., & Asenso, B. K. (2020). Spaces of market politics: Retailscapes and modernist planning imaginaries in African cities. Applied Geography, 123(June), 102265. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apgeog.2020.102265

The Local Government Bulletin: Kumasi Metropolitan Bye-law, (1998).

Ghana Statistical Service. (2013). National Analytical Report: 2010 Population and Housing Census. Research Gate, May, 1–409.

Ghana Statistical Service. (2014). District Analytical Report: Kumasi metropolitan. www.statsghana.gov.gh.

Ghana Statistical Service. (2016). 2015 Labour force report. In Ghana Statistical Service. https://doi.org/10.7135/UPO9781843313700.001

Ghana Statistical Service. (2020). Ghana's Population by Regions. Ghana Statistical Service. https://www.statsghana.gov.gh/#

Ghana Statistical Service (GSS). (2014). 2010 Population and Housing Census: District analytical report, Accra metropolitan. In Ghana statistical service. https://new-ndpc-static1.s3.amazonaws.com/CACHES/PUBLICATIONS/2016/06/06/AMA.pdf

Ghosh, J. (2021). Informal Women Workers in the Global South: Policies and Practices for the Formalisation of Women's Employment in Developing Economies (J. Ghost (ed.)). Routledge.

Gillespie, T. (2016). From quiet to bold encroachment: contesting dispossession in Accra's informal sector. Urban Geography, 38(7), 974–992. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2016.1191792

Local Governance Act 936 (2016), 4 1 (2016).

The street vendors (protection of livelihood and regulation of street vending) Act, 2014, 1 (2014) (testimony of Government of India). https://doi.org/10.1093/slr/hmt021

Graaff, K., & Ha, N. (2015). Street Vending in the Neoliberal City: A Global Perspective on the Practices and Policies of a Marginalized Economy (pp. 1–14).

GSS. (2019). Ghana Living Standards Survey Round 7 (GLSS7), Main Report. In Ghana Statistical Service (Vol. 7).

GUTT. (2019). Cities as a Strategic Resource : Guideline for Ghana's National Urban Policy Revision. https://urbantransitions.global/publications

Hanser, A. (2016). Street Politics: Street Vendors and Urban Governance in China. China Quarterly, 226(April), 363–382. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741016000278

Hart, K. (1973). Informal income opportunities and urban employment in ghana. The Journal of Modern African Studies, 11(1), 61–89. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X00008089

Harvey, C., Kramsky, Y., & Abreu, G. M. (2018). formality. Berkeley Planning Journal, 30(December).

Harvey, D. (2008). The right to the city. New Left Review, 53, 23–40. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315260211

Harvey, D. (2012). Rebel cities. from the right to the city to the right to the urban revolution. In Eure (Vol. 40, Issue 119). Verso. https://doi.org/10.4067/S0250-71612014000100013

Haug, J. (2014). Critical Overview of the (Urban) Informal Economy in Ghana. In Friedrich Eberto Stiftung.

Hayek, F. A. (1978). New Studies in Philosophy, Politics, Economics, and the History of Ideas. In Routledge & Kegan PauJ Publications. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226321288.001.0001

ILO. (2013). Measuring informality. In The Informal Economy. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429274930-

ILO. (2017). The transition from the informal to the formal economy recommendation, 2015 (No. 204). In 104th Session (Vol. 19, Issue 10). https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_dialogue/@actrav/documents/publication/wcms_545928.pdf

ILO. (2004). Statistical definition of informal employment: Guidelines endorsed by the Seventeenth International Conference of Labour Statisticians. Bureau of Statistics, ILO, 7th, 1–17.

International Labour Office. (2018). Women and Men in the Informal Economy: A statistical picture (Vol. 28).

International Labour Organization. (1973). Employment, Incomes and Equality: A strategyfor increasing prroductive employment in Kenya. In International Labour Organization. https://doi.org/10.2307/3516123

International Labour Organization. (2021). Transition from the informal to the formal economy - Theory of Change (Vol. 2015, Issue 204).

Jacobs, J. (1961). The kind of problem the city is. In The death and life of America's cities (pp. 428–448).

Jalaladdini, S., & Oktay, D. (2012). Urban Public Spaces and Vitality: A Socio-Spatial Analysis in the Streets of Cypriot Towns. Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences, 35(December 2011), 664–674. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.02.135

Kamete, A. Y. (2017). Pernicious assimilation: Reframing the integration of the urban informal economy in Southern Africa. Urban Geography, 39(2), 167–189. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2017.1298219

Kanbur, R. (2009). Conceptualising informality: Regulation and enforcement. Indian Journal of Labour Economics, 52(1), 33–42. www.people.cornell.edu/pages/sk145

Kessey, K. D., & Agyemang, F. (2013). Urbanization and Intensive use of Space in Central Business District in a Developing City , Ghana : Decongestion Programme as City Service Response ; an Appraisal . Developing Country Studies, 3(6), 89–97.

Kumar, R. (2012). The Regularization of Street Vending in Bhubaneshwar, India: A Policy Model. WIEGO Policy Brief (Urban Policies), June, 1–8.

Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly. (2019). Composite budget for 2019-2022: Programme based budget estimates for 2019. In Ministry of Finance, Ghana. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781316151938.089

Lefebvre, H. (1991). The production of spcae. In D. Nicholson-Smith (Ed.), Blackwell. Blackwell Publishers Limited. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315446486-34

Lefebvre, H. (1996). writings on cities Lefebvre (E. Kofman & E. Lebas (eds.)). Blackwell Publishers Limited.

Lund, F., & Skinner, C. (2004). Integrating the informal economy in urban planning and governance: A case study of the process of policy development in Durban, South Africa. International Development Planning Review, 26(4), 431–456. https://doi.org/10.3828/idpr.26.4.5

Mackie, P. K., Bromley, R. D. F., & Brown, A. M. B. (2014). Informal Traders and the Battlegrounds of Revanchism in Cusco, Peru. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 38(5), 1884–1903. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12161

Marcuse, P. (2009). From critical urban theory to the right to the city. City, 13(2–3), 185–197. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604810902982177

Martínez, L., Short, J. R., & Estrada, D. (2017). The urban informal economyStreet vendors in Cali, Colombia. Cities, 66, 34–43. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2017.03.010

Marx, C., & Kelling, E. (2019). Knowing urban informalities. Urban Studies, 56(3), 494–509. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098018770848

Mayer, M. (2009). The "Right to the City" in the context of shifting mottos of urban social movements. City, 13(2–3), 362–374. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604810902982755

McFarlane, C. (2012). Rethinking Informality: Politics, Crisis, and the City. Planning Theory and Practice, 13(1), 89–108. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2012.649951

Mela, A. (2014). Urban public space between fragmentation, control and conflict. City, Territory and Architecture, 1(15), 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40410-014-0015-0

Mitchell, D., & Heynen, N. (2009). The geography of survival and the right to the city: Speculations on surveillance, legal innovation, and the criminalization of intervention. Urban Geography, 30(6), 611–632. https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.30.6.611

Morange, M. (2015). Street trade, neoliberalisation and the control of space: Nairobi's Central Business District in the era of entrepreneurial urbanism. Journal of Eastern African Studies, 9(2), 247–269. https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2015.1018407

Moroni, S. (2015). Complexity and the inherent limits of explanation and prediction: Urban codes for self-organising cities. Planning Theory, 14(3), 248–267. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095214521104

Moroni, S. (2020). The just city. Three background issues: Institutional justice and spatial justice, social justice and distributive justice, concept of justice and conceptions of justice. Planning Theory, 19(3), 251–267. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095219877670

Moroni, S., Rauws, W., & Cozzolino, S. (2020). Forms of self-organization: Urban complexity and planning implications. Environment and Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science, 47(2), 220–234. https://doi.org/10.1177/2399808319857721

Moser, C. O. N. (1978). Informal sector or petty commodity production: Dualism or dependence in urban development? World Development, 6(9–10), 1041–1064. https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(78)90062-1

Namsamba, A. (2017). WIEGO Resource Document Informal Economy Budget Analysis : Greater Monrovia (Issue July).

Obeng-odoom, F. (2014). Urban Land Policies in Ghana : A Case of the Emperor ' s New Clothes ? 119–143. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12114-013-9175-5

Obeng-Odoom, F. (2011). The Informal Sector in Ghana under Siege. Journal of Developing Societies, 27(3–4), 355–392. https://doi.org/10.1177/0169796X1102700406

Okoye, V. (2020). Street Vendor Exclusion in "Modern" Market Planning : A Case Study from Kumasi, Ghana. In WIEGO Resource Document (Issue 15).

Omoegun, A. O., Mackie, P., & Brown, A. (2019). The aftermath of eviction in the Nigerian informal economy. International Development Planning Review, 41(1), 107–128. https://doi.org/10.3828/idpr.2018.30

Onodugo, V. A., & Ezeadichie, N. H. (2019). Future Planning of Global South Cities with Inclusive Informal economic Growth in perspective. In A. Almusaed, A. Almssad, & L. Truong-Hong (Eds.), Sustainability in Urban Planning and Design (pp. 1–29). IntechOpen. https://doi.org/10.5772/intechopen.77648

Onodugo, V. A., Ezeadichie, N. H., Onwuneme, C. A., & Anosike, A. E. (2016a). The dilemma of managing the challenges of street vending in public spaces : The case of Enugu City , Nigeria. Cities, 59, 95–101. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2016.06.001

Onodugo, V. A., Ezeadichie, N. H., Onwuneme, C. A., & Anosike, A. E. (2016b). The dilemma of managing the challenges of street vending in public spaces: The case of Enugu City, Nigeria. Cities, 59, 95–101. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2016.06.001

Osei-boateng, C. (2012). A report on street vending in Ghana. In Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing. https://doi.org/10.3143/geriatrics.57.contents2

Osei-Boateng, C. (2011). The informal sector in Ghana: A focus on domestic workers, street vendors and head porters (Kayayei). July, 1–30.

Osei-boateng, C., & Ampratwum, E. (2011). The Informal Sector in Ghana.

Osei-Boateng, C., & Ampratwum, E. (2011). The Informal Sector in Ghana. Accra: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Ghana Office. October.

Owusu-Sekyere, E., & Amoah, S. T. (2020). Urban Design, Space Economy and Survival in the City: Exploring Women's World of Work in Kumasi, Ghana. In A. Almusaed, A. Almssad, & L. T.- Hong (Eds.), Sustainability in Urban Planning and Design (pp. 1–17).

Owusu-Sekyere, E., Amoah, S. T., & Teng-Zeng, F. (2016). Tug of war: street trading and city governance in Kumasi, Ghana. Development in Practice, 26(7), 906–919. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2016.1210088

Owusu, A. B., Abrokwah, S., & Frimpong, S. (2013a). Analysis of the Spatial and Temporal Dynamics of Street Hawking: A Case Study of the Accra Metropolitan Area. Journal of Geography and Geology, 5(4), 169–180. https://doi.org/10.5539/jgg.v5n4p169

Owusu, A. B., Abrokwah, S., & Frimpong, S. (2013b). Analysis of the Spatial and Temporal Dynamics of Street Hawking: A Case Study of the Accra Metropolitan Area. Journal of Geography and Geology, 5(4), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.5539/jgg.v5n4p169

Parnell, S., & Oldfield, S. (2014). The Routledge handbook on cities of the Global South. In The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203387832

Portugali, J. (2000). Self-Organization and the City. In Springer. Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg.

Portugali, J. (2016). What Makes Cities Complex? In J. Portugali & E. Stolk (Eds.), Complexity , Cognition , Urban Planning and Design. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-32653-5

Purcell, M. (2002). Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant. GeoJournal, 58(2–3), 99–108. https://doi.org/10.1023/b:gejo.0000010829.62237.8f

Racaud, S., Kago, J., & Owuor, S. (2018). Contested Street : Informal Street Vending and its Contradictions. Journal of Urban Research, 17–18, 1–15. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4000/articulo.3719

Rakowski, C. A. (1994). Convergence and divergence in the informal sector debate: A focus on Latin

America, 1984-92. World Development, 22(4), 501–516. https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(94)90107-4

Recchi, S. (2020). Informal street vending: a comparative literature review. International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSSP-07-2020-0285

Reed, S. O., & Bird, M. (2020). Liberia's street vendors pioneer new approach with city officials. In Street vendor and public spaces (pp. 42–47). WIEGO.

Rigon, A., Walker, J., & Koroma, B. (2020). Beyond formal and informal: Understanding urban informalities from Freetown. Cities, 105(November), 102848. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2020.102848

Roever, S. (2014). Sector Report : Street Vendors (Issue April).

Roever, S. (2016). Informal Trade Meets Informal Governance: Street Vendors and Legal Reform in India, South Africa, and Peru. Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research, 18(1), 27–46.

Roever, S., & Skinner, C. (2016). Street vendors and cities. Environment and Urbanization, 28(2), 359–374. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247816653898

Rogerson, C. M. (2016). Responding to Informality in Urban Africa: Street Trading in Harare, Zimbabwe. Urban Forum, 27(2), 229–251. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12132-016-9273-0

Roy, A. (2002). Urban Informality. Journal of the American Planning Associarion, 71(2).

Roy, A. (2005). Urban informality: Toward an epistemology of planning. Journal of the American Planning Association, 71(2), 147–158. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944360508976689

Roy, A. (2011). Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 35(2), 223–238. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2011.01051.x

Roy, A. (2015). Urban Informality: The Production and Regulation of Space. In J. Wright (Ed.), International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences: Second Edition (2nd ed., Vol. 24, pp. 818–822). Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.74051-7

Sandoval, V., Hoberman, G., & Chabba Jerath, M. (2019). Urban Informality: Global and Regional Trends. DRR Faculty Publications. 16., 1–18.

Sassen, S. (1994). The Informal Economy : Between New Developments and Old Regulations. The Yale Law Journal, 103(8), 2289–2304.

Sinha, S., & Roever, S. (2011). India's National Policy on Urban Street Vendors. WIEGO Policy Brief, May(April), 1–12.

Skinner, C. (2008). The struggle for the streets: Processes of exclusion and inclusion of street traders in Durban, South Africa. Development Southern Africa, 25(2), 227–242. https://doi.org/10.1080/03768350802090709

Skinner, C., Reed, S. O., & Harvey, J. (2018). A Toolkit for Local Authorities Prepared by WIEGO for the Cities Alliance Joint Work Programme for Equitable Economic Growth in Cities Supporting Informal Livelihoods in Public Space: A Toolkit for Local Authorities Supporting Informal Livelihoods in Publ. WEIGO & City Alliance. www.wiego.org

Solomon-Ayeh, E. B., Sylvana, R., & Decardi-Nelson, I. (2011). Street vending and the use of urban public space in Kumasi, Ghana. The Ghana Surveyor, 4(1). http://dspace.knust.edu.gh:8080/xmlui/

bitstream/handle/123456789/3423/Surveyor Journal 3.pdf?sequence=1

Sommers, M. (2010). Urban youth in Africa. Environment and Urbanization, 22(2), 317–332. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247810377964

Spire, A., & Choplin, A. (2017). Street Vendors Facing Urban Beautification in Accra (Ghana): Eviction, Relocation and Formalization. Articulo – Revue de Sciences Humaines, 17–18, 1–18. https://doi.org/10.4000/articulo.3443

Steel, W. F., Ujoranyi, T. D., & Owusu, G. (2014). Why Evictions Do Not Deter Street Traders: Case Study in Accra, Ghana. Ghana Social Science Journal, 11(2), 52–76.

StreetNet Internatioanal. (2019). Human impact stories, FEPTIWUL Liberia. http://streetnet.org.za/human-impact-stories-feptiwul-liberia/

Takyi, S. A., Amponsah, O., Yeboah, A. S., & Mantey, E. (2020). Locational analysis of slums and the effects of slum dweller's activities on the social, economic and ecological facets of the city: insights from Kumasi in Ghana. GeoJournal, 2. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-020-10196-2

Tonnelat, S. (2010). The sociology of urban public spaces. Sino French Urban Planning Conference (SFURP), 1–10.

UN-Habitat. (2016). Urbanization and adevelopment: Emerging futures. In Un-Habitat world city report. https://doi.org/10.1097/NCM.0000000000000166

UN-Habitat. (2019). Implementing the New Urban Agenda and SDGs in Liberia: Towards a National Urban Policy (Issue 2). https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2020/07/towards_a_national_urban_policy_second_national_urban_forum_report.pdf

UNDESA/PD. (2019). World Urbanization Prospects. In Demographic Research (Vol. 12). https://population.un.org/wup/Publications/Files/WUP2018-Report.pdf

United Nations (Habitat III). (2017). The New Urban Agenda. www.habitat3.org

Watson, V. & Agbola, B. (2013). Who will plan Africa's cities? Africa Research Institute, 1–15.

Watson, V. (2009). "The planned city sweeps the poor away…": Urban planning and 21st century urbanisation. Progress in Planning, 72(3), 151–193. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.progress.2009.06.002

Watson, V. (2014). African urban fantasies: Dreams or nightmares? Environment and Urbanization, 26(1), 215–231. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956247813513705

Weeks, B. M. A. (2012). Collective Bargaining Negotiations Between Street Vendors and City Government in. November.

Wekesa, B. W., Steyn, G. S., & Otieno, F. A. O. (2011). A review of physical and socio-economic characteristics and intervention approaches of informal settlements. Habitat International, 35(2), 238–245. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2010.09.006

WIEGO. (2015). Myths & Facts about the Informal Economy and Workers in the Informal Economy (Issue May). WIEGO.

WIEGO. (2020a). Informal Workers COVID-19 Crisis: a global picture of sudden impact and long terme risk (R. Moussié, L. Alfers, & J. Harvey (eds.)). Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing.

WIEGO. (2020b). Street Vendors and Public Space: Essential Insights on Key Trends and Solutions.

WIEGO. (2021). COVID-19 Crisis and the Informal Economy: Informal Workers in Accra, Ghana. Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing, 2021.

Xue, D., & Huang, G. (2015). Informality and the state's ambivalence in the regulation of street vending in transforming Guangzhou, China. Geoforum, 62, 156–165. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.04.012

Yankson, P. W. K., & Bertrand, M. (2012). Challenges of Urbanization in Ghana. The Mobile City of Accra, January 2012, 25–46.