Street Trader Displacements and the Relevance of the Right to the City Concept in a Rapidly Urbanising African City: Lagos, Nigeria

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This thesis examines the process of street trader displacements through the views of street traders and other urban actors, and through the lens of the Right to the City concept, reviewing the ways in which public space is viewed and regulated and the interplay of rights in urban public space within the context of Lagos, Nigeria. The Right to the City concept is also critiqued in this particular African context through the case study of trader displacements in Oshodi Market, Lagos, in 2009. This investigation was conducted through a case-study and mixed-method approach using interviews, documentary analysis and observation.

The displacement of street traders from public spaces is a common government policy in developing world cities despite widespread arguments that displacements lead to marginalisation of street traders. The spread of global capitalism has escalated tensions as street trade and neoliberal urban development fundamentally depend on public space, but street traders are often relegated, with urban public space perhaps the clearest physical domain in which exclusion is manifest. The Right to the City has been used to question competing claims to the city and has gained wide acclaim globally, it has however been criticised as lacking adequate contextual grounding.

The research reveals wide-ranging negative impacts of displacements on street traders and other urban groups, and significant lapses in urban management in Lagos. It was found that the Right to the City did not feature in the experience of street traders in Oshodi as traders do not possess any rights in public space. In addition key context specific challenges of implementing the Right to the City are identified. The thesis establishes a rights-based framework for urban governance based on the Right to the City which can be implemented in Lagos and similar contexts.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This study is motivated by an observation of the unjust relationship between authorities and informal economy workers, especially street traders, in Lagos and other African cities. It is situated within wider concerns amongst academics, practitioners and international development policy- makers on the effective management of cities in the developing world, the role of public space in urban development, and the extent to which modern planning paradigms exclude the urban poor. Street trader displacements have been widely researched. There is also an abundance of literature on the Right to the City concept which promotes social inclusion through a rights-based approach to development. However, there has been limited attention given to the potential of the Right to the City concept as an urban governance tool, and its significant implications for policy affecting street traders, the focus of this research.

1.2 The Research Problem

Most cities in the developing world are characterised by large informal economies, evidenced by the large number of street traders in many cities, particularly in Africa where informal commerce is the major source of jobs for the growing urban poor (Brown et al. 2009). Nevertheless the displacement of street traders by city authorities is a prevalent occurrence and it is argued that such practices result in widespread social exclusion (Swanson, 2007; Lyons and Msoka, 2010; Carrieri and Murta, 2011). The Right to the City concept has been used to question competing claims to the city and proposed as a safeguard against exclusionary development (UN-HABITAT, 2011), yet it has not been applied to street traders.

The Right to the City has gained increasing international recognition of late. In 2008, UNESCO and UN-HABITAT embarked on a joint research project based on the concept and UN-HABITAT adopted it as the theme of the fifth World Urban Forum held in Rio in 2010. Widely promoted as possessing real potential for achieving social change and inclusion in cities (Purcell, 2002; UN-HABITAT, 2011), the concept however remains vague. Although influential in some countries, notably Brazil, the concept is often adopted without a clear

definition of what it entails and guidance of how it can be put into practice, and a vast gulf existing between its popularity and the depth to which it is explored (Purcell, 2002).

Despite many global campaigns challenging the evictions of slum dwellers and other low income urban residents, the impacts of evictions affecting livelihoods of the urban poor are relatively under-explored. This research therefore seeks to examine the impacts of displacements particularly on urban livelihoods. From the observation that evictions are almost always harmful to those directly affected, this research seeks to develop new understandings of the management of street trade which a rights-based perspective provides. However, in the very early stages of research during a pilot visit and informal discussions, it was found that the term 'evictions' was seen to be threatening to some of those whom the researcher wished to interview, particularly government staff, and so the term 'displacements' has been used throughout as a more neutral terminology.

Street trader displacements

Street traders are usually centrally located. Basic economic principles explain trader preferences for central locations, particularly those that are strategically located on busy pedestrian routes. However such sites are also strategic to city authorities and other stakeholders, and thus tensions and competition over space result. Consequently, the displacement of street traders from central locations is a widespread policy and practice adopted by government authorities in developing world cities.

Displacements vary in nature, as do their impacts on traders and their activities, ranging from large scale sustained evictions to sporadic event-driven removal (Skinner, 2008). It is however a widely held opinion amongst researchers that the displacement of traders is rarely effective and seldom in the interests of traders. It has even been argued that trader displacements exhibit the characteristics of gentrification, with lower-class traders displaced in favour of middle class locals and tourists (Middleton, 2003; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Mackie et al. 2014).

The Right to the City

Coined in the 1960s by the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre the Right to the City concept is experiencing a revival, despite its definitional ambiguities (Brown, 2010). It is described as a type of human right, a collective right of all city inhabitants to participate in the use and production of urban space (World Charter for the Right to the City, 2005; Harvey, 2008). However it has been interpreted in different ways, for example the Right to the City has been adopted as; a campaign slogan, a guiding principle for urban policy and an agenda for urban management (see Fernandes, 2007; Mayer, 2009; Woessner, 2009; Earle, 2011).

The Right to the City and its adoption by international NGOs has also been criticised. Mayer (2009) argues that the concept overlooks underlying economic processes that perpetuate poverty and exclusion. Furthermore Jenkins et al (2007) argue that normative development agendas such as the Right to the City critically lack an in-depth analysis of actual political, economic, social and cultural contexts. Centner and Rojas (2011) also highlight the impact of specific contexts on the translation of the concept. Nevertheless, the Right to the City concept has created a vital platform for the introduction of a rights-based perspective to urban development (Fernandes, 2007; Brown, 2010).

The rights-based perspective promoted by the Right to the City holds significant implications for street traders. Street traders are highly dependent on contested urban public spaces, and their frequent displacement in favour of other interests arguably leads to social exclusion. A rights-based approach to urban management is thus a potential tool through which the disenfranchisement of street traders in urban public space can be addressed, but it portends significant challenges. For example access rights to urban public space are complex and ambiguous, it is therefore necessary that the rights of users including street traders should be clarified as part of efforts towards the development of a rights-based approach to urban management (Brown and Rakodi, 2006).

Lagos and the Oshodi Market

Lagos is of unique significance with regards to the informal economy, with a population of about 17 million people Lagos is the most populous city in Nigeria, the country with one of the largest and most dynamic informal economies in the world (Meaghher and Yunusa, 1996; Skinner, 2008; Neuwirth, 2009). It is estimated that about 50% to 75% of the workforce of Lagos are employed informally (LSG, 2004). Lagos's informal economy therefore provides livelihoods for perhaps millions of people. However, in an attempt to sanitize the city, authorities adopted a zero tolerance policy to street trading in 2008, which led to the displacement of street traders located around the Oshodi Market in Lagos, one of the largest concentrations of street trade in Lagos, to alternative locations. Oshodi Market provides a very useful case study for this research, as before the displacements it was the most extensive continuous open market in Lagos and probably one of the largest in West Africa (Aradeon, 1997).

1.3 Research aims and objectives

This research aims to examine the process of street trader displacements through the views of street traders and other urban actors, and through the lens of the Right to the City concept, reviewing the ways in which public space is viewed and regulated and the interplay of rights in urban public space within the context of a developing world city, namely Lagos, Nigeria. Through the case study of the displacements in Oshodi Market, it will also critique the Right to the City concept in this particular African context. In order to achieve this overarching aim, the research will:

Objective 1: Critically examine urban management and perceptions of public space in relation to street trade

Urban management in Lagos is narrowly framed and fraught with conflicts mainly because of the legacy of authoritarianism from years of colonial and military administration. The

issues surrounding urban management in Lagos have led to the regular displacement of street traders from public space and limited stakeholder participation, notably the restricted participation of street traders in trader displacement processes. Furthermore the shortcomings in urban management in Lagos also underlie conflicts over the use of public space by different stakeholders. A rights-based approach to urban management questions street trader displacements as it promotes broad stakeholder participation which is often not the case in street trader displacements. This implies a need for a deeper understanding of the factors that underlie the regulation, management, and use of urban public space. In order to examine this objective the following questions will be considered:

- How does the nature of urban management in Lagos affect the management of street trade?
- What processes of engagement took place between authorities and traders in the displacement process?
- What conflicts exist between stakeholders over the use of public space in relation to street trade?

Objective 2: Explore public space access and rights, the process of street trader displacements and the impacts of displacements on traders and other public space users

Urban public space is generally contentious due to competing perspectives on its function, and in many cases street traders are marginalised in these contentions, with trader displacements a major consequence of the vulnerability of street traders in public space. Displacements are argued to be detrimental to traders, with claims that they prioritise the interests of urban elites over those of others such as street traders (Swanson, 2007; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Crossa, 2009). A rights-based approach to urban management suggests the clarification of the rights of urban public space users and the empowerment of public authorities to protect the larger interests of citizens (Brown and Rakodi, 2006). Furthermore based on the contested nature of urban public space a potential conflict of rights is imminent in the exercise of the Right to the City. Therefore the second objective of this research is to examine the extent to which rights to public space currently exist, the process of street trader displacements, and the impacts of trader displacements on traders and other citizens. The following questions therefore arise:

- How do street traders accesses urban public space and what type of rights do they possess?
- What factors motivated the displacement process in Oshodi and how was the process executed?
- What are the main impacts of the displacement on traders and the wider urban populace?

Objective 3: Analyse the relationship between street traders and public space in the experience of displacements in the context of Lagos through the lens of the Right to the City and critique the concept in this context

The displacement of street traders is a common experience of traders in public space. Based on the exploration of the process of trader displacements in Oshodi including the causes and the consequences, there is a need for a framework with which a critique of displacements can be articulated and areas for improved policy making identified. The Right to the City concept provides this framework because of its focus on rights to public space. However, the Right to the City is criticised for not being easily applied and lacking in-depth contextual grounding (Jenkins et al. 2007; Cantner and Rojas, 2011; Brown, 2010; 2013). Furthermore the concept has not been applied in the African context. This research objective therefore gives rise to the following research questions:

- How can the experience of displacements in Oshodi be viewed if seen through the lens of the Right to the City?
- What challenges would underlie the implementation of the Right to the City in Lagos?
- Based on the Lagos experience how can the Right to the City agenda be improved?

The research addresses several gaps in the literature. Surprisingly, given its scale, very few empirical studies have been conducted on street trading in Lagos, and virtually none on the continuing processes of street trader displacements which have happened under different government administrations for many years. In addition, the rights-based framework which the Right to the City concept provides, has had limited application to livelihoods in general or street trading in particular.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The remaining part of this thesis is ordered as follows. Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical sources of the research with the purpose of demonstrating a clear understanding of existing knowledge around the topic and situating the study within the existing body of knowledge by identifying the gap in knowledge, in addition to providing the basis upon which the thesis is structured. Chapter 3 discusses the overall research approach adopted in the thesis and the methodological considerations that guide the study with reference to previous similar studies. Chapter 4 explores the context within which the research is situated and underlines the appropriateness of the chosen case study. The empirical findings from the investigation are presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The overall conclusion of the research is presented in Chapter 8.

Chapter 2: Street Trade and the Right to the City

2.1 Introduction

This literature review examines academic debates around the two key themes of this research, namely; street trader displacements from public space and the Right to the City. The review explores debates around these subjects, tracing their histories, evolution and evolving understanding over time, which then serves as the basis upon which the study is structured. This review therefore provides an extensive overview of the existing knowledge around the topic of this research, and situates this study within the general body of knowledge by highlighting the gap which this research fills.

The literature review is structured in two main sections, each section covering the key subjects of the research. Section 2.2 reviews the literature on street trade, trader displacements, and related themes, and is divided into six subsections, in which main aspects of the debates are elaborated. Section 2.3 examines the Right to the City concept, with an exploration of its origin, its emergence into contemporary urban discourse and its distinct relevance for this study discussed under five subsections. Section 2.4 provides a chapter summary, outlines key concepts which guide the fieldwork and identifies the unique contribution to knowledge which this research aims to provide.

2.2 Street trade, the informal economy and urban public space

This section traces the history of street trade and provides an insight into the nature of street trading as an occupation. This review first examines various perspectives on street trade and then situates it within the larger concept of the informal economy, with related debates to both concepts detailed. This analysis provides an extensive understanding of street trading activities and leads to the development of a definition for street trade which is carried forward in this study. The concept of urban public space is also explored, with its uses, importance to street trade and role in the process of street trader displacements outlined. It is argued that street trade is a longstanding occupation which has persisted to date against widespread expectation of its disappearance as economies modernise. It is fundamentally controversial because it takes place in urban public space, a prime public domain and subject of various interests, thus leading to the displacement of street traders

from their chosen locations by city authorities in favour of alternative uses pursued by powerful elites, with this trend on the increase due to ongoing global economic processes.

Street trade and the informal economy

Street trade which is variously referred to as street vending; peddling; hawking; petty trade or informal trade is not a new occupation, rather it dates far back in history. It is also a global activity, and is not restricted to any specific region(s) of the world. Street trading is one of the oldest and most widespread occupations in the world (Bromley, 2007), and is present in almost all countries and major cities (Bromley, 2000), having both global and national roots (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005). Street trade has long been a subject of academic research, and although it comprises numerous commercial enterprises it is generally considered to be part of the informal economy. Despite numerous debates regarding both concepts no singular, all-encompassing definition of street trade or the overarching concept of the informal economy exists, with definitions based on specific contexts and considerations.

Historically, street trade is found in many human settlements, with street trading activities traditionally serving as a fundamental means for distributing consumption goods within communities. Much early research was undertaken in Latin America. Pena (1999) describes street trade as being the norm in commercial practices worldwide, but found that in Mexico the occupation has deep historical and cultural roots. In Peru, Hays-Mitchell (1994) highlights street trading as being historically rooted and one of the first economic activities recorded in the country. Morales (2000) and Kettles (2007) also highlight the extensive history of street trade in Latin and North American cities respectively. In other world regions, Shrestha (2006) and Nnkya (2006) mention the long historic tradition of street trade in Nepal and Tanzania respectively.

Street trade encompasses a vast number of commercial enterprises, with the site of these activities the main consideration in their classification as street trade. Drawing on the African context Mitullah (2004) describes street trade as any commercial activity undertaken beyond confined premises or secluded working environments, such as sidewalks, street pavements, major transport hubs and other public areas. From India, Bhowmik (2005) describes street vending as involving the sale of goods to the public on the

street from a non-permanent built up structure (the term street vending is commonly used in India). Whilst Bromley (2000) defines street trade as the retail or wholesale trading of goods and services in the streets and other related public areas.

A further consideration in the classification of street trade is that of the legality of the activity. This influences the definition by Brown et al. (2009, pp. 3) of street traders as comprising the totality of small-scale commercial entrepreneurs, engaged in the production or transaction of "legal or socially acceptable goods or services who trade from the street, informal market or other publicly available space (whether publicly or privately owned) but whose operation takes place at least in part outside the prevailing regulatory environment". Street trade and market trade are closely related, albeit with different degrees of formality. Market traders engage in very similar activities as street traders but operate within the confines of recognised locations in private or formally provided municipal markets (Brown et al. 2009). In some contexts street traders if operating in sufficient numbers are considered to constitute a market, for example, when a large number of street traders occupy a particular street such that the street displays various features of a market, the street is then a street market (Bromley, 2000).

Categories of street trading vary within a continuum. Mitullah (2004) identifies a continuum between fixed vendors and mobile vendors, while Bromley (2000) categorises street traders as being fixed, intermittently mobile, or almost constantly mobile. Street trading activities also differ in scale, ranging from own-account work in individual micro-enterprises to various types of partnerships and family businesses which are engaged in full-time, part-time, seasonal or occasional trading, to larger operations with one or more employees (Bromley, 2000). Street traders constitute one of the largest and most visible sub-groups of the informal economy (Bromley, 1998; Daniels, 2004; Mitullah, 2004; Pratt, 2006; Brown et al. 2009). Street trading also represents a vital and perhaps the most contested sector of the overall group. This can mainly be attributed to the operation of street trading activities, as the most successful land for street trading is also in busier urban areas, which are key public sites and a subject of various interests. Street traders often occupy public spaces, which results in tensions with city authorities and other members of the public, in turn frequently leading to persistent attempts by city authorities to relocate their activities from central sites in favour of alternative uses considered as being more appropriate, or to just remove traders from such sites (Bromley and Mackie, 2009).

From the 1970s onwards, the dualist concept of the formal and informal sectors of the economy became generally accepted in international development discourse, with the consensus being that the informal sector consisted of street trading and a wide a variety of other occupations (Bromley, 2007). However Bromley (2000; 2007) questions the categorisation of street trade as a sector of the informal economy, suggesting that street trade should be considered as a distinct occupational group separate from the larger group of informal economy activities. The vast and increasing scale of urban street trade and its considerable societal importance, both as a source of employment and as a market distribution process, necessitates a reconsideration of the occupation as a sub-category of a larger occupational group which potentially obscures its unique characteristics (Bromley, 2000; 2007). Nevertheless, most relevant studies categorise street trade as part of the informal economy because of the degree to which trading operations fall outside legal control (Bromley and Mackie, 2009). The concept of the informal economy is useful in providing a better understanding of street trade in relation to the wider economy. Furthermore, due to the lack of reliable data on the informal economy and even more on street trade and the growing attention on the informal and still largely uncomplimentary perceptions of street trading activities, the categorisation of street trading as a part of the informal economy is still very relevant and useful for this research.

As noted above a key difference between street trade and market trade is the location of trade, with some market trade taking place in formally recognised locations. As a result, market traders are often perceived as being comparatively more formal despite some unregulated operations (Bromley and Mackie, 2009). Market traders are often more likely to be licensed and pay fees, as they trade from fixed locations sometimes provided by the municipality, but some street traders may also have licenses and pay fees. The blurred boundaries between street and market trade echoes Cross' sentiment (2000) as to the futility of a clear distinction between formal and the informal activities. Bromley (1998) and Bromley and Mackie (2009) make a slightly different distinction, defining formal traders as those who execute their activities within the confines of shops, as opposed to informal traders who operate elsewhere, be it within market premises, on streets or otherwise.

The informal economy has been a longstanding subject of debate, with the concept continuously evolving over the years, and a myriad of interpretations attributed to it (Bromley and Mackie, 2009). Scholarship on the informal economy has a long history; the first term used to identify it was the 'informal sector' which characterised the sector as one

which involved a dependence on indigenous assets, an easy means of entry and small scale enterprises (Hart, 1973). The definition was subsequently broadened to include both *enterprises* and *employment*, with the term 'informal economy' employed in order to better classify the diversity of informal enterprises and informally engaged workers (Brown et al. 2009). The International Labour Office (ILO) define *employment in the informal economy* as employment which does not provide secure contract, and is void of worker benefits or social protection, and unregulated or unprotected by prevailing legal or regulatory frameworks (ILO, 2002).

The complex and heterogeneous nature of the informal economy is a major reason behind its various interpretations. Castells and Portes (1989) describe the informal economy as comprising activities that create or distribute legal goods whilst evading regulatory controls. Chen (2006), like the ILO, defines the informal economy as including all types of employment without labour or social protection, in any type of enterprise inclusive of both wage employment in unprotected jobs and self-employment in small-scale unregistered enterprises. This definition clearly includes both enterprises that are not legally regulated and non-legally regulated or protected employment relationships (Chen, 2006). A number of perspectives regarding the overall nature of the informal economy have been advanced over the years. Chen (2006) argues that this discourse has evolved into three main perspectives, namely dualist, structuralist, and legalist perspectives. The *dualists* see informal enterprises as a separate economic sector with limited or no connection to the formal economy, and the existence of the informal economy is attributed mainly to the lack of sufficient opportunities within the formal economy to absorb excess labour, due to insufficient economic growth and/or rapid population growth (Chen et al. 2004).

Structuralists argue that the informal and formal sectors are fundamentally linked within the capitalist system, and allow larger firms to be more competitive by reducing wage and production costs by outsourcing to informal enterprises. Hence, the nature of capitalist development is the reason behind the continuous existence and growth of the informal economy. The *legalists* argue that the informal economy is a direct response to punitive and restrictive legal requirements that are difficult or impossible for micro-entrepreneurs to attain, who therefore decide to operate informally due to the various bureaucratic bottlenecks of formal registration (Chen, 2006). A noted proponent of the legalist approach is the Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto, who argued that the persistence and growth of the informal economy is a consequence of excessive state regulation (De Soto, 1989).

Rakowski (1994) identifies a fourth perspective on the informal economy as the *micro enterprise development approach*, championed by non-governmental organisations, international donor agencies and private business groups which sought to alleviate poverty through small-scale enterprise development. She explains that the proponents of this approach had a practical focus and were largely unconcerned with theoretical debates; they supported and implemented programmes which tackled the desires of the poor, and their programmes were often based on insights gained by relating with informal workers and an assessment of previous successful programmes. She argues that the practical emphasis of this perspective incorporates aspects from the other three which could assist in poverty alleviation. Chen (2006) however cautions that due to the heterogeneous nature of the informal economy, the reality of informal employment is more complicated that any of the perspectives on the informal economy represents, but each approach provides a level of insight into the working of the informal economy.

This sub-section has discussed the history of academic research into street trade, the nature of the activities embraced within the occupation, and definitional intricacies regarding the subject and the overarching concept of the informal economy. It is however clear that a singular, all-encompassing definition for street trade is still very much a subject of debate, with available definitions based on specific contexts and considerations. Therefore this study draws on the description of street trade by (Brown et al. 2009) to define street trade as *including all trading activities undertaken on the streets or in any other publicly accessible urban public space but excluding those within the confines of formally provided shops, with these activities falling outside existing legal regulatory controls in some way but not including any criminal activity, this definition recognising the vast, complex, and dynamic nature of activities which the occupation encompasses.*

The informal economy in political and economic context

Street trade and the informal economy have grown in significance over the years especially in the developing world due to a combination of factors, in particular as a response to emerging economic structures which provide a vital reason behind the continued expansion of the informal economy. This section situates street trade and the informal economy in contemporary discourse, with specific reference to changing global social, political and economic conditions, building on the understanding of the enduring history of street trade globally and the fundamental categorisation of street trade as part of the informal economy.

In early literature, street trading was seen by many academics as part of a traditional past expected to fade out over time in line with economic development. Street trading was conceived by early scholars, notably in the 1950s and 60s, as being detrimental to national development efforts (Geertz 1963 cited in Cross and Morales, 2007, pp. 6). It was perceived as a transient type of employment, which would become irrelevant as employment in the formal sector expanded and the marginal working population was absorbed into the formal sector (Beneria, 2001). However the absorption of street traders into the formal sector has failed to materialise, despite changes in cultural and social conditions, progress in economic development, and sustained efforts at its restriction or elimination.

Different economic development models have been adopted over the years to promote employment expansion in the formal sector and hence reduce the relevance of street trade, but these efforts have generally overlooked the intricate and wide-ranging importance of the occupation. The erroneous assumption by most early scholars and policy-makers that street trading was irrelevant and would eventually disappear failed to consider the social, political, and economic significance of the activity (Bromley, 2007). The model of economic development which has dominated in the last quarter century is the neoliberal free-market model. Neoliberal policies were expected to lead to creation of formal employment by removing barriers to economic growth (Jonakin, 2006), and produce sustained economic growth that would permeate all levels resulting in better employment, work and social conditions after a period of initial adjustment (Balassa et al. 1986 cited in Portes and Roberts, 2005).

In order to fully grasp the ambitions of the neoliberal economic model it is important to trace its origins. Preceding the uptake of the neoliberal model was the implementation of import substitution industrialisation (ISI) policies by many developing countries, a process largely influenced by developed countries under the auspices of the United Nations. The basic objective of these policies was to boost employment creation and production in manufacturing and services, similar to the economic development paths previously undertaken by developed countries (Jenkins et al. 2007). Detailing the Latin American experience Portes and Roberts (2005) explain that these policies were taken up by a majority of governments following World War II and sought to achieve autonomous industrialisation within tariff barriers so as to promote sustained economic growth and formal employment creation.

ISI industries were typically located in one or two cities in each country and thus contributed to a process of rapid urbanisation. In Africa the adoption of ISI policies led to the creation of urban centres with significant economic and service opportunities, which were lacking in rural areas, and thus generated a high level of migration from rural areas into cities (Riddell, 1997). In Latin America the scenario was similar. Portes and Roberts (2005) argue that the few cities in the region in which the ISI industries were located experienced rapid urbanisation due to massive internal migration, and the labour demand brought about by the ISI industries led to the emergence of a formal, legally protected, working class, and a middle class employed in private industries and government in these cities.

Portes and Roberts (2005) argue that the disparity between the labour demand generated by the capital-intensive ISI industries and the simultaneous labour supply resulting from the massive internal migration in pursuit of these jobs produced an unprotected labour force engaged in various self-created and informal industrial and service activities. Although due to rapid demographic changes these informal economic activities persisted as a significant source of employment and income during the ISI period, they were of little relative importance in the light of the growth of manufacturing and public sector employment (Roberts 2005). The impact of this emerging informal labour force was not immediately significant, as in the early years job creation in the formal sector was still largely sufficient to absorb majority of the labour migrants, thus only a small proportion of immigrants had to seek alternative forms of employment by engaging in the informal economy.

The ISI policy was notably successful in its early years of implementation; however it was progressively compromised by a combination of issues. A crucial factor was the actions of multinational corporations (MNCs), which circumvented the tariff barriers set up to protect ISI industries in order to dominate domestic markets, with their activities inducing a capital-intensive pattern of industrialisation which retarded employment creation, forcing previously protected ISI industries to close down as they were unable to compete with cheap imports (Portes and Roberts, 2005). MNCs progressively dominated global production and trade, resulting in the weakening of local industrialisation efforts, and increased unemployment (Riddell, 1997). The rise of these corporations in the 1970s which was facilitated by advancements in communication and technology brought about a change in the economic world order, reinforcing international investment patterns in connection with labour processes, as unskilled labour in developing countries progressively replaced skilled labour in developed nations, and consequently from the mid-1970s onwards a large portion of the industrialisation that took place in developing countries was no longer 'indigenous', but fundamentally attached to global production processes (Jenkins et al. 2007).

This linking of 'indigenous' industrialisation to global production played a critical role in the abandonment of the ISI policies and the subsequent uptake of the neoliberal economic development model. The shift from the ISI development model to the neoliberal one has its origins in the global economic crisis of the 1970s and the process of capitalist globalisation, during which developing countries were incorporated into the global economy (Portes and Roberts, 2005). Globalisation involves fundamental changes to the worldwide economic order, because of its promotion of global-local competition in the regulation and location of economic activity, the dispersal of corporate capital, as well as the expansion of market mechanisms and the contraction of distance (Riddell, 2003).

The global economic crisis in the 1970s, which expanded the uptake of the neoliberal economic development model, was the result of a number of major economic changes that took place in that decade, including drastic oil price increases, the rise in interest rates in the United States and internationally, and reductions in the prices of commodities exported from developing countries (Beneria, 1999; Jenkins et al. 2007). This situation had global ramifications, especially in developing countries, as many were unable to meet debt repayments, and therefore turned to sovereign loans from the IMF and World Bank but these were conditional on the adoption of specific (neoliberal) Structural Adjustment

Policies (SAPs) (Beneria, 1999; Riddell, 1997). Jenkins et al. (2007) explain that the combination of increasing debt levels, low and reducing commodity prices, the global tendency to recession and unemployment, and escalating protectionism resulted in major balance of payments deficits. As a result, national debt interest payments which were usually in US dollars (and thus affected by exchange rate fluctuations) became so burdensome that government policies were re-orientated towards restrictive fiscal or budgetary policy in a bid to re-establish budgetary equilibrium.

However, while these fiscal restrictions of the 1970s and early 1980s were implemented voluntarily by most developed countries, developing countries were compelled by international donors to take them up (Beneria, 1999). Furthermore the national debt of developing countries was largely in US dollar loans and fluctuations in exchange rates with local currencies meant that amount of debt repayments were often unpredictable. As a result foreign debt reduction and/or debt servicing requirements not only generated fiscal problems but also balance of payment issues for these countries (Jenkins et al. 2007). The implementation of SAPs was a major factor in the uptake of neoliberal development policies promoted by the IMF and World Bank in developing countries (Riddell, 2003). SAPs included a wide range of policies implemented in various developing countries with the purpose of reinvigorating their economies, which had a number of common characteristics. The policies were a set of guidelines put together to eliminate policy-created hindrances to the growth of output and reintegrate growth with macro-economic adjustment in developing countries (Jenkins et al. 2007).

Among the various policies, four particular characteristics cut across the entire range, namely; the devaluation of local currencies, the reduction of government spending through reducing the workforce and withdrawal from state-run industry, removal of subsidies (for example on food and fuel), and liberalisation of trade through reduction of import tariffs (Riddell, 1992; 1997; Hoogvelt, 2001). A key target of the policies was the eradication of economically detrimental government involvement in markets, with the private sector presumed more capable than the state to carry on following state withdrawal (Jenkins et al. 2007). Implementation fundamentally changed the role of the state, food supply, urban-rural interaction and environmental strategies (Jenkins et al, 2007). These measures were very much in line with the subsequent neo-liberal development agenda propagated by the IMF and World Bank, which is founded on open markets, the minimizing of the state's

dominant role in the economy, and the privatisation of state enterprises (Beneria, 1999; Portes and Roberts, 2005).

Although the implementation of SAPs started in Latin America it cut across much of the developing world. SAPs were first applied in Mexico and Brazil in the 1980s, the countries with the highest debt levels at the time (Jenkins et al. 2007). Nevertheless, Africa was the continent where SAPs had the most traction, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, as no less than two-thirds of Sub-Saharan countries took up the policies (Riddell, 1992; Hoogvelt, 2001). Various criticisms of the SAPs and the ensuing neoliberal development model exist. Beneria (1999) highlights two main problems. First, the social costs of the policies were greater and more long-lasting than predicted with the greatest effects on the poor and women. The austerity measures and tightened budgets were translated into reduced wages and basic service provision, causing particular hardship for already disadvantaged groups, such as the poor and women, who were forced to adopt new means of survival including informal economy work, although counter claims exist that the evidence is restricted to specific regions and not generalised. Second, the policies were not sustainable in the long term because although they succeeded in enabling countries to maintain debt repayments, they also created developmental problems within many countries, with the economic and social model promoted by SAPs alleged to have widened socio-economic inequalities within the countries, thus leading some authors to label it as promoting a "'socially unsustainable' development model" (Beneria, 1999, pp. 6).

Jenkins et al. (2007) also explain that SAPs and the neoliberal development policies critically assume that 'efficiently produced' goods will find an available market, in line with the 'free trade' ideology promoted by the policies. Irrespective of the type of potential export and the unique national, regional or international context, despite counter claims of 'free trade' being unrealistic, as unbalanced global production relations and exchanges reduce or even remove the potential benefits of higher or more 'efficient' exports of primary goods by the majority of countries in the south. Watkins (1994, cited in Hoogvelt, 2001, pp. 183) argues that the implementation of SAPs undermined investment and employment, and exposed local industries to extreme competition, and contrary to claims by the World Bank and IMF the situation of the poor and most vulnerable in society was often worsened by the deregulation of labour markets and other measures adopted as part of the implementation of SAPs; women were the most affected, as they were likely to work in less secure employment for lower pay than male counterparts. African NGOs also

condemned the imposition of the neoliberal model through SAPs, referring to it as a method of re-colonizing the continent (Hoogvelt, 2001). Nevertheless, the situation in many developing world cities, especially African cities, cannot be entirely ascribed to SAPs, as other factors also come into play. Defendants of SAPs and the activities of the World Bank and the IMF claim that the fundamental problem lies in the structure of the global economy, while the role of the many flawed African states can also not be ignored (Riddell, 1997).

Consequently many of the expectations of neoliberal policies were not fulfilled as the new jobs failed to materialise and existing jobs were lost during the period of adjustment as governments downsized and local industries succumbed to international competition. The intention was that the period of adjustment would be temporary, and the difficult effects of policies would ease as surplus labour resulting from the shrinking state, the closure of ISI industries, and other austerity measures would be absorbed by the new competitive export-oriented industries and associated service industries (Portes and Roberts, 2005). Unfortunately, the outcomes of the neoliberal reforms were less positive than predicted by its proponents (Rizzo, 2011) and the effects included a significant increase in unemployment and/or informal employment (Portes and Roberts, 2005). The resultant effects of SAPs, such as the elimination of the protection for local industry and the whittling down of state employment, caused a reduction in the size of the formal economy, and swelled the ranks of the informal economy (Riddell, 1997).

A number of studies have explored these outcomes. Based on a study of micro level firms, Beneria (2001), investigating the effects of economic restructuring on employment dynamics and the nature of jobs globally, found that the implementation of neoliberal policies combined with the effects of globalisation, enormously increased the level of precarious employment and informalised production in developing countries.   In development discourse before the 1980s, the informal economy was perceived as transient, backward and problematic, but since the global economic transformations in the 1980s an increasing number of workers are involved in unstable, unpredictable, unprotected, and low-income employment relationships with direct or indirect connections with formal production processes, as well as survivalist self-employment activities with limited or no connections to formal processes.

In their study of the labour market in Argentina, Olmedo and Murray (2002) argue that the adoption of neoliberal policies in Argentina resulted in increased unemployment and

underemployment rates and thus exacerbated the level of precarious labour. They elaborate that the execution of neoliberal policies, especially economic liberalisation, excessive privatisations, and state reform, transformed the entire dynamic of the labour market in Argentina, as this brought about a drastic reduction in demand for labour and an upsurge in labour supply. Mannon (2006) also explains that neoliberal reforms to the national economy in Costa Rica resulted in an increase in informal employment, as the reforms entailed massive reductions in public spending and the promotion of a liberalised trade and financial environment in which industries were given ample freedom. She illustrates that the economic restructuring dramatically reconfigured numerous employment sectors, for example through decreased public spending which resulted in a reduction in public sector employment and massive downsizing in the industrial sector, with privatisations and a fall in real wages particularly leading to increased participation in informal economic activities.

A contrasting argument suggests that the continuous increase in the informal economy is ascribed to the voluntary uptake of informal employment due to its advantage over formal employment. In this light Maloney (2004) argues that the informal economy should not be seen as a residual or inferior economy, made up of underprivileged workers unable to secure good jobs in the formal economy but instead it should be considered as the developing country equivalent of the independent, entrepreneurial and small-scale enterprise sector of the economy in developed countries, with workers voluntarily choosing to be informally employed because of the inherent benefits, such as independence and pride, in comparison to taking up formal jobs.

Packard (2007), researching on the Chilean labour market, argued against self-employment in the informal economy being characterised as a workforce unable to gain formal employment. Instead he highlights an entrepreneurial 'pull' into self-employment, wherein the innovative tendencies of workers combined with the benefits of self-employment constitute the main reason behind the increase in this form of employment. Furthermore, although recognising informality as being driven by exclusion from the realms of the formal economy, Perry et al. (2007) suggest an alternative view, one in which increased informality is brought about by the substantial exiting of individuals and firms from formal institutions, which they construe as being a clear societal castigation of the effectiveness of the services provided by the state and the state's enforcement competence.

Counter to this perspective and also based on case study material from Latin America (Mexico), Biles (2008) contradicts the arguments of this group of scholars, arguing that the large size of the informal economy and self-employment represents a livelihood strategy taken up in order to cope with the effects of neoliberal reforms and not a reflection of an entrepreneurial desire among workers. He asserts that the inherent masculine bias of those studies clearly skews their analysis and that their research was essentially preoccupied with justifying the neoliberal economic model and is less concerned with improving the lives of informal workers (Biles, 2008; 2009).

Interestingly, Chen (2006) acknowledges arguments that growth of the informal economy is mainly a matter of choice in her exploration of the 'employment relationship' between informal workers and formal firms as part of her examination of the linkages of the informal economy with the formal economy and the formal regulatory environment. She does so by pointing out that many formal firms choose informal employment relationships in order to avoid their legal responsibilities as employers, thereby reducing labour and production costs. In such cost-cutting, formal firms and not the informal worker choose to operate informally, thus enjoying the benefits of informality. She thus suggests a re-examination of "the notion that informal employment is 'voluntary' from the perspective of informal wage workers, not just of the self-employed" (Chen, 2006, pp. 87).

This section has detailed the evolution of the informal economy and street trade in to contemporary discourse. The influence of changing global social, political, and economic conditions in this process has also been examined. It is evident first that a combination of factors have contributed to the expansion of informal economic activities, and second that prevalence and growth of informal economy work is a direct and highly flexible response to modern economic structures, sometimes chosen on a voluntary basis but often a result of limited choice and punitive regulation.

Space, society, and urban public space

Space and society are intertwined; hence urban public space serves an important social function. Urban public space also serves a number of other uses, but its political and commercial uses are particularly prominent in contemporary times. This section thus focuses on the concept of urban public space as the site where informal economic activities

are mostly conducted, especially street trade. The discussion includes an analysis of the two constituents of the concept, urban space and public space, as well as a discussion on the main functions of urban public space, and related debates.

A strong relationship exists between space and society, to the extent that it is difficult to envision space without a social content and society without a spatial content (Carmona et al. 2010). Madanipour (1999) alludes to the close connection between space and its social function in his description of the social construction of space, explaining that the spaces that surround us constitute a part of our social reality and a vital part of our social existence is our social behaviour, which is defined by and defines the spaces around us. Consequently we understand space and spatial relations in a similar way to how we understand the other aspects that make up our social life.

Searle (1995) argues that facts about the world can be divided into institutional facts (facts existing by human agreement) and brute facts (those existent irrespective of human institutions). Madanipour (1999) therefore argues that majority of the constituents of the social world are institutional facts, for example money, property, and government; the brute fact about urban space is it's physical existence, but it's institutional fact is that the constituent objects and their interrelations are produced by human consensus and are of specific importance and meaning to people. This communal intentionality; the ability of humans to allocate utility to symbolise these objects further than their immediate presence, allows them form part of the social reality. Madanipour (1999) therefore concludes that the importance of symbolism in the creation of social reality demonstrates how social facts can be interpreted in various ways; thus, space being a major facet of our social world finds varying interpretations and meanings. As various groups ascribe varying meanings to space, it evolves into a multi-layered place, revealing how places are socially constructed (Knox and Pinch, 2000).

Madanipour (1996) thus conceptualises urban space as the product of the effect of human societies on their environment over time, with particular features of urban space shaped through the interaction between peculiarities in the environment and the social characteristics of its inhabitants. He distinguishes between public spaces which are freely accessible to strangers and private spaces which are not freely accessible to strangers, with these defined by physical and social restrictions. Focussing mainly on public space, he therefore contends that in a broad sense urban space encompasses all exterior spaces in an

urban environment as well as the people, events and relationships present within them (Madanipour, 1999).

Geographers have also considered the concept of social space, and argue that urban space signifies the spatial expression of social institutions (Brown, 2005; 2006). Renowned geographer Harvey (1973) considers social space as being composed of a complex of personal perceptions and images about and attitudes to the spatial symbolism around an individual, with each person seemingly living within a personally created web of spatial relationships, somewhat contained in the particular individuals own geometric system. He further explains that this dynamic occurs within societies which identify significantly similar images regarding their surrounding space and which also possess similar ways of evaluating importance and behaving in space, with this mutual facet of the spatial image underlying the real nature of social space, Harvey (1973) therefore concludes that social space is a complex, non-uniform and disjointed composition, varying from person to person and society to society as well as overtime.

Social space therefore relies on the collective priorities of individual groups at particular periods of time, based on the unique and generally agreed values and the need for long-term survival of the group over time. Every society in history shapes a distinctive social space which meets its intertwined needs for social and economic functioning (Lefebvre 1991 *in* Hayden 1995, pp. 19). Therefore social space, like urban space and any attempt to delineate space is fundamentally dependent on the presence and activities of the individuals within the particular space under consideration. This line of thought is also evident in the conceptions of public space, as can be seen in the definition of public space by Carr et al. (1992, pp.1) as: "the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds", such as the streets, squares and parks of a city. Hence the presence of other individuals, events, activities, inspiration, and stimulation constitutes a vital quality of public space (Gehl, 1996). Therefore similar to urban space, the control of public space is also subject to collective priorities and aspirations. Public space is space which is available and belongs to all and is regulated by prevailing social and legal norms (Drummond 2000).

The communal role of public space is generally well defined in the debates on public space; however issues around its control are not as well identified. Madanipour (2003) describes public space as space that concerns a group of people and is open to and used by all members of community, and suggests that control is mainly carried out by public authorities. However, Brown (2006) explains that the control of public space, although

usually carried out by public authorities, is not their exclusive preserve. Furthermore, Mitchell (1995), from a political standpoint, questions the constitution of 'the public' in his description of public space as the product of competing ideas about what constitutes that space and who constitutes 'the public'; he therefore argues that how 'the public' is defined and imagined (as a space; social entity; and an ideal) requires adequate consideration.

Mitchell (1995) further argues that the constitution of 'the public' in the conception of urban public space has always been subject to control, and inclusion in 'the public' is gained over time by constant struggle, with the control of urban public spaces usually carried out by elites and powerful sections of society and other groups of society constantly have to struggle to gain inclusion. In contemporary times, due to changes in social, political and economic trends, most notably the rise of global capitalism, the control of urban space is predominantly situated in the hands of powerful corporate economic and social actors. Thus, under their influence the constitution of 'the public' has been seemingly redefined to include only elements that reinforce elite power, forcing a reconsideration of the constitution of 'the public' under these conditions (Mitchell, 1995).

Meanwhile, Carmona et al. (2010) extend the definition of public space to include internal physical spaces by arguing that interiors of key buildings, such as churches, can also be considered as public spaces, suggesting a relationship between public space and physical structures or the physical environment. They argue that since public space does not occur in a vacuum, it requires a manifestation and that physical environment fulfils this role, serving as the avenue through which public space and its social elements are displayed. Thus Gehl (1996) identifies three social activities that take place in public space, each exerting clearly distinct demands on the physical environment, namely; *necessary activities*, such as going to work or school with these occurring largely irrespective of the physical environment; *optional activities*, which are pursuits undertaken if situations permit, such as taking a walk, these activities particularly dependent on the physical environment; and social activities, such as *communal activities* which are only indirectly dependent on the physical environment.

The concept of urban public space is not a new idea, as the notion of urban public space can be traced back at least to the Greek Agora (Mitchell, 1995), which is arguably the most popular public space of all time (Madanipour, 1999). The Agora was a place for public affairs, a market place, a space where people carried out collective activities, and where judgements, negotiations and resolutions were made (Hartley 1992). It was a place which

integrated economic, political, and cultural activities (Madanipour, 1999). However, there is an obvious need for a more nuanced conception of urban public space, especially considering the changing times and the significance of this on the conception of space as well as its classification. Brown (2006) takes up this challenge, and drawing on the debates on urban space and public space, she offers a more contemporary and robust definition of urban public space as physical space and an understanding of the social relations that govern it, including the totality of spaces not delineated as private and where even a minimal level of legitimate public or community use exists, it includes formal public space in parks, squares and streets as well as space at the margins, such as between the permanent edge and building façade, on road reserves or river banks, or in vacant and unfenced lots, where public access is possible but not formalised.

Brown (2006) argues that urban public space exists irrespective of ownership but the concept infers a measure of accepted communal access or use rights, an expression of social customs and political practice, and urban public space is both a result and a determinant of concepts of social order and land use rights that serve as a setting for collective city life. Furthermore she suggests that urban public space possesses a vital symbolic and political function as a medium for contest or an indication of political control, and is a constantly changing resource with a potential for rapid transformation in response to social negotiation, and which may be experienced in a variety of ways by diverse social, ethnic or gender groups.

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the social function of urban public space is an inherent attribute which depends on the prevailing societal norms in a particular context. As in the Greek Agora, public space is the end result of "competing ideas about what constitutes that space and who constitutes the public" (Mitchell, 1995, pp. 115). The political and commercial uses of urban public space are considered below, as in contemporary societies these uses have assumed a unique relevance. Contemporary urban public spaces are the typical site of commercial and political convergence (Mitchell, 1995).

Political use of urban public space

This section discusses the political dimension of urban public space. The use of urban public spaces for political purposes has a long history; political encounters have often been played out in public spaces, be it in terms of the exercise of political control by elites or contest and challenge by a political underclass. Urban space is a particular focus in the exercise of elite political power, because of the status of urban areas as centres of authority. Urban public spaces have always been politically important as the symbol of state power, as evidenced by parades or the erection of statues of the political elite in these spaces (Madanipour, 1999). Urban public spaces are vital in political processes, as they provide a platform through which power is manifested.

The political significance of urban public space has become even more pronounced in contemporary times with global political transitions and many urban struggles played out in urban public space. Numerous pro-democracy and liberation battles have been played out in public space (Brown, 2005). Thus public spaces are crucial in urban governance, as public spaces in cities are essential to the functioning of city politics (Arefi and Meyers, 2003). Hence, the control of public space, particularly in cities, has become critically important for the ruling state in order to emphasise their authority, and is therefore a decisive factor in the balance of power in any society (Madanipour, 1999). Many governments have realised the need to control urban spaces in order to strengthen state power, and the use of highly visible violence in public space to suppress opposition confirms power (Brown, 2006).

Urban public spaces have acquired even more significance with the rapid growth of cities as well as the spread of democratic institutions and political regimes, wherein individuals can lay claim to some level of participation in political processes. Urban public spaces serve as a medium through which personal and political rights can be claimed (Carr et al. 1992), a platform through which individuals or sections of the urban populace can clearly express desires and/or grievances, and a venue from which political activity materialises (Mitchell, 1995). This has led to the close association of democracy with public space; the public realm has occasionally labelled the democratic realm (Carmona et al. 2010), and thus public space is an ideologically important factor in democratic societies (Mitchell, 1995). The political use of urban public space was clearly demonstrated in the widespread uprisings of the Arab revolutions, which started in Tunisia in 2010 and spread across many parts of the Middle East. Many of the struggles took place in urban public spaces, thus highlighting the

fundamental importance of urban public space in politics. The 'Arab spring' as it was called was primarily an urban phenomenon, in which public space was transformed into sites of socio-political contestation, reviving past incidents of protests (Lopes de Souza and Lipietz, 2011).

The importance of urban public space in the politics of Arab societies has been widely acknowledged and demonstrated over the years. Numerous Arab leaders have made several efforts to monitor and dominate public space in order to prevent any form of insurrection, thereby suppressing the civic function of such spaces (Rabbat, 2012), with urban public spaces in the Middle East traditionally a common site in which dissenting voices converge (Bayat, 2013). The prominent role of urban public spaces in the events surrounding the 'Arab spring' is therefore not strange, rather it highlights the potentially powerful political function of urban public space, not just in the Middle East, but globally. Urban public space thus plays an important role in political processes in societies, as it provides a platform through which power is demonstrated and control maintained.

Economic use of urban public space

In this section a third major function of urban public space; its economic function is outlined. The economic use of urban public space cannot be overemphasised, as the association of commercial activities with urban public space is firmly rooted in the origins of the concept. The Greek Agora was commercially oriented, as the Agora was first and foremost a market place; so also in the medieval city, the main public spaces were market places and the city as a whole served as a market (Madanipour, 1999).

Limited attention is given to the economic role of urban public space, despite its far reaching economic importance. The debates on public space have largely overlooked their economic importance, focussing instead on its social aspect followed by its physical, political, and cultural aspects (Brown, 2006). However, the growth of the informal economy, particularly street trading activities and the underlying changes in global economic conditions, have served to emphasise the economic importance of urban public spaces. In numerous cities of the world the preponderance of informal economic activities in urban public space is now at a level that it can no longer be ignored (Brown, 2006).

The commercial function of urban space is not always straightforward in nature, as is the case with informal economic activities or informal housing. Some aspects of this process are subtle, as the economic use of urban public spaces is a process of both direct and indirect ramifications. Urban public spaces serve a direct economic purpose when they are made use of for informal economic activities, and they serve indirect purposes when they are used to promote the economic and social ambitions of ruling business elites (Brown, 2005). For example, with global economic, political and demographic changes, urban public space is increasingly privatised and treated as a commodity with its use value suppressed in favour of its exchange value (Madanipour, 1999). As urban managers embark on large scale city redevelopment and beautification projects that involve major spatial reorientation in order to promote the image of their cities globally so as to attract foreign investment, these projects having little or no regard for the space or livelihood needs of the poor (Benjamin, 2000; Middleton, 2003).

Yet in many cities of the developing world, the extensive economic importance of urban public space is obvious and with recent trends is very much on the rise. The regulation of public space to balance its commercial function with the needs of other users is an issue that should be addressed, especially considering the importance of commercial activities in any society. There is an obvious need to bring to the fore the importance of the economic use of urban public spaces, especially considering the increasing trend towards the commodification of these spaces (Brown, 2005). Urban public space is an inherently complex concept, as the ubiquitous nature of space makes categorisation difficult without contextual considerations and political purpose. Consequently, this study draws on existing debates to define urban public space to mean *all physical space not recognised as private and to which even a minimal level of public use is acceptable, with this irrespective of ownership, whether government owned or otherwise.*

This section has demonstrated the very complex nature of urban public space, particularly with regards to its definition, governance and fluidity, and has also developed the definition of the concept that will be advanced in this study. The significance of the highly contextual social, political and economic considerations on the use of urban public space has also been highlighted in the discussion. These are factors which extensively underlie street trading activities, and which combined with the reliance of street trading activities on urban public space, further highlight the relationship between urban public space and street trade.

Street trader displacements

Street trader displacements are a common occurrence despite their failure to achieve their key aim to relocate traders from urban public space and their detriment to many urban inhabitants, such as the poor. Displacements arguably serve the interests of societal elites often supporting neoliberal development objectives. The focus in this section is on the displacement of street traders from their chosen locations, often by interventions of state power, and related issues and debates. The section first discusses how the nature of urban public space influences the practice of street trade, contributing to the conflicts associated with street trade and the subsequent displacement of street traders from their chosen location on the street. Other contributing factors to the adoption of trader displacement policies in cities are also highlighted. The nature and impacts of trader displacements are also traced as well as the debates regarding these.

The practice of street trade is extremely controversial in nature, with many controversies attributable to its mode of operation. Whilst the dependence of street trading on urban public space has been previously highlighted, it is crucial to note that urban streets are among the most contested of urban public spaces, and are probably the most used type of urban public space, with a myriad of competing functions. It is therefore understandable that the use of such a valuable resource for any other activity, other than its primary function will raise a few concerns, herein lays the foundation of the various controversies associated with street trade. The location of trade is of paramount importance to the economic viability of street trading activities but heightens its controversial nature as in order to improve turnover, traders secure sites close to urban activities that generate significant pedestrian traffic, such as bus terminals, public buildings, or markets, where constant pedestrian flow is guaranteed (Hays-Mitchell, 1994). Understandably, such locations are not only strategic for street traders alone but also for other city inhabitants as well, hence increasing the controversy associated with street trade.

Basic economic principles explain trader preferences for such central locations. As in the success of any enterprise, its ease of access is generally a prime factor. Thus the location of trading activities is a critical factor in their success, significant evidence indicates that inappropriate locations bring about the failure of enterprises (Dewar and Watson, 1990; Bromley and Mackie, 2009). Street traders, like other merchants, are largely economically rational individuals, in that they search for opportunities to maximise access to clients

while seeking to optimize their financial and personal costs of operation (Hays-Mitchell, 1994; Pena, 2000). Certain strategic sites which facilitate quick access to the potential market and enhance business viability are particularly attractive, such as bus stations and transport interchanges, but such sites are strategic for traders as well as city authorities and other inhabitants, and tensions are seemingly unavoidable. Consequently, the overwhelming preference of such sites by traders leads to over-crowding and conflicts (Pena, 2000).

Furthermore the strategic sites which street traders occupy are not restricted to specific localities, but emerge anywhere with good accessibility to customers, significantly increasing traders' visibility, nuisance and hence tensions with both authorities and other city inhabitants. Such locations include residential areas (Morales, 2000), historic city centres (Bromley, 1998; Middleton, 2003, Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Steel, 2012; Mackie et al. 2014) and central business districts (Lewinson, 1998; Pena, 1999; 2000). Thus, trader's visibility to government authorities, formal business, neighbours, pedestrians and others ultimately makes them susceptible to local government intervention (Pena, 2000). As a result, government authorities in developing world cities have continuously sought to control the activities of street traders in public space. Mackie et al. (2014) explain that policies aimed at managing the activities of street traders range between the extremes of tolerance and intolerance. Tolerant policies essentially permit street trade but do not promote it, including trader licensing and regulation and policies aimed at modifying trading activities; intolerant and more repressive policies often seek the relocation and removal of street traders and are commonly adopted, while the most repressive policies are street trader evictions, often implemented along with the trader relocation.

The displacement of street traders from central locations is a widespread policy adopted by government authorities in developing world cities, sometimes to alternative sites. A number of considerations underlie the adoption of these types of policies. Considerations include congestion; hygiene; and aesthetic concerns (Yeoh and Kong, 1994; Bromley, 1998) but often the 'image' of the city is the most prevalent, as aesthetic considerations are increasingly taking precedence (Bromley, 1998; Donovan, 2008; Brown et al. 2014; Njaya, 2014). Concerns are often based on the perception that a positive image is an indication of good management and will potentially increase the likelihood of attracting foreign investment, and therefore serve as motivation for city authorities to embark on sanitation and 'cleansing' efforts focussed on achieving the aim of a positive global image. Street

trade is usually considered as an obstruction to this image, often due to the lack of provision for street trading activities in urban management plans because they are often closely associated with various management problems. Perera and Amin (1996) explain that city authorities determined to keep their cities orderly typically evict informal economic activities from parts of the city as part of public cleanliness efforts, with the environmental, health and safety, and traffic issues associated with informal economic activities emphasised in order to justify their actions.

Also, Sethuraman (1981); Omuta (1986); and Perera and Amin (1996) argue that urban management problems are not inherent characteristics of informal economic activities but rather evidence of insensitive physical planning structures. For example, a problem for informal economic activities is the complete lack of access to convenient operating sites and complimentary infrastructural services (Sethuraman, 1981), and as a result inadequate working conditions cause environmental abuse (Omuta, 1986). Hence, the accommodation of informal economic enterprises in the physical environment would considerably reduce these environmental issues and improve the overall management of the urban environment (Perera and Amin, 1996).

Street trader displacements vary in nature and scale and so also their impacts on traders, trading activities, and wider society. Displacements range from large-scale, sustained evictions to sporadic event-driven evictions (Skinner, 2008; Brown et al. 2014). Interestingly, Yeoh and Kong (1994) elaborate the case of China Town in Singapore, where in a relatively large scale displacement street traders were successfully relocated from their chosen locations on the streets to purpose built markets and the physical, environmental, hygiene issues closely associated with street trade were effectively eradicated, following the stringent enforcement of a licensing and relocation policy by city authorities, which resulted in the successful redefinition of the former polluted image of China Town. They highlight that the relocations were not without resistance, and contributed to the damaging of social ties within the community.

However success is rare and the prevalent opinion in academic discourse is that the displacement of street traders to alternative purpose built locations is rarely effective either in terms of the overall improvement of the condition of traders or the successful implementation of such policies. Many researchers claim that the displacement of traders from central locations to elaborate market developments rarely works, as the traders moved are unable to attract sufficient patronage to sustain their enterprise. Substantial

evidence indicates that low-value goods sold from elaborate market developments generally attracts low-footfall (Lyons and Msoka, 2010; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Mackie et al. 2014).

In an attempt to explore the diverse impacts of displacements on street traders as well as the complex interactions between street traders and city officials, Mackie et al. (2014) develop the 'battlegrounds framework' identifying spatial, political, economic, and socio-cultural battlegrounds. Through the application of this framework to street trader displacements in Cusco, Peru, they reveal the losses which street traders experience across each of the four battlegrounds, providing a good understanding of how street traders are oppressed through intolerant policies and an extensive and useful insight into the damaging impacts suffered by traders following displacements. A comprehensive understanding of the impacts of displacements on traders is a vital issue which is largely ignored in theoretical debates on street trader displacements (Mackie et al. 2014).

Understandably, street traders generally seek ways to avoid any type of displacement. Crossa (2009) describes one such example in Mexico, wherein traders staunchly circumvented government displacement policies by exploiting loopholes in the governance structure in the city to resist government displacement policies, by drawing on their ties with politicians and government officials which had been established because of Mexico's clientelist governance system, wherein political parties maintained close ties with membership-based organisations, offering them privileges in return for their support. However in many cases street traders enjoy little benefits from clientelist political relationships as they are often mobilised prior to elections and thereafter neglected (Bhowmik, 2005; Njaya, 2014).

Although the displacement of street traders can yield some benefits, such as an improved physical working environment, the disadvantages of displacements often outweighs the overall benefits. For example, Carrieri and Murta (2011) in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, argue that although the displacement of traders from the streets to purpose built indoor markets brought about an improvement in their working conditions, it disrupted informal economic activities in the city, worsening the precarious political and social conditions under which traders had to operate, and shifting focus from the underlying reasons for the continued existence of street traders, such as poverty, inequality, unemployment, and a lack of education.

Claims also exist that displacement policies are both ineffective, and generally not in the interest of either traders or the majority of urban residents. In her study of Ecuador, Swanson (2007) highlights the efforts of the authorities to achieve a tourist-friendly image, based on the ideals of cleanliness and modernity. Unsurprisingly, this image did not include the presence of street traders who have a long history in the country. She argues, like Carrieri and Murta (2011) that the displacement of street vendors only worsened the situation of already marginalised traders, as well as the already precarious socio-political situation in the country, and merely succeeded in turning away attention from the urgent social issues underlying the persistence of street trading activities. These issues need to be directly understood and addressed if indeed the best interest of both traders and the society at large are to be served (Carrieri and Murta, 2011).

Some scholars have taken this line of argument even further in that they argue that street-trader displacements typify the process of gentrification, which is a class-oriented process and a predominantly Western practice, often carried out by government authorities, involving "exclusionary displacement, where low-income people are excluded from a place they might have lived in (or worked or shopped) had the place not become gentrified" (Shaw 2008, pp. 193). This argument construes street trader displacements as a gentrification of public space, wherein lower-class traders are displaced from centrally located streets to favour of middle class locals and tourists (Bromley and Mackie, 2009), in order to bring about a re-orientation of the city towards a particular population of elites and investors (Crossa, 2009), and the tourist economy as a whole (Swanson, 2007).

It is clear that the practice of street trade is fraught with multifaceted controversy. The associated issues include; the mode of operation, the means of operation, the perception and the understanding of the activity, as well as the reasons behind its existence, amongst others. Hence the dilemma surrounding the practice of street trade is neither strange nor a new development. The displacement of traders is a common solution to this dilemma often adopted by local governments, despite irrefutable evidence suggesting that trader's enterprises are harmed and displacements do not benefit the majority of the urban populace, and that calls for displacements tend to worsen matters rather than improve them. There is an obvious need for a deeper understanding of the extensive impacts of displacements on street traders and the wider society. Street trader displacements are essentially part of a wider process of social and spatial 'cleansing' that is integral to the neoliberal paradigm and serves elite property interests to the exclusion of the poor. The

Right to the City concept has been proposed as a safeguard against exclusionary development (UN-HABITAT, 2011), and has gained widespread acclaim recent times. The concept is therefore subsequently explored.

2.3 The Right to the City concept

This section provides an historical account of the Right to the City concept, exploring its emergence during the 1960s, and its re-emergence in the contemporary urban context. It provides a comprehensive understanding of the concept and examines contrasting definitions of the concept, its interpretations and associated critiques. The evolution of the concept in present day discourse vis-à-vis its history is also traced to arrive at the understanding of the concept carried forward in this thesis. The section argues that although in contemporary urban discourse there are two main conceptions of the Right to the City which possess recognisable differences, namely the Lefebvrian and the human-rights conceptions, both share several fundamental ideals.

Origin, definitions, interpretations and critiques of the Right to the City

The origin of the Right to the City concept dates back about half a century, but in the last decade it has experienced a revival as it has progressively emerged as a central topic of debates on urbanisation, partly as a result of recent unprecedented rates of urbanisation and the rise of internationally connected social movements. The regions with the fastest rates of urbanisation are in the developing world, and are those least prepared and able to cope with such a challenge (Watson, 2007). Consequently, the process of urbanisation and the associated urbanisation of poverty has escalated societal tensions.

In the developed world tensions have increased particularly because of the financial and economic crisis in 2008, which both magnified existing tensions regarding neoliberal urban development and generated new ones (Mayer, 2012). Under these conditions the Right to the City has found common ground between both sets of pressures in developing and developed world regions, uniting social movements focussed on the needs of the deprived and excluded sections of society in the global South, and those in opposition to the

neoliberal world order predominantly based in the North (Mayer, 2009). Thus the concept has evolved over the course of the last decade as a dominant unifying cry in calls for social action and campaigns opposed to the exclusionary effects of globalisation as well as a mobilising symbol of the global struggle to back track the privatisation and commodification of urban space, and a stimulus to conflicts regarding the character of cities and who can lay claim to the city (Brown, 2010).

The origin of the concept can be traced back to the 1960s to the work of the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, and a key commonality between both the birth and rebirth of the concept is the pivotal role of the process of urbanisation. The Right to the City was originally conceived following an investigation of the process of urbanisation in France during the 1960s, which served as the basis of Lefebvre's conception of the Right to the City (Stanek, 2011). Lefebvre conceived the Right to the City at a unique juncture, at a period when France was rapidly urbanising in line with major economic transformations with wide-ranging implications. During that period, France like most other Western industrialised nations underwent an expansion of the Keynesian welfare state which resulted in massive rural to urban migration and resultant vital changes in spatial structures (Schmid, 2012). However, Lefebvre's ideal was based on an analysis of conditions within a particular part of the world, France and other Western nations, and the surrounding debates were essentially within the region. However, the rebirth of the Right to the City is one with global underpinnings.

Schmid (2012) explains that the social, economic, and spatial transformations that took place in France in the 1960s involved a radical modernisation of daily life, as functionalist urban planning produced a reconstitution of its inner city spaces, with mass-produced social housing and widespread reproduction of single-family detached housing units dominating the urban fringes, with this process of urban transformation conceptualised as a 'crisis of the city' by modern-day critics. Schmid (2012) argues that Lefebvre's saw this crisis as a tendency towards the homogenisation of lifestyles and an engineering and colonisation of daily life, in which middle-class and working-class neighbourhoods were dominated by similar conditions, and work had become repetitive, subject to bureaucratised activities and normative restrictions associated with urban life (Lefebvre, 1996).

Schmid (2012) further explains that amongst other things the 'crisis of the city' was a dynamic rebellion against processes that brought about the alienation of everyday life, the

modernisation of cities and the subversion of their unique qualities, and the exclusion from urban life, and it was a fight for a different city. He argues that Lefebvre's treatise on the Right to the City was a call for the right to resist displacement to spaces created specifically for discrimination, and therefore Lefebvre's call was for a higher form of rights, a particular urban quality previously ignored in public debate; access to the opportunities available in cities for all residents. Lefebvre essentially argued that the heart of the traditional city was constituted by socio-political affairs, wealth, arts as well as knowledge, in essence an *oeuvre* or work of art comprised of spontaneous activities that created a *use value*, and that this core value of cities as the focus of social, political and cultural life was being suppressed by industrial and commercial agglomeration which had reduced the city and urban resources to commodities, prioritizing their *exchange value* in place of their use value (Lefebvre, 1968 in Kofman and Lebas, 1996, pp. 19).

Harvey (2008) renews and reinforces this argument wherein he asserts that capitalism always produces a surplus value which must be reinvested so as to produce more surplus value. Likewise the process of urbanisation is dependent on the utilisation of a surplus product; hence an intimate connection exists between both processes as is evident in their simultaneous global growth. This combined process results in the commodification of urban space and hence the prioritisation of its exchange value over its use value which has continuously led to the displacement of lower classes in favour of large capitalist organisations. Lefebvre, also perceived urbanisation as representing a transformation of societal and daily life through capital, and against this transformation advocated for the creation of rights through social and political action (Mayer, 2012), and sought a Right to the City, which he defined as being:

> … like a cry and a demand. This right slowly meanders through the surprising detours of nostalgia and tourism, the return to the heart of the traditional city, and the call of existent or recently developed centralities … a transformed and renewed right to urban life
>
> (Lefebvre, 1968 in Kofman and Lebas, 1996, pp. 158)

arguing that:

> The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habit and to inhabit. The right to the *oeuvre,* to participation and *appropriation* (clearly distinct from the right to property) are implied in the right to the city
>
> (Lefebvre, 1968 in Kofman and Lebas, 1996, pp. 174)

Thus within the overall superior form of rights two basic inherent rights are discernible; the *right to participation* and the *right to appropriation*. Participation entails the right of citizens (urban inhabitants) to serve as vital participants (to be involved, to have an influence) in all decisions towards the production of urban space while the right to appropriation involves the right of urban residents to enter, dwell and utilise (manipulate, modify) urban space (Purcell, 2002). Harvey (2008), based on Lefebvre's work, provides a clearer presentation of the concept, whereby he describes the Right to the City as another type of human right. A right well beyond the singular freedom to access urban resources; "… the right to change ourselves by changing the city … a common rather than an individual right …. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves", the right to control the process of urbanisation and to institute new modes of urbanisation (Harvey, 2008, p. 40).

Two major schools of thought exist in the conception of the Right to the City. First, the *Lefebvrian conception* which is clearly provocative and confrontational, connoting the potential and possibility of a new urban reality, one which is all-inclusive and participatory, wherein social exclusion is minimised or completely eradicated. Nevertheless despite all its promise it still leaves much to be desired. Although it proposes an opportunity to resist the disenfranchisement connected with urban neoliberalism, it remains largely inconclusive (Purcell, 2002). The Lefebvrian conception of the Right to the City offers very limited guidance on how it can be implemented, how the notion of residence based citizenship can be put into practice, how the principles of participation and self-management can be realised, or the role of urban governance institutions (Brown, 2010; 2013).

In contrast, the *human-rights interpretation of the Right to the City* has been adopted by advocacy organisations which see the Right to the City as the overarching theme in efforts at directing public policy and legislation to promote social equity and justice in urban development, for example housing rights movements and multilateral organisations (such as UN-HABITAT and UNESCO). This alternative interpretation of the Right to the City conceives it as augmenting already established human rights, as is manifest in the content of the proposed World Charter for the Right to the City. The charter is the product of debates within the World Social Form, and argues that the Right to the City is:

> … the equitable usufruct of cities within the principles of Sustainability, equitability, and social justice… the collective right of the Inhabitants of cities, in particular of the vulnerable and marginalised groups, that confers upon them legitimacy of action and organisation, based on their uses and Customs , with the objective to achieve full exercise of the right to free self-determination and an adequate standard of living … [it] is interdependent of all internationally recognized … human

rights … [such as] the rights to work in equitable and satisfactory conditions, … to public health, … political participation …

<div align="right">(World Charter for the Right to the City, 2005, pp. 2)</div>

These two interpretations of the Right to the City underlie the revival of the concept in contemporary urban society, with the interpretations polarised between developing and developed countries (Mayer, 2012). As Mayer (2009) explains, one set of interpretations are those championed by anti-neoliberal movements based predominantly in the global North, which are much closely aligned with the original Lefebvrian conception, in which urbanisation represents a transformation of society and daily life through capital, which is the transformation against which Lefebvre through social and political action sought the creation of rights, while the other interpretation has been promoted by advocacy organisations active in cities in the global South which seek to address the exclusionary effects of neoliberalism through the human-rights interpretation of the Right to the City.

Rights regimes consist of both universal rights (such as the UN Declaration of Human Rights) and nationally constituted rights (as contained in national constitutions and legislations). Universal rights are essentially founded on the basis of human dignity, while national rights are composed of legal rights which states have consented to or those drawn from customary practice (Jochnick, 2001; Henkin, 1994). Additionally national rights are characterised by a clear hierarchical structure, constitutional provisions reflected in ordinary statutes in turn reflected in secondary legislation and so on (Meron, 1986), whereas universal human rights are on the whole indivisible and interdependent (Arzabe, 2001). Fundamentally the interpretation of the Right to the City by advocacy organisations proposes a union between universal and national rights to form an integrated and solitary bundle of rights (Mayer, 2009).

Mayer (2009) argues that struggles for specific rights do not refer to the Right to the City. Lefebvre envisioned the Right to the City as a call for a radical reorganisation of social, political and economic affairs within the city and beyond and not a suggestion for reform or a partial resistance (Purcell, 2002). Thus the human rights conception of the Right to the City in seeking inclusion into already established human rights perspective undoubtedly departs from Lefebvre's conception. This institutionalisation of collective rights, although potentially leading to a significant improvement in the existing state of affairs, is not a transformation of the existing system, as Lefebvre envisioned (Mayer, 2009). Thus, Woessner (2009) terms it the 'neoliberal Right to the City', which seeks deeper inclusion in

the global capitalist urban development system as it exists, and as such it short-circuits the wider more transformational stance of the Lefebvrian conception.

Lefebvre's conception although fundamentally arguing for a Right to the City for all urban inhabitants, to a large extent seeks the establishment of rights not for all inhabitants but rather for those who have been denied rights and are in need, hence it is a challenge to the assertions of rich and powerful sections of the urban populace (Mayer, 2012). Thus, an underlying conflict of rights exists, as some sections of urban society already possess the Right to the City; such as key political and financial powers, and thus the Lefebvrian conception is essentially concerned with the enshrinement of the Right to the City for the other sections of urban society which lack a Right to the City (Marcuse, 2012). The human-rights conception however differs from Lefebvre's conception because it ignores this underlying power play by essentially advocating for the establishment of general rights for all urban inhabitants.

The human-rights conception of the Right to the City has also been subject to criticism. Several arguments are put forward. First, its conformist orientation falls short of tackling the invisible forces which necessitate the push for the establishment of rights in the first instance. Second, its aim for broader inclusion in the prevailing global capitalist system as it stands fails to address the issues surrounding this system of urban development, which is perceived as being the foundational problem. Furthermore, the call for rights as contained in this conception simply focuses attention on specific features of neoliberal policy, such as poverty alleviation, but it fails to address the fundamental economic policies which systematically perpetuate poverty and exclusion (Mayer, 2009; 2012). These arguments against the human-rights conception of the Right to the City resonate even further taking into consideration the varying economic, political, social, cultural dimensions of different societies. This line of thought regarding inherent contextual differences leads Jenkins et al. (2007) to question proposals directed at normative development agendas without an in-depth analysis of these dimensions within particular contexts. Similarly, Centner and Rojas (2011) also highlight the impact of particular contexts on the translation of the Right to the City, identifying varying translations of the concept in different contexts.

Despite the distinction between these two major conceptions of the Right to the City they do not differ entirely. First, both share a common philosophical origin, evolving from the work of Lefebvre, as any use of the term is invariably inseparable from this origin. Also and more pertinently, both lay claim to similar ambitions, even if the recommended avenues

for achieving this are clearly dissimilar. Both conceptions of the Right to the City envision cities that will be more just, sustainable and democratic in nature (Mayer, 2012). However, the Lefebvrian vision sees the Right to the City as achieved only through constant confrontation and struggle while the human-rights approach sees international and legal instruments as a core approach.

Nevertheless, the content of both conceptions are not contradictory in absolute terms, and incorporate recognisable similarities, in particular the collective nature of the right. This point is argued by Marcuse (2012, pp. 34) in his submission that "the [Lefebvrian] Right to the City is a unitary right, a single right that makes claim to a city in which all of the separate and individual rights … cited in charters and agendas and platforms [emanating from multilateral organisations and other associated groups] are implanted". Additionally, from the analysis of the debates around both conceptions of the Right to the City, it is apparent that both fundamentally agree on three key principles, namely; that the notions of collective action; equitable participatory rights in urban management; and equitable rights to the use of public space, are vital to achieving the Right to the City.

These points of intersection signal a window of opportunity in the largely dualistic struggles for a Right to the City. Increasing tensions and growing global coalitions around the Right to the City could potentially broaden the platform to one from which the more transformatory Lefebvrian Right to the City can be demanded (Mayer, 2012). It is nevertheless pertinent to note that Purcell (2002, pp. 106) cautioned that the Lefebvrian Right to the City should not to be seen as a conclusive answer to current problems, but rather as an opportunity for an innovative type of politics; "an urban politics of the inhabitant", and the notion of the Right to the City is not restricted to a single interpretation. The clear similarities between both conceptions of the Right to the City is alluded to by Fernandes (2007), in his explanation that the proposed World Charter for the Right to the City draws on the Lefebvrian concept; the right of all urban inhabitants to communally enjoy the advantages, cultural variety, social diversity, economic benefits and opportunities of urban life, along with active participation in urban management, to be achieved according to national, local, and/or specific realities. But Fernandes argues that without legal underpinning an effective Right to the City cannot be achieved.

It is therefore these points of intersection that will be advanced in this study, with the human-rights conception of the Right to the City, essentially taken to be subsumed in the more radical Lefebvrian conception. Therefore in this study the Right to the City is adopted

to mean *a set of rights which collectively constitute the right to more democratic cities, wherein all urban inhabitants possess the right to influence all decisions regarding the production of urban space in addition to the right of access, occupation and utilisation of public spaces for societally beneficial purposes*.

The Rights-Based Agenda

The composition of the human-rights conception of the Right to the City; the rights-based agenda for urban development, is provided in this section. Whilst the Lefebvrian conception of the Right to the City remains largely a theoretical proposition, significant steps have been taken to actualise the human-rights conception. The achievements of the rights-based agenda within prevailing urban conditions and its link to the notion of universal human rights is explored, and it is suggested that this approach to the Right to the City presents a valid platform for the application of the Right to the City in specific parts of the world.

The human rights conception of the Right to the City; the rights-based agenda of advocacy groups, has made significant progress in terms of its operationalisation and practicability in comparison to the largely philosophical Lefebvrian conception. Most notably in Latin America, the Right to the City has inspired an extraordinary level of experimentation in an attempt to operationalise it, particularly in Brazil, where the Right to the City has been officially inculcated into legislation (Fernandes, 2007; Brown, 2010; Centner and Rojas, 2011; Earle, 2011), which has ultimately advanced the cause of the demand for the Right to the City as a whole. The Right to the City agenda thus serves as a platform for the provision of a rights-based perspective to urban development (Fernandes, 2007), its most crucial contribution perhaps being the key role it presents for the local state in introducing a rights-based agenda (Brown, 2010).

Brown and Kristiansen (2009) argue that human rights instruments have inspired the diffusion of the concept of the Right to the City. They highlight the milestone of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 with its basis on the principles of justice, fairness and equality and recognition that "the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world" as constituting a contract between people and governments (UN 1948 cited in Brown and

Kristiansen, 2009, pp. 13). The implication of this is that states, irrespective of their political, economic and cultural systems, are duty-bound to uphold and defend all human rights and fundamental freedoms, despite the crucial and complex challenge of balancing legitimate, state, collective and individual rights (Brown and Kristiansen, 2009).

The notion of universal human rights has been subject to significant criticism. Some critics suggest that the principles are vague and difficult to enforce, overly symbolic and less substantive, excessively flexible, philosophically inadequate, are a means of liberal imperialism, and are a disguised form of global super-power and capitalist domination (Henkin, 1994; Ignatieff, 2001 cited in Brown, 2004, pp. 451). However Alston (1984) argues that their flexibility is an advantage as they are capable of adjusting to changing global conditions, with the possibility of creating new rights to counter emerging perceived injustices (Balfour and Eduardo, 2004). However a proliferation of human right instruments is also a challenge (Meron, 1986), with the process of developing new rights haphazard in nature (Alston, 1984). Nevertheless, Ignatieff (2001 cited in Brown, 2004, pp. 452) argues that, despite these perceived shortcomings and based on historical evidence, human rights have proved effective in protecting individuals from violence and abuse. Additionally the notion of human rights has served useful till date, but also augurs well for future societal development, as the human rights discourse empowers people to make the world as they desire and is a powerful political tool with the potential of transforming societies (Brown, 2004).

Furthermore, Brown and Kristiansen (2009) explain that in the light of changing global and environmental conditions calls have emanated for the broadening of the rights established in the UN Declaration, in order to make them more specific, and based on a review of key elements of Lefebvre's Right to the City, the idea of collective rights as well as rights to participation and appropriation they conclude that from an ethical point of view the Right to the City is not a new right, but instead a use of the rights language to point to the involvement of citizens in the oeuvre of their city. Thus the Right to the City should be seen as an approach for urban change and not part of a human rights programme, in which all city inhabitants are urban citizens, thus creating an avenue through which citizens can express their needs and assert rights to participation, with due provision for others to do likewise, in order to appropriate substantive citizenship. The expansion of existing international covenants and conventions in line with the Right to the City has also been advocated in the light of the rapid urbanisation rates globally and the challenges which this

presents. Fernandes (2007) lends voice to these calls by advocating for the improved articulation and further expansion of the existing but dispersed international agreements in the areas of economic, social, cultural, and environmental rights into a broader, more clearly defined framework of the Right to the City, which he claims will result in the approval of a more specific document of international law that will direct socio-political action along with policy and decision making.

The international debate has both national and sub-national implications: a universal rights agenda is possible and realisable both at the national scale and at city-regional scale (Parnell and Pieterse, 2010). Thus, the city and the city inhabitants are brought into focus in the international debates on rights and citizenship, with significant implications for city governance, as a universal rights agenda poses an exciting and immediate challenge to the composition of citizenship, and makes the city a fundamental tier in the decision making process (Purcell, 2002). Citizenship and rights are generally claimed at national scale, but the advancement of the rights agenda beyond the national level to that of the city will require a detailed consideration of how this will be constituted on the city scale.

The debates on the practical implementation of the human-rights conception of the Right to the City continue to evolve, with ongoing efforts at creating a united front for the rights-based agenda for urban development. In this vein an international meeting on the Right to the City was convened in Sao Paulo, Brazil, in November 2014 by several international NGOs to bring together leading specialists and government officials in order to chart a way forward. The meeting aimed to create a Global Platform on The Right to the City, to serve as a basis for campaigns and negotiations leading up to the United Nations Conference on Housing and Urban Development (Habitat III) in 2016, and to foster a common plan of action to pursue the recognition of the Right to the City by United Nations agencies as well as local and international governments (Cities Alliance, 2014). The recorded success of the Right to the City agenda over the years in some countries has been vital to these efforts.

A significant level of experimentation spurred by the concept of the Right to the City has been undertaken in Latin America, most evidently in Brazil, where the Right to the City has been enshrined into law (Brown, 2010; Canter and Rojas, 2011) (see Box 2.1). There, following a decade-long struggle by social movements the Right to the City and the related concept of the social function of land and property have been recognised by the Constitution (Mathivet, 2014). The struggle for rights is very vibrant in the region, and there has also been a longstanding influence of the ideas propounded by Lefebvre in Latin

America (Canter and Rojas, 2011), due to the presence of a very active civil society and widespread exclusionary forms of urban development that has taken place in the region alongside its rapid urbanisation (Fernandes, 2007; Brown, 2010). Thus, progress in Latin America and the growing Right to the City agenda promoted by multilateral organisations with global reach, has created a solid opportunity for the propagation of the Right to the City, be it just some tenets, in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa and other developing world cities, which otherwise would be largely unfeasible.

Box 2.1 *The Right to the City in Brazil*

For over 30 years Brazil has witnessed a convergence of alternative ideologies and social activism targeted at a redefinition of urban rights. The role of social actors has been widely accepted despite their emergence in the mid-1980s when the country transited from military to democratic rule with state structures facilitating the legitimisation of the Right to the City. Urban development was characterised by informal settlements due to speculative land markets, clientelist political relationships and an exclusionary legal framework (Fernandes, 2007). Following pressure by various civil society organisations, two sections (Articles 182 and 183) on urban issues were included in the new federal constitution of 199. Thereafter, the National Urban Reform Forum (FNRU) was established and it pushed for the implementation of the articles for 12 years, and in the 2000 Constitution and Law 10.257/2001, the City Statute, which was passed in 2001, housing rights were established as fundamental rights (Rodrigues and Barbosa, 2010).

In the City Statue the Right to the City is explicitly recognised as a collective right. The statue also instituted a new legal paradigm which established the right to urban property as containing a social dimension, promoted democratic participation in the process of urban management and a legal framework for the regularisation of informal settlements, and the empowerment of municipalities in urban planning, thus redefining the concept of land ownership (Fernandes, 2006, pp. 46–49). In 2002 a national charter to actualise the City Statue was authorised. The National System of Social Interest Housing law also campaigned for by the FNRU was passed, and this has led to the creation of a Ministry of Cities and the establishment of a National Council of Cities, which were part of the demands.

'Participatory master plans' now have to be prepared by municipal authorities and social activists have been pushing for the formalisation of these participatory rights. In order to establish rights of occupancy in substandard settlements special communal interest zones were created to serve as zoning tools, although conflicts over evictions continue still take place. *Minha Cas, Minha Vida* (my house, my life) a key program promoting the regularisation of informal settlements was conducted in 2009 (Saule, 2008).

Despite the challenges inherent in the enshrinement of the Right to the City into legislation as is the case in Brazil this seems to be a crucial step in the implementation of the Right to the City. The success recorded in Brazil was the outcome of a unique combination of events; the transition to democratic rule as well as a general acknowledgement of a role for social activism and associations representing the urban poor. Other cases in Latin America where the Right to the City has been adopted include, Colombia's law no 288/1997, Article 31 of the 2008 Constitution in Ecuador, housing rights in Chile, and Mexico City's Charter for the Right to the City (COHRE, 2008-10).

Source *Brown, 2013*

Thus the successes of the Right to the City agenda in terms of its practical application in Latin America and its broader diffusion, provides a vital opportunity through which a universal rights agenda can be taken beyond the national scale and realised at the city scale, and presents an opportunity through which the Right to the City can be introduced in contexts where at present it has limited purchase, such as in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Citizenship and the Rights-based Agenda

This section sets out the debates surrounding the issue of citizenship and access to rights as a predominant aspect of the rights-based agenda. It elaborates the origin of the formulation of rights, categories of rights and how the rights discourse has progressed into the urban context. The relevance of the concept of rights at the urban scale is also detailed, and a 'soft law' approach to rights at this scale is presented as a veritable means through which the Right to the City can be advanced in contexts where it has limited traction.

As discussed in the previous section, a major contribution of the rights-based agenda to urban management is the focus it has put on the concept of substantive citizenship. The relevance of this concept in cities is important in considering the close relationship between cities and citizenship. Cities are essentially presumed to be the basis of citizenship, with their cosmopolitan and vibrant nature providing an opportunity through which identities can be formed (Earle, 2011). Cities and citizenship have similar conceptions, as both entail relationships formed between individuals within a society as well as between individuals and society (Fernandes, 2007). Earle (2011) traces the evolution of citizenship rights and substantive citizenship, explaining that citizenship rights evolved from the notion of state welfare. She argues that welfare involves the distribution of government financial support for basic material necessities, such as shelter, education, and healthcare, and these basic necessities emerged into rights during the twentieth century with the advancement of the international human rights agenda, and thereafter into citizenship rights with their subsequent incorporation into the national constitutions of numerous nation states, thus making it a duty for governments to protect and realise them.

Drawing on the work of Marshall (1949), Earle (2011) elucidates three constituent elements of the notion of citizenship, namely; the civil, political and social elements, with each consisting of a variety of basic rights, the fulfilment of which is compulsory for full or

substantive citizenship to be attained. The civil component consists of rights essential for the attainment of individual freedom, such as rights to liberty, free speech, and justice; the political component includes the right to participate in political processes, to vote or be voted for; while the social element encompasses a wide range of rights, from the right to a minimal level of economic benefits to the right to participate fully in social customs and to a decent standard of living within prevailing societal conditions. Furthermore, with the use of case study material, she expounds how the establishment of social rights and the attainment of full or substantive citizenship are closely connected, as well as the link between social and spatial injustice, as is evidenced in the unavoidable spatial element of the denial of social rights in urban areas. Like Earle (2011), Fernandes (2007) also mentions three types of citizenship rights, namely; the right to personal opinion within existing legal frameworks; the right to mobility within national territory; and most importantly, the right to vote or to political representation.

Parnell and Pieterse (2010) identify a hierarchy of rights consisting of four levels. First are the first generation human rights or basic rights, such as the rights to water and shelter, with the applicability of these sets of rights to singular persons making them individual rights, while subsequent levels of rights are considered as collective rights because they pertain to groups and communities. They define second level rights as second generation or socio-economic rights, which include the continued provision of economic urban amenities to households and neighbourhoods, while third generation rights are defined as including claims to the benefits of city life, to move around as well as access public spaces, inclusive of the Right to the City, and the fourth, the right to climate-secure cities. They however argue that a preoccupation with first generation rights largely overshadows the need for more emphasis on the demand for the other levels of rights.

Meron (1986) also mentions a hierarchical order of rights, namely; first generation (political and civil rights), second generation (such as economic, social and cultural rights) and third generation or solidarity rights (such as the right to peace, development and a protected environment). He also highlights the challenge inherent in ranking the various generations of rights as well as the distinction between individual and collective rights, elaborating how the established hierarchical structure of national laws has led to the uptake of hierarchical terms in the human rights discourse and the proliferation of human rights instruments. Meron (1986) then argues that the different social, political, cultural, and economic values of states pose a major challenge to an agreement on the prioritisation of human rights,

cautioning that a hierarchical aggregation could potentially further obfuscate the notion of human rights rather than clarifying them, which may adversely affect their credibility. He therefore advocates that if this issue is to be advanced at all it should be based on a thorough consideration of all related concerns and should evolve very gradually and amidst progressive international consensus.

Human rights are categorised as 'soft rights' as they are enforced through 'soft law' agreements, which are agreements that are not legally binding (Andorno, 2007), in contrast with 'hard laws' which are legally binding. Hard laws are more like 'rules' which indicate clear and specific commitments while soft laws are 'norms' or 'principles' that have a more general content (Boyle, 1999). Soft laws are particularly important in situations whereby significant differences exist among component states regarding particular issues. A significant portion of soft laws are attributable to varying economic structures and interests between developed and developing countries (Gold, 1983). Predictably their means of application is quite unclear (Klabbers, 1996; Boyle, 1999), with their main character seemingly the intended ambiguity of their obligatory status, as adherence to them or otherwise is of no direct legal implication (Rajagopal, 1993). However, soft laws overtime, subject to adequate consideration can become firm legally binding laws (Gold, 1983; Klabbers, 1996; Andorno, 2007).

This section has provided an account of the debates on citizenship and the rights which are fundamental aspects of the rights-based agenda. Based on this discussion the 'soft law' approach to rights at the urban neighbourhood or local spatial scale represents a unique avenue through which the Right to the City, a third tier right, can be enshrined in conflictual or considerably unstable states where rights issues are not high priority, and as such the Right to the City has limited foothold.

The Right to the City and urban public space

This section explores the link between the Right to the City and urban public space, in order to outline the relevance of the concept in urban management. Following this, the importance of the Right to the City in contemporary urban discourse is presented, especially in the light of the rapid rates of urbanisation and the prevailing global economic

system. It is argued that within this context the spatial application of the third tier right of Right to the City to urban public space is a potentially powerful agenda.

The notion of urban public space is complex and fluid and, as discussed earlier, is inherently controversial. Urban public space is the subject of wide ranging interests by different urban actors and understandably its control is generally a source of deep and continuous contestation. Conflicts over the control of urban space have far reaching cultural and political origins, which revolve around power tussles and perceptions of city order (Brown, 2006). The rights-based perspective propagated by the Right to the City agenda is therefore of particular relevance to urban public space, especially with regards to its management. Arguably, in no other location is the struggle for rights and the interplay of rights more pronounced than in urban public space as numerous interests physically converge within this arena. Public space is the focus of a characteristic and continuous struggle over rights, contestations pertaining to the form of the city, the conditions governing access to the public realm as well as citizenship rights (Mitchell, 2003). In this scenario it is almost unavoidable that some voices will be more dominant than others, with the relegation of lesser voices therefore virtually inevitable, thus creating a situation which usually leads to social exclusion.

The Right to the City is of vital relevance in this situation, having been used to question competing claims to the city. The concept put forward as a safeguard against exclusionary development (UN-HABITAT, 2011), and widely promoted as possessing a real potential for achieving social change and inclusion in cities (Purcell, 2002; UN-HABITAT, 2011). Conversely, the Right to the City is also reliant on claims made for urban public space, as the functioning of urban public space is a central factor in the claim and implementation of the Right to the City (Purcell, 2002), and the role of public space critical in the definition of the Right to the City (Brown, 2006). In the capitalist system the production of urban space is based primarily on rights to private property (Harvey, 2008). A consequence is the general trend whereby public spaces are increasingly controlled and commodified, and public space (as the space for representation) becomes exceptionally important not only as space for claiming of political rights but more importantly for the sections of society excluded from the commodified private spaces (Mitchell, 2003).

It therefore emerges that urban public space is a core medium through which social exclusion is physically manifest. Public space is a subject of continuous struggles concerning rights, both at individual and collective levels, where the conflict between different

aspirations in access to resources, citizenship rights and the conditions governing access to the public realm are played out, a situation often dominated by the ruling class (Mitchell, 2003). This situation is largely to the disadvantage of the lower-income groups, and hence public space becomes the site where exclusion is played out (Brown, 2010). Thus the relevance of the Right to the City in the management of urban public space, and its potential as a tool through which social exclusion can be addressed is evident, especially in the light of on-going global economic and urbanisation processes. Thus in this situation the spatial application of the third tier right of Right to the City to urban public space is a potentially powerful agenda.

The Right to the City and street trade

This section explores the relevance of the Right to the City concept to street trade, with a particular focus on the livelihoods implications of the concept. The section also details the discourse of rights as regards street trading activities, highlighting the importance of the concept of rights to street traders, exploring how the link between the Right to the City and street trade can be strengthened through an activity-based as well as a spatially-based interpretation of the Right to the City.

This rights-based perspective to urban management propagated by the Right to the City agenda has significant implications for street traders, both as street traders are often actors in contested public spaces, and due to the pivotal role that urban public space plays in the process of social exclusion. The vital dependence of street trading activities on access to urban public space further emphasises the relevance of the Right to the City to their activities, as the outcome of contestations over the use of public space and overall city form poses immense, often negative, consequences to the livelihoods of traders. More often than not, low-income and often (but not always) poor street traders lose out to more powerful interests in contests over the use of public space, with disenfranchisement a common outcome of struggles over space. Public spaces in cities are a socio-political terrain, a collective display of the power, wealth and technology of the ruling sections of society (Brown, 2006).

Increasing commodification has further intensified contests over urban public space, with major implications for street traders. Tensions over the use of public space for different

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purposes, such as attracting private investment or conducting informal economic activities has produced situations in which several concealed struggles between different social and political groups are manifest within the built environment (Donovan, 2008). Although the commodification of urban public space is undertaken both by urban elites as in major urban redevelopments, and by low-income groups through informal activities, often the interests of elites prevail (Brown, 2005; 2006), resulting in significant levels of social exclusion. The widely heralded potential of the Right to the City/the rights based agenda as an agent of social change and a barrier to social exclusion therefore assumes critical importance.

The scenario of exclusion is even more pronounced with regards to street traders because of the high reliance of their enterprise on urban public spaces and the locations of their activities in the busiest locations. Although poor urban workers are often affected by urban beautification and upgrading processes, the Right to the City is only just being applied to urban livelihoods. This is even more pertinent considering that the interpretation of urban public space through a rights-based perspective provides an improved understanding of its importance to the poor (Brown, 2006). As earlier mentioned, significant progress in the implementation of the Right to the City has been recorded in Latin America, most notably in the Brazilian context where the concept has been enshrined into the 1988 Constitution and then into national law in the 2001 City Statute. One of the main provisions of this statute is the concept of the 'social function of property', meaning that the collective importance of urban land should be balanced with private ownership claims. A new legal-urban order was constructed in the region, with the Brazilian case which proposes a situation in which all citizens possess a fundamental human right to the city, inclusive of a right to work, the most promising (Brown, 2006; Fernandes, 2007).

The overall position of this approach is that the establishment of the Right to the City is only achievable if implemented through reforms of existing legal frameworks. However, Mayer (2009) insists that such efforts amount to nothing more than attempts at gaining inclusion in the existing structurally exploitative capitalist economic system, which actually promotes exclusion, and are therefore ineffective. Brown (2006) similarly explains that despite the enshrining of the right to work in some country constitutions, this is seldom applied to street traders, the urban poor or other excluded groups. Brown and Rakodi (2006) therefore call for an understanding of use-rights, and the methods through which street traders obtain bundles of entitlements to access, use or transfer rights to urban

public space, arguing that only after an understanding of the procedures through which effective tenure is conferred, and the bundles of rights entailed is achieved, can rights for the excluded be strengthened, as although urban public space is generally considered a common property resource, its increasing commodification necessitates a consideration of the means through which use rights are conferred.

Brown (2006) further argues that the exercise of rights of access to public space is dependent on generally agreed guidelines and the legal and political cultures that transform rules into action within particular societies. She details three aspects of public space rights as being; access and use rights, property rights and human rights. However (Lynch, 1981) argues that a clear distinction exists between access, use and ownership rights to public space, identifying five categories of spatial use rights namely: access rights, ownership rights, rights to freedom of action, rights to lay claim, and the right to change. Brown (2006) subsequently explains that although the majority of literature on urban public space assumes that it is a common property resource to which equal and free rights of access are available to all, often this is not the case, stating that in some instances, even when access is allowed, use could be denied, as is the case with street trading. She therefore argues that rights to trade in urban public space are hardly ever free, particularly in developing cities where much property is traded informally, and informal occupancy rights often confer widely recognised use rights, with transactions often extending to include urban public space.

Brown (2006) examines the arrangements inherent in property rights regimes, which include two elements: property rights, which are 'bundles of entitlements' that outline rights and duties, and the rules governing claims to those rights. Ostrom and Schlager (1996) expound property rules as comprising of four main sub-themes, namely, access, which includes the right to access and use land, management, which includes the right to control how and when property is used, exclusion, which covers the right to determine who can lay claim to use and management rights, and transfer, which entails the right to exchange land either permanently or temporarily.

Following her analysis of the nature of rights obtainable in urban public space, Brown (2006) calls for the establishment of an agreed system of property rights between traders and municipal authorities, which would form the basis of negotiation between both parties. She suggests that this system could focus on 'bundles of rights', such as: rights to work, which would include the right not to be displaced unless an alternative suitable trading

location were provided; rights to decent work, including rights to infrastructure which provides for basic needs; usufruct rights, inclusive of rights to make use of particular sites for trading, either intermittently or permanently; transfer rights, covering rights to transfer a site to another user either temporarily or permanently; sub-letting-rights, including rights to sub-let a location for financial gain while still retaining overall use rights; and management rights, entailing rights to engage in decisions pertaining to areas to which a trader has claim.

Also, Brown and Rakodi (2006) explain that because urban public space is generally land in public ownership, the rights of its owners and different users are complex and ambiguous. Therefore efforts towards a rights-based approach should be directed at the clarification of the rights of urban public space users including street traders in order to provide them more security of operation while empowering public authorities to protect the larger interests of citizens. However, local perceptions of urban public space often vary depending on individual contexts, it is therefore important to take this into consideration. A fundamental review of the way in which societies view and regulate urban public space is recommended as part of a rights-based analysis of public space (Brown, 2006).

Thus, the Right to the City agenda offers a potential avenue to practically attempt to resolve the complex issues surrounding the management of urban public space, especially as it pertains to street trading activities. However the role of city authorities in the enshrinement of the Right to the City is vital, with the implementation of the Rights based agenda heavily dependent on the actions of city authorities. The local state, as represented by city governments and other state-related institutions, has an all-important role in mediating in the struggle for power between urban inhabitants and global as well as local production systems (Brown, 2010). It is however important to note the caveat presented by Parnell and Pieterse (2010), who observe that the implementation of a rights-based agenda requires a radical critique of the instruments and values of the local state, involving a critical analysis of generally assumed institutional operations of government, cutting across the delegation of authority and functions, including legal, regulatory, and enforcement functions, as well as between departments and sectors, so that a balance of interests across board can be achieved.

The vital relationship between the Right to the City and street trade has been outlined in this section, with the importance of the Right to the City to street trading activities highlighted. Curiously, in spite of the strong correlation between the Right to the City and

street trading activities the concept is only just being applied to urban livelihoods. Due to the complex and ambiguous nature of rights in urban public space in which street traders operate, it is crucial to clarify the rights of urban public space users including street traders in order to for a balance of rights amongst users to be achieved. In this situation the Right to the City is of vital utility, as not only can it be spatially applied but it can be applied at the activity level as well, with an activity-based application an interesting new dimension of the Right to the City.

2.4 Conclusion

This literature review has explored debates around street trader displacements and the Right to the City, which constitute the two main subjects of this study. The histories and evolution of both subjects and related debates over the years and into contemporary discourse have been expounded; key issues which came to the fore are substantiated below.

Street trade has long been in existence globally but was expected to fade away overtime in line with economic development, but this has not happened as anticipated, rather street trading activities have intensified in recent years, especially in the developing world. Although street trade is a major part of the informal economy and despite much scholarship on both subjects, no agreed definition for both exists, mainly due to the heterogeneous nature of both subjects. Therefore for the purpose of this study, *street trade is adopted to include all trading activities undertaken on the streets or in any other publicly accessible urban public space but excluding those within the confines of formally provided shops, with these activities falling outside existing legal regulatory controls in some way but not including any criminal activity*.

The concept of urban public space was also explored, but due to the ubiquitous nature of space the concept is intrinsically complex and difficult to define. Therefore based on existing debates, urban public space in this study is defined as *all physical space not recognised as private and to which even a minimal level of public use is acceptable, with this irrespective of ownership, whether government owned or otherwise*. The vital role which urban public space plays in the conduct of street trading activities was also underlined. It was identified that street trading activities are particularly controversial

because they are undertaken in central urban public spaces which are a subject of various interests, and traders are often displaced from their chosen sites by city authorities in favour of other uses promoted by powerful elites and considered to be more appropriate, with this trend is on the increase due to ongoing global economic processes. The literature confirms that street trader displacements are usually unsuccessful and do not favour either street traders or many city inhabitants, and they have numerous negative consequences. Key impacts include spatial, political, economic, and socio-cultural impacts, as revealed by the battlegrounds framework, with such an understanding of the extensive impacts of street trader displacements lacking in most studies (Mackie et al. 2014).

The Right to the City was also explored, with its origin and re-emergence in contemporary urban discourse detailed. The concept has evolved into two main interpretations, namely; the original *Lefebvrian conception* and the *human rights conception*. Despite considerable differences, both conceptions not only share a common goal of achieving more democratic and equitable cities, but they also agree on a number of fundamental principles, three key ones being the importance of the notions of collective action; equitable participatory rights in urban management; and equitable rights to the use of public space, to the implementation of the Right to the City. Thus underlining a convergence between both conceptions, which is the basis upon which the Right to the City is adopted in this study. Therefore in this study the Right to the City is adopted to mean *a set of rights which collectively constitute the right to more democratic cities, wherein all urban inhabitants possess the right to influence all decisions regarding the production of urban space in addition to the right of access, occupation and utilisation of public spaces for societally beneficial purposes*.

There has been significant progress made in implementing the Right to the City through the rights-based agenda for urban development in Latin America, notably in Brazil where it has been enshrined into law, and it is argued that this approach to the Right to the City holds significant promise for the propagation of the concept to parts of the world where rights issues are not well established, such as Sub-Saharan Africa. The possibility of applying the Right to the City spatially as well as at the activity level further makes it suitable for this purpose. However, a contextual critique of the Right to the City is vital for this to be achieved.

Thus the rights-based agenda has significant relevance to urban public space, especially the activities of street traders, as it is potentially a tool through which the conflicts over the use

of urban public space can be resolved, but in spite of this the Right to the City has only just been applied to livelihoods. The application of the Right to the City to street trade and the conflicts over the use of urban public space, with specific reference to the rapidly urbanising African city of Lagos, therefore forms part of the unique gap in knowledge which this study aims to fill. Furthermore, from this review of relevant literature, three key theoretical gaps concerning street trade and the Right to the City have emerged, these include;

- A limited understanding of the broad impacts of street trader displacements.
- The need for a contextual critique of the Right to the City and the implication of this analysis on its implementation.
- The lack of an application of the Right to the City at the sub-city scale.

These three issues in addition to the linking of the Right to the City with street trade therefore form the basis of inquiry in this study and collectively constitute the unique contribution to knowledge which this study aims to achieve.

Chapter 3: Research Approach and Methodological Considerations

3.1 Introduction

A number of studies have been conducted on informal economic activities. It is however important to note that research on this subject holds significant methodological challenges for a variety of reasons, including: definitional complexities (Bromley, 1998; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Brown et al. 2009), the multifaceted character of informal economic activities (Meagher and Yunusa, 1996), their controversial and dynamic nature (Donovan, 2008), ethnic characteristics and cultural barriers (Elsheshtawy, 2011), and the problems of representativeness and generalisation in the light of considerable societal importance (Mannon, 2006; Lyons and Msoka, 2010). These challenges have been addressed in this study through careful research design, a good understanding of the research context, and triangulation through a variety of data collection methods including the use qualitative and quantitative research methods.

This study aims to examine informal street trader displacements through the lens of the Right to the City concept, and to analyse the relevance of the Right to the City and rights-based approaches within the urban management context of Lagos, and the unique contextual factors of the Oshodi Market study area, including spatial, political, economic, and socio-cultural factors. Therefore this study adopts a case study and mixed-methods approach comprised of: interviews, documentary analysis and observation. This chapter seeks to justify the research approach and methods, with a description of their merits and pitfalls and how these combine to satisfy the aims and objectives of the study. The chapter commences with a discussion of the overarching case study approach of the research, followed by a discussion of the methods of data collection and the considerations that guided their choice and implementation.

3.2 Case study approach

In-depth social science research has to investigate at a localised scale; researchers have tended therefore to operationalise research questions using case studies. This is generally the case with research on informal activities, with studies often focusing on single cases or a number of specific cases. This research follows this approach, as the investigation is grounded in findings from the case study of trader displacements in Oshodi Market and the implications for traders and the Right to the City concept.

Despite the wide use of case studies in research, undertaking a case study is a complex exercise entailing a significant level of intricacy, critical consideration and a substantial amount of planning. The conduct of case studies is a challenging form of research practice with no clearly defined guidelines for their design (Yin, 2003). A major point of contestation regarding case study research pertains to the nature of a case study, in terms of its eventual outcome and whether it constitutes a valid social science research method. In this light Punch (2005) explains that a case study, being an attempt to provide an in-depth holistic and complete view of a particular case in its natural setting, constitutes more of a strategy than a method. Therefore, the essence of a case study clearly transcends methodological considerations; rather research methods constitute an avenue through which a case study is conducted. A case study is not a choice of methods, instead it is (and importantly) a choice of what is to be studied, which can then be carried out through various methods (Stake, 2005; Flyvberg, 2013).

Case studies provide unique opportunities in the conduct of research, particularly social science research. Case studies are useful in social science research because they provide an opportunity to explore areas in which limited knowledge exists and a distinct avenue through which holistic comprehension of real-life events can be achieved (Yin, 2003; Kumar, 2012). Moreover subjects of inquiry in the social sciences often involve deeply rooted intricacies, which are not easily discernible unless they are comprehensively investigated and pursued in sufficient detail. A vital merit of a case study is that the emphasis it places on a single or limited number of instances facilitates an understanding of

the relationships and processes that constitute a complex social situation which might not be attainable through other means (Denscombe, 2007). In this research the choice of Oshodi Market as the subject of investigation was informed by its strategic importance in Lagos, the multiplicity of actors and influences which converge on the site, and the recent trader displacements in 2009. As such the case study approach is ideal for this research.

Furthermore a case study serves to broaden the scope of an investigation as it facilitates the use of various methods of inquiry in a single research project, essentially promoting the use of multiple methods to grasp the subject under investigation (Denscombe, 2007). Consequentially it enhances the accuracy of a research project as the insights gained from separate sources can be corroborated against one another, therefore strengthening the credibility of the research project. Data collected through one method can be checked against that collected by another in the process of triangulation, which helps to address issues of validity and bias (Rose, 2002; Denscombe, 2007; Mabry, 2008).

The intensive orientation of case studies also raises a number of concerns, the most significant of which is whether findings from a single or few cases can have wider application. A major criticism of the case study approach is the generalisability of research findings, a fundamental critique that warrants sufficient consideration (Punch, 2005; Zeisel, 2006; Denscombe, 2007). However the necessity and overall importance of the generalisation of findings from research projects has been questioned. Denzin (1983), cited in Punch (2005, pp. 146), argues that generalisation and a claim to representativeness should not necessarily be the main focus of all research projects, and Flyvbjerg (2013) argues that the importance of generalisations is overemphasised in research.

However in an attempt to address the difficulties of generalising from a case study, Denscombe (2007) advises that researchers should pre-empt this problem during the course of research, and thus should identify the extent to which their findings are more broadly applicable, highlight and demonstrate the basis of comparison of their research, and elaborate on the wider relevance of their findings. Punch (2005) also contends that it is possible for a case study to produce generalisable outcomes, and that one way to achieve

this is to develop propositions based on the outcomes of a specific case study, which suggest generalisability and then test the applicability and transferability of these propositions through further research. He nevertheless cautions that this should be adequately considered and addressed in the research design, the questions guiding the study and the way the resulting data is analysed.

Furthermore the underlying topic of a research project also has a significant influence on the generalisability of its findings, as some studies are more inclined to generalisations than others. For example when case studies are conducted on a topic previously studied and about which substantial theory exists, the outcomes are arguably more generalisable (Zeisel, 2006). This is akin to the extended case method approach advanced by Burawoy et al (1991) in which they argue that case studies can engage with existing social theories by analysing such theories in the social situation under study and challenging them, with the aim of improving such theories (Burawoy et al. 1991). This approach is targeted at the improvement of particular theories and not just their endorsement or contestation (Babbie, 2001).

The quality of the data produced from case study research is also a subject of criticism. Concerns exist regarding how case study data can be efficiently gathered, the ease with which a subject of study can be accessed, and the potential influence of the researcher on the entire research process (Denscombe, 2007). These are therefore issues that should be duly considered not only in the choice of adopting the case study approach but also during its execution. Thus methodological concerns regarding a case study are both in principle and in practice, and hence it is left to a researcher conducting a case study to proceed "in a spirit of self-critical endeavour" (Rose, 2002, pp. 16).

Research on activities in the informal economy have typically adopted the case study approach, due to the fact that informal practices are often rooted in local culture with ramifications cutting across many aspects of society and of considerable societal importance (see Section 2.2). Consequentially it is virtually impossible to investigate informal economy actors without sufficient contextual grounding. As a result, studies have

often focussed on a single case or few cases located within a particular geographical location (Bromley, 1998; Middleton, 2003; Swanson, 2007; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Carrieri and Murta, 2011). However, although contextual situations vary considerably between locations, studies based on a single case or a few cases facilitate a solid understanding of place-specific trends, which can then be compared within relevant geographical locations.

This research adopts the single case study approach to research, because of its significant contextual orientation. Nevertheless, in this study, the case selection was made early in the research process and, as this choice goes a long way in determining the success of a research project, it warrants due consideration. The choice of the individual unit of study is the frame upon which the entire case study process rests, the choice being perhaps the most distinctive aspect of the case study (Stake, 2005; Flyvberg, 2013). This choice is dependent on a number of different factors and has significant research implications. The most important one is the "opportunity to learn" (often a major criterion for representativeness) and the accessibility to the case (Stake, 2005, pp. 446-447; Mabry, 2008, pp. 217). Oshodi Market provided an important opportunity to learn about the impact of displacements, and filled a gap in the literature as there has been relatively little research on trader displacements in Nigeria.

The issue of generalisation was considered in both the research design and data analysis process (as advised by Punch, 2005). This is reflected in the research objectives and questions which explore wider implications of the research findings, and through selecting the Right to the City as a framework critiqued through the research. Thus the research seeks to examine the theoretical concept of the Right to the City, and the relevance of a rights-based approach to urban management within the unique social context of Lagos. This critique involves an "evaluative attitude … not necessarily critical in the sense of negative criticism, but also critically exposing the positive and the possibilities of change, implying positions on what is wrong and needing change, but also on what is desirable and needs to be built on and fostered" (Marcuse, 2012, pp. 24). In this light this study essentially questions the potential and drawback of adopting the Right to the City concept,

and the extent to which the idea can be developed in the rapidly urbanising context of Lagos and by extension other rapidly urbanising sites in Africa.

The approach of this study is supported by the argument put forward by Punch (2005) that the study of a single case can produce findings which are potentially applicable to other cases, if it involves the development of conceptual insights which can be tested in further research, and the potential commonalities between the specific case and others are emphasised throughout the entire research process. Well executed case studies, particularly in situations where limited or fragmentary knowledge exists are valuable in that they facilitate a deeper understanding of vital aspects of novel or challenging research subjects, such as complex social behaviour, by illuminating key features, expanding the understanding of these features, and also conceptualising them for further investigation, which usually cannot be achieved through the use of a different research approach (Punch, 2005).

Pilot study

It is important to note that as part of this research a pilot study was conducted prior to the main fieldwork as this facilitated the entire research process. The pilot was conducted about eight months in advance of the main fieldwork and it informed the research in a number of ways. Crucially it guided the engagement with government authorities especially at the state level, as not only did it smoothen the interview experience through the use of the term 'displacements' rather than 'evictions' during interviews, as mentioned in Chapter 1, it also assisted in ensuring a good response from government officials as they were familiar with the researcher when he returned for the main field work, additionally the researcher was able to gain a deeper knowledge of government protocol during the pilot study.

Furthermore the pilot study also informed the sampling strategy adopted as well as the questionnaire design and administration in the fieldwork. As some informal interviews

were conducted with traders and trader characteristics observed during the pilot and these fed into the development of questionnaire questions. Observations of traders and trading sites were also conducted and this guided the way in which respondents were recruited, especially street traders, as well as the manner in which the questionnaires were completed. Further impacts of the pilot study are highlighted in the course of the discussion of the data collection processes.

3.3 Interviews

Interviews are the main method of data collection employed in this study. Interviews are a particularly useful research method in qualitative research, as they facilitate the understanding of underlying factors governing human experience; this is because they are inclined to the collection of data concerning social perceptions, meanings and accounts of reality (Punch, 2005; Silverman, 2005; Denscombe, 2007). In this research, interviews are well-suited to the subject of investigation (street traders, urban managers and other urban actors) as they are very useful in contextual research and easily adaptable. Interviews are appropriate for exploring complex situations and gaining a detailed understanding of cases, because there is a possibility to pursue and clarify issues in the course of an interview (O'Leary, 2005; Denscombe, 2007; Kumar, 2012).

The focussed orientation of the interview also allows a researcher to access information that is intentionally provided but also that which is underlying, as information gathered from verbal communication can be supplemented by that from non-verbal communication (O' Leary, 2005; Kumar, 2012), which enhances the overall validity of the research exercise (Denscombe, 2007). The interview is also a very flexible research method, as questions can be modified in the course of an interview, based on the interview interaction and can be used in research cutting across virtually every strata of society, for example research involving young, elderly, literate and illiterate individuals, variations typical amongst street traders in Lagos (O'Leary, 2005; Denscombe, 2007; Kumar, 2012).

Conversely, the focussed nature of the interview is also an issue in the conduct of a research project on a number of levels. The interview as a method of data collection is highly dependent on human and personal factors because the individual skills, abilities and interaction between the interviewer and interviewee determine the quality of the data generated. Consequently, due to these technical concerns, the tendency for the researcher to influence or bias the interview, based on his/her orientation must be avoided (O'Leary, 2005; Denscombe, 2007; Kumar, 2012).

Virtually all existing studies on informal economic activities have made use of interviews in one form or the other, but the extent to which interviews are used varies. The type of interview techniques used in research range from structured surveys using standard structured questionnaires, to semi-structured interviews using questionnaires or survey prompts, to unstructured open discussions (Kumar, 2012). Quantitative studies on informal economic activities have typically made use of structured formats of interviewing while semi- or unstructured formats are more common in qualitative studies. In this research both interviewing formats have been employed in line with the mixed-methods approach of the research, with both questionnaires and semi-structured interviews used. Questionnaires were employed in interactions with street traders and other stakeholders in Lagos, and they were particularly useful because they facilitated the gathering of data from a reasonable number of respondents.

Questionnaires were administered to a total of 200 respondents, comprising 100 street traders and 100 other stakeholders. This broad pool of respondents helped to provide an insight into the individual and collective experience of both groups of interests. One of the main advantages of questionnaires is that they provide uniform information that ensures data comparability, and they are typically used when a large volume of data is collected from a wide selection of respondents (Denscombe, 2007; Kumar, 2012). In addition semi-structured interviews were conducted with a handful of carefully selected key informants. The semi-structured interviews served to provide an in-depth understanding of wider issues that relate to the experience of street traders and city inhabitants as well as the general study area.

Questionnaires

Two sets of questionnaires were developed and administered as part of this research, one set with street traders and another with other stakeholders in close proximity to the case study area, with both sets of questionnaires including a series of closed and open questions. The fundamental difference between both questionnaires is that the one for street traders was developed to be completed by an interviewer in the mould of a structured interview while the one for other selected stakeholders was prepared as a simple questionnaire to be completed by the respondent. The sole difference between a structured interview and a questionnaire is that the structured interview is administered face-to-face with respondents (Denscombe, 2007; Kumar, 2014). The questionnaires for other stakeholders were therefore shorter and more concise, which is an important consideration in questionnaire design (Kumar, 2014). Further details regarding the administration of both questionnaires are discussed in subsequent sections.

The purpose of the questionnaires for traders was mainly to investigate their understanding of the motivating factors behind their displacements, the impacts of the displacements, the spatial, political, economic and socio-cultural factors affecting their activities as well as the rights they currently possess in the light of these factors. Thus the sampling included both those still trading on the street who were more likely to be vulnerable and have experienced displacement (60 traders), and those trading off the street indicating more security (40 traders) to explore different perspectives on traders' rights. Questionnaires for other stakeholders primarily sought to investigate the interplay of rights between traders and society at large, and potentially conflicting rights' claims. The subsequent discussion elaborates the procedural considerations that guided the questionnaires, specifically the questionnaire design, the number of respondents, the sampling strategy, as well as the general implementation of the questionnaires.

The questionnaire design

Separate questionnaires were developed for the trader and other stakeholders as earlier described, however both had similar outlines, but the traders' questionnaire was considerably longer (see Appendix 1 and 2 for questionnaires). In order to meet a major objective of the study regarding the potential conflict of rights, it was necessary to have a set of key topics common to both questionnaires. The questionnaire for traders therefore essentially included all the questions from that for other stakeholders with additional questions. The topics covered in the questionnaire for other stakeholders are as follows:

1. General, specific and personal details regarding the respondent
2. Political, Social, Economic, and Spatial contextual Information

In addition to these topics the street trader questionnaire also included questions on the following topics:

3. Observed details
4. Associational contextual information
5. Problem-related questions
6. Displacement-related questions
7. Future-related questions

Under each of these key topics a selection of questions was developed. These were mostly closed questions, and thus made the coding of responses easier for subsequent entering into SPSS and quantitative analysis. Both questionnaires also included some open questions, of particular relevance in this study because of its contextual orientation. The inclusion of open questions in the questionnaires helped to produce more comprehensive data, as they served to enhance the depth of information collected (Wilson, 1996; Bryman, 2001), and also helped in the elucidation of underlying contextual peculiarities. The open-ended questions were analysed qualitatively.

The number of respondents

A careful consideration of the methodologies of existing studies on street trade and other related considerations informed the number of respondents chosen in this study. Hays-Mitchell (1994) administered a total of 630 questionnaires in her study of street trading in Peru, which spanned a fifteen month period. This included 55 'systematic interviews' containing both open and closed questions administered to street traders, as well as modified questionnaires administered to a cross-section of about 50 market traders, retail-store operators, and consumers cutting across six Peruvian cities. Biles (2008) also carried out a survey with 589 street trader respondents in his study of informal work and livelihoods in Mexico, so also Lyons and Msoka (2010) and Lyons et al (2012) conducted a survey of 624 street traders in their study of informal commerce in seven districts of Tanzania. It is however important to note that these studies were conducted over a longer period of time than was available for this PhD research.

On the other hand, Donovan (2008) and Pena (1999) carried out surveys with 177 and 49 street traders respectively in their studies in Columbia and Mexico, while Joseph (2011) in two separate studies on street trading in Botswana surveyed 160 and 46 traders. Based on the preceding and in order to meet the specific objectives of this study, especially its in-depth contextual orientation as well as time and other constraints, 100 questionnaires were administered with a selection of street traders and another 100 with a carefully selected sample of other stakeholders, taking the sample size slightly above the smaller studies of Donovan and Pena, yet below the larger studies of Hays-Mitchell, Biles, Lyons and Msoka, and Lyons et al. It should be noted that a key constraint in this research is that it investigates the impacts of a major displacement of street traders from which a significant number of traders are yet to fully recover and resettle, so accessing traders willing to participate was a significant challenge.

Sampling strategy

Of the potential sampling strategies used in social science research, a stratified random strategy was identified as the most suitable for this research. Stratified random sampling involves separating the study population into different categories based on certain criteria and thereafter the sample can be selected randomly from each of the resulting strata, however this is only possible when it is relatively easy to categorise and distribute units to strata (Bryman, 2001). In this research it was relatively easy to set out the criteria for the categorisation of the data as some categories were already clearly evident. Therefore in an attempt to gain a good representative sample of street traders, four key strata were identified: sex (male/female); the experience of the traders (whether they had been displaced or not); the type of goods sold, and their location (whether the trader was located outside or within a formal market).

However, in the absence of general data on the characteristics of street traders in Oshodi or Lagos, largely due to the tension-laden history of street trade in Lagos (see Section 5.2), the size of each strata within the whole population could not be determined (for example, the proportion of men and women traders). Therefore, same numbers of questionnaires were administered across each of the four strata in order to ensure a sufficiently large sample from which to draw conclusions and gain a balanced insight into the general experience of traders which was is central aim of this study. Another concession regarding the sampling of traders was that in the location stratum a higher number of traders operating along smaller neighbourhood roads were interviewed compared to other locations, with 40 traders working along smaller neighbourhood roads interviewed in contrast to 10 each from the six other selected sites. This was because an overwhelming number of traders were located along smaller neighbourhood roads with many yet to fully settle in any location following the displacements, and these roads were the most accessible to traders as well as the researcher.

Gaining access to street traders willing to participate was a major challenge in this study, this is because many of the traders had experienced displacements and harassments

previously and they were adamant that their opinions were of no significance, some insisting that they had previously been interviewed by journalists with no obvious benefit. However the researcher was able to gain the trust of some traders through a gatekeeper who he was able to identify through his personal network, and also through his familiarity with the terrain as well as the plight of the traders. In many instances the researcher had to convince traders of the importance of continually speaking out irrespective of the seeming futility of doing so, as they do not know which interview could lead to a breakthrough in their desire for better working conditions, as well as the possibility that the continued voicing of their opinions through any avenue available to them could potentially add up to achieving this. For further details of the sampling strategy for the trader questionnaires see Table 3.1.

For the administration of the other stakeholder questionnaires, four strata were also established based on the proximity of respondents to Oshodi Market. These strata consist of: inhabitants that regularly pass by the market but neither live nor work in the vicinity of the market (regular passers-by); those who only work within the vicinity; those who solely reside within the vicinity; and those who both work and live within the vicinity of the market. Within each stratum, an equal number of participants were then randomly chosen to participate in the structured interviews. Preliminary informal discussions and observations during the pilot study in addition to the researcher's knowledge of the terrain informed these choices. Full details of the sampling strategy for the other stakeholder's questionnaires can be seen in Table 3.2.

Table 3.1 *Sampling strategy for street trader questionnaires*

Strata 1		Strata 2		Strata3					Strata 4						
Gender		Experience		Type Of Goods Sold					Location						
Female	Male	Displaced	Not Displaced	Fruits Vegetables Readily edible food items	Poultry Livestock Fish Meat	Raw food items Other Perishable Goods	Clothing Footwear Textiles	Electrical Hardware Household Other	Formal market 1 Arena Formal market	Formal market 2 Kairo Formal market	Formal market 3 Olorun-shogo Formal market	Formal Market 4 Idera Formal Market	Major Highway/ Road Agege Motor Road	Medium Road Oshodi Road	Small Neighbo-urhood Roads
Number Of Respondents															
50	50	50	50	20	20	20	20	20	10	10	10	10	10	10	40
100		100		100					100						

Table 3.2 *Sampling strategy for other stakeholder questionnaires*

Strata number	Strata description	Number of respondents
1	Inhabitants that neither live nor work in the vicinity of Oshodi market (regular passers-by)	25
2	Inhabitants who only work within the vicinity of Oshodi market (but do not live in close proximity)	25
3	Inhabitants who solely reside within the vicinity of Oshodi market (and do not work in close proximity)	25
4	Inhabitants who both work and live within the vicinity of Oshodi market	25

Administration of questionnaires

All trader questionnaires were administered by the researcher and two assistants who are recent graduates of the University of Lagos. More than half of the questionnaires were administered by the researcher while the remainder were done by the assistants. Half of the other stakeholder questionnaires were also completed directly as well by the researcher and the assistants and this considerably enhanced the quality of data collected and the response rate. The remainder were self-completion questionnaires. The face-to-face questionnaires were all administered in the course of each respondent's daily activities, including interactions with traders at their trading sites and those with other stakeholders at their places of work, mainly in formal shops. The researcher was able to

gain access to many traders through a gatekeeper who is a supplier to some of the traders as some traders were initially a little reluctant to participate, furthermore overtime as the researcher engaged with traders and other traders witnessed their colleagues participating in the study and as they generally became more familiar with the researcher they became increasingly keen to participate; some traders even introduced the researcher to other traders as well, especially traders selling similar goods.

The other stakeholder questionnaires that were administered face-to-face were mainly those with respondents who work in close proximity to Oshodi Market (mainly formal shop staff), as this enhanced participation. Some of the shop workers were initially unwilling to participate in the research, however in most cases following a brief explanation of the purpose of the research and an assurance that it would not interfere with their work they consented. The remaining interviews were self-completed by the respondents, with the questionnaire given to respondents after an initial briefing by the researcher and subsequently collected at an agreed time. This was possible because this group of respondents were relatively familiar to the researcher and this helped to monitor progress.

The presence of the interviewer is useful in face-to-face sessions because he/she may persuade unwilling respondents, stimulate respondents and clarify any unclear issues during data collection and to clarify the purpose of the research project (De Leeuw, 2008). It was quite important that the face-to-face questionnaires were done in this manner because they were conducted while respondents were working, with the interviewer having to pause when customers or visitors arrived and continue during the quiet periods in-between, otherwise it would have been virtually impossible to complete these questionnaires. Furthermore the varying levels of education amongst respondents necessitated the administration of the questionnaires in person in order to ensure consistency. Generally, concerted effort was made to ensure that all questionnaires were completed at the convenience of each respondent. Questionnaires were administered between April and July 2013, on every day of the week apart from Sundays, when trading activities are usually less. Face-to-face questionnaires were completed during normal working hours of 9am – 6pm, especially with traders, as outside these hours they were

usually busy unpacking or packing goods and were reluctant to take part. The self-completed questionnaires were completed entirely at the respondent's own time.

All the 200 questionnaires administered in this study (100 each with street traders and other key stakeholders) were analysed qualitatively in line with the main research methods adopted in this study. In addition 60 of the 100 questionnaires with street traders were also analysed quantitatively (see Section 6.2). The quantitative analysis of traders focused on the 60 traders surveyed who were working on the streets as their locations are more contentious and they are more likely to have experienced displacement or its aftermath, or other rights issues. In contrast the remaining 40 surveyed traders who were located in formal markets experience limited conflicts and rights issues as their tenure is clearly defined. The 100 questionnaires with other stakeholders were analysed qualitatively as it was clear they shared only moderate divergence of opinions as evident in the qualitative analysis in Section 5.4. Other stakeholder's perspectives were sought in order to identify a potential conflict of interests and rights between them and other parties in public space, which is more likely to be revealed through a qualitative analysis.

Key informant interviews

This study sought to understand the comprehensive process that led to the displacement of street traders in Oshodi Market in the light of the unique spatial, political, economic, and socio-cultural context of the case study area. It was therefore necessary to conduct a set of semi-structured interviews with key informants, enabling the researcher to gain an insight into underlying issues which might be unobtainable through other means (Bryman, 2001). Respondents for these interviews were chosen based on their job roles and their knowledge of street trading in Lagos and the history of the Oshodi displacements. Key informants should be selected because they have unique knowledge, or because of the position they occupy (Denscombe, 2007).

The aim of the interviews was therefore to gain an understanding of the research subject through the eyes of the interviewees, thereby making them key informants. "This

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orientation … casts the interviewee as informant – on the social world … and the job of the interview is to unearth the relevant information. Thus interviewing becomes the art of knowledge excavation and the task is to enable the interviewee to give the relevant information in as accurate and complete manner as possible" (Mason, 2002, pp. 226). A total of nineteen key informant interviews were conducted (see Table 3.3), including eleven interviews with government officials; eight with officials of the state government and three with officials at local government level. State officials were chosen from the three main ministries with responsibilities regarding the informal economy in Lagos State and which were involved in the displacements in Oshodi; the Ministry of the Environment, Ministry Physical Planning and Urban Development, and Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The three respondents at local government level were a political appointee in the local government chairman's office, and a staff member each from the Finance and Commerce Departments.

Five key informants were selected members of civil society with interests covering informal activities, human rights and issues relating to Oshodi market, they include: a staff member from each of three non-governmental organisations (NGOs) with offices in Lagos, namely; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), Heinrich Böll Foundation (HBF), and the Social and Economic Rights Action Centre (SERAC); the General Secretary of the Federation of Informal Workers of Nigeria (FIWON); and an academic at the University of Lagos. Three unstructured discussions were also held with three respondents in the course of the research, these respondents include; a formal shop supplier and two management officials of two different formal markets.

Table 3.3 *Key informant interviewees*

Key informant (KI)	Identity
KI 1	Official of Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development
KI 2	Official of Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development
KI 3	Official of Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development
KI 4	Official of Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development
KI 5	Official of Lagos State Ministry of Commerce and Industry
KI 6	Official of Lagos State Ministry of Commerce and Industry
KI 7	Official of Lagos State Ministry of the Environment
KI 8	Official of Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development
KI 9	Official of Oshodi-Isolo Local Government (Finance department)
KI 10	Official of Oshodi-Isolo Local Government (Local Government Chairman's office)
KI 11	Official of Oshodi-Isolo Local Government (Commerce Department)
KI 12	Official of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES); Lagos based NGO
KI 13	Official of Heinrich Böll foundation (HBF); Lagos based NGO
KI 14	Official of Social and Economic Rights Action Centre (SERAC); Lagos based NGO
KI 15	Lecturer in Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Lagos
KI 16	General Secretary Federation of Informal Workers of Nigeria (FIWON)
KI 17	Official of Kairo Formal market
KI 18	Official of Arena Formal market
KI 19	Formal shop Supplier, Arena formal market

A number of challenges were faced in the conduct of the key informant interviews, but with careful consideration and adequate flexibility they were successfully surmounted. The most common issue which cut across all respondents was finding a convenient time and venue for the interviews. The researcher was able to overcome this challenge by maintaining good communications with respondents prior to interview dates in order to confirm their availability, and in some instances multiple appointments were required before an interview was finally conducted. In all cases interviews were conducted in the

office of the respondent, and like the questionnaires they were conducted entirely at the respondent's convenience.

The most challenging situations encountered had to do with the reluctance of government officials to participate in an interview, however following an explanation of the purpose of the research and an assurance of anonymity, all participants agreed, although on two occasions interviewees declined to be recorded and notes had to be taken instead. A key factor that influenced the good response rate was that pilot work was done a few months prior to the main fieldwork, during which the researcher had contacted many government officials. During this first contact the officials had all consented to a future interview, possibly because the interview was not immediate, and when the researcher returned for the interview during the fieldwork most of the officials felt somewhat obliged to proceed with the interview.

The interviews followed a protocol with questions tailored around specific questions which underlie the research. There were two types of interview schedules; with one for government officials and another for civil society respondents (see Appendices 3 and 4). In order to enhance the conversational rapport across topics that were covered in the interview dialogue, open questions were used (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). Open questions provide significant room for flexibility, rapport-building and in-depth exploration (Robson, 2002). However the researcher took care to keep the interview sufficiently focussed, bearing in mind the need to reconcile and analyse the generated data. Ambiguous issues should be clarified during the interviews in order to facilitate future analysis and enhance the overall interview experience (Kvale, 1996), as this research sought to do.

The interview schedules were structured around overarching questions followed by more detailed probes, with contentious issues such as trader displacements in the latter part of the interview. This enhanced the overall quality of the interview as these issues were addressed when rapport and trust had been established (Jones, 2002). These strategies contributed to an approach whereby the interviewer questions were short while interviewee answers were longer, spontaneous, comprehensive and relevant, ensuring the quality of the findings, an important issue according to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009). For

example, during pilot work in September 2012, the researcher found that some government employees were reluctant to talk when questioned about 'trader evictions' in Oshodi, but felt able to comment when the more neutral description of 'the transformation of Oshodi and the resulting trader displacements' was used.

3.4 Documentary analysis

Many social activities are recorded in one form or the other for various reasons, such as for communication, for information, for future reference, and memorial purposes amongst others. Types of recordings include; newspaper reports, administrative documents, government publications, letters, meeting memoranda, and minutes of meetings. These sources of information are therefore potentially very useful for social science research, especially for the conduct of case studies. As such, documentary information is very common in case study research (Yin, 2003). In particular the use of documents in research provides valuable chronological and background knowledge, as the 'press' offers a potentially important source of good, up-to-date information for research purposes (Denscombe, 2003; Denscombe, 2007).

Documents significantly complement other sources of research data as they can be used to confirm information gained from other sources as well as guide other forms of data collection, for example information gained from an analysis of documents can be used to guide the development of interview questions. Documents serve to corroborate or clarify information from other sources of data, to provide the historical and political background to the research, and to strengthen other data collection methods (Mason, 1996; Yin, 2003). Furthermore the analysis of documents could potentially fill voids which could have arisen from other data sources or voids which cannot be filled through other research methods. Documentary analysis is capable of providing a researcher insight into a phenomenon which might be otherwise impossible through other avenues, for example a phenomenon for which there is no living witness (Mason, 1996; Henn et al. 2006).

Documentary analysis also potentially helps to enhance the validity of a research project as it broadens the evidence base, thus contributing to the process of triangulation, whereby reported information can be cross-checked against recorded evidence, thereby enhancing the accuracy of the research exercise (Yin, 2003; Punch, 2005). Documents are also a permanent source of data, generally easy and cheap to access and therefore relatively easy to verify (Denscombe, 2007). Despite the obvious utility of documents in research, it is important to make use of them with caution, because documents are a social creation and are often drawn up for purposes other than the research, sometimes with a specific agenda in mind. The use of documents in research should therefore be carried out critically (Calvert, 2002; Henn et al. 2006). Documents could have been constructed for a variety of purposes, with varying intentions by the authors, and thus they can be unreliable for research purposes (Finnegan, 1996; Macdonald, 2004; Henn et al. 2006). Adequate critique is thus important in deciding what documentary information is used in a research project (Denscombe, 2007).

The use of documents in research on the informal economy is valuable, especially as part of a comprehensive research strategy to provide contextual material. Many studies on the informal economy have made use of documents in various ways. Bromley and Mackie (2009) analysed newspaper articles spanning an eight year period to detail the 'chronology of change' and supplement key informant interviews in their study of street traders in Peru. Lyons and Msoka (2010) also made use of local newspaper articles as a proxy for a full scale evaluation of public opinion in their study of street traders in Tanzania. Likewise, Carrieri and Murta (2011) analysed newspaper articles in order to gain an understanding of the social, historic, and cultural context in their study of the displacement of street traders in Brazil.

Elsheshtawy (2011) also made use of an analysis media reports to guide his study on informal activities in United Arab Emirates. Timalsina (2011) used published and unpublished literature as a secondary source of data in her study on street trade in Nepal. Lyons et al (2012) on their part conducted a preliminary desk based study consisting of an analysis of government and NGO publications, policy documents, bills and ratified laws to guide their subsequent fieldwork in their study of street trade in Tanzania. Joseph (2011)

also used official documents, government policies, life charts, photographic diaries, and newspaper articles to corroborate findings from other data sources in his studies on street trading in Botswana. Popke and Ballard (2003) employed newspaper clippings as their main source of data, supplemented by semi-structured interviews, in their study into reactions to street trade in South Africa.

In this study documentary material was used as a secondary source of data, and it mainly served to corroborate and clarify information from other data sources. As part of this research the coverage of the trader displacements in Oshodi as reported in the two most widely read newspapers (The Guardian and The Punch newspapers) in Lagos was reviewed, a similar review focussing on the Lagos State Government's monthly newsletter (Alausa Alert) was also conducted. These reviews covered a 12 month period, from January 2009 (when the displacements took place) to January 2010, this was mainly because after this timeframe no new information was found and there were basically no new reports on the displacements.

This chronological analysis provided valuable information on the history of displacements in Oshodi and Lagos and events following the trader displacements in 2009. Other government publications, reports and websites as well as NGO, academic, and media publications relating to Oshodi Market, street trade and the informal economy in Lagos were also reviewed. The documentary analysis not only provided useful background information into the process of the trader displacements but furthermore it helped to broaden the articulation of the underlying spatial, political, economic and socio-cultural conditions affecting the activities of street traders and their operations and other related occurrences in and around Oshodi Market.

3.5 Observation

The use of observational methods in research involves a considerable level of intimacy with the subject under study. Observation in research suggests a connection, association and reasonable level of familiarity with the subject of study (Dowler, 2001). This method of research thus leads to the generation of first-hand and largely untainted data, as the researcher spends adequate time with the research subject(s), and gains profound, extensive and more precise information (Kumar, 2012). The use of observational methods in research also reduces the level of external influence on a study as well as potential errors from external factors because information is collected directly by the researcher. Observation permits the collection of information about the physical environment as well as social interactions in particular situations as they occur, instead of depending on witnesses' accounts and aptitude to communicate and recount a description of interactions (Foster, 1996; Mason, 1996).

This method of research also enhances the depth of investigation, as observation provides a means through which people's beliefs and personal understandings of their attitudes and demeanour towards an assessment of their real life actions can be transcended (Gray, 2004). In addition, observational methods help to limit the level of bias in a research. Observation is an attempt to record what people really do instead of what they claim to do (O'leary, 2005). The use of observational methods is therefore very useful in research focussing on contextual issues. The central intent of observation being to produce data by studying research subjects in their natural setting (Gray, 2004). Additionally, observational methods are also useful in the process of triangulation.

Conversely it is also important to note that the use of observation can raise a number of issues. Firstly the researcher's influence can be overbearing on the whole exercise thus compromising it, as the bias which the researcher may hold could potentially come into play and the researcher may possibly influence the behaviour of research participants (Foster, 1996; O'Leary, 2005; Kumar, 2012). There are also issues of consistency regarding the results of observation, as one observer's interpretation of a situation may vary from that of another (Kumar, 2012). In addition there may also be issues accessing particular

research sites. Various possible constraints regarding access to research situations exist depending on a number of factors, with the political environment often the most problematic (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). The conduct of observational research is also potentially very time-consuming and costly (Foster, 1996; Mason, 1996).

A number of studies on street trading have also made use of observational methods, and although virtually all these studies employ observations in conjunction with other research methods, observational methods are used in different ways. For instance, Lyons and Msoka (2010) used observations at the preliminary stage of their study to identify street trader sites in order to guide their subsequent trader survey, while Hays-Mitchell (1994) and Joseph (2011) employed observations primarily to examine the spatial characteristics of street trading activities, whereas Bromley and Mackie (2009) and Crossa (2009) used observations to investigate various impacts of street trader displacements.

In this study the use of observation was twofold. Preliminary observation of the street trading locations and the goods being sold was conducted during the pilot study, and this informed the sampling strategy for the administration of the face-to-face questionnaires (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2). Secondly observations were also carried out during the completion of the trader questionnaires as the questionnaire included a section on observed details. The average street trader questionnaire took approximately 40 minutes to complete depending on the number of interruptions from customers, other traders and in some cases local government representatives who had come to collect daily payments from traders. Throughout the interview process observational notes were taken, especially during intervals where the nature of street trader's relationship and communication with other individuals was recorded.

Furthermore between interviews and at other times the researcher took a walk through trader sites and participated in trading activities by purchasing goods from traders. General observation of trading activities in terms of product preparation, presentation and storage was also conducted. This process is of significance to the research because it provided a deeper understanding of the activities of traders. Observation often used to infiltrate situations and understand the culture and processes of groups under investigation

(Denscombe, 2003). These observations were recorded as notes in a field dairy and were used to support information garnered from the other data collection methods in the process of qualitative analysis.

A number of times in the process of note-taking, traders became curious as to what the researcher was writing, especially during interruptions when the trader had been communicating with a visitor and had not said anything to the researcher for some time. However the researcher was able to convince them it was all part of the research process, the trust which had been built up before and during the interview made this relatively easy. The familiarity of the researcher with the terrain and his knowledge of local customs enhanced the level of trust between traders and researcher, as it allowed the researcher to fit in within the context and often encouraged traders to be more responsive. On a number of occasions traders referred to the researcher as being; "like someone familiar" and "like a son", and one of the traders even remarked; "someday, I would like my child to be able to write like you".

In addition to the data generated through observation, the observations also helped to facilitate the research process. This took place during the conduct of interviews with the traders, as some traders helped to identify other well-informed traders and those who had experienced the displacements (such as those that had been trading around Oshodi Market prior to the displacements) and those that had only recently started trading, as both groups were interviewed as part of the research. A few traders also assumed the role of gatekeepers as they directly introduced the researcher to other traders, informing them of the purpose of the interview and that they had also been interviewed and this increased the willingness of traders to participate. Traders also assisted in the selection of the four formal markets that formed part of the research as they advised of locations where some of their former colleagues and other displaced street traders had relocated. Traders thereby assumed the position of "collaborative partners" in the research project (Angrosino and Mays de Perez, 2000, pp. 678).

3.6 Research Ethics

Ethical considerations are vitally important throughout a research project, especially research involving interviews (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). However, although ethical considerations pertain to every type of research they assume an increased level of importance in research carried out in the developing world, where numerous ethical dilemmas potentially arise, for example around the interplay of power in the research process as well as in the generation, ownership and exploitation of knowledge (Scheyvens et al. 2009). Therefore ethics informed the research design and implementation. Some key aspects are elaborated upon.

Informed Consent

Informed consent requires that potential research participants agree to be part of a research project based on a clear understanding of the project (Scheyvens et al. 2009). Consent entails ensuring that research participants fully understand the overall purpose of the research, main features of the design, possible inherent personal impacts and advantages of the research as well as the right of participants to withdraw from the study whenever they desire (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009).

However, as different types of research involve varying interactions, methods, designs, and purposes, informed consent sometimes assumes a position of ethical uncertainty (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). It is generally suggested that informed consent be collected and documented at the beginning of a research project. However Scheyvens et al (2009) argue that sometimes it is more appropriate to gain consent verbally through informal, undocumented means, as it may only be well into a research project that participants give their consent, for example by answering questions freely or volunteering information, or by withholding consent, refusing to be interviewed, or remaining silent (Scheyvens et al. 2009).

This approach of verbal consent was employed in this research. Consent was obtained verbally because of the varying levels of literacy amongst street traders and stakeholders chosen for the questionnaire surveys. For street traders, it was important to minimise the length of the interview, because the research potentially inhibited their sales. Civil servants and other key informants may have been reluctant to sign any documents, so again verbal consent was used. Furthermore because all participants are adults (above 18 years of age) and were interviewed in the course of their daily activities this approach was the most suitable.

Anonymity, Confidentiality and Conflict of Interest

Anonymity (non-disclosure of the identities of research participants) and confidentiality (non-disclosure of personal information obtained in the course of field research) are issues that should be considered when executing a research exercise (Wilson, 1992). In this research the information obtained from respondents has generally been anonymised, and interviewees were assured of confidentiality before interviews commenced. In addition all information collected in the course of the research has also been used strictly for the purposes for which it was collected (Scheyvens et al. 2009).

Furthermore this research concerns government policies and procedures in the researcher's home country, which could potentially raise some issues. Conflicts of interest common in situations wherein students conduct research in their countries of origin, especially matters regarding processes and policies of their home governments where political critique may put the research subjects at risk (Scheyvens et al. 2009). This is not a major concern in this research as street trading has been widely studied in many parts of the world and to some extent in Lagos, and although street trading could be relatively controversial, it does not involve a high level of political controversy.

Prior to the commencement of the fieldwork ethical approval was granted by the Ethics Committee in the School of Planning and Geography in accordance with the standard research ethics procedure at Cardiff University. The approval form was submitted following

discussions with the thesis supervisors on the ethical issues raised by the study. Furthermore constant communication was maintained with supervisors throughout the course of the fieldwork, this entailed detailed updates on progress and challenges in the field and assurance of the researcher's wellbeing.

3.7 Limitations

Given the enormous scale of street trading activities in Lagos and Oshodi, the challenging environment surrounding street trader's activities at the time this research was conducted, and the limited availability of previous studies on street trading in Nigeria, some concessions had to be made in the course of this study. A cursory observation of activities in Oshodi suggest a predominance of female traders compared to their male counterparts and the limited available studies on market and street trading in Lagos support this observation. However, due to the dearth of empirical studies on street trading in Lagos this position could not be substantiated and as a result an equal number of male and female traders were sampled for this research. It is therefore likely that women are under-represented in this study.

Children were also omitted in this study, although children constitute a part of the street traders in Oshodi, they were omitted mainly due to the ethical considerations involved in recruiting children for research, especially considering the time constraints surrounding the research and the verbal consent strategy adopted in this research. Furthermore it was identified that children constituted only a marginal population of traders in Oshodi, with majority of children encountered either covering for their parents or guardians for a short period of time while they were away or assisting an older trader. These concessions constitute a significant gap in the research and although they render the study not fully representative, the findings nevertheless sufficiently capture the experience of street traders and other stakeholders in the process of street trader displacements.

Chapter 4: Nigeria, Lagos and Oshodi Market

"… Oshodi embodies Lagos's identity … [it] is the most intense market place in all of Lagos, and perhaps in all of Nigeria. Located at the intersection of the Apapa Oworonshoki Ring Road and the city's north-south spine, Agege [Motor] Road, it has transformed existing sites of the city's transport infrastructure – an incomplete on-ramp and an almost defunct railway …. Oshodi is probably … the longest continuous ribbon of private/public property in Lagos. All along its length the roadsides have been annexed and overrun with trading activities …. Oshodi's traders and transport businesses have literally annexed the transport infrastructure, the rail line and Agege [Motor] Road ….They have turned infrastructure into a market place, a non-place into productivity …" (Koolhaas, et al. 2000, pp. 693-694)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the context of Oshodi and the setting of the research, as background for more detailed survey-based analysis in the next three chapters. This contextual analysis commences with a description of the wider setting of Nigeria and its global and economic significance, as well as the scale of its informal economy. This will be followed by an exploration of the city of Lagos, outlining its unique history, its evolution overtime and key factors that have contributed to the nature of the informal economy in Lagos, with its longstanding relevance and recent prominence in the city highlighted.

The chapter describes the background of Oshodi Market as a context for the detailed case study of displacements, followed by an analysis of efforts by government authorities to manage the informal economy, both in Lagos and Oshodi, together with a discussion of the overall governance structure of Nigeria (examining conflicts across federal, state and local levels of governance) and the effect this has had on urban governance and the management of the informal economy in Lagos. In addition, recent attempts by the state government to manage the informal economy in Lagos and the motivating factors behind these efforts are highlighted.

4.2 Nigeria, Lagos, Oshodi Market and the Informal economy

Nigeria and the Informal economy

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with a population of more than 150 million, it is also one of the largest oil exporting countries in the world, with the capacity to be the wealthiest country in Africa (Istrate, 2007; Nwaka, 2012). Additionally it also boasts the largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa as well as the largest and most dynamic informal economy on the continent (Meagher and Yunusa, 1996; Skinner, 2008; Neuwirth, 2009; Meagher, 2010a).

Schneider (2002) estimates that the size of the Nigerian 'shadow economy' is 57.9% of its Gross National Product (GNP), approximately US$212,6 billion. Onyebueke and Geyer (2011) further explain that although in terms of proportion, the informal economies in Zimbabwe (59.4% or $42, 4 billion) and Tanzania (58.3% or $52, 4 billion) exceed that of Nigeria, however taking into consideration market size and population, Nigeria's informal economy is by far the largest in Africa, with the net worth of the Nigerian informal economy as a proportion of the GNP greater than that of Zimbabwe and Tanzania together.

Politically Nigeria has a mixed history, but in recent times it has managed a reasonable level of political stability. Since gaining independence from the British in 1960 it has experienced a civil war, several military coups and was virtually under continuous military rule up until 1999 when a civilian government was elected (Istrate, 2007). From 1999 to date it has been under democratic rule, but despite relative political stability and undoubted economic potential, it remains an under-developed country with high levels of inequality. Nigeria's economic performance since independence is poor on practically every scale, with more than half of the national population living in poverty and considerably high and increasing levels of inequality (Aigbokhan, 2008; Sala-i-Martin and Subramanian, 2012; BBC, 2014). Nigeria is often referred to as an example of the "oil curse" and the "Dutch disease" phenomena because of its large dependence on oil and its poor development indices (Istrate, 2007, pp.12).

Watts (2009) describes the rise of Nigeria as a key player in global oil geopolitics as being dramatic; explaining that between 1960 and 1973 its oil production grew rapidly from just above 5 million to 600 million barrels, and consequently government oil revenues grew

dramatically. Watts (2009) however labels Nigeria as a model failure, and a negative example for other resource-dependent states, describing the impact of Nigeria's multi-billion dollar oil industry on national development as a huge disappointment, with 85% of oil revenues accruing to 1% of its population, marked deterioration in per capita income and income distribution between 1956 and 2004, and the percentage of Nigerians living on less than a dollar a day escalating from 36% (19 million) to 70% (90 million) between 1970 and 2000.

Lagos metropolitan area

Lagos metropolis and Lagos State are virtually synonymous, as they predominantly cover the same geographical area (Filani, 2012). Lagos is located in the south west of Nigeria, West Africa, and is bordered entirely on the south by the Atlantic Ocean. It was the political capital of Nigeria until 1999 when the capital was moved to Abuja, but although it no longer holds the status of a capital city, it remains the most important city and the economic nerve centre of Nigeria and the entire West African region. Lagos is the commercial capital of Nigeria, accommodating over 70% of the nation's industrial and economic activities, while also the main regional port and manufacturing hub in West Africa, housing the highest number of multinational companies (Istrate, 2007; Mbachu and Lafreniere, 2007).

Transport has been vital to the economic standing and overall development of Lagos, most notably because of its strategic location as a port city. Lagos possessed the best harbour on the West African coast, and thus became the premier seaport in Nigeria, and it also became the focus of rail, road, and air transport following the construction of the Murtala Muhammed International Airport in the city (Abiodun, 1997). These facilities and related activities have expanded overtime and have influenced the tremendous growth experienced in the city. Lagos State has a population of about 17 million inhabitants and is the most urbanised state in Nigeria despite being the state with the smallest land area. It is also undoubtedly a rapidly growing city, It is estimated that between 2011 and 2025, Lagos will be the fastest growing megacity in the world, with a projected average annual growth rate of 3.71% (UN, 2012).

The trade and colonial history of Lagos, and its contemporary development, present a number of challenges.

> "In many ways Lagos is the most spectacular of that class of Nigerian cities which owe their growth and development largely to European influence. Here the chance concentration of traffic imposed by the construction of the railways in 1895 and the later improvement of port facilities in 1914 gave Lagos maximum significance in the predominantly export-trade orientation of the Nigerian economy. Except for Port Harcourt, no other city in the country is favoured by being the joint termini of major land and sea routes. Nonetheless, for many towns and cities whose location remains of relevance to the modern economy, Lagos represents a type both in its rapid rate of growth and in the nature of the problems which are involved in such growth. However, the sheer magnitude of Lagos puts it in a class by itself and compounds many of its problems. For when the era of industrial development began, the port location and the political pre-eminence gave Lagos a peculiar advantage and transformed it into the major focus of the urbanization process of the whole country."

(Mabogunje, 1968, p.238)

The strategic location of Lagos, particularly as a port city has played a vital role in its economic importance, with trade and commerce taking place in Lagos long before colonisation. Evidence shows the existence of periodic markets in Lagos pre- and post-slave trade, with Lagos the most important port on the West African coast for legitimate commerce, which was the core of its existence (Mabogunje, 1968; Aderigbigbe, 1975).

During colonisation, the commercial potential of Lagos was valuable to the British, and they sought to build on this, mainly by improving transport links within and into Lagos (Peil, 1991). After colonisation the improved economic and transportation conditions were followed by a period of industrialisation which brought about a phenomenal population increase in Lagos, predominantly as a result of a high level of migration in search of job opportunities (Mabogunje, 1968). The evolution of Lagos into a centre of governance has also had a major impact on its significance. Lagos was the seat of the colonial government and after independence, emerged as the national capital and the commercial, social, political, administrative and financial hub of Nigeria (Mabogunje, 1968; Peil, 1991; Abiodun, 1997), although the capital has since moved to Abuja.

The Informal economy in Lagos

The informal economy has always existed in African countries, with traditional barter and informal exchanges commonplace in the traditional African subsistence economy (Brown, 1995). The informal economy in Lagos was shaped by locals and is accepted as part of indigenous culture (Peil, 1991; Immerwahr, 2007). The role of commerce in the development of post-independence Lagos cannot be overstated. Business enterprises included trade amongst locals and with foreign interests, with transactions conducted through both formal and informal channels. Commercial activities have always been very strong in Lagos, with transactions taking place formally and informally (Abiodun, 1997). Foreign influenced trade is mainly formal in nature while informal trade is intrinsically linked to local practices and engrained in the local culture.

The location of Lagos as a coastal city has played a major role in the informal economy in Lagos. Axel (1999) explains that the vast Nigerian coastline along the West African coast has facilitated a long tradition of informal and formal fishing activities in the Region, facilitating trade, especially along the coast of Lagos because of its relative accessibility, with fishing and trade dominated by the dominant Yoruba ethnic group of the region. The Igbo ethnic group from eastern Nigeria is identified as being especially successful in informal commerce, especially informal small-scale manufacturing (Meagher, 2010b). However, participation in the informal economy cuts across virtually all ethnic groups in Nigeria. Well established ethnic trading networks make up for the growing shortcomings of the national Nigerian economy through the establishment of local and global links which exist amongst all three main Nigerian ethnic groups, the Yoruba, the Igbo and the Hausa, and many of the 300 or more minority groups (Meagher, 2010a).

Recent events have significantly magnified the size and importance of the informal economy; in particular the major changes that have taken place in the Nigerian economy since around the 1950s in line with global trends (see Section 2.2). Abiodun (1997) explains that in the 1950s when Nigeria implemented import substitution industrialisation (ISI) policies, Lagos took precedence over other cities because of its good transportation links, and as a result numerous industries were situated in Lagos. However, as Abiodun (1997) argues, the subsequent uptake of structural adjustment policies (SAPs) in 1986 following the severe effects of reduced oil prices and the economic recession of the 1970s led to the closure of many of these industries, leading to large scale retrenchments and widespread

unemployment. Political instability and safety concerns during the period worsened the effects of SAPs, and in the absence of a social security system large numbers of the unemployed, including graduates, moved into the informal economy, even formally employed workers taking up supplementary jobs.

As argued in Section 2.2 street trading is a clear manifestation of the informal economy, as also seen in Lagos. A large increase in street trading activities was witnessed in Lagos following the 1970s, with many of the items on sale quite meagre (Abiodun, 1997). Over the years the scale of the informal economy in Lagos has escalated to the extent that it is now dominates economic activities in the state with more than half of the 17 million inhabitants of the state active in the informal economy. It is estimated that about 50% to 75% of the workforce in Lagos are employed informally (LSG, 2004).

Oshodi Market

Oshodi Market is located in Oshodi-Isolo Local Government Council (OILG) of Lagos state. The local government which is located in the North-East of Lagos was created in 1980, and is one of 57 local councils in the state. Historically, Oshodi was originally a small agrarian settlement with minor trading links for farm produce, but it has grown dramatically over the years, and locational and transport considerations have been key to its development. Oshodi is relatively central in location and lies at the convergence of various important transport routes: a railway station along the main rail line in the city, two major highways; the Agege Motor Road and the Oworonshoki/Oshodi/ Apapa Expressway, and several suburban bus terminals. This in turn led to its growth as a huge market site. The Agege Motor Road is a Major highway which connects Lagos to the neighbouring Ogun State and the rest of Nigeria, and is the main road link to the Murtala Muhammed International Airport, approximately five kilometres beyond Oshodi Market. Oshodi therefore serves several "complex and overlapping functions: the train station, the urban and suburban bus stations (several stations spread all over the place), goods transportation station, markets, etc." (Aradeon, 1997, pp. 52).

Oshodi is also a hub of trade and commerce. From a traditional farm market it has evolved over time, with various formal markets in the vicinity built both by local government and private entrepreneurs. In addition a vast array of street traders also sought to take

advantage of the opportunities inherent in Oshodi by occupying spaces in close proximity to the formal markets, setting up shop along their edges. The Agege Motor Road and nearby streets, and the adjoining rail line, constituting an enormous fluid informal market (see Figures 4.1 - 4.3). Oshodi Market thus became perhaps one of the largest continuous open markets in West Africa (Aradeon, 1997).

Interestingly prior to the street trader displacements in 2009, the largest concentration by far of street traders was along the Agege Motor Road, extending to the parallel railway line nearby and surrounding spaces (Figure 4.3) as most of the bus stops and parks, and the train station are located along Agege Motor Road which guarantee a constant flow of pedestrian and vehicular traffic. The fusion of constant traffic and vibrant commercial activities were uniquely interwoven in a sort of flux which characterised Oshodi, and produced a unique energetic market setting, creating a linear market typology (Koolhaas, et al. 2000). Although no accurate number of street traders in Oshodi exists, it certainly ran into several thousands prior to the trader displacements (Koolhaas, et al. 2000), with the site playing host to over five million commuters and traders daily (OILG, 2010).

Figure 4.1 *Oshodi before trader displacements in 2009* **Source** *Koolhaas, et al. (2000)*
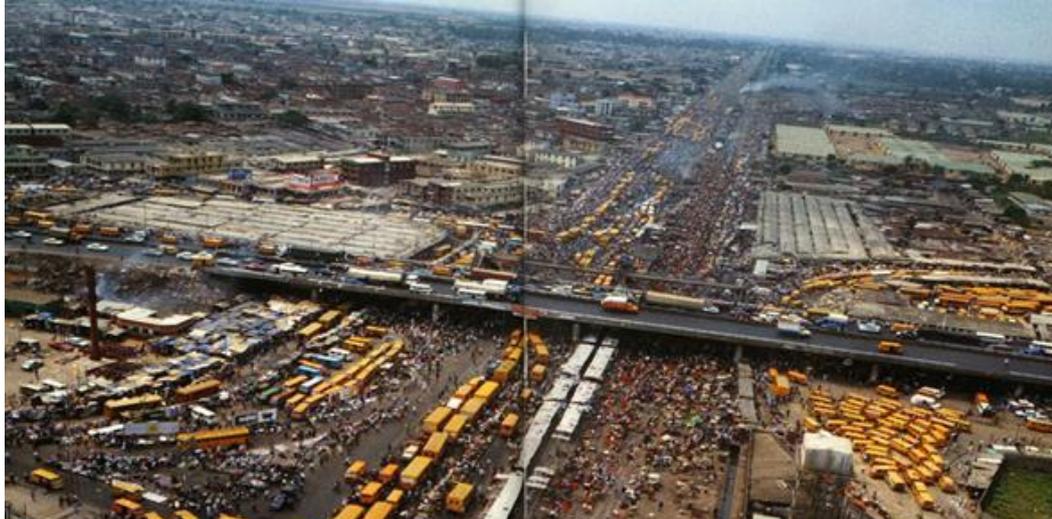
Figure 4.2 *Map of Oshodi* **Source** *Google Maps (2013)*
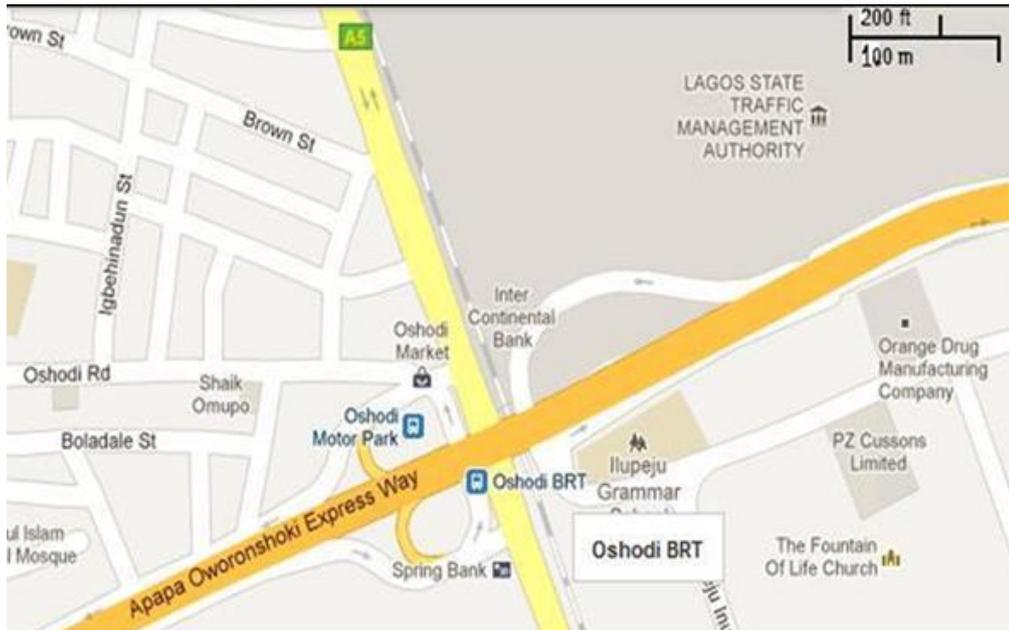
Figure 4.3 *Rail line and Agege Motor Road before 2009 trader displacements (left) and after* **Source** *Basinski (2009)*

As economic conditions in Nigeria worsened over the years, the scale of street trading activities in Oshodi increased, and Oshodi Market developed into a huge market site centred on its function as a key transportation node. The arrival of the railway line transformed Oshodi into a major market place, with the railway infrastructure encouraging a linear orientation to trading activities, to the extent that the market became the emblem of Oshodi (Aradeon, 1997). Oshodi was essentially sustained in a state of flux, as traders took over the rail line and Agege Motor Road with the swath of appropriated land divided into parallel strips with varying levels of permanence, and fluidity, largely bordered by more permanent concrete markets, with the market becoming more temporary as it

flowed towards the centre. Although other markets in Lagos share similar features, the linear orientation of Oshodi made it unique (Koolhaas, et al. 2000).

Consequently due to the complex interactions that shaped the site, it was characterised by a high level of congestion, security concerns and other associated problems, despite its immense potential. In their study of informal urbanism in Lagos, Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas and his team describe the layout of Oshodi as being 'incomplete' because the transport infrastructure at Oshodi was not completed as planned, with the original plan aborted and modified during execution; he therefore argues that the uncompleted transport facilities make traffic circulation challenging and leaves Oshodi open to capture by various interests (including street traders) which relegate its transport function to secondary significance. The inadequate transport infrastructure at Oshodi worsened the traffic situation in Lagos, but if analysed based on an alternative criterion other than transportation, Oshodi is massively effective, as it turns congestion into destination (Koolhaas, et al. 2000).

Aradeon (1997), also an architect, in his study of urban design at Oshodi with a focus on transport networks described Oshodi as being similar to other nodal sites in Lagos, which suffer from functional failure due to the failure of planners and managers to successfully merge the intertwined functions which it serves (including a transport hub and market place) in response to the needs of the inhabitants of Lagos. Rather, Oshodi is the outcome of an inefficient and dynamic convergence of various forces on this strategic site, and as a result its potential remains unrealisable. There has been a longstanding need for intervention in Oshodi as well as the improved management of informal economic activities in Lagos. Government authorities (especially federal and state) have continuously sought to achieve this, with the typical approach being the displacement of informal economic activities to relocation sites. For example in Oshodi, street trader displacements have been undertaken on several occasions, with the most recent and largest executed in 2009 by state government officials. However this intolerant approach to informal activities has enjoyed limited success, as not long after displacements street traders return to their previous locations (see Section 5.2).

Figure 4.4 *Map showing locations of some formal markets in Oshodi*
Source *Google Earth (2013)*

A similar scenario has played out following events in 2009, after which it was envisaged that traders would relocate to any of the several formal markets in Oshodi, four of which have been selected for this study (see Figure 4.4). This time around most traders have not relocated to formal markets as is usually the case, however curiously traders have not returned to their previous spaces as quickly as normal, and the majority of them now occupy a dense network of side roads which link to the Agege Motor Road (see Figure 4.5). Therefore this particular case provides an appropriate case study for this research, especially considering the scale of Oshodi Market and its overall significance. A detailed description of the displacement process is given from newspaper reports and from observers in Section 6.3.

Figure 4.5 *Traders along smaller neighbourhood roads* **Photo** *Omoegun (2013)*

4.3 Urban management and street trade in Lagos State

The decision to displace street traders from public space and the overall management of street trading activities in Lagos is the outcome of interactions between different levels of government. Therefore this section examines the structure of urban governance in Lagos as it pertains to the management of street trade and the displacement of street traders, with specific reference to Oshodi Market. The section includes an elaboration of how the federal, state and local levels of governance individually and collectively influence urban and street trader management in Lagos.

Nigeria has a federal system of government consisting of three tiers of governance; federal, state and local levels. Each level is responsible for a set of functions and headed by an elected official; the President, Governor and Local Government Chairman at the federal, state and local levels respectively. Despite the clear hierarchy, boundaries are often unclear in terms of power and responsibility, particularly with regards to the authority of state governments. As a result, state governments are vital entities in the overall process of national and local governance. The provision of most public goods is a responsibility concurrently shared between federal and state governments and participation in the delivery of most local public services is shared between state governments and local governments (Khemani, 2005). A major consequence of this arrangement is the considerable weakness of local governments as they are generally subservient to federal and state governments, particularly in terms of finance.

The sources through which local governments are financed are twofold. Local government financing is based on internally generated revenues and statutory revenue allocations from the federal government and state governments (Khemani, 2005). However the internally generated revenues of local governments are generally low and erratic; accruing mainly from fees and licenses, such as property rates, market fees and bicycle and hairdressing licenses (World Bank, 2002). Although in Lagos revenues are substantial and higher than in the rest of the country, due to its status as the main urban centre of Nigeria (Khemani, 2005), internally generated revenues in Lagos and elsewhere are of limited significance in comparison to central transfers. Furthermore, locally generated revenues are often an erratic income stream and the allocation of central transfers is sometimes delayed, and thus the capacity of local governments to deliver day-to-day urban management functions can be severely compromised.

The challenges pertaining to the inadequate separation of powers between levels of government is further compounded by the issues surrounding the current 1998 Nigerian Constitution, and subsequent legislation, which fail clearly to define the roles and responsibilities of each level of government. The constitution was written hastily in 1998 under the supervision of the departing military regime just before the election of a new civilian government, and thus is not the outcome of broad consultations amongst major political alliances to produce a regulatory framework for Nigerian political life (World Bank, 2002). The clear shortcomings of the constitution, as discussed below, have had an adverse effect on the overall functioning of the national governance structure, notably the relationship between state and local governments.

A major incident which highlights the effects of the inadequacies of the Nigerian Constitution on the functioning of the three levels of governance is the tension generated by the creation of new local government areas in some states in the early 2000s. Okafor (2011) details the most celebrated case in Lagos, where the state government in 2002 sought to use its constitutional powers to create additional local government areas in the state, in response to population increases in the area, but did this without the involvement of the federal government. Whilst the constitution vests powers to create new local government areas with state governments it confers a confirmatory role to federal government, through the National Assembly. The federal government consequently perceived this action as disregarding its authority, and in reaction suspended federal allocations to the Lagos State Government meant for onward disbursement to all local governments in the state.

Okafor (2011) further explains that this suspension of federal allocations was unconstitutional as no tier of government has the power to deny the other its allocation, and accordingly the Supreme Court of Nigeria ruled on the case instituted by the Attorney-General of Lagos State vs. the Attorney-General of the Federation in 2004, on behalf of the Lagos State Government, judging that the newly created local government areas were constitutional, although inchoate as they had not been confirmed by the National Assembly as stipulated in the constitution, but based on the constitution there was no reason for their creation not to be confirmed. The court therefore mandated the federal government to release the withheld funds to Lagos State Government for onward disbursement to local governments. This and other similar issues have led to ongoing calls for a review of the Nigerian constitution.

Constitutional ambiguity is also evident in the management of street trade and the informal economy, as laws affecting street trade have generally emanated from national or state level rather than local government level which has predominant jurisdiction over street trade. For example at the national level in 1984 the ruling military government embarked on a hostile crusade aimed at achieving environmental awareness and sanitation, titled; War Against Indiscipline (WAI), this policy attributed 'undisciplined' street life to a lack of patriotism, and the campaign essentially sought the total elimination of the country's informal economy through the destruction of slums and the removal of markets amongst other measures (Nwaka, 2005; Immerwahr, 2007).

At the state level, Lagos State Government's 1984 *Street Trading and Illegal Markets Edict* stipulated harsh penalties for illegal trading which included a monetary fine in addition to three months imprisonment with hard labour for a third offence (Oloko, 1991 cited in Immerwahr, 2007). More recent efforts aimed at curbing the activities of street traders have also been launched by Lagos State Government, including the establishment of a special environmental cleansing enforcement body, the Kick Against Indiscipline (KAI) task force set up within the state Ministry of the Environment, which (like the former WAI) is virtually dedicated to the eradication of informal activities, particularly street trading (Basinski, 2009).

Whilst local governments have considerable responsibilities regarding trading activities, few bylaws are produced to manage street trade. The function of levying taxes on markets has been devolved to local governments since the 1950s (Fourchard, 2010), but state governments, particularly the Lagos State Government, have been very influential in the management of markets. In Lagos, the state government has assumed increased control over the functioning and redevelopment of markets, although the responsibility of taxation still rests predominantly with local government authorities (Fourchard, 2010; Filani, 2012).

In recent times the management of street trading by the Lagos State Government has taken central importance as the state government strives towards the attainment of 'megacity status'. This goal entails an ambitious infrastructure development and re-branding programme in which street trading is deemed as inappropriate, with the overall aspiration being to develop Lagos into a glamorous global city (Basinski, 2009; Nuewirth, 2013). Despite the limited availability of clear policy documents spelling out this ambition, it has been continuously promoted by political leaders since the return of civilian rule in Lagos in 1999. This objective of promoting a global image arises partly from a desire to

address shortcomings inherited from previous military administrations prior to 1999, such as substantial infrastructural and governance deficits, a preponderance of informal activities and an overwhelming negative reputation (Filani, 2012).

The drive towards this goal is strengthened by the survival of democratic rule in Nigeria since 1999, and the attainment of a level of continuity in governance. In its 50 years as an independent state, Lagos has been under military rule for 25 years and the frequent changes between civilian and military rule before 1999 restricted institutional continuity and enduring policies. However the return of democratic rule in 1999 with the election of Senator Bola Ahmed Tinubu (1999 - 2007) as governor and the subsequent election of his chief of staff; Babatunde Raji Fashola (2007 - 2015) as his successor has led to a degree of administrative continuity (Olokesusi, 2011; Filani, 2012). The megacity ambition was first propagated in 2000 by the former governor, and has been fervently carried forward by the current governor (Danmole and Lawal, 2013; Nuewirth, 2013).

Since 1999, and especially more recently, the Lagos State Government has undertaken aggressive efforts to improve governance, living conditions, and the image of the state. Consequently in 2005, in line with national policy, the Lagos State Government developed the Lagos State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (LASEEDS) as a vehicle to promote sustainable development, one of its main goals being to make Lagos a model African megacity and a hub of financial and economic growth in Nigeria and West Africa. The strategy includes a ten point agenda covering: environmental and physical planning, including city beautification and improved waste management; road and transportation improvements including road rehabilitation and integrated mass transit; improved power and water supply; education; employment; health; physical and food security, and shelter and revenue enhancement (Filani, 2012). A key part of this ambition has been the organisation of perceived unorganised areas of the city, with particular implications for informal activities, especially street trading.

It is clear that the management of street trading in Lagos is a function mainly assumed by the state government as part of its urban management functions and not local governments who have overarching responsibilities for street trading activities. There is scant evidence of laws regulating street trading activities at either the state level or the local government level, the only available law directly related to street trading activities in Lagos is the Lagos State Government's Edict of 1984 (amended in 1996) which prohibits street trading and illegal markets in all public spaces in Lagos state, thus highlighting the

prominent role which the state government takes in the management of street trade in the state. Furthermore the dominant influence of the Lagos State Government in urban governance and management in the state (see Section 5.2), in particular, street trader management, compounds this situation. This is demonstrated in its report of its achievements for the Lee Kuan Yew World City Prize 2010, in which the 'reclamation and restoration of Oshodi' was highlighted along with other projects, such as the landscaping and beautification of various public spaces, and the establishment of the Bus Rapid Transit Scheme in Lagos.

The report is essentially a celebration of the actions taken by the state government in Oshodi and the state generally, and describes Oshodi as "the unwanted symbol and signature of Lagos" and a shameful representation of the city which was desperately in need of a transformation prior to the street trader displacements in 2009, with the diverse combination of human and vehicular traffic in the absence of regulation creating "heavy traffic congestion due to the blockage of the roads and rail lines by over 600 traders who had forced over 6 million commuters to take alternative routes", thereby causing traffic congestion, loss of man-hours and reduced productivity (LSG, 2010, pp. 16). The report, with some exaggeration, concluded that the environs were becoming a criminal haven and an environmental hazard, and thus the government "resolved with fierce political will to reclaim" the public asset from misuse which was costing the state an estimated 14 billion Naira (US$ 100 million) in economic losses annually, and by so doing protect the lives of the state's citizens as well as the environment, and return the highway to traffic (LSG, 2010, pp. 17).

The report (LSG, 2010) further presents its vision for the reclamation of Oshodi as being the provision of an alternative traffic route, which is tidy, safe and protected, and ensuring unhindered traffic flow by removing traffic impediments and having environmental zero tolerance areas. The objectives were stated as the regeneration of a key transportation asset by means of trader resettlement, environmental sanitation, enhanced traffic flow, amongst other measures, and strategies employed comprising; deliberations with private organisations, market associations, and civil society organisations on the benefits of the regeneration; the relocation of traders to alternative formal market locations; robust traffic management, amongst others. While the lessons learnt were identified as including a zero tolerance to street trading and environmental nuisances.

However despite the argued successes of the actions undertaken by the state government in Oshodi there are recent indications that some of the problems that motivated trader displacements have returned. The traffic and security situation in Oshodi are still a major issue for residents and passers-by, as these concerns have seemingly remerged despite the displacement of street traders from the main pathways and public spaces (Vanguard newspaper, January 07; June 08, 2014). A further indication of the dominant role of the Lagos State Government, led by the state governor, and the limited involvement of local government(s) in the events in Oshodi and urban management generally in Lagos is that the development teams for the transformation of Oshodi and other projects outlined in the Lee Kuan Yew World City Prize 2010 report comprised of the state governor and a number of officials at the state level and others, but there is a conspicuous absence of any local government representative(s). The lack of involvement of the local government in the trader displacements in Oshodi is corroborated in the manner in which it is reported in the 2010 annual brochure of Oshodi-Isolo Local Government:

> "Sunday, January 4, 2009 – marked the emergence of a new Oshodi under the administration of His Excellency, Babatunde Raji Fashola, the Executive Governor of Lagos State, in consonance with his vision of building a clean, green and sanitized Mega Lagos City … the Executive Chairman of Oshodi-Isolo Local Government foresightedly constructed [the Kairo formal market] in a bid to accommodate the displaced illegal traders along the Agege Motor Road."

> (OILG, 2010, pp. 31)

4.4 Chapter summary

The setting within which this study is based has been outlined in this chapter, with an emphasis on the appropriateness of Oshodi Market as the case study, based on this discussion some significant points emerge and some key ones are hereby highlighted. Nigeria is a significant country in the global economy, being the most populous country in Africa and one of the largest oil exporting countries in the world. Furthermore it is the country with the largest formal economy, and arguably the largest and most diverse informal economy on the continent. The scale and nature of the Nigerian economy is fundamentally linked to its natural resource wealth, as this has served to expand its economy while also escalating economic inequality, which together with political and

economic instability has significantly contributed to the widespread prevalence of informal economic activities, especially in Lagos, its largest city.

Locational factors have also played a major role in the large size of both the formal and informal economy in Nigeria, particularly in Lagos, as the vast Nigerian coastline has facilitated trade, with the coast of Lagos the most active. Informal economic activities have a long history in Lagos as they are fundamentally linked to traditional practices, however overtime the size of the informal economy has escalated due to a number of reasons, including the adoption of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) in 1986 by the Nigerian government which brought about a contraction in formal employment and a significant rise in informal economic activities, most notably street trade.

Spatial, economic, political and socio-cultural factors also underlie the growth of Oshodi Market, as its location as a central transport hub has made it attractive to various interests (including street traders). Oshodi was traditionally a small agrarian market but, due to the development of transport links and the economic decline and political instability in Nigeria, it grew into an intense, informally organised, and controversial market site, with limited government management. Different interventions have been attempted by both federal and state authorities in order to address the challenging conditions in Oshodi. These efforts have predominantly focussed on the removal of street traders from the major public pathways, but they have generally failed to achieve this aim. However, the most recent effort by the Lagos State Government in 2009 to displace street traders in Oshodi, tied to a major attempt to improve the city's image seems to have been relatively effective and therefore presents a good case study for this research.

The national urban governance framework in Lagos State, as it specifically affects Oshodi was also underlined; the state government led by the governor is more influential than federal or local government. The dominance of the state government is connected to the history of political instability in Nigeria and has had an adverse impact on street trading in Lagos. Furthermore the nature of the relationship between the Lagos State Government and the Oshodi-Isolo Local Government within which the Oshodi Market is situated, with regards to the trader displacements and urban management generally was found to be quite curious, and an investigation of this dynamic is presented in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Urban Governance, Public Space Management and Street Trade in Lagos

> "What we do … is … persuasive compliance when these laws are made or the rules and regulations … we do some stakeholders meetings, we get them involved … and we ensure that we let them see the need for compliance …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 3)

5.1 Introduction

The next three chapters examine the three research objectives that guided this study. Chapter 5 looks at Objective 1 which aims to: *'Critically examine urban management and perceptions of public space in relation to street trade',* and the three sub-questions which examine: the nature of urban management affecting street trade, processes of engagement between authorities and traders during the displacement, and conflicts between traders and other stakeholders in public space. Chapter 6 then examines Objective 2 relating to the use of public space by street traders and other public space users and Chapter 7 examines Objective 3 by focussing on the link between the Right to the City and street trade.

This chapter first provides a review of urban governance and the process of urban planning and management in Lagos, with specific attention to the level of stakeholder participation involved in urban management in the city. The analysis centres on the street trader displacements in Oshodi Market and related issues. The chapter commences with a brief overview, history and an analysis of urban governance and management in Lagos State and Oshodi-Isolo Local Government, with particular reference to street trader management in order to identify key factors that guide urban management and the displacement of street traders in Lagos. It advances the discussion in Chapter 4 by examining the perceptions of key officials on the management of street trade and relations between state and local levels of governance.

Next the chapter explores the level of stakeholder participation in urban management in Lagos, with a focus on the nature of engagement between government authorities and street traders and their participation and voice in urban planning processes. Relevant impacts of the overall urban management approach on the management of public space and street trading activities are also highlighted. Thereafter, urban management conflicts between different stakeholders in Lagos are explored, in particular the role of the state

government based on the nature of urban governance. Data for this chapter is drawn from academic, government and media publications, semi-structured interviews with key informant government officials (KIs), and questionnaire surveys with street traders (both displaced and non-displaced traders) and selected stakeholders.

5.2 Urban governance and the management of street trade in Lagos State

This overall section examines the intricacies of urban governance and management in Lagos and how this relates to the activities of street traders. The evolution of urban planning and the management of street trade in Lagos are also explored in order to provide a good understanding of current urban affairs.

Conflict and confusion in governmental roles and responsibilities

This section focuses specifically on urban management in Lagos at the subnational level by considering how conflict and confusion between state and local governments and their different institutions affect street trade. This follows from the elaboration of the conflicting power relations between federal, state and local governments over urban management in Lagos outlined in Chapter 4, in which the dominance of state governments was underlined (see Section 4.3). The section gives a brief outline of the overall governance framework within Lagos (see Table 5.1) and looks at urban governance in practice, with specific reference to street trader management.

Table 5.1 *Governance framework in Lagos State*

Structure of Governance in Lagos State
There are two levels of governance within Lagos: the Lagos State Government (LSG) and 57 local government councils. Both levels are headed by democratically elected heads and deputies. The Governor and Deputy Governor at state level, and the local government Chairman and Vice-Chairman at local government level are the overall heads of multifaceted and dynamic institutional frameworks.
State Government
The Lagos State Government operates a tripartite structure comprising the Legislature, Executive, and Judicial arms (LSG 2009). The Lagos State Parliament is the Legislature, a 40 member uni-cameral parliament presided over by an Honourable Speaker, which legislates according to the powers conferred by the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and exercises oversight responsibilities on the executive.
The Executive includes the elected state Governor who has executive powers, supported by the Deputy Governor and the State Executive Council. The State Executive Council consists of the Governor, Deputy Governor, Secretary to the State Government, Head of Service (HOS), Commissioners and Special Advisers. The council is supported by Permanent Secretaries who execute the decisions taken by the executive through Ministries, Departments, Agencies [MDAs], and other institutions.
The Judiciary is headed by the State Chief Judge and holds judicial powers for the state, possesses autonomy within a national judicial administrative system under the overall headship of the Supreme Court of Nigeria, and dispenses justice to all concerned (LSG, 2009).
Local Government
The structure of local government is similar to that at the state level, also consisting of the three arms of the Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary, but its operations are largely subservient to that of the state. Published information by the Oshodi-Isolo Local Government (OILG) (2010) explains that the Legislature comprises seven elected councillors representing each constituent community of the local government and headed by a Leader, with responsibilities including the approval of the local government budget, the creation of bye-laws, and the execution of functions occasionally assigned to it by state law.
The Executive is led by the local government Chairman who serves as the Chief Executive Officer (CEO), supported by the Vice-Chairman. The CEO has authority to appoint and allocate responsibilities to Supervisors, Special Advisers, and Assistants for suitable governance, with the entire executive arm responsible for the implementation, support and enforcement of laws created by the local government legislature.
The local Judiciary is the customary court, charged with ensuring adherence to local customs and the enforcement of local government bye-laws under the control of the state's judicial mechanism.

A major issue regarding the responsibilities of each level of government is funding. In Nigeria administrative finances accrue mainly from a single source and are centrally managed. Government financing in Nigeria is largely dependent on oil revenues, which are legislated for and administered federally and accrue into the central federation account, and distributed according to a set formula amongst the three tiers of government (World Bank, 2003). State and local governments are thus highly dependent on central policy, which for local government authorities is compounded because of their subservience to

state authorities. Statutory allocations from federal government are the main source of finance for state and local government, but the role of local governments is unclear in the national constitution, as although local governments have authority to make bylaws, the constitution empowers state governments to override local council bylaws (World Bank, 2003).

In terms of powers which each level of government possesses the state government is very influential, as according to the Nigerian constitution most powers accorded to state governments are concurrent with those of the federal government (World Bank, 2002). Local governments are essentially created, controlled and regulated by state governments and are only able to exercise their powers in line with enabling legislation enacted by states (World Bank, 2002; World Bank, 2003) (see Table 5.1 for governance framework in Lagos State). Local governments are thus almost totally dependent on state policy with little political autonomy. Thus the management of street trade and the approach adopted towards the management of the informal economy by local government is directed by the agenda of the state government as expressed by an official in the finance department of Oshodi-Isolo Local Government (OILG):

> " … Lagos State Government has mandated all local governments in Lagos State to make sure that they perform their role towards both the informal economy and the formal economy. What we mean by these informal people are, these street traders … where they just take any place and begin to do their businesses, Lagos State Government says that it is not good in terms of their vision of [a] Mega city … so as this vision is being put forward by the Lagos State Government the local government too cannot be exempted because we are the closest government to the grassroots …" (OILG Official, Finance Department, KI 9).

Consequently at local level there is no desire or capacity to develop alternative or independent plans at variance with those of the state government. The erosion of political independence by the LSG was alluded to by the same official of OILG, in his discussion of the efforts of OILG to construct new modern markets to rehouse displaced street traders in line with the state government's transformation plan for Oshodi, referring to local government's efforts to protect its revenues:

> "… it is one of the constitutional rights given to local governments to collect revenues on markets, trading relates to markets and you know Oshodi is almost synonymous with trading. So we have enormous challenges in curbing and putting these people in the right perspective without hindering their daily … transactions … [thus] the local government is making efforts to ensure the trading activities at Oshodi do not go away. But nevertheless does not affect the plan and vision of the state" (OILG Official, Finance Department, KI 9).

Retaining a viable market is particularly important as levies on both market and street traders generate a significant income for OILG and displacements affect revenues collected.

> "… market fees form a significant part of the local governments internally generated revenue … Oshodi being synonymous with markets we generate about 40% of our internally generated revenue from market fees …" (OILG Official, Finance Department, KI 9; OILG Official, Commerce Department, KI 11).

Any locally-generated revenue is particularly important as a way of reducing dependence on state transfers. The existing situation restricts the capacity of local governments and has contributed to widespread, continuous and growing calls for more independence for local governments, as highlighted by a senior political appointee in OILG:

> "… if the federal government could increase the allocation that comes to the local government … [it would] give local government autonomy to run things on their own. Local government would stand and operate on its own rather than having to request allocations from the state for disbursement to local government … the bureaucracy slows down a lot of things and it takes power away from local government. So if we get local government autonomy things will run better at the local government level"(OILG Official, Local Gov't Chairman's Office, KI 10).

Another issue in urban governance pertains to the clarity of roles and responsibilities within different scales of government. There is a clear ambiguity in the functions and involvement of local government departments and state government ministries in the management of street trade, with no clear arrangement as to which departments or state ministries have jurisdiction over the management of street trade and the wider informal economy. At local government level, several departments are involved in one way or the other in the management of informal economic activities:

> "We have a lot of departments that have one thing or the other to do with the informal economy … the department of agriculture … the revenue department … the department of waste sanitation and environmental services … the department of works … the women's affairs department …" (OILG Official, Finance Department, KI 9; OILG Official, Local Gov't Chairman's Office, KI 10).

Similar overlaps are evident at state level with a variety of ministries responsible for different aspects of the informal economy and street trade, and as such it is unclear which of the state ministries has the overarching responsibility towards street trading:

> " … its multidimensional [the management of the informal economy] … the Ministry of the Environment, Physical Planning, Lands, Commerce and Industry, Agriculture … Ministry of women affairs and Poverty Alleviation … the Ministry of Transportation … Justice …[are all involved in the management of informal economic activities]" (LSG Officials, KI's 2, 6, 7, 8).

However the Lagos State Ministry of the Environment has a pivotal role in the management of street trade, with the major regulatory body, the Kick Against Indiscipline (KAI) office, located in the ministry. The mandate underlying the creation of the Ministry is; "… to secure a clean, healthier and sustainable environment which will be conducive for tourism, economic growth and wellbeing of its citizenry" and its vision being; "A flood-free, hygienic and beautiful Lagos", furthermore its responsibilities include the "…. Beautification and development of open spaces and [the] Development, control and maintenance of public parks and gardens (Lagos State Ministry of the Environment, 2014). Thus it appears that street trade is classified as an environmental problem, rather than an economic development or social issue.

The Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development seems a more logical place for the management of activities in public space, given its remit includes:

> "the Initiation, Preparation, Formulation and Implementation of physical planning, Urban Development and Urban Renewal Policies and Programmes; Preparation of Regional, Master and Model City plans; Evaluation, Relocation and Regularisation of Urban based Developments and Activities – Filling Stations, Banks, Eateries, Markets, Institutions and Informal sectors; Development control and Removal of illegal structures; Urban Renewal and Regeneration; site selection for Government Agencies and other institutions … " (LSG, 2012, PP. 7; 2013, PP.7).

Furthermore the location of the KAI office in an environment ministry seems to heighten the perception of street trade as a form of environmental pollution, rather than an urban management issue. Carrieri and Murta (2011) in their study of trader displacements in Brazil also describe a similar misconception in the management of street trade, highlighting how in an attempt to manage street trade by relocating traders to formal markets city authorities ended up transforming a social problem into a purely economic issue.

Authoritarian and modernist approaches to urban planning and management

Urban policy in Lagos adheres to a deep-rooted authoritarian approach to urban management, wherein key actors formulate policies with limited involvement of those affected by the plans. Urban planning in Lagos has a long and largely consistent history, strongly connected to the era of colonial rule. Formal town planning in Lagos can be traced to about 1854, when the British colonised Nigeria and instituted new forms of urban development to protect settler interests with little heed to local opinions and forms of organisation (Gandy, 2006; Oduwaye, 2006; Immerwahr, 2007).

In the early years of colonial rule several planning laws and regulations were promulgated in a bid to improve the poor environmental conditions that the British encountered in Nigeria, especially Lagos (Oduwaye, 2006), including;

• 1877 Inspector of Nuisance Regulations;

• 1902 Planning Ordinance;

• Public Health Ordinance of 1908;

• Township Ordinance No. 29 in 1917;

• Planning Ordinance of 1928, and

• Town and Country Planning Law, 1946.

These laws were fundamentally authoritarian in nature, as they were intended to establish colonial control over urban spaces, particularly due to the topography of Lagos as a unique port city (See Section 4.2). Gandy (2006) explains that a clear disparity in living conditions between European elites and the local majority was an apparent feature of Lagos right from its early stages of development, as colonial powers were mainly focused on the commercial interest of the port and failed to tackle existent problems of overcrowding, disease and inadequate infrastructure. Due to the swampy terrain and virtual absence of a sewage system, Lagos became one of the most insalubrious cities in West Africa.

Gandy (2006) argues that in the process of addressing these health concerns, urban infrastructure investment was concentrated in wealthy districts and the structures of governance modified to create an iniquitous and precarious legacy of authoritarian and oppressive control over the indigenous majority. This history has thus left a lasting impact on the city. Inherent imprints of colonial spatial control are evident in the pervading urban form of Lagos; with well provisioned wealthy districts existing alongside inadequately serviced traditional communities (Gandy, 2006; Immerwahr, 2007). The overall approach to

urban planning and management in Lagos is therefore fundamentally authoritarian in nature largely due to its being imbedded in the colonial history of the city.

Urban Planning

Following independence in 1960 and the creation of Lagos State in 1972, various town planning laws were introduced with varying levels of success. The *Lagos State Urban and Regional Planning Edict No. 2 of 1988* was formulated by the military government, with this Edict derived from the *Nigerian Urban and Regional Planning Law, Decree 88 of 1992*, which used to be the only comprehensive law covering the whole country after the 1946 Act was repealed (Oduwaye, 2006; Oduwaye and Lawanson, 2008). The 1992 planning law was particularly important in Nigeria, with its key feature being the provision for a federal planning framework, through the recognition of the three levels of government (federal, state and local) as the basis for physical planning, with each level empowered with specific planning functions (Oduwaye, 2006; Oduwaye and Lawanson, 2008). However numerous problems were identified in the implementation of the Lagos 1998 Planning Edict, such as the failure to implement the 1992 planning law at federal level, administrative issues at state and local levels, and the lack of autonomy at the local level (Oduwaye and Lawanson, 2008).

The Land Use Decree No 6 of 1978 is perhaps the most powerful planning law in Nigeria, as it entrusts all land within a state to the governor, to be held in trust and administered in the interest of all Nigerians, and despite its inadequacies it is yet to be revised (Akinmoladun and Oduwaye, 2006; Oduwaye and Lawanson, 2008). Thus the state government headed by the Governor is arguably the most important level of government in urban planning in Nigeria, as the primary law regarding street trade emanates from the state government, the *Lagos State Government Edict of 1984,* amended in 1996, which prohibits street trading and illegal markets in all public spaces in the state (Omolabi, 2008; Basinski, 2009).

Immerwahr (2007) comments that despite rapid urbanisation rates in Lagos, urban planning still bears clear trademarks of colonial configurations of land use and controls and disregard for processes of urbanisation, and that the spatial separation of controlling elites evident in the apartheid regime of South Africa, is also discernible in Lagos, with sanitised

government and high-income areas contrasting dramatically with its marginal slums and chaotic markets largely operating beyond the purview of the state. More recently the democratically elected Lagos State Government (LSG) has claimed that urban planning and development efforts in the city has focused on addressing the plethora of urban management problems (perceived and real) which date from preceding military administrations, such as uncontrolled urban sprawl, inadequate and overburdened infrastructure, housing shortages, social and economic exclusion, high youth unemployment and informal settlements and enterprises (Fillani, 2012).

Following the transition from military to civilian rule in 1999, the state government started overhauling planning activities and regulations, which resulted in the *Lagos State Regional Planning Law in 2005*, with several commissions tasked with developing land-use plans for several areas and local government jurisdictions (Fillani, 2012). The underlying intentions of the new law has however been questioned, with suggestions that the state government mainly seeks to consolidate its authority. Perhaps due to the inadequacies and the need to improve on previous planning laws, especially the Lagos *State Urban and Regional Planning Edict No 2 of 1988*, the 2005 planning law was enacted, but its centralisation of power within the Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development contradicts democratic ideals and the idea of taking planning closer to the local level (Oduwaye and Lawanson, 2008).

Some of the plans developed by the LSG since 1999 include the Lagos Megacity Regional Plan, Model City Plans for several districts, and key projects such as the redevelopment of markets and the development of Eko Atlantic City (Filani, 2012). Arguably the flagship project of the LSG, Eko Atlantic City is a high-income new town which is being developed in partnership with private investors. It is proposed to accommodate about 250,000 middle and high income earners, but this has little bearing on the many urban management problems in the state; rather the Eko Atlantic City seems another portrayal of the authoritarian spatial segregation inherent in urban planning in Lagos. The project has been promoted as a "city born from the sea … a way of building a Lagos dream … [and] a model mega-city for Africa" (Ogunlesi, 2012, PP. 28).

 It is important to note however that some effort has been made to achieve a higher level of participation in the development of the recent plans and projects by involving communities, individuals, and local tribal kings through regular town hall meetings (Olokesusi, 2011), but such consultations are at the discretion of authorities and have no

legal backing. Urban planning regulations in Lagos have characteristically sought to empower government authorities to dominate urban affairs, and in recent times the state government has assumed a significant amount of control. The controlling nature of the state government in urban planning is clear in the plans for the management of street trading as elaborated by a senior official:

> "Generally … we don't encourage street trading and … together … with the local government and other ministries we find areas … site selections for markets where proper trading can be done so that we can take … the traders off the streets and … they can move into the proper markets … basically what this Ministry does is site selection, where you have where you should put what and where, so we do site selection for markets … when we do our master plans, our model city plans … through socio-economic study, when we see a need for any particular activity we create such activity in those …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 3).

Urban Management

The legacies of authoritarianism are still prevalent as the current approach to urban management and the underlying planning principles display clear imprints from preceding periods and modernist tendencies, with efforts focussed on enforcing order on unorganised activities through the imposition of ambitious top-down plans. The authoritarian orientation of urban management is evident in the description of efforts at managing street trade provided by a senior official of the LSG:

> "I will give you a rundown of what we have done in the past. What we did at first was that we … enacted a law prohibiting street trading on specific streets while encouraging the local government to identify areas where we could do Sunday markets or night markets on days when we expect the traffic will not be too heavy … we also pursued advocacy … we held town hall meetings, we were visiting street traders at their locations and educating them on the need for them to regulate their activities and to ensure that those activities are mainly carried out where we have … approvals for them, or where they are so designated … we have also tried incorporating a few things in the ongoing city model plans … that are being developed by … the Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development … we are thinking about having corner shops and areas where we could locate them where they would be able to … do their trading activities …" (LSG Official, Ministry of the Environment, KI 7).

Another demonstration of the authoritarian and modernist undertones are the frequent references to 'education' by government officials in their descriptions of efforts at managing street trade. These remarks suggest a need for 'professionals' to teach less

enlightened street traders how to properly conduct their activities. A similar observation was also made in Cusco, Peru, where city managers attempted to put an end to informal practices amongst street traders by 'teaching' traders the proper way to trade as part of efforts to 'modernise' the activities of street traders (Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Mackie et al. 2014).

> "I think we need a lot of education, we need to educate people …. that most of these open spaces and all of these parks are not just there for people to set up their businesses of … street trading, but rather to beautify the environment … the government has set aside all of these open spaces and parks … for beautifications. So if we start beautifying most of our open spaces and parks it is going to give us a well habitable city and we will keep pace with developed countries." (OILG Official, Local Government Chairman's Office, KI 10).

> "… because of the level of awareness and the level of education these people concerned, they are not properly educated on how and where to carry out their business. But you see Lagos State Government have not only driven them away but have taken time to educate them …" (OILG Official, Finance Department, KI 9).

This approach is premised on the relocation of undesirable activities to 'professionally' selected fringe sites considered more appropriate, based on modernist planning principles of separation of land uses. This approach of removing street traders from central locations to alternative sites influenced by neoliberal ideals has been widely discussed in academic discourse (Yeoh and Kong, 1994; Bromley, 1998; Donovan, 2008; Bromley and Mackie, 2009). The attempt to remove street trade and other perceived unorganised activities from strategic locations is not unlike previous exercises aimed at improving environmental conditions and local practices in Lagos. Urban management in Lagos has generally ignored indigenous practices, with the continuous focus being the imposition of preconceived plans in line with the authoritarian disposition of government authorities. The relocation of street traders has limited engagement with local history and culture, and is based on the underlying intent to replace the informal economy by developing formal markets to the detriment of many local shoppers and traders (Immwewahr, 2007). A similar action was taken to trading along Agege Motor Road, as the following comments from different LSG officials illustrates:

> "… in time past some people used to trade along Oshodi rail line that spilled over to Agege Motor Road then. So the state government went in to dislodge them out of the rail line … am aware that … they have reconstructed … the Pakodowo [Formal] Market, [but] the stalls are yet to be occupied because I think the contractor is still at the hand over stage …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 1).

> "… at Oshodi we relocated them [street traders] to the existing shopping malls around there, all of them are there now …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 2).

> "… the general concern is that those people displaced ought to have been given some other locations. But I believe it is an ongoing thing and I believe that the government is listening on and they will be able to accommodate everybody's opinion in time …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, KI 6).

Legacy of street trader displacements

The typical outcome of the longstanding authoritarian approach to urban planning in Lagos has been the displacement of street traders from public spaces. This section briefly reflects on previous trader displacements that have been undertaken in Lagos and how displacements have served to reinforce the authoritarian nature of planning. Trader displacements are not new in Lagos or Oshodi having been undertaken a number of times in the past, especially under military administrations, but with limited success. In an attempt to portray the trader displacements undertaken in Oshodi by the LSG in 2009 in a positive light, Solaru and Iria (2009) explain that several raids have taken place in Oshodi to dislodge traders, involving the seizure of goods and demolition of structures as well as the arrest of traders and their punishment through mobile courts, however shortly after the departure of authorities trading activities usually recommenced like nothing had taken place.

Two national newspapers in their reports of the same exercise by the LSG to rid Oshodi of street traders also allude to the history of unsuccessful attempts by military administrations:

> "… on Sunday January 4, 2009, Oshodi woke up and discovered that it had lost some of its notoriety …. When the SUNDAY PUNCH correspondent visited on Wednesday…. A caterpillar was at work under the bridge, crushing and levelling the land bordering the rail line … law enforcement agents were equally on hand to maintain law and order. This is not the first time bulldozers will be visiting Oshodi. The late [Federal] Minister of Works, Gen. Abdulkareem Adisa, in 1996 rolled out bulldozers, while he was bent on demolishing illegal structures under the bridges in Lagos, which he said, were veritable hideouts for criminals, and were causing physical damage to the facilities. And Oshodi was one of the spots his bulldozers visited. But the lack of continuity in most government policies saw under the bridges once more brimming with shanties and all manner of shady characters shortly thereafter. However, the traders that were displaced from under the bridge, the rail line and other illegal structures, were seen milling around in groups,

discussing their plight, and pondering on what next step to take." (The Punch newspaper, Sunday, January 11, 2009, pp. 50).

"… it appears those Lagosians who applauded the state government over Oshodi, may have been hasty …. Worried that the change in Oshodi might not last, Ogundeko said: "Though Governor Fashola may have brought decency to Oshodi, which even military governments could not, the present trend seems to suggest we may go back to the past". Between January and March when the government was firm against street-trading and thugs at Oshodi, the level of sanity was high and one could freely move at any time of the day. Today, those boys are back …" (The Guardian newspaper, Tuesday, December 8, 2009, pp.13).

An urban planner with the Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development also refers to previous failed attempts to 'sanitize' Oshodi in his elaboration of the importance of political will in the urban management decision making process:

"… people always believe that military force can achieve [the displacement of traders in Oshodi] but it failed, because those military heads never had the willingness to implement it. So it didn't come into being, but look at it now, when you have a civilian head and it has now come to be, and he must have used even the military officers to enforce it, but the political leader has a willingness to make it come to pass, so political will in this type of administration has a major role to play in making intellectual abilities come to play." (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 8).

Individual leaders have played a significant role in street trader displacements in Lagos. Since 1999 displacements have been initiated under civilian governors, but previously they were inspired by military leaders. However irrespective of the type of leadership under which they have been undertaken they have usually failed to remove street traders permanently from public spaces. This is consistent with many other studies, which conclude that displacement policies are generally ineffective in their primary objective to clear public spaces and usually worsen the plight of already marginalised traders (Swanson, 2007; Crossa, 2009; Carrieri and Murta, 2011). Thus the authoritarian and convoluted nature of urban management in Lagos has had a significantly negative effect on the understanding and management of street trade, leading to continuous unsuccessful efforts to displace street traders from public space.

5.3 Participation and voice in urban and public space management

The level of stakeholder participation in urban management in Lagos, specifically the level of engagement between government authorities (state and local) and street traders in the displacement process in 2009, which is a critical outcome of the nature of urban governance in the state is the focus of this section. Key impacts of the overall urban management approach in Lagos on street trading activities are also identified.

Tokenistic and selective engagement in urban management

Following the transition from military to civilian rule in 1999 the LSG tried to move away from authoritarian urban management and promote improved stakeholder participation in urban planning as highlighted by two senior officials of the Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development:

> " This government especially has been trying so much … there is this planning approach … you don't plan for the people, you plan with the people, so over time there are consultations and stakeholder meetings …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 8).

> "…we plan with the people not just for them, we allow them to buy into the plans and developments government is undertaking" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 3).

However there is a clear lop-sidedness in the implementation of the participatory approach especially with regards to street trading. As clear from the interviews with officials of the LSG the participation exercises with stakeholders are referred to as merely consultations and are not in-depth, with the aim of giving credibility to decisions already taken:

> "What we do … is … persuasive compliance when these laws are made or the rules and regulations … we do some stakeholders meetings, we get them involved … and we ensure that we let them see the need for compliance …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 3).

> "… in Oshodi … for almost about a year we were talking to them, we were visiting Oshodi on a weekly basis, we had been talking to them, we had been looking for alternative locations for them, so we had always had this stakeholders buy in, we invited stakeholders for a lot of town hall meetings … we involved all the stakeholders in all such decision making processes" (LSG Official, Ministry of the Environment, KI 7)

It is obvious that the state government had already decided on the actions to be undertaken in Oshodi and the stakeholder participation was intended to inform those to be

affected of their decision and convince them of their plans in other to secure an element of support. Communication was mainly with influential people in society, and the participation of street traders in the consultation processes was extremely limited; of the 100 traders sampled as part of the trader survey only 17% indicated that they had ever been consulted by any government authorities on issues regarding their occupation, while 68% responded otherwise. Even amongst traders who indicated there had been some form of communication about the displacements there were varying levels of awareness, with the information received being ambiguous. As displaced traders stated:

> "… personally I did not hear anything but there were some representatives that were told" (Female trader [3], Olorunshogo Formal Market, selling poultry, [Displaced]).

> "The Iyaloja[1] told us but we didn't believe, it was like a rumour" (Female trader [13], Brown Street, selling vegetables, [Displaced]).

> "Iyaloja didn't tell us, we just heard rumours among ourselves and on the radio" (Female trader [14], Brown Street, selling fish, [Displaced]).

The varying level of awareness of the displacements by traders further raises questions about the nature of trader's participation. Therefore the interactions between government authorities (state and local) and street traders in the process of urban management in Oshodi are discussed in the next section.

Disconnect between policy makers and traders

The relationship between government authorities and street traders in Oshodi is rather detached, which is partly a consequence of the conflicts and confusion in governmental roles and partly due to the intolerant attitude of government authorities towards street trade. For traders the multiplicity of government departments and ministries that affect their activities obfuscates their interaction with policy makers, particularly as attitudes are largely negative and repressive. As traders said:

> "… we don't know where the government is, we cannot get near them …" (Female trader [22], Adekoya Street, selling raw food items, [Displaced]).

> "… we know government can do anything, even where we are we know they can destroy the shop when they like … it is where government push us that we will stay" (Female trader [25], Idera Formal Market, selling Poultry, [Displaced]).

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[1] Female head of market trader association

At both the local government and state government levels there is a clear disconnect with street traders and little knowledge of the number of street traders or the nature of their activities as indicated by many of the government respondents in the interview data. This lack of knowledge about street trading is vividly described by a state government official who said:

> " … we don't know who is doing what, and what the population of people out there is … that is why the government is now trying to find a way of capturing them by enumerating them and then organising them into associations that will be easier to manage …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, KI 6).

In terms of priorities regarding the persistence of street trading activities the disconnect between policy makers and traders is also apparent, while understandably the focus of traders is on the maintenance of their livelihoods, the attention of government authorities centres around issues of revenue generation, and environmental cleansing.

> "Government recognises … the extent of the informal economy … but they are unaware of … the dynamics …. What government oftentimes is concerned about is how to collect some form of taxes and compensation …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, KI 5).

This clear difference in priorities particularly in the light of the intolerant attitude of government authorities towards street trade has left many traders frustrated, with an air of resentment towards government authorities.

> "It's what happens in the country, we follow, it's what powerful people do, we follow … normally the government is meant to work for the people's progress but it is not so here … the government is not interested … maybe in the future God can give us a government that is willing to help … government is doing things for selfish gains and not in the interest of the majority …" (Male trader [52], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling meat, [Displaced]).

The prevailing economic situation in Nigeria also has a vital impact on the scale of street trading activities and worsens the relationship of traders with policy makers, as the vast number of street traders seemingly overwhelms authorities. The shortage of formal sector jobs and a large young population of working age have influenced many to take up street trading as a livelihood option, increasing both numbers of street traders and their visibility as described by an urban planner with the Lagos State Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development:

> "… the factories are not working … more people are into street trading … the economy keeps creating more traders … [and] there is pressure … you have some people trading there [in Oshodi] they don't even have the financial capability to get into trading but they just have to do something for a living and when you see all

their wares it can't even sustain them for the day, and you keep wandering why they are there, but they just have to be doing something …. Because if you don't do anything you will have a psychological imbalance too, so they have to be doing something … when you see all they are selling [you wonder] if it's worthwhile to come out for the day to sell such meagre items. But they just have to come and this type of traders form the larger percentage of people trading on the streets because they don't even have the funds to take a shop … so there is no fixed number of people trading in Oshodi, you can't ascertain the numbers …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 8).

This importance of economic circumstances in the preponderance of street trading activities correlates with evidence from the trader survey in which 40% of the 100 respondents stated that it was following a loss of formal employment that they took to street trading.

" … I used to work in a textile company, but the company closed down" (Male trader [66], Agege Motor Road, selling newspapers, [Not displaced]).

" … I used to be a building materials sales man, but the business folded up, and there was nothing else to do" (Male trader [88], Olorunshogo Formal Market, selling Household goods, [Not displaced]).

" … I used to work in a textile mill but the company folded up and I had to find another way to live" (Male trader [5], Olorunshogo Formal Market, selling raw food items, [Displaced]).

The significance of changing economic conditions, the most common of which is the role of neoliberal structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), in the increase of street trading activities in developing countries is very well documented (see Section 2.2). Sub-Saharan countries are no exception, with the loss of jobs closely associated with the implementation of SAPs, a critical contributing factor to the dramatic rise in the scale of street trade in African cities (Skinner, 2008). Evidence shows this was also the case in Lagos (see Section 4.2). This situation combined with the considerably unstable political conditions over the years has served to obscure the relationship between government authorities and street traders in Lagos.

Fragmented trader voices

Street traders in Lagos have a very limited propensity to form collective associations. Many informal economy workers in Lagos do have associations and umbrella associations but there are none for street traders (Interview with Secretary General of Federation of Informal Workers of Nigeria, KI 15). Government authorities argue that they consult with market associations, but market-trader associations mainly represent formal traders or product-based trader associations. Some street traders are members of both market-trader and product associations, but neither prioritise issues faced by street traders most of whom operate informally without trading licenses or rights to a trading space. Most street traders are not involved in the choice of the leaders of these associations, especially those of formal market- trader associations:

> "…we have leaders here; Babaloja[2] and Iyaloja but I don't know how people become Babaloja and Iyaloja … I don't understand" (Male trader [5], Olorunshogo Formal Market, selling raw food items, [Displaced]).

> "… we have Iyaloja and Babaloja who are appointed by the government, we are not involved in choosing them" (Female trader [7], Banjoko Street, selling clothing, [Not displaced]).

> "…communication [from government regarding our occupation] is with head of market (Iyaloja) and government appoints the Iyaloja" (Female trader [2], Macarthy Lane, selling cosmetics, [Not displaced]).

A displaced trader now located in one of the formal markets however indicated some knowledge of how these market leaders are appointed, however she belongs to the meat sellers association, one of the more active product-based trader associations:

> "… yes [there are powerful traders amongst us] we have Iyaloja and Babaloja … we vote for them" (Female trader [4], Olorunshogo Formal Market, selling meat, [Displaced]).

The leaders of these associations are mainly the ones in contact with government authorities and are meant to represent the interest of members, however there are indications that this not the case especially when it comes to the activities of street traders. Suggestions of corruption and compromise have been levelled against these leaders, and a significant level of government involvement has been identified in their activities. A number of other studies have also identified the existence of such clientelist links between trader associations and political parties (see for example Bhowmik, 2005; Crossa, 2009;

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[2] Male head of market trader association

Njaya, 2014). Market leaders in Lagos have increasingly become politicised, having demonstrated a high level of support for the dominant political party in Lagos and the previous governor, Bola Ahmed Tinubu, was the son of the leader of the state market women's association (Fourchard, 2010). A displaced trader vividly makes reference to the compromised status of market-trader associations leaders in her comment:

> " … [We have been consulted by government authorities on issues regarding our occupation] just once as far as I know, [the government] don't call us, only the Iyaloja or Babaloja go, in this country money has spoilt everything, people that will tell the truth do not have access … only God can [help us get our voices heard], there are Iyaloja and Babaloja so the government won't listen to you" (Female trader [8], Macarthy Lane, selling clothes, [Not displaced]).

Furthermore street traders are not active in market-trader associations. Of the 100 respondents surveyed only 37% indicated that they had previously belonged to any form of association (mainly product-based trader associations), while 48%[3] indicated they had not been members of associations previously. The reluctance of street traders to join trader associations is due to reasons such as personal religious inclinations, some traders stating that: "my religion forbids it … my association is where I worship, I go on my own"; "no, I only belong to my church" (Traders, [5]; [80]), previous disappointments, some traders stating that: "previous leaders disappointed us" and "some were benefitting while some where not" (Traders, [2]; [35]). Another problem is a desire by traders for independence: "they wanted to create one [an association] but I didn't join, am not interested … I am a man of my own, if you join you will be bound by their laws" (Male trader [86], Olorunshogo Formal Market, selling household goods, [Not displaced]). Some traders also see street trading as a short term option (see in Section 6.4) and therefore see no reason to associate: "… my stay is just for the meantime so I can gather money …" (Female trader [89], Arena Formal Market, selling Fruits, [Not displaced]).

The poor level of association membership displayed by street traders in Oshodi is even more curious given their common characteristics. For example all 100 traders surveyed are Nigerians with no foreigners, and of these 96% are from the three major tribes: 57% were Yoruba (the ethnic group dominant in Lagos and the south west of Nigeria), 35% Igbo (from eastern Nigeria), and only 4% are Hausa (mostly Muslim communities from the north). All respondents belonged to one of the two main religions in Nigeria, 54% indicating they were Christians, while 46% were Muslims. Commonalities are also evident in terms of ages and

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[3] 15% of traders did not respond to question

education levels as well, with 54% of traders being between the ages of 35-54 years and 55% having completed secondary school.

However, the main factor which deters association membership appears to be the frequent displacements. Of the 50 trader respondents surveyed who had experienced the displacements in Oshodi in 2009, 52% stated they were members of an association before the displacements, with only 28% retaining their membership of the former associations after the displacements but membership decreased because many traders had been dispersed. This is a clear indication of the major impact of displacements on the associational life of traders: "… the governor has scattered us …"; "everybody is on their own here, if it was when we had a union like when we were along the rail line we won't be paying so much"; "… we are now scattered, even those of us still around can barely feed, some have even died …"; "since the rail line has been demolished there have not been any associations, everybody is on their own" (Traders, [4]; [11]; [22]; [57]). The reductions in association membership following street trader displacements and politicisation of street trader associations have also been identified in Latin America (Crossa, 2012; Mackie et al. 2014).

Furthermore many existing associations are product-based trader associations which have limited influence. Due to years of suppression and weak leadership, product-based trader associations may support welfare and savings for funerals or medical expenses, arrange bulk buying, or control prices but do not engage in advocacy, and are generally subservient to local and state government authorities, as expressed by a displaced trader:

> "… we had been threatened [with displacements] at different times, but we usually contribute money through the union to settle the local government … the government don't care about us, even when we communicate with them through the union they don't act on it" (Female trader [92], Arena Formal Market, selling vegetables, [Displaced]).

Product-based trader associations generally support one another, but the displacements have also had an adverse effect on them, as expressed by a trader who used to sell livestock along the rail line but is now based in one of the formal markets:

> "… when we were along the rail line we had an association and if we had problems our leaders used to help us solve them … [we still belong to the association and we will always be members] but now we don't go for association meetings because there is no money" (Male trader [29], Idera Formal Market, selling livestock, [Displaced]).

It was also observed that in one of the formal markets to which traders said they were directed by the LSG; the Arena Market, associations were discouraged as expressed by traders there: "… there are rules and regulations here. There is no such association, if there is any problem you contact the management"; "the owners [management] of this place banned associations"; "associations are not allowed here" (Traders, [79]; [81]; [91]). Arena Market is owned by the Nigerian Army, and was previously an underutilised site occupied by street traders, but was redeveloped by the Army after 2009 as part of the transformation of Oshodi. This seems a conscious effort at strengthening state power and curbing traders' collective voice and activities, a situation which is not alien in the history of street trader management in Lagos. The nature of engagement between government authorities and street traders in urban management in Lagos and specifically in the displacements in Oshodi in 2009 is poor, with traders having limited influence in urban management and their collective voice significantly hindered.

5.4 Conflicts over the conceptualisation and use of public space in relation to street trade

In this section perceptions of public space in relation to street trading activities by a number of key actors are explored as this is another major issue which is influenced by the authoritarian orientation of urban governance and management in Lagos. This entails an elaboration of the conflicts between street traders and other stakeholders in the process of urban management in Lagos. The role of government authorities is specifically underlined, notably the state government. As explained in Section 2.3 urban public space is a subject of continuous contestation, with various powerful social interests controlling its use. At Oshodi, these include the government authorities (federal, state and local), the railway corporation, the army (through its land holdings), residents and street traders, but based on a careful review of data collected for this research, three key interests; those of government authorities (state and local); street traders and other key stakeholders are overwhelming. The interests and views of each of these three groups on the use of public space are discussed below.

For sanitary space: government perspectives on public space and the 'untidy' street trader

LSG and OILG are predominantly focussed on the aesthetic features of public spaces in Oshodi (see Figure 5.1), with the approach driven by the LSG. Tidy public spaces are seen as an indication of proper management and control, with implications for the overall functioning of the city, such as improved transportation links and a higher potential for investment opportunities. As a result government authorities do not consider trading as a desirable use of public space and generally consider that trading should only take place in shops. Therefore government planning pays considerable attention to the appearance of public spaces, particularly in Oshodi because of its strategic location along the main road from the busiest international airport in Nigeria; The Murtala Muhammed International Airport, as indicated by a Lagos State Government official:

> " … Oshodi is the gateway, for those coming from the international airport which … handles … international flights, [visitors] have to pass through Oshodi and if the impression we are giving to people about the country, [and] about the state is by passing through Oshodi, I think it is good it was transformed. Equally this is an area whereby investment opportunities abound and you want to create … a conducive environment, and if you don't transform that location and anybody coming into the country has to pass through it [the way it was], then potential investors are likely to avoid the state. These are part of the things that … informed the transformation …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, KI 6).

Figure 5.1 *Agege Motor Road before and after trader displacements* **Photos** *Oni (2010)*
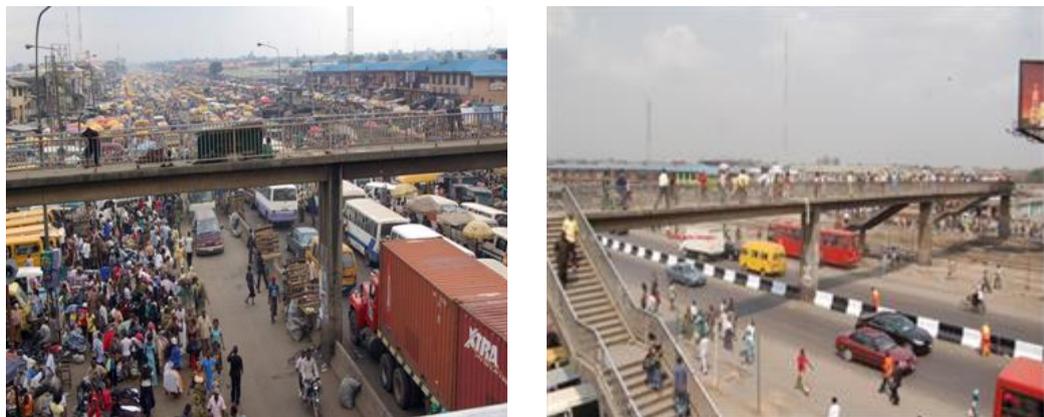
The prioritisation of orderliness by LSG and the promotion of the aesthetic value of public space in Oshodi bear neoliberal undertones. It has been argued that urban public spaces are being increasingly privatised and treated as commodities with their exchange value taking precedence over their use value, spurring urban managers to undertake major urban redevelopment and beautification projects in a bid to promote the global image of their cities, so as to attract foreign investment with little regard for original occupiers, including street traders, despite the damaging effects on their livelihoods (Madanipour, 1999; Benjamin, 2000; Middleton, 2003).

The neoliberal approach is represented in the ambitious Eko Atlantic City newtown project and recent efforts to beautify public spaces (see Figures 5.2 and 5.3).

> " … previously [urban] beautification was not taken seriously by governments in Nigeria, but when the current [Lagos state] governor assumed office he took beautifications as a major goal and he is working at it. If you look at our parks and our open spaces today they are different from what they used to be, flowers are being planted everywhere and parks are now well arranged … if you go to Oshodi you will see that different parks are wearing a new look … we [OILG] are also doing the same thing [as the state government] … we need to educate people that open spaces and parks are not for informal trading, rather they are for the beautification of the environment" (OILG Official, Local Government Chairman's Office, KI 10).

Figure 5.2 *Eko Atlantic City* **Photos** *http://www.ekoatlantic.com/*

Figure 5.3 *Beautification efforts at Oshodi* **Photos** *Omoegun (2013)*

Functional space: street trader's perspectives on public space and cultural undertones

In contrast, traders consider public space a vital asset for their livelihoods (see Figure 5.4). Access to public space is therefore a prime consideration, as expressed by the following traders: "… my trade relies on open space, but there are places one could be that customers won't come"; "I prefer [trading on the] road … because people that were not planning to buy stop by to buy. It is not everybody that has time to stop [at a formal market] to buy"; "this is where we can gain access to a lot of people, our target is to reach the community" (Traders, [2]; [74]; [65]).

Figure 5.4 *Street traders in public space* **Photos** *Omoegun (2013)*

Although many street traders desire some of the benefits of a formal shop such as safety, secure tenure, and relative comfort, the advantages in terms of increased access to customers from trading in public space supersedes such benefits, particularly given the

costs of running a formal shop (see Figure 5.5), as aptly put by a displaced trader still working on the street:

> "Yes [I would prefer to trade from a formal shop] … it is more conducive and you feel relaxed, [however] shops are more expensive and people on the road sell more … if you take a shop you won't be able to stock up" (Male trader [46], Oshodi Road, selling raw food items, [Displaced]).

Traders recognise there are advantages and disadvantages in trading in both public spaces and formal markets, but if they had to choose their choice would evidently be to operate in public spaces. A number of other studies have also identified the desire of traders to return to public space following relocation to formal markets despite the recognised benefits of operating from shops (for example Donovan, 2008; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Carrieri and Murta, 2011). Based on their experience of both settings, some traders therefore advocate for some of the benefits of formal shops to be extended to working in public space; this view is vividly expressed by a trader who rented a formal shop following the displacements in Oshodi, but has moved part of her operations back to the street:

> " … work is not progressing inside that is why we have come out, we used to sell along the rail line … I am not happy in [the] formal shop because I am not selling … [I] would prefer to stay outside with facilities or even an umbrella like along the rail line … there is no money, we have used all the money to pay for the formal shop … [the main advantage of trading in the formal market is that] we are not under the sun, we are comfortable but we are not selling, I would prefer to be in the sun and sell …. [our customers don't come to us anymore] because the distance they have to travel to get to us is too much …" (Female trader [22], Kairo Formal Market, selling Fish, [Displaced]).

Figure 5.5 *Street traders now in formal markets* **Photos** *Omoegun (2013)*

Cultural issues also come to the fore in contestations over public space, with conflicting perceptions over customary access to public space and the purposes of public space in contemporary times. Echoing concerns which underlie the development of formal urban planning in Lagos as discussed in Section 5.2, a number of traders emphasised their long-term association with street trade, stating they learnt or inherited trading skills from their parents, and insisting on the importance of conducting their activities in the open: "I have been trading since childhood and I'll continue trading until I stop working"; "I learnt this business from my mother … the street is part of me" (Traders, [21]; [58]).

On the other hand city authorities (local and state) and a number of other city inhabitants perceive street trading as inappropriate, suggesting that trading activities ought to be conducted in a 'modern' manner as is evident in the quotes from three government officials:

> "… people are not really educated on how the modern-day environment should be, people … are used to the … old idea of having to sell where they find any available space … we are trying to build modern markets where people can actually go into and transform their business rather than having to put their wares at any available open spaces … there has been conflict … on how to manage trade between the informal sectors wanting to use every available space and the Lagos State Government wanting to create an habitable environment with open spaces … where the environment will be like [developed] countries " (OILG Official, Local Government Chairman's Office, KI 10).

> "… Oshodi is almost synonymous with trading. So we have enormous challenges in curbing and putting [street traders] in the right perspective without hindering their daily … transactions. It is well proven that Oshodi is the nerve centre of Nigeria; in fact it is the gateway to Nigeria because it is the local government that houses the international airport and also we have over 5 million people that transact business and transit within Oshodi on a daily basis …. It has been a very big challenge in terms of managing the level of trading activities but nevertheless because we have our machinery in place we have been able to do this effectively … we have been able [to develop different] ultra-modern and modern market facilities that can accommodate several thousands of traders conveniently with modern facilities …" (OILG Official, Finance Department, KI 9).

> "The plan for Oshodi is manifesting gradually, if you get to Oshodi you will see some areas have been designated as parks, some areas will still accommodate trading activities, but these will be modernised markets, I have been privy to see some proposals, although … there may still be some modifications … there are proposals to transform the place and to make people do their business in a different form to the way that that they have been doing. Like you get in civilised countries there are ways they do business, I don't know why it is so different in Nigeria." (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 8).

The perspective of street traders aligns with studies that highlight the social and cultural importance of informal economic activities, for example Mateo-Babiano (2012) argues in favour of maintaining street culture and enhancing social interactions which typify street trading activities. Wardrop (2006) also describes how the social significance of street trading activities is firmly engrained in local culture. The socio-cultural significance of street trading was very prominent in the observations undertaken for this research, as traders constantly assisted their neighbours, helping one another bargain with customers and monitor the goods of other traders in their absence. Carrieri and Murta (2011) identify similar co-operation amongst street traders in Brazil.

In contrast, the concerns of city authorities support neoliberal ideals which seek the 'modernisation' of street trade in order to promote the image of cities and attract foreign investment and tourists and attain the organisation which prevails in cities of the developed world, on the premise that local forms of organisation are inferior and should be replaced with better practices from elsewhere. This position however contradicts the views of several scholars who argue that the dynamism of street trading is not only desirable in much of the developed world but also holds potential to encourage tourism as it offers a unique local experience (Arambulo et al. 1994; Timothy and Wall, 1997; Cohen and Avieli, 2004; Bhowmik, 2005; Henderson et al. 2012; Newman and Burnett, 2012).

Space for compromise: the perspectives of other key stakeholders on public space

The perspective of other stakeholders on the functions of public space in Oshodi is multifaceted, as illustrated by the structured questionnaire of 100 passers-by near Oshodi. Many are concerned about transport and aesthetic concerns, considering that traders constitute a major hindrance to both pedestrian and vehicular traffic. However, many also identify the convenience and usefulness of street trading and its importance as a form of livelihood. Therefore their perspective on the use of public space essentially lies somewhere between those of city authorities and street traders, nevertheless clear inclinations are evident depending on the individuals and their familiarity with Oshodi. Other stakeholders are grouped into four categories in the discussion below.

First are transient passers-by who neither live nor work in close proximity to Oshodi Market, but are fairly regular visitors whose knowledge and concerns are based primarily

on passing through Oshodi en route to other locations. For this group the overriding concern has to do with traffic, aesthetic and security concerns, although some acknowledge the utility of street trading:

> "[I go through Oshodi daily], it is my daily route, [I think the transformation of Oshodi is good] because as a result there is reduced traffic, it is neater and beautified … [and] there is a bit of orderliness … [before the transformation] street trading created insecurity. [Now street trading is] partially well managed (but can still be improved upon) because there is still traffic and insecurity … [I don't think commercial activities should be undertaken in public spaces], trading should be done in the markets and not on roads, streets, and sidewalks … street traders constitute a nuisance and pollute the environment …" (Regular passer-by in Oshodi Market, [76])

> "[I go through Oshodi daily], it is my route to work [I think the transformation of Oshodi is good because] it has created free movement for transport and people passing by … [however] there's no more access to the roadside market, if a space can be created for them it will be preferable … [street trading was not well managed before the transformation and movement of street traders because] the traders were not organised [but after] the traders know where and where not to trade at least to a some extent … the rail line and some places are dangerous, but a place can be created for commercial sales even in the street … if they obstruct free movement they should prepare a space for them … if possible there should still be some place in public space where traders can still be allowed" (Regular passer-by in Oshodi Market, [77]).

> "[I go through Oshodi monthly] … [I think the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders is good because] Oshodi used to be a haven for all the bad things you can think of, such as robbery, traffic, waste pollution …. But the transformation has helped Oshodi a lot … [Oshodi is now safer] … Oshodi was not well managed before the transformation because there was no regulation controlling street traders, anyone just started trading [following the transformation and movement of traders] Oshodi is still not well managed because there is no regulation … [street trading in public spaces should be allowed because] it helps our large population of unemployed youths … some of the traders who were moved could have been allowed to remain if better provision was made for them …" (Regular passer-by in Oshodi Market, [78]).

Second are the individuals who work near Oshodi Market but do not live nearby. This group includes formal shop staff and owners in Oshodi who are daily visitors to the area and are relatively familiar with the situation in Oshodi. Members of this group also express similar concerns to those in the first group; however they are more sympathetic to street traders due to their closer proximity to the situation:

> "[I come to Oshodi daily] to help my uncle sell in his shop … [I think the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders] is good for the development of the country. It helps the distribution of goods from this market to others … [it has also] improved traffic a bit … [street trading was not well managed before the transformation of Oshodi because] it used to cause pollution and does

not look good, it made the country look unpleasant … [I don't think street trading is still well managed following the displacements] because I don't think the traders have spaces to sell, there are not enough markets. Their customers will not come to buy from them in formal shops. Most street traders chased away don't have anywhere to go and cannot even afford the shops … imagine a street trader selling from a formal shop, the trader cannot make a profit … there are empty shops here in the formal market but people cannot afford them …" (Formal shop staff in Oshodi Market, non-resident in Oshodi [61]).

"[I come to Oshodi daily] to work … [I think the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders] has positives and negatives; it is positive because of the risks involved, sometimes people actually trade on the rail line, and negative because the traders don't like what they are doing but they do it because they have no choice, they cannot afford anything else. Because of the state of the economy if they don't do it they cannot survive … [street trading was not well managed before the transformation of Oshodi because] … no provision was made for the street traders, it's not like they are happy being there but they don't have anywhere else to go … [I don't think street trading is still well managed following the displacements] because no place has been provided for the traders, it seems they have done nothing but to harm them, they just chased them away … [I don't think street trading should be undertaken in public spaces because] it is not ideal or hygienic … I think a place should be created for displaced traders at affordable prices based on patronage …" (Formal shop staff in Oshodi Market, non-resident in Oshodi [60]).

"[I come to Oshodi daily to work] … for people selling things [I think the transformation is not a good thing] because they are hustling for their daily needs, but it's good for the 'area boys'[4], it's good for them to be removed … I used to buy things there [from the traders] and also … the traders … along the road also buy from us to sell there but this does not happen anymore … it's the 'area boys' that used to pick pockets … they should let them [street traders] remain because that is where they make their daily bread …" (Formal shop staff in Oshodi Market, non-resident in Oshodi [62]).

Third are those who live near Oshodi Market but do not work nearby. These are neighbourhood residents who are more directly affected by happenings in Oshodi than the previous two categories. They therefore express a more personal concern with the situation of Oshodi, and although they are largely in support of the trader displacements they also display a level of understanding of the underlying factors that perpetuate the high level of street trading activities in Oshodi:

"[I go through Oshodi daily and I think the transformation and the movement of traders is good] because it has aided the flow of transportation … it has brought about the proper utilisation of space and also improved the environment and Oshodi is now safer … [I don't think street trading was well managed before the transformation because] Lagosians are not well organised, when it comes to business everyone just wants to sell without looking at the effect on others …

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[4] This refers to able-bodied, unemployed and perhaps drug-dependent men who intimidate pedestrians and motorists [and street traders] for money (Filani, 2012).

[following the displacements] traders are restricted to where they can sell so we don't have issues of overcrowding and selling on rail line … [I think trading should be allowed to an extent in public spaces because] with our economy I don't think we can restrict trading to only shops, but this should be properly monitored …" (Oshodi resident [25]).

" … [I think the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders] is good because that is the way it should be and left to me the government should still do more … it has [also] created free movement and reduced criminal acts … [I don't think most people] want to engage in street trading but that is how some were brought up, the economic situation is also a major factor [in the high level of street trading activities] with organisations always downsizing …" (Oshodi resident [3]).

" … [I think the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders] is very good because Oshodi used to be known for various notorious acts … [now] I can freely ply the locality without fear or tension of being robbed … [before the transformation] Oshodi used to be congested but now it is fairly better managed … [I don't think street trading should be undertaken in public spaces] because it poses a threat to the life of both sellers and passers-by … street trading should be discouraged with zero tolerance in major streets and public spaces …" (Oshodi resident [21]).

Fourth is the group that both works in Oshodi and lives in close proximity to the market, and is thus the most affected by events in Oshodi and also the most knowledgeable about the situation. This group also shares traffic, environmental and safety concerns, but are clearly more sympathetic to the plight of traders as they have a better understanding of the experience of traders:

"[I work and live in Oshodi] … [Oshodi before the transformation] was very bad, pushing, harassment … but the rehabilitation is not for the poor, it's for the rich, the people selling cannot afford the shops … people are ready to pay for little spaces because they cannot afford the rent for big shops" (Formal shop staff in Oshodi Market and Oshodi resident [37]).

" … [I think the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders is good because] the traffic, environmental and security situation is better … people can now move into the market to patronise my goods unlike before … [before the transformation and movement of traders, Oshodi] was always dirty, rough, and scattered with 'area boys' everywhere … [but now] it is neat and organised because people can walk freely … [I think street trading should be allowed in public spaces] for easy accessibility of goods, mainly petty goods and because of those who can't afford shops … [I don't think street traders should have been allowed to remain in their previous locations] because the roads are free now [but] on the contrary some [maybe] should have been allowed since government did not provide affordable shops for the poor" (Formal shop staff in Oshodi Market and Oshodi resident [45]).

" … [I think the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders is bad] because there are people who don't have money to feed their families otherwise … street traders have not been well managed at all, they were just chased away, they should have been given alternatives … street traders should maybe be allowed to

trade in the evenings when people are coming back from work and [perhaps] not mornings … the government should have mercy on street traders because some of them don't have money to rent shops …" (Formal shop staff in Oshodi Market and Oshodi resident [30]).

Many city inhabitants express common concerns regarding the challenges associated with street trading, but those more sympathetic to the plight of street traders suggest a certain importance of trading activities and the need to better accommodate street traders. Across all four groups of city inhabitants identified there were sentiments in favour of and against street trading in public space. However the fourth group of inhabitants who both live and work in or near Oshodi demonstrated the most support for street trading in public space, demonstrating a deeper understanding of traders needs and being more familiar with the situation in Oshodi before and after the displacements and the plight of the displaced street traders.

Analysis of the competing perspectives on the use of public space in Oshodi has revealed considerable conflict of interests and rights across different stakeholder groups. These conflicts cut across the objectives of state and local governments to achieve a tidy and aesthetically pleasing urban environment, those of street traders to use public space for livelihoods, those of market traders to maintain access to their sites, and those of pedestrians to travel along clean streets amongst others. Tensions between street traders and city authorities as well as other stakeholders is well documented across the developing world, however such a detailed analysis of the conflicts of perspectives and rights as presented above is rarely documented.

In spite of the different perspectives and interests that exist regarding the use of public space, generally it is the priorities of government authorities that prevail because of the legal backing they possess, and this is no different in Oshodi, as the LSG was able to impose its interests over those of others especially street traders. This imposition was facilitated by the long history of authoritarian urban management in Lagos (Section 5.2). Furthermore the predominantly aesthetic concerns of the state government regarding the use of public space are shared by many other city inhabitants. Consequently street traders lost out in the struggle over the use of urban public space in Oshodi.

5.5 Chapter summary

The process of urban management in Lagos and perceptions of public space in relation to street trade has been scrutinised in this chapter. The nature of urban management as it affects street trade was initially explored and it was found that urban governance and management in Lagos is fundamentally authoritarian and is characterised by a number of inadequacies and these have had an adverse effect on the understanding and management of street trading activities and led to continuous efforts to displace street traders from public space. Key inadequacies include the poor definition of roles and responsibilities between levels of government and within scales of government. Another is the lack of a clearly defined means of communication and terms of engagement between the government authorities and street traders.

Second, the level of stakeholder participation in urban management in Lagos was explored, with reference to the processes of engagement between government authorities and street traders in the displacement process in 2009. A key finding was the restricted participation of street traders in urban management, and this was found to be embedded in the unique political history of Nigeria and Lagos, including a period of colonial rule and several years of military leadership and related issues. This history has fuelled the predominantly authoritarian approach to urban planning and inadequacies in urban governance, characterised by the overwhelming influence of the state government. It also emerged that the more recent adoption of neoliberal ideals by the LSG, has further reinforced previously held biases against informal activities, especially street trading, as demonstrated by more concerted efforts to displace street traders from central public spaces in favour of beautification projects.

The limited capacity of street traders to influence the urban decision-making process especially in the light of street trader displacements is another key finding in this chapter. It emerged that the limited influence of street traders in urban management was mainly due to weak association membership amongst street traders which in turn is largely a consequence of regular street trader displacements in Lagos and Nigeria. The displacements in Oshodi in 2009 reduced the number of street traders involved in any form of association by almost half. Furthermore the conspicuous absence of an umbrella association strictly for street traders in Lagos or Nigeria was identified, despite the existence of similar associations for other informal workers.

The chapter also discussed conflicts and tensions over the use and functions of public space with specific reference to the activities of street traders and the role of government authorities. It was found that in the light of street trader displacements, traders recognise that there are benefits inherent in operating from formal shops, nevertheless they identified that the advantages of trading in public spaces outweighed such benefits and thus hoped for a compromise that would still enable them work in public spaces. It also emerged that although the activities of street traders in public space created some concerns for government authorities and sections of the urban populace, street trade is also of significant societal importance, with considerable sections of urban society recognising the benefits of street trading activities and sympathetic to the cause of street traders. A considerable conflict of interests and rights across different stakeholder groups in public space was also identified, and it was highlighted that the interests of state and local government authorities usually prevailed over those of others and typically to the detriment of street traders as was the case in Oshodi. Street traders oftentimes marginalised in the conflicts over the use of urban public space.

Chapter 6: Accessing Public Space and Street Trader Displacements

> "…what the government did was fantastic but it disempowered some traders who could not afford the built shops; there was no resettlement plan, it was a cosmetic approach. People trading on the streets could not have afforded the new shops; more could have been done …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, KI 5)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines issues of claim, rights and conflict within urban space, related to the process of trader displacements before then exploring how the major displacements that took place in Oshodi market in 2009 were carried out, traders' tacit resistance and the impacts of the displacement process. In doing so the chapter mainly addresses Research Objective 2: which aims to '*explore public space access and rights, the process of street trader displacements and the impacts of displacements on traders and other public space users*', and the sub-questions which examine traders' perceived rights in public space, the factors underlying the displacements, and the impacts for traders and other urban residents.

The nature of street trader's presence in contested public spaces and the extent to which they claim trading space as a right is first explored. This entails an exploration of how traders gain a foothold in public space as well as processes underlying and resulting from street trader displacements which are a major feature of the experience of street traders in public space. The investigation proceeds with an examination of the means through which street traders in Oshodi have accessed and secured public space for their livelihood as well as the level of marginalisation they encounter in their operations, focussing on the 50 traders interviewed who were displaced in 2009.

The chapter then discusses factors which influence the conduct of trader displacements, and how this repressive practice exacerbated the marginalisation of street traders, with displacements underpinned by exaggerated perceptions of the challenges associated with street trading and the use of force. The impacts of the displacements in Oshodi on the displaced traders and the wider society are then investigated, with a focus on the spatial, political, economic, and socio-cultural aspects. The data employed in this section is drawn from academic and newspaper publications, questionnaire surveys with street traders

(displaced and non-displaced) and key stakeholders, and a series of semi-structured interviews with key informants (KIs) from: state government and NGO officials; a formal market administrator and a formal goods retailer. Observational data was also employed to corroborate some of the findings that emerged.

6.2 Accessing and securing public space

The contentious nature of public space and the competing perspectives on its functions, based on the case of Oshodi, has been discussed in Section 5.4. The outcome of these conflicts is a general marginalisation of street traders from preferred public spaces, with the dependence of their livelihood on access to strategic locations generally overlooked in favour of other considerations. A consequence of this marginalisation is that the avenues through which street traders gain access to public space is unclear. Therefore the following discussion focuses on the means and processes through which street traders gain a foothold in urban public space.

Finding and securing public space

Street traders in many urban public spaces contravene significant elements of prevailing urban planning regulations, street trading is thus considered unsuitable by government authorities and some city inhabitants (Section 2.2). Street traders therefore have to continuously negotiate access to public spaces, and the processes through which traders seek and secure public spaces lie fundamentally beyond legal or formal regulation. These processes are multifaceted involving social networks or the payment of gatekeepers with no defined route through which a trader can establish a foothold in urban public space. There are essentially four main ways through which traders located and secured public spaces. The first way was through social connections with no payments. Some traders managed to secure trading space without making any financial payments by leveraging a variety of social connections, including immediate family, friends, relatives, and other personal contacts, as expressed by the following traders:

"[I didn't make payments to be here] my mum had a shop, so the space in front of my late mum's shop … is just what I am using" (Female trader [62], Agege Motor Road , selling raw food items, [Displaced]).

"It [my trading space] is in front of my residence, I don't make payments to anyone." (Female trader [43], Adekoya Bolade Street, selling household utensils, [Displaced]).

All trading spaces secured in this way are located close to structures or buildings (see Figure 6.1) with occupation rights attributed to the traders by the owner or occupant of the adjoining property and it is these rights that traders are able to negotiate through social connections. The majority of such trading spaces are along side streets and not in the main pathways and public spaces, so although they are quite accessible they are not the most accessible spaces.

Figure 6.1 *Traders operating in front of adjoining properties* **Photos** *Omoegun (2013)*

The second way of securing trading spaces was through social connections combined with payments. Despite drawing on some social connections to locate trading spaces some traders also had to make official payments in order to make use of the site. These social connections were typically beyond the immediate family ties and this was particularly the case with traders who had moved to formal markets (see Figure 6.2). Although this group of traders still had to pay formal fees for their trading space, they were able to gain access to more accessible locations because of their connections, through which they were often able to get prompt and valuable information on where to go and procedures to follow.

"[I gained access to my present trading space in a formal market] through a friend I only pay to the managers[5] of this place" (Male trader [78], Arena Formal Market, selling household goods, [Not displaced]).

"Someone linked me to this place [formal market], I only pay to the management" (Male trader [80], Arena Formal Market, selling children's shoes, [Not displaced]).

Figure 6.2 *Traders in formal markets* **Photos** *Omoegun (2013)*

A third way of securing space was through personal effort with payments. While some traders relied on some form of contacts and/or connections to secure trading space, others simply searched for themselves and then made informal payments in order to fully secure the trading space. This was the most common strategy adopted by street traders to secure trading space in Oshodi. Some traders detail their experience as follows:

"[I] gained access by occupying the trading space; I displayed my goods and started selling … [then I paid] the 'area boys'" (Female trader [59], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling fish, [Displaced]).

"I got this place by myself, we paid the 'area boys'" (Female trader [58], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling meat, [Displaced]).

The sites occupied by these traders were mixed, including both side roads and the main public pathways and public spaces. However the majority of these traders are located along side roads where a certain level of local ownership and influence exists, and they made their payments mainly to local gatekeepers. Their experience is similar to those of traders who secured their trading spaces through social connections without making payments, but these traders made payments to compensate for their lack of social connections.

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[5] The company charged with managing the market. The Arena Formal Market was built by the army in partnership with private developers, while other formal markets were built through public private partnership arrangements between the Oshodi-Isolo Local Government and private developers. All the formal markets sampled are being managed by private firms.

The final way that traders secured trading space for trading that emerged from this study was informal occupation without any form of payment. This process involved strong observation techniques combined with boldness, confidence and defiance, as is evidenced in the subsequent trader remarks:

> "No [I didn't pay to access this space, I] saw people trading here, and since it does not belong to anybody I just came early in the morning and claimed this place and started selling" (Male trader [72], Oshodi Road, selling clothing and footwear, [Not displaced]).

> "No [I didn't pay to access this space, I] just walked around for some time and I eventually found somewhere where I could settle …" (Female trader [1], Macarthy Lane, selling household goods, [Not displaced]).

The sites occupied by this group of traders also include both side roads and the main public pathways and public spaces. However most of this group of traders were located along the main public pathways and spaces in Oshodi due to the openness of such sites, which means that informal local control is less than that in neighbourhood locations making it relatively easier to occupy such spaces without social ties or payments (see Figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3 *Traders operating on the margins of Agege Motor Road* **Photos** *Omoegun (2013)*

From the case in Oshodi it is apparent that; from personal effort, to drawing on social networks, to making payments, traders are forced to devise different ways to negotiate access to public space. Nnkya (2006) identifies a similar scenario in his study on street trade in Tanzania, in which he describes the strategies which traders adopted to secure public space as including drawing on family ties, non-financial and financial agreements with owners and occupants of adjoining properties, and dogged encroachment.

In Oshodi it was found that the level of payment that traders had to make was related to the strength of the trader's social network, the nature of the public space of interest and

the doggedness and determination of traders. Traders with strong social connections are considerably better off as sometimes they did not have to make any payments at all to gain access to trading spaces, while those with weaker ties are particularly vulnerable to financial exploitation. Also traders with high levels of tenacity and resolve usually did not have to make any payments to locate and secure trading space.

It was also found that traders that accessed trading space through social ties were better off than those who did not. Traders with good social ties generally occupied better located and more secure trading spaces as there is usually a form of occupancy rights attached to such sites, recognised by either a landlord or tenant of an adjoining property or in formal markets by the market management. The sites occupied by traders who accessed trading space through informal occupation were often more conflict-laden as they had limited occupation rights, especially the traders who located and secured trading space through informal occupation but no payments (see Figure 6.4):

> " … as you know this area does not belong to anybody, we just start using a particular space automatically, we just tend to claim it but the fight comes when one person … takes the place before your arrival but most times we talk it over …" (Male trader [75], Oshodi Road, selling shoes, [Displaced]).

Figure 6.4 *Traders occupying more contentious public spaces* **Photos** *Omoegun (2013)*

Although making payments to access trading space considerably enhances traders' security, payments did not guarantee access to more accessible sites, and often the most accessible (but insecure) sites were those where limited or no payment was required, for example along the rail line, Agege Motor Road, and Oshodi Road. Trading spaces in formal markets are also not very accessible but incur considerable payments. Thus the payment of bribes or fees has little bearing on the accessibility of a trading site.

Maintaining and defending access to public space

After gaining initial access the next step for traders is to lay regular claim to trading space which involves different processes, because of the involvement of government authorities in overseeing public space. Given traders' generally illegal status and their long history of marginalisation and harassment (see Chapter 5), traders are vulnerable in maintaining their occupation and defending trading space. The mechanism most frequently used by traders to protect their space is the payment of levies to secure temporary occupation rights, either to government authorities or to other parties such as adjacent property owners. The interactions between traders and these powerful interests are discussed below.

Whilst the involvement of government authorities (either LSG or OILG or their representatives) was minimal in traders' access to public space, government involvement is prominent in the process of maintaining regular use of public space, most notably representatives of OILG. Traders have to make official payments of at least 50 Naira a day (US$ 0.30) to OILG officers who come to collect the fees directly. Amongst the 60 traders surveyed who are active on the streets, most (80%) said that they made daily payments to the local authority in order to be able to trade in public spaces.

> "[Yes I make 50 Naira payments to the government daily], we don't know what it's for, they just charge us" (Female trader [9], Brown Street, selling vegetables, [Displaced]).

> "Yes, I make payments to local government council officers, [I] don't know [what for], even if we ask they will ask us to pack our goods" (Female trader [57], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling fish, [Not displaced]).

In addition to this many traders also pay bribes to local government officials, and state taskforce officials:

> " … I have been harassed by KAI officials before because of what they want to collect, once in a while they confiscate our goods and demand for bribes which [after paying] may or may not guarantee the return of our goods …" (Female trader [51], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling provisions, [Displaced]).

> "When they asked people not to display goods along the road, our goods were taken and we paid 3,500 Naira to get them back from the taskforce" (Male trader [69], Agege Motor Road, selling jewellery, [Displaced]).

Nevertheless, irrespective of these payments to local and state government authorities and officials, traders are still very susceptible to displacements as the payments do not grant right of tenure. As a result a number of traders are unclear what they are paying for, as

they do not receive services. Traders also make payments to other parties in order to maintain and defend their trading space. These include payments to landlords of adjoining houses and shops and the occupants of nearby shops. However the main recipients of these payments are local 'area boys'.

> " … [I ensure this space is available] by making payments to the landlord of the formal shop [behind] …" (Male trader [10], Brown Street, selling meat, [Not displaced]).

> " … [I ensure my present trading space is always available] by making payments to the landlord of the neighbouring property and the 'area boys' …" (Female trader [57], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling Fish, [Not displaced]).

> " … [I ensure this space is available] by making payments to the 'area boys', they come to collect money [from us] daily, whether you make sales or not you must pay them and if you don't, they can beat you up …" (Female trader [47], Oshodi Road, selling readily edible food items, [Not displaced]).

'Area boys' are individuals or groups of young men who are often violent and are common in many parts of Nigeria, but particularly notorious in Lagos State. They are often economically disadvantaged and usually harass and exploit other citizens at any given opportunity. The term 'area boys' refers to able-bodied, unemployed and perhaps drug-dependent men who intimidate pedestrians and motorists [and street traders] for money (Filani, 2012). They are particularly notorious with street traders in Lagos because of the large number of street traders and their vulnerability. 'Area boys' are freelance thugs who along with local governments, traditional rulers and trade unions extort money from street traders in many parts of Lagos (Basinski, 2009).

'Area boys' have long existed in Lagos and Nigeria. Their origins can be traced to the colonial period and can be likened to the struggle of individuals who, denied of access to the wealth of a state and in the absence of the capacity to gain access, organise into local collectives to gain influence. However in Nigeria these groups have degenerated into criminalised gangs due predominantly to political and economic factors (Gore and Pratten, 2003). Signs of ethnic discrimination are evident in these payments, especially the levies collected by local 'area boys', as demonstrated in the quotes from two migrant Igbo traders, although many traders of local descent also mentioned they had to pay 'area boys' as well.

> "[I experience] harassment from 'area boys' everyday over collection of money (100 Naira) and at times they may come up to two to three times in a day … if you don't pay its *wahala* (a big problem)" (Male trader [75], Oshodi Road, selling shoes, [Displaced]).

> "[I have experienced harassment from] the 'area boys', they said they are Lagosians so they collect money from us. They claim "*omo onile*" [they own the land/street]" (Male trader [76], Agege Motor Road, selling shoes, [Displaced]).

For traders now located in formal markets ensuring claim to space is a lot easier, as they are officially recognised and only pay fees to the market officials. When they have problems they go to the managers and as long as they have paid their fees their spaces are secure and they have limited problems regarding the protection of their trading space:

> " … [If we have any problems we] meet the officers [in charge of the formal market] to settle any problems whatsoever, because they have the authority …" (Male trader [77], Arena Formal Market, selling household goods, [Not displaced]).

> "We meet the owner of the [formal] market to solve any issue that arise …" (Male trader [80], Arena Formal Market, selling shoes, [Not displaced]).

> "[If we have any problems] we report to the management of the [formal] market since they are the owners of the market" (Male trader [90], Arena Formal Market, selling raw food items, [Displaced]).

The contrast in the experience of street traders operating in public space and traders working in formal markets with regards to fees or other issues has been highlighted in other studies (see for example Donovan, 2008; Carrieri and Murta, 2011).

Rights to public space

This section explores the level of rights to public space which traders possess or claim, through an examination of the *de facto* and *de jure* rights which traders in Oshodi possess. Two broad aspects of the trader's survey will be drawn on in this analysis; the permanence of traders display structure which indicates *de facto* rights, while the legitimacy of trader presence in public space (including the type of payments and experience of harassments) indicate *de jure* rights. Property rights which are developed and defined by resource users but not recognized by government authorities constitute *de facto* rights while those which are granted by government authorities are *de jure* rights (Schlager and Ostrom, 1992).

Permanence of display structure

The next two sections draw on the quantitative findings from the questionnaires with traders, focussing particularly on the 60 traders surveyed who were still working in the streets, as these are the ones who are most likely to have experienced displacement or its aftermath. The remaining 40 traders interviewed were trading in established markets (both public-owned and private), and are not included in this analysis because they have very limited right issues compared with those who were trading in public space as they make formal payments for their trading space and hence have established *de jure* rights. The small sample size of 60 respondents was not tested for statistical representation; nevertheless the analysis is indicative of general trends.

The type of structure which street traders use to display goods provides an indication of the level of *de facto* rights which traders possess or claim. The use of a semi-permanent means of display such as tables, wooden and/or metal kiosks or structures represents substantial investment by traders as well as a level of stability in the trading site, and indicates considerable *de facto* rights. A temporary display of cardboard cartons, straw baskets, plastic containers or a cloth on the floor indicates virtually no right claims of any kind (King, 2006; Brown et al. 2012). Based on this criteria, of the 60 traders surveyed still working on the streets, 29 (48%) of them used a semi-permanent display reflecting a reasonable level of right claims, while the remaining 31 (52%) used a temporary display suggesting virtually no level of right claims (see Figure 6.5). However even those with semi-permanent display facilities had wooden tables which are easily constructed and collapsed, so their rights were rather transitory.

Figure 6.5 *Traders trading from the floor and from tables* **Photos** *Omoegun (2013)*

The extent of *de facto* right claims by different groups of traders was further analysed according to the type of goods sold, trading experience, ethnicity and gender. A common trend was discovered, with the survey suggesting no clear difference in the level of rights' claim by traders across different groups. The 29 traders on the streets who sold from tables were fairly evenly distributed amongst the type of goods sold: 5 (17%) were trading in fruit, vegetables and readily edible food items; 6 (21%) in poultry, livestock, fish and meat; 7 (24%) in raw food items, provisions, grains, crops and other perishable goods; 2 (7%) in clothing, footwear and textiles; and 9 (31%) in household goods, electrical hardware, newspaper, books, and other non-perishable goods.

With regard to the displacements, 13 (45%) of the 29 traders operating from tables on the streets were long-term street traders in Oshodi having been trading prior to the trader displacements in 2009 and experienced the displacements, changing locations thereafter, while 16 (55%) are recent entrants to street trading in Oshodi having only started trading after 2009 and were not involved in the displacements. According to ethnicity it was found that 18 (50%) of the 36 Yoruba traders operating on the streets were selling from tables, while 8 (44%) of the 18 Igbo traders operating on the streets were selling from tables, thus suggesting that ethnicity may not influence right claims either[6].

Table 6.1 *De facto right claims according to ethnicity*

Ethnicity ╲ Traders	Traders operating on the street (60)	Traders operating on the street and selling from tables (29)	Percentage %
Yoruba	36	18	50%
Igbo	18	8	44%

Finally in terms of gender, of the 60 traders interviewed who were operating on the streets, 26 were male traders and of this number 13 (50%) of them were making use of more established display facilities, while 34 traders on the streets were female and of these 16 (47%) were making use of more established display facilities. Again, gender did not seem to influence rights claims.

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[6] Neither of the 2 Hausa traders operating on the streets was selling from tables while the remaining 4 traders operating on the streets are from other minor ethnic groups.

Table 6.2 *De facto right claims according to gender*

Traders / Gender	Traders operating on the street (60)	Traders operating on the street and selling from tables (29)	Percentage (%)
Female	34	16	47%
Male	26	13	50%

Legitimacy of presence in public space

In this section two aspects of the trader's survey which illustrate the level of traders' *de jure* rights are discussed, the payment of daily fees which give a level of legitimacy, and the experience of insecurity including displacements and harassments which serve as an indication of contested rights. As discussed in Section 5.3, most traders (80%) still active on streets make daily payments to OILG, indicating a degree of legitimacy and acceptance by local government, however of these 44 (73%) have also experienced one or more of the four forms of insecurity examined: *harassment, confiscation, fines or eviction*. Although insecurity is mainly the result of actions by government authorities (especially OILG and KAI officials) in some instances it comes from non-formal sources such as 'area boys', and generally there is very little traders can do to protect themselves, thus underlining their vulnerability and the level of *de jure* rights which they possess.

A more detailed analysis of the level of insecurity experienced by different groups of traders according to goods sold, trading experience, display facility, ethnicity and gender reveals some interesting dynamics. First, the examination of the level of insecurity experienced by street traders in relation to the type of goods sold by traders shows considerable uniformity. Traders irrespective of the goods sold have experienced similar levels of insecurity, as 79% of traders selling fruit, vegetables and readily edible food items have experienced insecurity, while 75% of those selling poultry, livestock, fish and meat, 71% of those selling raw food items, provisions, grains, crops and other perishable goods, 77% of those selling clothing, footwear and textiles, and 64% of those selling household goods, electrical hardware, newspaper, books, and other non-perishable goods have also experienced insecurity, suggesting high levels of vulnerability for all street traders.

Table 6.3 *Experience of insecurity according to goods sold*

Goods sold / Traders	Traders operating on the street (60)	Traders operating on the street and have experienced insecurity* (44)	Percentage (%)
Fruits, vegetables and readily edible food items	14	11	79%
Poultry, livestock, fish and meat	8	6	75%
Raw food items, provisions, grains, crops and other perishable goods	14	10	71%
Clothing, footwear and textiles	13	10	77%
Household goods, electrical hardware, newspaper, books, and other non-perishable goods	11	7	64%

* harassment, fines, confiscation or eviction

A comparison of insecurity and trading experience however shows a clear difference of experience. Almost all traders (94%) still operating on the street who had been trading in Oshodi for over five years (prior to the displacements) have experienced one form of insecurity, while just half (50%) of those who have been trading for less than five years have experienced insecurity, suggesting that the threat of insecurity is longstanding. In terms of display facility marked differences can be seen as well, as only 57% of traders who trade from tables on the street have experienced insecurity, compared to 87% of those who sell from less solid display facilities.

Table 6.4 *Experience of insecurity according to trading experience*

Trading experience / Traders	Traders operating on the street (60)	Traders operating on the street and have experienced insecurity (44)	Percentage (%)
Long term (trading for more than five years)	32	30	94%
Short term (trading for less than five years)	38	14	50%

Table 6.5 *Experience of insecurity according to display facility in use*

Type of display facility	Traders operating on the street (60)	Traders operating on the street and have experienced insecurity (44)	Percentage (%)
Tables	29	17	57%
Less solid display facilities	31	27	87%

Analysis according to ethnicity and gender also reveal significant disparities. Hausa and Yoruba traders have experienced the highest levels of insecurity in Oshodi, with both Hausa traders and 32 (89%) of the 36 Yoruba traders on the streets indicating they had previous experience of insecurity, while only (56%) of Igbo traders had experienced the same. However it is important to note that there are very few Hausa traders in Oshodi, constituting only 4% of the entire 100 trader sample size and Yoruba traders are the most, constituting 57% of the entire sample size. It also emerged that females are more vulnerable to insecurity than men, as 82% of all female traders on the streets have previously experienced insecurity in contrast to 62% of male traders who have had similar experiences.

Table 6.6 *Experience of insecurity according to ethnicity*

Ethnicity	Traders operating on the street (60)	Traders operating on the street and have experienced insecurity (44)	Percentage (%)
Yoruba	36	32	89%
Igbo	18	10	56%
Hausa	2	2	100%

Table 6.7 *Experience of insecurity according to gender*

Gender	Traders operating on the street (60)	Traders operating on the street and have experienced insecurity (44)	Percentage (%)
Male	26	16	62%
Female	34	28	82%

The high level of insecurity experienced by Yoruba traders is particularly curious given that they are the indigenous tribe in Lagos. This vulnerability may be because Yoruba street traders are predominantly female and are long-term street traders in Oshodi, with 27 (75%)

of the 36 Yoruba traders still active on the streets who were interviewed being female, and 21 (78%) of these 27 female Yoruba street traders have been trading in Oshodi for more than five years. This finding reflects the traditional prominence of local female traders in trading activities in Lagos (Fourchard, 2010; Ikioda, 2013). This is the strongest evidence of issues relating to ethnicity in the experience of traders in Oshodi, however these issues are likely to be more complicated and not fully illustrated by this research.

Table 6.8a *(left) Distribution of Yoruba traders according to gender*

Table 6.**8b** *(right) Distribution of Yoruba traders according to trading experience*

Traders ⟍ Gender	Yoruba traders selling on the street (total 36)	Percentage of Yoruba traders selling on the street (%)
Male	9	25%
Female	27	75%

Traders ⟍ Trading Experience	Female Yoruba traders selling on street (total 27)	Percentage of Female Yoruba traders selling on street (%)
Short term traders	6	22%
Long term traders	21	78%

From the experience in Oshodi it is clear that the position of street traders in public space is insecure as they benefit from virtually no protection for their trading activities. Although traders make daily payments to local government authorities for use of space, they can barely lay claim to any sort of rights as their activities are essentially considered as illegal. Consequently they have to continuously negotiate their access to space and as a result are very vulnerable to exploitation. In contrast, traders in formal markets are legally recognised and receive protection in exchange for their payments, although the costs of maintaining a formal shop are considerably higher (see Section 5.4). Donovan (2008) also highlights the vulnerability of street traders and the hazards that surround the conduct of trading in the street compared to the safer working conditions in formal markets.

6.3 Insecurity in public space: the process of trader displacements

Trader displacements are a major consequence of the vulnerability of street traders in public space. Consequently, in this section the processes that underpin and enable displacements to occur will be examined. This will include an exploration of the factors which motivate displacements as well as the methods through which displacements are conducted. It is evident that a combination of exaggerated perceptions of the challenges associated with street trading, and neoliberal and authoritarian tendencies on the part of government authorities are the main factors that underlie street trader displacements.

Perception of street trade as inseparable from nuisance, chaos and illegality

In the interview data from city authority officials and other stakeholders, interviewees often referred to crime, traffic congestion, environmental degradation and similar concerns when talking about the activities of street traders. Descriptions of street trading activities are often linked to these broader societal concerns, with an underlying suggestion that an appreciable level of organisation and satisfactory public health standards are not compatible with the presence of street traders in public space. This perception is succinctly expressed in the following narratives by three Lagos State Government officials:

> "Things have changed considerably [since the transformation of Oshodi, in particular the clearance of public spaces and the movement of traders from the major pathways], but I am going to approach it multi-dimensionally. Number one; traffic, there has been a huge improvement in traffic management and flow … because of the restructuring of Oshodi we now have trading activities [that are] much more organised, so much so that it even gives prospective clients the safety consciousness to go there. That now takes us to security, hitherto because of the disorganised nature of Oshodi people were scared to even go and buy things there, to even patronise them but now it is much more organised, you can enter anywhere and buy whatever you want to buy safely, the crime rate too has reduced tremendously. Incidents of thuggery and street trading have actually reduced, so this has actually … put Oshodi in a very good pedestal that we can even begin to say that in time it can be likened to any international market around … this sub-region, and the continent, let me not say the globe." (LSG Official, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, KI 5).

> "Before Oshodi used to be dead rough … [with] robbers, hoodlums, all sorts of people, you dare not go by the place after a certain hour of the day, once its dark … but there was the political will [to] demystify Oshodi and that was done, the

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governor himself was very convinced that this could be done, today we have Oshodi that is neat twenty four hours of the day, we have recreation spots there, we have well designated car parks, motor parks, well designated area's for business and commercial trading and free flow of traffic and this has been maintained for about three years now so Oshodi is not going to go back to the old unpassable … dangerous area, Oshodi is now well … laid out, commercialised, except it is going to even improve better" (LSG Official, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, KI 8).

"[Oshodi was] a total disaster … it's now much, much better, it's … a place where you can visit … the crime rate has gone down tremendously, about seventy to eighty percent. Oshodi is safer now because … the streets are lit up, we have … street lights, cameras, security cameras installed there and … right now traffic is freer, it's a route out of the mainland, its passable at any time of the day." (LSG Official, Ministry of the Environment, KI 7).

Similar views were expressed by a staff member in a formal shop in Oshodi:

"[I think the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders from the main public pathways is good] for our own security, at least we can move freely without fear … now I can move freely without being afraid, people can now go into the market to buy things … [street traders cause … problems, because] at times when you are going home you won't be able to see, when you are going home if you step on their goods they start fighting you … you will see them everywhere, who will tell them where to stay? They go beyond their boundaries … at least [after the transformation and movement of street traders] … the traders don't extend to the main road the way they normally do … Lagos is rowdy at least let the road be free to reduce stealing and avoid fake things" (Formal shop staff in Oshodi market, non-resident in Oshodi [55]).

The safety, traffic, environmental and other concerns in Oshodi were real as confirmed by newspaper reports, other stakeholders and even displaced traders, however there are recent indications that some of these issues still persist even after the displacements (see Section 4.3). Another key consideration behind the displacements which emerged from this study was the improvement of the aesthetic conditions in Oshodi. This correlates with findings from other studies which have also emphasised the increasing prioritisation of aesthetic considerations as a major factor in street trader displacements (Bromley 1998; Donovan, 2008). The importance of aesthetic considerations in the removal of traders from streets and public spaces is evident in the following comment by one of the officials of the LSG in his evaluation of the actions taken in Oshodi:

"…what the government did was fantastic but it disempowered some traders who could not afford the built shops; there was no resettlement plan, it was a cosmetic approach. People trading on the streets could not have afforded the new shops; more could have been done …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, KI 5).

This point is consistent with findings from previous studies (see for example Bromley 1998; Middleton, 2003; Swanson, 2007; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Crossa, 2009) which argue that the challenges associated with street trading are emphasised in order to justify street trader displacements. These displacements are typically characterised by neoliberal undertones (see Chapter 2) as argued by Perera and Amin (1996) who argue that city authorities which prioritise achieving clean and tidy cities see the struggles of street traders as a common problem, with the challenges associated with informal economic activities, such as; environmental, health, safety or traffic issues highlighted, to reinforce the argument that trading is unsuitable for an orderly urban environment. Consequentially informal economic activities are regularly expelled from city centres as part of efforts to achieve public order and cleanliness. Informal economic activities also sometimes displaced simply in order to attract foreign and local investment in urban development projects. And at times evictions arise merely from planners' preoccupation with removing hindrances to the attainment of beautiful cities.

The execution of street trader displacements

Due to the uniqueness of the Oshodi Market site and its precarious condition prior to 2009, there had been a longstanding need for intervention in Oshodi and government authorities (especially federal and state) had previously made a number of attempts to do so, often trying to displace informal trade to alternative sites (see Sections 4.2 and 5.2). As this study has shown, the state government led by the governor has played a prominent role in this process, both before 2009 and in the major street trader displacements of 2009. The 2009 displacements were essentially the governor's decision, a central part of the governor's ambition to clean up Lagos and redefine its image (Basinski, 2009; Neuwirth, 2013). Most government respondents allude to this:

> " … Fashola [the Governor] invited all the traditional chiefs … youths … marketers and explained the intention of the government, and the advantages of the demolition exercise. Then they all bought … the idea and that is why we were able to achieve [what we did] …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 2).

The displacements were aggressively carried out essentially under the supervision of the governor by a team of law enforcement agents, led by officials from the Kick Against Indiscipline office of the Lagos State Ministry of the Environment, to the dismay of many

traders. KAI is an environmental enforcement agency within the Lagos State Ministry of the Environment which is almost exclusively dedicated to the enforcement of the elimination of street trading activities (Basinski, 2009).

> "Tears flowed yesterday at Oshodi … when a combined team of Lagos State Taskforce, Kick Against Indiscipline (KAI), and a detachment of mobile policemen, with bulldozers, demolished all illegal structures including shops disrupting commercial activities. The team which was led by the KAI Marshal General, Captain Danjuma Maigeri (rtd), pulled down structures and chased the traders who occupied all the adjoining routes leading to the bus stop… When *The Guardian* visited the scene, the entire bus stop was in disarray. The Agege-Motor Road was blocked with a police van to prevent motorists from plying the route while vehicular traffic was diverted …. Some of the traders who were affected put their hands on their heads, crying while the exercise lasted. Black smoke from burnt stalls, tables engulfed the entire area, forcing many to cough and gasp for breath, as all the demolished structures were equally set on fire. Some traders and hoodlums who resisted were arrested and put in Black Maria… [some] passers-by who were conversant with the nuisance of Oshodi … feared the action on the poor traders was too brutal, as their means of livelihood depended on their daily earnings …. A trader, in anguish, sprawled on the ground shouting the name of Governor Babatunde Fashola for giving the order to terminate their means of livelihood. She kept asking: "What do I do, where do I start from … having spent [and invested] a lot during the festive period? Is this the governor's New Year gift to us? God help me oh! May God help me oh! …"" (The Guardian newspaper, Monday, January 5, 2009, pp.12).

> "When the Kick Against Indiscipline team led by Captain Danjuma Maigeri, who is also the Special Adviser on Environment to the Governor, moved into Oshodi on Sunday, not only did it destroy anything that obstructed vehicular movement, but also all the makeshift buildings that defaced the area and disrupted the master-plan for Oshodi…. The general feeling of anguish could be seen on the faces of the traders. A textile trader, who simply gave her name as Iya Jelili, was very unhappy with the way the Lagos government handled the issue. She disclosed that, like most other traders in the market, she lost valuables worth thousands of naira, claiming that the traders were not given a deadline by government. Another trader … said he could not quantify what he lost to the demolition, which claimed both his shop and goods. Also, Mr. Chinedu Solomon, who kicked against government's planned relocation of the traders, stated that the current plans to relocate traders was very unfair. For him, the cost of moving from the base they were used to would set them back financially, stating that with all the payments they had been making to the [local government] councils, he did not expect them to treat them with such disregard." (The Guardian newspaper, Sunday, January 11, 2009, pp.10).

A brief overview of how the decision to displace street traders in Oshodi in 2009 was arrived at and how the displacements were conducted has been sketched above. Two key aspects of the conduct of the displacement process are subsequently elaborated upon.

Avoiding Resistance

A vital issue in the process of street trader displacements in Oshodi is the extent to which street traders were involved in the process, and a key finding of this research is the limited consultation and information provided about the displacements. Although both state and local government officials placed considerable emphasis on the participatory process of trader displacements in Oshodi, from the interview data an element of concealment is apparent in their actions. The LSG considered it necessary to keep some details of the process secret in order to reduce opposition to their plans and hence enhance the chances of success, as put by a LSG official:

> "… we don't even know the level of arms and ammunition that is seized between that unorganised area before … engaging them in anything will inform organised resistance to the reform of the place" (LSG Official, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, KI 6).

Also in response to the question of how the decision to transform Oshodi was arrived at, another Lagos State Government official remarks:

> " … I would say that such things are taken care of at the executive level, so that before it spills out they would have strategized … or else the thing will be dead on arrival, but they were able to strategize and it (trader displacements) came into reality" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 1).

Furthermore in describing how the transformation of Oshodi was implemented and the nature of the consultation with traders in the process, a senior Lagos state government official comments:

> "As a matter of fact, the traders were so happy when the transformation came … the governor went walking through and a lot of accolades went to him because they were already itching and agitating for this, though they didn't know how and when it will come but when the government led by Mr Babatunde Raji Fashola the governor took this up, the people were so happy that this could be achieved" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 8).

In addition, although all LSG respondents made reference to consultations undertaken as part of the displacement process, there are indications that the consultations were not extensive and could have been better conducted, as is seen from comments from two officials:

> "…there should have been sufficient consultation, but it is a difficult task because of the numbers …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, KI 5).

"… there were consultations … stakeholder meetings … [to convey] what the government was going to do, but regarding the exact timing of the enforcement [communication might not have been clear], because … [new traders] arrive in [to Oshodi] every day, [so some traders might] have heard the information [regarding the enforcement] the previous day [but] by the next day [the new arrivals] might not have heard the information and maybe they are the ones that fell victim to the enforcements. But government just had to enforce … I think overtime the traders will get used to the change …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 8).

The secrecy in communication and the inadequacy of the consultation process between the LSG and street traders was corroborated by traders:

"We were told but the time and date was not communicated to us at all, they even came at 2am on that fateful day" (Female trader [51], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling household goods, [Displaced]).

"…they [government officials] came to us and gave us a 24 hour notice, they said after 24 hours anything left would be destroyed. We thought it was a joke, but after 24 hours, policemen and soldiers arrived and destroyed everything …" (Male trader [29], Idera Formal Market, selling livestock, [Displaced]).

In contrast, some traders did know about the displacements beforehand, but their information was vague and inconsistent, and was received from different sources. Women vegetable sellers were the most informed group with 14 of the 19 traders who had prior knowledge being women, of whom 4 were vegetable sellers (others include 2 fish sellers, 2 poultry sellers and 2 fruit sellers amongst others), suggesting the value of membership of product-based trader associations, as the Vegetable Sellers' Association is one of the more active associations.

" … the local government officials came to tell us to move back and then we did, after we moved back then they said they didn't want us there anymore …" (Female trader [25], Idera Formal Market, selling poultry, [Displaced]).

"….we were told from Alausa (the state government) that they were going to chase people away from the rail line" (Female trader [21], kairo Formal Market, selling vegetables, [Displaced]).

"…the head of the Vegetable Sellers Association told us but we didn't believe, it was like a rumour …" (Female trader [13], Brown Street, selling vegetables, [Displaced]).

The use of force in trader displacements

It also emerged that a considerable level of force was used during the displacement process, further calling to question the nature and effectiveness of the stakeholder consultations. This force used during the displacement was corroborated by a Lagos-based NGO official involved with informal economy workers:

> "…we all woke up one day and we saw caterpillars, soldiers, people from the local government, the KAI guys arresting people confiscating their wares and pulling down illegal structures …" (FES NGO, Official, KI, 11).

Newspaper reports also confirmed the forceful nature of the displacements in Oshodi:

> "A joint operation of Lagos State security agencies on Sunday destroyed illegal structures operated by Oshodi market traders …. The operation, which allegedly affected many traders operating on the Agege Motor road, adjoining streets and rail lines … began about 5.30am with four bulldozers used for the destruction of the structures, later set ablaze by environmental officials." (The Punch newspaper, Monday, January 5, 2009, pp.10).

> "…The shanties that provided cover for the miscreants were pulled down, and burnt. Also, the makeshift stalls under the bridge, where traders had carried on their business suffered the same fate. In fact, all illegal structures were not spared…" (The Punch newspaper, Sunday, January 11, 2009, pp.50).

Some traders had no prior knowledge of the displacements, but mentioned the use of force:

> "We didn't hear anything they just brought a black Maria [police van] and started destroying things" (Female trader [9], Brown Street, selling vegetables, [Displaced]).

> "We just got there on the day and saw the damage, fire and flames" (Female trader [19], Adekoya Street selling fruits, [Displaced]).

Forceful displacements are not uncommon in Lagos, and extend to several areas of urban management, as highlighted by officials of two Lagos-based NGOs with interests in rights and informal activities:

> " … forced evictions are a violation of law, both Nigerian law and international human rights law … especially when you are talking about forced evictions from people's homes and business premises, I think that on that axis Nigeria and particularly Lagos State and Rivers State are actually outliers, with instances of extremely poor treatment of the poor that you saw in places like South Africa maybe a decade ago, in Kenya maybe a decade ago, in Rio Brazil maybe five or seven years ago, but in Nigeria these demolitions remain ongoing, encouraged by the government, unfortunately often using brutal force. In Makoko [a slum

community in Lagos State] last year a community leader was shot to death by a police officer who was demolishing houses …" (SERAC NGO, Official, KI, 13).

" … I know about the eviction in Makoko last year … they tried to be a bit civilised when they came, you know they come with the police, with the taskforces, it's a very traumatizing experience for those people, those communities where those forces go … there have been horrible experiences I learnt over the years, very violent ones, so even if they try to have a soft approach it is still very frightening, and you know Makoko ended up with a person killed. Recently in Badia [another slum community in Lagos State] I understand they came also with tanks, I mean a very, very frightening way…" (HBF NGO, Official, KI, 13).

The force used by the LSG in the displacement of traders in Oshodi and in the implementation of urban management decisions in Lagos is clear. It is also clear that this high-handed approach is not restricted to a single incident in Lagos or Lagos State, but bears a strong semblance to the authoritarian history of urban planning in the state and therefore raises critical questions regarding the relevance of stakeholders' participation in urban management. Forceful street trader displacements are a common occurrence, for example Skinner (2008) details several instances in which government authorities have forcefully displaced traders from their trading locations. Generally, the common and continued occurrence of forceful displacements highlights the exclusion which marginalised urban residents face in influencing or challenging urban management decisions that affect their lives.

This section has detailed the process through which street trader displacements in Oshodi took place, and the challenges that surrounded street trading activities which triggered intervention by government authorities. It appears that exaggerated perceptions of the challenges associated with street trading, the neoliberal inclination of government authorities, and authoritarian urban planning traditions, justified by the wider KAI process, served as the moral justification and main motivation behind the displacements, which guided the forceful execution of the process. Consequently the interests of the most affected stakeholders (street traders) were neglected in favour of alternative considerations.

6.4 The impacts of street trader displacements

In this subsection the effects of the displacements in Oshodi in relation to the displaced traders and the wider society is investigated. The analysis is conducted drawing on the four elements of the battlegrounds framework highlighted in Section 2.2; the spatial, political, economic, and socio-cultural aspects (Mackie et al. 2014). This approach provides a solid avenue through which to develop a good understanding and appreciation of the broad impacts of the displacements.

Displacement and continuing management (spatial impacts)

The most obvious aspect of the displacement process is the change in use of strategic public spaces particularly as it affects the activities of street traders. In Oshodi the removal of traders from specific public spaces was the clear priority, with little attention placed on their re-accommodation. While there was some attempt to provide alternative accommodation, this was in formal markets to which many traders were reluctant to relocate, with some not ready by the time the displacements took place. As a result many traders had to find alternative locations by themselves and with limited government assistance in order to make ends meet as detailed in Section 6.1.

> "No, initially most of them were on the rail line and on the highway so it's is not proper for them to remain where they were, at least with the location they intend having for them at Pakodowo [formal] market will go a long way and even … some are still doing on street trading along Brown Street but the local government officials … still allow them to carry out their trading activities there so … in a way they are still managing … so they won't say in totality they've been taken off their source of income" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 1).

As pointed out by the city official above a significant number of traders still operate on the streets rather than in formal markets as was the spelt out target for the displacements. In fact of the 60 trader respondents surveyed who were still operational on the streets, 32 (53%) had been displaced as part of the transformation of Oshodi. These traders work on the streets rather than in formal shops for various reasons such as the inability to afford formal shop rents or better sales (see Section 5.3).

This point is somewhat contradicted by a management official in one of the target formal markets, the Kairo Formal Market, which is still being completed yet has a many vacant shop spaces (see Figures 6.6) when he argues that:

> "Our people are like animals, if you chase them away they come back … what Fashola [the governor] did is good, in terms of accidents they have taken them off the streets. But they still need to do something … the streets are now free but now the street traders have run onto the smaller streets and this has affected the main market because it hinders sales. The Kick Against Indiscipline (KAI) officials are trying, but it does not encourage traders with small spaces in the formal market, as they are not encouraged to stay, they also go outside as well … it's not like they [the traders] cannot afford it, they can afford it. Those people on the street at least every day 'area boys' collect money morning, afternoon and evening and KAI officials as well and also the Local government … cumulatively they pay that much so how come they can't rent shops, [we have cheap shops] … so how can't they afford it? They just prefer to be on the street … you have shoes sellers here and shoes sellers outside but the ones outside feel they can sell more and maybe cheaper because they don't pay for shops. It's what they sell outside that they sell inside … they are just stubborn …" (Kairo Formal Market Administrator, KI, 16).

Although this argument recognises the desire of a lot of traders to conduct their activities in public space rather than enclosed formal markets it somewhat contradicts the assertions of many of them that they cannot afford the financial costs. However it is clear that this argument is biased as it completely ignores the importance of location near major pedestrian routes on their profitability and overall livelihood. Linked to the reluctance of traders to relocate to formal markets is the question of the overall completion of the displacement process. From the interview data it is clear that no definite timescale for complete clearance exists, with efforts continuously ongoing to make sure that the displacement of the traders is ongoing, as expressed by Lagos State Government officials:

> " … at the moment it is quite hectic even maintaining the place as it is but we still look forward to improving the place further than what it is now" (LSG Official, Ministry of commerce and Industry, KI 6).

> " … If you observed when it started from where it is now, you will see a little change but there have been constant follow ups by government to ensure that the transformation does not revert back to status quo" (LSG Official, Ministry of commerce and Industry, KI 5).

Figure 6.6 *Kairo Formal Market still being completed Source* **Photos** *Omoegun (2013)*
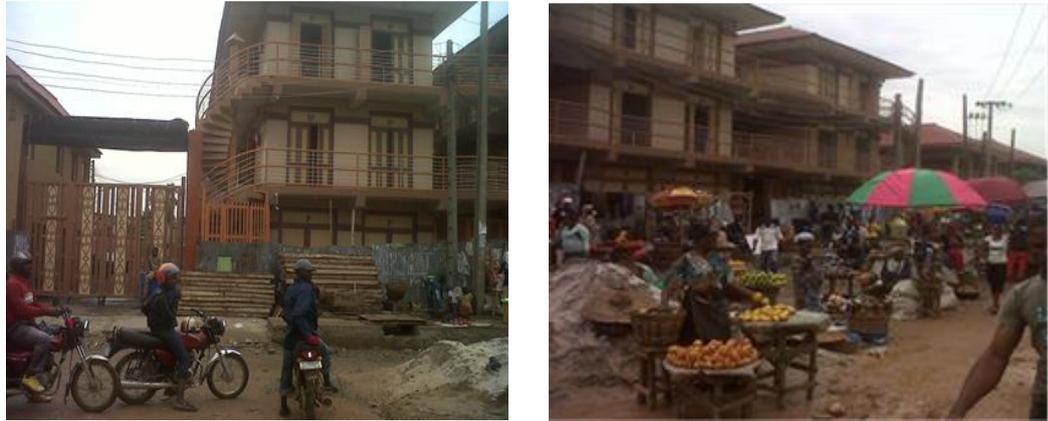
This is particularly pertinent as a considerable number of displaced street traders still harbour a desire to return to the main roads and public pathways as distinctly expressed by two traders:

> "If government does that [allows us go back to the rail line] we will be happy, because our mind is still there … we will like it if government allows it [trading along the rail line], anything they say we should do we will do" (Male trader [29], Idera Formal Market, selling livestock, [Displaced]).

> "[What will most help my work is] if we go back to the rail line … let the government return us back to the rail line … we just want to return" (Female trader [14], Brown Street, selling fish, [Displaced]).

Based on the interview data, for state and local government officials the displacements in Oshodi are viewed with a general sense of accomplishment and moral right, as traffic, safety and environmental concerns have abated since traders were moved off the main public pathways. However the objectives have only partially been achieved as only a few displaced traders moved into formal markets, which was a key objective of the displacements, and many remain on smaller adjoining streets, while some still occupy spaces along the Agege Motor Road, which as a key target of the displacements.

Despite this sense of accomplishment, interview data indicates an underlying concern by government officials that Oshodi will return to its former state, with several remarking about the need for continual maintenance of the cleared spaces, as earlier discussed. The desire of traders to return to their former locations and government concerns about this is also corroborated by observational data, which despite the continuous presence of security operatives from the Lagos State Ministry of the Environment indicates a subtle encroachment (although very gradual) of traders back into key trading spaces, with traders

ready to return whenever controls are relaxed. The ongoing daily deployment of a patrol van of security operatives along Agege Motor Road to monitor activities has been vital in preventing displaced traders from returning to their previous locations.

> "If security leaves there [rail line] tonight, tomorrow we will be back there" (Female trader [88], Olorunshogo Formal Market, selling meat, [Not displaced]).

Street traders thus constitute a marginalised and vulnerable group in the contestations over public space in Oshodi. As the welfare of traders is ignored and traders lack a sense of entitlement, they feel subject to the opinions of government authorities and are susceptible to exploitation. Many studies have shown how traders have been moved from centrally located public spaces to newly-built peripheral markets (Yeoh and Kong, 1994; Bromley, 2000; Swanson, 2007; Donovan, 2008; Carrieri and Murta, 2011). Some studies have identified considerable resistance on the part of displaced traders (Bromley and Mackie, 2008; 2009; Crossa, 2009; Steel, 2012; Brown et al. 2014). However in Oshodi despite the fact that traders were displaced with limited alternatives provided for them, their resistance was minimal and their relocation to side streets leaves them vulnerable to exploitation and harassment.

Whilst changes in the use of urban spaces are the clearest impacts of street trader displacements, there are undoubtedly broader and more concealed impacts of displacements, especially considering the wide-ranging importance of urban public space and street trading activities. To provide a good understanding of the impacts of the displacements in Oshodi the remaining analysis will explore three other aspects of the battlegrounds framework (Mackie et al 2014); political, economic and socio-cultural.

Weakened collective voice and suppressed opposition (political impacts)

A major impact of the displacements in Oshodi is the further weakening of the already weak collective voice amongst traders (see Section 5.3). However, although trader associations were weakened by displacements, in smaller clusters the communal life amongst traders was quite strong and less damaged by the displacements. These small groups however serve primarily as economic and support mechanisms with little political inclination, with traders supporting one another in challenging economic conditions

exacerbated by the displacements. Female displaced traders were particularly affected, several making comments such as:

> "…my relationship with other traders following the displacements has not really changed because it is still us that were on the rail line that are here also" (Female trader [14], Brown Street, selling fish, [Displaced]).

> "… our relationship is still same [following the displacements], we help each other just like before …" (Female trader [22], Kairo Formal Market, selling fish, [Displaced]).

> "… my relationship with other traders following the displacements has not changed, because we are like family …" (Female trader [32], Idera Formal Market, selling livestock, [Displaced]).

In line with the survivalist nature of the relationships amongst traders, the process through which traders relocated to side streets following their displacements from the main road and public pathways is another interesting finding. It was discovered that following the displacements traders were initially shocked and it took them some time to recover. But after the initial shock many of the traders, drawing largely on social ties between themselves, reconstituted small collective groups and together found spaces where they could trade (see also Bromley and Mackie, 2009).

> "…my relationship with my neighbouring traders [has not changed since the displacements], it is still the same, since it is those of us who were in the previous location that are still here now, because after the displacements, we reunited, found this place and then moved here together …" (Female trader [56], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling household goods, [Displaced]).

The cordiality amongst small groups of traders is further demonstrated by the fact that the majority, 40 out of 50 (80%) of the displaced traders explain that the relationships within their small groups have not changed since the displacements. A group of traders explaining that following the displacements they were set back, but after staying at home for some time they contacted each other on their mobile phones and got together to start trying to piece their businesses together, going around Oshodi looking for a place to continue until they found a space along one of the side roads where they are now located, an overwhelming 84% of the entire 100 trader sample indicating they had mobile phones or access to one.

This cordiality amongst traders was also observed during the observation of trading activities as neighbouring traders often assisted each other; providing smaller change, or helping with sales when one of them went away for a short time, or in one instance when a trader went to get her children from school. It was fascinating to observe how traders

usually knew the costs of the goods sold by a neighbouring trader and to what extent they could bargain with customers over prices, despite selling completely different items to those sold by the other trader. Mackie et al. (2014) also describe the emergence of collective action and endeavour in economic terms and how this translated to strong political voice, but this is not the case in Oshodi, as no semblance of political activism or mobilisation transpired.

Reduced incomes and damaged enterprise (economic impacts)

The economic impacts of displacements on traders are clear, with a drastic reduction in the volume of their sales. Of the 50 displaced traders surveyed, 44 of them (88%) clearly state that their sales have dropped following their displacement, and of the six that had not experienced a reduction in sales volumes, five said that their sales have remained about the same, three of which were operating on side roads with decent public access, while two had relocated to formal markets. Just one displaced street trader indicated his sales had increased; he was however a fairly new trader as he only started trading about five years before the displacements, and he occupied a fairly accessible location in a formal market and enjoyed considerable assistance from family members, both financially and with sales when he is away.

A key factor in the drop in sales was the spatial/locational factor, as described by two displaced traders now operating on the edges of two different formal markets:

> "Yes [my income has changed since the displacements], we used to make a lot of money [before but] here we are not really selling, here is a corner, there [along the rail line] people passing by used to stop and buy from us but that does not happen here" (Female trader [27], Idera Formal Market, selling poultry, [Displaced]).

> "Along the rail line was better, some people don't know we sell chicken here, it is very different, for example if we were still there we won't have time [for this interview because we would be busy selling]" (Female trader [3], Olorunshogo Formal Market, selling poultry, [Displaced]).

The overall business practices of traders have also been significantly affected by their reduced patronage:

> " … salt has finished now, and there is no reserve unlike at the rail line, where we used to sell at least four bags of this salt alone a day but the salt I just finished

selling has been on the market since last week" (Female trader [51], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling provisions, [Displaced]).

"…it [business] is not like before, we used to sell all products in one day but not so anymore" (Female trader [9], Brown Street, selling vegetables, [Displaced]).

As a result traders have had to devise new business strategies to cope with the income shortfall in order to retain some semblance of profitability in their business:

"Business has not been like before because sales have reduced very much … I used to go to the market [to buy goods to sell] daily but now I go about twice a week" (Male trader [46], Oshodi Road, selling raw food items, [Displaced]).

"The market here does not move as at then and that's one of the reasons I started selling in small bits but before I used to sell in cartons" (Female trader [64], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling fruits, [Displaced]).

"Because my product sales have reduced, with no more buyers like before, I have had to start walking around looking for customers" (Male trader [76], Agege Motor Road, selling shoes, [Displaced]).

There are also less apparent economic impacts of street trader displacements. An interesting one is the impact the displacements had on some medium scale formal businesses. Prior to the displacements some street traders served as small retail outlets for formal enterprises, as they sometimes sold goods on their behalf or goods purchased from them. The capacity of traders to sell items in small quantities and the good penetration they provide served to enhance overall sales volumes for traders in Oshodi. This arrangement enhanced turnover for both formal enterprises and street traders. However since the displacements and the reduced patronage of street traders this relationship has been damaged. This is alluded to by a number of formal shop staff working in formal markets in Oshodi:

"… as a person it [the displacements] does not affect me, but in terms of sales those that sell on the street then used to buy from me to resell but due to the transformation we lost majority since they don't have where to sell again" (Formal shop staff in Oshodi Market, resident in Oshodi [26]).

"[The transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders have affected me negatively] because some of the people selling there used to be my customers, they used to buy from me and resell" (Formal shop staff in Oshodi Market, resident in Oshodi [27]).

"[The transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders have affected me negatively] because when they [customers] ask for our shop they [traders] directed them to us but there is nothing like that now … [I think street trading was well managed before the transformation and the trader displacements] because it moves the market then and customers were coming regularly … but everything is dry now [after the displacements] and business is not moving well like before … [I

think street traders should have been allowed to remain in their previous locations in some form] because it will enhance business and everybody will make a living." (Formal shop staff in Oshodi Market, non-resident in Oshodi [51]).

However, staff of some other formal shops also indicated that street traders were a hindrance to their business and their displacement actually had a positive impact on their sales:

"The displacement of traders have affected me positively because] I can now move freely without 'area boys' collecting my money and properties and do business in a clean environment and apart from that people now patronise people in shops … [street traders were not well managed before the transformation of Oshodi and the trader displacements because] they were all scattered, fighting … [and] selling below cost price, selling fake goods and spoiling the market for traders in the shop" (Formal shop staff in Oshodi Market, resident in Oshodi [29]).

"The displacement of traders has affected me positively because] more customers are coming into the market, we pray for more, we are happy" (Formal shop staff in Oshodi Market, non-resident in Oshodi [54]).

"[The displacement of traders have affected me positively because] it made business move more now and there is no more human traffic again … [street traders were not well managed before the transformation of Oshodi and the trader displacements because] everywhere was disorganised … [but now it is well managed] because movement is now going smoothly and there is a better flow of people … … [I don't think street traders should have been allowed to remain in their previous locations in any form] because it is a blockage to customers and problem to us that have shops or live here" (Formal shop staff in Oshodi Market, resident in Oshodi [28]).

Some other members of staff of formal shops present a mixed picture, highlighting both positive and negative business impacts of street traders:

"[I think the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders from main public pathways] is good because at least you have free movement but bad because it affected business, both theirs and ours. Many have gone back to the village, some buy and resell and some patronize us for their own use … it affected our sales, some people inside here were not seen before but after the displacements people started coming in to buy things" (Formal shop staff in Oshodi Market, non-resident in Oshodi [52]).

It is clear that the relationship between street traders and formal enterprises is mixed, with support and tensions regarding customer access and goods sold. However it is important to note that traders provide a unique service to some formal businesses, in that when they still occupied major public spaces they directed customers to specialist businesses or to the wholesalers in the formal markets, thus serving as a form of advertisement. Furthermore, the street trader displacements have had even deeper repercussions on medium-scale formal enterprises than is immediately evident, as a supplier to some medium-scale

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enterprises located in one of the four formal markets selected for this study, the Arena Formal Market noted:

> "Suppliers are affected as well, as we sometimes supply on credit and street traders reimburse us after selling, but since the transformation this is not the case anymore. So even suppliers have been affected as well" (Interview with formal shop Supplier, Arena Formal Market, KI 18).

The link between formal enterprises and street traders is one that has been fairly well documented in previous research. Donovan (2008) describes how street traders expand the reach of formal businesses by selling products obtained from formal enterprises at remote locations or outside normal working hours and also trade in fairly used goods or smaller quantities of goods which formal business will ordinarily not do, thus filling a gap in the market. Street traders have also been seen to collaborate with formal enterprises in product sales and attract customers to formal shops (Crossa, 2009). This study therefore corroborates previous findings on the linkages between the formal and informal economy.

Severed social ties and reinforced prejudice (socio-cultural impacts)

One of the more subtle consequences of trader displacements are the socio-cultural impacts of the displacements in Oshodi, which have significant ramifications, particularly the loss of previous customers by street traders, as many street traders, 47 of the 50 (94%) displaced traders sampled stated that they have lost contact with their previous customers. Hence longstanding communal relationships have virtually been destroyed as a result of the displacements.

> "[street trading] is our family business … I spent about 30 years trading along the rail line after I joined my father there … [we don't need shelter or storage facilities] because our business is street trading … and all we need is to be able to trade along the road so that our customer can see us and patronise us … [when we were along the rail line] we had regular customers, like restaurant owners and those who always patronised us when they wanted to have big parties … but now [since the displacements] we have lost contact with them … " (Male trader [28], Idera Formal Market, selling livestock, [Displaced]).

In describing their loss of contact with customers, traders also indicate a strong cultural element and social utility of their activities, in that they provide a convenient means of shopping for middle/low income workers on their way to and from work.

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"… I [took over this business] from my mother, because she is now old … [since the displacements] our customers have changed a lot, when we were along the rail line we had many customers who used to patronise us on their way to work or on the way back, even when returning from parties … sometimes they don't even plan to purchase anything but when they see us they stop to buy things from us … [but now] we are hidden away … some people don't even know we sell chickens here … for instance if we were still along the rail line we won't have time for this interview…" (Female trader [3], Olorunshogo Formal Market, selling poultry, [Displaced]).

" … I have always been a trader … I don't know anything else … I sold along the rail line for about 10 years before the displacements … [since the displacements] our customers have changed … [when we were along the rail line] customers used to meet us, sometimes on their way back from work … but most of them don't go through this route, so we have lost contact with them …" (Female trader [17], Adekoya Street, selling raw food items, [Displaced]).

Donovan (2008) also identifies the importance of the activities of street traders to low income workers and other sections of urban society. It was found that the displacements had a negative impact on the social ties between traders, even though small groups of traders had retained some collective support, as previously detailed. It is important to note that this damage is quite significant, as it affected the extent to which traders could support one another.

"…when we had celebrations we used to support each other when we were along the rail line, [but we can't afford to do so anymore]" (Female trader [12], Brown Street, selling vegetables, [Displaced]).

A further socio-cultural impact of the displacements was the further entrenchment of prejudice against street trading amongst government authorities and some city inhabitants, with street trading seen not as part of a modern environment but as a hindrance to modernisation, with suggestions that new urban facilities cannot be provided with traders still present in public space (see Section 5.4). However, a new dimension of prejudice against street trading was found, expressed by traders themselves, who sometimes presented their work as not being worthwhile:

"… you see people on the road here don't like it but there is no choice, if the government reduce the prices of shops people will move inside … presently only the big men can afford the shops … people don't like to stay here, no one likes to be beaten by the rain and the sun … but the costs of shops are too high … some people say abroad people trade on the street ... but I don't think so, it won't be allowed, you have to go into shops and markets to buy goods" (Female trader [49], Oshodi Road, selling vegetables, [Not displaced]).

The trader displacements in Oshodi also portend deeper social ramifications in addition to the broader socio-cultural impacts, including the substantial effect of the displacements on

the immediate families of traders. Most of the displaced traders surveyed said that they used part of the earnings to support at least two other family members, while only one trader said that she supported only one other persons, her mother, and two said that they only supported themselves. Thus, reduced trader incomes as a result of the displacements will have had significant impacts on many traders' dependants (especially children) and hence on the wider society. The effect of the displacements on the families of displaced street traders is expressed by a female trader:

> "… we were making good sales along the rail line … [and] we were feeding well and taking care of our children but this is not the case anymore … [following the displacements] we are suffering … we are hungry, we were sending our children to school comfortably before but now we are struggling to do so … they said it was for our safety they chased us away from the rail line, but due to the losses and the stress as a result of the displacements many of us have died all the same …" (Female trader [4], Olorunshogo Formal Market, selling meat, [Displaced]).

Another consequence of the displacements relates to the wider societal importance of street trade. It is generally agreed that street trade constitutes a major form of urban employment particularly for the poor and low-skilled and/or educated; it was however discovered in this study that street trade is an occupation of more importance than previously envisaged, and a considerable number of street traders had undergone a significant level of education; 55% of the total 100 trader respondents had completed secondary education, and five of these had completed some form of higher education, of which two were former teachers and one a former nurse. One other respondent was a first year undergraduate in the university helping his mother who is a former teacher. The participation of this relatively educated group in street trading is significant and largely due to the challenging economic situation in Nigeria, as the two former teachers said:

> "… I am new to this business, I only just started it. It is not easy, as it is quite strenuous … I have to go to the market [to buy the vegetables] and I then have to slice them. [My main customers] are people come who do not want to do the slicing themselves …. A friend introduced me to this trade because there is a scarcity of jobs and even [as a teacher as I previously was] when you teach you are owed for months and I can't do that [anymore] because I have a family to take care of …" (Female trader [49], Oshodi Road, selling vegetables, [Not displaced]).

> "I was a teacher for 15 years [but I gave up teaching to take up street trade] in order to be able take care of my children, because teachers are not well paid by the government.… [I have chosen to trade far away from where I reside] because many people [in my neighbourhood] know me as a teacher and I don't want them to know the kind of job am doing now" (Female trader [93], Arena Formal Market, selling readily edible food items, [Not displaced]).

For this group of traders and some others street trading is not a long-term occupation, but is seen as a fall-back or social safety net, through which they can save enough capital in order to go on other endeavours, as one of the former teachers and one other trader said:

> "I just tolerate [it when we have issues] because I know am here just for some time, when things work out I will leave … [in terms of my future ambitions] I read education, so when I get enough money I want to open my own school. If my husband had a job I will not be here, if I don't work the home will suffer" (Female trader [49], Oshodi Road, selling vegetables, [Not displaced]).

> "[I am selling mobile phone accessories now] because it's what is selling now, I am just using this as a fall back option … [I used to] import clothing materials, [but I had problems abroad] and I returned to Nigeria and looked for a means of survival, and I eventually settled for this … as the entrepreneur that I am I believe I will expand with time. Because I started with former business with just 8,000 Naira in 2001 and it grew to the extent that I travelled abroad before I had my problems. I believe that even as I have had to start over, I will surely rise again in the not too distant future" (Male trader [79], Arena Formal Market, selling electrical hardware and mobile phone accessories, [Not displaced]).

However due to the harassment and insecurity which street traders experience, and the frequent payments they have to make to retain their trading space after the displacements, and the resulting damage to goods and properties and drop in sales following displacements, many of this group of traders end up trading longer than planned (see Section 6.2), as they continuously have to reinvest their capital into street trade in order to be able to continue trading. Consequently these 'short term' traders end up swelling the ranks of street traders and increasing the pressure on public space, and the likelihood of displacements, therefore making conditions worse for traders with long term ambitions. From this perspective it can be argued that the continuous displacement of traders actually perpetuates street trading rather than reducing or eliminating it. Hence the impacts of street trader displacements are extremely negative, both in their effect on traders as the primary target but also on other members of society. Beyond the obvious detrimental spatial impacts on street traders, displacements also have major political, economic, and socio-cultural impacts on their activities, with some of these extending to other urban groups such as formal enterprises and middle/low income workers.

6.5 Chapter summary

This chapter focussed on the means, strategies and processes through which traders negotiate a foothold in the contested domain of public space, drawing on both the literature review (Section 2.2) and using the battlegrounds framework (Mackie et al 2014) as a context. The research has demonstrated that the means through which traders established a presence in public space in Oshodi is vague, multifaceted and based on a complex set of interactions. The role of government institutions in street trader's presence in public space is also curious, as although government authorities are involved in some aspects of traders' activities virtually no protection is provided for the interest of street traders. Invariably street traders are dependent on their own efforts and personal networks and are vulnerable in their struggle with other stakeholders over the use of public space as traders have barely any sort of rights.

An examination of the processes that underpinned and enabled the street trader displacements in Oshodi revealed that exaggerated perceptions of the challenges associated with street trading, neoliberal inclinations on the part of government authorities, and authoritarian urban planning traditions in Lagos were the main factors behind the displacements and also guided the execution. Furthermore it was established that traders had very limited influence on the displacement process despite much rhetoric by government authorities about the participation of stakeholders. Due to the state governments determination to achieve its aim of a 'tidy' and aesthetically pleasing environment the displacements were forcefully executed, with the use of force a common strategy in urban management in Lagos. Consequently the interests of traders were suppressed in favour of other considerations.

Different impacts of the trader displacements in Oshodi on the activities of street traders and the wider urban society were identified. Four key aspects; the spatial, political, economic, and socio-cultural were adopted as the basis for the analysis, and it was evident that the impacts of the displacements were extensive. Key findings include;

- the limited resistance to the displacements by displaced traders, the further weakening of market and product-based trader associations but the retention of

strong but very local small clusters of displaced traders with social but non-political ties;

- the importance of linkages between street trade and formal enterprises, and

- the tendency for trader displacements to further entrench street trading rather than reduce it.

It was also demonstrated that the impacts of the displacements were far-reaching, extending well beyond street traders who are the primary targets to various other sections of urban society.

In conclusion it is important to note that while street traders are not the only people negatively affected by trader displacements, they are undoubtedly the most disenfranchised interest group. Also, although trader displacements have distinct and major spatial, political, economic and socio-cultural impacts on the activities of street traders as well as other sections of urban society, these impacts rather than being separate occurrences, are very much interwoven. It is therefore essential to adopt an holistic view not only in analysing the impacts of trader displacements but also in advancing ways to better manage the activities of street traders, as well as those of other stakeholders in the urban arena.

Chapter 7: The Right to the City and the Experiences of Street Traders

"…a poor man has no choice… I don't think about the rail line anymore … I cannot question authority …you cannot question Fashola [the governor], he is the owner of the rail line … [after we were displaced] I was unhappy, but after sometime you just have to endure it and find another way …" (Male trader [5], Olorunshogo Formal Market, selling raw food items, [Displaced])

7.1 Introduction

The link between the Right to the City and street trade is the central focus of this chapter. Following on from the discussion in the two preceding chapters, especially contentions over the use of urban public space and its management examined in Chapter 5 and the ensuing displacement of street traders discussed in Chapter 6, in this chapter the process of street trader displacements will be examined through the lens of the Right to the City. This chapter focuses on Objective 3 which aims to: '*Analyse the relationship between street traders and public space in the experience of displacements in the context of Lagos through the lens of the Right to the City and critique the concept in this context*' and two of the three sub-questions which examine the experience of trader displacements in Oshodi through the lens of the Right to the City and the challenges of implementing a Right to the City agenda in Lagos. The third sub-question is addressed at the end of Chapter 8.

In Section 2.2 it was demonstrated that contestations over public space often lead to social exclusion, with urban public space perhaps the clearest physical domain in which exclusion is manifest, as numerous interests converge in public space and some interests are often relegated in favour of others. Due to the reliance of street trade on public space as well as unfavourable government policies, street traders end up as major victims of exclusion. The Right to the City is of central relevance in this situation as the rights-based approach to urban management which it promotes has been used to question competing claims to the city. The Right to the City is therefore a potential tool through which the disenfranchisement of street traders and unequal relations in urban public space can be addressed.

The experiences of the displaced traders in Oshodi will be analysed based on the three fundamental principles of the Right to the City outlined in Section 2.3: the idea of collective

action; equitable participatory rights in urban management; and equitable rights to the use of public space. This analysis involves an examination of the extent to which rights currently exist and are enforced in Oshodi and Lagos. Based on this analysis, key shortcomings of implementing a rights-based approach to urban development in Lagos and similar contexts are identified and discussed. The data for this chapter draws on academic and media sources, questionnaire surveys with street traders, and semi-structured interviews with state government officials and staff of local NGOs.

7.2 Collective action

A key principle of the Right to the City is the idea of collective action. The Right to the City essentially promotes collective action amongst city inhabitants as a means through which all inhabitants can articulate their interests in the urban arena, on which the following leading authors agree:

> "The Right to the City is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanisation …" (Harvey, 2008, pp. 23).

> The Right to the City is "… the collective right of the Inhabitants of cities, in particular of the vulnerable and marginalised groups, that confers upon them legitimacy of action and organisation, based on their uses and customs, with the objective to achieve full exercise of the right to free self-determination and an adequate standard of living …" (World Charter for the Right to the City, 2005, pp. 2).

> Third generation rights [including the Right to the City] "… are exercised or denied collectively and not individually, and at various geographical scales across the city region …" (Parnell and Pieterse, 2010, pp. 148).

As the last two chapters have shown, in contentions over the use of public space in Oshodi, street traders are particularly vulnerable. In order for street traders to lay claim to the collective right integral to the Right to the City they need a certain level of unity. Therefore in this section the inability of street traders in Oshodi to achieve a collective voice and the factors that underlie the nature of solidarity amongst traders are discussed.

Limited and unstructured forms of organisation

The absence of associations directly representing street traders in Lagos has been identified in this study, and although umbrella associations exist for various other informal economy trades, none exists for street traders, despite the prominence of street trading. In contrast, there are well-established market-trader associations, to which street traders are sometimes connected. For instance in Oshodi the only umbrella associations operating are market-trader associations (formal market-trader associations and product-based trader associations) to which street traders are loosely connected. Only 37% of the 100 street traders sampled indicated they had at some time been a member of a market-trader association.

This research has shown that a critical factor behind the low membership of street traders in market-trader associations is the occurrence of street trader displacements (see Section 5.3). Following displacements street traders find it difficult to stay connected to market-trader associations as they are often dispersed. Trader interviews showed that the number of street traders in Oshodi active in market-trader associations reduced to almost half following the displacements in 2009, with the percentage of street traders in associations dropping from 52% before the displacements to 28% thereafter.

Trader interviews demonstrated that frequent street trader displacements significantly reduce the ability of street traders to associate with market-trader associations, as street traders are continuously dispersed after displacements and find it difficult to maintain contact with many other traders.

> " … [I belonged to the meat-sellers association when I was trading along the rail line] the association used to assist us when we needed money … [but I am no longer a member] because everyone is now scattered [following the displacements] … we hardly know one another's whereabouts … " (Male trader [55], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling meat, [Displaced]).

Another finding from this study is that despite the limited membership of street traders in market-trader associations, association and reciprocity amongst street traders is quite strong. Whilst street traders find it difficult to maintain contact with the larger body of traders after displacements, small groups of traders in a locality support one another. However these smaller groups of street traders appear to have no political inclinations (see Section 6.4). This contrasting level of association amongst street traders at the macro-and micro-level is curious but appears to be partly due to regular displacements.

Trader displacements are a manifestation of intolerant and oppressive attitudes towards street traders by city authorities and sections of urban society. Another form of intolerance towards street traders which has also hindered trader associations and collective voice in Oshodi is the prohibition of trader associations in the Arena Formal Market (owned by the Nigerian Army), one of the formal markets to which some street traders have relocated. The authorities in charge of this market have made use of an autocratic approach to curtail the activities of traders.

> "… associations are not allowed here … in terms of the way the market is being managed things are more difficult compared to when we were outside [along the rail line] … the way the management treats traders is difficult … ideally before decisions are made the people involved should be consulted but here once they tell you how things should be you don't have a choice but to comply" (Male trader [91], Arena Formal Market, selling raw food items, [Displaced]).

The prejudice towards street traders has also played a pivotal role in the formation of more cordial but apolitical small groups amongst traders. Street traders have formed these solidarity groups to help one another due to the lack of other support mechanisms and in the face of general prejudice against their activities. These small clusters essentially serve as support groups for traders working in the same vicinity (see Section 6.4) and a support mechanism for traders in hostile conditions. There is no sign of collective activism within these small trader groups, and the trader interviews suggest that these groups have no political or collective will to push forward the interests of street traders.

> "… my relationship with my neighbouring traders has not changed [we still assist each other] because it is the same [small] group of us that were trading along the rail line that are here … we prefer the rail line but there is nothing we can do since the government has moved us away … [we can only get our voice heard] if the government thinks about us the poor, then we will be able to tell them our thoughts …" (Female Trader [27], Idera Formal Market, selling poultry, [Displaced]).

Fragmentation and dissent amongst traders

This study has also demonstrated a level of disunity amongst street traders, and a failure to associate. As elaborated in the previous section, the broad trader associations to which some street traders are affiliated are market-trader associations with membership extending to street traders, and so market traders dominate with street traders seen as not fully legitimate and playing only a subsidiary role. Understandably, the membership of street traders in these associations is limited, with street traders not very keen to associate,

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because even when they do their interests are secondary. The prioritisation of the interests of market traders and the limited consideration for those of street traders by market-trader associations can be seen in the comments by the head of a textile-dealers' association (a product-based trader association) in Oshodi recorded in a local magazine:

> "The Iyaloja of Ifesowapo Textile Dealers Market … has supported governments efforts in cleaning up Oshodi and the state generally, but wants a stop to incidences of task-force personnel rushing into and raiding inside the duly registered and orderly markets. "Raiding of illegal traders is better done on the major roads and not inside the busy markets as we have in Oshodi as this disturbs legal and peaceful business transactions," Mrs. Bankole advised. For improved delivery of products and services, Mrs. Bankole urged the local and state governments to provide good roads, street lights and adequate security for the Macarthy, Brown, Banjoko, Araromi, Anjorin, Oshodi Road business axis which enjoys free flow of human and vehicular traffic coming in and out of the area …" (The Harbinger News-Magazine, April – May 2009, pp. 16).

Moreover, considering the difference between the priorities of street traders and market traders the extent to which associations representing market traders can represent the interests of street traders is doubtful, especially as these interests sometimes conflict, with the primary concern of street traders being access to strategic trading space and those of market traders being to ensure that customers can access their stores easily, which is sometimes hindered by the presence of street traders. Although, as highlighted in Section 6.4, the interests of both street traders and market traders are sometimes aligned, the common causes are unlikely to be prioritised over conflicting interests. The tension between street traders and market traders is elaborated by a displaced street trader who took up a formal shop following the displacements but has partly returned to the street:

> " … I have used all my money to pay for a shop in the formal market … [but] I am not making any sales in the shop, that is why I have come back outside … we know it's in our interest that they chased us [away previously] but if some people are still trading outside customers will not come into the formal market … maybe if all traders move into the formal market and customers don't see any trader outside they will come into the market" (Female trader [22], Kairo Formal Market, selling Fish, [Displaced]).

Other studies have also identified similar problems between street traders and market traders. Tensions between street traders and market traders over access to customers as well as a reduction in sales by street traders following their relocation to formal markets have been identified in studies in Latin America (Donovan, 2008; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Carrieri and Murta, 2011).

The diversity of market-trader associations also plays a part in the poor membership of street traders in these groups. Market-trader associations vary from one formal market to another and across goods, and there are several formal markets in Oshodi as well as a wide variety of goods being sold, with almost every formal market having a market-trader association, and a product-based trader association attached to virtually every product being sold, thereby oftentimes cutting across different formal markets. The diversity of market-trader associations is more pronounced with product-based trader associations, which primarily help traders improve their profitability, mainly through bulk purchase of wholesale goods to reduce the unit purchase price. As product-based trader associations cut across a vast variety of goods, common product-based trader associations include: newspaper, meat, and poultry sellers associations, while less common ones are the coal and videotape sellers associations.

> "… I belong to the videotape sellers association; we buy goods together [in bulk], share information on new goods and assist one another in resolving any business problems we might have ..." (Female trader [100], Alhaji Emmanuel Street, selling videotapes, [Not displaced]).

> " … I belong to the coal sellers association, we buy our goods together in bulk … we coal sellers generally have associations …" (Female trader [56], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling coal, [Displaced]).

Due to the vast array of market-trader associations and the absence of an umbrella association of street traders, the diversity of market-trader associations serves to further weaken ties between street traders. The wide dispersion of street traders across the various market-trader associations reduces the likelihood of street traders uniting and pursuing the causes unique to their occupation.

A few traders are reluctant to be part of any sort of trader association due to religious inclinations, previous disappointments, and a desire for independence or personal interest (see Section 5.3). Of the 100 traders sampled in the trader survey, nine categorically said they were not interested in being part of any form of association. A key factor that underlies some trader's reluctance to join associations that came to light in this study is the short-term attitude of some traders to street trading (see Section 6.4), with a number seeing it as a short-term occupation leading to other endeavours.

> " … I was formerly a fashion retailer, but my husband had an accident, so I had to cater for the family … now I don't have any more money because I virtually spent all my money on my husband's treatment … that is why I started selling fruits here (on the edge of the formal market), because the capital required is small … [I don't belong to any association here] because my stay is just for a while so I can save

enough money to restart my fashion business …" (Female trader [89], Arena Formal Market, selling fruits, [Not displaced]).

These traders have little desire to associate with other street traders as they hope to move on from street trading soon. They do not regard themselves as street traders and are not going to advocate for street traders, but due to regular street trader displacements and the underlying prejudice against street trading, this group tends to trade longer than anticipated, with their attitude considerably damaging the sense of unity amongst street traders (see Section 6.4).

Passive and hindered collective voice

Elements of collective action are still discernible amongst street traders in Oshodi despite the clear barriers to association discussed in the previous two sections, with some market-trader associations involved in uniting traders including some street traders, and protecting the general interests of traders. Street traders are typically more active in product-based trader associations because these associations are based on the sale of specific items, and their narrow orientation serves as a good uniting factor. Some of the most popular associations amongst respondents included the meat, textile, chicken and vegetable sellers associations.

> " … [I belong to] the meat-sellers association, there is nowhere we meat sellers will be that we will not have an association … because we buy our goods together and resolve our trade related issues together … " (Male trader [52], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling meat, [Displaced]).

However, scrutiny of these associations reveals that they are unable to represent the interests of street traders. Many are submissive to authority and generally incapable of challenging the government directives. Therefore it is difficult to see how market-trader associations can protect the interests of street traders from unfavourable government policies. The considerable influence of government authorities, especially at state level in the activities of market-trader associations was also identified (see Section 5.3). Many street traders indicate they have no part in choosing the heads of market-trader associations, and even when there was some indication that traders had been involved in the choice of leaders, the selection is still subject to the approval of the state government, and a further indication of the authoritarian nature of urban planning in Lagos (see Chapter 5).

The involvement of the state government and the political influence over the choice of market-trader association leaders was evident in the controversial appointment of the daughter of the previous governor of Lagos and chieftain of the ruling party in Lagos (Bola Ahmed Tinubu) as the overall head of all market-trader associations in Lagos state (the Iyaloja-General), succeeding her grandmother. Such clientelist political relationships are common between trader associations and ruling political parties (Bhowmik, 2005; Njaya, 2014).

"Lagos residents remain divided over the propriety of the crowning of Mrs Folashade Tinubu-Ojo, the daughter of former governor Bola Tinubu, as the Iyaloja General of Lagos…. Her appointment in July was said to have been witnessed and endorsed by market leaders of all the 57 Local Government Areas and Local Council Development Areas, LCDAs, in Lagos State. … It will be recalled that controversies trailed her appointment last July, as her father, was accused of imposing her, following the death of his mother, Abibatu Mogaji, the late Iyaloja, who died last June …" (Nigeria Village Square, Saturday, Jun 29, 2013).

"The late President General of Lagos Market Men and Women, Abibat Mogaji, appointed her successor before she passed away, PREMIUM TIMES has learnt… Mrs. Mogaji, mother of former Lagos Governor, Bola Tinubu, named the latter's daughter, Folashade Tinubu-Ojo, as the new Iyaloja of Lagos, a market leader has told PREMIUM TIMES. There had been reports that Mr. Tinubu foisted his daughter as the Lagos market leader on the traders after the death of his mother, a claim the ex-governor's party, the Action Congress of Nigeria, ACN, denied. "The market leaders of all the 57 local governments were there… Everybody supported her," Basirat Balogun, Iyaloja of Oyingbo Market, told PREMIUM TIMES. Mrs. Balogun, who is also the Market Leader, Lagos Mainland Local Government, said that the ceremonies that installed Mrs. Tinubu-Ojo as the new leader were held on Tuesday and Wednesday at her late grandmother's home at Ikeja… Earlier this week, the ruling Action Congress of Nigeria, ACN, vehemently denied reports that its leader, Mr. Tinubu, appointed the new market leader. The party dismissed the reports as "rantings" of the opposition Peoples' Democratic Party, PDP." (Vanguard Newspaper, Tuesday, November 05, 2013).

This point suggests that despite public outcry the problem of political co-option remains, leading to a lack of independence of market-trader associations and raises questions as to the extent to which they can contribute to public discourse or influence urban management decisions.

From the experience in Oshodi, it is clear that street traders lack a common-voice and clear avenue to articulate their concerns about trading in public spaces. In the experience of the

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[7] Female head of formal trader association

displacement of traders in Oshodi the respect for rights was non-existent, due to the longstanding prejudice against street trading activities by the state government and sections of the urban populace. The bias against street trading activities has categorically hindered collective agency and voice amongst traders, with this situation further worsened by the increasing prominence of street trading activities in urban public space. It is therefore vital to address this prejudice and in so doing provide a legitimacy of collective action for street traders in order for them to be able to potentially claim a collective-right integral to the Right to the City.

7.3 Equitable participatory rights in urban management

A second principle of the Right to the City is the idea of equitable participatory rights in the management of urban space. This principle entails the right of urban inhabitants to participate (to be involved, to have an influence) in all decisions towards the production of urban space (Purcell, 2002), and to actively participate in the management of cities while allowing others to do likewise (see Section 2.3). The idea of equitable participatory rights implies a process of deliberation between various urban interest groups in the urban decision-making process, and thus provides a clear opportunity for all city inhabitants to participate in urban management. In this section the extent to which street traders participated in the management of public space in Oshodi is examined.

General resignation on the part of street traders

There has been a recent move towards more participatory urban planning in Lagos through improved stakeholder participation, as demonstrated by LSG officials who referred to the stakeholder meetings in the lead-up to trader displacements in Oshodi. Considering the long history of authoritarian urban planning in Lagos, the acceptance of this relatively new approach is very limited. The stakeholder engagement lacks any legal backing and is essentially at the discretion of government authorities, and directed by the state governor and as such can be easily manipulated to meet the objectives of the state government as was the case in Oshodi (see Section 5.3).

Market-trader associations were involved in the stakeholder meetings, but the association leaders were not assertive, allowing meetings to be steered by government officials, which resulted in the alienation of street traders. Since street traders are a relatively weak group within market-trader associations, the close relationship between government authorities and association leaders deterred street traders from making their case. Some other studies have also detailed the disenfranchisement of street traders in urban management as a result of clientelist political relationships by trader associations (for example see Bhowmik, 2005; Njaya, 2014). Thus street traders in Oshodi have virtually no access to the corridors of power and are relegated through the one-way process of information dissemination between the state and the traders.

Consequently street traders are generally denied the possibility of participating in urban decision-making and do not react to decisions that adversely affect their livelihoods. A street trader's typical response to increasingly challenging working conditions is to develop coping strategies in order to continue working without challenging the authorities (see Section 6.4).

> "… a poor man has no choice … I don't think about the rail line anymore … I cannot question authority … you cannot question Fashola [the governor], he is the owner of the rail line … [after we were displaced] I was unhappy, but after sometime you just have to endure it and find another way …" (Male trader [5], Olorunshogo Formal Market, selling raw food items, [Displaced]).

The helplessness of Lagos street traders in response to hostile government policies is not new, and the case of street traders in Oshodi is just another example of this situation. There have been calls against this situation in several quarters, more so following the displacements in Oshodi, however there is little sign of change. According to a social commentator the situation needs to be urgently addressed:

> "There is no doubt in my mind, regardless of the motives, regardless of the benefits of turning Lagos into a "mega city", that there can be no moral nor legal justification for the manner and way in which Governor Fashola chose to forcibly remove, by demolition and by destruction of wares, the traders of Oshodi market. For the avoidance of doubt, I am all for a cleaner, more organised and orderly society and believe that Fashola means well for Lagos …. However, I disagree with his strong-arm tactics and the manner and way by which his combative and highly aggressive practices has impacted disproportionately on the poor and the less well off. The most recent of such reckless abuse of power is the demolition of stalls and shops in Oshodi market …. What separates a civilised world from an uncivilised one is the manner and way by which we treat ALL civilians. By behaving like previous military regimes, Fashola has shown … [neither] finesse nor civil behaviour, and for a man … [who is a] SAN (Senior Advocate of Nigeria) to behave in this manner

leaves a lot to be desired … To Nigerian Human Rights lawyers, I'd say this is a worthy cause if there is one. At the least the Lagos State Government must pay compensation to the traders, legal or illegal, forcibly removed and for the wares destroyed. If Governor Fasola, SAN that he may be, is ignorant of squatters' rights, which are applicable under Nigerian law, then he should be reminded of this in court." (NigeriaWorld, Friday, January 9, 2009).

The vulnerability of street traders thus seems a consequence of the lack of dedicated associations, the compromised status of market-trader associations, and overbearing influence of government authorities. Due to these factors street traders are easily exploited, for instance during elections when traders have been coerced into voting for the ruling party:

"… it is our leaders that relate with government authorities … [and they] asked us to vote … [we were told that] the voter's card could be required when our children want to get into school … a lot of us voted during the last elections but we will not vote anymore. Government officials see us as fools, they used us and dumped us … they promised to help us before the elections but they have done otherwise …" (Female trader [51], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling raw food items, [Displaced]).

In contrast to Nigeria, in other African countries similar associations are quite influential. Street traders in Senegal and Ghana have been able to influence urban policy to some degree through a network of trader associations with varying degrees of success (Brown et al. 2010). The weakness of market-trader associations in Nigeria is even more curious considering that trader associations in its West African neighbour of Ghana have a similar system of product-based associations and market queens which are very active in promoting street traders' interests (King, 2006; Brown et al. 2010). However, there are also, fundamental contextual differences between Nigeria and Ghana. Street trade in West Africa serves an unique social function, but in Ghana the social agency of traders through trade and market organisations is a peculiar characteristic of street trading (King, 2006; Brown et al. 2010). In Lagos the long history of authoritarian urban politics has weakened trader associations, and had a major impact on street trading activities in Oshodi.

Restricted access to the state

The idea of equitable participatory rights suggests the availability of a clear route through which citizens can engage with the state, thus presenting a clear avenue through which they can claim urban space. It also implies the encouragement of broad public engagement by the state. The 'right to participation' contends that urban inhabitants should be direct participants in urban decision making processes (Purcell, 2002). The findings in Oshodi show that there is no clear route through which traders can gain access to government authorities, which are isolated from street traders for two main reasons. First, the detachment of government authorities from street traders is linked to overlapping competencies between different levels of government (mainly state and local government) and between different government agencies, reflected in the fact that although the state government is completely against street trading, local governments are slightly more tolerant (see Section 5.2), as expressed by an official of LSG:

> "… street trading is not encouraged by the state government because they create a lot of bottlenecks … but there are some areas in which street trading is being tolerated, but this is at the discretion of the local government …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, KI 6).

Second, the repressive attitude of the state government towards street trade effectively eliminated space for civic engagement with street traders in Oshodi, as illustrated by the interviews with officials of two Lagos based NGOs:

> "… these evictions have social costs which … the government is not considering. The government to the best of my knowledge … didn't do anything for the evictees at Oshodi … it should not just [be about] having a mega-city [as is being promoted by the] state government … a mega-city [with] a beautiful, serene environment … but what is being done for the poor … to help ameliorate their suffering …. If you are going to evict people from their chosen sites, you need to relocate them to other locations … where they can earn an income, because that is the crux of the matter. It is about economic rights … the right to earn a living and … government must play a role in this, it must look at this issue from this perspective, they have not done that, and they ought to … [before embarking on such displacements the government] ought to meet with the traders … to explain what the plan is, there should be agreed timelines … [and] consultations … for me that should have happened [initially] …. Government should … explain its plans, and the people who will be the victims of such plans should have an opportunity to express their own desires, their views, and what they think is their best interest …" (FES NGO, Official, KI, 11).
>
> "… [displacements] have been a common practice [in Lagos] which we are against… in some of the areas where street trading was taking place previously, the traders

had encroached onto the roads, and people couldn't even go through such areas because there was always traffic… it was a welcome development that the roads were freed but the problem is that no alternatives were provided for the people displaced, both in location and also in offering them alternative income models … maybe initially the government could argue that they could not find solutions immediately, but there was no discussion at all. The authorities just said the street traders had to go and nobody cared where they were to go and what kind of solutions could be provided for them … this is a serious issue …" (HBF NGO, Official, KI, 13).

The sole means through which street traders can gain access to government authorities is through market-trader association leaders and the situation of street traders in these associations is peripheral.

"… we are part of the meat-sellers [formal product based] association, and we have leaders and when there are any issues the leaders are the only ones allowed to relate with government authorities and it is whatever they decide that we have to follow …" (Male trader [52], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling meat, [Displaced]).

Furthermore there are clear elements of secrecy in the dealings between government authorities and street traders in Oshodi. In their communication with traders, decision-makers considered it necessary to keep aspects of the displacement process away from traders in order to reduce any possible opposition to their plans and generally enhance the likelihood of a successful execution (see Section 6.2). For example traders were not given advanced warning of the timing of the displacements and were only given only a notice of a few days before the displacements took place, which further demonstrates the controlled nature of the authorities' involvement with street traders.

"… the governor announced that no one should trade on the streets … then they told us that there would be displacements … [but] they only gave us the letter [of notification] about a week [before the displacements took place], then after a week they came with the task force to chase us" (Female trader [27], Idera Formal Market, selling poultry, [Displaced]).

This tactic is not new in urban management in Lagos, especially in the management and displacement of informal actors from their chosen locations, as noted by an NGO staff member in her descriptions of previous forceful evictions of residents of informal communities by the state government:

" … You know [the state government only] gives them [informal residents] a so called three day notice [to evacuate their sites before the demolitions take place] and the three days starts on a Friday afternoon, that means the notice stops on Monday morning when the people don't even have time to organize legal assistance or whatever … it is a very rough approach." (HBF NGO, Official, KI, 13).

From the case of Oshodi, it is clear that street traders are incapable of influencing urban management decisions, and lack any avenue through which to communicate their interests. The overwhelming influence of state government in urban management, and it's highly repressive attitude towards street trading has also hindered the participation of street traders in urban management. Complications in relations between state and local government have also served to isolate government authorities from street traders and have virtually eliminated the possibility of civic engagement with traders. Other studies on African cities have also identified the inability of street traders to participate in urban decision-making due to overwhelming government authorities (Brown et al. 2009; Brown et al. 2014).

7.4 Equitable rights to the use of public space

A third pivotal principle of the Right to the City is the idea of equitable rights of urban inhabitants to use public space, the freedom to make and re-make urban space to meet their needs (Purcell, 2002; Harvey, 2008), and to adapt urbanisation processes to local uses and customs (World Charter for the Right to the City, 2005). The principle of equitable rights also implies the collective entitlement of urban inhabitants to establish a presence in urban public space in order to enjoy the benefits available in urban areas. In this section the extent to which street traders in Oshodi are able to claim that collective entitlement to urban public space for livelihoods is examined.

Lack of provision for street trading and privileging alternative interests in public space

Although most traders make payments to government authorities to trade on streets and key public pathways, the lack of any form of provision or protection for street traders in urban public space has been identified in this study, with 80% (48) of the 60 traders interviewed who operated on the streets indicating that they made regular payments to local government to be able to operate (see Section 6.2). However, these payments do not provide rights, secure tenure or public services for the traders.

The long term government strategy for street traders (especially by the state government) is their relocation to formal markets, necessitating a fundamental change of their occupation, as street trading is essentially based on access to public space. While some traders would be happy to relocate to formal markets, the overall cost of this move makes it unwise for them to do so (see Section 5.4). The targeted displacement of traders from public space ignores the complex and far-reaching networks supporting the activities of street traders, their dependence on accessibility to their client base, and the damaging impacts which displacement policies have on street traders and the wider society (see Section 6.4). The myopic approach of the state government towards the management of street traders is illustrated by a senior government official in his outline of the plan for street traders in Oshodi:

> "… [the current plan for the management of street trading in Oshodi is that] the government is trying to build modern markets and also enlarge the existing markets in Oshodi so that more traders can be accommodated and street trading mitigated …" (LSG Official, Ministry of Physical Planning and Urban Development, KI 8).

The plan to displace street traders from public spaces in Oshodi is tied with other objectives of the state government, such as the provision of traffic-free, recreational and ordered public spaces which conform to non-African norms of urban development. This strategy of the state government conflicts with the interests of many street traders as well as a significant proportion of urban inhabitants (see Section 5.4), as it prioritises the access to public spaces for some city inhabitants (for example car users) over those of street traders and their clients, to the detriment of street traders.

> " … [I think we should have been allowed to remain at our previous location] along Agege Motor Road … because the government has not provided any alternative for us through which we can continue to make a living, we are just doing what we can to survive over here …" (Male trader [75], Oshodi Road, selling shoes, [Displaced]).

> "… [I think we should have been allowed to remain at our previous location] … the government has not provided any alternatives for us that match our occupation …" (Female trader [92], Arena Formal Market, selling vegetables, [Displaced]).

In general the interests of street traders were not taken into consideration in plans for the use of urban public space in Oshodi, as the overriding approach to the management of urban space in Lagos seeks to eliminate street trade in favour of other activities, as suggested by nearly all government officials interviewed.

Street trader responses to the privileging of alternative interests in public space

The experience of street traders in accessing and defending their occupational space has been detailed in Section 6.2. A critical finding was that traders have to negotiate their access and use of public space through financial and non-financial relationships with a number of actors including local government. However although traders make daily payments to local government to trade in public space they enjoy no benefits or protection, in contrast to other urban residents, who when they make payments often secure certain entitlements. The reaction of street traders to the privileging of alternative interests in public space is threefold. First, some street traders continuously seek ways to maintain a presence in public space through a combination of payments and non-financial means.

> " … [my present trading space] is randomly gotten, it is not permanent, [I] just place my goods along the road and when the owner [regular user] arrives I move to another location … [however] I pay fifty naira daily to local government officials [to be able to trade anywhere I settle for the day] …" (Female trader [64], Ariyibi Oke Street, selling fruits, [Displaced]).

Second, some traders avoid confrontation by relocating to alternative sites where they can peacefully continue their activities, usually to formal markets. Often following displacements, traders are forced to relocate to formal markets as they have no other option. Many of these traders insist that the displacements in Oshodi and their change of location had negatively affected their livelihood and they only moved away from public spaces because they did not have a choice:

> "… we are only here because we don't have any other place to go to, if we did we would not be here" (Male trader [29], Idera Formal Market, selling livestock, [Displaced]).

Third, some traders relocated to less accessible and contentious public spaces but with an underlying desire to return to their previous locations. This is common amongst traders who relocated to side roads following displacements. Many street traders in Oshodi have relocated from major routes and pathways to side roads but would like to return to their former locations, and the research found on-going tension at Oshodi, with state government officials still concerned that Oshodi would revert to its former state (see Section 6.4).

> " … Yes [we would prefer to go back to our former location], but that is in the hands of the government, there is nothing a trader can do … half bread is better

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than nothing that is why we are here" ST17 (female trader [17], Adekoya Street, selling raw food items, [Displaced]).

It is clear that some sections of urban society, for example government authorities and urban elites, dominate the use and production of urban space, and in so doing deny other groups the same opportunity and rights (Purcell, 2002; Marcuse, 2012; Mayer, 2012). From the case in Oshodi it is evident that street traders were denied equitable rights to use urban space which is fundamental to the Right to the City. Whilst the state government was able to exercise rights to control public space this control denied street traders use rights.

From the analysis of the experience of displacements in Oshodi it is clear that all three components of the ideals of the Right to the City examined in this study have been compromised by the process of street trader displacements, mainly by the actions of the state government. There is an obvious need for a balance of powers between actors in urban space in Oshodi, and the Right to the City represents a valuable tool for examining how this could be achieved. However there are a number of challenges to implementing the Right to the City, some major ones are therefore discussed in the next section.

7.5 The challenges of implementing the Right to the City in Lagos

A number of challenges underlie the implementation of the rights-based framework for urban governance derived from the Right to the City concept elaborated in this study. Three key challenges have been identified based on the experience in Lagos, with wider relevance to similar contexts, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. These include: prolonged military influence in urban development; overbearing and inadequate urban governance institutions; and high levels of inequality linked to substantial resource wealth. These three themes are the focus of the subsequent discussion.

Prolonged military influence in urban development

A major issue which emerged from the process of street trader displacements in Oshodi is the significant level of control which the military, especially the army, had and to a certain extent retain in urban development in Lagos. The military have considerably influenced urban affairs in Lagos in a number of ways, as shown in this study, such as through its central involvement in the drafting of the current national constitution which sets out the overall structure of urban governance in Lagos, the laying of a precedence of intolerant policies towards informal activities, and its significant role in the political, economic and social instability witnessed in the state (see Chapters 4 and 5).

There is a long history of military influence in urban development in Sub-Saharan Africa. Most precolonial urban settlements in Sub-Saharan Africa were trading towns with administrative and military functions, a trend consolidated during colonial rule (Jenkins et al. 2007). The level of influence of the military in urban development varies across regions, but in Sub-Saharan Africa military involvement in urban development is quite widespread, especially since many countries in the region have only recently adopted democratic governance systems following many years of military rule, with huge repercussions on urban development, as in Nigeria. Jenkins et al. (2007) explain that countries and cities in Sub-Saharan Africa bear strong colonial imprints, with many countries gaining independence between 1955 and 1975, and democratic rule only consolidated many years later; as a result many countries have endured considerable levels of political and military instability following independence because of the transfer of power to elite groups during the decolonisation process. They further explain that this situation was exacerbated in cities by the difficult economic situations around the mid-1970s, a period during which various elites struggled for power, often in negotiation with major political actors such as the military.

The army retain a substantial influence in current urban affairs in Lagos, as demonstrated by the involvement in the development of Arena Formal Market, to which a number of displaced street traders have relocated, and which traders were directed to by the state government following the displacements (The Guardian Newspaper, Saturday, January 31, 2009, pp.14). The Arena Formal Market was previously an underused trading site in Oshodi belonging to the Nigerian army, but it was redeveloped around the time of the trader displacements to tie in with the displacements and the general transformation of Oshodi.

The multi-billion Naira modern market complex which is in close proximity to Oshodi, along the Agege Motor Road is a joint venture project between army authorities and private developers (The Guardian Newspaper, Monday, March 2, 2009, pp. 51).

The involvement of the military in urban development demonstrates a considerable level of authoritarian control in urban management as witnessed in Lagos, and also represents a different aspect of the various interests in urban management. The role of the military is a unique dimension of the influence of powerful elites in urban management which needs to be taken into consideration in the process of urban management and the potential implementation of the rights-based framework for urban governance as promoted by the Right to the City. However this vital aspect of the existent power-play in urban affairs is one that is not duly covered in the theory of the Right to the City.

Overbearing and inadequate urban governance institutions

A related outcome of the prolonged military influence in urban development is the prevalence of overbearing and inadequate urban governance institutions. This research found considerable lapses in the urban governance mechanism in the Lagos State, cutting across levels of government as well as scales of government, which can be traced to the period of military rule in Nigeria, and the current national constitution upon which urban governance is based was hastily developed in 1999 by the outgoing military government, and as a result it contains several shortcomings (see Section 3.3). A major failing of the national constitution is that power separation amongst levels of government is unclear, with the power boundaries between each level of government not well defined, especially with regards to the functioning of the state government. Consequently, the state government exercises overwhelming control in urban governance in Lagos, as it contends with the federal government over issues of control within the state and overrides local governments in local management, such as the management of street trade (see Sections 3.3 and 5.3).

A further outcome is the fundamental weakness of the local level of governance. Although local government is the most accessible level of governance, many local authorities are unable to fulfil their responsibility to the people due to their lack of independence from the state government. The inadequacy of local governance is demonstrated by the situation in

Oshodi, in which although street trading falls mainly under the remit of the Oshodi-Isolo Local Government, it is the Lagos State Government that dictates plans for the management of street trading (see Section 5.2). The level of government closest to the grassroots has a vital role to play in the implementation of a rights-based approach to urban management as promoted by the Right to the City. In the establishment of the Right to the City in Brazil the local level of governance played a vital role, with municipalities given enhanced powers in urban management as their role in addressing exclusionary urban development is crucial (Fernandes, 2007). Civil society also has a vital role to play in the implementation of a rights-based approach to urban management. The presence of a vibrant civil society has played an important role in the struggle for rights and the uptake of the Right to the City in Latin America (Brown, 2010; Fernandes, 2007).

However civil society is weak in many parts of Africa due to overbearing and inadequate governance institutions in many parts of the continent. As Jenkins et al. (2007) explain, civil society organisations in Sub-Saharan Africa, especially in urban areas, are often very weak, due to several years of control by colonial and post-independent governments, with this an element of the low level of engagement with political processes which has generally continued following transitions from powerful elitist regimes to arguably more transparent democratic ones. The activities of local governments and civil society organisations in establishing a rights-based approach to urban management as promoted by the Right to the City have a vital influence on the activities of street traders. Policies, institutions, and processes are a crucial determinant of the level of vulnerability which street traders experience; these include the role of government institutions, especially municipal governments and the presence and activities of civil society organisations (Brown and Rakodi, 2006).

The varying nature of governance institutions across contexts as demonstrated by the existence of overbearing and inadequate governance institutions in Nigeria and many parts of Africa is a key consideration that is overlooked in the Right to the City literature, as there is an implicit assumption that governance structures are uniform across board. This is therefore a fundamental shortcoming of the Right to the City concept, and this significantly corroborates the arguments presented by Jenkins et al. (2007) and Centner and Rojas (2011) as to the contextual shortcomings of a normative Right to the City agenda (see Section 2.3).

High levels of inequality linked to substantial resource wealth

Another key underlying factor of the experience of street traders in Oshodi is the level of inequality which exists in Nigeria, which has contributed to the large number of street traders in Lagos. Limited economic opportunities in the region and the relatively better economic prospects in Lagos mean that many migrants are attracted to Lagos, many of whom find employment in street trading or the informal economy (see Section 4.2). Furthermore, the scale of inequality in the Nigerian society has served to reinforce longstanding prejudices towards street trade and other informal activities by powerful controlling elites.

Considerable levels of inequality are a prevalent feature of many African countries and cities, rooted in their common histories. The evolution of Lagos has been substantially controlled by external influences, with its development tied to export-led trade based on the exploitation of natural resources during the colonial period. Prior to independence Lagos was reputed to be little more than a port for imperial extraction (Gandy, 2006; Immerwahr, 2007). Many urban systems in Sub-Saharan African cities have developed as a result of colonial transport infrastructure and the exploitative nature of colonial administration (Rakodi, 1997; Jenkins et al. 2007). Such externally-influenced and export-led urban development in Africa continued after independence and is still evident, with this scenario having far-reaching impacts.

A major economic development which has had an immense impact on urban affairs is the embrace of neoliberal structural adjustment policies (SAPs) and the globalisation agenda by many African countries, substantial evidence showing that the implementation of neoliberal policies resulted in the growth of the informal economy and a widening of socio-economic inequalities (see Section 2.2). Globalisation trends continue the long standing external influence on development in many parts of Africa and reinforce the export-oriented nature of urban development based on the exploitation of natural resources, and in recent times it has become increasingly apparent that the resource led development and urbanisation in many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa has fostered high levels of inequality in cities. Whilst to some extent the reach of globalisation extends to street trade, for example through the sale of Chinese-made goods (Lyons et al 2013), the alignment of the urban economy towards commodity (raw materials or energy) generally benefits only a minority of inhabitants; the political and economic elites, who benefit from the continued resource

exploitation and forms of 'compradore capitalism' (Jenkins et al. 2007), while social, economic and political structures exacerbate economic marginalisation for the urban poor.

This situation is of particular resonance in Nigeria, especially in Lagos its commercial nerve centre. As Gandy (2006) explains, the emergence of Nigeria as an oil-exporting economy worsened the political and economic fragility of the Nigerian state as well as the level of social inequality, with this having a significantly damaging effect on the already weak urban system in Lagos, notably the level of civic engagement, highlighting that the emergent 'oil culture' resulted in widespread fragmentation in public life and extensive clientilistic relationships due to the promotion of widespread opportunism by, political, economic and military elites, which has contributed to a subdued level of political contestation and expectations compared to other volatile urban contexts such as Latin America where extensive ideological dialogues have been undertaken in the urban sphere.

Evidence of economic marginalisation in Lagos relating to this study include the ambitious Eko Atlantic City project, which is proposed to accommodate about 250,000 middle and high-income earners, and although widely celebrated by the state government has very limited impact on the many challenges which the city faces. Further evidence is the frequent reference by government officials to the need for the beautification of public spaces in Lagos in order to attract and impress foreign investors (see Sections 5.2 and 5.4). The street trader displacements in Oshodi were a fundamental part of these beautification efforts and a demonstration of the economic marginalisation of street traders in Lagos, as very little consideration was given to their needs in public space, despite the obvious need given the scale of street trading in Lagos. The disregard of street traders in public space is clearly demonstrated in the documentation of the street trader displacements in Oshodi by the Lagos State Government in its report for the Lee Kuan Yew World City Prize 2010 in which a zero tolerance of street trading is highlighted as a key lesson learnt (see Section 4.3). The priority of local political elites was clearly to remake Lagos in the mould of other major world cities in order to make it more conducive for foreign investments in line with the global city competition (Fourchard, 2010).

The effect which the availability of considerable levels of resource wealth introduces to the power play involved in the process of urban management is a factor not considered in the Right to the City literature. However this consideration is a vital one which is clearly pertinent in Lagos and similar contexts where a limited political elite significantly aligned with global capitalist interests dominate urban affairs and other stakeholder groups in

urban management, as demonstrated in the coercion of trader associations for political purposes and the controversial appointment of the daughter of the former governor of Lagos and a political leader as the overall head of all market-trader associations in Lagos state, taking over from her grandmother (see Section 7.2). The availability of a high level of resource wealth, especially combined with weak urban governance institutions is therefore a major challenge to the implementation of the Right to the City in this context and other similar ones. As Gandy (2006) argues:

> "The dilemma facing cities such as Lagos ... is that the possibilities for building a functional public realm [through which the Right to the City can potentially be established] have been consistently undermined through the combined impacts of economic insecurity and clientelist political regimes within which inequalities have become magnified and deeply entrenched ... as different manifestations of 'state failure' have underpinned the deterioration of urban conditions and a growing sense of powerlessness. The transformation of Lagos into a vast metropolitan region has occurred within the context of centrifugal political and economic tendencies that have produced an urban topography of fear and anxiety." (Gandy, 2006, pp. 388)

The issues of a prolonged military influence in urban development, overbearing and inadequate urban governance institutions, and high levels of inequality linked to substantial resource wealth are three major challenges which underlie the implementation of the Right to the City in Lagos and similar contexts. These challenges not only introduce a unique dynamic to the imbalanced power relations in urban management which falls outside the scope of the Right to the City, but they also underlie the conflictual and highly unstable conditions in contexts such as Lagos, thereby limiting the prioritisation of human rights and the potential enshrinement of the rights-based agenda for urban development promoted by the Right to the City. It is therefore necessary that these challenges be adequately considered in efforts at implementing the Right to the City in Lagos. The refinement of an approach based on the Right to the City based on the Lagos experience is addressed in the next chapter.

7.6 Chapter summary

The linking of the Right to the City concept and street trader displacements has been the underlying theme in this chapter. The analysis first examined street trader displacements through the lens of the Right to the City, and based on this analysis the challenges of implementing a rights-based framework for urban governance was examined. Three fundamental principles of the Right to the City concept were adopted in the analysis: the idea of collective action; equitable participatory rights in urban management; and equitable rights to the use of public space for all urban inhabitants. Some key findings of the analysis follow.

First, it was revealed that street traders lack a collective voice and clear avenue to uniformly articulate their interests and concerns regarding the use of urban public space. It emerged that the potential for the formation of strong, independent and representative street trader associations was essentially stifled as a result of widespread and longstanding prejudices against street trading activities especially by government authorities, most notably the state government, and co-option of the leadership of the umbrella associations for market traders by the state government and its political allies. The pressure on street traders as a result of this prejudice has severely damaged their sense of unity and supressed their voice in the urban arena. Even the small signs of collective action observed amongst street traders on Oshodi were solely focussed on how street traders can cope within the difficult conditions brought about by prejudice rather than the formation of larger coalitions to get their voices heard.

Second, because traders lack any sense of collective unity or voice, they are severely restricted in participating in the process of urban management. As a result street traders are generally resigned to fate in their dealings with government authorities as they are unable to oppose the plans of government or register their own interests in urban management. Furthermore it was observed that street traders could not gain access to the state, as government authorities were unwilling to engage with them. Thus street traders in Oshodi clearly do not possess the right to participate in the management of urban space as the Right to the City proposes.

Third, regarding the possession of equitable rights to the use of public space, it was found that street traders in Oshodi were denied an equal right to make use of public space, as the

interests of other urban communities were prioritised over those of traders in the displacement process. It also emerged that even in situations where street traders attempted to lay claim to rights by negotiating access to public space; this right was taken away by the actions of the state government through trader displacements. This situation highlights the marginalisation of street traders in public space and their vulnerability to the actions and intentions of more powerful interests, such as the state government.

It was therefore argued that in this scenario of imbalanced influence in urban management there is a need for a balancing of powers between actors and the Right to the City based on three key principles represents a valuable tool for examining how this could be achieved. However three critical challenges which underlie the implementation of the Right to the City in Lagos and similar contexts were identified, these include: a prolonged military influence in urban development; overbearing and inadequate urban governance institutions; and high levels of inequality linked to substantial resource wealth. It was highlighted that these three challenges considerably limit the implementation of the Right to the City in contexts such as Lagos as they introduce a specific dynamic to the imbalanced power relations in urban management which is overlooked in Right to the City debates but considerably influences the conflictual and highly unstable conditions in these contexts. These challenges therefore need to be addressed in order for the Right to the City to be implemented in Lagos and other similar contexts.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This study has examined the process of street trader displacements through the views of street traders and other urban actors, and through the lens of the Right to the City concept, reviewing the ways in which public space is viewed and regulated and the interplay of rights in urban public space within the context of Lagos, Nigeria. The Right to the City concept was also critiqued in this particular African context through the case study of the displacements in Oshodi Market. This final chapter addresses each of the objectives that guided the study in turn. In addition, the unique contributions of the study are highlighted: first, in relation to knowledge about street trading in Nigeria and broadly and second, with regards to our understanding of the applicability of the Right to the City concept. The chapter ends by identifying key policy recommendations and suggestions for further research on street trade and the Right to the City.

8.2 Addressing the research objectives and questions

Objective 1: To critically examine urban management and perceptions of public space in relation to street trade

Chapter 5 examined urban management and street trade in Lagos with a focus on the level of stakeholder participation. This involved an exploration of the nature of urban governance and management in Lagos as well as the institutional frameworks that constitute the overall urban management mechanism in the city, and how these combine to influence public space management and street trade. The investigation revealed significant inadequacies in the process of urban management in Lagos which have had an adverse effect on the understanding and management of street trading activities. Carrieri and Murta (2011) in their study in Brazil identify a similar scenario in which institutional processes of government resulted in a misinterpretation and disruption of the activities of street traders. In Lagos institutional procedures were found to be particularly complex due to several shortcomings in the structure of urban management.

Urban management in Lagos is characterised by poor definition of roles and responsibilities between levels of government, conflict between Lagos State and local authorities, and the lack of any defined means of engagement between government at any level and street traders. It was found that local government lacks "political autonomy" as it is dominated by the state government in urban management, and although the management of street trading is essentially a local government duty the state government took over this responsibility. For example, the absence of a clear institutional arrangement for the management of street trade and the informal economy was identified with at least five local government departments and state government ministries respectively involved. Local government departments include the Departments of Agriculture, Revenue, Waste Sanitation and Environmental Services, Works, and Women's Affairs, while state government ministries consist of the Ministries of the Environment, Physical Planning and Urban Development, Lands, Commerce and Industry, Agriculture, women affairs and Poverty Alleviation, Transportation, and Justice.

Another consequence of the shortcomings inherent in the process of urban management in Lagos is limited level of public participation in urban planning. A major finding was the restricted participation of traders in urban and public space management which is largely due to the unique political history of Nigeria and Lagos, this includes considerable periods of colonial and military rule that have left indelible marks in urban affairs. This political history underlies the authoritarian approach to urban planning in Lagos and is a major factor behind the inadequacies in urban management, which together have resulted in the regular displacement of street traders from public spaces under the overwhelming influence of the state government. The restricted participation of traders in urban management in Lagos is further worsened by the recent inclination of the state government towards neoliberal ideals which has deepened previously held biases against informal activities, especially street trade, and motivated increased efforts to displace street traders from central public spaces in favour of beautification projects. As highlighted in Chapter 2 the limited participation of street traders in urban management has been identified in other studies (Crossa, 2012; Mackie et al. 2014). However in these studies it was found that street traders in Mexico and Cusco were able to influence urban management to a certain extent, unlike in Lagos where traders were completely unable to do the same, largely due to the unique political history of Lagos.

The lack of engagement between authorities and street traders is evident in the almost complete lack of communication between government authorities and street traders in the trader displacements in Oshodi in 2009. Most (68%) of the 100 traders sampled in this study indicated that they had never been consulted by government authorities on issues regarding their occupation (inclusive of the 2009 displacements), while only 17% stated they had been communicated with at some point (15% did not respond). Even amongst those who indicated there was some communication about the displacement their source of information was inconsistent, some traders stated that information had come through "some representatives" and had been "like rumours". The limited capacity of street traders to influence urban management was also due to poor association membership amongst street traders which is a major consequence of regular street trader displacements in Lagos. Street trader membership of market-trader associations dropped by about half following displacements (from 52% to 28%), mainly due to the dispersal of traders, but also because of the political co-option of associations which did not represent traders' interests.

Furthermore, the research revealed extensive conflicts of interests across different stakeholder groups over the use and functions of public space. Although traders recognise that operating from formal shops had some benefits, they identified the advantages of trading in public space, despite the displacements, and hoped for a compromise that would still enable them work on the street. It also emerged that although street trading created some concerns for government authorities and sections of the urban populace, street trade is of significant societal importance, and many groups recognise the benefits of street trading activities and are sympathetic to the cause of street traders. However it emerged that the interests of government authorities (especially the state government) based on aesthetic concerns and neoliberal ideals prevailed over those of others, particularly to the detriment of street traders, as for example is illustrated in the zero tolerance policy to street trading in Lagos which led to the trader displacements in 2009.

As noted in Chapter 2 the motivation behind city authorities displacement of street traders is often due to aesthetic concerns and neoliberal ideals in a bid to beautify and promote the global image of their cities in order to attract foreign investment as highlighted by various studies (Perera and Amin, 1996; Yeoh and Kong, 1994; Bromley, 1998; Madanipour, 1999; Benjamin, 2000; Middleton, 2003; Donovan, 2008; Brown et al. 2014; Njaya, 2014). In Lagos this tendency is highlighted by several government officials who referred to the state government's attempts to "beautify" public spaces. The displacements in Oshodi in 2009

were essentially undertaken because of the desire of local political elites to redefine the image of Lagos and make it more conducive for foreign investments, in line with pressures to achieve global city competition (Basinski, 2009; Fourchard, 2010; Neuwirth, 2013).

Objective 2: To explore public space access and rights, the process of street trader displacements and the impacts of displacements on traders and other public space users

In Chapter 6 the means, strategies and processes through which traders negotiate a foothold in the domain of contested public space was analysed and it was found that due to the marginalisation of street traders the avenues through which they gain access to public space is complex. Because street traders are generally considered illegal they are forced to negotiate their access to public space through processes which are beyond legal or formal regulation, for example personal effort, leveraging on social networks, or payments to adjoining property owners, tenants or 'area boys'. This corresponds with findings in Tanzania where street traders secured public space through a combination of strategies including drawing on family ties, non-financial and financial agreements with owners and occupants of adjoining properties, and dogged encroachment (Nnkya, 2006).

In Oshodi, in order to maintain and defend their access to public space, traders generally had to make some form of payments to local and state government authorities and/or officials and non-government interests, leaving traders very vulnerable to exploitation. These payments were usually to the local authority, and of the 60 traders surveyed on the streets most (80%) said that they made daily payments to local government officials in order to trade. Yet despite these payments, traders have barely any rights and are still very susceptible to displacements, thus highlighting the vulnerability of street traders in public space, especially in comparison to traders in formal markets who are legally recognised and receive protection in exchange for paying fees. The vulnerability of street traders in contrast to traders working in formal markets has also been demonstrated by other studies (Donovan, 2008; Carrieri and Murta, 2011).

A major factor behind displacements was the perception by government officials and others of street trade as being linked to disorder and illegality, with respondents often making reference to crime, traffic congestion, and environmental degradation when talking about the activities of street traders. Respondents also expressed an underlying impression

that it is impossible to achieve a degree of organisation and satisfactory public health standards while street traders remain in public space, therefore justifying their removal. As noted in Chapter 2 previous studies have also highlighted that the challenges associated with street trading are often exaggerated to justify trader displacements (Bromley, 1998; Middleton, 2003; Swanson, 2007; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Crossa, 2009).

It emerged that the displacements in Oshodi were essentially led by the state government under an initiative of the Governor. Traders had very limited influence in the displacement process and the forced displacements were executed in line with the authoritarian history of urban management in Lagos. Some studies have documented forced displacements of street traders and the adoption of tolerant and intolerant policies towards street traders (Skinner, 2008; Mackie et al. 2014). However in Lagos forced displacement and intolerance is the norm, due to the long history of authoritarian urban management, thus making the situation in Lagos is relatively distinct.

Street trader displacements are typically undertaken by city authorities with the aim clearing central public spaces and advancing elite interests, but it is widely argued that displacements often fail to achieve their main aim of relocating traders from urban public space and are usually to the detriment to many urban inhabitants (see Section 2.2). The findings of this study corroborate these arguments. Government officials interviewed in the research hoped that street traders displaced from Oshodi would relocate to formal markets and trade in a 'modern' manner, while government authorities could achieve tidy, safe and beautified public spaces and pathways, free for city inhabitants to commute, and thus the state government would be able to enhance the image of Oshodi. The impacts of the displacements are however considerably different, especially for traders.

Although government authorities to some extent achieved the aim of improving the traffic, safety and aesthetics at Oshodi, the impacts of the displacements on street traders have been extensive and damaging. It was discovered that beyond the obvious spatial impacts, the displacements have also had wide-ranging political, economic, and socio-cultural impacts on traders and their clients, similar to findings in Cusco, Peru (Mackie et al. 2014). In Oshodi the displaced traders moved to side roads where there is less pressure, which damaged their operations, sense of unity, and severed their communal ties. Thus the displacements have further perpetuated street trading rather than reducing or eliminating it (see Section 6.4). The negative impacts of the displacements were far-reaching, as they extended well beyond the primary target of street traders to other groups, including formal

enterprises which use street traders to help sales, and middle/low income workers who buy cheaper goods from street traders. The wider importance of street trade has also been documented elsewhere (Donovan, 2008; Crossa, 2009).

Objective 3: To analyse the relationship between street traders and public space in the context of Lagos through the lens of the Right to the City and critique the concept in this context.

In Chapter 7 the experiences of the displaced traders in Oshodi was analysed through the lens of the Right to the City, drawing on three principles inherent to the concept: the idea of collective action; equitable participatory rights in urban management, and equitable rights to the use of public space. The analysis revealed that street traders lack a common-voice and clear avenue to articulate their interests due to longstanding prejudice against their activities by government authorities and others. Traders are incapable of influencing urban management decisions as a result of the overwhelming control of government authorities, and are denied equitable rights to use public space by the dominating influence of the state government in the use and production of urban space. Therefore all three key principles of the Right to the City were compromised in the process of street trader displacements in Oshodi, mainly as a result of the imbalance in powers between the state government and other actors in urban management. The Right to the City therefore did not feature in the experience of street traders in Oshodi.

The concept of the Right to the City thus highlights key deficiencies in urban management in Lagos, but three context specific issues make the implementation of the Right to the City particularly challenging, namely; a prolonged authoritarian and military influence in urban development; overbearing and inadequate urban governance institutions; and high levels of inequality linked to substantial resource wealth. These challenges introduce a unique dynamic to the imbalanced power relations in urban management strengthened by capitalist-led urban development, which the Right to the City fails to recognise. They also underlie the conflictual and highly unstable conditions in Lagos, which limits the prioritisation of human rights and the potential enshrinement of the rights-based agenda for urban development promoted by the Right to the City. These peculiarities distinguish Lagos from other contexts, for example Latin America, making implementation of the Right

to the City in the same manner in which it has been implemented in Latin America essentially impossible. Nevertheless this study argues that despite the contextual challenges in Lagos the Right to the City is still very relevant, but its diffusion within this context has to be strategic.

8.3 Reconceptualising the Right to the City

This thesis has furthered understanding on street trade and the Right to the City concept in a number of ways. First, the research has contributed to the bridging of the lacuna in knowledge on street trade in Lagos while also providing valuable empirical information on the longstanding and continuous street trader displacements in Oshodi and Lagos. There is a dearth of research studies on street trading and trader displacements in Nigeria (Basinski, 2009; Onyebueke and Geyer, 2011). This study has made a number of significant contributions in addressing this gap, for example it has provided a valuable understanding of the role and influence of urban governance and management structures on the management of street trade and detailed the virtual non-involvement of street traders in urban management in Lagos.

As highlighted in Chapter 2, the spatial, political, economic and socio-cultural nature of street trader displacements is acute. Despite many studies on displacements and street trading there is a significant lack of comprehensive insights into the impacts of displacements on traders (Mackie et al. 2014). In addition, through the analysis of displacements through the lens of the Right to the City concept this research has provided vital insights into the operations of street traders and their interactions with government authorities and various other urban inhabitants. For example, in Oshodi traders were forced out of central public spaces to side streets due to the actions and interests of government authorities, and this damaged their collective voice, productivity, and operations, with their impaired productivity and operations negatively affecting their relationships with formal enterprises and middle/low income workers as well as other sections of urban society (see Section 6.4).

In considering the application of the Right to the City to street trading in Lagos, it is evident that the application of the Right to the City to urban livelihoods and street trading in Africa has not been examined. In so doing this study has reconceptualised the Right to the City by

merging the two leading perspectives on the concept (the Lefebvarian and the human-rights conceptions), bridging both conceptions to arrive at a framework for the Right to the City which can inform urban governance and management. The rights-based framework for urban management consisting of the three prongs of the ideals of; collective action, equitable participatory rights in urban management, and equitable rights to the use of public space, represents a unique route through which elements of the Right to the City can be implemented in Lagos and other African cities. This implementation is in a more disaggregated and operational form as represented by the rights-based framework for urban management, and signifies the value and relevance of the Right to the City in these contexts. Thus in addressing the gaps identified in the Literature in Chapter 2, the research has developed a contextual critique of the Right to the City, underlining the implication of this analysis on its implementation, and examined its potential for application at the sub-city scale, particularly in contested urban contexts such as Oshodi.

8.4 Recommendations and further research

Based on the findings of this study, recommendations for improved management of street trade and informal economic activities, and directions for future research are presented. Despite the limitations of this thesis, it provides a good base for important policy and practice related issues to be raised and for further research on street trade, trader displacements, and the Right to the City, especially relating to the African context.

It is imperative that city authorities in developing world cities understand that street trade and the informal economy are not an aberration but are fundamentally linked to indigenous practices and emerging global systems of trade. However because prevailing urban planning is primarily based on foreign principles, locally rooted practices are largely ignored. It is therefore necessary that government authorities in these cities review their stance that informal economic activities are illegal and an unwanted development, and adopt a more tolerant approach to informal practices based on an understanding of the needs and interests of informal economy workers and other city inhabitants. Government authorities especially, need to recognise the importance of street trade and informal economic activities and seek to better accommodate them within the urban environment. The interests of informal economy workers and their opinions regarding the use of urban

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public space should be considered and welcomed in order to facilitate the process. In this light the rights-based framework for urban governance developed in this study is a useful tool, as it suggests a viable avenue through which a level of inclusiveness in urban management can be achieved. However in order for the rights-based framework to be effective a number of key issues need to be addressed based on the experience in Lagos.

First, with regards to collective action, it is vital that in order for better inclusion to be achieved in urban management all city inhabitants should have the potential to influence decisions regarding public space through collective bargaining, with all sections of urban society especially vulnerable and marginalised groups possessing equal collective rights in the urban sphere. Therefore there should an established freedom to support collective associations in the process of urban management. These associations should be inclusive, with membership based on a unifying factor such as locality, gender, religion or occupation. Such associations should possess independent and internal processes and be free from external influence, which will ensure a sufficient level of representation and a useful platform through which collective interests can be forged.

In Oshodi and Lagos it was discovered that there are no associations that directly represent street traders due to the social and political context. Social factors meant that some traders were not interested in associations because of religious inclinations, previous disappointments or a short term approach to trading (see Section 6.4). Political reasons resulted from co-option of market associations and other exclusionary actions by powerful urban groups. As interviews with state and local government officials, and NGO staff revealed, the state government was principally concerned with strengthening the Governor's power through demonstrating an impact on aesthetics, traffic, and security concerns, predicated largely on the absence of street traders in public space. Consequently the presence of street traders in any form was hindered by powerful state government authorities. This situation calls for the recognition by government of communal associations and their freedom of operation in the process of urban management, especially associations that challenge the overbearing influence of government authorities and other powerful actors in urban affairs.

Second, equitable participatory rights in urban management for all urban inhabitants suggests that urban coalitions should have an equal voice in urban decision making processes, fostering wide-ranging deliberations by various collective associations in decision making. The establishment of equitable participatory rights has two key

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implications for urban management. First is that the opinions of urban citizens through collective associations are both welcomed and sought in the urban decision making process, implying the recognition and acceptance of dissenting views and a process of negotiation through which a joint plan of action to guide urban development will be developed. Second is the need for a clear means of access to the state by urban inhabitants through which groups can register their interests, which requires a degree of openness and sincerity on the part of government, such that their activities, intentions and capabilities are made clear and constitute a fundamental basis for deliberations by urban inhabitants.

The idea of equitable participatory rights in urban management as a core aspect of the Right to the City is that a fundamental shift in urban power relations is necessary if weaker sections are to be able to lay claim to rights, especially in the current era of neoliberal urban development to redress the dominance of key political and financial actors who already wield a major influence in urban management (Purcell, 2002; Marcuse, 2012; Mayer, 2012). Therefore the balancing of influence between more powerful sections of society and coalitions of marginal groups such as street traders poses a major challenge which must be overcome for equitable participatory urban management rights to be established. Consequently in order for this principle to be fully achieved, a rethinking of current neoliberal market policies is necessary, as such rights cannot be achieved without struggle and the overthrowing of established power elites, a central idea in the original Lefebvrian conception of the Right to the City (Mayer, 2009; Woessner, 2009). Nevertheless concerted efforts to bridge the gap between urban elites and coalitions of marginalised groups within the current system of urban development is not misplaced as it will both advance progress towards the attainment of more just, sustainable and democratic cities and potentially contribute to the achievement of a wider transformation of power relations (see Section 2.3).

In addition, the idea of participation focuses attention on the role of government, with emphasis placed on the responsibility of government authorities to recognise the voice and participation of urban interests. However urban coalitions also have a responsibility to use the participatory rights available and recognise the need for compromise where necessary, while civil society has the responsibility to promote collective voice and facilitate the process of participation. This approach will go a long way in resolving the imbalance of powers in urban management as a basis for the redefinition of urban citizenship, as all urban inhabitants will have the opportunity to participate in urban management

irrespective of individual differences, thus taking the idea of citizenship beyond conventional restrictions of nationality or residency to the urban scale as recommended (Purcell, 2002; Brown, 2010). The attainment of equitable participatory rights in urban management is therefore vital in the establishment of a rights-based framework for urban governance.

Finally, the principle of equitable rights to the use of public space indicates that urban inhabitants should have equal opportunities to use and produce urban space in order to meet their needs (Purcell, 2002). However, the implementation of this principle poses a considerable challenge. A central aspect of the Right to the City primarily proposes that the use value of urban space by city inhabitants should take precedence over the prevailing 'exchange value' inherent in the neoliberal paradigm in which control and commercial interests prevail (Purcell, 2002); therefore implementing this principle again necessitates a fundamental critique and overthrow of existing power relations. Furthermore urban inhabitants consist of various interest groups and finding a balance between the intended uses of urban space by different groups is difficult.

This aspect of the rights-based framework for urban governance is especially relevant to the activities of street traders. The occupation of strategically located public spaces is a vital aspect of street trade, but street traders are seemingly in a continuous losing battle with competing interests over the use of urban public space. It is important to note that both street traders and formal interests exert an influence over urban public space. The commodification of urban public space is undertaken by both street traders, through their informal occupation for trading purposes, and formal interests such as government and commercial interests, for example when enclosed housing estates or shopping malls are built in public space (Brown, 2005). However due to the imbalance in power relations within the current neoliberal paradigm the interests of street traders are often overlooked, with a fundamental aspect of this relegation due to narrow perceptions of the 'appropriate' use of urban public space.

As described in Section 5.3, state and local government authorities and others perceive street trade as being unsuitable for a contemporary urban environment, in contrast to street traders who need access to public space for their livelihood. But this study as well as many others (Middleton, 2003; Swanson, 2007; Donovan, 2008; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Carrieri and Murta, 2011; Mackie et al. 2014), has found that the priorities of government authorities and those with similar perspectives on public space prevail as evidenced by

trader displacements, irrespective of the concerns of street traders. Whilst government authorities exercise legitimate management functions in public space, for instance over traffic circulation, in so doing they deny others especially street traders rights to space. This aligns with the Lefebvrian conception of the Right to the City, wherein he argues that the Right to the City is a call for the establishment of rights to include sections of the urban populace who have been denied it, rather than prioritising those who already possess power such as key political and financial interests (Marcuse, 2012; Mayer, 2012).

However based on the understanding of the legitimacy of street trading activities forged in this study, there is a need for a re-evaluation of the process of street trader displacements and similar occurrences. The recognition of equitable rights to the use of public space would go a long way in addressing this imbalance in the exercise of the rights to the use of urban public space. This component of the rights-based framework for urban governance offers a means through which the unhindered dominance of spatial, political, economic and socio-cultural interests of some sections of urban society over those of others can be addressed. Despite the considerable challenge which achieving this principle poses, a combination of the fostering of collective voice in urban space and the promotion of equal participatory rights in the urban decision making process would significantly enhance the possibility of achieving equitable rights to the use of public space in the triangle between government authorities, civil society and urban interest groups. Therefore, irrespective of particular contexts, the implementation of the Right the City through the rights-based framework for urban governance will lead to better inclusion in public space, and promote efforts towards the accommodation of street traders and other marginalised groups.

It is recommended that the implementation of the rights-based framework be undertaken in a bottom-up approach, through a spatial and/or activity based application focussing on specific projects, in order to overcome structural bottlenecks that exist due to contextual uncertainties. This progressive and 'soft law' approach to the Right to the City means that rather than for the Right to the City to be legally enshrined, it should be taken as an ideal to be gradually pursued. Similar revolutionary concepts such as human rights' claims play out differently in diverse contexts, serving to guide collective action through which existent reality is improved. The successes of the Right to the City agenda in some contexts and its global appeal will be valuable in the progress of this approach as these would serve as strong reference points with which this objective can be pursued. This strategy presents a unique opportunity for the diffusion of the Right to the City into conflictual and

considerably unstable contexts such as Lagos which otherwise is arguably impossible. The rights-based framework for urban governance therefore represents a strategic tool with which a balancing of interests in urban management can be pursued, contentions over urban public space resolved, and a unique avenue through which social inclusion can be analysed and promoted.

In order to further ground the rights-based framework for urban governance, a number of issues which have emerged from this study could be further investigated in future research. First, this study has advanced the limited understanding of the extensive impacts of street trader displacements, and the socio-cultural impacts of displacements on traders and the wider urban society. It is clear that displacements have deep social ramifications, especially in the absence of a social security system as is the case in Lagos, which has led to the emergence of 'short term' street traders who resort to trading as an interim form of work, but due to regular displacements end up trading longer than envisaged, but who do not contribute to collective action while increasing pressure on public space. Given the lack of empirical studies on street trade in Nigeria, further research on the social function and importance of street trade in Lagos, will serve to emphasise the importance of the occupation, thus necessitating a more accommodating approach towards it by government authorities and general urban society.

Second, the success of the rights-based urban management agenda promoted by the Right to the City in Brazil and Latin America was highlighted in this study, and it was argued that the political, social, and economic situation in Nigeria and many African countries considerably differs from that in Latin America, hence it is impossible for the rights-based urban agenda to be legally enshrined or politically headlined in Sub-Saharan Africa in the same way it has been in Latin America. Comparative research focussing on the contextual differences between both regions and how this affects the institutionalisation of rights-based and pro-poor urban agendas would be very useful, and would also further enhance efforts towards the establishment of a global platform on the Right to the City. Third, the rights-based framework for urban governance has been developed in this study as a tool with which to analyse levels of social inclusion in cities/societies. Therefore in this vein the framework could be applied in other contexts as well as to other urban groups apart from street traders in order to investigate exclusionary practices. Furthermore the activities of government authorities as well as civil society can also be analysed through the lens of the rights-based framework in order to identify and address exclusion of marginalised groups.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire for traders

1. Date ………………………   **Interview Location**……………………………………………………………………

2. Introduction

I am Ademola Omoegun a PhD researcher, and I am researching on the informal economy and public space in Lagos State with a particular focus on the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders from the major public pathways.

3. Observed Details

3.1 Gender………………**1= Male**……………….............. ….   **2=Female** ……………………………………

3.2 Goods sold………

3.3 Locality…..1=Inside market…2=Edge of market….3=Along roadside….4=Other (specify)………

3.4 Display facility in use……1=Table…..2=Box…..3=Cart.....4=Basket….5=Other (specify)………

3.5 Age…………………….   1=18-24……..2=25-34……..3=35-54……..4=Above 55…………………………

4. Personal Details

4.1 Nationality………..   1=Nigerian…….2=Other (Details) ………………………………………………………

4.2 Where you born in Lagos?….1=Yes…2=No,
if no where were you born, and when did you move to Lagos?
……

4.3 How many years of education have you completed?……………………………………………..…....

4.4 What type of educational institution(s) did you attend?……………………………….……......

4.5 Can you read and write?   1=No…….2=Yes, if yes in what language(s)?…………………….

4.6 Ethnicity………..   1=Yoruba…2=Igbo…3=Hausa…4=Other (Details)……………………………

4.7 Religion…………   1=Christian…2=Muslim……4=Other (Details)…………………………………….

4.8 Days worked per week……………………………………………………………………………………….…..

5. Introductory questions

5.1 Tell me about how you conduct your work?………………………………….…………………………
………
………
………

5.2 Why do sell the goods you do?………………………………………………………………………………

5.3 Who are your main customers?………………………………………………………………………………

5.4 When are your busiest periods of the day and week?…………………………………………………

5.5 Had you done any other job before becoming a street trader? If yes what jobs and why did you leave each one? And why did you become a street trader?……………………………………………………
………

6. (Predominantly) Social contextual Information

6.1 Marital
status?……1=Single……2=Married…...3=Widowed……4=Divorced/separated……5=Cohabiting

6.2 Where do you live and why?…………………………………………………..…………………………………

6.3 Do you receive any help/support from any of your family members (nuclear/extended)?
1=No…..2=Yes, if yes what sort of support?
…….

6.4 Who do you support with your earnings?……………………………………………………………………

7. (Predominantly) Economic contextual Information

7.1 Do you work for yourself or for someone else? Why?………………………….………………………
………

7.2 What were your total takings yesterday?…………………………………………………………………..

7.3 What was your total profit?………………………………………………………………………………………

7.4 What would you do to earn a living if you were not a street trader?…………………………

7.5 Would you prefer to trade from a secure location with shelter and storage facilities (or a formal shop)? Why?...
....

7.6 Do you pay tax to government.....1=No………………2=Yes………………

If yes, how?...

7.7 Do you make any other payments to government?....1=No………………2=Yes………………….

If yes, what for?...

7.8 Do you receive any support from government for your work as a street trader, e.g. water, storage facilities, and toilet facilities?
....

7.9 Do you have a bank account?............... 1=Yes…………………....2=No………………………….
Why?..

7.10 Do you have any borrowings?........1=No……2=Yes, if yes from where/whom?..............
....

7.11 Do you buy goods from other street traders?.......1=Yes………………2=No……………………..
Why?..

7.12 Where (else) do you buy goods from?..
....

8. (Predominantly) Spatial contextual Information

8.1 Have you previously traded in any other location(s)? If yes, where?
....

8.2 How did you gain access to your present trading space? Do you make any payments and to whom?
....
8.3 How do you ensure your present trading space is always available? Do you make any payments and to whom?
....
8.4 Does your present location suit you compared to your previous site(s)? Why?..............
....

9. (Predominantly) Associational contextual Information

9.1 Did you belong to any associations (street trade associations, religious groups, micro credit or any such group) in any of your previous location(s)?
Why?..…......

………

9.2 Do you belong to any of such associations now and if so why?.....................................
………

9.3 Are you associated with any NGO's or civil society groups? Why?.................................
………

9.4 Have you ever been consulted by any government authorities on issues regarding your occupation?...1=Yes…………………..2=No……………………………

9.5 Do you have an ID card?.........1=Yes………….2=No, if no how come?.................................
……

9.6 Do you vote in Nigerian elections?..............1=Yes………………………..2=No………………………….

Why?...

9.7 Which government officials do you come in contact with most often? …………………………
1=Local govt. market managers…….2=Police.……3=Traffic police…….4=Other
(specify)………………………………………………………………………………………………
Over what issue(s)……

10. Problem related questions

10.1 Do you have any conflicts among yourselves as traders (individually and collectively), over what issues, and how do you resolve such?…………………………………………………………………………………………
……

10.2 Are there any particularly powerful traders and landlords?..…

10.3 How do you go about resolving your collective problems as traders?

1=Contact govt. authorities………2=Resolve it communally without govt. assistance………….. 3=Other
(specify)……
Why?...…......................…
……

10.4 Have you ever experienced any of the following problems? (circle relevant option(s))

1=Harassment   4= Eviction   7= Other(specify)……………………

2=Confiscation of goods   5= Relocation

3=Fines   6= No specific problems experienced

If YES, what exactly happened? (detailed story)…………………………………………………………………………

……

……

10.5 Generally, with whom do you have problems/conflicts with most often?

1=Local government authorities   4= Police   7 = Others (specify)……………………….

2=State government authorities   5 = Other street traders

3=Market managers   6 = Neighbourhood residents

Over what issue(s)? Please explain what happened……………………………………………………………….

……

……

10.6 Do you have any other types of problems?.........1=No……….2=Yes, If yes, what?.........

……

10.7 How do you solve these problems?...

10.8 What are the main advantages of being a street vendor here?...................................

……

11. Oshodi transformation related questions (Not applicable to traders who were not displaced)

11.1 Were you displaced during the transformation of
Oshodi?...............1=Yes…………………2=No…………………

11.2 When and why did you start trading there?..

……

11.3 How did you gain access to your previous location? Did you make any payments, and to whom?

……

11.4 How did you ensure your previous trading space was always available, did you make any payments and to whom?

……

11.5 How were the details of the transformation and your movement from your previous location communicated to you?

……

……

11.6 What were the reasons provided by the government authorities?..............................

……

11.7 How has the transformation of Oshodi and your movement affected you personally?

………

………

11.8 Tell me about the situation of your occupation while you were in your previous location compared to the situation now after your movement, what has changed?
 Prompts;
 - Has your income changed? How? (Economic)
 - Have your customers changed? Why? (Social)
 - Do you prefer this location? Why? (Spatial)
 - How has your relationship with other traders changed? Why? (Political)

………

………

11.9 Do you think commercial activities should be undertaken along the street, sidewalks, and other public spaces?.....1=No…………………..2=Yes…………………………
Why?………..

11.10 Do you think you should have been allowed to remain in your former location in any form?
1=Yes…………….2=No………………., Why?………………………………………………………………………..

12 Future related questions

12.1 What would most help your work?………………………………………………………………………………

………

12.2 How could trader's rights be strengthened?…………………………………………………………....

………

12.3 What are your future ambitions with regards to your occupation?…………………………

………

………

13 Additional Information

13.1 Is there anything else you would like to say about your work?…………………………………

………

………

………

14 Name………………….………....………………………………   **Mobile No/Email**…………………………

Appendix 2: Questionnaire for other city inhabitants

1.   Date ……………………   Interview Location…………………………………

2.   **Introduction**

I am Ademola Omoegun a PhD researcher, and I am researching on the informal economy in Lagos State with a particular focus on the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders from the site in line with global debates on urban development.

3.   **Personal Details (Please circle chosen option)**

3.1 Gender………………..**1= Male**………………...   **2=Female** ……………………………
3.2 Name………………........... **Mobile No/Email**…………………………………………………….
3.3 Age………………...   1=18-24……2=25-34……3=35-54……4=Above 55…………..
3.4 Nationality……..   1=Nigerian……2=other (Details) ………………………………..
3.5 Ethnicity………..   1=Yoruba…2=Igbo…3=Hausa…4=Other (Details)…………
3.6 Religion…………   1=Christian…2=Muslim……4=Other (Details)………………
3.7 Where you born in Lagos? 1=Yes……2=No…3=Other (Details)…………………..
3.8 Location of Residence? …………………………………………………………………………………………………
3.9 Occupation……

4.   **Political, Social, Economic, and Spatial contextual Information**

4.1 Do you vote in Nigerian elections?…………..1=Yes………………………..2=No……………………….
Why? ………
4.2 How often do you go to/through Oshodi?
1=Everyday……………………………2=weekly………………………………..3=Monthly…………………………..
Why……

4.3 What do you think of the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders from the main public pathways?
1= I think it is good…..2= I think it is bad....3=I think it is neither good nor bad…………
Please explain………
……

4.4 How has the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of traders affected you?
1=Positively…………………2=Negatively……………….3=Indifferent…………………………………
Please explain………
……
4.5 Are the activities of street traders of any benefit to you?
1=Yes……………………..2=No…………………………
Why?………
……

4.6 Do street traders cause you any problems?
1=Yes…………………2=No…………………..
If Yes, what type of problems? ……

4.7 Have you bought anything from a street trader in the last month?
1=Yes…………………2=No…………………
Why? ………
……

4.8 Do you buy from street traders because their goods are cheaper?
1=Yes…………………2=No…………………3=I never buy from street traders

4.9 Do you have a bank account? 1=Yes……………….....2=No…………………….
Why? ………
……

4.10 Do you think street trading was well managed before the transformation of Oshodi and the movement of street traders?
1=Yes…………………2=No…………………
Why………
……

4.11 Do you think street trading is well managed now after the transformation and movement of street traders?
1=Yes…………………2=No…………………
Why? ………
……

4.12 Do you think commercial activities should be undertaken along the street, sidewalks, railway track, and other easily accessible public spaces?............................1=No……………………..2=Yes………………………….
Why……
……

4.13 Do you think the street traders in Oshodi should have been allowed to remain in their previous locations in any form?...................1=Yes…………………. 2=No……………………………..
Why……
……

5. Additional Information

5.1 Is there anything else you would like to say about street trading/trading in publicly accessible spaces? ……
……

Appendix 3: Interview schedule for state and local government officials

(Key informant interviews)

Introduction

I am Ademola Omoegun a PhD researcher from Cardiff University, in line with global debates on urban development I am researching on the informal economy and public space in Lagos State with a particular focus on the transformation of Oshodi.

Introductory questions

What is your job role, i.e. what are you responsible for? And how long have you been in your current position?

Could you please elaborate on the functions of this Ministry in Lagos State with respect to the informal economy and public space, i.e. what is this Ministry responsible for?

Main questions

1. What are the main challenges of managing the informal economy and public space in Lagos?

Prompts;

- What would you consider as the main characteristics of a good city?
- What are the current plans for the management of the informal economy in Lagos?
- Which ministries and/or departments have responsibilities regarding the informal economy?
- My main interest is street trade, how are you and/or your department involved with street trading activities?
- What are the main problems you face in your job/department; funds (timing/disbursement), political support, public compliance etc.

2. How are public spaces in Lagos managed?

Prompts;

- Which ministries and/or departments are in charge of managing public spaces?
- What are the plans for public spaces in Lagos?
- Are public private partnerships made use of in managing public spaces? Why?
- Are contractors hired in the clearing/upkeep of public space? Why?

3. Which regulations govern public spaces and street trading activities?
- How long have they been in existence?
- What prompted their enactment/creation?
- How were they formulated?

4. How are decisions made at this level of government?

Prompts;

- What is the ministerial/departmental structure, how many ministries/departments are there, what is the organisational structure (structure of responsibility) within them?
- How are political will and technical expertise exercised in decision making processes?
- What are the main sources of government funding; central government allocations, internally generated revenue, etc.?
- Do market fee's form part of internally generated revenue (IGR)? How significant are they in IGR?
- What is the annual budget of this level of government?

5. How have things changed since the transformation of Oshodi, in particular the clearance of public spaces and movement of traders from major pathways?

Prompts;

- How would you describe Oshodi before the transformation, and how would you describe it now?
- How was the decision arrived at to transform Oshodi, what is the plan for Oshodi?
- How was the transformation implemented?
- Was there any consultation with the traders? How?
- How has the transformation been received? What has been its impact on activities in Lagos?
- Could some or all the traders have been allowed to remain where they were? Why?

6. What is this government's long term vision for Lagos?

Prompts;
- What is your ministry's/department's strategy to achieve this?
- What is your personal view about Lagos, public spaces in Lagos and the informal economy in Lagos?

7. Some multilateral organisations such as the UN-HABITAT are advocating for the establishment of rights for all city inhabitants including street traders, such as the right to directly participate in the management of cities and the right to use and create urban space to meet their needs. What is your opinion on this in the light of the situation in Oshodi, Lagos and Nigeria as a whole?

Appendix 4: Interview schedule for members of civil society

(Key informant interviews)

Introduction

I am Ademola Omoegun a PhD researcher from Cardiff University, in line with global debates on urban development I am researching on the informal economy and public space in Lagos State with a particular focus on the transformation of Oshodi.

Questions

1. What is your job and what does it involve?

2. What are the main activities you/your organisation are/is involved in?

Prompts;

- 	Why have you chosen to focus on these activities?
- 	Are there any other related areas you think are in need of attention? Why?

3. How do you/your organisation operate?

Prompts;
- 	What departments do you have?
- 	How is your organisation structured and why?
- 	How are your activities funded?

4. What are the main challenges you/your organisation face in the course of your work?

Prompts;

- 	Are there government bottle necks?
- 	Do you have access to adequate data and why?
- 	How cooperative are government authorities?

5. What are the main government institutions you deal with and what is your relationship with them?

Prompts;

- 	What level of government (federal, state and local) do you deal with the most and why?
- 	Which level of government do you find most helpful and which do you find least helpful, and why?

6. Does your work involve advocacy concerning rights issues; e.g. human rights, labour rights etc, and how successful have you been?

Prompts;

- What are the main issues you are dealing with?
- Why have you chosen to focus on these issues?

7. Are you aware of the eviction of people and sections of the populace in Nigerian cities – residents, street traders, etc. – and what is your impression of these evictions?

Prompts;

- Are you/your organisation involved in such issues?
- How do these evictions take place?
- At what point do you/your organisation get involved in these issues?
- What regulations are you aware of regarding these evictions and what is your opinion of the process?

8. How would you define a rights-based approach to development? And how practicable do you think this is in Nigeria?

Prompts;

- What sort of rights do citizens have/don't have?
- What conflicting rights exist?
- How are rights respected, enforced, promoted, etc.?

9. Some multilateral organisations such as the UN-HABITAT are advocating for the establishment of rights for all city inhabitants including street traders, such as the right to directly participate in the management of cities and the right to use and create urban space to meet their needs. What is your opinion on this in the light of the situation in Nigeria?

Prompts;

- Do you think this is possible to implement this in Nigeria and why?
- What do you think are the main obstacles to such an approach in Nigeria?