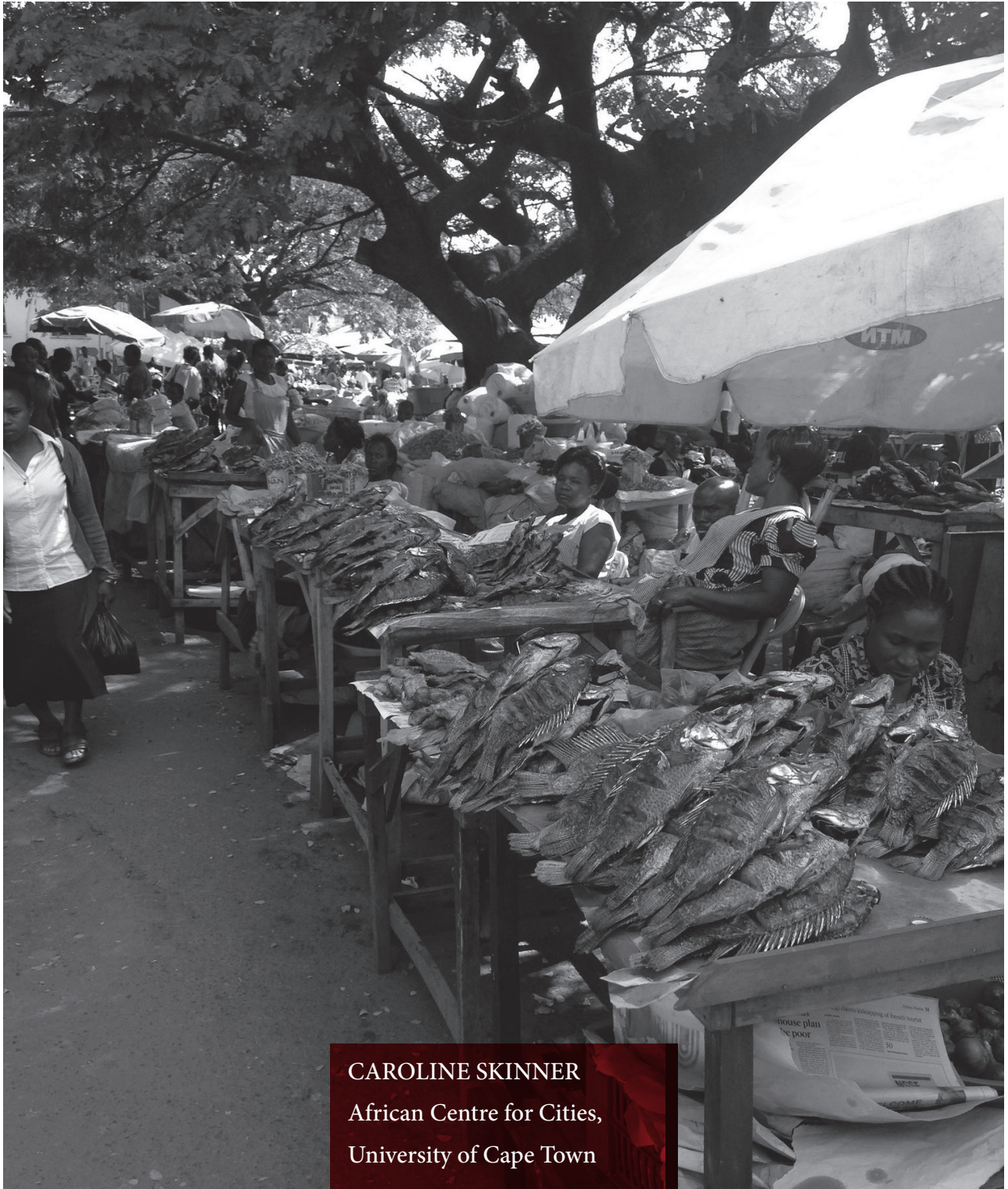


CONSUMING URBAN POVERTY WORKING PAPER

Informal Food Retail in Africa: A Review of Evidence

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Cover photograph taken at Jubilee Market, Kisumu, Kenya, by Jane Battersby

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The project argues that important contributions to debates on urbanization in sub-Saharan Africa, the nature of urban poverty, and the relationship between governance, poverty and the spatial characteristics of cities and towns in the region can be made through a focus on urban food systems and the dynamics of urban food poverty. There is a knowledge gap regarding secondary cities, their characteristics and governance, and yet these are important sites of urbanization in Africa. This project therefore focuses on secondary cities in three countries: Kisumu, Kenya; Kitwe, Zambia; and Epworth, Zimbabwe.

Summary

This paper reviews what is currently known about the informal economy's role in the food system focusing on informal retailers. Existing evidence suggests that the informal food economy is not only an important source of employment, particularly for women, but also a key source of food for poor households in general, and food-insecure households in particular. Contrary to the claims of many public officials, the results of toxicology tests of street foods show that informal traders can sell food with low bacterial counts, with access to infrastructure being a decisive factor. Given the role played by informal retailers in food security, the implications of greater supermarket penetration are considered. Rather than blanket displacement, there are many cases of formal and informal retailers co-existing. The policy and regulatory trends suggest that exclusionary practices are pervasive. The paper calls for more attention to alternative approaches, including legal frameworks. Collective action among traders is a key factor in both resisting exclusion and shaping the policy environment. The review suggests a significant diversity of organisational forms. Research gaps are identified throughout the review but the conclusion highlights priorities.

Keywords : food security, food system, informal economy, informal retail, street traders, street foods, policy trends, street trader organising

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1. Introduction

This Working Paper aims to review what is currently known about the informal economy's role in the food system, with a particular focus on informal retailers. The review takes as its points of departure that the food security agenda needs to pay more attention to urban contexts and food accessibility rather than simply production, and that food security is best conceptualised through understanding the food system. Relevant food security literature is briefly reviewed in Section 2, arguing that the informal economy requires further attention.

A key element of accessibility is income and, in Section 3, the latest available statistics on the contribution of the informal economy to employment and gross domestic product is collated. This data suggests that, in most regions of the Global South, the majority of those working outside of agriculture work in the informal economy. This section also considers what is known about the contribution of the informal *food* economy: that it is not only an important source of employment, particularly for woman, but also a key source of food for poor households in general and food-insecure households in particular.

Informal food retail has been a preoccupation among public health practitioners and researchers for many years. In Section 4, this literature is reviewed in two parts: firstly, the evidence on so-called 'street foods' contribution to nutritional intake and, secondly, the toxicology levels of street foods in multiple contexts. The evidence suggests that street foods are, in some contexts, the primary source of nutritional intake of low-income urban dwellers. The results from toxicology tests of street foods vary from high to low bacterial counts. A decisive factor in this is the extent to which traders have access to basic infrastructure (water and toilets) and trading infrastructure (shelter, tables and paved surfaces). This suggests that the more informal traders are incorporated into urban plans, the healthier the food they sell. Training is shown to be an important factor. Both the World Health Organisation (WHO) and the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) provide useful guidelines for improving food safety.

Since the formal and informal economies are intricately intertwined, Section 5 concentrates on the dynamics between formal and informal retailers. This section starts by highlighting the evidence of the penetration of supermarkets in the Global South, with a focus on African trends. It then briefly reflects on what is currently known about the impact of greater supermarket penetration on food security and informal retailers. While it is often assumed that supermarkets will be to the advantage of poor urban consumers, the evidence suggests that this is not automatically the case. The extent to which informal retailers are displaced by supermarkets is context specific, but often the formal and informal retailers co-exist.

Section 6 reflects the policy and regulatory trends for informal traders. The evidence suggests there is a continuum from large-scale sustained evictions of informal traders, including food vendors, to sporadic event-driven evictions. There is also a lower level of ongoing harassment of traders. Only two documented examples of street traders being integrated into urban plans were found. Academic analyses, combined with a scan of news reports, outline how pervasive exclusionary practices are. Analysis of the underlying factors behind these trends are offered and the paper then reflects on sources considering alternative legal paradigms. Regulation of the informal economy is, in part, an upshot of the extent to which informal operators act collectively. Section

7 presents a review of literature on organising trends among informal workers in Africa.

This review aims to present a summary of the existing state of knowledge to not only inform a new round of empirical work, but also to identify critical research gaps. Priority gaps are identified in the Conclusion. The geographical focus, where relevant and possible, is on global debates and evidence, with a focus on Africa in general and the countries in which the project is undertaking empirical research – Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe – in particular. A bibliography covering such a wide range of issues will need to be updated as new evidence comes to light. This paper reflects academic analyses as of September 2016.

2. Food Security, the Food System and the Informal Economy

There is a vast amount of literature available on food security. This section is by no means exhaustive, but highlights select references focusing on debates, shifts and contestations that have implications for our understanding of the role played by the informal food economy. Particular attention is paid to the extent to which the informal economy is being acknowledged.

A recurrent theme in recent food security literature is the need to shift focus from the rural to the urban, and from a narrow focus on production to a broader focus that includes analysis of accessibility. Crush and Frayne (2011: 544) articulated these two shifts:

The new global and African food security agenda is overwhelmingly productionist and rural in its orientation, and is based on the premise that food insecurity is primarily a rural problem requiring a massive increase in smallholder production. This agenda is proceeding despite overwhelming evidence of rapid urbanisation and the growing likelihood of an urban future for the majority of Africans. Urban food insecurity can therefore no longer be ignored.

As far back as 1999, Maxwell highlighted the importance of food access:

Whereas in the 1970s and 1980s, urban food problems in Africa commanded political attention, the nature of urban food insecurity in the 1990s is such that it has tended to lose political importance. This is largely because in the 1970s, the problem was one of outright food shortages and rapid price changes that affected large portions of the urban population simultaneously. The impact of structural adjustment, continued rapid growth, and an increase in poverty make urban food insecurity in the 1990s primarily a problem of access by the urban poor. (1999: 1939 (author emphasis)).

In a slightly later article, Crush and Frayne (2011: 781) expand on what they mean by access:

Accessibility hinges primarily on the individual or household's ability to purchase foodstuffs, which in turn depends on household income, the price of food and the location of food outlets.

Understanding the informal economy's role as a source of employment, and thus household income, is an important element of accessibility of food for those households. Crush and

Frayne (2011: 791) expand on the interrelated issues of food pricing and location of food outlets:

Even though supermarkets are more visible and may offer cheaper food, the urban poor do not necessarily increase their food security by shopping at supermarkets. Food provisioned informally may be more expensive than supermarket food, but continues to be the choice of the urban poor because of geographical access. Proximity and physical access to consumers is by no means equivalent to actual accessibility, taking into account unemployment, inflation, transportation costs and the inconsistent provision of electricity. Fresh food buying often has to be done on a daily basis because of the lack of refrigeration. Access to refrigeration, then, becomes a determining factor in access to safe food.

The issue of food prices in formal versus informal outlets is one that requires further examination, along with a detailed exploration of food-sourcing strategies of food-insecure households.

Cohen and Garrett (2010) focused particularly on the food price increases in 2007 and the first half of 2008, again emphasising the need to focus on urban dwellers. They outline the multiple pathways through which price increases have impacted on urban people. While acknowledging the role that informal food retailers play in distributing food, especially the degree to which urban dwellers depend on street foods, informal retailers are absent from their set of policy suggestions.

Skinner and Haysom (2016: 8–9), drawing on evidence from South Africa, expand on the notion of access in explaining continued sourcing of food in the informal sector. They identify five factors likely to be at play: spatial accessibility, low price, appropriate quantities, spatial food geographies and access to credit.

Sonnino (2009) analyses emerging food policies and initiatives at a local level, and outlines a policy and research agenda. While the importance of distribution and not just production is emphasised, they are silent on informal retailers' role in this critical stage of

the food system. Crush and Frayne (2011) counter this through their analysis of the role played by the informal economy. They conclude that 'the current international concern with food security largely ignores the urban informal food economy' (2011: 806). Battersby (2011) employs a food systems approach to food security in Cape Town, South Africa, and makes a solid case validating and supporting the role that the informal sector plays in urban food security in this city. Robinson and Humphrey (2015) argue that ensuring food reaches those most affected by undernutrition requires shaping the markets and businesses from which they source food. They note that poor people in rural and urban areas tend to buy food from small enterprises and informal markets. They state:

To make a difference in these markets, development actors have to work differently. Experiences of past programmes highlight the importance of building the capacity of informal businesses, capitalising on their flexibility and building consumer trust. Better data, innovative research and experimentation need to be the priorities for policymakers.

The food systems literature summarised and developed by Ericksen (2008) highlights the importance of a systems approach to understanding and addressing food security.

Ericksen's paper builds a framework which she argues 'enables analysis of the feedbacks from food system outcomes to drivers of environmental and social change, as well as trade-offs among the food system outcomes themselves which can be used to identify key processes and determinants of food security in a given place or time'. While Ericksen's work focuses on the impact of environmental change on food security, factoring in the role played by the informal economy and the hostile environment in which these activities often operate might shed light on food security interventions. Each component of the food system activities outlined by Ericksen (including the final activity of the disposal of waste products) would, in most cities of the Global South, have an informal economy component. Examples are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Activities in the food system and examples of informal economy involvement

Food system activity	Examples of informal economy involvement
Producing	Informal/smallholder agriculture (growing staples, vegetables, fruit); tending livestock; catching fish.
Processing and packaging	Small-scale catering; breaking down bulk supplies into smaller quantities for informal retail.
Distributing	Distribution of food using informal transporters (taxis, small trucks for hire).
Retailing	Street and market traders; home shops/spazas.
Consuming	Informal restaurants and liquor outlets (shebeens) that often also sell food.
Waste disposal (packaging and uneaten food)	Informal waste collectors and recyclers.

This review focuses on informal retailers. The full extent of the role of the informal economy in the food system will only be revealed by tracing the informal economy element of each activity in a particular context.

Key sources:

- Battersby, J. (2011) Urban Food Insecurity in Cape Town, South Africa: An Alternative Approach to Food Access, *Development Southern Africa*, 28(4): 545–561.

This paper presents data from the African Food Security Urban Network's 2008 baseline survey of Cape Town. This survey found that 80% of the sampled households could be classified as moderately or severely food insecure. In urban areas the main driver of food insecurity is not availability but access. Access is typically viewed as being directly related to income. Households were found to use formal food markets, but more frequently depended on informal sector markets and informal social safety nets. The more food insecure and income poor a household was, the more likely it was to be dependent on less formal means of securing food. This suggests that there is some form of market failure in the formal food system. This paper therefore advocates for a food systems approach that validates and supports the role that the informal sector plays in urban food security.

- Battersby, J. (2012) Beyond the Food Desert: Finding Ways to Speak about Urban Food Security in South Africa, *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 94(2): 141–159.

Urban food security is a significant development challenge in sub-Saharan Africa. However, the field is currently under-researched and under-theorised. Urban food insecurity, where it is considered, has been viewed through a development studies lens that views food insecurity as a household-scale problem. There has been significant focus on food deserts in developed countries as one way of engaging with such insecurity. The food deserts research views food insecurity through a social exclusion and food justice lens. This article introduces the food desert concept to provide a conceptual tool to begin to understand the spatial determinants of urban food insecurity, which are not well captured by the existing framings of food security in the region. Using data from a 2008 household food security survey conducted in Cape Town, the paper highlights gaps in the food deserts approach, most significantly its neglect of non-market sources of food and of household decision-making processes. The paper therefore concludes by suggesting a new approach which takes the household's assets, abilities and decision making as the starting point and overlays this with the market and non-market foodscapes accessed by these households. Following this, emerging re-politicised research trajectories are discussed. The paper concludes by suggesting that these emerging research themes provide a means for synergies between urban food work in the Global North and South to be developed.

- Battersby, J. (2013) Hungry Cities: A Critical Review of Urban Food Security Research in Sub-Saharan African Cities, *Geography Compass*, 7/7(2013): 452–463.

There has been renewed interest in the issue of food in cities in sub-Saharan Africa. A similar renewal has been noted in the North American and European contexts. However, the political, practical and ideological starting points of these research endeavours are quite different. This paper presents a historical and political lens through which the trajectories of urban food research in sub-Saharan Africa can be understood. It begins with a historical analysis of the field and uses this to explain why urban food security has been neglected or narrowly engaged as a problem with a developmental rather than political focus. Through this analysis, the paper connects the emergence of urban agriculture to the experience of structural adjustment and

discusses why urban agriculture has become the primary focus of academic and policy work on food in cities in the region.

- Battersby, J. and Crush, J. (2014) Africa's Urban Food Deserts, *Urban Forum*, 25(2): 143–151.

Since the mid-1990s, the concept of the 'urban food desert' has been extensively applied to deprived neighbourhoods in European and North American cities. Food deserts are usually characterised as economically disadvantaged areas where there is relatively poor access to healthy and affordable food because of the absence of modern retail outlets (such as supermarkets). This idea has not been applied in any systematic way to cities of the Global South and African cities in particular. Yet African cities contain many poor neighbourhoods whose residents are far more food insecure and malnourished than their counterparts in the North. This paper reviews some of the challenges and difficulties of conceiving of highly food-insecure areas of African cities as conventional food deserts. At the same time, it argues that the concept, appropriately reformulated to fit African realities of rapid urbanisation and multiple food-procurement systems, is a useful analytical tool for African urban researchers and policymakers. Although supermarkets are becoming an important element of the food environment in African cities, a simple focus on modern retail does not adequately capture the complexity of the African food desert. In the African context, the food deserts concept requires a much more sophisticated understanding of overlapping market and non-market food sources, of the nature and dynamism of the informal food economy, of the inter-household differences that lead to different experiences of food insecurity, and of the Africa-specific conditions that lead to compromised diets, undernutrition and social exclusion. The papers in this special issue explore these different aspects of African food deserts defined as poor, often informal, urban neighbourhoods characterised by high food insecurity and low dietary diversity, with multiple market and non-market food sources but variable household access to food.

- Cohen, M. and Garrett, J. (2010) The Food Price Crisis and Urban Food (In)Security, *Environment and Urbanization*, 22(2): 467–482.

Both national and international policy responses to the rapid food price increases in 2007 and the first half of 2008 did little to address the very serious impacts on low-income urban dwellers. The speeches, declarations, plans and pledges duly noted the vulnerability of poor urban dwellers to food price rises, as they rely primarily on market purchases for their food (much more so than rural dwellers) and food purchases account for the bulk of their expenditure. Yet most policy prescriptions focused on addressing constraints to rural-based food production. This paper discusses why policymakers should pay greater attention to urban dwellers and describes the multiple pathways through which food price increases have impacts on urban people. It also highlights the evidence on how these impacts have played out during this crisis and discusses how current policy responses could be adjusted and improved to better protect the urban poor in the short and longer term.

- Crush, J. and Frayne, B. (2011) Supermarket Expansion and the Informal Food Economy in Southern African Cities: Implications for Urban Food Security, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37(4): 781–807.

The new international food security agenda proposes small farmer production as the solution to growing food insecurity in Africa. A striking omission in this agenda is any consideration

of the dimensions and determinants of urban food security. In southern African towns and cities, lack of access to food is key to the food insecurity of poor urban households. This article reviews the current state of knowledge about the food sources of such households, paying particular attention to the expansion of supermarket supply chains, their impact on informal food suppliers and the relative insignificance of urban agriculture. The article also presents and analyses the significance of findings from a recent eleven-city survey of food insecurity in southern Africa conducted by the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN).

- Crush, J. and Frayne, B. (2011a) Urban Food Insecurity and the New International Food Security Agenda, *Development Southern Africa*, 28(4): 527–544.

The new global and African food security agenda is overwhelmingly productionist and rural in its orientation, and is based on the premise that food insecurity is primarily a rural problem requiring a massive increase in smallholder production. This agenda is proceeding despite overwhelming evidence of rapid urbanisation and the growing likelihood of an urban future for the majority of Africans. Urban food insecurity can therefore no longer be ignored. This paper argues that achieving urban food security is the emerging development challenge for the 21st century and that the complexities of urban food systems urgently need to be addressed by researchers, policymakers, and international donors and multilateral agencies.

- Ericksen, P. (2008) Conceptualizing Food Systems for Global Environmental Change Research, *Global Environmental Change*, 18: 234–245.

This paper outlines a framework for studying the multiple interactions of broadly defined food systems with global environmental change, and evaluating the major societal outcomes affected by these interactions: food security, ecosystem services and social welfare. In building the framework, the paper explores and synthesises disparate literature on food systems, food security and global environmental change, bridging social science and natural science perspectives. This collected evidence justifies a representation of food systems which can be used to identify key processes and determinants of food security in a given place or time, particularly the impacts of environmental change. It also enables analysis of the feedback from food system outcomes to drivers of environmental and social change, as well as trade-offs among the food system outcomes themselves. In food systems these trade-offs are often between different scales or levels of decision making or management, so solutions to manage them must be context-specific. With sufficient empirical evidence, the framework could be used to build a database of typologies of food system interactions useful for different management or analytical purposes.

- Frayne, B., Crush, J. and McLachlan, M. (2014) Urbanization, Nutrition and Development in Southern African Cities, *Food Security*, 6: 101–112.

This paper draws on existing studies and survey data collected from eleven cities in nine southern African countries by the African Food Security Urban Network in order to explore the relationship between urban poverty and food and nutrition insecurity in southern Africa. The paper demonstrates that poverty underpins the high levels of food insecurity and malnutrition evident amongst the urban poor in southern Africa; therefore, access to food, and not availability, is at the heart of the

urbanisation-nutrition-development nexus. The paper reviews the state of knowledge about food insecurity and the double burden of nutritional diseases in the urban areas of southern Africa, and lays out an agenda for future research to fill significant knowledge gaps.

- Maxwell, D. (1999) The Political Economy of Urban Food Security in Sub-Saharan Africa, *World Development*, 27(11): 1939–1953.

Sub-Saharan African cities in the late 1990s face a daunting set of problems including rapid growth, increasing poverty, deteriorating infrastructure, and inadequate capacity for service provision. Even as a renewed debate is shaping up around issues of urban development, there is little attention given to the question of urban food security. Whereas in the 1970s and 1980s, urban food problems in Africa commanded political attention, the nature of urban food insecurity in the 1990s is such that it has tended to lose political importance. This is largely because, in the 1970s, the problem was one of outright food shortages and rapid price changes that affected large portions of the urban population simultaneously. The impact of structural adjustment, continued rapid growth, and an increase in poverty make urban food insecurity in the 1990s primarily a problem of access by the urban poor. Under circumstances where the urban poor spend a very large portion of their total income on food, urban poverty rapidly translates into food insecurity. The lack of formal safety nets, and the shifting of responsibility for coping with food insecurity away from the state towards the individual and household level, has tended to atomise and muffle any political response to this new urban food insecurity. This paper briefly reviews urban food insecurity and generates a set of empirical questions for an analysis of food and livelihood security in contemporary urban sub-Saharan Africa, and then examines historical and contemporary evidence from Kampala, Uganda, and Accra, Ghana, to suggest some tentative conclusions.

- Robinson, E. and Humphrey, J. (2015) Better Nutrition for the Poor through Informal Markets, IDS Policy Briefing 89, Brighton: IDS.

In the fight against undernutrition, policymakers are seeking to use markets to increase access to nutrient-rich foods. Yet ensuring food reaches those most affected by undernutrition requires shaping the markets and businesses from which they source food. Poor people in rural and urban areas tend to buy food – including the foods most important for nutrition – not from large businesses, but from small enterprises and informal markets. To make a difference in these markets, development actors have to work differently. Experiences of past programmes highlight the importance of building the capacity of informal businesses, capitalising on their flexibility and building consumer trust. Better data, innovative research and experimentation need to be the priorities for policymakers.

- Skinner, C. and Haysom, G. (2016) The Informal Sector's Role in Food Security: A Missing Link in Policy Debates? *Working Paper 44*. Cape Town: PLAAS, UWC and Centre of Excellence on Food Security.

This paper aims to review what is currently known about the role played by the informal sector in general and informal retailers in particular, in the accessibility of food in South Africa. The review seeks to identify policy relevant research gaps. Drawing on Statistics South Africa data, we show that the informal sector

is an important source of employment, dominated by informal trade, with the sale of food a significant subsector within this trade. We then turn our attention to what is known about the informal sector's role in food sourcing of poorer households. African Food Security Urban Network's surveys show that urban residents and particularly low-income households regularly sourced food from the informal sector. We explore why this might be the case through an expanded view of access. We then consider existing evidence on the implications of increased supermarket penetration for informal retailers and food security. Having established the importance of the informal sector, we turn our attention to the policy environment. First we assess the food security policy position and then the post-apartheid policy response to the informal sector – nationally, in provinces, and in key urban centres. We trace a productionist and rural bias in the food security agenda and argue that the policy environment for informal operators is at best benign neglect and at worst actively destructive, with serious food security implications. Throughout the paper we draw on regional and international evidence to locate the South African issues within wider related trends.

□ Sonnino, R. (2009) Feeding the City: Towards a New Research and Planning Agenda, *International Planning Studies*, 14(4): 425–435.

In an era when, for the first time in history, more than half of the human population is urbanised, cities in both developed and developing countries are facing enormous challenges in terms of food security. In this context, municipal governments in New York, Rome, Belo Horizonte, Toronto, London, Amsterdam and Dar es Salaam are devising integrated food policies and strategies that move beyond the traditional focus on urban agriculture. A brief analysis of these emerging initiatives highlights the need for a new research agenda on public food provisioning and policymaking at the urban level. Practically, the paper argues, this broadened research agenda is crucial to facilitate much needed processes of knowledge-building and knowledge-exchange within and between cities. Theoretically, as this paper concludes, more comparative and comprehensive studies of the emerging urban food strategies are necessary to fully capture the potential of fast-growing cities in creating or recreating more sustainable social, economic and environmental linkages with their surrounding regions. (See also Morgan, K. (2009) Feeding the City: The Challenge of Urban Food Planning, *International Planning Studies*, 14(4): 341–348; the introduction of this special issue of *International Planning Studies*).

3. The Size and Contribution of the Informal Economy

The International Labour Organisation (ILO), alongside the policy research network Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO), has produced the most comprehensive set of statistics on the informal economy to date. What these statistics show is that the informal economy is the dominant mode of non-agricultural work in the Global South and a disproportionate source of employment for women. GDP figures show that, although individual incomes are often low, cumulatively these activities contribute significantly to the economy. This section briefly reviews headline findings.

The data uses International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) definitional norms according to which the 'informal sector' refers to employment and production that takes place

in unincorporated, small or unregistered enterprises (e.g. less than five employees), while 'informal employment' refers to employment without social protection through work both inside and outside the informal sector. The term 'informal economy' refers to all units, activities and workers so defined, and the output from them. Given country specificity as to what is considered urban, non-agricultural work is used as a proxy for urban. Table 2 presents regional estimates, demonstrating that most people who work outside of the agricultural sector in the Global South are part of the informal economy.

Table 2: Informal employment as a proportion of non-agricultural employment

Region	Percentage
South Asia	82%
East and South East Asia	65%
Sub-Saharan Africa	66%
Middle East and North Africa	45%
Latin America	51%
China (estimates based on six cities)	33%

Source: Adapted from Vanek, et al. (2014: 7).

As Vanek, et al. (2014: 1) point out, while regional estimates provide a useful overview, they hide the diversity that exists within a region. For example, informal employment accounts for an estimated 33% in South Africa and 44% in Namibia, but 76% in Tanzania and 82% in Mali. Regional estimates also hide the significant role of women in the informal economy: in three out of six regions, informal employment is a greater source of non-agricultural employment for women than for men. The difference is highest in sub-Saharan Africa where 74% of women are in informal work compared to 61% of men. The only region in which informal employment was a greater source of employment for men was in the Middle East and North Africa (Vanek, et al., 2014: 2).

The availability of labour market statistics varies significantly by country. The ILO database of Labour Force Survey (LFS) statistics contains no data for Kenya, and the data for Zimbabwe is over 10 years old. Of the three Consuming Urban Poverty (CUP) case study countries, the only country for which there is relatively recent and detailed statistics is Zambia. Statistics for these three countries, drawn from national statistical agency data, are reflected in Table 3.

In line with regional trends, the available data suggests that the informal economy is the predominant source of non-agricultural employment in these three countries and a particularly critical source of employment for women. Given changes in the political environment and economic crisis (hyperinflation and currency devaluation) in Zimbabwe, many commentators are now claiming the informal economy is the predominant source of employment. This is confirmed by the World Bank/FinScope 2012 nationally representative sample of small business owners which estimated that 85% of small, medium and micro firms in the country were informal.

Table 3: Informal employment as a proportion of non-agricultural employment in Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe

	Source	Survey date	Non-agricultural employment					
			% in informal employment	Men	Women	% in informal sector	Men	Women
Kenya	Household Budget Survey	2004/6	61	58	66	–	–	–
Zambia	Labour Force Survey	2008	69.5	62.9	80.1	64.6	60.9	70.3
Zimbabwe	Labour Force Survey	2004	51.6	42.7	42.7	39.6	31.2	53.1

Sources: Zambia and Zimbabwe: ILO (2013: 200–205); Kenya: Budlender (2011: 2).

Reflecting on sub-Saharan African specificities, the ILO notes: ‘In all sub-Saharan African countries for which data was available, the number of persons employed in the informal sector greatly exceeds those in informal employment outside the informal sector’ (2013: xi). This is an upshot of the relative weakness of the formal economy in these countries, with the exception of South Africa.

Trade is an important source of employment in the informal sector in general and in sub-Saharan Africa in particular. In Zambia, for example, the 2008 LFS found that 45% of all non-agricultural informal employment is in trade, and that informal employment constitutes 93.4% of the total employment in trade (again suggesting a small formal trade sector). The data suggests a predominance of women (56%) working in informal economy trading. The World Bank/FinScope 2012 study in Zimbabwe found that wholesale and retail constituted 33% of total activities, second only to agriculture at 43%, and estimated an annual turnover of US\$3.3 billion. In analysing Kenya data, Budlender (2011) focuses on street traders and finds that the survey records ‘more than 220 000 urban street traders, of whom 63% are women’. She notes that 15% of employed urban women are street traders compared to 6% of employed urban men. For the purposes of the CUP project, the proportion of those working in informal retail selling food is of particular interest. Standard labour force surveys often include a question for retailers on whether they sell food or non-food products. Will’s (2009) analysed South Africa data and found that almost two-thirds of street vendors surveyed in 2007 sold food. She notes that, on average, their earnings are lower while their average hours worked per week are greater compared to street vendors of non-foodstuffs. Existing analysis of informal economy data for Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe, unfortunately does not report on the number of food retailers. It is likely this variable is in the datasets. National statistical agencies seldom report employment data on food versus non-food informal retail. Further, the ILO does not include this variable in the regular submissions of labour market data from national statistical agencies. Analysing such data and regularly reporting on it would go a long way to making visible the informal sector’s contribution to the food system. Ideally this data should be disaggregated by gender, showing the role of women in this segment of the informal sector. Where countries conduct regular labour force surveys, tracking changes over time in retail employment in the formal versus the informal sector would provide critical insights, particularly with regard to supermarket penetration.

Although the individual incomes of informal workers are often low, cumulatively their activities contribute to GDP. Table 4 shows that the contribution of the informal sector is significant and suggests that, rather than marginal, it forms a central part of many countries’ economies.

Table 4: Percentage contribution of the informal sector (excluding agriculture) to GDP in select African and Middle Eastern countries

Sub-Saharan Africa		Middle East and North Africa	
Benin (2000)	61.8%	Algeria (2003)	30.4%
Burkina Faso (2000)	36.2%	Egypt (2008)	16.9%
Cameroon (2003)	46.3%	Iran (2007)	31.1%
Niger (2009)	51.5%	Tunisia (2004)	34.1%
Senegal (2000)	48.8%	Palestine (2007)	33.4%
Togo (2000)	56.4%		

Source: Adapted from ILO (2013: 22).

Key sources:

- Budlender, D. (2011) Statistics on Informal Employment in Kenya, WIEGO Statistical Brief No. 5.

This brief summarises statistics on employment – and, in particular, on urban informal employment – in Kenya. The statistics are based on analysis of the Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey of 2004/6, conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics (at that time called Central Bureau of Statistics).

- Charmes, J. (2012) The Informal Economy Worldwide: Trends and Characteristics, *Margin: The Journal of Applied Economic Research*, 6(2): 103–132.

It has now been more than 40 years since the first attempts of defining and data collection on informal sector and informal employment on a large scale were launched in the early 1970s. Many debates paved the way for the international definition of the informal sector in 1993 and informal employment in 2003. The informal economy is finally a means for conciliating the two concepts and, since the mid-1970s, national estimates of size (employment) and contribution (share of gross domestic product [GDP]) of the informal sector, and later on of the informal economy (and of its two major components: informal sector and employment outside the informal sector), have regularly been attempted and gathered on a large scale. This article is the most recent synthesis of these works. It is based on the recent compilations by the Bureau of Statistics of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the National Accounts Section of the United Nations (UN) Statistics Division, as well as on original national data. Employment in the informal economy is revealed to be as high as 58–70% of non-agricultural employment at regional level (the informal sector representing from 50% to 80%

of the informal economy) and the informal sectors contribution to non-agricultural GDP is from 25% up to 50%.

- International Labour Organisation (2013) *Women and Men in the Informal Economy: A Statistical Picture* (2nd Edition), Geneva: International Labour Office.

This report presents detailed statistics on employment in the informal economy for 47 developing countries/territories and economies in transition.

- Vanek, J., Chen, M., Carré, F., Heintz, J. and Hussmanns, R. (2014) *Statistics on the Informal Economy: Definitions, Regional Estimates and Challenges*, WIEGO Working Paper (Statistics) No. 2.

This working paper offers new regional estimates on informal employment based on direct measures from 40 countries and indirect measures from another 80 countries.

- Wills, G. (2009) *South Africa's Informal Economy: A Statistical Profile*, WIEGO Working Paper, No. 7.
- World Bank (2012) *Zimbabwe – FinScope MSME survey 2012*. Washington DC: World Bank Group.

3.1 The informal food economy's role in employment generation and household wellbeing

National-level data cited above give a good sense of the overall size of the informal economy, suggesting that this is an important source of employment in the Global South, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. Given the paucity of national data on the informal food economy, smaller scale survey work is important. Irene Tinker's seminal work on street foods in the mid-1990s, drew on research from cities in the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Egypt, Nigeria and Senegal. She found that as much as 10% of the local population was employed in informal food economy and 20% of household expenditure went towards these foods. More recent case studies analyse street food vendors in Harare, Zimbabwe (Njaya, 2014), Gaborone, Botswana (Chicho-Matenge and Nakisani, 2013), Niger (Otoo, et al., 2012); Niamey, Niger and Kumasi, Ghana (Otoo, et al., 2012), Nairobi, Kenya (Mboganie Mwangi, et al., 2001), Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo (Iyenda, 2001); Accra, Ghana (Levin, et al., 1999) and southern Ghana (King, 1991). All of these studies show that street food is a key source of employment, particularly for women.

Levin, et al. (1999) unpack the implications of money in the hands of women. In their 559 household interviews, women were found to earn lower incomes but allocate more of their budget to basic goods for themselves and their children. This meant that, despite lower incomes and additional demands on their time, 'female-headed households, petty traders and street food vendors have the largest percentage of food-secure households.'

Along similar lines, Otoo, et al. (2011) show that women entrepreneurs engaged in cowpea street food selling in Niger and Ghana earned incomes four and sixteen times more than the minimum legal wage in Niamey and Kumasi respectively. Many of these studies point to the role played by informal food retail to household wellbeing. Iyenda (2001), for example, found through her interviews with food traders in Kinshasa that street food enterprises were the sole livelihood sources for some households.

There is a research bias towards studying those operating in the streets, with the exception of Ahmed, et al.'s (2015) innovative work on food vendors in Nairobi's informal settlements; and work in South Africa on spaza shops (see Ligthelm (2005) and the Sustainable Livelihood Foundation (SLF) small area census mapping of the informal sector; Charman, et al. (2015) on their methods; and Charman, et al. (2012) for analysis of the spaza sector). Charman, et al. outline the increasing role of foreign migrants in the South African spaza sector. The role played by migrants (domestic and foreign) in the informal food economy and food security requires further exploration.

3.2 The informal economy's role in food sourcing of poor households

As Ahmed, et al. (2015) point out, informal food traders provide an array of affordable, accessible meals, which are often a mainstay for low-income households struggling with rising food and fuel prices. This is a resounding theme in the literature. However, few of these studies quantify this, with the exception of work conducted under the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN) that started in 2008, which aimed to improve the knowledge base of the dimensions and causes of urban food insecurity in Africa. This project provided detailed survey evidence from eleven Southern African cities: Blantyre City, Malawi; Cape Town, Johannesburg and Msunduzi in South Africa; Gaborone, Botswana; Harare, Zimbabwe; Lusaka, Zambia; Manzini, Swaziland; Maputo, Mozambique; Maseru, Lesotho; and Windhoek, Namibia. AFSUN's household food security surveys significantly enhanced knowledge on this issue. A total of 6 453 households were randomly surveyed on a range of food security issues, including where they source their food. Crush and Frayne (2011) provide a summary of the results and the key findings are presented in Table 5. This shows that some 70% of households in the AFSUN survey normally sourced food from informal outlets.

Crush and Frayne (2011: 789) explained the significant variation by city:

The informal food economy proved to be particularly important in cities such as Lusaka, Harare, Blantyre and Maputo (where over 95% of poor households normally obtain food from informal sources at least once a week). Their importance varied considerably in the three South African cities (from a high of 85% in Johannesburg to a low of only 42% in Msunduzi). In Windhoek, around three quarters of households normally sourced informal food but only a half did so in Maseru and Manzini. Households in Gaborone were the least reliant on the informal food economy (at only 29%).

They also note in the larger cities, where more than one area was sampled, that the differences were not as significant as expected. In Johannesburg, for example, over 80% of surveyed households sourced informal food in each of the areas of Alexandra, the Inner City and Orange Farm. Inter-city variability and the absence of intra-city variation is striking, and cannot easily be explained without more research on the size and nature of the informal food economy in each city.

Table 5: Sources used to obtain food (% of households)

	Windhoek	Gaborone	Maseru	Manzini	Maputo	Blantyre	Lusaka	Harare	Cape Town	Msunduzi	Johannesburg	Total
Informal market/street food	76	29	49	48	98	99	100	98	66	42	85	70
Small shop/restaurant/take away	84	56	89	49	78	69	80	17	75	40	80	68
Supermarket	97	97	84	90	23	53	16	30	94	97	96	79
Food transfers for rural household	47	22	37	35	20	36	44	42	17	24	14	28
Urban agriculture	3	5	47	10	23	64	3	60	5	30	9	22
Borrowed food from others	12	3	41	18	20	11	8	42	29	24	6	21
Shared meal with neighbours	14	21	20	9	19	23	13	19	45	18	14	21
Food provided by neighbours and/or other households	11	22	29	13	10	18	10	19	34	21	13	20
Food remittances	5	4	14	3	12	17	13	19	6	5	2	8
Community food kitchen	0	0	1	18	0	0	0	3	6	1	9	4
Food aid	1	6	3	1	1	2	1	2	3	5	2	2
Other source	1	5	1	0	0	2	3	6	2	1	0	2

Source: Crush and Frayne (2011: 799).

The survey also enquired about frequency of purchase by outlet and a summary of the findings for informal outlets versus supermarkets is presented in Table 6. This shows that 32% of households patronised the informal food economy almost every day and 59% did so at least once a week.

Table 6: Patronage by outlet type (% of households interviewed in the AFSUN survey)

	Informal outlet	Supermarket
In the previous week	60%	54%
Frequently (at least five days a week)	32%	5%
At least once a week	27%	19%
At least once a month	7%	51%
At least once every six months	1%	2%
Occasionally (less than once a year)	0.5%	1%
Never	31%	22%

Source: Redrawn from Crush and Frayne (2011: 800, 802).

This research also provides critical insight into the use of supermarkets. As is clear from Table 4, 79% of interviewees reported purchasing from supermarkets, but as indicated by Table 5, patronage was less frequent, with a high proportion of respondents reporting that they shopped monthly. This may suggest a pattern of bulk buying of staples at supermarkets and reliance on the informal food economy for other foodstuffs.

The AFSUN data shows sources of food for food secure and food insecure households. The summary of findings presented in Figure 1 suggests that food insecure households are more likely to rely on the informal economy than formal food sources.

While the AFSUN research has providing critical new insights, some key knowledge gaps remain. For example, more analysis is needed of the nature and quantity of foods sourced in the formal versus informal economies. Further research is needed to confirm Crush and Frayne's surmise that there is a pattern of bulk buying of staples in supermarkets while relying on the informal economy for other foodstuffs. The AFSUN research shows significant variation between and within cities – a reminder that the role played by the informal food economy is likely to be context-specific.

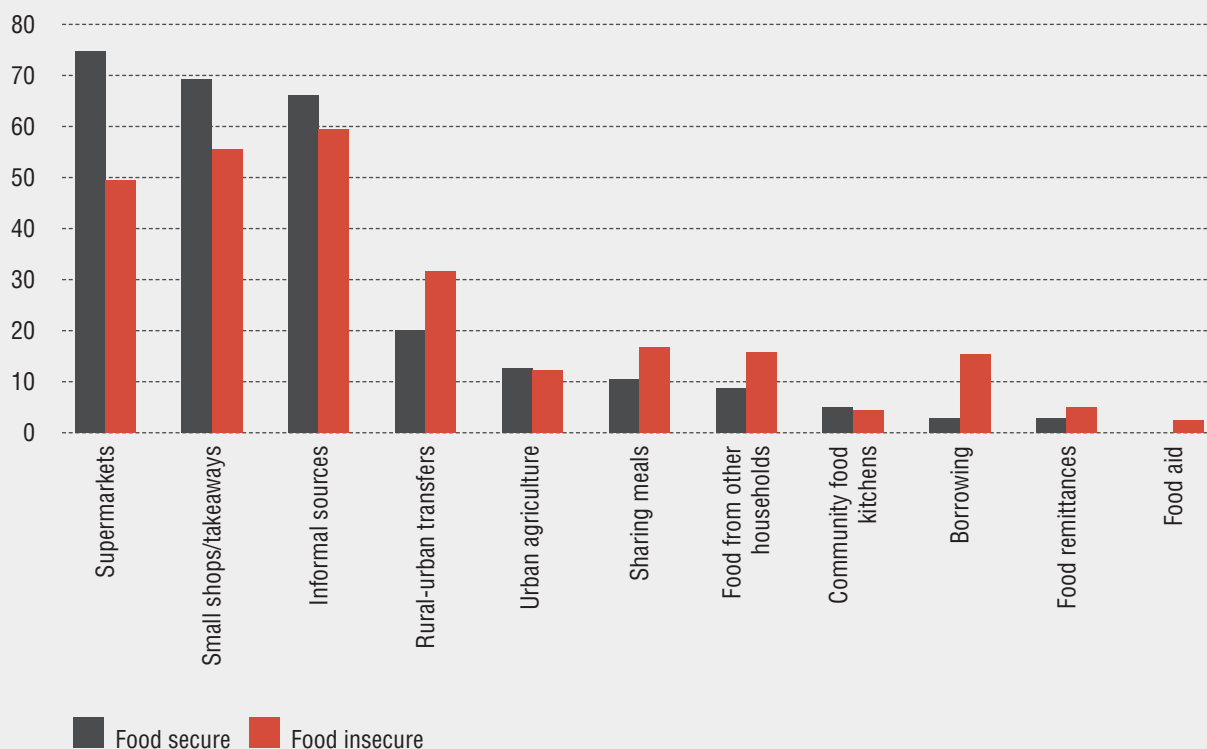


Figure 1: Sources of food for food secure and food insecure households

Source: Crush and Frayne (2011: 801).

A few authors note that the informal food economy is particularly responsive to customer needs. Karaan's 1993 work on the informal meat trade in Cape Town explores this in detail, finding that there is a large degree of consistency between the nature of supply by the informal sector and the nature of demand from the target consumer base.

3.3 Informal food production – urban agriculture

As Battersby (2013) points out, urban agriculture has been a focus of the food security policy agenda. This is an issue explored in detail by Crush, Hovorka and Tevera (2011). It shows that urban food production is not particularly significant in most communities. Across the 11 cities, around one-fifth (22%) of surveyed households said they usually grow some of their own food (Crush, et al., 2011: 291). With regard to frequency of use, only 8% get food from this source at least once a week and 3% at least once a month (Crush, et al., 2011: 292). This is in stark contrast to the usage figures reported for both formal and informal outlets. They note that even fewer households derive income from the sale of produce, with only 140 out of over 6 000 households (or 3%) reported deriving any income from the sale of home-grown food in the month prior to the survey (Crush, et al., 2011: 295). They conclude:

Urban food production plays a relatively minor role in the food supply of most households and very few derive any kind of income from the sale of home-produced food. In many cities, urban agriculture is practised by only a small minority of households, those with access to land and inputs, and those who lack regular access to wage income and the ability to meet their needs through food purchase. This picture is seriously at odds with conventional wisdom about urban

agriculture which relies, in the main, on case study evidence collected from those who do farm.

This paper argues, on the basis of the AFSUN baseline survey, that the prevalence and importance of urban agriculture is actually relatively low in poor urban communities across southern Africa. These conclusions give an insight into the role of urban agriculture. What we know less about is the informal economy's role in other food production processes.

3.4 The nature of informal food retail

The literature shows difficult trading conditions for informal operators who seldom have access to water and toilets let alone shelter and electricity. Ahmed, et al. (2015) provide particular insights into how food vendors are affected by informal settlements' physical constraints, such as poor roads, inadequate water reticulation, minimal sewerage and congested public spaces. They argue that inadequate infrastructure and services may pose several threats to food safety and livelihoods, such as selling foods near uncollected refuse, lack of adequate water and sanitation, and improper storage or non-existent refrigeration – all of which promote food contamination. Other studies note hostile legislative frameworks. In Harare, Zimbabwe, for example, street food selling is illegal (Njaya, 2014) and semi-legal in Gaborone (Chico-Matenge and Nakisani, 2013). Another theme within this literature is the constraints to growing these enterprises; Otoo, et al.'s (2011) work on traders in Niger and Ghana points to the importance of stable business locations, and access to finance and financial services. A particular contribution of the SFL's detailed area level censuses are insights into the spatial dynamics of the informal food sector, most notably how evenly spread these activities are across settlements. A few of these studies locate food trading in the broader food systems, for example Porter, et al.'s (2007) analysis of

market institutions and urban food supply in west and southern Africa, and King's (1991) work on the impact of globalisation on informal food vendors in Ghana. Lyon (2003) also unpacks the important role that urban food trader associations play in shaping the food system. These are themes that will be covered in more detail in later sections of this paper.

Key sources:

- All AFSUN city reports contain a section analysing the findings on the extent to which the informal food economy is patronised, with some providing additional city-specific data on the informal food economy. They can be found at <http://www.afsun.org/publications/>.
- Ahmed, S., Simiyu, E., Githiri, G., Sverdlik, A. and Mbaka, S. (2015) *Cooking up a Storm, Community-led Mapping and Advocacy with Food Vendors in Nairobi's Informal Settlements*, IIED Working Paper.

Although the 2008 food crisis briefly revealed the importance of promoting urban food security, it is rarely recognised as a key concern in African cities. Policymakers usually overlook food security in urban areas, viewing it as only a rural issue, and urban food vendors are typically ignored or even stigmatised. However, these workers offer a wide array of affordable, accessible meals, which are often a mainstay for low-income households struggling with rising food and fuel prices. Food vending is also a vital livelihood strategy in African cities, especially for female traders who may have few other income-generating options. Yet food vendors' key contributions to African urban economies and to sustaining households in informal settlements are usually disregarded by policymakers or past researchers. Instead, food vendors are frequently criminalised as a public health nuisance, while previous studies mainly focus on African food vendors in markets or the Central Business District (CBD). Existing research has failed to consider hawkers *inside* informal settlements, including their particular challenges in maintaining food safety and coping with pervasive environmental hazards.

This paper discusses a participatory mixed-methods project in Nairobi that seeks to address vendors' invisibility in African informal settlements and to develop innovative interventions. Research was conducted in 2013–2014 by the Kenyan Federation of the Urban Poor, *Muungano wa Wanavijiji*, assisted by Muungano Support Trust (MuST), the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and the Development Planning Unit (DPU) of University College London (UCL). Working closely with residents, the partners mapped food vendors in three informal settlements and analysed the associated environmental concerns. A range of novel mapping techniques were used, including community-led paper mapping, low-cost aerial photography (balloon mapping) and a mobile phone application. Focus group discussions (FGDs) with vendors and livestock keepers further explored daily practices, challenges and opportunities for improving food safety.

Nairobi has approximately 175 informal settlements with 2.5 million residents, representing 60% of the city's population but occupying just 6% of the land. We examined how food vendors are affected by informal settlements' physical constraints, such as poor roads, inadequate water reticulation, minimal sewerage and congested public spaces.

Our findings reveal the variety of foods sold and their benefits to residents of Nairobi's informal settlements, as well as multiple challenges facing these vendors and livestock keepers. We highlight

the pivotal role of locational factors, including vendors' access to infrastructure, levels of insecurity and proximity to various hazards. Inadequate infrastructure and services may pose several threats to food safety and livelihoods, such as the following concerns:

- Selling foods near uncollected rubbish, without adequate water and sanitation, and with only improper storage or non-existent refrigeration can all promote food contamination.
- Some vendors sell near water taps, but they may lack the money or time to wash their foods, utensils or hands thoroughly.
- Inadequate public lighting and elevated levels of insecurity can also prevent vendors from selling after dark.

Nevertheless, street foods do provide multiple benefits to customers in terms of affordability and accessibility, in addition to offering key opportunities for female traders. Although food vendors encompass women or men, old or young residents, many are female traders who are more likely to sell fresh produce or certain cooked foods such as *githeri* (beans and maize stew). Mothers with small children are often less able to travel and, more generally, women may have few livelihood alternatives due to their limited skills or access to capital. As a result of these constraints in resources, training, transport and access to childcare, as well as gender norms that already link women with cooking, selling food in their communities can be an especially crucial income-generating activity. Demonstrating the importance of food vendors can foster women's empowerment via greater recognition of their contributions. Analysing the gendered or other differences among vendors can also inform strategies to reduce poverty and promote gender-equitable initiatives. Vendors are deeply embedded in informal settlements, but we suggest that the very advantages of convenience and proximity to their fellow residents can also generate health risks that will require holistic interventions. Future initiatives to promote food security will need to be tailored to diverse food vendors and should reflect the contextual specificities of their informal settlements.

Vendors' needs may differ significantly based on food type, such as cooked meals, fresh produce, packaged goods, and dried beans or cereals. Other differences may include sellers' levels of mobility and methods of display: some are mobile hawkers while others sell items on the ground or from fixed sites (kiosks). Traders' interactions with livestock keepers and other residents are again highly complex, requiring careful consideration when proposing any future initiatives. During our FGDs, residents often prioritised the following interventions:

- Adequate water, sanitation, drainage and regular rubbish collection.
- Offering sheds and adequate storage, in order to promote food safety as well as allowing vendors to continue operating along the streets.
- Vendors, livestock keepers and other residents can also help to develop appropriate designs for markets, waste disposal points and other community-led solutions to transform public spaces.

Via mapping, advocacy and newly-established vendor groups, residents gained in confidence and demonstrated that food vending is a major lifeline in their settlements. In 2013, the project led to the creation of a pioneering Food Vendors' Association (FVA), comprised of traders working across Nairobi's informal settlements. The FVA has sought to improve local environments and to forge an advocacy platform, thereby overcoming vendors' long-standing invisibility and isolation. Several participants themselves recognised the significant potential of using mapping

tools to transform vendors' status and increase their public profile across African informal settlements.

- Chicho-Matenge, N. and Nakisani, C. (2013) An Assessment of Challenges faced by Microenterprises in Botswana: A Case of Street Food Vendors in Gaborone, *International Journal of Learning and Development*, 3(5): 57–73.

Street food vending in urban areas of developing countries like Botswana continues to be a source of livelihoods to many (Joseph, 2011). The government and relevant stakeholders need to understand holistically the challenges faced by street food vendors and develop interventions that will enable street food vendors to survive, grow and compete in a dynamic business environment. This study examined the challenges faced by street food vendors in the selected malls of Gaborone and these are Kagiso, African and Main Mall. Further, the study investigated the importance of street vending as a livelihood strategy and strategies to lessen the challenges faced by street vendors. The data was collected from 97 street food vendors from the selected sample of the study using a 51-item questionnaire. The major findings of the study indicated that street food vending is mostly a source of income and a way of creating employment for the urban poor. The study recommends that street food vending needs to be legally recognised. The study would inspire policymakers to come up with specific legislation to promote street food vending business in Botswana.

- Charman, A., Petersen, L., Piper, L., Liedeman, R. and Legg, T. (2015) Small Area Census Approach to Measure the Township Informal Economy in South Africa, *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1–23.

In this article, we describe a research approach to undertaking a small area census to identify informal economy activity, using a mixture of quantitative and qualitative tools. The method focuses on enterprise activity. The approach enables the researcher to record a broader spectrum of informal micro-enterprises through identifying businesses in situ within an area of sufficient scale to broadly reflect area-level market conditions and business dynamics. The approach comprises an enterprise census, a survey of all identified micro-enterprises in key sectors, in-depth interviews and participatory research techniques. The article reports on the application of this method in eight case sites located in township settlements within five major cities in South Africa. The research identified 9 400 individual enterprises, entailing 10 220 primary and secondary activities, distributed within a population of 325 000 and comprising 97 000 households. The approach permits significant advances to our understanding of the spatial dynamics of the informal sector. The research data has enabled the researcher to make original contributions to understanding informal enterprise activities in grocery retailing, liquor trade, and traditional medicine sectors.

- Charman, A., Petersen, L. and Piper, L. (2012) From Local Survivalism to Foreign Entrepreneurship: The Transformation of the Spaza Sector in Delft, Cape Town, *Transformation*, 78: 47–73.

Small, home-based grocery stores, known as spaza shops, are ubiquitous throughout the township areas of urban South Africa, constituting an important business in the informal economy. In recent years, this retail market has become a site of fierce competition between South African shopkeepers and foreign entrepreneurs, especially Somalis, and is often cited in the media as one reason behind the xenophobic attacks on foreigners. Drawing on original data collected in the Delft township in the city of Cape Town, this paper demonstrates that foreign entrepreneurs,

overwhelmingly Somalis, have come to own around half of the sizeable spaza market in Delft in the last five years. This increase is attributable to larger scale and price-competitive behaviour as these entrepreneurs operate collectively in terms of buying shops and stock, as well as in stock distribution. Also important are some more customer-friendly services too. Compared to the more 'survivalist' local business model, where individual owners look to supplement existing household income rather than generate an entire livelihood, the Somali business model has rapidly outcompeted local owners, bringing spaza prices down and forcing many locals to rent out their shop space to foreign shopkeepers. Consequently, while South African shopkeepers resent the Somali influx, most consumers appreciate the better prices and improved service. The rise of Somali shopkeepers thus represents a transformation of business practice in the spaza sector from survivalist to entrepreneurial modes.

- Crush, J., Hovorka, A. and Tevera, D. (2011) Food Security in Southern African Cities: The Place of Urban Agriculture, *Progress in Development Studies*, 11(4): 285–305.

Several decades of research on 'urban agriculture' have led to markedly different conclusions about the actual and potential role of household food production in African cities. In the context of rapid urbanisation, urban agriculture is, once again, being advocated as a means to mitigate the growing food insecurity of the urban poor. This article examines the contemporary importance of household food production in poor urban communities in 11 different Southern African Development Community (SADC) cities. It shows that urban food production is not particularly significant in most communities, and that many more households rely on supermarkets and the informal sector to access food. Even fewer households derive income from the sale of produce. This picture varies considerably, however, from city to city, for reasons that require further research and explanation.

- Iyenda, G. (2001) Street Food and Income Generation for Poor Households in Kinshasa, *Environment & Urbanization*, 13(2), 233–241.

This paper describes the role of street food production and sale in the livelihoods of 256 food sellers in Kinshasa, including who within each household undertakes the work, the incomes received and profits gained, and the role of the income in households' livelihoods. It also describes the context in which increasing numbers of people have had to turn to self-production, with the decline in formal sector employment and cuts in government jobs (and incomes). Most street food enterprises were the sole livelihood source for households. For virtually all women sellers, their husbands were unemployed, sick, disabled or dead. Many men sellers turned to street foods because they had lost jobs in the formal economy. Most street food enterprises produced low incomes but allowed households to meet their basic consumption needs.

- Karaan, M. (1993) Informal Red Meat Marketing: A Case Study in the Western Cape Townships, Master of Science in Agricultural Sciences, University of Stellenbosch. Available at: <http://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/58013>.

The informal red meat trade was investigated as it occurs in the townships of the Cape Town metropole. To achieve this, an interactive research approach was followed, initially involving months of observation before scientific and empirical analysis was conducted. The informal marketing activities were described and analysed with the purpose of establishing strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. Criteria of efficiency and effectiveness

were constantly employed. In this regard, the prevailing system was tested against consumer needs and preferences. A large degree of consistency was found between the nature of supply by the informal sector and the nature of demand from its target consumer base. On this basis, it was deduced that the informal red meat marketing system has the potential to further contribute to development and township food security. The informal marketing system, however, operates under specific constraints. These were identified and subsequently recommendations were made to alleviate these constraints, in order to maximise the contribution of the informal red meat trade to local development.

- King, A. (1991) Reflections of Globalization: A Case Study of Informal Food Vendors in Southern Ghana. *University of New Orleans Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 1991. Available at: <http://scholarworks.uno.edu/td/1991>.

In the context of rapid urbanisation, globalisation, market liberalisation and growing flexibility of labour in the post-Fordist era, urban environments have seen economic opportunities and employment in the formal sector become increasingly less available to the vast majority of urban dwellers in both high-income and low-income countries. The intersectional forces of globalisation and neo-liberalisation have contributed to the ever-growing role of informal economic opportunities in providing the necessary income to fulfil household needs for individuals throughout the world, and have also influenced social, cultural and spatial organisation of informal sector workers. Using a case study and ethnographic information from several regions of southern Ghana, this research examines the way in which informal sector food vendors in Ghana are imbedded in larger global food networks, as well as how globalisation is experienced by vendors at the ground level.

- Levin, C., Ruel, M., Morris, S., Maxwell, D. and Armar-Klimesu, M. (1999) Working Women in an Urban Setting: Traders, Vendors and Food Security in Accra, *World Development*, 27(11): 1977-1991.

Data collected from a 1997 household survey carried out in Accra, Ghana, are used to look at the crucial role that women play as income earners and securing access to food in urban areas. One-third of the households surveyed are headed by women. For all households, women's labour force participation is high, with 75% of all households having at least one working woman. The high number of female-headed households and the large percentage of working women in the sample provide a good backdrop for looking at how women earn and spend income differently than men in an urban area. Livelihood strategies for both men and women are predominantly labour based and dependent on social networks. For all households in the sample, food is still the single most important item in the total budget. Yet, important and striking differences between men's and women's livelihoods and expenditure patterns exist. Compared to men, women are less likely to be employed as wage earners, and more likely to work as street food vendors or petty traders. Women earn lower incomes, but tend to allocate more of their budget to basic goods for themselves and their children, while men spend more on entertainment for themselves only. Despite lower incomes and additional demands on their time as housewives and mothers, female-headed households, petty traders and street food vendors have the largest percentage of food-secure households. Women may be achieving household food security, but at what cost? This paper explores differences in income, expenditure and consumption patterns in an effort to answer this question, and suggests ways that urban planners and policymakers can address special concerns to working women in urban areas.

- Ligthelm, A. (2005) Informal Retailing through Home-Based Microenterprises: The Role of Spaza Shops, *Development Southern Africa*, 22(2): 199-214.

The informal trade sector constitutes an important part of the South African economy, with estimated sales of R32 billion in 2002. Its emergence is largely attributed to the divergence between the growth in population, especially the urban population, and employment growth in the formal economy. Growth of informal enterprises, especially in the retail sector, is also thriving on the demand of less affluent households, whose household needs for unsophisticated and affordable products are aptly supplied by the informal sector. The aim of this article is to focus on one of the prominent sub-sectors of informal retailing, namely spaza or tuck shops, defined as small retail businesses which operate from a residential stand or home. Particular attention is paid to the size, role and characteristics of spaza trade in South Africa, which is estimated to account for nearly 3% of South Africa's retail trade.

- Lyon, F. (2003) Trader Associations and Urban Food Systems in Ghana: Institutional Approaches to Understanding Urban Collective Action, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(1): 11-23.

This article explores the activities and functioning of urban food trader associations in Ghana. These associations are strong indigenous groups of women traders who have been able to sustain cooperation over many years in contrast to many other forms of collective action. They shape urban food systems and link urban consumers with rural producers. The analysis relates the findings to the literature on socio-economics, institutional economics and collective action. Of particular interest are the social relations and networks within associations that allow traders to access informal credit and information, with contracts based on trust. The factors that contribute to the ability to sustain collective action are explored. These include leadership structures and acceptance of the authority of market queens by other women traders, as well as the need to have the benefits that come from membership of associations.

- Mboganie Mwangi, A., Den Hartog, A., Foeken, D., Van't Riet, H., Mwadime, R. and Van Staveren, W. (2001) The Ecology of Street Foods in Nairobi, *Ecology of Food and Nutrition*, 40(5): 497-523.

Very little is known about street foods in sub-Saharan Africa. We investigated the scope of the street food phenomenon in Nairobi, both in the past and the present, with the aim of establishing circumstances surrounding its practice and its function in urban food supply. We found that street food vending and consumption in Nairobi rapidly increased during the previous two decades, instigated by the need for affordable food among low-income urban dwellers and the need for employment. It is an expanding and thriving phenomenon, especially among the urban poor, and climbs up the socio-economic ladder due to increasing monetary demands. In addition to being a food supply channel for the urban poor, street food vending in Nairobi provides employment opportunities to a labour force that would otherwise be unemployed. There is need to legitimise the sector with simple regulations that make food safe but not expensive.

- Njaya, T. (2014) Operations of Street Food Vendors and their Impact on Sustainable Urban Life in High Density Suburbs of Harare, In Zimbabwe, *Asian Journal of Economic Modelling*, 2(1): 18–31.

The study sought to investigate the nature and operations of street food vendors, including socio-economic features influencing street food vending spatial distribution and its impact on the local environment and urban life within the context of sustainable development. Data were collected through field notes, in-depth personal interviews, direct observations and documentary reviews so as to triangulate the evidence. Sixty semi-structured questionnaires were administered to collect socio-economic and technical data pertaining to street food vending. The study showed that street food vending, far from being a hindrance to progress and sustainable development, is in fact the basis of an alternative street economy which is people friendly and, with the necessary institutional and infrastructural support, could be both environmentally sensitive and energy conscious. Although street food vending is illegal, it significantly helped to reduce unemployment, increased incomes of vendors and provided urban dwellers with inexpensive and varied indigenous meals. The government should recognise the street food industry through legislation and the introduction of a code of practice for street food vendors. This would require the city council to construct decent shelters and provide essential public utilities such as potable water, electricity and public toilets. What is needed to advance the position of street food vendors is to strengthen their capacities and skills through training, credit, information and infrastructure, so as to enhance their competitiveness and productivity. There is a need for further research to describe the nature of street vending, quantify the consumption of street foods in Zimbabwe and their economic benefits, as well as ways to improve the standards of street food.

- Onyango, J.O., Olima, W.L.A. and Onyango, L. (2012) Dynamics of Street Vending Phenomenon in the Kisumu Municipality, Kenya, *International Journal of Arts and Commerce*, 1(4): 107–120.

Street vending is the sub-sector of informal businesses that operate in urban spaces meant for other uses. It was believed that street vending would be absorbed by the modern sector with time, but instead it has grown to providing alternative jobs to a large urban population who cannot get formal employment. People migrating to urban centres, school leavers and retrenched workers find work in street vending. Vendors provide goods and services cheaply and conveniently to the urban population. Its ability to expand and offer employment was recognised in 1970 when developing countries were experiencing low rates of economic growth and increased unemployment. Integration of street vending activities in urban land use is affected by the negative perception of local authorities. However, there is still little research on how street vending can be integrated in urban plans. Against this backdrop, this study assessed dynamics of street vending in phenomenon in Kisumu Municipality. The objectives of the study were to examine the nature and patterns of street vending activities. Study population constituted street vendors in the central business district, customers buying from street vendors, and Kisumu Municipality administrators. Purposive sampling was used to sample Kisumu Municipality administrators. A multi-stage sampling technique was used to select the owner of the street vending enterprise to respond to questionnaires. Customers who participated in the study were introduced by street vendors who responded to questionnaire. Content analysis was used to analyse qualitative data from focus group discussions and interviews, creating themes, categories

and patterns. Quantitative data was analysed using percentages, multinomial logistic regression and Pearson Chi square (χ^2). Street vendors were found to sell food, personal items, household items, household suppliers, hardware items and services at comparatively cheaper prices and conveniently to customers. Street vendors were found to operate from Monday to Sunday, while Saturday and Sunday record the highest number of street vendors. The peak periods for street vending were between 10.00 a.m. and 1.00 p.m., and 4.00 p.m. and 8.00 p.m. The vendors were found to station themselves on pavements, near a bank and business premises, hospital, parks and any open space with high pedestrian traffic when selling. Vendors were found to sell different products at different locations. The locations that street vendors took up were influenced by attractiveness, accessibility, number of customers, competitors, allocation by municipality and the original site where the vendor started. The study concludes that street vendors identify the locations where they vend on their own without any guidelines. The sites taken at random by vendors make the pattern of street vending look haphazard within the urban built environment. This makes local authorities view street vending as a disorganised activity giving a bad image to the town. The main study recommendation is that there is a need to guide the planning of street vending to integrate it into urban land use.

- Otoo, M., Fulton, J., Ibro, G. and Lowenberg-DeBoer, J. (2011) Women Entrepreneurship in West Africa: The Cowpea Street Food Sector in Niger and Ghana, *Journal of Development Entrepreneurship*, 16(37).

Women entrepreneurship in the informal sector, such as street food vending, is important for poverty alleviation in West Africa. The street food sector provides employment for women, and inexpensive and nutritious food for the urban poor. In this paper, we determine the importance of the cowpea street food sector, evaluate the determinants of successful enterprises, and ascertain the impact of economic, cultural, religious and geographic differentials between enterprises in Niamey, Niger, and Kumasi, Ghana. Data were collected through in-person interviews with 114 and 122 women street food entrepreneurs in both countries in 2009. Results revealed that women entrepreneurs engaged in the cowpea street food sector can earn incomes four times and sixteen times higher than the minimum legal wage in Niamey and Kumasi respectively. Incomes earned from these entrepreneurial activities contribute directly to health, education and needs of their families. OLS regression results indicate that lack of financial resources, stable business locations and religious beliefs are important entrepreneurial success factors. Cross-country comparisons revealed enterprises in Kumasi are larger and more successful than those in Niamey.

- Otoo, M., Ibro, G. Fulton, J. and Lowenberg-DeBoer, J. (2012) Micro-Entrepreneurship in Niger: Factors Affecting the Success of Women Street Food Vendors, *Journal of African Business*, 13(1): 16–28.

Micro-entrepreneurship in the informal sector plays a vital role in generating employment and income in West Africa. In this article, the authors examine business success factors for micro-entrepreneurs involved in the production and sale of street foods in Niger, drawing on the resource-based view theory. Business success was measured by size of firm and vendor's perception of enterprise growth. The results indicate that business experience is an important success factor, while the need for cash is a constraint for business success. A rare resource, limited access to financial assets, translates into limited opportunities for growth of these informal micro-enterprises into viable businesses.

- Porter, G., Lyon, F. and Potts, D. (2007) Market Institutions and Urban Food Supply in West and Southern Africa: A Review, *Progress in Development Studies*, 7(2): 115–134.

As the urban share of Africa’s population increases, the importance of understanding how food supply is shaped by market institutions has grown. However, this topic has received little attention from policymakers and researchers despite the implications of market institutions and regulatory systems for livelihoods and poverty. This paper reviews the existing literature on market intermediaries, access to selling spaces, finance for traders, and sources of information on prices and supplies. The gaps in research are identified and a set of key research issues in this crucial, yet under-researched, area are articulated.

- Tinker, I. (1997) *Street Foods: Urban Food and Employment in Developing Countries*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

‘Street foods’, the term coined by Irene Tinker for the Equity Policy Center’s action-research project, defines the study of all meals, snacks and sweets currently sold on the streets of the world for immediate consumption. The culmination of 15 years of research in provincial cities in the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Egypt, Nigeria and Senegal, *Street Foods* is the first empirical study of those who make, sell and eat these foods. The project detailed in this book was and will be a means to affect change on both micro and macro levels: the findings were utilised to improve the income of the vendors themselves and the safety of the food they sold, and to cause makers of public policy to recognise the value of this informal sector instead of trying to restrict its trade. The accumulated power of the Street Food Project’s data brings new insights to the nature of micro-enterprises, the interventions that truly help improve income and food safety, and the gender aspects of the street food trade. Challenging conventional wisdom about the informal sector and assumptions in development theory about women, *Street Foods* will reframe the major debates shaping research and aid policies for poor, small-scale entrepreneurs in developing countries.

- Van Rooyen, C. and Mavhandu, B. (1997) The Informal Food Marketing System in Urban Environments: Case Studies of Kagiso and Orange Farm. *Development Southern Africa*, 14(3): 471–476.

The rapid development of urban townships and the failure of the formal sector to meet township demand have led to the emergence of informally organised marketing systems, which have certain advantages over their formal counterparts. This note presents the findings of a study on the informal marketing of vegetables and fruit in two townships of Gauteng Province, namely Kagiso and Orange Farm. The data collection procedures are discussed first and then the results are presented with regard to the kinds of vegetables and fruit sold, their pricing, supply and transport, and the constraints faced by informal traders.

4. Informal Retailers, Nutrition and Food Safety

4.1 Street foods’ contribution to food intake in developing countries

There is a cluster of studies that interrogate the role played by informal retailers in nutrition. Steyn, et al.’s (2013) review is a useful entry point. They draw on 23 studies, the majority of which were conducted in Africa (Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Benin, Mali, South Africa, Uganda, Burkina Faso) and assess the daily energy intake from what they refer to as ‘street foods’. While noting significant differences between places, overall they found for the studies they reviewed that daily energy intake from street foods in adults ranged from 13% to 50%, and in children from 13% to 40%. Similarly, they calculated that street foods contribute significantly to the daily intake of protein, often 50% of the recommended daily allowance (RDA). In reviewing the evidence, they conclude that street foods make a significant contribution to energy and protein intakes of people in developing countries, and that their use ‘should be encouraged’, with the proviso ‘if they are healthy traditional foods’ (Steyn, et al., 2013: 1). Van’t Riet, et al.’s (2001) study of the role of street foods among low-income groups confirms the contention that street foods play an important role in the diet of poor households because they are cheap and convenient. They find that the frequency of street food consumption is determined by a combination of at least four factors: level of household income, regularity of income, household size, and time available to prepare meals. Mbonganie Mwangi, et al.’s (2002) study of Nairobi street foods assesses the variety of goods food vendors sell, and suggests micronutrient fortification of cereal flours and fats used in popular street food preparation.

Key sources:

- Mbonganie Mwangi, A., Den Hartog, A., Mwandime, R., Van Staveren, W. and Foeken, D. (2002) Do Street Food Vendors Sell a Sufficient Variety of Foods for a Healthful Diet? The Case of Nairobi, *Food and Nutrition Bulletin*, 23(1).

This study examined whether street food vendors sell a sufficient variety of foods for a healthful diet. It was hypothesised that vendors sold only low-cost food groups to enable the buyer to afford the food while the vendor also made a profit. A structured questionnaire was administered to 580 vendors in three selected locations. Data included product names, ingredients, methods of preparation, and the sex of the vendor. A little more than half of the vendors (53%) sold food of only one group; 44% sold cereals. Overall, 36% of vendors, mostly men, sold only carbohydrate products. The percentage of vendors selling foods of more than one group was higher in the working area (53%) than in the slum area (43%, $p < .05$), and it was higher in both of these areas taken together than in the lower-middle income area (21%, $p < .001$). Micronutrient and mixed-nutrient products were associated with female vendors. Although a slight majority of all street vendors sell foods of only one group, women vendors are capable of supplying a sufficient variety of food groups that consumers can afford. It appears that consumer purchasing power dictates the food groups provided by vendors, especially cereal-based foods. A policy on micronutrient fortification of cereal flours and fats used in popular street food preparation needs to be considered. This could be coupled with consumer and vendor education programmes focusing on the importance of healthful diets.

- Steyn, N., Mchiza, Z., Hill, J., Davids, Y., Venter, I., Hinrichsen, E., Opperman, M., Rumbelow, J. and Jacobs, P. (2013). Nutritional Contribution of Street Foods to the Diet of People in Developing Countries: A Systematic Review. *Public Health Nutrition*, 17(06): 1363–1374.

Objective: To review studies examining the nutritional value of street foods and their contribution to the diet of consumers in developing countries. Design: The electronic databases PubMed/MEDLINE, Web of Science, Cochrane Library, ProQuest Health and Science Direct were searched for articles on street foods in developing countries that included findings on nutritional value. Results: From a total of 639 articles, 23 studies were retained since they met the inclusion criteria. In summary, daily energy intake from street foods in adults ranged from 13% to 50% of energy, and in children from 13% to 40% of energy. Although the amounts differed from place to place, even at the lowest values of the percentage of energy intake range, energy from street foods made a significant contribution to the diet. Furthermore, the majority of studies suggest that street foods contributed significantly to the daily intake of protein, often at 50% of the RDA. The data on fat and carbohydrate intake are of some concern because of the assumed high contribution of street foods to the total intake of fat, trans-fat, salt and sugar in numerous studies, and their possible role in the development of obesity and non-communicable diseases. Few studies have provided data on the intake of micronutrients, but these tended to be high for Fe [iron] and vitamin A while low for Ca [calcium] and thiamine. Conclusions: Street foods make a significant contribution to energy and protein intakes of people in developing countries, and their use should be encouraged if they are healthy traditional foods.

- Van't Riet, H., Den Hartog, A., Mwangi, A., Mwadime, R., Foeken, D. and Van Staveren, W. (2001) The Role of Street Foods in the Dietary Pattern of Two Low-Income Groups in Nairobi, *European Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 55: 562–570.

Objectives: To examine the frequency of street food consumption of people living in low-income settlements in Nairobi and the role of street foods in their daily diet, and to reveal why people consume street foods rather than home-prepared foods. Setting, subjects and methods: A cross-sectional descriptive study was done with 1 011 households and in-depth interviews with a subsample of 73 households in two selected areas in Nairobi: Korogocho, a low-income slum area and Dandora, a low ±middle-income area. Results: The frequency of street food consumption was higher in Korogocho than in Dandora (3.6 vs 2.0 days per week; $P < 0.001$). Street food consumption did not differ between different types of households, with the exception of household size. Employment status of the household head and street food consumption were related ($P < 0.001$): consumption frequency of 3.7 days per week when irregularly or unemployed, 2.9 days=week when self-employed and 2.1 days=week when regularly employed. Furthermore, where an adult woman with primarily a domestic role was present, street food consumption was less (2.55 days per week when present vs 2.95 when not present; $P < 0.05$). Conclusions: Street foods play an important role in the diet of poor households in Nairobi, in particular for breakfast and snacks, because they are cheap and convenient. The frequency of street food consumption is determined by a combination of at least four factors: level of household income, regularity of income, household size, and time available to prepare meals.

4.2 Informal food retail and food safety

An issue related to the role played by informal food retailers in nutrition, is that of the identification and management of toxicology levels. As indicated by the number of papers referred to below, this is a topic that has been thoroughly researched across many contexts.

There is a cluster of literature that simply tests the toxicology level of street foods. Some studies find unacceptable toxicology levels. In Harare, Zimbabwe, Gadaga, et al. (2008) studied a range of informally vended food, finding that some of the vendors' hands were 'unacceptably contaminated, indicating poor hygienic practices.' Barro, et al.'s (2006) assessment of the hygienic status of dish washing waters, utensils, hands and money from street food processing sites in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) also found high bacterial counts. In Sao Paulo city, Brazil, Hanashiro, et al. (2005) assessed the microbiological quality of selected street foods and concluded that 35% of the samples were 'unsuitable for consumption'. Umoh and Odobab's (1999) analysis of food and beverages sold by food sellers in Zaria, Nigeria, also found high levels of contamination.

Research in South Africa, however, finds the opposite. Von Holy and Makhoane (2006), summarising existing evidence, state that research found 'street food vendors in South Africa were capable of producing relatively safe foods, with low bacterial counts'. However, they added that there is still 'a need for proper hygiene conditions and access to basic sanitary facilities'. Lues, et al. (2006) analysed street food stalls in Bloemfontein to assess the overall microbiological quality of the food being sold, the level of hygiene at which the food stalls operate, and whether the food served by street vendors is 'within acceptable safety limits'.

Mboganie Mwangi, et al. (2000: 145) assessed samples from street vendors in Johannesburg and argue that 'based on the relatively low bacterial counts and comparatively low incidences of foodborne pathogens, the quality and safety of foods analysed in this study was considered to be acceptable'. This was attributed to 'adequate cooking and/or short holding times', which compensated for the observed shortcomings in environmental and personal hygiene, and food preparation practices.

Other studies focus on interviewing food traders and assessing their food safety knowledge and practice. These studies tend to outline deficits. For example, Liu, et al. (2014) interviews with 80 food vendors in Shijiazhuang City, China, concluded that the majority lacked food safety knowledge and sanitation techniques, while Da Silva, et al. (2014) reveal some concerning practises among food vendors in Bahia, Brazil, noting that 80% of the 247 food vendors interviewed handled food and money at the same time. Muyanja, et al. (2011), assessing the practices of 225 food vendors in Kampala, Jinja and Masaka in Uganda, found that vendors were often aware of hygienic practises but did not necessarily put them into practice.

The majority of studies reviewed acknowledge the role that food vending plays in employment generation (especially for women) and in provision of accessible and affordable food and thus make suggestions on how street food safety can be improved. A recurring theme is the importance of training vendors, noted by Liu, et al. (2014) in China, Gadaga, et al. (2008) in Zimbabwe, Omemu and Aderoju (2008) and Umoh and Odobab (1999) in Nigeria, among others. Choudhury, et al.'s (2011) study assessing the impact of training suggests that it can be very effective. The knowledge, attitude and practice of 80 street food vendors was assessed before

and after a carefully designed food safety and hygiene training programme. They found knowledge levels had increased from an average of 24% to 66% after training interventions. The overall performance rating of full adoption of good hygiene practices by the vendors ranged from 38% to 51% in the post-training period. (2011: 1233). This updates and confirms Tinker's (2003) findings in the Philippines.

The provision of appropriate infrastructure for food vendors is emphasised, especially toilets and running water, but also shelter from the sun, and paved surfaces. Omena and Aderoju (2008), in their study of food vendors in Abeokuta, Nigeria, point out that some food safety knowledge could not be translated into practice due to the absence of basic facilities such as water and toilets at vending sites. Waste removal is also identified as important. As will be outlined in greater detail in the section on regulatory trends, municipalities often cite public health concerns in justifying the removal of informal traders, but they do not provide the very infrastructure and services needed to make street foods hygienic.

In terms of interventions, Proietti, et al.'s (2014) review is a useful frame of reference. They consider all steps in production and vending, identifying specific points of concern and suggesting actions to improve consumer safety. Von Holy and Makhoane (2006) assess the efforts of South African universities and health authorities in improving the safety and promoting the sale of street-vended foods. They argue that health authorities can transition from the view that street food is a nuisance to one where hygiene levels can be improved and street food thus promoted.

In tackling street food safety, and reflecting some acknowledgment by international agencies of the important role of street foods, both FAO and WHO have produced guidelines to improve street food safety, including *Essential Safety Requirements for Street-Vended Foods* (WHO, 1996); *Five Keys to Safer Food Manual* (WHO, 2006); Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Point (HACCP) sanitation strategies (FAO, 2009); and *Basic Steps to Improve Safety of Street-Vended Food* (WHO, 2010). Further, FAO has implemented projects to strengthen the quality control capacity of local authorities, interestingly framed in terms of urban agriculture (FAO, 2011).

Some authors emphasise the need for a shift in legal and policy frameworks. Jayasuriya's (1994) review of policy and legal aspects of street food vending in 30 countries in Asia argues:

More effective regulation is possible only through a comprehensive system that considers this industry as a formal and legal activity that needs to be fully integrated into the developmental process. There is also a need to have a broader statutory definition of street food vending and more realistic and relevant legal provisions.

While needing updating, Jayasuriya's argument is likely to be relevant in many contexts.

Key sources:

- Barro, N., Bello, A., Savadogo, A., Ouattara, C., liboudo, A. and Traoré, A. (2006) Hygienic Status Assessment of Dish Washing Waters, Utensils, Hands and Pieces of Money from Street Food Processing Sites in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso), *African Journal of Biotechnology*, 5(11): 1107–1112.

During investigations on street food vendors' materials, 70 samples of three types of dish washing water (E1, E2, E3), 85 pieces of money, and 80 utensils were collected for microbiological

assessment. Hands microbiological status of 125 consumers and 70 sellers were also assessed. The analysis revealed that 100% of E1 washing waters were very impure, while 44.5% of the second washing waters (E2) were impure, 44.5% very impure and 11% acceptable. 45.45% of E3 washing waters were acceptable, 27.27% impure and 27.27% very impure. The spoons and the dinner plates were sometimes contaminated with unacceptable levels (above 10²) of different bacteria such as coliforms and *Staphylococcus aureus* (P 0.05). Knives microbiological examination revealed presence of numerous bacteria (8.6 x 10⁵ cfu/knife) such as coliforms, *S. aureus*, *Salmonella* and *Shigella*. Pieces of money analysis revealed presence of coliforms and *S. aureus*. This data showing pathogen bacteria in food vending sites indicates hygiene monitoring failure.

- Choudhury, M., Mahanta, L.B., Goswami, J.S. and Mazumder, M.D. (2011) Will Capacity Building Training Interventions Given to Street Food Vendors Give Us Safer Food? A Cross-Sectional Study from India, *Food Control*, 22: 1233–1239.

Successful food hygiene training and the consent of safe food-handling practices learnt during training are critical elements in the control of food-borne illnesses throughout the world. It is true for food handlers and vendors belonging to all sectors. But it is all the more urgent for street vendors because they are more exposed to environmental hazards and are predominantly from much weaker socioeconomic backgrounds and yet cater to the general masses. Using a cross-sectional study design, a sample of 80 street food vendors were selected and provided with training to evaluate the existing Knowledge, Attitude and Practice (KAP) regarding food safety and hygiene, and the change of the same after training interventions. Responses regarding KAP on food safety and hygiene before and after training revealed that there was a significant change in their perception of food safety knowledge and practices. The knowledge level of the food vendors increased from an average 24.35% to 66.2% after training interventions. The overall performance rating of full adoption of good hygiene practices by the vendors ranged from 37.5% to 50.8% in the post-training period.

- Da Silva, S., Cardoso, R., Góes, J., Santos, J., Ramos, F., De Jesus, R., Sabá do Vale, R. and Da Silva, P. (2014) Street Food on the Coast of Salvador, Bahia, Brazil: A Study from the Socio-economic and Food Safety Perspectives, *Food Control*, 40: 78–84.

Street food includes various food items and drinks largely sold in public places, including leisure areas such as beaches. Despite the prevalence of this activity, studies made within this scenario are few. Therefore, this study sought to characterise street food commercialisation on the Salvador coast in Bahia, Brazil, based on the socio-economic, labour and food safety perspectives. An exploratory and quantitative study was conducted on 14 beaches using questionnaires addressing the following areas: the sociodemographic characteristics of the food vendors, characteristics of the work, and hygienic and sanitary conditions of the activity. Our study included 247 food vendors with an average age of 40.3 years, of whom 55.9% were women, and 48.7% had completed an elementary education or less. The median time spent working in street food vending was nine years, and the average working day for the participants was 8.3. Furthermore, 46.2% of the participants worked only on weekends and 72.0% declared that their family income was between one and three times the minimum wage, of whom 29.1% had revenue from a source other than street food vending. Most of the vendor locations were fixed (57.5%), and the products sold were typically obtained

from supermarkets (48.1%), suppliers (36.8%) and street markets (36.0%). Prepared food items were the most common (61.6%), although mineral water/soft drinks (35.8%) and beer (35.2%) were also commonly sold items, followed by *acarajé* (21.9%), coconut water (19.0%), fried fish (14.2%), and *abará* (12.5%). Only 38.3% of the perishable food items were kept in cooling containers. Of the interviewed individuals, 22.6% declared that they did not sanitise their hands when working, whereas 80.2% admitted to handling food and money simultaneously. Our study reveals the socio-economic importance of the street food sector as well as the poor hygienic conditions of most street food vendor operations.

- Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) (2009) *Good Hygienic Practices in the Preparation and Sale of Street Food in Africa: Tools for Training*. Rome: FAO.
- Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) (2011) *The Place of Urban and Peri-Urban Agriculture (UPA) in National Food Security Programmes*. Rome: FAO.
- Gadaga, T., Samende, B., Musuna, C. and Chibanda, D. (2008) The Microbiological Quality of Informally Vended Foods in Harare, Zimbabwe, *Food Control*, 19: 829–832.

The aim of the present study was to evaluate the microbial quality of the informally (street) vended foods in Harare. Samples of the staple food *sadza* (thickened maize porridge), stews (beef, chicken, goat), fried vegetables, salads, tap water and wash water were tested for the presence of selected pathogenic micro-organisms. The food samples were tested for the presence of *Bacillus cereus* and *Salmonella* sp., while the water samples were tested for *Escherichia coli*. Hand and surface swabs were also taken and tested for the presence of *Staphylococcus aureus* and *E. coli*. The fried vegetables had the highest incidence of samples that tested positive for *B. cereus* (31%; $n=222$) followed by salads (21%; $n=70$). The salad (14%) and vegetable (7%) samples had the highest incidence of contamination with *Salmonella* sp., while *sadza* and the stews had fewer contaminated samples. The salads and fried vegetables therefore posed the greatest risk of food poisoning among the foods sold by the vendors. About 32% of hand swabs ($n=251$) were positive for *S. aureus*, with only 6.4% positive for *E. coli*. Some swabs from spoons, knives, cutting boards and plates were also positive for *E. coli* and *S. aureus*, but with lower incidences compared to hand swabs. These results suggest that some of the vendors' hands were unacceptably contaminated, indicating poor hygienic practices. Only three wash water samples ($n=240$) tested positive for *E. coli*, while none from the municipal water points ($n=45$) were positive. A comparison of surface and hand swabs between vending sites showed that the highly crowded markets had difficulties in meeting good hygienic standards. The training of vendors in food hygiene and provision of appropriate infrastructure were identified as key issues to the improvement of the safety of informally vended foods in Harare.

- Hanashiro, A., Morita, M., Matt, G. and Torres, E. (2005) Microbiological Quality of Selected Street Foods from a Restricted Area of São Paulo City, Brazil, *Food Control*, 16: 439–444.

The aim of this study was to assess the microbiological quality of popular street foods available in a restricted area in São Paulo, Brazil. Forty samples were submitted to the research of faecal coliforms, *Staphylococcus aureus* and *Bacillus cereus*, and were classified according to preparation site and group of food. Informal observations of the vendors were also carried out. 35% of the samples were considered unsuitable for consumption

according to the microbiological criteria. *B. cereus* posed the greater percentage risk among the pathogens. Given the socio-economic importance of street foods, this trend demands actions by the authorities and consumers to improve its safety and to prevent harm to public health.

- Jayasuriya, D. (1994) Street Food Vending in Asia: Some Policy and Legal Aspects, *Food Control*, 5(4): 222–226.

Street food vending is ubiquitous in much of Asia. It is an activity that provides employment to many, while providing nutritious, inexpensive and tasty food to millions of working men, women and children and students. Microbiological and chemical contamination, unhygienic practices and lack of basic amenities, including potable water, are some of the many problems associated with street food vending. Different countries have sought to regulate this industry in different ways; in Asia, out of some 30 countries, more than one-half have a system for the registration of food vendors and 24 have an inspectorate for supervision. More effective regulation is possible only through a comprehensive system that considers this industry as a formal and legal activity that needs to be fully integrated into the developmental process. There is also a need to have a broader statutory definition of street food vending, and more realistic and relevant legal provisions.

- Liu, Z., Zhang, G. and Zhang, X. (2014) Urban Street Foods in Shijiazhuang City, China: Current Status, Safety Practices and Risk Mitigating Strategies, *Food Control*, 41: 212–218.

Street foods often reflect traditional local cultures and offer a unique cultural experience to tourists and even to ordinary consumers. With the increasing pace of globalisation and tourism, the safety of street foods has become one of the major concerns of public health. There is an urgent need in China to establish a national programme to raise food safety awareness and the knowledge of street food vendors. The safety and hygiene status of street foods in Shijiazhuang city was investigated. Data on the street food vendors' food safety knowledge and practices, inspectors' regulatory capacity and consumers' purchasing habits were collected. Potential hazards in the preparation and sale of street foods were analysed and strategies for ensuring the safety of street foods were recommended. The study showed that the street food safety risks are primarily due to the use of unqualified raw materials encouraged by ineffective inspections, poor infrastructure at the street food vending sites and lack of sanitation knowledge among street food vendors. In order to prevent street foods from being contaminated, more stringent and effective routine supervision and food safety practices should be adopted, and environmental conditions and facilities should be improved. Regular training in food processing technology, food safety knowledge and practical food safety evaluation methods should also be strengthened among street food vendors and food safety inspectors.

- Lues, J., Rasephei, M., Venter P. and Theron, M (2006) Assessing Food Safety and Associated Food Handling Practices in Street Food Vending, *International Journal of Environmental Health Research*, 16(5): 319–328.

Street vendors in the city of Bloemfontein were investigated in order to assess the microbiological quality of the food being sold, as well as the level of hygiene conditions under which these food stalls operate. The food samples which were collected included beef, chicken and gravy, while surface samples were taken from the food preparation tables and the hands of the vendors. A structured questionnaire and checklist were used

in interviews to determine the status of the vending sites and associated food-handling practices. The overall microbiological quality of the foods served by the street vendors was found to be within acceptable safety limits, although the presence of specific micro-organisms such as *Escherichia coli*, *Staphylococcus aureus*, *Salmonella* and yeasts is indicative of a degree of ignorance on the part of the food handlers towards proper hygienic practices.

- Mboganie Mwangi, A., Den Hartog, A., Mwadime, R., Van Staveren, W., Foeken D., Mosupy, F. and Von Holy A. (2000) Microbiological Hazard Identification and Exposure Assessment of Street Food Vending in Johannesburg, South Africa, *International Journal of Food Microbiology*, 61: 137–145.

132 samples of beef, chicken, salad and gravy were collected from two street vendors over 11 replicate surveys to assess microbiological safety and quality. For each food type, samples were collected during preparation and holding. Dish water was also collected and food preparation surfaces swabbed during preparation and display. Standard methods were used to determine aerobic plate counts, Enterobacteriaceae counts, coliform counts and spore counts. 675 predominant colonies were isolated from aerobic plate counts of all samples and characterised.

- Muyanja, C., Nayiga, L., Brenda, N. and Nasinyama, G. (2011) Practices, Knowledge and Risk Factors of Street Food Vendors in Uganda, *Food Control*, 22: 1551–1558.

Street food vendors in Kampala, Jinja and Masaka districts in Uganda were surveyed to assess risk factors, practices and knowledge of street food vendors with respect to food safety and hygiene. A total of 225 street food vendors were investigated from August 2008 and May 2009. A structured questionnaire and checklist were used in the interviews and focus group discussions. Most street vendors were women (87.6%) with low levels of education. Vendors had access to tap water within a five-minute walk. Non-disposable plates/cups were commonly used for vending food. Use of soap and cold water for washing utensils was common practice. Wash water was recycled several times and only changed when very cloudy and soapy. Street vendors had some knowledge about diarrhoea and its associated risk factors. Toilet facilities were dominated by pour/flush toilets and pit latrines. 64.3% of vendors in Masaka and 38.9% of vendors in Jinja disposed of garbage at the vending sites, whereas 92.8% of vendors in Kampala used gunny bags. Cooked food was handled at ground level and exposed to flies. Masaka vendors (68.6%) had no hygiene regulations governing the street food vending business, whereas Kampala (75.9%) and Jinja (65.3%) indicated hygiene regulations were enforced through onsite management by local government. Vendors operated in a variety of vending structures and hygiene of premises was poor. Vendors suggested structural improvements to the vending sites and provision of more sanitary facilities. Street food vendors are aware of hygienic practices, but do not put them into practice. Focus group discussions indicated a need to re-emphasise personal hygiene and education. There is a need to reduce food contamination through education and provision of sanitary facilities at vending sites.

- Omemu, A. and Aderoju, S. (2008) Food Safety Knowledge and Practices of Street Food Vendors in the City of Abeokuta, Nigeria, *Food Control*, 19: 396–402.

A survey was carried out to determine food safety knowledge of street food vendors in Abeokuta. Data on demographics, food safety knowledge and practices was collected from 87 food vendors using a 67-question standardised survey tool. Few

vendors (12%) acquired the knowledge of food preparation by formal training. Only 31% of the respondents had the annual medical health certificate to indicate that they had carried out the recommended physical and medical examination. Volume and price are considered more than freshness and cleanliness when purchasing raw materials. Some of the food safety knowledge of the vendors could not be translated into practice due to the absence of basic facilities such as water and toilets at their vending sites. Training on hygiene and sanitation, provision of basic infrastructure and the establishment of a code of practice for the street food industry is recommended.

- Proietti, I., Frazzoli, C. and Mantovani, A. (2014) Identification and Management of Toxicological Hazards of Street Foods in Developing Countries, *Food and Chemical Toxicology*, 63: 143–152.

Street food vending represents an important food security strategy for low-income communities worldwide. However, no comprehensive risk analysis framework yet exists as regards specific aspects of chemical/toxicological hazards in street foods. Indeed, all steps of street food production and vending can be vulnerable, from the selection of raw materials, through to the storage and preparation of meals, and even the vending site, often exposed to urban pollutants. Relevant examples are cheap ingredients with illegal or undesirable residues, substances arising in poorly stored commodities (e.g. mycotoxins, histamine in scombroid fish), metals leaching from cookware, and process contaminants such as PAHs and acrylamide. As a consequence, greater awareness and preventive measures need to be implemented for coping with chemical/toxicological risk factors in a systematic and effective way. This review proposes specific points of attention for street food preparation and vending, with related hazard-tailored actions. The proposed measures in street food vending could integrate the prevention of biological risk factors in order to promote comprehensive and up-to-date consumer safety.

- Rheinländer, T., Olsen, M., Bakang, J., Takyi, H., Konradsen, F. and Samuelsen, H. (2008). Keeping Up Appearances: Perceptions of Street Food Safety in Urban Kumasi, Ghana, *Journal of Urban Health*, 85(6): 952–964.

The growing street food sector in low-income countries offers easy access to inexpensive food as well as new job opportunities for urban residents. While this development is positive in many ways, it also presents new public health challenges for the urban population. Safe food hygiene is difficult to practice at street level, and outbreaks of diarrhoeal diseases have been linked to street food. This study investigates local perceptions of food safety among street food vendors and their consumers in Kumasi, Ghana, in order to identify the most important aspects to be included in future public health interventions concerning street food safety. This qualitative study includes data from a triangulation of various qualitative methods. Observations at several markets and street food vending sites in Kumasi were performed. Fourteen street food vendors were chosen for in-depth studies, and extensive participant observations and several interviews were carried out with case vendors. In addition, street interviews and focus group discussions were carried out with street food customers. The study found that, although vendors and consumers demonstrated basic knowledge of food safety, the criteria did not emphasise basic hygiene practices such as hand washing, cleaning of utensils, washing of raw vegetables, and quality of ingredients. Instead, four main food selection criteria could be identified and were related to: (1) aesthetic appearance of food and food stand, (2) appearance of the food vendor, (3)

interpersonal trust in the vendor, and (4) consumers often chose to prioritise price and accessibility of food – not putting much stress on food safety. Hence, consumers relied on risk-avoidance strategies by assessing neatness, appearance and trustworthiness of vendors. Vendors were also found to emphasise appearance while vending and to ignore core food safety practices while preparing food. These findings are discussed in this paper using social and anthropological theoretical concepts such as ‘purity’, ‘contamination’, ‘hygiene puzzles’ and ‘impression behaviours’ from Douglas, Van Der Geest and Goffman. The findings indicate that educating vendors in safe food handling is evidently insufficient. Future public health interventions within the street food sector should give emphasis to the importance of appearance and neatness when designing communication strategies. Neglected aspects of food safety, such as good hand hygiene and cleanliness of kitchen facilities, should be emphasised. Local vendor networks can be an effective point of entry for future food hygiene promotion initiatives.

- Tinker, I. (2003) Street Foods: Traditional Microenterprise in a Modernizing World, *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 16(3): 331–349.

Action-research projects focused on poor women both collect information and design interventions to improve their livelihood. This approach is illustrated by studying street food vendors in Iloilo, Philippines. Findings document the importance of street foods as a source of income and of food. Interventions to improve both safe food handling and income were proposed and tested in Iloilo and Manila; a revisit after a decade shows their long-term impact on the vendors. Overall, this and six other studies comprising the Street Food Project influenced policy changes by municipal, national and international agencies and organisations. The conclusions challenge theoretical assumptions held by economists concerning the informal sector and by feminists regarding the family.

- Umoh, V. and Odobab, M. (1999) Safety and Quality Evaluation of Street Foods Sold in Zaria, Nigeria, *Food Control*, 10: 9–14.

Ready-to-eat foods and beverages were purchased from street food sellers in Zaria, Nigeria, for microbiological analysis. Total aerobic organisms were cultured on plate count agar, *Staphylococcus aureus* was isolated on Baird Parker agar, *Bacillus cereus* on mannitol-egg yolk-polymyxin agar, and *Salmonella* on Salmonella-Shigella agar after enrichment in tetrathionate broth. The mean aerobic counts for the food from mobile food sellers (MS), stationary food sellers without shelter (SWS) and stationary food sellers with shelter (SS) were not significantly different from one another except for ‘kunu’ and ‘moin-moin’ with counts ranging from 3.67 f 0.4 log₁₀ dg to 4.29 f 1.14 log₁₀ dg for ‘kunu’ and 2.84 k 0.55 log₁₀ dg to 4.7 + 0.84 log₁₀ dg for ‘moin-moin’. However, all the counts were lower than the permissible level of count (5.0 log₁₀ dg) for cooked foods. Out of 160 food samples tested, 42 (26.3%) were contaminated with *B. cereus*, 24 (15.9%) with *S. aureus*. Six (18.3%) of the 32 coagulase positive *S. aureus* isolates tested produced enterotoxin A (SEA). More than 50% of the coagulase positive *S. aureus* were resistant to the common antimicrobial drugs used in the treatment of staphylococcal and wound infections. None of the samples from MS were contaminated with *S. aureus* and no *Salmonella* was isolated from all the samples. Samples from SWS had the highest frequency of contamination with *B. cereus* and *S. aureus*. Education of the street food handlers and the public on environmental sanitation and safe food-handling practices is recommended.

- Von Holy, A. and Makhoane F.M. (2006) Improving Street Food Vending in South Africa: Achievements and Lessons Learned, *International Journal of Food Microbiology*, 111: 89–92.

Until the late 1990s there was limited scientific data on the microbiological quality and safety of street-vended foods in South Africa, while information was already available in other developing countries, including those within the African region. At that time, street-vended foods were perceived as unsafe and street food vending in South Africa was regarded as a practice that should be outlawed. The first comprehensively documented scientific research into the safety of street-vended foods in South Africa was carried out through university-based research. This research found that street food vendors in South Africa were capable of producing relatively safe foods, with low bacterial counts, although there was still a need for proper hygiene conditions and access to basic sanitary facilities. The Department of Health of South Africa, when coordinating an FAO Technical Cooperation Programme (TCP) project on Improving Street Foods in South Africa, drew similar conclusions. This article provides information of the efforts by universities and health authorities in South Africa towards improving the safety and promoting the sale of street-vended foods. It is shown that a successful transition from street food vending being perceived as a nuisance by health authorities can be made to these authorities promoting and improving street food vending instead.

- World Health Organisation (WHO) (1996) *Essential Safety Requirements for Street Vended Foods*.
- World Health Organisation (WHO) (2007) *Five Keys to Safer Food Manual*.
- World Health Organisation (WHO) (2010) *Basic Steps to Improve Safety of Street-Vended Food*.

5. Formal–Informal Food Retail Dynamics

Formal and informal economies are intricately intertwined. This section starts by reviewing the evidence of the penetration of supermarkets in the Global South, with a focus on African trends. It then briefly reflects on the evidence of these trends in terms of the impact on food security and informal retailers.

5.1 Supermarket expansion in the Global South

There is a substantial literature tracing the expansion of supermarkets in the developing world. Reardon, et al’s (2004) review of global trends notes the following about Africa:

The most recent venue for supermarket take-off is in Africa, especially in eastern and southern Africa. South Africa is the front-runner, with roughly a 55 percent share of supermarkets in overall food retail and 1700 supermarkets for 35 million persons. ... Moreover, South African chains have recently invested in 13 other African countries as well as India, Australia and the Philippines. Kenya is the other front-runner, with 300 supermarkets and a 20 percent share of supermarkets in urban food retail. Other African countries are starting to experience the same trends: for example, Zimbabwe and Zambia have 50 and 100 supermarkets. (2004: 117)

The immediate preoccupation in the literature was the implications of these developments for domestic and particularly small-scale

suppliers, and how they can be better positioned as a source of supply. Weatherspoon and Reardon (2003) consider this for African producers in general, while Haese and Van Huylenbroeck (2005) look at the Transkei area, a former homeland in South Africa, and Neven, et al. (2006) Kenya. Only in more recent literature has attention been paid to the implications for informal retailers.

There is some contestation about the pace of transformation. Traill (2006) models the level of supermarket penetration (share of the retail food market) on a cross-section of 42 countries and projects 'significant but not explosive further penetration' (2006: 163). Humphrey (2007) points out that the extent of the transformation of retailing, and of food production as a consequence, is somewhat product-specific. He argues that with, for example, fresh produce, transformation has been overestimated. He concludes that 'the future landscape of food retailing will be more varied than the supermarket revolution hypothesis predicts'. Minten (2008), through the case study of the role of global retail chains in Madagascar, argues that supermarkets are servicing a small middle class, and concludes on this basis that it is 'unlikely that global retail chains will further increase their food retail share in such poor settings'. Crush and Frayne (2011) contradict Minten's claims. Their data on the role of South African retailers on the rest of the continent shows that these regional actors are key players and there is rapid penetration. For example, in 2003, Shoprite Checkers had over 600 stores outside of South Africa and annual sales of R25 billion. By 2010 they had nearly doubled the number of stores to 1 150 and tripled sales to R67 billion (2011: 784-5). Skinner and Haysom (2016: 9) updated these figures:

In 2002 Shoprite had 77 retail stores in 13 African countries (excluding South Africa), but by 2012 it had expanded to 168 stores in 18 countries; by August 2013 it had expanded at the rate of one new store every two weeks to reach 193 outlets. Due to supermarket expansion, by 2013 there were 3 741 stores in sub-Saharan Africa.

Key sources:

- Crush, J. and Frayne, B. (2011) Supermarket Expansion and the Informal Food Economy in Southern African Cities: Implications for Urban Food Security, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37(4): 781–807.

The new international food security agenda proposes small farmer production as the solution to growing food insecurity in Africa. A striking omission in this agenda is any consideration of the dimensions and determinants of urban food security. In southern African towns and cities, lack of access to food is key to the food insecurity of poor urban households. This article reviews the current state of knowledge about the food sources of such households, paying particular attention to the expansion of supermarket supply chains, their impact on informal food suppliers, and the relative insignificance of urban agriculture. The article also presents and analyses the significance of findings from a recent 11-city survey of food insecurity in southern Africa conducted by the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN).

- Haese, D. and Van Huylenbroeck, G. (2005) The Rise of Supermarkets and Changing Expenditure Patterns of Poor Rural Households Case Study in the Transkei Area, South Africa, *Food Policy*, 30: 97–113.

Since the late 1990s, the number of supermarkets in South Africa has been steadily growing. Due to a more effective and efficient management and procurement system, the supermarkets can

benefit from economies of scale and sell food at a relative low price. In this paper, we present a case study of two villages in the Transkei area of South Africa. In these poor rural communities, the majority of households now buy their main food items from supermarkets rather than from local shops and farmers. While presenting an important step towards livelihood development and food security, these supermarkets also form a strong competitor for local agricultural sales. The supermarkets provide many food items at lower prices. With an increase in income, the households look for variety and exoticism in their food products, and will most likely find this in the supermarkets, rather than the local stores. We argue therefore that development programmes should focus on the local grower's access to the supermarket procurement systems.

- Humphrey, J. (2007) The Supermarket Revolution in Developing Countries: Tidal Wave or Tough Competitive Struggle? *Journal of Economic Geography*, 7: 433–450.

An extensive literature on the transformation of food retailing in developing countries by the expansion of supermarkets has highlighted the implications of the concentration of food value chains for the continued incorporation of small farmers in fresh produce supply. A critical examination of this literature shows that extent of the transformation of retailing, and of food production as a consequence of it, is overestimated, particularly for fresh produce. The future landscape of food retailing will be more varied than the supermarket revolution hypothesis predicts.

- Minten, B. (2008) The Food Retail Revolution in Poor Countries: Is It Coming or Is It Over? *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 56(4): 767–789.

Global retail chains are becoming increasingly dominant in the global food trade, and their rise leads to dramatic impacts on agricultural supply chains and on small producers. However, the prospects and impacts of a food retail revolution in poor countries are not yet well understood. Here, the author examines this question in Madagascar, a poor but stable country in which global retailers have been present for over a decade. The survey and analysis find that, while global retail chains sell better-quality food, their prices are 40%–90% higher, *ceteris paribus*, than those seen in traditional retail markets. In poor settings characterised by high food price elasticities, a lack of willingness to pay for quality, and small retail margins, supermarkets appear to set prices with an eye toward maximising profits on the basis of price-inelastic demands for quality products from a small middle class interested in one-stop shopping. It seems unlikely that global retail chains will further increase their food retail share in such poor settings.

- Neven, D., Reardon, T., Chege, J. and Wang, H. (2006) Supermarkets and Consumers in Africa, *Journal of International Food and Agribusiness Marketing*, 18(1–2): 103–123.

Supermarkets in urban Kenya have risen from a tiny niche a half decade ago to a fifth of food retail, spreading well beyond the richer consumers to derive more than a third of their sales and half of their customers from low-income and poor consumers. This paper explores the patterns and determinants of purchases of the overall food category versus fresh fruits and vegetables, over Nairobi consumer income strata, for purchases from supermarkets versus traditional retailers. Implications are drawn for development programmes to help farmers be strategically positioned for change facing them in the food markets.

- Reardon, T., Timmer P. and Berdegue, J. (2004) The Rapid Rise of Supermarkets in Developing Countries: Induced Organizational, Institutional, and Technological Change in Agrifood Systems, *Journal of Agricultural and Development Economics*, 1: 68–83.

There has been extremely rapid transformation of the food retail sector in developing regions in the past 5–10 years, accompanied by a further consolidation and multi-nationalisation of the supermarket sector itself. This organisational change, accompanied by intense competition, has driven changes in the organisation of procurement systems of supermarket chains, toward centralised and regionalised systems, use of specialised/dedicated wholesalers and preferred supplier systems, and demanding, private quality standards. These changes in the system have, in turn, determined the very recent rise of the use of contracts between supermarkets and agrifood producers in these regions to cover provision of services and provision for risk management, as well as requirements for demanding quality and safety attributes, which require substantial investment in technological change and ‘upgrading’ at the producer level. This paper presents a brief discussion of these trends, followed by a conceptual framework to explain this phenomenon, illustrated with empirical evidence drawn mainly from Latin America.

- Traill, W.B. (2006) The Rapid Rise of Supermarkets? *Development Policy Review*, 24(2): 163–174.

A series of articles, many of them published in this journal, have charted the rapid spread of supermarkets in developing and middle-income countries, and forecast its continuation. In this article, the level of supermarket penetration (share of the retail food market) is modelled quantitatively on a cross-section of 42 countries for which data could be obtained, representing all stages of development. GDP per capita, income distribution, urbanisation, female labour force participation and openness to inward foreign investment are all significant explanators. Projections to 2015 suggest significant but not explosive further penetration, with increased openness and GDP growth the most significant factors.

- Weatherspoon, D. and Reardon, T. (2003) The Rise of Supermarkets in Africa: Implications for Agrifood Systems and the Rural Poor. *Development Policy Review*, 21(3): 333–355.

The rise of supermarkets in Africa since the mid-1990s is transforming the food retail sector. Supermarkets have spread fast in southern and eastern Africa, already proliferating beyond middle-class big-city markets into smaller towns and poorer areas. Supplying supermarkets presents both potentially large opportunities and big challenges for producers. Supermarkets’ procurement systems involve purchase consolidation, a shift to specialised wholesalers, and tough quality and safety standards. To meet these requirements, producers have to make investments and adopt new practices. This is hardest for small producers, who risk exclusion from dynamic urban markets increasingly dominated by supermarkets. There is thus an urgent need for development programmes and policies to assist them in adopting the new practices that these procurement systems demand.

5.2 Supermarket expansion and the implications for food security

Those who support the expansion of supermarkets argue that their greater purchasing power and economies of scale will benefit the urban poor because of lower prices. The evidence on this, however, is somewhat mixed. Minten’s (2008) work in Madagascar, for example, found that ‘while global retail chains sell better-quality food, their prices are 40%–90% higher, *ceteris paribus*, than those seen in traditional retail markets.’ While Battersby and Peyton’s (2011) Cape Town case found that supermarkets in low-income areas ‘typically stock less healthy foods than those in wealthier areas and, as a result, the supermarkets do not increase access to healthy foods and may, in fact, accelerate the nutrition transition.’

Riley and Legwegoh’s (2014) comparison of food geographies in Blantyre, Malawi, and Gaborone, Botswana, sheds more light on this debate. They note that the AFSUN surveys found a much higher rate of food security in Blantyre (48%) relative to Gaborone (18%), pointing out that this is surprising considering Blantyre’s lower ‘development’ status in terms of urban infrastructure, economic opportunities and urban planning. They argue the major difference between the two cities is that:

The majority of households in the Blantyre survey produced some of their own food and usually purchased food from informal markets while in most of the food in Gaborone is produced outside of the country and accessed through international supermarket chains.

Key sources:

- Battersby, J. and Peyton, S. (2014) The Geography of Supermarkets in Cape Town: Supermarket Expansion and Food Access, *Urban Forum*, 25: 153–164.

Although the rapid expansion in the number of supermarkets in South and southern Africa in recent years is well-documented, the potential impact of this process is not well understood. The existing literature does not engage adequately with the spatial distribution of supermarkets within cities, and is therefore unable to address the impact of these stores on household food security. The paper presents a mapping of the location of supermarkets in Cape Town with reference to income characteristics of neighbourhoods and transport routes. The distribution of supermarkets is shown to be highly unequal and the distance of low-income from high-income areas hinders access to supermarkets for the urban poor. The paper further argues that the supermarkets in low-income areas typically stock less healthy foods than those in wealthier areas and, as a result, the supermarkets do not increase access to healthy foods and may, in fact, accelerate the nutrition transition.

- Riley, L. and Legwegoh, A. (2014) Comparative Urban Food Geographies in Blantyre and Gaborone, *African Geographical Review*, 33(1): 52–66.

The geographical diversity of African cities creates context-specific strengths and weaknesses in household food security that come to light in the comparative case study presented in this paper. A recent survey of low-income households in 11 southern African cities found a much higher rate of food security in Blantyre (48%) relative to Gaborone (18%), which was a surprising finding considering Blantyre’s lower ‘development’ status in terms of urban infrastructure, economic opportunities and urban planning. A comparison of the relative scales at which the food production and distribution networks operate to feed each of the cities offers some insight into why Gaborone’s

‘development’ is paradoxically linked to the higher level in food insecurity among its low-income households. The majority of households in the Blantyre survey produced some of their own food and usually purchased food from informal markets; by contrast, most of the food in Gaborone is produced outside of the country and accessed through international supermarket chains. The comparison of these cities, typical of the urban extremes in southern Africa, throws into bold relief the importance of scale for theorising urban food security in the Global South.

5.3 Supermarket expansion and the implications for informal food retailers

Kennedy, et al. (2004) argue, that ‘competition for a market share of food purchases tends to intensify with entry into the system of powerful new players, such as large multinational fast food and supermarket chains. The losers tend to be the small local agents and traditional food markets and, to some extent, merchants selling “street foods” and other items.’ Country and city level evidence suggests that the extent to which this happens is context-specific. Ligthelm’s (2008) study of the impact of shopping mall development on small township retailers in South Africa finds that the ‘net balance sheet on the impact of shopping mall development on small township retailers clearly suggests a decline in the township retailers’ market share.’ Lane, et al.’s (2011) Botswana case study shows that, despite the penetration of South African retailers, informal food retailing persists. This case study does, however, reflect one point in time and begs the question: Whereas informal retailers are still prevalent, how much more so were they before supermarket penetration? While Abraham’s (2010) analysis of the implications of expanded supermarket presence in Zambia shows informal food markets ‘present a considerable challenge to the claims that supermarkets transform food economies’, arguing they are ‘progressively more resilient and competitive, despite the growth of supermarkets’. Peyton, et al. (2015) trace the penetration of supermarkets in Cape Town, South Africa, and show that while supermarkets have been successful in penetrating some low-income communities, ‘they are often incompatible with the consumption strategies of the poorest households, revealing the significance of the informal economy in Cape Town’. Oteng-Ababio and Arthur (2015) using the case of shopping malls in Ghana from a very different perspective, argue that the continuity of the informal sector is, in fact, ‘important to the success of the malls.’

Key sources:

- Abrahams, C. (2010) Transforming the Region: Supermarkets and the Local Food Economy, *African Affairs*, 109/434: 115–134.

Supermarkets are often seen as marking the transition of food economies from traditional, informal, low-quality markets to more sophisticated, quality-based modes of food retailing. Focusing on Lusaka, Zambia’s capital, this article critically assesses the claim that supermarkets ‘revolutionise’ food economies in Africa. While supermarkets have been successful in expanding their investment reach in Zambia, the article shows that they are not the only players in the food economy, neither are they the most dominant. The article argues for a more critical engagement with supermarkets and their role in urban Africa by drawing attention to contextual changes in the local food economy and factors in the regional political economy that drive/resist the process. It argues that the ‘supermarket revolution myopia’ sidelines evidence of other potentially transformative processes by which the transition of food economies is made possible, and shows that ‘informal’ food markets, made up of complex networks of interaction, present a

considerable challenge to the claims that supermarkets transform food economies in urban Africa. Transitions in the regulation, governance, and physical infrastructure of these markets suggest that they are progressively more resilient and competitive, despite the growth of supermarkets.

- Kennedy, G., Nantel, G. and Shetty, P. (2004) Globalization of Food Systems in Developing Countries: A Synthesis of Country Case Studies, Food and Nutrition Paper No. 83, Rome: FAO.

- Lane, K., Hovorka, A. and Legwegoh, A. (2012) Urban Food Dynamics in Botswana: Insights from Gaborone’s Central Business District, *African Geographical Review*, 31(2): 111–125.

Urbanisation is changing the circumstances, livelihoods and lifestyles of people in southern Africa. In this context, little is known about food available to cities, food sources accessible to urban dwellers, or factors influencing food consumption. Applying a food systems conceptual frame, the article provides empirical findings from Gaborone, Botswana, characterising urban food supply, documenting food sources, and examining consumer food choice. Engaging a qualitative, exploratory approach, the research reveals adequate supply and multifaceted sources from which to acquire food in Gaborone’s Central Business District (CBD), and consumer choices grounded in economic factors together with issues of social status and aesthetics. A number of fundamental issues and questions arise from this preliminary research relating to food policies and research agendas in the region. In particular, greater attention to urbanisation trends, foreign import strategies and food consumption practices is warranted.

- Ligthelm, A. (2008). The Impact of Shopping Mall Development on Small Township Retailers. *South African Journal of Economic and Management Sciences*, 11(1): 37–53.

The retail sector forms a critical element of a community’s economic and social welfare. It provides people with choices and services. These choices were, until recently, very limited in township areas. The pre-1994 retail landscape was dominated by small, often informal businesses offering basic household necessities to relatively low-income earners. This has resulted in township residents’ preference to shop outside townships, known as ‘outshopping.’ Rapid income growth of township residents since 1994 resulted in a substantial increase in consumer expenditure in these areas, known as ‘in-bound shopping.’ This lucrative emerging market forms the last retail frontier in South Africa and is being explored by national retailers, especially supermarket chains. This article is aimed at establishing the impact of shopping mall development in townships on the traditional small township retailers including spaza/tuck shops. The net balance sheet on the impact of shopping mall development on small township retailers clearly suggests a decline in the township retailers’ market share. A change in small business model towards, *inter alia*, effective customer service with a small dedicated assortment of merchandise, satisfaction of emergency needs, selling in small units and extension of credit facilities may result in the survival of some small township retailers (albeit often at a smaller turnover).

- Oteng-Ababio, M. and Arthur, I. (2015) (Dis)Continuities in Scale, Scope and Complexities of the Space Economy: The Shopping Mall Experience in Ghana, *Urban Forum*, 26(2): 151–169.

Contrary to common assumptions, the (re)emergence of organised

shopping malls in Ghana is not a new development. Accounts of their existence date back to the pre-colonial era, when their character, status and operations were as popular as the malls of today. What is missing in current narratives is an analysis of how these malls – consisting of elegant apartment designs integrated with appreciable green spaces and centrally located food courts to entice visitors to lengthen their stay – impact the urban economy and the traditional retail structure. Using participant observation, semi-structured interviews and a survey, we examine the role of malls in the local economy and their possible ramifications on the retail structure. The paper interrogates whether the emerging malls can crowd out their seemingly ‘fortified’ informal predecessors. The results demonstrate two key findings. First, that positive outcome is intrinsically tied to the manner in which malls are conceptualised, especially with increasing trade liberalisation and its reinvigorating impact on the informal retail structure. Our findings frame the continuity of the informal sector as important to the success of the malls. Second, that malls must respond positively to the rising demands and tastes of postmodern consumers and the middle class by investing in attractive, iconic architecture – or they risk being pushed out of business by the ever-growing activities of the informal retail sector. Our results are congruent with current literature that questions some of the conceptual and policy framings of informality, and we opine that such framing makes evident the sector’s significant contribution to urban poverty alleviation.

- Peyton, S., Moseley, W. and Battersby, J. (2015) Implications of Supermarket Expansion on Urban Food Security in Cape Town, South Africa, *African Geographical Review*, 34(1): 36–54.

The rapid rise in supermarkets in developing countries over the last several decades resulted in radical transformations of food retail systems. In Cape Town, supermarket expansion has coincided with rapid urbanisation and food insecurity. In this context, retail modernisation has become a powerful market-driven process impacting food access for the poor. The introduction of formal food retail formats is viewed simultaneously as a driver of food accessibility and as a detriment to informal food economies established in lower-income neighbourhoods. Through a mixed-methods approach, this article assesses the spatial distribution of supermarkets within Cape Town and whether this geography of food retail combats or perpetuates food insecurity, particularly in lower-income neighbourhoods. Spatial analysis using geographic information systems at a city-wide scale is combined with a qualitative case study utilising semi-structured interviews and observational analysis in the Philippi Township in order to illuminate the limitations of supermarket expansion as a market-oriented alleviation strategy for food insecurity. While supermarkets have been successful in penetrating some low-income communities, they are often incompatible with the consumption strategies of the poorest households, revealing the significance of the informal economy in Cape Town and the limitations of a food desert approach toward understanding urban food security.

6. Informal (Food) Retailers – Policy and Regulatory Practices

There is a rich evidence base on street trading policy and regulatory trends both globally and in Africa. These suggest that exclusionary practices are the norm. Analysis, for example, of the research policy network Women in Informal Employment: Globalising and Organising news database¹ shows that, over a three-year period, there were over 50 cases of significant eviction of street traders reported in cities across the Global South. Notable cases in Africa include Cairo, Harare, Johannesburg, Lagos and Luanda, with high levels of violence noted in Cairo, Harare and Luanda. What is clear from the news reports is that there is often a hostile legislative environment. New laws banning street trading were reported in Angola, Jordan, Mali, Malawi, Nigeria and Zambia. A recent development is not only placing a ban on street vending, but also declaring purchasing from street vendors to be a criminal offence. Instances of this have been reported in Malawi, Nigeria and Zambia. A major preoccupation in the literature is understanding the underlying factors behind these trends. While these policy practises clearly impact food vendors, this literature tends not to single out this group for analysis. The impact of these practices on food security remains a critical area for further research.

Street trading research suggests that exclusionary practices can be placed on a continuum. At one extreme are large-scale violent evictions, where street vendors are simply removed from public spaces. In less severe cases, some or all vendors are relocated, but often to more marginal locations with low pedestrian footfall and/or inadequate facilities. Finally, there is lower level, ongoing harassment of vendors by predatory state officials, often facilitated by legislation. Evidence from Africa on these different types of exclusionary practices and the rationale behind them is reviewed.

Zimbabwe’s approach to the informal economy has drawn a lot of attention. Operation Murambatsvina² in May 2005 saw the largest scale and possibly the most violent removal of informal housing and street vendors on the continent in recent history. The UN Habitat mission estimated that some 700 000 people in cities across the country lost either their homes, their source of livelihood or both (Tibaijuka, 2005: 7). Sites where informal-sector workers gathered to market their wares, as well as formal markets, some of which had been in operation for decades, were targeted. Potts (2007: 265) estimates that, in Harare alone, 75 000 vendors were unable to work from late May 2005. In explaining these events, many analysts have pointed to the fact that, since 2000, the urban electorate had voted overwhelming for the opposition: the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Tibaijuka (2005) estimates that one in every five Zimbabweans was affected by Operation Murambatsvina. Political affiliations, although critical, can only be part of the rationale behind these actions. Potts (2007) details how colonial-type approaches to urban planning in Zimbabwe have extended into the post-colonial period, while Kamete (2007: 153) argues that the planning system was in ‘the forefront’ of the operation, and that planners and the planning system served as ‘the handmaidens of state repression’ during the operation (Kamete, 2009: 897).

¹ WIEGO has systematically gathered news coverage on street vending worldwide in four languages since October 2012. The news database can be analysed by country at <http://wiego.org/news-informal-workers-wiegos-global-monitoring-system>.

² The Government translated the meaning of ‘murambatsvina’ as ‘clean-up’, but the literal Shona translation is ‘getting rid of the filth’.

Evidence suggests that, although perhaps more low level, the intolerance of the Zimbabwean state to the informal economy in general and street trade in particular has continued. Rogerson (2016), analysing more recent policy responses to street traders in Harare, argues that state responses to informality ‘vacillate between actions of frontal aggression and of unleashing bouts of forced evictions to repressive tolerance within which formalisation is increasingly promoted as a means of extracting revenue flows from already economically hard-pressed informal entrepreneurs’.

A 2015 Human Rights Watch report states:

On July 7, the newly appointed minister of local government, public works, and national housing, Saviour Kasukuwere, told state media that he would ensure that the Harare City Council cleans up the city and relocates an estimated 20 000 unlicensed street vendors to designated vending sites outside the capital. Kasukuwere’s predecessor had on June 1 issued a seven-day ultimatum for vendors to move to the sites outside the city. ... The day after the new minister’s announcement, Harare municipal police began their crackdown, using unnecessary or excessive force, beatings, arbitrary arrests, and unlawful seizure and destruction of goods. On July 9, the municipal police beat and arrested 26 vendors, many of them women, and handed them over to national police, who charged 23 with ‘conduct likely to cause breach of peace’, and 3 with assault. The following day municipal police seized and burned street vendors’ goods, mainly clothing. The group of 23 charged were later fined and released; the 3 charged with assault were granted bail on July 24.³

Zambia, another country in which CUP empirical work is being conducted, has also had a longstanding ambivalence to informality. Tranberg Hansen (2004: 66–67), in her study of street traders, notes how in April 1999, ‘council workers, police and paramilitary in riot gear razed the temporary market structures of Lusaka’s city centre, extending the demolition the following night and weeks all across the city, into townships and residential areas. ... In June, similar operations took place on the Copperbelt and in the towns along the line-of-rail’. Tranberg Hansen identifies a local authority leadership change as a key reason for the evictions. She notes that a new mayor and council members had come to office in Lusaka and they were ‘bent on cleaning up the capital’ (2004: 68).

In a Ghanaian context, King (2006) reflects a similar finding. She argues that the new system of decentralisation, where there are more frequent changes in local authorities, leads to evictions of street traders, which is seen as ‘a common way to impress the public’ (2006: 117). Riley’s (2014) documentation of Operation Dongosolo, in which thousands of street traders were removed in Blantyre, Malawi, in 2006, also highlights political factors. He argues that three factors led to Dongosolo: problems with the decentralisation process and the implementation of local democratic institutions; the formation of the Democratic People’s Party (DPP) as the governing party and the associated shift in patronage networks; and the cultural attitude that the poor do not belong in the city. Riley’s (2014) study is particularly pertinent for this review since this is the only one that considered the implications of removing traders for urban food security. He argues that:

Dongosolo reshaped the geographies of where people could buy food and where they could earn a living. It re-established the primacy of formal-sector businesses and middle-class

lifestyles, which served both contingent political purposes and long-standing expectations of what urban space should look like. (2014: 443)

Brown, Msoka and Dankoco (2014) investigated street vendor removals in Dar es Salaam in 2006–2007 and Dakar in 2007. They analysed the political initiatives behind the clearances and the property rights regimes underpinning them. They particularly focus on the different roles of social movements that resulted in emerging political power in one city and passive marginalisation in another. This theme of the role of collective action is returned to in the next section.

Another strand of research examines the actors behind the design of evictions and relocations. Many of these analyses point to the role played by property developers and management companies in the exclusion of vendors. Morange’s (2015) analysis of the displacement of street vendors in Nairobi’s central business district, for example, details the emergence of private-sector actors in securing the relocation of vendors. In explaining the disappearance and/or relocation of the periodic bazaars that were once such a key feature of Istanbul, Öz and Eder (2012: 297) note that this has been driven by rising real estate prices in the city, where ‘land has simply become too precious a commodity to be left to the bazaaris’. They outline the removal of traders in Istanbul, stating:

In the context of a pervasive neoliberal discourse on urban renewal and modernisation that promotes the notion of a hygienic city, the bazaaris, it seems, have become the new undesirables of the urban landscape, leaving them under double siege from the commodification of public land and from spatially defined social exclusion.

Lindell and Appelblad (2009) trace the privatisation of the management of city markets in Kampala, Uganda, and the implications for vendors and their associations, arguing that private interests external to the markets are taking over the management functions, side-lining or even repressing, vendors’ associations.

On planning practises, Kamete and Lindell (2010: 889) argue that many urban governments in sub-Saharan Africa have abandoned comprehensive planning and increasingly resort to ad hoc ‘sanitising’ measures. They consider examples from Harare and Maputo, where urban authorities applied forceful measures to remove unplanned settlements and market places. In these cases, the forces at work behind the scenes included the political strategies of elites seeking to maintain and strengthen political control over urban areas, rationalising and legitimising such unpopular interventions by appealing to ongoing efforts at ‘city marketing’ through international events, and referring to the imperative of upholding a modern city image.

There are several historical cases where national governments have established systems of trader repression. In South Africa, the apartheid state’s complex web of national and local laws effectively banned street trading. Rogerson and Hart (1989: 32) argued that South African urban authorities ‘fashioned and refined some of the most sophisticated sets of anti-street trader measures anywhere in the developing world’. However, this occurred in the context of high levels of unemployment and poverty, so traders continued to attempt to operate. They were consistently harassed and periodically violently removed. Rogerson and Hart (1989: 32) point out that, until the early 1980s, hawkers in South Africa were subject to ‘a well-entrenched tradition of repression, persecution

³ See <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/07/29/zimbabwe-violent-crackdown-street-vendors>.

and prosecution'. Treatment in socialist states was equally harsh. In Tanzania, Nnkya (2006) relays how, in the mid-1970s, the Tanzanian government rounded up street traders operating in Dar es Salaam and forcibly removed them to villages on the coast. In 1983, a penal code was enacted that branded all self-employed people as 'unproductive, idle and disorderly' (Nnkya, 2006: 82). These actions were justified on the basis that street trading was a subversive activity that challenged socialist principles. Lonrenço-Lindell (2004) describes a similar situation in newly independent Guinea-Bissau.

Sporadic evictions of street traders often precede major public events. In South Africa, street traders were removed prior to the hosting of the 2010 Soccer World Cup (Skinner, 2010). Setsabi (2006) lists the times street traders were removed in Maseru, Lesotho: in 1988 when Pope John Paul II visited the city; in 1991 when President Nujoma from Namibia came on a state visit; and notes that street traders were threatened with eviction when President Mandela visited in 1995. In this last example, the street traders diverted the action by agreeing to clean the streets. In Zimbabwe, Potts (2007: 270) notes that street traders were removed just before Harare hosted the Non-Aligned Movement in 1984. Bromley (2000), in his review of street trading, and drawing on over two-and-a-half decades of related research and international policy, confirms this as an international trend. He notes (2000: 12):

Aggressive policing [of street traders] is particularly notable just before major public and tourist events, on the assumption that orderly streets improve the image of the city to visitors.

More common than large-scale evictions, however, is a type of low-level harassment of street traders that stems in part from uncertain policy and legal environments. This type of everyday harassment typically requires vendors to pay bribes to local authorities and subjects them to confiscation of merchandise. Where licences are issued (as is the case in a number of cities in Asia), the number of vendors considerably exceeds the number of licences (see Bhowmik's (2005) review of evidence from 10 Asian cities, and Itikawa's (2010) study of São Paulo, Brazil, in which she finds the number of legal trading posts corresponds to 10–20% of all the workers occupying public spaces). In many countries there is a hostile legislative environment. The evidence also suggests that food vendors are subject to particularly complex licensing regimes that can create openings for street-level bureaucrats to extract side payments. For example, Mahadevia, et al. (2013) found that a licence for a vegetable vendor in Ahmedabad, India, specifies 21 restrictions on when, where and how she can sell. Roever and Skinner (2016), drawing on research conducted in five developing country cities (including Durban, Accra and Nakuru), to examine the more 'everyday' challenges that street vendors face, demonstrate the livelihood impacts of generalised workplace insecurity, harassment and confiscation of merchandise on street vendors' earnings, assets and time.

Lonrenço-Lindell (2004) outlines that, in Bissau, although a more permissive approach has been adopted since the 1986 structural adjustment programme, municipal agents have essentially remained hostile to them. In surveys, street traders cite that they are frequently bribed, complaining of the 'oppressiveness and arbitrariness of public agents' (2004: 94–95). Of the 355 street traders interviewed in Abidjan in Adiko and Anoh Kouassi's (2003) study, 69% feared being chased off their current site. A group that is particularly vulnerable to this are foreign street traders and spaza shop owners (see Crush, Chikanda and Skinner, 2015). Kamunyori (2007: 33) reports that, in Nairobi, council

inspectors make several times their monthly salaries from bribing street traders. She records the monthly salary of these so-called *askaris* as approximately US\$50. This points to a more systemic problem: until local officials in African cities are better paid, this kind of corruption will be difficult to root out.

Recent research and mass media coverage of the sector therefore paint a picture of widespread evictions, relocations, and hostile regulatory and political environments. These trends should be seen alongside the well-documented phenomenon of widespread slums evictions (UN Habitat, 2012 and 2014). It is argued that removing informality is a part of the urban transformation process in cities of the Global South. The literature provides a rich framework of reference, both empirically and theoretically, on processes of exclusion. It suggests that, in understanding exclusion, attention should be paid to city aspirations, the role of private sector (particularly property developers and management companies), the role of party political processes, and underlying planning approaches and legal frameworks.

There are two documented cases in which city councils integrated street traders into urban plans, but both are dated in that there have been subsequent reversals on these more progressive approaches. However, they still warrant attention.

By the early 1990s, street traders in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, had been issued licenses and were allowed to operate. Nnkya (2006: 88) states that 'street trading in the CBD is well managed and trader associations have good relations with the city authorities'. Nnkya (2006) identifies the 1992 Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project (SDP) as a turning point from the state's previous approach of trader repression. This project, a collaboration between United Nations' agencies and the state, identified petty trading as a key issue. By the mid-1990s, as a direct consequence of the SDP, a Working Group on Managing Informal Micro-Trade was established. This group identified the constraints street traders faced and made numerous recommendations. An example of their interventions was the development of 24 types of steel shelves for street traders to display their goods. This was a design solution that addressed the health concerns of authorities, particularly with food traders, but also facilitated the cleaning of public space. Standardising tables also led to a more orderly aesthetic. Another consequence of the SDP was the Guidelines for Petty Trade adopted by the City Commission in 1997, which set out the framework for managing street trade. Nevertheless, Nyaka points out implementation inconsistencies, with management being haphazard in parts, and that while some are included, others (most notably women traders) are not. This was particularly the case in the more lucrative trading sites in the CBD. Nyaka argues that, compared to many other cities in Africa overall, Dar es Salaam has created an enabling environment for street traders.

The second case is that of Warwick Junction in inner-city Durban, South Africa. Here, street vendor organisations worked for over 10 years with the city council on inclusive street vendor management. Vendors were organised in street committees and by product group. With a sympathetic council, vendors were able to have significant input into the urban planning process, resulting in innovative space design and management. Major interventions included: partial closure and covering of a city centre street; the construction of new pedestrian footbridges linking the train, taxi and bus terminuses to the city centre that were wide enough to accommodate vending; the provision of storage; and vending kiosks with water and electricity. A dedicated traditional medicine market was built and tailor-made facilities provided for those selling beadwork and clay. This was combined with trade support strategies. (See Dobson and Skinner (2009) for further details.)

With the exception of South Africa, there is far less literature reflecting on policy and regulatory trends for those operating out of their homes.

Key sources:

- Bhowmik, S. (2005) Street Vendors in Asia: A Review, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28 May–4 June.

- Bhowmik, S. (2010) *Street Vendors in the Global Urban Economy*. New Delhi: Routledge.

- Bromley, R. (2000) Street Vending and Public Policy: A Global Review, *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 20(1/2): 1–28.

This paper is a general contemporary overview of street vending around the world — focusing on the major issues underlying its permanence as a phenomenon, and the ambivalent attitudes displayed toward it by governments and off-street business communities.

- Brown, A. (Ed.) (2006) *Contested Space: Street Trading, Public Space and Livelihoods in Developing Cities*. Rugby: IDTG Publishing.

- Chen, M. and Skinner, C. (2014) The Urban Informal Economy: Enhanced Knowledge, Appropriate Policies and Effective Organization, in Parnell, S. and Oldfield, S. (Eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Cities of the Global South*. London: Routledge.

- Cross, J. (2000) Street Vendors and Postmodernity: Conflict and Compromise in the Global Economy, *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 20(1–2): 29–51.

In this essay based on a decade of research among street vendors and the informal economy, the author explores street vending and the informal sector within the context of the shift from modernism to postmodernism. Specifically, modernism often implied crackdowns on street vendors because of the ideals of public order and state control. Postmodernism is more open to the informal sector as the economy disaggregates, but this also creates new dilemmas for the informal sector, as it is expected to solve the problems of the formal sector by becoming formal. The author ends with the suggestion that policymakers allow deregulated sectors of informality in the economy to function as incubators for new businesses.

- Crush, J., Chikanda, A. and Skinner C. (2015) *Mean Streets: Migration, Xenophobia and Informality in South Africa*. Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project.

- Tranberg Hansen, K., Little, W.E. and Milgram, B.L (Eds.) (2013) *Street Economies in the Urban Global South*. School for Advanced Research Advanced Seminar Series.

- Tinker, I. (1997) *Street Foods: Urban Food and Employment in Developing Countries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.⁴

- Tranberg Hansen, K. and Vaa, M. (2004) *Reconsidering Informality: Perspectives from Urban Africa*. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.

- Brown, A., Lyons, M. and Dankoco, I. (2010) Street Traders and the Emerging Spaces for Urban Voice and Citizenship in African Cities, *Urban Studies*, 47(3): 666–683.

As informal commerce has grown to become the lifeblood of African cities, street trade – among the largest sub-groups in the informal economy – has become a visible but contested domain. Yet the increase in street traders has not been accompanied by a corresponding improvement in their status as citizens or in their political influence. The paper first discusses the implications of theoretical debates on ‘citizenship’ and ‘voice’ for street traders, and then explores characteristics of traders’ associations and influence in four case study countries: Senegal, Ghana, Tanzania and Lesotho. Drawing together the authors’ findings from research between 2001 and 2008, the paper identifies a fluidity of both formal and informal traders’ organisations which fail to achieve lasting impact. Finally, the paper discusses urban policy implications, arguing for a more flexible definition of urban citizenship based on rights and responsibilities, and an understanding of the complexity of grassroots associations of the marginalised poor.

- Brown, A., Msoka C. and Dankoco, I. (2014) A Refugee in My Own Country: Evictions or Property Rights in the Urban Informal Economy? DOI: 10.1177/0042098014544758.

Normative approaches to urban governance and planning and idealised visions of city space too often result in relocation or forced eviction of street traders and other informal economy workers from public space as a policy of choice. Often a response to a short-term political imperative, clearances take place with little understanding of the interconnected nature of the urban informal economy or widespread poverty impacts that result. As a result, street traders feel ostracised and often describe themselves as refugees. Drawing on a property rights perspective, and the ‘legal empowerment’ paradigm, this paper compares the major clearances of street traders that took place in Dar es Salaam in 2006–2007, and Dakar in 2007, with very different outcomes for traders. It explores the political initiatives behind the clearances, the dual property rights regimes in both countries, and the different roles of social movements, resulting in emerging political power in one city and passive marginalisation in another. Finally it argues that the conceptualisation of public space as a hybrid ‘public good’ would allow for a more appropriate property rights regime for the urban informal economy.

- Clark, G. (2010) Gender Fictions and Gender Tensions Involving ‘Traditional’ Asante Market Women, *African Studies Quarterly*, 11(2 & 3).

This paper analyses the changing relations between organised women market traders and rulers in a West African context, from a distant past to the present. It shows how political elites have used market traders as loyal supporters and as scapegoats for many centuries. These relations have taken a convoluted path that alternates between alliance and repression, in the context of shifts in the political and economic environment. Notorious episodes of price control and market demolitions from 1979 to 1984 are only the most dramatic moments in a long history of official intervention in trade and suspicion of prominent traders. Protecting traders as local citizens alternated with attacking traders as scapegoats for the ills and frustrations of national economic life. The paper focuses on ‘traditional’ forms of organisation among market women, describing their political role in terms of their interactions between their female leaders and the authorities. It shows how the constant need for negotiation reinforced group loyalty, and how such forms of organisation have displayed resilience and adapted to various economic and political shifts.

⁴ See description on page 14.

- Dobson, R. and Skinner, C. (2009) *Working in Warwick: Including Street Traders in Urban Plans*. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal, School of Development Studies.

- Doe, B. (2015) *Urban Land Use Planning and the Quest for Integrating the Small-Scale Informal Business Sector: The Case of Kumasi, Ghana*. PhD dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Spatial Planning at TU Dortmund University.

Recently, urban informality has become a buzz word in the urban land-use planning discourse. Various writers postulate its emergence especially in the city to the failure of the market economy to adequately provide the needs of the increasing urban populace, inappropriate laws governing urban areas, incapable urban management organisational frameworks, the result of abuse of power by governance organisations and actors, among others, which have developed into various theories. However, very few of these interactions have translated to finding the synergies between the urban small-scale informal business and urban land-use planning to integrate them for sustainable urban development, especially in developing countries. Under this dilemma, incorporation of urban dwellers in the small-scale informal business in contemporary cities is an important challenge for urban land-use planning in developing countries. A first step to this – the focus of this research – is to understand the small-scale informal business in terms of, among others, its characteristics and its relations with regulatory settings, as well as the statutory planning practices and the institutional provisions in place in reference to the small-scale informal business. Mapping our understanding of the small-scale informal business on the contemporary planning practices and institutional setting helps us identify planning challenges and potential areas for intervention – the normative objective of this research.

The analysis of this research is based on empirical evidence collected from two sub-metropolitan district councils of Kumasi, Ghana. The choice of city is informed by its relatively high population density, unique land tenure system, and high concentration of the small-scale informal business, while the study settlements with different regulatory setups offers options to related small-scale informal business with regulatory setting. Following a case study research approach, both quantitative and qualitative research methods, including questionnaire survey, interviews and group discussions, have been administered to gather empirical evidences. Again, a PGIS approach was employed in a neighbourhood in each of the two study settlements to gather evidence on its appropriateness to effectively integrate the small-scale informal business into urban land-use planning.

The research identifies that the small-scale informal business contributes to urban growth through employment of the majority of the active labour force, as a revenue-generation base for the city government through the payment of fees/rates/licences, the provision of essential goods and services to the majority of urban dwellers, and the preservation of cultural heritage through the continued production and sale of indigenous goods and services. With regards to land use, their land uses were mostly fine-grained and mixed-use of interrelated activities, which led to cluster formation in certain areas. Again, those engaged in trading and services tended to locate in feet-passing areas in the CBD and major roads in mostly ephemeral structures requiring little land size as compared to artisans, craftsmen and other manufacturing workers who were located mostly outside the CBD in relatively permanent structures requiring relatively bigger land sizes. Moreover, the institutional set-ups regulating urban land-use planning were many and antiquated, with their organisational set-ups incapable to adequately manage the city.

Additionally, even though the small-scale informal business was largely the same in character, there were some peculiarities among them, which are very important for any integration process. The research suggests the adoption and implementation of innovative approaches in order to be able to integrate the small-scale informal business into urban land-use planning for sustainable urban development, especially in cities of developing countries. Accordingly, it suggests the establishment of a spatial observation system (SOS) for urban land-use planning. Furthermore, it also suggests building the capacity of the local governments and their sub-structures.

- Itikawa, L. (2010) *Clandestine Geometries: Mapping Street Vending in Downtown São Paulo*, in Bhowmik, S. (Ed.) *Street Vendors in the Global Urban Economy*. New Delhi: Routledge.

- Kamete, A. (2012) *Missing the Point? Urban Planning and the Normalisation of 'Pathological' Spaces in Southern Africa*, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 1–13.

This paper considers 'normalisation' as a response to urban informal livelihoods in urban southern Africa. It demonstrate that urban planning systems have been mobilised to correct or eliminate 'spatial pathologies'. Using illustrative cases from southern Africa, it argues that the authorities' obsession with 'normalising' urban spaces they have designated as 'pathologies' is misplaced because it glaringly defies the reality on the ground. Interrogated in the paper is the reasoning behind, and effectiveness of, 'corrective' measures that exclude and marginalise informality through technicalisation, 'expertisation' and de-politicisation. The paper evaluates the basis, workings and deleterious outcomes of normalising technologies and questions the relevance and efficacy of normalisation at a time when it is increasingly becoming clear that African urbanisation is – and will possibly continue to be – simultaneously driven and cushioned by informalisation.

- Kamete, A. (2011) *Interrogating Planning's Power in an African City: Time for Reorientation?* *Planning Theory*, 1–23.

As part of modern government, planning is concerned with 'acting on others' actions' in spatial practices. This necessarily entails the exercise of power. This paper (re)frames planning's power in the context of particular systems of governance, and how this power is exercised in the relationship between planning systems and (ab)users of urban spaces. Using material from field research in Zimbabwe, the paper examines three forms of power exercised through planning in specific socio-economic contexts. The discussion interrogates planning's handling of violations of spatial controls by two socio-economic groups: the privileged affluent and the marginalised poor. The paper demonstrates that planning exercises direct sovereign power and cruder and more overtly violent forms of disciplinary power in less privileged context, while exercising pastoral power and subtler forms of disciplinary power in affluent contexts. The paper argues that planning's continued affinity to and unbending deployment of sovereign and crude and overtly violent disciplinary techniques in its dealings with marginalised townspeople is counter-productive and ineffective. The paper proposes the cautious appropriation of pastoral power – especially as it relates to the co-opting of individual and group agency – into planning's operations in less privileged contexts.

- Kamete, A. (2009) *In the Service of Tyranny: Debating the Role of Planning in Zimbabwe's Urban 'Clean-up' Operation*, *Urban Studies*, 46(4): 897–922.

The paper debates the role of planning in 'Operation Murambatsvina/Restore Order', Zimbabwe's 2005 controversial urban clean-up campaign. The discussion critically assesses two perspectives regarding the purported contribution and complicity of planning in what critics perceive to be the machinations of a regime that is internationally viewed as nefarious. This is done, first, by interrogating the role and contribution of planners and planning to the instigation and design of the operation *before* it was launched, and, secondly, by determining the extent to which planners and planning served as the handmaiden of state repression *during* the operation. After weighing relevant empirical evidence on the culpability of planning, the discussion concludes that, while planning may escape the first charge, it certainly has a case to answer on the second.

- Kamete, A. (2007) Cold-Hearted, Negligent and Spineless? Planning, Planners and the (R)Ejection of 'Filth' in Urban Zimbabwe, *International Planning Studies*, 12(2): 153–171.

The state bureaucracy played a prominent role in Zimbabwe's 'Operation Murambatsvina/Restore Order', the world-(in)famous urban 'clean-up' operation. The planning system was in the forefront of the operation, conspicuously sharing the limelight with the security and law enforcement agencies. The paper examines how planners provided the operation's techno-legal articulation, which was liberally deployed by the state to explain, rationalise and glorify the operation. The discussion critically analyses some of the most scathing criticism against planning, namely that planners were cold-hearted, negligent and spineless. Based on an interrogation of the evidence in light of the viewpoints of a cross-section of practitioners, victims and activists, the paper argues that it is difficult for the planning profession to dodge these accusations.

- Kamete, A. and Lindell, I. (2010) The Politics of 'Non-Planning' Interventions in African Cities: Unravelling the International and Local Dimensions in Harare and Maputo, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36(4): 889–912.

Urban planning bases its interventionist strategies on the reasoning that change has to be rationally managed and that control is necessary in the 'public interest'. In Africa, for various bureaucratic and political reasons, urban planning has often been notoriously lax. In the face of uncontrolled urban development, many urban governments have abandoned comprehensive planning and increasingly resort to ad hoc 'sanitising' measures of various kinds. This paper explores the forces and rationales that lie behind the intensified use of such 'non-planning' strategies. It draws on examples from Harare and Maputo, where urban authorities applied forceful measures to remove unplanned settlements and market places. In these cases the forces at work behind the scenes included the political strategies of elites seeking to maintain and strengthen political control over urban areas, rationalising and legitimising such unpopular interventions by appealing to ongoing efforts at 'city marketing' through international events, and referring to the imperative of upholding a modern city image. We discuss the tensions that arose from these decisions and the subsequent political processes among the intended 'victims', and between them and the authorities. In comparing and contrasting the cases of Harare and Maputo, we bring out the dilemmas of planning resorting to 'non-planning' and the complex politics triggered by such interventions.

- Lindell, I. and Appelblad, J. (2009) Disabling Governance: Privatisation of City Markets and Implications for Vendors' Associations in Kampala, Uganda, *Habitat International*, 33: 397–404.

Contemporary international models of governance prescribe the devolution of service provision to a range of non-state actors and the adoption of market-oriented policies. This paper explores the politics that have arisen from changes in the governance framework in Kampala, the capital of Uganda. The focus is on the privatisation of the management of city markets and on the relations between the multiple actors involved private contractors, vendors' associations, cooperatives and state. In particular, the paper looks into the implications of the privatisation process for vendors and their associations. It argues that, while the latter have sometimes adjusted to the changes by turning into cooperative societies or creating their own management firms, increasingly private interests external to the markets are taking over the management functions, side-lining or even repressing, vendors' associations. The general picture is one of weakening associations and endangered possibilities for broad-based organising and interest representation of citizenship and civic engagement in post-apartheid South Africa.

- Lonrenço-Lindell, I. (2004) Trade and the Politics of Informalisation in Bissau, Guinea-Bissau, in Tranberg Hansen, K. and Vaa, M. (Eds.) *Reconsidering Informality, Perspectives from Urban Africa*. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.

- Mahadevia, D., Brown, A., Lyons, M., Vyas, S., Jajoo, K. and Mishra, A. (2013) Street Vendors in Ahmedabad: Status, Contributions and Challenges, Centre for Urban Equity Working Paper 22.

- Morange, M. (2015) Street Trade, Neoliberalisation and the Control of Space: Nairobi's Central Business District in the Era of Entrepreneurial Urbanism, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 9(2): 1–23.

Studies focusing on street trade in sub-Saharan Africa place great importance on the continuity with the colonial period and on the neo-colonial characteristics of public action. This frame of reference, however pertinent it might be, does not account for all of the dynamics at work. This paper argues that it can benefit from an additional reading of what can be characterised as the neoliberal dynamics also at work in these processes, drawing from governmentality studies and from the theories of 'the urbanisation of neoliberalism'. The article discusses this hypothesis by examining the evolution of spatial politics on the streets of Nairobi's Central Business District (CBD) in the 2000s, focusing on a specific episode: the displacement of the street traders to an enclosed market located on the outskirts of the CBD. The first section considers the policies of street trade in Nairobi since the colonial period and the changes in their meaning under entrepreneurial rule, questioning the hypothesis of the colonial continuity. The paper then turns to an analysis of the neoliberal features of current street trade policies. It details the emergence of the private sector as a major actor in the governance of street trade, and its instrumental role in the crafting of a consultative procedure that has helped to reframe the traders' relationship to the state around the ideal of the responsible entrepreneurial citizen, and contributed to enrolment as active participants in their own relocation.

- Nnkya, T. (2006) An Enabling Framework? Governance and Street Trading in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in Brown, A. (Ed.) *Contested Space: Street Trading, Public Space and Livelihoods in Developing Cities*. Warwickshire: Intermediate Technology Publications.

- Ossy Ikioda, F. (2013) Urban Markets in Lagos, Nigeria, *Geography Compass*, 7(7): 517–526.

An emerging body of work on farmers markets and other traditional retail markets has recently come into focus among scholars concerned with the study of contemporary retailing and consumption practices. Marketplaces in Euro-American contexts are currently promoted as essential elements of urban renaissance, promoting local food movements, tourism and economic regeneration, and encouraging face-to-face interactions among increasingly diverse ethnic groups in towns and cities. At the same time, the study of marketplaces, which has long been of interest to scholars working in the Global South, is primarily portrayed through a lens of developmentalism as archaic and embroiled in a narrative about the poverty of traders and urban informality, thus limiting the latter's contributions to the critical retailing and consumption literature. This paper explores the case of marketplaces in Lagos, Nigeria, to comment on the challenges and possibilities for making meaningful comparative research that connects marketplaces across the global north-south divide.

- Öz, O. and Eder, M. (2012) Rendering Istanbul's Periodic Bazaars Invisible: Reflections on Urban Transformation and Contested Space, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 36(2): 297-314.

This is a study of Istanbul's periodic bazaars and an attempt to place them in the context of contestation over urban space, urban poverty and informality. The periodic bazaars in the city are either disappearing or being moved to the outskirts. These trends reflect and reproduce spatial unevenness in the city, manifesting new forms of social exclusion and polarisation. The city's increasingly commodified urban space has become an arena of social and economic contestation. We address these questions by focusing on the story of the relocation of one of Istanbul's most popular periodic bazaars, the Tuesday bazaar in Kadıköy. Our analysis reveals that the relocation and reorganisation of bazaars in Istanbul in the 2000s have largely been driven by rising real estate prices in the city: land has simply become too precious a commodity to be left to the bazaaris. Furthermore, in the context of a pervasive neoliberal discourse on urban renewal and modernisation that promotes the notion of a hygienic city, the bazaaris, it seems, have become the new undesirables of the urban landscape, leaving them under double siege from the commodification of public land and from spatially defined social exclusion.

- Potts, D. (2007) City Life in Zimbabwe at a Time of Fear and Loathing: Urban Planning, Urban Poverty and Operation Murambatsvina, in Myers, G. and Murray, M. (Eds.) *Cities in Contemporary Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Riley, L. (2014) Operation Dongosolo and the Geographies of Urban Poverty in Malawi, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40(3): 443-458.

Urban poverty in southern Africa is a multi-dimensional issue comprising both deeply rooted historical factors expressed in the built environments of cities, and contemporary factors related to ongoing political and economic changes. The tension between states and street vendors throughout southern Africa is part of a perennial struggle for the use of urban space. For many low-income urban people, vending provides crucial resources, both in terms of household income and the distribution of basic goods through informal networks. This article focuses on the consequences for urban food security of street vendor evictions in Blantyre in 2006, under Operation Dongosolo. Dongosolo reshaped the geographies of where people could buy food and where they could earn a living. It re-established the primacy

of formal-sector businesses and middle-class lifestyles, which served both contingent political purposes and long-standing expectations of what urban space should look like. The paper elaborates on three factors that led to Dongosolo: problems with the decentralisation process and the implementation of local democratic institutions; the formation of the Democratic People's Party (DPP) as the governing party and the associated shift in patronage networks; and the cultural attitude that the poor do not belong in the city. Close reading of the causal factors and consequences of Dongosolo for the urban poor demonstrates the structural nature of urban poverty in Malawi, which is embedded in local debates over the purpose of cities.

- Roever, S. and Skinner, C. (2016) Street Vendors and Cities, *Environment and Urbanisation*, Special issue on Urban Livelihoods, October 2016.

This paper synthesises recent research and evidence on urban policies and local government practices as they relate to street vending, one of the most visible occupations in the informal economy. It presents the latest available evidence on the size, composition and contribution of street vending, and reviews the rich literature on street vending as well as media coverage reflecting the extent of exclusionary policies and practices. While many analyses explore the reasons behind evictions and relocations through case studies, this paper draws on participatory methods and surveys to examine the more 'everyday' challenges that street vendors face, even when licensed. The data demonstrate the livelihood impacts of generalised workplace insecurity, harassment and confiscation of merchandise on street vendors' earnings, assets and time. We briefly explore the models of organising and policy approaches in Ahmedabad, India, and Lima, Peru, where collective action among vendors has resulted in more innovative policy approaches. We argue that legislative reform and greater transparency in the content and implementation of regulations are needed, combined with the political will to challenge the appropriation of strategic urban spaces by more powerful interests.

- Rogerson, C. and Hart, D. (1989) The Struggle for the Streets: Deregulation and Hawking in South Africa's Major Urban Areas, *Social Dynamics*, 15(1).
- Rogerson, C. (2015) Progressive Rhetoric, Ambiguous Policy Pathways: Street Trading in Inner-City Johannesburg, South Africa, *Local Economy*, pp. 1-15.

As an economic manifestation of informality, the activity of street trading is widespread across many countries of the Global South. In particular, cities of sub-Saharan Africa are characterised by the growth of informality. In South Africa, the activity of street trading is one of the most significant and yet most problematic policy concerns that must be addressed by local governments. The objective is to unravel and chart the ambiguous and changing policy pathways that have impacted upon street traders in inner-city Johannesburg, with a focus mainly upon the period post-2000. It is argued that a disconnect occurs between the rhetoric of progressive development policy frameworks and often repressive restrictive implementation practices. In addition, it is shown that there is no necessary alignment of local urban policy with national policies towards the informal economy. The analysis represents a contribution towards international policy debates and scholarship about street trading, local economic development and the informal economy in cities of the Global South.

- Rogerson, C. (2016) Responding to Informality in Urban Africa: Street Trading in Harare, Zimbabwe, *Urban Forum*. DOI: 10.1007/s12132-016-9273-0.

Informality is one of the major challenges facing urban policymakers across sub-Saharan Africa. Responses to informality can be viewed along a continuum from violent repression and sustained evictions to inclusive and supportive policies. Using the example of street trading, the task of this paper is to analyse planning and policy issues around the state and the informal economy in Harare, Zimbabwe. In the experience of Harare, the pursuit of targeted actions for inclusive planning designed to support communities of growing informal entrepreneurs is not on the agenda of policymakers. The historical and contemporary directions of policy responses occurring in Harare suggest an unpromising future for the city's informal entrepreneurs. It is shown that state responses to informality vacillate between actions of frontal aggression and unleashing bouts of forced evictions to repressive tolerance within which formalisation is increasingly promoted as a means of extracting revenue flows from already economically hard-pressed informal entrepreneurs.

- Setsabi, S. (2006) Contest and Conflict: Governance and Street Livelihoods in Maseru, Lesotho, in Brown, A. (Ed.) *Contested Space: Street Trading, Public Space, and Livelihoods in Developing Cities*. Warwickshire: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- Skinner, C. 2010. Challenging City Imaginaries: Street Traders Struggles in Warwick Junction. *Agenda* No 81, Special Issue on 'Gender and Poverty Reduction'

Internationally there are a few cases where street traders have been sensitively integrated into urban plans. Warwick Junction, the primary transport node in Durban, South Africa, was for over 10 years one of the few exceptions. The *Perspective* details the role played by collective action among women street traders in securing a collaborative planning approach. It argues that Warwick Junction for this period presented an alternative to modernist and gender-blind approaches to urban planning. In January 2009 the City Council however announced its plans to build a large shopping mall in Warwick Junction threatening the livelihoods of all street traders in the area. The *Perspective* concludes by analysing these recent developments.

- Solomon-Ayeh B.E. (2011) Street Vending and the Use of Urban Space in Kumasi, Ghana. Available at: <http://uaps2011.princeton.edu/papers/110328> (accessed 22 April 2015).

Urban public spaces are livelihood assets for the urban poor in developing countries like Ghana. Street trading is the means whereby the urban poor utilise urban public space to make a living, and this results in conflicts between the street traders and the city authorities. This research investigates urban livelihoods of street traders in Kumasi. It reveals that there are no planned places for them and that they are located in spaces meant for other uses. Recommendations are that the inter-relationships between street trading and the use of public space to sustain urban livelihoods be understood and the spatial implications addressed in urban planning in Ghana, otherwise street traders will continue to invade public space to the embarrassment of city authorities.

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

Like many major cities in developing countries, Accra faces increasing congestion of vehicles, pedestrians and traders around its central business district. Repeated attempts to evict street traders have proven unsustainable. Using Accra as a case study, this paper investigates the disconnect between urban authorities' concept of centralised city planning, the rapidly expanding informal economy, and the scope for alternative approaches to accommodate informal workers. Samples of street traders from two markets with high and low risk of evictions are compared to understand their motivations and how evictions affect their choice of location, livelihoods, and willingness to invest in fixed locations. The study finds that, while some risk-averse traders may relocate to outlying markets, many return because profits are higher in the congested areas. One implication is that growing urban centres need improved planning and consultative models to accommodate informal self-employment, consistent with both regulatory requirements and workers' needs.

- Tibaijuka, A. (2005) Report of the Fact-Finding Mission to Zimbabwe to Assess the Scope and Impact of Operation Murambatsvina by the UN Special Envoy on Human Settlements Issues in Zimbabwe. Available at: http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/zimbabwe/zimbabwe_rpt.pdf

6.1 Reflecting on legal frameworks/regulatory regimes

Crush and Frayne (2011) point out that the often punitive regulations imposed on informal street traders and food vendors is in sharp contrast to the absence of regulatory controls on supermarket expansion in urban markets, noting 'both potentially constitute pathways to greater food security for the urban poor' (2011: 810–811). This suggests that legal reform is critical. This section briefly considers recent academic literature reflecting on alternative legal paradigms and approaches. Brown, et al. (2014) argue that the conceptualisation of public space as a hybrid 'public good' would allow for a more appropriate property rights regime for the urban informal economy. Brown (2015) develops this argument, making the case that collective use rights extend to public land and are crucial to the livelihoods of the urban poor. She notes that such use provides public good as well as private profit, and legal traditions in sub-Saharan Africa can often accommodate the broad definition of rights entailed. Roever (2016) outlines the local government practices that take advantage of an ambiguous legal environment for street traders and their impact on informal traders in five cities: Accra, Ghana; Ahmedabad, India; Durban, South Africa; Lima, Peru; and Nakuru, Kenya. She then identifies three components of legal reform used in Ahmedabad, Durban and Lima to counter those practices: establishing limits on municipal power; linking street vending to poverty alleviation; and establishing channels for street vendors' representation. The findings suggest ways in which cities can more effectively balance the right to livelihood with the need to govern public space. India is one of the few countries that has a progressive national law on street trading. Amis (2015) provides a background to this case, cautioning that implementing inclusive approaches remains a challenge. Finally, Meneses-Reyes and Caballero-Juárez (2014) point to the role of constitutional courts in Mexico, Colombia and India in securing the right to work on the streets, suggesting courts are playing an increasing role in urban governance.

Key sources:

- Amis, P. (2015) Symbolic Politics, Legalism and Implementation: The Case of Street Vendors in India, *Commonwealth Journal of Local Governance*, Issue 18.

This paper is concerned with attempts to manage street vendors in India. Firstly it traces the evolution of attempts at management, through guidelines introduced in 2002, to the 2014 Act which is legally enforceable. The Act has not yet been implemented, but the State of Madhya Pradesh has implemented its own Act which is almost identical. This has been successfully implemented at an administrative level, but on the ground nothing has changed. It is suggested that this reflects the importance of symbolic politics and problems of implementation.

- Brown, A. (2015) Claiming the Streets: Property Rights and Legal Empowerment in the Urban Informal Economy, *World Development*, 76: 238–248.

This paper looks at the concept of law and urban development with a focus on property rights and land, exploring the potential collective rights in the public domain to underpin a more equitable approach to the management of public space and challenge inappropriate regulation that criminalises the lives of the poor. The focus is on street trade and the informal economy. The hypotheses are that: collective use rights extend to public land and are crucial to the livelihoods of the urban poor; such use provides public good as well as private profit, and legal traditions in sub-Saharan Africa can often accommodate the broad definition of rights entailed. The literature review interrogates debates on property rights, legal empowerment, and public space, to suggest that urban public space should be considered as a common resource where open access remains. Fieldwork draws on comparative studies of Dakar, Senegal, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, based on in-depth interviews with street traders and key informants, and a legal review in each city. The findings suggest very different trajectories in each city. In Dakar collective action with political support has created space for dialogue, while in Dar es Salaam lack of solidarity among traders meant that evictions were uncontested. In both cities the balance between public and private gain was moderated through complex social processes to create the hybrid space of the street, defined here as a ‘collective pool resource’. Finally, the paper explores bundles of rights that might include access and beneficial use, but with collective management to establish such a ‘collective pool resource’. Thus the paper challenges the usual conception of the public domain as state land, to recognise the collective claim for the street that is core to the operation of urban informal economies.

- Meneses-Reyes, R. and Caballero-Juárez, J. (2014) The Right to Work on the Street: Public Space and Constitutional Rights, *Planning Theory*, 13(4): 370–386.

Do people have a right to work on the street? If so, what are the constraints and conditions attached to this right? Historically, municipal authorities have tried several ways to regulate or even prohibit commerce on the streets, by implementing administrative regulation and criminal laws, but neither has proven successful thus far. In fact, in some cases, these attempts have backfired. Constitutional challenges to municipal regulations have paved the way for the incorporation of municipal regulations based on a right to work on the streets. This article seeks to understand and explain how the act of placing a wooden or metal stall over a public space contributes to the development of a regulatory regime that administrates the right to work in an urban space. It further

shows how these solutions have been jeopardised by litigation and transformed by recent constitutional doctrines that recognise the right to work on streets. Constitutional courts in Mexico, Colombia and India have addressed the struggles between the street vendors’ ability to work on public thoroughfares and the municipal regulations that seek to limit street trading. As such, our aim is to analyse the way in which the municipal capacity to legislate, control and regulate public space has been challenged and constrained by street vendors’ invocation of their right to work in these countries. This will help explain how constitutional courts do actually represent urban governance.

- Roever, S. (2016) Informal Trade Meets Informal Governance: Street Vendors and Legal Reform in India, South Africa and Peru, *Cityscape*, 18(1): 47–66.

Street vendors conventionally are understood as operating outside of state regulatory frameworks. Recent research, however, has emphasised the role of the state in constructing vendors’ informal status and has documented local government practices that take advantage of an ambiguous legal environment for vendors. These practices include low-level harassment, merchandise confiscations and arbitrary evictions. This article examines the regulatory spaces through which local government officials have developed these informal practices, and documents the extent to which street vendors and market traders experience them in five cities: Accra, Ghana; Ahmedabad, India; Durban, South Africa; Lima, Peru; and Nakuru, Kenya. The article then identifies three components of legal reform used in Ahmedabad, Durban and Lima to counter those practices: (1) establishing limits on municipal power, (2) linking street vending to poverty alleviation, and (3) establishing channels for street vendors’ representation. The findings suggest ways in which cities can more effectively balance the right to livelihood with the need to govern public space.

7. The Nature and Role of Collective Action among Street Traders and Market Traders

There has been persistent interest in the politics of those working informally and a move away from the assumption that informal workers lack agency (see Lindell (2010) among others). Bayat’s work in Iran (1993; 1997; 2000) and the Middle East and North African region (2000) is important in this regard. He argues that the emerging politics of informal actors is quite distinctive, suggesting that it constitutes a ‘quiet encroachment of the ordinary’. He depicts these novel forms of political engagement as ‘a silent, patient, protracted, and pervasive advancement of ordinary people on the propertied and powerful in order to survive hardships and better their lives’ (1997: 57). Bayat argues that these actions are marked by ‘quiet, atomised and prolonged mobilisation with episodic collective action’. However, there are examples from around the world of less atomised mobilisation and more sustained forms of collective action. This section reviews the evidence of collective action among street vendors on the African continent.

The available research suggests that many traders are not affiliated to any organisation. Where trader organisations do exist, they focus on one or more of three concerns: financial services; lobbying and advocacy, particularly at a local level; and product-specific issues. The role of trade unions appears to be increasingly important and concerns about internal organisational dynamics

have also been raised. Each of these issues is considered in turn, with a focus, where possible, on regional trends.

There is some evidence that organisation densities among street traders are low. Lund's (1998) re-analysis of data in South Africa, for example, found that in the two large surveys of street traders that had been conducted, 15% belonged to an association in Johannesburg, while in Durban 12% of the men and 16% of the women traders were members of associations (1998: 33–34). Alila and Mitullah's (2000) interviews with over 300 street traders operating in four different Kenyan cities found that 67% had no knowledge of associations that addressed street vending issues (2000: 18). According to Kamunyor (2007: 14–15) the Nairobi Informal Sector Confederation (NISCOF) was registered in 2005 and, as of 2007, had 23 member associations representing approximately 15 000 individual traders. Although this is a positive development, Lyons and Snoxell (2005: 1078) suggest there may be as many as 500 000 street traders operating in the city. NISCOF thus represents 3% of the total number of traders.

In 2005, War on Want, in collaboration with the Workers Education Association of Zambia, conducted research explicitly focused on the organising and advocacy strategies of informal economy associations in Ghana, Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia. Interviews were conducted with 62 organisations, the majority of which were street or market trader organisations. This research concluded that the majority of organisations were established in specific markets or trading areas and dealt with urgent issues arising in these locations, such as harassment from the police, and solving disputes and conflicts among vendors. The relationship between organisations and the state were examined, and the researchers concluded that street trader organisations largely had confrontational relations with local government (War on Want, 2006: 31–32). Lund and Skinner's (1999) study of 22 organisations of street traders across five cities in South Africa found that many of them focused on local authority negotiations. However, they were not formally structured and tended to be vocal when issues arose, but were often difficult to find in between. These trends were confirmed by Thulare (2004) and Motala (2002).

There is evidence to suggest that traders are comparatively well organised in West Africa. King (2006), for example, reflecting on the situation in Kumasi, Ghana, found that trader organisations were well established and widely respected. She notes that the Market Traders Association, an umbrella group of various product associations, has a representative on the Kumasi Municipal Authority's General Assembly. This association launched a successful challenge in court when the local authority threatened to increase market fees by 300%. (King, 2006: 108–109). The Ghana Trade Union Congress (GTUC) has had an informal sector desk for many years. In February 2003, the GTUC initiated a national alliance of market and street traders: Ghana StreetNet Alliance. In 2006 it comprised 19 trader associations with a total of 5 810 individual members. (War on Want, 2006: 36). Adiko and Anoh Kouassi's (2003) study in the Ivory Coast found that organisational membership was high among traders, varying between 36% and 42% of interviewees depending on their location. Traders were members of a range of organisations including unions, co-operatives and rotating savings and credit associations (ROSCAs).

The research pays less attention to collective action that directly supports the business of trading. Lund and Skinner's (1999) study found that the primary focus of a number of street trader

organisations in South Africa is the bulk purchase of goods. War on Want identified a number of product-specific trader organisations in Ghana, Malawi and Zambia. They give the example of a banana sellers' association, whose primary aim is to ensure regular and adequate supply of their wares and to renegotiate terms of trade with the main suppliers. Although this is not explored in any detail, Adiko and Anoh Kouassi's (2003) study in the Ivory Coast suggests co-operatives have been formed among traders. This area remains a research gap.

There is evidence of a high prevalence of ROSCAs. As is the case in other parts of the world, members deposit a mutually agreed sum with the group at regular intervals. Each member has a turn to receive the total money collected, while some ROSCAs also provide member loans and funeral benefits. As Lyons and Snoxell (2005: 1089) note, peer pressure to save guarantees the periodic availability of a capital sum. Of the 124 traders Lyons and Snoxell interviewed in Nairobi, 58% were members of a ROSCA (2005: 1089). They conducted a similar study in two markets in Ghana and found that 49% of the 144 traders interviewed were members of a savings group (2005: 1312). Although not quoting exact figures, Alila and Mitullah (2000: 11) and Tsitsi and Agatha (2000: 10) find a similar situation in Kenya and Zimbabwe respectively. All of these studies note that there is a particularly high prevalence of savings group membership among women. In the face of poor access to banking services, these systems of financial services and support play an important role.

Given the decreasing numbers of people in formal employment in Africa, there is evidence of trade unions, particularly the national federations, paying increasing attention to organising the informally employed. These initiatives either entail direct organising efforts, encouraging appropriate affiliates to organise, or supporting or expanding on existing efforts. In May 2002, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) launched an informal-sector desk tasked with directly organising, among other groups, street traders (Tsitsi and Agatha, 2000: 12). The Malawi Congress of Trade Unions (MCTU) assisted in the formation of the Malawi Union for the Informal Sector (MUFIS), which has street traders among its members. As previously noted, the GTUC has been very actively involved in encouraging its informal economy affiliates to organise. The Mozambique Workers' Organisation (OTM) played an important role in forming the Association of Informal Sector Operators and Workers (ASSOTSI), which has 26 branch committees within 59 markets in Maputo and, in 2005, claimed membership of over 40 000 (War on Want, 2006: 43). War on Want research does, however, find that there are often tensions between the national federations and informal worker organisations.

Concerns are raised in this literature about two aspects of internal organisational dynamics: how organisations are constituted, and the role of women. War on Want (2006: 30) found that trader associations 'often show a low level of participation and leadership accountability'. For example, of the 20 trader organisations interviewed in the Ghana study, nine reported that their method of choosing leadership was by appointment rather than elections (War on Want, 2006: 95–96). Lund and Skinner's (1999) study raised a concern about organisations not being formally constituted. At the time of their study there was only one organisation, the Self Employed Women's Union, which had functioning democratic structures and regular elections.

Although members tend to be predominantly women, the leaders of street trader organisations are often men. This was

found in studies of street trader organisations in Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique (War on Want, 2006), and in South Africa (Lund and Skinner, 1999). For example, of the 16 organisations interviewed in Malawi, only one had a majority of women in leadership positions (War on Want, 2006: 97–98). Lyons and Snoxell's (2005: 1082) study of markets in Nairobi found that both market committees were comprised entirely of men and that no women had ever been an official. The opposite held true in Ghana where, of the 33 organisations interviewed, 22 had a majority of women in leadership positions. Women seem to play a more dominant role in leadership positions in markets in the matrilineal societies of West Africa. Again, there are exceptions, particularly in predominantly Muslim states. In Senegal, the Mouride Brotherhood largely controls trading activities and is politically powerful.

StreetNet International, an alliance of street trader organisations has been an increasingly important player in street trader organising on the African continent since its launch in Durban, South Africa, in 2002. Membership-based organisations directly organising street and market traders are entitled to affiliate status. The organisation currently has members in Africa, Latin America and Asia. One of StreetNet's primary foci is to build the capacity of street trader organisations in order to strengthen their organising and advocacy efforts. This is done through providing direct leadership training, exchange visits that enable the sharing of experiences among traders, and documenting and disseminating better practices. Another area of activity is assistance with the expansion of organising efforts to a national level. StreetNet International was instrumental in the establishment of the Alliance for Zambian Informal Economy Associations (AZIEA) and the formation of the national alliance of trader organisations in Ghana. These kinds of formations will help traders to play a more influential role in policy, particularly at national level. At an international level, StreetNet International advocates for the rights of street traders not only within international bodies like the ILO, but also international trade union federations.

Lindell's (2010) edited volume on collective agency, alliances and transnational organising in Africa collates existing material, but also adds significant empirical insights into the issue of informal worker organisation. It highlights the emergence of new organisations on the continent, and confirms the formation of institutional alliances between formal and informal worker groups. The precise dynamics of these processes differ from place to place and in their scalar characteristics. National alliances of informal workers have arisen in countries such as Kenya (Mitullah, 2010), Tanzania and Zambia, as have a few regional organisations, such as the Cross Border Traders Association (CBTA) of Zambia (Nchito and Tranberg Hansen, 2010). Some organisations appear to wield significant political power (e.g. the organisations of women market traders in Cotonou, Benin, and CBTA), while others less so (see, for example, Brown, et al.'s (2010) study of the impact of trader associations in Accra, Dakar and Dar es Salaam). What this empirical work shows is that, although Bayat's 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary' might well be one form of mobilisation among informal workers, increasingly there appear to be other organisational forms.

In conclusion, and as Lindell (2010) reflects, the emerging picture is one of a highly diverse landscape of organised actors reflecting the great diversity of interests in the informal economy. Given the importance of collective action to responding to and shaping the policy environment, this constitutes a challenge both to existing organisations and trade unions, but also to local

authorities. Further work is needed on how the state can create an environment conducive to the development of organisations and ensure that collective bargaining forums are not restricted to organisation leaders. Concerns have been raised about the internal dynamics within organisations and who is represented in organisations. Bromley (2000: 14) claims street trader associations 'typically represent older, established and licensed traders'. The research reviewed here suggests that women should be added to this list. This suggests that future research needs to explore who is included and who is excluded in current organisational formations.

Key sources⁵:

- Adiko, A. and Aaoh Kouassi, P. (2003) *Activities and Organisations of Traders on the Markets and Streets of Ivory Coast: A Case Study of Cocody, Treichville, Yopougon Communities and Some Streets in Abidjan*. Paper commissioned by Women in Informal Employment: Globalising and Organising. Abidjan: University of Cocody.
- Aliila, P. and Mitullah, W. (2000) *Women Street Vendors in Kenya: Policies, Regulations and Organisational Capacities*. Paper commissioned by Women in Informal Employment: Globalising and Organising. Nairobi: Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.
- Bayat, A. (1997) *Un-Civil Society: The Politics of the 'Informal People'*, *Third World Quarterly*, 18(1): 53–72.
- Bayat, A. (2000) *From 'Dangerous Classes' to 'Quiet Rebels', Politics of the Urban Subaltern in the Global South*, *International Sociology*, 15(3): 533–557.

A major consequence of the new global restructuring in developing countries has been the double process of integration on the one hand, and social exclusion and informalisation on the other. These processes, meanwhile, have meant further growth of a marginalised and deinstitutionalised subaltern in Third World cities. How do the urban grassroots respond to their marginalisation and exclusion? What form of politics, if any at all, do they espouse? Critically navigating through the prevailing perspectives, including the culture of poverty, survival strategy, urban social movements and everyday resistance, the article suggests that the new global restructuring is reproducing subjectivities (marginalised and deinstitutionalised groups such as the unemployed, casual labour, street subsistence workers, street children and the like), social space and thus a terrain of political struggles that current theoretical perspectives cannot account for on their own. The article proposes an alternative outlook, a 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary', that might be useful to examine the activism of the urban subaltern in Third World cities.

- Bayat, A. (1993) *Street Politics, Poor People's Movements in Iran*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bénéit-Gbaffou, C. (2016) *Do Street Traders have the 'Right to the City'? The Politics of Street Trader Organisations in Inner City Johannesburg, Post-'Operation Clean Sweep'*, *Third World Quarterly*, 37(6): 1102–1129.

Street trader organisations are paradoxical objects of study. Their claims resist being analysed through the 'right to the city' lens, so contested are rights to inner city spaces between multiple users, not all of them in dominant socioeconomic positions; and so ambiguous is the figure of the street trader, oppressed but

⁵ This literature review includes open source research reports some of which do not have abstracts.

also appropriating public space for profit, increasingly claiming, in neoliberalising cities, an entrepreneurial identity. In the aftermath of the 2013 'Operation Clean Sweep' (in which the City of Johannesburg unsuccessfully attempted to evict street traders from its inner city), this paper unpacks the politics of street trader organisations: how they organise their constituencies, frame their claims, forge unlikely alliances and enter into disempowering conflicts in engagements with a divisive municipality.

- Kamunyori, W. (2007) A Growing Space for Dialogue: The Case of Street Vending in Nairobi's Central Business District. *Department of Urban Studies and Planning*. Boston: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

- King, R. (2006) Fulcrum of the Urban Economy: Governance and Street Livelihoods in Kumasi, Ghana, in Brown, A. (Ed.) *Contested Space: Street Trading, Public Space and Livelihoods in Developing Cities*. Warwickshire: Intermediate Technology Publications.

- Lindell, I. (2010) *Africa's Informal Workers: Collective Agency, Alliances and Transnational Organising in Urban Africa*. Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.

Africa's Informal Workers explores the deepening processes of informalisation and casualisation of work that are changing livelihood opportunities and conditions in Africa and beyond. In doing so, the book addresses the collectively organised responses to these changes, presenting them as an important dimension of the contemporary politics of informality in Africa. It goes beyond the usual focus on household 'coping strategies' and individual forms of agency, by addressing the growing number of collective organisations through which informal 'workers' make themselves visible and articulate their demands and interests. The emerging picture is that of a highly diverse landscape of organised actors, reflecting the great diversity of interests in the informal economy. This provides grounds for tensions, but also opportunities for alliance. The book also explores the novel trend of transnational organising by informal workers, gathering case studies from nine countries and cities across sub-Saharan Africa, and from sectors ranging from urban informal vending and service delivery, to informal manufacturing, casual port work and cross-border trade.

- Lund, F. (1998) Women Street Traders in Urban South Africa: A Synthesis of Selected Research Findings, CSDS Research Report No. 15., Durban: University of Natal.

- Lund, F. and Skinner, C. (1999) Promoting the Interests of Women in the Informal Economy: An Analysis of Street Trader Organisations in South Africa, CSDS Research Report. Durban: University of Natal.

- http://wiego.org/sites/wiego.org/files/publications/files/LundSkinner_Promoting_interests_women_IE_1999.pdf

- Lyons, M. and Snoxell, S. (2005) Creating Urban Social Capital: Some Evidence from Informal Traders in Nairobi, *Urban Studies*, 42(7).

The poverty and dramatic alteration in geographical composition of African cities have been associated with rapid urbanisation, the growth of the informal economy and migration. The latter has separated individuals from long-established social and kinship networks, and from familiar livelihood strategies. The sustainable livelihoods approach views social capital as one of the poor's most important assets in managing their lives. This paper asks four central questions: (1) Does the creation of new, urban forms of social capital, depend upon and deplete inherited forms? (2) Is

social capital deliberately created or is it a by-product of sociability? (3) What are its functions in supporting the livelihoods of informal traders? (4) Is there a gender dimension to the strategies adopted? The paper draws on interviews with traders in two Nairobi markets, and on key-informant interviews. Principal findings are that, whilst traders initially draw heavily on existing inherited social capital, they deliberately create and adapt their networks, opportunistically building relationships of trust in the marketplace which enable them to survive. The pace of change is different in different economic milieu. Women and men adopt different strategies to achieve similar ends. Conclusions are drawn for social capital theory and policy.

- Mitullah, W. (2010) Informal Workers in Kenya and Transnational Organising: Networking and Leveraging Resources, in Lindell, I. (Ed.) *Africa's Informal Workers, Collective Agency, Alliances and Transnational Organising in Urban Africa*. London: Zed Books.

- Motala, S. (2002) Organising in the Informal Economy: A Case Study of Street Trading in South Africa, Seed Working Paper No. 36, Geneva: International Labour Organisation.

- Musoni, F. (2010) Operation Murambatsvina and the Politics of Street Vendors in Zimbabwe, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36(2): 301–317.

Soon after the government of Zimbabwe began a wide-ranging demolition of the informal sector infrastructure on 19 May 2005, some street vendors whose market stalls had been destroyed were back at their trading sites. Four years after this clean-up exercise, codenamed Operation Murambatsvina, tens of thousands of informal traders could be seen on the pavements of Harare and other Zimbabwean cities. While debates about Murambatsvina have focused on why this blitz occurred and how it affected livelihoods depending on the informal economy, little is known about the vendors who revived their activities in the post-Murambatsvina period. This case study of Makomva Business Centre in Harare's Glen View Township attempts to understand how the 'survivors' of this blitz responded and explains why they responded in the manner in which they did. The study found out that rather than resorting to organised forms of resistance, the Murambatsvina victims realised their limited capacity to confront the armed police and a government determined to use brute force. Instead, street vendors devised more subtle forms of resistance. Contrary to the argument that by not mobilising confrontational resistance against the destruction of their houses, businesses and jobs, Zimbabwean informal traders were apolitical, this study argues that street vendors demonstrated a high level of sophistication and political maturity by opting for adaptive resistance. Indeed, rather than viewing road-side traders as passive victims of state-sponsored violence, this article perceives them as critical political thinkers whose interactions with the state are guided by a nuanced understanding of the broader politics of the day.

- Nchito, W. and Tranberg Hansen, K. (2010) Passport, Please: The Cross Border Traders Association in Zambia, in Lindell, I. (Ed.) *Africa's Informal Workers, Collective Agency, Alliances and Transnational Organising in Urban Africa*. London: Zed Books.

- Nunzio, M. (2012) 'We Are Good at Surviving': Street Hustling in Addis Ababa's Inner City, *Urban Forum*, 23: 433–447.

Recent studies of the informal economy have tried to understand how the politics of informal actors and their attempts at organising themselves have created new collective platforms for social practice and social action in the African city [Lindell (2010); Meagher

(2011)]. These studies have suggested that the informal is not only the domain of the poor and their form of solidarity, but also a terrain where new powerful actors in and outside the city might emerge and where power dynamics and forms of differentiation are at work. With a similar theoretical concern, this paper focuses on how engagement with the 'street economy' among men between their mid-20s and mid-30s in Addis Ababa's inner city reveals broader experiences of exclusion and marginalisation.

- Thulare, P. (2004) Trading Democracy? Johannesburg Informal Traders and Citizenship, *Centre for Policy Studies, Policy: Issues and Actors*, 17(1).

- Tsitsi, N. and Agatha, T. (2000) Women Street Vendors in Zimbabwe. Women and Law in Southern Africa Research and Education Trust. Paper commissioned by Women in Informal Employment: Globalising and Organising.

- War on Want (2006) *Forces for Change: Informal Economy Organisations in Africa*. Available at: <http://media.waronwant.org/sites/default/files/Forces%20for%20Change%20-%20Informal%20economy%20organisations%20in%20Africa.pdf>.

8. Conclusion

This Working Paper has shown that the informal sector is an important source of employment, dominated by informal trade, with the sale of food a significant subsector. The data also shows that the informal economy in general, and informal trade and food trade in particular, are disproportionate sources of employment for women. AFSUN's surveys show that urban residents, particularly low-income households, regularly sourced food from the informal sector. Despite supermarket penetration, the informal food sector persists. All of this evidence together establishes the importance of the informal economy in food security. Despite this, the review of policy and practise trends, particularly for street traders, suggests that it is at best benign neglect and at worst actively destructive. This has serious food security implications that are seldom recognised or assessed.

While research gaps have been identified throughout the review, priorities are identified and expanded on below. This is with a view to shifting the current discourse and to supporting better policy and planning. Since women predominate the informal retail sector, all these analyses should be mindful of the critical role played by women and the particular issues and constraints they face.

1. *Assessing employment trends in the informal food sector*
Standard labour force surveys often include a question for retailers on whether they sell food or non-food products. Analysing this data and regularly reporting on it would go a long way to increase the visibility of the informal sector's contribution to the food system. In countries where these surveys are conducted regularly, there is an opportunity to analyse trends over time. This is a particularly important line of enquiry given supermarket penetration.
2. *Broadening the focus to include other informal players in the food system*
Informal retailers make up only one set of informal sector players in the food system. The role of the informal sector in producing, packaging and processing, distributing and disposing of waste needs further research attention and quantification.

3. *Quantifying the informal food sectors' contribution to the economy and household wellbeing*

The visibility of the informal food economy would be enhanced by analysis of the contribution of the informal food economy to local and national economies, and household wellbeing. The former can be assessed using national labour force survey statistics, and income and expenditure surveys, where they are available. More evidence along the lines of Levin, et al.'s (1999) study, making the connection between food vendors and the food security of their households, would bring to the fore the poverty alleviation dimension of this trade.

4. *Understanding food purchasing choices of low-income households*

Existing evidence suggests that low-income households continue to source a portion of their food in the informal sector, even if they have access to supermarkets. For better food policy and planning, the perceived advantages and disadvantages of formal versus informal retailers needs to be explored. Specifically, research is needed in a range of different contexts on the nature and quantity of food products that are purchased by low-income consumers in different types of outlets, and the rationale behind these choices.

5. *Assessing the impact of supermarket expansion on food security of low-income households and informal food vendors*

It is often assumed that supermarkets will advantage low-income consumers. This, however, needs further interrogation. This could be done through detailed case studies of contexts where supermarkets have been established. This should include assessing the changes over time in the food consumption patterns of low-income households and employment patterns in both formal and informal retail over time.

6. *Measuring the food security implications of street vendor evictions and ongoing lower-level harassment*

This review has shown that evictions and lower-level harassment of street vendors, including food vendors, is a daily reality. Only one study (Riley, 2014) assessed the impact of this on food security. Further work is needed to demonstrate that the impact is not just loss of livelihoods, but that it also has food security implications.

7. *Exploring alternative planning and legal paradigms to support inclusive approaches*

The review shows that while academics have paid attention to exclusionary practices, there were only two cases where inclusive planning for the informal economy was documented. To support alternative approaches, greater attention needs to be paid to inclusionary practises where they do exist, as well as exploring alternative legal and planning principles and approaches.

8. *Interrogating the policy and regulatory environment and constraints for food vendors operating in private space*

Existing analyses focus particularly on retailers operating in public space. These are more visible and more contentious. Additional research is needed to understand the regulatory environment for those operating in private space, which is also critical to planning and policy responses.

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