

The socio-legal and economic implications of street vending prohibitive laws in major cities in Nigeria

Akuchie Henry A

Adjunct Senior Lecturer, Faculty of Law, Baze University, Abuja, Nigeria

Abstract

Intellectual debates on the best perception of the informal economy and street trading in particular which is based on inclusion or exclusion positions in public policies, creates impacts on urban land use and sustainable development. It has been seen from the point of legality or illegality, categorization, economic roles and negative environmental impacts which can be established in literatures around the world even though Nigerian case studies are scanty. Informal street vendors tend to be negatively labeled as "illegal", "dirty", and "transitory." In direct opposition to the so-called modernizing aims of cities, informal street vending is also seen as "primitive" or "traditional" as if the huge numbers of people who work as street vendors across the world have not caught up with modern times. These labels, however, disregard the fact that those who street vend, often do so for long hours of the day, run the fear of fines and confiscation of their goods, and work within public space, to survive and support themselves and their families. This paper is an attempt to investigate the values and vices of street trading. Attempts by the government in the past through legislation to deal with the situation has proved abortive. This may not be unconnected with the non-inclusive approaches to solving the problem. The current situation intelligently suggests that inclusive principles and practical application of postmodernism theory should guide the solution to street trading problem in our cities in order to completely eliminate its vices or reduce it while benefiting from its values.

Keywords: street, vending, informal, formal, prohibitive, postmodernism, women, poor

1. Introduction

The informal sector (street vending) comprises of both mobile and stationary classes. Some of the mobile operators use motorized means like trucks and cars selling a range of items from herbal drugs, food items to sales promotion of GSM operators with heavy noise pollution. Others push carts, wheel barrows or hawk the goods placed on their head from one point of the street to another. The stationary class operates from informal structures who also at other times only use the structures as a distribution point for their goods or send out their young ones to hawk goods and services on the streets especially at peak traffic periods of the day while personally engaging in the enterprises at those stationary points. All the groups described above naturally fall within Cohen *et al's* ^[1] most visible informal workers. The other two major classes according to Cohen *et al's* classifications based on degree of visibility are the least visible informal workers who operate from homes selling or producing goods and services and the less visible workers who operate from small factories or repair workshops. Nor do these labels take into account how such modernizing processes of so many cities across the Globe lead to the need for many to work informally in the streets in the first place. While referring to informal street vendors as "poor," "needy," or even "desperate" may hold a certain truth for many who do such work, these labels omit the fact that the informal street vendor is a person who must constantly re-appropriate public space in his or her attempt to sustain the livelihoods of her or himself and her or his families.

Therefore, street vendors need to be understood through a humanized lens as this paper seeks to do. Taking a step back from street vendors specifically, one can see that there is no consensus regarding how to define informality as a whole, which systemic factors and institutions are most central to creating and expanding informal work, and how to understand informality's link to the formal economy. Concerning informal street vendors specifically, the question of whether they should be allowed to work in public space is complex. Despite a vigorous debate, clearer concepts are urgently needed to motivate and support research into the ways public space is integral to the survival of informal street workers. In this view, more humanized perspectives into the informality-public space relationship are required for understanding the experiences of informal workers and street vendors particularly in Lagos and Abuja both individually and collectively.

2. Urban Informality and Public Space

The lives of the most visible informal workers like street vendors, scrap collectors, recyclers, and transport providers among others clash with ideas of public space in cities across Nigeria and generally around the world today. In short, the presence of these types of informal workers, along with the homeless, beggars and other marginalized groups, force us to ask ourselves just how public our public spaces are today? And, who gets to use them? This paper focuses solely on street vendors in many major cities in Nigeria today, however, the findings of this writer are relatable to ongoing debates concerning the usage of public spaces throughout other cities in Africa and across the globe. Before briefly highlighting Nigeria's street vendors in

¹ Cohen, M., Mihir, B. and Pat, H. (2000) "Women Street Vendors: The Road to Recognition", *Seeds*, No.20, New York: Population Research Council Inc.

historical context and describing the geography of Abuja and Lagos street vendors today, this stage of the paper is concerned with introducing the theoretical framework central to this 'informal economy' (street vending) as a phenomenon in Nigeria. However, before describing this framework, the paper defines and describes the idea of informality by highlighting the interdisciplinary literature on informality and its relation to theories of public space. Central to understanding this relationship between informal everyday practices and planned visions of public space, or what Lefebvre^[2] refers to as abstract and concrete space, is Lefebvre's call for a right to the city. Through this concept, all in the city are not only able to access public space, but to produce it for the means of expression and living, but survival.

3. Defining and Theorizing Informality

Whether referred to as the informal sector, informal economy, shadow economy, undeclared economy, or the traditional economy, informal work is a vital generator of jobs and income for a huge portion of Nigeria's urban population^[3]. Informal employment is often labor-intensive, small-scale and low-tech. Informal labor also exists not only in both urban and rural places, but as is often the case, across a rural-urban continuum as both people, processes, goods flow between city and countryside. However, despite lacking legal recognition, protection, regulation, and often a lack of formal employment opportunities, informal work and livelihood strategies have proliferated in recent decades in Nigeria^[4]. Typified by low-productivity enterprises and seen as semi-legal or illegal by many city authorities, many of the goods being sold or produced by informal workers consist of legal everyday products and services, and informal labor has become "the rule, rather than the exception" in many major cities in Nigeria^[5]. Some have identified social polarization in Nigeria's cities as a key factor in the development and reliance on informal economies for the survival of the urban poor^[6]. The neoliberal age of flexibilization and the liberalization of markets have generated an overall escalation of unregulated informal activities in cities across the developing countries for which Nigeria is inclusive^[7]. The growth, diversification, and reliance on informal livelihoods as a way for the urban poor to eke out a living have a direct connection to processes of urbanization in the developing countries such as Nigeria^[8]. Definitions of the "informal

economy," "informal sector," or "informality" as a whole are numerous and contested. Feige^[9] has referred to the informal sector as "those actions of economic agents that fail to adhere to the established institutional rules or are denied their protection.

Roy^[10] sees informality as "a state of exception from the formal order of urbanization", something which has significantly expanded during the recent global recession^[11]. For Dovey^[12], informality "implies a lack of formal control over planning, design and construction", whereas Al Sayyad^[13] makes the important point that definitions concerning urban informality "cannot be disentangled from geography" or "from certain area-studies discourses" due to the highly differentiated notions regarding what is meant by the "urban". However, as Perry^[14] points out, as economic activities outside the regulation or protection of the state, informality typically connotes "disrespect for the rule of law" for local states and urban authorities. Informal work throughout Nigeria is as diverse as definitions of it. Many informal employment activities involve small workshops providing services such as shoe and bicycle repair, brick making, or embroidery, which are often less visible and confined to particular areas, whereas some, such as street vendors, transport providers, scrap collectors and recyclers are highly mobile and clearly visible in the public spaces of towns and cities. The least visible are informal workers who run or work in home-based enterprises, many of whom are women. These more hidden elements are often subcontracted to sweatshops at low wages by formal firms and linked to the clothing industries intended for consumers in the developed countries^[15]. Informal employment accounts for a large proportion of total non-agricultural employment across the world and Nigeria is not an exception. The percentages are particularly high in Asia as a region, yet vary greatly by individual country. In South and East Asia (excluding China), non-agricultural informal employment, according to a 2014 International Labor Organization (ILO) study, ranged from 42 per cent in Thailand, 68 percent in Vietnam, 73 percent in Indonesia, to as high as 84 per cent in India. The same ILO data taken from six large urban centers in Nigeria (Abuja – FCT Area Councils, Lagos, Onitsha, Aba, Ibadan, and Kano City), found that the number of people working in informal employment in non-agricultural activities in Nigeria indicated that while "informal employment is fairly significant (33 percent)", it was "lower than in the other reporting countries of the African region".

On the whole, statistical data on the size and percentage of

² Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford University, England.

³ Roy, A. (2011). *Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism*. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35(2), 223-238.
Valodia, I. (2001). *Economic Policy and Women's Informal Work in South Africa*. *Development and Change*, 32(5), 871-892.

⁴ Wilson, D. C., Velis, C., & Cheeseman, C. (2006). *Role of Informal Sector Recycling in Waste Management in Developing Countries*. *Habitat International*, 30(4), 797-808. Williams, C.C., & J. Round. (2007). *Rethinking the Nature of the Informal Economy: Some Lessons from Ukraine*. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 31(2), 425-441.

⁵ Martine, G. (2012). *The New Global Frontier: Urbanization, Poverty and Environment in the 21st Century*. London: Earth-Scan Publishers.

⁶ Pahl, R. E. (1988). *Some Remarks on Informal Work, Social Polarization and the Social Structure*. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 12(2), 247-267.

⁷ Boyd, R. (2006). *Labour's Response to the Informalization of Work in the Current Restructuring of Global Capitalism: China, South Korea, and South Africa*. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 27(4), 486-502.

⁸ Roy, A. (2009). *Why India Cannot Plan its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization*. *Planning Theory*, 8(1), 76-87.

⁹ Feige, E. L. (1990). *Defining and Estimating Underground and Informal Economies: The New Institutional Economics Approach*. *World Development*, 18(7), 989-1002.

¹⁰ Roy, A. (2005). *Urban informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning*. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 71(2), 147-158.

¹¹ Horn, Z. E. (2009). *No Cushion to Fall Back On: The Global Economic Crisis and Informal Workers*. Inclusive Cities Project, Cambridge, MA: Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO).

¹² Dovey, K. (2012). *Informal Urbanism and Complex Adaptive Assemblage*. *International Development Planning Review*, 34(4), 349-368.

¹³ Al Sayyad, N. (Ed.). (2004). *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

¹⁴ Perry, G. (Ed.). (2007). *Informality: Exit and Exclusion*. World Bank Publications.

¹⁵ Sassen, S. (1994). *The Informal Economy: Between New Developments and Old Regulations*. *Yale Law Journal*, 2289-2304.

non-agricultural informal employment in Nigeria is lacking and limited to only a handful of urban areas^[16]. However, this data presented at the national scale does not fully capture the importance and growth of informal work and must also be supplemented with studies at smaller and local scales as this paper does. Across the major cities in Nigeria, informal work offers temporary and long-term means of getting by for those who have lost their job or cannot find a job in the formal sector^[17]. However, debates over informality's place in major cities in Nigeria range from positive appraisals of its usefulness for "promoting employment and growth"^[18], and its centrality in the functioning and livability of informal or shanty-town settlements on the edges of cities^[19], to critical analyses of its lack of "strategic economic power" in cities, to name but a few^[20]. Despite the heterogeneous nature of informal employment around the globe, and the numerous ways the urban poor have relied on their "creativity" as an income generator, informal employment is beset by one common feature: they are almost always deprived of lawful and social protection^[21]. As numerous attempts to define informal work exist, so too are many theoretical explanations as to why informal work occurs and why it has spread. Shortly after the Second World War, scholarly dialogue on development was highly influenced by what is now known as the Lewis model. Proposed by economist Arthur Lewis in 1954, this dual-sector model was based on the assumption that there was an unlimited supply of labor in the traditional or subsistence sector. Arguing that a demand for labor will increase as long as the formal (regulated) sector develops, Lewis and his followers hypothesized that excess labor would be absorbed into the formal industrial sector, resulting in the eventual disappearance of those employed in the traditional (informal, subsistence) sector.

However, the reality is in fact contrary to Lewis' predictions^[22]. Informal economies in many localities throughout the developing countries have continued to expand and grow^[23]. Despite the rapid expansion of industrialization in

Europe and South East Asia that have employed cheap labor throughout the developing world, the "antagonistic relationship" that the capitalist production system has with traditional and local economies has played a role in the rise in number of people dependent on informal or non-standard employment^[24]. Discourses on the growth and heterogeneity of informality can be split into four schools of thought. As "the bane of informal economy research since its inception"^[25], the dualist perspective sees the informal economy as being comprised of marginal activities distinct from, and, unconnected to the formal sector, providing a last resort for the poor and "assuring human security in a situation of economic crisis"^[26]. The dualist perspective originated from British anthropologist Keith Hart's (1973) influential study on the economic activities of rural migrants in Accra, Ghana, in which the term "informal sector" was first coined. Emerging during a period when the developing world was experiencing skyrocketing levels of urban population growth and in-migration from city hinterlands, dualists see structural change and demographic shifts caused by rural-to-urban migration as key factors leading to imbalances in people's skills in relation to modern economic employment opportunities available in the urban formal sector^[27]. Likewise, informal income generating activities played an active role in encouraging urban migration^[28]. For Breman^[29], it is not apt to simply label the formal and informal sectors of poor nations as a "schism between more and less modern or advanced economic segments;" so instead labelling should be along the lines of unequal results "from a faulty policy towards formalization"^[30].

Viewing informality "as a form of resistance" in which the self-employed informal workforce struggles to make do under repressive and inefficient government regulations, is the position of the legalist (neo-liberal) perspective^[31]. Associated with the work of economist Hernando de Soto (1989), legalists prescribe that the rise of informal activity is solely due to the inimical legal system of developing nations whose registration policies revolve around a costly, time-consuming, and cumbersome process in which formal status requires legally recognized assets as well as expensive property rights. Like the dualist view, the legalist perspective relies on the formation of a formal/informal dichotomy and the state's role in the creation of such a dichotomy^[32]. However, unlike the dualist perspective, informality is not created by demographic, social, or economic change, but is formed out of "a hostile reception"

¹⁶ Cooke, F. L. (2006). Informal Employment and Gender Implications in Nigeria: The Nature of Work and Employment Relations in the Community Services Sector. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 17(8), 1471-1487.

¹⁷ Chen, M. A. (2005). Rethinking the Informal Economy: Linkages with the Formal Economy and the Formal Regulatory Environment. United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economics Research.

¹⁸ Donovan, M. G. (2008). Informal Cities and the Contestation of Public Space: The Case of Bogotá's Street Vendors, 1988—2003. *Urban Studies*, 45(1), 29-51.

¹⁹ Kudva, N. (2009). The Everyday and the Episodic: The Spatial and Political Impacts of Urban Informality. *Journal of Environmental Planning*, 41(7), 1614-1628.

²⁰ Davis, M. (2006). *Planet of Slums*. London: Verso Publications.

²¹ Birkbeck, C. (1978). Self-Employed Proletarians in an Informal Factory: The Case of Cali's Garbage Dump. *World Development*, 6(9), 1173-1185.

²² Tripp, A. M. (1997). *Changing the Rules: The Politics of Liberalization and the Urban Informal Economy in Tanzania*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

²³ Williamson, J. G. (1999). Real wages, Inequality and Globalization in Latin America before 1940. *Revista de Historia Económica/Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History (Second Series)*, 17(S1), 101-142.

²⁴ Chen, M. A. (2005). Rethinking the Informal Economy: Linkages with the Formal Economy and the Formal Regulatory Environment. United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economics Research.

²⁵ Kunnanatt, J. T. (2013). Globalization and Developing Countries: A Global Participation Model. *Economics, Management, and Financial Markets*, (4), 42-58.

²⁶ Sassen, S. (1994). *The Informal Economy: Between New Developments and Old Regulations*. *Yale Law Journal*, 2289-2304.

²⁴ Harvey, D. (1985). *The Urbanization of Capital*. Oxford: Blackwell Publications.

²⁵ Yasmeen, G. (2001). Stockbrokers turned Sandwich Vendors: The Economic Crisis and Small-Scale Food Retailing in Southeast Asia. *Geoforum*, 32(1), 91-102.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 32(1), 103-105.

²⁷ McGee, T.G., (1996). On the Utility of Dualism: The Informal Sector and Mega-Urbanization in Developing Countries. *Regional Development Dialogue* 17(1), 1-15.

²⁸ Sethuraman, S. V. (1976). Urban Informal Sector: Concept, Measurement and Policy, *The International Labour Review*, 114(1), 69-81.

²⁹ Breman, J. (1996) *Footloose Labour: Working in India's Informal Economy*. Vol. 2. Cambridge University Press, 1996.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 6-12.

³¹ Biles, J.J. (2008). Informal Work and Livelihoods in Mexico: Getting by or Getting Ahead? *The Professional Geographer*, 60(4), 541-555.

³² Coletto, D. (2010). *The Informal Economy and Employment in Brazil: Latin America, Modernization, and Social Changes*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

by the cities' legal systems towards the urban poor^[33]. (De Soto 1989, p.10). Therefore, informal "entrepreneurs" hide from government intervention, simultaneously preferring to operate in the informal economy "when it is impossible to comply with the bureaucratic procedures and enforcements of the government"^[34]. A third position regarding the development of informal economies is the voluntarist tradition. In a policy sense, voluntarists seek to more closely incorporate informal employment into the formal economic system so as to avoid unfair competition. For voluntarists, informality is theorized as the result of a cost-benefit analysis in which informal and self-employed enterprises closely weigh the benefits and disadvantages of both formalization and remaining unregistered. Despite "irregular work conditions, high turnover and, overall, lower rates of remuneration", voluntarists acknowledge the attractiveness of avoiding formalization^[35]. Flexibility is often cited as a primary driver to work. Because of this, voluntarists assert the reasons for high numbers of women's informal self-employment^[36].

Voluntarists' emphasis on local policy is, in an economic sense, arguing that the incorporation of informal enterprises and their employees within a formal regulatory environment strengthens local tax bases to fund local services and projects^[37]. According to Mahoney^[38], the incorporation of informal enterprises and their tax contributions will help to support the public good "and therefore tax-avoiding informal workers cannot be excluded," otherwise leaving formal sector enterprises to compensate for the taxes missed out from informal enterprises cannot guarantee the public good. Lastly, culminating during the late 1970s and early 1980s was the Marxist or Structuralist perspectives which viewed the non-waged urban poor (i.e., the informal sector) as the result of an overriding, unequal, and increasingly flexible capitalist system^[39]. According to Gerry^[40], neo-Marxists see informal "petty commodity producers" in the developing world as "little more than disguised wage workers indirectly exploited" through the sub-contracting system. Therefore, when workers become "redundant or useless," firms simply returned them to their homes or villages resulting in a "semi-pro-letarianized" labor force^[41]. Under neoliberal capitalism, Portes^[42] further claims that large firms are able to reach directly into the pool of unprotected workers. By "partially restoring the elasticity of their labor supply" large firms have an ameliorative effect on the Nigeria's unemployment while simultaneously

bypassing wage increases.^[43] In short, researchers of the Marxist variety have emphasized that the informal sector is functionally integrated as part of a single global capitalist system and assert that economic dualism as "an expression" stems from the colonial or neocolonial context of uneven development.^[44]

While the dualist, legalist, and Marxist perspectives remain dominant schools of thought regarding the informal economy's development, other approaches have described the proliferation of informality across the globe. Given that a huge presence of informal employment in Nigeria's cities are made up of women and young boys and girls,^[45] feminist writers have refuted the notion that the formal economy's "macho values" cause women to prefer informal work, but argue that women work informally "out of necessity rather than choice."^[46] Rogerson's^[47] study on the linkages between poverty and informality in South Africa has shown that many micro-enterprises not only conduct business in the informal sector because they lack a strong capital base as well as operating permits, but do so as the informal sector serves as a more productive incubator to grow their businesses towards eventual formality. Finally, poststructuralists have invested informal entrepreneurs with more agency, considering informal work with increased subjectivity and identities.^[48] Urban informality needs to be understood in relation to processes of urbanization in Nigeria.

Therefore, the growth of urban informality in Nigeria's metropolitan areas should not be understood as only an economic sector, but what Roy^[49] calls a mode of urbanization. Here, the state must be seen as a primary producer of informal spaces and practices in the city both Lagos and Abuja. According to Roy,^[50] the state plays a key role in the creation of an urban informality. However, rather than the strict dichotomy of formal and informal economies giving rise to what is formal and informal, it is "a complex continuum of legality and illegality" within urban and semi-urban spaces that differentiates informality from within.^[51] Thus, the boundary between formal and informal should be understood as porous, as different forms of informality are embodied by different standards of legitimacy decided by the state. How does informal work occurring in public spaces fit into the above discourses? The globalization of urban space has transformed urban space in Nigeria into patchworks of urban enclaves where public spaces resemble spaces of hyper-consumption surrounded by often slum-like

³³ De Soto, H. (1989). *The Other Path. The Invisible Revolution in the Third World*. New York: Harper and Row.

³⁴ Khandan, A., & Nili, M. (2014). Government Interventions and the size of the Informal Economy. The Case of Iran (1971–2007). *Journal of Economic Policy Reform*, 17(1), 71-90.

³⁵ Maloney, W. F. (2004). Informality Revisited. *World Development*, 32(7), 1159-1178.

³⁶ Chant, S. (1999). Informal Sector Activity in the Third World City. *Applied Geography*, 509-527.

³⁷ Maloney, W. F. (2004). 32(7), 1179-1181.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 32(7), 1179-1181.

³⁹ Portes, A. (1981). "Unequal Exchange and the Urban Informal Sector," in A. Portes & J. Walton, *Labor, Class, and the International System*. New York: Academic Press, 67-106.

⁴⁰ Gerry, C. (1987). Developing Economies and the Informal Sector in Historical Perspective. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 493(1), 100-119.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 493(1) 112.

⁴² Portes, A. (1983). *The Informal Sector: Definition, Controversy, and Relation to National Development*. Review (Fernand Braudel Center), 151-174.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, (1983). 151-174

⁴⁴ Peattie, L. R. (1980). Anthropological Perspectives on the Concepts of Dualism, the Informal Sector, and Marginality in Developing Urban Economies. *International Regional Science Review*, 5(1), 1-31.

⁴⁵ Lund, F. J., & Srinivas, S. (2000). Learning from Experience: A Gendered Approach to Social Protection for Workers in the Informal Economy. *International Labour Organization*.

⁴⁶ Hoyman, M. (1987). Female Participation in the Informal Economy: A Neglected Issue. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 493(1), 64-82.

⁴⁷ Rogerson, C. M. (1996). Urban Poverty and the Informal Economy in South Africa's Economic Heartland. *Environment and Urbanization*, 8(1), 167-179.

⁴⁸ Biles, J.J. (2009). Informal work in Latin America: Competing Perspectives and Recent Debates.

⁴⁹ Roy, A. (2005). Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 71(2), 147-158.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, (2005) 71(2) 147-158.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, (2005) 71(2) 149.

living conditions.⁵²

This has very real consequences for legitimizing what types of practices are allowed by neoliberal urban elites within city space. Specifically, 'informal street vendors' presence in these increasingly globalizing urban spaces has triggered serious debate about their role within the public realm.⁵³ How does public space serve as reproductive spaces for those not tied to the Lagos or Abuja city-making process? Does informal street workers' re-appropriation of public space challenge municipal governments' prioritization of the interests of Lagos or Abuja as capital cities rather than the basic life spaces of ordinary people and those who eke out a living at "the bottom of the urban economy"?⁵⁴ More specifically, how does the agency of informal street vendors challenge elite and state-led ideas of urban and public space in the neoliberal city? The next sections of this paper describe the debate concerning informal street vendors' role in public space, how there has been a decline in public space, and how an informal economy has evolved in contemporary Nigeria. The Street Vendor Debate for many rural-urban migrants and urban poor in Nigeria, the ability to attain a livelihood is both difficult and overwhelming. To help ease this burden or achieve what Davis⁵⁵ has referred to as "informal survivalism," some migrants and urban poor turn to informal street vending as both a short and long-term strategy.⁵⁶ Street vending and trading in city streets "presently represents one of the most visible and popular occupations in many major Nigerian cities."⁵⁷ Street vending not only offers an employment strategy for those in need of one, but is a fundamental aspect of urban economies and everyday life in many places around the world. Selling local produce and snacks as well as handicrafts, clothing, and in some instances specialized services, street vendors make many vital contributions to the communities in which they work. But, street vendors, in the eyes of local authorities, are not always seen as innovative entrepreneurs, but as an out-of-place element of urban society who congest streets, create disorder, and reflect a pre-capitalist economy associated with illegality and poverty. Donovan⁵⁸ reminds us that these elite notions of informal street vending are "often steeped with modernist undertones" that emphasize cities as spaces of profit, capital and exchange instead of for the use and survival of a city's population.

Responses to street vending by local governments in Nigeria vary greatly. However, in most Nigerian cities, street vendors are often ill-treated. In countless cities, informal street vendors work in the streets despite city-wide bans on the practice. In Lagos, the State Government had in 2003 enacted the Street Trading and Illegal Market Prohibition Law, which, in Section One, prohibits street trading and hawking. It provides for a fine of N90,000 or a six-month

jail term for both buyer and seller.⁵⁹ In some cities around the world, like Cairo, Lagos, Rabat, Kigali, and Beijing, violence and even death has resulted from local attempts to forcefully remove street vendors from public spaces. In New Delhi, a Street Vendors Act was passed by parliament with the goal of better protecting street vendors' rights in public space, but bribes and harassment ensue as local governments fail to implement the law.⁶⁰ Examples from other parts of the world are instructive. Although the United Kingdom Department of Business recognizes that street-side stalls aid the economy, the local councils there regulate activities. Before engaging in street trading in Bedford, an applicant must apply for a licence costing up to £4,510 per annum. The applicant must be a minimum age of 17. The Cornwall Borough imposes a fine of £1,000 on unlicensed street traders in its jurisdiction, while in Bristol, trading is prohibited completely in some streets. Yet, the United Kingdom Department of Business, in a 2010 reform, recommended that all street (stall) traders must undergo a stringent background police check. Nigeria's chaotic policing system can render this unfeasible. Thus, Lagos would have to enforce its current law until there is a better security architecture. In Los Angeles, ill-treatment and bans on where street vendors can and cannot work have severely constrained the livelihood strategies of many who have relied on street vending for many years.⁶¹ Morales⁶² associates such variation in the (un)acceptability of street vendors because of local governments' poor understanding of economic situations. In this sense, misconceptions regarding informality hides the true factors regarding the importance and embeddedness of informal activity in the functioning of everyday urban life.

Similarly, Austin⁶³ points out that many cities are unwilling to depart from long histories of seeing street vendors as a nuisance. Additionally, across cities in Nigeria, including those in Abuja and Lagos, urban planners and municipal bureaucrats "prefer public spaces to be clean, tidy, and clear of homeless, beggars, and street vendors who are considered to erode the 'modern' aesthetics of the city."⁶⁴ Here, local governments keen on upholding a good business climate rely on relocation schemes and, in some cases, bans on street vending in general, to restrict non-regulated capitalism in public spaces.⁶⁵ Local governments challenging the presence of informal street vendors in the

⁵⁹ Akinwotu, E. (2016) *From Hawkers to Criminals: How the Lagos*

Ban on Street Selling Hurts the City: The Guardian Newspaper, Wed. August Edition.

⁶⁰ Nath, Hiranya K., (2016). "A Note on the Cyclical Behavior of Sectoral Employment in the U.S, *Economic Analysis and Policy, Elsevier, Vol. 50(C), pp. 52-61.*

⁶¹ Estrada, E., & Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2011). Intersectional dignities: Latino immigrant street vendor youth in Los Angeles. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 40(1), 102-131.*

⁶² Morales, A. (2000). Peddling Policy: Street Vending in Historical and Contemporary Contest. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 20(3/4), 76-98.*

⁶³ Austin, R. (1993). *Honest Living: Street Vendors, Municipal Regulation, and the Black Public Sphere, An*

Yale Law Journal, 103(8), 2119-2131.

⁶⁴ Manepong, C., & Walsh, J. C. (2013). *A New Generation of Bangkok Street Vendors: Economic Crisis as Opportunity and Threat. Cities Publications, Vol. (34), 37-43.*

⁶⁵ Cross, J. C. (1998). *Informal Politics: Street Vendors and the State in Mexico City. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.*

⁵² Douglass, M. (2002). From Global Intercity Competition to Cooperation for Livable Cities and Economic Resilience in Pacific Asia. *Environment and Urbanization, 14(1), 53-68.*

⁵³ Donovan, M. G. (2008). Informal Cities and the Contestation of Public Space: The Case of Nigeria's Street Vendors, 1988—2003. *Urban Studies, 45(1), 29-51.*

⁵⁴ Breman, J. (1996). *Footloose Labour: Working in Nigeria's Informal Economy. Vol. 2. Cambridge University Press, 1996.*

⁵⁵ Davis, M. (2006). *Planet of Slums. London: Verso Publications.*

⁵⁶ Davis, M (2006), p. 178.

⁵⁷ Donovan, M. G. (2008). Informal Cities and the Contestation of Public Space: The Case of Nigeria's Street Vendors, 1988—2003. *Urban Studies, 45(1), pp.29-51.*

⁵⁸ Donovan, M. G. (2008). p. 52.

city base their arguments on general claims focused around congestion, 'broken windows', and unfair market competition.⁶⁶ Following broken windows theory, many urban authorities posit that if street vending is left unchecked, it would result in urban disorder, crime, and "a downward spiral of urban decay."⁶⁷ Congestion and "disorder" caused by informal street vendors thus becomes the "broken window" symbolizing the advent of urban decline. In an economic sense, informal vendors are chastised for creating unfair competition on the grounds that street vendors offer cheaper goods than tax-paying merchants, while possibly providing contraband or "knock off" goods.⁶⁸ These so-called "black markets" are denounced for evading tax regulations, and forcing cities to miss out on possible tax bases to fund larger public projects.⁶⁹ Lastly, avowals that vending is harmful to city image are major contributors to restrictive policy and removal of informal workers from public spaces. Taken as a whole, opponents to informal street vending bring serious planning concerns. But, questions regarding the continuing omission of informal vending from the urban planning process and the aggressive policies which solely label vendors as local irritants are raised by supporters of street vending who regard them as vital contributors to urban life. The practice of informal street vending is defended for numerous reasons. Supporters of vendors claim that perspectives regarding informal vending "should be based on the preferences and needs of the majority" rather than those of the urban elite.⁷⁰

Hence, informal street vending should be understood through a variety of contexts in relation to everyday life. In spite of local inconsistencies regarding the acceptance of vendors, supporters of vendors and vending practices advocate for more inclusive local planning policies.⁷¹ Informal vending as a kind of entrepreneurship has been placed at the center of support for street vending.⁷² In this sense, entrepreneurial qualities are essential when local welfare systems are lacking, or don't exist at all. According to Bromley,⁷³ street vending serves as an entrepreneurially-driven safety net which can contribute to sustaining the needs of vendors and their families. Informal vending also allows women in certain cases to act as entrepreneurs. However, research shows that the opportunities provided to women to take up street vending commonly stem from place-specific institutions, socio-cultural constraints, locally-perceived norms of women's work, and uneven gender relations.⁷⁴ Despite significant challenges to organizing and often being paid less than men in similar

occupations,⁷⁵ vending allows women to make valuable contributions to their households when allowed. In some instances, vending and other forms of informal sector employment are among the few employment options that allow women to earn additional income while simultaneously caring and raising children. Informal street vending is also supported because of its direct links to the formal economy. Researchers in support of street vendors make two overlapping arguments in this regard. First, street vendors, along with other occupational groups in the informal economy, help expand the formal economy. And second, informal street vending in particular provides cheaper goods and services for low-income communities and neighborhoods, thus, allowing them to become consumers. Proponents backing street vendors' ability to contribute to the local formal economy argue that many of the goods sold by informal vendors are purchased from formal sources, and their customers often work in formal jobs. Therefore, "the economic value of street vending cannot be overemphasized" and should not be measured solely in quantifiable terms.⁷⁶

Street vending can also build both cultural and human capital, add to the vibrancy of urban places, and contribute to the distinctiveness of cities. Therefore, we must interpret informal street vendors "as a spatially-grounded activity which fuses cultural meanings, historical experiences, political struggles, and economic circumstances" into our understandings of public space.⁷⁷ Of central concern here are the values and meanings associated with informal work as the ways that "local" knowledge of street vending is produced in space and time. What should be clear is that certain competing discourses concerning the nexus between street vendors and public spaces in Nigeria exist. These discourses involve (1) the inconsistency of policies towards street vending; (2) street vending as an entrepreneurial strategy for the urban poor; (3) street vendors' relationship to urban space as either a perceived nuisance or a vital contributor to the urban economy; (4) street vending as an employment strategy for women; and (5) the ways street vendors challenge or fit into local cultural-economic visions of the city. While a multitude of reasons exist for supporting and not supporting street vendors in the city, these competing views concerning informal street vendors' and other street workers' presence in public space must be contextualized in the overarching debates concerning "the end of public space" and the commodification of the public realm in major Nigerian cities today.⁷⁸

⁶⁶ Donovan, M. G. (2008). p. 54.

⁶⁷ Ibid. (2008). P. 55.

⁶⁸ Ibid., (2008). P. 57.

⁶⁹ McLaren, J. (1998). Black Markets and Optimal Evadable Taxation. *The Economic Journal*, 108(448), 665-679.

⁷⁰ Illy, H. F. (1986). Regulation and Evasion: Street-Vendors in Manila. *Policy Sciences*, 19(1), 61-81.

⁷¹ Morales, A. (2000). 20(3/4), pp. 78-99.

⁷² Bromley, R. (2000). Street Vending and Public Policy: A Global Review. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, Vol.20(1/2), pp. 1-28.

⁷³ Ibid., (2000). P. 30.

⁷⁴ Agadjanian, V. (2002). Men doing" Women's Work": Masculinity and Gender Relations Among Street Vendors in Maputo, Mozambique. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 10(3), pp. 329-342.

⁷⁵ Lloyd-Evans, S. (2008). Geographies of the Contemporary Informal Sector in Nigeria: Gender, Employment Relationships and Social Protection. *Geography Compass*, Vol. 2(6), pp. 1885-1906.

⁷⁶ Jimu, I. M. (2004). Negotiated Economic Opportunity and Power: Perspectives and Perceptions of Street Vending in Urban Malawi. *Africa Development*, 30(4). p. 23.

⁷⁷ Lewinson, A. S. (1998). Reading Modernity in Urban Space: Politics, Geography and the Informal Sector of Downtown Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. *City & Society*, Vol.10(1), pp. 205-222.

⁷⁸ Mitchell, D. (1995). The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 85(1), pp. 108-133.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The research conducted towards writing this paper has revealed the values and vices of street trading. Attempts by different Nigerian State or local governments in the past to deal with the situation has proved abortive. This may not be unconnected with the non-inclusive approaches to solving the problem. The current situation intelligently suggests that inclusive principles of postmodernism should guide the solution to street trading problem in our cities to completely eliminate its vices or reduce it while benefiting from its values. With the emergence of post modernity, it was found that street trading is a thriving and growing phenomenon that can be attached to the existing changes in the Nigerian economy. Through postmodernism, a realistic response to the economic, cultural and social world of today is fashioned and individuals are able to gain control over their lives. Postmodernist planning is thus more open towards the informal sector and it is expected to solve the problems of the informal sector by becoming formal. Consequent upon this understanding, the following recommendations become necessary:

1. Government at all levels should collaborate to embark on urban renewal project that will provide appropriate-sized shopping facilities at an appropriate space in the street trading points possibly by changing certain existing land-use if necessary.
2. At the completion of such facilities, the removal of all informal trading structures should be enforced under the Development Control modality by relevant government agencies.
3. The Ministry of Environment, Federal and States should embark on city-beautification scheme of necessary landscaping of the current street trading points.
4. Existing environmental laws on street trading should be evaluated and if necessary reviewed for enforcement where they exist and new laws should be promulgated where necessary.
5. Street Trading Control Task Force should be constituted and empowered to prosecute offenders to face the wrath of the law.

References

1. Agadjanian V. Men doing" Women's Work": Masculinity and Gender Relations Among Street Vendors in Maputo, Mozambique. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 2002, 10(3).
2. Akinwotu E. From Hawkers to Criminals: How the Lagos Ban on Street Selling Hurts the City: *The Guardian Newspaper*, Wed. August Edition, 2016.
3. Austin R. Honest Living: Street Vendors, Municipal Regulation, and the Black Public Sphere, *An Yale Law Journal*, 1993, 103(8).
4. Biles JJ. Informal Work and Livelihoods in Mexico: Getting by or Getting Ahead? *The Professional Geographer*, 2008, 60(4).
5. Biles JJ. Informal work in Latin America: Competing Perspectives and Recent Debates, 2009.
6. Breman J. Footloose Labour: Working in Nigeria's Informal Economy. Vol. 2. Cambridge University Press, 1996.
7. Bromley R. Street Vending and Public Policy: A Global Review. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 2000, Vol.20(1/2).
8. Chant S. Informal Sector Activity in the Third World City. *Applied Geography*, 1999.
9. Cohen M, Mihir B, Pat H. "Women Street Vendors: The Road to Recognition", *Seeds*, No.20, New York: Population Research Council Inc, 2000.
10. Cooke FL. Informal Employment and Gender Implications in Nigeria: The Nature of Work and Employment Relations in the Community Services Sector. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 2006, 17(8).
11. Coletto D. The Informal Economy and Employment in Brazil: Latin America, Modernization, and Social Changes. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
12. Cross JC. Informal Politics: Street Vendors and the State in Mexico City. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998.
13. Davis M. Planet of Slums. London: Verso Publications, 2006.
14. De Soto H. The Other Path. The Invisible Revolution in the Third World. New York: Harper and Row, 2006.
15. Donovan MG. Informal Cities and the Contestation of Public Space: The Case of Nigeria's Street Vendors, 1988—2003. *Urban Studies*, 2008, 45(1).
16. Douglass M. From Global Intercity Competition to Cooperation for Livable Cities and Economic Resilience in Pacific Asia. *Environment and Urbanization*, 2002, 14(1).
17. Estrada E, Hondagneu-Sotelo P. Intersectional dignities: Latino immigrant street vendor youth in Los Angeles. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 2011, 40(1).
18. Gerry C. Developing Economies and the Informal Sector in Historical Perspective. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1987, 493(1).
19. Hoyman M. Female Participation in the Informal Economy: A Neglected Issue. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1987, 493(1).
20. Illy HF. Regulation and Evasion: Street-Vendors in Manila. *Policy Sciences*. 1986; 19(1):61-81.
21. Jimu IM. Negotiated Economic Opportunity and Power: Perspectives and Perceptions of Street Vending in Urban Malawi. *Africa Development*, 2004, 30(4).
22. Khandan A, Nili M. Government Interventions and the size of the Informal Economy. The Case of Iran (1971–2007). *Journal of Economic Policy Reform*, 2014, 17(1).
23. Lewinson AS. Reading Modernity in Urban Space: Politics, Geography and the Informal Sector of Downtown Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. *City & Society*, 1998, 10(1).
24. Lloyd-Evans S. Geographies of the Contemporary Informal Sector in Nigeria: Gender, Employment Relationships and Social Protection. *Geography Compass*, 2008, 2(6).
25. Lund FJ, Srinivas S. Learning from Experience: A Gendered Approach to Social Protection for Workers in the Informal Economy. *International Labour Organization*, 2000.
26. McGee TG. On the Utility of Dualism: The Informal Sector and Mega-Urbanization in Developing Countries. *Regional Development Dialogue*, 1996, 17(1).

28. Maloney WF. Informality Revisited. *World Development*, 2004, 32(7).
29. Manepong C, Walsh JC. A New Generation of Bangkok Street Vendors: Economic Crisis as Opportunity and Threat. *Cities Publications*, 2013, Vol. (34).
30. McLaren J. Black Markets and Optimal Evadable Taxation. *The Economic Journal*. 1998; 108(448):665-679.
31. Mitchell D. The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 1995, Vol. 85(1).
32. Morales A. Peddling Policy: Street Vending in Historical and Contemporary Contest. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 2000, 20(3/4).
33. Nath HK. "A Note on the Cyclical Behavior of Sectoral Employment in the U.S, *Economic Analysis and Policy*, Elsevier, 2016, Vol. 50(C).
34. Peattie LR. Anthropological Perspectives on the Concepts of Dualism, the Informal Sector, and Marginality in Developing Urban Economies. *International Regional Science Review*, 1980, 5(1).
35. Portes A. "Unequal Exchange and the Urban Informal Sector," in A. Portes & J. Walton, *Labour, Class, and the International System*. New York: Academic Press, 1981.
36. Portes A. The Informal Sector: Definition, Controversy, and Relation to National Development. *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 1983.
37. Rogerson CM. Urban Poverty and the Informal Economy in South Africa's Economic Heartland. *Environment and Urbanization*, 1996, 8(1).
38. Roy A. Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 2005, 71(2).
39. Sethuraman SV. Urban Informal Sector: Concept, Measurement and Policy, *The International Labour Review*, 1976, 114(1).
40. Valodia I. Economic Policy and Women's Informal Work in South Africa. *Development and Change*, 2001, 32(5).