

Street Vendors' Adaptive Strategies and the Dynamic Nature of Urban Space:

Developing an Integrative Framework in Kano, Nigeria

A Thesis

By

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DEDICATION

To my parents, siblings, friends, colleagues and especially the OzU Community.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to develop a framework that integrates street vendors within the urbanscape. Spaces within the cities are increasingly becoming scarce and valuable, resulting in increased competition for them. Coupled with the desire by city administrators and capital interest to create an ideal vision for a city, street vendors are, as a result, pushed away from potentially viable vending locations. However, as is in the global south, vendors are critical services providers to both the formal and informal sector.

Additionally, the methods up till now employed to redress these gaps are falling short. Different approaches have been taken, such as the design/planning approach, the inclusivity/people/procedural approach, the organisational approach. All have set out strategies for incorporating street vendors, from the mundanity of spatial allocation, rethinking vending instrument design, to suggesting urban planning/design processes. Despite their attempts, hostile actions and evictions have continued, emphasising their ineffectiveness at integration. Conversely, the number of vendors is increasing despite hostilities. This has created a vicious circle, one counterproductive to the cities, vendors, and users.

Within this regard, set to create an alternative, integrative framework informed by the everyday experience of vendors, and the perception of professional and urban users. Taking Kano as a site of investigation, three streets (MM-Way, DEL and SSA) were selected using space syntax methods in conjunction with other qualitative criteria. Street vendors' (ambulatory and non-ambulatory) behavioural mapping was conducted to ascertain the categories and type of vending activities along each street, as well as study their spatial practices and external influences exerted on them. In the philosophical tradition of constructivism, vendors selected through snowball sampling were interviewed and thematically analysed to gain more in-depth knowledge into their adaptive strategies while operating. Users and professional views were sought out to establish the perception of each group towards street vending within the city. The result showed views in a converging, diverging and equivalence range among users and professionals. This is translated as an opportunity for co-opting allies.

Combining the data with literature regarding integrative approaches, a multidisciplinary framework was developed that placed street vendor's spatial techniques as the entry frame for proposing integration into new and existing geographies. A combination of the result shows that the framework can act as a retrofit, the views espoused by the participants as gauges in evaluating the diversity of participation processes while avoiding tokenism. Finally, street vendors' design adaptations were domesticated within the resistance narrative complementary to the conceptions developed within urban sociology.

Published articles from this dissertation.

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Abbreviations

DEL – Dorayi Emir Line

KAROTA – Kano Road Transport Authority

IA – Informal armature

MM Way – Murtala Muhammad Way

MNCs – Multinational companies

MT – Motorised transport

MV – Mobile vendor

P1 – Professional

RU – Road user

RP – Raised platforms

SMV – Semi-mobile vendor

SSA – Sheka Sabuwar Abuja

STV – Stationary vendor

SV – Street vendor, street vendors, street vending

NMT – Non-motorised transport

CM – Combination membrane

VS – Vending stop

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Cities in both their social and physical aspects represent the pinnacle of urban agglomeration as sites of diversity and differences in socio-cultural character, human's inspiration and aspiration, and the necessary economic conditions that allow for the fulfilment of said (held) aspirations. Such social complexities – experienced through performative actions within the physical realm of the urban environment – exposes the varied configurational and compositional nature of the cities. The primary relationship formed between city's configuration (path, land used, block sizes) and ways they combine with the form of the city – composition (structural mass, physical element, width of streets etc.) produces distinct areas that best support a selected type of urban activities. In the current globalised and techno-centric world, this knowledge has not only been theorised, mathematised and specialised, but actively employed in the (re)design of cities and urban centres (see Hillier & Hanson, 1989; Hillier, 1996) to exploit resources and maximise capital/profits. However, spaces are not arbitrary produced outside of a social framework but are filled with (the dominant) ideology and values espoused (Lefebvre, 1991). And as the spaces are socially produced, so also do the production conditions human activity, behaviour, interactions – as Altman and Chemers (1984) have shown, by affording the degree to which social interactions could hold.

Here it would seem like such a statement could be drawn: the dynamism seen in cities is a complex process of creation, (re)negotiation, and limitation by and within the competing parts/actors of man, the space production process, and the delineated physical space itself. This perpetual places actors within a vortex where the processes of place-shaping and the physical environment are in continual flux, generating a never-ending urbanscape. However, the actors are not of the same standing because of the uneven nature of space production in cities (Knox & Ozolins, 2000).

This thesis takes a view of this uneven perspective from the lens of street vendors in a city. The main thesis objective is to explore vendor's adaptive strategies within the dynamic urban fabric and develop a framework that allow vending be considered in urban interventions through understanding the relationship between urban design and street vending in cities. Delving into intricacies of street vending, series of space conceptualisations, usage, and negotiations (read:

management) will be uncovered that questions the exclusionary practices faced by street vendors and other informal actors in cities.

At the heart of the uneven nature of shaping the urban environments are the actors involved and the process by which the urban composition is produced. The leading participant that help shape the character of the urban fabric are mostly those that yield political and financial power (Knox and Ozolins 2000, Whyte, 1980). Within the current neoliberal framework – where land has been valorised by its exchange rather than its use value – these actors control the means to determine land uses and development patterns around the cities (McGlynn & Murrain 1994; 322) by “initiat[ing] and control[ing] development in a very direct way”. Users or “customers” possess the ability to effect this seemingly one-directional route to urban planning and design initiation via advocacy or protesting [capitals] the hegemony (Knox and Ozolins 2000).

Vendors constitute part of the user community; all be it mostly at the bottom of the user chain. Their low literary rates (Onodugo et al., 2016, Lawanson, 2014) and economic conditions mean that they are often not those spearheading their advocacy, but instead, they defer to NGOs and other to argue their cases within other fields which are not necessarily the planning and design realms, i.e. the courts (Meneses-Reyes & Caballero-Juárez, 2013). Hence, street vendors are always adjusting and acclimatising to the environment rather than been involved in positively shaping it to their needs.

This lack of inclusivity within the design process of the cities is likely to exacerbate the decline of vending activities. As an activity which functions on the spontaneous nature of street life, it is paradoxical that street vending is threatened when there is a continual increase in public space – through streets, sidewalks and squares – as cities grow. Madanipour (2010: 5) had argued these spaces are becoming “*more impersonal, losing...their layers of significance...[and becoming] merely functional.*” The designers and other participatory groups in the planning process have given much emphasis to transportation, aesthetics and security that they have neglected vitality of the city and those who contribute to it.

Apart from the exclusionary practices exerted within the planning and design process, its secondary effects i.e. the reworking and redefinition of public space, where vendors largely operate further complicate street vending activities. Public spaces are critical infrastructure to the daily life of not just vendors but the general public. They remain the hub for openness and continuity in the face of rapid changes within the urban fabric as it regards to specialised space for specific activities. They remain the bastion of the commons where citizens (and residents)

can engage and contribute to the daily ballet of the city. Furthermore, public spaces continued to serve as basic reference for understanding the city's internal coherence, its espoused meaning(s) and the collective and shared identity (Carmona et al., 2003; Lynch, 1984; McInroy, 2000; Taylor, 2004). Adding to these symbolic and nontangible qualities that public spaces exhibits of their cities are their socio-economic role. For street vendors, sidewalks, public parks and plaza, places that draw people – whether for necessary or optional activities– provides market access for their goods and services. However, as such actions are considered as informal for operating at the margins of the rational paradigm to producing the city and their *assumed* existence outside the legal framework, they are considered “*out of place*” due to their perceived negative on social, economic and the physical life of the city (Yatmo 2008; Bromley 2000).

This presents an incongruence between vendors' expression of everyday life on the streets and the vision of the neo-liberal order represented within the professional realm of planners and designer. Because of the established principles of wellbeing, improved environmental qualities together with the economic opportunities public space provides (Gehl & Gemzoe, 2001;; Swanwick et al., 2003; Wooley, 2005), albeit within a different framework than that of street vendors, contemporary planners, designer and developers sees it as a resource not for its inherent *use value* but rather for the potential *exchange value* (Lefebvre, 1991) it adds to lands, properties and commercial operations around it vicinity.

Vendors everyday practice challenges this hegemonic public space city's vision by disrupting the cynically sanitised vision of the urbanscape (Swanson, 2007). Space, therefore, becomes not only a site of physical contestation among the different actors but also a site that the dominant or powerful expresses their ideology to be contested against. This scenario implicates the power structure of cities and its representational paradigm, making the calls for “right to the city” even more pronounced in the current democratic climes.

Absence from the hegemonic paradigm does not necessitates inability to directly contest the nature of public spaces produced. Designed spaces possess the distinct malleably character of unwittingly supporting extraneous activities. This is not necessarily a designed character – though open-endedness could be planned (Cho et al., 2015: 66-70; Harris, 2015) but rather as people initiate spatial contact with such spaces (Alexander et al., 1977), survey the limits of what is possibilities and tactically engage at encroaching. Vendors engage in such strategies at crafting urban space for everyday life. Franck and Stevens (2006:2) have argued that through these activities “spaces become “loose,” i.e. their predefined internal coherence is challenged

overtly or covertly “with or without official sanction” and whether there are “physical features that support those actions” (ibid).

By increasing the boundaries of possibilities within these highly abstracted and rationalised produced spaces which represent few of the populace (Adams & Tiesdell 2012; Carmona et al. 2010) informal actors engage in varying degrees of space appropriation and cohabitation depending on activities partaking in such spaces. Depending on space, function, opportunity and vendor’s needs, different adaptation strategies are employed that ensures productive spatial use. It is not unfathomable for vendors to delineate and cordon spaces using personal effects, employ ambulatory means as a tactic of evasion in tightly controlled environments, or fashion adaptable products that seamlessly embed into the existing visual frame.

It is important to note that scholars have been grappling with the question of vendors/informal activities in urban places, conceptualising their incessant presence, especially from diverging points. Some have argued such mundane activities constitute part of a city daily life and experiences (Whyte, 1980; Chase, Crawford & Kaliski, 1999), though paradoxically their character remains inconspicuous to the untrained eye. Others place vendor’s urban presence in contrast to the opposition faced via the coercive force applied (Kamete, 2010; Crossa, 2009, 2013). Here, informality and its mutating strategies in maintaining urban presence are reflected as central in shaping the vending experience. While others tow the middle ground of negotiated urban presence that entails the process of mediated settlement (Franck & Stevens, 2006; Cross, 1998).

From a design/planning perspective that seeks to integrate informality into mainstream city design, the above varying conceptions of informality in public spaces and its resultant effect on space occupation, character and considerations will impact the findings that need theorising. To see vendors resisting hegemonic state as essential to their existence will reflect in the analysis and understanding of their spatial order. It can further complicate the understanding of not only stationary vendors but also ambulatory ones as to which actions and are purposefully theirs or preferred and to which are the consequences of the hegemonic order, and crucial to this frame is the question of which hegemony? Likewise, if the opposing ends are to be adopted as the sole point of reference for understanding the distinct character of informality, that is the adaptive/lifestyle/liveability/everyday urbanistic model. Such analytical frame will conceal the realpolitik vendor’s face that impacts on their daily decision.

It is within this framework of urban production process, the product and the subsequent social policies that neglect the needs of vendors; this thesis seeks to understand and excavate the challenges faced by vendors in different urban settings and their adaptation strategies. The study intends to contextualise these adaptive measures within the larger scope of established inclusivity literature. Street vendors, both stationary and ambulatory characteristics relating to the public space, are assessed against the prevailing design paradigm to understand the peculiarities that are argued for and against their existence. It is the purpose of this study that this character, adaptations and design qualities are systematically built into a framework which addresses the challenges faced by vendors that inhibits representation, consideration and inclusion into mainstream design.

Within this study is the implicit assumption that along a single street, vendors are likely to have different experiences short distance apart from one another. This is presumed to be as a result of the continuously changing nature of the urban interface (from the decisions made by inclusive urban actors) as one moves from one location to another.

1.2 Problem statement

The increasing city population across the globe, especially in the global south, where there exist competing needs in resources allocation is straining local and national government. The immediacy of widespread outcry when sectors such as health, education and security among others appear to be neglected or deteriorating means that they receive primal attention. Of course, the physical environment is among these and arguable at the fore. However, what gains traction and investment are the infrastructural elements of movement and communication, and specific to southern countries, development scheme neglects infrastructural needs of a large section of the public that participates within the informal sector (Olanrewaju, 1996).

The continuous urban population explosion necessitates schemes that cater for all if only to a minimum standard. It is within this framework that programs such as SDG and MDGs that target the poor were established by the UN to eradicate poverty (UN, 2015). Translating this goal into the physical (Planning) framework according to the UN is the accessibility to land and infrastructure that seeks “to support the livelihoods of the urban poor by enabling urban informal-sector activities to flourish and develop” (UN, 2003; vi-vii). Scholar such as de Soto (2000), proponent of these schemes have argued that this would unlock the potential of the informal sector (here vendors) to actively participate within the capitalist free-market framework. Apart from the erroneous assumption that simple connectivity to the formal city

will improve the lives and conditions of informal actors which negates to acknowledge the power relationship within formality, Roy (2005:153) states “It is not enough then, in this context, to simply assert the right to participate in property markets. Given the monopolistic nature of property, it is imperative for policymakers to underwrite the right to participate in the market by directly addressing inequality.”

Urban renewals and regeneration programs that are squarely within the domain of urban design reflects informalities challenges in the unequal opportunities faced in the formal sector and in design. Programs that seek to on the face of it integrate the informal vendors, even when through negotiations, were revealed to be interested in tacitly valorise the urban space or clearly to be revanchist (Swason, 2007: Ortiz, 2011). Urban renewals are mostly dealt from the premise of the formal sector been at the forefront and always one accommodating the informal. Here, critical spatial and urban relationships that codify the interactions within the urban environment are neglected in such models, since true integrations between the informal and the formal is not the primary aim.

Where there exists a (partial) attempt of reconciling informal sector into urban space, the different methods employed exposes deficiencies at greater integration. As Cross (1998) has shown, lacking the appreciation of the social-dynamic within the informal groups which grossly shape the spatial needs of vendors leads to solution proffered that continuously alienate the less powerful vendors, i.e. those with micro-enterprise. Often, the space designed take vendors of viable vending locations to secluded urban areas or are assigned expensive stalls which in themselves are a commercial obstacle to vendors. Not only that, across different sections of the world, global south, these purposely designed markets have proven to be expensive not only to vendors but authorities as well, which Donovan (2008) and others have cited as the reason for their continuous abandonment. This is often the result of a pseudo-participatory design approach that “puts [...] emphasis onto the domain expert both to initiate ideas and to take the lead in realising the design” (Read et al. 2002:58). The inquiry into design of socially induced spaces needs to cater for full and active participation of the intended users at all phases of the development. The constant employment of “epistemic violence” (Spivak, 1988) either through silencing (employing jargons), concealing of key knowledge, or “testimonial quieting” against vendors hinders participation levels (Dotson, 2011:242). This stance likewise neglects experience from below and their practice as condominium of information.

However, theories such as tactical and everyday urbanism are attempts at redressing the imbalance of persistence formality. Tactical urbanism in particular as a concept “allows the

immediate reclamation, redesign, or reprogramming” of (public) space (Lyndon & Garcia, 2015:3) to expose the inequities of design through exploration of short-termism rather than the intricacies in which informality/vendors approach a long-term sustainable space occupation. Hence for Lyndon and Garcia, the (spontaneous or organised) way in which the public sphere is radically and creativity challenged to perform by the public or the state reflect a *what might be*. As for Chase et al., *how it is*, with it been the celebration of difference within the urban fabric represent urban organisation epitome and what design should yarn. This is a shift from what they see design representing where “difference is progressively negated in the urban space [despite been] the most salient fact of everyday life” (Chase et al., 1999:10).

This thesis attempts to create a framework that emphasises on centrality of vendor’s spatial order within the prevailing design paradigms. What tactical and everyday urbanism proposes is an entry point into the inquiry, establishing the structure for where informality and design intersect. Despite their concise aim, they fail methodologically to delineates how tactical/everyday urbanism could be achieved. No wonder that it has continuously spiralled to possible contain whatever exists. Of interest to this thesis is the emphasis on *how*. Here, informal armature (IA) guides to approaching planning informal emphasises the flexibility of urbanisation within a pre-empted physical bound which “envisions [a] favorable spatial and performative conditions *before informal occupation takes place...*, support[ing] the transformation process until assistance is no longer required” (Gouverneur, 2014: 121). Reconciling and improving informal settlements meant a creative rethink on the purpose of paths, places, and people that connect informal to formal areas. Attracting and receiving people, social and physical infrastructure; modelling them to site-specific conditions without losing the flexible quality; while protecting them from the social ill of informal sectors form the crux of IA. This places IA as a model that attempts at bridging between planning, design and the informal sectors, albeit from the normative view of separations of the two entities. Understand, around the worlds and especially within the southern cities, the enclaving of informal settlement has been the norm for decades. It is not surprising the IA deals within connectivity of the two (formal and informal spaces) rather than the integration of the pockets that exist within the formal city.

1.3 Aim of the study and research question.

As observed within the previous section of the improper entry into the integration debates around informality and programs associated with such entry as a result of the misconceptions around how informality works, this study makes an attempt to contribute to available literature

that seeks a redress. The aim is to develop a framework that allows vending to be considered in urban interventions through understanding the relationship between urban design and street vending and their adaptive strategies in cities.

1.3.1 Research questions.

To achieve this aim, the question asked here are;

1. What are the challenges faced by street vendors in the separate locations (within Kano) and how do they adapt?
2. How do professional (planners, architects and surveyors) and users perceive street vending and their adaptive strategies? Are there consistencies and/or incongruences between and within the different groups? If so, what are they?
3. How can vendor's adaptation initiatives and knowledge within the perception of professional and users be included in the urban design framework?

The objectives that send this thesis on the path of achieving its aim are;

- Identify reasons why SV are ubiquitous and still viewed antagonistically within the city
- Identifying local challenges faced by vendors and the idiosyncratic/communal ways of adapting to such external forces.
- Exploring the different ways SV are viewed from a professional and city user's perspective.
- Explore the above objectives within the confines of Kano metropolis, Nigeria.
- To develop a framework that ensures vendor's continued operations while addressing perspectives/concerns of other actors.

1.4 Significance of the study.

The question of street vending and vendors have proliferated within different disciplines. What started as an economic analysis of the informal market has today spilt into the question of sociology (who the actors are and the inter/intra social relation of vendors), democratic principles, right to the city in planning and design among others. These separate fields of inquiry often operating in an interdisciplinary matter due to the subject's nature and have sort to establish informality's understanding. With the questions asked here, this study will spatialise and contextualise within an urban design frame the prevailing discussion around hegemony of planning principles applied as it manifest in vendor's operations. The result of this exercise

means that discourse around planning, tools employed and the prevailing outcomes that confide street vending outside the formal mechanism of city building are upended to reveal the potential for further inclusivity that they often conceal.

Hence, the significance of this study from a literature perspective is the potential formulation of framework that take into account real vendors experiences as reference towards inclusivity, rather than the current extraneous strategies based outside of planning and design domain or those dominated within representations. This will require building a vendor's experiential model based on literature and observation that brings vendor's everyday practice, theory and management. This will add to the knowledge management and contestations around space as a resource and an ideological instrument in relation to how it shapes street vendor's activities.

The experiential model and subsequent inclusive framework developed likewise can be useful resource for development and planning authorities. Aside being a data bank on how the formal processes lead to existing local conditions, it will also offer an alternative approached to integration which can be tinkered within prevailing socio-political considerations and practically applied. The framework does not pose a huge theoretical or methodological impediment to implementation; to the contrary, it derives from local observable conditions and knowledge readily available. Hence, this thesis is significant from both a theoretical aspect and a practical one.

As for the vendors and general public, the potential of establishing framework inspired from their daily performative actions, using formal planning and design strategies while restricted within identifiable popular views of informal activities presents an ambitious maker for full integration into the city. This is likely to have positive effect on their practice giving and safe and non-hostile environment.

1.5 Scope and limitation of the study

There is wide interpretive range of street vendor's adaptations, as shown in chapter 3. Different methods of vending adopt different strategies when responding to urban physical changes and/or institutional pressures. This effectively means studying either ambulatory or non-ambulatory vendors at various locations for in-depth analysis of the phenomenon. Here, this thesis reverses such scope. Rather than limiting the social practice, here, the geographical spread of the phenomenon is limited, and both characteristics investigated simultaneously. This means the mobile and stationary vendors site-specific are studied and contextualised against professional and urban actors (users) perspective. While this investigation produces highly

located knowledge and the results not generalisable; nevertheless, the findings can extend to other geographies due to the high level of experiential, spatial character, architectural components and instruments, as well as socio-economic similarities (Mitullah, 2003: Brown, Lyons & Dankoco, 2010: Yatmo, 2008: Skinner, 2008: Steyn, 2008).

The consequence of spatial limitations means the research is confined to studying other activities already present. The research design will have benefitted from a program that actively seeks for diverging SV activities, engaged and reported in a proportional manner that reflects the picture of SV in Kano. Such approach is likely to produce generalisable findings of high confidence, however, requires a pre-existing copious amount of design data on the subject, which is lacking, especially of SV in Kano. Hence, the retreat to primary research approach, i.e. building data from general populace.

Data limitation extends to public and professional perception on street vending activities vis-à-vis the urbanscape. Most of the publicly available knowledge on views/perceptions are the limited press accounts which are solely of the managerial class¹ within the professional realms and anecdotal reporting of people whose relationship with the informal sector cannot be established. Such situation necessitates a direct engagement with these participant communities in a systemic manner to uncover such opinions. The research, therefore, limits itself to Kano and its primary planning agency where significant trust has been built between research and professionals over initial phase of the research design, allowing for access and interactions. Shared local knowledge between the researcher and professionals within Kano's planning institution and informal relationships are also incomparable with other city's planning bodies. Hence, the projected time investment needed to gain access in different geographies influenced the decision to limit the study to Kano metropolis. Most of these limitations would have been surmountable if the research had more resources.

1.6 Research methodology

This thesis employs a series of qualitative approach at various stages as a means of exploring the question of adaptability and integration of street vendors into Kano's urban fabric.

First, the literature on street vending in Kano (Nigeria) and around the world is reviewed to get acquainted with the latest theories and conditions regarding the informal economy, their

¹ The operational class often don't have the permission to speak with the press on individual views regarding policies and operational framework without fear of some administrative sanction. This was evident and expressed by participants during interview phase of this research.

practise and performance within different contexts, together with the opportunities and challenges faced by informal actors during the course of operations. This means drawing from journals, articles and books that curate data and information collected using the academic rigour while still locating the snaps shots from journalistic writings in the press (local and national newspapers). Embarking on this review centring around engagement with the literature concurrently goes with preliminary field study to establish two things, one, the extent to which vending can be said as similar across the city and, two, the interactions between vendors and the urban environment. These two phases (review and pilot study) combined brings the theoretical review and systematic observations within an iterative process, given rise to the second phase of the process, conceptual frame development.

The framework upon which this investigation will be carried out is carefully drawn here from the review and the observation processes. This entails systematically decoding (presumed) adaptive techniques observed in the pilot studies and strategies described within the literature (urban, architectural, spatial, socio-biological, etc.). In this sense, the scales of adaptability covers different dimension and incorporated to form the basis of studying the phenomenon.

Finally, the model is deployed to within the delimited geographical scope within a constructivist inquiry seeking relationships between street vendor's operations, their environment and, tactics strategies within the different dimensions unearth from the previous stages. These strategies are presented within in light of professional and user's views regarding vending, and their suitable frame of application decoded.

1.7 Structure of the thesis.

This thesis is structured in 7 distinct parts, each answering/proposing/describing a question or a phenomenon, contributing to the overall aim of this inquiry.

Chapter 1 lays out the foundations of the investigation, outlining the problem (street vendor's integration into urbanscape) and the questions that have to be answered if the goal can be achieved. Additionally, and crucially, this chapter identifies the research's limits geographically and its generalisation.

Chapter 2 engages the literature of street vending around the globe before streaming the focus into Nigeria and Kano in particular. Emphasis is placed on street vending spatial character within the city in light of the prevailing condition of operations. Likewise, vendor's actions are reported, the forces that limit such activities are also of interest and how they do it.

Chapter 3 draws on the dimension within which formal practise has attempted creating an inclusive urban environment that encapsulates informal sector's needs. Three identifiable dimensions are explored: design, people/procedural, and policy/organisational approach. The extent of their inclusivity is probed, and their limitations highlighted. The chapter continues to explore how street vendors adapt within the constraints from different dimensions.

Chapter 4 presents the methodology employed in undertaking the study. It presents the philosophical underpinnings (constructivism) regarding the choice of line of inquiry, describes selections of study areas, method of data collection, tools employed and the basis upon which data is analysed and explained.

Chapter 5 presents the nature of vending activities along the selected areas of the study. Describing SV along in detail, each area is first described from a socio-economic perspective before exploring its urban character in detail. Then conditions of the vending activities are provided before breaking down the analysis into Ambulatory and non-ambulatory vendors and how they adapt within their environments. This is repeated for all the street under study. Finally, adaptation strategies identified within each street are aggregated and discerned.

Chapter 6 presents findings from professional city planners, architects and other allied professions as well as users' perspectives on the results of chapter 5. This means participants' general views regarding SV activities, their spatial and architectural character, and their adaptive strategies are probed and potential areas that allow vendors integrations identified. Crucially, however, this section navigates the different perspectives between professional and users, exploring similarities as well as points of departure. The chapter hence maps the local terrain regarding street vending perceptions.

Chapter 7 combines data from 5 and 6 to develop the proposed framework of street vendor's urban inclusion, highlighting its strength and limitations at the same time. Vendors adaptive strategies are explored and shown to extend the bounds of views espoused by professional and users. Such strategies are used to create a two-tier framework that acts on the local and global levels within the city, thereby contributing to the knowledge and discourse of informality's space within contemporary urban centres.

Finally, chapter 8 concludes by enumerating the contribution this study is making.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: STREET VENDING CONTEXTUALISED

2.1 Introduction

This chapter engages the literature of street vending around the globe before streaming the focus into Nigeria and Kano in particular. The role of SV is problematised as an urban actor, navigating the discourse around their informal actions, what benefits (if any) do they offer, and where are they placed within the matrix of city production and shaping. Then the discussion turns how informal actors exercise their presence in the city. This is explored from an individualistic and collective level, where political and social forces are deployed for actions. Final from a global perspective, the discussions around limitations of SV action despite exploitative avenues are explored. The chapter turns to SV experience in Kano with emphasis is placed on street vending spatial character within the city in light of the prevailing condition of operations. Likewise, vendor's actions are reported, the forces that limit such actions and problems associated with SV are also of interest.

2.2 Street vendors as urban actors.

By now, the presence of street vendors is felt across all spaces and region in the developed and developing world. The recent exacerbation of inter and intra migration of peoples into new spaces results to increased vending activities as a mode of establishing self-sufficiency². Character difference, capital, citizenry, and political associations partake in shaping the kind of street vending engaged in and the potential response by authorities. While indigenous vendors have the advantage of knowledge of local scene and often a longstanding relationship with authorities, new arrivals and foreigners face immense difficulty, not least the lack of a supportive local social support system. This circumstantial dissimilarity produces varying types of usage (migrants often restricted to economic usage) with different spatial, architectural, visual, duration conditions in the urbanscape which become exacerbated in the face of legal status (Jongh, 2015; Flock & Breitung, 2016). Likewise, the perceptions of vending held – mostly by middle-income earners – across these various regions tend to be negative and based on misconceptions and varies during the day (Yatmo, 2009). This is despite serving critical roles such as attaining food security especially for the poor (Atkinson, 1995; Tinker, 1997),

² <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/02/world/europe/spain-street-vendors-migrants.html> Spain Took Them in as Migrants, but Scorns Them as Street Vendors

contributing to urban security (Jacobs, 1961: Whyte, 1980) and often using same actors as the formal enterprises (Simone, 2004).

Urban actor, according to Shane (2011: 13), are “people, groups [and] associations” of different competing interest on the workings and vision of the urban space that best suits each individual or groups interest. Such descriptions cast a wide net over who and what can be termed an urban actor. This is as a result of its emphasis on the (potential) ability to affect a city physically – whether at a city scale with large capital investment, through individual act of squatting or a premeditated act of public space encroachment (See Türker-Devecigil, 2006 for discussion around different actors and sustainable discussions).

Aside from their universal role as everyday actors within the urbanscape, vendors can also be classified as actors within the highly constrained design realm. Employing the 'powergram' for Urban Design, where vendors can be classified under ‘users,’ McGlynn’s (1993) showed the level of influence different actors have within the urban design process. Though initiation or control of the significant aspects of the programs is beyond user’s reach; however, through allied professionals, their collective interests can be advocated. This is the role McGlynn and Murrain (1994:319) identified for designers to demystify city-building process, by employ design tools as “method of engaging the widest possible publics.” Therefore, the roles vendors play within different conceptions of urban actor – direct or indirect – does not negate their acting capacity.

Through multiple policies of urban renewal and regeneration seeking to valorise urban areas especially the inner cities, where informal actors have continuously been pushed outside of such plans (Swanson, 2007: Steck, et al. 2013: Crossa, 2009: Lindell, et al. 2010), vendors continue to remain a staple in an increased neo-liberalised world, where deep hierarchical structures have emerged, by serving participant of both that order and the urban poor. This scenario occurring both in the west and the global south of varying degrees and character suggests the impact of informal actors on the urbanscape. Ironically, programs that continuously stifles informal activities continue to create conditions for their growth (de Soto, 1989). Hence, as actors, through their collective or individual choices, vendors keep producing distinct spaces both (semi) permanent and transient, adding to complex nature of cities. This cements their position as urban actors.

2.3 How do vendors act?

As mentioned in the previous section, vendors can act through a variety of manner. When one exercises a personal choice of exhibiting merchandise on the commons of the general public or rather, the sprawling of commercial activities from a household onto pavement, it represents the simple yet often mundane choices of an individual or a unit's ability to act. These actions are predicated on the socio-spatial relationships conceived and informally acknowledged. For example, as shown by Chinchilla et al. (1996), the influx of undocumented Latina migrants to Los Angeles has led to the increase in street vending activities. The precarious nature of the migrants and lack of alternatives conditions necessitate vending and its proliferation. As the case with Latinas, where vending interlinks with domestic work, the spectre of the home was transposed into the streets, adding ambience to the solitude public character (ibid). This represented a way of domesticating the public sphere. However, at the other end of the spectrum where there isn't a sizeable population that will command such influence, the use of informal spatial transactions occurs. Individual vendors in search of viable vending spaces negotiate with 'owners' of such spaces even with legal permits (Devlin, 2011:). The actions of individual or a small unit such as a family/household differ from that of an organised group, which is akin to a political union. Firstly, individual act at the local domain. Their interest mostly lies on a fixed spatiality or negligible transient activity. Exercising territoriality over these domains – junctions, sidewalks or a neighbourhood square – poses insignificant challenge to the established hegemonic order.

Acting as a collective signifies an interest shared by majority of members. Although the relative education attained by vendors within the larger society (Lawanson, 2014; Suraiya & Noor, 2012) and employment opportunity street vending provides, vendors are still at the lower end of the socio-economic ladder due to its subsistence nature (Nirathron, 2006, 1999). Hence, the difficulty faced in scaling up as enterprise within the formal frame means their interests are not at the core of governments priorities; collectives thus, become the key in negotiations. As Cross (1998) has pointed out in Mexico, vendor's groups lobbying at various levels of the government during and outside the political season were crucial in securing and sustaining their activities. This does not neglect the internal dynamics of the groups, where challenges are posed when interest of a section or leaders of such groups are those being protected. The challenges emanate from the diverse activities of individual members and the resources available to them withstand an often protracted negotiation period (ibid). Nevertheless, these groups at their core are set up

to secure legal, temporary or tacit recognition from the state which can manifest as vending spaces or zones, legal permits and/or cessation of hostile actions.

Cross's (ibid) proclamation about the bloc voting powers that vendors exercise lucidly indicates vendors ability to operate and occasional force an agenda onto the state. Politicians at the local and national levels are drawn into public statement that to some effects hints at pro-poor policies or overtly pro vending policies. These statements become the basis on which vendor's union reciprocate by supporting such candidates. Political negotiations, therefore, are translated into spatial actions on the streets. In cases where such negotiations fail, support withdrawn and/or vendors meted with heavy-handedness, political and spatial actions do not cease, but rather transpose character into different forms of resistance (Kamete, 2009: 2010). The ability of vendor's to act, individually or as a collective, within and outside of the official frame that executes some level of spatial usage, control and management, especially in the global south and increasingly in the western cities is *ad infinitum* (meaning to infinity" or "forevermore") insofar as they continue to exist.

2.4 Limitations to vendor's action

Having established in the previous section the political and unitary systems through which vendors act, nevertheless, there are multifaceted constraints to what those actions can achieve. Considering vending is as an opportunistic enterprise with "spatially 'loose'" sites of operation according to Donovan (2008), which keeps changing over the day (for ambulatory vendors), and as cities configuration is altered, street vendor's ability to create geographies where vending can partake is minimal. As enterprise coalescing around a giving point within the city, so do people patronage follow. This has been the distribution pattern of the city, and what later informed zoning as a planning tool, the ability to segregate urban activities. Hence, these enterprises, such as the central markets, CBDs and industrial parks, etc., are replete with essential services upon within the cities demand and distributions channels are built. In the case of street vendors, it is the congregation of people or its potential that creates vending geographies.

The limitation around vending geographies exceed the inability for vendors to drive their creation but includes state power policing existing sites, determining activities time and approved location. According to Mitullah (2003), these restrictions and limiting policies are a result of vendor's management been led by inappropriate departments at the local government

levels, mainly the traffic units. Because such administrators are focused on decongesting and sanitising the city, informal activities register as obstacle to these primary functions. Hence, policies formulation neglects street vending in CBDs (Ibid), institute strict vending time (Karumbidza, 2011) or banned through draconian laws (Lawanson, 2014). The aforementioned policies towards vendors in cities are being examined as to their efficacy towards restricting street trading. While there are conflicting results from such operation of varying success, and unintended consequences, planners and administrators have attempted to curb the ubiquitous nature of street trading through defined vending spaces. However, as asserted by Makhetha and Rubin (2009), the legal vending spaces and regulations of use limit the street activities to the margins, inconspicuous locations, and non-profitable vending spaces. These legalised vending and its produced spaces are in effect a counterintuitive to the objective of their both party's actions. Aside limiting trader's income (which policy and design should bolster), the provision of non-performative vending spaces leads to more 'illegal' street trading activities which exploit the opportunity created by those that have been formalised (Ibid). And as Cuper (2015: 141) had shown, increased tightening of vending spaces that aims as dislocating street activities results in the practice of "deliberate elusiveness," thereby increasing the ambience of vending activities around the city. So far, this has remained the paradox of formalisation.

Political associations for street vendors have become a necessity for operating within the city. As Cross (1998), Booth, (1985) and Hummel (2017) have pointed out, informal workers are increasingly unionising to take advantage of large political block that protects their interest against competing ones, such as the state, during negotiations for resources and recognition, while at the same time ensuring standard practice and resolving disputes among members. This formation is often encouraged by the state as a way of imposing indirect rule on the poor through their respective associations (Holland, 2016). Vendors associations bring individuals of varying income, resources, merchandise and control over physical space into a union which are hierarchical i.e. uneven levels of participation, contribution and power held within such organisations. This creates what economist call the 'free-rider problem' – a system where some members benefit without contributing to the common cause (Booth, 1985). However, Marwell and Ames (1979: 1359) have shown the limited effects of "free-rider problem" on constraining collective actions. This is due to the disproportionate gains individuals set to make in relation to their investment, especially in a smaller group. Despite these findings, the actions of leaders in vendor's associations often disrupt political unity (Grossman, 2016), especially when there is a perception of dereliction of duty on the leadership side. This often results in intra-

organisational struggles, non-compliance with stipulated guidelines, disharmony and eventually splintering of groups (Cross, 1998), which Mitullah (2003) had argued is the reason for limited vendor's associations participation in urban development and negotiations. The splintering reduces groups influence to "welfare issues, with very few focusing on business issues affecting their operations such as services, site of operation, licensing, policy and advocacy" (ibid, 2003: 12). Action limitations are affected due to the inability of small disharmonious to form alliances with the formal economy, which would have enabled further integration into the decision making process.

While the ability to act or restrictions can be conceptualised within the domain of vendor's activities, other instances are beyond vendors control. As it is often the case, policies towards street vending pendulums depending on the government of the day. As government from socialist perspective get in office, more vending policies are engaged with that seeks to integrate informal activities into the mainstream economy. The reversal occurs when authoritarian individuals are at the helm (Cross, 1998) who are often concerned with controlling large aspects of society (Kamete, 2010; Musoni, 2010). Transitions periods often presents a risk of limitation of vending activities, especially southern cities. Through national elections or administrative change at local levels, there usually exist the chance of policy shift and enforcement tactics. These political changes set the associations back in terms from the already negotiated positions with previous authorities, leading to a period of cautious, limited or suspended activities in different areas.

2.5 Street vending in Nigeria and Kano.

Street vending in Nigeria as an enterprise has become a crucial aspect of the economy. According to UNDP in Onodugo, et al. (2016: 95) and Ogbuabor and Malaolu (2013), the sector "accounts for over 70% of the urban employment in Nigeria". In a country of almost 200 million people, with more than half congregating at the urban centres, this picture depicts the importance of informal sectors in providing essential services and goods to the populace. These entrepreneurial effects serve a multifaceted impact for those urban actors. Aside from serving as the sole source of income returning significant amount of profits (Dipeolu et al. 2007: Anetor, 2015) or supplemented by other informal activities (Pearce, et al. 1988), the informal sectors provide underserved communities with vital and yet nontangible services such as the provision vital nutrients (Oguntona & Kanye, 1995) which would have otherwise been expensive to acquire; drinking water to communities with inadequate and non-existing infrastructures

(Ahmad, 2017; Anetor, 2015; Olajuyigbe, et al. 2012); provides most of the retailing services (Agada, et al. 2018); and secondary employment opportunity to those in and out of the formal economy (Lawanson, 2014) amongst others.

Street vendors from the local lexicon in Kano are referred to as *yan-talla* (street hawkers) and *kama guri zauna* (translated squatters). While street hawkers are mostly associated with streets, junctions and pavements exhibition to the potential customers, in Kano, it extends to a door to door sales pitch of varying merchandise. This could range from necessities such as drinking water (Ahmad, 2017) pushed on a water cart or sold in sachet to daily stationary and household staples.



Figure 2.1: Fig: Water vendors filling at station before distributing to households & child hawker, (Ahmad, 2017: Mujallarmu, 2019)

2.6 Street vendors' (Profile) income and educational background

There are commonalities among street vendors in Nigeria like elsewhere across the world, such as need for acquiring basic income, provisions of employment opportunity augmenting formal sectors and the diverse profile of participants. Men, women and children of all ages partake in the informal activity, though for varying reasons. In the southern part of Nigeria, according to Tinker (1997), women had been major street trade participants and especially food entrepreneurs since the 1800s. This dominance of women within the informal food economy continues to be the case in other parts of the country (see Ajiboye & Oladiti, 2008; Nurudeen et al. 2014; Lawan et al. 2015): despite the continued cultural and systemic challenges faced, such as unpaid domestic work. Such businesses are mostly subsistence, lacking capital which limits its capacity to grow (Tinker, 1997; Lawanson, 2014) earning on the average less than \$100 a month for the majority of vendors.

This dominance of women in the food street trade industry could reach about 94 per cent, according to Tinker (2003), this did not negate the participation of others. Both young and middle-aged men likewise are active participants within the enterprise, albeit mostly within the

local fast-food or cooperate one sold. Their limited participation can be attributed to the social construct of masculinity in the Hausa world (Salamone, 2005) which continues to led to discriminatory practices among the minority still participation. This social construct means that male vendors partake in activities that are often physical in nature, such as the hawking of water in a cart, street labourer (wheelbarrow pusher), and daily vending activities at the junctions (Ahmad, 2017; Kjellén & McGranahan, 2006; Tswan, 2006).

The active presence of child vendors is considerable. These are kids mostly from the out-of-school children which number up to 10.5 million across Nigeria, Kano having the most substantial proportion of them, 1 million (UNICEF, 2019; NAN, 2019), though sometimes they are “enrolled in ‘residential colleges’ beyond the state's purview and regulatory interventions” (Hoechner, 2015: 60). While some scholars have categorised the participation of adolescents in street vending as an avenue of “[g]athering the resources to launch an adult career... [thorough] seasonal or permanent migration to the cities” (Ibid: 65), working as employees or starting a micro-enterprise, other are taken as apprentice or integrated into the family support enterprises that affords them “creative and remarkable ways through which they assert their power and agency” (Okoli & Cree, 2011: 71; Morales, 2000).

Children and young adolescents are often drafted by small scale enterprises, formal business and conglomerates, and family to vend their products along the streets for a wage or for-profits percentage, usually calculated per product sold (Abari & Audu, 2013; Tinker, 1997; Robson, 2004; Nte, et. al. 2009; Adeboyejo & Ogunkan, 2014). MNCs employing the informal sector personnel is due to its efficiency in Nigeria, Uzo (2018) suggesting that about “60% of what Multinational Companies sell in Nigeria pass through the hawking channel before getting to the final consumer.” The low wages paid in relation to the efficiency in distribution provided by the informal sector and the continued increasing number of people venturing into street vending suggests its continued importance in retail and other services sectors of the Nigerian economy.

There are, however, challenges faced by vendors, especially children. The first is the opportunity cost of not attending school which is high among both sexes depending on the regions under study (Ugochukwu, et al. 2012; Ajiboye & Oladiti, 2008; Nasir, 1999). However, these do not negate the ability to solve every day mathematical problem such as addition and subtraction which is crucial to their enterprise since they are intimately engaged with it all day (Carraher, et al. 1985). Likewise, some are trained in religious schools (Ajiboye & Oladiti, 2008), though as mentioned above, they remain outside the state's purview, hence are characterised as out of school. Child vendors are also susceptible to physical and sexual abuse

from the general public and their labour exploited which perpetuates their low to poor income standing (Ekpenyong & Sibiri, 2011). At the extremes, Nasir (1999) pointed out that some states in Nigeria have taking the position that children vending and especially the girl child are in part contributing to the prevailing social vices in the regions.

2.7 Types and character of Street vending.

2.7.1 Types of vendors.

The myriad of vending activities that produce a distinct on-street character along the road, sidewalks and cluster zones can be classified into 3 broad categories, namely; Stationary, semi-mobile vendor and mobile (ambulatory vendors). Classification of street vendor has always been a contentious topic, and epistemologically hard to reach consensus. Yatmo (2008), identified simply fixed and mobile, while Kamalipour, & Peimani (2019) adopt similar concepts employed here, though from a premise of fixity. Others such as Dalwadi (2012) chooses product type as a classification frame, while Bhowmik (2012) considered tenure status within the streets legal frame as a basis for classification.

Nevertheless, Stationary vendors are classified here as vendors who are in perpetual state of immobility either in providing services and selling goods. Such types of vendors often have a locally standardised stall, kiosk, shed or a makeshift apparatus that determines the spatial operation limits of the vendor. These standards are either in typology, dimension, materials and/or operational qualities and are often limited by worker's technical capacity. The result is a variance in stall's and shed's tactile and visual quality, even if produced by same artisan.



Figure 2.2: Row of kiosks and sheds abutting the access road

Stalls are usually made in two layers, the structure made of steel and the coverings often of aluminium roofing sheet cladded in cardboard cartons on the inside. Likewise, (lean-to) sheds – mostly made of timber sections – are either hung against a wall/fence or stood alone have

different supporting facilities under the shed that aid the vendor's activities. These typologies are often indicators representing the independence and socio-economic background of the trader, such as a small provisions store or a food canteen. However, where vending shops appear industrially standardised with unique designs, often including retrofitting shipping containers with additional aesthetic qualities, this signifies a relationship status between vendor and a multinational company. As Olukoshi (1996: 37) has shown, there exist a marketing relationship between vendors and multinational companies within Kano where vendors act as "informal sales agents", carrying the companies merchandise often at a discount and also paid in kind. This incentive bred the culture of vendors associating with other companies despite there been no affiliation, increasing the aesthetic quality and colour vibrancy of vendor on streets.

Having explored the key character of immobility and fixity as the bases for stationary vending, here, vendors semi-mobile paradoxically exhibits hybridity of immobility and ambulation simultaneously. This combination emanates in different forms, however with an anchoring character.

Semi-mobile vendors operate from a single location, having a moveable table, kiosk or other apparatus. The products on offer are brought daily to vending site, prepared and displayed in place to the customer then packed-up at the end of the business hours. Business here includes fruits stands, food vendors, automobile lubricants retailers and so on. These businesses have a permanent vending space mostly along the city streets and/or cluster areas where they occupy on a daily basis. The mobile aspects of such vending can either be attributed to the daily preparatory aspect and/or during sales interactions with patron, where some aspect of the micro-enterprise depends on mobility for it to function.

Because the equipment is easily moveable, there are mostly made up of light materials including but not limited to plastic, sections of timber, in some cases just arrangements of stones to create platform, or simply a cart.



Figure 2.3: A multinational telecommunication company's stand for street vendors, (Neuwirth, 2011)

As for ambulatory vendors, they depend on their capacity to navigate the city's nooks and crannies either by foot, with the aid of carts or an automobile. Their choice of instrument is dependent on their income, ability to navigate and manoeuvre the city with and its fundamental necessity. These items include head pans, carts and trolleys. For others, the products are simply handheld and hawked to commuters.



Figure 2.4: Different types of vending techniques (Punch, 2016: Imam Shams, 2018)

There is clarity that distinguishes between ambulatory and stationary vendors appear dominant at a glance, that is the degree of ambience generated by each from the mobility of vendors and instruments used. However, semi-mobile vendors blur this chasm. By employing character of the two and exploring their spatial needs (see next section), semi-mobile vendors can exploit the advantages of fixity and temporality, which situates them at within a unique section of the vending actors of the city.

This thesis concerned with street vending explores the dynamic relationship between the different vendors and the urban environment use patterns. However, this inquiry is limited to three streets. This allows for in-depth analysis of the three based on multiple criteria of space usage and occupation, (im)mobility, interacting with users and other urban actors, configuration and modification etc.

2.7.2 Space occupation and activities

Why do vendors have to partake in street activities in Kano? This is primarily an intriguing question, especially when the commercial activities spaces are readily available in and around the city. According to Ibrahim (2014b) officially recognised markets zones cover 44.41 sqkm, representing 32.42 per cent of the city's built-up area and 14.1 per cent of the entire metropolitan's geography.

M. Status	T. Number	Land Area Km ²	% Total	Ranking
International	9	25.86	58.2	1
Regional	5	4.84	10.9	3
Metropolitan	7	2.70	6.1	4
Community	22	11.01	24.8	2
Total	43	44.41	100	-

Figure 2.5: Land cover of existing market in Kano metropolis, (Ibrahim, 2014b)

Some of the markets were established in the 14th century while others were recently built, all having a different target community ranging from the neighbourhood, municipal, regional and international level. The commercial activities within the markets and their ability to serve as a magnetic pull of people has given rise to some vending activities, which can be considered secondary or auxiliary activities buttressing the main function. However, as in the case with *Kantin Kwari Market*, such secondary activities can take a course, eventually becoming a separate entity. Here, the resultant congregation of unplanned vending activities within and at the margins of the market resulted in congested walkways and main road, hindering the efficient execution of services such as waste evacuations and firefighting (Adamu et al. 2010). Specialised market *Yan Tebura* (an expansion to *Kantin Kwari*) was built, providing additional 4,600 stalls (Punch, 2017) and “no fewer than 3,000 registered petty traders... allocated shops in the market” (Daily Trust, 2017).



Figure 2.6: Kantin kwari and vendors (stationary and mobile), (Basheer Sharfadi, 2019)

Despite these attempts, the streets have continued to see the proliferation of vending activities which can be seen from a multifaceted perspective. The historic importance during the trans-Saharan trade has cemented its position as a favoured destination for trade and business across the region and country until the decline of the trade “as a result of cheaper transportation to and from Europe by rail [and sea]” (Baier, 1977). The disruption in transportation modes did not damp the business activities in the region, which continued to see “growth in population... paralleled by increases in business, betokens an environment favo[u]red beyond the average in that part of the world” (Whittlesey, 1937:177). The continuous population increase and subsequent deindustrialisation of the region created conditions that gave rise to 3.5 million

informal workers within the state (Yusuf, 2014), the highest in the country. Though majority of the informal economy is operated from the confines of residences, according to Abumere et al. (1998: in Onyebueke and Geyer, 2011), 27.5 per cent are on-street activities or occur in open spaces. That is because streets, squares and other open spaces continue to serve as the collector of people and opportunities allowing for flexibility of activities as against the restrictions placed at confined and designed spaces. Hence, vending has become ubiquitous along main street and within neighbourhoods.

2.7.3 Vending along streets

Streets form the primary facilitators of mobility among the city (Lynch, 1960). People on different activity levels traverse streets while experiencing the city as they move through it. These movements of people can manifest in various forms of mobility, either through motorised or non-motorised transport means, creating diverging demands on the quality of the urbanscape and infrastructure needed to support this basic need. However, as stipulated by the Department for Transport, Communities and Local Government (DTCLG, 2007: 16) “streets have to fulfil a complex variety of functions in order to meet people’s needs as places for living, working and moving around in”. This means offering services that not only cater to mobility but also serve as spaces of interaction, socialising, a place for the Flanner’s mind to wander and also support other transactional activities. Where these activities are successfully integrated into the street network, streets become more than roads “whose main function is accommodating the movement of motor traffic” (Ibid: 15) and what emerges *is a place* (White, 1999) often “lined with buildings and public spaces... while movement is still a key function”. It is these “place function [that] essentially... distinguishes a street from a road” (DTCLG, 2007: 17).

Street vendors in Kano operate where streets have permanently or temporarily turned into places. These are areas where the street or its section have developed enough character to simulate diverse activities along it other than merely facilitating movement. Vendors explore these areas due to the congregation of people it temporarily holds over varying periods, and with a population density of 1365 persons/sqkm (Ibrahim, 2012), this means the opportunities for vendors around the street are common. Mobile vendors are more inclined to pursue these opportunities, going after motorists, pedestrian’s and other users along the streets than semi-mobile and stationary vendors, especially around the sparsely populated streets. However, along the main and high street, i.e. areas with high number of peoples and business such are streets leading to city centre, squares, schools, central government offices and markets, ambulatory and non-ambulatory vendor’s opportunities grow from the constant presence of

people. This growth has led to so-called *roadside business* establishing permanent operations though often on precarious tenure conditions to such spaces. Not all the streets or their sections appeal to vendors in Kano. This stems from the observations that people being the attractors of others (Gehl & Svarre, 2013; Jacobs, 1961), therefore along streets or their segment devoid of activities, vendors generally do not operate in these regions. These are streets with little building frontage activities or large reservations – wide containers (White, 1999) that reduces the effects and ambience from street activities. Typical in Kano are the trunks A road (streets along Federal High Ways of 100m or greater reservations). These streets are usually 3-4 double lane roads carrying high speed moving heavy traffic in and out of the city, hence restricting vending opportunities. They include Zaria Road, Hadeja Road, Kastina road and Maiduguri road. On the contrary trunk B and C roads, i.e. feeder and inner-city roads are mostly narrower, carrying less speedy traffic and have a greater number of road-side and on-street facilities. Because they go deep into districts and neighbourhoods, they are lined with business, homes and recreational public spaces. This allows them to offer vending opportunities.

According to White (1999: 186), “action hot spots” affects the intensity to which activities occur in different areas. That is even along highways sterilised from activities, with the right urban infill, public life could be stimulated given rise to street activities. This is mostly found along industrial complexes, commercial areas or religious building, harbouring large numbers of people. Likewise, traffic slowing down due to the presence of obstacles such as junctions or traffic points creates these hotspots of activities as discussed in the next section.

2.7.4 Vending at junction points

As any street approach a junction, traffic laws and etiquette suggest a slowing down that allows for pedestrian and other road users to cross. This could be mediated through a set of technological and human interventions such as traffic lights or the presence of traffic wardens. Where these interventions intersect with public services, business enterprises and other facilities supporting human engagement and interactions, “path [are] transformed to urban room, a place not just for circulation but for being and belonging” (E White, 1999: 186). In this conditions, Mikoleit and Puerckhauer (2011) have pointed out that junctions effectively become temporary squares, serving as a collector of steady pedestrian flows, facilitating people’s interactions directly or via *triangulation* (Whyte, 1980), while at the same time hosting other diverse activities. It is these characteristics that vendors exploit by setting up locations of their activities.

Here, the junctions in Kano have become infamous for the amount of vending operations leading the assertion that “it can be emphatically stated that all the junctions and roundabout are currently occupied by hawkers” (Lambu, undated: 15). This assertion can be attributed to multitude factors stemming from the fact that Kano’s population has constantly been growing at over 3 per cent and has resulted in increased congestions along the city’s thoroughfare. Second, the transportation modes such as *Achaba* (commercial motorcycles, now banned) and subsequently *Adaidaita-Sahu* (tricycles) ability to manoeuvre into to the labyrinth city which according to Baskira, et al. (2019: 7), have become “the dominant form of public transportation in Kano metropolis” augment the haphazard nature of bus and taxis route for those commuting commercially within the city. The manoeuvrability together with their cost-effectiveness, has made them popular with commuters, and a snapshot of any typical junction will reveal their dominant presence within the city. Tricycles’ slow speed and open sides encourage mostly ambulatory vendors to swamp riders, attempting to make sales. Third aspect contribution to vendor’s ubiquitous nature at Kano junctions is the increased number of retail spaces. As demand for products and services increases within the city due to the continuous rise in population, the state has incentivised investment in the retail sector, seeing it as a viable option for increasing revenues (Goron Dutse, 2012). To emphasise the need for viable retail space demands and growing revenue, Sani (2018) points to the fact that the state has begun desecrating UNESCO recognised site allocating “the remaining... 15% of the city walls reservation... for commercial purpose”.

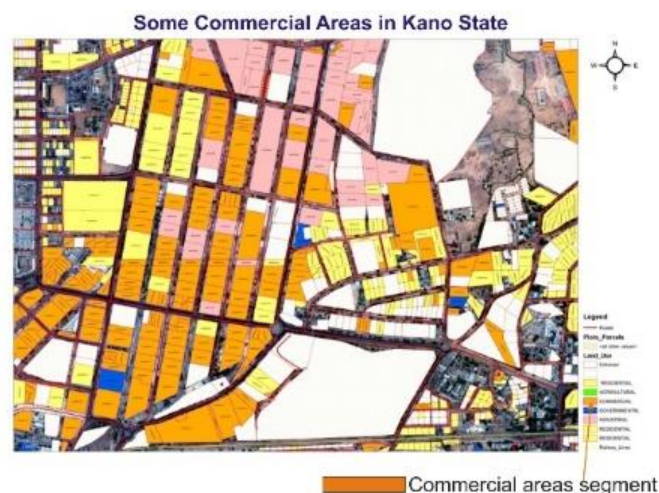


Figure 2.7: Commercial and industrial plots in a segment of the CBD (Kano Investment Promotional Agency, 2018)

These shops are usually located along major streets and intersections of the city, exploiting the marketing relationship between formal and the informal economy. Likewise, as users patronise the retail areas and critical mass of people aggregate, both ambulatory and non-ambulatory

vendors assemble, catering the needs of shop owners and users. Hence, junctions see more on-street activities than typical vending along the street (without junction or action hotspot) and the combination of mobile and stationary vending activities depends on the character of the junction and the nature of the street hierarchy.

2.7.5 Vending at squares, bus stations and other derelict spaces

Baring streets and junctions as preferred location by vendors to operate, the public squares (*dandali*) is another viable place. *Dandali* are “open spaces... that provide grounds for a variety of group cultural activities such as cultural display, social interaction and community fame” (Iliyasu, 2014). The creation of a prolonged festive ambience within these spaces, be they at city centre or neighbourhoods lends to their effectiveness for both ambulatory and non-ambulatory vendors. The atmosphere generations within public space in Kano appear heightened at the city centre level, though often temporarily, especially during durbar periods. As the city is engulfed in one form of celebration which can be a “political spectacle” (Griswold & Bhadmus, 2013) i.e. durbar, turbaning ceremony or political rallies or religious festivities such as the Eid, people congregate around known flashpoint of activities participating or catching a glimpse of activities. Vendors follow this temporality of the processions, drama and events creating fleeting vending spaces along.

However, the city has been experiencing a decline in public spaces due to increasing demand for housing and commercial needs, and according to Iliyasu (2014: 5), this has led property owners to encroach onto public lands while at the neighbourhood levels, common spaces have been “completely wiped out” with devastating consequences to the public and environment (Barau, et. al:2015).

In the face of dwindling public spaces for vendors to exploit, new centres of congregations have emerged. Transportations nodes especially cross country bus stations, are equipped with transactional facilities, improving the waiting experience of travellers and workers. These include retail spaces and restaurants, auto-lubricant shops, public convenience, banks etc. The resultant effect is the creation working day environment that supports not only necessary activities but also social and optional one's. Secondary activities such as leisure and vending have sprung up. Hence the character of transportation hubs within the city often reflects commercial activities.

Other spaces that have been reclaimed by vendors are the derelict spaces within the city, such as the setbacks around the rail lines within the city. Along Hadeja Road and MM Way, these

spaces have been overtaken by auto-mechanics, light furniture manufacturing business, retail kiosks, serve as a firewood storage area for whole seller and open-air restaurants serving low cost food. There are able to repurpose the federal government mandated 21 meters' regulation (Lagos State Government, LSG, 1986) setback areas, albeit not all setback meet this standard in Kano.

Repurposing loose spaces as Franck and Stevens (2006) call them has in the past decade become a policy tool of the state government resettling vendors in considers out of sync with the city's image. These are constructed in areas around road setback varying in sizes mostly at the neighbourhood level to cater for the ubiquitous informal sectors. There have been in Bachirawa, Hadeja Road, Murtala Muhammad way for daily retail products, fruits and, fruits and vegetable cluster respectively with "fisheries and poultry cluster initiative" proposed in the 2016 budget³. Hence, the activities of vendors in the dwindling face of spaces to operate is actively aided by the government to function in legally proscribe areas.

2.8 Street vending problem in Kano

Bromley (2000) has aggregated the discourse for and against street vending leading up to the turn of the millennium. These arguments cut across all nature of urban disciplines, from environmental sanitary conditions, accessibility and inaccessibility along public routes, to urban economics amongst others. Likewise, argument on both sides of vending, conditions of vendors and its physical manifestation appear at glossary glance within the abstract and public/real domain of discussions, i.e. the academia, NGOs, mass media and social media. Here, I discuss these arguments as it relates to the city of Kano.

The ubiquitous nature of vending within Kano metropolis is considered as obfuscating the nature of the city's thoroughfares. According to Dankani (2012: 114), the "high incidence of street hawking" where "traders display their wares along the main road... hinder[s] smooth movement of vehicles and goods". Vendors public display character on the roads, sidewalks, squares are engraved within the daily lives of urban actors, especially while having regular encounters with the vendors. This is significantly reflected in Abumere et al. (1998) study of informal activities within different cities in Nigeria. According to them, Kano has up to 27.8 percent of all informal activities, which include street trading occur on streets and open spaces Abumere et al. (1998: in Onyebueke and Geyer, 2011), often in conflict with people's mobility. This increasing contact between non-participant and often the participant of the informal sector

³ Kano State Government (KSG). *2016 Consolidate Budget*, 2016.

with the obstructive nature of vendors along the street either by keeping their goods along the road reservations, or the construction of temporary and permanent stalls along the sidewalks or in front of houses leads to the negative perception of vendors. This nature, rightly conceived or otherwise, leads to call for drastic measures against vendors. For example, within the walled city of Kano (i.e. ancient quarters) according to Dankani (2012: 112), 17.2 per cent of the residents there call for a ban on street trading activities because in their view vendors “pose a serious challenge for transportation”.

Aside the ideas of disrupting mobility of residents of the city, vendors are almost always associated with (lack of) cleanliness. Cleanliness is an othering discourse employed to mask hostile policies against vendors while legitimising their erasure from public spaces of potential value (Yatmo, 2008; Swanson, 2007), often making way for the idea of creating a city image. In Kano, this dirtiness associations manifest in largely 2 ways. First is the unhygienic nature of the physical environment. Dankani (2012: 115) study was quick to make the link between street vending activity and waste. This is presented within a framework of recommendation of improved mobility access within the city by stating that “street hawking and indiscriminate dumping of waste along major roads should be banned and appropriate commercial areas and specified dumping sites for waste should be adequately provided”. Despite other actors generating waste, the connections here by the author presumes a higher responsibility of waste disposal on the vendors who often deal in minimal amount of petty goods compared to household’s waste generated and dumped within the public realm. Conversely, there isn’t a relation made directly to waste management systems and infrastructure of the city except within the case of designated market areas as made by Ibrahim (2014b).

The second relationship drawn with cleanliness is the appearance of vendors, often children. This stems mainly from children participation within the informal economy of Kano. According to Schildkrout (1982) and Robson (2004), children form a crux in the ability of women to participate within the marketplace, engaging their mobility advantages where their (women) is restrictive. Within the rural settings, these children are mostly under the care of their guardians, employed as street vendors and their needs met from the income generated via their activities. However, in cities, these cease to be the case. According to Hoechner (2015: 60) a set of children under the care of local *imams* “wash clothes, carry loads and engage in petty trade or... are employed as household help, or beg for food and money on the streets, which makes them a highly visible feature of the urban landscape”. This lack of direct supervision present within the rural areas affects the hygienic nature of the children whom today are “increasingly populat[ing]

the urban centres of the region” (ibid), and are generally termed *alamajiri*. Lawal, a social advocate for good governance in Nigeria, enumerates the plights of these children succinctly saying:

“the usual lifestyle of these *Alamajiri* begins with morning Qur’an recitation and memorization from the pre-dawn prayer (salatul subhi) till around 7:30 am. After this—without bathing and sometimes without chewing a stick (an alternative way of brushing teeth)—they go into the streets, local food parlors, mosques, motor parks, markets, residences of wealthy persons and social gatherings; begging” (Lawal, 2016).

This hygienic description is projected onto the street vending, especially on mobile vendors as an inherent character of the enterprise. Therefore, the conflation that exists between action and actors is reinforced through specific instance of vending.

Environmental conditions that arise from vending and vendors are also closely related to the question of congestions. It follows that the argument policymakers and residents alike make about unsanitary conditions around the cities are as a result of congested urban communities. By operating along streets and junction areas, hawking is seen as a contributor in the hindrance of efficient traffic flow within the city, their activities “constitute[ing] some nuisance through congestion which affects traffic flow” adding that “both children, youths and adults as well as males and females are on the roads selling commodities due to poverty and lack of awareness” (Lambu, Undated: 15). Isa (2018) likewise emphasised this view stating that “street vendors [in kano] also display their merchandise on the roads occupying spaces amounting to up to 50% or even more of the breadths of the roads at some locations forcing pedestrians and vehicles to use the remaining spaces of the roads. Equally, vehicles, including trucks and other heavy-duty vehicles, are indiscriminately and indeed recklessly parked partially on the roads.” (Isa, 2018).

There “massive congestion” character of vendors in Kano (Ibrahim, 2014b: 10) is not confined to the metropolis. As Robson (2004: 205) has found in Zarewa, a township 100 km away from the city, “hawkers (mostly girls) sell trays of food, snacks and other goods by entering houses, walking through the streets or *sitting in a cluster on busy street corners with other hawkers*”. Likewise, there are many vending cluster points around Wudil Local Government where vendor’s constellations arise, thereby congesting spaces (Usman, 2018). Though a cluster does not necessitate congestions, nevertheless, it creates bottlenecks for other mobile actors within the city. Furthermore, where these constellations reach a critical mass, often government suspicions of it been a “havens for criminals” arises and is used as a justification for hostile

actions against vendors (CitiesAlliance, 2009). This attitude towards vendors and congestion is likely to increase since the informal sectors and vending, in particular, is becoming the safety net for the urban poor. Hoechner has reported on “an eroding agricultural economy [in the rural areas] offers few, if any, cash income opportunities for young people. Migration to the city promises redress as young people can get by as household helps, odd-job men or street vendors” (Hoechner, 2015: 69).

The city has as a mitigating factor to the question of congestion around the city started investing in infrastructure that does not necessarily stem from problem of vending but is tangential to its activities. Flyover bridges constructed are envisaged to reduce the congestion around the city. According to the environmental impact assessment produced by the states works, housing and transport ministry, it stated as follows;

As the city continues to grow congestion experienced within the metropolis often leads to serious economic losses such as the increment of travel time and cost, fuel consumption and pollution. Towards alleviating the suffering of its teeming populace, the Kano State Government resolved to construct flyover at silver jubilee, Gidan Radio Rotary intersections. (Kano State Ministry of Works, Housing and Transport, KSMWHT, 2012).

Though there EIA does not arise directly from vending created congestions, the report cites effects of the project on vendors. These include evictions, loss of business and potential relocations of vendors because “the structure [bridge] does not make provision for street traders” (KSMWHT, 2012: 60). The recommended mitigating strategy was “compensate[ing] adequately for loss of business... liaise with business associations affected to allocate alternative land... [and] subsidise the new location and assist affected businesses” (KSMWHT, 2012: 71-72), suggesting a shifting of the constellations from one point to other rather than tackling the spatial issues.

Discussions around the impact of street vendors on the visual quality of the urbanscape of Kano is mostly limited to discourse within the abstract world of the professionals. Because of the proliferation of vendors within the city and the constant tacit approval they receive from communities, if not authorities, there is little criticism about their nature. It is not a stretch to suggest that the vendor is revered as a symbol of hard and honest work, by his/her depiction on Nigeria’s ten naira note. As noted by Morgan (2016: 3) banknotes “beyond their functions as tools of transaction... give certain functions through the imageries and symbolic signatures they

possess”. This symbolism is in the “representation of trading... [as] the possibility of women’s enterprising towards domestic subsistence... [and] in the contemporary society, [it suggests] both men and women engage in ventures that are financially lucrative” (ibid: 8). Despite this attempt at positively decoding the symbolism of the vendor on the banknote, there are constant condemnations from design-oriented professionals about vendors been an ‘eyesore’ to the communities and the constant need for a call for their removal (personal communication, 2018). This is usually asserted when there is a vendor’s congregation, permanent or otherwise, with disregards to the qualities of materials used, ingenuity in construction and the nature of the environment—likewise, the result of government policies towards vendors.

2.9 Conclusion.

This chapter laid down the existing realities of SV and street vendors across the globe and in specific Kano, Nigeria. By navigating the global literature on SV on vending, the chapter made attempt at showing the condition of informal activities operation, identifying the narratives employed in justifying erasure, and recalibrating the discussion by employing the neutral “urban actor” term which seeks to redress informality’s conception into the broader policy and scholarly engagements but in particular street vendor’s negative perceptions. SV as urban actor’s conceptualisations posits the equality of urban ballet participant without ascribing apriori spatial/operational judgement, allowing broad exploration of urban activities contextualised within existing environments, practices and politics rather than an urban vision. Taking this approach, informality of SV in Kano shows a varied approach not dissimilar to other global southern regions (and even some northern pockets) and the limitative forces of state institutions, laws and policies, urban planning and design, and – if all fails – attempted state capture of dynamic informal organisation.

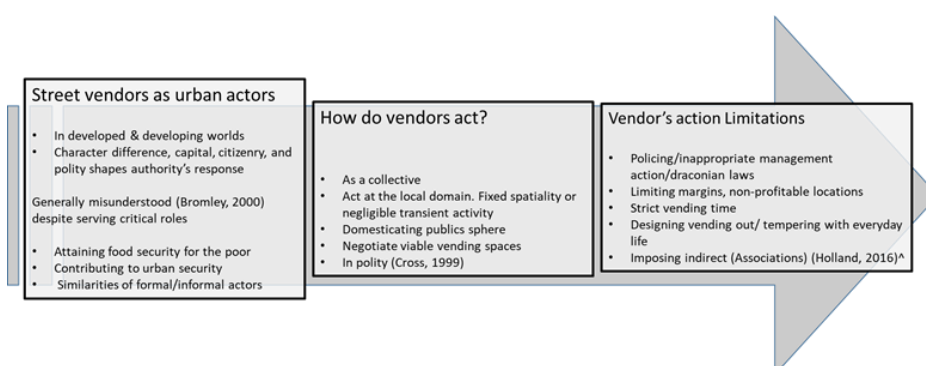


Figure 2.8: Vendors as urban actor’s conception, (Author’s)

Notwithstanding the problem posed by SV as outlined in the previous section, this chapter lays a foundational understanding of their activities within Kano, which architectural character, location and distribution, as well as participation, are argued to as largely conditioned by external forces and not inherent to informality, thereby allowing for the potential of urban integration be investigated.



Chapter 3

INTEGRATION AND STREET VENDING IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT.

3.1 Introduction

The discourse regarding integrations has an inbuilt predisposition regarding what appears legitimate and those lying outside the established framework. To correct this bias, citizenry on policies wrong end that “*otherises*” through urban castration/ostracisation engage in counter-hegemonic exercises including but not limited to intense political, economic and structural action. Through spontaneous organisations that causes people occupy the streets *en masse*, or whether seeking recourse through the courts, the expression of political discontent is spatialized in practice and lends itself to what Wendel (2015: 2-3) calls the “spatial epistemology of politics,” an acute way of discerning relationship between actors engaged in localised claims and counterclaims over space. Thus, if integration is explored, then its assessment towards the erstwhile marginalised urban actors means scrutinising the spatial/architectural/urban relationships between formal and informal sectors, locating their characteristic while determining the conditions within which performative actions are executed. Such an exercise is likely to aid in demystifying parts of relationships between city, processes and actors – from the boisterous nature of the city where “calmness and civility... are the exception not the rule” (Harvey 2003: 939) – and have bedevilled social and physical inquiry.

However, what constitutes integration first needs to be established. According to the Oxford dictionary to integrate means “the *act or process* of combining two or more things so that they *work together*”⁴ [emphasis mine]. The literal definition offer insight into what an integrated urban environment should aspire to be. First, is the process which exhibits analytical explorations regarding the subjects matters pre-integration conditions. These barriers had inhibited full participation and the resultant consequence of such neglect. This phase informs of marginalised actors/events behaviour vis-à-vis the established standards or reasonable expectation. Standardised methodologies within the field of investigation are employed such as Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA), Post-Occupancy Evaluation (POE), Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED), Feasibility Studies or Strength Weakness Opportunity Threat (SWOT) to establish the conditions that needed integration before discerning course of actions rising from data collected. This forms the process. Secondly and most significant is the “work[ing] together” aspects of integration, the primary purpose of the

⁴ https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/american_english/integration

process. Resources and intellect expended during the investigative phase have to translate into harmonious co-existence of people, actions/events, environment and objects. Simply put, deducing from the integration's definition, emphasis on results (a harmonious co-existence) supersedes the procedural elements which bring it into being. Given the different qualities of urban actors and levels of integration needed, various approach to the subject has been developed and experimented with; namely, design, people/procedural, policy and organisational approach which are discussed below seriatim.

3.1.1 Design approach to integration.

Design shapes the interface through which basic human participation within the urban environment is exercised, becoming an integral part of human civilisation. And according to Manzini (2015), the formation of the physical and social milieu is the result of *designing* by a conurbation of universal actors (individuals, groups and institutions) (re)shaping in search for optimal expressional condition. Individualistic iterative designs exist within a nexus which includes other proximate actions be they at the same level or different operational dimension i.e. physical-social-cultural nexus, eventually affecting urban and social scape of their existence. As the contact between nodes increases within the network, the optimal conditions that maximise communal benefits transfer from the individual/small group to the larger entity, which Manzini (2016: 2015) posits as the entry point of a “design expert” who he argued must be “someone who is expert in the various ways of stimulating and supporting wider, more complex co-designing processes” possessing the requisite “cultural and practical skills required to integrate and promote the design abilities of the others, the non-experts”.

The Manzinian argument and others that suppose equality in the co-production and co-shaping of the environment from the mere act of participation belies the deferential physical capacity to effect change within a political and economic structure. Not only has the deferential within the different actor's participations been examined and concluded to have geared towards large firms and developers as against the individual (Knox & Ozolins, 2000) but historically the role of shaping the urbanscape shifted from the state (especially during the 20th century) to private entities (Madanipour, 2006). Invariably, as the locus gravitates away from the state – where (trans)national agenda *accountable to the citizen* could be set – short-termism in conjunction with narrow user scope projects proliferate, reconfiguring the roles of other urban actors. Harmonising the various developmental exercises becomes (amongst others) the function of the state in which the great diversity of the inhabitant has to be protected. It is in the protection of these characteristics that various designs principle have been formulated.

One of such is the concept of universal design (UD). Based on the idealism of equal accessibility for actors, the Centre for Excellence in Universal Design (CEUD, 1997) postulated on what makes a product (read: environment) universal by either “include[ing] as many people as possible” or “minimis[ing] the difficulties of adaptation to particular users”. This depicts a critic of the current nature of the products (Preiser & Smith, 2001) but especially physical environment which the UN (undated) describes as restricting the participation to the sizeable portion of the population. The aim of UD “is the design and composition of an environment so that it can be accessed, understood and used to the greatest extent possible by all people regardless of their age, size, ability or disability”⁵. With the studies of universality prevalent within disability discourse due to the physical barrier imposed from the conception and design of the built environment, Hanns (1986: 275) argues that reshaping the physical environment in a manner that encapsulates the diversity of human capabilities not only satisfies the need of the physically challenged (PC) but more importantly it reduces the stigma held by *able-bodied persons* towards the PCs which is a “more crucial problem for people with disabilities than the architectural barriers of the built environment”. Hence, the universality and idealism of CEUD not only has the potential to tackle participation but also possess the effect of changing attitudes which in turn affects frameworks towards those marginalised from planning and design frameworks. To this end, CEUD proposes guiding principles that emphasise equity and equivalence for users, and affordance in use that lead to low-risk domestications as measure for encompassing a wide range of actors.

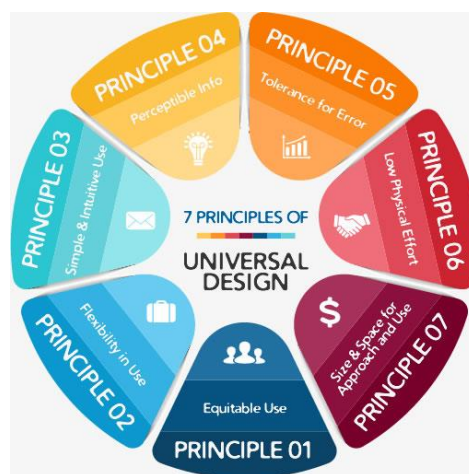


Figure 3.1: Picture of universal design principles, (<http://bijoumind.com/>)

Concepts akin to UD that purport to cater for all can precipitate the into the danger of design paralysis (Hanns, 1986). Access for all, barrier-free design and design for all currently been

⁵ <http://universaldesign.ie/What-is-Universal-Design/>

ushered through the legal and advocacy realms represent these stream of all-encompassing theories not predicated on strong methodological grounds, especially in urban planning, architecture and urban design. As such, Preiser (2007) argued for domesticating the principles of UD (Equitable Use, Flexibility in Use, Simple and Intuitive Use, Perceptible Information, Tolerance for Error, Low Physical Effort, Size and Shape for Approach and Use) within the built environment realm that satisfies its three fundamental objectives of safeguarding the life and wellbeing of individuals and groups (Health/Safety/Security Performance); support human activities (Function/Efficiency/Process) while facilitating the spur of social cohesion (Social/Psychological/Cultural).

There have been attempts at engaging with the informal communities in general and trying to incorporate them into the formal landscape of urban planning. Gouverneur (2014) proposes an “Informal armature” (IA) approach which conceptualises recent urbanization as been informally dominant, warranting the lead for urban shaping that “responds to the internal logic of informal settlements... providing them with morphological and performative conditions that they rarely achieve on their own” (ibid: 119). Key to the IA concepts are receptors, “areas made available for the settlers to self-construct” and transformers which “are dynamic, rapidly changing zones for the provision of services, commerce, and production, and eventually more complex urban uses and real-estate operations” (Gouverneur, 2014: 171).

IA is proposed as a transitory concept enabling informal entities local intake within a defined geographical area “merging compelling formal design and managerial techniques with the dynamics of informality” (ibid: 120). Given IA idea is predicated upon the premise of distinct spatial geography between formal/informal settlements and urbanising patterns, its dominance was to upgrade the informal where it cannot on its own. This means, integration is conceived within the larger scope of the city, not just informal business such are street trading. Nevertheless, the ideas for supporting informal business activities such as vending albeit within the defined informal areas correspond to everyday activities informally planned areas, with proximity to the corridors (mobility paths), the definers of development limits. However, “preemptive method” where IA seeks potential for creating optimal conditions proto-occupations planning limits the capacity for integration in the already existing environment and does not satisfy Fiori and Brandao (2010: 190, emphasis mine) stipulations for a productive urbanising scheme which is to “address the encounter and *coexistence* of different and often contradictory logics of city-making”. By restricting IA implementation to potential new sites

of occupation, the dichotomy between formality-informality does continue to persist, entrenching socio-spatial bias and regulatory frameworks.

Where there has been an advancement within methodological inclusion serving an array of abilities is inclusive design framework. According to Fletcher (2006: 2) “inclusive design aims to remove the barriers that create undue effort and separation [allowing] everyone to participate equally, confidently and independently in everyday activities”. Such a frame diverges from the previous concepts where increasing accessibility of the ostracised communities reflects the measure of successful integration. Here, Keates et al. (2000: 45) argued for “the principal concern for a designer should be physical *capabilities*, irrespective of cause” of the ostracisation, i.e. “reduction in capability such as a specific medical condition or an accident” (Keates & Clarkson, 2003: 215) which when extended to the urban design field includes actors categorised as the *other* either through law, discourse and planning policies. The shift from viewing actors as simply been detached from designed interfaces to engaging them at their everyday practice informs designers and developers of their core and limited abilities which design ought to reflect, integrated and mainstream into processes and products. This avenue doesn’t suggest parallel design for the marginalised but rather strengthen their presence, by acknowledging “diversity and difference” Fletcher (2006: 7) thereby challenging their overall inconspicuous status within public instruments.

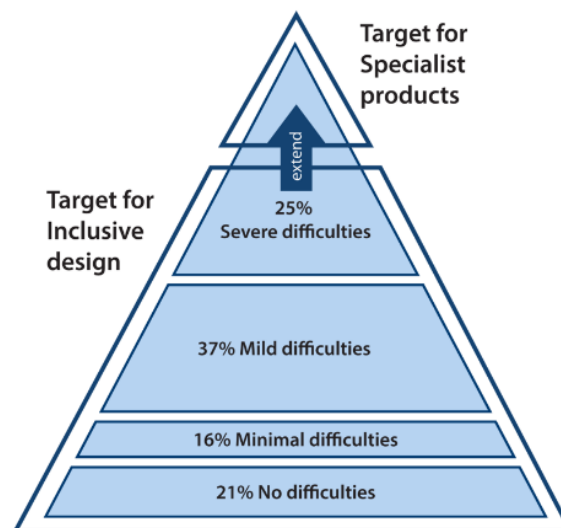


Figure 3.2: Cambridge University’s conceptual Inclusive design framework, (University of Cambridge, Inclusive design toolkit)⁶

⁶ http://www.inclusivedesigntoolkit.com/whatis/whatis.html?source=post_page-----3e9867f7f63e-----#nogo (Accessed, 2019)

Inclusive design premise of strengthening actor's urban resolve (including but not limited to access) “offers choice where a single design solution cannot accommodate all users” (Fletcher, 2006: 8), stemming from the inherent difference needs, capabilities and obstacles presented within the Cambridge framework. Considering the diversity of users and need for the inclusion, Keates et al. (2000) and (Keates & Clarkson, 2003) Inclusive Design Cube combines the dominance of universal design and the fringe-ness of speciality design with flexibility. Segmentation of the cube's population based on ability represents and attempts to fit the objectives of inclusivity by exploring points of exclusion – in design program – to bridge the chasm⁷. For Keates et al., therefore, bringing the marginalised into the mainstream of design involves generating point of negotiation that seeks to improve rather than harmonise all.

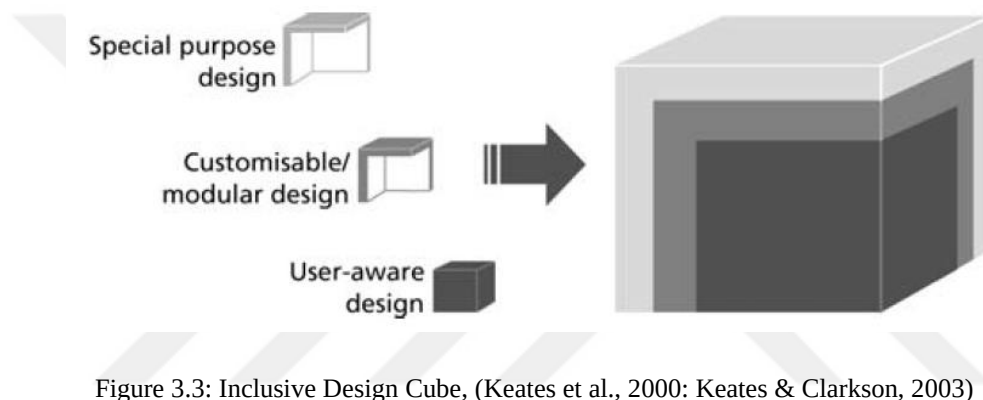


Figure 3.3: Inclusive Design Cube, (Keates et al., 2000: Keates & Clarkson, 2003)

Hence, integration of actors based on design as established above as both a specialist and general subject with grandiose plans to field-specific frameworks all attempting to improve usability, access and performance. Though the veracity of the attempts in not what is in question here, rather the diverging approached to which integration in design is explored, it is essential to establish the inherent limitations therein. And just as the discussions have involved borrowing from adjacent design fields, likewise here, Zitkus et al. (2013) have highlighted such limitations. The pressure exerted on designers/planners causes many inclusive tendencies to be abandoned due to the designer's perception of seeing the process as a trade-off between often client desired outcome and inclusive procedural needs. Hence, state's or developer's influence that has been linked to the removal of undesirables (Swanson, 2007: Whyte, 1980) from the public realm appears stronger than the need for an integrative planning process. Likewise, Oygur and Blossom (2010) and Zitkus et al. (2013) have reported the latent designer bias within the research process that favour internet research, reliance on experience and expert intuition than employing inclusive methods such as user participation or focus groups etc. This limits the

⁷ <https://uxplanet.org/6-principles-for-inclusive-design-3e9867f7f63e>

potential of expanding inclusivity due to the assumptions of an all-knowing expert designer, missing the minute details which could increase subscription by users. Finally, code and regulations exert limitative forces to design inclusion, given their legal superiority over political intentions.

3.1.2 People/procedural approach to integration.

Being able to partake in the urban ballet effectively requires active participation within the public realms (Jacobs, 1961) that is expressed through the individuality of actor interfacing with spaces, products and buildings. Though the ballet conceived by Jacobs covers all practices from the mundane to the sophisticated, which have been disappearing and affecting social participation (Marshall, 2014: Van Blerk, 2013: Worpole, 1992), it falls short of conceptualising those whose actions are restricted or curtailed, despite acknowledging the limits imposed on the diversity and the effectiveness of the ballet by the urban tissue design. Redressing this becomes an entry point into the discussion between integration and participation, which, according to Stockard (2012) is the central point of Jacobs critic rather than her assertion of the “attack on... planning”.

For Rowe and Frewer (2000: 12) participation has to serve “key aspects of public acceptance and [facilitate a] good process”. The authors proposed criteria that ensure the effectiveness of outcome, which is predicated on the level of interactions between the people, bodies/authorities saddled with engaging and participatory method adopted. “Representativeness” of participants, their “independence” from undue interference, ability to directly affect the outcome of the procedure, reasonable involvement and intervening within times disposed for their input, and openness of the entire process are fundamental to participant subscribing to the initiatives. Likewise, a successful participation process must outline the protocols of engagement that spells different actors roles and vis-à-vis the organogram (Rowe & Frewer, 2000: 12-17). While the authors agree the degree of each criterion’s importance is shouldered on participatory method type, weighting the importance of (in)direct participation is obscured, despite its effect on potential outcome of the process. This is important due to the fact that participatory processes are capable of being manipulative of individual involved or serve as a “tokenism” (Hart, 1992: Lozanovska & Xu 2013: Ondrik, 1999) where often there is a cry for transparency or self-governance.

Informal sector integration requires active participations that links action directly to policy outcomes either through its members or via advocates if “stakeholders can influence and share

control over development initiatives, and over the decisions and resources that affect themselves” (World Bank, 1996: 3). Levels of engagement, therefore, has to surpass the non-participatory realms where informal actors are involved as observers or seen as a source of information often through a non-interactive process rather than as host of distinct but comparable epistemological groundings. Ondrik (1999) argued that such full immersion within the process could be achieved regardless of instigating proponents. Through “collaboration” or co-creations, “stakeholders’ ideas [can] change the project design or implementation plan, or contribute to a new policy or strategy” (ibid: unpagued). Subsequently in the physical realms where every day, informal practices persist, increased localised actions domesticates developmental planning programs beyond co-creative efforts of seeking desired outcomes. The sustainability of investment either by collectives, private entities to states is enhanced through devolution of responsibilities, what Ondrik calls “shared control”, embedded within the process. Given the increased application of tactical approaches employed by citizens, such as vendors operating street markets, which as subversive actions challenges planning and urban management conceptions, informal actors have initiated and evolved managerial skills (Chiu, 2013; Apil et. al. 2014; Devlin, 2011).

SV managerial capacities have led to calls such as lead actors and “public space landlords” for their roles in informally administering public lands, arbitration between vendors, negotiating with political entities and (illegal) taxation (Bhowmik & Saha, 2012; Anjaria, 2006). While vending spaces are negotiated with local authorities or insurgently occupied, ability to deploy managerial skills are employed to maintain collective (though insecure) tenure. Given the varying spatial vending character arising from occupation method and instruments juxtaposition that brings about different volumetric levels of vending (see Salès, 2018), access to road, sideways and streets (buyers) becomes uneven requiring immediate localised solution, and this is where unions, cooperative and leader’s management architecture becomes crucial. However, there are pitfalls when sole responsibilities are devolved unchecked to a minority of vendors. Leaders of vendor’s political unions are susceptible to establishing racket-rings, impose socio-cultural hierarchical order rather than equitable access to resources, and often act as repressive agents of the state⁸ (Cross, 1998; Apil et al. 2014). Therefore, finding the level of

⁸ Integration is for the management process here and not incorporation into the design and adopting vendor’s standards as a framework for proposing urban solutions.

direct informal actor's integrations within the process design and management process is essential in producing a just urban environment for majority if not all informal urban actors.

Lower integration threshold within the managerial frame allows planners and administrators to secede the realm and maintain dominance of the design phase of the vending projects. By encoding spatial operations within the design program, designers proactively limits/control potential relationships (Watson, 2009) between vendors, instruments and patronage/users. Such actions have led to agnosticism towards the efficacy of planning and its politics by citizen, and according to the Royal Town Planning Institute RPTI (2001) contravenes its essential purpose as a problem-solving tool. Redressing the scepticism towards creative means by which cities have become anti-poor requires "new approaches which will ensure the inclusion of all who are affected by change" (Ibid: Unpaged). Borrowing from the RPTI, the new approaches should redefine the parochial method of maintaining spatial hegemony as the base concept of planning. By considering extra-spatial and extra-architectural concepts such as budget, social relationships, health and local politics, the scope of individuals and entities engaged within the planning and design process widens. Hence, the epistemological obstacles preventing informal actors directly influence the city-building process – not just as a source of information but also as active decision-makers – must be lowered for full inclusive participation.

As Steinberg (2005) has shown in the case of strategic planning employed within different South-American context, inclusion and decisions regarding services, infrastructure, community development and engagement were achieved through localisation of the process. Through "micro-planning", local authorities in conjunction with CBOs, CSOs, NGOs, private institutions and the citizenry were instrumental in shaping the future of their communities and therein "construct[ing] [a] collective identity" (Steinberg, 2005: 79). The argument for such method of development and integration of local voices into the planning process lies in its opposition to larger planning ideas conceived from a single vision which have been criticised by Jacobs as having a "logic of egocentric children, playing with pretty blocks and shouting 'See what I made!'" (Jacobs, 2016: 109; Galloway & Mahayni, 1977). Strategic amongst other niche plans, therefore, appears suitable to informal integrative processes due to their "long-term vision, takes into the socio-economic and environmental context, identifies competitive advantages, concentrates on critical issues, establishes an integrated strategy for the urban reality, creates flexibility in decision making, is oriented at action and based on a new culture of urban management" (Steinberg, 2005: 70).

3.1.3 Policy and organisational approach to integration

Haven seen ways in which informal entities are considered or assert themselves and onto the physical environment via design actions and procedures employed, the policy conceptions of such integration are an equal exploratory avenue. Given the power imbalance skewed towards the state at the detriment of informal actors, the process by which vendors are domesticated within the city will depend largely on their ideas regarding vending. Hence, a key component of integration is the ideology of the state – more precisely individual that make up the state’s institutions and their politics as shown within the epileptic policy changes regarding informality in general across the globe (Cross, 1998: Tinker, 1997: Bromley, 2000: Rupkamdee, 2005).

Brown & McGranahan (2016: 100) analysis of the different ideologies regarding the informal economy identified 4 – dualist, legalist, voluntarist, structuralist – while proposing the inclusionist position adding that “each [category] with their views and focuses, causal theories, policy implications and influential researchers”. The description of the authors regarding the categories is shown in the table below.

Table 1: Different schools of thought regarding informal activities. (Brown & McGranahan, 2016; 100-101: Nirathron, & Yasmeen, 2019; 17-18)

Thought	Description.	Informality causes	Policy implications
Reformist/ Dualists	Recognise the importance of the informal economy, and how its presence confounded the conventional rhetoric of planning	Labour supply far exceeding the demand brought about by industrialisation.	More state regulation to foster informal productivity & more appropriate forms of access to resources, capital, & removal of unnecessary state restrictions.
Legalist	Emphasised the entrepreneurial potential of parts of the informal economy, identifying the negative ways in which the state has inhibited this potential through excessive regulation & failing to provide the legal basis for property rights for informal producers to compete & accumulate capital	Excessive state regulation.	Less state regulation and more free market policies designed to enable/unlock the growth potential of informal entrepreneurs (particularly through the legalisation of informal property rights).
Voluntarist	Emphasised the negative parts of the informal economy, pointing to some of the dangers associated with the failure of the state to engage constructively with small enterprises and low-income workers.	Efforts to avoid taxation and costly regulation in the formal economy.	Bringing of informal firms and their workers into the formal regulatory environment in order to increase the tax base and reduce unfair competition to formal businesses.
Structuralist	Pointed to those segments of the informal economy with close links to formal enterprises, and the ways in which parts of the informal economy can serve powerful private	Capitalist growth in the context of economic crises.	More regulation of commercial and employment relationships between the informal and formal economies in order to address unequal relationships between ‘big business’ and subordinate producers

interests in the formal economy more than informal workers themselves.

Inclusionist school	Suggests informal economy is a result of anti-poor policies and regulations & systems of governance that exclude the poorest informal producers and traders from accessing formal employment & basic urban services and space in the city to both live and work. Focused on the political agency of poor informal dwellers and workers in cities.	Anti-poor policies & regulations. Increasingly neoliberal governance systems	Collective mobilisation among informal residents and workers as a counterhegemonic practice of resistance and inclusion. Holding local governments accountable for poor urban dwellers and workers in the process.
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Brown and McGranahan's analysis shows the existence of tension in policy formulations between the different framing on informality. Debating increased/decreased levels of regulations of the dualist and structuralist against legalist positions enlighten the challenges for successive democratic integration of vendors. Due to the frequent change of in policy direction resulting from change in government, political and economic performance of the state and/or organised pressure of informal actors, a convoluted legal sphere is produced. In specific regards to vendors, laws around housing, environment, health and safety, and productions have to be navigated to ascertain the legality of a vending location. This reflects “existing regulations in African countries (and elsewhere) that govern the use of public space” according to Nyemb & Marchiori (2017: 16) which they argued as “often outdated, ambiguous, or simply do not reflect the realities of informal traders’ work, which makes it impossible for street traders to comply with regulations”.

Seeking redress regarding inclusion, informal actors operate as national and transnational actors within the establish international institutions or exercise their judicial right, as laid within the UN-Habitat (1996) Istanbul agenda. These frameworks, precisely No 28 which enshrines the goal for “eradication of poverty... [by] enabling all women and men to attain secure and sustainable livelihoods through freely chosen and productive employment and work” allows informal actors lodge complains or campaign at the international stage for the enforcement of such objectives. Indeed, Indian informal actors have exploited the international stage by exhibiting localised solutions as an easy, scale-able and preferred solutions to UN officials thought it must be remembered as argued by Roy (2005: 152) that the “provision and distribution of infrastructure is not a technical issue but rather a political process”. Such political actions mirror the voluntarist positions who view inclusion as primarily lying outside the legal realm into the political. However, the courts are still explored for judicial reviews regarding perceived injustice either in executing the law, lack of consistencies in application

(Nyemb & Marchiori, 2017) and/or challenging its spirit; informal actors have been exercising this power around the globe with relative success, leading to constitutional changes (Carr, 2015: India Education Diary, 2016: Joshi, 2018). These successes are and crucial to the operations of the informal actor despite them operating and having their own ideological struggles (Weinshall, Sommer, & Ritov, 2018), and as Foucault argued, resistance is laid within the positions where power and authority lay.

3.2 Impediment to vendor's integration: methods, discourse and tactics of marginalising.

Despite the mounting statistical evidence regarding the size of the informal sectors as dominant or substantial within economies of the southern cities (Ogbaubor & Malaolu, 2013), there exist an institutional resistance from the formal sector regarding its integration into the formal planning and development frameworks. This is despite the historical fact that informalisation is a recent phenomenon, a duality imposed recently through the hegemony of western planning principles. As Amin (1992: 124) puts it,

“many economic activities which are now bracketed as belonging to the informal sector have existed before urbanization and modernization received new impetus from the western model of urban-industrial development that all developing countries are now pursuing. But what is happening now is that certain activities which have existed previously are often declared 'informals' because they apparently no more belong to the new and modern urban environment... such characteristics thus denote a somewhat paradoxical outcome of urbanization and modernization, i.e. more of the latter make some people and activities out of place warranting them to be labelled as informals”

This paradox is repeated across the world in different geographies where city administrators in competition for fleeting global capital are increasingly employing stringent urban planning and policy tools to police growing cities, in the pursuit for creating physical conditions (not necessary, social or economic) that satisfies a specific capital's demand. Given city's resource limitations, policing becomes greater at sites of capital's interest, i.e. city centres, high streets and boulevard, commercial interest zones (free trade areas and industrial parks), without necessarily sparing the secondary and peripheral areas of the city (see Rogerson, 2016).

Enacting hostile policies against informal actors and preventing street activities have been established as conditioned by a series of erroneous beliefs asserted on informality. Indeed, these negative beliefs such as air, water and noise pollution, environmental hazards affecting public and health safety, the disruption of movement and distortion of land uses are associated with

vendor's intrinsic qualities often transposed into policy lifted from academia and popular discourse (Bhowmik, 2005: Rugoho, 2017: Recio & Gomez Jr, 2013: Poon & Wan, n.d.). Aside from physical attributes description, perceived institutional failing of the informal sector such as exploitation, harassment and deviancy from public norms are commonly cited theme (Amin, 1992: 126). These negative vending narratives are popularised within the media by journalist, interest groups and politicians which serve as precursor to epileptic vending initiatives with crescendo effect. This initiative ranges the different spectrum of administrative, legal, design and policy apparatus. Below is a list of findings complied with data from Kyoko (2006), Perera and Amin (1995: 1996), as barriers to sufficient consideration of vendors for integrative actions.

- Inconsistent vending policies largely dependent on the state's economic situation and political leaning. During economic downturn, states are quick to allow street activities, masking administrative and financial mismanagements than during economic boom.
- Indirect rules that suggest visions for a city which implicitly tender negative consequences towards street vendors, such as stringent operating hours or days, access restriction and hefty environmental taxes (Rupkamdee, 2005:22)
- Anti-subletting laws targeted at the formal sector to stifle informal actors gain access to low-cost spatial opportunities.
- Social policies that neglect urban poor integration for rural development initiatives on the premise the poor can go back to agricultural practice within the hinterlands
- Minimal government interventions/interactions with vendors within the site of their activities (public realm) where most of the day is spent. Services instead are aimed at vendor's residential, missing the key aspects of public actors.
- Informal actor's alienation from city, streets, and markets planning and design process on account of their temporaneous nature while assuming their eventual formalisation.
- Bureaucratic bottle and stringent measure in the process of obtaining vending permits. Vendors are often required to present government-issued ID, fire and health safety certificates amongst others which are difficult and expensive for low-income earners to obtain and hence prevent access to tenure.
- Lacking tenure prevents vendors investing in business in machines, structure and equipment that will increase revenue, but also "generates a feeling of indifference to the improvement and maintenance of the physical environment" (Perera, & Amin, 1996: 5) thereby leaving vendor in precarious state that is used as a justification for carrying out hostile measure, perpetuating a vicious cycle against informal actors.

Initiatives of such multifaceted nature stem from the scepticism regarding informality's capacity to perform with efficiency similar to the formal sector. The state's distrust of recovering investment made within the informal sectors prevent the unlocking of its potential in serving greater employment numbers that are currently at 50-65, 71 and 63.5 per cent for Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa and the global average (ILO, 2015; Amin, 1992). Perera and Amin, (1995: 206) findings suggest that the concerns regarding recuperation of investment are not grounded in facts and concluded that "it is a fallacy [to suggest] that the majority of IS entrepreneurs cannot afford to pay the costs of any physical facility. Such a notion hides the financial capacities and entrepreneurship of productive IS enterprises. It is a question of nonavailability of opportunities rather than sheer inability to pay that has magnified the accommodation problem of the IS". And while calculating for the propensity to pay for services provided to informal actors, the authors found that between 81-97 per cent of vendors are willing to pay and capable of affording monthly payment that do not exceed 25 per cent of their monthly income. This finding not only affects the informal actors "upward mobility" but limits the relationship between the formal and informal sectors through lack of suitable physical spaces needed in the service of sub-contracted formal jobs.

3.3 Remedies from stringent policy direction, experience from elsewhere

According to Perera & Amin (1995: 200) "lack of physical accommodation is a major deficiency that impedes the upward mobility of both enterprises [IS and FS] and their entrepreneurs" by denying effective integration between the two systems and limiting opportunities for IS to explore an already "deformalizing" of the FS. However, the relationship of informality to the formal enterprise traverse multiple dimensions as to warrant the question of what form of integrations is required? While the discussion of vending is intractably linked to illegality and employment, they have dominated the discussion on integration, though not without controversies. Advocate of legal integration (De soto, 2000) that spout formalisation asserts the importance of the informal sectors as holder of capital to gain access and trade as other formal enterprise possible using their assets as collateral. However, there are reservations regarding the exploitative nature of an already saturated formal and financial enterprise that risk exposing the already vulnerable community to predatory hegemonic institutions, hence calling for a cautious approach (Roy, 2005). This has brought the discussion to the planning and design realm seeking to break away from the incongruent discussion on legality into a questioning of the status quo understanding of space that masks the resolution opportunities of the debates.

By reconceiving the nature of space as “having potential to accommodate a secondary function without disrupting the primary function” Perera (1994:56) opened a frontier for which informality could be reconceived as cohabitor of a delimited space without compromising the legality status of either. Urban spaces viewed from this perspective are no more functionally unitary but loaded with multiple functions in direct contradiction to the modernistic principles of planning. Underutilised and dead spaces therefore can be activated through the introduction of mundaneness that sustains constant city ambience and maximises the opportunities that manifest in different locale.

The repercussion of this multi-layered spatial occupations means areas such as sidewalks and emptied lots whether undeveloped or statutory imposed such as railway reserves can be reprogrammed for other urban usage. Where other functions have occupied these latent spaces or left vacant, Perera (ibid) has argued for incorporating insitu activities by recognising their spatial practice as par with regular urban actions. This means in areas abandoned by the formal enterprise as a result of economic downturn, depopulation effect, or restructuring of city/company’s investment strategies in pursuit of greater economic gain, employing urban regenerative initiatives that seek to reimagine and redevelop city hubs can be employed as tactics of integrating informal actors as reinvigorators of urban city life.

In practical terms this has meant the increase of about 2.5m in walkways in Indonesia to accommodate pedestrian mobility coexistence with street vending activities along the main roads, vendors organised in group along nodal transportation hubs in Manila and the domestication of the erstwhile nomadic typist alongside institutional buildings in Dakar, where their services are sort after (Amin, 1992). The presence of structure, material used, and character of incorporating informality indicated the extent to which such interventions are taken. A change in the sidewalk character such as raising its level and acting as a protective barrier added with crafted structure indicated permanence character (though existing in minority spaces), whereas the relaxation of spatial occupancy laws/policing that neglects the provision of supportive infrastructure such as stalls, appropriate drainage, auxiliary facilities such as garbage areas and toilet facilities points towards the temporal ends of the integration spectrum (Perera & Amin, 1995: 202). Regardless of character of interventions, the gamut within the range is required as pointed out by Perera and Amin (1995: 207) given the variant standings of different informal urban actors. According to the authors, haven seen income, revenue and assets raising that comes with accommodating vendors have proposed the following three levels of inclusion depending on the peculiar needs and affordability of informal actors within the urbanscape

- Micro-scale vendors – Provide communal location with services due to the limitations and “inability to pay” if intervention is individualised.
- Intermediate earners – provision of suitable communal location with “basic utility services with a focus on enterprise expansion”.
- Small and medium vendors – Provide individual accommodation and services at suitable locations to enable upward mobility into formal enterprises. (Perera & Amin, 1995: 207).

Given the positive association between accommodation and vendor revenue, the relationship should be understood not merely as a direct but rather a nexus of vendor, spaces, management, character of street/site and attitude of participants which includes government, financiers and developers. The right climate in which vendor co-exist, flourish and are not considered as the “other” requires more than spatial liberations. As Kyoko (2006: 32-33) points out, “street vending policies are not merely about allowing the poor to sell in a small corner of the market, but about how these spaces are integrated in relation to other urban spaces, and how the space management is strategically positioned within urban development policies... the whole framework [urban regeneration and beautification campaigns] needs to be inclusive towards the urban poor and ... not be prioritised at their expense”. Rupkamdee (2005) has reported three cases of inclusive attempt where (i) the land is state-owned but occupied and managed by vendors, (ii) state-owned land managed by private individuals and companies and (iii) private land under private control, each producing different environmental quality with intent of harbouring section of the informal actors. Though the veracity of the success between the various projects was not compared, the relative success in the interaction between parties involved appears central to the vendor’s inclusion. The determination and level of parties control in management, setting rent, shared responsibility indicates potential exploratory avenue, making vendors crucial to spatial epistemology

3.4 Space and informality.

Public life is inherently ephemeral (Gehl & Svarre, 2013), involving people running, socialising on streets and squares, or engaging in mundane activities that continuously change depending on activity, weather, design of the environment and level of user control (Gehl, 2011; Francis, 1989; Sharifi et al., 2015). A plethora of factors have to be analysed – crucially, user diversity – if an urban environment is to be produced that can cater to this continual change within the public space.

However, recent trends in public space design have sought to limit the categories of users often referred to as the undesirables, that is, the homeless, the poor and street vendors, among others (Whyte, 1980). Such practices harbour negative implication in the social, economic and political fabric of the city (Crawford, 1995; Madanipour, 2015). The ideals of public spaces as fora for citizens' engagement, public discussions and the exercise of democratisations, as argued by both Harvey and Lefebvre (see Harvey, 2003; Lefebvre et al., 1996), are once again threatened through exclusionary discourse and practice which conceals (or attempts to) the dynamism of the city and its temporality, further complicating the theorisation of public life and implementation of solutions by designers and administrators.

The implication of these actions on street vending activities is not just the exclusionary practices and the reduction in potential areas of vending, but crucially their resultant erasure. The theoretical implication is that subsequent resistance models of vendors are translated through the prism of overcoming the coercive actions (Crossa, 2013; Kamete, 2010; Musoni, 2010) removing vendors' agency. To overcome this direct relationship between the resistance models and the coercive force applied, we need to implicate our traditional understanding of space as the site of this resistance in a neo-liberal agglomeration focused on exploiting resources for capital gains (Brenner, 2013; Brenner and Schmid, 2011). Space has been transformed – from city centres to the hinterlands – to operate in unison in expediting the movement of goods and services and improving communication while servicing capital ideals. These ideals are professed such that the entire space (including extra-terrestrial) is tamed and is subjected to curation, eliminating the uncontrollable, the ever transient. The constant desire for the fixation of the urban space (i.e. planetary) is incongruent its intrinsic dynamic nature.

As seen from the vendors' perspective, their precarious nature and insecurity of sustained wealth, while operating under the 'tyranny of emergency' (Appadurai, 2001: 30), forces a constant rethink of the space, dispelling the need for physical domination but rather exploring space for what it can offer. These conceptions of spaces, which emphasise control, on the one hand, and flexibility on the other, can be conceived as separate – each producing its own space (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991) and amplifying a particular set of relationships.

Conceptualising different spaces as distinct insofar as their underlying philosophy on usage character differs, despite occupying the same geographical location, does not imply isolated existence. Both conceptions are bounded within an overarching metaspace, 'a fluid form of public space . . . [with] different definitions of public space and different ways of participating in it' (Bunschoten, 2003: 59). The ability of the metaspace to hold simultaneously contradictory

approaches to space emphasises its ‘innate ephemeral character’, its suitability as a place of inquiry and a ‘container of knowledge-management processes, [for] the dynamic chaos in which we live’ (Bunschoten, 2003: 59). The ephemeral character can be considered from the spatio-temporal interactions within the informal and formal spaces produced (lateral interactions) and likewise, the ideo-temporal interactions, which manifest when the ideas and practices of the formal space(s) meet the ideas of the informal space(s), or vice versa.

Hence, considering informal and formal spaces within a metaspace means conceptualising the idea of their activities as operating in different dimensions within the metaspace. Such deconstruction and reconstruction of space within the meta dissolves the inherent value judgements associated with the character, activities and spatial qualities of any particular environment. As Foucault has described, the justification for otherising space, people or activities lies in the long history of casting them as ‘deviant in relation to the required mean or norm’ (Foucault, 1986: 25). Therefore, for analytical purpose, the ability to conceive the space without apropos of judgement is crucial to understanding informality’s urban curation.

3.5 Mobility and vendors.

Mobility and movement are intrinsically vending activities. Mobile vendors often come to the mind of the populace when discussing the vendor/city relationship due to the tenuous and antagonistic relationship that exists between a few sections of the two. Mobility patterns of vendors are seen as contrary to the visions of the neoliberal city (see Graaff and Ha, 2015), a relic of the old geographical understanding of movement as an inferior human activity (Oakes & Price, 2008) to be solved by progress and modernity. However, vendors perceive mobility as essential practice in creating alternative spaces of vending, even if temporary, that secures their means of obtaining livelihoods and semi/extra-legal status from the city (Eidse et al., 2016). An example is the tianguis (weekly street markets) and ‘Market on Wheels’ described by Cross (1998a,b), where vendors change locations weekly, setting up new vending spaces occupied only for a single day. What is interesting here is not the ability of vendors to congregate, occupy a space/streets and sell goods within the city, but rather the quick transitory nature of the enterprise afforded to it through vendors’ instantaneous collective mobility. This established mobile character of markets has aided in their (un)official recognition by authorities.

Other forms of mobility are not as dramatic and consequential as Cross’s account, but are nevertheless influential in understanding vendors’ movement. These involve the sub-mobility components – motive force, speed, rhythm, route, experience, and friction – developed by

Cresswell to unshackle that ambulatory descriptive nature associated with mobility, that is, action of displacement from origin to destination. According to Cresswell (2010: 23), rhythm involves ‘repeated moments of movement and rest, or . . . repeated movements with a particular measure’. Here, minute actions that would otherwise be overshadowed by origin-destination analysis of mobility are brought to the fore, and as demonstrated in a study carried out in SoHo, New York, USA, rhythm reveals the relationship between vendors’ mobility and the urban environment. According to Mikoleit and Pürckhauer (2011), their observations of SoHo revealed the importance of mobility even to stationary vendors where it was employed as an environmental adaptive strategy. This is through the subtle adjustments vendors undertake with regards to the position of the sun, resulting in a perpetual nature of shifting and moving – especially in winter/spring – while concurrently protecting their products from the sun’s rays. These incessant but limited movements that continuously occur throughout the trading day are non-voluntary, since they are conditioned by natural elements – a point not missed in Cresswell’s formulation.

What happens to the interpretation of mobility when vending/vendors is/are declared illegal? Here, Cupers offers a multi-dimensional insight into mobility. He implicates the legal framework and racism in the production of vending spaces and in determining what he calls ‘deliberate elusiveness’ as a movement pattern. This elusiveness seeks a cat-and-mouse relationship with the authorities in the city, pointing out that ‘space[s] of street vending . . . exists by virtue of movement . . . [and vendors] urban mobility relates directly to both why they are outlawed and how they creatively tackle the constraints of social class, foreignness, and racism’ (Cupers, 2015: 141–142). Undocumented foreign vendors evading police capture and their local counterparts operating on what is considered illegal grounds employ this elusiveness by combining motorised and non-motorised transport to operate within the most potentially productive vending spaces in the city (Cupers, 2015). Cupers’ illustrations of policing and citizenship effects on vendors’ movement patterns should be understood as a case occurring within a system with ‘high-state integration’ (Cross, 1998b: 227) – that is, where policies/programmes are implemented with minimal levels of opportunity for resistance from outside groups, though the question of vendors’ citizenship and mobility also appears in the global south (see Eidse et al., 2016). Likewise, indigenous vendors in the global south still face such neoliberal attitudes imported from the north, in both policies and discourse. This has resulted in some vendors crossing their country’s borders (Swanson, 2007). However, despite the extreme case of transnational migrations, vendors resist employing movement. As observed

by Etzold (2015: 181), ‘it is not formal laws that define the everyday practices of street vendors, but rather the informal arrangements between them and powerful agents at their vending sites’. Such realisation has led vendors to adopt a transient attitude towards spaces with zero vending tolerance. During hostility periods, vendors quickly vanish, however ‘reappear[ing] at their [prior] vending sites within minutes’ (Etzold, 2015: 180).

Another advantage of mobility manifests when permanent vendors are uprooted, and mobile vendors are allowed to stay because ‘they do not threaten the state’s monopoly on regulating public space . . . [unlike] permanent vendors’ . . . comprehensive spatial appropriation and thus [their] displace[ment]’ (Etzold, 2015: 177). Mobility, therefore, is discussed and interpreted against multiple factors that place vendors as reactionary, unwitting participant in the urban drama, devoid of agency. Hence, even when vendors are proactive and asserting influence that forces consultation with authorities, movement is considered as exogenous – not an inherent activity of vending that warrants its understanding.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter outlines the theoretical, conceptual and methodological attempts exploring possible integration of informal/marginalised communities into urban public sphere. The different dimensions describe above uncover multitude strategic and operational approach to integration spanning various fields. From a design perspective, most often, these approaches are seen as distinctive and separate even when employed within project. The ideas of a pre-design stage dealing in issues of research/investigations before proposing a scheme, or developing a framework such as the UD or inclusive design typifies this stratification. However, as demonstrated in chapter 2, SV everyday experience is neither segmented nor stratified. Whereat vendors exercise commercial operations, the same geographies/spatiality’s are the sites of competing urban actions with diverging urban framework, formal or otherwise. It is at these sites that tension from a policy and procedural perspective with regards to informal activities exists, often culminating within an expressive manner, through design, political/legal action, or confrontations- by the state and informal actors.

This suggests proposed integrative frameworks should engage with the friction between the competing practised and especially their processes that legitimises their actions, de-voiding the misreading of completion by establishing coexistence.

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY, DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction.

This chapter provides a general understanding of this thesis research design. Chapter 2 has laid the social, physical, and spatial process that encapsulates SV activities within cities together with the operational challenges faced and subtle generalised attempts at reconciling the difference. It showed the intense socio-spatial incongruences set within the nature of SV activities and the desired vision of city administrator. Aside from this factor, chapter 3 has shown that the plethora of ideas, though reliable within their approach, have failed to fully encapsulate the informal phenomenon that is street vending, due to the inherent deficits that exist within the methodologies (Charmes, 1998). Standardisation within design and planning approach in engaging with the informal sector has escaped the inherent malleability (social, political and physical) of the practice (Graaff & Ha, 2015; Bhowmik, 2005; Donovan, 2008). While there have been many attempts in organisational aspects of engaging with SV (see Roever & Skinner, 2016 for southern perspective), there need not to be a bifurcation between the two realms – policy and practice. Likewise, standard integration approaches have either sought to be informed by the social theories or are read and practised concurrently, though unutilised in tandem. This is contrary to Lefebvre's understanding of the urban setting. Lefebvre (1996) urban analysis implies inherent complex social relation sites, constituting contradiction warranting a rethink of the carefully separated realms. Without invalidating segmentation, he argued that;

“To attribute [and attempt solving] the crisis of the city to a confining rationality... and to a planning centralization ... bureaucracy of State and enterprise is not incorrect. Yet, this viewpoint does not go much beyond the horizon of the most classical philosophical rationalism, that of liberal humanism. *He who wishes to propose the form of a new urban society by strengthening this kernel, the urban, which survives in the fissures of planned and programmed order, must go further*” Lefebvre (1996: 129, emphasis mine).

Productions, exchange and utilisation exist occupying the same sites while locating and dislocating entities in unison. Here, the production of SV spaces, their daily experiences, and competing exchange uses are a holistic social phenomenon which must be understood as such. While SV operational understanding is crucial to comprehending the urban, asserting informal activities legitimacy at the centre of planning and design requires going further venture.

Here, the discussions of Schindler (2017) becomes crucial in understanding informal activities from urbanisation perspective. Schindler, in his criticism of Brenner and Schmid (2011) planetary urbanisation concepts which dissolve small actor's role within the planetary scape restores this role by focusing on economic interactions which lead to urban production. First, by highlighting changing economic relationship between the global southern state and their citizenry especially vis-à-vis raising capital for boosting economic productivity, which affects urbanisation and spatiality's within, Schindler asserted "the production of populations is no longer the primary objective of many municipal governance regimes," Schindler (2017: 54) suggesting state and actors (SV) are producing different areas (if only limited).

Second, is the acknowledgement that "individualized constellations" or group of actors often self-help "contribute to the production... and a shared relationship with the materiality [infrastructure] of the city [that] animates sociality" (ibid, 55). Here, interactions between the formal and the informal as a result of co-productions intensifies spatially, politically, legally; creating contentious urbanscape. SV animate this interaction daily in their relationship with formal business and authorities (Devlin, 2011: Crossa, 2013: Kamete, 2010), stressing the tension between opposition and dependence.

Finally, because of the forgone discussion on the intractable relationship between the formal and the informal despite their perceived separation, Schindler (2017: 56) concludes, the "materiality [urbanscape] and political economy [of global southern cities] are always already co-constituted" and no apparent distinction can conclusively be deciphered. This is the situation that Lefebvre (1996: 129) argued: "is born a critical contradiction: a tendency towards the destruction of the city, as well as a tendency intensification of the urban and the urban problematic".

If these arguments hold true i.e., a complex relationship of the formal and informal; the produced and the neglected; the co-dependence and co-shaping of the physical; which this thesis argues it does, then integration attempts must understand these social phenomena simultaneously and in situ. Put another way, understanding the social and lived experiences of SV, the processes in opposition to informal activities, other adjacent factors contributing to the interactions such as producing the urban environment and SV operational experiences (interactions with patrons and officials) becomes paramount. Hence, narrow philosophical approach to understanding the highly social phenomenon needs expansion if the desired operational framework can be proposed. This becomes the subject of the next section.

4.2 Philosophical dimension of the study.

Conditions of SV activities and interrelation with the formal sectors, urbanisations, governments, and markets make a complex network that needs investigating for a framework that satisfies prosperous and harmonious co-existence between the two operational frames. Such inquiry means traversing the different structures to eliciting information and understanding within diverging conceptions of what urbanscape and city mean. This means a philosophically flexible approach capable of withstanding the different modes of inquiry becomes suitable in this regard. The chosen methodological standing should be capable of reaching what objective knowledge is, in regards to the research questions asked, meaning the underpinning philosophical assumptions and its epistemology must be capable of establishing valid findings (Creswell, 2007: Creswell & Poth, 2016: Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

For the purposes of this study, social constructivism was chosen as the philosophical underpinning during the inquiry, instinctively unearthing inherent assumption made. First, the thesis indicates a qualitative approach of gauging SV experiences and adaptive strategies within Kano, as well as professional/user's perspectives towards such actions as inherently social phenomenon whose reality can be perceived and decoded through the participant's eye (Creswell & Poth, 2016: Creswell & Creswell, 2017), resulting in the adoption of a subjective reality. This goes in stark contrast to the positivist polar opposite, insisting on a singular, true, knowable knowledge which all attempts at reaching it must be made (Guba and Lincoln 1994). While the positivist discountenances with the sociality of an inquiry, controlling for human element as empirically as possible (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba, 2011), constructivist embrace the sociological complexities of the investigation, insisting on the internalisation of (multiple) truth (Creswell & Poth, 2016: Creswell, 2007), aided by the possibility of multiple interpretations of the data. In essence, "constructivism is the recognition that reality is a product of human intelligence interacting with experience in the real world. As soon as you include human mental activity in the process of knowing reality, you have accepted constructivism" (Elkind, 2005: 334), and this brings in the researcher and participant into the philosophical frame, strengthen the inquiry here.

Because this study has to interact in the field with participants (SV, users and professionals) using methods that allow excavation of results and ideas; the mediation of reality through participant's eye as one decodes and make sense world; language and social cues; all involved are active within the knowledge-producing frame. Desired degrees of researcher's involvement

must be considered with the research goal. Thus, the researcher should be aware of the degree of that immersion.

Philosophy	Constructivism	Positivism	Pragmatism
<i>Type of research</i>	Qualitative	Quantitative	Mixed
<i>Methods</i>	Open-ended questions, emerging approaches, text and/or image data	Closed-ended questions, pre-determined approaches, numeric data	Both, open and closed-ended questions, both, emerging and predetermined approaches, and both, qualitative and quantitative data analysis
<i>Research practices</i>	Positions researcher within the context Collects participant-generate meanings Focuses on a single concept or phenomenon Brings personal values into the study Studies the context or setting of participants Validates the accuracy of findings Interprets the data Creates an agenda for change or reform Involves researcher in collaborating with participants	Tests or verifies theories or explanations Identifies variables of interest Relates variables in questions or hypotheses Uses standards of reliability and validity Observes and then measures information numerically Uses unbiased approaches Employs statistical procedures	Collects both, qualitative and quantitative data Develops a rationale for mixing methods Integrates the data at various stages of inquiry Presents visual pictures of the procedures in the study Employs practices of both qualitative and quantitative research

Figure 4.1: Different philosophical approaches to methodology, (Andrew, Pedersen & McEvoy, 2019 in research-methodology.net)

The philosophical constructivism also has inherent methodological assumption within it. According to Creswell and Poth (2016), the analytical assumption is to generate a theory from ground up, using data from participant and restricted to singular issues, difficulty finding the population (Hammarberg, Kirkman & de Lacey, 2016), or an early/different foray into a subject. In essence, it is inductive in nature as opposed testing a theorem as the case with positivist.

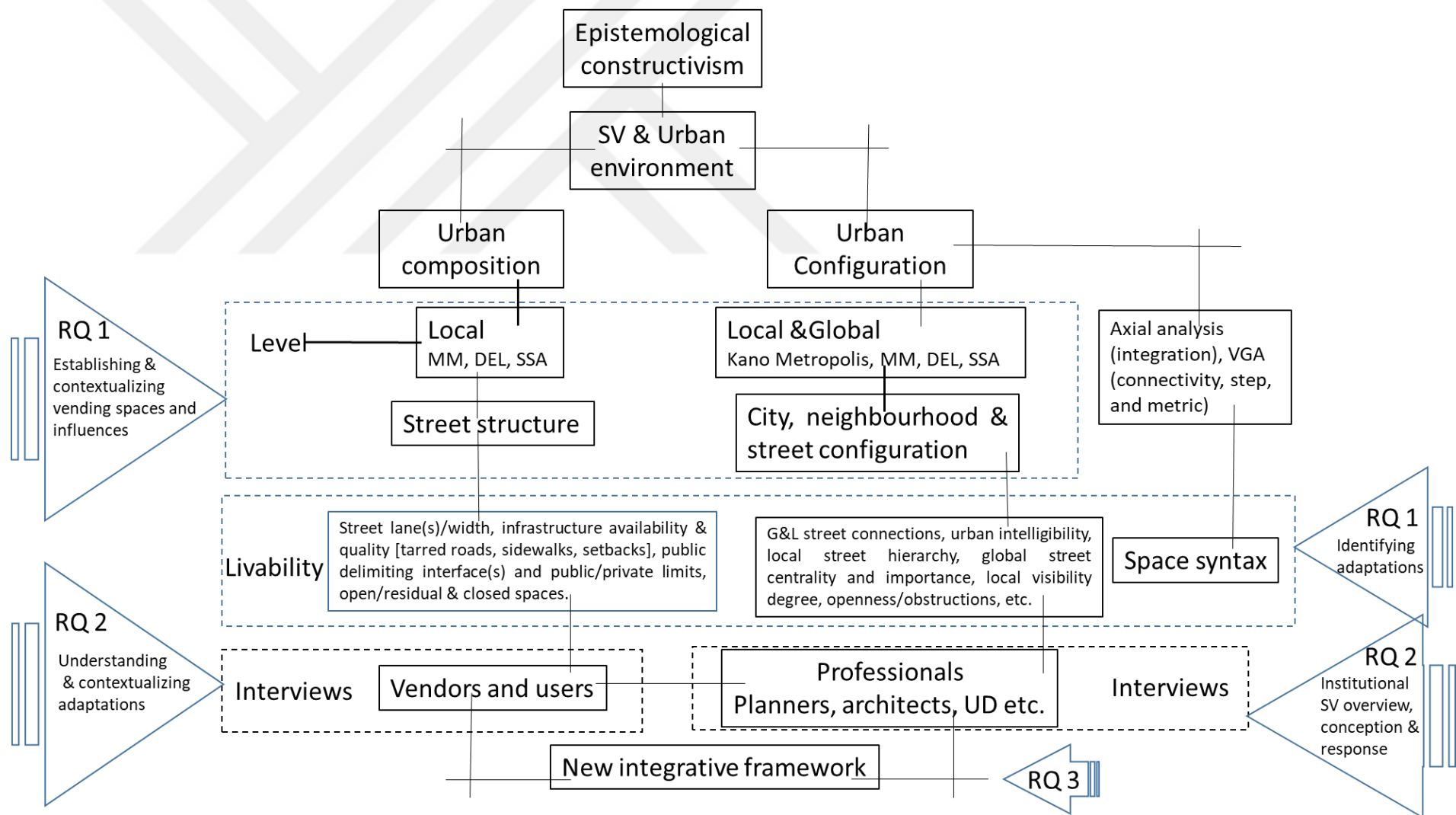


Figure 4.2: Research methodological design to answer the thesis' theoretical questions, (Author)

4.3 Research theoretical perspective.

To grapple with the research questioned asked within the highlighted philosophical frame, the research employs urban liveability as a frame of inquiry. The historical emphasis placed on cities, especially urban centres to perform supportive functions that boosters the activities of the inhabitants has led to the cascading number of theoretical liveability frame. From Alexander's (1977) attempts at codifying the urbanscape with their problems and proposed solutions; to Lynch's (1960) more parochial attempt at uncovering urban legibility aiding how users orient within them; to Jacob's (1961) "attack" on all that planning has done to dissolve the community; to Gehl's, the Lennards', and Hamdi (2010) serial studies on how the resulting product of years' introspections and proposal are affecting the daily life of users. What appears central within all the studies is continued emphasis on the urban compositions as the primary mode of for gauging urban life.

SV activities investigation fit within this frame. Their primarily public performance is exerted solely within the "social space..., a constituent part of the public realm" (Carmona et al., 2003: 67). Carmona et, al. interlinkage of activities occurring within the social space such as "movement and interpersonal transactions" are the crux of informal business. Hence, conceptualising frames promoting these interpersonal transactions become central to SV investigations, and are a combination of social, cultural, physiological realms but most notable here liveability's physical dimension (Kashef, 2016: Montgomery, 1998).

The extensive understanding of these physical dimension has been confined to an analysis of their access, usage, and management in relations SV. Liveability should go beyond that, and ask similar to those of the residents – how does the city perform in relation to the desires of users? By inquiring along this line with respect to SV, this research can begin to uncover the SV-physical relationships as well as, vendor-actor relationship. Recent emphasis has been drawn to this dimension such as Shane (2011) and Widjajanti and Wahyono, (2018) showing the evolution of mobility armatures and their usage within cities been appropriated for SV activities; and Abbot and Shah (2014) calling for the exploitation of existing infrastructure. These attempts provide a glimpse of spaces and components relationship with vendors. Sidewalks, streets, roads, elevated platforms, junctions, parking spaces, etc. all become spaces of interest, informing the spatial aspect of liveability and vendors adaptation within those circumstances.

Kamalipour & Peimani (2019) SV codification attempt of SV activities; Yatmo's (2008: 2009) evaluation of the shifting nature of vendors in public perception which implicates visibility primarily but implicitly background of activities provides the second relation to composition. All three studies emphasise to certain degrees the relationship of SV to their surrounding and juxtaposed interfaces, such as building and fences, and degrees of accessibility (Lynch, 1981), empathising their importance to the operational qualities of the participant.

While the subject liveability has been pursued as observatory one often with the researcher at a distance observing public life unaffected, here, the thesis includes interaction as part of understanding performance. Hence, the spatial and compositional understanding are assumed to be embedded within vendor's experience considered as valuable, rather than observing at a distance. For this reason, there is need for data be collected from participant in varied urban configured environment, and the next section attempt at finding those locations that will ensure diverse lived and operational experience.

4.4 Space Syntax as a Methodology for Analytical Understanding of Cities

Selecting streets within Kano where observations and other analytical methods of inquiry were to be employed to understand SV operating conditions and adaptable measure they employ, aiding the development of an inclusive framework requires diversity on multiple factors, such as environmental composition, types of vendors, spread in geographical area, varying products sold by SV etc. The myriad of factors to control for can be endless, given the questions for one's operation. However, given the line of inquiry of this thesis and its qualitative nature, specific considerations were undertaking guiding sites selection.

First is the orientation of the streets. From the literature regarding favourable vending positions along different locations show vendors operating away from the influence of direct solar rays, due to extended exposure to the elements for the working day, avoiding the rays' effect on perishable goods, or conversely locating it (sun) in the temperate regions (Crossa, 2009: Cross, 1998: Whyte, 1980: Mikoleit & Puerckhauer, 2011). Given this peculiar nature of the physical environment affecting SV spatial location and activities, it presents that need of controlling for it amongst the streets selected, by fixing a predetermined orientation of the streets, here, tending towards east-west. This allows for even distribution of the constant physical elements along the streets. Choosing east-west orientation is guided by pilot study observation carried along 2 streets in three different cities (Kano, Kaduna and Abuja), revealing the propensity of SV, pedestrians and other street users to oscillate from one section of the street to another, save for

occupying permanently shaded areas beneath trees, at covered carparks or adjoining houses/shops. As observed from the pilot, such character manifests largely on streets tending towards north-south axis, hence, allowing such propensity will/can mask the essence in vending activities. However, east-west axis streets ensure SV stability of activities across a vending day and structures and equipment erected/used regarded (but not exclusively) as operational instruments.

Second consideration is the difference in urban compositions. Because it is paramount that the proposed framework to be developed be able to operate within different urban circumstances, aggregate data upon which its construction relies needs to come from diverse urban compositions. Operationalising urban composition here means a variety of settings that constitutes an effective public interfacing realm (reachable and usable surfaces). Such variations do include the availability degree of mobility interfaces (pedestrian and vehicular), the variation of their surface treatment, their widths since according to Dalwadi (2012: 95) any increase in width raises the number of SV activities within that region and the nature and character of building along a particular street. In Kano, such characterisations can be classified into different types of streets, i.e., tarred/untarred, single/double/triple lanes, regular/irregular/winding streets, zero/non-zero meters' setback streets etc., having the potential to dramatically alter the character of vending among them. A baseline method for establishing some order into the streets for comparison while remaining as diverse as possible is set here as having a minimum 75 percent tarred covering based on the following assumptions/observations. One, that street vendor's propensity to aggregate along roadsides is greater than occupying central positions along thoroughfares even if MV temporarily operate thereat. Two, given that there are considerable areas within Kano without treated mobility platforms nevertheless operate congruently as tarred road with vendors along the sides, there is need to grapple with vendor's experience. Three, even if the trajectory of development is to upgrade underdeveloped neighbourhoods, for the purpose of developing a framework, the multifaceted data set provides triangulation for assessing the validity of findings.

Third is that streets are located within characteristically different neighbourhood allowing the relationship between neighbourhood activities/spaces/buildings and street vendors come to the fore given rise to different SV activities be they (semi) mobile or stationary.

Finally, the geographical spread, ensuring that streets are not taken from a cluster of spaces within the city, ensuring representativeness of regions. Addressing the aforementioned

conditions, this thesis adopts the methodological underpinnings of space syntax theory at the same time employing it as a tool.

Space syntax is the analysis of buildings and cities spatial configuration and how that relates and influences the social life or vice versa (Hillier et al., 1993; Karimi, 2012). Developed based upon theories wayfinding, urban perception, urban patterns, network theory, urban space social interactions and functions established in the works of scholars such Alexander et al. (1977) and Lynch (1960), space syntax techniques combines them in explaining, predicting, guiding and resolving development based on form and function theory (Hillier, Penn, Hanson, Grajewski, & Xu, 1993). Space syntax works based on the premise that space is intrinsically and centrality a result of human activity, not an ideal element awaiting infusion and activation (Hillier, 2010), suggesting its inherent social qualities. Likewise, as people interact with the environment and continue to shape it, their action becomes influenced as the spaces produced, confirming Altman and Chemers (1984) finding.

Aside the socio-spatial relationships, space syntax theories postulate a configurational approach to understanding spatial systems. According to Hillier (1993), a complex understanding of the system, not just two corresponding streets indicates the effect of which that whole has on the solitary. Hence, minimal changes made with the streets and spatial network have several degrees of reverberative effects on the entire system, influencing social and behavioural conditions such as movement, land use, visibility etc. within the city.

The next section highlights space syntax analytical measure employed in site selection and comprehending the physical environment.

- Axial lines and visibility analysis (Definition, generation, problems & criticisms)

The axial line is an abstracted transformation of space into the most prolonged linear form unobstructed form possible contained therein (Hillier & Hanson, 1984; Turner, Penn & Hillier, 2005; UCL, 2020). Generated and combined from series of spaces, the axial line as the basic building block of an axial map, resulting in a conceptualised visualisation of physical spaces, which is constituted from the fewest lines, extending over one-another (Penn, 2003) signifying a change of space. As one moves from one abstracted line to the other, within the space syntax lingo, it is ascribed as increasing in depth (Hillier & Hanson, 1984), signifying distance from a particular position on the map counted in axial node count (UCL, 2020) and not quantified in metric distance. Likewise, another point of departure from traditional urban design lingo is the

node, which unlike its Lynchian understanding of an intersection, here it is the space represented.

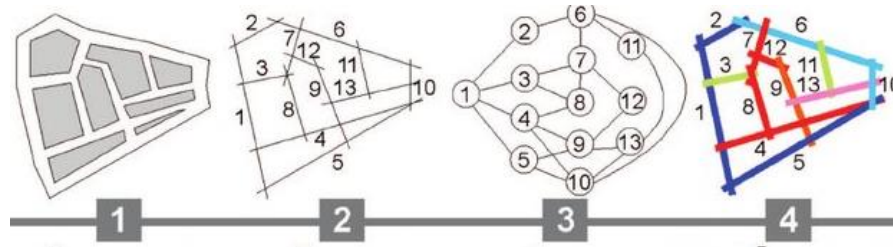


Figure 4.3: Showing abstracted transformation of space into and axial lines (2), nodes order (3), and integration (4), (Crucitti, Latora & Porta, 2006).

To select streets within Kano, maps of the roads have to be abstracted into linear unobstructed form. The limits of the lines are kept within the metropolis



Figure 4.4: Street network of the entire Kano state (right) and that of Kano metropolis, adapted from anvaka.github.io (2020)

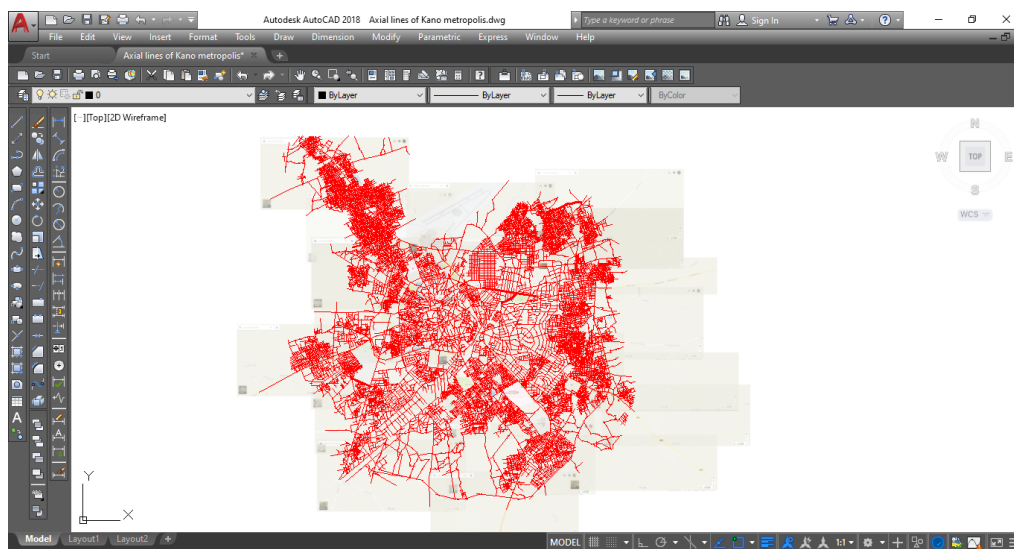


Figure 4.5: Street network (Axial lines) of the Kano metropolis abstracted (manually) using Autocad, (Author, 2018).

Communities detached from the metropolis are exempted to avoid disproportionately affecting future analysis through edge effect, where “streets on the edge of the map are not connected onwards” (UCL, 2020).

Integration analysis defined as “a normalised measure of distance from any a space of origin to all others in [the axial network]... that calculates how close the origin space is to all other spaces, and can be seen as the measure of relative depth” (ibid). In essence, integration in the global level as performed here identifies the space depth measure relative to every location on the map. This means the result will identify areas that are central in the network and other distanced or detached within it, and to select sites for investigation, allow different degrees of depths with the entire system to be chosen.

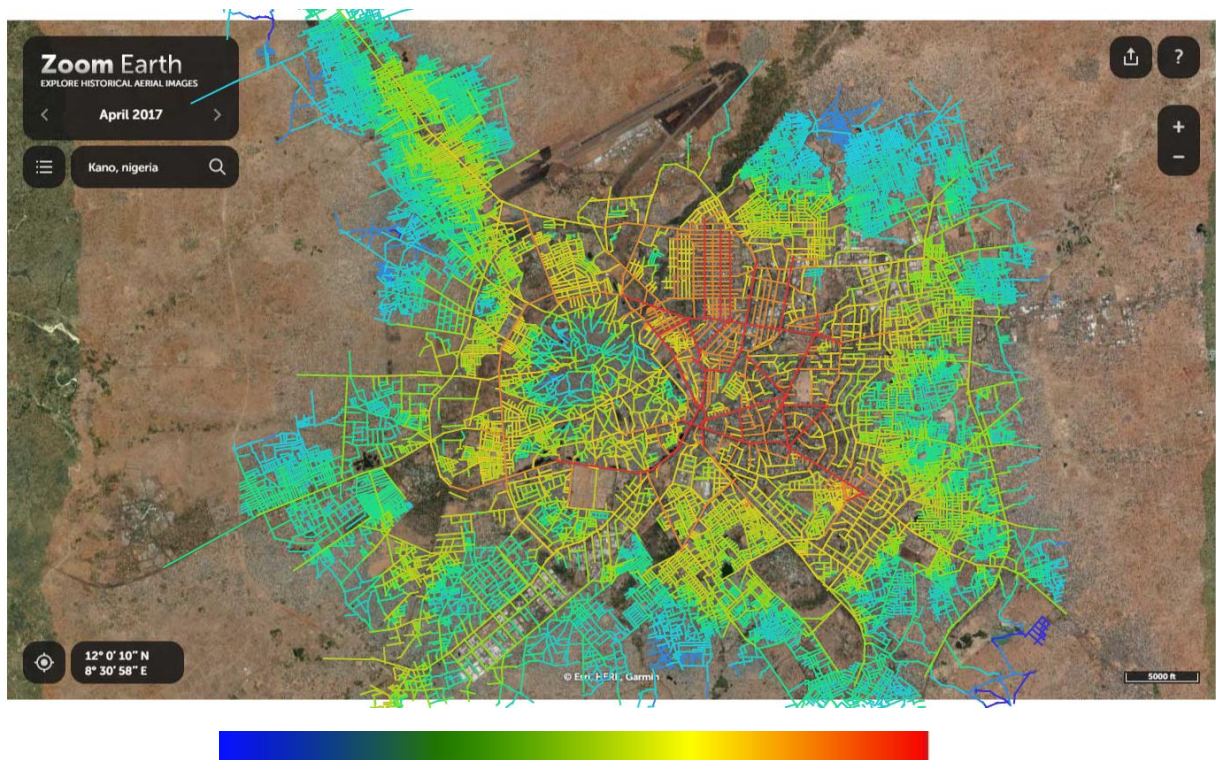


Figure 4.6: Shows global integration analysis of streets within Kano Metropolis on Zoom earth satellite map, (Author)

The above diagram graphically represents depth of each node in relation to all nodes within the network. While the results of such analysis can be interpreted mathematically⁹, given the qualitative nature of the study and employing the tool purposes of site selection, colour gradient alternative interpretation is employed. Colour coding red to blue signifies integration level for

⁹ For the mathematical interpretation, the selected streets integration values are 1.00, 0.79, and 0.59 respectively with a difference of 0.21 and 0.28. Maximum, minimum, average and SD integration values within the entire system are shown on the table in the next page.

high to low. Hence, the study selects one street from red and blue hues, and an intermediary street form zone in-between, all corresponding to four-section criteria outlined at the beginning of this section (streets orientation, urban compositions, characteristically different neighbourhood, geographical spread). The figure below shows the selected streets.

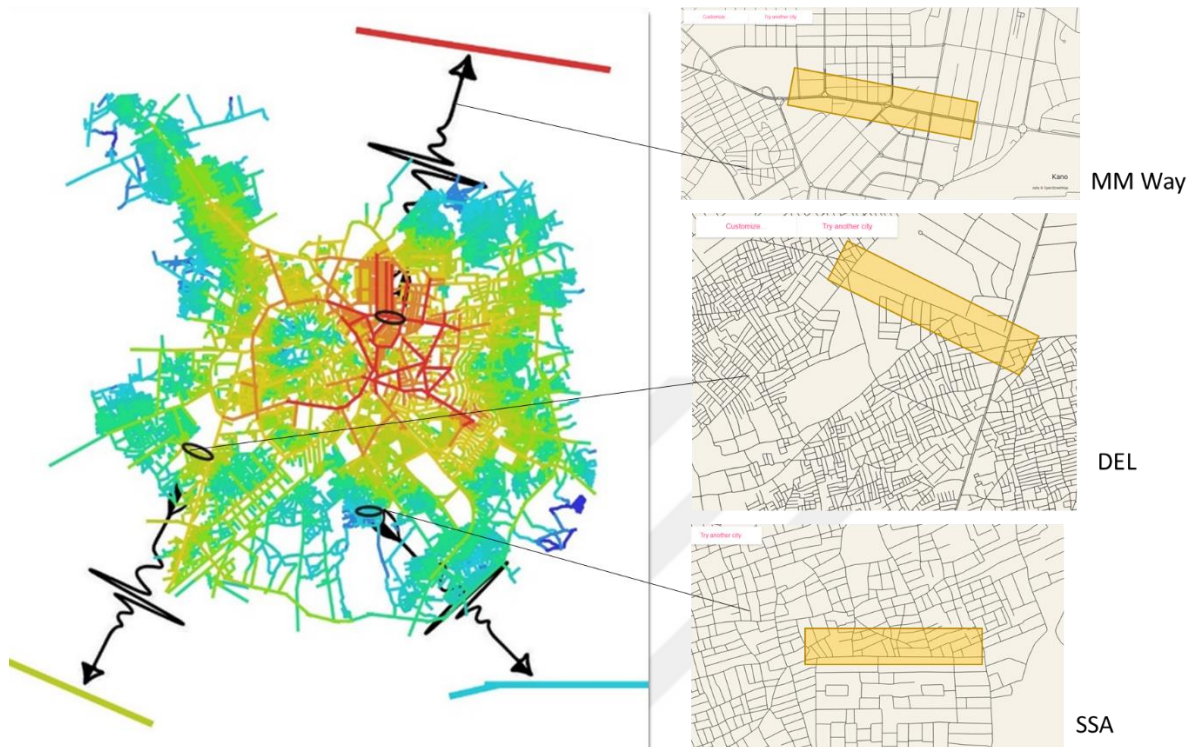


Figure 4.7: Selected street (called-out maintaining orientation and direction) for investigation, Kano Metropolis, (Author, 2018).

Attribute Properties			
Name			
Integration [HH]			
Values			
	Value	Attribute	Selection
1	Average	0.642899	0.769217
2	Minimum	0.325676	0.313518
3	Maximum	1.00431	1.00011
4	Std Dev	0.100083	0.199425
5	Count	14042	3
6	< 0.393540	52	0
7	0.393540 to 0.46...	290	0
8	0.461403 to 0.52...	1283	1
9	0.529267 to 0.59...	3175	0
Formula			

Figure 4.8: Table showing the attributed of the selected streets and the entire system (Author, 2018).

As will be shown in the next chapter, the street selected satisfy stipulated conditions. To a large extent, east-west orientation is maintained, exhibit varying urban conditions, consequences of being vastly different neighbourhood conditions, spread at a distance across the city.

Other factors supporting the study's analytical phase is the ability of deduction within space syntax supporting/simulating real urban conditions. Empirical observations that have linked commercial real estate location with the CBDs and high pedestrian and vehicular movement as both positive and negative terms requiring solutions (Scott, O'Donnell & Anderka, 2009: Gehl Architects, 2007: McNeill, 2011: Gehl & Svarre, 2013) have been shown to correspond with integration values of locations (Croxford, 1999: Barros, da Silva, & de Holanda, 2006) and are used as optimisation technique in traffic management and developmental approach (Zheng, Zhao, Fu & Wang, 2008: Karimi, 2012). Identifying the predictive and configurative capacity of space syntax within the city processes does indicate its potential crucial role in analysing street vending geographies, here, locating spaces of varying spatial and social context.

Another critical factor aside street's integration levels are visual properties, not in the qualitative pictorial manner but preferably using the syntactic spatial measure as an analytical tool. According to the UCL (2020: unpagged) glossary, "visibility graph is the graph of mutually visible locations in a spatial layout". Its analysis mathematically and qualitatively provides a better socio-spatial understanding of buildings and urban spaces in relation to one another within the system given the natural and built conditions as well as perceived level (Behbahani, Gu & Ostwald, 2017: Ostwald 2011: Turner et al., 2001). Numerous visibility techniques and analysis are available within the DepthmapX 0.50 tool used in this research such as the different types of isovist measures, which shows the visual field of an individual given a definite stationary position (Turner et al., 2001). However, connectivity measure, step and metric depth are used to show the similarities of vending locations within their socio-spatial context. This is necessary to ensure two things. First, having ensured diversity within the integration scheme and selection variable, there is need show commonalities between SV diverging socio-spatial and urban conditions, which provide valid basis for the development of the framework. Second, the analysis aid in understanding the potential social distance that exists between SV and different parts of the situated neighbourhoods, in turn, supporting the first reason. The figures below show the result of the visual analysis of the three selected districts.

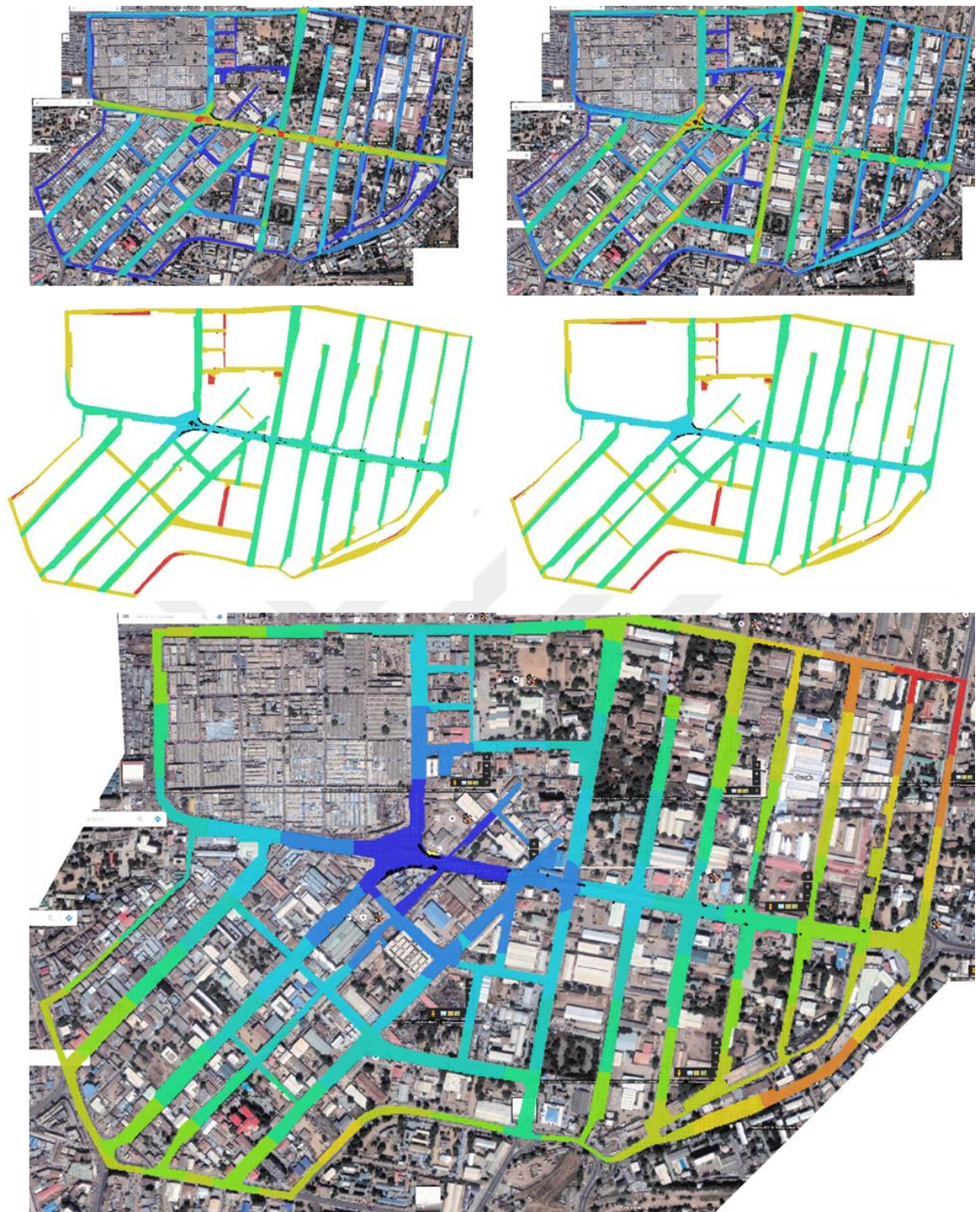


Figure 4.9: Visibility graph (connectivity), step depth and metric depth of MM-Way with and without a central bridge system.

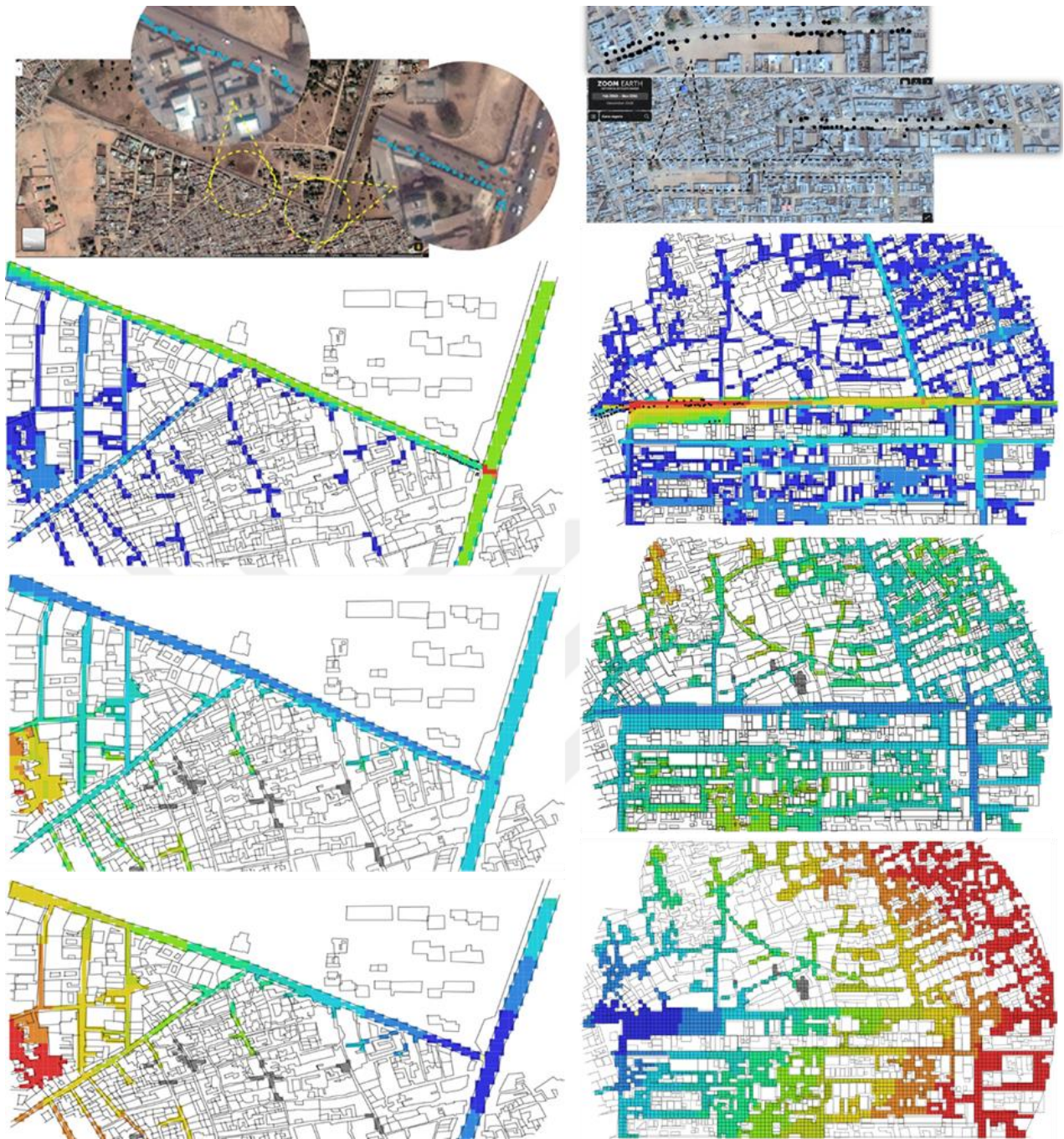


Figure 4.10: Satellite map, visibility graph, step depth and metric depth of DEL (left) and SSA (right), (Author, 2018)

	Value	Attribute	Selection
1	Average	3.17136	2
2	Minimum	0	2
3	Maximum	9	2
4	Std Dev	1.31647	0
5	Count	3233	1
6	< 0.900000	1	0
7	0.900000 to 1.80...	307	0
8	1.800000 to 2.70...	749	1
9	2.700000 to 3.60...	884	0

Figure 4.11: Visual step depth gradation increases as colour changes from blue to red (9 steps maximum system), (Author, 2018).

Atop each of the figures is the visual connectivity analysis (laid on the satellite map in MM-ways analysis and stand-alone on SSA and DEL). Visual connectivity determines “the number of visible grid cells from it, or the number of vertices directly connected to the corresponding vertex” (Behbahani, Gu & Ostwald, 2017), put another way, the graph shows the propensity of a space (cell) been visible from (and in relation to) all other location within the system. As the capacity of visibility of a region within system is high, a concentration of red spots (colour) appears, signifying its visual centrality. The reverse is the case for obscure areas within the system – graded in blue.

A striking correlation exists among the three neighbourhoods in relation to SV locations, most or a significant number occupying space in and around highly visible areas. The first graphs show that areas graded from red through yellow a contain high amount of SV activities indicated by the called-out regions on the satellite and black spots on the analysis. This occurs despite the different urban characters; such are the active areas (colour-coded regions), shape of the delimited neighbourhood analysed, whether regions are monocentric (as DEL and SSA) or polycentric (MM-Way), and their analysis radius. This corresponds with the notion of SV being a highly visible activity which often results in hostile actions against them (Muiruri, 2010: Hansen & Vaa, 2004: ILO, 2002)

For the second set of analysis, the research employs step depth analysis, which is “the minimum number of edges between two vertices [i.e.,] ... the number of different (visually uninterrupted)

straight paths a person must take to reach from one point to another. (Behbahani, Gu & Ostwald, 2017: 1). Representing the visually “shortest path... within the system” from a selected position (UCL, 2020), step depth measure degree of visual separation from one point in the system to another, which does not correspond to traditional distance measure. For example, two positions few meters apart separated 90 degrees by a wall can be considered visually deeper than a third location 100m away with direct visual contact.

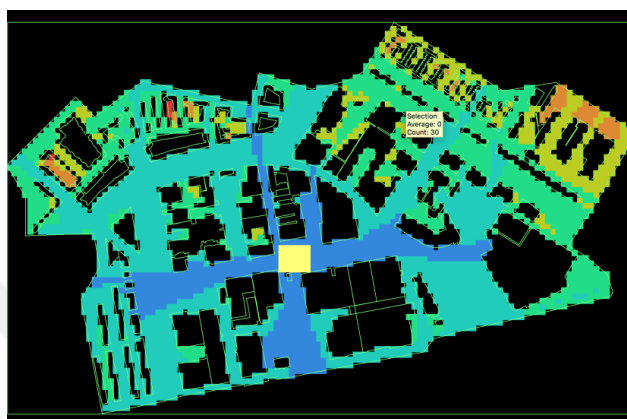


Figure 4.12: Fields (same colour) are within same visual depth from Yellow square origin. Moving between colours increases or decreases depth as one moves further and closer to the origin respectively (ethz.ch)

These measures are central to wayfinding and navigation, especially for pedestrians within (labyrinthine) urban environments. Residents capacity to navigate these locations largely depends on the environmental configuration, which influences their cognitive perception (Giannopoulos, et al., 2014). This places informal settlements at a cognitive disadvantage in navigation than planned ones and remains evident within the second set graphical analysis.

In DEL and SSA, vending locations appear to have a large swath of locations at a visual distance from them (indicated by large portion of red areas), unlike MM-Way a planned location. Taking the two informal settlements, DEL and SSA, this can be expressed clearly as given hard reach areas are more substantial in the latter than the former. A consequence of this might be the urban configuration, given the analysed radius in SSA contains high streets than DEL. Another reason for that discrepancy is the notion of “two-line logic” identified by Hillier (1996) in London. Nevertheless, the observation remains valid but most important, is the relative number of visually connectable locations to predominantly vending areas.

Finally, is the metric depth a “measures from each origin the number of metric steps or more simply walking distances to reach all segments in the network” (UCL, 2020). This measure calculates the proximity of locations to other areas within the network. Within this study, it is employed as a tool to show that significant amount of commercial and residential areas are

within proximity to vending locations, as depicted in preceding figures. This likewise indicates the valuable nature of the sites for vending and are characteristically similar.

4.5 Interviews

Discussion is an enlightening device allowing insights into meanings which could be easily misconstrued. Placed within a social context and engaged in over some time, individual within a setting can deduce ideas, reasons and explain their point of views on issues. However, they are often spontaneous and require on-spot analysis of positions, argument frame, logic and purposes, which usually the participants have to engage in keeping the flow going. Within the heat of the moment, or swayed by other factors, comprehension is lost, chain of narrations skipped, insightful points and questions unraised and/or critical knowledge lost. These happen to individuals on multiple occasions daily. Nevertheless, they have historically proved to be a tradition of passing down information and still maintained in communities that subscribe to oral tradition. However, through systematic documentation and retrieval means, continuous knowledge can be uncovered.

Interview as a methodology to a large extent represents discussion which has an end goal (Bingham & Moore, 1931), uncovering/eliciting set of specific information. However, Qu & Dumay, (2011:239) have cautioned that “in comparison to everyday conversations or philosophical dialogues, which usually place the participants on an equal footing, the research interview can be characterized by an asymmetry of power in which the researcher is in charge of questioning a more or less voluntary and sometimes naive interviewee”. The power here can manifest as knowledge gap between the participant or end goal (ibid), which the interviewer has more information about than the respondent. This power-deferential manifests within this study as sub-section of the interviewees (especially street vendors) have less or no theoretical knowledge of the events questioned upon, though their practical/lived/daily experiences via performative actions does compensate for the difference.

Employing interview methodology indicated a certain assumption about knowledge reality and its location. Framed from the perspective of participants, Alvesson (2003) highlighted the possibilities for knowledge explorations. First, the participant as medium for truth transfer, where the narration is perceived as an accurate reflection of reality and can be accepted on face value and their merit. Such an approach requires professional expertise comparable to the type of information needed, and that can provoke truthful statements. Second, is the not definite pursuit of truth, given from a post-modernist perspective there is no singular objective reality,

but rather an attempt to uncover the lived/practical experience of the interviewee, making them knowers, and a vehicle for possible comprehending similar phenomenon elsewhere. The role of the interviewer here to probe for a narrow scope, seeking for singularity understanding, but to craft a situation of exchange nurturing information/experience to be voiced that achieves the delineated objectives. And finally, Interviews that seek a localised understanding, with or without the generalised frame as basis for entry. Information sourced are sociologically situated and might not be as reported elsewhere.

Within all frames, there are pitfalls inherent. As Qu & Dumay (2011:239) argued, “real understanding may sometimes be elusive. Even when the interviewer and the interviewee seem to be speaking the same language, their words may have completely different cultural meanings. Thus, communicating becomes more difficult when people have different worldviews. However, done with care, a well-planned interview approach can provide a rich set of data”. This forms part of the complex social deference Seidman (1998) highlighted that influence the perception and reporting by the interviewee, and comprehension and analysis by the interviewer. Thus, it is significant to understand these social phenomena and position of each participant within the methodology before eliciting and seconding information and response, respectively.

As for this study, it has sought to adopt the strategies of inquiring for experiences from all groups within the study rather than making a case for an objective, reliable truth. Understanding that all participants within the study operate within a highly imbalanced politicised system, affecting and neglecting urban spaces and institutions, idea of truth between the participants will differ, and will not proffer the necessary information required by the thesis to achieve its aim. However, the political influences within SV, professional and user’s experiences will enrich the studies outcome, and poses no methodological problem within the analytical phase since as argued by (Kvale, 1996: 180) interviews should possess “no *via regia*, to arrive at essential meanings and deeper implications of what is said in an interview”. For this reason, the study adopts a semi-structured interview method.

4.5.1 Semi-structured interview

The choice for a semi-structured approach to the inquiry here stems from two reasons, namely; the choice for a constructivist approach that attempts to build knowledge from the ground up, and therefore does not possess the necessary or all information required in setting up a structured attempt at investigation; and secondly, the insistence on approaching experience

rather than objective truth from the participants within the study, a romanticism interview approach according to Alvesson (2003). This means from the onset, the structured interview approach part of the neo positivist realms was removed from consideration. Furthermore, because the processes within a structured interview “consist of a series of pre-determined questions that all interviewees answer in the same order,”¹⁰ it affects the possibility of obtaining diverse views in regards to the opinions sought after, by limiting answers length that could prove vital, potentially restrict respondent into predetermined response limits, an effectively restricting the interviewer from further probing the interviewer (Qu & Dumay, 2011:244)

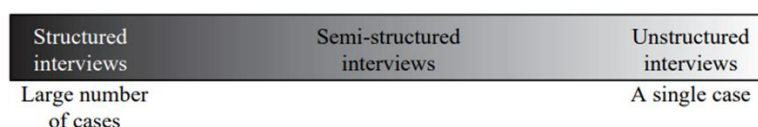


Figure 4.13: Spectrum of interview types, (Dumay, 2009: in Qu & Dumay, 2011)

Structured interviews methodological rigidity is aimed at “minimizing researcher bias and increasing generalizability of the findings” (ibid: 244) which already have been insinuated and explicitly mentioned as not been the objective of this research. This leaves the choice here and unstructured interviews.

Unlike structured interview which has the “risk of not eliciting ... topics or themes more closely related to the research questions under consideration,” (Rabionet, 2011: 546), unstructured interview has an informal structure to it, resembles conversational discussion, and is least unreliable (Qu & Dumay, 2011) of the methods for establishing common or different experience among respondents because of analytical difficulties. This is despite its apparent fit of enticing information due to its conversational, informal nature, an epistemological conception of Rubin and Rubin (1995). However, its approach, methods and practice does not support the investigation here. Therefore, by the process of crafted suppositions and elimination process, semi-structured process becomes fit here. As a method, it “contains the components of both, structured and unstructured interviews [where the] ... interviewer prepares a set of same questions to be answered by all interviewees”¹¹ within a “consistent and systematic manner interposed with probes designed to elicit more elaborate responses” (Qu & Dumay, 2011:246). This suits the investigation that comprises of various types and sizes of vendors, professionals within varying levels of experience, and users that engage within the informal sectors at a varying degree. The ability to improvise, probing different lines of inquiry within the same

¹⁰ <https://research-methodology.net/research-methods/qualitative-research/interviews/>

¹¹ <https://research-methodology.net/research-methods/qualitative-research/interviews/>

interview without delineating from the core of the investigation is valuable to an experiential probing inquiry.

4.5.2 Questions

Questions in an interview seeking understanding must satisfy some basic requirements according to Kvale (2003: 40-41) that include; objectivity, not indicating the bias of the interviewer that it unduly influences response; the subject of the interview understands the overall picture of the investigation, becoming able to form an opinion; and the subject must be able to question the premise and/or inherent slants carried within the questions. Likewise, Lazarsfeld (1954) argued along similar lines of objectivity and fairness but added emphasis on clear delineation between questions. These safeguards are set to ensure the objectivity of the scientific process, validating the knowledge produced from interviews and were central to the formulation of and conduction of interview in this research.

To encapsulate the vending experience within Kano, three sets of questions were administered to the different groups of participants, following the research questions set out. In no particular order, they cover the opinions and experiences SV within the selected street; the expressive views of street users, whether they patronise the informal sector or not; and finally, the professional class, those saddled within the responsibility city management, especially and exclusively the built environment. All three types are investigated from the viewpoint of street vendor's performative actions, thereby serving as a form of triangulation method in the search for an experience closer to reality.

Questions administered to vendors (ambulatory and non-ambulatory, as appropriate) probe their spatial and urban usage. These include; can you describe the nature of your vending location? What are the opportunities space provides or challenges during the business day? How do you mitigate against (stated) those challenges, if any? How are you able to modify the spaces to suit your practice? How do you move during vending operation within the space? etc. Questions are framed as open-ended questions to natural response and allow for maximum initial interpretation by respondent (Geer, 1988; Leech, 2002), providing opportunities for subsequent probing.

As for question administered to users, they cover the subjects of cover user/vendors relationship, user/environment/vendor relationship, and include the following; how often do you patronise street vendors? Where (and how) do you engage within vendors? How would you describe your interaction while engaging (at a junction, sidewalk, storefront, etc.)? Describe

your perception about street trading? Etc. These questions are designed to elicit and response that can gauge the nature of their relationship within vendors while interacting and the effect of vendors on their interaction within the urban composition regardless of during interaction or not.

Finally, professional questions are set to evoke and establish the abstract professional perception of street vending along the streets against the reality of their operations within Kano, and then their opinion of SV operation within the city, and possible (non)action towards the enterprise, on the spectrum of inclusivity to expulsion actions¹².

4.5.3 Population and sampling

The three populations – vendors, professionals, and urban users – considered respondents here posed different challenges, which influenced selection methods and conditions for administering interview. Least difficulty in locating participant was the professional class. These are the participants to elucidate institutional views the city towards street vendors in all its complexity. All participants were drawn from the Kano Urban and Planning Development Authority (KNUPDA) been the government department responsible for design and management of urban development within the city and has a varied team of professional (architect, planners, urban designers, geologist/geographers/demographers, surveyors etc.) The true staff strength was undisclosed, but respondents intimate about 60 persons make up the professional ring, within the different department. Despite the lack of a sampling frame, the inclusion/exclusion practice espoused by Robinson (2014) could still be maintained, using departments, hence the removal of non-design/urban management department. Participants were drawn from the following departments; Architectural Services, Urban Centre, Market Control, Development Control and the Data Bank. These are the department that (re)shape and maintain the urban public realm within Kano metropolis. Those excluded are admin and finance, building/construction/maintenance, engineering – their dealings are internal or do not related to the street vendors. The positive about this group is they are situated within specific location and relatively easier to contact.

The users sampling frame was not feasible as well since their presence at/close to the vending locations is probabilistic, depending on the entire populations. However, attempts were made

¹² See appendix for sample of questions.

to identify respondent that satisfy the following: all means of mobility, reasonable age (which exclude minors), engaging with the vendors or not.

Finally, vendor's population was possible to ascertain and is documented through mapping streets activities. To grasp the real picture of vending situation due to its dynamic nature; morning, afternoon and evening hours were selected to establish a census of activities. There was disparity between mobile vendors, semi-mobile vendors and stationary ones operating within the day, and such understanding allows for establishing the kinds of activities to engage with, and as important, when.

Having identified the populations, sampling becomes next, choosing whom to select for interviews. A mixed-method was operated where vendors and professions were sampled through a non-probabilistic snowballing method and convenience employed on relation to users. This was the result of access difficulty concerning the populations and posed a problem of adequately establishing the diversity of response (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981) which Kirchherr and Charles (2018) argued can be controlled for via multiple entry positions. In relation to professional, this study operationalised entry points by generational and profession skill. Contact was made with entry-level staff, mostly young, and lead a line of different generational ideas about vendors and urbanscape. The contact was an architect within the institution. The second entry point was with two high-level urban planner at the management levels that created access to the more experienced generation within historical knowledge of the institution and its relationship evolution vis-à-vis street vendors within Kano metropolis. These allowed or divers opinion be obtained across generation and professional understanding.

As for users, the convenience method was employed along the studied streets within the condition of contact or proximity to vendor's activities. This method also poses epistemological difficulties of reflecting reality which was mitigated by ensuring diverse socio-economic levels were included.

Two indicators determined the sample size given the qualitative nature of the study, diversity of opinion and exhaustiveness of the snowballing. In total, fifty-four (54) interviews were conducted; fifteen professional¹³, 11 users, and 28 vendors¹⁴. These small number (see footnote 10 and 11) are not problematic if considered within Robinson, (2014) idiographic framework,

¹³ 3 high level management, 5 midlevel staff and 7 junior/entry level staff.

¹⁴ 10 stationary, 13 mobile and 5 semi-mobile vendors. (see appendix for more information)

seeking to understand different strand within the populations, arguing its efficacy especially in studies comprising of different population type (as here).

4.5.4 Administering interview and protocols

Administering the interview for different group of respondent can vary, and for this thesis are classified into three groups; pre-interview, interview session, and post-interview.

4.5.4.1 *Pre-interview*

This phase involves introducing the interviewer to the potential interviewee, done by the individual snowballing on behalf of the researcher, establishing rapport. Then the researcher adequately informing participants of the interview purpose, present them within an informed consent form – to professionals and users¹⁵, while informing them that it will be recorded¹⁶, before deciding on agreeing or not. Some participant declined to be interview immediately but rather set a different time suiting their schedule, though others agree.

Next is choosing a location, which the researcher suggest the participant choose with a slight hint for potential noise disturbance, especially with professions who mostly occupy shared office spaces (see Creswell, 2007). This method wasn't employed with vendors since that will displace them from their business environment and present a risk of revoking consent. As for users, the chances of participation became higher when the researcher dropped this request.

Finally, the conditions of interview settings differ, with professionals held within the comfort of offices, vendors utilising their business areas, with frequent interruptions, and with users often conducted standing, affecting the duration of the interviews time. The informality of this phase means different languages (Hausa, English, and Pidgin English¹⁷) were employed to ease the interview phase (Leech, 2002).

4.5.4.2 *Interview session*

Interview sessions lasted on average, thirty minutes with the professionals and slightly lower for the vendors and users. With a phone recorder and an interview note sheet in the manner

¹⁵ Street vendors were hesitant to sign any document fearing it might be used as a revenue estimation mechanism and preferred given verbal consent.

¹⁶ Using iPhone 5 voice recording application held close to the respondent mouth while answering questions.

¹⁷ The researcher is fluent on all three of the language – Hausa being his mother tongue and the language spoken in the city; English being official language of the country and education medium in conjunction of Hausa within the city; and finally Pidgin English, a common language employed when discussion within people of other tribes that are not necessarily fluent in Hausa or English, but is also employed in non-formal settings.

suggested by Creswell (2007)¹⁸, the interviews were conducted in the settings, in English with the professional, and Hausa with the vendors and users, though Pidgin English was used with one vendor (non-indigene of the state) who could hold a conversation in Hausa but preferred expressing herself in Pidgin. Language change poses a problem of congruencies of meaning and translation (discussed later), but have to be employed in such circumstances as argues by Temple and Young (2004: 168), if not “epistemology” will be “tied to social location”, discrediting many fields of inquiry.

There were interruptions in most cases, but most notably with vendors who have to engage with customer frequently. In this case, the recording was paused, and a debrief was undertaking before interview resumes, suggesting the interview time is less than the contact time between the researcher and respondents. Likewise, and in Kvale (2003), at any point the interviewer wishes to pause/stop the interview, or in mid-interview to ask a question/or clarification, this was obliged to and was found to elicits more discussion, concurrently informing the researcher of where to do better next time.

Finally, no stimulus was used during the interview to show the condition of vending in the city or elsewhere to avoid prejudicing interviewee opinion. Where questions were asked or clarification required, examples, discussion and answers were all related or derived from the studied streets as well to limit increasing the number of typologies of activities during the discussion, but interviewees were not discouraged or stopped from inferring from other places.

4.5.4.3 Post-interview

At the end of every interview, the protocol established was as follows;

- Thanks the interviewee and express gratitude for their participation, and immediately without them answering, mention you need to save the document before you lose it.
- Save the voice recording within interview number in the series conducted.
- Apologies and thank the interviewee again, so they can get the chance to respond.

This 3 step routine was devised to ensure the safety of data gathered. All interviewee where assured of confidentiality post-interview and were given the researcher contact if they needed to add, retract, or amend comments made within the text within a specified timeframe of one week. This was to ensure that, translations and transcribed were accurate as possible in letter

¹⁸ Space to write follow up questions and ideas that stand out and or need to be challenged, or given further consideration.

and spirit, given changes might alter the overall view of a text. In the meantime, the Halcomb and Davidson (2006) data management protocol is instituted, with modifications ensuring the reliability of data.

- Step 1. Audio taping of interview and concurrent note taking
- Step 2. Reflective journaling immediately post-interview
- Step 3. Listening to the audiotape & amending / revision of field notes & observations
- Step 4. Preliminary content analysis
- Step 5. Secondary content analysis
- Step 6. Thematic Review

Figure 4.14: Data management protocol (Halcomb & Davidson, 2006).

Interviews are listened to and gauged with the notes, ensuring accuracy of representations. Paid translators and transcribers were transferred the recordings which were monitored and reviewed by the researcher during and after submission. Paid translators raise the question internal coherence of meanings since the employees are not present during the interview and the position of the research within the process (Temple & Young, 2004). However, by closely monitoring the process and reviewing text in light of the original recording and interview notes, this risk is minimised as much as possible. By employing this, the preference to the researcher as the translator of local languages is maintained.

4.5.5 Interview analysis

This research employs thematic analysis as a means of deciphering meaning from data gathered from interviews. It suits the thesis because it follows the epistemology of social constructivist in the belief that meaning, and by inference knowledge can be obtained by carefully examining the commonalities/difference and other associations within a socio-linguistic artefact. This is done in two ways, either by studying the expressed meaning within the texts or the latent/implied (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Creswell, 2007). Depending on the degree of complexity of analytical purpose, tools are available that can help engineer codes and themes. However, the questions asked here of vendors, users and professional are geared towards excavating individual groups perception around their act with little cross analytical purpose i.e. that is, more emphasis is given to vendor's explicit claims about their adaptive strategies though not neglecting the influence of outside force, which might be influenced by user or professional response. Put another way, finding the strategy is more important than linking reasons to official position and conversely, the official stance on SV activities is more important than the reason

for shaping those positions. By taking the two incongruent positions, the data is used to establish a compatible urban framework. Therefore, the use of sophisticated tools that investigate establish external relationship were not necessary. Alternatives that are cheaper and open access such as Microsoft Excel and Word were available; and its efficacy proved as a qualitative tool (Bree & Gallagher, 2016: Anderson, 2007) for interpretation, analysis and transcriptions (Rafferty, Stanton & Walker, 2013).

Thematic analysis often begins with content analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006: Creswell, 2007) attempting to find a statement that can be grouped as similar¹⁹. Employing the theoretical code basing, the questions are asked often based on the research objectives and answer searched for within the text, “represent information that researchers expect[s] to find before the study” (Creswell, 2007:153). Multiple passes identify information unexpected and “conceptually interesting or unusual to researchers” (Ibid). Themes are generated in groups of codes, and through iteration more themes streamlined, before assigning names against each idea (Braun & Clarke, 2006).²⁰

Next chapters present the study’s findings and framework before offering concluding remarks.

¹⁹ See Appendix

²⁰ Other tools such as photographs, sketches, observations were employed contemporaneously to understand and report the finding within this study

Chapter 5

STREET VENDING CONDITIONS AND ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES IN KANO ALONG MM-WAY, DEL AND SSA

5.1 Introduction.

This chapter presents a qualitative descriptive analysis of SV activities along the selected areas of the study. Describing SV along the three streets chosen in detail, each area is first described from a socio-economic perspective before exploring its urban character. Conditions of the vending activities are provided before breaking down the analysis into Ambulatory and non-ambulatory vendors and how they adapt within their environments. This is repeated for all the street in 3 distinct sections. Finally, adaptation strategies identified within each street are aggregated and discerned.

5.2 Character of urban composition and vendors experience in Kano.

Kano's streets, squares and sidewalks are being occupied by street vendors at varying degrees in separate places. These street vendors could be individual or in a group providing goods and services critical to the sustenance of the city. The fact that *"state [are] no longer...able to control rigidly the use of all but the most symbolic of public spaces,"* (Drummond, 2000: 2328) due to the copious challenges facing Kano's developmental control such as incongruence in policies, technical capabilities and qualified personal limitations, and corruption (Dankani, 2003), different types and levels of vending activities are seen in metropolitan Kano. The following sections analyses SV at three different levels of the city: within the CBD, at the outskirts, and mid-city level.

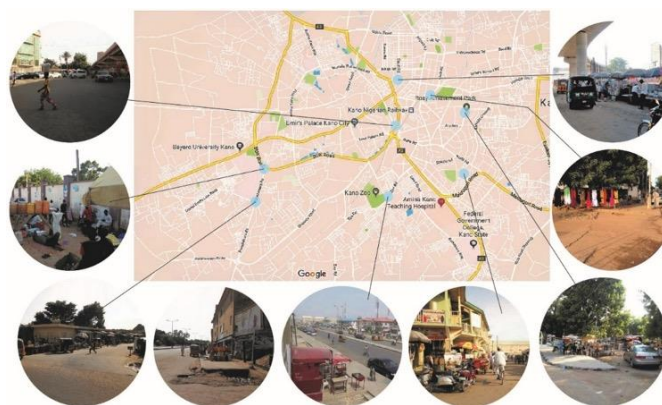


Figure 5.1: Different environmental settings with varying vending activities (Authors').

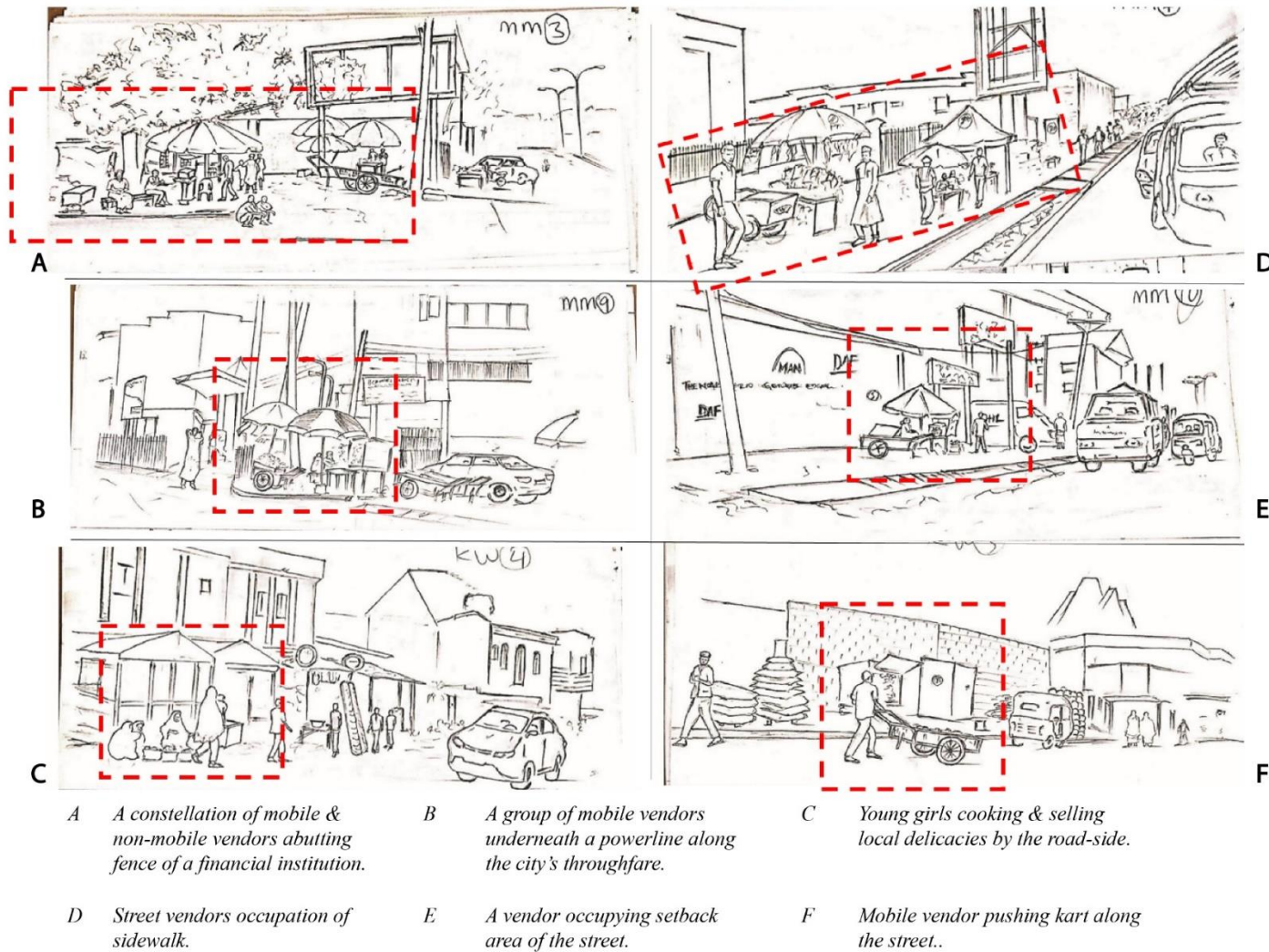
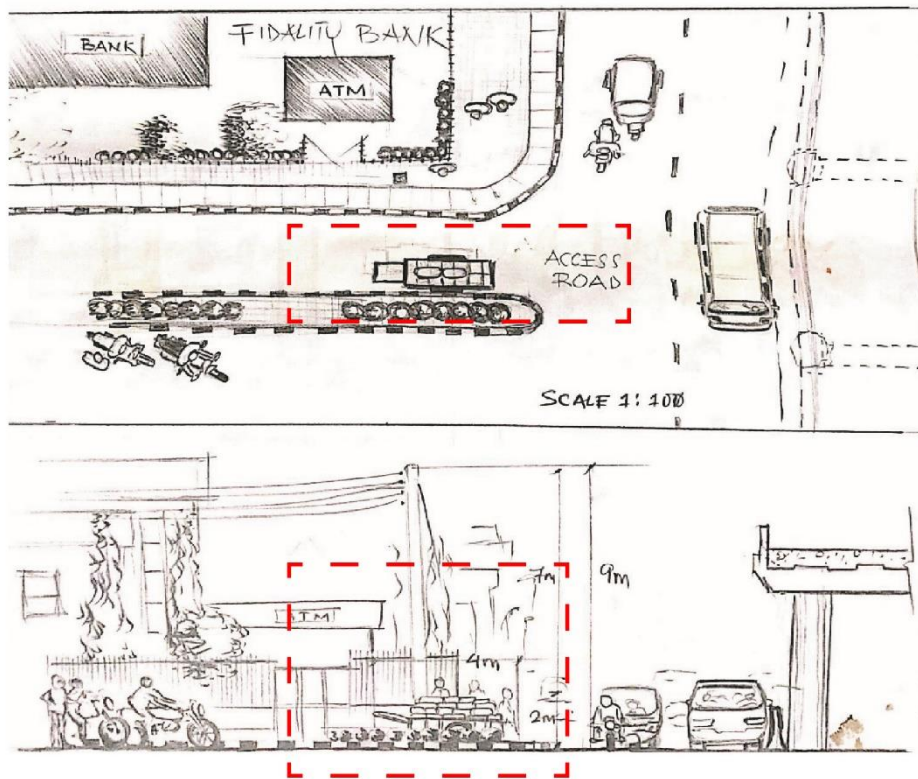
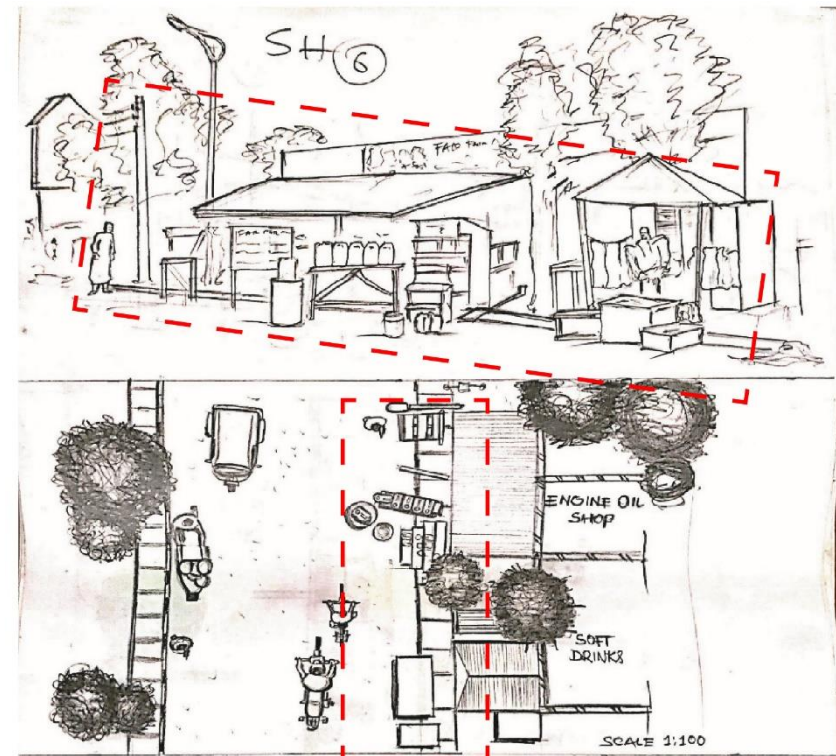


Figure 5.2: Diverse vending patterns 1, (Authors')

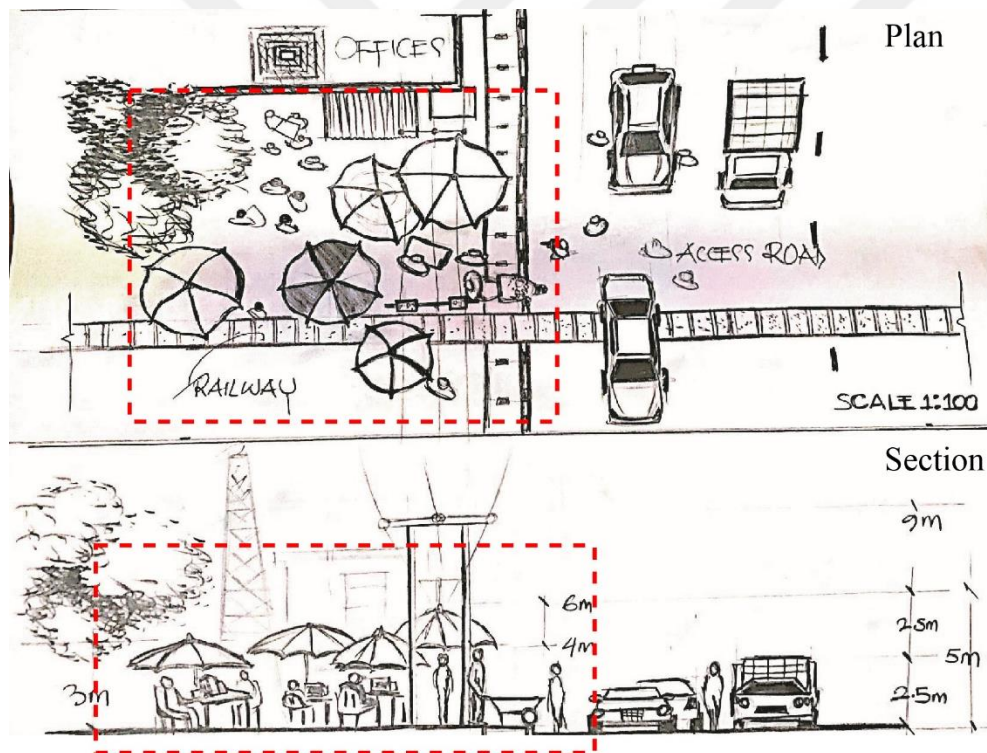


Mobile vendor occupying access road section, invariably affecting mobilities of other urban actors

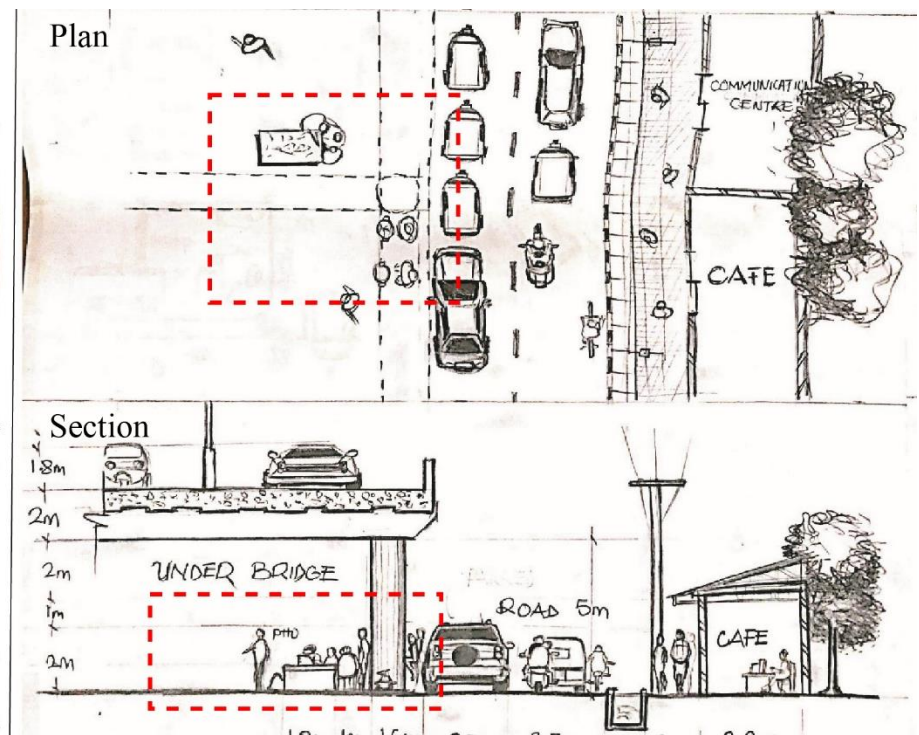


Differnet character of street vendors in close proximity, employing the use of kiosks, tables, sheds and canopy extensions, operating by the road side.

Figure 5.3: Diverse vending patterns 2, (Authors')

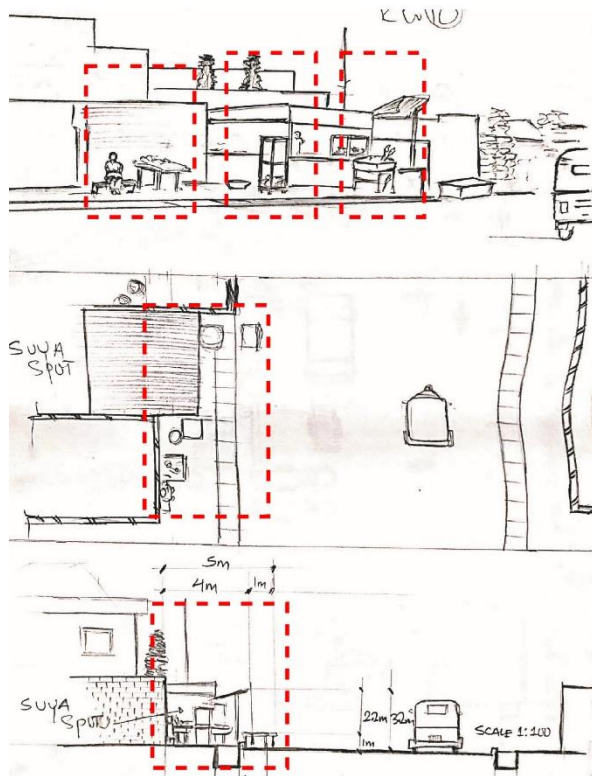


Vendors occupying a rail track line

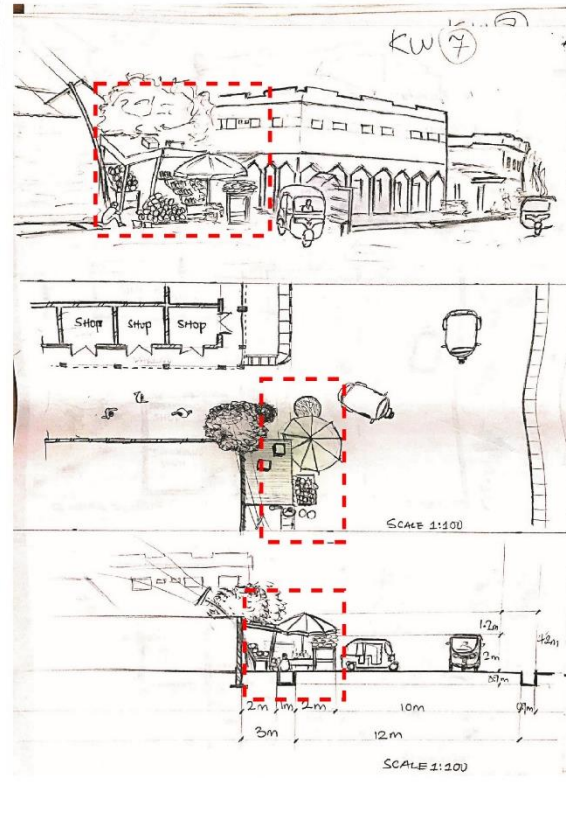


Vendor operating underneath a bridge section avoiding automobile traffic and seeking protection from sun, protecting their perishable goods

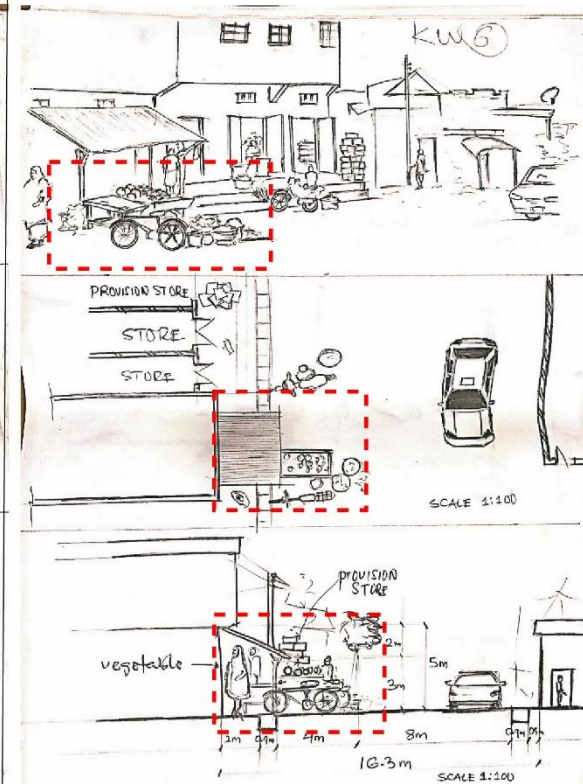
Figure 5.4: Diverse vending patterns 3, (Authors')



Different character of street vendors using different typologies of vending instruments

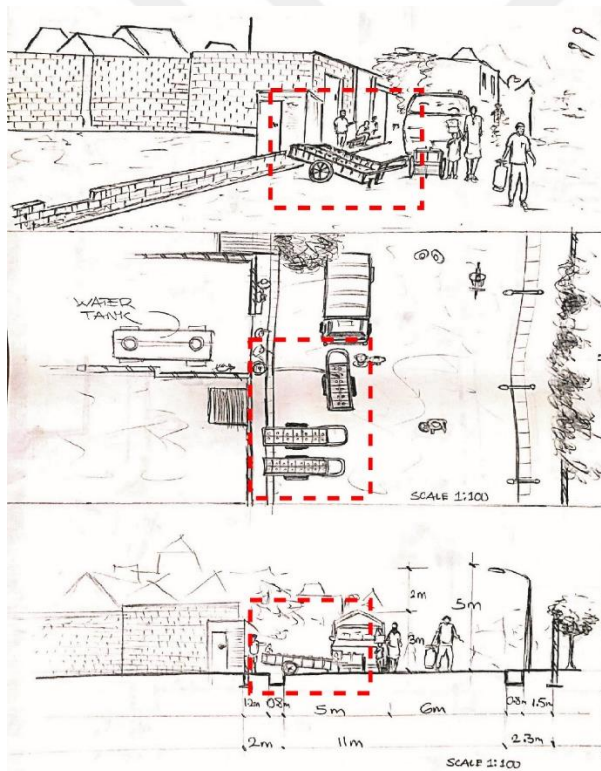


Free standing stall of a fruits and vegetables vendor occupying limited space off the road

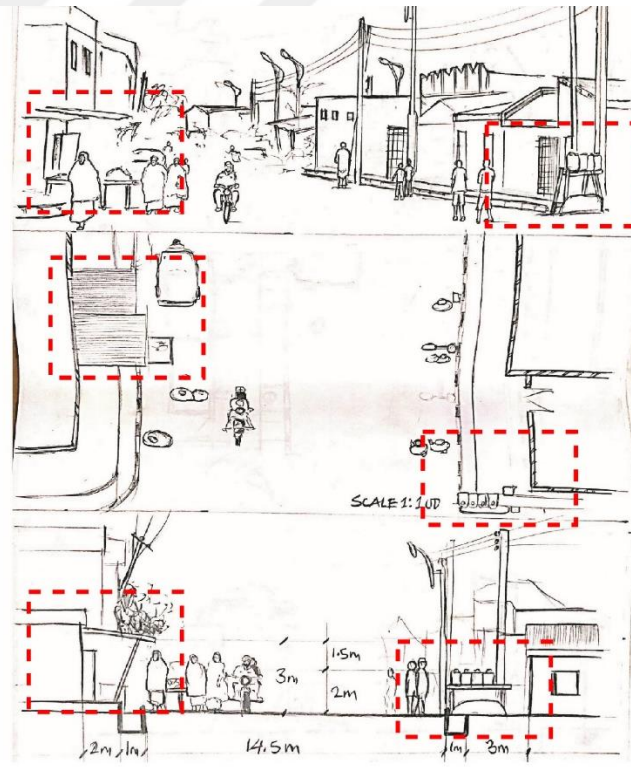


Lean to sheds employed by traders producing street vending areas.

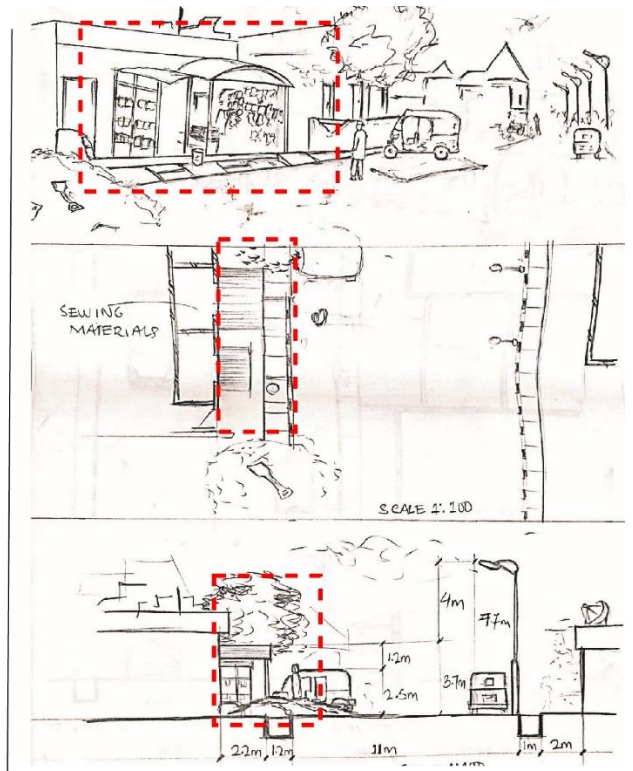
Figure 5.5: Diverse vending patterns 4, (Authors')



Water push kart vendors at water collection point where vending movements are initiated



Vendor operating at strategic locations, junctions



Street vending operation protruding from domestic spaces

Figure 5.6: Diverse vending patterns 5, (Authors')

5.3 Murtala Muhammad Way (MM): The street in context

Immediately after the British reign, which ended in 1960, there was a concerted effort to expand the city, provide facilities to the townships and metropolis due to the projected influx of people into the urban centre. MM has become central to the expanded vision of the city considering Trevallion's master plan's emphasis on the two prominent commercial points within the city, Kurmi and Sabon Gari Markets (Trevallion, 1966) as essential to the provision of goods to the populace. MM was and still is the primary access to Sabon Gari Market, making it significant to the city's communication network. Rather than just serving as some indicator for expansion and development, the MM serves as an integrator of the settler communities of Sabon Gari – who were (and still are) predominantly people of the old eastern and western regions of Nigeria – into the rich fabric of the city. As trade within the ancient city were outgrown by Sabon Gari market due to the dominance of sea freights (ibid) and Lagos becoming the gateway of most products into the country, the settler community and market became increasingly dominant in providing goods to the city, MM's significance increased. The indigenous communities (households and business) participation within the settler market increased; likewise, the traffic flowing along MM. This use of infrastructure to serve the purpose of a uniting indigenous-settler community became important after the 1966 coup that saw mistrust between the Nigeria regions, were some element of "*eastern soldiers*" revolt killing both northern premier and the prime minister of the country – also from the northern region (Gbulie, 1981: Adebisi, 2016). It is worth noting that this thesis is not attempting to rehash the historical events of the coup but rather highlighting the importance of MM and infrastructure as a national peacebuilding tool for states and regions.

Aside leading to Sabon Gari market and acting within the instruments of community cohesion, MM's importance presently on a city scale lies in facilitating intra-city movement around the CBD while simultaneously decongesting the CBD of non-commercial traffic, represented by the 1.76 kilometre bridge newly constructed, which "ease access for people of Fagge and Nassarawa... [a]reas of the state, two of the most populous Local Government Areas" (Kano State Government, KSG, 2018).

Setting aside its social significance on a global level, MM is central to the commercial and financial economy of the city. Along the road, a network of small business (formal and informal), banks, markets (designated and sprawls) have coalesced. That is because MM-Way is central within the city's street structure and according to the law of *cities as movement*

economies (Hillier, 1996), this invariably means the kind of developments and investment that will be flowing towards MM will considerably vary to other spaces. Hence, a conurbation of formal entities such as the financial institutions (most major Nigerian banks have branches or their Kano headquarter along MM) and mega industrial outlets such as Royal Foam Bedding Center, BATA and P S Mandrides & Co PLC. These institutions represent the pinnacle of organised business and industries within Kano, and their location indicates MM's importance.



Figure 5.7: Modified google image showing the east-west directional expansion of the city in relation to the old city quarters and walls. (Author, 2019)

5.3.1 MM's Street structure

Compared to other roads and locations within the city, MM can be described as a *well-designed* street from a local urban planning perspective. These local design standards according to Odeleye (2000a: 3) includes “good tarred road surfacing; with road signs, signals, markings and paintings; as well as street light (where necessary); also lanes are appropriately apportioned/segreated; pedestrian walkways, cyclist paths are distinguished accordingly”. Where these standards have not been met, maintained or neglected results in “blocked drains; narrow pedestrian walkways; - bushy road environment; - rough and undulating surfaces; - unfit road/intersections; - narrow bridges; - non-functional traffic lights; - irregular road marking; - flooded road surfaces” (Odeleye, 2000b) or “very thin (surface) coatings that are easily washed away by floods and hardly withstand heavy traffic (Anyanwu et al., 2003).

From the characteristic mentioned above needed for a city street to effectively function, the following section describes the MM's urban character.

5.3.2 Roads/thoroughfare

Road reservation along MM is 24-meter-wide design as a three lanes dual carriageway, the highest number of lanes in the city. This suggests the voluminous amount of traffic along the road often slowed down by the two perpendicular rail lines crossing the road, a decrease on the street level lanes at the sections where the bridge is located and high intensity of activities at the Sabon Gari Market sections. This occurs despite the smooth condition of surface coverings made up of a bitumen. Finally, the two carriageways are divided using 3 different methods using, (i) low-wide and narrow concrete dividers 2 and 0.3 meters respectively and 0.15-meter-high, (ii) F-shaped and single slope 1-meter-high concrete divider and, (iii) 1.8-meter high steel grill barrier. All three are used to allow or “limit pedestrian and recently more often motorcycle and vehicular crossing along different sections of the road” (Personal communication, Planning officer KNUPDA, 2018). This will have different consequences in relation to vending patterns, as will be discussed in the subsequent sections.

5.3.3 Pedestrian walkway and cycling lanes

While there are standards and consistency around road designs especially in widths though fluctuating when roads are retrofits (see Federal Roads Maintenance Agency FERMA, 2010: Max Lock Consultancy Limited, 2015: Personal communication, planning official KNUPDA, 2018), however, pedestrian infrastructure remains inconsistent. Along the stretch that MM covers, the majority of the sections have concrete covering on both banks of the road, providing specialised pedestrian ways. In other parts, however, the reservations are available though not the coverings or missing the coverings posing challenge of usage to pedestrians and other users alike (at the same time presenting opportunities for vendors to operate).

Aside the missing or non-existent covering, there appear to be inconsistencies in the width sidewalks. At different locations, the width varies from 5.8 to 0.9 meters where it exists. This according to some towns planners and surveyors is the result of the “expansion of the road in an uneven building line environment”, and politicians perceived them as “secondary to roads during urban intervention though always included, but are often compressed into residual spaces after road reservation have been carved out” (Personal communication, 2018). Hence, political considerations create the supremacy of automobile infrastructure within Kano neglecting the intricacies that makes sidewalks universal urban tools for inclusive mobility for all. (different heights of walkways and lack of inclinations/ramps a hindrance for physically challenged bodies).

MM does not have a dedicated cycling lane. All cyclists have to use the main thoroughfare.



Figure 5.8: View of MM-Way showing the street structure (Author, 2018).

5.3.4 General condition of vending along MM

Like in many of the developing/developed worlds, likewise at MM, street vendors utilise the gamut of available space for activities. From *vulcanizers* to food, refreshments and also newspapers, vendors perform their tasks on the sidewalks, pavements and on the thoroughfare. While food and automobile product vendors stay might involve a degree of fixity (immobile/semi-mobile vending), others' use of the facilities (roads, walkways, pavements and setbacks) is transient, e.g. newspaper vendors stay clear off the road and only descend on the road when the traffic has come to a halt.

Distribution of vendors along MM-Way is uneven and reduces as one moves from Left to right (see fig 5.9). This is due to the opportunistic vendors' sprawl from the nearby market, cashing-in from the crowd the market garner by selling similar or complementary products. The sprawl is not restricted to the pavement but often spills to the main roads. Vendors use trading carts, moveable furniture or carrying on baskets to set up stations in the streets. Choice of equipment for on-road vendors is guided by portability due to the dynamic nature of the vending space. Some choose to "*go where the customers are*" while others move to "*find shade to protect their produce*" according to some vendors. However, none suggested that the choice of their vending apparatus was influenced by the possibility of confiscation from state authorities despite the lack of change on street vending policies. A senior planning officer in charges of markets said,

"(t)his clime [vendors' confidence] had existed since 2013 when the state reduced its aggressive policies towards street vendors by creating trading clusters in places such as Ahmadu Bello Way, Malan Kato Square and other areas along Katsina Road. This should not suggest to illegal vendors that we have gone soft. It is just that the political

leaders see everything through the prism of politics and see these people as votes and pawns in their political game” (Senior planning officer, 2018, personal communication).

Vendors interpreted lack of enforcement and the creation of new clusters that facilitates informal trade as a shift in policy. This assumed invincibility together with the vicinity’s structure in which vendors operate – where pylons from bridge construction had introduced impediment to motorist which vendors were exploiting– increased their nonchalant attitude toward authority.

Further away from the market pole, the number of vendors reduces mainly stationary vendors. Those remaining provide products or services that differ from the retailing activity of the market. Most of the food, *vulcanisers* and petrol and auto-lubricant vendors are found towards the sparsely populated areas. Their target market is mostly the commuting motorist, tricycles and pedestrians. The reduction in stationary vendors here is replaced by the mobile vendors of transient nature commuting to and fro, creating an illusion of hyper-transient-vending activity.

Stationary vendors in small number are located here along sidewalks or on derelict rail-line reservations. Pedestrians negotiate their paths by avoiding them without any apparent distress. Where stalls become obstacles, people sidestep onto the main road returning after clearing the stalls, with vendors appearing unfazed. However, there is a sense of insecurity from a vendor that had erected a shed on a sidewalk, wondering when it will be taken down. When asked if she has other concerns regarding her business such as possible dislocation, the vendor acknowledged *“there is always that risk but do I feel it will happen anytime soon? No. We are not that many here and dislocating us will cause unnecessary attention [to politicians] and we will [eventually] return.”* (2018, personal communication).

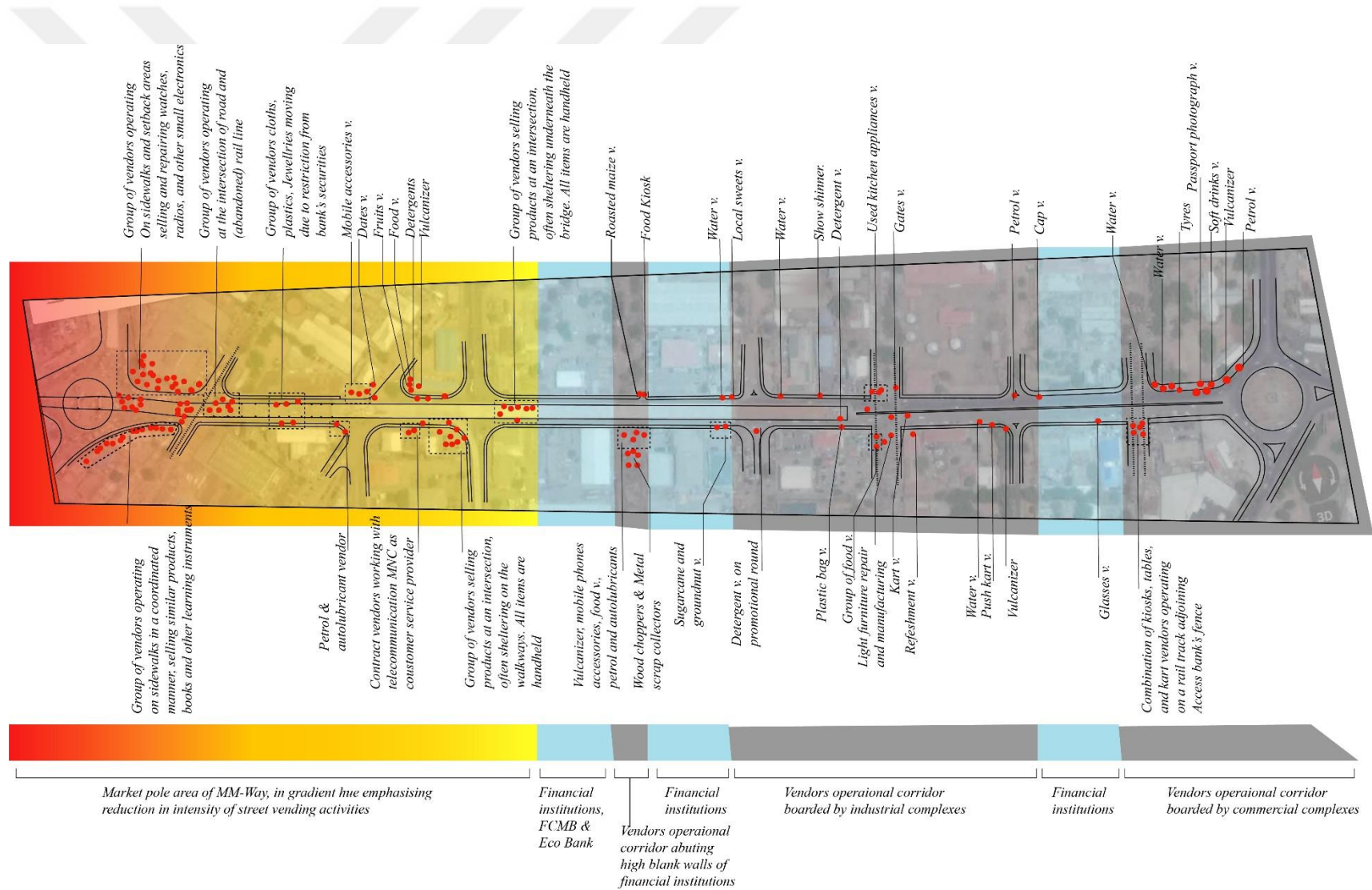


Figure 5.9: Mapping of street vending activities along MM-Way, (Author, 2017)



Figure 5.10: Stationary vendors along rail tracks (Author, 2017)



Figure 5.11: Stalls of vendors on the pedestrian walkways along MM-Way (Author, 2017)

Aside from the two segments of the road discussed above and their experiential significance on vendors, there is a third segment, the midpoints, predominantly occupied by financial institutions. This stretch of about four hundred meters lacks any stationary vending activities on and along its walkways. The institutions wield considerable influence over the urban environment possessing the power to police public roads within this range. A wave of “No Hawking” signs coupled with police and private security are deployed restricting not only commercial activities but also any sustained pedestrian activity that is not walking. Vendors, therefore, use the area predominantly for mobility purpose, navigating to or from the market areas. There is however, an agglomeration of vendors adjacent to the banks, not considered as threats. The presence of high-security walls separating the two together with the drawing away their potential customers from the bank's view allows informal business to flourish.



Figure 5.12: Vendor's constellation adjacent to financial institutions, (Author, 2017)

In recent years, the continuous increase in commercial activity along the road has led to an increase in traffic flow and heavy congestion. Commercial buses with no defined bus stop indiscriminately and abruptly drop passengers mid-road. Such traffic conditions led to the proposal and construction of a bridge supposedly to allow non-commercial vehicles to bypass the market crowded areas in an attempting to curb up the congestion. Typically, road expansion/(re)design affects the visual performance, relationship between the urban

components elements, and the roads' character Shane, (2011). To this extent, a bridge creates what Shane calls a compressed armature, a stack of platform(s) for movements.



Figure 5.13: Structure of the street under the bridge at MM-Way. (Author, 2017).

Not only does the bridge change the character of MM by introducing a new vehicular level, but it also affects the dynamic of street activities. New poles of vending at the ends of the bridge and underneath have sprung up providing a degree of flexibility to vendor's operations amidst the financial area. For out-of-city vendors, the cover provided by the bridge serves as a storage facility and temporary shelter: *"when I came to the city I knew no one and had no money to buy supplies and start trading. Even though this bridge was under construction, I kept staying here... until I was able to find a place. Now I use it to keep some of my stuff or the excess merchandise for the day. But you have to keep a watchful eye if you are the only one storing items there"* (2018, personal communication).

Having described the structure of the street and the general vending conditions, in the following sections, I discuss in details the vending experience ambulatory and non-ambulatory vendors along MM and their distinct operational strategies in relation to the urban environment.

5.3.5 Mobile vendor's Ease of operation along MM

5.3.5.1 On the long distance move.

Mobile street vendors here operate along on the different facets of the urban components, appropriating them as platforms for vending activities, walking along the sidewalks and roads frequently interrupted by the momentary pauses for sales. These items (mentioned earlier) are everyday goods handheld, carried on a pan, or pushed in different variation of a cart, suggesting different form of possible mobility choices though often restrained by the availability, suitability and quality of surfaces of infrastructure.

Vendors on foot exploit the urbanscape with vigour more than their other mobile counterparts due to the relative ease with which they can navigate the urbanscape. While they can choose and often move along the sidewalks, it is common for vendors to scale the gutters and cross on

to the roads, crossing the street or selling their products. When asked what vendors make of the sidewalks and pavement, a glasses vendor replied;

“... they are good for movement, except where there are no coverings, and you have to constantly looking down... if you are called upon by a potential customer, and you miss a step while running, it might be dangerous. But it is good compared to where they don't have it at all” (2018, personal communication).

Other mobile vendors see the sidewalks as more than pathways but rather as “...good spaces to sell my products and make carrying and storing everything easier”. Sidewalk functioning as places for other vendors means overcoming its uneven character, undulations and disparities to make it *perform*. This flexibility, however, is restrictive when vendor's ambulation is hinged on carts. A fruits vendor put is clearly;

“it [sidewalks] is difficult to use because anytime I have to climb it to take put my cart on it and push it down carefully to descend. Carts are not like human legs... can you ask *masu ruwa* [water vendors] to push their carts also here?... we have to use the roads... this ascending and descending is not possible even if it [the carts] is empty.” (Fruits vendor, 2018, personal communication).

The unsuitability of sidewalks to push trolley, carts and other wheeled and apparatus forces the vendors to use the roads as their primary platform. During the cause of the field study along MM, no cart vendors were observed wheeling on pedestrian ways. However, some have been observed stationary as an adaption strategy.

5.3.5.2 Vendors on short (repetitive) movements

While other mobile vendors are interested in the primary functional quality of the sidewalks and pavements for movement purposes from point a-b, others specifically vendors that operate at intersections see both the mobility aspect and place performance. Vendors here are in repeated mobility over a short distance – often under 50 meters' – crisscrossing and interchanging from the sidewalk, onto the road and back to the sidewalks to sell products. Apart from the difference in the distance moved, vendor's usage of urban space is dissimilar and requires the urban component to perform for movement and storage while supporting transactions carried out. Hence their prevalence at intersections.

Along MM, junctions are the spaces that satisfy the agglomeration of people, traffic, and all potential patrons of mobile vendors. Likewise, it is at these junctions that the spaces adequate

to enact this urban ballet are found. However, MV along the studied stretch operate mainly at Airport Road junction, the major intersection – and due to the specificity of operational requirements, their spatial distribution is skewed, with dominance in 2 points (1 paved, 1 unpaved) rather than an even distribution at all possible four points. There is more emphasis on the quality of the roads than that of the pavement. A vendor selling rosary said “the road is where I spend more time... if it [road] is good enough, it makes my business [read activity] easy” (2018, personal communication) adding that because his products do not take much space, the size and quality of the sidewalk matter less to the overall activities. Others are of the same opinion having a nonchalant attitude towards the quality of the sidewalk if that of the road is good, though there is a difference about the spaces of operation, where other would prefer added alternatives around the junction to operate.

“I stopped selling at the place [one of the two non-vending sections] because it doesn’t have as many people as here where I am... I have to go long distance into the traffic to get potential buyers. Here, without going deep, many people would have seen the products, and if you are lucky you will make multiple sales” (Soft drinks vendor, 2018, personal communication)

The above statement associates street design and vending opportunities. The non-profitable street is a single lane road where cars file a long solitary queue, taking much distance for vendors to display items. In contrast, the preferred vending area is a double lane street which road users usually form an illegal third lane, therefore providing larger amount of potential buyers in a small linear space. Mobile vendors operating at Airport Road junction along MM associate size and quality of the thoroughfare with more business and hence, appear to be concerned with that as opposed to the pavements, which is mostly seen as a storage area.

From this, it can be deduced that vendors moving from a-b [where making sale is secondary] are more concerned about the condition of the movement infrastructure, whereas those on repeated mobility [those at junctions] see the performative function of thoroughfare as superior to the places of temporal immobility, i.e. sidewalks, due to the direct impact on their business activities. Such indications present the first split in the monolithic understanding of vendor’s needs, which often relies their spatial needs (shops, clusters and kiosks) without [having interest in the shape of urban environment produced] giving credence to the needs of those they serve.

5.3.6 Challenges and adaptive strategies for mobile vendors along MM.

Regardless of the distance moved, the challenges subjected to vendors appear similar as describes in section 4.3.4 and 4.3.5, the quality and availability of the infrastructure influences vendor's activities. It dictates if, when and how vendors operating with(out) carts interface with the street and in what manner. Likewise, the quasi-urban space management system employed along MM (see section 4.3.4) through a combination of state (police), institutions (banks) and informal actors (vendors) forces vendors to adapt. Hence, haven alluded to the opinions of vendors on how conditions affect their activities, here their adaptive strategies are explained.

5.3.6.1 Alternate route/platform adaptive strategies (specific)

Mobile vendors especially those operating with wheeled instruments/apparatus, used the primary roads as an alternative platform for mobility. Lack of inclinations at the edges of the sidewalks, their uneven heights, the prevalence of open gutters along potential access points all hinder the effective usage of the primary mobility infrastructure for non-motorised transport actors. This effectively – in the view of vendors – forces them to move on the roads with one cart vendor (selling fruits, 2018, personal communication) saying “from my perspective, these [walkways] are not meant for us but for people (non-commercial users) to go where they want to go” but crucially adding a time perspective to this form of adaptation saying “I move on the roads mostly in the morning when there aren't many cars [parked] on the [side of the] road”.



Figure 5.14: Wheeled vendor moving along MM in the mornings and middays period (Author, 2018)

Time is pivotal to the understanding of vendor's adaptive practices. During the morning hours when marketers and business are setting up shops for the commencement of the business day,

there is significantly less traffic and on-street parking (though illegal along MM) than say the midday's and closing hours. The mobility of vendors here is to use the otherwise (illegal) parking lanes while navigating the street, freeing up the remaining two lanes on both sides of the roads for automobiles. This reduces the potential impact and clashes between vendors and other road users.

Conversely, during the rush hours, when all the opposing characteristics implied above come to fruition i.e. high traffic, on-street parking, busy streets activities, vendors “squeeze onto the roads” to take as minimal spaces as possible. This could be seen evidently during the process of making a sale where all avenues to taking up limited spaces is exploited. Here, vendor's orientation is key to such exploitation,

“If you [a customer] stop me then I stop where I am and give you your fruits... but other times [afternoon and evening when there is heavy traffic] ... *when I have been stopped for a sale... I go between the [parked] cars.*” (vendor, 2018, personal communication)



Figure 5.15: Vendors adapting to busy environment by orienting into small spaces, (Author, 2018).

The observations, statements and vendor's *modus operandi* are not intrinsically altruistic. Vendors often move against the traffic (see figure 5.16), creating potential hazardous communing scenarios for other road users especially at bottleneck areas along MM, where the

is a reduction in street lanes numbers, especially around the middle section due to the bridge's pylons occupying space.



Figure 5.17: Cart pushers (top) going against traffic and one (bottom) pushing through still traffic (Author, 2017)



Figure 5.18: Vendor plying the street of varying spatial qualities (Author, 2017).

This alternative adaptation equally is seen among non-cart operating vendors, though rarer and having less implication on traffic (see fig 5.19 above).

“I use the sidewalk to get to where I am going... [but] even when walking, you have to keep going on the road and coming back on. Some spaces are bad [lacks covering]”

5.3.6.2 On road safe zones of stay

For vendors that mainly operate over a small area, nevertheless mobile, such as those at junctions, the strategy adopted reflects the occupation of other spaces as well such as roads and road dividers. However, these actions vary significantly in character, duration and operation.

Responding to the appropriateness of mobility platforms at MM junctions, vendors vacate the continuous habitation of the sidewalks for on streets protracted stays, rather than the continual returns to the pedestrian platforms. This occurs in areas that spatially provides relatively on-street *safe zones of stay*, not entirely devoid of hazardous encounters. Along MM, these safe zones include shallow pavement dividers, beneath raised armature and immediate vicinities of the bridge's footing. Such spaces afford vendors elongated stay in-between traffic opportunities.



Figure 5.20: Images show street vendor's response to traffic (Author, 2017)

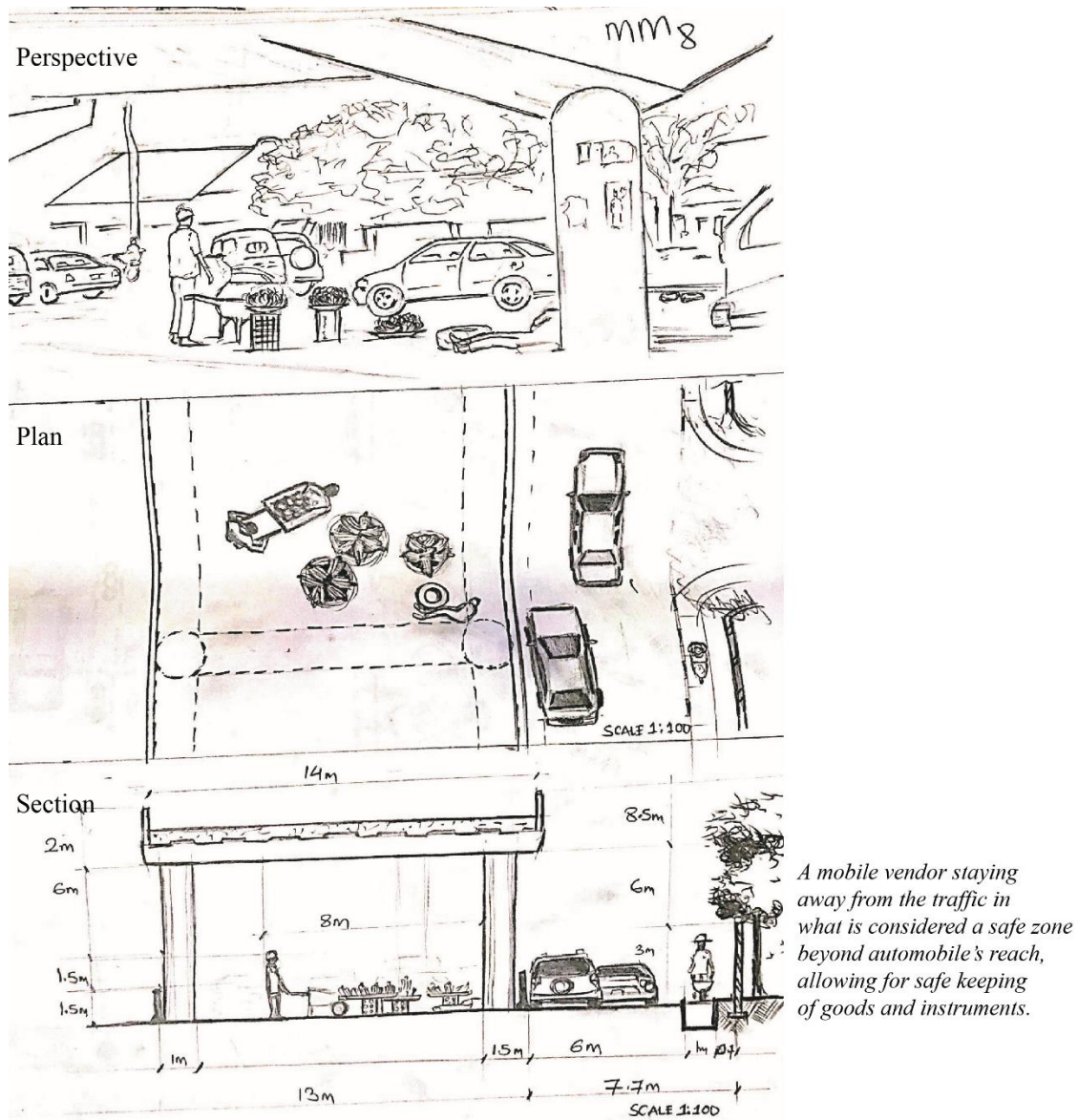


Figure 5.21: On-street safe zone underneath a bridge (Authors').

Where it differs with those on directional ambulatory objectives – tending towards some specific locations – is the continuous reliance on the loose spaces for auxiliary activities rather than mobility. This includes but not limited to serving as storage areas for supplementary goods kept for retrieved on-demand, keeping equipment such as wheelbarrows, bicycles and head pans, serving as resting spaces during the day's interludes. Therefore, while the adaptive strategies of vendors moving through the city is fleeting, here, strategies keep reoccurring and are repeated over long hours of the day.



Figure 5.22: Pictures of sidewalks as storage and vendors staying under bridge and close to pylons (Author, 2018).

5.3.6.3 *Movement as a strategy of delaying Hostility imposed by Urban managers*

As the state authority's management over urban space is increasingly receding and/or outsourced to private entities and other actors, vendors are subjected to new forms and insidious policing that hinders on effectively operating within different locations. The state deploys Kano Road Transport Agency (KAROTA) and the police to manage the traffic; environmental authorities and local government tax officials to manage the activities of the informal sector and collecting revenue, while concurrently deploying development control personnel to confiscate illegal apparatus, mark makeshift structures/building for removal/demolition or distribute quick-notice letters to vendors. The state possesses and enforces these strict policies on an erratic basis along MM and statewide.

On the institutional front, the enforcement is sustained through the working day through a combination of assigned state police and private security. Any form of sustained immobile activity around the vicinity of banks especially the front entrances is frowned upon and instant security measures taken against vendors, which includes confiscation of goods by the police or ushered forward by private security. This power to police extends beyond the legal limits of such institution into the public roads and pavements. However, such powers are delimited by space, beyond which their abilities diminish.

Policing urban space by the informal sector (vendors and shop owners) are restricted within the vending zones. Vendors have created a sense of territoriality over minuscule spaces through continuous habitation of locations and often reflect on the power dynamics that exist between the old-young, male-female, affluent-penurious. Hence, some vendors operating within such

vicinities controlled by vendors operate at their behest (and some pay fees) or stand the risk of expulsion.

Mobile vendors deploy a series of tactical mobile strategies to counteract the perceived hostile actions against their practices. These mobilities range from the pattern employed while moving through the city and its nodes, to subcategories of movement as emphasised by Creswell (2010) such as the rhythm, speed, route etc. all on the spectrum from formal and informal, mundane to sophisticated and complex movement.

According to some vendors, they employ patterns and repetition which have established their daily activities. By “go[ing] to different places depending on where my customers are... *which depends on the time of the day*,” vendors are relying on *repetitiveness* in an erratically enforced order environment by the state to ensure continuous activity. This suggests vending location keeps changing for vendors on transient actions, often gravitating towards significant urban pulls around the city.



Figure 5.23: Showing vendor heading to different location midday (Author, 2018).

For others along MM, a form of mobility is produced that mimics state-sanctioned mobile patterns. Given that in chapter 2 it has been established that it is vendors themselves that are perceived as illegal by the state often citing criminality as justification for their erasure, the ability to sustain activities and/or along thoroughfares by adopting a conventional mobility stance appears adaptive, even if the intention is not necessarily to follow this model.

This is represented in following the conventional routes, using the sidewalks where available, while not encroaching or disrupting vehicular traffic. The intention of the vendors is difficult

to ascertain; vendors are more focused on reaching the desired vending area than following rules or lurking for opportunistic sales, one made it clear that;

“...handheld items such as glasses have no business been in one place on this street. I make more sales at BATA roundabout [where glass merchants and repairers congregate] ... if I make any sale along my way, then that will be good, but I am just passing here get there [BATA]. (Glasses vendor, 2018, personal communication)



Figure 5.24: Glasses vendors heading to a specific destination (Author, 2018).

Others rather than going by the conventional means adopt a transient approach to space occupation, with momentary stops before engaging in another movement.

“...we [sugar cane sellers] normally have to stay in a place for 1-3minutes [to cut] and give the person his sugarcane. This has got us into trouble with the [bank] securities... by saying we are making the place dirty [by peeling the back] and gathering crowd even if there are only 2-3 people... don't forget that sometimes they stop us and buy themselves. Why is it not dirty now as then? ...I only stay in one place when I am tired or finds a place that has a large number of pedestrians.... mostly during *Zuhur* [mid-day prayer and lunch time]” (Sugarcane vendor, 2018, personal communication).

5.3.6.4 *Adaptation when not in motion.*

There are other adaptive strategies that vendors employ during a stationary position. As stated in Section 5.3.1.6, vendors utilising space between cars during sales implies an orientation character depending on the size of that space. Here, when in rest, vendors often pull away from

the busy high ways and move towards the kerbs or onto the pavements. A vendor describes this phenomenon,

“I put my cart this way [*aligning the lateral line of the cart to that of the walkways*] allowing me to take less space on walkways and like this [*perpendicular to the walkways*] on the roads, also taking less space... car owners keep honking asking us to move when they want to park their cars regardless of what we do... they seem to think that the road is only for them.”

Those without carts sit on the threshold between drainage area and pedestrian ways as a way of impeding mobility, with other vendor saying “*If I want to rest, I will sit at the edge where it is more comfortable... they can't walk there, right?... I don't take any space that will stop them [pedestrians] from passing-by*”.

5.3.7 Semi-mobile and stationary vendors.

This section illustrates the vending character of semi-mobile and stationary vendors. There are similarities in their attitude and activities around spatial occupations, equipment and furniture utilised, and adaptive strategies employed to maintain an active presence within the public sphere. One difference is between the two is the ability for semi-mobile actors to deploy mobility within a limited facet in the course of their activity. This thesis argues that the movement is not fundamental to the vendor's activities but instead is employed as a supplementary character where needed.

5.3.8 Semi-mobile and stationary vendors ease of operation along MM.

None of the semi-mobile or stationary vendors along MM have activities which are directly or otherwise explored along the thoroughfare, but rather all activities on the setback reservations predominantly and then subsequently sidewalks. SMV and STV operate with a high degree of fixity stemming from the instrument, equipment and furniture employed. Such items may range from a simply triad arrangement of stones as platforms to the sophisticated kiosks that protects the natural elements. Regardless of the apparatus which facilitates such activities, what remains central to such activities is the larger body of space required in operation than mobile vendors.

As described in sections 5.3.4, there is a disparity in intense activity level along MM, especially those around the market pole compared to the opposite end, where there are minimal pavement/setback activities. Vendors (especially SMV) exploit this disparity and occupy the spaces. According to a *pre-prepared food vendor*, the sparse pedestrian flow allows “an

abundance of space with not many people moving up and down [less pedestrian traffic/density] to disturb our business,” while at the same time benefiting from the “sufficient space to park for my costumers [motor-cycles, cars and tricycles] and this means I don’t have to rush when I have them waiting”. Vendor doesn’t only rely on their spatial needs but also the recognises that their performance in part is related to the availability and quality of other user’s spatial needs (especially potential customers). Having parking spaces is crucial to vendors, especially along MM, where police and KAROTA are concerned in ensuring traffic moves.

Additionally, different vendors bifurcate their ideas on space occupation depending on the pedestrian density moving along platforms. While others inhabit the entire width of the platforms on erroneous account that it appears to be temporary measure over a short period of “days”, others who see the potential of continuous occupation inhabit part of the path allowing for pedestrian activities. This brings in the question of duration of stay (time) into the character of SMV spatial occupation of pedestrian ways.



Figure 5.25: Semi-mobile vendor occupying the whole of a pavement, (Author, 2018)

Other characters emerging along MM for SMV is the occupation of street islands where there isn’t any provision/expectation for walk or long stay, aside from the momentary breakage of pedestrian crossing over a T-junction. Present in two places across the stretch of the study area, vendors here operate in isolation of any activity competing for space since such spaces are rarely seen as viable vending spaces by other street vendors. Hence, island activities are dominated by vendors promoting peculiar goods such as petrol or promotional company goods.



Figure 5.26: Vendors exploring island sections of the road (Author, 2018).

STV do similarly occupy pedestrian way in a constellation solely at the Sabon Gari Market pole. The proximity to the market creates intense competition for space due to the exponential levels of commercial traffic generated within the vicinity. A leader from a group of artisan watch repairers suggests that “the walkways are good but not large enough to contain all activities” hinting that despite the significant size of the pavement, not all their members could be accommodated. These spaces are in constant threat of been overrun by other informal users and have to keep guarding spaces by “organis[ing] ourselves [vendors] in order to get and continue to protect it [pavement],” hence the assemblage.



Figure 5.27: Group of vendors occupying small areas (Author, 2017).

As one recedes from the pavement to the setbacks reservations, the ability to vend with minimal interference appears apparent, though the environment quality of degraded substantially. Coupled with the fact of little mobility of urban actors considered by authorities as fundamental to the city functioning and other urban decisions, STV occupies these locations. This dislocation

from the city's central operation is what vendors exploit. According to another food vendor (though one of stationary character),

“the space I stay one is not a link to or from anywhere... I am staying a considerable distance away from where people are walking. The only interaction I have with people is when they come specifically to my shop” (Food vendor, 2017, personal communication).

Flexibility derived from its dereliction offers the possibility of erecting vending infrastructure, modifying the existing urbanscape and ability to combine and segregate activities as needed. Secluded spaces along high activity streets of MM's ilk advances stationary vending opportunities, thereby leading to their potential agglomeration.

5.3.9 General & specific challenges for SMV and STV along MM & their adaptive strategies.

5.3.9.1 *Physical upgrade as an adaptation for SMV and STV*

Informal activities concurrently continue to grow along MM as the city unceasingly offers opportunities to the formal enterprises. At different spaces where possible, vendors are increasingly competing for limited vending locations creating a vendor's constellations of different merchandise in small areas. According to some vendors, especially food and beverage vendors, overcrowding which leads to deteriorations of vending spaces poses and existential crises to their activities in two ways; either the decline in patronage on account of hygiene or thorough the forceful eviction by environmental personnel. To overcome this scenario, vendors have resigned to relocating to spaces of considerable different (higher) urban quality by “erecting quality structure” which facilitates such move. This involves improving on the architectural and spatial design of their sheds/canopies/tents, material quality, and its colours to most notably kiosks form, which qualitatively creates a different spatial and visual experience for users. Not least is the separation of front and back house (end) for food vendors. Where tent/sheds opens visual access to the working areas (i.e, back house) and having preparatory work carried out in tandem with front end activities, the kiosks introduce a hierarchical order of activities, offering conducive environment to patrols without disclosing the inner logic of a food courts' working. Aside from the sanitary conditions, the separations and modifications “offers the potential of expanding my business and the different parts of its working using the spaces at the back and the front [of the structure]”.



Figure 5.28: Top – Previous vending location and structures type, Bottom – Present location, Yellow visible kiosk (Author, 2018)

The suggestion of possible expansions/exploitation of space by vendors amidst crowded urban space indicates the aspiration for providing better services and increasing growth. Likewise, associating sanitation, overcrowding and potential dwindling of profits, vendors employ upgrade as a strategy for securing vending space outside those tacitly approved.

“I have been looking for a better place to set up shop and here was the perfect place. There are a lot of people working here [at the bank], and some come for far. When I first came negotiate and allow me to use this space, they [securities] said if I can put a good canteen, they can help me convince the *Oga* [branch manager] to allow me to be here... this is what makes it possible for me to be here [in a better environment] and not on the other side [crowded area]. So I will keep upgrading and serving my customers... Since then they have been helping me and securing my goods when we are not working... and the fact that I am here [beside the bank] now without been evicted means I do belong here” (Food vendor 1, 2018, personal communication).

Aside from employing upgrading to ensure mobility from a lower urban quality environment to a higher one, vendors specifically SMV explore this tactic to ensure continued stay and operation. An upgrade is used as a boundary tool separating individual vendors from the collective, even when not occupying the same location while serving to break authority’s association of vendors with conditions of dilapidation. The equipment used is often industrial

standards colourful plastics furniture which includes a square or a circular table, chair and often a stall canopy (beach umbrella), occasionally branded by the multinational companies (MNCs) vendors work for, giving out to others as part of promotional strategies of the MNCs, or sourced locally. These tactics are commonly employed by vendors along the sidewalks where this exists a higher propensity of eviction by the state and the need for active and constant operation from the vendors. Vendors attest to the efficacy and rationality of the strategy saying “there hasn’t been any form of caution, arrest or disturbance from the police” despite witnessing Squamish’s with other vendors of similar activities adding that “the colours [MNCs brand colour] signifies our association with Glo [Global Telecommunications Company] and we get some leeway with the police, the bank security with people in general” (see figure 5.27 below).



Figure 5.29: Pictures of Glo sim registration and sales vendors along MM way (Author, 2018).

However, those not associated with MNCs colour and its branding employ the upgrade not to avoid the sanction from authorities, which will suggest prior occupation of space, but rather to secure the location in the first place. Along MM, these vendors are mostly service providers such as online registrations and applications to necessary government portals, yielding large advertising banners. The quasi-architectural conditions are a consequence of twofold; the higher service provision and lack of waste or unhygienic condition produced as a result of their activities are the drivers of upgrade and the ability to differentiate them from other vendors in order to secure less populated vending areas, in essence, the first to occupy spaces.

While preceding cases establish the utility of upgrading in moving to a new space, avoiding hostile action and maintain a captured space, here vendors acknowledge the goldilocks of upgrading, precisely the effects/repercussion of surpassing the limits to which upgrade could be tolerated by urban managers. Impermanence in design and material such as perforated or

permeable structures and soft material, i.e. wood, plastic and fabrics appears and understood as unstated limits of upgraded especially along walkways. Vendors surmise this understanding by inferring to the limits, with one saying;

“I think by what I have done yet (putting up a permeable tent/shed), I can make more changes [adding movable furniture] to come, and it will be fine. I think so far I don’t build something here [permanent] or start putting welded things; I will be ok... however, since moving here [and put up this structure], environmental [REMASA] have come and revenue guys [local government official]. Apart from them, I have no problem with anybody” (Non-cooking food vendor, 2018, personal communication)

Other less glamorous yet consequential upgrade strategies are displaying of products long the street by shop-owners. Though not directly employed by street vendors, nevertheless, here are defined as street vending due to fitting the criterion of participating in on-street activities. They take place on sidewalks and setback reservations along the roads, interfering with activities of urban actors. The storage/display usage differ in character from the indiscriminate dumping of goods practised by vendors, to the careful arrangement employed by shop owners using pallets and racks, despite been no existing threat by the state or another actor.

5.3.9.2 Incremental growth and stretching marginality – to secure a location by SMVs

The process of upgrading vendor’s installations as a method of securing vending spaces may be sudden and occur over a short period for vendors on the setback reservations; however, for those along the pathways, an incremental approach is largely used. Here, vendors slowly and gradually partake in their respective activities, commencing with the necessities of the trade, i.e. merchandise on sale and few axillary instruments which facilitates these actions. An account from another food vendor;

“it is just recently that I began trading here almost 5 months ago. I started bringing a cooler of food from my house already cooked and sell them there [on the pavement close to mechanics, 6m away from the current location.] when the batch is about to finish, I send for another to be brought. I then started bringing enough to last the whole day and lining them along this wall [Fence], saving a lot on transportation. I didn’t have any problem with anybody” (Food vendor, 2018, personal communication).

By employing incrementalism, vendors seek to seamlessly transition from the state vulnerability to relative security not by imposing a new structure but instead maintaining active

presence and constant operation. The process of adding auxiliary items by “lining them along th[e] wall” indicates a preliminary assessment of risk and opportunities by the vendor about the potential of the space increasingly grows, before testing the limits to which upgrade is required for continued performance.

As for stretching marginality, vendors occupy underutilised spaces along the streets either road islands, drainage areas, or temporary cordoned areas due to construction. Though these spaces carry higher operational risk, nevertheless, vendors employ incremental growth in securing the spaces.

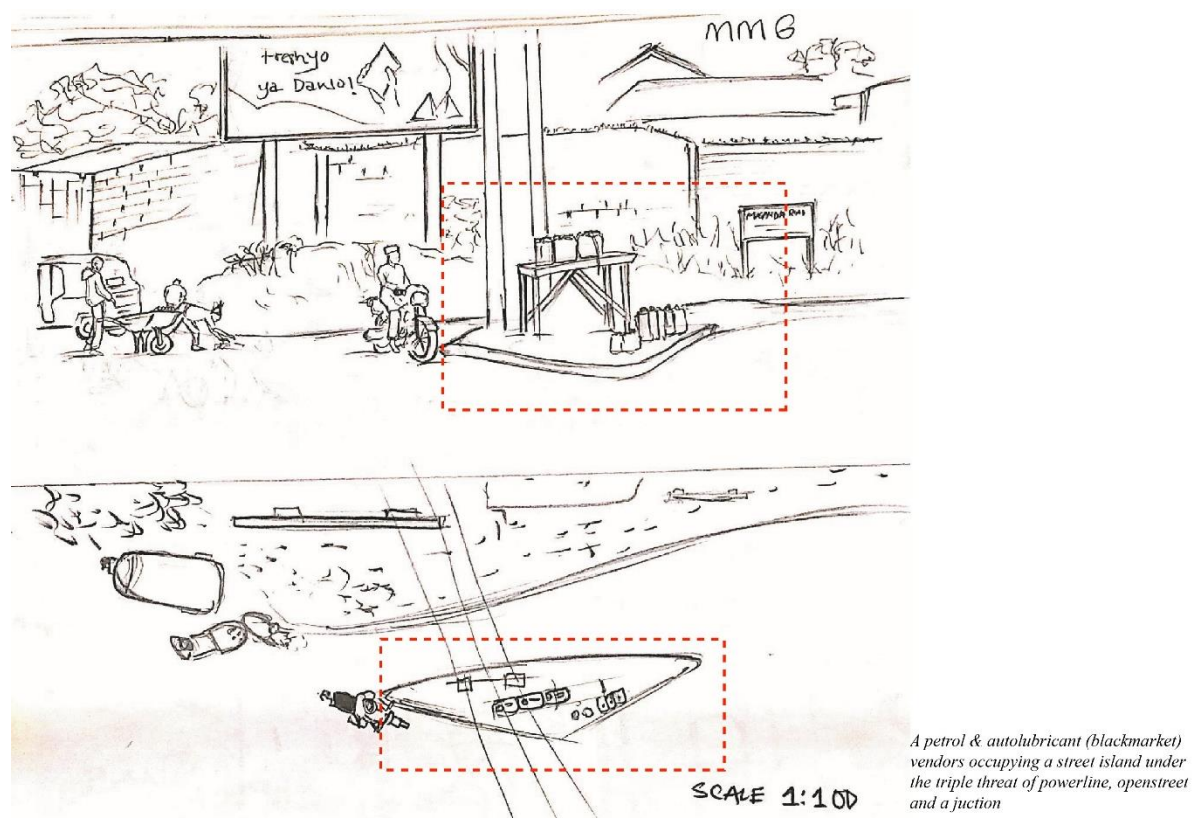


Figure 5.30: Petrol vendor on a street island (Author, 2018).

5.3.9.3 Flexibility in furniture, usage, design and movability

Flexibility in design and choice of vending instruments and usage of space are all emphasised by vendors acknowledging the precarious nature of vending activities. This is often explored by vendors on pathways where there is competition for space and usage with actors often designed for. Along MM vendors adopt the strategy of flexibility to emphasise the ephemerality of their spatial activities. In the previous section, the findings have highlighted the usage of industrial standards furniture as a method of securing longevity within the urban space, flexibility of such instrument ensures that vendors can occupy dense and sparsely populated

areas of the street sections in equal measure, while maintaining an altruistic allure of other users need, by claiming the potential of moving, readjusting and re-spatialising to cater for all actors. Design qualities of vending instruments are often cited by vendors to offer a counter-narrative to potential charge of obstructing legitimate urban activities;

“there is ample space for people to go and pass without me disturbing them [pedestrians] or vice-versa. In fact, some pass through it [the open and flexible structure]... it is open and not blocking the way. Also, the people are not many and the for the time I operate [9 am-3 pm], I do not disturb anybody I believe. No one has complained to me till date” (Food vendor, 2018, personal communication)



Figure 5.31: Picture showing flexibility and movability of vending instruments (Author, 2018).

Here, the vendor has designed the shed to stand in three stages, two operational and one non-operational. As shown in the figure above, the two positions allow minimal spaces for pedestrians during operational hours, though vendors claim permeability which occurs during non-active hours. However, the structure is fully collapsible and could be positioned against the wall to allow complete pedestrian access of the walkway. This, according to vendors, are part of strategies of retaining street activities.

5.3.9.4 Uniformity in design for space management due to long-term activities

The final tactic of adaptability to the urban environment amidst potential hostile actions is the uniformity of design. This appears a strategy for vendors in collectives with a high organisational structure that enforces internal rules and regulations. Along MM and at the

market pole are where these organised vendors operate, on a substantial platform wider than in most places. The numbers of those desiring to operate at the pole is high often due to the opportunity it presents, tapping into the high pedestrian flow going in and out of the market. Mostly made of watch repairers and other allied product vendors, the limited and space and the number of desirers means the platforms are always congested. Likewise, the number of patronage and by-passers adds to the congestion of these spaces.

The uniformity in the design of tables and display equipment is a measure to maximise the use of the platforms, and complement what vendors see as their non-disruption attitude by “not create [liquid] waste and... not moving along the pedestrian way or brake the slabs”. By operating “as a group here... you can see almost all our tables and display equipments are similar in size” head of the group postulates, insisting that this is a unique action exercised by the union unilaterally. The reference to size refers to the width, which vendors are more concerned with since space is a scarce resource. However, different vendors have modified their structures by increasing vertical storage and “allow all the opportunity to place [their] products visibly without blocking others.” This allows for a more significant number of people to participate.



Figure 5.32: Local standardised wooden display table with umbrellas for each vendor (Author, 2018).

However, there is a greater divergence in the uniformity argument often ill-acknowledged by vendors, which takes spaces more than allocated. Few vendors (3) have crafted movable drawer used intermittently, often retrieved underneath the standard display platform, temporarily gaining additional space, complicating the uniformity ideas.

5.4 Dorayi Emir Line (DEL): The street in context

The second street within this thesis is Dorayi Emir Line (DEL) which is located just outside the ancient walled city near the gates of *Gadon Kaya*, *Kofar Famfo* and *Kabuga*. Historically, Doyari was a predominantly agricultural field sparsely populated by emirates' servants, toiling

the land. According to Hill (1977), the population rose to 3500 persons as at 1971 and currently stands at 19,700 (Bello & Egresi, 2017). This dramatic increase substituted the agricultural performance of the district to predominantly a combination of low-income residential and commercial activities. Within Kano city, the sizes of plots are an indicator of the socio-economic profile of the communities, population density and potentially the availability of infrastructural amenities present within the neighbourhood. Dorayi is 80 per cent made up of irregular plots between 36sqm and 225sqm (Dankani & Abubakar, 2016), sub-divide, developed and managed informally with no regards to official standards and little consideration for future infrastructure requirements. This combination of low socio-income status and informal urban development has led to a high functional distinct urban environment produced, mostly serving as labour providers to the larger city functions.

It is within this spatial and socio-cultural narrative that DEL is located within this neighbourhood. What significance, therefore, has the DEL has within the global context of the city? Firstly, DEL is located away for the city centre but still operates at a critical point in the city. It serves – in conjunction with others – as a link between two high traffic roads (*Gwarzo Road* and *Shiek Jafar Road*) through neighbourhoods that fairly represent the sociological character of the entire city. It bounds the medium density intellectual communities of *Janbula* (mostly made up of academics) and the high density low-skilled but enterprising community of *Dorayi*. The communities are homogeneous, mostly natives of the city. This means the street have less of a political significance to the city than MM-Way (in the previous segment) but performs the function of shuffling traffic around the city. Hence, DEL prominence on the city scale is subtle despite its linkages function.

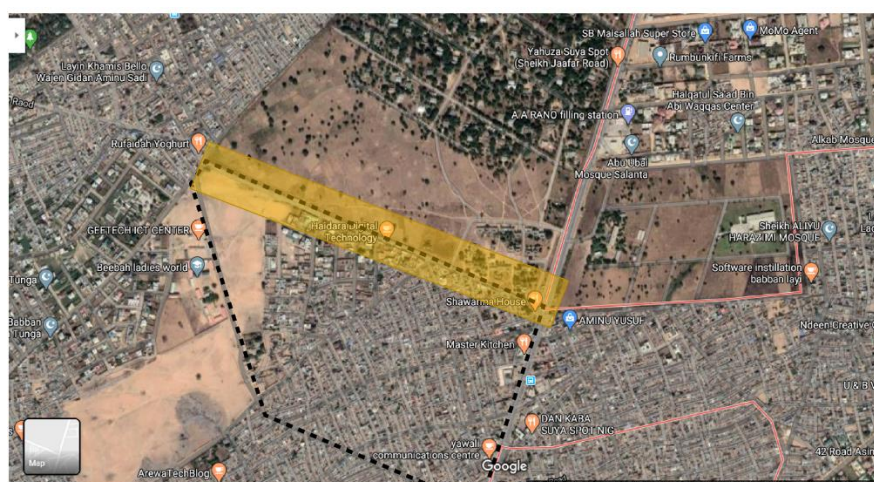


Figure 5.33: Google satellite map of Dorayi neighbourhood with the studied areas highlighted (Author, 2019)

However, at the local level, the street remains secondary not in quality but connectivity within the neighbourhood. Its location at the edge of the community makes it difficult to reach and navigate by the majority of the inhabitants, preferring to take other narrow and winding streets, making DEL not the central node of activity.

Despite the preceding account, DEL remains integral to the internal coherence of the urban environment. It forms part of the student's critical route (for students tending towards *Jan Bulo*), offering minimal cognitive load due to DEL been path of least angular deviation than navigating the labyrinthine street network of the neighbourhood. This makes it accessible to passers-by both NMT and MT due to less number of business along it compared to other major streets in the neighbourhood, making it less busy.

5.4.1 Street structure of DEL

The street scene at Dorayi significantly diverges from the preceding street explored. While MM is located at the centre of the cities network and role of high transit and commercial activities within the CBD, DEL is removed from this centrality, serving as a connector to two larger thoroughfares. This has a great effect on their composition.

5.4.2 Roads/thoroughfare

The indicative dominance of the transitory role of DEL is seen in the structure of the road, an 8-metre-wide single carriage lane permitting 2-way traffic, lacking the complete road structure of road, road-shoulder and gutter at one end (entry point), while progressively expanding as one navigates towards its end. At this point, the road dimension remains 6 meters, though the 0 meters' road shoulder at entry point increases to single bank 3 meters' shoulder, suggesting an increase in setback reservations on one side. Such non-compliant asymmetrical street character is a product of what planners at the state's institutions call "infrastructure infill". This infill occurs as a result of infrastructural development trailing urbanisation in Nigeria (Ogun 2010: Bello-Schünemann and Porter 2017: Anaeto 2018: Balarabe 2016), resulting in roads retrofitted in into existing neighbourhoods, grossly affects the possibility of putting a well-designed street (which provides option of vending locations) due to limited spaces after buildings have been set up. As for DEL, the road was constructed in 2007, after the neighbourhood had developed. A senior planning official from KANUPDA's the Department of Urban Centre puts it:

"The way social amenities are distributed within the city is extremely political. Most if not all of the neighbourhoods in Kano first grew and reached a critical mass before roads

and other services were put in by the state. We still have bigger (than DEL) neighbourhoods that are in desperate need of government intervention, but until there is a commissioner or another high-level government executive from those areas, I doubt if they will see any intervention anytime soon. This is just the way here.” (Interview, 23 August 2018)

The consequences of such planning have made for an uneven street as a result of the infrastructure infill. To serve the automobile connecting performance of the street, the key infrastructure of a typical street was forgone, especially the sidewalks, causing people and motorist negotiating the purposely constructed automobile route.



Figure 5.34: Typical scene of commuters along the DEL (Author, 2018).

Eleven-speed breakers were inserted along the street to reduce the speed of automobile, thereby reducing the potential propensity for accidents along the route. Likewise, the physical character has altered pedestrian’s mobility patterns, pitting people and machine at loggerheads for space, with no separation either by design (road markings), traffic management (making route 1 ways), for engineering solutions such as dividers and/or dedicated pedestrian ways.

5.4.3 General condition of vending along DEL

Vendors operation along DEL are carried within the afore-described asymmetrical urban scene, constrained on one side by the limits imposed by BUK’s fence and alternately by the lack for sufficient urban room often conscripted for vending and other activities. This means along the DEL; vending activities are spatially limited to a single bank, where both ambulatory and non-ambulatory fare within a mixture of other competing street activities, such as street parking, setbacks for advertisement boards or other street furniture, unlike most roads that are symmetrical with facilities on both sides.



Figure 5.35: Top & middle – showing different sections of DEL street activities are on left-side due to urban limitations. Bottom – Vendors lined up on the drainage system with the view of some on the raised platform (Author, 2018).

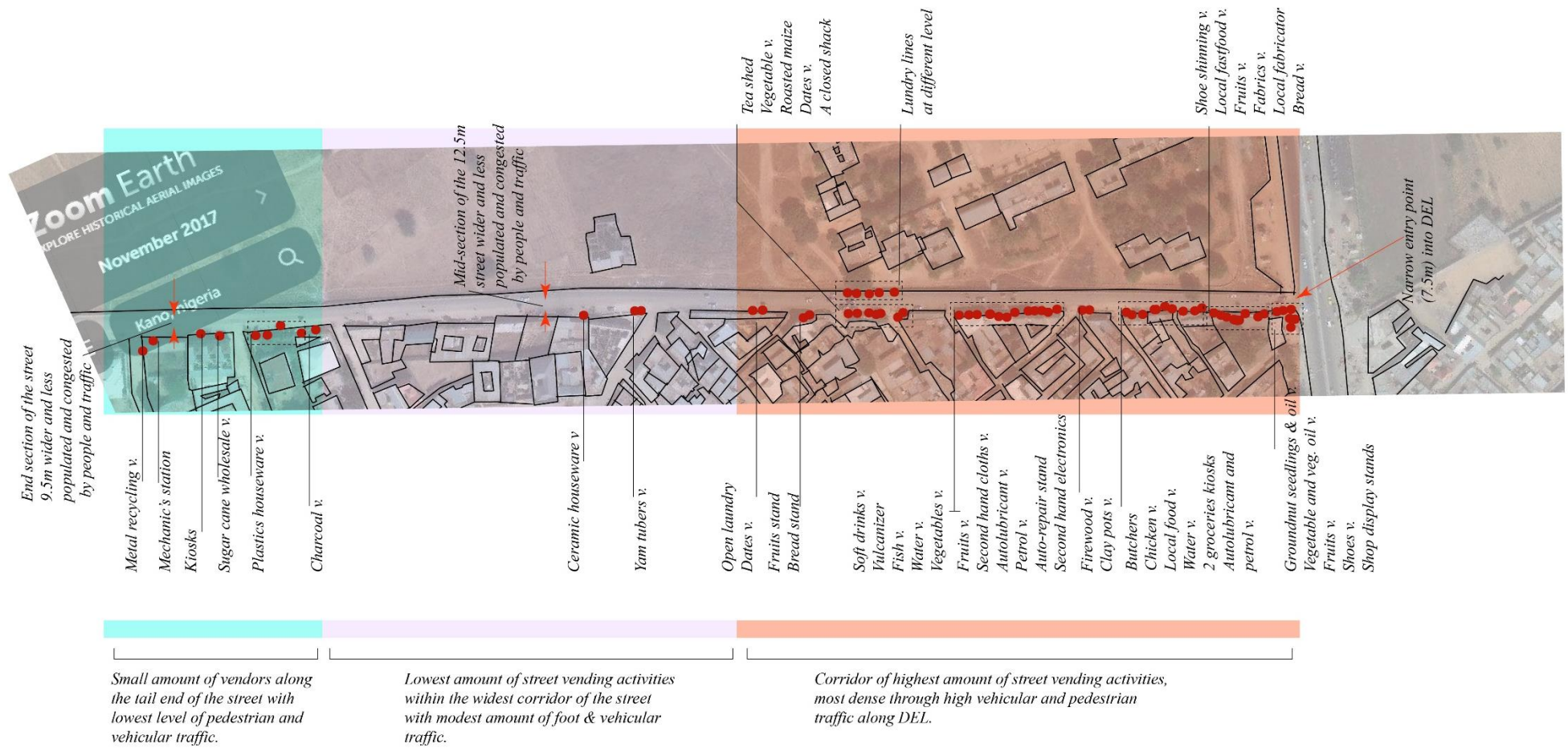


Figure 5.36: Mapping of street vending activities along DEL (Author, 2018).

Vendors at the entry end cramp onto the covered drainage to hawk their goods due to limited space available, creating an informal form of managing space though no payment of fees is required in occupying street locations. However, the cohort of vendors limits newcomers from taking over indicating that new faces “*have to stay behind us (on a raised platform further from the street) and establish a good rapport before we allow them such valuable space*” (fruits vendor, 2018, personal communication). This condition differs with mobile actors that operate as at MM with carts, head pans and other devices, where they can easily navigate and temporarily suspend mobility within a short space/time. The challenge DEL to throws at vendors is the capacity in managing space for movement and fixed usage, momentarily or long stay, in relation to other pedestrians and motorist. This is compounded since the road is devoid of separate platforms for MT and NMT, while concurrently lacking road shoulders for motorist and pedestrians to utilised away from the traffic flow. This means there exists a constant tension between mobile vendors moving along the thoroughfare and other actors, whether stationary or mobile, since they predominantly rely on the single mobility platform.

Subsequently, as progress is made into the street, shop and house owners partake in also deciding the kind of street activities taking place often through policing who operates there, since all potential activity spaces are in front of their properties. The selection approach is largely on the kind of product one sells and the type of crowd and waste it draws to the area, unlike in vendor’s administered urban space where there is not this much consideration. What it shows is that vendor’s spatiality within the urban fabric is mostly a curation of those who view themselves to be in charge of their surroundings. Along DEL, this represents a large percentage of houses here that offer free or rent-out spaces for vendors to display their goods along the street. Shops owners likewise sublet their frontages to micro-business at a fee or assign the space to apprentice.

Vendors renting spaces have secured tenure with shop owners, developing a symbiotic relationship of looking out and selling other’s products in their absence. As for mobile vendors in shops’ frontage, they only acquire temporary tenure by seeking daily permission until a relationship has been established with shop owners. Fruit seller that hawk their goods under the scorching sun, fearing that loss of produce due to weather, use this means to find locations.

Other vendors operate in the mid-section of the road. These are mostly young girls that provide late afternoon local snacks, having no temporary structure to erect. They usually work from 4 pm till sunset and hence are not considered a nuisance to other businesses. When asked about their location choice and views on their relationship with others, they all point to convenience

and safety. By staying away from shops but occupying “*highly visible spaces*,” paradoxically the girls are putting themselves in the care of nearby shop owners from harassers and bullies. Girls trading spots are usually the first *conductive* point of contact with the street having a direct view of the shops. Openness, therefore, becomes a pivotal strategy to the choice of location not just for access to markets but to establishing a network of relationships with other vendors and street traders.

The slight increment of space at this section separate vending activities from the roads. Whereas at the entry point all activities are performed on roads or on covered drainages, here, the shoulder reservations usually operated as temporary parking lanes are utilised as vending spots for micro-enterprises and small business. Premade/on-street prepared snacks, auto-lubricant and vegetables are displayed underneath the dusty environment, using stones platforms, tables, kiosks, buckets or spread on mats along the surface. The section exhibits maximum utilisation of incremental space combining static with the dynamic, producing distinct urban scene.



Figure 5.37: Shows different character on-street vending around main shops (Author, 2018).

At the tail section of the street, vending activities amongst other activities dwindle. The section is sparsely populated, dissipating the intensity and ambience generated by automobile and

pedestrians, creating a distinct character unrecognisable from those at other parts of the road. As pedestrian activities drastically decline, so does vending activities. Two kiosks baking charcoal operate within this section, utilising the ample space.



Figure 5.38: Sparse populated DEL section of increased width, including road shoulder unavailable at the entry section highlighted in yellow (Author, 2018).

In general, the character, spatial practice of vendor's activities along DEL are linked, forcing all actors to negotiate the street. This negotiation is often informal, subjugating the vendors to the spatial management of house and shop owners along the street. However, absence of the state or any organised hegemonic system allows vendors to operate in otherwise problematic locations along the street, despite lacking standard urban requirement for a fully functioning thoroughfare as with MM.

5.4.4 Ease of operation along DEL

5.4.4.1 *Mobile vendor's Ease of operation along DEL*

Lack of multiple mobility platforms and setback reservations has restricted the choices where ambulatory vendors operate at DEL, resulting to vendor's actions carried primarily on roads and subsequently at road shoulders (where available), creating an activity melee around the different point that affects the degree of operational freedom to all vendors. Within this restrictive order, vendors operate with varying degree of ease, increasing as they move inner along the street. Part of the significant determinants of the vendor's experience is vending instruments and spaces.

Non-wheeled SV possesses better manoeuvrability navigating the street's sections than their wheeled counterparts, participating in the melee within congested sections causing fewer interruptions to other urban actors. In motion, these vendors take up limited spaces by hoisting items overhead, ergonomically occupying space for a single person, which drastically reduces in the case of children vendors. This feature means moving across the raised drainage terrain is possible and often employed by vendors in the course of the door to door marketing of products.

However, at rest or temporal immobility, vendors spatial exercise exceeds individual requirements and includes vending instruments, losing manoeuvrability and becoming an obstacles feature in dense Sections of DEL. Acknowledged by some vendors though framed as self-impediment, a young groundnut seller asserts that

“when it [road] is too busy, it is difficult to go about doing your business.”

while another vendor framed the problem of congestions in safety terms intimating

“people bump into you unnecessarily especially when the junction is busy... and the tricycles are indifferent about our operations.”

Mobile vendors ease of operation is therefore not inextricably linked to manoeuvrability, due to the necessity for vendors to momentarily halt. Along other streets that satisfies the minimal urban requirements of a road, the fixity of mobile vendors appears less drastic in influencing the overall ambience of the street. This observation holds for the anterior section of DEL, where the urban spatial qualities differ.

Wheeled MV performance drastically differs. They affect and are affected by the urban melee along DEL, moving in tandem with people and automobile. Their inability to manoeuvre over drainages and platforms restricts their operational capacity to the thoroughfare and affects other actor's functions in similar measure irrespective of their vendor's kinetic state. In motion, vendors had to contend with the congested streets, fleeting automobiles and narrow road-shoulders, pushing metallic carts. Propensity for accidents is lurking though mitigated by vendor's clamouring while moving. In stasis, space taken at minimum triples that required by individual vendors, becoming a more considerable obstacle.

These characterisations invariable inhibits wheeled mobile actor's performance along DEL. Difficulty in navigation, larger territorial claim amidst scarce viable vending spaces and instruments of vending shapes vendor's experiential scene, often conditioned by time. The street “gets congested especially at the junction [entry point] mostly during the midday when

morning students have closed and afternoon students are starting,” vendors describing the situation adding that during this scenario which occurs weekdays, “movement becomes difficult for all even... There are cars, tricycles, motorcycles, bicycles and pedestrians all using this small space. We always have to give way for others” (Shoe vendor, 2018, personal communication). Peak traffic and repetitive movement patterns by other actors impose temporal restraints at vendor’s capacity, affecting the spatial and urban nature of informal activities.



Figure 5.39: Nature of diverse afternoon traffic which mobile vendors operate within (Author, 2018).

At off-peak hours when auto and pedestrian traffic have subsided, vendors do not experience a sudden increase in available space because the norm (low traffic levels) exhibit same character relating to vending activities in respect of hindrance, space usage and spatial negotiations. DEL’s thoroughfare and adjoining easements are put to constant exploitative measures resulting from excess users, leading to quasi-privatisation of spaces by informal urban managers. According to the shoe vendor’s account,

“...the difficulty is finding a place that suits your business and is available... most of them are taken. I don’t know how public space can become personal. It should be first-come-first-serve... where you see free open space is either in front of a shop or a house. You can stay there momentarily or even the whole business day, but there is always a possibility of being asked to move [by the occupants] if he chooses to” (Shoe vendor, 2018, personal communication).

The intermingling of MV actors with other participants along DEL has been shown to be strenuous, presenting difficulties and exposing obstacles to the efficient performance of both enterprises, formal and informal. The following section addresses how the informal actors adapt and resolve amidst the challenges.

5.4.5 Challenges and adaptive strategies for mobile vendors along DEL.

MV operating within the imposed urban and spatial/managerial delimitations on DEL have developed adaptive strategies geared towards overcoming the myriad challenges the urban interface in conjunction with the city throws at them. Prominent among the obstacles are overcrowding at bottleneck points, informal enforcement regimes, lacking adequate space that satisfies formal (necessary) activities with informality sequester. Below are the vendor's adaptive strategies.

5.4.5.1 Regulated mobility.

This mobility pattern is taken into effect by vendors during the aforementioned congestion circumstances along DEL, confined to the tunnel-shaped entry point of the street. The movements are borne out of the perceived long term effect that vendors will be subjugated under should the junction be characterised as chronic chokepoint along the road. This is despite vendors at the intersection occupying less space that are marginal that an improvised tricycle station. MV presumed hierarchy of activities at the intersection means vendors “always have to give way for others”. What makes such *giving way* regulatory is the manner and consistency of its execution.

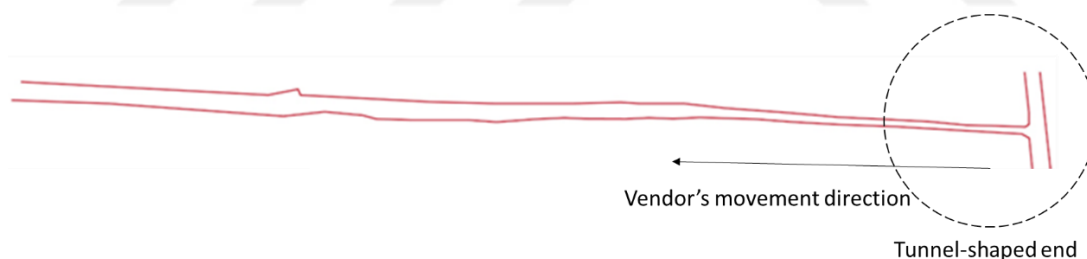


Figure 5.40: Direction of movement and the narrowness of the intersection (Author, 2018).

At peak traffic periods, MV “start moving [80-100 meters] inwards” on DEL to “more spacious places” in comparison to areas left. These temporal settlements have a setback reservation of up to 2 meters, where vendors intermittently stay to allow the free flow high pedestrian and vehicular traffic. Important to note that this measure is not taking by all vendors on DEL but rather by a small critical amount that (is perceived to) allows such free mobility of other actors to occur. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to ascertain the methods, selection or potential coercive measure in place to determine who stays or regulates their movements. However, for

those staying, vendors retreat onto loose/marginal spaces, i.e., underutilised space by formal practices such as covered drainage areas.

The second regulated vendor's mobility in the face of overcrowding is the exploration of sporadic methods. Unlike the location and structure of MM which creates conditions necessary for sporadic vendor's active operation, which include a constant flow of people, traffic along busy street and intersections; DEL differs with low traffic residential character for large parts of the vending day. Hence vendor's choice of employing sporadic tactic instead of the target approach to selling goods during peak periods is consistence with the tactic of regulatory mobility. Vendors oscillate along DEL different sections from shops to stalls and outdoor venture selling, offsetting the forgone cost of temporarily leaving their locations. The regulatory exercise lasts between 20-60 minutes before vendors can reclaim their spots at the junctions. Its added function is the reduction of hostile action from shop owners in case of protracted stay in front of their shops.

The two Regulatory movements differ based on the activities embarked upon before vendor's eventual return to their preferred vending locations. While the former is predicated on fixity along with setback reservations, the latter exploits the distribution of people as an opportunity to remain in motion, searching clientele amidst the discomfort from initial dislocation. However, all regulatory patterns are exercised to paradoxically maintain the spaces vacated momentarily due to increasing auto and pedestrian flow. As the numbers subside, vendors return to their operational norms.

5.4.5.2 Marginal space exploration/ Alternate route/platform adaptive strategies

All mobile vendors exercise and experience temporal immobility as part of their daily routine. Significant about DEL is the limitation imposed due to lack of space at the most sought after spaces for vendors along the street. MV intending to participate in the urban ballet within these spaces are executing an adaptive measure that ensures their continued operation.

Marginal spaces here mean underutilised, dead or loose spaces that are ubiquitous in urban environments but grossly neglected for both formal and formal uses. In DEL, these spaces are represented along the streets in inconspicuous locations such as between shops extension, on covered and drainage areas or around stalls informally installed. Non-wheeled mobile vendors recognise the importance of these limited spaces to their daily function. Most often, the vendor's

response does not suggest an active pursuit of marginality but a resignation to perceived unjust urban space dominance by other actors. As a shoe vendor laments,

“there is little space for us all to use and manoeuvre around... the road is small. You have the tricycle station there along the fence lined-up taking more space that us managing this space. So we disturb *pedestrians* less than all those involved. That is why *we have little problem from them*. Our biggest issue is with motorist that want to park on the corner. They feel entitled just because they have a *car*. *We stay on the culvert or sometimes squeeze in-between shops, they [motorist] should stay on the road*” (Shoe vendor, 2018, Personal communication).



Figure 5.41: Panel of pictures showing exploitation of marginality by vendors, (Author, 2018)

This reaction to marginal spaces is from vendors that rely on specific zones of operation, i.e. not relying on the whole or substantial length of DEL. Other micro-business vendors perceive smaller spaces with indifference,

“...*I can always fit into small corners while holding my item on my head. So I don't think we disturb each other. But back there [where there is much space], I don't need to do that. I can simply put my items down when I need to without disturbing anybody. People can easily walk around me if they choose to*” (Groundnut oil vendors, 2018, personal communication).

This nonchalance emanates since micro-scale business vendor's activities rely on door to door hawking leading up to a permanent vendors cluster free from the reach of auto traffic. Likewise, the usage of smaller vending instruments such as buckets and head pans means fitting into narrow space is unproblematic. Hence, the transitory usage of marginal spaces along the way to a permanent vending location, where according to the same vendors

“it is easy for us here [on the platforms]. We come twice a day to this platform and display our goods. It does get congested [from pedestrian movement and 7-8 different operational vendors] but at least we have a place and our customers know where we are” (Groundnut oil vendors, 2018, personal communication).

The varied usage of marginal space, therefore, is linked to the size of the merchandise, size of vending apparatus, who manages the spaces and the intended spaces of vending along DEL.

5.4.6 Ease of operation along DEL Semi-mobile and stationary vendors

5.4.6.1 *Semi-mobile and stationary vendor's ease of operation along DEL.*

Limitation around DEL has conditioned the spatial character SMV and STV akin to those of MV, operating at the margins of the street but often spilling onto the thoroughfare, unlike at MM where overflow of activities is often restricted to the pedestrian walkways. This has limited the diversity and character of vending apparatus employed by informal actors. Flexible Permanent fixtures, industrially mass-produced furniture and locally constructed standardised fixtures that enable the maximum amount of usage of spaces are often discarded for the purpose made furniture fitting into the uneven peculiarity of DEL.

The individualistic approach has produced different character of varying operational ease along the street, with different spatial character. At the narrow entry point where competition for space, all vendors of predominantly stationary character are SMVs, exploiting space with their small, movable, flexible or dismountable temporary furniture, assembled at the beginning of the working day and responding to localised infringements. This is often small handcrafted wooden tables displaying goods to passers-by set in front of shops, where the spaces are secured

through a racketeering system of charging vendors. Aside from the racket, relationships are pivotal to securing tenure, albeit illegal. Acquaintanceship can ease the process by gaining access and potentially a reduced monthly fee. In contrast, family bonds provide the surest way of gaining access, given the secondary informal enterprise is viewed as additional income or extension of the formal business. This extension could be in relation to a participant, business type, merely physical one or combination of any,

“The shop owner is my brother, and therefore it is easy for me to operate since it is a family business... I started [working] in the shop and saw the opportunity to open a lubricant stand... I keep my supplies in the shop, but every day I bring them out to display on this table” (Auto-lubricant vendor, 2018, personal communication).

While vendor's actions are restricted off-road at the entry narrow points, within the mid and tail sections of DEL, SMV and STV gradually and simultaneously occupy the limited setback reservations while at the same encroaching onto the streets. Fixtures at the section become a combination of wooden moveable and steel fixed apparatus signifying levels of fixity.

Relative availability of space has also eased the potential of gaining access to vending location. Limited areas with setback bordering on blank walls offer spaces devoid from shop owners racket and their restrictions. Hence, spaces exhibit the gamut of street vendors available on the streets from those spreading along the surface, enclosed makeshift kiosks and standardised ones. One vendor in comparison to congested areas offered the following;

“it is a nice place to work from. There is enough space around my area that no one can disrupt my activities. It is also not that difficult to secure. I can as well monitor it from a distance, nothing to block my view.” (Vegetable vendor, 2018, personal communication).

The slight increment in spatial order translates to multiple vending experiences from non-disruptive capacity to better visibility towards vending locations. Likewise, such spaces offer opportunities of incremental growth of structure in tandem with businesses expansion, such as “starting with just a head pan.... and [now] having this stall” or “started small on head container and then grew to a wheelbarrow, table and now this [larger stall]”. However, this experience reflects vendor's longevity in spatial occupation and not necessarily of newcomers, whose potential expansion and upgrades are severely limited.

Aside from the minimal setback reservations available in 2 locations along the street, occupied by sheds, makeshift/permanent kiosks, and SMV, STV affects DEL order. Business owners are within formal enterprise continuously and illegally expanding their square footage in two ways, either through constructing extensions and encroaching onto thoroughfare's or front and backhouse activities reversal. These extensions are viewed by STV as hampering their activities and making vendors "... having to find better space to put our kiosks but it is becoming difficult because of shop and home owner's buildings. There isn't enough space that can take our kiosks, that is a good viable space with enough people.". Others argue "There is no space from the cars to the shops and therefore we cannot put it [kiosk] anywhere. Everywhere is built-up," concluding "since there is no place for us to put our containers; therefore, the street does not work for us."

Hence, the relative marginality of the street away from the city's activity core doesn't necessitate openness to vendors in equal measure. While different vendors were found operating on DEL, they faced dissimilar challenges specific their archetypal modes of vending. Small SVM's are exploited for access to space; larger STV's have difficulties in finding vending locations while smaller vendors face restriction when it comes to expanding. To mitigate these findings, vendors have resulted to different adaptive strategies.

5.4.7 General & specific challenges for SMV and STV along DEL & their adaptive strategies.

5.4.7.1 *Stretching the marginal zones.*

Stretching marginal zones represents the most adaptive strategy employed by vendors along DEL given availability of space represents the largest impediment to urban actor's activities. Specific to vendors, the realisation that among these activities (pedestrian and vehicular movements, and formal entrepreneurial exercises) informality is inconsequential – not considered or designed for – exploring marginal space is considered an urban survival tactic by participants, conscripted and fashioned to enable street vending. The physical limitations imposed by the urban/street configurations means these marginal spaces along the street are mainly in two forms; (un)covered drainage areas and smaller pockets of spaces (dead spaces) along the street.

(Un)covered drainage areas are considered marginal because it restricts vehicular access along the street while conversely unsuitable to most formal business activities along the street, leading to its underutilisation. As a consequence, vendors result to exploring these locations running parallel to the main road to increase urban spatial access and create vending opportunities. The

fact of underutilisation by other actors according to vendors means their explorations is free from been castigated as a nuisance. According to vendors selling bread, fruits, yams tubers and auto-lubricants respectively,

“... I can’t say that I have been affecting anybody’s movement. I am entirely off the path of any vehicle or person.”

“where I placed this stall... the road is wider with less traffic. It does not have all the amenities, but the low but constant level of traffic is ok. I don’t have to compete with anybody here.”

“I have been coming here and selling, first with few tubers until now [having a temporary wooden table]”

“my stall is as close to the main shop as possible. I do not affect movement in any way. I think, makes it a perfect place to work” (2018, personal communications).

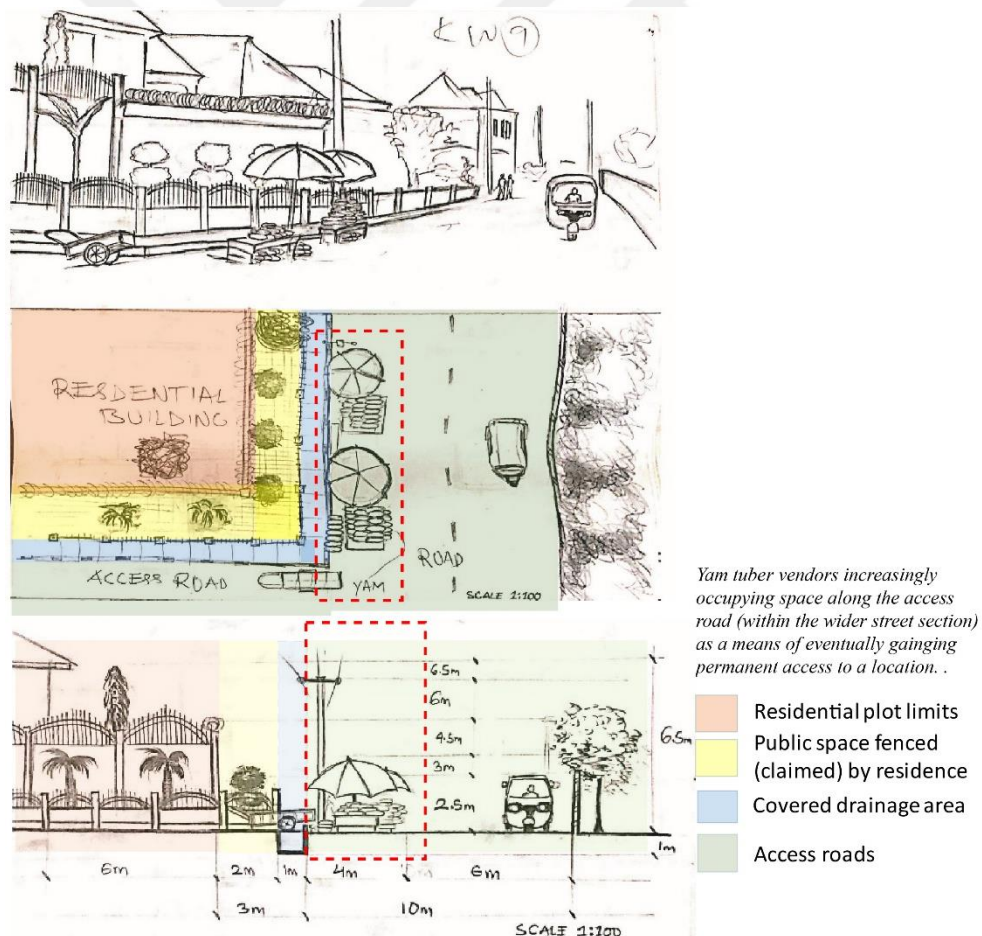


Figure 5.42: A vendors maximising the residual space (road shoulder) as vending space (Author).

However, within the clime of under-resourced unplanned areas, drainage covering that form the basis of the platforms are limited or defective if at all present. Along DEL, covers are available and privately fitted by shops and homes, facilitating their informal managerial roles, along a scattered 10 per cent of the stretch. Whereas vendors negotiate to gain access in such spaces, the stretching of the marginality is consolidated in no-man's-land zones, where vendors provide wooden drainage coverings constructed of smaller planks sizes or fitted as industrially cut.



Figure 5.43: Different types and construction of drainage covers to create space increase access (Author, 2018).

Regardless of the covering's construction method, producing space with elastic capacity at DEL margins prolongs vendor's urban activities and the growth of informal enterprise. This active environment reshaping is expressed and justified by vendors in dialectic relationship to other users and conversely as upgrading the urban character.

“I can keep on adding drainage covers [and expand my business] that way until I reach someone's stall. I don't think it is a problem. No one is using the space. And also by closing the drainages, I am doing a service to the neighbourhood and that means someone will be looking after the space instead of being left unkempt” (Fruits vendor, 2018, personal communication)

For vendors utilise small pocket of spaces, especially around high activity areas, their extension of marginality involves the use multilevel vending apparatus to increasing storage and display capacity while limiting their spatial occupation on narrow spaces. To achieve these, furniture and instruments of complement in shape, size and profile that facilitates seamless interlockings are explored by vendors. This produces a different extension character where verticality is

explored and utilised, however, limited to unitary action by the vendor rather than the multiple lateral/horizontal space elongation.

5.4.7.2 Sequential occupation of space

Sequential spatial occupation occurs over a period when vendors locate a supposed viable vending location, appropriate it for the informal activity and are subsequently dislocated from the said site either by private owner or public trustees, leading to vendors moving and occupying the nearest location. This sequence in occupying space can be from private to a private lot, private to public space, public to a private lot, or public space to public space, i.e. vendors follow individual preferential.

Along DEL and due to its unique limiting nature, vendors opt to occupy available private spaces where necessary/applicable. Three vendors each operating a kiosk intimate that they “*use to stay in the place that they are building these shops*” implying the occupation of private lots. However, during the construction phase (and as it still goes on), vendors are forced to make way for materials and labourers, thereby dislocating vendors. With progress halted on construction, vendors have returned and occupied spaces bearing precarious nature,

“*We have moved to the front now, and as they are about to finish, we have to find a new place before they [owners] start harassing us up and down.*” (Kiosk owner, 2018, personal communication)



Figure 5.44: Kiosk placed in front of an abandoned construction site (Author, 2018).

Sequential adaptation doesn't necessitate or offer security of tenure as other negotiated means employed by vendors. What it offers is a choice of where to locate an activity site within a dynamic environment. This sequence is expected at a higher level in neighbourhoods with private vacant lands or large undeveloped public spaces, such as neighbourhood parks and uncompleted thoroughfares. As for DEL, sequential occupations character can also be seen in

relation to small SMV, though related to environmental adaptation rather than an attempt for persistent operational capacity.

5.5 Sheka Sabuwar Abuja (SSA): The street in context

The third street chosen is in Sheka Sabuwar Abuja (SSA), a densely populated organically grown neighbourhood on the outskirts of the city. Its growth was on the edges of the planned 1966 expansion of the city outside the ancient wall limits and represents a departure from the estimated, planned and resource-driven urban development to quasi-planned, community-led, piecemeal neighbourhood development. The urbanisation character has produced a multipurpose urban development that constitutes communities of low-income, micro and small business owners operating from homes, local markets and along streets, youngsters roaming the streets, manning the stalls or doing errands for a daily stipend. The building, therefore, assumes a multipurpose role especially along the roads, serving primarily commercial functions at the fore while residential activities are hiding from the public gaze.



Figure 5.45: Satellite image of SSA neighbourhood showing the organic morphological nature, (Author, 2019).

The streets' significance within the entire city is quite minimal. It does not link to any significant, hospital, school or community centre, that has the potential of drawing people outside the neighbourhood. Neither does it link to a highway to serve as a connector within a network which often makes easiest to locate and neither is it at the centre nor edge of a large traffic distribution network of the city. The street abruptly terminates mid-street at a winding and untarred edge of the city. Such dislocation from core activity areas of the city has a multifaceted effect on the intensity of activities and character. Firstly, the intensity of vehicular mobility is below the preceding streets discusses due to the remoteness of SSA and a combination of failed public transport system and the limited reach of a shared transport system

that replaces it (Madugu, 2018). Commercial tricycles and private motorcycles are the most common transportation means traversing SSA, therefore occupying less space and creating a lesser activity ambience. Secondly and within the local context, the street becomes animated by acting as a hub, hosting different activities such as trading, auto-mechanic services and hair salons among others which stems from reduced vehicular traffic, suggesting its niche qualities. Among the twelve streets adjoining SSA, only 3 are vehicular streets and the rest all small and narrow pedestrian streets formed organically by the building lines. This character allows for pedestrian traffic to trickle onto SSA at higher rates than vehicular, creating a distinct slow-paced urban scene in contrast to the bustling MM and DEL serve as primary and link roads respectively.

5.5.1 Street structure of SSA

As an outskirts street, SSA possesses qualities uncommon to other streets of similar hierarchy, i.e., regular shape/path street, double-banked with (minimal uneven) reservation, and road surface covering. This creates an allure of mid-city level streets in amenities without the amount of traffic flow.

5.5.2 Roads/thoroughfare SSA

Given SSA is located on the outskirts neighbourhood in Kano where the majority of the streets are labyrinthine, SSA deviates from this norm. The street exists within a singular network that connects different mobility standards to the wider city and as such exhibits a distinct character. SSA is a uniform width, single carriage 2-way street facilitating different modes of MT and NMT within the neighbourhood. The dominance of the mobility function is accentuated paradoxically by the lack of auxiliary facilities guiding the rules of operation. Though transport planner's designs and recommendations emphasises the holistic implementation of road projects as specified to discourage misuse and encroachment leading to potential accident, administrators focus on "infrastructures primary role, movement," leading a parochial implementation based on the form of mobility. Politics and political considerations, therefore, determines the provision of infrastructure, skewing the urban landscape. Along SSA, political influence leaves the street in a transitional state, unfinished on the one end – having an uneven and non-existent road paving in large sections of the street – and incommensurate to the needs of the users across all segments. Despite the discrepancies between design and implementation, SSA thoroughfare boundaries are clearly defined and delimited by the drainage network, separating the vehicular from pedestrian allotments, unlike along DEL. The delimitation and

the presence/absence of the tarred surface at different part of SSA produces an uneven relationship with sidewalks, making the road lower or at par the reservation. This possesses a different challenge to all vendors operating on the banks and their relationship with patrons.



Figure 5.46: Untarred and tarred sections of SSA (Authors, 2018).

5.5.3 Pedestrian walkway

The irregularity of pedestrian path on SSA can be attributed road network infill into an existing neighbourhood with an uneven building line as a result of its organic growth, resulting in spaces ranging from 0.4-3 meters as reservation. This shortcoming which affects pedestrian mobility, are further confounded by the lack of desirable surface treatment, which remains exposed. At all locations along the street, where the surface treatment differs from exposed earth, access is generally regulated by property owners/renter responsible for the upgrade. Platforms are considerably raised beyond the natural mobility levels, (im)permeable fence erect, sheds installed or steps introduces. These private interventions further change the character of pedestrian reservations, creating a quasi-privatised area where usage is directly related to the function of adjoining property and/or effectively restricted. As a whole, these difference interventions and characteristics inhibit the mobility usage of public spaces to diverse urban. As a consequence, pedestrians primarily navigate along the road system on SSA.

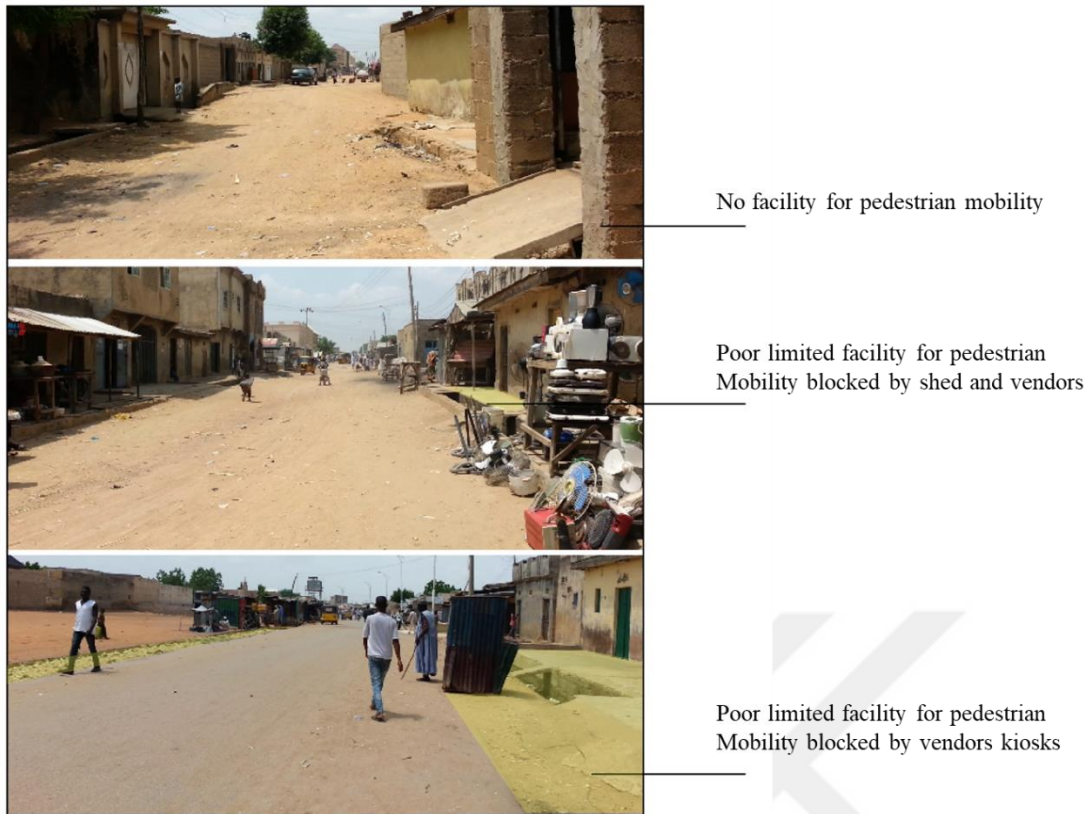


Figure 5.47: Different character of (available) pedestrian way reservations on SSA (Author, 2018).

5.5.4 General condition of vending along SSA

The constant policing vendors are subjected under across MM due to its location within the CBD and at DEL due to its limiting spatial character, the opposite – apparent freedom – appears to exist along SSA arising from the remoteness within the city network. Dislocation of SSA from the centre of economic activities within the city, low levels of vehicular traffic, absence of significant national or state institution serving as a magnet and drawing people onto SSA combine in creating a street free from the constant presence of police, environmental and traffic authorities. Conversely, low pedestrian and vehicular traffic along the standardised street – having off-road reservations albeit an irregular one – creates excess in residual spaces on and along SAA, reducing completion for viable vending space for micro and small scale economic activities. Vendors working under these combinations of facts appears less problematic in relation to earlier streets discussed and can be characterised to the urban configuration of the street.

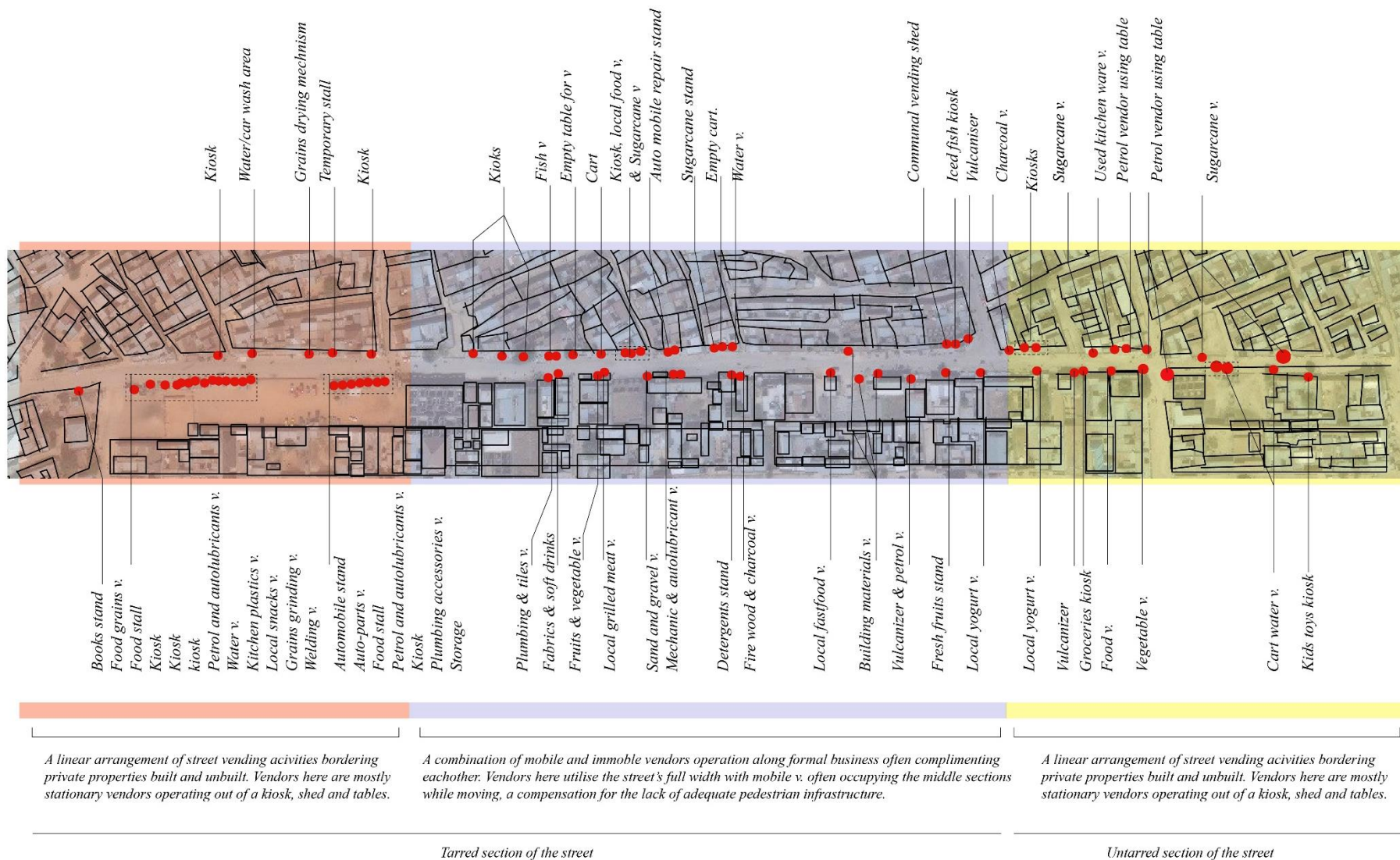


Figure 5.48: Mapping of street vending activities along SSA (Author, 2017).

The untarred section of SSA has visible road reservations and quasi-drainage systems in place, mostly constructed by the homeowner having varying width, heights and distances to the building line. Such abdication of States' urban responsibility results in citizen's self-help that often leads to an uneven urban milieu. Vendors along this section have acclimatised to the situation and have devised ways to engage with the environment. With limited spaces due to obstruction by an open drainage system, stationary vendors use materials such as timber planks or steel grails to cover the gutters thereby creating extra space for vending activities akin to those along DEL. Such methods are used to assert influence over specific spaces in relation to other vendors.

Absence of the state, vendors experience is shaped mainly by the surroundings and people. Here as elsewhere, setting up stand/table/kiosk requires the permission of property owners where it is to be placed *"but for those that are not looking to make changes to the house [by adding a structure] or operate after Maghrib [Muslim sunset prayers]... you can do your business without inference"* (vegetable vendor, 2018, personal communication). Some elect to operate on the street directly citing the low levels of vehicular traffic as a reason for habiting the space. *"If there are not that many vehicles passing through here but only people and bikes, then surely I can put my kiosk here,"* said vendors' D and E adding *"it [the kiosk] is not going to disrupt movement. People can move and change direction easily; they are not cars which have to slow down before turning"* (2018, personal communication).

Within the stretch that possesses tarred road and defined edges, the spatial distribution of vendors and strategies remain the same. Vendors freely operate within the urban space either by negotiated arrangement or through insurgent tactics. Sheds and (makeshift) containers are widely used here, especially adjoined to and private property.



Figure 5.49: Kiosks, containers and makeshift sheds along the tarred section of SSA (Author, 2018).

Operating on vacant private property on the city's edge appear to be another vending tactic. Remaining undeveloped private lands within the neighbourhood have either been partially fenced or left open. Vendors conceive this as a sign of non-commitment of the owner since such neighbourhood has reached "*sufficient development level*", and hence they view such spaces as viable vending options. "*Evictions are rear here,*" says an auto-lubricants vendor, "*you can set up a small shop, make it bigger and even bigger and relocate to somewhere else without ever been disturbed here.*" (Auto-lubricants vendor, 2018, personal communication).

5.5.5 Ease of operation along SAA

5.5.5.1 Mobile vendors

The separation of pedestrian and vehicular movement platforms has had little to no effect on segregating transient mobility and ambulatory vending activity along SSA. Introduction of impediment described in previous sections (fences, raised platforms, sheds) intermittently installed by private property owners/renters along the pavements inhibits effective utilisation of spaces by vendors. Hence, the provision of sidewalks or its reservations, without routine inspections for compliance to requirements satisfying its operations is akin to its absence from such urban environments, since the resulting actions by some actors restrict its principal function, facilitating movement.

Privately reshaping pedestrian ways affects ambulatory vendors differently. It restricts access of wheeled vendors primarily to the main thoroughfare given that their mobility patterns are inherently long-distance and transitory to the street. The sizes of wheelbarrows or carts added to the manner operational manner – being pushed at a pace faster than conventional vendor on foot – further disrupts the potential of using such pavement, due to pavement irregularities in size and shape. However, manoeuvrable qualities of foot vendors roaming along the street, make use of the pedestrian ways going door to door, until such obstacles are encountered. Occasionally, young (child) vendors exploit the spaces as play or resting areas during temporal immobility phase. Ambulatory vendor's disparity in pavement usage is therefore linked to availability, design and alterations, encouraging different modes reshaping spaces for personal performance. Hence the dominance of ambulatory exercises on the road, implicating roads surface treatment.

Amidst the untarred section where the levels for pedestrian and vehicular traffic falls below the already low tarred section, all mobile vendors freely operate without infringement from the public or residents. For mobile water vendor, the untarred section serves as anchorage due to

the location of dispensing terminal, allowing vendors congregate in numbers, fill their carts or rest. Low movements in conjunction with a swathe of space allow such spatial behaviour to manifest. Vendors experience negative mobile tendencies as the seasons change, especially during the rainy season when the ground conditions deteriorate. Hence, the condition that gives rise to the relative ease of operations is the same that inhibit mobility.

Along with the tarred areas of SSA where there is a higher number of users on the road – motorised and pedestrians off the pavements – mobile vendors engage with the public in a street ballet of people, machine and materials, utilising the thoroughfare concomitantly, mooting up momentary individual or group chaos due to the free-spirited nature of activities along SSA. The temporal disorderly environment produced according to vendors does qualitatively subjugates their operations which is revealed in comparison with the favourable environment. “The street can be better to accommodate our activities,” said an electronic vendor operating a cart, adding “the problem is when using the roads, there are a lot of activities going on and who goes where is not clear. Other neighbourhood like Shagari quarters, you can see everything clear [clear demarcations and structured environment]. This makes it easier. We don’t have to be going out of our way when doing business” (Electronic vendor, 2018, personal communication).

The notion of alienation despite the active participation of vendors along the SSA persist. Aside the criticism above at the scenes produced due to infrastructure inability to cater for all, some vendors argue for equality of all actors on good infrastructure, saying,

“...this [the road] is the only platform to go anywhere on the street. Cars, us [street vendors] and others all should share it equally because it is the only road, all are entitled to it. *No one is superior to another*. I am as much an indigene as any other person, so you can’t tell me whether I feel a sense of ownership of the street. The street belongs to the government and public...” (Mobile ice-cream vendor, 2018, personal communication)

However, when vending apparatus changes [from pans and carts] to motorised vehicles such as motorcycles and cars, the conformity of mobile patterns informs that suitability of mobile trade on SSA with vendors asserting that “the road is working well for vendors like me. We drive about and sell our products [traditional herbal medicine] in cars and can always pull over for a duration” (Traditional medicine vendor, 2018, personal communication).

5.5.6 General & specific challenges for mobile vendors along SSA & their adaptive strategies.

5.5.6.1 Alternative access adaptation

Giving the preceding general description of mobile vending pattern along SSA and its relationship to the quality of spaces, surfaces and obstruction, vendors use the main thoroughfare (road) as the primary mobility platform. The manner and impediment faced between the foot and wheeled vendors differ such as the variation in movement difficulty due to “*lack of tarred roads, especially during the rainy season*”. It follows, therefore, that adaptive strategies in such environment differ as well.

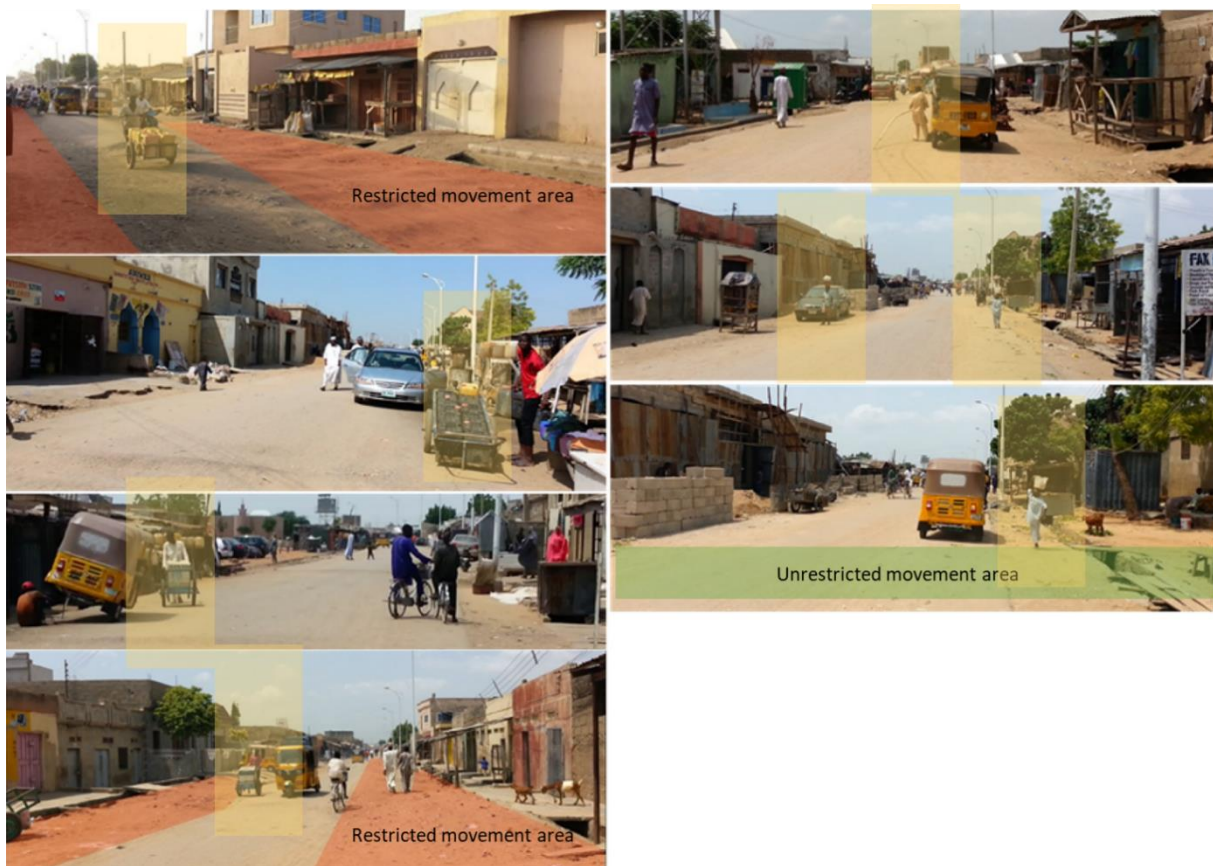


Figure 5.50: Showing range of space used by foot, cart and motorised vendor on SSA (Author, 2018).

Limitations inhibiting cart vendors access to pedestrian way forces movement along the thoroughfare as the sole platform for mobility, unlike vendors on foot's flexibility to move in between different interfaces. This further affects the adaptive performance, especially of vendors pushing weighted items such as water vendors. Because of the expended effort needed to push the cart, vendors are naturally inclined to seek for flattened surfaces, avoiding any form of undulations or disruptions. Cart vendors hence operate at the centre of the thoroughfare along SSA rather than the margins, where roads conditions though often favourable are qualitatively

inconsistent. Add roadside business and pedestrians utilising such spaces, the potential obstacle to navigate increases, continuously pushing vendor's mid-road, further reducing the range of space available to cart vendors in transition.

Foot vendors during transition have the entire width of the street to exercise different forms of mobile actions given their ability to navigate undulating surface while avoiding pedestrians and obstacles. This maximises their spatial range of action, allowing a higher degree of freedom and manoeuvrability lacking for wheeled vendors. However, when both foot and cart vendors are in a state of temporal immobility, i.e. a state of rest, they share common traits of spatial usage, operating at the margins such as road shoulder and covered drainage areas for making a sale. Cart vendors "park" the vending instruments (unlike along MM and DEL without little regard of the space it occupies) while those utilising pans set them down.

5.5.6.2 Exploratory movement

As a street with low pedestrian and vehicular traffic, effectively a quiet residential neighbourhood, vendors relying on public patronage have to readjust if they want to maximise this low traffic environment. And given the redistribution of people by the city to different places at different times, mobile vendors are exploring nodal vending locations dependent on time as an adaptation strategy. It entails vendors over time, mapping out potential vending spots to be exploited along the street and the neighbourhood. These spaces are nodes either by attracting people or serving as a gateway to other attractors such as an established formal business or another vending stop, negotiated before gaining access, thereby making them fundamentally differently from marginal spaces even if characteristically they share physical features. The space occupied by the adaptive vendor is central to the operation of the host's activities and therefore, does not require additional upgrade by the vendor before occupation, which is time-dependent. Having identified multiple locations, vendors move between these spaces. According to a vegetable vendor,

"operating along this street is good. There are lot of business and shops that I can take my fruits to and also stay there for more customers to come... after I finish here, I go into the market sell some there and wait for my afternoon rounds" (Vegetable vendor, 2018, personal communication).

This suggests a targeted approach to spatial occupations responding to the dynamism of the urban milieu, in this instance, the late afternoon hours (4-5 pm) when institutional working hours are ending. By locating his cart at an intersection in front of the cobbler's, the vendor

maximises his potential from the increased traffic. Other do not leave the flow of people to chance and thereby occupy areas with routinely period flow such as mosques, which for the three prayers performed during the vendors working hours ours, there is a constant flow of people. In between those praying hours, vendors explore other avenues, thereby increasing the potential for making sales.

5.5.7 Semi-mobile and stationary vendors

5.5.8 Ease of operation along SSA

Unlike MM and DEL where the distribution of vendors sways toward a single section of the street; exist along a single bank, or empty in large swath of lands, the SSA length of under investigation possess a stream of semi-mobile and stationary vending activities either as singular units or a constellation. The most representative of these activities are vendors operating from a shed, kiosk (moveable or not), and tables, configurationally leading the linear direction of the street. Haven saw the presence of mobile and semi-mobile vendors on-road restricted along MM partly due to the availability of vending space on the pavements and setback reservations but mainly due to the incessant presence of state policing instructions, and the contrary approach along DEL due to limited space leading to vendors operating on-street, SSA presents a unique case. The streets combine the presence of spatial reservations similar to MM though of lower quality (irregular pavements often lacking surface covering) and underutilised, and state coercive institution absence of DEL, creating unfettered access to potential vending locations. Such conditions are what vendors explore within the urbanscape and along SSA resulted in the perception of tenure security from vendors over public and private spaces. Such security is expressed in the form of territoriality and potential expansion measure, “it [the road] is alright. I have authority over my place, and no one interferes in my business. If I wish to change the location, I can easily. There is ample space for others to come and operate.”

Other vendors qualify this secure nature in dialectical relationship to another competing usage along the street, specifically movements. According to one vendor with a kiosk, “there are not that many vehicles passing through here but only people and motorcycles, then surely I can put my kiosk here [pavement reservation]... it [the kiosk] is not going to disrupt movement”. The ease of operating is therefore linked to the spatial location of vendor by “put[ting] kiosk here” and potential obstruction of pedestrian and vehicular traffic.

However, for both SMV and STV operating in front of vacant lands, the dynamism of public openness and private closeness is at play. While they acknowledge limitations around private lots such as “owner wanting to build” and “fence it to restrict access,” nevertheless it is incorporated as “hav[ing] ample space... to prevent stocks from choking up the shop” for STV and an extension of workspaces for SMV, especially food vendors.

Vendor’s opportunity for easily occupying, extending, or modifying vending spaces along SSA is associated with the spatial quality of that location and is often restricted sections with greater symbolism of state presence – availability of tarred roads, streets lights etc. – than in areas lacking. The presence of such social amenities indicates greater states responsibility even if institutionally and physically absent. This allows the problem of the commons to exist, encouraging growth in spatial operations.

However, in the section devoid of state presence, unequal access and managerial role exist, where property owners and renters restrict SMV and STV access, extensions and modification, acting as gatekeepers of the street. This is not an altruistic attitude towards maintaining the urban environment given that property owners and renters engage in informal activities/trading, or renting out public space. Vendors activities and potentials are therefore regulated by the hegemonic system created as a result of the state’s absence. Hence, some vendors, both SMV and STV, have resorted to occupying the thoroughfare. Though not affecting mobile practices of users, the spatial alterations in comparison with other vendors is an indication of the hegemonic power exerted on the vendors, before deploying to the commons. Regardless of the conditions under which vending manifests, the construction and architectural qualities across all sections of the road remain the same. Permanent vending apparatus such as kiosks and lean-to sheds are constructed locally using corrugated roofing sheets and timber posts.

5.5.9 General & specific challenges for SMV and STV along SSA & their adaptive strategies.

5.5.9.1 *Exploring Marginality*

Despite ample spaces (private and public) along SSA for vendors to exploit, marginal areas are still preferred as primary location. The prospect of managerial impositions on spaces whether controlled by the state or individuals play a crucial role in vendor’s location choice that allows for their continual spatial/urban practice. Despite the lack of sustained state presence to manage and enforce compliance, the presence of social amenities has delineated activity norms for the public space. As for the private sphere, where empty, the uncertainty regarding development prospects restricts its usage. According to an automobile lubricant vendor, “putting

my shop on a person's land that I don't know when he is going to evict us and lose out on spaces that I am sure no one owns would be careless." This concern is referred to by vendors citing construction of a shopping block adjacent to their location which had already resulted in the dislocation of other vendors. Despite this account, vendors often make use of private spaces for "day to day activities [servicing automobiles]... since we have already placed our shop where it is secure".



Figure 5.51: Row of kiosks in front of private lands/development (Author, 2018).

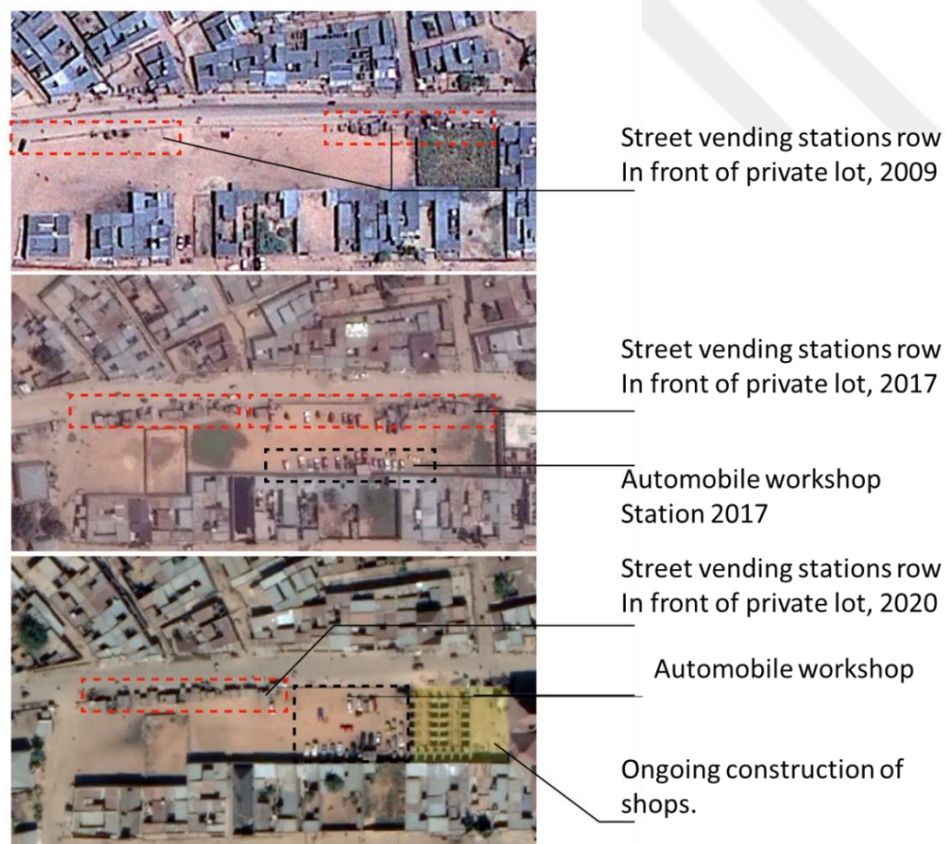


Figure 5.52: Vendors spatial occupations based on private development, (Author, 2019: adapted from google earth)

The question remains, where and how are these marginal spaces explored? Similar to those space identified as marginal along DEL, likewise here are the underutilised public spaces lying between the main thoroughfare and the building line. Though described as stretching marginality with regards, such spaces explored in DEL; here along SSA the space are described and explored for different reasons. First, the structure and composition of SSA of having setback and pedestrian reservations along the dual bank environment meant that other spaces for potential vending activities suggesting there is not an inherent reliance on marginal spaces. Second, whereas vendors along DEL stretch marginal spaces by placing kiosks, tables and other vending instruments on often makeshift drainage covers to first gain access before exercising territorial actions, along SSA vendors do not necessarily occupy the drainages, and therefore extending vending spaces does not require an addition to the urban environment. However, there are accessibility platforms that enable patron crossing over. Hence, to stretch/extend marginality, additions to the urban environment that create extra vending space is necessary, while in exploring no additional space is gained by the vendor. Put is another way, there spatial difference between stretching and exploring marginality is in the relative distance between the two with activities along the through fare, with stretching being closer and often being engaged on the road.

5.5.9.2 Attachment vending

Along the stretch already described as lacking necessary infrastructure as a tarred road, though the reservations are clearly marked, SMV and STV find difficulty operating along these areas. The sizes of stalls/kiosks/tables relative to the size of the roads and the setback areas enormous – ranging from 1.8-2.5 meters square/rectangular shaped – as to be placed along the street or setbacks without intruding on the areas under the informal control of adjacent house/shops (setback and sidewalks). Placing them on the road reservations though uncommon (only one vendor with the kiosk on the road) appears a short-term strategy and in isolation as to guarantee safety which is often achieved as a constellation.



Figure 5.53: Different characters' attachment vending (Author, 2018).

Vendors through negotiations with property and shop owners secure locations on the setbacks mostly adjoining the property, hence their names as *yan'attachment* (attached vendors) rather than the normal nomenclature *kama guri zauna* (squatters- inferring encroachment). These negotiations are not solely monetary; though they do exist. However, in cases where vendors have a relationship with the owners, negotiating access to space may be based on terms of usage (vending duration similar to a working day), assigned responsibility (sanitations duties of the properties front, keeping a watchful eye) and/or restricting the character of vending instruments (shed, kiosk or table allowed). Only after an agreed position is reached on the terms of vending operation, do vendors occupy these locations.

5.5.9.3 Space role reversal (exploit minimal formal vending spaces)

While vendors operating from the unset as informal actors have to explore spaces to operate, negotiate access, before establishing territoriality, others start from the position of formality cross into the informal arena due to amongst other things, limitations in space. Retail spaces between 2x2 to 3x3 meters are built in large parts to cater for small business, but occasionally unconventional such are auto-repair centres rent or secondary business grow from the primary ones. The incapability between the spatial requirements of such business and retail spaces are

played along the fore of such buildings, producing a distinct character and relationship with public space.

Along SSA, there are different business operations within this framework. While retail shops and small services providers such as tailoring, saloon and pharmacies use the public realm as a display for an automobile and building material business actively engage the realm as platforms of primary activity while the main let able become the secondary. Specific to automobile lubricant and repair vendors, the role reversal means that technical works are carried not in workshops, labs or covered areas but rather along the street often encroaching onto the main thoroughfare, whereas the interiors (formal rented spaces) become storage areas. In between, the marginal areas, a shed is constructed and likewise turned into a work area. These alterations are according to vendors, the lack of coordinated attentiveness to their spatial needs is responsible for their actions,

“We have no space that can cater for our activities. We require bigger spaces and even communal spaces rather than this individual shops we are renting. I also want to have shop that I am not disturbed and can keep my items knowing that other people can look after them for me since we are in the same profession and know the value of the objects.”

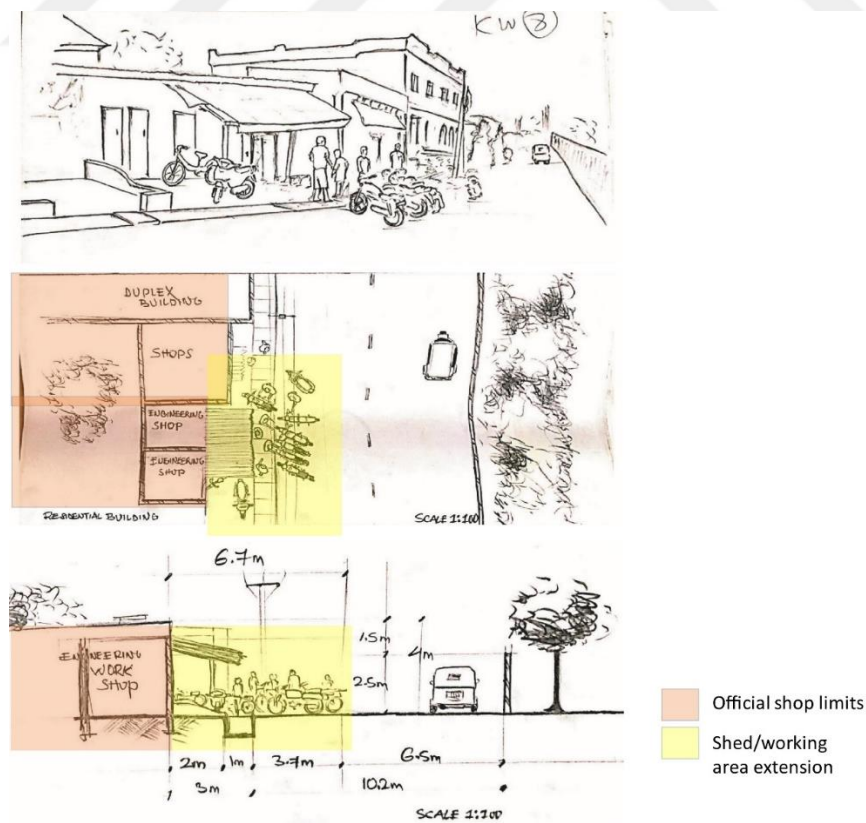


Figure 5.54: Auto repair shop utilising the street as a workshop while the interior as a store, (Author,).



Figure 5.55: Top – Auto repair shop and building material vendor operating along the street, while bottom – local meat grilling stand constructed by the roadside (Author, 2018).

These role reversals are at play over a varying duration. While mechanics operate on a daily basis, vacating public space at 6-7 pm depending on daylight, material vendor's duration is tied to merchandise complete sale. Hence, heaps of sands and gravels are dumped on the road, sold and/or replenished prior to finishing. This creates a permanent outlook for material along the street. Hence, role reversal can have the effect of a transient activity and or permanent fixture within the urbanscape, depending on a business engaged.

Table 2: Summary of the case along each street and their corresponding adaptive strategies.

		Streets		
		MM	DEL	SSA
Street character and adaptation strategies.	NoC	2	1	1
	Roads	Width	Street min/max	30/30
			10/13	7.3/11.5
			Road min/max	22/22
			8/10	6/7.5
		Surface covering	Tarred	Tarred
		Street symmetry	■	—
	Pavements	Availability	■	—
		Surface covering	■	—
		Pavement's Shape	Regular	Irregular
		Universal accessibility	—	—
	Setback	Availability	■	□
		Surface covering	—	—
		Shape of setback		
		Universal accessibility	■	—
Adaptation strategies	Transitory/fleeting (moving)	• Alternate platform adaptability.	• Self-regulatory movement	• Targeted DM
		• Safe zones of stay.	• Focused DM.	• Alternate platform adaptability
		• Targeted DM.		
		• Focused DM.		
		• Sporadic SM.		

Spatial	Incremental growths	- Marginal space exploration - Stretching marginal zones (vertical and lateral) - Sequential spatial occupation	- Exploring nodal vending locations - Third spaces adaptation. - Marginal space exploration - Attachment or association. - Spatial role reversal
Architectural	- Visually appealing structures or conceal “otherness” practice. - Upgrade as boundary tool - Colours, branding & MNCs associations - Flexible design and Movable vending instrument - Standardised vending instruments for max. Utilisation of space.		
Temporal (time-dependent)			

Noc- number of carriages

Universal accessibility is for vendors both mobile and stationary

5.6 Theorising street vendor’s movement modalities as adaptation

Within the daily mundaneness of SV activities – constantly morphing – it is easy to misrepresent an individual’s movement pattern. It takes seconds for a vendor to cross an intersection and disappear from the scene; swerve of pavement and onto the road; or make a sale thereby changing the definitions of their activities. This temporariness is essential in distinguishing between the different movement, and as Bunschoten (2003: 59) posits, it is within the metaspaces “we can see [this] temporality.” Using Cresswell’s (2010) sub-movement categorisations of speed and rhythm, which delineate act of mobility beyond its primary intent and exposes the hidden politics in movement, the following discussion will show the different types of SV mobility pattern within the urban place.

• Focused destination movement (FDM)

Focused destination movement (FDM) of vendors is defined as a mobility pattern that is intended and will eventually end at a single destination of activity. Vendors partaking in such movement are mostly those selling peculiar goods and their target location areas of proximity to their target market or where similar vendors congregate, creating a culture associating vendors with space. Mexico’s Coyoacan Historical Centre is an example where according to

Crossa (2013) an intellectual identity grew through a combination of the intelligentsia constant presence and street art vendors and creative performances (Crossa, 2013). Hence, vendors operating within niche markets move in a fashion that directs their daily route straight to such spaces. This destination determined tunnel vision mobility is expressed in forms such as

“If I make any sale along my way that will be good, but I am just passing through here to get there [BATA]”

“We come twice a day to this platform and display our goods.”

Put simply; the determination to reach the intended location is comparable to the opportunities present at the location. This is evident from multiple trips taken by above vendor to a specific location. It would seem; therefore, vendors on FDM, reaching the target destination represent the principal activity, paramount to opportunistic sales along the way, which are still entertained but not actively sort after.

Vendors observed avoided hostile encounters with authorities when moving through the city's thoroughfare by mostly mimicking the city desired mobility pattern, i.e., a case of vendor's “mobile practices conform[ing] to the representations that surround them” (Cresswell, 2010: 20). In areas with established infrastructure such as MM, this means using the sidewalks, crossing streets at non-disruptive /designated points and not loitering around reserved areas. However, in infrastructure deprived areas (lacking either sidewalk, tarred roads or clear street demarcations) such as DEL and SSA, effective negotiation of paths sufficed, interchanging between platforms along the street with the same fixated thrust on reaching and operating destination. Hence, FDMs are unconditioned by the quality of the platform, exhibiting signs of Gehl's (2011) necessary activity. While such acts do not ooze of resistance, it is crucial to understand in Kano it is the vendor (ambulatory and non-ambulatory) that is considered a (potential) threat rather than the perceived illegality of activity embarked upon (CitiesAlliance, 2009) despite attempts of co-optations and vending ban (Olofu, 2014). By adopting a spirited-city-type sanctioned movement, vendors are adapting to the peculiarities of the environment and the potential threat/illegality of the activity is masked under the framework of good-citizenry, thereby evading the reach of the law. While such mobility can be characterised as cajoled, nevertheless, vendors navigating and operating within the sites between sanctioned mobility (a visible character of the city) and law enforcement creates the trading opportunities.

- Targeted destination movement (TDM)

During a lifetime of vending operation, one is bound to make acquaintances that often become return customers on a timely basis depending on the product/service provided. This is supported by Robson's (2004: 205) findings in Zarewa, at the outskirts of Kano that "children who regularly hawk the same goods often establish a routine to maintain a pool of customers". Likewise, the city's dynamism which often shuffles people across locations during specific times creates hot vending spots. Vendors that often exploit this dynamic urban nature, going to specific places at a precise time – offering services and products – engage in targeted destination movement.

TDM is neither dependent on the specific vending locations nor an agglomeration of vendors peddling similar product to operate but instead hinges on targeting frequent buyers in their locations by "going to different places depending on where the customers are [which] depends on the time of the day" (Fruits vendor, 2018, personal communication). In such TDM, time proves a crucial component. It sustains the constant ambience within the city during the day as vendors partake in movements, delivering products/services which are time specific to different locations. For example, food vendors mostly go-rounds twice – mornings and middays, while others do multiple rounds. As a vendor describes it, "after I finish here [selling to customers along the street], I [will] go into the market sell some there, then and wait for my afternoon rounds" (Vegetable vendor, 2018, personal communication).

As time conditions the distribution of people; likewise, it affects mobility (and in turn, the mode of TDM adaptability). This is evident in the varying hastiness implored during morning/evening hours against midday's. Opening hours of the day started lacking urgency, and TDM vendors reflect this slowness via casual movement. This same attitude was reflected in the evenings. It is important to note that as observed within these hours (7:00 am -9:30 am), there was no police presence at the studied scenes. However, during the midday's, as streets buzz with traffic and police presence managing public conduct – which increased chances of harassing informal workers – TDM vendors pace sped up, thereby shortening their otherwise elongated presence along the thoroughfares. This combination of speedy and non-loitering attitudes (as other vendors), i.e. transitoriness preserves TDM vendors continued operational presence in public spaces, overcoming the informality, illegality and potentially criminality labels that would otherwise eviscerate them from the city's life.

- Sporadic (stop) destination movement SDM

This is the type of movement most associated with vendors where they appear to be in constant helter-skelter movement. Vendors here are micro-business owners, ubiquitous within the city but cannot pull enough potential buyers to a specific location, therefore rely on pursuing all places for customers. Their sporadic nature can be contained within a junction, square, street or over a larger geographical area. Despite these swaths of spaces, vendors acknowledge they face “difficulty [in] finding a place that suits [their vending] business” and have to “keep staying at different spaces” for varying amount of time.

The duration spent in a particular location while engaging in an SDM depends on the location. Between vendors operating at intersections and those along the streets, there was a difference of more than 20 minutes in their activities in any single location. At the junctions, vendors say they spent 20-30 minutes in a single location while those operating along the street spend 1-3 minutes at a single location (though it can get up to 5 from observations). These protracted stays, especially at junctions where often a traffic warden (police) is stationed, constitute a threat to vendors who must navigate the roads marketing their products. Also, the sporadic nature of vendors is heightened at junctions by the back and forth movements between the point of sale (roads) and merchandise storage area (sidewalks), which act as foci for the vendors, determining the distances they can explore during sales without leaving their goods unattended.

To avoid the potential of punitive measures while maintaining their strategic locations, vendors employ temporality. This includes short stays on the thoroughfare while traversing quickly between cars at a red light. As car/tricycles come to a halt, vendors descend from their ‘secluded’ area, i.e. sidewalks, road shoulder or bridge footings, and march downwards away from the traffic lights/police, navigating through cars. As observed specifically along MM, the police/traffic wardens are usually preoccupied with the other moving vehicular traffic, placing the vendor at their blindside. This should not suggest that the police are unbeknown of the vendor’s whereabouts, but rather that the vendors on their momentary road occupation are most often in the blindside of authority.

Time available for vendor’s operation is dependent upon the structure of the junction (e.g. cross or T-junction) and the time allocated for other lanes to cross. Cross junction affords more vending time than 3-way junction since it takes longer for the right of way to return a stopped lane on which the vendors considered are operating. Despite relative availability of time, vendors speed up activities, exhibiting products when passing vehicles, only stopping when

making a sale or noticing passenger attention locked on their goods. Put another way, the essence of their entire action is predicated on moving from the head to the tail of the traffic, making their items visible repeatedly over the trading day.

- Self-regulatory movement (SRM)

All the preceding modalities described above have dealt with the question of movement as a precursor to making more sales and their performance – insofar as they are tactical or strategic – seeks to serve that the ends, profits. SRM changes this perspective. Essentially it is a movement that seeks to reduce clogs at (potentially) conflicts points along a road. Such a practice diverges from the previous three since SRM primary purpose is not only the sale but offer more public spaces temporarily for other users. Often as in the case here, vendors move 10s of meters from a particular location until the crowd subsides before returning.

Self-regulation acknowledges that space, a shared resource, is insufficient to cater for vendor's individual needs while persistent territorial claim might cause rift among vendors, hindering communal benefit. As some vendors claim, no group can “assert claims of a particular space,” adding all vendors “have to coexist and operate in harmony.” This search for harmonious relationship varies, however constant movement about the periphery of this space interjected by short stays provides open access to all vendors and reducing conflicts.

Self-regulation movement exhibits a rhythmic character when responding to vehicular and pedestrian overflow. All through the trading day, vendors, pedestrians and vehicular traffic organically crisscross the street without a definite pattern. For a particular moment in a day, vendors' movement appears in synchronisation with other pedestrians (i.e. students along DEL). Though the motive is forced, not by the state, vendors have an acute understanding regarding the consequences which might befall if such valuable vending position were to be characterised as problematic. However, by employing this short mobile pattern which involves 3-4 vendors, the vending space is saved possible hostile actions by both citizen and authorities delayed.

5.7 Conclusion

Vendor's relationship with spaces, urban compositions and other formal and informal activities appears as unsettling – an antagonistic as well as supportive relationships. These three components significantly affect vendors access to space and their operations, thereby eliciting different kind of strategic response, which are not dissimilar across the three streets in question.

Vendor's adaptation, as discussed above based on movement, spatial exploration and management, negotiation with other actors, and spatial occupation appears consistent across the three distinct streets. Infrastructure difference in availability and quality, sizes of the thoroughfare, road shoulders and setbacks, neighbourhood spatial density, have conceptually prompted similar actions from vendors. What is different in SV response is the specificity of the actions such as the movement nature, which is dependent on the preference of location for sale, as well as other conditions. The alternative adaptive route explored by vendors which is present across all the streets demonstrates the similarity of infrastructure problems and response.

Likewise, movement temporal suspension, which occurs during and at the end of transactions raises the question of spatial utility. Spaces (roads, sidewalks and *inbetweens*) for the vendors are dynamic and malleable artefacts with capability of transitioning from mobility purposes; to be extended even if they are physically delimited (as in the case of SV using vending instruments to maximise sidewalk usage); converted from one (or non-use) to another, or even restricted. For the vendor, spaces facilitate transactions and support non-transactional purposes occurring during the day.

For non-mobile vendors (SMV and STV), adaptations often take the form of a co-existence and appropriation of underutilised areas and rarely that of encroachment. By modifying tables, kiosks and sheds, or employing movable instruments, design and spatial managements are employed by vendors in maximising usage of public areas. Increasing ground covering in marginal spaces and or setting up temporary vending instruments, spaces become flexible and elastic at the same time. This means the adaptation procedure revises the fixity of spatial conception.

On the other hand, adaptation serves two purposes for non-mobile vendors, by allowing greater access to spaces unlike with mobile vendors where the adaptations are not as permanent, and second, the continued expansion of those spaces. This can be seen within the incremental growth attitude, especially as detailed concerning food vendors. Such expansive approach, however, has not been found as obstructing vehicular movement along any street. It though interacts with non-motorised movement, especially pedestrians. Nevertheless, it breaks free from the normative conception of informal activities in urban environments.

Vendors adaption as observed shows an intriguing aspect of spatial negotiation and management, as well as interaction with coercive state agencies, presenting a dynamic picture of an unsettled urban environment and concurrently far from the narratives of city vision.



Chapter 6

PROFESSIONAL AND USER PERCEPTION, AND CONSEQUENCES ON STREET VENDING ACTIVITIES IN KANO.

6.1 Introduction.

In this chapter, this thesis seeks to identify professionals and users view regarding the activities and adaptation characteristics outlined within the previous chapter to ascertain that range of opinion, where they converge and diverge between the actors who are in constant entanglement with street vendors, though in a different manner. Whereas the professional (city and town planners, architects, and urban designers) are in a perpetual state of futuristic analysis of the city together with schemes development and implementation, users (pedestrians and motorist), the largest contingents interacting within vendors are buying, honking, avoiding and colliding with vendors routinely, and hence posing a selection challenge for participant. As discusses in the methodology section, professional participants were limited to officials of KANUPDA and users selected from different non-randomised sampling technique.

Designers of KANUDPA, conditioned by professional obligation and institutional culture, had a discourse engulfed with rules, standards, visions, responsibilities, hygiene, and protection. These views have become paramount that a substantial majority of the professionals despite recognising the importance of the informal sector to the individual and as a distribution network express certainty on the improbability of integration within the urban fabric alongside other formal entities. Justifications for reaching this conclusion are based on the incongruences of the city's corridors serving as the "lungs of the city" and the spatial exercises of informal actors characterised as clogging the cities arteries. Inferring from the physiological metaphor is the belief by professional of the potentially fatal consequence of the city should vendors be incorporate. Their assessments discountenance with Alexander (1964) thesis of cities that fail to reflect social emphasis within its physical domain, i.e. artificial cities, are the ones in fact (on the brink of) dying due to the insistence on separation both of people and activities, rather than entangling spatial relationships. Hence, while Alexander is elaborating on city functions via incorporations, professional within the ranks of KANUPDA are advocating for hostile spatial actions as will be shown in the following sections.

However, exceptions do exist within the organisations. On the fringes, there are professional, albeit in the minority, who do not subscribe to the advocated institutional hostile policies. Entering the debate from a different perspective, they argue for (a systematic) incorporation of

informal actors in three ways by (i) purposeful designs that see vendors explore their spatial advantages, or (ii) expanding the existing commercial areas, i.e. markets and trading clusters within the city and ensuring that vendors are relocated with force if necessary. What differentiates the individuals advocating for such policies is their initial conception of informality vis-à-vis the city. Those of the former opinions see “informality [as part] of our reality” indicating that other southern countries are embracing the phenomenon “to increase the life of the city especially for foreigners” (personal communication, November 2018) whereas those suggesting informal actors be placed within established market spaces are due to the resignation to the fact of institutional unwillingness to solve vending issues despite repetitive attempts. These two classes of professional – those that see value even if marginal and those that don’t – given the world views and subsequent thematic analysis of the interviews expressed ranges of opinion which are also the subject of further exploration of this chapter. Such ideas include the street vending and their adaptations as:

- I. Architectural and spatial realities
- II. Impediments to city design (can be rehab)
- III. Impediments to mobility and aesthetics (eradicate) and finally,
- IV. Urban nuisance, health and safety concerns.

The above four themes represent the range of opinion regarding street vending activities by professional architect and planners within KANUPDA.

Conversely, users drawn from the public expressed similar takes regarding vendors and their adaptability strategies. Viewing the phenomenon mostly from a socio-political perspective, users regard the vendors as the products of state and institutional failing, emphasising what informality represents to the participants, a safety net. Despite being sympathetic to the plight of the urban poor, users do not exclusively share view positive view towards the vendor. Depending on the context, users were quick to dissociate with informal actors, especially regarding visual appeal and obstruction of mobility, with emphasis on vehicular disruption rather than the pedestrian kind. Likewise, there are inclining of vendor’s activities serving as a nuisance, especially mobile vendors, associating the cleanness of the environment with waste mismanagement. All the stated user views yet corresponds to those of professionals, however, and crucial are the two views where they differ, (i) expression of informal activities equal participants in the urban melee and (ii) recognition of informal activities as essential to the performance of the city even if not regarded or seen on equal footing with the formal enterprise. The implication of such conceptions to designs is rather radical than views expressed by

professional. First, if the views are of equal footing or serving as the crux to the financial, social and political stability of the state, then the entire modernistic system that hegemonies and characterised extra-formal functions as the other will be subject to a rethink to a more inclusive design principle. Secondly, these suggest that users possess a broader scope of informal conception (at least in Kano) than the professionals saddled with the responsibility and curating the city, implicating perception frames by which people/organisation conceive informal activities. Below is a list of categories by which users view street vendors and their adaptability;

- I. Co-commuters and co-operators
- II. Urban actors/agents
- III. Business operators
- IV. Impediments to mobility and aesthetics (eradicate)
- V. Urban nuisance, health and safety concerns.

The above assessment between professionals and users produces three realms of discussion, namely, points of exclusivity, similarities and equivalence. The table below shows the relationship between the categories of views and their dimensions. In the following sections, the details of the table are explained in detail.

Table 3: A matrix of professional and user views regarding vendors.

Triggers	Professionals	Users	Realms/dimensions	Formal/informal parity	
Self-recognition	-	Co-commuters/operators	Exclusivity/divergence	parity	
Legitimisation	-	Urban actors/agents		Non-parity but important to the group	
Neutral	Economic & spatial realities	Business operators	Similarities/convergence	Non-parity but can be lived with	
Obstruction	Impediments to city design	-		Formal superiority (rehab)	
	Impediments to mobility and aesthetics		Equivalence/singularity	Formal superiority (eradicate)	
Threat	Urban nuisance, health and safety concerns.				

Degree of reduction in positive attitude towards street vendors

6.2 Professional and users view on vending, patterns of adaptation and integration.

6.2.1 Exclusivity/divergence dimension

Views expressed within this dimensions are exclusively those of users, i.e. in other words, the ideas, language concepts, and visions of the city espoused are in divergence to those of the professionals. Here, users view street vendors as positive/productive actors prevailing despite state action or the socio-political zeitgeist, which stirs conflict and resistance. Views espoused can be classified into two categories, namely; the vendors as co-producers, co commuters and co-operators, and second as an urban actor/agent.

6.2.1.1 *Vendors as co-producers, co commuters and co-operators*

View of users here regarding vendors is always expressed in associations with oneself, relating activities of vendors within the context of engaging in similar predisposition were the respondents to encounter similar circumstance. Particular to those expressing this view are visibly low-income pedestrians, suggesting that it is the lower class that expresses this self-recognition, since ownership of a motor vehicle is a sign of higher socioeconomic standing, given the car to population ratio is at 0.6 (NBS, 2019).

The general conception around street vending is expressed as “an occupation to provide for their families like any other”, “a daily source of income unlike waiting for salary at the end of the month” and occasionally expressed as “a skills development regime for future endeavour”. Users implore these arguments as a justification for the need of continual existence of street vendors until a better prevailing economic situation arrives that can transform vending work, vending conditions or superior alternatives either within the formal or informal sector. However, in the absence of such conditions, street users see vendors as co-partners within the city’s affairs, articulated through the utilitarian function vending serves to the general public. According to some interviewed,

“Everybody has a duty in Kano. Some go to the industry and work, others to the office, others to the market buy and sell merchandise while these people [vendors] engage in petty trading serving those in a hurry. All activities contribute towards development of the city or at the very least become independent... In any case ours [carpentry] and theirs are being productive to our society” (Road user 3, 2019, personal communication)

Stressing the utility function of vendors, another commuter discloses their importance to the communities they operate within, saying

“much of the products supplied here [along DEL] are brought by shop owner and *yan'talla* [vendors]. However, apart from those that provide services such as tailoring and saloons, all the shop sell groceries. This limits the diversity in products required for a large community like this. We have kids that go to school, they need books, and we don't have bookshops, and we require other specialist products that no one is willing to set a store here because is in not a GRA (Government Reserved Areas), and because people don't buy them often, the shops don't bring them... we, therefore, rely on these kiosks and small vendors who bring them in small quantity or on request when you place one with them” (RU 4, 2019, personal communication).

Such view of vendors within neighbourhoods and city centres influences the perception of vending character by urbanites. Pedestrians brush aside negative characterisations of vendors, whether mobile or stationary in different contexts, declaring that it is neither the biggest problem within the vicinity of the activity nor cause of vendors. Such opinion becomes glaring with regards to user's opinion on MV disruption, both vehicular and pedestrian mobility along the different study areas. First, along MM where as described in Chapter 5 possesses street facilities such as sidewalks and road dividers unlike DEL and SSA, MV disruption on the traffic flow was minimal since their activities are dependent on the lane coming to a halt. Such analysis associates the two mobilities as inverse, “when vendors are moving, the cars are immobile” and vice versa. Respondents picture of the transactional relationship existing between the vendors and motorists can be inferred to be only at the point of a stationary sale, since as observed vendors often chase tricycles, taxis and buses even after given the right of way to proceed.

On the contrary, this picturesque technique is not employed within the justification of vendors actions along areas deprived of clear spaces for potential operations. Indeed, as already established, DEL street was an infill infrastructure limited in minimum requirement of a standardised thoroughfare (not even street). At the same time, SSA lacks tarred and smooth surfaces within crucial segments and given the lack of a major intersection that brings vehicular movement to a halt; the previous argument would not stick. Respondents in here adopt the Co mechanism, here co-commuting stating,

“Everybody coming here on foot, machine [motorcycle] or a car has only this space to move. There isn't any alternative that distinguishes cars from people. This is what we have been provided for; therefore, all will use it. Also, because their business requires going to many places, then everyone has to manage. We all are moving, aren't we?” (RU 3, 2019, personal communication).

Aside from referencing the lack of infrastructure which mandates co-commuting, other public space users project the right to exploit the space to MV. This sentiment within the context of SSA is unsurprising given there are multiple enterprises that perform their activities along the thoroughfare, akin to Edensor's (1998) description of Indian streets. When an auto-mechanic responded, the characterisations took an associative manner,

“I, that occupy space and many like me see no issue with small traders operating alongside us... their business is always short and hardly affects peoples movement... [as for cars] they do not speed, this is a neighbourhood and not a highway so they can't say they are being disturbed... every vehicle moves slowly [through the neighbourhood] and pass. No one is disturbing traffic here” (Auto-mechanic, 2018, personal communication).

However, when it comes to the visual composition of informal enterprises along all the streets, users express their dismay at the lack of visual standards and measurements, material standards and “*kamanin zamani*”²¹. Contrasting the makeshift kiosks, sheds, tables with the industrialised booths supplied to authorised MNC vendors and the colourfully painted shipping containers used by vendors with higher income, respondents posit that the visual appeal of the SMV and STV has the potential to be better. The respondent argued that the predominantly “zinc kiosks” could have utilised local artist to upgrade the colours of their stalls/kiosks even if purchasing industrial made is beyond their financial capabilities.

What is significant here is pedestrians and other user's willingness to critic the visual characteristics of street vending instruments rather than the practice of SV itself. It appears there is a presumption that critiquing aesthetics poses no real existential threat to vendors with which respondents have been self-identifying with. While such attempts might seem tactical, it is more likely to be a self-preservation strategy since the respondent identifies with informal actors and to a large extent are likely to have family and acquaintance working as petty traders. Finally, this stage respondents view on vendors represent the highest positive view in which they are held.

6.2.1.2 Vendors as urban actors/agents

Second to self-recognition in vendors by street users is their characterisation as urban actors or agents. A staked shift forms an overtly interested, emotional, personal affiliation to the vending

²¹ An expression loosely translated as a contemporaneous look or contemporaneous visual character.

community, respondent within this opinion range postulate an inclusionist and reformist attitudes seeking to legitimise SV activities. By recognising the limitations imposed upon the vendors via instituted enforcement regimes, users employ phrases such as “they warrant”, “they ought to be” and “it should be” as a means of expressing counterfactual scenarios describing conditions under which a maximum number of SV within Kano should operate. Two crucial distinctions between the respondents with the previous section are essential here. While respondents who self-identify are mostly homogeneous and especially of the lower class, here, the participants are heterogeneous – a mixture of pedestrians, homeowners and motorist²². Second, while both categories of respondents acknowledge the importance of vending to informal actors, respondents here do not conceive it as par with the formal enterprise as those who self-identify. Hence the terminology of urban actors, to dissociate the group from the vendors. This has led to the expression of views regarding SV as,

“necessary to the sustenance of many [in the city], and possess the capacity for uplifting many lives... [and] they should be supported through patronage” (RU 1, 2019, personal communication).

A motorist who had stopped for to repair a flat tire said,

“We would all love to go to a modern repair shop with gadgets, specialised spaces and all, but at what cost? This service is readily available across the city and cheap... they [vendors] should be helped to reach that standard or at least keep on upgrading” (RU 9, 2019, personal communication).

While another individual sitting in front of his property amidst vending activities suggested,

“There are levels of activities to cater to different people. Even in the markets, different products are targeted at different categories of market... and recently we are seeing shopping malls which the rich patronise and for the poor, *Kwari and Kurmi* [local open-air markets] there for them. This is why local petty trading exists, to serve a section of our people. They might not be fancy... but they are effective” (RU 8, 2019, personal communication).

The views above by respondents distinguishing the capacity within formal and informal enterprise becomes crucial when acknowledging the potential disruptions caused by informal

²² The observation here is limited to concluding whether this reflects the opinion of the entire city due to the sampling technique and the number of respondents and is solely reported here for the purpose of exploring vendor’s views.

actors. Unlike self-identification, which breeds parity between the two operational frames and obscuring the iniquities of informal actors, legitimisation employs iterative process. Respondents understand the spatial consequences of SV activities along the major streets such as MM, citing accidents as a potential danger for commuters and young vendors.

“Frequently, you will hear reports of *achaba* [commercial motorcycle] hitting children selling pure water at the junctions mostly running onto the streets without looking” (RU 2, 2019, personal communication).

However, such acknowledgement does not lead to calls for punitive measures against the entire SV but rather corrective measures such as “stopping children from selling on the busy streets” and “providing a shed for both young and older vendors to stop them from been hit”. However, the emphasis for these group of respondents was on SMV and STV because of their scale-able potential as against microenterprises of MV. Along MM, indication of relative safety of vendors is prominent due to their relative location away from the major streets. Users proclaim that “vendors [here] are supporting [read: complimenting] the business around” adding that “provi[sion] of catering services to workers and marketers, and light industrial activities boosts the around economy” (RU 2 and 8, 2019, personal communication), and for that reason they are convinced of their need within that vicinity, arguing that taking them out would be of detriment to the productivity of the CBD.

Respondents, however, deride the spatially logic of street activities. “The chaotic arrangements put me off from exploring areas I am not familiar with” a customer at a telecommunication post said. Upon further inquiry, it becomes apparent that the effects of STV actions on the quality of the mobility interfaces are crucial in user’s perception of vending.

“From the road to this shop, you have to be stepping over puddles... [and] avoiding loose objects on the floor, and this is the dry season... Consider the rainy season when movement becomes difficult... because the floor is bare and gets muddied” (RU 2, 2019, personal communication)

Another user said, “carrying items [cushions] through these narrow winding paths is no small feat” (RU 1, 2019, personal communication). Both respondent agree that regularising the spaces and government intervention as pavements and drainage facilities could improve user experience, and hence intensifying the calls for regularisation. As for stationary vendors along narrow paths, especially DEL, suggest the spatial limitations within the neighbourhood has curtailed site selection for kiosk owner. Whereas table and stands can fit within a relatively

small space without being detrimental to overall mobility, there is need for space be created for kiosks, especially through the occupation of road shoulders at the wider ends of the street.

Architecturally, there is an inclination towards belief in natural progression amongst respondents. “They [vendors] will keep investing in their stalls if there is certainty of continuous operation” since their operations are in part dependent on the quality of the vending instrument. The argument goes that fragrant colours, sound structure, space and security add positively to the vendor’s enterprises by attracting more people. While this assertion by users’ rest upon the observation of vendors upgrading their stalls as their income grows, uncertainty in tenure is delaying the progression of the process.

“People are most likely not investing in upgrading their kiosks. Imagine spending money on a shiny surface and artworks [on kiosk’s surfaces] only to be asked to move. You [vendors] have to begin to move to another place, and you know that your stall will be damaged by those moving them. They don’t care for people’s properties. Tell me then why they should make all those expensive upgrades now” (RU 3, 2019, personal communication)

Such is justification for performative action of vendors within Kano with users arguing that it is the systemic infringements are hindering what is essentially a critical part of the city’s function. As vendors seek to progress, the impediments along the path either through enforcement or neglect becomes barriers upon, which according to the users, vendors are persevering and relatively striving. Vendor’s adaptive strategies either through mobility, adding to the components of the urban environment or negotiated settlements, serve as markers legitimising vendor’s activities. In so doing, the views expressed within this range of opinion will standardise the practice of SV, and symbiotically improves the state and informal actors.

6.2.2 Convergence/similarity dimension.

Until now, the discussion has been dominated by user’s experience of SV due to the diverging views with the professionals. However, within this converging realm, KANUPDA professionals and commuters begin to share SV views regarding informal activities. First, is the conscious departure from arguments that seek to legitimise SV activities as crucial to Kano’s landscape, to the resignation of administrative failure in eradicating the phenomenon, therefore warranting a spatial and policy inclusion – even if temporary. Users and professionals here can be described as having a dispassionate view of SV, and not equating informality to formal enterprise. Views here are termed under economic/spatial realities, a neutral descriptor.

The second category is the professional view of vendors as impediments to city design, a view arising from formal practise supremacy.

6.2.2.1 Economic & spatial realities

Planners, architects and commuters distinctive view of SV involves the realisation that such activities have become ubiquitous within the city. This is brought about by two ways either through the conception of vending operations have become entrenched within the city to have metamorphosed into dominant social and economic force; and via recognition of institutional (planning, economic and social) limitative capacity, real or imposed. Technical limitations which inhibit the latest documentation of vending locations together with financial and manpower deficiencies constitute part of the real institutional limitations (Dankani, 2003). However, “civil servant... not hav[ing] the government’s backing” in carrying out their function either by openly suppressing their ability or through “empowering people [and] buying all their working instrument” (P16, 2 & 3, 2018, personal communication) without providing adequate and necessary space constitute imposed limitations. Therefore, formative vending views of planners/architects is a response to the tensions within the political and institutional city administration, manifesting in the bifurcation along spatial coherence,

“there are some areas for examples GRA [that] doesn’t need vendors. All people within GRA doesn’t [sic] patronize street vendors, but people within the organic development do patronize street vendors because they are more low-class phenomenon. In GRAs, people do go to supermarket stores to buy products or to even buy product online, but in local settlement, people do consider those little or small amount of goods to buy. We have to see them [vendors] in this way” (P4, 2018, personal communication).

Vending view here escapes the dominant utilitarianism by been situated within their existing morphological setting. This is because if as proclaimed vending is unnecessary within planned neighbourhoods then eradicating vendors or pre-empting and preventing future occurrence becomes a matter of overcoming real institutional challenges that will spur a rapid regularisation of old settlements and the construction of new ones. However, given that these limitations exist, others view vendors as simply activities “here to stay for a while”. According to a junior town planning officer,

“petty traders have not been a serious priority for successive administrations. As their number keeps increasing, all we do is been asked to design new [government] layouts

to be allocated to connected people within the city for money or as repayment for political work done. Not once have I been engaged to discuss the trading problem. That is why I say it is here to stay, and we have to accept it until something changes” (P4, 2018, personal communication).

Views on SV continue to strenuously stray way from the vending act as expressed above with the perception of users. Whereas professional insists on drawing their views from their professional limitations, user’s emphasises the status quo of vending as the new normal arguing vendors “form a large portion of the businesses and are merely operators” said a motorist, adding “they have become so entrenched that people have adjusted to them” (RU 9, 2019, personal communication).

Users and professionals employ neutral descriptors that do not suggest the promotion nor elimination of vending when constructing their view on the phenomenon. However, the neutrality borne from situational confinements dissipates in describing the visual, spatial and architectural character of vendors. Dominant within the discourse of professionals is emphasising vendor’s infringements as “encroachment of the roads” and utility easements. Placed within the planning frame, professionals indicate that the state allocates 30meters as the street width for major roads and “if [it] did not do anything with the remaining 7.5 [either side], you will see people encroaching onto the space provide for this road and all this utility” (P3 & 7, 2018, personal communication). Hence, encroachment is attributed to lack of sustained traffic law enforcement and government “not tak[ing] informal activity into development of our cities”. Such views dominate the professional realm since according to other officials “provi[sion] for movement of people, goods, services, utility lines and the street furniture... both hard & soft landscapes” is their primary role (P10, 11, 12 & 16, 2018, personal communication).

Mobile vendors are regarded by professional as “serial offenders” at encroaching into the traffic despite the transient nature of their activities. However, it is their visual presence that is detested. Because MV tend to agglomerate along the highway’s intersection (as described in chapter 5) and are perceived as wretched, their practice hence is an affront to the image KANUPDA is attempting to fashion. And rather than attempting to expunge these activities, the professional narrative is shaped as being detrimental to the vendors,

“There is a difference when you see the traders, some use decorated design ... either case [box] or wheelbarrow but some use local one... They both attract customers in terms of [read; depending] neatness or designs... The one that doesn’t even sanitize his outfit also distract customer. If you [read: vendor] don’t bathe or wash their clothes or you [read: vendor] don’t decorate your structure, customer cannot be able to patronize your product as much as those that look nice” (P4, 2018, personal communication).

Another planning official opined that “decorated and neat vendors within the GRA have no problem staying there for long [periods], not those that spoil the environment” (P1, 2018, personal communication), arguing that rarely do people call development control on such people. There isn’t necessarily a direct link between vendor’s visual quality (appearance or instrument) and the residents' action, according to a field development control officer, but “it is the type of people that these vendors draw [to the neighbourhoods] that concern the residents”. By drawing unemployed people in twos and threes which are not partaking in any productive activity, they are perceived as potential threats by the community, the official clarifies.

For pedestrian, the visual repugnance arises from the agglomeration of MV, which extends to the environment. By associating the vending to the *almajiris*²³, whose spatial and sanitary conditions have been documented as subpar (Aliyu & Umar, 2019), users transpose this sentiment onto their activities while suggesting their creation of a chaotic environment with poor ambience,

“any place you see these kids [almajirai] operating is not a pleasant sight. They don’t care about sanitation and openly defecate in the gutters along the streets. Everywhere they [vendors] are is dirty and smelly” (RU 5, 2019, personal communication).

The visual quality of vendors is, therefore implicated in a nexus of their safety, productivity and sanitations; however, tangent the claims appear. The results from such analysis that perceive vendors in informal communities than formal; envisage them as encroachers along city’s thoroughfare, and confers visual repugnance, is conflicting calls for (non-hostile) actions which assumes a degree of neutrality, unlike hostile calls which will be shown in the next sections. Two officials suggested that

²³ Primarily Quranic school attendees (or street kids) widely considered as neglected by their families and under the care of a local Islamic tutor.

“... it’s more appropriate for the government [to] relocate the street vendors within interested settlement... They can be incorporated within the neighbourhood instead of the high street [and] categorised [into]... vegetable market, clothes market ... and every product, [including] those selling jewellery”. (P10, 2018, personal communication)

“... [government should] provide [more] resettlement market, there are some market that were provide, but the government need to provide more because the population is increasing all the time, so we need as such as much everywhere, every angle especially within organic settlement” (P1, 2018, personal communication)

While another two officials deviate, suggesting the government aggressively engaging with the clustering initiatives, where a group of vendors are situated along the roads (in specific locations) as the way forward,

“these people, you cannot do without planning with them, when you plan with them you know what to do with them... You provide a cluster shed within street instead of them roaming about... Anybody in need of anything while... [on transit] can just stop there and buy what you want to buy and move on instead of them seen on the street affecting traffics and... their life” (P2, 2018, personal communication)

“They should be either relocated, or they should be formalised, [rather than] government eliminate[ing] or eradicate them from the street. The government should provide avenues that can complement the street vendors; it will be more appropriate [because] even though [read: if] government eradicate them they will come back due to the inadequacy or unavailability of avenues for the vendors to operate. But if the government can provide avenues, the street vendors can be able to relocate or to resettle within the provision of the government plan” (P13, 2018, personal communication)

Others have suggested different methods of dealing with vending activities from increase retail within the neighbourhoods, to additional commercial zones along highways, to sanitizing the activities of vendors through legislation. What this suggests is unanimity regarding the relative permanence of street vendors in Kano and the willingness to explore innovative solutions even if there is little agreement as to the way forward. Likewise, neutrality perception of vendors by professional and users which allows such suggestion to flourish is based upon the acceptance of failure to grapple with the problem itself, thus existing on a precarious foundation. Neutrality, therefore, is at a tipping point wherein the face of a government ready to back hostile action

against informality is likely to sway professional away from resolving the phenomenon via design programs.

6.2.2.2 *Impediments to city design*

Vendors as impediments to city design (not building process) are the second aspect within converging views and dominated by professionals. This is due to the monopoly KANUPDA possesses in designing new layouts and proposing avenues via which formal development must proceed. The section is classified here (under convergence) as against the exclusivity realm due to the influence private corporations, and individuals possess in challenging designing hegemony through the *city building process*. However, since users didn't express views within this frame, but theoretically possible to possess one, the impediments to city design is classified as converging with the unuttered city-building process.

As impediments, vending views are held as inferior to formal practices in descriptively non-neutral terms, i.e. professional harbouring negative tendencies towards such informal practices. Most vending opinions are expressed as “a practice that should not be condoned”, a “risky endeavour for all the participants” and “a costly exercise is public policy”²⁴. These views are not as exuberantly limited geographically in an attempt to link the suitability and favourable view of vending to low-income communities as in the previous section. On the contrary, the professional bias transcends morphological character and income levels of communities. As one senior official puts it, “as far as Nigerian (not even Kano) setting is concerned, street vendors should not be acceptable within the street designed” (P8, 2018, personal communication). This argument is predicated upon the failed experiences at integrating vendors between 2006-2009, where specialized products such as fruits and vegetable vendors were relocated along the streets networks and their semi-mobile and stationary counterparts resettled within new markets.

Despite this seemingly considerate relocation schemes – though changing the compositional relationship such as the distance of vendors from the road, reduced pedestrian flow and limiting the adventurous nature of MV – that sought “to organize the activities of these petty traders” the respondent laments “you can see that at the end of the day they refuse to go and resettle in their locations, instead, they sold out their allocation papers to some people and come back and use the money to reinvest in their former street trading activity and you see that their”.

²⁴ “Because it costs a lot in cash and kind to correct, rehouse, cater for after it has taken a hold in a particular space”

Regardless of failure at integrating these vendors, the city's image remains paramount to designers rather than a critical analysis of why the projects failed. Likewise, the failure account of experimentally integrating vendors, belief that citywide vending should not partake in. Equally, the disparaging professional's view of vendors for encroaching the streets, employing dilapidated or visually appalling materials to construct vending instruments and appropriate vending space, is viewed as an antithesis to the aim of professional practice, arguing that the spaces occupied by vendors sometimes “need to be utilize [for] landscape beautifications... [and] some reservations need to have events centres or garden parks” (P9, 2018, personal communication).

Despite vending's negative characterizations, when asked if professionals are willing to attempt further integrating vendors within the general planning frame, officials suggest the affirmative with a caveat “if only done within our design ideas and not the political once that allows them [vendors] to be located anywhere”²⁵ (P14 & 15, 2018, personal communication). What “our ideas” means is a strict following of the inscribed uses assigned within a design program. “Street reservations should be meant for the purpose provided” intimated the town planning official, further clarifying that “the setbacks should be meant for setbacks, side road should be meant for the roads, public garden parks should be meant for public garden parks, each and every facility should be left intact and utilize [as designed] (P4, 2018, personal communication). This view suggests professional are only willing to consider a top-down integration approach, discarding experimental clustering and neighbourhood's resettlement zones on the basis visual, spatial, and architectural superiority within the formal enterprise,

“[the] architecture [of where vendors operate] is poor except those once we provided in most our layout... we tend to design [the layout] and send it to our architectural design [department], they come up with a very good... we give the plan to the developer[s] or the person who [will] follow the design and build according to our specification. So when you are passing you look at it, is very beautiful, see if we take for example these *Yan-Majalisa* [Legislative Quarters] along Maiduguri road, in front of it there are strips of commercial buildings abutting the major road. You see, it's not haphazard. You'll

-
- ²⁵ “In most of our designs we try to accommodate them along the street... outside the reservation we try to create a space of say 5 by 5 meters or 3 by 3 or 4 by 4 meters even public convenience, we create space for public convenience not even the shops that will accommodate them, public convenience also provided within the design so that you give it to them, they build it, they operate it and make money out of it” 1- despite negative views of informality”

see uniform designs when you are passing [and] it tends even to attract you; it beautifies the roads even” (P1, 5 & 16, 2018, personal communication)

which are seen as having a more significant revenue-generating capacity (see chapter 2). Within this top-down approach, professional monopolies all the levers of public space productions while the only consolation for street vendors is the recognition of willingness by professional to engage, though with an institutionalised frame.

6.2.3 Equivalence/singularity

Equivalence/singularity of views is where the opinions of users and professionals surpass convergence in the narrative by turning into a shared opinion. Vending opinions expressed here are overtly negative, i.e., views on the practice, spatial and architectural character, adaptability of vendors and possible solutions to the phenomenon. There are two categories of views here; first, an obstructive analysis of vending that warrants hostile actions from the authorities. This is a departure from the preceding professional views where SV is seen as impeding the design process. However, because the obstruction/conception is on the procedural matter, there was an inclination towards integration even if through the hegemonic institution process. However, professional views here is that vendors are inhibition the daily operation of the city and not is the design process. In essence, the obstruction has moved from the abstract realm to real-world implications, and the necessity to solve the crisis becomes imminent. This professional view (field officers in charge of certain geographical limits) is shared by users by both pedestrians and motorist and exhibits absolute formal superiority.

Second is the conception of vending activities as a threat. This view perceives vending practice entirely negative to a city’s public life, a nuisance to other urban actors and health and safety concern to all, including the participants.

6.2.3.1 *Impediments to mobility and aesthetics*

It is intuitive to suggest vending activities by their performative nature on the street amidst other daily operations will interfere with pedestrian and vehicular mobility. Varying accounts by users and professionals suggest the manner and extent to which this impediment occurs. Four discerning themes can be identified that exhibits obstructive tendencies. First is that of vendors obstructing the free flow of vehicular traffic with the potential of leading to accidents. According to one official speaking from personal experience as users, the reality of encroachment tangible,

“[vendors] tend to occupy the lane... onto the main major roads, causing havoc... hindering the free flow of traffic... [especially] in the morning peak period when people tend to carry their children to school... [Y]ou have to exercise patience or caution on the road otherwise you will end up hitting somebody because of those activities” (P4, 2018, personal communication)

Here, MVs are directly linked with slowing movement sometimes to the level of grinding it to a halt through their crisscrossing of the roads. These might not necessary involves a vast traffic gridlock, but the fact of it inconveniencing motorist frequenting means it is viewed as a detrimental act. Second is the vendor’s effect in a manner that slow down movement but not necessarily bring it to a halt, though it often occurs. A commercial tricycle driver describes the situations as vendors attempting to sell their products with the vehicle is in motions. According to the driver,

“... vendors keep running following us, determined to sell to our passenger. They [passenger] keep haggling with the vendors to fetch a lower price for the item. This eventually makes me [tricycle driver] slow down to the vendor's pace. Sometimes, I have to find a place to park immediately after a junction or a traffic light to allow the passenger time to buy [the product], but only if there is opportunity to park (some places are designated no parking areas) ... otherwise, we keep moving slowly. This irritates other passengers in the tricycle, the motorist behind us and soon. They will keep honking at us until we move or get off their way.” (tricycle driver, 2019, personal communication).

While the obstruction can be construed as from mobility to immobility, within the third theme, other users see it as an act of preventing or delaying motion from immobility. In a state of rest at a junction, vendors exploit this moment and navigate between cars for potential sales. According to a motorist, the vendors keep operating until motorist get the green light,

“the green light will come on, and you will find us still waiting for these boys [vendors] to cross [over onto the pavements]. People [motorist] at the tail end of the queue will keep honking until we get the chance to move. Sometime you will require two greens lights to come on before you get to cross” (RU 9, 2019, personal communication).

And finally, these impediments are reduced to their simplistic understanding of an obstacle. Pedestrians lament vendors obstructing their mobility paths as a result of occupying pavements with vending instruments. While stationary vendors obstruct with large kiosks or tables, mobile

vendors impede by using the sidewalk as a storage area. “I have to navigate between wheelbarrow and head-pans” a pedestrian suggests indicating that the problem exists where vendors congregate.

The aggregate of the preceding obstructive scenarios creates conditions wherein professional and user draw the sense for a hostile measure to serve what they perceive as the right way the city must operate. Professionals associate their perspective within the delimitation of infrastructure in Kano, indicating that “streets are narrow in size to the extent that it is not able even to carry the human and vehicular traffic... except in [few] neighbourhoods... so all these activities on our road should be avoided because planning is about human, so we take into consideration human interest more than the activities” (P6, 2018, personal communication).

The insistence on removing street vendors is built upon the parallels seen between the city and the human body. Associating city’s complicated road networks to arteries has long been established within common parlance. However, professionals extend this comparison to other critical organs. “[P]ublic spaces are just like lungs in human body” (P4, 2018, personal communication), ensures the centrality and supremacy of their uninterrupted functions if the body (read: city) is to survive. It is therefore consistent that such conception of the city proposes there “shouldn’t be any encroachment or interference in all those spaces” (P8, 2018, personal communication). This professional view is uncompromising despite the acknowledgement of varying vending techniques with a different effect on the city,

“There are differences in the way they operate, some will take the items to the windows of your car, some park the items by the roadside, if you call on them, they will bring it for you but some you have to park and go and meet them like those who engage [with] the multinational companies, there is some level of sanity in the way they operate but even that, it is not supposed to be encouraged. There are differences in the way they operate in my opinion even those that are somehow organized should not be spared, street vendor to me is not a good thing, it should be eradicated permanently” (P4, 2018, personal communication)

While professional derive their hostile vending outlook from the need for the effective performative function of the city, users are inspired by the personal cost (to be) incurred as a result of street vendor’s recklessness. At the helm is vendor’s negligent attitude in doing “whatever they can to make ends meet” according to a pick-up driver (personal communication, 2019). This attitude implicated especially within a class of carts vendors congested areas. The

respondent suggested because these vendors are “[a]lways in a hurry [through traffic]” they inevitably keep “scratching and damaging our vehicles”. This view as well is reflected by motorcycle drivers, saying “one has to be wary of them [vendors] and not make the slightest contact... otherwise, the damage to be inflicted [on the bike] will be enormous” (motor-cycle drivers, 2019, personal communication). Such an abandoning caution for hastiness reflects income to haulage per day relationship, which is exacerbated, considering most carts used by vendors are daily rentals (Ahmad, 2017; Kariuki and Schwartz, 2005).

While users can find solutions such as “avoid them as much as we can” or “denying them space by closing all gap between cars [in a holdup so they can’t navigate between cars]” or simply “give them way [when in motion]”, the view predominantly is for the activities to proscribe.

Regarding the image ‘imposed’ by vendors, professional and users alike hold a negative view of the activities concluding that vendors “deface the aesthetics quality of the roads and neighbourhoods... [due to] all those activities are not design[ed] for” (P15, 2018, personal communication). Likewise, others suggest that “[vendors] deface the visual character of most of our street because in the initial stage they are not meant to be there” (P3, 2018, personal communication) entrenching the narrative that what is aesthetically pleasing is what has been planned to occur”. By being present insurgently in public space, they have according to this narrative “automatically... created a problem” which is “an eyesore to the aesthetic view of the entire street”. This applies to both ambulatory and non-ambulatory vendors, though the design and construction particularly kiosks are considered “architecturally poor”. As such, the same fate should await them in the eyes of respondents within this scope, eradication.

6.2.3.2 Urban nuisance, health and safety concerns.

The triple threat of nuisance, health and safety forms the last professional and user views where formal superiority reigns supreme without even the question of engaging or contemplating with informality. Formulation of opinions here rests on the perception that vendors are inherently dirty, causes mayhem and as a result stems the city into chaos. Interestingly, however, this view is built upon the actions of MV before projected onto the entire informal activity. An account which encapsulated this reductionist view comes from one of the directorships of KANUPDA,

“You will never like what you do see, an old man that is not healthy holding what you are to eat, somebody who’s not even neat himself holding what you are to put in your mouth, without even considering that. he way he holds it, sweat from his hand among

others does affect your health... Do [you] have time even to check thoroughly if the [item is] an expired thing or not, because you are in the traffic [in haste]" (P4, 2018, personal communication)

The hygienic narrative and associated dangers of cholera and food poisoning it possesses becomes dominant in the formulation of vending views. However, when describing the account of those that hawk door to door within a neighbourhood, safety concerns are brought to the fore rather than hygienic ones. This is because, unlike MV operating along the streets where users have limited access to sanitary facilities and are continuously mobile over the day's working hours, those operating within the neighbourhoods are close to their homes or have access to washing areas. Crucially, they are not in perpetual mobility under the harsh climatic conditions and thus in a slightly better sanitary condition. Hence, questioning products processing method becomes the exploited avenue.

"You can't say [read: know] the process you get that thing and at the end of the day may be what you bought is not okay, you don't know where to go and lodge complain [in case of a health scare or defective product]" (P4, 2018, personal communication)

These threats from unsanitary condition of vendors and the scepticism regarding the production process appear to be spatialized all around the city. By continually moving within neighbourhood and along streets, the contaminant is presumed passed across the city, increasing as more people transact with vendors. Likewise, because these vendors are dotted across vast areas of the city, the conditions are presumed spread, suggesting contamination over a swath of land. Mobility becomes the key driver of promulgating threat across the city.

Mobility is also implicated in the decimation of noise pollution across the city. MV of different kinds such as scrap collectors, traditional medicines vendors, and often MNCs sales vendors use megaphones as part of their trade, traversing the city calling people's attention on the streets and those within enclosed spaces. This attempt of creating awareness to customers is considered as noise pollution and sometimes regarded as insensitive to the local custom and disrupting prayers.

"You'll see some vendors moving with their car with music going on [loudly], and you know our culture doesn't welcome that... [especially] during the prayer time they tend to disrupt them [worshippers]" (P9, 2018, personal communication)

Such an act is considered a nuisance in addition to other effects such as congesting the city and generally leads to an aggressive response by both city managers and the users. Some opined,

“Street vendors need to be eradicated, they don’t serve much important, because they bring about so much congestions as well as unwanted product” (P8, 2018, personal communication)

Other within a nexus of legality, hygiene and safety concerns, and delineation from the institutional conception of the city’s working suggests,

“those street vendors are illegal commercial activities sometimes because they operate illegally, they don’t pay tax to the government, they don’t follow procedures, they don’t adhere to provisions of our plans” (RU 6, 2019, personal communication)

And,

“as far as am concern it [vending] is detrimental to both traffic law [and a] health hazard. the vendors are always under the sun on the street, and sometimes traffic... all the emission is being intaken by the vendors... accumulated in their lungs and can cause several types of health hazard. So from all dimensions, street vending is not a good thing to do. To me it should be eradicated, it should not be allowed” (RU 7, 2019, personal communication)

Others relate the negative sanitary and visual elements, suggesting a detrimental impact of the vendor on the city.

“By their presence, they provide negative visual of the environment. They become an eyesore. the beauty of the environment is not being observed because of their presence there they don’t even sanitize their environment, so these are the challenges we are facing. Honestly speaking am not satisfied with the street condition in Kano here” (P6, 2018, personal communication)

However, in concluding his thought, a lead development control official succinctly put the issue in more explicit terms,

“They are very dirty, very bad, very poor – there appearance. They destroy the image of the environment. They cause havoc. They cause confusions, traffic jams, accidents

and they are causing human loss because inhaling this fumes from the automobiles, their lives are at danger, and respiratory diseases sometimes can lead to death. They kill themselves, they die [and] it is a loss to the society which is a link to economic loss because if a human is not there, there will be no profit gain and this profit is linked to economic gain, so to me, it is a negative issue, negative activity which I don't support" (P4, 2018, personal communication)

The consensus here becomes the elimination of vending activities from the entire city. Both sets of respondents reject the need for formal integration of vendors within the city indication that "they will return to their original ways". This relates to the account where vendors sell their lots allocation in favour of investing in the enterprise. Additionally, and due to the rejection of formal integration of vendors, the chances for experimental explorations vanish. The constant redress is that vendors should abandon informality and "rent shops like all other business, pay taxes, and conduct themselves accordingly". This brings into sharp focus the uncompromising views held by professional and users about the act of vending and vendors in general. There are no seek to legitimise, self-identify or rationalise the actions, and only total domination of the city by the institutional approach, which has been and is a mirage is entertained.

6.3 Conclusion

The matrix outlined at the beginning of this chapter indicated the complex relationship and views prospective informal sector patrons and professional have with SV. Frames of opinions and views expressed are mostly similar than diverge. Scepticism regarding its urban appropriateness – i.e. desire to exist within the urban environment – and their inferred consequences are prevalent within the discourse. Threats, impediments and obstructions to 'normal' city functions are the most commons descriptors employed in conveying SV activities. From the professional perspective, this appears to be borne out of the institutional informal activity's outlook, despite domination of the cities economy, beneath the overall contempt for SV, individuals, especially young planners and designers (not exclusively), within the same discourse reason as to why SV is essential to individual prosperity and socio-economic indices of the state. Such pronouncement aligns with some sections of the populace that seek to justify the actions or at minimum sees its need. The distinction between perception and call for action needs to be drawn. While users and professional might align in views, their prescriptive measure diverges significantly, due to their differences in opinion range. Professional responsibilities and politically influenced programs have limited interaction scope between KANUPDA and

vendors. This means a suggestive course of actions, often hostile or restrictive of the informal sector continues to limit the creative ways for of engagement, subsequently inhibiting the conception of SV are legitimate urban actors from the professional. This is argued as a window to understanding the limited professional range. Conversely, lacking this managerial responsibility (at least formally) frees urban actors to consider SV on par with formal business.

Finally, the matrix relies on the formal/informal dichotomy as a basis for an analysis of views. However, here the dichotomy is extended to parity analysis – a result that encompasses comparison and dichotomy within a continuum. Hence, opinions are presented with a higher degree of nuance, able to combine two or more conceptions of SV activities, while remaining cognizant of the difference that exists within and among the two practices.



Chapter 7

STREET VENDORS INCLUSIVE FRAMEWORK DEVELOPMENT

7.1 Developing SV framework for inclusivity

In this chapter, a proposed framework for adapting vendors within the urban environment is presented within the discourse outlined in chapters 3-6. Developed from findings of vendor's adaptive strategies and user/professional perspective on SV and its character, the framework at its rudimentary conception follows the form below; an iterative process of domesticating SV everyday practice within professional and popular bounds employing urban design/architectural strategies.

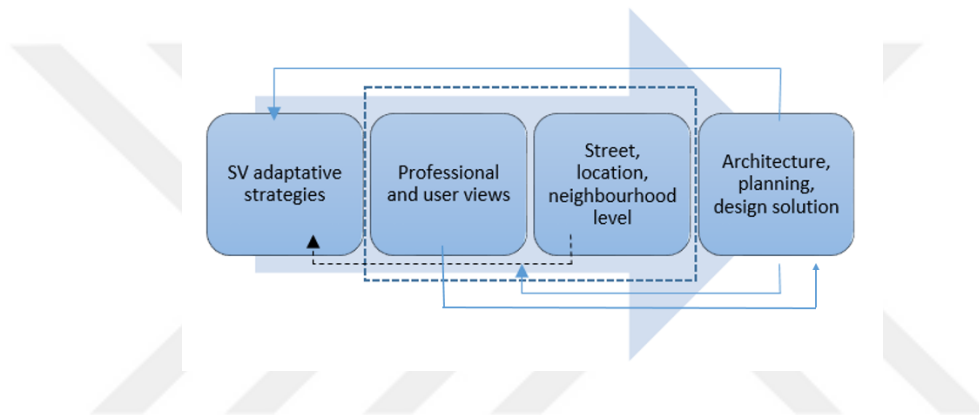


Figure 7.1: Conceptual SV inclusive development framework.

The proposed framework seeks to redress the gaps identified hindering effective integration of informal practices. Participations remains the primary focus by which marginalised communities (low-income neighbourhoods, SV, peripheral communities etc.) are conceptualised within the integration discourse. Surmised from chapter 3, the discussion falls within 2 broad positions – theoretic and methodological.

First, theoretical framings (Jacobs, 1961; Whyte, 1980) that position discourse around the marginalised as central to urban functioning – from the daily mundaneness and activities of the undesirables – as a critic of formal hegemony and are predominantly concerned with a pre-design phase of city-building/shaping process. Operating from these positions possesses the efficacy of identifying actors and practices ostracised from the process while concurrently repositioning the entry point of discussions around an inclusive environment. However, lingering concerns around constituent participants, (undue) influence and participation levels (Rowe & Frewer, 2000; Ondrik, 1999) in relation to desired outcomes remains effervescent due to the chasm between problematizing, participating and translating the participatory processes findings to actions as a result of different diverging competing interests (Knox & Ozolins, 2000;

Madanipour, 2006) despite Dalwadi (2012) reservation around this critic. For Dalwadi, the make-up of competing entities in shaping the city can collaborate and often shoulder the responsibility for the integration of SV. By reconstructing the competing dynamics of architect/designers, realtors/private capital, municipalities and users into the broad three strand of community, private and public, Dalwadi highlighted reasons for cooperation of each community. While the communities and public sectors see a regularised path to commercial operations which resolves concerns of public safety and increases economic activity, and for the private sector, it creates investment opportunities via PPPs or other financing models with “beneficial returns” (Ibid: 106). Guarding against possible derailment of design plans of traditional vending locations, Dalwadi proposes consultations, which are argued (and have shown) here as having the propensity to skew towards private interest via epistemic dominance. Here, what the framework proposes as a remedy to the potential of ineffective participation is the pegging of street vending’s an essential character within the proposed integrated areas as an entry point into planning and design discussion. This does not negate the participation process but rather complements its intent of ushering practical solutions and should be read as a policy, planning, and design anchor which ensures workable/conventional SV working traits are enshrined in renewal, revitalisation and redevelopment projects that seek to integrate vending activities, diverging from imported imposition.

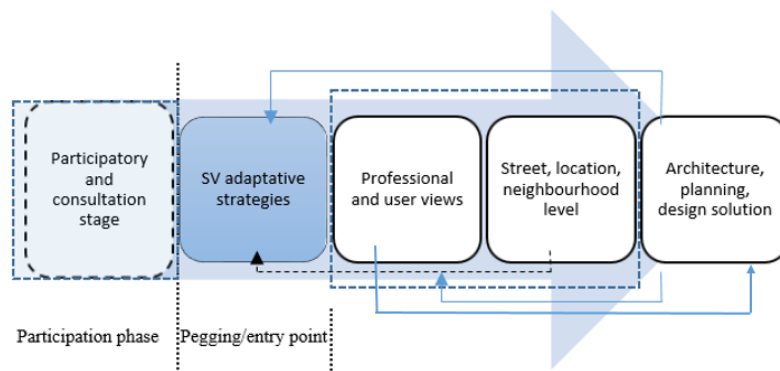


Figure 7.2: 1st stage – Entry point anchoring participatory phase

What this framework suggest therefore is – notwithstanding the efficacy of preceding consultative forums – *insitu* characteristics that ensure SV participation along urban corridors remains central to the proposed schemes. As shown from the cases studied, SV have adopted measure from spatial, architectural and mobility to sequester and modify spaces for informal activities, attaining sufficient expertise of balancing needs of the community with personal spatial desires. The exploitation of marginal areas and employing flexible tools along narrow

streets such as DEL, or pedestrian ways exhibit this character, where temporal occupations and projected negotiation of space by other users are considered within informal urbanism.

However, it is important to note is that the framework does not advocate replicating existing practices condition but seeks maintaining the abstracted relationships between SV, users and urban environment. Put another way, in practical terms, where SV movement appears potent than domestication, or relationship between kiosks, sidewalks and streets are defined within a given range/sequence. These relationships should be explored and maintained for effective continuation street activities/life.

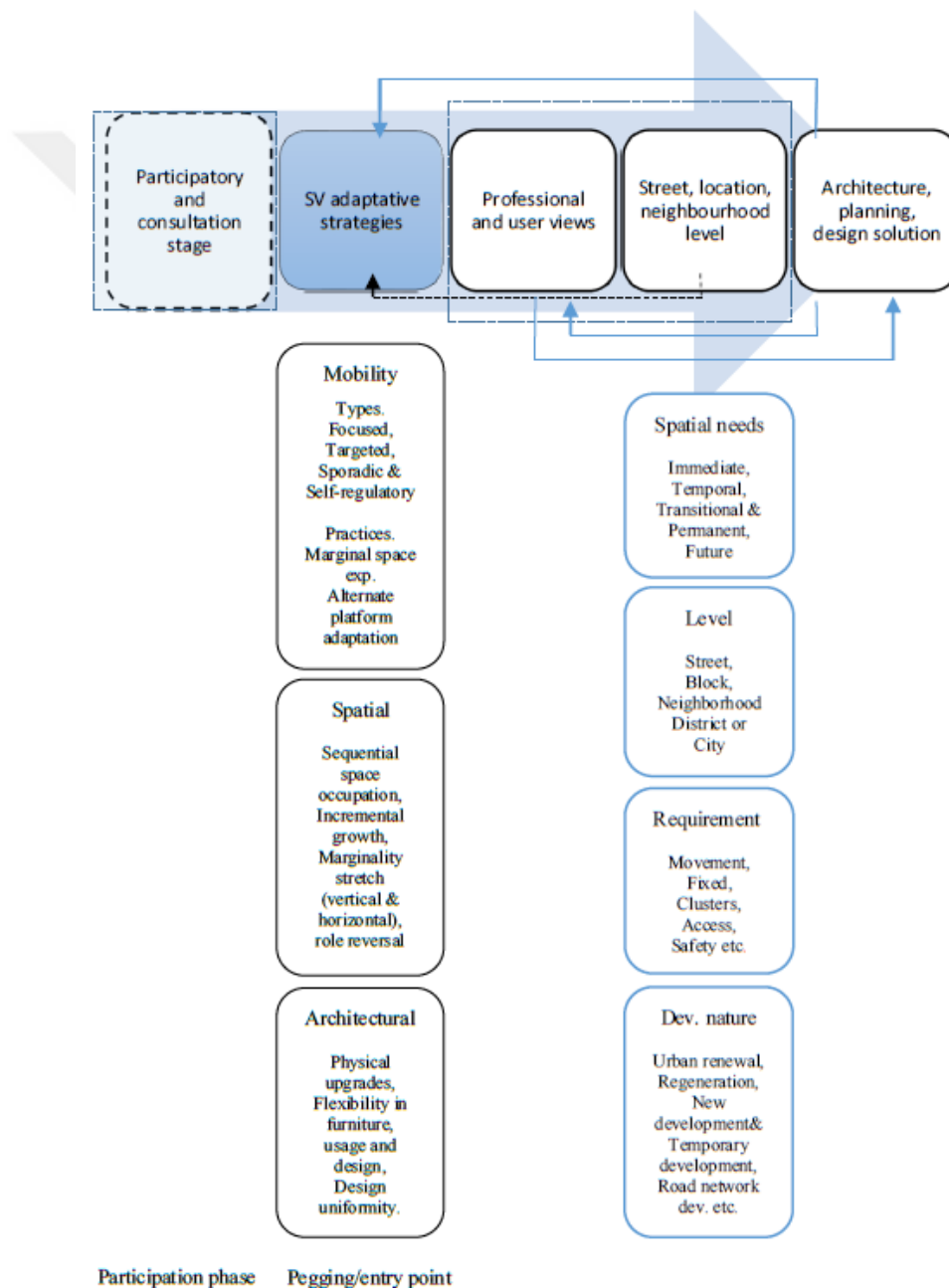


Figure 7.3: 2nd stage – contextualising different entry point to integration.

Where SVs redevelopment and integration is conceived at the block/neighbourhood/district levels, according to the framework, pegging/entry-point conception should take into cognisance the immediate, temporal, transitional and future SV requirements. As the scope increases from the street level where the likelihood of having different vending character increases, the number of variables such as development's nature, maturity of vending practices, street/parks/squares character affect the proposed integration schemes. In new developments areas where there is a reasonable expectation of high vending activities such as commercial clusters which are likely to grow, emphasis on the spatial behaviour of initial spatial occupation and growth becomes paramount to guide informal developments. This means delineating spaces for temporal occupation prior to achieving substantial occupancy levels before permanence can be established, which is dependent on the location, capacity and affordability of proposed facilities of goods and services. However, where redevelopment is for already saturated geographies such as CBDs or high-density communities, avenues that allow vendors stay in place and maximise spatial needs either through verticality of lateral needs are to be explored. In essence, spatial requirements (of varying duration) necessitate careful consideration within integration schemes.

Having tied design decision on integrating SV to developmental scope levels, duration and nature of SV under consideration but paramount the existing SV character, a subsequent phase of the framework counterbalances the initial dominance of informal activity as a result of an emphasis on pegging. The proposed framework seeks a counterbalance through careful examination of urban user needs, individual/collective professional views, and planning/development institutional goals of the city. As reported in the previous chapter, these constituent parts of the social milieu interact with SV from a different perspective, affecting their perceptions of such informal activities. User's SV perception range skews towards supporting informal activities as identified from examination of their views (at least in Kano) due to dependence on services SV provide or the self-identification (solidarity) at the lower stratum of society; and as for professional (partially) coordinating urban development (Dankani, 2003), their views regarding SV activities tend towards restrictive prescription, resulting from the need to create "sanitize" and/or visually appealing urbanscape. Bifurcating SV conceptions by associate participants in SV informal activities, an essential section of urban actors necessitates inclusion if patronage from the users and desires of professional could be maintained. Indeed, the concept of integration would prove futile if emphasis is placed on

merely inserting SV along streets and squares, disregarding its relationship with users which Spire and Choplin (2018) argue will make “it difficult to maintain a dynamic business”. Conversely, iniquities of SV as espoused by other users such as noise pollution within from trader’s needs evaluating so that all concerns on the opinion spectrum can be addressed for full integration be achieved. Hence, careful consideration of SV-User relationship needs to be established within the proposed host communities or streets.

From the professional perspective, continual management of safe city operation means integrating SV should not contravene this basic principle, and as such, expert views must encompass those taking the decisions at the strategic, operational and tactical levels. And as shown in the previous chapter discussing varying professional opinions within KANUPDA in Kano, a gradient of triggers from SV as neutral-threat indicates different levels of potential prescriptive response.

Departing from analysing actor’s range of views involved, this third stage is contained within a combination membrane (CM) – signifying the need for constant interlocution between its two constituent parts, views and intervention levels. What the CM does within the integration framework is link directly user/professional views on the existing (if any) or proposed SV areas to the level/scale of that proposition. By doing so, decisions and concepts regarding proposed SV interventions are analytically localised and depart from universality of other design/procedural approaches seeking an overarching solution (Keates & Clarkson, 2003; Keates et al., 2000; Preiser, 2007), while empowering citizens and professional at operational street vending level – local. This makes the CM establishes a Professional-User-Level relationship (*PUL-R*), and by combining 1st and 2nd stage of the framework, i.e., pegging and CM, it ensures a change in the methodological approach to SV integration from holistic conceptualisation to direct-limited-localised action- the second purpose of the framework.

In a *PUL-R* analysis where intervention levels may be at the street, block, neighbourhood scale, the views of users can be obtained through interviewing/surveying individual and CBOs at the level of interventions to ascertain localised needs/concerns, while concurrently establishing relations with local knowledge domains such as NGO, universities and advocacy groups. Copious information obtained should reflect wideset opinion range, including for/against and possible historical data from institutions. This represents the participatory nature required where those affected can influence the outcome, not just for participation sake (Rowe and Frewer, 2000; Hart, 1992; Lozanovska & Xu 2013; Ondrik, 1999), thereby redressing the critic.

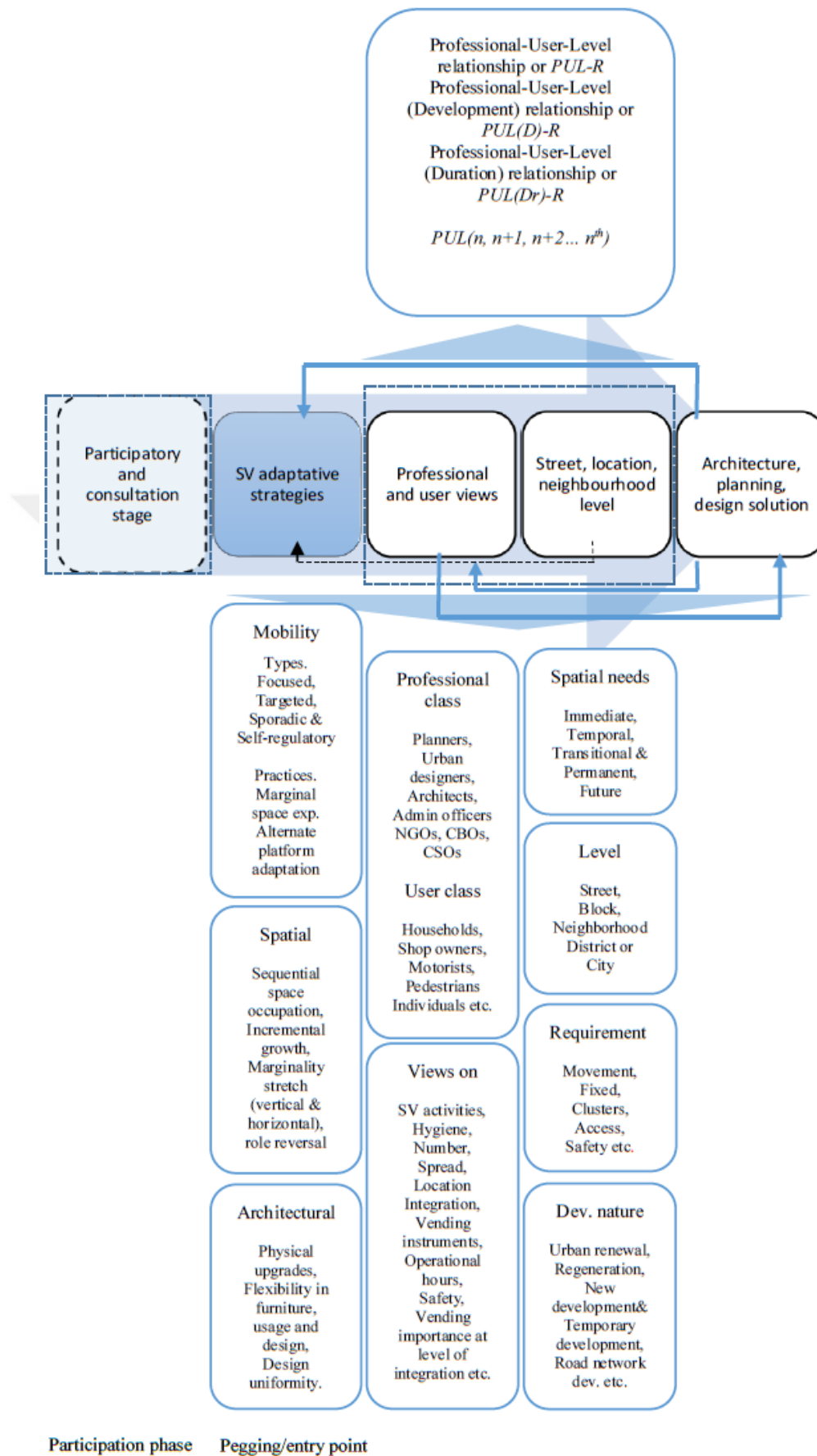


Figure 7.4: 3rd stage – Contextualising professional's and user's views within possible integration variables.

Professional views from planning and local authorities can either correspond or differ from residents and organisations views/concerns. Within the proposed framework, integration is the primary focus and therefore raises the question of resolving diverging opinions regarding SV. Here, resolution identification is simply – address the maximum number of conflicts – thought challenging to enact, since both sets of actors (within Kano) have expressed mostly integrative tendencies than advocating for punitive action from the close analysis of their response in the previous chapter. Indeed, attempting to implement suggestions can prove workable where such ideas are codified and expressed through design but negating perceived infringement appears a lasting solution given people’s concerns are addressed. This brings the first CM into focus.

Another variable within the CM can be added to its interpretive capacity. Considering the nature of the proposed development will influence this analytical stage. Within low-income countries and cities on the periphery of induces capital, projects could be as minimal as road provision or expansion in particular streets, causing minimal disruption to existing SV activities by either assigning off-street locations or specialised areas along the roads. This will occur as a result of little consequences of such development on the overall nature of the streets. Inserting strips of movement facilities does not change the character of existing buildings or functions, exerting minimal influence on the spatial character of street activities. Perception of users on the street levels should be sought.

However, as development borders on regeneration/renewals, where emphasis is placed on extreme makeover of blocks and districts, including changing building footprints/functions and altering road networks, potential integrative initiatives need considerable care. Moreover, in new locations where city blocks are proposed within existing inhabitants, careful simulation of existing areas should be considered within the CM. User views can be obtained at the neighbourhood/district levels, though challenging to probe for new developments. In this scenario, planning/design scheme should maintain the minimal operational requirements for SV within designated zones with flexible operational capacity. This concludes the Professional-User-Level (Development) relationship or *PUL(D)-R*.

Another dimension within CM is SV operational duration. Integration of SV does not spell permanence of activities nor is permanence desire by SV. Often, as shown in chapters 2 and 5, vending times vary significantly depending on operational mode and location. Restriction on working hours within the commercial district and population reduction after such hours means SV is limited as well. On the contrary, working hours within neighbourhoods may vary based

on product and availability of retail shops within those areas. Therefore, such variables which affect duration must be considered to ascertain appropriate SV provisions within proposed integrated areas. Put another way; duration might span from the most transient of activities to permanent ones. This analysis brings time into the CM, suggesting a Professional-User-Level (Duration) relationship or *PUL(Dr)-R*.

PUL-R, *PUL(D)-R* and *PUL(Dr)-R* represent a fraction of possible combinations of variables within the CM. Placed within different geographical and socio-economic contexts, distinct features within said location population will continue to give rise to the analytical complexity of the inquiry. Hence, the above variable put forth should be read as samples and not as an exhaustive operational list. In fact, *PUL(n, n+1, n+2... nth)* best represent the possibilities present to consider within any given situation, where n represents variables.

A combination of pegging which is radically influenced by the level at which integration is considered together with professional and user's views regarding SV activities should factor within final planning and design consideration, making the final stage of framework. The proposed integrative framework does not envisage nor postulate SV be the locus of planning and design even within Southern cities but should be read as ad-hoc attempt fitting into existing plans. And as eluded, SV activities are strategic, taking place within economically viable areas. Hence, developing an SV led design framework, a practice that pales in economic significance and attention to state structures will prove academic, given the state-controlled city-shaping mechanisms. However, keying into the architecture, planning and design solution proposed at different development levels, the framework attains a degree of flexibility that ensures it remains relevant in different scenarios. As such, the framework (as a retrofit) becomes operationally independent of local planning decision.

What this suggests is as designers decide on a cascade of urban solution, those conceptions can/should accommodate SV. For example, pedestrianisation of commercial streets which is common in Europe, gaining ground in US (Lennard and Lennard, 1995) though yet to gain traction in sub-Saharan Africa presents an opportunity for mobile vendors to access markets in their specialised manner while the city gains from the established economic, social and environmental benefits resulting from the process (see Iranmanesh, 2008). By pedestrianising roads (or sections) proximate to markets and providing sufficient public transport to chauffeur people into the district, dual spaces become viable vending space. This addresses the diverging nature of SV commuting strategies explored by encapsulating all mobilities within a scheme, despite FDMs largely operating as a city-sanctioned movement, while TDMs, SDMs and SRMs

express degrees of erraticness. This analysis stems from the potential of designers employing pedestrianisation as an urban design measure for its ability to slows down street speed, eliminates frequent vehicular traffic, reduces accidents (Khayesi, 1997), improves air quality and reduces environmental damage within high-activity commercial zones in order to achieve prompts safer streets and a rise in necessary and optional activities thereby increasing opportunities for retailers, users (Kumar & Ross, 2006; Topçu, Topçu & Deniz, 2007; Yiu, 2011) and by extension vendors. It also increases property and rental value, and causes a rise in sales volume (Ibid), therefore proffering gains to customers, businesses and vendors along major commercial streets. Likewise, pedestrianisation can be used to tame the otherwise excess mobility SV. By providing on-street storage facilities designed to act as foci of mobility, vendors can explore the advantages their preferred mobility affords while supporting the vagrant habits of TDMs, SDMs, SRMs (i.e. traversing pavements for sales), users and other retail activities without creating significant hindrance to any group.

Given that public spaces do contain more than a single vending typology and might conflict with the stated intent of designers, a radical rethink within such is required. Concerning junctions as Mikoleit and Pürckhauer (2011) pointed out, which effectively serve as squares due to steady pedestrian flows makes them commercially viable for vendors. While (re)designing streets/junction, vehicular and pedestrian traffic benefits can be radically maximised without compromising safety. To this end, the creation of vending stop (VS – a designated section along the street) or raised platforms (RP) could be a starting point. VS can operate as a parallel lane where drivers could approach a line of vendors for purchase, without holding up traffic or endangering vendors' safety. Likewise, RP borrowed from transport safety design, RPs slow down vehicular traffic and improve visibility of drivers towards pedestrians (Null et al., 2018). RP feature can be employed to demarcate vending zones along potential streets, and such designs will begin to redress the imbalances within the city's infrastructure towards the spatial needs of those at the bottom stratum of society.

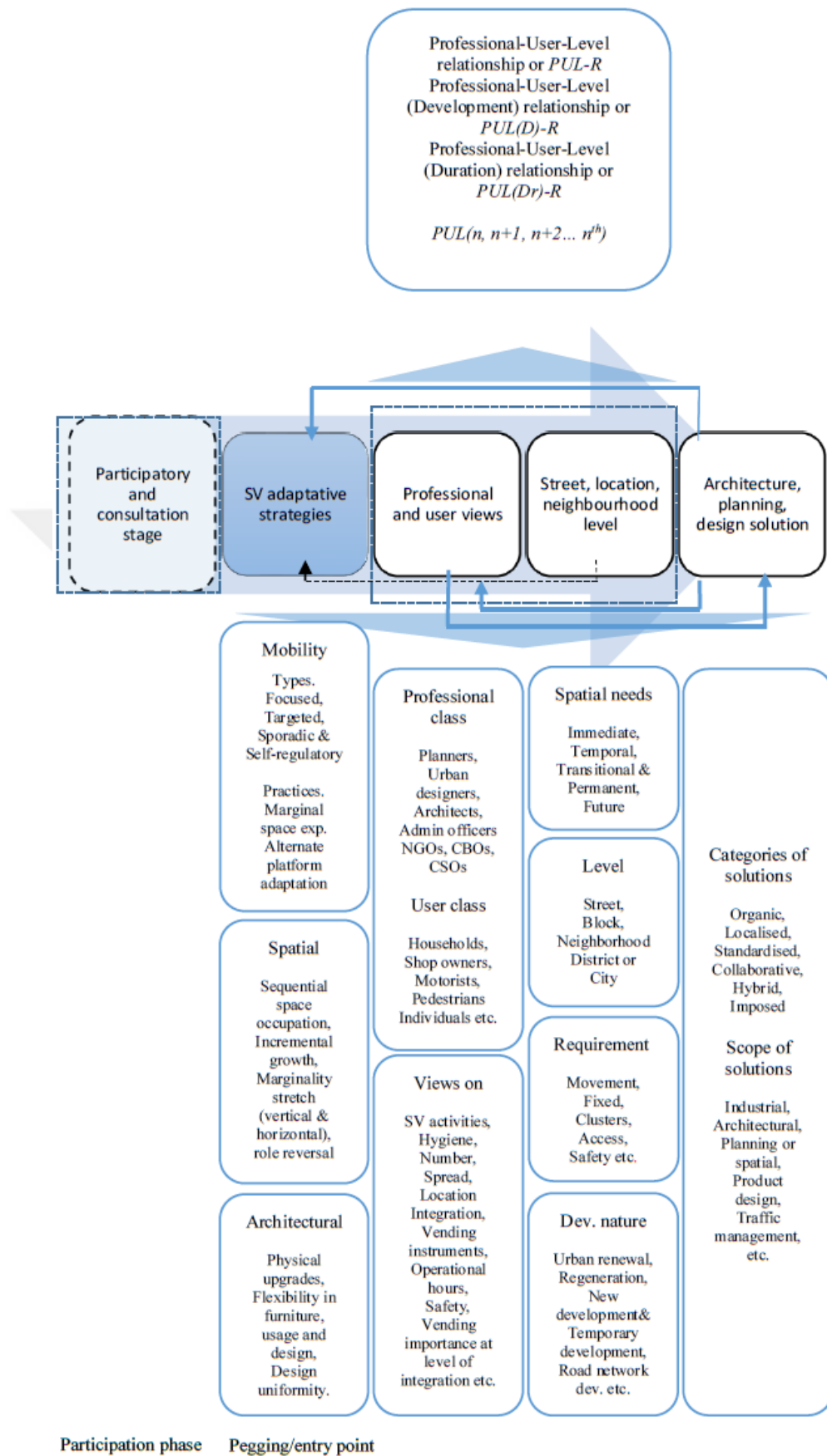


Figure 7.5: 4th stage – Categories and scope of design solutions.

SV integration initiatives that seek to key into existing planning/design framework should possess low economic threshold for ease adoption while not hampering existing plans. Therefore, there should exist a hierarchy of integrative plans which reflects not just suitability but also implementation. For example, low-income cities/countries advantage of employing RPs is that they require less investment than radical changes to the already built environment such as VS, meaning that this option is likely to be more positively received by administrators and politicians within specific conditions. Likewise, where particular interventions are employed (especially in existing SV areas), such designs should not replace one form of vendor castration with another, as Nduna (1990) has shown that there is a tendency for alienating supposed beneficiaries

In summary, the following table delineates the steps needed for the implementation of the proposed framework.

Table 4: Procedure for Integrating Street vendors using the proposed framework.

Stages	Action	Groups responsible
Stage 1	Establish (if any) the kind of participatory process employed on the (re)development of the street, district or neighbourhood etc. in question and ascertain how inclusive in procedure and outcome it is.	Architects, urban designers, planners, city administrators.
Stage 2	Survey and establish the different types of SV activities at the level of proposed intervention and integration.	Professionals, administrators CBOs, CSOs and NGOs.
Stage 3	From 2, identify different pegging requirements for successful integration of SV	Professionals, administrators CBOs, CSOs and NGOs.
Stage 4	Identify the nature of potential relationships between development and SV	Professionals, administrators CBOs, CSOs and NGOs.
Stage 5	Establish how those pegging requirements principles interact with the proposed (re)development	Professionals, administrators CBOs, CSOs and NGOs.
Stage 6	Consult (local) vendors on requirements at integration levels	Professionals, administrators CBOs, CSOs and NGOs.
Stage 7	Strategize with SV, users and professionals on identifying and resolving conflicting interest for integration and other concerns.	Professionals, administrators CBOs, CSOs and NGOs.
Stage 8	Propose integration solution design schemes	Professionals

7.2 Strength and limitations of the proposed framework

The expanded framework described above concerning actors involved and decision-making strategy does possess some strengths and weaknesses which require establishing for possible comparison to existing theoretical and practical methods. Below is the discussion of such properties outlined in theoretical integration attempts outlined in chapter 3: design/planning, people, and policy/organisational attempts.

7.2.1 Design/planning strengths and limitations:

Strengths: Some of the advantages of the proposed design framework is localised development. The framework's emphasis on building ideas from the bottom up regarding integrating SV, meaning an increasing communal approach to public sphere design buttressed by the adoption of low-tech designed solution from SV. Within the process of adopting SV solutions, local analytical skills and knowledge are required for the investigative purpose in discerning needs and information. In so doing, a reconception of the power structure of Knox & Ozolins (2000) becomes crucial to ascertain the power structure within the built environment of an integrated process. In essence, stationing informal actors at the centre of their spatial configurations production remains the strength of the proposed framework, the consequence of which is easy of adoption and domestication.

Secondly, where there is an apriori plan, the capacity of the proposed framework to be malleable can be deployed since it does not depend on been included in the initial phase. The framework allows its users to proactively attach to any and all design principles or philosophies, given its emphasis as a retrofit to already existing urban spaces.

Limitations: Having smaller decisions taken at the local level, which are crucial to designing conception and implementation runs up costs in comparison to a standardised state/nationwide approach. This is likely to arise from the need for capturing different use views by administering surveys, multiple focus groups discussions or other localised ways of seeking such as town halls etc.

Application of the framework also is likely to cost time, prolonging over a period given there are no restrictions on the duration or when the amount to views gained becomes sufficient. This problem is likely to manifest in a dense neighbourhood with extensive pre-existing SV activities. By taking the SV integration questions at the district level, some of the cost concerns

might be addressed thought at the expense of local views, hence put reliability over the validity of opinions, compromising adoption rate of initiatives.

Finally, on the subject of design, having different idiosyncratic local initiatives indeed leads to different production of an environmental image. As communities and professional decided on different spatial relationships between SV activities and other urban infrastructures such as transitways, public parks, street furniture and others, carried on along short distance, distinct spatial images are produced that goes against the hegemony and state's interest. Such variations magnified on a larger scale over a period of time is likely to affect the continual implementation of the proposed framework. To redress/guard against this eventuality, careful employment of the framework should be considered with the holistic image of the level conceptualised from the onset. This is likely to prolong the continual subscription of the framework by all parties.

7.2.2 People's/procedural strengths and limitations:

Strengths: Stemming from the localisation of urban development is the increase of active participation. As solutions are increasingly considered at the street to district levels, neglected communities feel empowered and respond to social coalitions precipitating a co-production and co-creation of the urban milieu, either by generating temporal solutions or proffering permanent remedies to local challenges. The framework likewise ensures the steady flow of ideas given the insistence on seeking individual user views. By capturing this data even if not deployed within every circumstance, the framework produces data bank of local ideas (in cross-section or longitudinal series) for comparison/analysis, influencing future plans for SV activities.

This data bank of localised knowledge, idiosyncratic analytical measures and constant interaction with planners/designer/administrators is a way of ushering an epistemic rebalancing where knowledge from below and its constituent elements are considered as appropriate ways of inquiry and developing design solutions. Given the limited knowledge of SV participants, their spatial explorations, urban relationships and working instrumental compositions struggle to lay claim as legitimate lines of inquiry in structuring the public sphere. While this may be plausible to the extent that SV activities are insufficient an anchor for urban planning in comparison to movement/traffic, economic output, leisure etc., however, the epistemic rebalancing can ensure that informal practice's solutions amidst scarce resources and latent state pressure serve as an organiser within the formal planning circles for other informal activities. This is likely to figure in the initial conception of urban development, especially in low-income cities.

Limitations: Just as the problem of limiting ideas within the design phase, the challenge persists on how to appropriately decide on participant's number given the framework's openness to and inclusivity. The problem increases as the level of interventions increases, requiring a different solution. At the street level, it is conceivable for every SV and member(s) of a household and other business to participate in a face-to-face interaction or other alternative forums. While similar arrangement can be employed to limit the participant through engaging local CSO and CBOs and gain valuable insight, at the district level with high commercial activities does present challenges if all and sundry have to participate due to the need for representativeness.

The second limitation is determining the order of challenges expressed by users and SV given the nature of inclusivity that the framework aspires. Acknowledging foregone opportunity of any decision, as stated earlier, their priority is the resolution/addressing concerns given weighted priority to their frequencies. However, this approach limits the inclusive nature since (i) it is not people's favourable opinions that are being directly implemented (primarily) and (ii) others might find their views within the lower pecking order of concern, potentially disrupting the process.

7.2.3 Policy/organisational strengths and limitations:

Strength: The proposed framework seeks to resolve the purported convoluted policy and legal bureaucracy that already exists. Existence of the SV outside the formal sector has meant that it is subject to an array of regulations within the traffic, environmental, health management, multiple tax regimes trying to bring its informality under supervision. However, by attempting to regularise its spatiality within the formal realm, the framework offers an opportunity for officials to streamline SV administration, incorporating its activities within the state's gazettes by defining SV congregational limits, threshold tax, regularise its working structure vis-à-vis employees and the state etc. These opportunities can all be harmonised under fewer titles than in operation today.

Limitation: Depending on the framework's implementation nature, given SV socio-economic conditions, and the already stated likelihood of non-uniformity in design, rules regarding structural standards, aesthetics, environmental quality, waste management disposal conceivably have to be relaxed or subsidies for SV to be completely integrated into the urban fabric. Self-made/makeshift vendor's apparatus in low-income countries will diverge from the quality required to produce the city's imagery aspired by the state. As seen along MM, DEL and SSA, SV sometimes utilises non-sanitized corrugated zinc roofing sheets with timber, or erect

makeshift tent/post as shops. As for micro-enterprise MV, the quality of their handheld equipment – head-pan, plastic bags or none – is poor, and often cited as sources of contamination by professionals.



Chapter 8

CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

8.1 Introduction

From attempting to understand the peculiarities of street vendor's spatial and urban experience within Kano metropolis, this thesis proposed an inclusive framework seeking to redress the inherent existing urban bias against informal activities. By enumerating the lived experience of SV along the street studied here, it is uncovered their spatial location, activities, and nature of operations are influenced by the built environment, government policies, private co-option of public place policing, and peer-to-peer exerted influence. Notwithstanding the localised experiences outlined here and adaptive strategies employed by informal actors ensuring their continued operation within the urbanscape, the discussion can be viewed as a global one by inspecting the glossary of information within the WEIGO catalogue. The trove of data establishes the eviction vendors by/for the capital interest at the expense of majority's needs; legal stipulations and police brutality in northern and southern cities; oppressive planning regimes: coerced bribery, policing imposition and multiple taxations etc. (Devlin & Reed, 2019; Balbuena & Skinner, 2020; Skinner & Reed, 2019; Alcântara, et al., 2014; WEIGO, n.d.; Peña, 1999; Harvey, 2020). Despite the study's locatedness, such internalisation asserts its validity and reliability in exposing the real factors informing informal actions, addressing half of the first research questions.

8.2 Findings: Vendors challenges and adaptations.

Answering the questions raised within this study, this thesis using data from Kano metropolis has established the following; first, the myriad of challenges faced by street vendors are as a result of (a) Urban infrastructure/design limitation, (b) Competition for space between formal/informal and informal/informal, and (c) Public space policing by state, private institutional/business/households, and informal actors.

Throughout the study areas, lack of proper infrastructure such as a standardised thoroughfare, inaccessible sidewalks, missing mobility surfaces, the skewed urban composition has all increased the difficulty of expressing everyday vending activities. While such physical conditions are not designed for informal practices, they have proved fundamental to spatial exploitation by informal actors in other geographies. Streets' narrowness where vendors are highly visible and a constant fixture attracts hostile tendencies of thought or spatially expressed. In streets such as DEL, where the spatial areas are increasingly sought after, tension and

negotiations become visible, expressed constantly in the actions of pedestrians, vendors, shops and homeowners and vehicular traffic. The constant interchange and adjustment of positions, sound of cars honking, and the observable intermittent squabbles between actors are indicative of existence of tension.

In spaces with sidewalks, the intensity of the negotiations reduces due to decrease of competing actors, though it remains at play. The novel experience here is vendors attempting to subdue the urban environment, often a futile exercise. The incompatibility of vending instruments with urban mobility elements, especially mobile apparatus such as carts and bicycles is most striking, often presenting itself during customer interaction when barriers and threshold can't be scaled.

On the other hand, impediments inhibiting setback exploitations are often is availability and access. Though it might appear copious along a typical street, erecting a temporary and permanent stall requires negotiation access with 'owners' while concurrently facilitating the mobility of clients across thresholds. Hence, it is not sufficient that these spaces exist without having the necessary modifications enabling their operations.

The second category of challenges is from formal-informal and informal-informal competition for space. Lack of informal activity spaces within the city had resulted in vendors operating alongside formal enterprise within the CBDs and with other informal actors, especially at the peripheries. Formal shops tendencies to expand outwards is often limited if there exists a large SV presence who rely on the main shops as anchors, breeding tension over 'ownership' of space. Likewise, intra-informal competition most common at the peripheries arises as a result of fewer viable vending areas. Unlike within the CBDs, where a steady flow of traffic exists, opportunities at peripheries are fewer. This means viable places are contested, with initial settlers dictating the rules of operation.

Another form of competition (usage, not occupation) is between users and informal actors. The challenge here manifests when competing uses appear at loggerheads, such as critical number of pedestrians/vehicular movement occurring at vendor's constellation points. Because of the inherent formal supremacy of activities, all actors/actions are above street vendors', placing informal activities at a disadvantage and leading to the final set of challenges identified, spatial policing.

The legitimacy built upon legalistic approach to public actions lends itself to actors exercising control over public space. Different actors/institutions, in the absence or aided by the state, police the streets, sidewalks and performances within their vicinity. State instruments can often

be employed which are not available to all participants. In this regard, those with pseudo-authority defines actions which get sectioned, usually the informal ones. This phenomenon extends to ungoverned territories (where the state is absent), allowing certain sections of the informal sector to police another.

In all the three previous challenges conceived within which vendors operate, considerable tact and versatility are employed by vendors to remain operational along the street. As discussed in chapter 5, a series of mobile actions, spatial exploration, modifications to the environment and/or repurposing of vending instruments are deployed as a tactic by vendor(s) to carry out vending operation, save of hostile actions, secure a temporary/permanent location, or negotiate a co-existing strategy. These actions are as minute as moving back and forth between walkways and access road to capital intensive measures – constructing a new kiosk. Tactics detailed in chapter 5 are not an apriori position for SV, but response to intense challenges faced, which ensures their trading activities are secured short or long term, with all repeated daily.

8.3 Findings: Professional and user views of SV

The study found diverse opinions between and among the different groups, shaped for uses largely by relationships with vendors while institutionally instilled for professionals. For both parties, opinions are considered based on a wide range of factors. Strongest is paradoxically are the two opposite views, either vendor is crucial to urban economy as to see them as legitimate actors within public space – a view held by the user class, or they are so disruptive as constituting a threat to the urban life/operation – held by a section of the professional class. These two poles define perception limits within Kano metropolis.

At the two ends, the schism along the social class becomes apparent. Low-income user dominates expression of legitimacy of informal activities while the perceived threat of SV is largely among the senior managerial class within the professional (and user of similar profile), who are mostly higher-middle/upper class within the society. Likewise, the division and informs perceptions around and vendors adaptive strategies. Low-income neighbourhood residents (or participants) in this study view the constructions techniques employed by vendors as necessary actions for operation, while the same actions are characterised as appalling visually and sometimes dangerous by upper professional class. This suggests the insight the two groups are framing their conceptions are of different values, one of survival and economic prosperity to informal actors, while the other as a collective reflection of the city's urbanscape.

Between the binaries above of legitimacy and threat, there are a collection of shared views with different implication on SV activities. Ideas around viewing informal actions as spatial and economic realities, actors involved as urban operation, but having their actions seen as an impediment to the ‘vision’ of the city are shared interchangeably. Distribution of views within these realms cannot be neatly drawn based on education, professional or income, but this research has categorised the groups concerning their imposed relationship between formal and informal activities – especially the required response. This means despite the consensus on activities and adaptive strategies, there is opinion deference on how to engage with informality. Response ranges from incorporate into existing frameworks – such as one proposed in this thesis – to reform the informal ways or force the adoption of formal design and spatial principle without eradication. These are the view held by users in-between the two distinct opposite set out at the beginning of this section.

The delineation of this complex opinion realm regarding SV practices and adaptations reveals the complex social/institutional frameworks vendors operate within. It is no wonder that there are varied techniques deployed by informal actors attempting to operate within different urban settings.

8.4 Findings: Integrating adaptations.

Finally, the thesis contemplates with the questions combining vendor’s adaptive strategies, and user and professional views in order to propose a new frame of operation. Realising existing design procedures are not inherently problematic but nevertheless ignore contribution from the informal sectors; the thesis sought to redress this imbalance. By pushing the design stag further from preliminary stages of inquiry, i.e., pegging and exploring vending/professional views, the frameworks introduce the possibility of informal actor’s design qualities as well as spatial techniques influencing overall design considerations and possible outcomes. This presents a radical departure from the normative procedure where informal actors are simply considered as participants proffering views, selected and incorporated at the designer’s behest. In that regard, vendors are simply a source of information that does not actively shape design thought. However, when their practices are places as underpins together with other professional design considerations, an integrative picture arises, one that incorporates users concerns without jeopardising informal practices.

8.5 Contributions to knowledge

However, *the first of contributions* arise from uncovering how vendors adapt within this light. While the sociological understanding of adaptation (conceived as resistance) has dominated the literature, and also affected the spatial and architectural understanding of adaptive phenomenon. Negotiation with formal actors now determines vending spatiality, and thus SV are adapting. This adaptability within the urban space is becoming exploitative, often projected on the nature that vending instrument should take. However, such analysis lacks a methodological understanding of the existing situation, especially from the perspective of the informal actors. This study – improving Millar (2008) findings through systematic investigation from vendor’s perspective – can assert adaptive knowledge laden with spatial and architectural qualities that do not serve the sociological understanding of adaptability but rather an operational one, thereby emphasising the proactivity of informal actors.

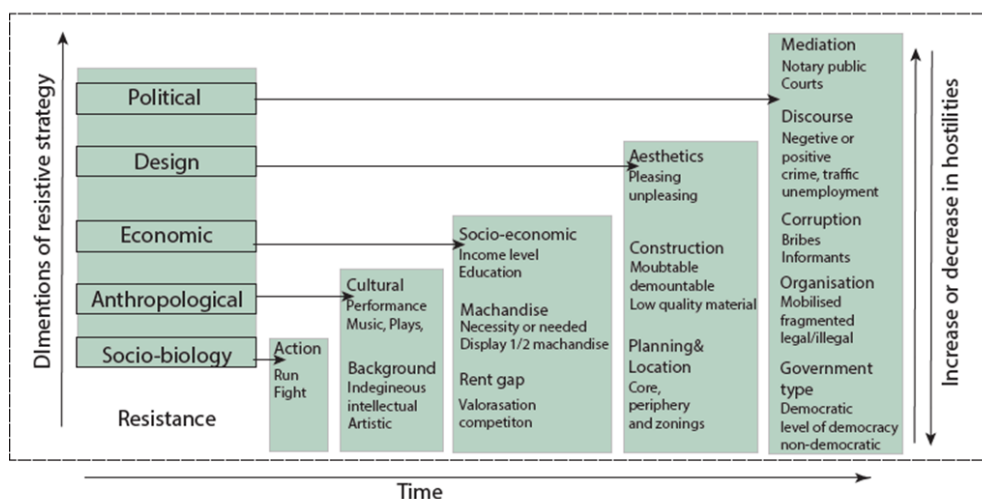


Figure 8.1: Resistive actions strategic chart, constructed with data from (Devlin, 2011; Crossa, 2012; Yatmo, 2008; Sarmiento, 2015; Jough, 2015; Kamete, 2010: 2008)

In showing the effectiveness of employing flexibility by all typologies of vendors for example (see 5.3.6, 5.4.5.2 and 5.5.6);

- stationary vendors employing flexible shed design along MM-way that allow pedestrian mobility to be largely maintained along a sidewalk
- flexibility in usage of SMV by employing moveable/light furniture
- or MV employing self-regulatory movements which allows prevents decongestion along narrows sections on DEL, or orientation adaptability to maximize spatial usage,

the act of design and all its facets is reconceptualised within spatial orientation and shown as deployed within operational means that challenges authority's hegemony over spaces, successfully decoupling the narrative from the grips sociological analysis – mostly described as evading capture. An unintended consequence of this flexibility in keying into the finding that SV are not the primary sources of sidewalks congestions or ineffectuality. As Devlin & Reed (2019) indicated, their findings fit into multiple studies in Asia which establishing the inculpability of street vendors along the sidewalks. In fact, the potential for a mixed-used sidewalks is what's contemplated around the world²⁶. Thought as observed within this study, such characteristics of operation is pertinent to successful sidewalks and ensure equitable usage within the context of the global south, allowing vendors access to market and ensuring non-participants can engage as well within the communities.

Arising from the myth around congested sidewalks caused by vendors, this logical fallacy inhibits a critical look at mobility platforms within an urban setting. By shifting this lens, it appears urban infrastructure has not taken into account of hybrid mobility, not just vehicular and pedestrian. What adaptation contributes is the understanding of the physical environment. By employing alternate mobility routes as a means of moving between two points, not necessary at will sharing the main thoroughfare with automobiles, adaption of mobile vendors becomes an analytical tool for establishing the efficacy of urban infrastructure. Because cart pusher and other MV can access the sidewalks or any platform for easy mobile action, congestion arises within the main roads. Likewise, inaccessibility is factors of roads with extra amenities. Where many are lacking, choice is absent, and hence utilisation cannot be exercised. This makes adaptability of vendors potentially a tool for urban infrastructure criticism. Thus, answering the first research questions²⁷ contributes to the domestication of design exploitation as a means of SV operation and a means of challenging formal spatial practices hegemony and secondly, becoming an analytical tool for urban infrastructure criticism

As the study moves from vendor's real experiences into its external perception from users and professionals, uncovering SV activities perception by these groups becomes necessary in contributing to the literature. As in Section. 3.1.2, the discussion on participation process through which the urbanscape is shaped illuminate why gauging actor's views around vending activities becomes essential. The caution sounded by Rowe and Frewer (2000) regarding

²⁶ See Kim (2012)

²⁷ What are the challenges faced by street vendors in the separate locations (within Kano) and how do they adapt?

participation nature and ensuring representation of communities affected by interventions within the planning/design process will be futile in the case of SV integration if there aren't any bases for measuring or excavating known-biases of those participants. As planners and designers have been more concerned with bringing people into the process, there has been a neglect of participant bias, especially concerning integration. All efforts have concentrated on ensuring individual and groups are adequately consulted, actively participated/contributed to the development of the final artefact – fearing the charge of tokenism. This, however, has been a long-standing approach within business methodologies (see Shore, 2008). As such, an evaluation was undertaken here, of users and professionals – aside informing the nature of the framework proposed – helps introduces two different categories and systems of conceptualising bias in participants.

First, is the trigger evokes the conceptualisation of street vending activities in users/professionals. Places on a discontinuous scale, these biases are self-recognition, legitimisation, neutral, obstruction, and threat. They are identified or legitimise in varying characters, such as participant identifying with vendors, invoking legalism, described as a necessary act, or biased held based on vending practice.

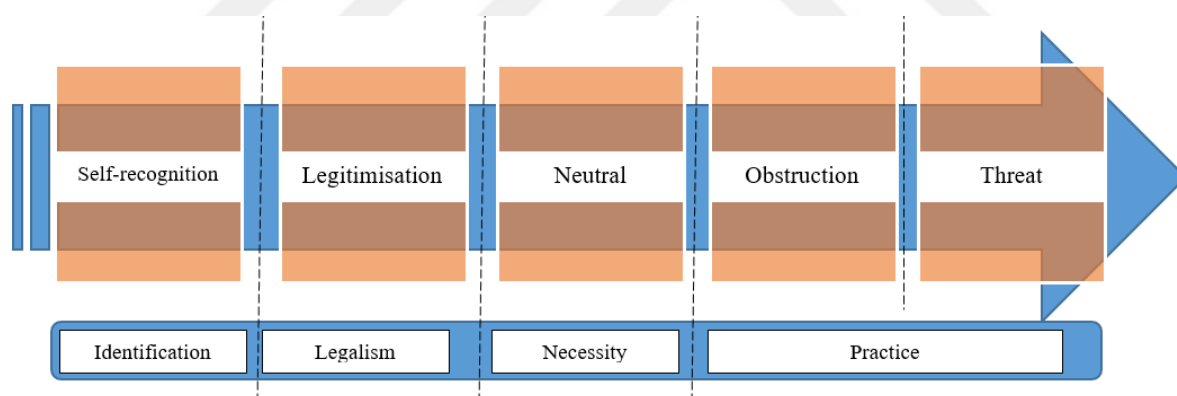


Figure 8.2: Conceptualising participant bias for/against street vendors.

Second, is placing street vendors on a formal/informal continuum as a means of understanding the perception of potential participant within any participatory process. These categories include; parity, non-parity but important to the group, non-parity but can be lived with, formal superiority (rehab), and formal superiority (eradicate)

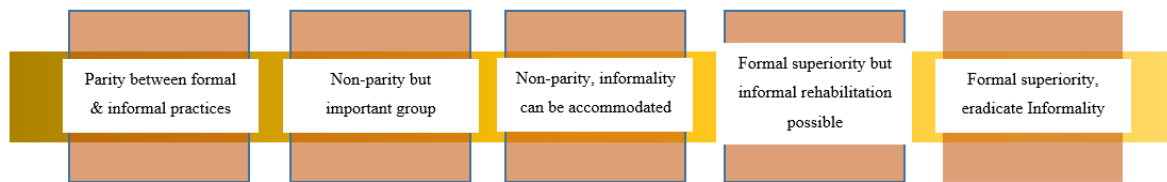


Figure 8.3: Perception of the participant based on formal-informal continuum

By understanding and classifying these categories, equal/appropriate distribution of members within any participatory process can be engineered for the intended stipulated outcomes, and will also enable tokenism quantification to be established based on group/strata neglected.

Aside from the classification criteria, and ability to identify subgroup within any participatory process, probing professional views on SV activities highlighted the internal incongruence between actors making the group and between professional and institution. This indicated the possibility of dismantling hegemonic institutional approach, since the inter politics of institutions are sites of contestations, but especially in states with weak institutions. By identifying areas of similarities and convergence (see 6.2.2) among users and professional, vendors' advocacy groups and unions can identify allies within the system to promote pro-street vending policies at best, or at least, lobby against anti-vending programmes. These individuals might not necessarily harbour pro-informal stands, but are likely to accommodate their activities or more cynically, suggests upgrade that serves both formal/informal enterprise, possibly by securing dedicated vending areas or implementing aesthetical upgrades. Hence, the exploration of the second research question provides methodological tools for identifying actors and their positions²⁸ within the planning frame.

As for the contributions of the proposed framework, it manifests in two ways. The first is by harnessing vendor's adaptive strategies and building the framework. As chapter 5 provided the different modes of MV, SMV and STV adaptive techniques, employing spatial exploration, vending instrument modification, mobility and transitionally, these qualities are emphasised as bases for inclusive design. Emphasised as entry points, adaptation techniques allow for inclusivity into existing environment by providing already workable techniques which are often exercised within marginal spaces. By employing these methods, the framework is tacitly embraced. Harvey (2019) call for vendors suggested or implemented solutions. Regarded as a

²⁸ It is important to note that the classification of professional and user views offered here are not exhaustive, but are only a reflection of the researcher's conceptualisation based from interview with the respondents. With larger sample size, modified questions, and more rigorous codes, other categories might be identified. Likewise, the changing location of the study to more/less hostile environment, stronger institutions and policies, is likely to influence the outcome of the findings.

means sustainable operation, by including vendor's adaptability within the frame is a potent way of elimination Spivak's epistemic violence challenge. Whereas the method can be complemented with a robust participatory approach, nevertheless, pegging ensure a degree of performative representation. It ensures establishing existing minimum standards rather than an abstracted-idealised representation of how vending should be carried out.

Second is the methodological perspective the process of creating the framework offers. As sections 3.1.1, 3.1.2, and 3.1.3 shows, there is a pervasiveness of field-specific and parochial integrative methods. Designers concern themselves within the questions and theories of design, likewise, planners. There is little holistic overview of an interdisciplinary method-based approach. Where the question of integration is considered on a larger scale, ineffective operationalised concepts are generated that murky the water more than provide methodological guidance for practical implementation and do not necessarily meet the need of an urban activity as dynamic as street vending. However, by employing a cross-disciplinary approach here, with varied sources of knowledge from users, professional and vendors acts and structures, the horizontal scheme provides both theoretical and practical inklings for both practitioners and academic. The number of possible combinations that can be put into the framework for achieving a desired practical solution is simple enough for operationalising by administrations and professionals, while the possibilities configuring more factors in different ways, using the mathematical-like nature embedded within the framework can be a subject of inquiry for academics and theoreticians. In essence, the framework provides practical solutions and elicit academic curiosity.

As a whole, this thesis has set out to introduce an integrative framework that takes the existing experience of vendors as a basis retrofitting vending space or suggestion new one. It did not seek to upend the established planning order, but rather to complement it, employed side-by-side within a specific geographical location.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Questions and targeted outcomes for interview with professional.

	Category	Questions	Targeted outcome
1	Street/streets design and street activities.	What is your opinion on street design? What should be the primary considerations in a street design? What is/are the role(s) of the element parts that make up the street? <<<<roads, bridges, sidewalks, setbacks, plantings, frontages etc>>>> Which activities should and shouldn't be catered for? End	This is to get an understanding of the general conception to the authorities ideas about street design in its theoretical forms (isolated from how it is implemented in the city.)
2	Streets of Kano.	What is your opinion of the streets in Kano? <<<<<Identify follow up questions regarding human activities>>>>> Different streets in the city have different activities along them. Some have little or no street activity, some have businesses, people walking along them and other are commercialized both formal and informal. What in your opinion is the relationship between Kano streets and their activities? From the most important to the least, Itemize and explain the most important activities in the street? What (therefore) should public spaces along Kano streets be used for? (Please elaborate) Private/Public<<<<<Public<<<<<Private/Public	These questions seek to contextualise the design ideas and philosophies of planners/architect in relation to the local context. In essence, how much divergence is there between their theoretical understandings of street design and their local application of it.
	Category	Questions	Targeted outcome
3	Street vending in Kano.	What is your opinion of street vendors on the street of Kano? To what extent do they (street vendors) fit into your street design. PRINCIPLES, PHYLOSOPHY or CONSIDERATION? Does this view (of street vendors on the streets) hold in all levels of streets within the city such as the CBD, Neighbourhoods and Outskirts? If they fit, where do you think is best for vendor's operational activities along the street? (roads, sidewalk, setback, joined to fence etc)? Why? Explain. If they don't fit, what do you think in your opinion they need to be considered fit to your street design principles? What kind of street vending activity are you willing to compromise for and allow to exist alongside daily activities? Why?	Ideas espoused here are supposed to indicate the relationship of street vendors activities and street design as understood for the designer perspective. How they are/are not represented in design, types of vendor relationships with the authorities, vendor/urban environment relationship etc.
4	Architecture of Vending?views	What is your opinion on the architectural character (looks) of street vendors in Kano? How can you best describe their architecture? Could you see any difference in the character of different street vendors? If yes, explain. If no, why?	This is to explore the visual assessment of street vendors from the authority's perspective.

Appendix 2: Questions and targeted outcomes for interview with SV.

	Categories	Questions	Targeted outcome
1	Operational.	What is your opinion on the ease/difficulty of doing your activities (here) along this street? Can you explain how you go about doing your business? What are the challenges you face in the course of doing your activities? Can you explain better regarding moving from one place to another?	Understanding the relationship between the physical environment and ability of vendors to operate within it.
2	Vendors' perspective	What are the use and purpose of these (walkways, roads and setbacks) to you and your business? End	Understanding what vendors make of the urban elements within their env.
3	Usage pattern & implication(s)	How do you use them in your daily activities? Would you say that they suit your activities? Explain. End.	Urban elements usage/malleability to vendors
4	Interactions with MT&NMT.	How is your relationship with pedestrians and cars? Do you have problems with them or them with you? end	Relationship between vendors and other urban actors.
5	Configuration modification access	Do you think you can and will be allowed to change the area surrounding your activities? end	The extent to which and how vendors can add/modify the urban environment.

Appendix 3: Informed consent form for interviews



**INTERVIEW INFORMED CONSENT LETTER IN RESPECT OF THE STUDY:
INTERACTION BETWEEN ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES OF STREET VENDORS AND
THE DYNAMIC NATURE OF URBAN SPACE:
THE CASE OF KANO.**

Dear participant,

My name is Muhammad Kabir Balarabe and I am a PhD student at Ozyegin University. I am researching about street vendor's adaptive strategies and its relationship to the dynamic nature of the urban environment. I am particularly interested in: (1) Architects and planner's opinion about the cityscape and street design philosophies in specific; (2) Architects and planner's opinions about street vendor's modus operandi and design character and; (3) vendor's philosophy about use of space and adaptive means of operating within in the city.

This research will add to the body of knowledge about how to successful integrate the informal design strategies into the mainstream (often formalistic) design principles. This research could potentially assist with a greater awareness of the success/failure of our planning and design ideas especially in developing countries and propose an alternative way of incorporating large sectors of the populace into the designed city realm.

Thank you for your willingness to participate in the interview. Your participation is voluntary. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. If at any time you do not want to continue with the interview, you may decline. Your time and involvement is profoundly appreciated. The entire interview will take approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour. To maintain the essence of your words for the research, I will record the information. At any time, you may request to see or hear the information I collect which you have provided to ensure your views have been accurately recorded

The interview will be digitally recorded and the interviewer will take notes. This is done for data analysis. The tape will be transcribed by the interviewer and kept confidential in a password-protected cloud storage. All individual identification will be removed immediately after the data has been processed. Participant identity and confidentiality will be concealed using coding procedures.

Excerpts from the interview may be included in the final dissertation report or other later publications. However, under no circumstances will your name or identifying characteristics appear in these writings. If, at a subsequent date, biographical data were relevant to a publication, a separate release form would be sent to you.

I would be grateful if you would *sign this form on the line provided below* to show that you have read and agree with the contents.

Name:

Position:

This study is being conducted as part of my requirements to obtain a PhD in Design, Technology and at the Graduate School of Social Science, Ozyegin University in Istanbul, Turkey.

The advisor to this dissertation is Prof (Dr.) Murat Sahin. He can be reached at murat.sahin@ozyegin.edu.tr for further questions or concerns about the project/research.

Sincerely,

Muhammad Kabir Balarabe
Ozyegin University

Appendix 4: Sample of coding for interviews

Vendors experience			
A1 Mobile vendors - Ease of operation [in 'allowed' sections]. "I have been doing my business here for 1.5 so I am a new comer here and no one disturbs me or prevent me to do so... I go to different places depending on where my customers are and this <i>which depends on the time of the day</i>" [Targeted destination movement and time specific. Not affected by the states and bankers' authority over segments of space.] FRUITS VENDOR. "...handheld items such as glasses have no business been in one place on this street. I make more sales at BATA roundabout [where glass merchants and repairers congregate] ... if I make any sale along my way then that will be good, but I am just passing here get there [BATA]. [Focused destination movement.] GLASSES VENDOR. "...we [sugar cane sellers] normally have to stay in a place for 1-3minutes [to cut] and give the person his sugarcane. This has got us into trouble with the [bank] securities... by saying we are making the place dirty [by peeling the back] and gathering crowd even if there are only 2-3 people... don't forget that sometimes they stop us and buy themselves. Why is it not dirty now as then? ...I only stay in one place when I am tired or finds a place that has a large number of pedestrians.... mostly during <i>Zuhur</i> [mid-day prayer and lunch time]" [Sporadic stops movement] SUGARCANE VENDOR. - Uses pavement, sidewalks and roads for movement and trade. "From my perspective, these [walkways] are not	A2 Mobile vendors - Difficult to operate. "...the difficulty is finding a place that suits your business and is available... most of them are taken but I don't know how a public space can become personal. It should be first-come-first-serve... where you see free open space is either in front of a shop or a house. You can stay there momentarily or even the whole business day but there is always possibility of being asked to move [by the occupants] if he chooses to. So I keep staying at different spaces that I can sell close to people for different period of times, like 20-30minutes here and there. But mostly I find tea places and stay there since people keep coming and going but only till about 11:30am" [Sporadic stops movement to avoid conflict with owners] [Third spaces as places of for adaptation in limited and highly policed areas] Shoes vendor "it is easy for us here. We come twice a day to this platform and display our goods. It does get congested but at least we have a place and our customers know where we are." [Focused destination movement.] Groundnut oil vendors mostly young ladies - Use of road for movement and transient trade. "the road is the only space for us to move upon and do our business. It is difficult sometimes but we do	A3 Mobile vendors - Ease of operation. "operating along this street is good. There are a lot of business and <i>shops that I can take my vegetables to</i>. Also people are friendly... <i>after I finish here, I go into the market sell some</i> there and wait for my afternoon rounds" [Targeted destination movement and time specific.] Vegetable based food VENDOR. "It is easy to do our business here because where we collect water is just down the road. So this is the best street to do business because it has a road and less vehicular traffic than the market areas where there are many people. While along the smaller streets don't, movement is difficult because of lack of tarred roads especially during the rainy season we get stuck most of the time. This is why I said here is better." [infrastructure and season determinant for ease of movement] KART WATER VENDOR. - Use of use of roads and private properties for movement and trade. "the roads can be better to accommodate our	Ease of operation. Questions. How do you find doing your activities here? Can you explain how you go about doing your business? What are the challenges you face in the course of doing your activities? Can you explain better regarding moving from one place to another? MV urban environment perspective [reduced to access and trade]. Questions

- Theoretical questions raised and standardised interview questions employed along side follow-ups
- General coding of the streets with regards to specific type of vendor (A - mobile vendors while 1, 2, & 3 representation MM Way, DEL and SSA respectively)
- Primary code - Direct quotations made by the respondent in answering a series of questions relevant to the theoretical question.
- Secondary code - Classifying/coding respondents quote into a discernable category, later used to generate themes.

Coding employed for thematic analyses

Appendix 5: Profile of vendors interviewed along MM Way and interview duration

S/No	Gender	Vendors	Type of vendor	Street	Duration (min)
1	M	Glasses vendor	Mobile	MM Way	17:14min
2	M	Fruits vendor (ascending and descending is not possible even if it [the carts])	Mobile	MM Way	12:03min
3	M	Vendor selling rosary	Mobile	MM Way	15:43min
4	F	Soft drinks vendor {at junction afribank section}	Mobile	MM Way	25:18min
5	M	Sugarcane vendor	Mobile	MM Way	09:21min
6	F	Food vendor (ecobank)	Stationary	MM Way	34:15min
7	F	Non-cooking food vendor (sidewalk)	Semi-mobile	MM Way	25:40min
8	M	Out-of-city vendors (sleepinf under bridge)	Mobile	MM Way	12:57min
9	M	Mobile telecommunication	Semi-mobile	MM Way	15:23min
10	M	Watch vendors and repairers	Stationary	MM Way	30:12min

Appendix 6: Profile of vendors interviewed along DEL and interview duration

S/No	Gender	Vendors	Type of vendor	Street	Duration (min)
1	M	Fruits vendor (cart on drainage)	Mobile	DEL	12:39min
2	M	Shoe vendor (cart on drainage)	Mobile	DEL	17:20min
3	F	Groundnut oil vendors (on foot going to junction)	Mobile	DEL	14:55min
4	M	Auto-lubricant vendor (infront of brothers shop)	Stationary	DEL	35:24min
5	F	Vegetable vendor (abutting the black wall section)	Stationary	DEL	27:30min
6	F	Bread vendor	Stationary	DEL	25:40min
7	M	Fruits vendor	Stationary	DEL	34:17min
8	F	Yams tubers vendor	Semi-mobile	DEL	22:10min
9	M	Auto-lubricants vendor	Semi-mobile	DEL	27:26min
10	M	Kiosk owner	Stationary	DEL	34:00min

Appendix 7: Profile of vendors interviewed along SSA and interview duration

S/No	Gender	Vendors	Type of vendor	Street	Duration (min)
1	M	Vegetable vendor attaching in house	Semi-mobile	SSA	16:25min
2	M	Kiosk vendors on untarred section of road	Stationary	SSA	30:07min
3	M	Auto-lubricants vendor (on private property	Stationary	SSA	26:58min
4	M	Electronic vendor (cart)	Mobile	SSA	13:17min
5	M	Mobile ice-cream vendor (on bicycle)	Mobile	SSA	12:22min
6	M	Traditional medicine vendor (from car)	Mobile	SSA	16:02min
7	F	Vegetable vendor (on foot going onto street and into market)	Mobile	SSA	09:29min
8	M	Auto-repair	Stationary	SSA	39:10min

Appendix 8: Profile of professionals interviewed at KNUPDA and interview duration

S/No	Gender	Professional	Rank	Summary view on SV	Duration (min)
1	M	P 1	Principal Town Planning Officer	Neat vendors, not those that spoil the environment	28:34
2	M	P 2	Senior Town Planning Officer	You can plan STRICTLY for them	38:36
3	M	P 3	Senior Land Officer	Deface visual character	47:02
4	M	P 4	Senior Executive Officer –Urban Planning Department	Hostile to vendors	19:51
5	M	P 5	Deputy Director Market Planning and Control	Plan and enforce formal acceptance	33:46
6	M	P 6	Deputy Director Architecture	Planning superiority	43:50
7	M	P 7	Principal Architect	-	25:35
8	M	P 8	Principal Technical Officer	Vendors should not be acceptable	16:35
9	M	P 9	Deputy Director Urban Centre	Visually appalling	30:52
10	M	P 10	Assistant Head Data Bank	Can be in cooperated in neighbourhood not high street	30:32
11	M	P 11	Principal Town Planning Officer	-	23:23
12	M	P 12	Director Technical Services, M. A. R. Market	-	21:06
13	M	P 13	Architect, Development Control	Relocated and formalised, not eradicate	30:26
14	M	P 15	Planner, Market Planning	Deface the aesthetics quality	45:31
15	M	P 16	Geographer, Urban Centre Department	Incorporate formally	20:33

Appendix 9: Profile of users interviewed along MM Way, DEL, & SSA, with their visible descriptors and interview duration

S/No	Gender	Users	Street	Summary view on SV	Descriptors	Duration (min)
1	M	RU 1	MM	Should be supported through patronage	Visible low income patron of SV. Pedestrian	28:34
2	M	RU 2	MM	Recognises SV danger. No Hostility though.	SV vehicular patron	38:36
3	M	RU 3	DEL	Activities contribute towards development	Low income SV patron	47:02
4	M	RU 5	DEL	Hostile view	Visibly middle to high income, vehicular non SV patron	19:51
5	M	RU 6	DEL	Illegal commercial activities	High income, formal institution patron	33:46
6	M	RU 7	SSA	Illegal and detrimental	High income, formal institution patron	43:50
7	M	RU 4	SSA	Supports SV	Ambiguous individual	25:35
8	M	RU 8	MM	Might not be fancy but are effective	Middle class non-patron	16:35
9	M	RU 9	SSA	Reluctant patron	Visibly Middle class	30:52
10	M	Tricycle driver	MM	Understands potential danger	Low income	30:32
11	M	Pick-up driver	SSA	Understands potential danger	Low income	23:23

