

**THE NEXUS OF INFORMAL TRADING AND THE BUILT
ENVIRONMENT, a case study of Lagos, Nigeria**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to comprehend the spatial influences of street trade on the environment, culture, and perception of Lagos, Nigeria's largest city. The study seeks to reveal how these informal commercial activities connect spatially with the hustle and bustle of everyday life in the city, and to use its findings to make recommendations which address the gaps in current public policy for street trading activities in Lagos metropolis.

Ojodu Berger Motor Park, with surrounding portions of the Isheri road axis and the Lagos - Ibadan expressway, on mainland Lagos, is the case study location for the study. Nonparticipant and participant observation, Findings were gathered from a sample of street vendors and other respondents in the case study area through a combination of key informant semi-structured interviews and a questionnaire.

Findings show that the operational and spatial characteristics of these street trading activities connect with, and also reflect the people behaviour in pedestrian and vehicular traffic in the urban public spaces. These dispositions are shaped by movement patterns, lifestyle, and social and economic status, religion, and work routine, visual and verbal expressions, habits, manners and needs, speed, cultural and ethnic background of the people. The rationale behind these dispositions include ease, convenience, cheap cost, nearness, flexibility, variety, openness, socio-cultural appeal, time saved, freedom. At the core of this complexity is time, which represents specific moments of everyday life in a typical day.

However, the resultant overlap of 'inherent traditional values' within a 'modern setting', inevitably, leads to shaping the social, but contested meaning of the urban public space, into a complex variety of predominantly vernacular based, commercial driven multi-purpose spaces.

Therefore, due to the resultant controversies, regarding 'rights to the city', between street traders and policy makers, the study recommends a realistic, "bottom – top" policy framework, which integrates government plans with existing reality of daily life in the city, and thus results into a 'win-win' situation for all sides.

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to God Almighty for his goodness and mercies in preserving me throughout the PhD journey. Unto him be the glory, honour adoration and majesty, forever and ever. Amen

The study is also dedicated to my family, which includes my wife and children, for their company, love, encouragement and moral support. It is also dedicated to my siblings, my parents and in – laws for their prayers, encouragement, show of concern and other forms of assistance too numerous to mention.

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Veni, vidi, vici

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

"But a city is more than a place in space; it's a drama in time."

- Patrick Geddes(1905: p107)

1.1 Background of the study

Lagos metropolis, a hot, humid, coastal city in south-west Nigeria, is the cultural melting pot and 'commercial nerve center' of the country. However, the city is significant and famous because of its colonial roots and its historical background, as the original seat of power in Nigeria (Omoegun, 2015).

As a result, Lagos metropolis is widely regarded locally and internationally, as an overcrowded city, ranking among the first 10 of such cities in the world (Gandy, 2006; Abiodun, 1997; Makinde, et al., 2016; Muhammed, et al., 2015; Oyesiku, 2010). This popularity makes the city an attractive destination. Hence, it contributes significantly to the perennial challenge of rapid urban growth. The symptoms are the causes and effects of overcrowding, such as high population and land use density, urban pedestrian and vehicular traffic congestion, continuous rural-urban migration and urban sprawl (Omoegun, 2015).

The perennial pedestrian and vehicular traffic in urban public spaces, has assumed the level of an urban phenomenon, especially in prime high-density locations within the city. This traffic which often results from in congestion very commonly occurs daily, from dawn to dusk, especially during the peak periods of the weekdays, as Lagosians, customarily go about their respective daily business, *en masse*, on foot, by public transport or by private vehicles.

However, closely related to this phenomenon of pedestrian and vehicular traffic is the arguably controversial presence of various forms of street trading activities in the urban communal places of the city.

Considering this reality, the purpose of this research is to inquire into the controversy surrounding street traders in the urban public spaces of prime high-density locations in Lagos, as well as the hectic routine of daily life in Lagos, which revolves around pedestrian and vehicular traffic. To some extent, this impetus comes from the author's own long-term interactions with street vendors as a pedestrian and motorist in the city's public areas.

1.2 Research aims, objectives and questions

Several historical, sociopolitical, cultural, and economic aspects all contribute to the reality of daily life and the establishment of the unorganized economic sector in the Lagos metropolis, which is described as the "commercial nerve core" of Nigeria. When discussing the importance of the underground economy, Lagos stands out. Lagos, the most populous metropolis in Nigeria, is home to over 17 million people (Meagher and Yunusa, 1996; Skinner, 2008; Neuwirth, 2009). Nigeria has one of the largest and most vibrant informal economies in the world. The informal sector of the Lagos economy is estimated to employ between 50 and 75 percent of the city's workers (LSG, 2004), with commercial transactions predominating there since the beginning. This estimate is in spite that manufacturing and other services are also significant (Abiodun, 1997). As a result, probably millions of individuals in Lagos rely on the informal economy for their livelihood and sustenance or daily bread.

This study seeks to understand how street trading activities connect with the routine of daily life in Lagos metropolis. Given this, the study hopes to contribute to the better understanding of the spatial contribution that informal economic activities make to the nature, culture and

perception of the city. In the context of the study, as shown in figure 1.2, the nature, culture and perception of the city indicates the daily routine of pedestrian and vehicular traffic in the urban public space. The characteristics of this phenomenon are the crowded setting of the motor park, which includes pedestrian and vehicular traffic congestion in the urban public space and the surrounding high density-built environment. Another significant characteristic of this phenomenon is the controversial presence of various forms of street trading activities in public space. Other indicators that affect the experience of daily living in urban public space are also compiled into the "view of the city."

Given the fact that street trading activities have assumed a significant part of the daily routine in the city, therefore spatial contribution refers to the broad range of activities, experiences and resultant issues emanating from the physical presence of these activities in the urban public space.

The historical, socioeconomic, cultural, and political framework of city life, which includes, among other things, the volume of pedestrian and vehicular traffic and the significance of urban public space, frames these activities, experiences, and problems. Additionally, it supports the importance of the study's goals and objectives.

This research is empirical and anthropological. The research's scope and context, which address the following fundamental concerns, is based on the Ojodu Berger motor park region, which serves as a case study setting for this investigation.

1. *What traits define the hectic daily routine in the vicinity of Ojodu Berger Motor Park?*
2. *How do these characteristics stimulate the presence and spatial impact of street trading activities?*
3. *How might the findings of this study inform the development and implementation of policies pertaining to street trade in the Lagos metropolitan area?*

These questions provide the basis for framing and breaking down the research objectives. Therefore, the study examines the following four broad objectives:

Objective 1:

To describe, analyze and determine how samples of street trading activities connect spatially with the daily routine of pedestrian and vehicular traffic in different settings of the urban public space of the case study location.

This objective shows how these samples fit with other indicators of the perception of the city. The resultant questions include:

- *What is the background of the sample street trader?*
- *What type of street trading activities do they practice?*
- *What is the routine and experiences of the daily life of the sample trader?*
- *How do these factors interpret spatially, and provides insights leading to inputs for policy?*

Objective 2:

To obtain feedback from key informants such as street traders, local residents and workers in the case study location in order to obtain objective and realistic input into public policy.

This objective addresses different strategies used to obtain information from different categories of respondents, to substantiate the findings of the 2nd objective. Therefore, the resultant questions are as follows:

- *Who are the street traders who occupy and use the urban public space? How are they distributed?*
- *Who are the crowd of road users that make up the pedestrian and vehicular traffic in the case study location? How do they occupy and use urban public space?*
- *Who are the different categories of the local population that make up the key informants in the case study location? What roles do they play in the urban public space and the case study location?*
- *How can feedback be obtained from these different categories of respondents? How can the findings be used to substantiate the findings of the 2nd objective and also provide input into public policy?*

Objective 3:

To utilize the outcomes of the research to provide recommendations which address the gaps in present public policy for street trade activities in Lagos metropolitan.

This goal attends to the study's secondary purpose. It is the culmination of the study's preceding aims, bringing together their findings to demonstrate the study's relevance and impact on society.

- What are the gaps in existing policies for street trading activities in Lagos metropolis?
- To what extent do the study's findings contribute to existing knowledge?
- How do the study's results fill the gaps left by the current regulations on street stalls in Lagos's metropolitan area?
- What recommendations could be made as a result of this study to close the loopholes in the current laws governing street trade in Lagos?

1.3 Ojodu Berger motor park area, Lagos Metropolis

Ojodu Berger is one of such prime locations, in the outskirts of Lagos metropolis where the hustle and bustle routine of daily life in the city manifests and as such, is the case study location for this study. Within this area, the study focuses on the Motor Park, with surrounding portions of the Isheri road axis and the Lagos - Ibadan expressway.

There are high concentration and distribution of pedestrian and vehicular traffic, and other land use activities and features in this area. These land-use features include the Ojodu Berger motor park, the Ojodu retail market premises, and the bus stops bordering the property lines of the buildings along the busy Isheri road, which extends into mainland Ikeja. The building types along the Isheri road include rows of closely packed commercial, mixed-use, civic and residential buildings.

Furthermore, the Ojodu Berger motor park area contains a significant number of public infrastructures such as an overhead bridge, power lines and drainage gutters which serve as boundary markers and space definers. All of these makes the area a busy commercially based, mixed-use environment.

As a result of these characteristics, the area often experiences high pedestrian and vehicular traffic congestion, especially during peak hours of a typical working day. This condition makes the location ideal for various forms of street trading activities.



Figure 1.1: Lagos, Nigeria¹

¹ Lagos State Government – Centre of Excellence. <https://lagosstate.gov.ng/>



Figure 1.2: Picture showing the routine of daily life in Ojodu Berger motor park area, Lagos metropolis.

FIGURE 1.2 shows the scene of everyday life at Ojodu Berger motor park area at Isheri road junction. This street setting of urban public space shows interplay of nature, the built environment, people of different age, interests and background; land use activities made up of those that are fixed, mobile or a combination of both; and various forms of street trading activities.

The movement pattern, concentration and distribution of pedestrian and vehicular traffic [public and private] area the core of activities in Ojodu Berger. This is impacted significantly by the presence of the Ojodu Berger motor park, a popular inter and intra state public transport location. This, in turn stimulates the presence of various forms of street trading activities. This traffic affects the perception of the area and presence of municipal authorities to control the activities and also maintain law and order.

Theoretically, all these reflect the impact of interwoven socio-spatial themes summarizing the outcome of observations of congested and crowded space –

(1) Variety of movement patterns, sights, sounds, interactions, spaces and places

(2) Multiple forms of activities and patterns of space negotiations

(3) Manifestation of stress, anxiety, 'chaos', alertness, speed, rush, fear, phobia; heat, noise, smells

(4) Opportunity, chance, networking, encounter, competition

(5) Crowd which is made up of users of the city space and includes pedestrian and vehicular traffic

(6) The hustle and bustle outlook indicating a prevailing mindset of time consciousness

Symbolic significance of case study location

Ojodu Berger motor park is a central location at the outskirts of Lagos state where Lagos it forms the boundary with Ogun state. It is also a part of Ikeja LGA, the administrative capital of Lagos. The area includes the Lagos / Ibadan expressway, which is bounded at the Ojodu Berger part by the Berger motor park. This motor park, coupled with the surrounding land use activities including the end of the Isheri road forms the activity core at Ojodu Berger.

Ojodu Berger is famous for the motor park, which is a major inter and intra state park. This is a mixed-use area, dominated by housing settlements and urban sprawl. The Isheri road is the principal axis and forms the axis or the activity core in Ojodu Berger.

Isheri road is the main pedestrian and vehicular circulation axis in Ojodu Berger. Therefore, the Ojodu Berger activity core comprises of the Ojodu main park, the Isheri road itself which is a main vehicular and pedestrian route leading to Ikeja mainland. Surrounding this road are various land use features and activities such as commercial buildings, commercial transport activities, vehicular and pedestrian traffic, and other street market activities. The activities in this area impact significantly on nearby locations and due to the high land use density of Ojodu Berger, the commercial spatial character of the activity core spreads, as one moves away to other areas in Ikeja.

The significance of the case study location is summarised as follows:

1. This is a popular activity core area in the outskirts of Ikeja LGA.
2. A mixed used built environment comprising of a wide range of commercial, residential, religious infrastructures, all of which reflect the types of primary land use activities in the area.

3. Evidence of crowded space due to a high concentration of land use activities and presence of major road network.
4. Notable location for various forms of street trading activities, due to the presence of the motor park, commercial and various forms of wholesale and retail market activities.
5. Notable terminus for various forms of urban public mass transportation, as well as a major pedestrian and vehicular traffic route.
6. A popular central business area for the Ojodu community and Lagos mainland
7. A border location into and out of Lagos metropolis – border between Lagos state and beyond. This includes the Lagos - Ibadan expressway at the entry point into Lagos metropolis, with the Ojodu Berger Motor Park serving as a major urban mass transport location.
8. The presence of Isheri road – a major vehicular and pedestrian transport route leading to Ikeja mainland and the Muritala Mohamed international airport. It is also a major route that connects with minor streets that lead to the Ojodu Berger interior.
9. A congested and predominantly commercial area, with sizable number of formal institutions and mixed-use commercial based infrastructure.
10. Located in Ikeja local government area, with close proximity to Alausa, the capital and administrative seat of power in Lagos state. Therefore, a significant amount of government representation in terms of personnel within the population and infrastructure within the built environment, especially in the public space.
11. A collection of significant and interwoven street settings of urban public space.
12. A population concentration and distribution core area in Ojodu and Ikeja Lagos since there is a greater density of public services and commercial establishments; and the presence of the major transportation route comprising of Lagos - Ibadan expressway and the Isheri road.
13. The motor park itself, which is a significant catalyst for movement, activities, commerce, crowd, all of which combine to enhance the vitality and vibrancy of the area.
14. The strategic location of the area at the border with Ogun state makes it a prime route for immigration into and out of Lagos. In turn, this has, impacted significantly on the state of the built environment, where there is clear evidence of the symptoms of rapid urban growth and urbanization challenges in Lagos, such as high population and land use

density, urban sprawl and conurbation, blighted settlements, and high population concentration of the urban poor living in poor neighborhoods with limited public infrastructure.

15. A prime location for various forms of street trading activities taking place along the Isheri road and other minor streets that connects with Isheri road. This is due to the concentration of land use activities and the presence of two major routes – the Lagos / Ibadan expressway which represents the federal route, while the Isheri road represents the state route.

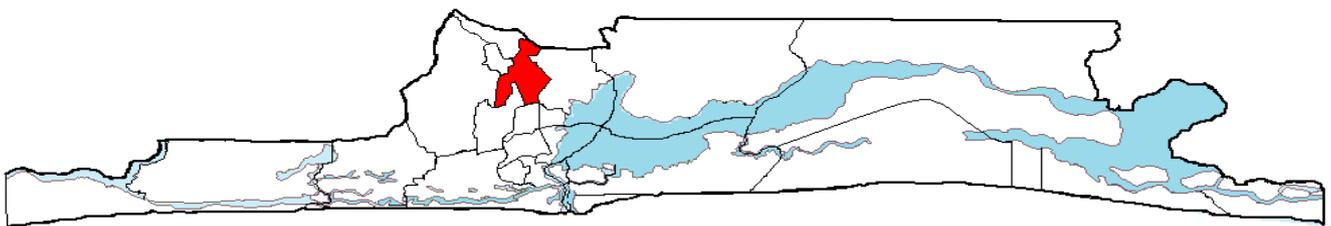


Figure 1.3: Map of Lagos state, Nigeria showing the location of Ikeja L.G.A

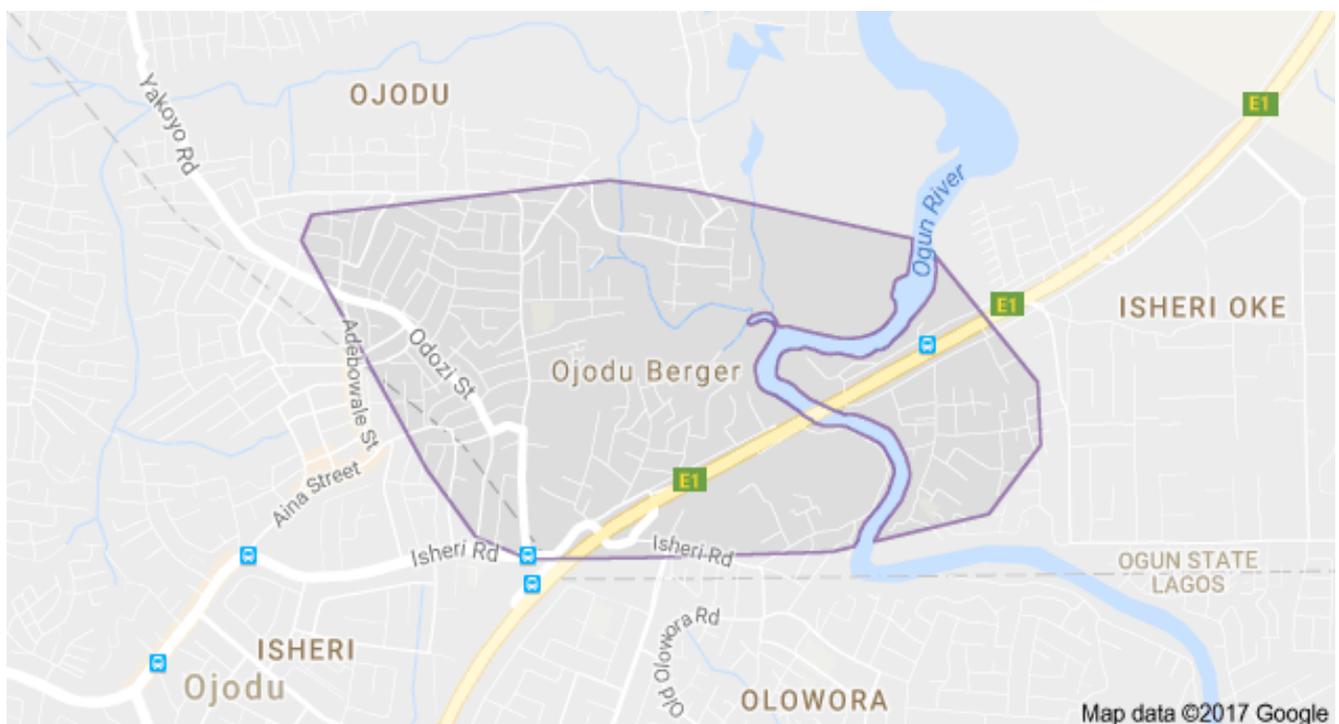


Figure 1.4: Ariel map of Ojodu Berger, in Ikeja L.G.A

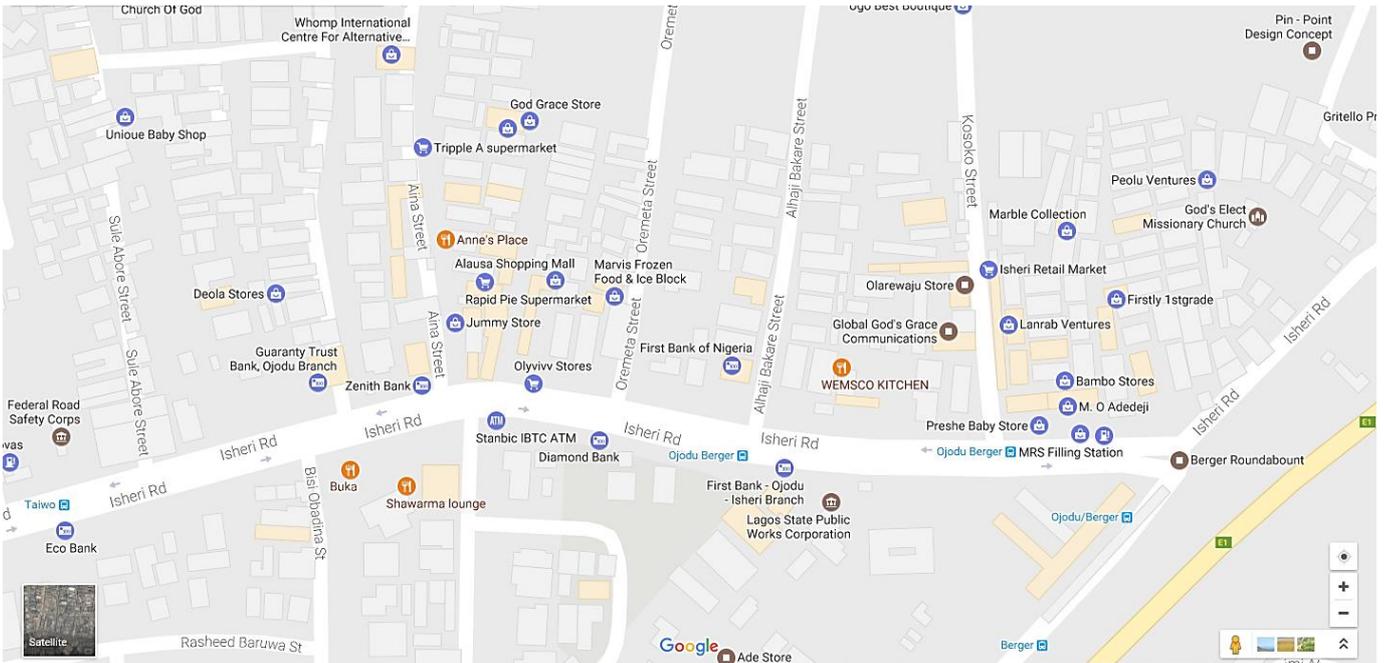


Figure 1.5: Map of Ojodu Berger, showing significant land use patterns around Isheri road, the main movement axis in the area.

Ojodu Berger Motor Park is the main inter and intra state commercial terminus. It is the main activity hub of the case study location as it connects the Lagos / Ibadan expressway with Isheri road.

The terminus comprises of different segments for different categories of buses and small vehicles plying different routes, within and outside Lagos. Significantly, this terminus is situated just at the border between Ogun state and Lagos state on the Lagos - Sagamu axis [E1]. Furthermore it also represents a pedestrian distribution core as well as being bounded by the Ogunnusi road, which is also a major vehicular / pedestrian distribution route into, within and out of Lagos. Therefore, the terminus is a major commercial asset of the Lagos state government, with the Ikeja local government and the Nigerian federal government as

stakeholders as well. These factors combine to enhance to significance of the terminus, hence events there make up topical issues in the news and social media.



Figure 1.6: Picture of Ojodu Berger motor park area, showing Isheri road at off peak period.

Ojodu Berger is a mixed-use area dominated by the Isheri road, which serves as a major vehicular traffic route into and out of mainland Lagos. Also, the area is dominated by the presence of the bus stop, which is one among several other bus stops on both sides of the road, which starts from the Ojodu Berger motor park, the main activity core of the area.

Just off the Ogunnusi highway's western side, by the location of the Ogunnusi bus stop, facing the Ojodu Berger motor park are rows of public buildings, which include one storey lettable shopping spaces, banks and department stores. Behind these buildings, off the road are residential buildings that are arranged in a neighbourhood arrangement.

The presence of the motor park and the bus stops and the other major roads that link with the street, such as the Lagos – Sagamu expressway and the Isheri road, makes the location of this road a mixed-use area, while the street itself represents a busy vehicular traffic route,

whose use is dominated by commercial vehicles such as 18 seater buses, Keke NAPEP, Okada vehicles.

Their trading activity is among a population network of street vending activities on Isheri road, Kosoko Street, Oremeta street, Bakare street, Aina street, etc, up to Berger motor park, which represents the activity core area of the case study location.

Isheri road is a major vehicular route and connecting axis, leading to Ikeja mainland. This road is also a major road, which also connects with minor roads along its stretch, leading into private estates and other forms of housing settlements in Ojodu. The street is a popular route for commercial transport vehicles such as the 18-seater buses and the Keke NAPEP.

Due to its location and vehicular significance, Isheri road is also a prime location for potential customers of street vendors who are strategically located along the road, especially in areas of potential crowd cluster along the road, such as the Ogunnusi motor park, the setting of the sample study.

Pedestrian and vehicular traffic concentration and distribution [public and private] is the catalyst of land use activities in Ojodu Berger. This traffic concentration affects the view, movement pattern and distribution of pedestrians. This, in turn, impacts on the presence and distribution of informal markets activities, the presence of security personnel stationed at strategic locations around the road, and presence of municipal authorities to control the activities and maintain law and order. The core of pedestrian and vehicular traffic includes the presence of the Ojodu Berger motor park, a popular inter and intrastate public transport location.

Isheri road is a mixed-use activity hub in the outskirts of Lagos. The users include vehicular traffic and pedestrians and residents from the surrounding housing settlements of workers. It also— especially at the activity core area.

Informal trading comprising of various individuals and population groups of street vendors is a dominant activity on the road. This is coupled with the presence of Ojodu Motor Park, various bus stops along the street, the Ojodu retail market, and other formal sector

commercial establishments. Furthermore, there is a high concentration of various forms of commercial transport facilities such as Keke NAPEP, 18 seater yellow minibuses, okada, tricycles and other transportation means to cater for the teeming population within and surrounding the locality.

There is a significant presence of security operatives from LASTMA, NIGERIAN POLICE FORCE, stationed strategically of the street, to control vehicular traffic, and to monitor human activities, especially about orderliness, crime prevention and violence. Therefore this street can also be regarded as a potentially 'politically volatile' location. Furthermore, at daytime, especially working days, other law enforcement agents such as KAI [kick against indiscipline], RRS [rapid response squad] show up unexpectedly to beef up the security in this area. These agents [or task force] are noted for raiding the street vendors, in the bid to clear up the street and sidewalks for 'ease' of vehicular and pedestrian movement. As such, there is always a sense of apprehension among the street vendors – especially if they sight somebody that seems unfamiliar but looks corporate – a potential 'spy' for the taskforce. Also, there are thugs, miscreants, area boys, 'mafia', and other residents who mingle with the informal traders and other population groups in the area.

The traffic control post is a circular shape and exposed to give an all-round view. This allows verbal and visual connectivity and social interactions. During heavy vehicular traffic flow, this post gets so obscured that it is almost unnoticeable – until one gets very close to it.

“Working here is quite stressful, especially during the evenings. The place is too jam-packed. I dread being posted to this location. Everybody is master of himself or herself. We just have to do our best to control the situation, but Abeg, it is very difficult. On top of that a useless driver will insult you for doing your work, but what can one do? From time to time, some drivers are also kind to us. Those who appreciate us and give us tips. But the majority of people don't like us. They feel LASTA is too tough, is too this or that! Anyway, our job is to control traffic. We are not concerned with the traders, as they don't bother us. They are only trying to make their living. Their problem is with the government, KAI and RRS.

“The weather itself is something else. Lagos weather nawaa! Especially in the afternoon, like this. The evening is slightly better. Very hot and we must wear this uniform! We too are suffering. Who doesn’t like to sit in the office under air conditioning, or to ride in a limousine? Ehn? How much are they paying us? Many of us are also graduates but 'condition' has pushed us into this job. But what can we do? Please don’t quote me, abeg. I don’t have another job!”

Isheri road junction - the setting of contested space between street vendors and vehicle users:

The street vendors congregate in every available space, around the traffic control post and the surrounding land use features – the Ojodu Berger motor park [to the back], the conoil petrol filling station and Ojodu Berger bus stop [to the right side, and leading to the kosoko street junction]. The population of ‘civilians’ vastly outnumbers the officials. At the entrance of the Conoil filling station is a Nigerian police force patrol van, permanently stationed there between the hours of 8:00 am and 6:00 pm, Monday through Friday. This is to add to the security check-in the area.

Isheri road is an axis dominated by a linear stretch of various forms of street vendors. The busy nature of the road, due to the high concentration of traffic, being the fastest route to Ikeja; coupled with the presence of commercial establishments that line up the street, is a major catalyst for the presence of street vendors along the road. The close-knit nature of these vendors along property lines, road edges and other forms of boundary features along the Ogunnusi street gives an impression of a linear stretch of street market activities. Apart from the street vendors, there is a cluster of commercial activities, just within property lines lining the street. These commercial establishments include buildings containing rows of shops, banks, mini – shopping malls, religious buildings.

It is the main commercial corridor of Ojodu, and contains other significant land use activities such as religious buildings, residential properties and government establishments. The concentration increases as one approach the main activity core – the Ojodu Berger motor park.

Therefore, the Ojodu Berger activity core comprises of the Ojodu main park, the Isheri road itself which is a main vehicular and pedestrian route leading to Ikeja mainland. Surrounding this road are various land use features and activities such as commercial buildings, commercial transport activities, vehicular and pedestrian traffic and other street market activities. The activities in this area affect significantly on nearby locations as one moves away from the activity core, including the setting of the case study.

Isheri road is the main vehicular axis of Ojodu Berger. This is a built-up area comprising of modern and suburban categories of residential settlements, various categories of commercial establishments, civic and purpose-built market areas. The intensity of activities increases as one move towards the Lagos / Sagamu axis, which also has the Ojodu Berger motor park, Ojodu retail market, commercial establishments including the TechnOil filling station. The residential areas are located around Kosoko street, Alhaji Bakare Street, Oremeta street, Aina street, etc. they comprise of composite spaces with setbacks nearby. They include in house companies/business outfits [S.M.E].

Natural elements

Ojodu Berger shares from the prevailing hot humid climate of metropolitan Lagos. However, the location's proximity to Ogun River and the vegetation along Sagamu impacts significantly in giving the area a milder microclimate. Furthermore, Ojodu Berger has a high density-built environment with almost no available green area. This makes the area very hot on high heat intensity days.

Ojodu Berger, like most other areas of metropolitan Lagos, has a flat terrain, with swampy soil, however, most of the built environment has been sand filled, thereby raising the ground level. Ojodu Berger proximity to the Ogun state flood plain and the Ogun River, ensures that the location enjoys direct south-westerly wind flow. However, the high-density nature of the built environment ensures a modification of the wind flow direction and temperature.

- **Season** (hot humid climate comprising of dry, rainy, harmattan annual season's weather patterns)
- **Weather** (daily atmospheric condition comprising of the combination of wind, rain, sun, cloud, relative humidity),

- **Sunlight** (light and heat intensity, daily temperature range, shades and shadows),
- **Wind** (wind flow pattern, wind types - SW prevailing vs. NE harmattan: moisture and humidity level, breeze: wind and air flow pattern),
- **Rainfall** (types of rainfall, moisture, humidity),
- **Cloud** (types of clouds, effect of cloud cover on weather - variation in sunlight intensity, rainfall, and wind pattern)



Figure 1.7: Isheri road, rush hour traffic after a heavy downpour morning.

Rainfall is a seasonal occurrence in Lagos, occurring during the rainfall season between the months of May and October annually. The rainfall in Lagos is often characterized by periods of heavy downpour that leads to ‘flash’ flooding, especially in high density areas with poor drainage systems or blocked drains – such Isheri road, Ojodu Berger. If the downpour occurs over night or early in the morning on a working day, it usually results into flooding which results into vehicular traffic hold up

The rain does not deter certain traders from displaying their wares, as seen in this picture. This includes newspaper vendors, who have no choice but to braze through the weather in order to sell. This is because newspaper sales is an early morning business. In this picture, newspaper vendors can be seen intermingling with vehicular traffic on a glow slow due to the

aftermath of the heavy downpour. The presence of these newspaper vendors serves as stimulant for other vendors to display their wares, as well.

Layout of built environment

This comprises of the built environment features such as public amenities, buildings, roads, setbacks, services, landscape. It also comprises of the land use patterns and physical state of these built environment features. It also includes arrangement and distribution of land use activities. Other components include built environment features, configuration, arrangements, land use patterns.

Isheri road is the main vehicular axis of Ojodu Berger. The street is surrounded, on both sides by the built-up area comprising of modern and sub urban categories of residential settlements, various categories of commercial establishments, civic and purpose built market areas. The intensity of activities increases as one moves towards the Lagos / Sagamu axis which also has the Ojodu Berger motor park, Ojodu retail market, commercial establishments including the TechnOil filling station. The residential areas are located around Kosoko street, Alhaji Bakare Street, Oremeta street, Aina street, etc. they comprise of composite spaces with setbacks in proximity. They include in house companies / business outfits [S.M.E].

On the west side of Isheri road - facing the Ojodu Berger motor park are rows of public buildings, which include one storey let table shopping spaces, the Ojodu retail market, banks and department stores. Behind these buildings, off the road are residential buildings that are arranged in a neighbourhood arrangement. The presence of the Ojodu Berger motor park, the Ojodu retail market, the bus stops and the minor streets that links with the street makes the location of this road a mixed use area. While the street itself represents a busy vehicular traffic route, whose use is dominated by commercial vehicles such as 18 seater buses, keke NAPEP, Okada vehicles.

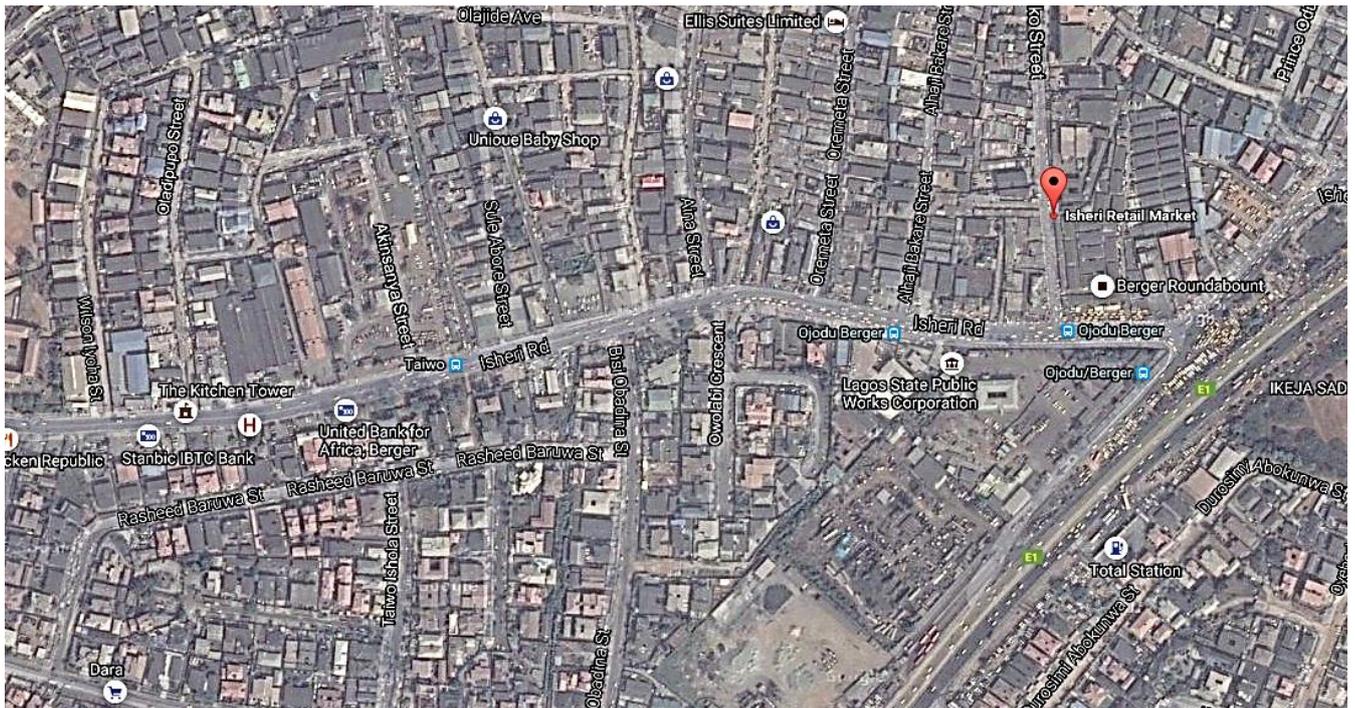


Figure 1.8: Map showing the built environment layout around Isheri road, Ojodu Berger

People

The people in the case study location also make up the crowd which is the users of the city space and includes the automotive and pedestrian traffic in metropolitan public space settings. These people include individuals and groups in classifications of age, gender, ethnicity, social, age, occupation, religion, education, gender, ideology, family background, and status. These people make up the users of the built environment by engaging in various forms of land use activities. They also make up the potential targets for street traders. It is noteworthy that the population demographics and distribution varies with time and is associated with activity patterns regarding the research area's utilisation of land

This aspect is very important, as it impacts significantly on the presence concentration, distribution and marketing strategy of the street trading activities.

The 2006 Nigerian census puts this area as having a combined local population of 317,616 (171,782 males; 145,832 females). The local population comprises of the indigenous settlers or natives, house owners and tenants. The demographics of the local population is made up

of (1) gender – male, female; (2) age - Youth, middle age, old; (3) ethnicity – indigene, foreigner; (4) education – literate, semi – literate, illiterate.

Road users - pedestrian and vehicular traffic

Behaviour comprises of the social and spatial characteristics of Lagosians, particularly in street setting of the urban public space. These characteristics represent their response to the challenges of everyday life in the city. It manifests in various attributes such as dressing, fashion and outlook, mood, attitudes, habits, and body language. The body language includes everyday facial outlook and expressions such as busy, in a rush, sharp, fast, aggressive, hardened, resilient, docile, hopeful, Youthfulness, vernacular, cheerfulness. Closely associated to these characteristics are mood, beliefs, attitudes, dispositions, social expressions, feelings and sentiments.

1. Behaviour is underpinned by religious, ethnic and cultural sensitivities and consciousness and these manifests in attributes such as values, morals, beliefs, greetings, conduct, expressions, ethics, norms, taboo, respect, courtesy and superstitions.
2. Behaviour is also associated with visual and verbal communication, and this includes the manner of visual and verbal expression. Verbal expression includes loud, expressive, vernacular based code mixed language use. Post-colonial influences also play a significant part and this includes the use of English and its vernacular derivatives as acceptable means of verbal communication. The vernacular derivatives include various forms of code mix, code switch, and vernacular forms of visual and verbal expression linked to folk culture, such as *Eko, Naija mentality*; ethnic, cultural, religious, gender, fashion, ideology, mentality and "sense of familiarity".
3. Behaviour is also associated with dressing and physical outlook, which is deeply rooted in culture, religion, education, and the postcolonial influences such as globalization. Fashion consciousness via dressing as a visible part of cultural/ethnic/religious identity and expression
4. Another component of behaviour is verbal and audio sound which comprises of human and vehicular traffic, movements, conversations, noise, and music. Sound is also

associated with cultural expressions; religion the characteristic “rush and hurry” mentality of Lagosians.

5. Behaviour also has a socio-spatial impact on street trading activities through movement pattern and positioning. Disposition / conduct (active, passive, neutral), physical outlook, manner of commercial transaction, social interaction (encounter, meeting, negotiation, manner of visual verbal communication), social relationships.
6. The prevailing socio economic climate shapes the expectations of everyday life and this motivates the 'drive' that shapes people's behavioural tendencies in public space. Therefore, street trading activities represent an 'unconventional', alternative, flexible, 'stop gap' approach to cushion this effect by providing 'portable' commodities at relatively cheaper and negotiable rate in the public space — thus eliminating additional overhead cost, which can drive up the price of the product, which in turn makes it less easily accessible and affordable. This strategy is known for its ability to effortlessly appeal to the everyday culturally ingrained understanding of social interactions, and therefore appeals to, and fits seamlessly with the behavioural tendencies of people in their daily lives through the public space, thereby impacting significantly in meeting their everyday 'basic and essential' needs of life.

Breakdown of inherent social and spatial based behavioural characteristics of lagosians in urban public space:

Category A - Social basis of behavioural manifestations

- Moral upbringing: Sense of values, temperament
- Age and maturity: Tolerance level, temperament
- Life experiences, culture and religious beliefs: temperament, exposure and world view
- Ethnicity, gender and family background: language expressions, dressing, outlook, temperament
- Background and level of formal education: motivation, outlook, intelligence level, taste, confidence, life goals and achievements, purpose driven, temperament, maturity
- Career and nature of job: Social status, outlook, income level, temperament, maturity, daily routine

- Strength and state of health: Outlook, temperament, tolerance level, youthful

Category B - Spatial basis of behavioural manifestations

- Congestion and overcrowding: impatience, speed, aggressive, competitive, focused, stress, alertness, attentive, multi-lingual, brisk movements, touchy, suspicious, calculative, paranoid, rapid movement.

Significance of vernacular

The urban public space as no man's land - everyone is free to express themselves, albeit within the limits of law and order. The unrestricted use of vernacular, due to the heterogeneity of the population in the urban public space represents a basis of common identity, to which informal activities such as street trading connects with, in order to stimulate commercial transactions. Therefore, the informal approach to commercial transactions, such as is the case with street trading activities provides a vernacular appeal to the inherent behavioural instincts of Lagosians, which manifests, particularly during peak periods of crowd, when everyone can be free to be themselves. It can be argued that the street trading activities represent an organic response to the existing socio-spatial dynamics of the city.

As a result, the diversity of the product on display shows that there is something for everyone. Furthermore, the marketing strategy and the placement of each street trading activity is done in order to reflect the lifestyle pattern, taste, interest, income and other behavioural attributes of prospective customers from among the crowd of pedestrian and vehicular traffic.

- What is the routine of pedestrian and vehicular traffic in the area?
(Findings, analysis, and discussions: Early morning: 6:30 am – 9:30 am; Morning: 9:30 am - 11:30 am ; Midday: 11:30am – 1:30pm; Afternoon: 1:30pm – 4:30pm; Evening: 4:30pm – 6:30 pm; Night: 6:30pm – 8:30pm)

The summary of the time frame, including the impact of other factors such as weather condition, traffic situation, activities / events are presented in table 1.1.

Working day in the week	Time frame	Weather condition	Traffic situation	Activities / events
Monday – Friday	Early morning: 6:30 am – 9:30 am	Very cool, very damp	Rush hour, 1 st peak period, heavy traffic, congestion	Rapid movement, rowdy, noisy
	Morning: 9:30 am - 11:30 am	Cool, cloudy, light shower, damp	2 nd peak period, steady traffic flow	Rapid but steady movement, less noisy
	Midday: 11:30am – 1:30pm	Sunny, hot, dry, windy	1 st off peak period, less noisy, lesser traffic flow	Less rapid movement, less crowd, less traffic movement
	Afternoon: 1:30pm – 4:30pm	Very sunny, very hot, humid, less windy	Workers break time, primary and secondary school closing hours, mild peak period, noisy	Sparse, free, light movement
	Evening: 4:30pm – 6:30 pm	Very sunny, humid, less windy	Rush hour, 3 rd peak period, noisy, steady traffic flow	Rapid but steady movement, less noisy
	Night: 6:30pm – 8:30pm	Cool, humid, less windy	Rush hour, 4 th peak period, noisy, congestion	Rapid movement, rowdy, noisy

Table 1.1: Breakdown of timeframe of pedestrian and vehicular movement in a typical working day

The early morning period (6:30am - 9:30am) represents the 1st time frame of the day. Traffic wise, this is the early morning rush hour, which is characterized by high volume vehicular and pedestrian traffic movement. This is the period of the day, when workers, business owners and students from nursery schools up to tertiary institutions set off to work, businesses and school respectively. Given the high-density nature of the case study location, this period of the day is characterized by overcrowding, noise, tense and rapid movement, traffic holdup, high volume of people in the urban public space. This scenario is the basis for the hustle and bustle nature of the city. Given the crowded nature of the public space, this period also marks the arrival and significant presence of government and community personnel, such as the police, LASTMA, cleaners, RRS, Vigilante, area boys. These personnel engage in traffic and security control as well as sanitation. Their presence underlines the political significance of the urban public space, particularly at this time of the day.

Street hawkers are the dominant form of street trading activity during this time frame. This is due to their marketing strategy, which is characterized by rapid movement and flexible

positioning, coupled with compact and portable goods packaging and easy, quick and flexible mode of transactions. As such, street hawkers position themselves strategically along and facing the line of vehicular and pedestrian traffic, usually in and around the drop off and traffic hold up spots in the major streets and on the highway. This is to be seen thereby stimulating interest in their product.

The morning period (9:30 am - 11:30 am) represents the 2nd time frame of the day. Traffic wise, this is the 2nd peak period, and is characterized steady traffic flow. This includes rapid but steady movement, and is less noisy, as most workers, business owners and students would have settled down at their respective posts, and thus there is less pressure on the urban public space. During this time, street hawkers as well as other types of street trading activities have arrived and settled in their respective positions in the urban public space. During this period the density of traffic almost corresponds with the bearing capacity of the urban public space, therefore this can be described as a period of spatial equilibrium.

Concentration, types and distribution of land use activities

This is a manifestation of labour, through the multiplicity of static and mobile activities in various settings of urban public space at different moments in time, thereby resulting into movement patterns, sights, sounds, and smells.

This is an offshoot of the built environment and comprises of the various types of activities that defines the built environment. These land use activities can be grouped under recreational, commercial, residential, religious, civic and political categories. Within each of these categories are the various types of street trading activities, commercial activities, Motor Park, traffic, building types. These activities can be classified as mobility based, sedentary based or mixed based. The classification also includes indoors or outdoors or mixed.

Ojodu Berger motor park area is a mixed use area, which includes the Isheri road, which serves as a major vehicular traffic route into and out of mainland Lagos. As a result, the road is a popular route for commercial transport vehicles such as the 18-seater buses and the keke NAPEP.

Ojodu Berger, Lagos mainland is chosen because of its symbolic and political significance in Lagos metropolis. This area is a border location in Lagos metropolis; therefore it symbolizes the effects of migration and consequently, its housing settlement pattern, reflects the effects of population diversity and urban sprawl. Another key place in Lagos State's Ikeja local government area is Ojodu Berger. Ojodu Berger is also a strategic location in Ikeja local government area of Lagos state

, therefore, the location is in proximity of the seat of power in Lagos. The road axis in Ojodu Berger represents a major vehicular and pedestrian circulation route in the area. Not only does it act as a link road from the Lagos Ibadan expressway, but it also acts as the gateway into Ikeja local government and beyond. As such the road is a major public transportation route into and within Lagos metropolis, which makes the route a major vehicular and pedestrian traffic. These factors contribute significantly to the emergence of various forms of street trading activities in the area. Within these street settings, the study determines the actual location of sample study.

The Isheri road is the principal axis and forms the axis or the activity core in Ojodu Berger. The street is also dominated by the presence of several other bus stops on both sides of the road, which starts from the Ojodu Berger motor park, and the Ojodu retail market area, which make up the main activity core of the area.

Isheri road is also the main commercial corridor of Ojodu Berger. The street is bordered on both sides by significant land use activities such as religious buildings, residential properties and government establishments. The concentration of activities on Isheri road increases as one approaches the road junction, which contains the Ojodu Berger motor park.

Due to its location and vehicular significance, Isheri road is also a prime location for street traders who are strategically located along the road, especially in areas of potential crowd such as Ojodu Berger Motor Park and the Ojodu retail market, and the several bus stops that line up the road.

Isheri road is also a major road which also connects with minor streets along its entire stretch, on both sides. These minor streets lead into private housing estates and other forms of housing settlements that collectively, make up the built environment in Ojodu Berger. Popular streets include Kosoko Street, which is the closest to the Ojodu. Other minor streets are Alhaji

Bakare Street, Oremeta Street, Aina Street, etc. These streets, are, in themselves prime location, having varying concentrations of commercial activities, including street trading.

Politically, Isheri road is also a major vehicular axis that links Lagos / Sagamu expressway into, and out of Lagos metropolis. The street is a main axis and due to its proximity to Alausa, the location of the seat of government in Lagos state, the road represents a 'gateway', a 'status symbol' of Lagos state. Therefore, there is a significant presence of security operatives from LASTMA, NIGERIAN POLICE FORCE, stationed strategically of the street, in order to control vehicular traffic, and also to monitor human activities, especially with regards to orderliness, crime prevention and violence. Therefore this street can also be regarded as a potentially 'politically volatile' location. Furthermore, at day time, especially working days, other law enforcement agents such as KAI [kick against indiscipline]; RRS [rapid response squad] show up unexpectedly to beef up the security in this area. These agents [or task force] are noted for raiding the street traders, in the bid to clear up the street and sidewalks for 'ease' of vehicular and pedestrian movement. As such there is always a sense of apprehension among the street vendors – especially if they sight somebody that seems unfamiliar but looks corporate – a potential 'spy' for the taskforce.

The Isheri road axis is a major vehicular and pedestrian access route, which is located in Ojodu Berger, a border settlement at the outskirts of metropolitan Lagos, shared with Ogun state, and situated along the Lagos/Ibadan express way. As a result, the location is very close to the Ogun River and its flood plain, the Sagamu forest area. These locational factors give Ojodu Berger an impression of migration and urban sprawl. Furthermore, Ojodu Berger is in Ikeja which gives it a close proximity with Alausa, which is the seat of government in Lagos, and the MMA. Therefore, its location underpins its socio political significance.

Ojodu Berger is an urban area with a high concentration of residential buildings mixed use buildings and medium rise civic structures. The area is a significant commercial location in Ikeja LGA, the administrative capital of Lagos. The area is famous for the motor park, which is a major inter and intra state park. It is a mixed-use area, dominated by housing settlements and urban sprawl. Ojodu Berger has recorded tremendous growth in commerce, industry and provision of social and infrastructural amenities over the years. This is due to its location

within Ikeja LGA, the administrative headquarters and political capital of Lagos state. This puts it near the Lagos state seat of government.

Historically, Ojodu Berger started as a sparsely populated, densely forested fishing and farming settlement, at the outskirts of Lagos colony. This is due to its proximity to the Ogun River and the Ogun flood plain.

Overtime, as Lagos metropolis began to expand rapidly, due to continued rural urban migration in to the city, Ojodu Berger began to develop from the outskirts sparsely populated community with available land space, into a growing suburb of metropolitan Lagos. The available land space in the area led to the relocation and expansion of the former 7Up motor park, to Ojodu Berger, to ease the congestion that was spreading rapidly in the metropolis.

However, the relocation of the 7Up motor park to its position at a strategic border point along the Lagos Ibadan express way , coupled with the continued migration into the city and expansion of Ikeja, as influenced by the upgrading of Alausa, the Lagos state seat of power, and the relocation of Nigeria's federal government to Abuja in 1991, thereby shifting the focus of development in Lagos from the island, to the mainland, due to the saturation of the island, have led to enhancing the socioeconomic, political and cultural significance of Ojodu Berger, and it's surroundings. These factors have inadvertently contributed to the massive population and rapid urban growth of Ojodu Berger, up to the present day.

Significant evidence of rapid urban growth in Ojodu Berger include the rapid expansion of the housing settlement, population growth in and around the area leading to urban sprawl, the increased vehicular activities in and around the Ojodu Berger motor park and on the Isheri road, the expansion of the motor park to accommodate more transport routes, and the building and expansion of the Ojodu retail market, the building of exclusive housing estates along the road, the construction, upgrade and extension of the Isheri road itself, the establishment of commercial enterprises, such as local medium rise shopping malls, shops, ; financial institutions such as banks; and religious buildings such as ahmadiyah mosques and church assemblies along the road.

Settings of urban public space

The process of altering the built environment, which includes the roadway, also included in are its associated features, in order to create boundaries, edges, territories for street trading activities. It represents the basis of sample spatial analysis and also includes distance, types of arrangements and positioning. Within the context of the various types of street trading activities, the outcome of the spatial analysis includes: product and product size, type of product arrangement and display pattern – scattered, linear, loose, spread, cluster, enclosed; types of shelter - sheds, kiosks, open display.

All boundaries, whether they be national, global, or simply the names of streets on a road map, are socially built, according to Malon (2002), who goes on to discuss the social aspect of this process. They are just as much a byproduct of society as other social interactions that leave their mark on the environment. Boundaries are important because of this. Through the use of power geographies, they arrange our social space and help us create a sense of who we are in the places we live.

Types and location of settings

1. The street: the Isheri road, and the Lagos /Ibadan expressway
2. The public sidewalk: access to public services (such as road gutter, display boards, power lines, etc), road edge, public right of way, Pedestrian walkways, and right of way
3. The lay-by/external parking area: general parking space, roadside parking, service drop off/parking bay
4. The building property setback: right of way, access to public services
5. The shop front / the compounds / parking areas of commercial religious civic buildings:
6. The motor park area: between parked vehicles, rest areas for road transport workers, right of way for pedestrians and passengers
7. The fronts of shops, Ojodu retail market and market stalls: between right of way for pedestrians, close to the edge of the stalls

The land use characteristics of the different types of settings combine in order to shape the expected behaviour of pedestrian and vehicular traffic in the case study location. However, the congested nature of the location impacts significantly in modifying this expected behaviour into an appeal that influences the types, positioning and marketing strategy of street trading activities

FINDINGS:

(a) **STAKEHOLDERS AND SPATIAL NEGOTIATION:** Each setting has unique stakeholders, and this determines the independent approach to spatial negotiation, and this dictates the setting's unique arrangement of street traders

(b) **GEOMETRIC CONFIGURATION OF RESPECTIVE SETTING:** Each setting reflects its unique type of spatial configuration, hence, it dictates the number, types and arrangement, and spatial allocation of street traders

(c) **CONTROL MEASURES:** Each setting exercises its unique type of control measures, hence, it dictates the comportment, goods arrangement, gender and behavioural disposition of the street trader

(d) **DETERMINANT OF PEOPLE BEHAVIOR:** Each setting contains its unique land use activities, which in turn dictates the expected kind of people behaviour. This influences the outlook, type, operational characteristics, product, and marketing strategy of the respective types of street trading activities taking place within each setting.

(e) **IMPACT OF PRIMARY LAND USE ACTIVITIES:** Each setting dictates the type of primary land use activities taking place therein, and this influences the kinds of people within the setting, and eventually, the type of street trading activities taking place within each setting

(f) **SPATIAL ADAPTATION AND FLUIDITY:** each setting represents an integral part of the overall planning layout of the area. Given the close proximity of land use activities and the dense nature of the built environment, there is a fluid interweave of independent spatial configuration of respective settings, and this influences diversity of spatial adaptations and close proximity of different display patterns of street trading activities. Eventually, this leads to fluid interweave of activities, as a result of the optimization of pockets of marginal and residual spaces due to the "blurring" of boundaries, edges, and territories within the settings of urban public space.

(g) **Product display pattern, proximity & positioning of customers:** standing, seating, bending, visual and audio connectivity, views - approach, aligned, behind

(h) Establishment of boundaries, edges, territories: space negotiation, product determinant, display tool determinant, communal collaboration of gender, religious, same or complimentary product types

(i) Manifestation of contrasting, competing and conflicting interests, ideology & world views: as a result of the congested nature of the built environment, which is characterized by limited space - a product of high population and land use density - the design and use experience of each setting leads to the manifestation of contrasting, competing and conflicting interests, ideology and world views. This is revealed in the make-up of the population and the political significance of the location. This underpins the dynamics of the Lefebvre spatial triad in manifestation, with the historical (time), economic and political significance of the location as major catalyst for the spatial triad.



Figure 1.9: Thelsheri road junction, showing the Ojodu Berger motor park area



Figure 1.10: A busy traffic day towards the Ojodu Berger activity core area

Isheri road has no provision for road side parking, except at the lay-by and special permit at designated bus stops for commercial vehicles. In addition, there is no provision for public parking, hence, people are forced to park inside premises or park on the road side - provided road safety is not around, this leads to 'collaborations' between the nearby traders, security personnel . This in turn provides shade for the traders and a means to obtain tips.

Road side hawkers have been accused of being [in] directly responsible for the traffic commotion

Crowded space to place - scene of alternate double parking: a form of shield and displacement of pedestrian movement into the Isheri road. This creates pockets of transient space for opportunistic street hawkers, such as the buns seller in the background, to make 'ends meet'
- Space of opportunity: 'sharp', 'rush hour', quick carving out of space and boundaries.



Figure 1.11: Space to place – displacement, boundaries, contested space, and displacement into negotiated space in street.

Picture showing a wood carrier pushing his cart in the Isheri road. The cart pusher can afford to do this because at this time of the day, there is less traffic on this side of the road. Even though his destination is on the other side of the road, and he sees that cars are parked on this side of the road, for the same reason why he too decides to move on this side of the road, he decides to take the risk of pushing on this side, as it affords him the opportunity to move faster and unhindered, thereby gaining time and getting to his destination earlier. Perhaps there is a '*commission*' awaiting him for prompt delivery or he is able to more deliveries in order to earn more money.



Figure 1.12: Example of road side socio - spatial dynamics

This picture shows a unique spatial adaptation of natural and manmade features. The mahogany tree is a rare natural feature in this area, as Lagos is noted for being densely built up. Therefore the occurrence of this tree within the motor park represents a unique occurrence; hence it is bombarded by traders for shade and trading location



Figure 1.13: Examples of road side socio - spatial dynamics

The edge of the road contains a partially covered road drain which also serves as a strategic location for the slippers seller. Hence, the edges demonstrate the ability to adapt, modify, and improvise available space. The rains only adds to the ability to adapt, despite no provision of shade



Figure 1.14: Mixed use space - gutter as edge, divide and distribution of activities

The roadside serves multiple purposes which are interwoven with the primary land use activity – pedestrian movement [space of representation]. This includes a mini- motorcycle park and outdoor spread area for street vendors. Collectively, this mixture of activities represents contested space and buttresses the impression that the presence of the informal activities is a form of nuisance in the built environment.

Distribution, population and types of street trading activities

Isheri road is an axis dominated by a linear stretch of various forms of street vendors. The busy nature of the road, due to the high concentration of traffic, being the fastest route to Ikeja, coupled with the presence of commercial establishments that line up the street, is a major catalyst for the presence of street vendors along the road. The close knit nature of these vendors along property lines, road edges and other forms of boundary features along the Isheri road gives an impression of a linear stretch of street market activities. Apart from the street traders, there is a cluster of commercial activities, just within property lines lining the street. These commercial establishments include buildings containing rows of shops, banks, mini – shopping malls, religious buildings. They represent the formal spatial backdrop to the

street traders. Apart from Isheri road, Street trading is distributed on minor streets such as Kosoko Street, Oremeta Street, Bakare street, Aina street, up to Berger motor park.

AGE GROUP						
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
18 and below	17	4.25	27	6.75	44	5.5
18 - 30	110	27.5	273	68.25	383	47.875
31 -45	210	52.5	89	22.25	299	37.375
45 and above	63	15.75	11	2.75	74	9.25
TOTAL	400	100	400	100	800	100

Table 1.2: Socio-economic characteristics of street traders (age distribution). Source: Field survey, 2016

From the table above, it can be deduced that majority of street traders within the study areas are within the 18 – 30 age group.

SEX						
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
MALE	173	43.25	276	69.00	449	56.125
FEMALE	227	56.75	124	31.00	351	43.875
TOTAL	400	100	400	100	800	100

Table 1.3: Sex Distribution of street traders. Source: Field survey, 2016

There have been several attempts to curtail street vending activities in this area. This ranges from forceful relocation of street vendors into purpose built markets – an example is the existing [but rather obscure] Ojodu retail market, located at the Ojodu Berger motor park area. Another extreme attempt is a follow-up to the outright ban on street vending by the Lagos state government in July 2016. The Ojodu axis is a target area for these measures, and this informs the ‘culture of fear’ and ‘counter measures’ adopted by the street vendors – including the sample for this study. The counter measures include trading in clusters, staying behind

property lines, changing the trading time to late afternoon / evening, bringing out little quantities of goods at a time, in order to escape in case of sudden raid, trading at weekends only. These measures foster a form of 'social bond' among the traders as they are forced to adopt a collective interest in the face of adversity. This situation leads to the following questions:

- Who looks after the interests of these vendors? Why is there no form of association for these vendors? What is the role of the L.G.A whose agents continue to collect trading permit from these traders, and yet offer them little or no protection when the 'state government bulldozers' arrive? Who is in charge of the space? How does the local government continue to generate revenue? Given the congested nature of the built environment around the street, how can the government extend the existing Ojodu retail market? Where do they build new ones?
- How do the displaced traders attract customers? How does the displacement of the informal traders impact of the lifestyle pattern of potential customers, who are already stressed out? Is the presence of these informal activities not a solution to the stressful nature of the structure of the built environment?



Figure 1.15 : Street trading activities at Kosoko street junction

This is a major junction on Isheri road. It is characterized by a concentration/ spill over space of the existing Ojodu retail market/ motor park. This is a prime concentration area of street vendors and the population size on the Kosoko side of the road yielded 240 vendors in the bus stop area only. This area also contains 145 Okada riders , 56 + 49 traders within the premises of the Kosoko junction end of the Adeboye shopping complex . It also includes a row of 11 + 17 + 77 traders lining up the Kosoko road, extending down to the Ojodu suburb. These

traders sell various products ranging from food items to house hold materials, and they line both sides of the Kosoko street. The extension of the Adeboye shopping complex along the Isheri road, close to the Kosoko junction, also includes a mini gas shop built on the setback space . This mini shop contains a free space, in front , which serves as outdoor display space for petty trading and street hawkers. Closely linked to this area, to the left, is a closed restricted street.

The land use of the area comprises of the retail market and other commercial ventures in the location, such as filling station, and the Adeboye shopping complex. These make the area a cynosure of human activities and concentration of people from diverse backgrounds – making up the pedestrian and vehicular traffic on Isheri road. An important method for gaining understanding of how the interaction of background variables creates the socio-spatial dynamics that influence daily reality is to break down the case study site. Based on this breakdown, it is possible to draw the conclusion that the linear stretch of the road, a prominent element of the urban public realm within a densely populated area, along with the dense concentration of commercially oriented activities and buildings along this stretch of the road, are major contributors to the region's heavy traffic congestion for both vehicles and pedestrians.

This demonstrates how the linear approach to urban design, the resulting uncontrolled organic growth in the built environment, and the concentration of commercial based activities influence the reality of human population pressure on constrained urban space. Thus, the urban public space that results from this has the socio-spatial characteristics of a crowded market, along with issues like snarled up vehicular and pedestrian traffic, prolonged exposure to the elements, noise, stress, and time and space constraints. Alternative solutions are required because these socio-spatial issues interact too affect how people move about in public areas. These socio-spatial problems combine to influence the spatial behaviour of people in the public space, and this necessitates the need for alternative measures. This necessity represents a viable opportunity for the emergence of unconventional commercial

1.4 Significance of the study

Harvey (1973) believes that understanding how human behaviours produce unique conceptualizations of space is crucial to grasping the nature of cities. Furthermore, he argues that people will not be able to create a model of urbanisation that does not rely on the exploitation of the poor until they investigate the concept of social justice and its relationship to urban spatial systems, such as the role of land as a commodity and the spatial implications of economic production. Instead of asking "what is space?" we should be asking "how do diverse human actions develop and make use of distinctive conceptualisation of space?" while considering urban settings. The rapid urbanisation of the Lagos metropolitan area is said to

have far-reaching and interconnected social and spatial repercussions. Not only does it include the hustle and bustle reality of daily life in the city, in addition it includes the emergence of various forms of street trading activities, in the urban public space of the city. These activities represent an unconventional, commercial tool that reflects and complements the lifestyle pattern of the city populace. Furthermore, the provision for the implication of this understanding is missing in public policy for street trading in Lagos metropolis, hence the significance of the study. Thus, this research adds to the growing body of literature on the topic of street trade and the difficulty of rapid urban growth in cities, both of which are receiving more attention in academic and public policy circles (Payne, 1977; Omoegun, 2015; Akiyode, 2017; Vargas, 2016; Colin, 2015; Lawanson, 2014; Anetor, 2015; Akpenyi, 2007; Onodugo, et al., 2016).

Furthermore, this study also connects with alternative theoretical /philosophical perspectives in anthropology, culture, economics, statistics, planning (for instance, Central place theory) and politics (Ogunleye and Salami, 1992; Aduwo, 1999; Akpeyi, 2007; Mabogunje, 1964; Fapohunda, 1985; et al.). While these alternatives perspectives can contribute meaningfully to the subject matter, their perspective prevents them from grasping the study's central concept: the lived experience..

Therefore, the study derives its claims to originality and contribution to knowledge, by exploring how street trading activities connect spatially with the hustle and bustle reality of everyday life in the city.

It is noteworthy that public policy for street trading activities has been a controversial issue in Lagos metropolis, such that implementation efforts have yielded mixed results. It is noteworthy that previous studies such as Bromley, 1988; Lawanson, 2014; Omoegun, 2015; Akiyode, 2017; Vargas, 2016; and Colin, 2015, made recommendations using scientific, political and economic paradigms. However, this study goes a step further by making policy recommendations, based on findings obtained from how these activities are situated and operate within their real-life context. Hence, the study contributes to creating awareness about the challenges of urban life, which has necessitated the emergence and operation of these activities in the urban public space. As such, the study argues for the need for

alternative policies to accommodate and harness the benefits of this reality, rather than focusing on policy approaches suitable for the different urban context.

Rapoport (1969; 129) advises that there is a danger in transferring Western notions to the issues of other areas, which simply constitute one alternative among the many possible solutions, instead of examining them in terms of the local way of life, particular needs, and ways of doing things. Without a thorough understanding of how social control already functions, the state faces the risk of creating formalization programs that jeopardize the welfare of the most vulnerable populations, according to Vegas (2016). It will be vital for planners, architects, and legislators to learn from the poor, who typically make up most urban populations, and work with them rather than making arbitrary assumptions and planning for people, as suggested by Payne (1977). The flexibility and economy of planning frameworks that exploit these elements and their ability to achieve socially acceptable housing is the very essence of most self-generated settlements built by the poor. Only then will it be possible to create planning frameworks that can maximise people's abilities to contribute to and benefit from development in its widest sense. Therefore, its wise implementation would serve as the foundation for just and practical policies that make the best use of urban space within available resources (Payne, 1977)).

1.5 Structure of the thesis

The structure of the thesis is based on the needs of the study's four goals and objectives.. Each of the four objectives represents a chapter in the thesis. However, other chapters address the introduction, background literature, theory/philosophy, and methodological considerations. The last of the four objective chapters also doubles as the conclusion of the thesis.

Therefore, this thesis is divided into eight chapters.

Chapter 1 provides the context of the study, the setting of the case study, the goals, objectives, and questions of the research, as well as the significance of the study. It also introduces the thesis.

Chapter 2 examines relevant theoretical/ philosophical background knowledge, It sheds light on why the study's central topic, goals, and objectives are important in addition to approach to the study, findings, analysis, discussions and recommendations.

Chapter3 contains the literature review, in which the study examines the background issues and the resultant spatial implications regarding the emergence of street trading activities in Lagos metropolis. The chapter also includes issues regarding street trading activities from a global perspective. The chapter concludes with the existing policy implications of these issues.

Chapter 4 contains the research approaches, data collection tools and related methodological considerations. The chapter is the basis for the following chapters 5 to 7.

Chapters 5 to 7 answer the study's primary and secondary questions. Each section focuses on one of the three research samples. These chapters also represent a breakdown of the scope of the study. Also and the method of gathering data comprises observations, analyses, and discussions of the case study location's indicators.

Chapter 8 discusses the study's third goal and offers a summary of the study's findings and overall conclusion. These comprises of a review of the goals and objectives of the research as well as a summary of the results., analysis and discussions obtained from chapters 5, 6 and 7. Therefore, the chapter contains the summary, policy recommendations. It also contains notes on future research, which expands on the scope and context for learning how informal commerce has shaped the character, culture, and image of the Lagos metropolitan area.

Chapter 2:

**Theoretical framework and Philosophical
background**

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines topics that provide theoretical and philosophical insight into the significance of street selling activities within the city's everyday routine, including associated challenges and issues associated with policy development for these activities in the urban public sphere.

Therefore, the chapter is divided sequentially, into three main sections. Each main section contains a theoretical/philosophical theme which is discussed and broken down into sub-sections, each of which contains related topics that buttress the significance of the central theme.

Section 2.2 discusses urban sociology. This section includes topics on cultural anthropology, ethnography, social theory; human and cultural geography. The section concludes with discussions on the theme of everyday life, which provides for discussions on culture, behaviour, lifestyle, and vernacular.

Section 2.3 discusses the creation of space, the importance of social space, and the significance of social space. This section includes topics on the city's dynamics of social space, time, and everyday life. Other topics include spatial triad, rhythm analysis, and actor-network theory. The section concludes with discussions on Streetlife, crowd and crowded space (crowdology), the subjectivity of city space, and the city's image.

The chapter concludes with section 2.4, which interweaves the study's relevant theoretical and philosophical perspectives. Hence, the section discusses city space, public space, place, culture, and politics. This discussion includes topics on man and physical environment interaction, the city space, Space and culture, contested space and rights to the city. These topics represent themes which include other topics for discussion. Man and physical environment interaction include discussions on social space in the built environment. The city space contains discussions on the street, urban public space, and the built environment. Space and culture include discussions on behaviour, lifestyle, and everyday lifestyle pattern, while contested space and rights to the city include discussions on contemporary urban social issues and philosophical and policy perspectives.

2.2 Urban sociology and social theory

The chapter introduces urban sociology as the central theme of its theoretical framework and philosophical background in this first section. Within it, the study adopts insights drawn from cultural anthropology, ethnography, and social theory.

Cultural Anthropology, Ethnography

Cultural anthropology

Human behaviour, socialisation, geographical location, and cultural practises are all rooted in anthropology's study of cultural dynamics within an urban environment e.g. Tonkiss (2005), Jane Jacobs, and Mpho Matsipha. Rapoport (1969) summarises the ensuing multidisciplinary nature of the study in his submission that the disciplines of construction, cultural geography, historiography, urban planning, ethnography, anthropology, cross-cultural research, as well as the behavioural sciences are all incorporated into this topic. As a result, it must be cross-disciplinary, draw from the contributions of numerous observers in various fields, and acknowledge numerous academic debts (Rapoport, 1969; vii-viii). Tonkiss (2005) states that urban sociology hardly has had the last word on cities, and the writings of sociologists, geographers, architectural and cultural theorists, political theorists, and other urban critics are interwoven with a broader approach to urban studies. No single discipline can claim the city as its own. The structuring of space provides the foundation for and reflects social relationships. (Tonkiss, 2005: p2). Consequently, the study includes human geography, urban studies, vernacular studies, cultural, retail, social geography, urban and social theory, human geography, cultural geography, ethnography and anthropology. (Payne, 1977; Lefebvre, 1991, low and Lawrence, 2003, Tonkiss, 2014, et al).

Ethnography

Arguably it is not possible to overestimate the value of ethnography as a method in cultural anthropology. According to Li (2008), in ethnographic studies, the researcher's job in an ethnographic study is to serve as a tool for understanding and analysing the culture being investigated. Ethnographers should thus live with the people they are studying and be thoroughly immersed in their culture and lived experiences. Nonetheless, ethnographers must be informed of their function as research tools during data collection and analysis (Ibid).

Ethnography studies people's behaviour - language, culture, values, meanings, and social organisation – in everyday, natural situations instead of in formal research settings. This type of study is often referred to as "observational ethnography."

Ethnography is known as the systematic and scientific description of peoples and cultures, including their rituals, practices, and shared characteristics. It is intended to investigate cultures by having the researcher examine society from the perspective of the research topic. The final field study or case report depicts the understanding and meaning-making structure in the life of a particular culture. The culture of a group can be illustrated and described in writing through ethnography. The study of people and cultures is done systematically.

According to AcSS (2013), simply observing, depicting, describing, and representing living social experience is what is meant by ethnography. Ethnography studies peoples' behaviour – language, culture, values, meanings and social organisation – in everyday, natural settings rather than in formal research settings. It is best understood as a 'style' of research requiring observing and describing people in their everyday social context. The language and meanings people apply to their activities in

certain social circumstances and processes are given significant focus in ethnographic research methods.

Historically, the goal of ethnographers has been to gain an overall comprehension of the culture they are studying (or, more realistically, as much as they can, given limitations of time and perception).

Thus, ethnography evolved as a research method in communities with higher cultural homogeneity and less social difference than in huge, contemporary, industrialised nations. Historically, ethnographers have attempted to comprehend a culture in its entirety (or given limitations of time, perception as close to real life as possible) (Musante, 2015). To achieve this objective, ethnographers haphazardly collect information. In each society or community, the ethnographer moves from location to location, place to place, and issue to issue to uncover the entirety and interdependence of social life according to Spradley (2016). Ethnography serves as the basis for generalisations about human behaviour and social life by improving our understanding of the breadth of human variability) (Musante, 2015). Ethnographers utilise various methods to construct a picture of otherwise unfamiliar lifestyles (ibid. Typically, anthropologists apply a subset (rarely all) of the approaches described below (see Bernard, 2006).

Musante, K., 2015. Participant observation. Handbook of methods in cultural anthropology, pp.251-29 Spradley, J.P., 2016. Participant observation. Waveland Press.

Human and cultural geography

This is an expansion of cultural anthropology into the anthropological dynamics of Human spatial behaviour/psychology, public behaviour, Man environment interactions - embodied spaces, space psychology, environmental psychology, spatial behaviour: perceptions, culture, attitude, age, sex, education, maturity, and ideology.

LITERATURE QUESTIONS:

- *How do people engage with space?*
- *What are the forces that shape how people engage with space?*
- *How do diverse beliefs and cultural practices affect how people use and enjoy their natural environment? How does the evolution and dispersal of such communities of thought occur? What consequences do people's actions of changing their environment have on their living settings?*

(Rapoport, 1969).

- *How does this understanding situate the geographic effects of street trade in Lagos' urban public spaces?*

2.3 The production of social space and its significance.

This subsection examines an anthropological understanding of the city (Blanton, 1976; Low, 1996; Schmidt and Németh, 2010). Within the theoretical framework of cultural anthropology, the study aligns with Henri Lefebvre's theoretical and philosophical interpretation of the rhythms of everyday life in the city, as contained in the 'production of social space' with its practical application of the conceptual triad (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991). The social production of urban space, according to Lefebvre (1991), is essential to the reproduction of society because "social space is a social product; every society develops its own social space." (Ibid. Furthermore, Lefebvre provides an understanding of the contending forces for the use of public space, such as street trading activities, thereby influencing the legitimacy of 'rights to the city.

French Marxist philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre pioneered a way of exploring the theoretical and philosophical interpretation of the rhythms of everyday city life. His theories regarding social space production and its practical application of the conceptual triad (1974, 1991) have provided a helpful basis for interpreting this city for this research.

The significance of social space

Geography scholars and researchers have also thought about communal space and contend that the urban environment is the physical manifestation of social societies (Brown, 2005; 2006). According to acclaimed geographer Harvey (1973), each person appears to be living within an individually formed web of spatial links, which are partly contained within their geometric framework, and social space is composed of the complexity of these perceptions and pictures. He elaborates by stating that this dynamic takes place in societies that share fundamentally similar images of their surrounding space and fundamentally similar ways of evaluating the significance and acting in space. So this shared aspect of the spatial image underpins the actual characteristics of social space. As a result, Harvey (1973) concludes that social space is a multifaceted, heterogeneous, and fragmented construct that shifts and changes over time and across individuals, communities, and cultures. By exploring the concept of 'space' in the urban public setting, not only in the context of geometric configuration and purpose design use (spatial practice, space of representation) but also as a platform for multiple dimensions and diverse, complex, interwoven and overlapping patterns of socio-spatial expressions and relationships, at different moments in time (lived experience), the study derives insight into how street trading activities connect with the social and spatial factors in the respective street settings of urban public space, to help form city residents' day-to-day experiences.

Thus, the allocation of social space over time is contingent on the shared values and concerns of various groups at various epochs. Throughout time, societies have created unique social spaces to accommodate their complex and interdependent social and economic requirements (Lefebvre 1991, cited in Hayden 1995, p. 19). Consequently, the presence and activity of the humans within the space under discussion are crucial to delineating social space, just as they are to urban space and any endeavour to delineate space. This point of view is also visible in notions of public space, as evidenced in Carr et al. (1992, p.1) definition of public

space as "the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds," which includes the streets, squares, and parks of a city. As a result, the fact that other people, activities, actions, creativity, and stimulation are all present in public spaces constitutes an essential feature (Gehl, 1996). Consequently, in the same way, that urban space is, the control of public space is likewise subject to the collective interests and desires of the community. A space can be considered public if it is open to the public, belongs to everyone, and is subject to the same social and legal rules as other spaces (Drummond, 2000).

This indicates that space goes beyond architectural, geometric or artistic expression to the concept of lived expression. Rapoport (1969) writes that architecture scholars have always been interested in studying landmarks, focusing on the creations of "genius" individuals. This is commendable, but it has led us to overlook the fact that even the work of a talented designer accounts for a negligible fraction of total construction throughout any given era. However, the designer has never had and still does not have complete control over the physical world of humans, especially the constructed environment. This atmosphere results from colloquial (folk or popular) architecture, which has been widely overlooked in architectural theories, research, and history.

However, it has been the atmosphere of ancient Greek cities like those surrounding the Acropolis, Mayan settlements, Egyptian temples and tombs, and European towns centred on Gothic cathedrals is strikingly similar to that of isolated Greek or South Pacific islands. Furthermore, high-style structures are typically incomprehensible apart from the vernacular matrix, especially in the preexisting environment in which they were created and constructed.

In the production of space, Henri Lefebvre (1991) states that.

"No limits have been set on the generalisation of the concept of mental space: no clear account of it is ever given and, depending on the author one is reading, it may connote logical coherence, practical consistency, self-regulation and the relations of the parts to the whole, the

engendering of like by like in a set of places, the logic of container versus contents. We are always hearing about the space of this or that: literary space, ideological space, dream space, psychoanalytic topology" (p3).

This statement provides insight into the dynamic combination of the various aspects of everyday life and how this combination impacts our perception and life experiences. This understanding buttresses the conceptual framework for this study.

As noted earlier, Lefebvre states that every social product originates in some form of social interaction. In every culture, people make their gathering places. Reproduction of society depends on the social construction of urban areas (Lefebvre, 1991 cited in Isik, 2012). In his claim that understanding cities requires understanding how human practices create different conceptualisations of space, Harvey (1973) echoes this viewpoint. Harvey argues that the only way to accomplish urbanisation that is not based on the exploitation of the poor is to examine the concept of social justice and its link to urban spatial settings, the function of land as a product, and the spatial ramifications of economic production. In the city context, instead of asking "what is space?" we should be asking "how do diverse human actions develop and make use of distinctive concepts of space?" while considering urban settings (ibid). These submissions encompass meanings, expressions and culture with historical, political, economic, and social implications, and all of these align with the nature culture and perception of Lagos metropolis as a crowded, high population and land use density, congested, commercial-driven hustle and bustle city with a high volume of pedestrian and vehicular traffic, and a phenomenal presence of various forms of street trading activities in a street setting of the urban public space.

Therefore, the study highlights the importance of how street trading activities stimulate the social aspect involved in every spatial expression in various settings of the urban public space of the city. This fact underpins the significance of the study.

According to Bernard Tschumi (1994), the explicit goal of the Manhattan transcripts is to transcribe things that are typically excluded from conventional architectural representation, such as the complex relationships between spaces and their use, the set and the script, the "type" and the "programme," and the objects and events. Their overarching goal involves the city of the twenty-first century. This connotes the dynamics of the spatial triad as stated by Molotch (1993), who argues that architecture, human density, and locational linkages are a factor in structuring what can be done in space itself in his critique of Lefebvre (1991). Walls and roads favour some activities and restrict others, aiding the endeavours of one class of actors while discouraging those of another. Symbols and styles outside physical barriers also affect behaviour, such as the disempowering features of colossal grandeur, the deceptive variety of suburban architecture (housing models), and the stifling effects of monotonous cubes and towers on enjoyable forms of social interaction. A lot is going on in space than most people realise, and despite their seeming diversity, all these components fit together very well. As such, a place is more than just a container or a set of materials; it is a network that includes topography, architecture, symbolism, and daily rituals.

Spatial triad and Rhythmanalysis

Spatial triad

Lefebvre (1991) presents a surreal compression of the spatial triad in his submission that the theory that we require does not come together because the required critical moment does not arrive, and which, as a result, reverts to the state of merely being bits and pieces of information, may very well be called, by comparison, a "unitary theory."

The goal is to find or create a theoretical unification of disparate "fields," similar to how molecular, electromagnetic, and gravitational forces exist in physics. This study's three main areas of interest are the social, the cerebral, logical and formal concepts, and the physical, which include nature and the cosmos.

In other words, we are focused on the logical and epistemological space, the space occupied by social practices, and the space occupied by sense experiences, encompassing products of the imagination such as projects, projections, symbols and ideals. (Lefebvre, 1991. p 12 -13).

The spatial triad summarises the theoretical framework and is the basis for the study's methodology. Given the requirements of the current study focus, each aspect of the triad contains elements of the research objectives; however, the primary data of the study is contained in the lived experience aspect of the Lefebvre spatial triad and breaks this down to incorporate the social and spatial aspects of daily living into the research, with particular emphasis on time as a significant catalyst for lived experience. This indicates the combination of formal structure - as indicated by (1) original BE design, which includes planned zoning pattern and BE configuration; (2) intended land use patterns, as indicated by the designed land use and expected spatial behaviour (3) the reality of daily life as indicated by the outcome of spatial use and behaviour as dictated by current circumstances, underpinned by historical, socio-economic, cultural and political forces. The Lefebvre conceptual triad supports the methodology, application of methodologies, findings, and analysis of study findings. Additionally, it serves as the foundation for the importance of grounded theory, upon which the study bases its suggestions.

Rhythm analysis=

In the final years of his life, Lefebvre created "Rhythmanalysis" to analyse place-related rhythmic variations in practices and encounter scenarios. He did this in collaboration with Catherine Régulier.

In his work on rhythmanalytic investigation of urban situations, Lefebvre analyses the rhythmic differentiation of interactions as being related to

morphological and contextual distinctions at multiple levels, ranging from the most local to the most global:

- *Variations in rhythms among various city types, such as those between the Mediterranean and Oceanic cities, are influenced by defining terrain features and the historical, functional relationship between the city and its surroundings.*
- *Variations in rhythms associated with specific urban landscape components, such as monuments, commercial hubs, and items signifying the state's presence in the city.*
- *Variations in rhythms associated with the historical socio-spatial components of the city.*
- *variations in rhythms among metropolitan neighbourhoods and variations in space rhythms in the same community –*

Take Lefebvre's (1991) "Seen from the Window", for instance; it depicts a scene seen from two distinct windows in an apartment (the window facing the garden space and the window facing the street)

All these variations are shown as elements of a synchronic analysis of variations in rhythms that can be seen in the current circumstance. Lefebvre emphasises the significance of drawing on historical knowledge of how differences have been generated, just as he does in his analysis of variances. Different patterns of sociospatial practice are referred to in Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis as referring to various time-space connections, with time being more or less cyclical or linear and spaces being formed by practices in actual (or architectural) places (Lefebvre, 2013). (According to Lefebvre, rhythm may be found whenever there is an interplay between a place, time, and energy uses (Ibid.

According to Lefebvre, (2013), investigations of specific concrete examples dealing with human life and the life of a group are the three primary

components in rhythm analysis. These studies include repetition (of actions, gestures, circumstances, and distinctions), the conflict between linear and cyclical processes, and beginning, development, peak, decline, and end.

Lefebvre conceptualises Spatio-temporal rhythms through his rhythm analysis (ibid, considering the rhythms of people's daily lives, interactions, and circumstances, as well as the rhythms of locations, streets, cities, and flows, claims Vojcic (2014). It is a relationship between a person and their own body, their own words and gestures, a specific location, and a gestural totality. It is also a relationship between a person and the broadest public space, with the entirety of society and the universe.

Three different rhythms—the rhythms of oneself, the rhythms of someone else, and the rhythms of place—are combined to form the visible rhythms.

Lefebvre accuses everyone of opposing the customs noted Lyon 2018: The rhythms, or changing time-space patterns, distinguish different areas and places in the city (or elsewhere) as well as moving time-space constellations in people's different lives: Circular time is defined as reoccurring interactions, awareness, and orientations linking home to the outside world, organising the social in daily life (Ibid. Linear time is eternal routine, encounters by chance and passing locations, people, and events (ibid.

Lefebvre (1991) contends that some of these rhythms, like those of pupils, shoppers, and visitors, would be more cyclical, with significant and simple intervals, while others, like those of autos, regulars, employees, and cafe customers, would have more intense, alternating rhythms with short intervals. As the saying goes, the interactions of various rhythms, both repeated and unique, are what "alive" the street and the neighbourhood. The linear pattern, also known as succession, is made up of comings and goings and mixes with the cyclical pattern and spells that last for a more extended period. The cyclical is the manifestation of social organisation in and of itself. The linear is predictable, whereas the eternal is contingent on chance and chance encounters (Ibid.

Although certain behaviours, both in time and space, might be differentiated as more or less cyclical or linear, it is essential to keep in mind that these are relative analytical ideas and not definitive classifications. Similar to this, the composition of rhythms generated by the practices of space at a period or at multiple times, or by a temporality at various places and times, may be characterised as being predominated mainly by cyclical or linear repetition— however, rhythms are contextual. Hence neither of these is an analytic category. Rhythms can only be researched by contrasting them with one another due to their subjective nature. Lefebvre illustrates his Rhythmanalysis with two urban case studies, one on a micro and one on a macro scale. There are significant temporal and spatial characteristics linked to the rhythmic variations in both circumstances:

In the first case study, "Seen from the Window," Lefebvre (p137) examines the rhythms - the collisions of various time-space constructs - that may be seen on an average day from the windows on each side of his typical Parisian flat. Lefebvre discusses how the distinct flows of practices in various places (streets, areas) set them apart from one another: how "hidden" logics like the ever-present state, the division of labour and leisure, and the co-presence of different space-time elements affect the formation of rhythms in various spaces, such as the difference between the rhythms witnessed from a window facing a garden and courtyard and those facing a busy street.

The "hidden" logics that Lefebvre describes as being linked to the formation of rhythms in various locations can thus be connected to the contextual composition of architectural features, more specifically, to features of the spatial setting (1991: p138). Lefebvre refers to the logic as "hidden" in the sense that they are not adequately transparent, concise, and explicit to be recognised by any or every professional of the spaces they involve; as a result, they cannot be traced back to spatial determinism. In other words, the logic is not deterministic of space. Nevertheless, the presence of these products of power and purposes in architectural socio-spatial practice – are structured to serve both the past and the present rhythms of the practices as well as alter the present

contextual repertory of encounter circumstances (Brighenti and Kärrholm, 2018)

Additionally, the "hidden" logics in the composition of architectural elements are empirically understandable because they involve readily visible components that can be described and examined through research on the composition of patterns in the architectural production of socio-spatial components over time (connected to an understanding of historical, societal changes and architectural concepts associated with the construction of the many architectural features of a region) (Lefebvre 1991; p138)

Public space and politics – philosophical perspectives on rights to the city

Contemporary urban social issues

Social [in] justice, equal rights and justice for all, social inclusion and exclusion, urban inclusion and segregation, minority rights, urban homogeneity and diversity, inclusive policies, and rights for the underprivileged and marginalised members of the society; as the interwoven contemporary urban social issues emanating from the socio-spatial impact of street vending activity concerning conflicting rights to the city and space. Therefore, the subchapter examines the works of scholars such as David Harvey, Alison Brown, Lefebvre, and Setha Low.

Philosophical and policy perspectives

Marxism, Capitalism, Materialism, Imperialism, Conflict theory, Postcolonial theory; Power, 'Wicked problems'; political and social contract theory, social policy, realistic approach to policy development, in order to offer philosophical and policy perspectives into the socio-spatial

implications of street commerce, within the setting of contested space and rights to the city. This involves the works of philosophers and scholars such as David Harvey, Lefebvre, Steven Lukes (1941 - date), and John Locke (1632 - 1704).

· Marxism

· Capitalism

CAPITALISM as an economic system is often characterised by creating social classes among the population of any given society where it operates. This is often reflected in the dual (and sometimes triad) categories of economic groups in the population – the rich (bourgeoisie, elites, political class, military, business owners, the ruling class, the few) versus the middle class/poor (the masses, the proletariat, the peasants, the majority).

Nigeria, particularly in Lagos, has a colonial dimension to this phenomenon. Shortly before independence, the concept of 'indirect rule' was instituted by the colonial government in order to exercise control over the citizens. The effect of this measure is still being felt today as seen in the power structure of the country, political appointments, and manner of policy development and implementation. The manifestation also includes the constitution of the political sphere in which the political sphere is being dominated by a particular tribe, with a particular cultural/religious ideology. Other characteristics include the concentration of 'power' by the 'elites' as a form of control over the entire population, the introduction of control measures leading to authority and limited resources.

In urban centres, such as Lagos, there are distinct mixed spatial manifestations of this phenomenon in the city space. This is through the precise, dual-built environment configuration, in which 'big architecture' exists side by side with 'folk, vernacular communal architecture' (this echoes the views of Rapoport 1969; 1-2); It also includes the hustle and bustle pattern of daily life in which the majority of the urban population who make up the lower class have to struggle for survival and those at the lowest level resort to unconventional tactics such as engaging in informal commercial activities such as street trading. This is to survive, find

relevance in the urban setting and also improve doth their lives and that of their family. The total of these contributing aspects constitutes the nature culture and perception of a typical developing world city (see pictures below).

The summary of the outcome is the exploitation of the 'poor' local community, which later evolved into the masses and the urban poor by the colonialists who later handed it over to the local elites, politicians, ruling and middle class. These are driven by a capitalist mentality and result in a materialistic lifestyle as the basis of measuring a better life, which represents the motivation for everyone, including those engaged in street trading.

The idea of the Right to the city has been around for about fifty years but has recently experienced a renaissance as it has become increasingly more prominent in debates on urban development. This is due primarily to the staggering rates of urban development that have occurred in recent years, as well as the rise of internationally connected social movements. Some parts of the world are experiencing rapid urbanisation, while others are ill-equipped to handle the strain (Watson, 2007). As a result, societal conflicts have increased because of urbanisation and the urbanisation of poverty.

The economic and financial crisis of 2008 exacerbated and created new tensions in the developed world, notably in the context of neoliberal urban growth (Mayer, 2012). As a result, the Right to the city has become a unifying force for those fighting against the neoliberal international order in the North and those fighting for the rights of the poor and the excluded in the South (Mayer, 2009).

The idea has thus developed over the past ten years into a dominant rallying cry in calls for community activism and initiatives that oppose globalisation's exclusionary impacts.

Furthermore, it has turned into a symbol of the worldwide struggle to stop the privatisation and commercialisation of urban space, as well as a catalyst for conflicts over the nature of cities entitled to claim them (Brown, 2010).

The work of the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, which was done in the 1960s (Lefebvre, 1991), can be traced back to the origin of the idea. An important aspect that is shared by both the conception and the rebirth of the concept is the central role that the process of urbanisation plays in both instances. Lefebvre's understanding of the Right to the city was founded on an investigation of the process of urbanisation in France during the 1960s (Ibid. This investigation was the basis for Lefebvre's conception of the Right to the city. The Right to the City was initially conceived following an investigation (Stanek, 2011). Lefebvre conceived the concept of the "Right to the City" at the moment in history that was unprecedented. France was quickly urbanising during this time in response to massive economic shifts that had far-reaching repercussions. During that time, France, along with the majority of other western industrialised nations, went through an expansion of the Keynesian welfare state. This led to massive migration from rural to urban areas, which in turn caused significant changes in the spatial configuration of the country (Schmid, 2012).

However, Lefebvre's ideal was based on analysing conditions within a particular part of the world, France and other Western nations, and the surrounding regional debates. However, the rebirth of the Right to the city is one with global underpinnings.

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

Schmid (2012) further explains that, amongst other things, the 'crisis of the city' was a dynamic rebellion against processes that brought about the alienation of everyday life, the modernisation of cities and the subversion of their unique qualities, and the exclusion from urban life, and it was a fight for a different city. He argues that Lefebvre's treatise on the Right to the city was a call for the Right to resist displacement to spaces explicitly created for discrimination, and therefore Lefebvre's call was for a higher form of rights, a specific urban quality previously ignored in public debate; access to the opportunities available in cities for all residents. Lefebvre argued that the heart of the traditional city was constituted by socio-political affairs, wealth, arts, and knowledge. In essence, an oeuvre or work of art comprised of spontaneous activities that created a use value, and this core value of cities as the focus of social, political and cultural life was being suppressed by industrial and commercial agglomeration, which had reduced the city and urban resources to commodities, prioritising their exchange value in place of their use value (Lefebvre, 1968 in Kofman and Lebas, 1996, pp. 19).

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

"like a cry and a demand. This Right slowly meanders through the surprising detours of nostalgia and tourism, the return to the heart of the traditional city, and the call of existent or recently developed centralitiesa transformed and renewed right to urban life" (Lefebvre, 1968 in Kofman and Lebas, 1996: p. 158) Moreover he argues that:

"The Right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: Right to freedom, to individualisation in socialisation, to habit and to inhabit. The Right to the oeuvre, participation, and appropriation (clearly distinct from the property right), is implied in the Right to the city" (Lefebvre, 1968 in Kofman and Lebas, 1996, pp. 174).

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

Arguably there are two significant schools of thought on the conception of the Right to the city. First, the Lefebvrian conception is provocative and confrontational, connoting the potential and possibility of a new urban reality, which is all-inclusive and participatory, wherein social exclusion is minimised or completely eradicated. Nevertheless, despite all its promises, it still leaves much desired. Although it proposes an opportunity to resist the disenfranchisement connected with urban neoliberalism, it remains inconclusive mainly (Purcell, 2002). The Lefebvrian conception of the Right to the city offers minimal guidance on how it can be implemented, how the notion of residence-based citizenship can be put into practice, how the

principles of participation and self-management can be realised, or the role of urban governance institutions (Brown, 2010; 2013).

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

"the equitable usufruct of cities within the principles of Sustainability, equitability, and social justice... the collective right of the Inhabitants of cities, in particular of the vulnerable and marginalised groups, that confers upon them the legitimacy of action and organisation, based on their uses and Customs, intending to achieve full exercise of the right to free self-determination and an adequate standard of living ... [it] is interdependent of all internationally recognised... human rights ... [such as] the rights to work in equitable and satisfactory conditions, ... to public health, ... political participation."

(World Charter for the Right to the city, 2005, pp. 2)

These two interpretations of the Right to the city underlie the concept's revival in contemporary urban society, with the interpretations polarised between developing and developed countries (Mayer, 2012). As Mayer (2009) explains, one set of interpretations is those championed by anti-neoliberal movements based predominantly in the global North, which are much closer aligned with the original Lefebvrian conception, in which urbanisation represents a transformation of society and daily life through the capital, which is the transformation against which Lefebvre through

social and political action sought the creation of rights, while the other interpretation has been promoted by advocacy organisations active in cities in the global South which seek to address the exclusionary effects of neoliberalism through the human-rights interpretation of the Right to the city.

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

Mayer (2009) argues that struggles for specific rights do not refer to the Right to the city. Lefebvre envisioned the Right to the city as a call for a radical reorganisation of social, political and economic affairs within and beyond, not a suggestion for reform or a partial resistance (Purcell, 2002). Thus, the human rights conception of the Right to the city in seeking inclusion into the already established human rights perspective undoubtedly departs from Lefebvre's conception. Although potentially leading to a significant improvement in the existing situation, this institutionalisation of collective rights is not a transformation of the existing system, as Lefebvre envisioned (Mayer, 2009). Thus, Woessner (2009) terms it the 'neoliberal Right to the city, which seeks deeper inclusion in the global capitalist urban development system as it exists, and as such, it short-circuits the more expansive, more transformational stance of the Lefebvrian conception.

Lefebvre's conception, although fundamentally arguing for a Right to the city for all urban inhabitants, to a large extent seeks the establishment of rights not for all inhabitants but rather for those who have been denied

rights and are in need; hence it is a challenge to the assertions of wealthy and influential sections of the urban populace (Mayer, 2012). Thus, an underlying conflict of rights exists, as some sections of urban society already possess the Right to the city; such as key political and financial powers, and thus the Lefebvrian conception is essentially concerned with the enshrinement of the Right to the city for the other sections of urban society which lack a Right to the City (Marcuse, 2012). The human rights conception, however, differs from Lefebvre's conception because it ignores this underlying power play by essentially advocating for the establishment of general rights for all urban inhabitants.

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

Centner and Rojas (2011) also highlights the impact of contexts on the translation of the Right to the city, identifying varying translations of the concept in different contexts.

Despite the distinction between these two central conceptions of the Right to the city, they do not differ entirely. First, both share a common philosophical origin, evolving from the work of Lefebvre, as any use of the term is invariably inseparable from this origin. Also, and more pertinently,

both lay claim to similar ambitions, even if the recommended avenues for achieving this are dissimilar. Both conceptions of the Right to the city envision cities that will be more just, sustainable and democratic (Mayer, 2012). However, the Lefebvrian vision sees the Right to the city achieved only through constant confrontation and struggle, while the human-rights approach sees international and legal instruments as a core approach.

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

These points of intersection signal a window of opportunity in the essentially dualistic struggles for a Right to the city. Increasing tensions and growing global coalitions around the Right to the city could potentially broaden the platform from which the more transformative Lefebvrian Right to the city can be demanded (Mayer, 2012). It is nevertheless pertinent to note that Purcell (2002, p 106) cautioned that the Lefebvrian Right to the city should not be seen as a conclusive answer to current problems but rather as an opportunity for an innovative type of politics; "an urban politics of the inhabitant", and the notion of the Right to the city is not restricted to a single interpretation (Pietrus, 2015) The apparent similarities between both conceptions of the Right to the city are alluded to by Fernandes (2007) in his explanation that the proposed World Charter for the Right to the city draws on the Lefebvrian concept; the Right of all urban inhabitants to communally enjoy the advantages, cultural variety, social diversity, economic benefits and opportunities of urban life, along with active participation in urban management, to be achieved according

to national, local, and specific realities. Nevertheless, Fernandes argues that an effective Right to the city cannot be achieved without legal underpinning.

Therefore, these points of intersection will be advanced in this study, with the human-rights conception of the Right to the city essentially subsumed in the more radical Lefebvrian conception. Therefore, in this study, the Right to the city is adopted to mean a set of rights which collectively constitute the Right to more democratic cities, wherein all urban inhabitants possess the Right to influence all decisions regarding the production of urban space in addition to the Right of access, occupation and utilisation of public spaces for societally beneficial purposes.

The Rights-Based Agenda

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

The human rights conception of the Right to the city, the rights-based agenda of advocacy groups, has made significant progress in terms of its operationalisation and practicability in comparison to the larger philosophical Lefebvrian conception. Most notably in Latin America, the Right to the city has inspired an extraordinary level of experimentation in an attempt to operationalise it, particularly in Brazil, where the Right to the city has been officially inculcated into legislation (Fernandes, 2007; Brown, 2010; Centner and Rojas, 2011; Earle, 2011), which has ultimately advanced the cause of the demand for the Right to the city as a whole. The

Right to the City agenda thus serves as a platform for the provision of a rights-based perspective to urban development (Fernandes, 2007), its most crucial contribution perhaps being the critical role it presents for the local state in introducing a rights-based agenda (Brown, 2010).

Brown and Kristiansen (2009) argue that human rights instruments have inspired the diffusion of the concept of the Right to the city. They highlight the milestone of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 with its basis on the principles of justice, fairness and equality and recognition that "the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world" as constituting a contract between people and governments (UN 1948 cited in Brown and Kristiansen, 2009, pp. 13). The implication is that states, irrespective of their political, economic and cultural systems, are duty-bound to uphold and defend all human rights and fundamental freedoms, despite the crucial and complex challenge of balancing legitimate, state, collective and individual rights (Brown and Kristiansen, 2009).

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

the world as they desire and is a powerful political tool with the potential of transforming societies (Brown, 2004).

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

Fernandes (2007) gave credence to these calls by calling for the better discourse and expansion of the existing but fragmented international treaties in economic, cultural, social, and environmental rights into a broader, more precisely defined schema of the Right to the city. He asserts that this will lead to adopting a more detailed international treaty document to guide policy, decision-making, and social and political action.

A universal rights agenda is doable and achievable on both the city-regional and national levels, with both levels impacting the global discussion, according to Parnell and Pieterse (2010). Because a universal rights agenda presents an exciting and direct challenge to the composition of citizenship and makes the city a vital element in the decision-making process, the city and its residents are thrust to the forefront of international discussions on rights and citizenship, asserts Purcell (2002). Citizenship and rights are typically asserted on a national scale;

nevertheless, to move the rights agenda beyond the national level and into the realm of the city, it will be necessary to consider the question of how these things will be constructed on the city scale.

With continued efforts to forge a unified front in support of the rights-based agenda for urban development, the discussions on the practical application of the human-rights paradigm of the Right to the city continue to evolve. In this vein, several international NGOs organised a global conference on the Right to the city in Sao Paulo, Brazil, in November 2014 to bring together eminent authorities and determine a course of action. The gathering's objectives were to establish a Worldwide Forum on The Right to the city, which would serve as the foundation for campaigns and negotiations leading up to Habitat III, the United Nations Conference on Housing and Urban Development, in 2016, and to foster a coordinated strategy for pursuing the recognition of the Right to the City by UN agencies as well as national and international governments (Cities Alliance, 2014). These initiatives have significantly benefited from the Right to the City agenda's historical success in several nations.

In Latin America, especially in Brazil, where the Right to the city has been codified in law, there has been a great deal of experimentation prompted by the concept of the Right to the City (Brown, 2010; Canter and Rojas, 2011). Constitutional recognition of the Right to the city and the underlying mechanism of the social function of land and property was achieved there after a decade of battle by social movements (Mathivet, 2014).

As a result of a very dynamic civil society and extensive exclusionary types of urban development that have taken place in the region with its fast urbanisation, the battle for rights is very dynamic in Latin America (Canter and Rojas, 2011). (Fernandes, 2007; Brown, 2010). Thus, developments in Latin America and the expanding Right to the City ideology encouraged by international bodies with global reach have created a solid chance for the dissemination of the Right to the city, at least some tenets, in some cities in Sub-Saharan Africa and other developing world locations where such a thing would be essentially impossible without the help of Latin America.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter also discussed urban public space, a term that is inherently complex and difficult to describe due to space's ubiquity. In light of these ongoing discussions, "urban public space" describes any area in a city that is not legally considered private and is open to at least some degree of public use (Frances,1987). In addition, the crucial function that urban public space plays in the conduct of street commerce was emphasised. It was determined that street trading activities are incredibly controversial because they occur in urban public spaces subject to competing interests. Municipal authorities frequently force traders to move from their selected locations in favour of other uses encouraged by influential individuals and deemed more suitable, with this pattern increasing due to ongoing worldwide economic operations (Hall and Pieffer 2013). The literature examined reveals that attempts to relocate street vendors are typically ineffective and do not benefit the vendors or most municipal residents. However, most studies fail to account for the wide-ranging effects of street trader relocations, including the spatial, political, economic, and socio-cultural consequences shown by the battleground framework (Mackie et al., 2014).

In addition, we traced the development of the concept of "the right to the city" and its subsequent reappearance in the current urban debate. The original Lefebvrian and human rights conceptions are the two most prominent variations of this idea.

Both ideas have different starting points but ultimately aim for the same thing; thus, they are not mutually exclusive. Both conceptions not only share a common goal of achieving more democratic and equitable cities, but they also agree on several fundamental principles, three key ones being the importance of the notions of collective action; equitable, participatory rights in urban management; and equitable rights to the use of public space, to the implementation of the Right to the city. Thus, the underlining convergence between both conceptions is the basis upon

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

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

Thus, the rights-based agenda has significant relevance to urban public space, especially the activities of street traders, as it is potentially a tool through which the conflicts over the use of urban public space can be resolved, but despite this, the Right to the city has only just been applied to livelihoods. Applying the Right to the city to street trade and the conflicts over the use of urban public space, with specific reference to the rapidly urbanising African city of Lagos, forms part of the unique gap in knowledge that this study aims to fill. Furthermore, from this review of relevant literature, three key theoretical gaps concerning street trade and the Right to the city have emerged; these include:

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

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

Chapter 3:

Theoretical background

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines topics that provide theoretical insight into the significance of street selling activities within the city's everyday routine, including associated challenges and issues associated with policy development for these activities in the urban public sphere.

Therefore, the chapter is divided into two main parts, each of which focuses on the research theoretical and philosophical themes. The first part contains the theoretical background, and it includes section 3.2 and 3.3 respectively. Section 3.2 contains topics on Lagos metropolis, megacities, rapid urbanisation. The significance of Lagos as a metropolis in Nigeria's history, society, economy, politics, and culture are discussed as well as some challenges of rapid urbanisation and quest for the Lagos megacity. Section 3.3 contains topics on street trading activities, urban public space and public policy. The topics include Lagos state public policy formulation and implementation on street trading activities in the urban public space, the challenge of contested space, rights to the city and current trends in public policy.

These topics form the basis of the research methodology and expected findings of the study.

3.2 Lagos metropolis, megacities, rapid urbanisation

This subchapter examines the socio-spatial historical, socio-economic, political and cultural significance of Lagos metropolis. These socio-spatial elements influence the nature and usage of the urban public space, which in turn influences the spatial impact of street selling activities. They also determine the current dual structure of the city-built setting.

The historical, socio-economic, political, and cultural significance of Lagos metropolis

Lagos colony was the seat of colonial power, and this resulted in its status as the commercial outpost for the colonial government. This role has shaped the commercial viability of the city today. Furthermore, the city evolved to become the first capital of Nigeria, thereby enhancing the city's political relevance. However, the colonial background of the city has led to rapid

urban growth, high population density, the informal economy phenomenon, and other urbanization challenges, which shaped the identity and the resultant way of life in Lagos.

Lagos has developed into the post-colonial capital. The middle class evolved from the formal sector, which grew because of this change. The development of the financial industry; the concentration of public facilities as a sign of pride, power, and prominence for instance CBN, banking and finance, and thus leading to a concentration of commercial enterprises, companies, goods and services from which the informal economy emerges as a viable alternative to the formal economy.

Ogunleye and Babajide (2010) in their submission stated that Lagos's contribution to the national economy, given its relatively modest size, strengthens its place in the country's economic and spatial system. Of the 36 states that make up the Nigerian federation, Lagos state is the smallest and most populous. Kadiri (2009) clarified and expanded this notion when he asserted that Lagos metropolitan has the single highest concentration of Nigeria's trade and manufacturing activity and is also the reason for having over 10,000 of the total country's commercial businesses. As a byproduct of Lagos's commercial standing, the city's informal sector has grown, having a major impact on the way public spaces in the city are used and defined. Rapid population growth in Lagos has led to a rise in the city's unemployment rate (Fapohunda, 1985), making the growth of the city's informal economy all but inevitable.

The metropolitan area of Lagos and the state of Lagos are essentially the same thing because they both encompass essentially the same land area (Filani, 2012). Located in southwestern Nigeria, West Africa, the city of Lagos faces the Atlantic Ocean on its southern side. Prior to Abuja's designation as the nation's capital in 1999, it served as Nigeria's political epicentre. The city may no longer be the capital of Nigeria, but it is still the country's and the region's economic hub and a major cultural centre. Over 70% of Nigeria's industrial and economic operations take place in Lagos, making it not only the commercial capital of Nigeria but also the dominant regional port and manufacturing centre in West Africa (Istrate, 2007; Mbachu and Lafreniere, 2007). Lagos's strategic location as a port city has made transportation essential to the city's economic standing and general development. Due to its superior harbour, Lagos quickly rose to prominence as Nigeria's main port. After the Murtala Muhammed International Airport was built, the city also became a hub for rail, road, and air

travel (Abiodun, 1997). Through the years, these establishments and their associated pursuits have grown, contributing to the city's extraordinary development. Lagos State, with over 17 million residents, is the most populous while having the smallest total land area of all of Nigeria's 36 states. There's no denying that it's a thriving metropolis, too. Between 2011 and 2025, it is anticipated that Lagos's average annual growth rate of 3.71% will make it the world's fastest-growing megacity (UN, 2012).

Challenges emerge from Lagos's complex past as a trading post and colonial outpost as well as the city's rapid present-day growth. Mabogunje contends that :

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

(Mabogunje, 1968, p.238)

Long before colonization, Lagos was a thriving center of trade and business thanks to its strategic location, especially as a port city. Lagos was the most economic hub on the West African coast for lawful business, and archaeological evidence indicates that periodic markets existed there both before and after the slave trade (Mabogunje, 1968; Aderigbigbe, 1975). In order to capitalise on Lagos's commercial potential, the British colonizers primarily focused on enhancing the city's transportation infrastructure (Peil, 1991). There was a massive influx of people to Lagos in pursuit of work after colonization, as the city's better economic and

transportation conditions ushered in an era of industrialization (Mabogunje, 1968). Lagos's growing importance might also be attributed to its transformation into a regional hub for government. Although Abuja is now the nation's capital, before independence Lagos served as the epicenter of Nigerian politics, commerce, culture, and administration (Mabogunje, 1968; Peil, 1991; Abiodun, 1997). The colonial status of Lagos was a stimulant for a concentration of 'western style' public amenities along with the public space. This concentration acted as a pull factor for the population, thereby contributing to the linear planning approach.

Hence, the linear planning approach of the built environment can reflect the history of human settlements growing and spreading along the principal street. Due to its status as a principal axis for movement and distribution of pedestrian and vehicular circulation, the street as a significant part of the public space, as assumed a significant political status. Also, the street becomes a prime estate property for commercial advertisement through the façade of commercial buildings lining up along and overlooking the street.



Figure 2.1: Ariel view of Lagos island, the historical, socio-economic, cultural and political core of Lagos metropolis

The challenge of rapid urbanisation and quest for the Lagos megacity

The challenges resulting from rapid urban growth has resulted in the quest at evolving megacity schemes out of major cities around the world. Lagos is one of such megacities, and it is the focus of this study. A World Bank (1995) study reports that the city attained the world fastest-growing megacity status in 1995 when its population soared to over 10 million people. The UN estimates that at its present growth rate, Lagos will be the third-largest mega city the world by 2015 after Tokyo in Japan and Bombay in India. From its global city ranking of 31st in 1985, the population exploded to 13.4 million in 2000AD to become the world's 6th megacity and Africa's foremost urban center and hub of national, regional and global socio-economic and political activities.

As of 2006, the population of Lagos State was 17.5 million, (based on the parallel count conducted by the state during the National Census) with a growth rate of 3.2%, the state today

has a population of over 21 million. Even though located on poor soil and overwhelmed by its growth, Lagos gross national product (GNP) is three times more than any west African country (UN, 2012).

In addition, between 2011 and 2025, it was estimated that Lagos would have the highest annual growth rate of any megacity in the world, at 3.71%. (Ibid. Given the urban challenges associated with this growth, the Lagos megacity scheme was launched in 2006 by the Obasanjo administration. However, it focused on 'elitist' projects, urban renewal and regeneration schemes designed to highlight and harness the commercial viability of Lagos.

Lagos megacity project aims to upgrade the urban infrastructure of the city, especially the public space. Given the cultural-based ideology of the political elites, this infrastructural upgrade leads to image laundering through the urban public space. This motive also connects with addressing the "perceived" social ills in the urban morphology, such as street selling act, and utilizing the vernacular in the city space. The result is to go with the "global flow" of urban development.

The challenges of the Lagos megacity align with the problems faced by cities all over the world. Lagos metropolis has continued to experience rapid growth. However, unlike other cities, especially in the developed world who are also facing the challenge, there has not been a corresponding growth in infrastructure, and spread into other areas, to accommodate the city's ever-growing population.

Rapid urbanisation coupled with an increase in the rate of vehicular ownership and use is growing faster than the population in many cities, with vehicular ownership growth rates rising between 15 and 20 per cent per year (Olagunju, 2015; Chidi and Ideh, 2018). Lagos as a megacity with about 20 million people is associated with massive traffic jams. Human and economic activities and the resultant heavy dependence on-road transportation have led to the increase in the number of vehicles on Lagos roads with its attendant effect on heavy and incessant vehicular traffic. Thus, traffic jam has become a regular feature on Lagos roads, and it seems to have defiled all remedies (Access, 2018). |The city of Lagos, Nigeria, is a cosmopolitan hub that influences many aspects of Nigerian society. But as the city's population grows, it must contend with the difficulty of doing so within the confines of its

existing infrastructure and available land. Population growth in Lagos State is estimated at 600,000 each year, with a density of 4,193 people per square kilometre, according to the government of Lagos State in Nigeria. Over 20,000 people live in every square kilometre of Metropolitan Lagos's built-up districts. Analysis of recent demographic trends found that the State now accounts for 36.8% of Nigeria's urban population, which is estimated at 49.8 million based on data from the World Bank in 1996. Lagos's population is expanding ten times faster than New York and Los Angeles, which has major implications for urban sustainability, while the growth rates of THE nation and the world are, respectively, 4.5 and 2%.

The consequence is that more pressure on the existing but limited 'modern' public infrastructure, such as the public space, as more people, activities and built environment features 'compete' for this limited 'prime' resource. However, due to lack of infrastructural growth and development, the pressure on the existing public space gets worse with the emergence of the suburbs, urban sprawl, slums and blight areas, which houses a substantial part of the urban population, is close to this modern infrastructure.

As more people, especially those with limited or no education, migrate into the city, especially into the suburbs, without welfare support or means to sustain themselves, the quest for survival, opportunity, sustenance and relevance necessitates the need for self-help initiatives. Hence, the emergence of the informal economy, to accommodate these population group, with street trading being the most visible, due to its operations in the public space.



Figure 2.2: Present-day Lagos metropolis showing the progression of growth in the city

3.3 Street trading activities, urban public space and public policy

Street trading activities

Street trading activities is an umbrella phrase used to describe various forms of open-air, semi/fully exposed, outdoor commercial activity taking place in the public space. The city of Lagos is home to a vibrant street market where a wide variety of goods are bought and sold. However, the nature of the setting of urban public space and the outlook of the trader impacts significantly on the definition, product, outlook and operation and marketing strategy of these street trading activities. Therefore, the activity is described, using everyday terms such as roadside trading, street markets, street vendors and petty trading. Aduwo (1999) describes it as street trading. Solomon - Ayeh, et al. (2011) describes it as street vending; The authors Owusu et al. (2013) called it various names, including street hawking, peddling, touting, tiny trading, and informal trade. In addition, Bhowmik (2005) defines it as street vending, which is the practice of selling things to the public from a temporary storefront located on the street (street vending is the common term in India). Street trade,

as defined by Bromley (2000), is the purchase and sale of goods and services in public places such as streets and sidewalks.

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

Selling goods on the street is not a modern profession but has deep historical roots. Furthermore, it is a worldwide phenomenon practised in many locations. In terms of longevity and global distribution, street trade ranks near the top (Bromley, 2007). As a long-standing economic practise, street trading has been an integral part of many human communities everywhere. According to Pena (1999), street trade is commonplace in global commerce but has strong historical and cultural origins in Mexico. According to Hays-Mitchell (1994), one of the first forms of commerce documented in Peru was conducted on the streets. Both Morales (2000) and Kettles (2007), which focus on Latin American and North American cities, respectively, illustrate the long and storied history of street trade. The lengthy history of street trading is discussed by Shrestha (2006) and Nnkya (2006), who write on the context of their respective countries, Nepal and Tanzania.

These days, street trade can be seen in almost every country and significant city (Bromley, 2000), and it has both international and local roots (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005). Academics have studied street trading for decades (Chen and Carré, 2020). They are a part of the informal economy despite the fact that they contain many legitimate businesses. In spite of the many discussions that have taken place about street

commerce and the broader concept of the informal economy, there is no agreed-upon, universal definition of either term.

The location of a business is the key determinant of whether or not it is considered street trade. Mitullah (2004), drawing on the African setting, defines street trade as any economic activity conducted outside of enclosed premises or isolated working environments, such as sidewalks, street pavements, major transportation hubs, and other public locations. For example, in India, the question of whether or not a given type of street trade is illegal is an additional factor in defining its scope. According to Brown et al. (2009, p. 3), street vendors are "legal or socially acceptable goods or services" producers and sellers operating on a modest scale. These business owners set up shop in a public spot like a sidewalk or a makeshift market, and they conduct at least some of their business in an unregulated manner.

Trading on the street and trading at a market are similar but not identical. Market traders are comparable to street vendors, except that they set up shop in official, sanctioned public or private marketplaces (Brown et al.2009)

In some situations, the presence of a significant number of street vendors is taken as evidence of the existence of a market; this is the case, for example, when a street is transformed into a street market because of the prevalence of vendors selling goods there (Bromley, 2000).

Within this continuum, there is a wide range of categories for street trade. While Bromley (2000) classifies street sellers as either stationary or mobile, Mitullah (2004) sees a continuum between the two types of vendors. The scale of various types of street commerce is likewise variable. According to Bromley (2000), these range from sole proprietorships to multinational conglomerates. Time commitments might be minimal ("one-off") or substantial ("year-round," "seasonal," "occasional," etc.) for solo entrepreneurs or large teams of workers.

One of the most pervasive and numerous segments of the unofficial economy is street vendors (Bromley, 1998; Daniels, 2004; Mitullah, 2004; Pratt, 2006; Brown et al., 2009). In addition to being an important part of the industry as a whole, street trading is also one of the most contentious subsets within it. This statistic exemplifies the conundrum because the most practical location for street commerce is also the most important public area, which is contested territory. Thus, street vendors frequently congregate in public locations, provoking conflicts with city authorities and the general public. As a result, city authorities make concerted efforts to remove street vendors from strategically important locations in favour of other uses that are deemed more suitable (Bromley and Mackie, 2009).

The urban public spaces

The term "urban public space" is used to describe the areas inside the city's built environment where people congregate for public uses, such as street markets. This makes it the primary stage for displaying how people's social and physical environments interact with one another in typical situations. It's what Bromley (2000) calls a "streetscape," which includes "streets and other related public axes like passageways, parks, and thoroughfares. The concept of urban public space is not a new idea, as the notion of urban public space can be traced back at least to the Greek Agora (Mitchell, 1995), which is arguably the most popular public space of all time (Madanipour, 1999). The Agora was a place for public affairs, a marketplace, space where people carried out collective activities, and where judgements, negotiations and resolutions were made (Hartley 1992). It was a place which integrated economic, political, and cultural activities (Madanipour, 1999). However, there is an obvious need for a more nuanced conception of urban public space, especially considering the changing times and the significance of this on the conception of space as well as its classification. It is difficult to conceive of either space or society without the other (Carmona et al., 2010) due to the reciprocal nature of the link between the two. The urban public realm's social function is an inalienable quality that is shaped by the conventions of the time and place. In the same way that the ancient Greek Agora was the product of conflicting views about what constitutes that place and who comprises the public, modern public space is the outcome of "competing beliefs about what constitutes that space and who constitutes the public" (Mitchell, 1995,

pp. 115). In his discussion of how society creates its physical environments, Madanipour (1999) points to the intrinsic link between the physical location of a given place and the social role it plays there. He explains that the places we frequent define and are defined by our social behaviour, both of which are fundamental to our social existence. Thus, our understanding of space and spatial relations is consistent with our understanding of the other components of our social lives.

The urban public space indicates the significance of space within the societal context. Space and society are intertwined; hence, urban public space serves an important social function. Urban public space also serves several other uses, but the political and commercial uses are particularly prominent in contemporary times. This section thus focuses on the concept of urban public space as the site where informal economic activities are mostly conducted, especially street trade. The discussion includes an analysis of the two constituents of the concept, urban space and public space, as well as a discussion on the main functions of urban public space, and related debates.

Geographers have also considered the concept of social space, and argue that urban space signifies the spatial expression of social institutions (Brown, 2005; 2006). Renowned geographer Harvey (1973) considers social space as being composed of the complexity of personal perceptions and images about attitudes to the spatial symbolism around an individual, with each person seemingly living within a personally created web of spatial relationships, which are somewhat contained in the particular individuals own geometric system. He further explains that this dynamic occurs within societies which identify significantly similar images regarding their surrounding space and which also possess similar ways of evaluating the importance and behaving in space, with this mutual facet of the spatial image underlying the real nature of social space, Harvey (1973) therefore concludes that social space is a complex, non-uniform and disjointed composition, varying from person to person and society to society as well as overtime. According to Searle (1995), there are two types of world facts: institutional facts (things that exist because of human agreement) and brute facts (facts that exist regardless of human organisations). Therefore, according to Madanipour (1999), institutions make up the bulk of the social universe. The physical

existence of urban space is the bare truth, but the institutional fact is that the objects and relationships inside urban space are the result of human consensus and have unique significance and meaning to different people. Because people can assign meaning to these things beyond their physical location, they become a part of people's everyday lives and a part of society as a whole. As a result, Madanipour (1999) draws the conclusion that the significance of symbolism in the formation of social reality reveals how social facts can be interpreted in many ways; thus, space, being an important feature of our social world, finds multiple interpretations and meanings. The way in which places are socially created becomes evident as different people give different meanings to the same area (Knox and Pinch, 2000). Thus, according to Madanipour (1996), urban space is the end result of the cumulative impact of human civilizations on their environments, with the interplay between environmental quirks and the social traits of the people living in those environments shaping the distinctive aspects of urban space. He makes a distinction between public and private areas, the former of which are open to anybody and the latter of which are protected from strangers by various barriers (both physical and social). Despite his emphasis on public areas, he maintains that all of the city's outdoor areas and the people, activities, and connections that take place there constitute what he calls "urban space" (Madanipour, 1999).

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

space is space, which is available, belongs to all, and is regulated by prevailing social and legal norms (Drummond 2000).

The communal role of public space is generally well defined in the debates on public space; however, issues around its control are not as well identified. Madanipour (2003) describes public space as space that concerns a group of people and is open to and used by all members of the community and suggests that public authorities mainly carry out control. However, Brown (2006) explains that the control of public space, although usually carried out by public authorities, is not their exclusive preserve. Furthermore, Mitchell (1995), from a political standpoint, questions the constitution of 'the public' in his description of public space as the product of competing ideas about what constitutes that space and who constitutes 'the public'; he, therefore, argues that how 'the public' is defined and imagined (as space; social entity; and an ideal) requires adequate consideration.

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

Meanwhile, Carmona et al. (2010) extend the definition of public space to include internal physical spaces by arguing that interiors of critical buildings, such as churches, can also be considered as public spaces, suggesting a relationship between public space and physical structures or the physical environment. They argue that since public space does not occur in a vacuum, it requires a manifestation and that physical environment fulfils this role, serving as the avenue through which public space and its social elements are displayed. Thus Gehl (1996) identifies three social activities that take place in public space, each exerting distinct

demands on the physical environment, namely; necessary activities, such as going to work or school with these mainly occurring irrespectively of the physical environment; optional activities, which are pursuits undertaken if situations permit, such as taking a walk, these activities particularly dependent on the physical environment; and social activities, such as communal activities which are only indirectly dependent on the physical environment.

Brown (2006) takes up this challenge, and drawing on the debates on urban space and public space; she offers a more contemporary and robust definition of urban public space as physical space and an understanding of the social relations that govern it, including the totality of spaces not delineated as private and where even a minimal level of legitimate public or community use exists, it includes formal public space in parks, squares and streets as well as space at the margins, such as between the permanent edge and building façade, on-road reserves or river banks, or in vacant and unfenced lots, where public access is possible but not formalized.

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

It's common for economic and political interests to meet in public places in modern cities (Mitchell, 1995). Urban public spaces have a long history of being used for political reasons, with political interactions often taking place there. This is true whether we are talking about the exercise of political dominance by elites or the conflict and challenge of a political underclass. Because of their position as political power hubs, cities attract the attention of those who wield elite political power. Parades and the building of statues of the ruling class are just two examples of how urban public places have historically served as symbols of

governmental power (Madanipour, 1999). The urban public sphere is crucial to political processes because it provides the medium for the public display of authority.

With recent global political shifts and many urban fights being fought out in the open, the political relevance of urban public space has taken on greater significance. Numerous struggles for democracy and freedom have been fought in the open (Brown, 2005). Since public spaces in cities are critical to the proper operation of municipal politics (Arefi and Meyers, 2003), they play an important role in urban government. Therefore, the balance of power in any community is determined by who has the upper hand when it comes to the management of public space, especially in urban areas (Madanipour, 1999). Many governments, seeing the necessity to consolidate state power, have begun to exert control over metropolitan areas, and the employment of openly violent tactics to silence dissenting voices in these areas is a confirmation of that authority (Brown, 2006).

With the rise of cities and the popularity of democracies and other political systems in which citizens have a voice, urban public spaces have become increasingly important. Mitchell (1995) argues that public spaces in cities are where "political activity actually takes place," and that they provide a forum for "the explicit expression of aspirations and frustrations by individuals or portions of the urban people." In light of its significance, the public sphere has often been dubbed the democratic sphere (Carmona et al., 2010), making it an ideologically significant aspect in democracies (Mitchell, 1995). Arab Spring uprisings, which began in Tunisia in 2010 and expanded over most of the Middle East, are a prime example of the political use of urban public space. The significance of urban public space in politics was underscored by the fact that many of the struggles occurred there. As Lopes de Souza and Lipietz (2011) point out, the so-called "Arab Spring" was predominately an urban phenomenon, in which public spaces were transformed into venues of socio-political contestation, renewing previous incidents of protest.

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

Because of the long history of associating urban public space with commercial activity, it is impossible to overstate the importance of making efficient use of this resource. Similar to how the Greek Agora was primarily a marketplace, the principal public spaces in the mediaeval city were market places, and the entire city itself functioned as a marketplace (Madanipour, 1999).

Despite its far-reaching economic relevance, the economic role of urban public space receives comparatively little attention. Much less attention has been paid to the economic significance of public spaces during the debates that have taken place; instead, the social, physical, political, and cultural components of these spaces have received the most attention (Brown, 2006). The rise of the black market and related shifts in global economic conditions have, however, highlighted the economic significance of urban public areas. The prevalence of unofficial markets and other forms of informal economic activity in urban public space has reached a tipping point in many cities throughout the world (Brown, 2006).

As with informal economic activities and informal dwellings, the commercial role of urban space is not always clear. The process of making efficient use of urban public places has both direct and indirect effects, and so there are subtler components to it. When urban public spaces are used for informal economic activity, such as selling goods or providing services, they directly contribute to the local economy; when they are used to advance the economic and social goals of the ruling business class, they indirectly do so (Brown, 2005). Urban public space, for instance, is increasingly privatised and viewed as a commodity due to global economic, political, and demographic shifts (Madanipour, 1999). The significance of urban public space is readily apparent in many cities of the developing world. There is little to no consideration given to the housing or employment needs of the poor while city planners in these cities undertake massive reconstruction and beautification projects that necessitate considerable spatial re - orientation to attract investment from abroad (Benjamin, 2000; Middleton, 2003).

Considering the importance of commercial operations to any community, the management of public space to strike a balance between its commercial role and the demands of other users is an issue that should be addressed. Since there is a growing trend toward the commercialization of urban public spaces, it is imperative that their efficient usage be emphasised (Brown, 2005). The pervasive nature of space makes categorization difficult without context and political intent, making urban public space a challenging notion to grasp. This research builds on prior discussions to propose a definition of urban public space that includes any areas that are not legally protected as private and that allow for some degree of public access and use regardless of who owns them.

This subsection has shown that urban public space is incredibly complicated, especially in terms of its definition, control, and fluidity. In addition, it has refined the meaning of the concept that will form the basis of this research. We have also seen the importance of social, political, and economic contexts in determining how urban public space is utilized.

These are factors which extensively underlie street trading activities, and which combined with the reliance of street trading activities on urban public space, further highlight the relationship between urban public space and street trade.

Lagos state public policy formulation and implementation on street trading activities in the urban public space

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



Figure 2.3: Street trading activities and Lagos traffic – the effects of pedestrian and vehicular traffic congestion in urban public space of Lagos metropolis

Whilst local governments have considerable responsibilities regarding trading activities, few bylaws are produced to manage street trade. The function of levying taxes on markets has

been devolved to local governments since the 1950s (Fourchard, 2010), but state governments, particularly the Lagos State Government, have been very influential in the management of markets. In Lagos, the state government has assumed increased control over the functioning and redevelopment of markets, although the responsibility of taxation still rests predominantly with local government authorities (Fourchard, 2010; Filani, 2012).

In recent times the management of street trading by the Lagos State Government has taken central importance as the state government strives towards the attainment of 'megacity status' This goal entails an ambitious infrastructure development and rebranding programme in which street trading is deemed as inappropriate, with the overall aspiration being to develop Lagos into a glamorous global city (Basinski, 2009; Nuewirth, 2013). Despite the limited availability of clear policy documents spelling out this ambition, it has been continuously promoted by political leaders since the return of civilian rule in Lagos in 1999. This objective of promoting a global image arises partly from a desire to address shortcomings inherited from previous military administrations prior to 1999, such as substantial infrastructural and governance deficits, a preponderance of informal activities and an overwhelming negative reputation (Filani, 2012).

In Lagos, the state government, as part of its urban management obligations, takes primary responsibility for managing street trade, rather than the local government. The Lagos State Government's Edict of 1984 (amended in 1996) prohibits street trading and illegal markets in all public spaces in Lagos state, which is the only known law directly related to street trading activities in Lagos and which demonstrates the central role that the state government plays in the regulation of street trade in the city.

The challenge of contested space, rights to the city and current trends in public policy

The concept of contested space reveals a major symptom of the spatial diversity resulting from the complexities and challenges of everyday life. According to Lefebvre, and cited by Molotch, H. (1993; p888), globalization creates a worldwide confrontation of diverse values, ideas, and preferred arrangements; they all undergo "trial by space." The stakes are high:

groups, classes, or fractions of classes “cannot constitute themselves, or recognise one another, as ‘subjects’ unless they generate ... a space” (p416).

It is Lefebvre's contention, as cited by Molotch, H. (1993; p890), that the quest of use values and the goal of trade values create a conflict in the urban area. This insight anticipates the work of Castells, particularly his writings on collective consumption and the historical preeminence of grassroots activity. As a result of this internal contradiction, competition arises inside the capitalist sphere, sometimes taking the form of open revolt but more often being expressed in the drive toward novelty, responsiveness, and a departure from imposed uniformity.

The role of urban public space is a frequent source of dispute, with street vendors sometimes being overlooked in the debates that ensue. As a result, street vendors are especially susceptible to being forced out of their current locations. It has been suggested that criminalising street vendors is counterproductive to their health (Swanson, 2007; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Crossa, 2009), notwithstanding the notion that such laws favor the concerns of urban bourgeoisie over those of other groups.

It is debatable whether or not street trade should be allowed. Although the importance of urban public space for street commerce has previously been emphasised, it is important to remember that urban streets, which serve a variety of conflicting purposes, are among the most contentious urban public areas. Therefore, it makes sense that using such a valuable resource for anything other than its intended use would cause some controversy. This is where the numerous street trade disputes stem from. The location of trade is crucial to the economic viability of street trading activities, but it also intensifies the contentiousness of those activities because traders secure locations close to urban activities that increase pedestrian traffic, such as bus terminals, public buildings, or markets, where a steady stream of pedestrians is guaranteed, in order to increase turnover (Hays-Mitchell, 1994). Understandably, such places are advantageous for both street vendors and other city residents, adding to the debate surrounding this type of business (Omoegun, 2015).

Street traders are usually centrally located. Basic economic principles explain street trader's preferences for such central locations, particularly those that are strategically located on busy pedestrian routes. However, such sites are also strategic to city authorities and other stakeholders, and thus tensions and competition over space result (Omoegu, 2015).

Its accessibility is typically a major aspect in any enterprise's success. Considering the importance of location to trade activities, it is clear that choosing the wrong site can lead to business failure (Dewar and Watson, 1990; Bromley and Mackie, 2009). In that they look for opportunities to increase consumer access while attempting to minimize their financial and personal operating costs, street traders, like other merchants, are primarily economically sensible persons (Hays-Mitchell, 1994; Pena, 2000). Bus stations and transportation hubs are two examples of strategically important locations that make it easier to reach potential markets quickly and boost business viability. However, because these locations are important to both traders and residents as well as to city authorities and other residents, tensions are often present. Due to traders' overwhelming preference for these sites, there is overcrowding and violence (Pena, 2000).

Not only do street vendors set up shop in highly visible and convenient locations across the city, but they do so regardless of geography, which raises eyebrows and annoyance levels among city dwellers and authorities alike. Residential neighbourhoods (Morales, 2000), historic city centres (Bromley, 1998; Middleton, 2003, Bromley and Mackie 2009, Steel, 2012, Mackie et al., 2014), and commercial hubs are all examples of this (Lewinson, 1998; Pena, 1999; 2000). As a result, traders are open targets for local government intervention because of their high profile among law enforcement, formal businesses, neighbours, pedestrians, and others (Pena, 2000). Therefore, city governments in the developing countries have always tried to rein in the activities of street vendors. Policies aiming at controlling street vendors' activities, as described by Mackie et al. (2014), can be anywhere from lenient to harsh. Trader licensing and regulation, as well as policies aimed at modifying trading activities, fall under the category of "tolerant" policies; intolerant and more repressive policies, such as the relocation and removal of street traders, are commonly adopted; and evictions of street

traders, the most repressive policy, are often implemented alongside the relocation of traders.

Right to the City, a term first used by French philosopher Henri Lefebvre in the 1960s, is enjoying a renaissance despite remaining elusive to define precisely (Brown, 2010). A human right, according to the World Charter for the Right to the City (2005) and Harvey (2008), it is the right of all city residents to take part in the use and development of urban space. One of the main complaints levelled at the right to the city is that it is too abstract and lacks sufficient contextual detail (Jenkins et al. 2007; Cantner and Rojas, 2011; Brown, 2010; 2013). However, it has been taken on several meanings, such as a campaign slogan, philosophy for urban policy, and agenda for urban administration (see Fernandes, 2007; Mayer, 2009; Woessner, 2009; Earle, 2011).

It has also been said that multinational NGOs have misappropriated the Right to the City. According to Mayer (2009), the term fails to account for the structural economic factors that contribute to poverty and social exclusion. Even more, Jenkins et al. (2007) claim that an in-depth understanding of actual political, economic, social, and cultural settings is severely lacking in normative development agendas like the Right to the City. As Cantner and Rojas (2011) point out, the concept's translation can be affected by its surrounding context. However, with the help of the Right to the City idea, a solid foundation has been laid for the introduction of a rights-based viewpoint on urban development (Fernandes, 2007; Brown, 2010). Recent years have seen growing international support for the Right to the City. The United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-HABITAT) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) began a cooperative research project based on the notion in 2008, and UN-HABITAT accepted it as the theme of the fifth World Urban Forum held in Rio in 2010. However, the notion remains nebulous despite being widely touted as having the real potential for effecting social change and inclusion in cities (Purcell, 2002; UN-HABITAT, 2011). Even though the idea is influential in some countries, most notably Brazil, it is frequently adopted without a clear definition of what it entails or guidance on how it can be put into practice, and there is a huge gap between its widespread acceptance and the extent to which it has been investigated (Purcell, 2002).

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

In the developed world tensions have increased particularly because of the financial and economic crisis in 2008, which both magnified existing tensions regarding neoliberal urban development and generated new ones (Mayer, 2012). Under these conditions the Right to the City has found common ground between both sets of pressures in developing and developed world regions, uniting social movements focused on the needs of the deprived and excluded sections of society in the global South, and those in opposition to the neoliberal world order predominantly based in the North (Mayer, 2009). Thus the concept has evolved over the course of the last decade as a dominant unifying cry in calls for social action and campaigns opposed to the exclusionary effects of globalisation as well as a mobilising symbol of the global struggle to back track the privatisation and commodification of urban space, and a stimulus to conflicts regarding the character of cities and who can lay claim to the city (Brown, 2010).

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

France and other Western nations, and the surrounding debates were essentially within the region. However, the rebirth of the Right to the City is one with global underpinnings.

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

Schmid (2012) further explains that amongst other things the 'crisis of the city' was a dynamic rebellion against processes that brought about the alienation of everyday life, the modernization of cities and the subversion of their unique qualities, and the exclusion from urban life, and it was a fight for a different city. He argues that Lefebvre's treatise on the Right to the City was a call for the right to resist displacement to spaces created specifically for discrimination, and therefore Lefebvre's call was for a higher form of rights, a particular urban quality previously ignored in public debate, access to the opportunities available in cities for all residents. Lefebvre essentially argued that the heart of the traditional city was constituted by socio-political affairs, wealth, arts as well as knowledge, in essence an oeuvre or work of art comprised of spontaneous activities that created a use value, and that this core value of cities as the focus of social, political and cultural life was being suppressed by industrial and commercial agglomeration which had reduced the city and urban resources to commodities, prioritizing their exchange value in place of their use value (Lefebvre, 1968 in Kofman and Lebas, 1996, pp. 19).

Harvey (2008) renews and reinforces this argument wherein he asserts that capitalism always produces a surplus value which must be reinvested to produce more surplus value. Likewise the process of urbanization is dependent on the utilization of a surplus product; hence an

intimate connection exists between both processes as is evident in their simultaneous global growth. This combined process results in the commodification of urban space and hence the prioritization of its exchange value over its use value which has continuously led to the displacement of lower classes in favor of large capitalist organizations. Lefebvre, also perceived urbanization as representing a transformation of societal and daily life through capital, and against this transformation advocated for the creation of rights through social and political action (Mayer, 2012), and sought a Right to the City, which he defined as being:

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

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

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

Two major schools of thought exist in the conception of the Right to the City. First, the Lefebvrian conception which is clearly provocative and confrontational, connoting the potential and possibility of a new urban reality, one which is all-inclusive and participatory,

wherein social exclusion is minimized or completely eradicated. Nevertheless despite all its promise it still leaves much to be desired. Although it proposes an opportunity to resist the disenfranchisement connected with urban neoliberalism, it remains largely inconclusive (Purcell, 2002). The Lefebvrian conception of the Right to the City offers very limited guidance on how it can be implemented, how the notion of residence-based citizenship can be put into practice, how the principles of participation and self-management can be realised, or the role of urban governance institutions (Brown, 2010; 2013).

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

... “the equitable usufruct of cities within the principles of Sustainability, equitability, and social justice... the collective right of the Inhabitants of cities, in particular of the vulnerable and marginalized groups, that confers upon them legitimacy of action and organisation, based on their uses and Customs , with the objective to achieve full exercise of the right to free self-determination and an adequate standard of living ... [it] is interdependent of all internationally recognized ... human rights ... [such as] the rights to work in equitable and satisfactory conditions, ... to public health, ... political participation “...

(World Charter for the Right to the City, 2005, p. 2)

These two interpretations of the Right to the City underlie the revival of the concept in contemporary urban society, with the interpretations polarized between developing and developed countries (Mayer, 2012). As Mayer (2009) explains, one set of interpretations are those championed by anti-neoliberal movements based predominantly in the global North, which are much closely aligned with the original Lefebvrian conception, in which urbanization represents a transformation of society and daily life through capital, which is the

transformation against which Lefebvre through social and political action sought the creation of rights, while the other interpretation has been promoted by advocacy organizations active in cities in the global South which seek to address the exclusionary effects of neoliberalism through the human-rights interpretation of the Right to the City.

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

Mayer (2009) argues that struggles for specific rights do not refer to the Right to the City. Lefebvre envisioned the Right to the City as a call for a radical reorganization of social, political and economic affairs within the city and beyond and not a suggestion for reform or a partial resistance (Purcell, 2002). Thus the human rights conception of the Right to the City in seeking inclusion into already established human rights perspective undoubtedly departs from Lefebvre's conception. This institutionalization of collective rights, although potentially leading to a significant improvement in the existing situation, is not a transformation of the existing system, as Lefebvre envisioned (Mayer, 2009). Thus, Woessner (2009) terms it the 'neoliberal Right to the City', which seeks deeper inclusion in the global capitalist urban development system as it exists, and as such it short-circuits the wider more transformational stance of the Lefebvrian conception.

Lefebvre's conception although fundamentally arguing for a Right to the City for all urban inhabitants, to a large extent seeks the establishment of rights not for all inhabitants but rather for those who have been denied rights and are in need, hence it is a challenge to the assertions of rich and powerful sections of the urban populace (Mayer, 2012). Thus, an

underlying conflict of rights exists, as some sections of urban society already possess the Right to the City; such as key political and financial powers, and thus the Lefebvrian conception is essentially concerned with the enshrinement of the Right to the City for the other sections of urban society which lack a Right to the City (Marcuse, 2012). The human rights conception however differs from Lefebvre's conception because it ignores this underlying power play by essentially advocating for the establishment of general rights for all urban inhabitants.

The human-rights conception of the Right to the City has also been subject to criticism. Several arguments are put forward. First, its conformist orientation falls short of tackling the invisible forces which necessitate the push for the establishment of rights in the first instance. Second, its aim for broader inclusion in the prevailing global capitalist system as it stands fails to address the issues surrounding this system of urban development, which is perceived as being the foundational problem. Furthermore, the call for rights as contained in this conception simply focuses attention on specific features of neoliberal policy, such as poverty alleviation, but it fails to address the fundamental economic policies which systematically perpetuate poverty and exclusion (Mayer, 2009; 2012). These arguments against the human-rights conception of the Right to the City resonate even further taking into consideration the varying economic, political, social, cultural dimensions of different societies. This line of thought regarding inherent contextual differences leads Jenkins et al. (2007) to question proposals directed at normative development agendas without an in depth analysis of these dimensions within contexts. Similarly, Centner and Rojas (2011) also highlight the impact of particular contexts on the translation of the Right to the City, identifying varying translations of the concept in different contexts. Despite the distinction between these two major conceptions of the Right to the City they do not differ entirely. First, both share a common philosophical origin, evolving from the work of Lefebvre, as any use of the term is invariably inseparable from this origin. Also and more pertinently, both lay claim to similar ambitions, even if the recommended avenues for achieving this are clearly dissimilar. Both conceptions of the Right to the City envision cities that will be more just, sustainable and democratic in nature (Mayer, 2012). However, the Lefebvrian vision sees the Right to the City as achieved only through constant confrontation and struggle while the human-rights approach sees international and legal instruments as a core approach.

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

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

In Nigeria, particularly in Lagos, there is the colonial dimension to this phenomenon. Shortly before independence, the concept of ‘indirect rule’ was instituted by the colonial government in order to exercise control over the citizens. The effect of this measure is still being felt today as seen in the power structure of the country, political appointments, manner of policy development and implementation. The manifestation also includes the constitution of the

political sphere in which the political sphere is being dominated by a particular tribe, with a particular cultural / religious ideology. Other characteristics include the concentration of 'power' by the 'elites' as a form of control over the entire population, the introduction of control measures leading to authority and limited resources.

In urban centers, such as Lagos, there are distinct mixed spatial manifestations of this phenomenon in the city space. This is through the clear, dual built environment configuration, in which 'big architecture' exists side by side with 'folk, vernacular communal architecture'(this echoes the views of Rapoport 1969; 1-2);It also includes the hustle and bustle pattern of daily life in which the majority of the urban population who make up the lower class have to struggle for survival and those at the lowest level resort to unconventional tactics such as engaging in informal commercial activities such as street trading. This is in order to survive, find relevance in the urban setting and also to build a better life for themselves and their dependents. The combination of these factors makes up the nature culture and perception of a typical developing world city (see pictures below).

The summary of the outcome is the exploitation of the 'poor', local community, who later evolved into the masses and the urban poor by the colonialists who later handed over to the local elites, politicians, ruling and middle class. These are driven by a capitalist mentality, and resulting into a materialistic lifestyle as basis of measuring better life, which represents the motivation for everyone, including those engaged in activities such as street trading.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined current trends in the main themes of the theoretical background of the research. These include Lagos metropolis, megacities, rapid urbanisation, Street trading activities, urban public space and public policy, urban sociology, and social theory.

Background literature about Lagos metropolis, megacities, and rapid urbanisation was examined in section 3.2. The literature was broken down to examine and explain the importance of the historical, socio-economic, political, and cultural significance of Lagos metropolis. The literature shows how the combination of these factors has shaped the local,

regional, national, and international status of the city and also provides the basis for the challenge of rapid urbanisation and the quest for the Lagos megacity. This shows a significant connection between cause, effect, and a chain reaction of occurrences in the urban sphere leading to the approach to exercising control, law and order by the government.

In section 3.3 where Lagos state public policy formulation and implementation on street trading activities in the urban public space was examined; the literature focuses on the manner of exercising control, law and order in relation to street trading activities. This buttresses the importance of earlier discussion in section 2.2 about the cause, effect and chain of reaction about the urban evolution of the city, of which street trading represents a prominent symptom of the urban process of the city, manifesting in the public space. The discussion on the political implication of these street trading activities in the public space makes up the sub-section containing Lagos state public policy formulation and implementation of street trading activities in the urban public space. This can be regarded as a cause and the effect of this makes the subsection containing the challenge of contested space, rights to the city and current trends in public policy. However, the section demonstrates the societal challenge associated with divergent views, ideologies and interests of the population that of people that make up the city, particularly in the 3rd world and the importance of the public space as the platform where this diversity manifests.

The discussions in this chapter buttress the significance of the study and the importance of the reality of everyday life to the study.

nsight into how these cities have attempted to effectively manage distribution pattern, product types, traffic behaviour, management techniques, without compromising on the quality of the built environment , and also ensuring the welfare of the traders, thereby achieving a ‘win-win’ situation for all stakeholders in the urban public space.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored Street trading activities, Lagos metropolis and the global perspective, which are the background literature of this study. The related contemporary discourse and issues have been expounded and summarized below.

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

The concept of urban public space was also explored, but due to the ubiquitous nature of space, the concept is intrinsically complex and challenging to define. Therefore based on current debates, urban public space in this study is defined as all physical space not recognised as private and to which even a minimal level of public use is acceptable, with this irrespective of ownership, whether government-owned or otherwise. The vital role which urban public space plays in the conduct of street trading activities was also underlined. It was identified that street trading activities are particularly controversial because they are undertaken in central urban public spaces which are a subject of various interests. Street traders are often displaced from their chosen sites by city authorities in favour of other uses promoted by powerful elites and considered to be more appropriate, with this trend is on the increase due to ongoing global economic processes (Mackie et al. 2014).

The challenge of contested space, rights to the city and current trends in public policy was also explored, with their origin and re-emergence in contemporary urban discourse detailed. The concept has evolved into two main interpretations, namely; the original Lefebvrian conception and the human rights conception. Despite considerable differences, both conceptions not only share a common goal of achieving more democratic and equitable cities, but they also agree on several fundamental principles, three key ones being the importance of the notions of collective action; equitable, participatory rights in urban management; and equitable rights to the use of public space, to the implementation of the Right to the City. Thus underlining a

convergence between both conceptions, which is the basis upon which the Right to the City is adopted in this study. Therefore in this study, the Right to the City is adopted to mean a set of rights which collectively constitute the right to more democratic cities, wherein all urban inhabitants possess the right to influence all decisions regarding the production of urban space in addition to the right of access, occupation and utilisation of public spaces for societally beneficial purposes.

These issues, in addition to the linking with street trading activities, therefore, form the basis of inquiry in this study and collectively constitute the unique contribution to knowledge which this study aims to achieve.

Chapter 4:

Research approaches, data collection tools and related methodological considerations

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the approaches, data collection tools and related considerations undertaken in researching this study. Research objectives and the empirical characteristics of the research drive the selection and development of these methodological considerations. It also provides a basis for achieving the research objectives, which are:

1. To identify, analyze and discuss the characteristics that make up the routine of daily life in Ojodu Berger motor park area.
2. To describe, analyze and determine how samples of street trading activities connect spatially with the daily routine of pedestrian and vehicular traffic in different settings of the urban public space of the case study location.
3. To obtain feedback from street traders, road users and key informants in the case study location to gain objective and realistic input into public policy.
4. To suggest improvements based on the study's findings to address the gaps in current public policy for street trading activities in Lagos metropolis.

Therefore, the critical aspects of the research include the choice of case study location, sample study of street trading activities, respondents' questionnaires and interviews. As a result, the chapter consists of four sub-sections employing ethnographic methods of data collection, thematic analysis, and group discussions.

The first and second subsections contain the significance of the tools and approach to data collection for objectives 1 and 2. The sub-sections also includes the sampling considerations, procedure for gathering and analysing data for objective 2. The research gathered two types of data using observation and interview in objective 2. The second subsection discusses the data collection that supported this objective, and also includes the literature and application of a semi-structured interview and approach to the sample study.

The third subsection address objective three and contains the significance, types and samples of questionnaires with the street traders and crowd of road users, respectively. The fourth subsection represents an extension of objective 3, and it contains the literature, application, design, documentation, analysis, sample type and size of the key informant interview with representatives of the local population groups.

Due to the investigation's empirical nature and the approach's and tools' inescapable societal repercussions, the fifth section of the chapter addresses the significance, application and breakdown of ethical issues and limitations of the study. These are essential components required to achieve valid and ethically conducted fieldwork, and to achieve the research objectives.

These approaches, tools and considerations for achieving the research objectives provide the basis for the findings; analysis and discussions presented in chapter 5, 6 and 7.

4.2 Empirical nature of the Research

The study's ontological, epistemological, and pragmatist paradigms were determined by the research's goals and objectives. These paradigms dictated the argument that making decisions on issues need to involve considering the reasons behind the spatial manifestation of the issues. This argument leads to the following empirical based reflections:

- 1. Why is the street trading situation the way it is?*
- 2. Why do the street traders do what they do?*
- 3. What are the forces influencing their actions?*
- 4. How do these street trading activities shape the perception of public space?*

5. *How can these insights help to understand how these street trading activities can work within existing government rules and regulations?*

Ontology

The relativism of ontology is related with the pursuit of meaning as opposed to truth, with the notion that "truths" are dynamic, subjective, and situational, that contradictory truths can coexist while still being true, and with the fact that this research methodology is mostly qualitative. Ontology, in the context of the research, connotes the experience of observing the multiple factors that shape the routine of daily life in the case study location. Therefore, the background issues leading to the spatial impact of street trading and its resultant connection with the realities of everyday life is an indication of this paradigm. Therefore, it determined the choice of tools for data collection.

Researchers tend to operationalize research issues through case studies since in-depth social science research must focus on a localised scale. Studies on informal activities frequently concentrate on a single example or a few distinct situations, as is typically the case. This study adopts this methodology because it is built on the conclusions from a case study of merchant relocations in Oshodi Market and the ramifications for vendors and the Right to the City idea.

Despite the widespread use of case studies in research, doing a case study is a challenging task that requires a high level of complexity, careful thought, and extensive planning. Case studies are a difficult type of research activity since there are no established standards for their construction (Yin, 2003). The characteristics of a case study, in terms of its ultimate consequence and if it represents a legitimate social science research method, is a key area of debate in case study research. In this context, Punch (2005) argues that a case study is more of a strategy than a method because it aims to present an in-depth, comprehensive, and overall assessment of a specific instance in its natural surroundings. As a result, it is obvious that the substance of a case study transcends methodological issues; rather, research methodologies serve as a means by which a case study is carried out. A case study is not about picking a method; it is about picking what needs to be researched, which can then be done in a variety of ways (Stake, 2005; Flyvberg, 2013). Case studies give researchers, especially those

working in social sciences, uncommon opportunity. Case studies are helpful in research in social science as they offer a chance to investigate topics about which little is known and a unique method for fully comprehending actual events (Yin, 2003; Kumar, 2012). Additionally, topics of research in the social sciences frequently entail intricate details that are difficult to perceive until they are thoroughly explored and pursued. An important benefit of a case study is that it focuses on a single or small number of examples, which makes it easier to comprehend the connections and dynamics that make up a complicated social context than it would be with other methods (Denscombe, 2007).

In this research the choice of Oshodi Market as the subject of investigation was informed by its strategic importance in Lagos, the multiplicity of actors and influences which converge on the site, and the recent trader displacements in 2009. As such the case study approach is ideal for this research.

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

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

However, in an attempt to address the difficulties of generalising from a case study, Denscombe (2007) advises that researchers should pre-empt this problem during the course of research, and thus should identify the extent to which their findings are more broadly applicable, highlight and demonstrate the basis of comparison of their research, and elaborate on the wider relevance of their findings. Punch (2005) also contends that it is possible for a case study to produce generalisable outcomes, and that one way to achieve this is to develop propositions based on the outcomes of a specific case study, which suggest generalisability and then test the applicability and transferability of these propositions through further research. He nevertheless cautions that this should be adequately considered and addressed in the research design, the questions guiding the study and the way the resulting data is analysed.

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

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

Research on activities in the informal economy have typically adopted the case study approach, due to the fact that informal practices are often rooted in local culture with ramifications cutting across many aspects of society and of considerable societal importance (see Section 2.2). Consequentially it is virtually impossible to investigate informal economy actors without sufficient contextual grounding. As a result, studies have often focussed on a single case or few cases located within a particular geographical location (Bromley, 1998; Middleton, 2003; Swanson, 2007; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Carrieri and Murta, 2011). However, although contextual situations vary considerably between locations, studies based on a single case or a few cases facilitate a solid understanding of place-specific trends, which can then be compared within relevant geographical locations.

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

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

fostered” (Marcuse, 2012, pp. 24). In this light this study essentially questions the potential and drawback of adopting the Right to the City concept, and the extent to which the idea can be developed in the rapidly urbanising context of Lagos and by extension other rapidly urbanising sites in Africa.

This study takes the approach advocated by Punch (2005), who argues that a one-case investigation can yield results that may be relevant to other cases if it encompasses the development of conceptual perspectives that can be examined in subsequent research and if the potential general trends between the particular case and others are highlighted all through the entire process of study. When done properly, case studies can shed light on key features, expand our understanding of those features, and conceptualise them for further investigation in ways that a different research approach, such as studying simple examples of behaviour, cannot. This is especially true when studying novel or daunting research subjects, such as complicated social behaviour (Punch, 2005).

4.3 Methods of qualitative data gathering and thematic evaluation from the field of ethnography

The requirement of the thesis aims and objectives necessitate an empirical, qualitative approach to study. This requirement includes the use of exploratory, descriptive and investigative tools for data collection and evaluation. From a theoretical standpoint, this underscores the importance of the Lefebvre spatial triad, particularly the aspect of lived experience, as the basis of the approach to the study, as discussed in chapter 2.

This study adopted ethnographic tools for data collection and analysis. These tools include non-participant observation, participant observation, documents, semi-structured interviews and questionnaires. The researchers in this study elected to use ethnographic methods of gathering and analysing information. Methods like questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and documentation are also useful.

However, the design and application of these tools depended on the requirements of each objective of the study. The data obtained from these tools are analysed respectively, to discover themes or patterns, for knowledge.

4.3.1 Documents, non-participant and participant observation

The study used documents to provide background information about the case study location. These documents expand the body of background literature presented in chapter 3.

Furthermore, the application of non-participant and participant observations in this study is in two-fold. This application includes the case study location for objective one and with those samples of street trading activities for objective two. (See appendix 1 & 2; chapters 5 & 6).

Objective 1: Approach to data collection using documents, non-participant and participant observation in the case study location

Documents pertaining to the case study area's historical, societal, economic, political, and cultural relevance have provided background reading that has contributed to a knowledge of the area's actual day-to-day reality. This background literature includes documented evidence of the current pattern of events in the case study location as well as Lagos more generally. Documents also provided statistical data for the items that could not be quantified directly in the field, such as population figures, number, and types of built environment infrastructure. This information backed up what had been observed both by outsiders and by those taking part in the case study. Researchers used both participant and outsider observations in this study simultaneously as an exploratory tool to experience the routine of daily life in the case study location. This tool involved analysing and discussing the characteristics that make up the perception of the city in the case study location. These characteristics emerged from empirical evidence, and they are the basis of the research questions obtained from objective 1.

Appendix 1 contains the breakdown of these research questions into objective questions within each characteristic of the case study location. The format for presentation of findings, analysis and discussions make up the structure of chapter 5 and include:

1. Findings and analysis of the investigative questions within each characteristic
2. Discussion of findings and analysis to provide input into research policy recommendations

Appendix 1 contains the breakdown of each characteristic of the case study location into investigative questions. However, addressing these investigative questions requires the following objectives and actions:

CHARACTERISTICS	OBJECTIVES	ACTIONS
The symbolic significance of case study location	To identify, analyse and discuss the factors that make up the symbolic significance of the case study area and how they have affected the amount, kinds, and distribution of land utilization activities; the movement of people and vehicles; the existence of street trade in urban public spaces; and all of these factors together	Walking in and about the study area to observe and experience the factors that shape the significance of the area within Lagos metropolis and thus, impact on the concentration of people, high density built environment, pedestrian and vehicular traffic in the area.
Natural elements	To identify, analyse and discuss the factors that determine the weather pattern and micro-climatic conditions within the case study location. This is to understand how these factors combine to influence the comfort and wellbeing of the people, pedestrian and vehicular traffic movement pattern, types and distribution of land use activities, the outlook of the case study location, as well as the distribution of street traders in the various settings of urban public space.	Observing and experiencing moments of day and night time, rainfall, heat, wind, vegetation cover. It also includes observing and experiencing the micro-climatic conditions of the area and the factors that moulded it through interaction with the constructed environment.
How the constructed environment is laid out	To identify, analyse and discuss how the layout of the built environment in the area has impacted on the outlook of the built environment, concentration, types and distribution of land use activities, as well as the concentration and distribution of pedestrian and vehicular traffic and street trade activities in an urban environment.	Observing and walking around the layout of the built environment to experience how built environment features are arranged and land use activities are synchronised.

<p>Land use activity concentration, types, and distribution</p>	<p>To identify, analyse, and debate how the area's land use activities' concentration, variety, and distribution affect the built environment's appearance, the distribution and concentration of people, traffic flow—both pedestrian and vehicular—and street trading—in urban public spaces.</p>	<p>Observing and experiencing the concentration, types and distribution of land use activities to discover their routine within the area.</p>
<p>Settings in the urban public space</p>	<p>To identify, analyse and discuss how the settings in the urban public space in the case study location impact on the concentration, types and distribution of land use activities, people, road users and street trading activities.</p>	<p>Observing and walking through the settings to experience the movement, and activities of the people, road users and street traders.</p>
<p>People – the local population</p>	<p>To identify, analyse and discuss with the people who make up the local population in the case study area.</p>	<p>Observing and interacting with the people who make up the local population to obtain information about the history, daily routine in the area and status of street trading activities in the area.</p>
<p>Crowd of road users - pedestrian and vehicular traffic</p>	<p>To identify, analyse and discuss the concentration, distribution and movement pattern of pedestrian and vehicular traffic in the urban public space.</p>	<p>Observing and interacting with the road users to obtain information about their behavioural disposition, daily routine and how they connect with the land use activities, people and street trading activities in the urban public space.</p>
<p>Distribution, population and types of street trading activities</p>	<p>To identify, analyse and discuss how the distribution, population and types of street trading activities impact spatially on the daily routine, the movement pattern of the pedestrian and vehicular traffic.</p>	<p>Observing and interacting with samples of street traders in their respective settings, to discover their everyday routine and how this connects spatially with that of the pedestrian and vehicular traffic.</p>

Table 4.1: Objectives and actions of investigative questions

Recording, documentation and analysis of findings

The study used field notes, maps, sketches, pictures, and audio/visual recordings for data collection, analysis and documentation.

Moments in time, the flow of events, and other details were captured in field notes as well as behavioural manifestations, all of which make up the routine of the daily life of the different categories of people, pedestrian and vehicular traffic and the different types of street trading activities in the case study location. Maps were used to identify locations obtained from observation, and to generate 2-dimensional spatial representations of patterns of movement, positioning and views, within the layout of the built environment. Sketches were used to produce a graphical representation of patterns of movement, positioning, views and events to reveal how these variables are shaped by observations in real life. Photographs were also used to capture events, activities, and behavioural expressions in specific settings and how these combine to shape the use and meaning of space, in real life. In addition, audio and visual recordings complement the findings from observation, and they are used to capture voices, sounds, sights, noise, events, scenes, movements and other expressions that characterise the routine of daily life.

The use of these tools for recording, documentation and analysis of findings cuts across the 3 objectives of this study.

Objective 2: Size and types of sample study

The sample selected for this study was based on the two broad categories of mobile and sedentary types of street trading activities that take place in the case study location. Therefore, the study examined 1 representative sample of mobile and sedentary traders, respectively. (See chapter 6).

These activities were identified by their display characteristics and marketing strategy. As a result, the study considered the variation in outlook, products, gender and setting of these two broad categories. Other considerations included population representation, types of setting of urban public space, types of products and customer appeal, and daily routine of the sample street trader.

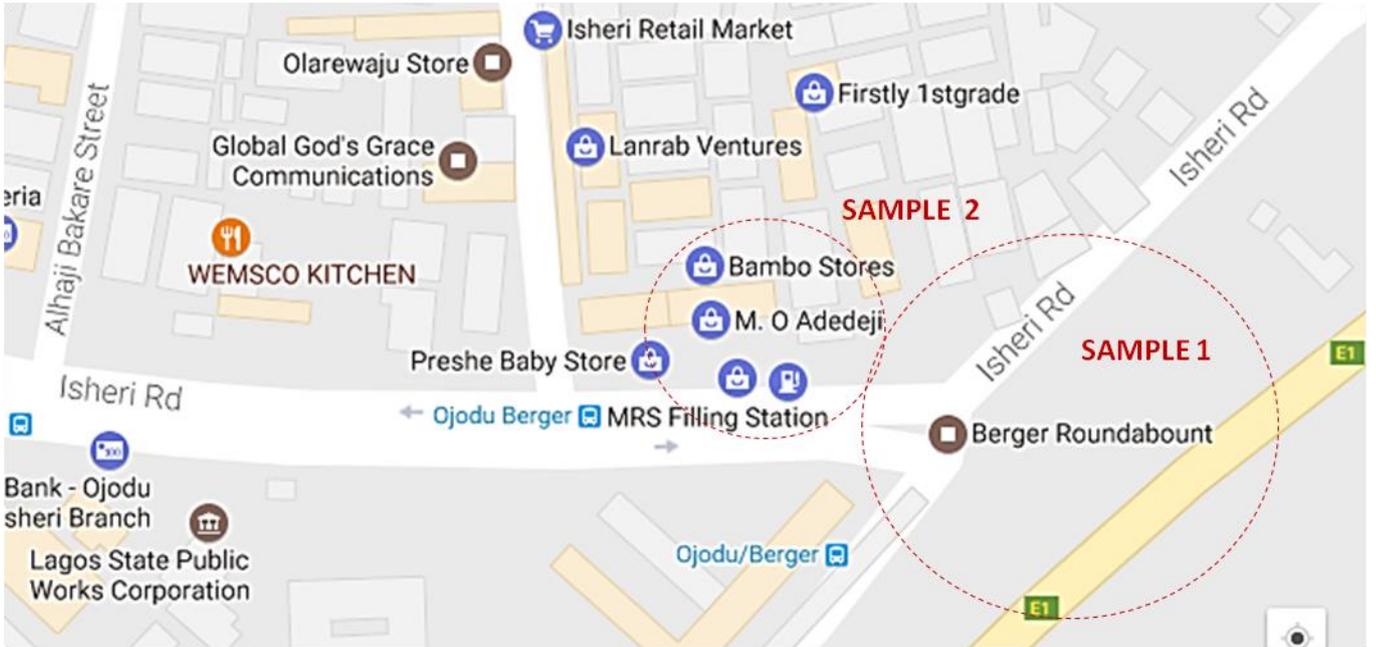


Figure 4.xx: Map showing the location of the representative samples of street trading activities

Population representation is a significant aspect of the sample study (Higginbottom, 2004; Brink, 2001). The high density nature of the study area creates the opportunity for people of diverse background, ethnicity and gender to be in the public space. This diversity is shown in demographic breakdown of the street traders into categories of male, female, young, old, singular, group. (See: distribution, number and types of street trading activities in chapter 5).

The layout and high density nature of the built environment provides a diverse range of settings in the urban public space. Therefore, this study considers the peculiarity, configuration, primary use, surrounding land use and activities in choosing the setting for the sample study.

The high concentration of street traders provides a broad range of products and services within the case study location. Therefore, this study considers the following in its choice of sample: peculiarity of product, types of customers, status of the product - perishable, non-perishable, portable, non-portable.

The high concentration of street traders also provides a broad range of peculiarities and routine of daily life among the street traders. Therefore, this study considers the different peculiarities of experiences in determining the choice of samples. This provides different types of findings which confirm the validity of the sample study.

Application of non-participant and participant observation in the sample study

Non-participant and participant observations were utilized simultaneously for data gathering during the sample study. The research used non-participant observations to analyse the routine of everyday life activities of the sample street traders. This includes how they engage with the diversity of people they meet in pedestrian and vehicular traffic in moments of daily routine, and how these impacts spatially on the setting where they are located. These moments contain the activities, movements, and sequence of events, around the setting of the sample street trading activities.

In the case of non-participant observation, there was no intended interference or disruption to the natural state of affairs with the sample. The use of participant observations however, involves proximity and conversation. In doing so, the application of this approach depended on the nature of the setting, the characteristics of the people concerned, their level of acceptance and the type of findings to be obtained.

Participant observations also include social interactions and verbal engagements, thereby providing explanations to the meaning of the events and activities of the sample traders. This includes behavioural dispositions, manner of social interactions, sales, conversations, challenges, encounters with customers and non-customers, and other experiences of daily life within the setting of urban public space. It also included the examination of how the trading activities are conducted as well as the surrounding and background issues involved. Other considerations included visual examination of the sequence of activities taking place in the setting as they unfold and how they connect with the street trading activities.

Part 1 of appendix 2 provides information about the background of sample street trader; while part 2 addresses the routine of daily life of the sample street trader.

The findings from non-participant and participant observations with the samples of street trading activities were documented using note-taking, maps, sketches, pictures, audio/visual recordings.

4.3.2 Semi-structured interview

The application of semi-structured interview in this study is to meet the requirements of objective 2. support the findings obtained from non-participant and participant observations in the sample study. is based on the requirements of objective 2. (See appendix 3 & chapter 6).

Application of semi-structured interview in the sample study

Semi-structured interviews are performed simultaneously as part of the non-participant and participant observation in the sample study of street traders.

Given, the type of setting of the study, nature of the trading activity, background, sensitivity and world view of the street trader, an informal approach was used to carry out the interview. Therefore, the interview took the form of flexible, spontaneous conversations and chatting, based on prepared questions, which is used to guide the interview.

Furthermore, code-mixing and switching of English language, including the use of indigenous language, for verbal communication and expression was allowed. Also, the use of vernacular language - Pidgin English, to converse and to respond, was also allowed. This is to stimulate and sustain interest in the interview, and also to allow the respondent to express their feelings and grievances, freely. All these are to reflect the underlining unstructured nature of the interview. Therefore, this is an unstructured form of an interview, but arranged in a structured manner for guidance and documentation, hence, the semi-structured nature of the interview.

The interview is divided into 2 parts. (See appendix 3). The first part focuses on the background information about the trader. This includes information about the trader's age, gender, marital status, ethnic background, educational background, religion, life in Lagos. In order to protect identity and privacy rights, the name was omitted.

The second part of the interview focuses on the experience of the daily life of the sample trader. These include the nature of street trade, location and setting of trading activity, routine, people, challenges, knowledge about the traffic situation, knowledge of Lagos megacity and public policy, suggestions to the government and people in authority.

The interview is a combination of objective questions for the first part and open-ended questions for the second part. However, prompts are included in the second part questions in the second part, as a guide to generate discussions.

The findings from the semi-structured interview are documented and analysed, using audio/visual recordings, note-taking, obtained from responses to interview questions.

The interview was conducted to discover patterns or themes from the comments, which is discussed and incorporated into the development of the feedback aspect of the policy recommendations. The findings from the interview include verbal expressions of challenges, grievances and other forms of emotions as part of experiences of daily life, and opinions, needs, aspirations suggestions and recommendations concerning challenges of daily life. These findings provide insight into the motivations and background issues leading to the spatial expressions with which the samples connect with the social and spatial patterns of everyday life in the case study location. Other findings include facts about the current physical state of the setting of the sample and the types of individuals and population groups that make up the people in the setting.

Given the number of questions in the interview and the extensive time spent with the samples, coupled with the need to accommodate the expected distractions resulting from carrying out the essential everyday responsibilities, and the possible inability to write out the responses, the use of audio/visual recording was adopted, with the informed consent of the respondent. Also, assistance from other traders to fill in the interview sheet was allowed. The interview question was also administered flexibly, and sporadically, with substantial time allowed for non-participant and participant observations. Also, the questions were administered to coincide with possible events that relate directly or indirectly with the question. All these are informal strategies adopted to retain the interest of the sample in the interview, thereby spreading it throughout the length of the sample study.

Furthermore, group responses and opinion of other traders through snowballing were allowed. This is due to the proximity of the traders and thus the resultant possible interest the study may generate due to the possible sense of common identity and communality among the traders. The study adopts this approach to accommodate multiple perspectives from different respondents, thereby substantiating, adding credibility and validating the findings from the primary respondent.

Approach to the sample research

The methodology for gathering and analysing data is based on segmenting a typical weekday for the sample group of street vendors into time slots. These time frames provide the platform for situating the activities and events of each sample within specific moments, and the totality of these moments make up a typical daily routine. This routine of daily life is analysed to reveal how the characteristics of the case study location (see chapter 5) impact upon and are impacted by the presence of the sample street trading activities. Therefore, the sample study can be regarded as a continuation of chapter 5. The outcome of these impacts is presented as findings of each sample study, and they are documented with the use of field notes, pictures and graphical representation.

Significance of time frame

As an activity taking place within the urban public space, the time frame of pedestrian and vehicular traffic movement is a very important asset for street trading activities. It is also an important component of this research because it serves as the foundation for the times when data are collected. From a research and ethnographic perspective, time provides the platform for immersing into the daily life of the street traders, to experience and understand the moments, events and activities, as they engage with their trading activities.

Therefore, each sample study took place in a working day in the week, from Monday to Friday, between 6:30am to 8:30pm. Based on empirical evidence, this is the core period for traffic movement and various forms of activities in the case study location, including street traders to operate. The typical working day is divided into six time frames as follows: 6:30 a.m.–9:30 a.m., 9:30 a.m.–11:30 a.m., 11:30 a.m.–1:30 p.m., 1:30 p.m.–6:30 p.m., 4:30 p.m.–6:30 p.m.,

and 6:30 p.m.–8:30 p.m. However, it is noteworthy that there are variations in the timing, activity pattern and daily routine of each sample of street traders examined in this study².

Background to sample study

Each sample study begins with a background to sample study. This includes information about the day and time of study. It also includes information about the type, location and geometric configuration of the setting of sample study. Other information are background of sample trader, type of street trading activity, types, prices and arrangement of products, rationale for the choice of sample and setting, specific ethical considerations and limitations.

Experience of the daily routine – Time frame of pedestrian and vehicular traffic

The study proceeds to break down the daily routine of each sample into specific moments within the time frame of pedestrian and vehicular movement in the setting. Within each specific moment, the study analyses 4 interwoven groups of empirical data that collectively make up the experience of daily routine. The findings, analysis and discussions are documented with the use of narratives, pictures, and graphical representations. Given the variation of daily routine, each sample study contains 2 or more groups of empirical data within 2 or more respective time frames.

1. Time, specific moment and setting

²See chapter 5 for the breakdown and discussion of timeframe of pedestrian and vehicular movement in a typical working day

The first set of empirical data is the time of specific moment and the characteristic of the setting. This combination includes the time of the day, weather condition in the setting, the surrounding events and activities such as traffic situation, movement patterns, sounds, sights, and smells. At the beginning of the sample study, the combination includes the arrival of sample trader, setting up and display pattern - placement, boundaries, edges, territories, manner of goods arrangements and display patterns.

2. Movement patterns, directions, positioning, behavioural dispositions, marketing strategy

The second set of empirical data represents the spatial aspect of the daily routine of the sample trader. This includes movement patterns, directions, and positioning, behavioural dispositions of pedestrian and vehicular traffic. It also includes marketing strategy of the sample street trader. The marketing strategy comprises of strategic movements or sitting patterns, directions and positioning, visual and verbal display of marketing skills.

3. Proximity, speed and distance, sighting and views, meetings and encounters, visual and verbal communications, negotiations, and actions

The third set of empirical data represents the social aspect of the daily routine of the sample trader. These include proximity, speed and distance, sighting and views, meetings and encounters, visual and verbal communications, negotiations and actions. The social aspect is the basis of the physical experience between the sample trader and the pedestrian and vehicular traffic.

4. Comments and responses

The fourth set of empirical data are the relevant comments and responses obtained from semi structured interview and were made during the previous sets of empirical data. These comments and responses reflect the activities, events, experiences and challenges of the sample within those moments. In addition, they provide additional insights, which support of other findings obtained during the previous sets of empirical data.

Summary of experience of daily routine

The results of the sample study conducted during the allotted times are discussed here. These analyses are summarised, and insights are deduced as inputs into the research policy recommendations.

Discussions and conclusion

Given that each sample study took place in a working day within time frame of pedestrian and vehicular traffic, each time frame contains 2 or more groups of the 4 sets of empirical data. The collection of all of the empirical data within the timeframes completes the sample study and leads to the discussions and conclusion.

4.3.3 Questionnaire

Objective 3: Application of questionnaire with street traders

The questionnaire with street traders is aimed at obtaining objective and realistic feedback as input into the research policy recommendations. Furthermore, the questionnaire with the street traders can be regarded as an extension, used to corroborate the findings obtained from the semi-structured interview aspect of the sample study (see chapter 6).

In order to reach as many street traders as possible, within a short period of time, The questions on the questionnaire are written in a way that anyone may understand them, and thus generate quick responses. Therefore, the questionnaire is divided into 2 parts (see appendix 4). However, given the fact that the questionnaire is an extension of the semi-structured interview, the questionnaire questions are similar to those of the semi-structured interview.

The first part contains questions about the background information of the sample trader, while the second part contains questions about the experience of daily life. Open-ended and objective questions are included together in the survey. Options are built into the objective questions, to stimulate prompt, brief responses. The open-ended questions require brief explanations and comments. These responses are documented in the questionnaire form, summarized and analysed into themes for discussions and policy recommendations.

Sample size and sampling strategy

Questionnaires were given to 200 street traders of different gender, product types, street trading activities and settings within the case study location. This is a limited number of respondents that is representative and used to manage the amount of data obtained, for proper analysis.

The respondents are selected through the combination of snowball, opportunity and random sampling techniques.

Objective 3: Application of questionnaire with crowd of road users

The questionnaire with crowd of road users is another tool used to obtain objective and realistic feedback as input into the research policy recommendations.

In order to get as much feedback as possible, the questionnaire is structured to be readily comprehended to elicit speedy responses. Therefore, the questionnaire is divided into 2 parts (see appendix 5). The first section consists of questions regarding the respondent's history, while the second section focuses on their day-to-day experiences. The questionnaire is made up of a combination of objective and a few brief open-ended questions. The objective questions are designed with options, to stimulate prompt, brief responses. The open-ended questions require brief explanations and comments. These responses are documented in the questionnaire form, summarized and analysed into themes for discussions and policy recommendations.

Sample size and sampling strategy

The road users are made up of different categories of pedestrians, public and private vehicle users in the public space. These road users can be classified as a representation of the population of Lagosians from different backgrounds and who have had different levels of encounter with street traders.

The questionnaire was distributed during the afternoon and evening peak periods of a working day. Given the crowded nature of the public space at this time, respondents are selected through the combination of opportunity and random sampling

techniques. Questionnaires were distributed to 300 road users within the case study location. This number of respondents was chosen as control figure, in order to carry out proper analysis.

4.3.4 Key informant interview

Objective 3: Application of key informant interview with representatives of the local population groups

The study used informant interview to obtain objective and realistic input from residents and other groups who work in the area. Due to the empirical nature of the research, key informants were interviewed face to face.

These key informants have considerable living and working experience in the area, hence, due to their prolonged stay, it is expected that they have substantial knowledge about the history, people, and have witnessed a substantial number of events in the area. In addition, the key informants are expected to have experienced, and therefore have a better grasp of the daily routine in the area. Unlike road users, these key informants would have had closer contact, better understanding of the challenges facing street traders in the area. Therefore, the informant interview provides a more objective perspective and a deeper comprehension of the setting of the case study. The outlook and understanding includes the history, state of the built environment, the condition, activities and challenges of the street traders, and the routine and situation of traffic in the public space.

This need informs the design and nature of questions prepared for the interview. The interview is divided into 2 parts. The breakdown of these two parts is contained in appendix 6. The first part contains questions about the background information about the key informant. The second part contains questions about experience of daily life. This includes knowledge about Lagos metropolis, knowledge about case study location, knowledge about types of street trading activities and street traders, knowledge about the traffic situation, knowledge of Lagos megacity and public policy, suggestions.

There are both objective and open-ended questions in the interview. Due to the diverse background and roles of the key informants, the questions within each part are framed generically, so that each participant can respond appropriately, within the context of the level of experience and role being played in the case study location.

In addition, given the empirical character of the study and the fact that the key informants were interviewed outside, the interview was carried out in a flexible manner so that the participants may respond to the questionnaires as they saw fit. This is done to maintain the interviewee's interest and save time. The findings from the key informant interview are documented and analysed with the filling in interview forms, supported with audio/visual recordings and note-taking. Given the diversity of opinions from the of the respondents, the findings from the interview are collated and analysed to discover patterns in the responses, and how these patterns are influenced by the experiences of the respondents in the research location and the presence of street traders in the area.

Sample type, size and sampling strategy

The study conducted a semi-structured interview with different types of key informants in the case study location. These key informants make up the people in the case study location.(See chapter 7).The breakdown of the groups, types and significance of key informants include:

Local population groups	Types of respondents	Significance
Local residents	Property owners, landlord/landlady, native settlers, tenants, unemployed youth/adult. Local patrol officers such as vigilante groups, and area boys	They make up a significant number of people who live in the case study location.
Government workers	Police officers, arid councillors/ local government agents, sanitary workers, LASTMA traffic officers	They symbolise the presence of the local, state and federal government in the public space
Private/corporate sector workers	Bankers, telecommunication workers, corporate security guards, journalist	They represent the presence of formal workers in commercial

		establishments found in the case study location. Due to the nature of their work, they spend more time indoors, but a substantial amount of time outdoors.
Transport workers	Bus drivers/conductors, okada riders, taxi drivers	These are the main outdoor workers, and due to the nature of their work, they deal directly with the pedestrian and vehicular traffic, with substantial contact with street traders. Therefore, they can be considered as having substantial amount of knowledge as key informants.
Businessmen and women	Shop keepers/ owners, market traders men/women, local credit/thrift agents, entrepreneurs, product marketers	Just like transport workers, these are also main outdoor workers. Due to the nature of their work, they also deal directly with the pedestrian and vehicular traffic. Therefore, they can be considered as having substantial amount of knowledge as key informants.

Table 4.2: Breakdown of key informants in the case study location

This study identified 5 different local population groups in the case study location. The study interviewed 3 individuals within each category of respondents. Therefore, a total of 15 key informants were interviewed. The choice of key informants depended on familiarity with the location, which included a considerable number of months or years spent in the area, and a considerable amount of time spent outdoors, and considerable interactions with street traders. Other considerations for participation included the level of education, maturity, age, occupation, gender, cultural disposition, social status, proximity and location within the case study location, and interest in the study. The key informants were selected through representative sampling technique.

4.4 Ethical issues and limitations

Breakdown of ethical issues and constraints.

Given the empirical character of the research, coupled with the research approach, and data collection tools, the study considers gaining acceptance, informed consent, personal safety and discretion, rights to privacy and confidentiality as basis of the ethical issues, while the exclusion of minors and the unavailability and inadequacy of data were the basis of the research limitations

1. Gaining acceptance

The people in the case study location make up the crowd in the street of urban public space, especially during peak traffic periods of the day. Therefore, immersing and mingling with this crowd of people was an essential aspect of the study. However, a major challenge was the behavior and acceptance of these people. This made the importance of gaining acceptance through empathy, social connectivity through cultural expression of respect, very important. Furthermore, appropriate dressing, flexible communication skill using vernacular, Pidgin English and local languages were essential. Orb, et al (2001), opines that researchers need to negotiate access to participants in order to collect data in the field, and the quality of their interpersonal relationships with the participants can either improve or impede their ability to do so. Therefore, it was also necessary for awareness of the local customs, protocol, norms, and religious, cultural, ethnic, gender, fashion, language and age sensitivities of the street traders, the local population, the government personnel, and the people in pedestrian and vehicular traffic.

Due to its politically volatile nature and strategic location, there is a significant presence of government personnel, especially members of law enforcement such as the police and rapid response squad in the case study location. Therefore, it is important to behave acceptably, to avoid suspicion. This includes assured and confident carriage in order to avoid suspicion and unnecessary interrogation.

It was also important to be aware of people's reaction, body language and behavioural expressions when filming, taking photographs, chatting, observing, interviewing and in the

administering of questionnaires. This awareness is important, so as not to arouse suspicion, which can lead to hostility and irritation, thereby hindering the data collection process.

2. Informed consent

The need of obtaining informed consent as a matter of research ethics has been widely acknowledged. It is crucial that qualitative researchers outline in advance what kinds of data will be gathered and how they will be utilized (Hoeyer et al, 2005). Due to cultural, security and political sensitivities, informed consent was required from the government personnel, local population, pedestrian and vehicular traffic, and the street traders, before and during the process of data collection. An informed consent form was also used to recruit participants. while the right to privacy was respected. The intention of the study was made known beforehand, to create awareness, thereby encouraging favourable disposition, as this would contribute significantly to the success of the study. Also, verbal, or written permission was obtained from the police and law enforcement agents in the case study location. This is supported with an official letter obtained from the local government, before the study was carried out. Despite these measures, it was still important to seek consent from government personnel, especially the law enforcement agents such as the police, in the field, before taking data.

In addition, given the existing challenge of harassment and displacement being faced by street traders with law enforcement agents over their rights to trade in public space, and the fact that most of these street traders are aware of the prohibition edict, informed consent, coupled with explanation of the intension of the study was sort from street traders before the questionnaires were distributed. This is because many of them thought that the research was being conducted to develop a strategy to remove them from the street. On the other hand, the majority the road users cooperated fully in filling the questionnaires, with utmost concern. This may not be unconnected with the fact that there are increasing awareness and mixed opinions about the significance and plight of street traders in Lagos metropolis.

3. Personal safety and discretion

Given the crowded nature of the case study location, immersing and mingling with the people inevitably lead to encounters with individuals with questionable behaviour. Unfortunately, these individuals constituted a potential threat to life and property. Another challenge associated with the crowded nature of the case study location was the risks of accidental collision, run over, abuse and pick pocketing. Therefore, personal safety and discretion were important security consideration. Furthermore, to ensure personal safety and avoid unnecessary risks, lonely corners, exclusive zones and private spaces were avoided.

4. Rights to privacy and confidentiality

Due to political, cultural and security sensitivities, there was limited use of filming, taking pictures and audio recordings, particularly during the sample study. To maintain transparency, the interview and questionnaire respondents, and the street vendors were advised about the purpose of the tools for the study and their confidentiality was assured. Furthermore, due to the security-conscious and culturally sensitive nature of the study area extensive use of data collection tools, such as camera shots, audio and video recording was avoided. Notably the extensive use of data collection tools may be regarded as offensive or criminal, and thus, will attract negative consequences such as seizure and arrest, which will hinder to the progress of the fieldwork.

5. Exclusion of minors

Children were omitted in this study, although it was observed that they constitute a marginal population among the street traders in Ojodu Berger. These children included population group of age 17 years and below. Most of these youngsters were helping an older street vendor or filling in briefly for their guardians or parents while they were away. These children were omitted mainly as a result of cultural sentiments arising from recruiting children for research. This was significant especially considering the difficulty in assuring trust, as well as security and cultural sensitivities and the verbal consent strategy adopted in the study.

6. Unavailability and inadequacy of data

Finally, the unavailability and inadequacy of data, such as population figures, employment figures, and the figures on public amenities, and built environment infrastructure, such as the number of commercial establishments, financial institutions and residential buildings, were

not available. This necessitated the need for direct counting and recording, which was quite strenuous, and took a substantial amount of time. However, despite these limitations, and the compromises that had to be made, such as omitting children from the sample study, the quality of the research was not compromised, and thus, the findings were sufficient to ensure a standard and quality research.

4.5 Conclusion

The groundwork for the field research has been laid in this chapter. Therefore, the next chapters contain the findings, analysis and discussions obtained from the research approach, data collection tools and considerations.

Chapter 5:

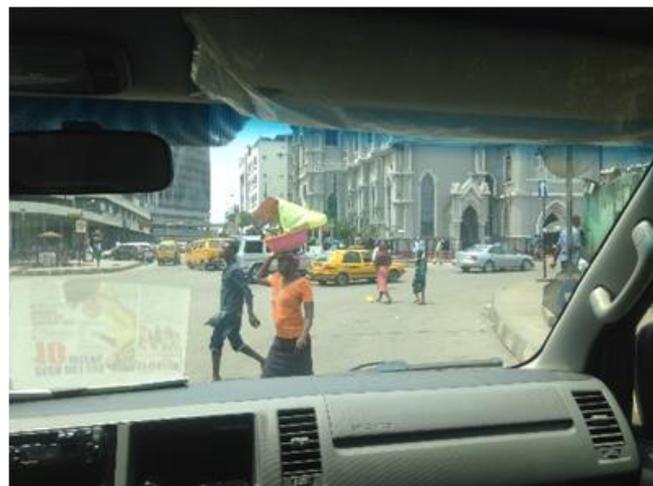
A male street hawker on the Ojodu Berger motor park drop-off portion of Lagos - Ibadan Expressway

5.1 Introduction

The chapter discusses each of the characteristics that make up the routine of daily life in Ojodu Berger motor park area. This represents study's first objective and thus the first step in the data collection process.

This chapter is divided into eight subsections each of which contains its respective findings, analysis and discussions. These characteristics include the symbolic significance of case study location; natural elements; layout of the built environment; concentration, types, and patterns of land utilisation; spatial configurations of urban public life; people, pedestrian and vehicular traffic; distribution, number and types of street trading activities.

The findings, analysis and discussions obtained from this chapter provide the basis for the research summary and recommendations in chapter 8.



This vendor is a target representative of street vendors, who was identified during a visit to the case study location

Investigation tools:

Participant observation and unstructured interview. Qualitative Inductive (Neville, 2007) conclusions are produced from the analysis of information gathered using the investigation tool above.

Analysis of background profile:

- A WOMAN – Abike, a wife, mother, daughter, carer, a middle age adult
- A “CHRISTIAN” - a religious person, a friendly person, ambitious, hopeful, positive minded, resourceful
- A STREET HAWKER - a low income earner
- YORUBA ETHNICITY – cultured, multi-lingual, socially inclined- ethnography

Summary:

Background factors which determines her everydayness lifestyle and impacts on how she constructs her space.

Sampling objectives:

To understand how this street hawker produces space and the factors impacting on the production.

Questions:

Why is she there?

What is her trading cycle / pattern? – start/finish time, movement pattern

How does she produce space and construct social space via:

- Her trading type? – street hawking
- Her trading approach? – strategic positioning, respectful “informal” gestures
- Her trading location? – primarily around Nnamdi Azikwe street
- What are the background factors impacting on her trading cycle pattern and her production of space/construction of social space?
- What are the resultant spatial adaptations and manifestations?

Analysis of Everyday Life Experience

The experience of everyday life of this street hawker is shaped by the manner of her connection and contribution to the complex, interwoven, overlapping combination and dynamics of: people, physical environment, land use activities, informal trading activities in different locations on Lagos CBD.

This leads to the following investigative, descriptive and exploratory questions:

People:

- Who are the people she meets during the course of the day?
- When does she meet these people?
- How does she relate with them?
- Where does she meet these people?
- What are the categories of these people and how do they impact on her trading activities?
- What are the challenges she encounters in her dealings with these people?
- What insights can be obtained from these findings and how does it contribute to achieving the objective of the research focus?

Physical environment:

- How does she adapt into the physical environment in order to engage in her trade?
- What constitutes the features of the physical environment for her trade?
- How does she position herself in the physical environment?
- What is her movement pattern in the physical environment?
- What is her favorite location in the physical environment?
- How does she plan her daily cycle in the physical environment?

Land use activities:

- What are the land use activities does she encounter during the course of her daily life?
- Which land use activities complements her trading pattern?
- How does she relate with other individuals or groups engaged in similar or other land use activities?
- What are the challenges emanating from her interactions with these similar or other land use activities?
- How does she adapt into the settings of these similar or other land use activities in order to carry out her business?
- Which ethical issues does she encounter in the settings of these land use activities?

Informal trading activities:

- What are the informal trading activities she encounters during the course of her daily life?
- How does she relate with the people involved in these informal trading activities?
- As a part of the informal economy herself, which of these informal activities complement her trading activities?
- What are the challenges resulting from her being a part of the informal economy in this area and how does she address it?
- How does she handle competition for customers and space?

Her lived experience includes a variety of experiences resulting from the diversity of human contacts, contrasting scenery, sights and sounds and people settings and other factors that make up the totality of her life. Being a mobile hawker offers her, not only the chance to market her goods to diverse people from different backgrounds, orientation, beliefs, temperaments, attitudes manners and other aspects of human psychology, but it also, in the process gives her the opportunity to adapt to different features in her surroundings, in her bid to maintain her significance, presence and achieve the purpose for which she is there – to make a living. Therefore, engaging in this trade affords her as a woman, for that matter, the opportunity to maintain her integrity as she needs to be always visible, therefore, her comportment and mannerism and behavior matters a lot. According to her, she has been lucky not to be caught in a compromising situation with area boys when she was spotted by a friend who was sitting in the edge of a bus that drove past her.

Given the unpredictability of this person and the fact that she might gossip, she comporting herself in a respectable manner had saved her from a possible embarrassment at home.

Her location is not fixed; therefore, she has to transverse different locations in the CBD. However, given her lived experience, she has been able to design a movement pattern for herself at various hours of the day, knowing the behaviour of potential customers, other actors, and the probability of sales. Furthermore, part of her comportment is in her outlook, hence she has to maintain a balance between being easily noticeable from any distance , in any direction without being seen as 'compromising' .

Findings and analysis

The perception, adaptations, interpretations and representations of the city space for street hawking are based on the street hawker's background factors, comprising of her historical, socio-cultural, economic and political background. These are evidence of her everyday lifestyle, culture, habits and behaviour; which she exhibits spatially through her trading activities.

Findings and Discussion: the factors in the variables of (1) background factors; (2) spatial factors; and (3) social impact factors, make up the discussion of the findings.

Background factors:

Quotes from unstructured interview:

"I was born in 1980. I come from a polygamous background from up country"; "I lost my mother at a very tender age"; "my father is a farmer with many children that he cannot fend for, he would rather struggle to train the boys while we girls have little or no education. I am the first among several girls!"; "I had to drop out from school in order to fend for myself and my younger sibling, at around age 17, I had to come down to Lagos to make ends meet and I have been here ever since"

Spatial impact factors:

Quotes from unstructured interview:

"what choice do I have, God forbid, I cannot steal!"; "this is Lagos and man must survive"; "the street is everybody's property"; "if government chases us from here, where do they want us to go to? We cannot afford the so called shops they have provided"; "which customer will want to climb stairs to the last floor, when he or she can easily get it on the ground"; besides, where does the government expect me to get N10 million to rent a shop? How much would I sell my goods and where is the profit? May God

deliver us from these politicians! Soon they would come to us for votes. "My brother, selling on the street is worth the risk, Abeg!"

Social impact factors:

Quotes from unstructured interview:

"I am a Christian, of Yoruba upbringing. My mother was a devoted Christian, who inculcated Christian values in me and my siblings before her untimely death"; "I am now married with 4 young children"; "my husband is a bus conductor. We want our children to have a better life more than we, that is why we must struggle"; "it's not easy, I must confess, but it is worth it!"

Interview summary:

The forms of spatial interpretations and manifestations on the city space reflect the totality of interwoven human experiences & relationships in physical space. These relationships range from physical to psychological which make up evidence of lifestyle patterns and everyday living. It also includes the impact of the background forces and other forms of initiatives that stimulate other forms of social interactions & behaviour. Man's use and understanding of space. Maybe geometric space can help to enhance (illuminate) our knowledge and understanding of man's behaviour (Rapoport, 1969). The issues raised as findings from the interview shows the interwoven and overlapping nature of the variables that impact on the trading activities of the female street hawker.

Factors influencing her daily movement pattern

- Weather condition
- Probability of sales [strategic location]
- competition
- Behaviour of customers and other actors
- Presence of completion or complementary products
- Personal motivation – health, mood, 'inspiration', 'chance'
- Presence of municipal authorities
- Time of the day
- Previous experience [level of sales, challenges with other traders and people]

Spatial determinants of her everyday life experience

- Exhibiting a variety of emotions in response to environmental cues the time of the day, the people she meets and the dealing with those she encounters: Stress, exposure, GSM, Police, chaos, shouting, view, commotion, insult, greeting, regret, determination,
- Built environment and fatigue factor
- Types of people encounters experienced every day: municipal authorities, beggars, strangers, etc
- Different locations requiring different modes of behaviour
- Her trading activities requires meeting and gauging how she relates with different traders especially those with questionable background
- Different modes of physical positioning on different feature of the physical environment and in different locations in the physical environment
- Distancing and proximity in different situations (like minded - close ; unlike minded - media to far)
- Different language switching at different times, with different customers
- Her patterns of activity vary throughout the day to correspond with the density of the population.
- At times its direct facing, other times its aligned, other times, it's from behind, depending on the situation with the intensity
- Adapting to cultural dynamics such as "gender sensitivities" - "ladies first, customer always right, time lag for each customer, or multiple customers"
- Trading in different zones within the location
- Paying tolls in public and ensuring that she avoids areas of harassment
- Determining strategic locations in order to engage in her trade
- Avoiding corners alone or moving in convoy of other traders, thereby forming a population of traders
- High sense of security alertness in order to avoid danger to life and risk to personal safety
- Adopting different marketing strategies for business transactions in different locations: she makes xxx amount daily and this depends on the - time, population concentration, nearby activities, luck, number of referrals, and connection with other customers (impulse buying). She also adopts different behavioural tendencies as part of marketing strategies, [1] to different potential customers and [2] different times of the day.
- Taking break but conscious of need to sell , therefore taking break in high concentration area
- Exhibiting communal tendencies such as gender groupings in different locations and presenting systemic targeting of customers, sharing experiences, killing boredom, mixing with the natives, enjoying themselves. A sort of unofficial break time at work. They chose their location and movement pattern. They also arrange themselves in order to present variety in space.
- Minding her approach to marketing in different locations in order not to arouse conflict , hence she adopts an approach in which she tries to make herself visible from afar

- Superstition: she avoids certain place at certain times in order to avoid bad luck. Furthermore, she avoids certain individuals with the impression of evil, hence a benefit of gendered space is the security it offers from diabolical attack.
- She mingles with other outdoor personnel such as cleaners in order to take her mind off her trade. She also joins some of the sedentary street vendors in order to show respect, change of scenery, stabilize herself, sit and take another form of trade which complements the marketing of other traders.
- Trading at the motor parks singly or in groups

Deductions from interviews and observations

- the street trader's background historical, socio-cultural, political and cultural factors impact significantly on the marketing strategies of informal trading activities
- the marketing strategies of informal trading activities impact significantly on the spatial adaptations, perceptions, interpretations and representations of city space for informal trading activities

Empirical evidence obtained from the sample study shows that physical and mental interpretations of space through the informal trading activities are significant variables in explaining the parameters of spatial contributions. The following statements explain their relationships in spatial contributions -

- the various physical forms of spatial adaptations, perceptions, interpretations and representations, derived from the different marketing strategies in the informal trading activities impacts significantly on spatial contributions
- the derived background mental interpretations , perceptions, representations and adaptations resulting from the manners of human interactions, stimulated by the social attributes embedded in the marketing strategies of the informal trading activities impact significantly on spatial contributions.
- The analyzed mental adaptations, interpretations, representations and perceptions, emanating from the background historical, socioeconomic, cultural, and political factors stimulating the manners of human interactions derived from the social attributes, embedded in the marketing strategies of the informal trading activities impact significantly on spatial contribution (see plate 25).

Other observations on spatial contribution for further investigations in field study – The commuters loading and offloading activities at the motor park stimulate informal trading activities

Arrival process:

Abike's daily routine starts with her arrival at Lagos CBD. She comes via public transport which gets to Lagos island at around 7:20 am, and drops at Apogbon end of the Lagos marina, which also doubles as an integral part of the Lagos CBD, as this is closer to the shop where she collects her goods and thus, make her way to her trade start - off point further down the Lagos CBD. At times, when she is lucky, this could be the terminal bus stop of the bus and at other times, it could be en-route, going to CMS. Whichever case, she has to drop at the Apogbon end of the Marina. She has to arrive early, as she needs to be in place before the arrival of potential customers or just in time to meet their arrival and dropping at Apogbon gives her the required head start to meet potential customers.

On this day, she is lucky that she got a bus terminating at the Apogbon under bridge – a good sign. The bus manoeuvre slowly through the puddle and parks in a tight left-over space, which is surrounded by a cluster of open market traders- mostly women, who live close by, and have already arrived to start off their daily. Even though the under-bridge is sheltered the space under the bridge is still water logged with messy muddy water puddles all over, which makes walking on foot very difficult. It rained the night before and rain water was able to flow into the space, because of the space between the parallel bridge carriages that make up the bridge. Furthermore, the water drainage is blocked – a perennial problem. The inadequacy of a maintenance culture is highlighted during the rainy season in Nigeria. Hence, rainwater has nowhere to flow to except to remain stagnant and make the environment ugly. It is in this setting that traders, mostly elderly women, set up their space as open market, and cope with the presence of the motor park.

- *“We don't have a choice. This is what is available and we have to manage. And get used to it. This is Lagos!”*
[one of the market women]

Adaptability:

During this routine, she meets diverse range of individuals and groups of people that shapes her daily life experience. This fact is stimulated by the compact nature of the built environment which includes corner, narrow passages, and road axis as corridors and congested built environment. This requires an ability to adapt to different personalities, needs, and ultimately, the physical environment in order to achieve adaptability.

Business mindedness, messy narrow space, cultural consciousness, female gender:

Being an exposed Lagosians with a deep familiarity with city's lifestyle patterns which includes the significance of time consciousness and business mindedness, particularly in the early morning, such as this, she disembarks quickly from the bus and makes her way straight to the shop of her land lady where she keeps her goods. Like every other pedestrian, she has to manoeuvre through the messy, irritating, muddy

narrow passage, which slows down her movement. Coincidentally, this affords her the opportunity to see the elderly women by the side, as they are settling down to the day's business. Several months of passing through that route has enabled her to be quite familiar with most of the elderly women, there as well as some of the drivers. Due to the close proximity of these people to her, she proceeds to greet them. Even though she is a hurry, she is still conscious of her cultural responsibility, particularly to the elders and people in general, which is to greet and show regard. This is a sign of good will and concern and favourable responses to such is reputed, [albeit superstitiously] to bring good luck.

- *One wonders if, it had not been for the congested nature of the physical environment, coupled with the messy narrow space, if she would bother to greet anyone at all. Perhaps there is a significant connection between adverse circumstances such as the nature of the setting in stimulating the cultural consciousness of people, particularly the female gender.*

Strategic sitting arrangement, faithfulness to the rat race:

The opportunity to get down quickly is enhanced by the fact that she sat on the seat close to the door of the bus, where the bus conductor stays. According to her, she targets this spot all the time as it, as it also enables her to have access to fresh air, as the bus is usually crowded without cross ventilation, which can be quite choky and smelly, considering the distance the bus has to travel. Furthermore, in case there is a problem with obtaining change from the conductor, and a number of commuters are involved, including herself, sitting on the edge gives her the chance to be attended to, first by the conductor and prevents her from the risk of being "married" to another commuter, who can be a stranger and will waste her time. This has happened to her a couple of times and it's an experience she dreads.

- *"God protect me from anyone or anything that will delay my destiny!"*

Commerce –"rumble in the jungle": Grand architecture, folk culture – mind my space:

Abike finally emerges from under to bridge, crosses the road into the end of Broad Street, which terminates into Apogbon. She beholds, subconsciously, the Grand Architecture called the UBA building. Just then, the giant MEGA-KVA generator of the building kicks starts like a 'rumble in the jungle', with its thick sound bellowing and the exhaust pipe puffing out thick smoke into the street, and the sound also causing heavy vibrations in the surrounding – *as if a reminder of 'who is in charge'!*. This is a constant sight, sound and a sign of the reality that there is no electricity supply in the area. She is used to this scenario and pays no attention to it. What is on her mind is the get to her shop on time.

Rat race, early morning stress and fatigue, her GSM:

As she walks briskly on the broad street, facing the oncoming mini-buses, which is forced to move slowly, because of street vendors setting up their space on the way, she sees She walks briskly, already she see street vendors already in place on both sides of the narrow road, some on the road, close to passing vehicles. It's already getting chaotic. People are walking towards her - formal workers and natives and other individuals. Everybody is walking briskly and in full alert. The rat race of Monday has begun, as usual. She therefore has to manoeuvre her way between people and vehicle. It's already getting busy, this early morning. She could feel the heat building up from the vehicular traffic, people traffic, the congestion of the space. As a result of this, coupled with the fact that she just arrived from a long distance, in a bus that can be likened to a cramped 'sardine can', Abike began to feel dehydrated and tired. Luckily, she had her bottle of water, which she picked and took a sip. Feeling refreshed, she moved on

- *"This is reality, it's too early to be feeling tired, after all, I still have a long day ahead, I have no choice".*

Suddenly, she remembers her phone and she stops dead in the road. She hadn't received any calls since she left home and that is unusual. Quickly, she scrambles herself into a corner in the street, to check herself. She backs off the road and the suddenness of her movement seems to startle a vendor nearby, setting up his space. This vendor, who happens to be an Ibo man, looks up suddenly and was about to give her a stern look for invading his space, when he suddenly changed his outlook, gave her a brief smile and continued his work. From the way he looked at her, one can easily conclude that he must have recognised her. Abike proceeded to greet him and apologized for her behaviour, to which the vendor responds liberality – no cause for malice, after all, she is a woman and we are not from the same ethnicity. Furthermore "everybody is casing something" and friction is inevitable from time to time. As she was apologizing, she continued to scramble at her purse looking for the phone. At last, she finds her phone, checks if there are calls. No calls – poor signal and low battery – no wonder. She puts her phone back in her purse, says good morning to everyone and moves on.

Her shop, her products, change to work clothes, stacking of products – quick and intelligent packaging:

Abike finally arrives at her shop at around 7: 45 am and attempts to open the store. Her boss, who is a wholesale trader has not arrived but has left a copy of the shop key with her, with which she opens the shop. The shop is one of the several lock up shops at Balogun market. The shop, which is a 3m × 3m shop is well compacted with varieties of goods ranging from consumables such as dinks packed in a large refrigerator and in crate; the goods also includes domestic everyday goods such as toiletries, napkins, matches. These are movable goods which Abike assists her boss to hawk. The goods also includes assorted clothing materials, furniture which are sold directly from the shop by the boss.

Collectively, the estimated price of these goods range from N 1 to 5 million [*waah!*]. And cramped up inside such a tight space.

Abike hawks and sells a wide variety of products. This includes handy domestic items such as toiletries, which she supplements with consumables such as minerals and biscuits. She packs a sufficient amount of a mixture of minerals and into a wide plastic basket about 450 mm in diameter. She quickly stacks these products in the tray, in 5 minutes. She is used to doing this and can almost do it with eyes closed. She stacked her products in such a way that the 'hardware' products are arranged all round, at the periphery, in two concentric layers, while the smaller products are arranged in the hollow space at the centre and stacked in a heap form in order to give an all-round visibility in the public. The 'hardware' products include different types of plastic bottled minerals, water...

Daily routine – “*predator prey*”:

Abike daily routine takes her from her shop to CMS and back, up to Broad Street at times, and round back to Balogun and Jankara and Isale eko areas. These are connected areas within and around Lagos CBD which moves using her discretion, sighting, information or basic instincts. She does not follow any particular pattern, but she makes sure she aligns herself with the flow of vehicular or pedestrian movement. Understanding this takes time, experience, instincts.

***"Hit the road Jack! Time is money"*:**

She leaves the shop by 7: 55 am and proceeds quickly move towards CMS. But before she leaves she attempts to reach her boss on phone, to no avail. Network problem. Therefore, she sends a text message, which takes about 30 seconds to deliver. She had to wait apprehensively for the text to deliver in order to avoid the risk of "failure to deliver" due to movement. Eventually, it does hand she scrambles on her way.

However, she has to navigate through Nnamdi Azikwe Street via Madam Tinubu square. She meets other hawkers like herself, setting out. Together they form a group of female hawkers walking in opposite direction to oncoming vehicular traffic on Nnamdi Azikwe Street. The sun is now fully out and one can see the brightness of the day. It's easy to see the contrasting makeup of human geography on the street. When compared with other road users, they form a contrasting scene of movement and direction. Moving in another direction are the hawkers, representing informality, moving in opposite direction are vehicles and majority formal sector workers representing formality, while in the neutral are the street vendors.

On the way, she and her friends are accosted by an area boy, who charges them in the middle of the road, in front of the Lagos central mosque. They move aside and quickly give him their tolls, as expected.

They know too well that paying their daily tolls is their defence against harassment from everywhere within the CBD. This is a common sight as passers-by don't bother to give a look. This is Lagos. They all give him N100 each and he issues each person her receipt. They move on talking as they walk. Abike quickly folds her receipt and tucks it into her bra – the 'safest' location to keep any item. She does this quickly before any one spots and since she is in the company of women who do the same.

They move on in a cluster group on the sidewalk in order to avoid oncoming vehicular traffic. Their cluster arrangement also affords them the opportunity for an all-round view to see potential customers and other individuals they are familiar with and whom they greet as appropriate. Some responded and others display not. However, they continued to chat excitedly about everything - family, products, their respective bosses, boyfriends and experience with customers the previous day, harassment from the municipal authorities. They were chatting simultaneously with each hawker talking about her experience and another doing the same until the whole conversation becomes rowdy, uncoordinated, chorus like but making them a curious sight to behold by other road users.

Show time @ CMS. :

They got to CMS at around 8:10 am. The timing was quite fast considering the fact that this is a distance of about 15 minutes on foot, under normal circumstances. Perhaps the movement in group and the excitement from the conversation took "sped up" time and a walk that would have seemed stressful, boring, and tense; and also considering the load each hawker was carrying and the psychology in the fact that it was Monday morning.

Impact of Group synergy on space / time psychology- individualism vs. communality:

Excitement from group interaction or activity can trigger a release of Adrenalin to pump energy! This takes off the stress and anxiety of time consciousness. The mix use nature of the environment which includes diversity of population groups and ideology as well as the communal nature of a significant section of the population, and the ability to adapt the built environment to accommodate communal association provides a stimulant for group activity, which takes off the stress and anxiety associated with time consciousness. This puts an individual in a right frame of mind to face the challenges of the day.

They get to CMS and round up their chatting. It's show time! Each hawker proceeds in her own way into the crowd of oncoming vehicular and pedestrian traffic. They disperse to different locations to start the day's business. As they leave each other, as if in a dispersing circle they wave at each other and proceed in different directions. Abike waves at them and is immediately left on her own.

'Prayers on the move'; patience, good luck [Jonathan]:

Abike moves to a corner at the CMS / inner marina T junction, away from the police and LASTMA officials, who are busy directing traffic and pedestrians. This is also very close to the premises of the cathedral church of Christ, a landmark structure on Marina Street. Experience has taught Abike to position herself close in the traffic warden in such a way as to align herself along the visual axis of pedestrian and vehicular movement. She begins to move slowly, randomly, back and forth, with friendly bodily gestures, in an attempt to make visual contact with as many pedestrians and vehicles as possible. Initially nobody gives her any attention, even though they see her, as everyone seem to be eager to get to their office or other destinations. This is the everyday day sign of hustle of the city and she is used to this. Furthermore, experience has also taught her to be patient and take things easy as she is going to have a long day ahead.

It's a clear sky morning at CMS. The sun is mild and it's cool at the moment. Fortunately, the tall buildings around provide different angles and lengths of shade, depending on their height and orientation. About 10 minutes later, the sun emerges out of the sky, and with it comes the prevailing hot humid air from the Lagos harbour, just down the horizon. Fortunately, she was standing within the range of the shadow casted by the cathedral church of Christ building. The shadow formed was a sign of relief and she eagerly moved backwards in order to be fully in the shade. Even though hawking and any other form of commercial transactions are prohibited on the premises of this church, there is the right of way around the premises, which Abike usually stands on without being molested. She has learnt to position herself in such a way as not to be seen as wanting to engage in trading.

Abike looked back as if to admire the cathedral building and express her gratitude to it for giving her shade. Suddenly, she remembered that she had not said her prayers. Being a practicing [Pentecostal] Christian, she had been taught by her parents and her pastor that no matter the situation, she has to put God first in her undertakings. Putting this injunction into practice has been very difficult, given the nature of the job she is doing, her past experience, and the hustle lifestyle of Lagos life. As such, she has learnt to engage in "prayers on the move". Quickly, she stops her back and forth movement, to stay still in order to mutter a 'silent' prayer to God. She does this while keeping her eyes open, thereby not making it obvious to everyone that she was praying.

CMS: vintage positioning

From her vintage position, she surveys the entire setting. She observes the people, movement, vehicular traffic, chatting, vehicle honking.

These are her "favorites" - and her "mountains".

She can survey the scene due to the all-round view offered by the configuration of the built environment at this junction. As such it also offers her the advantage of all round strategic placement, an essential requirement for this type of business.

Everybody seem to be in a hurry - as expected. Everyone already seem to be stressed out - as anticipated.

She stands at the edge of the curb in order to position herself so that she can be seen, and also not to obstruct pedestrian movement. Therefore, it can be said that she has taken a "neutral" position in the location of her setting. She looks left and right - in anticipation. However she also watches her back - in precaution, to prevent any "unforeseen". As such, based on her positioning, the space around her presents two contrasting experiences, that reflect the reality of everyday life.

Breakthrough:

She concludes her prayers and resumes her back and forth movement. As if by miracle, passersby begin to greet her. Other hawkers do the same. The atmosphere becomes warm and friendly – a sign of ‘better things to come’. After another 10 minutes of waiting and moving back and forth, and greetings, a stranger walks past her and suddenly turns back and walks towards her. This is a male [possibly in his mid-20’s], corporately dressed and looks to be in a hurry. He beckons on Abike to sell minerals for him. Knowing the restriction to hawking in this space, Abike quickly ushers the youth to a corner by the side to the church, away from CMS area, and back towards the broad street. This area, though still in the public domain, provides a somewhat private space, and is a considerable distance away from the ‘prying’ eyes of the public. She looks round to ensure that nobody was watching her, coast clear, she quickly lowers her basket, the guy chooses the plastic bottle drink he wants, he brings out the money, Abike looks up sighs and says she has no change as he was her first customer. The guy reluctantly says she should not bother with the change but that she should give him the drink. Abike joyfully gives him the drink – a 35 cl sprite drink costing N100. The guy gives Abike N200, meaning that Abike had just pocketed an extra N100 for herself. A sign of better things to come. A breakthrough. Good luck and God’s favour.

“Agent of bad luck” harassment over territoriality, sentiment and intervention, jungle justice, arbitration:

Abike returns joyfully to her spot on the side of the church premises, 5 minutes later, and suddenly, an area boy appears and approaches her. It appears that he comes from under the outer marina bridge, which is where a group of Ibo traders are trading, and also sit out for area boys covering CMS. This location is within walking and visual distance from Abike’s position. On getting to Abike, this area boy

demands for ticket money. Apparently, he had been watching Abike all the while – perhaps before she and her friends dispersed; and must have noticed transaction between her and the corporate youth. This must have prompted him to have a go at her. Immediately, Abike produces her ticket and explains that she had already paid to another agent at CBD. This area boy refused to listen and an argument ensued between them. They created a scene and soon passersby began to challenge the area boy to leave ABIKE alone. The following opinions were raised:

“Abeg leave this woman alone, haha, this early morning? How much has she made that you are harassing her like that?”. “Mister Man, please respect yourself”;

Haha, you no dey fear God? How can you be harassing a woman, this early morning, in front of a church, for that matter? Shame on you”.

“You youths of nowadays. You too like money. I don’t know what you do with the money other than to take ‘Igbo’. Shame on you”.

This standoff continued for about 10 minutes and in spite of the reaction from the passersby, the area boy refused to back down and the harassment continued until it was almost becoming physical. The LASTMA officials, who were very close to the scene could only watch but did not intervene as this was outside the scope of their role. That was when a police officer, from the group on patrol, with their vehicle parked on the adjacent side of the CMS / inner marina junction walks into the scene. He called the area boy aside in a bid to have a private discussion with him. From the manner of the discussion, it could be seen that a sort of verbal negotiation was taking place. The area boy and the police officer smiled at each other and the area boy turned towards the defiant Abike. He swore jokingly at her, smiled mischievously and attempted to ‘touch’ her to which she brushed his hand off with her ‘left’ hand. He continued to smile mischievously and proceeded to walk away. Abike was relieved.

This scenario represents a confidence booster for the day. This indicates that there is an element of protection for Abike. Fortunately, her positioning offers her not only a vintage point for sales, which is a means of reaching out, but also an opportunity to be reached out to, as well, and in this case, is demonstrated in the response she received in a time of distress. The following factors have emerged from this experience:

1. CMS as scene of confrontation, anti-social behaviour, security consciousness. Inbuilt cultural values and human sympathetic disposition as evidence of the communal tendencies of Lagosians.
2. Ticket representing her rights to trade and a protection from unforeseen circumstances.
3. People of diverse background as representing connection to shared inbuilt cultural ideology which includes sympathy towards female rights to protection from harassment. A reflection of the belief in the vulnerability

of the female gender in the public sphere, when culturally, they are meant to be 'protected' by being in the private domain. From a religious perspective, the presence of the people represents an intervention from God [with the church building as background].

CMS motor park and the platform containing the newspaper platform - a symbol of connectivity with the flow and distribution of potential customers:

Abike surveys the scene and moves towards the crowded area at the CMS motor park. She notices the moving vehicles, the parked transport vehicles, and the pedestrians. She moves towards the CMS motor park, which, at that moment seems to be "less active" as majority of the vehicles are outside since this is a rush hour. Therefore, she peeps in and greets the local guys sitting in the motor park, to which they respond favourably. This "friendly gesture" affords her the opportunity to stay at the edge of the entrance of the park in order to survey the active areas around CMS.

Later, she targets a group of men numbering about 30 and crowded around the newspaper stand. Given the crowded nature of the setting, including the shouting and arguments, coupled with fact that she is a woman in the midst of [almost unpredictable] men, and the fact that there is no assurance of any form of protection from molestation, Abike takes a safe distance on the platform, as a form of protection and also as a means to market her goods – albeit from a safe distance. As such, she takes a peripheral position around a circumference of men, backing the vehicular traffic. She is greeted by a few of them who café to notice her. It's such an interesting setting – with the guys chatting, making noise and arguing, agreeing about issues they cannot influence or control. Secretly, she looks forward to such meetings, as it helps in setting the tonic for her day. At least it gives her the all-encompassing opportunity to learn, laugh, giggle, and also make sales. It also gives her the opportunity to meet and sample the various characters of men; she is likely to meet in the day. Furthermore, the information she gets here, gives her some things to gist [not gossip about] about with her friends later.

After a while – about 30 minutes later, the men begin to disperse in different directions. Abike backs off to the edge of the platform, and thus they are all able to notice her. Some greet her briskly while others are more cordial. However, everybody is in a hurry. That does not stop a guy from, approaching her to buy a drink – 2nd sale of the day, already.

CMS outside motor drop-off: Product symbiosis

She stays here for a while, after which she drifts towards the parked vehicles at CMS drop off. Here, a number of buns sellers ply their trade on the edge of the civic park fence, close to where buns sellers are located. However, the buns seller smiles at her knowingly. This is because their products complement each other. While she sells drinks, the buns sellers sell buns. This symbiotic arrangement

offers Abike an advantage of complementary sales. She ensures that she moves close enough so that she can be easily noticed, without disrupting business. Furthermore, the arrangement of the parked buses at the drop off, offers Abike a close proximity.

Relaxed period at CMS: Meeting with other hawkers, Police and other actors

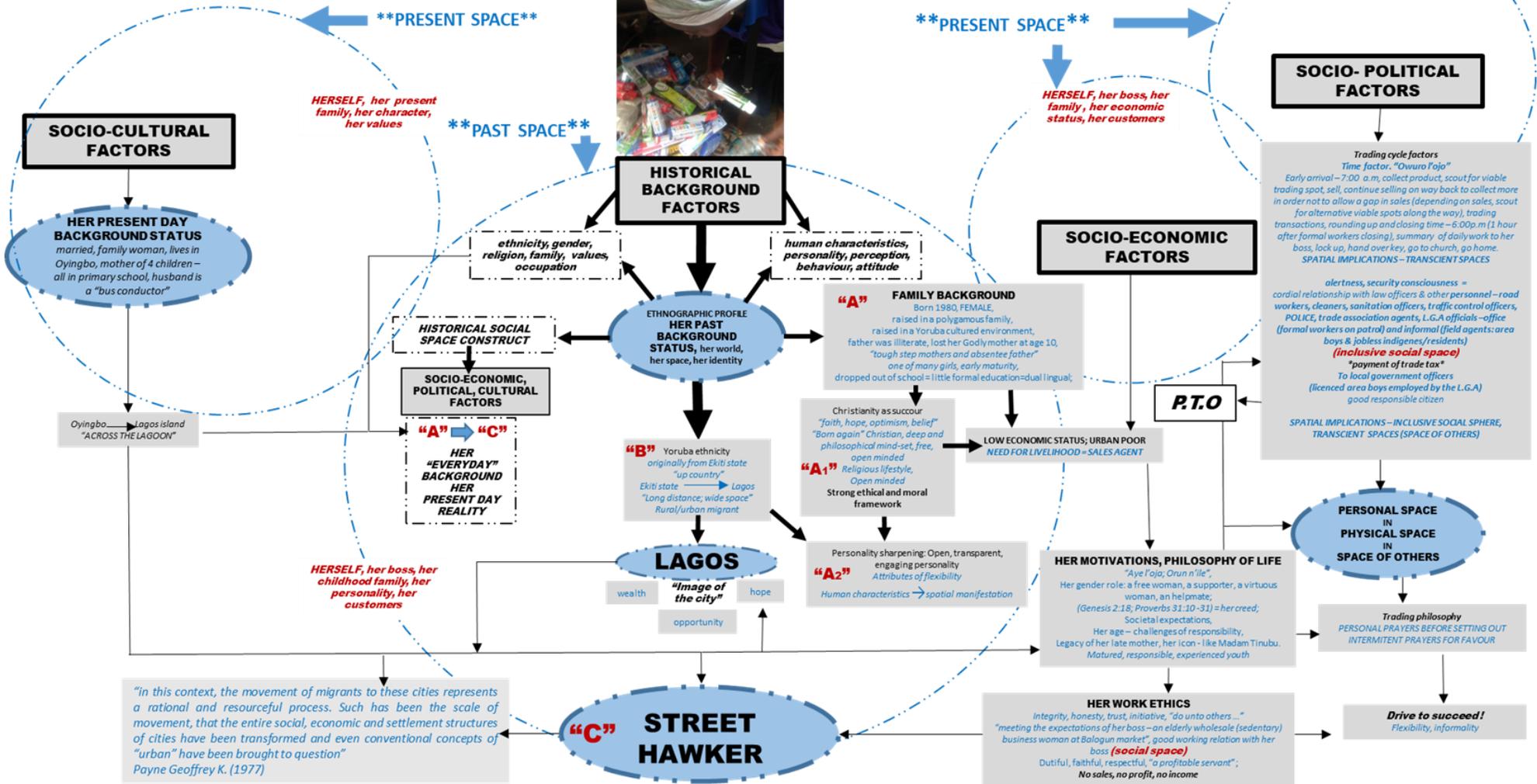
After making a couple of sales, the parked transport vehicles drive off to look for customers or to go into the garage. The setting becomes sparse. The whole environment of CMS begins to die down as workers are settling down in their offices. There is no need to stay any longer. Abike thanks the buns sellers for their 'hospitality' and she takes her leave.

It's now around 8:55 am and the vehicular traffic has reduced considerably and the police officers and LASTMA officials who are not far from each other are relaxed and chatting away in their respective clusters. The police around their patrol vehicle and the LASTMA officials around the traffic control booth. Abike is summoned by the police patrol who are all male and park on the edge of the moves towards the police officials at the edge of the corner piece of road street, and she moves 'innocently' towards them. These police officers seem friendly towards her, and begin to chat with her in local and vernacular language. Soon another female hawker joins them.

Tetris of everyday life: on the move in the aisle of contact, avoidance and encounter. Symbiosis

Later, she hangs out with her colleagues, stays on the spot conversing and looking around for potential customers. At peak period, she moves against the flow of pedestrian and vehicular traffic, in order to get noticed. This gives an impression of a game of spatial contest of contact, avoidance and encounter. She encounters different kinds of reactions ranging from smile, indifference, and 'hostility'. She engages in slow movement to intermittent stops to survey the scene – like a carnivore looking for its prey. She does this for about hours during which time, she engages in conversations, collisions, and patronage. After this while, the sun is fully out and she proceeds to have breakfast. For breakfast, she approaches a food vendor on the other side of the road, who incidentally is her friend. Their familiarity with each other has them to be able to predict each other's movement and where to meet – if need be.

**SAMPLE CASE STUDY (1): Individual (random 1 person)
(STREET HAWKER) : BREAKDOWN OF BACKGROUND FORCES
AS "SPACE PRODUCTION" FACTORS**



NOTE: the breakdown of background forces as “space production” factors, varies along respective persons and trade type. Case study samples are determined at random and target; individuals and population, respectively

****PRESENT SPACE****

HERSELF, law officers, tax collectors, her customers, her boss

SOCIO- POLITICAL FACTORS

Trading cycle factors

Time factor. “Owuro l’ojo”

Early arrival – 7:00 a.m, collect product, scout for viable trading spot, sell, continue selling on way back to collect more in order not to allow a gap in sales (depending on sales, scout for alternative viable spots along the way), trading transactions, rounding up and closing time – 6:00p.m (1 hour after formal workers closing), summary of daily work to her boss, lock up, hand over key, go to church, go home.

SPATIAL IMPLICATIONS – TRANSCIENT SPACES

alertness, security consciousness = cordial relationship with law officers & other personnel – road workers, cleaners, sanitation officers, traffic control officers, POLICE, trade association agents, L.G.A officials – office (formal workers on patrol) and informal (field agents: area boys & jobless indigenes/residents) **(inclusive social space)**

payment of trade tax

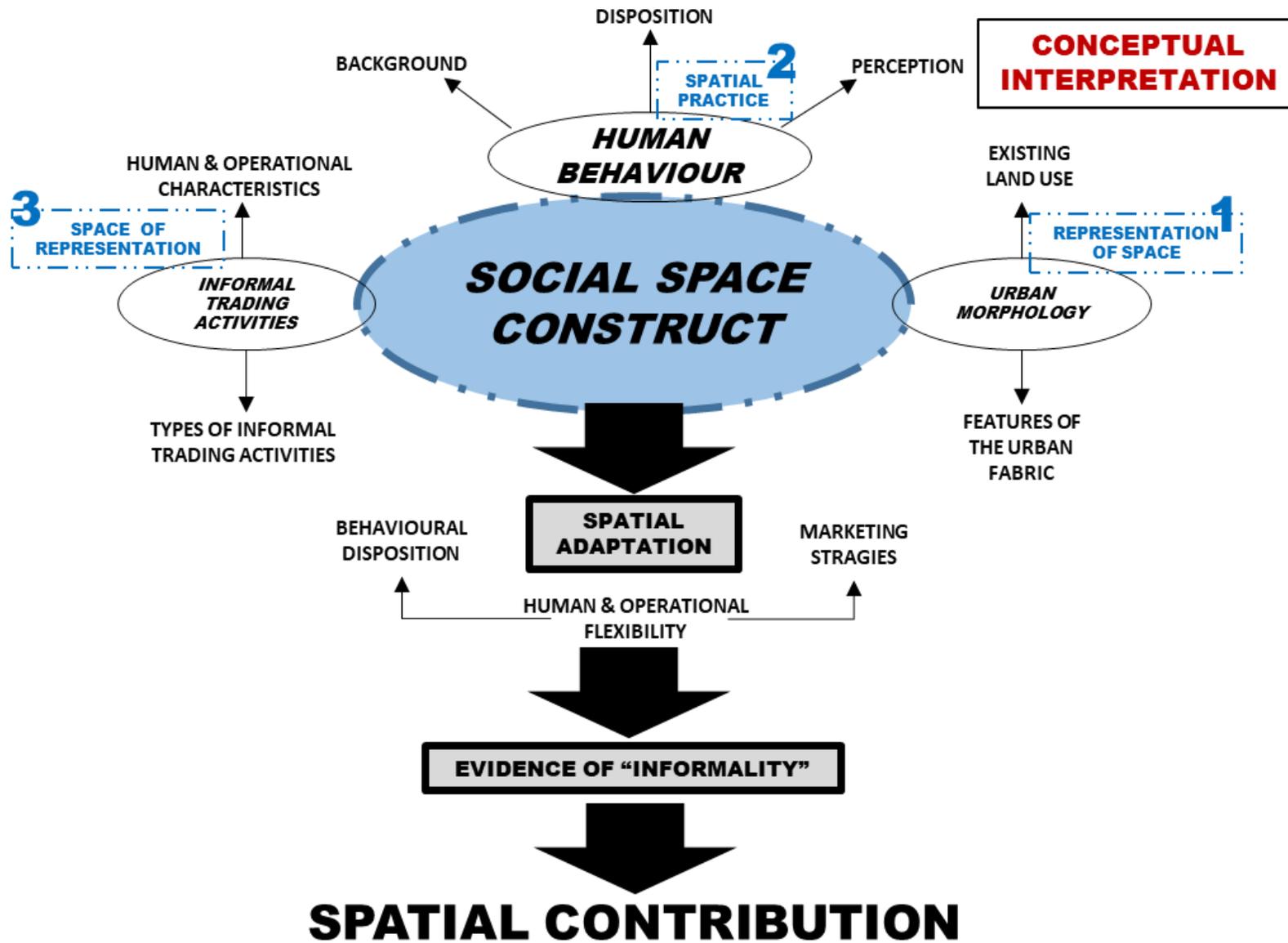
To local government officers (licenced area boys employed by the L.G.A) good responsible citizen

SPATIAL IMPLICATIONS – INCLUSIVE SOCIAL SPHERE, TRANSCIENT SPACES (SPACE OF OTHERS)

Bureaucratic issues Underpinning Trade
TRADE LEGALITY – FORMALITY WITHIN INFORMALITY

right to trade via payment of “trading tax”; “familiarity” with law officers & other personnel; keeping sales records and documentations, keeping records of account, membership of traders association - her boss is a member of traders association. BENEFITS: identification, recognition, rights and protection, right to trade, legal back up, accountability

SPATIAL IMPLICATIONS – BUREAUCRATIC SPACES (SPACE OF OTHERS)



SOCIAL SPACE CONSTRUCT
case study sample (1) breakdown

MARKETING STRATEGIES

SIGNIFICANCE OF "GO SLOW"

Most important

→ NEAT DRESSING, GOOD MANNERS

→ STRATEGIC POSITIONING (along movement path of pedestrians and vehicles – to "own" & "acquire" transient, ephemeral space as "shifting nodes", shelter)

→ VISUAL, VERBAL, PHYSICAL CONTACT (body gestures, smile, eye contact, vernacular language)

→ FLEXIBLE ADAPTATION OF SPACE (sitting, standing, avoid obstruction)

Important

→ GOODS DISPLAY TACTICS (transparent, prominent)

RANKING SCALE

REPRESENTATION OF SPACE

"Turning Non place to place"

RETAIL GEOGRAPHY;
 CENTRAL PLACE THEORY

BEHAVIOURAL DISPOSITION

→ GOOD MANNERS (respect, courtesy, polite, persuasion, engaging, good comportment, commendable interpersonal relationship)

→ ALERTNESS (to potential customers, to unforeseen circumstances, to extraneous activities)

→ INITIATIVE (proactive marketing, strategic positioning, persuasion, engaging)

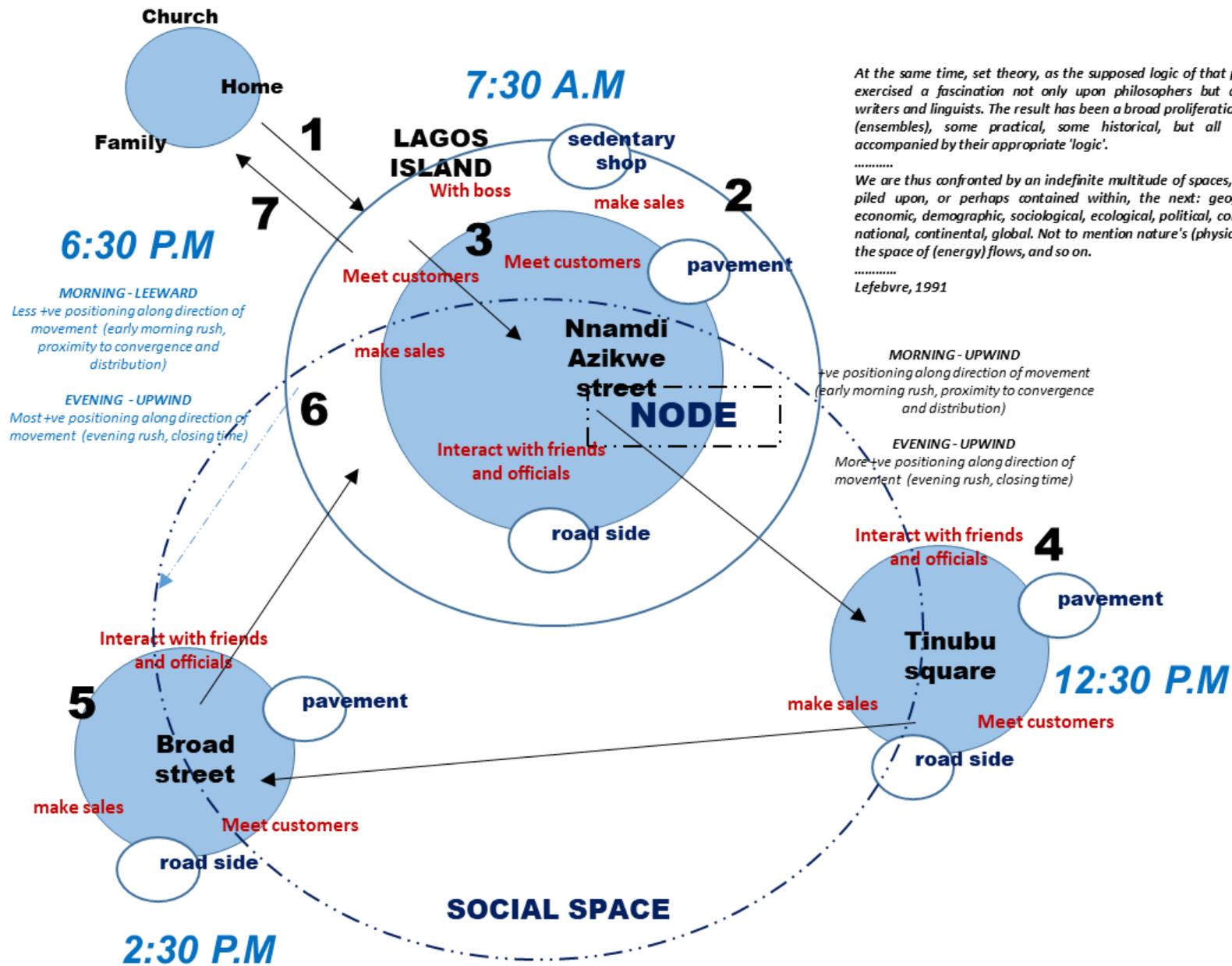
→ AGILITY (smart, alert, quick thinking & acting)

EVIDENCE OF "INFORMALITY"

A LIVING MANNEQUIN: through strategic positioning, and gestures, which enables her to be noticed, this woman is a living symbol of her trade. This is possible with spatial adaptation of the urban fabric feature, on which she is positioned at that point in time – transitory space. This offers insight into the adaptability of urban form, space and order as tools to enhance human activities. It also offers insight into how human activities can shapen the meaning of urban space at any point in time.

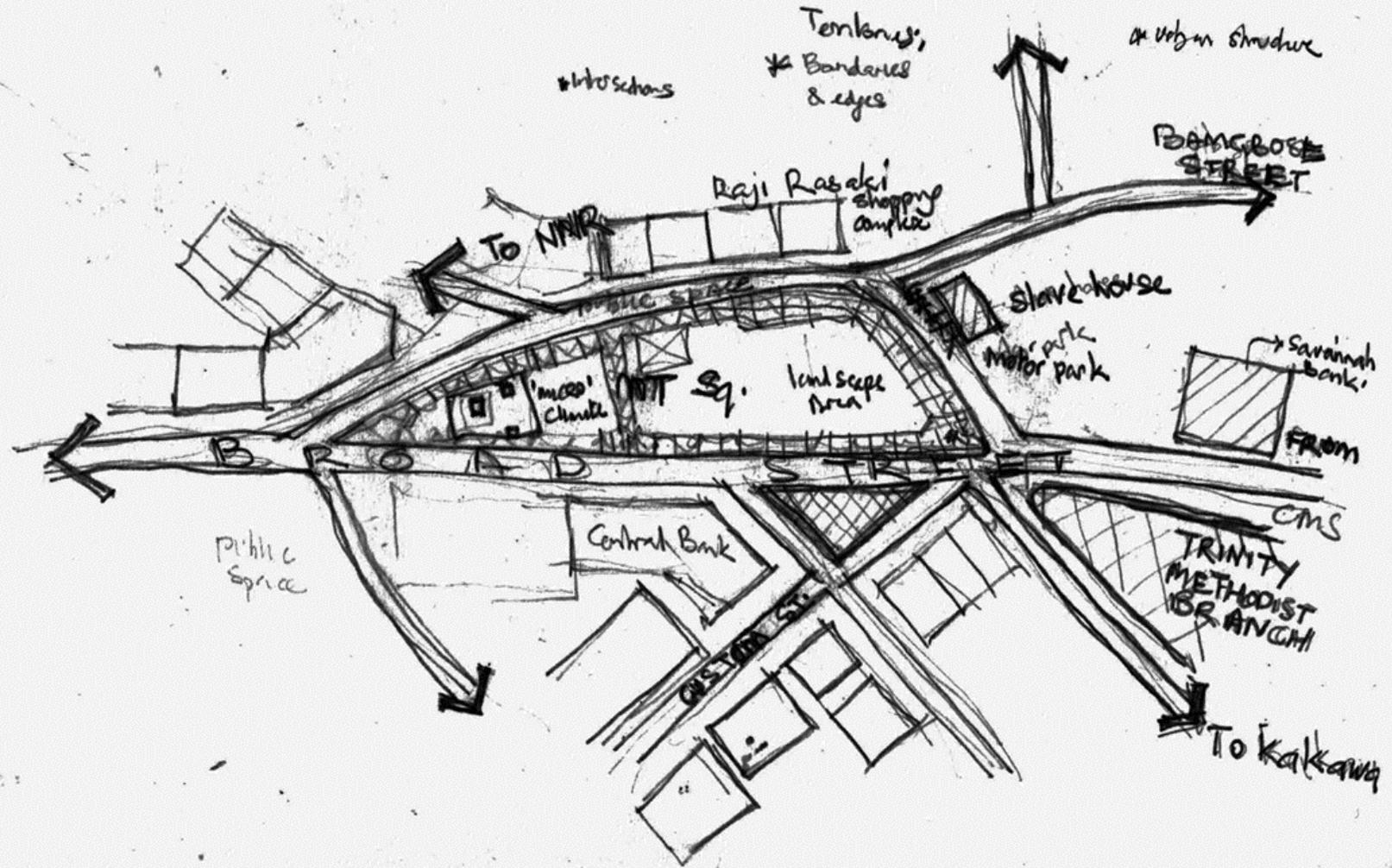
MATTERS ARISING

TRADE CYCLE SPATIAL MAPPING [rythmnanalysis]



MADAM TINUBU SQ.

8



Chapter 6:

**Sample study – non-participant and participant
observation, semi-structured interview**

6.1 Introduction

The second, and most important, goal of the study is discussed in this section.

The study examines the two samples of street trading activities, identified in chapter four.

Each sample study is separated into two primary parts which includes background to sample study and experience of the daily routine.

Within the experience of daily routine, the study breaks down the structure of findings, analysis and discussions within the time frame of pedestrian and vehicular traffic. The structure includes four interwoven groups of empirical data.

The first group of empirical data include time, specific moment and setting; the second group includes movement patterns, directions, positioning, behavioural dispositions, and marketing strategy; the third group includes proximity, speed and distance, sighting and views, meetings and encounters, visual and verbal communications, negotiations and actions; the fourth group includes comments and responses. Each sample study concludes with a summary of experience of daily routine.

The findings for each sample study is obtained with the use of non-participant and participant observations and semi-structured interviews.

The chapter ends with discussions and conclusion from which the research recommendations are obtained.

Background to sample study

This sample study took place between 7:15 am - 10:30 am. This is a first traffic peak period, when Lagos metropolis experiences its first major peak, as this is after the weekend off peak periods when Lagosians either travel out of the city for the weekend or stay at home or engage in short trips in or around their neighbourhood. Therefore, during the weekend, the city space experiences very moderate to low, free flowing pedestrian and vehicular traffic, and the traffic picks ups to an optimal level on Monday morning with Ojodu Berger expressway, due to its strategic importance as a major traffic route, into and out of Lagos metropolis, experiencing a very high traffic flow.

The setting of the sample study is the Ojodu Berger motor park portion of Lagos - Ibadan Expressway. This is a popular transit point along the expressway into Lagos from Ogun state and beyond. It is popularly referred to as the gateway to Lagos from Nigeria and West Africa. As such, the route contains different categories of vehicular and commuters from diverse background and interest.

The expressway is divided into 4 lanes with the innermost lane, dedicated to the government approved BRT buses and other government sanctioned vehicles. However, heavy traffic necessitates the use of the hitherto reserved exclusive BRT lane for general use. As this lane adjoins with the express road median, the BRT lane therefore, becomes the entry point into the “trading space”.

This sample is a male street hawker who engages in trading on the Ojodu Berger motor park portion of Lagos - Ibadan Expressway.

Experience of the daily routine – Time frame of pedestrian and vehicular traffic

Why are you here? What is your experience of this place? What are the risks involved? How much sales do you make here?

- *“we know the appropriate time to catch them ”*

- *“we know what they need”*
- *“We know how to navigate the traffic”*
- *“we know the traffic movement and where to station ourselves for maximum gain”*
- *“we know how to get their attention”*
- *“We know how to avoid the traffic officials”*
- *“we know how to position ourselves”*
- *“we know when to arrive”*
- *“we know the psyche of the average commuter”*
- *“we know the most probable commuters plying the route”*
- *“we know the traffic behaviour”*
- *We know how to connect with the needs of the average road user*
- *We can predict the traffic – when the average lagosians is expected to leave home, get on the road, how he / she prepares for work, the challenges he faces on the road, how much he has, how he thinks.*
- *we know how to predict the weather ? – i mean, what to do , we are always prepared !*
- *we know where to hide when the traffic dies down, and when to resume*
- *We know how to disappear when the ‘ogas’ are blowing their siren - abeg let them take their wahala away- comot road for poor man!*
- *“we get our goods from the nearby ikorodu market and walk across the bridge before dawn to await our customers”*
- *“we know how to position ourselves to attract attention”*

Infiltration by criminal elements

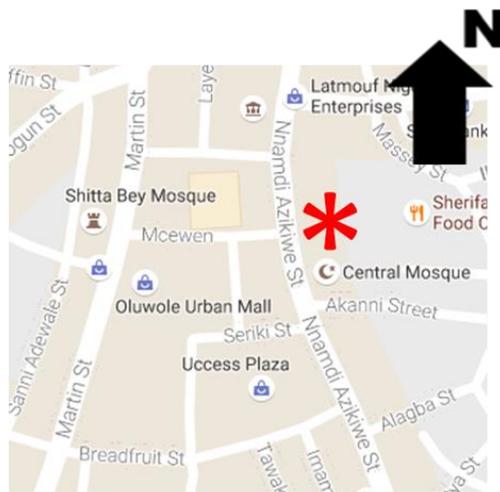
Introduction

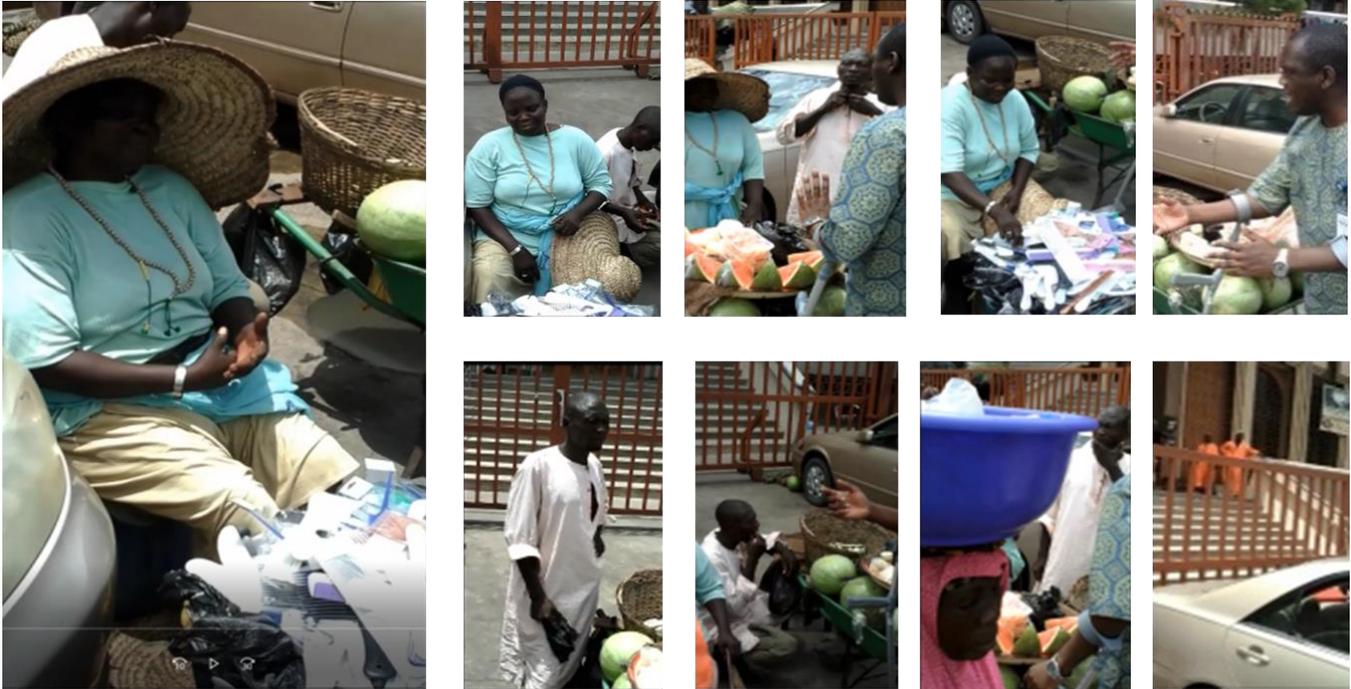
This scene shows the boundaries of various types of street market activities around the Lagos central mosque, creating various forms of dynamics of negotiated space, within the evidence of contested space, shifting, and blurred boundaries. The presence of food sellers from various ethnicity congregating in front of the mosque to trade – Hausa, Yoruba, Nupe [an indication of

migration. This forms a cluster of population, with the use of vernacular English for general verbal communication and indigenous dialects within “umbrella” population subunits [a representation of cultures and subcultures as evidence of dynamics of social space].

The Street market boundaries serve as platform for social space at the central mosque premises, as follows: Shifting - With pedestrian movement; Blurred - With vehicular parking; Fluid – the symbiotic arrangements of goods; Negotiated – Islamic charity. With the mosque management, vehicular parking area, the Lagos state sanitation workers, and the municipal authorities [the police, LASTMA, KAI, CBD task force]

Picture 2 also shows the street light pole as definer of space, while picture 3 the mosque fence as a determinant and arranger of space. The presence of sanitation workers at the central mosque indicates a collaboration between the mosque management and the sanitation workers and this act as cover for the street vendors in front of the mosque – an indication of “service, ‘zakat’, goodwill to all (including the physically challenged traders). This improves the reputation of the mosque as an inclusive venue. As the mosque is 'central,' the openness of the space also diffuses any friction among the merchants.





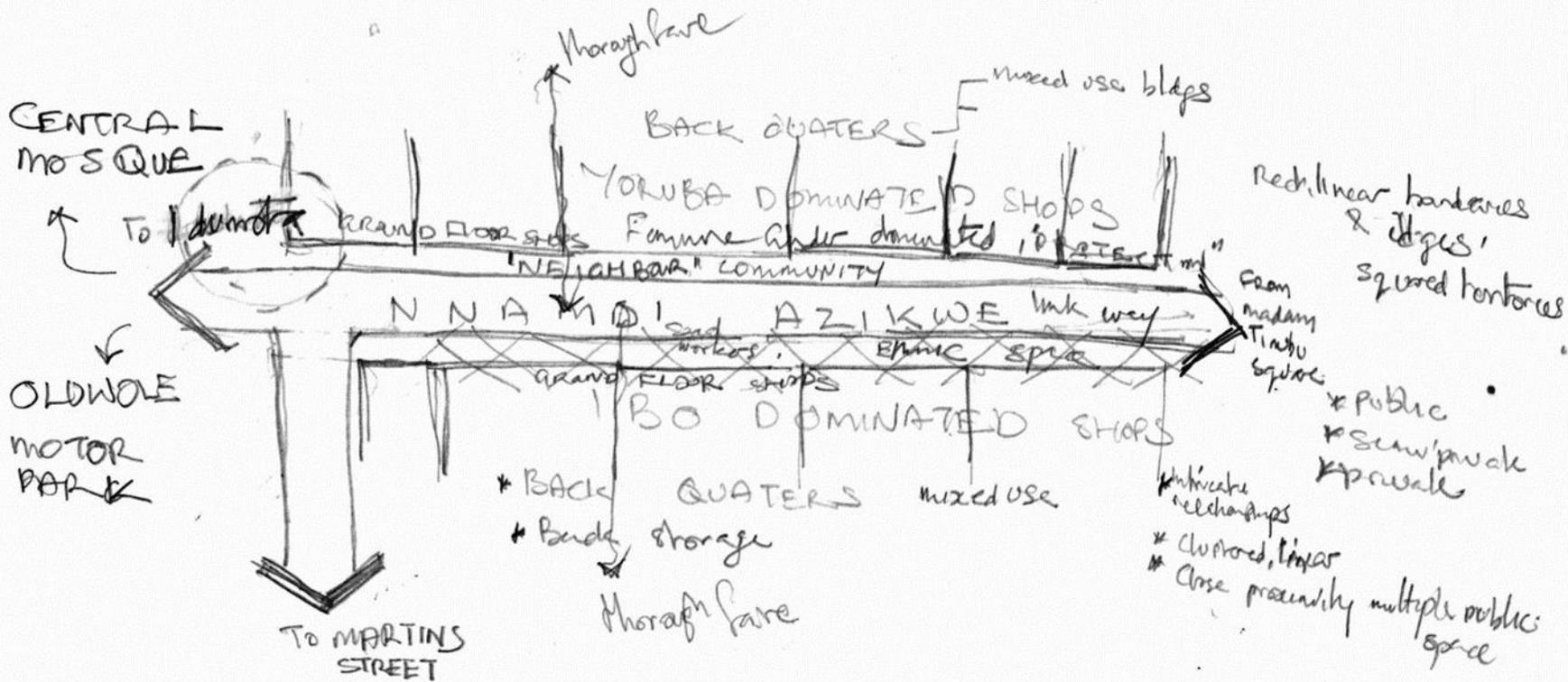
INTRINSIC SAMPLE STUDY: RAMOTA, A YORUBA WOMAN AND A PETTY TRADER AT NNAMDI AZIKWE STREET, LAGOS CBD, LAGOS ISLAND

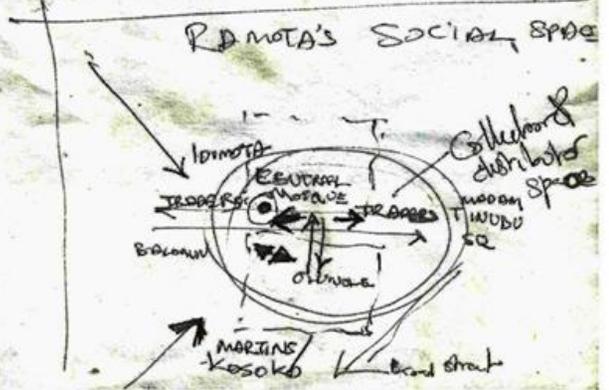
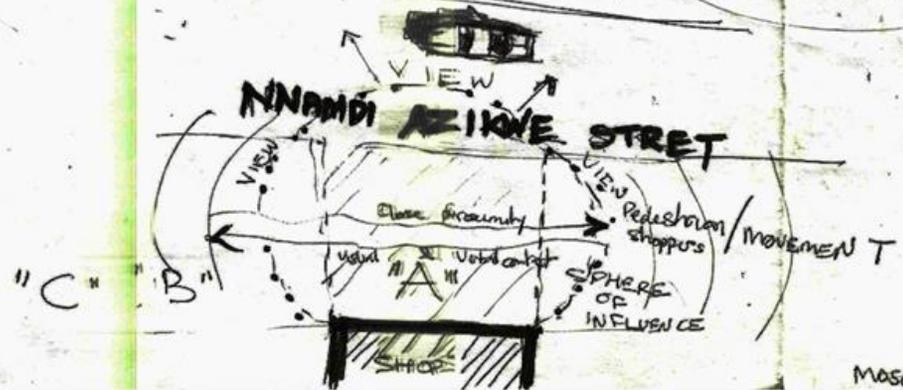
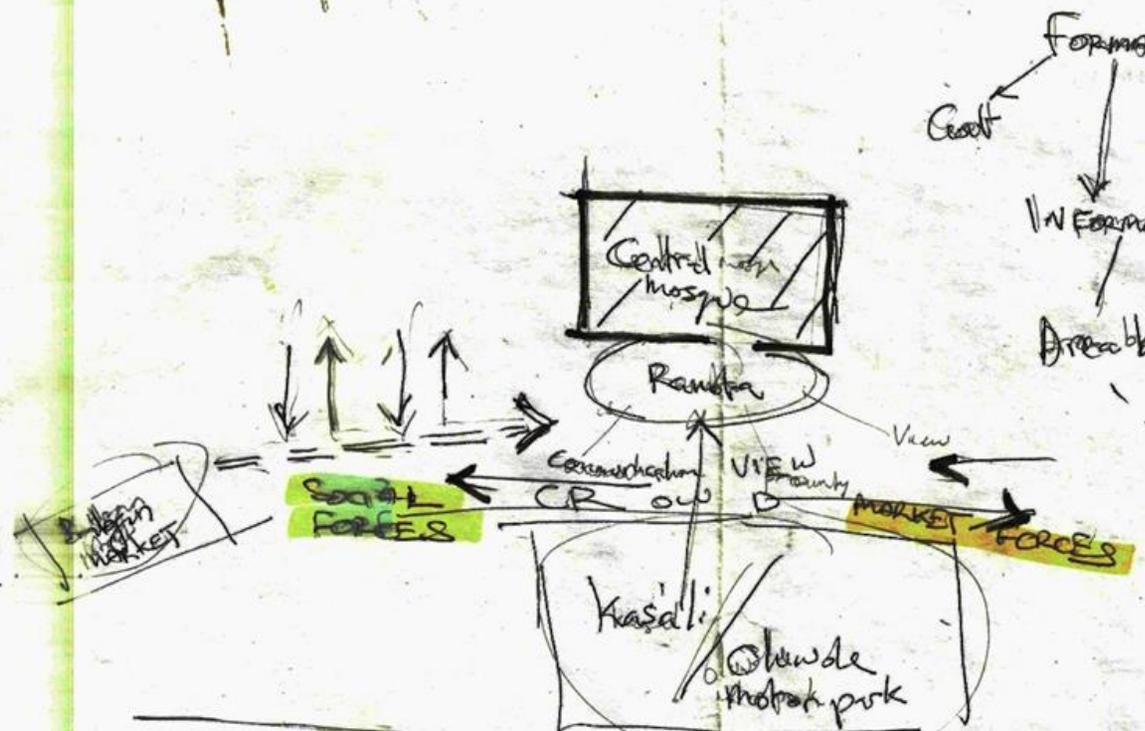
Sample study of Ramota at the premises of the Lagos central mosque (source: field study, 2015 & 16)

Personal space: her positioning allows multiple/ simultaneous movement on the spot which allows her to capture multiple scenes of events and movements happening around her.

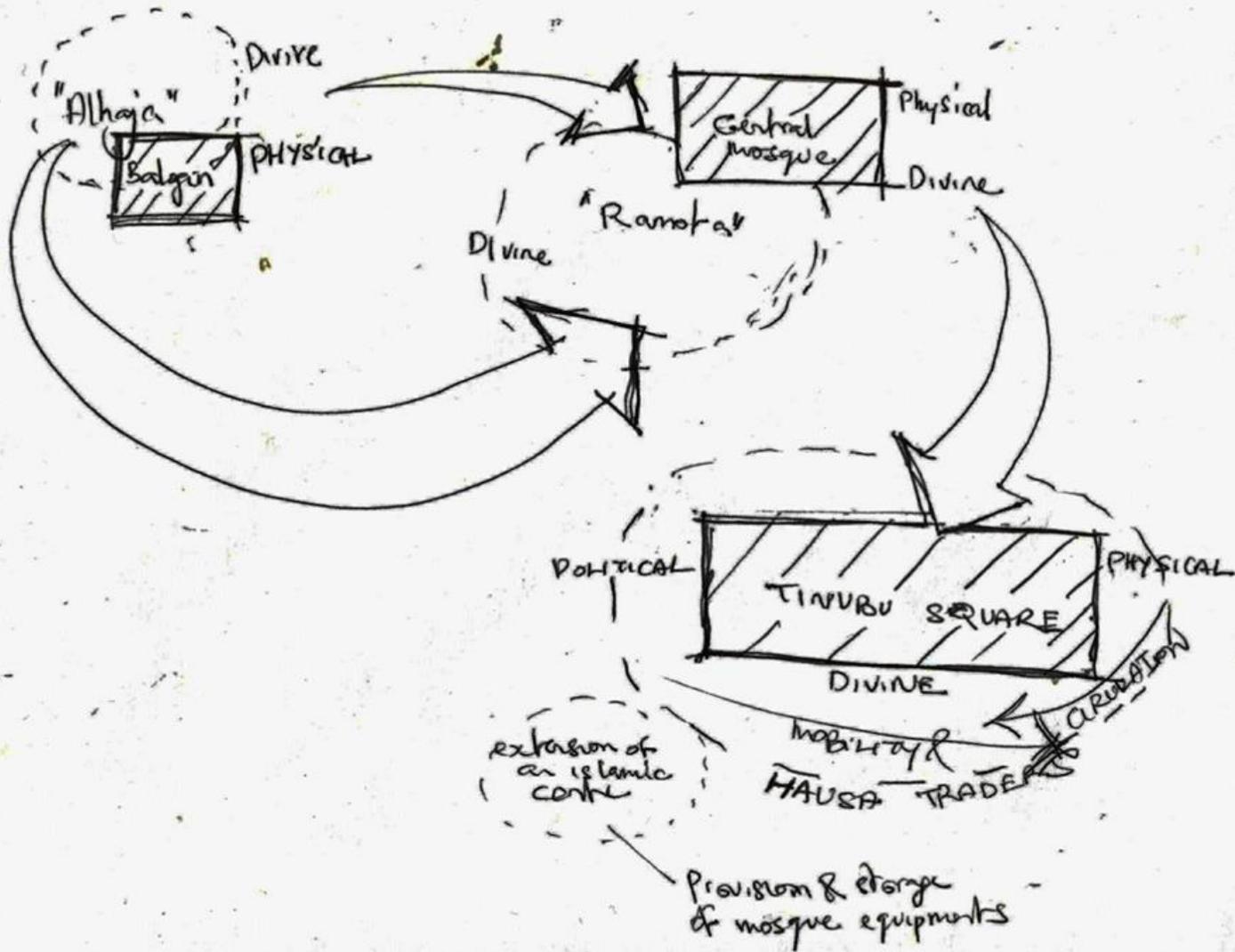
NNAMDI
AZIKWE STREET

SETTING





RELIGIOUS VALUES "RELIGIOSITY" OF CITY SPACE



RELIGIOUS / SPIRITUAL

MOSQUE FRONT

Religious space via empathy edifice
(straw ~~that~~ proper compartment)

Ramada in the field

Symbiotic relationship with other trades. 

"See every body"
(psychology impact of space)

PHYSICAL / COMMERCIAL

Approach to intrinsic sample study:

This study adopts participation in everyday events with the sample in the setting of her trade. The breakdown includes analysis of events during the morning, afternoon, and evenings respectively, in a continuous chain of events that make up the daily experience. This includes the various forms of interactions, actors, surrounding events in specific moments in time. It also includes an analysis of the spatial implications of all of these. Collectively, the findings make up the sum total of the daily experience of the sample from which the spatial impact of the informal activity emerges.

Understanding the spatial contributions of informal activities in the scope of this case study entails investigating and analyzing the roles / significance of the actors this sample interacts with directly or indirectly in the course of her everyday life. This leads to the following questions:

- i. Who are the actors in Ramota's setting?
- ii. What are their roles in relation to her (direct, indirect, transient, permanent, direction of movement – aligned, perpendicular, front, back, sideways)
- iii. What is the frequency of their occurrence? And patterns?

This involved understanding spaces, meanings, events, everyday experiences. These actors perform multiple roles based on their purpose of being in the city space. This enhances the multiple meaning of the city space.

Ethical considerations:

This took place between 7:00 am and 6:30 pm. The reasons include ethical issues of personal safety from possible harassment and rush hour traffic. However, this period includes the moments, activities, scene and settings of everyday life in the location of the study. The tools of investigation are observations, interviews, participation. Sketches, graphical annotation, pictures, field notes – unstructured (scribbled) notes; narratives, recorded audio and video interview transcripts. Care and discretion have to be observed during the interviews, in order not to arouse suspicion of political motives. As a result of religious, gender and security sensitivities, discretion had to be used when recording. Even though, consent was sought for before any target sample was recorded, the crowded nature of the setting still requires discretion of use, as this

setting represents a potentially volatile and unpredictable environment. Based on the background problem influencing the spatial impact, this case study examines how the forces of rapid urban growth in the setting has shape the everyday life and in turn the use, meaning and interpretation of the city space, and how this impacts on the sample, the resultant issues from which recommendations can be made. This provides an extension of the research aim. This case study involved an observation of multiple scenes and events. It involved obtaining informed consent from Ramota and the other traders around, because I had to stand or sit and observe. The observation was done in such a way that it was un-obstructive, covert, but with informed consent in order not to affect the natural flow of events in the setting.

Trade type

Ramota sells hair care products comprising of various sizes and types of combs. This is a petty trade which, according to her attracts customer – mostly women. Combs are a part of hair care and beauty package for Nigerians. It is used for hair grooming and thus, are a part of aesthetic appeal in public for men and women.

Combing of hair is an essential part of everyday hygiene. Hair grooming is an important aspect of fashion and neat outlook among Nigerians. Nigerians are blessed with different textures of afro hair which requires regular grooming to keep tidy and neat. Both men and women, young and old make use of various types of combs, with males with shorter hair and females with longer hair. There is always a market for combs as people love to have theirs as personal. Ramota sells different types and sizes of combs, for men women and unisex combs. The use of comb, especially as part of personal kit is a common practice among Lagosians, especially the working class. This is especially as it is common to forget to tidy up before leaving home or get untidy as the day goes by. Men usually cut their hair hence they have the shorter smaller version of combs. Women on the other hand have longer hair , hence they use the bigger versions.

Ramota reports that though there is competition around – comb is a popular product, and there are lots of options around, it is one of the items she has sold – she has been trading there for over 10 years; she has enjoyed a fair share of profit. In addition, this trade represents a means for her to connect with the society – by selling what is needed and readily identified with. She

reports that her product attract attention from passersby, who may not necessarily want to buy, but just to engage her in conversation – price negotiation, bargaining. In addition, her placement, coupled with the availability of her product makes her a target for product reference for these bargainers, who proceed to purchase, elsewhere – but with the benefit of hindsight from their conversation with Ramota. This is a fact of everyday life, which Ramota has come to accept. After trading for 10 years, she has come to understand the behaviour of prospective customers and to categorize them as: category 1 – enquirers: those who come to find out the price and move elsewhere; category 2 - time wasters / visitors: those who come to make enquiries about other issues or find out information and leave; category 3 – genuine customers who come to negotiate and buy. With the competitive nature of the setting, Ramota has come to that these three categories are part of her everyday life experience of destiny and that it is out of these categories that her ‘blessings would come from Allah’.

Ramota enjoys a relatively good market in this location. Her customers are usually women of low education and young adults. The prices ranges from N10:00 to N100:00 for her items but subject to bargain.

“Allah has been faithful to me. I make fair sales in this place. At times I sell 10 pieces or more. Glory be to Allah. At times, I sell nothing, glory be to Allah. I have learnt to be content in any condition I find myself. Who knows, if I will wake up tomorrow?”

Sample selection criteria:

Ramota represents how people of different social class, ethnicity, gender, background have adapted to urban life in Lagos. As an intrinsic case study, the findings provide a representation of the variety of experiences of similar informal traders in this category found all over Lagos.

Sample was determined after reconnaissance survey of the street. The factors included determining the choice of setting, activity concentration, population diversity, concentration of land use features. The premises of the Lagos central mosque offers a rich array of characteristics that qualifies it as an ideal setting in the street for the case study. Ramota was chosen as a random/target sample for this study. I approached her and after informal introduction and interactions using native language, I informed her about the intent of the study. This is in order

to obtain informed consent from her, and based on her knowledge of the area, seek her opinion about how to go about the study without causing problems. She readily agreed but warned me to be discreet about my use of recording devices. She however, promised to assist me in any way she could.

Summary:

- i. The use of Intrinsic case study approach
- ii. single, group using the “gatekeeper” to identify target, random, snowball
- iii. product type, ethnic type, gender type, trade type, age range of sample

Sample study methods:

The sample study was carried in an investigative, exploratory, naturalistic and descriptive manner with the sample trader as key informants. It is based on realist ethnographic approach grounded in phenomenology – meanings, expressions and representations. Observations is the basis of the field study methods. Investigation is conducted via the use of observations – overt, covert, non-obstructive, social interaction, participant action, informal conversation, and unstructured interviews. Documentation is done using field notes, graphical annotation, photographs, video and audio recordings.

Ethical considerations during sample study:

The investigation is based on observations and questions to which the answers provide evidence of the everyday living experience from the samples which makes up the spatial impact of those activities in the CBD. Starting the conversation from a religious perspective was a good starting point to engage the trader to obtain insight about her trading activities. As sign of linguistic consideration, the investigation was conducted in Yoruba. Furthermore, discretionary approach in cautious approach to the sample study area, particularly because of religious sensitivities in an Islamic space. Ethics also includes my manner of dressing, use of language, courtesy, respect and culture. Other considerations include rights to privacy, awareness of cultural, gender and religious sensitivities – vernacular, Compartment to identify with the cultural dictates of the setting, seeking permission before recording and interviewing. It is important that all of these considerations are adhered to in order to achieve a successful study. In addition, the patronage

of the traders as a means of gaining access for participant observation is a significant aspect of the research investigations. This enhanced trust and made the traders more open to providing information.

Introduction:

This case study examines Ramota, an elderly woman and one of the street market traders on Nnamdi Azikwe Street. She is a petty trader who can also be classified as a sedentary street trader. She sells combs and other hair grooming products – especially for women.

Ramota locates herself in the parking space, in front of the Lagos central mosque on Nnamdi Azikwe Street, Lagos Island CBD. In terms of the land use features in the environment, this is a strategic position, and it puts her in a vintage position at a nodal feature in the setting. It also puts her in the position to be seen, to see and to connect with the daily life in the street.

Although Ramota is located on the premises of Lagos central mosque. She is sitting on multiple stories of history, politics, religion, and culture. These stories shape the events around her and her daily experiences of daily life.

“emaas’ope o, nigbogboigba”

Ramota is a friendly personality, quite approachable and liberal – these are essential human qualities required for this kind of business, especially with the competitive nature of the setting. Personality also represents a form of marketing strategy. For a religious person, she seems to be open minded. She appears to be a person of goodwill and her responses and particular concern about my use of crutches indicates her to be a very welcoming, accommodating, liberal minded individual who can tolerate people of diverse backgrounds and faith. She stated that - *“emaas’ope o, nigbogboigba”* (yourba) Meaning – *“be grateful at all times”*

Ramota is a devout Muslim, and her disposition reflects that much. Her sense of devotion seems to have been enhanced by the myriad of experiences she has had in life. this devotion also seems to radiate in the way she goes about her trade, as seen in how she engages with people and the

space for her trade. According to her, she was given permission to trade on the premises, on account of her age, and religious affiliation. This represents a form of Zakat, a practice in the Islamic faith, towards helping the needy.

Ramota is a Yoruba, a religious person. a native of Kogi state, dark skin indicates her as native from upcountry; poor, former farmer, semi - literate migrant, her dialect suggests her state of origin; religious minded individual, very particular about her goods, constantly checking on the arrangements - impression of a meticulous, tidy individual. This reflects as a marketing strategy while engaging in conversation – conscious of her surroundings as she is in a vantage position with the mosque as a prime node, vis-à-vis movement patterns and other activities in the study area.

“Akiik’omof’olomo”

The Street

The street is slightly busy with local residents dominating the use of the street. They are moving casually in opposite multiple directions in the street. These local residents include young boys and men, ‘ranting’ about – obvious signs of hangover from the night before – one can perceive the smell of beer, heroine, smoke, the occasional burst of singing, screaming in ecstasy from different directions in and around the street – it is as if the street has become the centre of “letting out the fury”. The females are not left out. Young girls – teenagers – and young ladies can be seen walking on the street covered up but scantily dressed underneath. It is obvious that these are coming from “you know where, I know what you did last night “. They are moving in groups of two’s and three’s in the direction facing Idumota, without stopping to greet anyone. They are too busy gist and giggling among themselves!

The weather is quite calm and dry. The early morning sunrise has occurred over the horizon. Despite the high humidity and faint smell of sea breeze, there is an occasional bust of cool air flowing down the road, which serves as air passage. In a congested neighbourhood, which is characterized by high humidity and poor ventilation pattern in

most of the buildings, and the perennial problem of poor supply of electricity supply, thereby subjecting the populace to heat, the breeze on Nnamdi Azikwe street [and other streets] is a welcome development, particularly early in the morning, when one can still feel the breeze, before the crowd starts to build up and the heat intensity of the sun begins to increase.

Now, there is little vehicular traffic, hence these groups of pedestrians can afford to walk in the middle of the road, with some walking haphazardly singing and chanting as they go along.

While this is going on, every other person is minding his / her business. The traders know this too well, as things can easily get volatile before it gets sober. Even in the early morning!

There is a superstitious belief in good and bad luck among the traders. While both sides is an inevitable part of life experience, it is generally believed that the experience of the morning determines what happens for the rest of the day. As a result, the traders, especially, are very careful about how they relate with people, and whom they relate with, especially in the morning. Except for the occasional greetings, everything seems like a mixture of the “sane and insane” happening simultaneously.

Elsewhere, at the end of Nnamdi Azikwe street, in the area around madam Tinubu square, as the local residents are walking about on the road, you could hear members of the families in the shops are waking up and discussing in Igbo dialect. Some are singing in local folk songs in prayer – *“chinekeidinma o idinma, idinma e, idinma o idinma, idinmae”*. You can also see some guys having a bath at the back of their "shop front", you can hear some of them saying their prayers, for a good day. In the corner, you can even spot a guy having his bath! In the [semi]open. These is an obvious sign of congestion in the interior, or simply impatience to wait for his turn, or the space has been messed up, or simply a reflection of village life, where the bath is detached from the main hut in an obscure

corner {I choose the latter, in combination with the formers!}. Incidentally it is only the males that are bathing outside. The females are inside. You can hear their voice in the background but can't see them. It is obvious that a lot is going on behind closed doors. Why? A cultural preference or simply being a gentle man or simply "ladies first!"

All these while the traffic hustle on marina/outer marina/CMS continues. The minaret of the Lagos central mosque softly summons the faithful for early morning prayers. There are no security operatives around – at least, the uniformed operatives! They are all busy at marina/outer marina/CMS.

It is 7:00 am and Nnamdi Azikwe Street, especially the area around the Lagos central mosque, takes different characteristics daily. This makes up the lived experiences in which Ramota finds herself and contributes to, with her presence. At this time, there is the usual hold up at the marina/outer marina/CMS axis as the formal sector workers in the several commercial establishments on the island, hustle to beat the 'last minute rush' in order to get to their offices located in buildings along that axis. At this time, there is commotion, horns blaring, traffic and pedestrian movements in diverse directions. All of these takes place in the presence of the various arms of the Lagos state law enforcement agency, such as KAI, RRS, who try (in vain) to maintain law and order. Everybody is doing his or her own thing. This is Lagos. *"Everything is under alarm, no cause for control"* [

To an onlooker, especially if he or she is looking from one of the high rise buildings on marina, the whole scene is 'chaotic'.

However, the same cannot be said of Nnamdi Azikwe street, unlike the 'chaos' on the marina/outer marina/CMS axis, the street is relatively calm.

Background:

Ramota's age ranges from between 55 and 65 years old. Although She was not specific about her age, she kept referring to the Nigerian independence celebrations (October 1st, 1960) being a little girl at the period. This puts her in the elders class, an active senior citizen. Therefore, one begins to wonder why she is engaging in petty trading and not at home with her grandchildren, enjoying this latter stage of her life. As there are no welfare packages for the elderly in Nigeria, with every family expected to cater for their aged ones, in the absence of this, she joins the several thousands of unfortunate elderly citizens who have made the streets their source of urban livelihood and wellbeing, and sense of belonging, via begging and petty trading; hence the streets become a tool for daily bread. Ramota can be categorized as one of Lagosians who belong to the most disadvantaged people (immigrants, women, and the recently unemployed). Living among the urban poor, learning their customs and language and empathizing with their issues and goals are all important to comprehend their culture. The anthropologist is well-equipped for his vocation, whether it is in his own country or another one. He or she has been schooled in the techniques of direct observation and engagement. The hierarchical nature of many impoverished countries' societies prevents people of different social classes from communicating with one another, therefore the educated native elite often lacks first-hand understanding of the culture of their own poor. (O. Lewis (1975) Ramota is one of several thousands of people classified as urban poor, who are engaged in various forms of informal trading activities, in order to survive, make ends meet, livelihood and wellbeing (see urban livelihood: a people – centered approach to reducing poverty by Carole Rakobi, 2002) via the public space (Solomon – Ayeh, 2011) and by so doing, are rendering services and thus helping to propelling the goods circulation and distribution chain in the city. She is a random target sample of several petty traders on Nnamdi Azikwe Street, Lagos Island.

Looking at Ramota, one would assume that she has matured children, who should be taking care of her. Therefore, one begins to wonder about why Ramota should be trading in such conditions as this, especially in a culture where care for the elderly is a responsibility for the children. However, Ramota refused to disclose details about her children or how many they are. It can be assumed that either she has no children, or the children are irresponsible or she has been

abandoned. Among the Yoruba, it is a cultural taboo to ask a woman for her age or number of children – “*akiik’omof’olomo*” (Yoruba adage: you don’t count the children in a family. It is a signal to bad omen in that family). This is regarded as a sign of disrespect for the feminine gender. She narrates her experience (in Yoruba, but interpreted in English):

“I am from a polygamous Muslim background from up country. However, I was not sent to school, because my father did not believe in it, especially for girls in Islam, in those days. Well, things are changing nowadays, as we find many Muslim women going to school and doing something great with their lives, especially in this Lagos. I can remember, Alhaja SinatuAderojuOjikutu, an indigene of this island, who was the former deputy governor of Lagos state. Its because she was educated. I didn't have that privilege. Who knows where I would have been today. But thanks be to Allah for his mercies. I have accepted my fate in life. This is destiny. Allah knows best. It’s not my fault! I didn’t choose my background. My late father who was a devout Muslim was a farmer, who married 3 wives – including my mother. Unfortunately, he died suddenly from chest pain, and that was the beginning of my problems. Before he died, my father, ensured that that his wives were engaged in petty trading in order to support the family. Ours was a peaceful home because my father was Lord and his wives feared him. However, because of religious restrictions, the petty business was subsistence, as our mothers were still required to take care of the children. The bulk of the care was still with my father.

When he died suddenly, the family was thrown into crisis, as my mother and the other wives did not have the means to sustain us, the children – 9 of us! I was the eldest. The rest is story. In my little way, I had to brace myself, take my destiny into my own hands and here am I today! I thank Allah for his mercies!! ”.

“Because of lack of education, I married early and that is another story. I lost my husband and had to fend for my children. Unfortunately, I had problems conceiving, and I eventually lost the ones I had at young age – 3 of them! Well, I am here all alone. I have accepted my fate in life. I believe everything is the will of Allah. I still believe he has better plans for me, that is why I am not giving up, that is why I am in this business – for now! I will never die in this business. Never! Insha Allah!! ”

A person listening to her story would get the impression that her everyday life has been shaped by her experiences. One also gets the impression that this must have been traumatic and that she views the setting beyond a mere place to sell. Coupled with the fact that the central mosque is in her personal space, this is a place to connect and ventilate her lifelong grievances and regrets.

“Customer is always right”

Ramota is a liberal minded trader. She gives the impression of a person that is liberal, and thus, easy to negotiate and bargain with. She gives discounts, readily to “well behaved, courteous, and persuasive” customers. She is able to stimulate friendly discussions and conversations while negotiating with the prospective customer. She regards her customers as part of her daily life and therefore the trading activity represents a way of connecting with them – in order to benefit them and vice versa.

She believes that her meeting with the customers is an act of destiny and given the harsh economic realities, her trading activity represents “a last resort” in order to make a living for herself by being active in the society.

She gives discount to customers as a sign of goodwill, religious piety and a source of attraction.

“What do I have to lose? I am quite elderly. Everything comes for Allah!”

Social characteristics:

- i. She creates an aura of respect and religion around herself. This is coupled with the fact that she trades in front of the mosque.
- ii. She represents a custodian of local values of courtesy, respect and friendliness

Negotiating working hours, informality:

Hence, she seems to enjoy social rapport and goodwill among members, workers in the mosque and other traders.

Ramota works as a retailer for Alhaja, a wholesale personal care product dealer at the lagoon central mosque market. Ramota has been working for this woman for the past 5 years.

Even though Ramota is an employee, there is mutual respect between them which is enhanced by sharing similar religious background, ethnicity, gender and ideology. This relationship is further

enhanced by the fact that they are located in a Muslim dominated area, which provides an aura of “Islamic social space”.

Setting the scene

Ramota plies her trade in the vehicular parking space in front on the Lagos central mosque. This is a 20 × 6 metre parking space, which can accommodate 8 regular and medium sized vehicles at maximum capacity. This is with reference to the minimum standard specification for outdoor vehicular parking, adopted for planning purposes in Nigeria: 2.5 × 5.0 meters. This parking space is bounded at the back by the sliding 20 meter wide gloss coated wrought iron fence of the central mosque; at the front, it is bounded by the edge of the Nnamdi Azikwe street. The parking space merges, on both sides by the pedestrian walkway that also serves as edge of the Nnamdi Azikwe street, on the mosque side, setbacks for the buildings that line the street, outdoor display space for street market traders and pedestrian circulation route along the street.

Cars for officials and special visitors to the mosque are parked in the parking space of the mosque. As at the time of this study the vehicles included regular 4wheel drives and a van. As they are located in front of the mosque gate, these vehicles create the boundaries, distributes the traders and separate activities around the mosque entrance. With an allowance for pedestrian entry, this is occupied by Ramota and other street market traders. It gives them a vintage position in the street.

Nnamdi Azikwe street and, Ramota’s location of trading activity is significant because it represents a junction of multiple scenes and activities of daily life takes place. This includes a crossroad where diverse individuals and population groups converge and disperse in the location and to other areas of the CBD.

The Lagos central mosque is a prominent landmark building in Lagos Island CBD, located along the Nnamdi Azikwe Street. Directly facing the mosque, across the Nnamdi Azikwe street is the Oluwole market / motor park. From approach view, the mosque is bounded on its left side by a variety of medium rise buildings serving as mixed use commercial purposes, residential, religious and a combination of these functions. On the right side of the mosque, there is another set of medium rise buildings serving as commercial and residential purposes. Furthermore, on this side

of the mosque, directly beside it is the lagoon central mosque plaza. These buildings – including the Lagos central mosque, itself, line up the entire stretch of the Nnamdi Azikwe street, thereby creating a medium rise skyline for the Nnamdi Azikwe street, with the Lagos central mosque as the dominant building (“big architecture” – Jan McCredie, 2009) on the street.

The premises of the Lagos central mosque represents an area of Islamic domination and thus, radiates a form of subconscious form of behavioral disposition on Muslims and non – Muslims alike. The mosque represents a symbol of religion, migration, power and rights.

The mosque can also be regarded as a communal center. Traders around the mosque especially those from Muslim background – such as Ramota, are therefore regarded by observers and passers-by as ambassadors of Islam. Because the mosque is an imposing edifies and regarded as a major node, it is expected that traders are neatly arranged around the premises of the mosque and the environment kept clean. This state of cleanliness is further maintained by sanitation workers employed by the eti - osa local government.

The Lagos central mosque is a wide, imposing edifice that dominates the landscape. The building measures.... × meters and covers about 20% of the total land mass.

It’s unique width (within the context of its surroundings), finishing and brutalist architecture sets it apart in a striking contrast, from the congested outlook and arrangement of other buildings in the locality. This makes it a distinct aspect of the skyline on Nnamdi Azikwe Street.

Its unique width and design outlook, the configuration of approach fading the road, and the relative setback from the street, creates a sense of broad space. In a congested built environment, this provides a broad background setting within the Nnamdi Azikwe Street. Such is the uniqueness of the setting for the sample study.

- A linear space opening directly into the adjoining Nnamdi Azikwe street and overlooking the Seriki motor park which act as spill out area and extension of worship space, hence, a congregator of crowd.
- A symbolic representation of the popularity of the Islamic religion in Lagos.
- An imposing edifies exerting its influence of the adjoining Nnamdi Azikwe street and Seriki motor park

As land use built form feature as congregator, generator of activities, identity, and perception
Attributes of the mosque as a religious centre that impacts on spatial contribution – call to prayer, spiritual, goodwill as marketing strategy, strategic location as mosque is a significant reference node which impacts on the presence of the street vendors

Significance of call to prayer – perception of space. the entire mosque premises is populated with worshippers who congregate inside and spill out to the outside the mosque premises, up to across the road. This provides opportunity for the traders to gain more patronage by rendering service of the worshippers, who in turn patronize the traders – evidence of social space. Hence, with call to prayer, the mosque increases its sphere of influence.

The mosque imposing form as a visual connector, distributor, definer of space, a focal point.

The mosque measures 67 metres of the longest length by 54metres. This length makes the central mosque the broadest building on Nnamdi Azikwe Street, thereby enhancing its capacity to accommodate street market activities on its setback (as seen in the picture)

Ramota in the thickness of things:

Ramota meets different people in the course of her everyday life. They also perform multiple roles on the street. These people, who can be regarded as actors in the city space, have different motivations, purposes in the street and they shape the understanding of how the space is used and how it responds. These provide varying degrees of fleeting moments and experiences that make up her lived experience – passing cars, pedestrians, patrol vehicles, and other factors.

Apart from the street market activities who form a dominant aspect of the users of the city space, there are people of various ethnicities and gender having different purposes on the street. These varieties of groups and individuals intermingle in the street thereby creating various forms of scenery and experience, and colour to the street. It is noteworthy that the use of the street is massively influenced, not only by the existing land use features on the street but more significantly, by the activities in built environment features that surround the street. This is

important because the street is a major axis and a corridor linking several areas of Lagos Island, particularly Isale eko.

An important aspect of street vending is that it enables to meet people along their route of everyday life. A lot of studies have been done, which highlights this aspect as well as the social issues involved. While it is important to consider the effects on society and the environment, it is also vital to examine the spatial implications from the perspective of everyday life and what it means to a better understanding how the process of urban growth impacts on human behavior.

Mosque parking space as leeward side of Nnamdi Azikwe Street:

The motor park of the Lagos central mosque represents a low density pedestrian area of the Nnamdi Azikwe Street especially at peak periods of the day. This is because of the high concentration of street market activities of the other side, which is the boundary of the Oluwole motor park. The leeward nature of the motor park, apart from being a vintage position for Ramota, affords the opportunity of ease of pedestrian movement away from traffic and also affords the opportunity for opportunistic street hawkers to display and market their goods. This fact is most significant when one considers the lived experience of Ramota, which includes the encounter with Abu-Bakr, the pregnant woman and the street hawkers and others that crossed that area. These encounters and their significance are discussed in the sample study.

Significance of parking space as a vantage location:

Ramota trades in front of the Lagos central mosque. Her usual position is the parking space which includes marginal spaces between parked vehicles or left over space with no cars. This is a vantage position from which she observes and participates in the events of daily life in the street. From a religious perspective, the setting represents a space of escape to religious succour and from which she can exhibit her product as being unique among the diversity of the variety of other products which make up street market on Nnamdi Azikwe Street. The space also keeps her away from the crowd thereby making her easily noticeable.

Ramota fits herself into any available space within the car park of the Lagos central mosque. She positions herself in such a way as to get noticed by pedestrians and vehicle owners. The car park affords her the vintage view of everyday life. It also affords her, her privacy as her goods could

easily get unnoticed in a crowded space - a result of more eye-catching hoods on offer by other traders.

- i. Size of car park space: the motor park extends the entire length of the central mosque fence. This is about half the full length of the mosque. Hence, this is about 20metres long. It car park protrudes about 6metres outward. This is in order to accommodate the standard parking length for Nigeria (5metres) and an extension from the adjoining walkway. Given the length of the car park, it can conveniently accommodate 8 cars at maximum capacity. The car park is designed in such a way that it flows seamlessly in to the sidewalks and pedestrian walkways on either side of the mosque. This creates a setting of both vehicular and pedestrian activities that contribute in shaping the experience of Ramota in her setting.
- ii. Height of fence: the mosque fence covers the about 20metres of the entire length of the mosque. The height is about 2.5 meters, which is a standard measure of outdoor fence in Nigeria. With this height it provides a backdrop for Ramota's setting as well as extension of vertical use space for the traders around Ramota. It also represents the entrance into the mosque and a significant definer of the entrance of the mosque. Therefore, the fence provides a guide to focus on the central mosque and thus creates attention for Ramota.

With these analysis as background factors, Ramota setting can be described as a semi-enclosed space with the level of exposure varying with the presence or otherwise of parked vehicles in the carpark.

[Insight] Vintage positioning:

The Lagos central mosque as an imposing edifice acts as a 'space collector of place and shelter'; its building is located in such a way that it creates a form of accommodation due to its imposing nature, and also includes the fact that it creates a shade within the environment for which is offers a backdrop for street hawkers and petty traders such as RAMOTA. She creates places via her arrangements in a vintage position and complements this with her human relations, as a marketing strategy as well as displaying her personality and worldview.

Front of central mosque as 'Premium property':

The parking space in front of the mosque is regarded as a prime space which attracts premium value. This is due to its location and vintage advantage. The negotiation arrangement requires Ramota to lobby for this space in order to trade there. This requires influence and negotiation with the local boys, and since she does not have this, she has to go through her employer who is well known to the locals. However, she had to part with an extra token in order to trade there. In Lagos, this is called settlement money” and it is part of the settlement syndrome or culture that has reached enormous phenomenon in Nigeria and closely associated with the corrupt nature of the people.

“oh boy, make Una settle me, joo, otherwise..... !”

Based on this “special arrangement”, Ramota enjoys the privilege of being undisturbed and the advantage of a vintage, clean environment for the trade. She also enjoys the flexibility of positioning herself anywhere within the parking space. The only challenge is that she has to negotiate her space between the parked vehicles, hence the amount of space she enjoys is subject to how many cars are parked and the resultant left over for her to manoeuvre into at any given time. Furthermore, she has to move her wares whenever a car wants to park and thus she has to realign herself in the parking space. At times, this has not been a pleasant experience as she has had to cope with different drivers. Some have been kind and considerate, while others have been very nasty to her.

By 7: 11 am, sanitation workers have arrived and distributed themselves in various locations on the street. These are the first people on site. They come on daily shifts to clean up the street. As Ramota also comes in early, she often sees them cleaning up the street in a systematic arrangement of distribution of roles which includes sweepers and parkers.

These women cover the street and sidewalk. Since she sees them they know each other. Some were former hawkers; hence they understand the terrain of the street from a commercial and hygiene perspective. Hence, they are able to relate with Ramota as well as other street traders. These street cleaners enjoy varying forms of relationships with the traders based on their familiarity, cooperation and appreciation of their work. As hygiene is crucial to perception and consequently, patronage, it was noticed that street traders on Nnamdi Azikwe pay particular

attention to cleanliness of their surroundings. This aids to ease the burden of competition among traders, by freeing more space and enhancing tidy arrangement of goods. This is more expedient, given the tight nature of space such as Nnamdi Azikwe street. Therefore, cleanliness of surroundings becomes a tool to attract customers. As a result, most of the street traders are in good terms with these sanitation workers. This includes Ramota, whose exposed position makes it more expedient.

It is noteworthy that being employees of the local government, gives these sanitation workers an edge in negotiating trading spots, give local knowledge and liaise with the locals.

These women are distributed along the stretch of the road.

They arrive earlier than the traders and they work on daily shifts. This gives the advantage of combining jobs, with some of them having shops as well as engaging in sweeping. They work on the road in portions within which they share their duties along different sections of the street . During this distribution, they share the tasks, in cooperation with the traders, particularly the women most of who know them on personal basis.

These sanitation workers are mostly female, from other parts of Lagos; and they are distributed all over the CBD public areas, including prime areas such as the mosque premises. They are related to the traders in the city – as siblings, neighbors and friends made in the study area. They are jointly kitted by the CBD eti-osa L.G.A, in collaboration with sterling bank and LAWMA (Lagos state waste management authority). This shows collaboration between these bodies, as a contribution to manpower development and also a way of making a political statement. Hence, as they go about their duties, they become a walking mannequin in the city space.

These women ensure that the mosque premises is clean and that traders around the mosque area help to keep the space clean, otherwise they have extra works for themselves.

“We are the social workers of Isale eko. We cater for maintaining the cleanliness of the streets; we also care for our people, both young and old. The government has been good to us by providing us with jobs and we are paid via the IGR obtained from the local government. These social workers respect “mama” Ramota, as an elderly woman who they can trust to influence those around her to behave decently around the mosque.

Mama Ramota is a descent, respectable woman. Ever since we know her, she has been a descent woman and a true Muslim"

- Interview with a sanitation worker (off camera)

[Cooperation with the sanitation workers]

Its 7:20 am_and the sanitation workers who had been working in other locations on the street, move towards Ramota's location. They exchange greetings with her and continued their cleaning. Since Ramota's too was just settling down and her items are quite flexible, it was easy for her to move before they got to her. As this is her favourite spot, she already knew the cleaning routine and she and the sanitation workers already had an 'unwritten' understanding about when to leave the space in order to clean up. Consequently they were able to develop a degree of understanding and familiarity.

While these sanitation workers are cleaning the parking space, they are joined by a couple of others, who also greet Ramota before proceeding into the premises of the central mosque. Due to its iconic, religious and socio-political significance, the central mosque is regarded as a public space under the jurisdiction of the Lagos state government, hence, it enjoys a special privilege of exclusive cleaning.

[Insight: tolerance within simultaneity]

- Ideally, cleaning of the street ought to have ended before activities start to pick up. However, these sanitation workers are still cleaning – and will continue to be there – all through the day. Apart from the time constraints, the continued presence of these workers leads to the evolution of their roles in the space – they are able to integrate into the social fabric of the street 'community' – which, not only increases the population on the street, but affords these workers to assume alternate roles, particularly, among the traders, especially the female traders, with whom they make up the female gender population on the street.

[Insight: shaping the identity of the central mosque]

- It is noteworthy that, the Lagos central mosque, apart from its primary identity as a place of Islamic worship, also has its identity shaped by the activities taking place around it,

particularly street market activities. Therefore, the building assumes several [other] symbolic meanings that is tied to these activities and this underlines the significance of the how the subjective nature of space impacts on the buildings that make up the built environment.

[Insight: foregrounding the significance of mixed identity as basis of policy formulation]

- The mixed identity setting of Nnamdi Azikwe Street, which is characterized by community, religion and population concentration within a congested built environment of poverty, or lack represents a catalyst for the emergence of street markets and other unofficial economic activity as viable alternatives to employment and wellbeing, which flow seamlessly into the urban built environment fabric, and whose operational characteristics aligns with the ideology and life style pattern of the populace. This is a lesson for shaping policies by using the social framework for shaping policies, which operates at local level but not at state level. This demonstrates a substantial disparity between the level of awareness of daily living realities at various levels of government and is related to the attitude of those governments and their degree of accessibility to the populace (Furbey and Macey, 2005)

It's now 7:25 am, and Alhaja arrives to start the day's business in her shop in the lagoon central mosque plaza. She is greeted by the sanitation workers who are cleaning the road, and from all indications, have grown accustomed to seeing her. "*Salaam alekun!*" They chorused. The sanitation workers, all female, and five in number, and working in close proximity, are already on-site cleaning different areas of the street. At the same time, early street market traders begin to arrive, everyone trying to prepare his/her stall, tidying up the left over from the previous day's transactions. These street traders are spread on different parts of Nnamdi Azikwe Street and the Oluwole motor park. Many of them are religious [that is belonging to either the Christian or Muslim faith] and can be seen saying

their prayers. Some turned their backs while others faced sideways to create a sense of privacy within a public space.

Ramota reports to Alhaja, to collect her goods for sale for the day. The shop owner is a middle-aged businesswoman, an Alhaja who is a wholesale distributor of body and household products from PZ industries. This wholesaler has been managing this shop for several years with several attendants, coming and going, with Ramota being the latest retail assistant.

“Even though, Alhaja gives me the chance to resume at 8:00 a.m., I insist on resuming at 7:00 a.m. out of respect, even though she is younger than me. She is still my breadwinner. The Koran teaches us to respect everyone no matter their age”.

“Allah has been so good to me in my business. I have had challenges with assistants, they just come and go. I just want to use it to help those in need. It is only then that my business can prosper. After all, we came with nothing to this world and we will go back with nothing”.

“I prefer Ramota due to her honesty and beliefs. As a religious person, I hope these qualities can help to bring customers, each time she goes out to sell”

– The Alhaja (wholesaler)

Insight:

These comments are a reflection of the religious nature of Nigerians. It is set against the background that Nigeria is a religiously sensitive country with Muslims and Christians as the dominant religious faiths. This culture of high priority of the divine presence is a trend that is widely accepted among Nigerians, especially among Muslims and Christians. It can be traced as a present-day modification of ancestral disposition to religion as an evidence of culture. For most adherents of these faiths, their religion involves various forms of

practical demonstration, which manifests as way of life and eventually manifests spatially in human social conduct, behaviour and in various forms of in the society. This trend of religiosity is mostly prevalent in commercial activities, including informal trading activities. This attributes that ultimately interpret using o the city's space as seen with Ramota.

It is 7: 58 am and Ramota has settled into her daily business by setting her space for her materials. This includes her tray, containing her goods, which her various assortments of comb products, her dusting handkerchief, and her rosary which she holds in her hand and later puts around her neck, as is her custom – a symbol of her Islamic identity. She also has with her, her mat – a PVC material medium sized mat, a broom, her raffia made local shade hat, a locally made hand fan, and a nylon bag containing plastic container – for food, and a cup and a plastic bottle of water, a plastic prayer kettle and a smaller stool for the tray. These are all her belongings, her office kit. The manner of her trade does not afford her the luxury of a stall like others around her. Hers is a more flexible open arrangement, and a demonstration of optimal use of limited resource – space, by using limited materials. Though other have the advantage of shade, she can easily acquire shade via the parked vehicles of in extreme situations of exposure, her hat comes in handy. Ramota's stool is made of wood and it is about 450mm tall which makes it rather low for her height. Ramota is about 5 feet tall, the average height for African women. For her age, she is fit and moderately slim – probably due to the nature of her business. She takes her place on the stool, her companion all these years, and compensates by standing of leaning on nearby vehicles. She puts the tray on the smaller stool, which is about 1 foot tall.

Ramota always keeps her hat handy. As she is always in the open, this hat always keeps her shaded. The Lagos humid weather can be very uncomfortable, and since she is mostly in a static position, facing the sun, from her position makes her very uncomfortable. In addition, the parked vehicles gives her an added advantage for shelter. Fortunately, on this day, the motor park was filled with cars hence, there was enough shelter. This is especially true with medium sized vehicles (for example coaster or J5 or Toyota Hiase) who give lots of shade and shelter.

Ramota enjoys the advantage of having a compact space for her trade. Unlike other traders, she is able to gather everything in one swoop with ease – whether to move to another location or to shift from vehicles about to park – she has no choice! The entirety of her space, including her in a sitting position and her goods displayed before her measures approximately 1000 x 600mm. This includes her sitting position, display. Her arrangement is such that her goods come first, followed by her sitting stool. She arranges herself in such a way that she is in the middle of the parking space, not too close to the edge of the parking space or too far behind – just in the middle, which still offers her the chance to see and to be seen.

Ramota puts Allah first in everything she does. Her experiences in life has taught her the need to be close to God. Ramota is an elderly woman who has had various challenging experiences in life. These experiences has strengthened her devotion to Allah. This fact becomes more apparent as she finds herself engaging in street market trading, in which everything is left to chance, opportunity and luck. These are situation of uncertainty and calls for divine intervention.

Ramota ensures that she observes her daily prayers at every opportunity. In Islam there are five cycles of daily prayer required for the faithful. Ramota takes her mat to the corner of the parked vehicle, sets the mat in the corner in such a way that it slightly projecting under the car, but hinged under the front tyre. This is in order to ensure stability for the mat. She takes her position facing east, which is almost directly facing the mosque. She starts her rhythm of prayer movement and chanting. All the while I was watching but not interfering. From the road and across, she was quite visible for all to see. This is not an uncommon sight for people to be praying in the open. In Islam it is believed that all land belongs of Allah and wherever can be claimed as a personal space, whether in the public or private domain can be used for prayers. Therefore, she was not doing something out of the ordinary, furthermore her use of space is further buttressed by it being in the premises of the Lagos central mosque.

Just then the regular Islamic chant is re-laid over the minaret of the mosque. This creates a religious feeling over the street and gives the impression of a holy site, such as the experience of hajj by Muslims.

It is the desire of most Muslims, particularly the "religious" ones such as Ramota to attend hajj. She narrates in Yoruba (but interpreted in English):

"I have never been to hajj before in my life. Who will sponsor me? Who knows me? But I know Allah knows me and sees my heart and my devotion to his will every day. Fortunately, Islam has not made physical travel for pilgrimage compulsory, therefore I am the in the spirit. Look at those that travel, most of temporary are hypocrites, especially our leaders - both Christians and Muslims, so called. How many of them are following the tenets of the Koran? I wonder how many of them will enter "aljaana" in the hereafter. Anyway, I cannot judge, only God knows those who are really serving him. Religion is a personal matter. Abi?

As for me, MosalasiJimoh (referring to Friday Jumat mosque, that is the Lagos central mosque, which is a Jumat mosque), is my own Mecca. Insha Allah!"

Anytime I come here, I believe I am in Mecca. One of the reasons why I like this place, apart from the central location for my trade, is that I feel closer to Allah. I believe Allah is in the mosque and he is watching me as I go about my trading business. I want to be fair to everyone and everyone I see always see me as a good person. I am always content with whatever I have, well or bad, it is the will of Allah. If I make sales or not, it is Allah's will. I just pray that he bless me so that I too can enjoy life.

Insight:

1. **"Personal" space, divine space: Significance of space in front of mosque - space psychology and conformity of behaviour:** The imposing nature of the central mosque impacts significantly on the disposition of Ramota, albeit subconsciously. She is not only a trader, but a representative of her religion. This is a subtle form of conformity and the impact is reflected in her liberal attitude to life, which shows in her behaviour as she seeks to attract customers to herself

Very few take notice of Ramota. Either they have gotten used to seeing her or they just don't care. However, the cultured ones greeted her 'salaam aleekun, ekaaro, ekaaro. E kuoroaje.' smiled and walked off. To these one, she replied 'waalekunsalaam.Ekuojumo'.

Some of these local residents diverted into Oluwole, either to connect with Martins Street [thoroughfare] or just to see people around there.

At this moment the entire Nnamdi Azikwe Street can be described as dominated by the local community. It feels like a 'village community'. Market activities had not commenced fully and there was little vehicular traffic, which includes the occasional drive past of *KEKE NAPEP*, Okada motorcycles blasting their horns to a non-existent crowd, and empty yellow mass transport buses with the conductor shouting for non-existing customers "*eko Idumota, Ebute metta !*"

As the movement is going on, so are the sanitation workers busy on their job "*eyagokuro'ona. Se e oriranni*" [please move! Can't you see what we are doing?]. They would shout at erring youths crossing their path on the street, who will then reply – "*e e de r'oraeyiniyayii. O s'aaro*" [women please take it easy, it's early in the morning]. The youths retorted back. This scene shows a contrast in lifestyle pattern, and manifesting the meaning attached to the street, at this particular point in time.

[Insight]

Most Lagosians prioritize their religious beliefs in their daily life. and there seems to be a collective consciousness as to the role of religion. Nobody seems to disturb the prayer session as everybody seems to mind as public space takes several positions of religious space. However, this does not stop people from exchanging greetings in local language, among traders, and with pedestrians walking the street. There seems to be a sense of 'collective familiarity' among people in the street at this time – whether trader or pedestrian. It seems as if people are able to notice each other and be more relaxed, enough to exchange pleasantries during low peak period.

- **Communality & human relations:**

The premises of the Lagos central mosque is a prime location which Ramota shares with several other traders, selling various forms of goods and in various positions around the mosque. Like Ramota, some of these traders arrive early, set up their stalls and proceed to settle for the day's trade. Ramota ensures that she greets everyone, within her vicinity and within her visual range.

*E kaaro o ;
salaamalekun,
a ku oro aje o,
se ejidaadalaaro,
aje a wogba*

These are some of the popular varieties of greetings she offers to everyone as applicable to each gender, religion, and mood. She offers these varieties of greetings as stated above – in Yoruba. This is to reflect the diversity of culture, orientation, religion, and gender of these traders. Despite the fact that she comes before most of these traders, she ensures that she greets everyone – first! This is a radical shift from what obtains in a typical Yoruba setting where the younger ones are expected to greet the elders first. Looking at her, Ramota appears to be the eldest person among the street market traders.

Furthermore, her positioning offers her an opportunity for all round greeting experience and to receive multiple “chorus” responses, from which she can engage in further conversations about family experiences.

“awonomonko? Olorun a yo wa”.

Ramota ensures that she greets everyone, including the sanitation workers cleaning the mosque. She greets by standing on her spot and turning round as she faces everyone. Her vintage position gives her the advantage of all round view towards her and from her. Standing by and watching her greet gives an impression of her performing on a stage, with the other traders as the audience on the ramp up seats.

Ramota has special regards for these ones as they are responsible for cleaning the Nnamdi Azikwe Street - including the car park where she does her trading.

"Awonobirinyiinsisetakuntakun. Awon ni konjekiiibiyii doti rara, ti emi nfirii lo ".

A typical day starts after exchange of greetings. Greetings set everyone in the right mood. Among the Yoruba's there is a lot of importance attached to greetings. It is a sign of respect, goodwill, communality. It is customary to greet people, no matter your state of mind or circumstances. Anybody who fails to greet is treated as an outcast or regarded as insane. This fact cannot be overemphasized, especially in a setting such as this where goodwill among traders is an essential part of daily business and can also stimulate human support in times of need, otherwise you are treated as an outcast and this can lead to bad consequences such as victimization, backbiting , gossiping and in extreme cases, witch craft attack..... !

The linear configuration between Balogun street and Ramota's trading spot, which stretches from Martins Street into Nnamdi Azikwe street and Oluwole motor park, the open nature of the shops in the mixed use buildings along this route, and the proximity of the building edges to the public spaces, which includes the busy pedestrian and vehicular way; these enhances opportunities for visual and verbal connectivity. Hence, Ramota is able to see, greet, interact and exchange pleasantries with familiar traders from diverse ethnicities on her way to the central mosque. This also puts her in the right frame of mind to handle the day's trading activities. It suggests a social & psychological impact of this array of spaces and contacts on her being.

“ojul’orowa” – Yoruba proverb

[Insight]

- Mixed use nature of the street: this is responsible for the population diversity in the street and the various forms of social expressions that make up the reality of everyday life. This shows the capacity of 'space' to accommodate diversity simultaneously in order to create variety which ultimately leads to vitality (Ondiviela Garcia, J.A., 2020).
- Population diversity of the street: different ethnicities and life style patterns manifesting on the same street. This shows the diversity which makes up Lagos. This is more significant as one considers the significance of the street as a part of the core of Lagos itself. Furthermore

the low peak allows for distinct groups of population moving together. This enables to see the kinds of population and how active the street is.

- Proximity of major activities and contrasting lifestyle patterns: the high population and land use density allows for close proximity of people engaged in various forms of activities. This brings a sense of familiarity as people are forced to move in close proximity. This proximity is also seen in the close contact between pedestrian and vehicular traffic. At this time, the road serves the dual purpose of circulation for man and machine - a reflection of a form of everyday negotiated space, which everyone has come to accept.
- Religion as a part of everyday life, absence of which is “void” as frustration
- Weather and outdoor culture: the absence of indoor amenities, like electricity, particularly in crowded neighborhoods, leads to the importance of outdoor lifestyle among the populace. This lifestyle pattern in which majority of the populace are outside at one point or the other, encourages the of street market activities as the space represents a commercial as well as social space,
- The manner of pedestrian movement on Nnamdi Azikwe Street shows the significance of the street as a neighborhood within a neighborhood and linking with other neighborhoods. Lagos CBD and its surrounding environs such as Isale Eko, Jankara, Bamgbose, Balogun, Idumota, Idumagbo, can be described primarily as a clustered network of interconnected settlements, with Nnamdi Azikwe as a major distribution channel within the settlement.
- SPACE, CULTURAL EXPRESSION, RELIGION, AND IDENTITY: There is a sense of cultural values exhibited among population groups with different background circumstances. This reflects in religious disposition and beliefs, such as superstition. The sense of cultural values impacts significantly on manner of comportment and behavior and how social relationships are conducted. It also reveals in the show of respect to elders, such as Ramota. An important aspect of the presence of these informal activities is that it provides the platform on which cultural values and norms are expressed. This is a long-term quality that has been handed from generation to generation and has a way of regulating behavior and comportment in the society – beyond what “law and order” can offer. It is the internal code of governance that

supersedes every form of western government. However, if this is lost, where is the identity going to come from? What kind s of policies are we bringing out and do these policies recognize the impact of culture in the society? This study argues that, in spite of the “chaos”, particularly associated with street market activities, the informal economy remains the last frontier in the public domain where our cultural values, which is our identity and for which we are noted for, globally, is nurtured and sustained. The cultural values which originates from societal norms, is a self –governing tool that complements religion and works ‘better’ than any law put out by the government. This is because cultural expression comes from within while government policies come from without [globalization, westernization].

- Low peak period offers opportunity to relate from a closer and deeper level. at this time of low peak, the religious, cultural aspects of everyday life takes dominant use of the city space in the neighborhood while the “periphery”, becomes the domain of the hustlers, where religious, cultural aspects of everyday life takes secondary or no importance. Conclusion? Low peak period reveals the contrast between two domains of city actors
- Cultural expressions play a crucial role as a front runner to socio-economic aspects of informal activities. This includes behavioral considerations such as acceptance, language connection religious and ethnic considerations.

Ethical considerations:

- Covert observation is the main tool at this moment, especially as the road users can be unpredictable and there are no security officers are around. Therefore, extra vigilance in the form of covert observation is required. Furthermore, the use of interviews is considered culturally inappropriate at this time of the day.

[Religious and socio-cultural connectivity]

Another group of Muslims that walk along on the street are the elderly and women holding their rosaries in their hand and scrolling it as they moved along. These are obviously experienced Alhajis and Alhajas who have spent their lives (or substantial part of it) devoted to the religion of

Islam. It is quite obvious that they are the early risers who have gone to one mosque or the other to pray. “*Salaam alekun; ekaaro; a kuojumo; se ajonwogba; anobi a yowa*” are some of the greetings that they extend to Ramota at his time, to which she responds appropriately. One of these elderly Alhaja stops, moves out of the road, into the corner where Ramota is, and starts another round of greetings to Ramota, with bodily gestures, in a posture of prayer and respect. These extended greetings include asking about her health, welfare, business [obviously, these Alhaja owns a shop or shops around the area]. Ramota, in turn asks about the Alhaja’s children, including those abroad [in America, the daughter who just gave birth, the son who just bagged his doctorate in a Middle East university, etc. the Alhaja kept responding ‘*aliamdulilai*’]. After all that is said, the greetings ended with the Arabic version of ‘Glory be to God’, a short prayer and the Alhaja moves on – joining everybody else on the move.

[Insight: traditional expressions in a contemporary setup]

- A key component of the socio-culturally based worldview of the everyday lagosians is greetings. This plays an important role in how people relate with each other in an informal commercial setting. This is true particularly among matured individuals such as the Alhaja and Ramota, who regard the significance of lived experiences as an important aspect of everyday activities such as the trade. Therefore, the setting signifies the physical environment where they lived experience is summarized into how people greet each other. Furthermore, this is a tradition, particularly among the Yoruba’s, that forms an integral part of societal norms and values in a traditional environment, which is a comportment that is expected in the traditional society. However, with the advent of ‘modernity’ this tradition seems to be in the decline, in the public sphere, and especially among the youths who have either modified it to suit their life contemporary life style [e.g. via the social media – WhatsApp, IMO, twitter, etc, all of which represent an age long tradition in cyber space. This is a reverse of the ‘conventional’ into the ‘contemporary’]. However, the ‘conventional’ expressions have survived, and still find physical expression in ‘little corners’ such as Ramota’s trading spot and in ‘clusters’ such as among population groups of street traders on Nnamdi Azikwe Street.

[Insight: Linguistic social barrier – the dynamics of using language to create a private / semiprivate space within a public space]

- "*Salaam aleekun*" - boundaries created out of 'fear', reverence, [mis]understanding. Informality appeals to our inert fundamental abilities as humans.
- "Bridging the language barrier". Linguistic boundaries as traders interact with actors during their course of everyday life. They try to be everything to everyone in order to appeal to the actors and market their products. By so doing, they end up producing multiple "mental spaces and boundaries" during everyday life.
- Religious expression is integral to daily life in Lagos, specifically with the dominance of the two 'monotheistic' religions of Christianity and Islam to which majority of the city populace belongs to. These religions are tied to the indigenous culture and background of the adherents who regard the religion as an important part of their identity. Therefore, expressions and activities in public space, via evangelism [particularly among the Christians] and greetings has become a 'norm' in the public domain.

Significance of visual and verbal interaction:

Visual and verbal interactions are major aspects of socialization in everyday life among Nigerians. They are cultural symbols of connectivity and societal living; hence, they are encouraged as part of everyday living. They enhance sense of belonging, knowing people and are a form of gateway to experiencing life. All these underpin the social aspect of living, which is underexplored in our planning. One can be among, see, and hear others, and experience how other people are functioning in different settings through the chances for encounters and daily activities in public areas of a city or residential area (Gehl, 2011). Our homes and workplaces shape our personalities and the way we act. However, the interaction between humans and their surroundings is two-way. To put it another way, humans are both affected by and have an effect on their surrounding environment (Ibid).

['Stubborn child, angry mother']

Alhaja had not fully disappeared from the scene, before a young 'angry' mother shows up pulling her crying daughter [possibly between 3-5 years] along, the street, in the direction of madam

Tinubu square. From the looks of things, this is a 'latecomer' to school! *'ema da a l'ohun, otunbereniyenlaaroyiiniyen; Nigbati o nitetelo'sun; o tun de ni'yen; e ma binu, e se ma, ekuoroaje. Oodabo'*

[Insight: communal acceptance of discipline for the child]

- Communal living is an integral way of life especially in crowded communities. Therefore, there is a very blurred boundary between private matters and public matters, as everyone seem to an inbuilt culture code as default. Such is the case with discipline, especially for children. Among the Yoruba' especially in the indigenous setting, raising a child [or children] is communal effort – not left to the biological parent alone! A typical child has many 'parents' – father, mother, brother, sister, aunty, uncle, neighbors, friend, etc. Everyone performing different roles in shaping the character, world view and personality of the child. This is a tradition that still finds expression up to the present day, even though it has been modified due to the contemporary nature of the city and how it has sharpened the 'nucleated' distribution of the population. However, in crowded settings where informal activities thrive, these communal expressions are still prevalent, as the informal activities provide a 'habitat', due to the close proximity of people of like mind and the informal nature of the setting, where freedom of expression – both the child and the parent – is allowed!

[Early morning breakfast]

Meanwhile, you can smell the aroma and see the smoke of early morning cooking, coming from inside Oluwole Motor Park. Food is cooked this early, in anticipation of the early arrivals on the street and the locals. The usual customers, include corporate workers, who, because of early morning rush, cannot eat at home - *Lagos life!* The meals include rice and plantain, indomie noodles with egg and stew, assorted kinds of spiced meats and fish, dodo, panmo, ogufe, panla, etc.

[Insight: 'nature assisted marketing strategy']

- The fact that one can perceive the smell is an indication of the outdoor nature of the cooking. The aroma is also meant to be a marketing signal, which is easily diffused in a less crowded setting, where the wind can circulate and send the smell in all directions.

It is 9:00 am and activities are beginning to pick up on Nnamdi Azikwe Street. The street is coming alive as more traders arrive on the scene and shops begin to open. Incidentally, the shops at the madam Tinubu end of the Nnamdi Azikwe Street had already opened as the shop owners are also tenants in the shops – they work there, and they live there. However, the arrangement is different in the Yoruba dominated shops where the shops are used strictly as shops. These shops include the Igbo dominated shops containing primarily, imported finished clothes.

[Insight: expansion and contraction of space, optimum subjectivity of space being exhibited in migrant living condition, cultural expectation, (un)common 'business' sense]

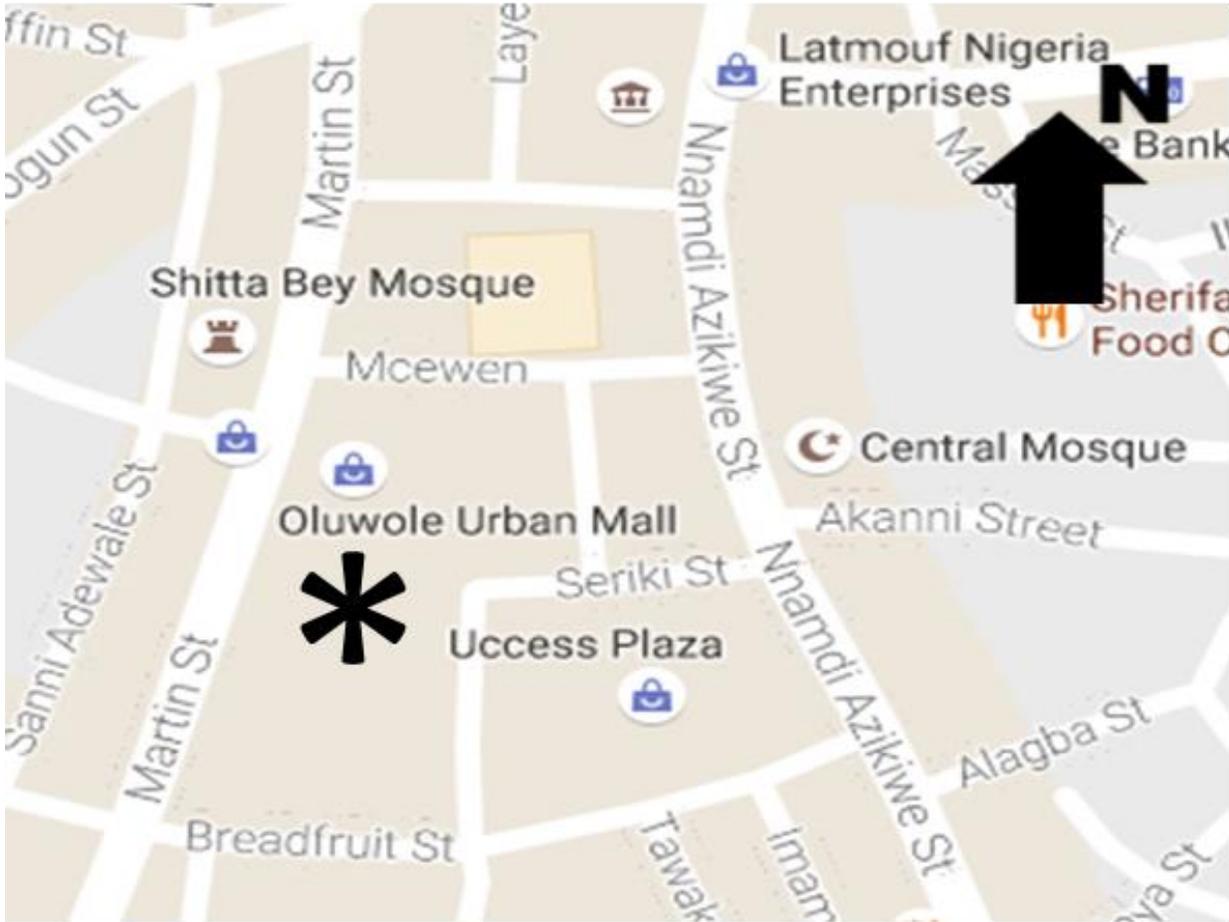
As a result of increased activities on Nnamdi Azikwe Street, the street as a spatial entity begins to 'expand' and 'contract' in response to the varieties of the street's activities and the built environment.

Due to the congested nature of the Nnamdi Azikwe Street, different population groups of traders associate different meanings to their work place as part of their lived experience. For the Igbo traders at the end of the madam Tinubu square end of the Nnamdi Azikwe Street, the communal lifestyle nature is reflected in how they use their shop space. The shopping area, therefore serves as ware house, goods display area during the day. Meanwhile at the back, the space also serves as ware house and living accommodation for the family of the traders. This arrangement is unlike what is seen among the Yoruba's who dominate the population of traders around the central mosque area of the Nnamdi Azikwe Street. Here, the shops and the contents are so much loaded and arranged in such a way that it can only be used for storage. Therefore, in the Yoruba set up, the shop space is used strictly as shop space. This shows a contrast in lifestyle patterns and value attached to saving money. According to the Igbo traders, it is a tradition for them to travel back to the east [east of Nigeria] at the end of the year [Christmas/ new year time], where they would 'show off' what they have achieved in Lagos – the land of opportunity. Part of this

'show off' includes building / completing housing projects 'in the village', buying expensive cars and cruising it around, donating to projects in the village, marrying and taking different sorts of communal responsibilities. Therefore, they would do anything to save money to achieve this objective, and part of this includes saving money by working and living in the same location. This saves money for house rent outside, which is channeled towards the 'end of the year objectives'.

[Setting up of street markets]

Opposite the Lagos central mosque and attached to the property line of the Oluwole motor park are wooden sheds, owned by the street market traders. With the arrival of these street market traders – one by one, Nnamdi Azikwe Street begins to take a commercial meaning which overlaps with the existing neighborhood / Islamic meaning of the street. Incidentally activities pick up at the central mosque, with vehicles beginning to arrive with the minarets sounding chants for prayers. Therefore, as the population increases, Nnamdi Azikwe Street takes a mixed identity of commerce, religion and neighborhood living.





Migrant culture, mixed use identity and optimal use of space:

This picture shows the afternoon scene of mixed use nature of medium rise building on Nnamdi Azikwe Street, dominated by Igbo traders. This building shows the capacity of the building to serve as residential accommodation / commercial purposes. Even the marginal space in front of the building, which doubles as parking space is useful for display and marketing. Every space has its purpose. The balcony is not only a corridor, but an outdoor display area overlooking the street. At night, these corridors become lobbies for sleeping or chilling out [source - field survey, 2015].

Slight vehicular traffic build up:

Meanwhile as these negotiations are going on, a slight vehicular traffic begins to build up on the street. This includes mainly commercial vehicles, such as yellow buses, keke NAPEP and okada vehicles. Because of the low-density pedestrian traffic on the street, these vehicles are speeding past without observing the speed limit

[Insight: increased speed as attribute of space time construct in order to save time]

Ideally, they are supposed to move slowly but because of the nil chances of getting passengers along this route, the drivers simply speed off, in order to space time, and also taking advantage of the fact that there are no traffic officials or law enforcement agents around. Therefore, the street becomes more like a 'racetrack' for these commercial vehicles

These vehicles are slightly filled up and one can see the conductor shouting for passengers as the speed past. Meanwhile, along the street and at the Oluwole motor park, private vehicles begin to park, as the corporate sector workers begin to arrive at their work place at banks located on Nnamdi Azikwe street, Madam Tinubu square and its environs. Apart from the Oluwole motor park, these workers park their vehicles along the premises of the madam Tinubu square area and the available limited parking spaces in their buildings.

Isah, the Traffic Warden

Among the local boys is Isah, a young man between the ages of 23 and 30 years. Isah is in charge of coordinating traffic into and out of the park. He works on the morning and afternoon shift from Mondays to Fridays. He oversees this aspect of the motor park tout business. As someone in the middle of the road, He presents himself as a 'nice, friendly' person. This is in order to obtain 'favors' such as tips from vehicle owners. This is a supplement to his income; hence he dresses in a neat and bright clothing in order to get noticed, gain respect and favor.

From his outlook, it is easy to assume that he is a playboy, but from his comments, one can conclude that he is also a devoted Muslim.

"I am very lucky in this space. In fact it seems that Allah comes to the 'MosalasiJimoh' (Friday mosque – referring to the Lagos central mosque) to bless me anytime I am on duty. At times, I make close to N2, 000 just from standing and directing traffic. Everybody likes me. I try to be good to everyone. In fact, some of the drivers already know me". When he is tired, for instance, on a hot day, he relaxes by sitting with one of the street vendors nearby, who have become familiar with him and are ready to accommodate him under their shade. For these nearby traders, this kind gesture is a form of acknowledgement of the territoriality of Isah, as an 'omoonile' – local boy, and also a strategy to win favor – maybe later! It also represents a meeting point for street hawkers, especially those selling baked pastries, local delicacies, and drinks to market their goods.

"Especially, Friday is a busy day, and that is when I make more money, others are not so lucky. Then I would go into the mosque to thank God. Pray and then relax with my guys. Luckily the hawkers are still around, so I will enjoy myself"

On this moment, he needed assistance from his pals to handle the commotion. One driver, in a hurry has blocked the passage and everybody is in a standstill. Even the street trader at the junction has to move his wares off the ground "lest they be trampled upon" - Matthew 7:6

"Please watch your tyre, mind my goods. Abeg".

Meanwhile, Ramota looks on from across the road. She has gotten used to seeing such moments. "Lagosians! If only they can be patient with themselves. In any case, where are we all rushing to? "

This phenomenon reflects the state of the built environment, in which high population and land use density create a tendency for competitive spatial behavior. In other words, high population and land use density creates a feeling of compressed city space thereby evoking the instinctive tendency to 'compete' and to 'contest'



[Emergence of area boys: Scene of confrontation]

Local youths, otherwise known as area boys, begin to arrive on the scene. They take different roles and spread about the street. Some of them disappear into Oluwole, others stroll up towards the Madam Tinubu square end of the Nnamdi Azikwe street, while a couple of them stay on the central mosque area of the Nnamdi Azikwe street. They are [casually] well dressed and those that stayed around the central mosque area begin to stroll leisurely towards the street market traders majority of whom have already setup while a few are still setting up. The traders on the Oluwole end, for instance, occupy the entire stretch of the walkway, therefore, the local boys are forced to stay on the edge of the street. They are there to issue daily tickets to the traders. One can hear some of the traders appealing to these area boys to come back later, as they are just setting up for the day. The boys respond by grumbling about earlier 'disappointments' with a last warning before proceeding to the next trader.

The local boys collect tolls from the traders. They act as agents for the government [and for themselves!] as these tolls represents a form of 'IGR' for the local government. These local boys are solely in charge of the tolls. According to them, this is an arrangement with the local government and only then can handle this. *"ehn, ijoba o to bee, won o je k'ojaaye won. Awa to je pe ibi lo biwa sí. K womn mu eyanwa lati ita? Lati se lini? K'owawaijenuwa? Ehn, a luono t'ohunpa. a a bo si ihoho. Laye e ko je p'ada mo. A lo j'abo fun awon to ran wa!"* [summary: we oversee this area. This area is our birth right. The government dare not bring anybody from outside to come and collect tolls, otherwise, there will be serious consequences!]

Daily ticket is issued in order to collect "trade permit levy" from the traders. This is an informal arrangement in which a designated local agent – area boys, go about early in the morning as the traders arrive, in order to collect the tolls for the day. Due to the vastness and interconnected nature of various locations in the CBD, these local boys are distributed into zones within each territory. This is to conveniently cover the traders within each zone and monitor the activities therein. Unfortunately, there are occasional clashes among the local boys in each zone as confusion arises occasionally about the status of particular traders – particularly street hawkers, who, by the characteristic of their trade, do not have a stable location, hence, leading to the confusion. Given the sensitivity of the issue involved – money, and the experience of tension and skirmishes often leading to extreme cases of loss of lives and properties, the eti – osa local government, in collaboration with the state government, have stationed security operatives, both as undercover "in mufti or plain clothed", and officers in uniforms who symbolize law and order in the area.

This daily ticket is an asset for the traders. It represents their right to trade and becomes a form of defense against any harassment – "protection money". It also represents the measure for the profit made in a day and the collection of the tickets daily, weekly or more represents the cycle of work for a given period.

Most of the traders, particularly the females, use personal purse strapped around their waist. They would 'squeeze' the ticket into the purse for safe keeping and for daily financial account. Some resort to keeping the ticket in their

'bra'. This is done in the privacy of the person, but it is most secure – ironically. For the males they keep the tickets in their pockets or hand it to the female counterparts for safe keeping.

The significance of the daily ticket corresponds with the notion of space as a commodity with its distinctive conceptualization (Harvey, 1973). This informal / quasi formal arrangement corresponds with the concept of parking tickets charged for time allocated for the parking space. This is a typical practice, especially in urban areas of wealthy countries. such as Nottingham. Significantly, the same occurs in Oluwole Motor Park but it reflects a more informal, open arrangement.

KASALI THE TAX COLLECTOR

Kasali, who was already patrolling the mosque area, and engaging in conversation with a social worker, spots Ramota, walks up to her and “politely” asks for the trading permit money, which she readily pays and she is issued her receipt, which she proceeds to keep in her wrapper, in order to avoid possible misplacement. Ramota is treated with “dignity” as she is old enough to be Kasali’s mother and practices the same religion – Islam. However, “mama” (as Ramota is fondly referred to) is very careful not to offend the “boys” as experience shows that they can be very “unpredictable”. Kasali then proceeds to “eulogise” Ramota, exchange pleasantries with the social worker, who was watching all along, with keen interest, and departs to meet another trader.

Everybody is expecting him, as usual, or any of his other "brothers". They all know what expect and are prepared. On this day Kasali, approaches Ramota for the daily tolls - as usual. He retorts: *“The money is compulsory for every trader here. Everybody must cooperate! Otherwise there will be wahala. This money is used for protection and rights to trade. If you don’t pay, no trade. Simple! We are even nice. If you compare how much you pay for a shop, N100:00 is chicken change”*.

After collecting the toll, Kasali walks casually across the Nnamdi Azikwe Street from Oluwole motor park entrance. He strides majestically into the street without looking left or right. After all, this is his "territory", his "home". He was born here and he has lived all of his life here. He knows everywhere and everybody. Suddenly, a kekeNapep tricycle speeds towards him in the middle of the road and grounds to a sudden halt thereby producing a Screeching sound. Halt! Whew!! That was close!!!

The following confrontation ensued:

“Ki lo nworry e? O oriranni? Abi ibolonja lo? O fekatitini? A boo fagbo, laarokutukutu? O jejekori e pe! Olorunyo e peinu mi ndu, Kanipe o Fi pangolo e gba mi ni, oobagba. O je k’osi ori burukumaa lo. Olori buruku ! Omo nna osi !”

- Kasali

“Chineke me, (my goodness! goodness gracious !!), Eehn, This early morning, see me see trouble o, This guy wants to get me into trouble, See how he is walking majestically on the street, as if he has nothing to do, Yeye man. Wasting his life. It’s not your fault, it’s the government that is tolerating people like you, just collecting money from honest traders, like a begger, an able bodied man like me!

His mates are in their office trying to do something useful with their lives, while he is just patrolling the street. Instead of trying to do something useful with his life. If only government can deal with useless miscreants like this. I don't know where we are going in this country. I just don't know!"

- *kekenapep driver (ibo man)*

"K'osi lo, Were, (madman) Aye e o ni da"

- *Kasali*

This scene played out as everybody looked on. Nobody appeared surprised at all. Scenes such as this are a regular occurrence on the street and in other locations of the island, especially Idumota, where there is a major motor park. In fact, today's event is just "mild and peaceful". This scene represents a tip of what can actually happen.

According to Ramota, she has witnessed occasions, where a fight broke out and the driver was severely lynched and the vehicle damaged and the passengers left stranded. This occurred because Friends and brothers of the area boy joined in and started raining blows on the hapless driver. The passengers we're not spared. While trying to defend the driver, as eye witnesses, coupled with the fact that they were in a hurry - the main reason why they boarded the tricycle and not a commercial bus, which can take longer time to fill up with passengers. Some of these passengers, especially females, who are usually more vocal.

[Insights]

- This is a clash of interests showing how diverse life circumstances leads to clashes. It also shows how the forces of rapid urban growth not only bring people of diverse ethnicities together, but also leads to a clash of behavioral characteristics, background circumstances, lifestyle patterns and ideologies.
- Significance of vernacular as means of quick verbal exchange.
- This scene indicates the significance of territoriality, rights to space, meaning, interpretation of identity and use, as an intrinsic component of urban life's dynamics.
- The border between formality and informality is very narrow, this is because needs and products bring people together and language becomes a tool of connectivity and social interaction
- This scene provides an insight into negotiation techniques and how the space responds as such.

[Arrival of mosque officials]

The mosque officials also begin to arrive, some in their cars while others on foot. Two of the cars parked in the parking space in front of the mosque, hence Ramota had to adjust her space in order for the driver to park the cars. *'Salaam alekun, eko oroaje'*. There is a cordial relationship between the mosque officials and the traders around the mosque – including petty ones like Ramota.

[Insight: space as platform for expression of lifestyle pattern]

Space affords opportunity for cordiality as integral part of lifestyle – this includes the overlap of commerce and culture and religion space. This connotes the significance of the socio-cultural and historical as integral to socio – economic and political in an informal spatial setting. I learnt that there had been attempts before now, to ban traders from the mosque premises, due to its iconic significance and *sacredness* of the space. However, after much pleading, lobbying and bargaining from the fabric wholesalers with shops around the mosque [majority of whom are Muslim women, and as such, worshippers and stakeholders in the central mosque, coupled with the fact that in Islam every space is sacred to the activities of the faithful], the rule was relaxed and street market activities around the mosque continued.

[Activities build up – vehicles, pedestrians, hawkers]

Furthermore, activities continue to increase on the street, as more vehicles are seen driving past. Nnamdi Azikwe is a one-way street, and at this time most of the privately owned vehicles are coming to park, while the ones leaving are the public transport ones. This public transport vehicles are driving towards Idumota, which is at the end of the one-way Nnamdi Azikwe Street. As the day goes on and activities continue to pick up, these public transport vehicles and the ‘maverick’ conductors create sorts of ‘fleeting amusement’, which is a form of visual diversion to the visual monotony, which the street market traders are subjected to, due to their confinement in one space along the road. As this is going on, street hawker’s can be seen walking along the street, as is the case with cart pushers moving goods from one location to another. Soon, municipal authorities patrol cars [CBD task force, MOPO], who had been concentrated at CMS area, begin to arrive on the scene, driving leisurely with some taking time to greet traders who respond back. Among the traders greeted is Ramota who seems very familiar with them – especially with her vantage position in front of the Lagos central mosque. Among the patrol vehicles, one of them parks beside the mosque – a vantage station to monitor happenings on the street as activities begin to pick up.

[Insight: visual connectivity enhancing culture of social interaction]

As activities increase on the street, the resultant population concentration begins to reveal the congested nature of the street. This enhances visual connectivity as people begin to move in close proximity. As a result, there is social interactions among the people as they are forced to engage with each other, especially as this is early morning and it is expected – culturally – that good manners is a prerequisite for a good day.

[Nnamdi Azikwe Street as setting of encounter]

As the street continues to 'come alive', Ramota begins to encounter several more [diverse] people in the street. With these, her day begins to take shape. On the day of visit for this sample study, the people [actors] include: area boys, corporate sector workers, Okada drivers, Danfo and keke NAPEP drivers, religious people, sanitation workers, street hawkers, visitors, shopper, local residents, municipal authority officers [CBD task force, vigilante, LASTMA], street market traders.

[Insight: shaping lived experiences in space]

These categories include individuals and groups of diverse age, gender, religion, ethnicity, attitudes, interests, background in the city space. They occur at different frequencies and have diverse effects on the experiences of Ramota. In addition, each actor or group of actors offers unique experiences that add 'color' to the lived experience of the space. This is achieved via outlook and behavioral disposition. These qualities are in turn determined by their respective disposition to the space, which in turn is influenced by their world view and role[s] in the space. This is the basis of the nature culture and perception of the city.

Presence of street hawkers: space of opportunity, strategic positioning, ephemeral space, expanded boundaries, momentary peak period

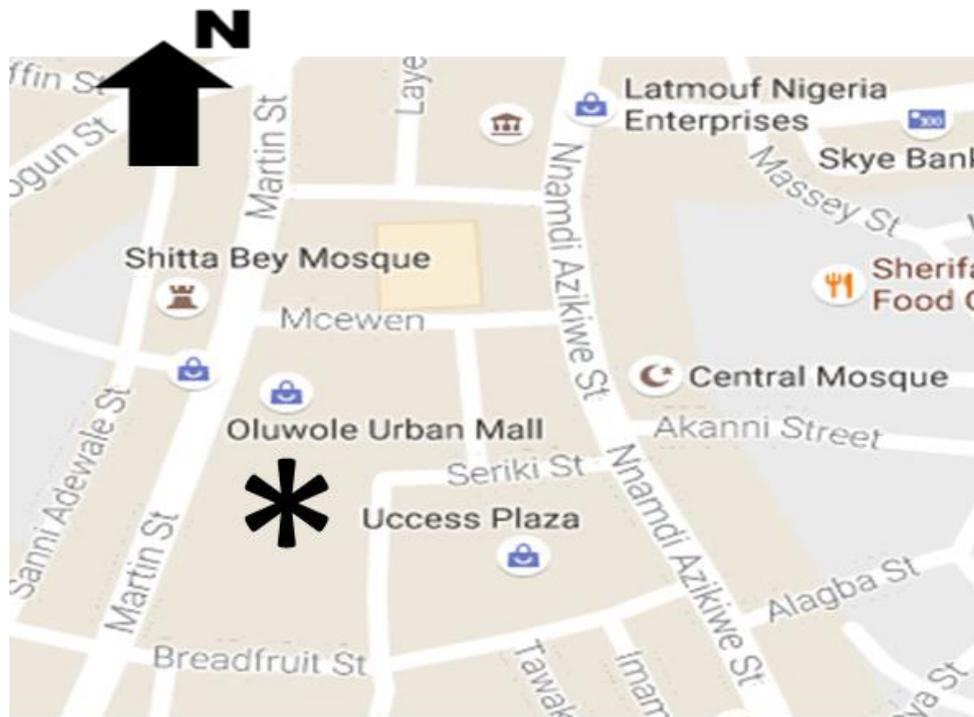
It is 11:00 am and it is quite sunny on Nnamdi Azikwe street. Fortunately, the sky is clear and no sign of rain. One can hear the chants from the mosque in the background.

Street hawkers patrol everywhere on Nnamdi street and everywhere on Lagos CBD. However, their activities is concentrated around major road junctions at madam Tinubu square, CMS and Nnamdi Azikwe street. They thrive on opportunities and timing in order to target customers, as their position is not fixed. They move singly, in groups of two or more and they are made up of gender or product population groups. Their products range from soft drinks, bottled water, snacks, handkerchiefs and other everyday items. On this day, as usual, several of them have passed, chatting, looking, negotiating, transacting with their wares.

The central mosque premises represents a location of high population concentration, multiple vehicular and pedestrian movement patterns, and thus the high possibility of meeting potential customers. This fact is enhanced by the concentration of street market traders on both sides of the Nnamdi Azikwe road – those around the entry gate and parking space of the mosque, stretching on both sides of the mosque. It also includes those on the Oluwole side of the road, positioned on the pedestrian walkways; and those around the entrance into the Oluwole motor park, which doubles as thoroughfare that connects into Martins street and an exit / entry point for pedestrian with parked cars into Oluwole. This high activity concentration makes this area 'central', particularly at peak periods of the day – early afternoon, when there is significant build-up of vehicular traffic. Furthermore, this peak time is when corporate sector workers have settled and transacting outdoor business negotiations – particularly bank marketers, stockbrokers.

This day,

there is significant



pedestrian movement, which stimulate the presence of these hawkers. At the moment, they are positioned in clusters of 2's and 3's around the front of the mosque – the parking space, which represents a 'low density area' for quick trade, as the other side – Oluwole motor park, looks very busy, with pedestrian and vehicular movement, hence the likelihood of hostility from the street markets positioned there.

Therefore, the parking space of the Lagos central mosque represents a 'low density' spot, a leeward side, when compared with activities on the other side of the road – during peak activity period, this side of the street becomes a passageway for pedestrians as the street market fills up the other side. Furthermore, pedestrians divert to this side of the road in order to get to move 'quickly' to their destination. This is the situation at the moment and it provokes various pedestrian encounters with Ramota [an expected and welcomed 'violation' of her privacy] resulting from the transient presence of the street hawkers.

[Insight]: behavioral consciousness of sacred territoriality

Comportment in the presence of 'elderly' traders – the fabric sellers and other Muslim traders around the mosque. The imposing nature of the mosque creates an awe of respect even during trading. Therefore, chatter becomes hush in recognition of the territorial integrity of the mosque – *take care, someone is watching you!*

Kunle, the handkerchief hawker [11:17am]: expanding the boundaries of trading space

Furthermore, at this time, there is a high concentration of vehicular traffic on the street - as well as those going in and coming out of Oluwole Motor Park, thereby creating a cluster of vehicular encounters. The resultant 'commotion' results into a high concentration of pedestrians on the parking side of the mosque – where Ramota and other street market traders are located. In addition, by this time, diverse groups and individuals from the corporate/ formal sector have settled in their offices and are now on field errand, which brings them to the street. It is in this type of scenario that hawkers like KUNLE thrives [see picture of researcher patronizing him].

Kunle is a young man between age 18 and 21 years, selling handkerchief and other fabric materials. He carries these about with a wooden upright mobile display rack, which doubles as a display and shade. Seeing the commotion on the street, he slows down, looks around and surveys the situation and waits – an opportunity beckons for him.

I approached him as I was feeling very hot at this moment, hence his arrival was timely. I was interested in what he was selling. All these whiles, he was standing in front of Ramota, who did not seem to mind! This kind of scenario was to be expected at this time of the day, and it kept 'lonely' traders like Ramota away from boredom – in addition to getting her noticed!

Soon, several youths join in to check Kunle's goods and transact with him. His positioning makes him very conspicuous, and his style of display is quite unique. Before long, he is bombarded by a crowd of 'potential customers' who are attracted by the outlook of his goods. Meanwhile, the vehicular commotion is still on and pedestrians are still being forced to divert their movement into Ramota's path. This pedestrian diversion and consequent concentration attract more hawkers, selling minerals and drinks, to come and seize the opportunity to trade – *its free for all now!* This fact is further compounded by the movement of people into and out of the mosque, thereby increasing the population of pedestrians. From experience, these hawkers know that this is a fleeting opportunity to make brisk sales in front of the Lagos central mosque.

Ramota has gotten used to this kind of scene and she seems to enjoy it, as she is able to get noticed, too – but she has to stand up! Soon, a young lady passing by, but also caught in the pedestrian traffic is forced to engage with Ramota. Luckily, Ramota's product is what she needs at that moment, and seizing the opportunity, of the moment, instead of going further down the road, she negotiates with Ramota, who readily persuades her and ends up buying 3 combs at N25: 00 each.

Good bargain!

Feeling thirsty, Ramota beckons to one of the hawkers, carrying minerals, to see if he had 'pure water'. Unfortunately, this boy did not have. Ramota then beckoned on him to ask his fellow hawkers if they had. The boy was kind enough to honor this request. He signaled to his colleagues, who, by now had begun to drift into the pedestrian crowd and were also mingling with the slow vehicular traffic. Seeing that he wasn't getting their attention, he put down his goods with Ramota and ran to the other side of the road to meet another hawker who was just coming into the scene from the direction of Alli Balogun Street. He was able to convince this hawker to follow him towards Ramota, which she eagerly did and sold 2 sachets of cold pure water to her at N5:00

each. Before she could turn to leave, this female hawker was besieged by up to 6 pedestrians, who had noticed her selling to Ramota. She ended up selling almost every sachet of pure water she had. Thanks to the colleague who called her and Ramota who patronized her.

A win-win situation for all in the face of adversity!



Activities of street hawkers on the premises of the Lagos central mosque. This includes Kunle, the handkerchief street hawker (source: field study, 2015)



The time is now 12:01 pm and just then, a melon seller, named Abu-Bakr, shows up with his wheelbarrow, partially full of watermelons [space of friendship, diversity, cooperation and collaboration] Ramota and Abu-Bakr meet regularly in this space, and they have a cordial relationship which has helped them in their respective trade. It seems

that Abu-Bakr has come in at the right moment as he also gets noticed and he too was able to make sales. Abu-Bakr is a man from the one of the tribes in the middle belt states in Nigeria – Nupe. He is also a Muslim and speaks 3 languages – his local Nupe language, Hausa, Yoruba, and Pidgin English.

Meanwhile, the traffic build up is still there, even though there is slow movement. More street hawkers have gathered on the street, chatting and looking for customers ISAH THE TRAFFIC WARDEN appears exhausted. It is now very sunny, and he appears tired. Fortunately, among the hawkers who have arrived are bus sellers. Buns is a locally baked snack usually eaten in the afternoons and evening, it is a snack usually taken by those ‘on the move’ and serves as substitute for proper meals.

Isah signals and walks towards the buns seller, who immediately turns back. A quick exchange of N20:00 earns him 4 buns. “Add ‘something’ now?” Isah said; “how much is my gain from this that I should add something?” the buns seller replied; “look, there is a small one there – in the box – that one”, Isah pointed and continued, “haha, you can’t add that? Okay, take your thing, I am not buying again! Now, give me my money, and don’t let me see you here again!” Isah retorted angrily and stormed off.

Ramota, who was well placed to hear the conversation, joins in. She beckons to the buns seller [in Yoruba], “you better sell to him! Is that not better than not selling at all. Just give him that little one and don’t lose customer. Do you know whether he will bring you good luck?” Ramota continued, “Or have you made sales today? Has anyone bought that much from you? At least it is not only you selling this product. You better wake up!”.

The buns seller took the advice and called Isah. The exchange was remade. Isah collected his buns and turned to Ramota to thank him. As a token of appreciation, He gave her one of the buns, which she accepted.

One good turn deserves another. Isah still had his money’s worth even though he gave Ramota the extra. Hence, he has lost nothing.

Smart move.

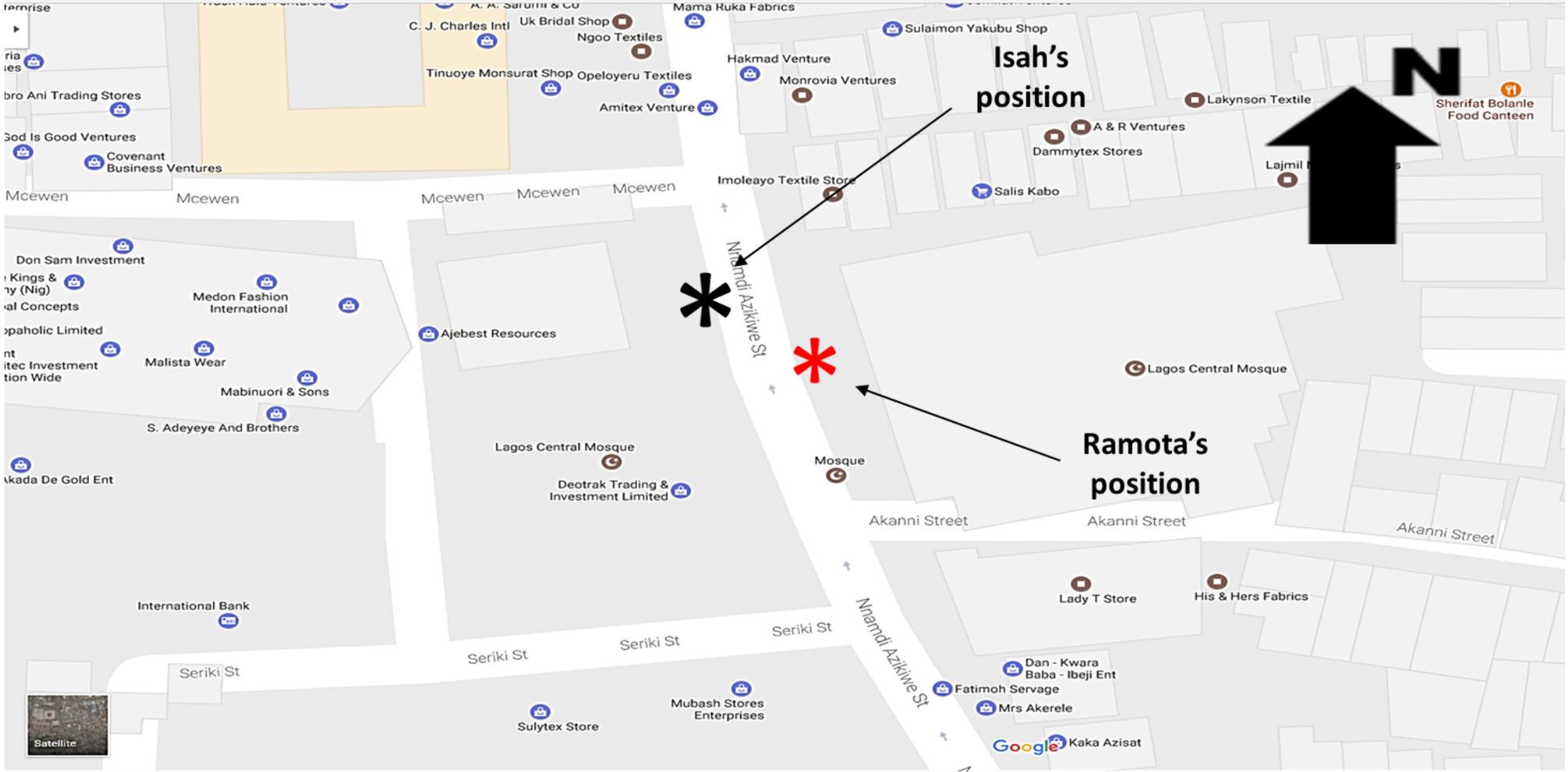
Isah looked in my direction, curiously and offered me one of his buns. I respectfully declined but thanked him. He then proceeded to eulogize me thereby making me feel embarrassed, as people around were beginning to look curiously at me. Sensing that he wanted me to buy something for him, I signaled to a pure water hawker who happened to pass by and bought 2 for him. “maakowahala tie lo, ma k’oba mi” [please go away with your problem, I don’t want any trouble]. I muttered to myself.

Meanwhile, Ramota eats her buns and threw the leftover on the ground in front of her, thanking Allah for the provision. Just that moment three pigeons flew down and started struggling with the crumbs!

[Insight]: finding opportunities in chaos, contested space

The commotion creates clusters of individuals and groups, leading to multiple, overlapping boundaries and traders and others seek opportunities within a negative situation. Hence, there is a strong link between social interactions and spatial compression





Isah's position

Ramota's position

N

Satellite

Encounter with Pregnant Woman [12:30 p.m.]: Space of hospitality: extending kind gesture, social interaction, marketing and human compassion

It is now 12:30 pm and the sun is getting unbearable. As a result of the earlier commotion, there is still heavy pedestrian and vehicular movement on the street. Time appears to be moving fast as there is so much distraction from the movement on the street. Meanwhile the Islamic chant from the mosque continues and this becomes the indicator of the time.

A heavily pregnant woman enters the scene, walking down the road along the side of the central mosque. She appears to be a bank worker at the late stage of pregnancy. She had her ID card round her neck, which indicated her status as a bank staff with zenith bank at Madam Tinubu square. Significantly, she was wearing a casual fancy slipper. It was obvious as she was moving with difficulty, that her EDD was near. From the size of her pregnancy, I could estimate that she was about 8 months pregnant. You could tell from the look on her face that she was stressed, she was sweating - as a result of the heat and humid weather, and she was also struggling with the wind blowing on her face - a product of the road acting as a air corridor.

"E Pele o, Isokaleanfani (safe delivery), E kuojulona" , they said; "E see ma, E k oroaje" , she replied

This lady was holding a thick but transparent nylon containing plastic flask and water container. She was walking from the direction of the Oluwole Park. This is an indication that she was coming from one of the local food canteens in the park. Looking at her, one would wonder why she didn't send somebody, instead of "stressing herself". Was it worth it? I wondered.

Most women would have gone on leave from work or would be restricting their movement to short distances at this stage of pregnancy, hence, her ability to walk is an indication her ruggedness or a sign of following medical advice to exercise to be strong for a safe delivery. Whichever it was, I was not going to find out. My job was to enjoy and learn from the scene that followed:

She crossed the Nnamdi Azikwe Street and walked towards the motor park at the Lagos central mosque. The street was clear at this moment, so she had no need to rush while crossing. She crossed slowly and a bit comfortably. As stated earlier the motor park of the central mosque represents a leeward side to human and vehicular traffic on Nnamdi Azikwe Street. This must have been a subconscious reason that has influenced her decision to cross the road.

Significantly, the central mosque side of the street aligns with zenith bank, hence I guess she was trying to avoid needing to cross again until she got to her office. Furthermore, the mosque area represents a leeward side in terms of ease of movement and available space. This side of the road was shaded at this time, and full of Yoruba women whom she was familiar with, including her fabric customers. At this time, however, incidentally, she walked towards Ramota, unintentionally, it seems. Ramota, being a petty trader however chose to seize this opportunity to reach out to this pregnant woman – a "standard" way of marketing strategy, if you are a petty trader. Furthermore, Nigerians are known to be sympathetic people, especially to vulnerable groups such as this pregnant woman.

Fortunately, this pregnant woman responded by greeting Ramota, in return. A sign of a well-mannered, educated and cultured Yoruba woman. The pregnant woman leaned on one of the cars to rest and facing Ramota, she began to chat with her, while Abu-Bakr looked on with keen interest. The three of them formed a triangle of social space. Ramota sensed her distress and offered this pregnant woman her seat. Curiously, I noticed that other traders around, especially the female fabric sellers and the sanitation workers were watching with keen interest and a sense of slight apprehension for her state. One of the fabric traders offered her a stool, which she respectfully but cheerfully declined, but expressed deep appreciation for the kind gesture.

“How can I take a seat that I don’t know who has used it and where it came from. Besides can I trust this old woman, a trader that I don’t know, that much, even though she appears to be kind? I don’t even know why she is being so kind to me. Hmmm, Do I know her real intentions, especially as I am pregnant and god forbid! If anything goes wrong. One has to be smart and be security conscious. This is going to be my first child and I don’t want anything to go wrong. My husband, in-laws, parents and siblings have warned me TRUST NO ONE!”

- I wondered within me, based on common knowledge about precautionary measures for pregnant women in public spaces

This pregnant woman claimed that seating at times makes her uncomfortable in her state, especially with a low stool. Ramota willingly agreed without making a fuss. This pregnant woman however, remained standing leaning against the car and continued her conversation. She must be enjoying the warmth and friendliness of Ramota – in the open, public space. At this moment, people were passing by and watched as they walked on.

Just then, a young woman came along, spotted Abu-Bakr, and requested to buy watermelon. After a brief negotiation, not more than 2 minutes she bought 2 at N10:00 each. This woman must be a regular customer, judging by the speed of the transaction. After making the payment and receiving her goods, she proceeded to thank Abu-Bakr, and then turned to politely greet RAMOTA and the pregnant lady in Yoruba, to which they responded with a smile. Among the Yoruba's this is a sign of a well cultured person with good manners. They all responded to her greetings, and she walked away. Abu-Bakr was smiling as he pocketed the money, while showing a sign of gratitude to Allah for the sale. Suddenly, as if he had a brainwave, or that god was about to answer his prayers again, Abu offered this pregnant woman the water melon. She seemed undecided whether to buy or not. Sensing this indecision, Ramota interfered by advising her on the health benefit, freshness and quality of the product. This the pregnant woman could not dispute and seeing that another lady had just bought 2 and walked away. This put her in a compromising position. Even though she wasn’t planning to buy this fruit, but because Ramota had been accommodating, as she had given her some of her time, she had seen somebody had just bought this product without a fuss and as an educated person, she knew the benefits of such fruits. This woman, out of courtesy brought out N20:00 to buy one, Abu-Bakr seeing the money thought she wanted two and gave her the two, but this pregnant woman insisted that she could only afford one and that she had not planned to buy in the first place, to which everybody laughed and agreed. Abu the proceeded to almost reluctantly give her N10:00 change. This woman

thanked him and attempted to give him back the extra fruit. Abu-Bakr looked at her and said that she should keep it. The pregnant woman thanked Abu and Ramota and then proceeded to take her leave.

As she was walking away towards the fabric sellers, Ramota stood up to offer advice on the need to avoid walking but to send somebody from her office. This is to avoid undue stress and any unforeseen unfavorable outcomes. Abu then chipped in that if she didn't mind, he could package this product and be "supplying" it to her in the office on regular basis. The pregnant woman stood looked back, with the traders looking at her with a sign of approval of the wisdom in the suggestion. To this, she was almost reaching out from her complementary card, then she suddenly stopped. Rather, she brought out a bank leaflet and wrote on it the cashier department. One of the fabric sellers offered to assist her pass this to Abu.

Suddenly the pregnant woman stopped and turned back as if she forgot something. She reached out into her purse and brought out complementary cards bearing her details. She handed these to the fabric sellers and to Abu, who eagerly showed this to Ramota. This is an opportunity for marketing, which is likely to attract positive response due to her manners, and her pregnancy – a sentimental gesture. At the same time, it represents a risk, given the diabolical tendencies of certain individuals.

1:00 pm: extending helping hand to visitors

It is 1:00pm and the commotion has eased up a bit. Pedestrians are now able to resume their free movement. Vehicles are moving freely as well. The street hawkers have also dispersed, with more patrolling the street. However, Kunle has moved on. Everything is easing up a bit, but there is still high concentration of pedestrian movement.

Among the diverse population of people that come to Nnamdi Azikwe Street are male and female visitors, who have either 'lost their way' or need assistance in order to locate a particular place. This is a common occurrence, given the mixed use, compact nature of the built environment around the street. Furthermore, the few road signs of the street, particularly those around the street market areas, have been totally or partially covered by advertisements or almost unnoticeable due to their obscure location.

This makes human interaction very important, to get detailed explanation about any location. This enhances the significance of street market traders and street vendors or any other personnel playing any particular role in the city space [e.g., sanitation workers, municipal authorities].

In Lagos, it is quite risky to engage with strangers [that is, unknown pedestrians with no role or similar visitors]. This is due to a high level of distrust among the Lagosians, given the high occurrence of theft, pickpocketing and kidnapping for rituals and other diabolical reasons. Often, it is not the case with street hawkers, who are strategically located in the public and are known to be willing to engage with strangers – whom to these traders can be regarded as potential customers, if for no other reason, than to market their goods and thus represents a form of good will service. Furthermore, strangers are more comfortable with these hawkers as they are expected to have [at least] a

knowledge of the area, since they interact with diverse individuals and population groups and move about, in the course of them making their living from the street.

This is the situation with Ramota, at this time of the day. As she walks looking to and fro, talking to herself, singing, and at the same time fanning herself and her combs and shifting and blowing her tray. Abu-Bakr had excused himself and crossed to the other side of the road, leaving his tray of fruits behind with Ramota, to look after. 2 strangers [women in traditional Yoruba attire] approached Ramota and asked for directions. She willingly stood up and tried to describe the location from her position at the central mosque, using her hands to show the direction to follow. It seemed that they are trying to locate Idumagbo, which is further up the Nnamdi Azikwe Street. After explaining the direction and they are being satisfied, these strangers thanked Ramota and proceeded to take their leave, waving goodbye, with Ramota doing the same. Not long after, these women came back to Ramota. One of them opened her purse [secretly] and brought out N200:00 which she handed over to Ramota. Ramota was surprised, thinking that they wanted to patronize her. They said it was simply a token of good will for her kindness. Still reluctant, she said she did it for free, as it cost her nothing to describe a place to a fellow human being. They replied that that gesture was the basis of their offer to her and that they are members of a Christian evangelical ministry who do not decimate anyone, no matter the tribe, religion, ethnicity or race [I was pleasantly surprised!]. Therefore, this was a form of 'reaching out' to her. Ramota was so surprised stating that she too has respect for every religion, particularly good Christians – if they are calling on God, and people practice what they preach, which is a problem with Nigerians, and Lagosians in particular – so religious, but few practitioners. With this, Ramota willingly took the money, prayed for these women and they turned to leave.

Shortly after, a credit and thrift lady [Iyaalajo] came to Ramota. After exchanging greetings, the lady requested for Ramota's weekly contribution. Ramota gave her this N200:00 and got back a change of N100:00. They exchanged pleasantries and the lady left.

[Insight]: Abstract space and the social dynamics of commerce, culture, religion and gender.

1:30 pm: presence of religious devotees, presence of municipal authorities, personal encounter with sanitation workers

It is 1:30pm and it is hot, sunny, humid and also time for worship. Nnamdi Azikwe Street contains a significant number of mosques, apart from the Lagos central mosque [which is also regarded as 'MosalasiJimoh']. This is responsible for the significant presence of male and female Muslims on the street. These Muslims belong to the various sects, which is revealed in the varieties of outfits, which also shows the level of devotion to the religion. Among them are those that could be classified as extreme.

During the day, several devotees, men, women, children, young, old walk along the street, on both sides. However, everyone minding his / her own business.

During this period, there is a bit of cleaning to do on the street as it was busy and the sanitary workers are still around. During this period, the social workers can be seen mingling with the street market traders, customers or just hanging out in the available space. This seemed like a down time as the heat is intense. After returning from mid-day cleaning, the mosque space, which incidentally is quite shaded at this time, enabled these workers to gather and chat.

Also, at this time mini vans begin to arrive to deliver goods drop goods. In addition, mobile product promoters have arrived the scene, with their big vehicles packed at the tail end of Nnamdi Azikwe Street. The implication is that there is double parking almost everywhere, for which the traders moved towards to shield themselves from the sun.

As there is shortage of parking space, a car belonging to Lagos CBD tax force came to park on the border of the central mosque in Lagos. The drivers and occupiers then got out, greeted everyone generally and then crossed to the other side of the road. Meanwhile, there is a NO PARKING SIGN, which they 'conveniently' ignored. Are they above the law? Or they are enjoying religious immunity?

Soon an 18-seater Toyota hiase van arrives. Ramota and Abu-Bakr had to move slightly. The driver called them back saying that he would adjust his van so that they can continue to stay in the space. After all, he met them there and did not want to disturb their business.

Who owns the space?

As all these was going on, the Igbo street market traders were busy unwrapping their new products and sorting them out for display in their location on the street. This led to the generation of waste materials from this process which littered the street. Elsewhere, trading transactions were taking place with hawkers, street marketers and consequently, the street was being littered.

Almost immediately, the sanitation workers, who had left the scene and gone into groups came back to the street to start cleaning up. They divided themselves into groups to clean up. Luckily the litters were not as much as the morning, so it afforded some of them the opportunity to gist while working. Suddenly there was a gush of wind that blew via the street. Unfortunately, it was hot sunny, and because it had not rained for a couple of days, there was dust on the ground. As a result, this gush of wind blew the dust particles as well as the litters and scattered them in all directions. The traders and pedestrians had to dodge by either covering their face with bare hand, or changing their direction or simply brave through it. Some pedestrians also took shelter with the street market traders. As the gush was full of dust, eventually everybody had to cover their face and eyes. The wind became stronger and traders with exposed goods had to adjust them by either covering them up or putting them away. The sanitation workers who were initially getting ready to work had to suspend it – with mixed blessings, though – on one hand, they don't have to sweep again, as 'nature' had done it for them; on the other hand, 'nature' has scattered the dirt, which means more work for them later in the day, or the following morning.

Poor Ramota was also caught in the gush of wind, as well. For her it is a mixed blessing – the wind is a source of comfort against the high humidity as well as being a carrier of dust, which is harmful to the eyes and dirties exposed

products thereby reducing their market value. Luckily, she had her hat which she kept on her and covered her products with transparent PVC nylon. Furthermore, she moved her goods backwards to take advantage of the shelter provides by the parked vehicles at the mosque parking space. Eventually a male pedestrian, a corporate sector worker sneaked in front of her. He sought for permission to stand there in order to avoid the wind, which she agreed, to he expressed his gratitude. From his greeting Ramota deduced that he was a Yoruba and she proceeded to engage him in conversation about the weather, to which he expressed his admiration about the courage of street traders in the open, like Ramota, unlike people like himself who are in the corporate formal sector and thus spend most of their time in the office. Sensing that this fellow was sympathetic to their plight, Ramota jokingly appealed to him to help speak to the authorities about the plight of street traders, that they should provide affordable stalls so that they can move indoors. This guy promised to speak on her behalf, but he then argued that would it not be better for the traders to come together and pressurise the local authorities to provide designated space for them in the open, but with adequate provision of shelter? Just like a properly structured open market, as is the case with other countries with similar challenges with street markets. Ramota agreed with this idea, but argued back that the traders don't want to cooperate with themselves, that everyone was in his / her 'comfort zone' and that it is in their nature to be selfish and seeking their personal interest and not the collective good. This young man agreed and sighed. On this note, he thanked Ramota again and hurried away.

Ramota sighed deeply. 'This is Lagos. The land of hustlers. Everyman to himself'.

Meanwhile, the wind eased up a bit and the sanitation workers returned to the street to clean up. There was little or nothing to do, as the wind had swept everything away, so they formed groups and werechatting in the street,



with cleaning tools in their hand. Some of these workers were close by my location [see picture] and two of them approached me. [I guess their latest conversation was about me and they were curious about my presence].

2:00 pm: Boredom, heat and discomfort

By 2:00 pm it is still very sunny, the wind was still and the events on the street has become monotonous. Cars moving, pedestrians walking past – to and from, chatting, greeting or just looking away. There seems to be equal concentration of pedestrian movement on both sides of the road. And everything seems stable. Even the Isah, the traffic warden has left the street, as cars are now moving at regular pace, without obstructing each other. Abu-Bakr had just crossed the road to see a friend, who in turn took him into Oluwole motor park.

However, there is body discomfort due to heat from the sun and the surrounding glare from the bitumen material on the street. Despite the fact that Ramota has utilized the shade given, by the van that just parked, she has grown weary, and thus, stands up to stretch herself, walks around her products, yawns, moves randomly/circular motion. Almost subconsciously, she crosses the road and stumbles into an elderly Alhaja who was walking by. Meanwhile she positions herself in such a way that she can be looking at her goods from afar while talking. After a lengthy conversation of about 15 minutes. They exchange pleasantries, the elderly woman moves on while Ramota returns to her post.

She then takes one of the remaining pure waters, which she had not drank, went to a corner to wash her face. Even though it was not a prayer time, Ramota used that opportunity to spread her mat and say her prayers.

She returns to her seat and with her face still wet, begins to fan herself with her raffia hat, but not satisfied, she takes blows herself and adjusts forward to take the breeze from the passing cars. The double parking situation was still there.

She later stands up again to stretch herself, when suddenly, a young man, seemingly in a hurry, almost collided with her *'iya, e wo ibitenlo'* [woman look at where you are going], he remarked rudely and hurried away. Ramota ignores the insults, as she is used to such. In addition, she was not in the mood to engage herself in any confrontation, especially with a person young enough to be her son.

A few pedestrians notice her, before an elderly man stops to greet briefly about the weather, which was getting very unbearable. Other traders around took shade under their wide umbrellas. The driver of the imam, who was still there in his car, simply put on the A/C of the car, turned on the radio and slightly wind down the glass on the front passenger's side of the car, so that some of the cool breeze can escape. He then signalled to Ramota with the horn of the car to come over to the passenger side of the car, to 'take some of the good things of life'. Ramota, expressed her gratitude and moved her stool towards that side of the car, she stood up periodically to feel the breeze, directly, for a few seconds before sitting down again.

5:00 p.m. Evening daily prayer time

It is 5:00 pm and the minarets are sounding for evening for prayers. Even though today is not Friday and this is a central mosque [a main mosque meant for congregational worship – ‘*MosalasiJimoh*’, as the locals popularly call it], Prayers take place every day in this mosque. Even though, it is a weekday, faithfuls[‘*lemoomu*’] still come in their tents and hundreds.

CONCLUSION Personal space: effect of outdoor environment

Ramota outfit includes her hat, a light round neck cotton shirt. These are worn in order to combat the outdoor exposure and to get noticed. He moves about occasionally and interacts with others. This gives her the opportunity to stretch herself and break the sitting monotony. Even though, the mosque car park is a neat environment, the immediate surroundings – across the road is a contrast to this setting. This includes dirt, noise, and humidity.

The placement at the premises of the Lagos central mosque offers Ramota the opportunity to meet and relate with a diversity of people during her daily life. These people range from male to female, young to old and they offer varieties of behavior, which shape her lived experiences. They contribute significantly to understanding the following factors which explains why Ramota prefers that location as trading spot:

Ease of access, vintage positioning, religious significance, familiar people, security, high activity concentration - meeting people: human sociological & psychological impact - wellness, wellbeing, succor, ease, company. The resultant effects include Ramota performing multiple roles during her course of everyday life. This includes her role as information giver: relating with strangers and friends (categorized as pedestrians and vehicle users) which means adapting to a variety of human characters and behavior.

Based on the totality of everyday experience the following sociological impact analysis is obtained:

Sociological impact:

Reflection: space & human behaviour

Life offers both sides of the coin. We have to deal with both. The multiplicity in meaning of space is revealed in its ability to accommodate multiple / variance of human behaviour. Lagosians are active people - always on the move, and this can affect their behaviour in public - particularly to strangers. This provides a broad range of emotions which make up her sociological impact:

- Positive: Tips, patronage, information, recommendations, goodwill, joy, love, fulfilment, sense of belonging
- Negative: sadness, insult, anger, snub, rude, dirt, blocking, invasion of privacy, ingrate, mood swing

Summary

The insights from this sample study are obtained from the interlink of findings from each aspect of the table of content. This cumulates into the sample study and reflects an interweave of these aspects of the study:

- Placement of street market activities is heavily influenced by the dense population and crowded nature of the built environment layout and building architecture. [problem].

- Ramota thrives on social space. Ramota engages with different social class, each with unique circumstances and resultant engagement with space. She meets with diverse types of people with varying characters. This influences the approach, meaning and experiences of space.
- Her world view is constantly shaped by events in the city space which she contributes to or happens to her.
- The street and the mosque combine to produce her world view, which influences her behavior and response to people she meets every day. What you would expect from Ramota's social class is reflected in her behavior to others and within the space of her trade.
- Ramota presents multiple personalities, with which she can balance several aspects of life, including meeting people with diverse characters. She represents different personalities to different people she meets, hence, she is able to adapt to the people and thus adapt to her surroundings and ultimately, shape her world view. This quality is necessary for her to thrive as a trader in this location.

Analysis of trade positioning in everyday life

- Standing / looking / engaging; sitting / looking / engaging; walking ; leaning ; stand alone ; praying ; absent
- Socio- spatial significance of Nnamdi Azikwe street: because of the surrounding land use features, the street becomes a platform for various interpretations, use and meanings that define the everyday experience of the area.
- The street markets therefore represent stimulant for social relationships via meetings, encounters, views, negotiations, and other social factors that make up the experience of everyday life.

Insights

- i. The vintage position provides an opportunity to reach out
- ii. The process of reaching out reveals the cultural characteristics of the Lagosians
- iii. There is a correlation between the process of reaching out and in providing opportunity to market goods and services
- iv. There is a seamless process of adaptability to the dictates of the environment and ability to respond via social interaction
- v. Social interaction opens up possibilities and endless opportunities
- vi. The border between formality and informality is very narrow.
- vii. Culture, language, religion ring people together. It is noteworthy that the conversation took place in vernacular
- viii. People connection and opportunity knows no boundaries – whether educated or otherwise.
- ix. Social space
- x. Hybridity of identity
- xi. There is a thin line between informality and time consciousness
- xii. There is a thin line between a dualist economy - which includes outlook as portrayed by these women.

6.3 Discussions and conclusion

1. COMMON THEMES OBTAINED FROM NON-PARTICIPANT AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

WITH THE SAMPLES:

- The problem is that street trading and pedestrian and vehicular traffic flow are interwoven.
- the importance of strategic placement in trading
- evidence of pragmatism and resilience in negotiations
- it seems that there is an organic way of doing things in which the essence of the space as an entity is being explored for its commercial value

2. COMMON THEMES OBTAINED FROM INTERVIEW WITH THE SAMPLES:

- Disconnect, anger, frustration, dreams, failed expectations, quest ...etc.
- The challenge of over taxation, tolls, and levies from different control sectors. This represents a means of ripping off a vulnerable set of people, due to lack of alternatives but to come out into the open space to trade. This clearly shows that public space is being commercialized under the guise of upholding law and order. This also indicates the peculiar chain of economics existing in the area through the distribution of goods and services, and also the circulation of capital among different stakeholders. This shows how street trading becomes an important tool in the organization and distribution of wealth, which in itself represents an organic way of ensuring sustainability through the public space, which becomes a tool of common identity.
- Therefore, the urban public space becomes a platform to create *awareness* by highlighting the actual needs of a section of the population through *vernacular acts of commerce*, as a low-cost form of self-help initiative. This initiative also becomes the basis of expressing their rights to the city.

CONCLUSION

It is noteworthy that the type of product has spatial implications, as it determines how the space is shaped to accommodate the goods, the packaging technique, the patronage level, customer preference and the marketing strategy. Given the various types of goods being sold by different traders, these factors create an interesting complex array of spatial patterns in the public space.

3. EVIDENCE OF THE NEED FOR PRAGMATIC APPROACH TO PROBLEM SOLVING:

- It seems that street trading is a response to a bigger problem, which is overcrowding and the resultant pedestrian and vehicular traffic congestion, which symbolises the hustle and bustle of everyday life. Arguably, the presence of street traders, even though it seems unconventional, represents an unconventional economic approach to providing everyday essentials. This leads to the alleviation of stress and strain by anticipating and meeting immediate and future needs to provide everyday essentials, through vernacular communication and strategic placement, which leads appealing, viable, basic, minimal, flexible alternatives, thereby saving time and money and adding value
- Consideration of added value, given the peculiarities of city life through creative means of space renegotiation
- Reconsideration of vulnerable groups such as street hawkers through creative means of space renegotiation such as taxation and provision of amenities in order to add value to themselves and the society

Chapter 7:

Outdoor manicure & pedicure treatment by a group of Yoruba women

TABLE OF CONTENT

- i. Introduction: description of trading activity and rationale for sample study [significance of sample study] - Embodied [social] space
- ii. Location and description of setting of sample study along Isheri road, Ojodu Berger
- iii. Ethical issues and considerations
- iv. Sample study - everyday life experiences: narrative, problems and challenges, people and surrounding activities, adaptations.
Findings, analysis, insights, conclusion.



Feedback: FEMALE Gender group of manicure/pedicure traders (source: field work, 2016)
"Women are suffering in this Lagos"

Category of informal trading activity:

Sedentary trading comprising of population group of female commercial service providers

Location and setting: The trading activity is located at the Ogunnusi bus stop off the main Isheri road at Ojodu Berger. This is a considerable distance from the main activity core around the Lagos Ibadan expressway, Ojodu Berger

This bus stop serves as terminus and take off point for interstate buses plying Ikeja mainland and environs. It also serves as tricycle and Motorcycle Park for transportation within Ojodu Township and the suburbs.

This bus stop is also bounded by the Adeboye shopping mall, whose fence acts as a barrier for the entire stretch of the mall and as enclosure for the space.

Ogunnusi Motor Park is a major bus stop, hence a large concentration of transport vehicles, tricycles and motorcycles. This, coupled with the proximity to the Adeboye shopping mall, from which an entry point is in the motor park. This mixed arrangement of spaces act as a stimulant for the high pedestrian movement around the bus stop. Furthermore, the bus stop serves as extension of the Ojodu Berger retail market. Due to the spill over of retail marketers, who deal mostly in food based items, the setback just outside the stretch of fence of the Adeboye shopping mall serves as outdoor market extension for the traders, thereby attracting more pedestrians – by giving more options, either indoor [the retail market] or outdoor [the bus stop]. The presence of these retail marketers coupled with the traders from the existing shopping mall, who deal in fabrics and other non-perishable items, gives the bus stop a mixed ‘hybrid’ linear market setting, with the Ogunnusi road serving as linear approach to the market.

Ethical issues & considerations

It is important to be courteous in this environment, and be ready to identify with the traders, thereby giving them ease of mind. This is because there is a prevailing feeling of uncertainty among these traders, because they have faced numerous threats of eviction from law enforcement agents. As a result, anyone appearing corporate or educated is regarded as a spy or government informant. Furthermore, experience of daily cycle has given the traders the intuition to know pedestrians who are ‘familiar’ and ‘strangers’ – whom they treat with caution

Significance of setting:

This is a group of women providing manicure / pedicure services to women in a bus stop on Ogunnusi Street Ojodu. To the left, the setting is bounded by the fence of a privately owned mini shopping complex that stretches down to the junction of Kosoko Street. On the right the setting is bounded by the premises of PEP shopping complex. This is a mixed-use setting which contains groups of street marketers selling different range of perishable and non-perishable products. These street marketers make up a population group of sedentary traders made up of men and

women. The arrangement of the traders along the fence makes this a linear boundary of cluster groups of overlapping boundaries.

Ogunnusi Street is a major street which stretches from Ojodu Berger Motor Park, down to Ikeja junction. This is a busy route for the formal sector workers and commuters coming from outside Lagos into Ikeja and vice versa.

Significance of trade type:

Female group of outdoor manicure / pedicure service providers. Manicure and pedicure treatment is a common beauty treatment among women all over the world, particularly in the urban centers. However, In Lagos metropolis, a westernized developing world city but also where religion and culture are integral aspects of the world view, and thus part of everyday life, outward display of beauty, is accepted but expected to be done in moderation - balance and acceptance. However, public show of beauty treatment, or extreme forms of beauty expressions, such as nail painting, face treatment and other forms of beauty treatment is associated with women with loose morals or easy virtue. As such those engaged in this business, such as these samples are often seen as jobless encouragers of 'immorality'. As such, this type of business is often done behind closed doors. Therefore, bringing this business into the open, even though, in this case, is out of necessity, it represents a way of breaking the norms to break existing ideological stereotypes about the business. Furthermore, interactions with nearby traders who, in most cases abhor the stereotypes, and getting along with them successfully, closing the gap existing between stereotypes and reality.

Immediate vicinity: the Ogunnusi motor park is a busy location attracting multiple people and land use activities in the same spot. The motor park status, coupled with its adjoining proximity to the Gbenga Adebayo shopping mall – as backdrop – makes the motor park a convergence point of several people and other activities. Furthermore, the distance away from the Ojodu Berger activity core as well as its strategic location as a being close to a major corner piece – Oremeta Street makes the bus stop – in itself a centre of activity. This factors contributes to the concentration of street vendors in and around the bus stop.

Contested space: convergence of everyday cultural values, norms and human qualities

These ladies put up an open, engaging personality. This is in order to counter any negative impression anyone may have about their moral status and to show that they are engaging in a legitimate business '*we have nothing to hide. We are not women of easy virtue*'. As a result, their business is an expression showcasing personal skills in the public domain to make wealth. Furthermore, they end up offering impromptu training to other traders who observe them or are drawn to them, because of the openness / uniqueness and characteristics of their trading activity. Henri Lefebvre (1991) argues that the arrangement and allocation of space are never truly clear, despite popular belief to the contrary. Critically examining space and spatial relations, on the other hand, reveals often-ignored biases, prejudices, and inequities (Low, 2014).

Low, S., 2014. Spatializing culture: An engaged anthropological approach to space and place (2014). In *The people, place, and space reader* (pp. 34-38). Routledge.

The peculiarity of their trading activity, coupled with the 'unorthodox' location leads to the following questions:

- How much do they make in a day? Who are their customers? What are the challenges in the location? Why did they choose this location?

It is noteworthy that they enjoy a relative level of acceptance, in spite of the contrasting nature of their trade, compared with that of other traders in this location. This served as a source of attraction to them and a level of trust since they represent a neutral personality among traders of similar products. It also served as a source of hostility, as some of these other traders view them as the cynosure of attention, coupled with a feeling of the questionable background of these women leading them to engage in this type of commercial activity.



SETTING OF SAMPLE STUDY: OGUNNUSI BUS STOP ALONG ISHERI ROAD, OJODU BERGER

STREET MARKETS: OPTIMAL USE OF SCARCE RESOURCES – MAXIMIZING VERTICAL SPACE

Picture showing various forms of vertical and horizontal arrangement patterns adopted by the traders to maximize the space. Consequently, the vendors used minimal resources in order to define their spaces and to create as much visual impact as possible.

However, this arrangement is subject to the time of the day, as the fear of municipal authorities makes the traders to reduce the height of display during the day. However, by evening time, the traders raise their products as high as possible

Population size of traders:

- 26 behind the fence
- 12 before the fence
- 7 kekemarwa

- 2 buses
- 3 in aluminum kiosks



Strength in numbers and female dominated gender space - Mixed boundaries containing a cluster of food produce vendors making a mini - open market

This picture shows the sample surrounded by a group of sellers of food preparation, stuff and ingredients – vegetables, pepper, onions, meat, etc. The unique nature of the set up – the umbrella and the fact that they are all women, serves as an attraction for these other traders to cluster around them. Due to the shortage of space, coupled with the boundaries are not defined except for products in distinct containers belonging to each trader, who is known to other traders, and thus serving as a form of protection.

This is a symbiotic environment in which everybody seems to look out for each other. However, the unique nature of the setting serves as an indicator for potential customers of these vegetable traders.

Ogunnusi bus stop: convergence of mixture of land use activities – street markets, Motor Park, bus stop

Ogunnusi bus stop is essentially a bus stop. However, the varieties of activities taking place in and around the park makes it a composite space. However, street market activities is a dominant land use activity in the park and this competes equally with the primary land use activity – Motor Park and ride.

Due to the limitation of space and the composite use of the space, resulting from the congested nature of the surrounding built environment, this stimulates everyday socio – cultural tendencies among the traders and other users of the space. This includes symbiosis – collaboration among traders by sharing things in common. There is also religious harmony - the presence of traders from different religious background – a fact arising from the fusion of local residents and displaced traders from other locations such as Oshodi; Synergy ; Communal association ; Empathy all these result from congested nature of space leading to close proximity in order to stimulate social relationships among hitherto strangers – a socio - cultural tendency among Lagosians These street markets comprise of vendors selling different varieties of foodstuff ingredients. The population of traders comprise of mix of genders, and arranged in close proximity, along the stretch of the boundary. The traders are selling a variety of goods, especially food items.

Overlapping Territories, blurred boundaries, mixed population: proximity of traders leads to considerable level of “trust” among the traders. It was observed that personal properties were often left in each other’s custody. This indicates an unwritten, informal security initiative among the traders. It also entails constant vigilance by the traders, not only for the goods, but also for the pedestrians passing by – especially the municipal authorities’ officers such as KAI who often arrive unexpectedly to raid the traders.

High level of tolerance: this appears to exist among the traders and other users of the city space.

Arrangement of traders: This is influenced by (1) the presence of the Ojodu Berger motor park – an activity core area (2) the traffic interchange into and out of Lagos and via the Ogunnusi road (3) high settlement concentration around Ojodu Berger, due to urban sprawl of Lagos mainland (4) the vehicular and pedestrian movement pattern along Isheri road, which varies t at various periods of the day.

Alertness: the openness of the traders to the main road ensures a vantage position to see and to be seen, thereby enhancing the chances of sales. However, this position exposes the traders to the risk of confiscation of goods by the municipal authorities, hence the vantage position presents a risk of exposure.

Note: observations and ethical considerations - there seems to be a state of fear and uncertainty among the traders. Therefore, the research had to be done with assurances of good intent. This included participation, via patronage and giving tips to win confidence in the traders.

Anticipation: there is a sense of high level of anticipation by the traders – for potential customers, and the municipal authorities. This heightens the security alertness among the traders, which stimulates a sense of collective responsibility. There is also a high probability for visual and verbal connectivity as the crowded nature of the space stimulates proximity of people

Mixed use space: during the evening more traders join in, especially those selling clothe items.

QUESTION: why are they afraid to come out earlier? Because they are afraid of the task force.



STREET

MARKETS AT THE OGUNNUSI BUS STOP:

Background: an alternative, crude Marxist / socialist way to provide services, thereby ensuring ease and comfort for the working class in Lagos in an environment of limited resources and alternatives

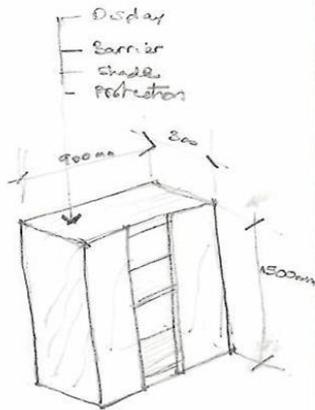


Afternoon: Scene of collaboration among traders at Ogunnusi bus stop. (Source: field study, 2016)



Evening time: preparation for spreading products on ground



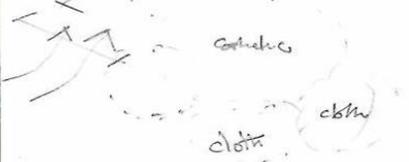


Feedback: Gender group of female manicure/pedicure traders (source: field work, 2016)

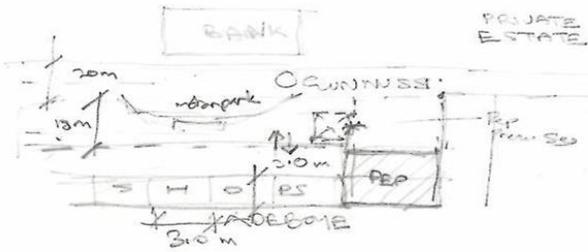
"women are suffering in this Lagos"

⊖ why most as a group are sitting from the sidewalk. However, due to the corner edge location of the shop, and the position of shade, they are often joined by electronic sellers, (including John) who takes advantage of the shade to protect his wares from the sun and display his goods, particularly to ladies who like phones.

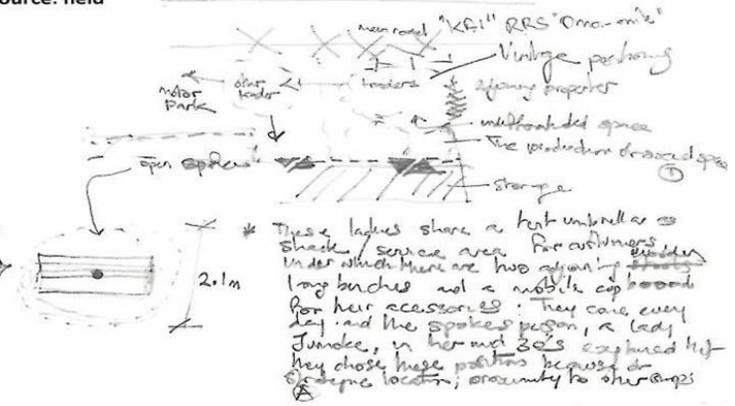
"This is Lagos, it's on here to watch each other, I scratch their back, they scratch mine. No wahala"



FININGS: the motor park represents an avenue for many debts, such as bus embark or work movement. For these gang, the time of day represents



- * CHARACTERISTICS
- Population sample: female gender group; church members
 - Pedicure/manicure traders
 - Age range b/w 25 - 35 years
 - South West ethnicity
 - Graduates / unemployed in formal sector
 - cluster / round urban market



MANICURE/PEDICURE WOMEN – SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS

- Clustered gendered space
- Flexible Boundaries and edges determined by social relationship with adjoining shopping spaces

- Sentry surveillance against KAI officials

NATURE OF SETTING - 'EMBODIED SPACE' : ANALYSIS OF SPATIAL FEATURES

- **umbrella:** shelter, identity, nodal feature, vertical boundary marker
- **Stools:** comfort, hospitality, service, sitting, rest
- **Product cupboard:** display, shield, advert
- **Bags / miscellaneous items:** boundary, identity, livelihood

Spatial analysis

This comprises of a 2 meter umbrella, under which are arranged 2 long benches, and a 1.5 meter tall display box. This is a unique set up in the motor park area and the arrangement is a form of attraction – and hatred, jealousy and mixed opinions. The set-up is strategically located in a corner, away from the driveway of the motor park. This can be regarded as the residual space of the motor park, which doubles as the boundary of the Adeboye shopping center, and edge of the PEP supermarket property line.

Social significance

Its uniqueness and openness make this setting an 'all comer's attraction'. This is coupled with the 'liberal, flexible' nature of the ladies and the need to cooperate with everybody in the setting.

EVERYDAY DAY ROUTINE

Starting off:

Its 7:00am in the morning on Isheri road, and traffic has already started to build up on the side of the road leading to Berger Motor Park. The effects of the heavy downpour of the previous night can still be seen on the road. This includes the heavy go slow – the effect of drivers trying to avoid potential potholes in the middle of the road, thereby causing a build-up of vehicular traffic. One can also see the 'mess' – including sand, paper and other waste produce scattered all over the road. Unfortunately, the existing roadside open gutters have done little or nothing to absorb the wastewater – as they too are filled up with waste. The whole place stinks and looks ugly. Partially dried up wastewater remains on the road and created an ugly pattern on the road. If you are so unfortunate, you become a victim of 'tyre decoration' on your dress – a result of splash of this wastewater on the pedestrian. If you are so unfortunate to be wearing 'white' and the splash happens to you, then count yourself very unlucky.

Meanwhile, pedestrian traffic is also on the rise at this time, due to the vehicular traffic build up on the other side of the road, there is a heavy concentration of pedestrian movement on the opposite side of the road, the Ogunnusi bus stop side. There is relatively lighter vehicular traffic on this side of the road, but that does not stop the already known high speeding and often reckless Okada driver from blasting his 'trailer horn' on everybody. This is Lagos and everybody is law.

Its 7: 45 am and Ogunnusi bus stop is also alive as well. The danfo drivers and their 'agbrero's' are busy calling out for passengers 'Ikeja - Ogba, Opebi, Allen'. A few traders have arrived at the Adeboye shopping mall extension. At the same time, commuters are boarding the already 'filled up' rickety 18-seater buses [man has no choice!]. A few food vendors have also arrived on the scene and they are setting up on the fence of the Adeboye shopping mall. You can hear greetings here and there, and abuse as well – "Abeg, mind your leg oh. Watch my products. Unadey go your office, this is my own office. Abeg!"

As the Finally, the

'Divine' and 'business' social space:

Its 8:15 am and after completing the setting up, which takes about 10 to 15 minutes, usually 2 or 3 of them at the same time. They usually pray as there is less people around, but they don't mind if any one sees them praying, after all, they are not hypocrites and they are not doing anything 'illegal'. They start each day with prayer to invoke the 'supernatural' into their daily affairs. They use bible quotes that reflect their situation and heart desire such as:

"Thus hath the Lord dealt with me in the days wherein he looked on me, to take away my reproach among men" (Luke 1: 25); "When men are cast down, then thou shalt say, There is lifting up; and he shall save the humble person.(Job 22: 29); " For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth" (Job 19: 25). All quotes from the King James Version

You can easily see that these ladies are 'bible conscious, church compliant' Christians who are not 'ashamed of the gospel'.

They keep their goods with the shop owners at the Adeboye shopping mall nearby. There is a storage space behind the shop which the shop owner has 'leased' to them in order to keep their materials – based on a negotiated price! They share the responsibility of cleaning the space, which is very necessary for the kind of business they are doing, therefore, before settling down, they arrange the space properly.

These passengers come from different directions but end up entering the bus stop from the right – where these traders are located or from the left. Gradually the 1st bus is filling up. Even though these traders are quite conspicuous, very few of the passengers take time to greet them, others simply ignore them. Meanwhile they are at their best behavior, smiling at everyone who care to notice them!

Food vendors are also arriving on the scene and are setting up on the fence of the Adeboye shopping mall. Therefore, these women share the use of the motor park with different people of different gender and having different interests. A crucial point noteworthy is that due to the absence of a purpose-built bus stop shed, the food vendors are able to maximize the use of the space. The place becomes a composite space for symbiotic commercial based relationship.

The motor park is a prime location along Isheri road. It is bounded by this road, the PEP supermarket [ultra-modern] and the Adeboye shopping mall.

7.2 Questionnaire with street traders

7.2.1 Findings, analysis, discussions

The study achieved 100% response from the Street traders. The success was due to the openness of the respondents to appreciate to challenges faced by street traders and thus their willingness to participate.

The aim of distributing the questionnaires was to obtain insights from respondents regarding their experience with street traders. These insights are analyzed to generate themes, from which the study makes its contributions and recommendations.

100 % of the respondents stated that they were aware of critics against them and that they identified these opinions as the negative consequences of their profession. Therefore, to get recognition, assert their rights over the urban area and identify as a noble profession, promote sales and remove the stigma associated with their activity, albeit, the low cadre category of employment, these traders have taken modern measures, and within the context of their trading activities.

Furthermore, the fact that 100% of the traders identified and responded appropriately to the negative aspect of the increasing awareness, sophistication and education among the traders, in order to blend with the demands of modernity. This is a useful consideration for policy makers in making their decision regarding the status of street traders.

Social challenges:

- Disconnect, Anger, Frustration, dreams, failed expectations

Spatial challenges:

- Everyday spatial adjustments, living through inconvenience and people challenges as a result of space constraints, ventilation of grievances by using everyday experiences (uncertainty, frustrations, initiative, resilience, expectations, stress, exposure, claims) to make suggestions
- Socio-political gaps: Poor handling of negotiations, Timing, Culture of fear.....

Suggestions:

- Negotiated space: Renegotiation of space with all stakeholders.

- Population vulnerability: Reconsideration of vulnerable groups.
- Poverty: realization that there is poverty in the land

Summary of interview responses:

- "We know what the people want. We know how to target our customers. They know us and we know them. We must help each other, you know!"
- Government should come to our aid. We are really suffering in the sun.
- They don't care about us, the poor masses.
- We have dependents that are looking up to us.
- Life is hard and stressful but what can we do? What are the alternatives?
- We want better life for ourselves and our children
- There are no jobs, and we cannot steal or beg
- The economy is getting worse
- Life is very tough, but we must survive
- Only God can help us
- How do they expect us to take care of ourselves
- We have been trading for several years
- We have to manage what we have in order to survive
- We are afraid of the task force. They can come at any time and seize our goods. Therefore, we have to be on the lookout
- This work is stressful, but what choice do we have to survive. Do you think we like to be in the open?
- There are no shops. Even where there are, these shops are inadequate, expensive, dark and far from our customers. Imagine, we gave to deposit N15, 000:00, and pay N10, 000 for rent, every month. Where do they expect us to get that money from? How much do our goods worth?
- The shops they are providing does not reflect the kinds of goods we are selling; therefore we will lose our customers if we take those shops.
- Look! I don't care about what they will do. Abeg, this is Lagos and man must survive. Abi I no sabi?

Recurring themes in response during interview:

- "They": The respondents commented (subconsciously) in plural noun. This is an indication of communal consciousness
- "fear":
- "culture":
- "resilience":
- "freedom":
- "taboo":
- "acceptance":
- "They" vs "them" mentality

Conclusion: Policy Recommendations Based On Interviews

1. Government needs to provide spatial alternatives that reflect the types of trade without comprising the quality of the built environment. This requires ingenious radical thinking, creativity, and readiness to engage with the traders by observing their daily routines and how they engage with space. It also includes taking case studies of cities such as Netherlands that have successfully incorporated pedestrian and vehicular needs into the city planning, and as such have successfully been able to accommodate activities like 'outdoor trading' .

Part 2: payments and space negotiations

In Lagos metropolis, payments and space negotiations are essential aspects of the process of acquiring space for street trading activities. These aspects take different forms, based on the street setting's location, the type of street trade, level of familiarity with the space negotiators and other people in the location. Therefore, this is a significant aspect of the study. The second part of the interview with the trader sample is where questions were asked about the process of payments and space negotiations. The questions are listed in the appendix section, but the responses form a part of the discussion of findings for each sample.

- Whom do they pay?
- How often do they pay?

- How many payments do they make, and when is it done?
- How much do you pay?
- What is the evidence of payments?
- What is the process of space negotiations?
- What are the behavioural dispositions during the negotiations and payments?
- What are the experiences if there is a breakdown during the payments and space negotiations?
- What can cause this breakdown?
- Does a successful payment and space negotiations secure the space for trading? If not, what are the other forces that can hinder securing the space?
- What measures do you take in order to secure your space apart from successful payments and space negotiations?
- What is your opinion about the process of payments and space negotiations? What are your likes and dislikes about the process of payments and space negotiations? What are your suggestions and recommendations about the process?

7.3 Key informant interview with people - representatives of the local population

7.3.1 Findings, analysis, discussions

Notable is the diversity of ideas and techniques to responding to the interview questions within the categories and groupings of respondents, thereby reflecting diversity in the feedback, and thus validating the findings of the interview.

Experience of daily life

- Crowd, traffic, stress, crime, noise, inadequate infrastructure, too many people, bad planning, lack of foresight, congestion. All these indicate spatial and social related problems, Interesting, stressful, meeting lots of people every day, and traffic.

7.4 Questionnaire with road users - pedestrian and vehicular traffic

7.4.1 Findings, analysis, discussions

The study achieved 100% response from the respondents. The success was due to the openness of the respondents to appreciate the challenges faced by street traders and thus their willingness to participate.

The aim of distributing the questionnaires was to obtain insights from respondents regarding their experience with street traders. These insights are analyzed to generate themes, from which the study makes its contributions and recommendations.

The choice of respondents cut across Lagosians of various backgrounds who have had frequent and direct contact with street traders. This is to provide a firsthand account of their experience and also for them to make informed decisions on their response to the questions in the questionnaire

Chapter 8:

Research outcome and conclusion – Summary, policy recommendations and future research

“Ise aje lo gbe mi de ile yi”

- *Classic Yoruba highlife/Juju from the 50’s.*

8.1 Introduction

The study's fourth goal is discussed in this section. The results of the fieldwork described in last two Chapters and 8 are summarised and synthesised in this chapter. This is to arrive at the recommendations that buttress the societal relevance of the study.

8.2 Significance of this study to public policy for street trading activities in Lagos metropolis, Nigeria

Purpose and scope of the study revisited

This study sought to understand the spatial contributions of street trading activities to the nature/culture and perception of Lagos metropolis, with Ojodu Berger motor park area, as the

case study location. Specifically, the study seeks to reveal how these informal commercial activities connect spatially with the hustle and bustle of daily life in the metropolitan public space of this area. Despite this fact and the debate over whether street vendors should be allowed in public areas, and the significant obstacles facing the Lagos state government when trying to formulate and implement legislation to address this pressing issue, the study uses its findings to make recommendations which address the gaps in current public policy for street trading activities in Lagos metropolis.

Through its approach, this study has achieved 3 sets of data to achieve the first aspect of the research aims. However, in this chapter, the study summarizes its findings, to address the second part of the research aim, which is also the 4th objective of the study.

Summary of sample studies and interviews

- Unpacking the factors leading to the subjective and alternative role of the urban public space as an economic commodity in Lagos metropolis:

In this chapter, the study examines the factors that led to the crowded nature of the case study location. These reflect the effects of rapid urban growth in Lagos metropolis. Consequently, given the crowded nature of the location and the presence and distribution of the many forms that public market trading on the streets can take, this study argues for the acknowledgement of the role of street trading activities in revealing the subjective and alternative role of the urban public space, as an economic commodity, and the resultant value it adds, in the generation and distribution of capital, as a result of the socioeconomic processes of city life. On this basis, it is possible to infer that the extraordinary presence of street trading activities in urban areas, not only in the case study location, but also in other locations all over Lagos metropolis, which is

replicated in different cities all over the world, shows the emergence and sustenance of a cheap, alternative socio-economic system, being a significant part of the informal economic sector, which is capable of complementing and integrating into the existing conventional form of economic systems; by harnessing, and adapting the available socio-spatial resources. As a result, this socio-economic process inadvertently addresses the gaps, limitations, and inadequacies of the current conventional model of capitalist. Free market based economic system being adopted by the state, when dealing with the difficulties of urban living, which revolves around sustenance, wellbeing, presentation and circulation of goods and services, by blending into and reflecting the needs, attributes, reality, lifestyle pattern, social and economic status, education, behavioural and cultural disposition, taste, everyday essentials, preference, world view, income level, and other social characteristics of the urban poor and lower class, who make up the bulk of the crowd that makes up the city population.

Due of the inevitable crowded nature of the city space, and the inability of conventional economic systems, which is being copied by the political class in their bid to fulfil the dream of the Lagos megacity. This study also contends that the emergence of informal activities like street dealing is necessary to meet the requirements of the population, particularly the urban poor and lower income people and the resultant socio-economic processes of everyday life represents a viable alternative means, worth exploring for public policy. This follows the pattern of situating the solution within the context of the problem. Not only does this reflect a pragmatic approach, which is creative, but it provides a unique form of sustainable development, with the current system providing the inputs. Given the current drive by the government to encourage self-sufficiency and the lack of welfare benefits for the citizens, exploring this socio-economic model represents a viable tool to complement existing efforts, thereby ensuring sustainability.

8.3 Policy recommendations

This study argues that the spatial impact of street trading activities represents one of the many symptoms of rapid urbanization, which has affected numerous cities worldwide, particularly in the global south. Therefore, the challenge of managing street trading activities is not a new one, as

the literature suggests that several cities spread over the globe have devised realistic measures to manage these activities, which suits the unique circumstance of such cities. Not only do these realistic measures enhance the economic potential of the city space but also supply the urban poor with a means of subsistence, which indirectly ensures their rights to the city. This study follows suite by advocating for realistic measures to manage the spatial impact of street trading activities in Lagos. The research makes the following suggestions for developing policy based on its findings:

1. **Planning and built environment considerations** - the characteristics leading to the subjective and alternative role of the urban public space as an economic commodity.
2. **Harnessing the subjectivity and adaptability of city space** - the involvement of street trading activities and the public space in the socio-economic process of everyday life– “oro - aje”. Vernacular, daily routine, economic value, product and wealth distribution, welfare and wellbeing
3. **Feedback from the lived experience of the populace** - the importance of obtaining realistic inputs into public policy development.

8.4 Future research

Expanding the scope and context of the current study

This study has attempted to understand the spatial contributions of street trading activities to the nature, culture and perception of Lagos metropolis, with Ojodu Berger motor park area adopted as the case study location. There are other potential chances to broaden the scope and context of the current study under the following topics for potential future research:

Studies of other samples of street trading activities in Ojodu Berger motor park area

During the current study, it was observed that various types of street trading activities were present in various settings of urban public space in the case study location. Each setting has its unique socio-spatial factors of everyday life and characteristics, which suites each of the street vendors in the case study location.

Given the fact that three samples of street vendors activities were examined in this study, future research might attempt to explore other types of street trading activities in different settings of urban public space, in the case study setting.

Notably, during the current study, a pilot survey was conducted with other samples of street trading activities in the case study location. However, due to space constraints and the need to maintain a manageable scope, the findings of these other samples were not included and examined in this thesis' main body. Nevertheless, the pilot survey report of these additional samples, including the pictures and sketches, are contained in appendix 5.

- **Focus on road users in Ojodu Berger motor park area**

As the research is based on empirical evidence, the use of questionnaires represents a viable research tool to explore further aspects of the research recommendations. On this basis, an extension of this study could attempt to focus on the role of road users in defining the nature culture and perception of Lagos metropolis. This study could be done by carrying out an extensive questionnaire survey of this category of users of the urban public space. This additional work could provide further insights in support of the policy recommendations to the Lagos city authorities.

Significantly, the current study had established the role of road users in defining the nature culture and perception of Lagos metropolis, hence, carrying out the questionnaire survey should represent an important approach to expanding the scope and context of the current study.

During the pilot survey in the selected research area, a limited number of inquiry forms were distributed to road users. The findings of some of these questionnaires are presented as scanned images in appendix 5.

- **Structured interview with respondents outside the case study location**

Apart from the key informant interview with respondents in the case study location, the use of structured interview with respondents outside the case study location also represents an opportunity to obtain additional findings to support the study's policy recommendations.

Therefore, for future research, could attempt to conduct structured interviews with respondents outside the case study location.

Once again, as part of the preliminary survey work for this submission, structured interviews with a small number of respondents outside the research area took place. These respondents included academics and government officials. The findings of these interviews are contained in appendix 5.

- **Sample studies of street trading activities in other prime locations in Lagos metropolis**

Ojodu motor park area represents one of the prime locations in Lagos metropolis noted for, among other things, the presence of street trading activities. Therefore, future research could attempt to examine street trading activities in these other prime locations in Lagos metropolis, such as Lagos Island CBD and Ikeja CBD.

Pilot studies were carried out in these locations as part of an initial survey of street trading activities in Lagos metropolis. The findings have been collated and included in appendix 5 of this write-up.

By examining samples of street trading activities in other prime locations in Lagos metropolis, this potential extension to the study might discover the similarities, peculiarities, differences in findings with those obtained in the current study. This future work might also attempt to discover other factors that have influenced the presence of street trading activities in these other areas, as well as reveal similar and other forms of street trading activities that place.

- **Spatial impact of informal economic activities in Lagos metropolis**

It is a known fact that Lagos metropolis is the cultural melting pot and ‘commercial nerve centre’ of Nigeria, with street trading activities representing a significant aspect of the city’s vibrant informal economy.

For instance, the vibrant commercial and high-density nature of Ojodu Berger Motor Park, the case study area of the current study, is not only an attraction for street trading activities but also other forms of informal commercial activities. These other forms of informal commercial activities operate in other settings, apart from the urban public space. This fact is recognized internationally and was the focus of the 2010 BBC mini-series documentary titled ‘Welcome to Lagos’ (<https://vimeo.com/11206466>). One of the informal economic activities examined in the documentary was waste picking. This activity is found in different suburbs all over Lagos metropolis, including the case study location. Future research could explore such waste picking activities in Ojodu hinterland, the suburb of the case study location.

A pilot study on a group of waste picking activities in Ojodu hinterland was conducted in 2016 during the fieldwork for the current study. Appendix 5 includes the report from this preliminary study. This preliminary research has the potential to pave the way for larger investigations into the informal economy's effects on the built environment in the Lagos metropolitan area.

In conclusion, it is thought that there are genuine chances to expand the work of this submission to learn more about the day-to-day life of Lagos metropolis and, from this, demonstrate how future policies regarding urban space might work with such phenomena, rather than against it.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Non participant and Participant observation questions about each sample of street trader (Chapter 5, 6, 7)

Appendix 2: Semi structured interview with each sample of street trader (Chapter 5, 6, 7)

Appendix 3: Key informant interview with other representatives of street traders (Chapter 5, 6, 7)

Appendix 4: Key informant interview with representatives of local residents and workers (Chapter 5, 6, 7)

Appendix 5: Future research

**APPENDIX 1: NON PARTICIPANT AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION QUESTIONS ABOUT EACH
SAMPLE OF STREET TRADER (CHAPTER 5, 6, 7)**

Part 1: Background of sample street trader

- What is the gender of the sample trader?
- What is the age group of the sample trader?
- What is the religious and ethnic background of the sample trader?

Part 2: Routine of daily life: type of street trading activity, setting of trading activity, products and marketing strategy, human activities and behavioural dispositions, traffic situation, life experiences and challenges

- Where is the location of the setting of street trading activity?
- What are the characteristics of the setting?
- What are the surrounding activities of the setting?
- What are the weather and microclimatic condition in the setting?
- What is the type of street trading activity and product sold by the sample?
- How much does the trader sell the goods?
- How much does the trader make in a day?
- What is the marketing strategy of the trader?
- Who are the customers of the street trader?

- What is the daily routine of the sample trader?
- How does the trader adapt with the weather, space, surrounding activities and features in the setting?
- Who are the people in the setting?
- How does the trader relate with the people in the setting?
- How does the trader adjust to pedestrian and vehicular traffic movement?
- What are the challenges faced by the trader in the setting?
- Who and what are the cause of these challenges?
- What measures does the trader use to address these challenges?

**APPENDIX 2: SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH EACH SAMPLE OF STREET TRADER
(CHAPTER 5, 6, 7)**

Dear respondent,

I am a PhD student researching the spatial impact of street trading activities in Lagos metropolis. The purpose of this interview is to understand how the experiences of everyday life impact on street trading activities in the urban public space of the city.

Your participation is appreciated, and your identity will be kept anonymous.

Thank you.

Regards,

Oluwaseun Onolaja

Part 1: Background Information– Age, gender, marital status, ethnic background, educational background, religion, life in Lagos

- Age: (a) 18 -35 (b) 36 - 55 (c) 56 and above
- Gender: (a) Male (b) Female
- Marital status: (a) single (b) married (c) others.....

- What is your ethnic background? (a) south-west (b) south east (c) mid-west (d) north central (e) core north (f) south coast (g) foreigner
- What is your educational background? (a) Primary school (b) Secondary school (c) Tertiary school (d) None
- What is your religion? (a) Christianity (b) Islam (c) traditionalist (d) Mixed (e) free thinker/atheist/anonymous/no religion
- How long have you lived in Lagos? (a) less than 1 month (b) between 1 and 3 months (c) between 3 and 6 months (d) between 6 months and 1 year (e) over 1 year

Part 2: Experience of daily life –type and nature of street trade, location and setting of trading activity, routine, people, challenges, knowledge about the traffic situation, knowledge of Lagos mega-city and public policy, suggestions to the government and people in authority.

- Why are you engaged in this particular type of street trading? (poverty, low-income family background, unemployment, lack of education, an alternate source of income, personal interest, quest better life, death or misfortune, loss of a job, children's future, survival, quantity and type of goods, type of available space)
.....
.....
- What type of goods do you sell and why do you trade in this product(s)? (convenience, market forces, customer preference, personal preference, instructions from the owner, lack of alternatives, saving time, financial advantage or constraint, space advantage or constraint)
.....
.....
- Why are you trading in this location? (traffic movement pattern, lack of alternative, cheaper to secure, communal protection, less disturbance, marketing advantage, chance and luck, other reasons)
.....
.....

- How long have you been trading here? (a) less than 1 month (b) between 1 and 3 months (c) between 3 and 6 months (d) between 6 months and 1 year (e) over 1 year

.....
.....

- Who are your target customers? (men only, women only, young only, old only, all)

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.....

- What is the benefit of your product to Lagosians? (cheap alternative, the satisfaction of high demand, health and wellbeing)

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.....

- How much do you sell the products and how much do you make daily?

.....
.....

- How do you secure your space for trading activities? (Goodwill, trust and familiarity, tenement, daily ticket, free use, communal protection, the combination of factors)

.....
.....

- How often do you engage in street trading, and why? (daily, weekly, monthly)

.....
.....

- Can you describe your daily routine?

.....
.....

- How would you describe the traffic situation in this area, and how does it affect your daily routine?

.....
.....

- When is your best time of trade and why? (early morning, morning, midday, afternoon, evening)

.....

- How would you describe the behaviour of people in this area and how do you relate with them? (E.g. mixture - nice, friendly, hostile, indifferent, accommodating; relationship - wisdom, tact, neutral, friendly, cooperative)

.....

- What are the challenges you face and how do you solve them?
 1. **(1) Challenges** - Harassment, arrests, goods seizure, local government permit from the government security agents.
 2. **(1) Solutions**- Always alert, ensuring speed of transactions, strategic positioning, seeking information from others before the challenges occur.
 3. **(2) With the area boys** - daily ticket, insults, extortion;
 4. **(2) Solutions** - Cooperation, tolerance, tipping, friendliness
 5. **(3) With the road users** – insults, product abuse, product rejection, theft; **(3) Solutions** - Tolerance, friendliness, firmness, flexibility, alertness
 6. **(4) With other street traders** – competition, gossip, abuse, victimization; **(4) Solutions** – neutral, cooperative, alertness, taking the initiative
 7. **(5) Natural elements** – exposure, congestion, health challenges due to pollution;
 8. **(5) Solutions** – taking local and western medication, appropriate dressing and covering, use of shade

.....

- What is your opinion about the ongoing Lagos mega-city project, and how does it affect you?

.....

- What is your opinion about the government policy about street trading, and how does it affect you?

.....

- What would you suggest to the government and people in authority?

.....

APPENDIX 3: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW WITH OTHER REPRESENTATIVES OF STREET TRADERS (CHAPTER 5, 6, 7)

Dear respondent,

I am a PhD student researching the spatial impact of street trading activities in Lagos metropolis. The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain your views about how the experiences of everyday life impact on street trading activities in the urban public space of the city. Your participation is appreciated, and your identity will be kept anonymous.

Thank you.

Regards,

Oluwaseun Onolaja

Part 1: Background Information – Age, gender, marital status, ethnic background, educational background, religion, life in Lagos

- Age: (a) 18 -35 (b) 36 - 55 (c) 56 and above
- Gender: (a) Male (b) Female
- Marital status: (a) single (b) married (c) others.....

- What is your ethnic background? (a) south-west (b) south east (c) mid-west (d) north central (e) core north (f) south coast (g) foreigner
- What is your educational background? (a) Primary school (b) Secondary school (c) Tertiary school (d) None
- What is your religion? (a) Christianity (b) Islam (c) traditionalist (d) Mixed (e) free thinker/atheist/anonymous/none
- How long have you lived in Lagos? (a) less than 1 month (b) between 1 and 3 months (c) between 3 and 6 months (d) between 6 months and 1 year (e) over 1 year.

Part 2: Experience of daily life –type and nature of street trade, location and setting of trading activity, routine, people, challenges, knowledge about the traffic situation, knowledge of Lagos mega-city and public policy

- What led you into street trading? (a) poverty(b) poor family background, (c) unemployment(d) lack of education (e) alternate source of income(f) personal interest (g) quest better life (g) death or misfortune(h) children's future (i) survival (j) all (k) others (specify).....
- Why are you engaged in this particular type of street trading? (a) quantity of goods (b) type of goods (c) type of available space
- What type of product do you sell? (a) Food, snacks and fruit items, (b) cosmetics, clothing, shoes and accessories, (c) electronic-based items (d) others (specify).....
- Why do you trade in this product? (a) convenience (b) interest (c) instruction (d) demand
- Why did you choose this location for trading? (a) Nearness to customers, (b) convenience(c) lack of alternatives, (d) allocation (e) others (specify).....
- How long have you been trading here? (a) less than 1 month (b) between 1 and 3 months (c) between 3 and 6 months (d) between 6 months and 1 year (e) over 1 year
- When do you start trading activities? (a) Morning (b) Afternoon (c) Evening (d) anytime
- How long do you trade for in a day? (a) from morning to night (b) from afternoon to evening (c) from evening to night time (d) depending on availability
- How does the traffic situation in this area affect your daily routine?

(a) Positive (b) Negative (c) mixed

- When is your best time for trading? (a) Early morning (b) morning (c) midday (d) afternoon (e) evening
- How much do you make daily, as profit? (a) less than N100 (b) between N100 – N500 (c) Above N500
- Do you pay any rent or fees for this space? (a) yes (b) no
- Do you encounter challenges as a result of trading in this space? (a) yes (b) no
- If yes, what are the causes of the challenges (a) government security agents (b) area boys (c) road users (d) other traders (e) natural elements (f) all (g) others.....
- If yes, what are these challenges?
- Do you prefer to trade in an organized government-owned market or this location? (a) Yes (b) no
- Why?
- Are you aware of the Lagos mega-city project? (a) Yes (b) no
- If yes, what is your opinion?
- Are you aware of Lagos public policy for street traders (a) Yes (b) no
- If yes, what is your opinion?

APPENDIX 4: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF LOCAL RESIDENTS AND WORKERS (CHAPTER 5, 6, 7)

Dear respondent,

I am a PhD student researching the spatial impact of street trading activities in Lagos metropolis. The purpose of this interview is to obtain your views about the case study location, the routine of everyday life, and the status of street trading activities in the urban public space. Your participation is appreciated, and your identity will be kept anonymous.

Thank you

Regards,

Oluwaseun Onolaja

Part 1: Background information– Age, gender, marital status, ethnic background, educational background, religion, life in Lagos, population group

- Age: (a) 18 -35 (b) 36 - 55 (c) 56 and above
- Gender: (a) Male (b) Female
- Marital status: (a) single (b) married (c) others.....
- What is your ethnic background? (a) south-west (b) south east (c) mid-west (d) north central (e) core north (f) south coast (g) foreigner
- What is your educational background? (a) Primary school (b) Secondary school (c) Tertiary school (d) None
- What is your religion? (a) Christianity (b) Islam (c) traditionalist (d) Mixed (e) free thinker/atheist/anonymous/none
- How long have you lived/worked in Lagos? (a) less than 1 month (b) between 1 and 3 months (c) between 3 and 6 months (d) between 6 months and 1 year(e) over 1 year
- How long have you lived/worked in this area? (a) less than 1 month (b) between 1 and 3 months (c) between 3 and 6 months (d) between 6 months and 1 year(e) over 1 year
- What population group do you belong to in this area? (a) Residents (b) Government workers (c) Private/corporate sector workers (d) Transport workers (e) Businessmen and women (f) Pressure groups/ NGO'S

Part 2: Experience of daily life – knowledge about Lagos metropolis, knowledge about case study location, knowledge about types of street trading activities and street traders, knowledge about the traffic situation, knowledge of Lagos mega-city and public policy, suggestions

- How would you describe your experience of Lagos life?
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.....

- What would you consider the main challenge of living in the city?
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- How long have you lived/worked in this area?
.....
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- What is the history of this area?
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- What is your impression about the area?
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- What is your impression of the presence of street traders in this area?
.....
.....
- How does your residing/ work in this area connect with street traders?
.....
.....
- How often do you patronize them and why?
.....
.....
- How would you describe the traffic situation in this area with the presence of street trading activities?
.....
.....
- What is your opinion about the ongoing Lagos mega-city project and its relevance to the current state of the city?
.....
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- What is your opinion about the government policy about street trading activities?

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- In your opinion, how should public policy be implemented for street traders in this area?

.....
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- What other suggestions would you make to the government and people in authority?

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.....

APPENDIX 5: FUTURE RESEARCH

- Studies of other samples of street trading activities in Ojodu Berger motor park area
- Focus on road users in Ojodu Berger motor park area
- Structured interview with respondents outside the case study location
- Sample studies of street trading activities in other prime locations in Lagos metropolis
- Spatial impact of informal economic activities in Lagos metropolis

The findings from interviews conducted with 'off the field' stakeholders :

Interview with stakeholders on policy for the informal economy. These stakeholders include the mass media as outlet for the masses, focus groups, private individuals, built environment professionals, government officials (e.g S.A. to CBD affairs) ; advocacy groups, academics, NGO's, market leaders, social commentators, focus groups, private citizens and market traders, local government officials. The factors include existing policy documents, comparison of the pro left and right positions in order to strike a balanced position, insights from the mindset and factors leading to the mindset, document of government plans and comparing with findings from the field.

Interview with stakeholders on policy for the informal economy

Introduction

role of individuals, mass media, advocacy groups, involvement of private and grassroots organizations, product supplier and manufacturers of goods, Organizational Traders, unions & Population groups of traders. Interview was conducted with built environment stakeholders, key informants in the field. These included government officials, bureaucrats, politicians, formal sector workers, academics, built environment professionals. The findings included official interviews, official documents, government and political positions on the informal economy, political stakeholders influencing the use of the public space. The respondents were chosen from different career background, orientation, educational background. Most of them found it difficult to connect with the study, but did offer explanation. However, they could only relate based on their personal experiences, hence the responses to the interview questions were based on each individual's lifestyle and encounter with informal traders.

Challenge of conducting interviews with key respondents

Lagos is a very interesting area to collect data from. The process of collecting data - especially from secondary sources above, represents an experience of official barriers, "social connectivity", indirect negotiations and bureaucracy. It also includes "informal approaches" to extract information from the staff. This indicates the status of accessing information which is cumbersome instead of being straight forward. It also signifies the realities of "freedom of information" when information is being sold by officials by the state officials who regard this as an avenue to make money. In this situation, researchers like me, who need these information have no choice but to "buy", otherwise, "no show" or waste of time. "Come today, come tomorrow".

Role of the mass media

The importance of the mass media for this study cannot be overemphasized. This study has benefited from and referenced several online reports from mass media outlets. These reports have provided valuable insights into several aspects of the realities of everyday life in Lagos. Furthermore, they have shed understanding into the issues emanating from the research problem. This underscores the significance of the mass media in providing insights about the city and thus, having the ability to play a major role in making a case for the informal economy. This capacity is further buttressed by the incorporation of social media into electronic mass media thereby expanding the capacity of news dissemination. This role was demonstrated in the recent ban on street market activities and more people, more than ever before, were able to present their views.

Interview with Individuals - Key respondents

- Ojoju, L.G.A revenue officer
- Lagos state government official, FINSD, Dabiri, Mabogunje, Lawson, Akin, Kadi, Sofe, OJ, Ibiyemi, C.K. George, former street trader become shop owner, "mummy's sister", Belle MAROLY, Ojoju (LGA tax official) -

Interview on Lagos Island

- Adisa fate [secretary 'mum' CDA - APC ward 1, Osoyan Development Community] Deputy to balogun of Lagos, adedunke all, an historian. Also the financial secretary to trustee [before the making of CSS was built] and Hedipo book sellers association

Findings from meeting with news channels

- TFI Kuntle Salami (+234807052126, +234803321930)
- TFI Bisi Oyebaku (+234803322000)

The aim of interviews is to obtain the government / political perspective on informal trading activities. This provides insight into the political forces influencing the use of the public space.

During this study government officials from the local and state government levels were interviewed. The audio-recording approach was adopted. This interview was also used to request for official documents where available.

Findings - Gap in knowledge

- Lack of studies on the spatial impact of the informal economy from a land planning perspective
- Lack of interchange between town planning and other parastatals in order to create a synergy. Everyone is doing his own thing strictly "by the rules" thereby missing the opportunity to expand creative thinking and benefit from each other's expertise. The organizations needed are : SERAPP (private consultants), Bureau of statistics (NBS) (ip army barracks, onko, beside ANN GC) Central office of statistics / poverty alleviation National population commission (expatport office)

Key points from interview with honorable Agbiete Lukman Dabiri, the S.A to C.B.D affairs, at the Lagos state secretariat on the 21st June 2016

"In Lagos, the bulk of commercial activities take place in the informal economy. People come from far and near (Acoso, Lemo, Cetanosa, Yoyunke) into this sector, because Lagos is the 'only' city that is 'working'. These people also make up a significant aspect of the city migrant population from west Africa (Icosos migrants - inclusion of socio-political trends of free movement among west African countries) and they can be found in communities in enu-osa, ebute meta, idado marina.

Chinese, Indian and other multi-national have, over the years, established businesses in Lagos. They are also purveyors of general, everyday items such as generators, sewing ma, cooking utensils, electrical appliances, clothing, chemicals, etc. they encourage Lagosians, including existing traders, the unemployed and entrepreneurs/minded ones to 'register' with them and act as distributors of their products. They 'train' these personnel and set them on the business. However, it is the job of the personnel to use initiative or device marketing strategies in order to sell and make profit.

Street vending is the most realistic solution! Street vending contributes what can be described as "hidden value" to the society. An estimated N500million exchange hands, daily, as a result of the informal economy and this is a significant contribution to the state GDP.

Therefore, if any government abandons the informal sector because of its 'hidden nature', such government is doing such at its own peril. This is because, they (generally) pay more tax and the service to formal sector. For example, IJMAN is an online business platform, just like the ebay UK. This company incorporates attributes of the informal economy into its marketing operations.

Street vending is getting increasingly appreciated as graduates are beginning to explore this sector of the informal economy as a form of SME initiative.

The formal economy represents the "meat" aspect of the state economy, while the informal economy represents the "bones" aspect of the state economy. The informal economy provides "fat" of which its accumulation produces "meat" for the state economy. This is as a result of the population engaged in the informal economy, as compared with the formal sector. Therefore if well managed, this a lot of GDP potential via taxation, the informal economy is wider as it touches a wide range of aspects of everyday life, especially of the urban poor who make up a larger percentage of the urban population. It is estimated that the city



Adisa fate, Director BAW, Lagos



Interview with Prof. Mabogunje [17th June]



Interview with TFI Kuntle Salami [16th June]



TFI Bisi Oyebaku [16th June]



Adisa fate [16th June]



<https://www.flickr.com/photos/duffin/15540486820/#/size/compare/>





Picture showing the arrangement of goods by street vendors at ALI -BALOGUN, a link road between Nnamdi Azikiwe and Martins street. This is an evidence of attempt to modify the use and meaning of the built environment in order to optimize available space for trading activities (source: field study, 2016).

Significance of Lagos CBD:

This choice of case study in Lagos island is motivated by the historical, cultural, political and commercial significance of Isale eko CBD to Lagos. This area can be described as encompassing all the factors that describes the phenomena of everyday life in Lagos. This includes the significant presence of several forms of street markets, high population concentration, surrounding water bodies, high land use density, commerce in the formal and informal sectors, traffic. This also includes the area being the Commercial nucleus of Lagos : headquarters of the major local and modern markets in Lagos such as Oluwole, Balogun, Idumota, Jankara ; the centre of historical, socio – economic, cultural and political significance to Lagos, Nigeria, beyond. Such as monuments and iconic buildings, such as madam Tinubu square, the Lagos central mosque and the trinity Methodist church; high density mixed use location – evidence of the rapid urban growth and dual economic nature of the city. This area is also a significant part of the location of the historical evolution of Lagos.

Lagos island CBD, a prime location of local, national and international significance is a typical developing world coastal city in Lagos state, southwest Nigeria. It forms part of the historical, socio – economic, cultural and political significance of Lagos. This area, a collection of a variety of interwoven land use zones, is known as a major hub of formal, semi-formal and informal based commercial activities. The intensity of these commercial activities in the area includes the phenomenal presence of various forms of street market activities as manifestation of the city's informal economy. Empirical and scholarly evidence shows that this phenomenon is linked to the historical, socio- economic, cultural, political – pre and post-colonial background of the area (Fapohunda, 1985). Hence, these trading activities are entrenched into the urban fabric, as part of the process of the city's present day spatial evolution, thereby impacting significantly on the nature and perception of the area, which also includes a buoyant formal sector.

In view of the ongoing Lagos megacity project, and its desire to align with global trends, the Lagos state government has identified the Lagos CBD area as a main scheme which forms an integral part of the commercial aspect of its urban renewal programmes aimed at transforming commercial areas into 'world standard CBD' comparable to other parts of the world, particularly in the 'global north'. This desire is contained in the vision and mission statement of the state government, regarding the status of CBD's in Lagos, [as contained in the clip below]. However, this drive presents a dilemma on how to accommodate the street market activities which forms an integral aspect of the informal economy for which the area is noted for. Therefore, the area, including the setting of the sample study represents a contested space between the elites and the political class who are bent on effecting 'change' and the 'proletariat' has represented by those engaged in the informal economy, particularly street market traders. This dilemma represents a contest between 'abstract' and 'reality'. It is also part of the problem identified and discussed in one of the sample studies [see: case study sample (2) : Ramota, the petty trader at Nnamdi Azikiwe street, Lagos CBD, Lagos island].