

Space, place and belonging:  
informal trading in and around Congolenses market, Luanda, Angola:

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\_\_\_\_\_ 28 October 2015

*Martin Mendelsohn*

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This dissertation is dedicated to the street traders of Luanda, who live their lives with smiles on their faces, despite the fact that they are infinitely more challenging on a daily basis than (likely) anyone who reads this dissertation.

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## Abstract

The dissertation explores the interplay between government, informal street traders and the public in and around the Congolenses marketplace in Luanda, Angola. The nation was ravaged by 27 years of civil war until 2002. During this time most of the city made use of extensive systems of informal provisioning to survive. Since the end of the war, the government has undertaken a high degree of spatial and social reordering with wide ranging consequences for those who inhabit the city, especially within the informal economy. Most previous research focusing on the informal economy, or government policy in Luanda has taken sectoral and city wide approaches. As such the opportunity to explore the effects and manifestations of policy on informality in a site specific context presents itself. The Congolenses market is a key point in the city where interplay between informality, the public and government has taken place.

This dissertation examines the various spatial constituents of Congolenses, reviews its situation within the context of greater Luanda, and discusses the role which informal trade has and continues to play in the city. Furthermore, in investigating the relationship between informal traders and the government's stance towards them, perspectives were drawn from three focal areas: The lived realities of traders in the area through in depth interviews, the perceptions of and ways in which the area is used by pedestrians through surveys, and how the Angolan government has interacted with them through media scans, observations and key literatures.

It was found that planning mechanisms, including spatial, legal, and policy should be employed as critical interventions for the creation of an inclusive space to the advantage of all users of the market. Finally, a spatial concept was produced, suggesting improved land uses, and physical infrastructural interventions in the area and provides the view that a change in the current perspective of the Angolan government would be of benefit to informal traders and the Angolan economy.

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## Glossary and abbreviations

### Portuguese words commonly used in the text

<i>candongueiros</i> .....	Luanda's white and blue mini bus taxis
<i>fiscais</i> .....	Angola's fiscal police.
<i>zungeiras</i> .....	Ambulant traders
<i>roboteiros</i> .....	Goods transporters
<i>Kixikala</i> .....	Angolan rotating savings organisations

### Abbreviations

AAPS .....	Association of African Planning Schools
ANGOP.....	Angola News Agency
BRT .....	Bus Rapid Transit
ELISAL .....	<i>Empresa de Saneamento e Limpeza de Luanda</i> (Sanitation and Cleaning Service of Luanda)
EPAL .....	<i>Empresa Publica da Aguas de Luanda</i> (Public Water Company of Luanda)
OMA .....	Angolan women's movement
IAD .....	Integrated Area Development
ILO .....	International Labour Office
ITMB.....	Informal Traders Management Board
MPLA .....	<i>Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola</i> (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola)
NASVI .....	National Association of Street Vendors of India
SEWU .....	Self Employed Women's Union
WIEGO .....	Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing
ZEE .....	<i>Zona Económica Especial</i> (Special Economic Zone)

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## Introduction

In Luanda the super-rich in black SUVs with tinted windows drive past as the *zungueiras* (women who walk about trading), often with babies strapped to their backs, run from police in dark blue uniforms. The traders know that if they are caught their goods (vegetables for the most part) will be confiscated and they may be beaten. Tomorrow this can happen again.

The end of the Angolan civil war in 2002 hailed the start of a boom period for the country. Oil revenues and foreign direct investment flooded into war torn Angola. The country rose to become one of the fastest growing economies in the world. Over the last decade this growth made Luanda one of the world's most expensive cities for expatriates and wealthy locals.

Despite this little has changed for the vast majority of Luandans. Most residents live on exceptionally low wages, have little access to formal basic services and live under tenuous tenure arrangements. Luanda has a population of approximately six and a half million (Cain, 2012; Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2014: 48), but roughly five million Luandans rely almost entirely on the informal economy for access to basic services (water, housing, power, transport, sanitation and sewage disposal) and goods (food, clothing and other apparel).

Of the many people who make a living from the informal economy by selling services and goods, street and market traders have become a cornerstone of Luandan life. They have provided goods to Angolans since the colonial era but remain one of the most vulnerable groups in the city. The Angolan government has over the past 10 years executed a systematic process of shifting markets away from the inner city, often to distant locations. Traditional informal markets have been converted to formal marketplaces, and the government has attempted to stop all street trading in public spaces (Development Workshop, 2009). Informal trading nevertheless remains as prominent and vibrant as perhaps it ever was, even though daily conflicts between *fiscais* (fiscal police) and traders occur throughout the city.

Throughout sub-Saharan Africa the sort of informal trade which occurs on the streets and in markets in Luanda provides incomes for

people who lack skills or social and monetary capital (Obeng-Odoom, 2014). Vanek et al. (2014: 7) estimates that informal employment accounts for 66% of non-agricultural employment throughout Africa. Informal trade in Luanda is also substantial, but it has other features that make it particularly interesting. For example, has informal trading been affected by the massive growth of the Angolan economy, or by government policies regarding informal trade? How does informal trading complement the reliance of most of the population on the informal economy for basic services, and the intersecting spaces in which informal activities take place?

Several pieces of literature on Angola have looked specifically at how planning and developmental institutional and policy frameworks have affected the spatial configuration of Luanda. These have been carried out by a range of academics, such as Croese, De Oliveira, Reindorf-Partey, Tomás and Watson. The Angolan state is well known for exerting highly centralised control, and one of the key issues tackled by these authors is the government's preoccupation with modernist forms of planning (Croese, 2015; De Oliveira, 2011; Reindorf-Partey, 2015; Tomás, 2012; Watson, 2013). Much of the research on the character of the informal economy in Luanda also covers the institutional functioning of the government, and its shortfalls.

Studies by Cain, Development Workshop, and Robson and Roque have generally focused on analyses of the informal economy in Luanda within the context of modernist planning paradigms and the growth of the city since the 1970s. They examine a wide range of activities such as the availability and costs of water, informal land trade, service provision, collaboration amongst the financially vulnerable, access to financial services, and the make-up of the informal economy (Cain, 2012, 2014; Cain et al., 2002; Development Work-

shop, 2005, 2011; Robson and Roque, 2001). Most of those studies undertook their respective research on a sectoral and city-wide scale, examining changes and trends across Luanda.

Two major pieces of research by Gaspar and Development Workshop have investigated informal trade in Luanda. These studies have provided critical insights into the functioning, livelihoods, demographic structure, dependency, and access to financing of traders (Development Workshop, 2009; Gaspar, 2011). The research also depicts historical changes in the informal trading economy well. However there is currently no study which investigates the difficulties that informal traders grapple with at precinct scale. Research undertaken on informal trade has tended to focus on the macro make-up of the sector looking at major influences and trends. While there has been engagement with the institutional make-up of the Angolan government this has generally been as a means to couch future development within the sectors studied. Thus, an opportunity presents itself to look at the interplay between modernist state interventions, the lack of so many public services and the dynamics of informal trade within the city and at a place where these dimensions intersect. This opportunity frames the first objective of the study, which is to examine the role of Congolenses in the lives of the people who use the market: traders, shoppers and commuters.

Congolenses is in a position where it is affected by Luanda's development and decentralisation. The market is located along Catete road, a major spine which connects the city centre to areas where the government has relocated many people on the margins of Luanda. In addition, natural migration has taken place along this road to the new satellite formal housing projects created by government. These developments have created significant congestion along the Catete road. The heaviest congestion is next to concentrations of informal

traders, *candongueiro* (mini-bus taxi) stops and the markets. The most major of these markets and *candongueiro* interchanges along the road is Congolenses.

Development Workshop (2009) discusses the increase in trading in Rangel, the municipality in which the Congolenses market is located. At the time their report was published the conversion of the informal Congolenses market to a formal marketplace was still underway. This has since been completed, but the marketplace has not filled to capacity. Meanwhile many informal traders work outside the formal market, forming a vibrant natural market alongside streets between the *candongueiro* interchanges. Significant commuter activity passes through the area, and Congolenses is an important junction for the informal public transport on which Luandans rely to move through the city.

Upon first looking at Congolenses immediate questions arise concerning the spatial layout of the market in relation to *candongueiro* stops, the large amount of congestion around the stops, and city's relationship with street traders. The questions raise challenges about the need for intervention, and they frame the second objective of the study which is to provide suggestions for how Congolenses may be improved to provide a better environment for all those making use of the space and its surrounds.

A case study approach was used to examine the functioning of the Congolenses area. Apart from an analysis of literature, my research entailed interviewing 20 street traders in the area to understand factors which affect their lives both in Luanda and at Congolenses. Fifty commuters were interviewed to collect information on the movement of ordinary Luandans through the area, and their perceptions of the Congolenses area. Two key informants were interviewed to better

understand macro elements in Luanda which may have an effect on Congolenses and the interplay between government and informal traders using the area. Other data gathered included the mapping of land uses, sales areas for different goods, police routes, pedestrian and commuter activity, tracking of *candongueiro* routes and their speeds, and the interactions between various groups using Congolenses.

Key findings from the research highlighted the vulnerability of the traders in Congolenses. This is due to severe shortages of decent space and infrastructure for trading, and the unhygienic conditions created by flooding, dirt and waste. Traders suffer from a lack of access to facilities and infrastructure such as storage spaces, clean surfaces and organised areas to trade, which if implemented would mitigate the reasons provided by government for their illegality. In addition to this, both traders and commuters are disrupted by incursions from *fiscais* and their subsequent persecution of traders. It was found that the spatial arrangement of traders is greatly influenced the routes *fiscais* use to enter the area. Congolenses is a space used by commuters, as well as shoppers who have the expressed purpose of buying goods offered by the informal traders. While commuters to the area are dependent on *candongueiros* for transport, these taxis cause disruptions and congestion. This is due to a lack of ordered infrastructure. Congolenses also suffers from a lack of good spatial ordering, in terms of land uses, permeability, and public open space. Informed by the literature and this new empirical work, this dissertation concludes by outlining how the space could be better configured.



## Chapter 2: The informal economy, origins, theoretical debates, and the size and contribution

This chapter outlines the origins of the term ‘informal sector’. It goes on to explore ways in which the term has since been framed and how these perceptions have changed over time. Then, the reasons for the development of the informal economy are examined, the factors that determine its size, and the prevalence of gender disparities in it. Considering the influence of planning on the informal economy, the chapter homes in to view the dynamics of street trade within cities of the Global South. Finally, it appraises several cases where the interplay between street trading and planning have led to the creation of successful public spaces.

### Origins of the term ‘informal sector’

The birth of the idea of an ‘informal economy’ is intimately linked to early 20<sup>th</sup> century developmental economics (Moser, 1978). During the 1960s the growth of emergent economies coincided with a mushrooming availability of labour (Chen, 2012). This was due to increasing rural-urban migration which was not keeping pace with the growth of these countries’ economies. The growing labour surplus sparked alarm as it was generally accepted that economic growth should coincide with increasing employment, instead, unemployment continued to rise. Studies on low-income economic activities in Ghana by Hart (1973) and the International Labour Office (ILO) were undertaken to research and remedy this trend (Chen, 2012). These were the first mentions of the idea of an informal sector.

Hart describes the informal economy in Nima, Ghana as being similar to informal activity in 19<sup>th</sup> century London. He makes the point that the informal economy is nothing new, but distinguishes it from the formal economy on the basis of enumeration: “The key variable is the degree of rationalisation of work - that is to say, whether or not labour is recruited on a permanent and regular basis for fixed rewards. Most enterprises that run with some measure of bureaucracy are amenable to enumeration by surveys, and - as such - constitute the ‘modern sector’ of the urban economy” (Hart, 1973: 68).

One of the ILO reports undertaken at around the same time also uses the concept of the ‘informal sector’ coined by Hart to describe people undertaking economic activities which had been omitted from labour force statistics. Informal activity consisted of activities which “... are primarily those of petty traders, street hawkers, shoeshine boys and other groups ‘under-employed’ on the streets of the big towns.” (International Labour Office, 1973: 5).

The ILO report nevertheless went on to describe the informal sector as pivotal to the future growth of the economy

The *informal* economy in Hart's study area of Nima was characterised by workers earning low wages juxtaposed with high costs of living, and constant lending between neighbours. He made the case that household survival under such conditions is highly tenuous. The additional income provided either by supplementary informal employment or informal entrepreneurship provided the means for these households to survive and sometimes thrive.

Despite the ILO and Hart's efforts, the informal sector did not feature in traditional developmental economic models. It was generally believed that the informal economy was not linked, nor did it contribute to formal economic growth, as most of its activities were considered marginal. Some economists believed that the informal sector would fall away once sufficient levels of growth were achieved in the emergent economies (Chen, 2012).

The idea of the separation of the formal and informal economy as put forth by the International Labour Office (1973) became firmly entrenched, and this perception is still strongly evident today.

### Theoretical positions on the informal economy

Building on the work of others, Chen (2012) has reflected on the debates around the role played by the informal economy (since Keith Hart first coined the phrase informal sectors) and identified four broad schools of thought – Dualist, Structuralist, Legalist and Voluntarist.

The *Dualist* school describes the informal economy as distinct from the formal economy, consisting of survivalist and marginalised eco-

nomical activities undertaken by small-scale entrepreneurs. Dualists argue that the informal economy is caused by a lack of access to the formal sector, as a result of a lack of education and institutional capacity or capital, (social or monetary) (Chen, 2012). Dualists believe that the informal economy is a survivalist mechanism, and as such, the activities which are undertaken by those in it are often occupy a separate sphere, distinct from the formal economy. This description is akin to Hart's portrayal of the informal sector in Ghana.

The *Structuralist* school argues that the informal economy falls into a hierarchical system along with the formal economy. It posits that the informal economy is co-opted into producing for the formal economy as a means of providing cheap sources of labour and materials, and increasing the competitiveness of formal businesses (ILO, 2013). Chen (2012) describes how the Structuralist relationship between the informal and formal economies derives from the nature of capitalism; thus, competition and regulation raises the production costs of goods and outsourcing business to the informal sector provides a competitive advantage.

The *Legalist* perspective attributes the existence of the informal economy to the active avoidance of state regulations by micro-entrepreneurs, in order to evade costs and liabilities associated with being part of the formal economy. Legalists further believe that the right to property is a key prerequisite for the generation of real capital value by the informal (Chen, 2012; De Soto, 2000; De Soto, 1989).

*Voluntarist* theory is a variant of the Legalist school. It is argued that those working in the informal economy choose to do so to avoid the costs associated with running formal businesses.

The competing schools of thought have shaped current perceptions of the informal economy. Structuralists view the informal economy as subservient to the formal economy, resulting in low potential for capital accumulation (Dewar and Watson, 1990). Legalists are far more positive about the potential of informal capital accumulation. The manner in which different policy reactions and attitudes which have sprung from these viewpoints have played out, is explored in the final section of this chapter.

More recently Chen (2012) describes the common recognition that the informal economy exists for a number of reasons and that its development varies greatly between contexts. In describing the reaction of the informal economy to economic changes, she mentions two salient factors: in developing economies, many people choose to work in the informal economy as entrepreneurs, volunteers, or informal wage workers, indicating that entry to the formal economy is either too difficult or is actively avoided. At the same time the informal economy is known to grow during economic recessions, indicating that it also functions as a survivalist mechanism. In addition to this, there has been the recognition that the informal and formal economy are often linked and intertwined, and thus in cases interdependent (ILO, 2013).

While there are indeed those who operate in complete isolation from the formal economy with no linkages to formal enterprises and no formal recognition, this represents the extreme end of a spectrum. The informal and formal economies are linked to varying degrees: goods may be sourced from formal enterprises or sold on to them and there may be partial recognition of informal businesses.

Legal status as a measure of formality may also vary significantly; Vanek et al. (2014) mentions forms of informal employment which

occur inside the formal sector including both formal and household employees without social protection, and family workers in formal enterprises.

Each of the initial schools of thought focuses on specific sections of the informal economy. Thus they attribute the development and composition of the informal economy to different factors (Chen, 2012). Each school excels at describing certain of these processes. Recognition that the informal economy's formation and its links with the formal economy are more complex than previously thought, has led to the evolution of more holistic theories. This recognition also allows theorists and practitioners working in the informal economy to acknowledge that circumstantially differing reasons for the informal economy exist. New frameworks generally attempt to classify the informal economy according to the type of employment provided by each 'form' of the economy. The following section deals with these structural elements, before concentrating on the subsection of the economy that is critically relevant to the paper: informal trade.

## Definitional issues

Delineations of what constitutes the *informal sector* have become more standardised since Hart's work in Ghana, and his implicit definition that these are 'self-employment activities without the capacity to be enumerated'. This has been facilitated by the International Conference of Labour Statisticians norms, which refers to the informal sector refers as... "employment and production that takes place in unincorporated small or unregistered enterprises" (Vanek et al., 2014: 5). This enterprise-based definition was expanded after the 2002 ILO Conference to include those working informally, but also for formal enterprises and households. Thus *Informal employment* is considered any work that leaves... "individuals without social

protection through their work” (Vanek et al., 2014: 5). This revised definition of informal employment differs considerably from those originally mentioned, yet overlaps with them.

## The size of the informal economy

The size of the informal economy varies greatly in developing nations, but overall, it accounts for more than half of all non-agricultural employment in developing regions. In South-East Asia it represents the largest portion of this employment, i.e. 82%, followed by sub-Saharan Africa with 66%. However, intra-regional variations can be significant. For example, within the sub-Saharan region, figures range from 82% in Mali to as low as 33% in South Africa (Vanek et al., 2014: 7–9). It is relevant to note that in all cases these figures exclude agriculture (formal, informal, and subsistence). The informal economy is similarly large in other developing regions across the globe with the exception of Eastern Europe and Central Asia where it was heavily repressed under previous regimes (Vanek et al., 2014). Watson (2009) reinforces this idea, describing how informality is increasingly becoming the dominant form of negotiating city life in many parts of the world.

The informal sector is prevalent across the globe and has been around since any form of regulation to business was first created, long before its theoretical definition. It currently differs very much in size across regions and countries, depending on former ruling nations’ individual policies and laws. Informal employment accounts for 66% of all non-agricultural employment in sub-Saharan Africa, while agricultural employment accounts for 57% (Vanek et al., 2014: 1). This means that informal employment accounts for a total of approximately 28% of total employment (if no agriculture is counted as informal). When assessing this total, it should be remembered that

informal sector growth has and continues to be high, accounting for an estimated 93% of all new jobs in Africa (Kessides and Alliance, 2006: xi)

The growth of the informal economy is often related to the continued rural to urban migration in less urbanised countries. Rural migrants with few skills move into cities to begin to participate in the cash economy, in the hopes of escaping the vulnerability of rural life. Skinner (2008a) mentions how in Africa significant portions of this urbanisation are also due to international migration, especially from conflict-ridden areas. Kessides and Alliance (2006) further describe how remittances provide important incomes and development opportunities to rural areas. The size and growth of the informal sector in African economies, and the number of participants in it who are recent urban migrants, means a large portion of these remittances must come from the informal sector. Africa is the continent where the most significant rural-urban migration is taking place, as most others have already urbanised to a greater degree. (Skinner, 2008a).

Reading the above it is easy to assume that the informal economy is an exclusive feature of developing countries. However, it also occupies segments of developed economies, and it grew across the globe during the recent recession (Chen, 2012). What might be called informal employment in developing countries is often referred to as ‘non-standard’ or ‘undeclared’ work in official statistics in developed countries. Vanek et al. (2014) points out that some of this employment would be considered part of the informal economy in developing nations. She continues to describe the difficulties in quantifying the actual contribution of informal workers to these developed economies because of differing reporting standards. Despite this, it seems the informal economy is generally smaller in developed nations.

## Gender disparities in the informal economy

Overall, women's participation in the urban informal economy is a growing trend which is partly driven by their increasing rural-urban migration (Sethuraman, 1998). Women play a highly prominent role in much of the informal economy. The ILO (2013) mentions that it is often assumed that women make up a dominant share of the informal economy, but it found that this only occurred in 4 of 12 countries surveyed, while Vanek et al. (2014) cites a majority of women in 3 out of 6 of the developing world regions. Expanding on this, Vanek explains that informal employment employs more women than formal employment in these 3 regions. In regions where women do not make up the dominant share of employment in the informal sector there are also significantly smaller percentages of women in formal employment. This is the case in North Africa and the Middle-East,

where women have much less access to employment than men. The trends and results of this are examined below.

Sethuraman (1998) outlines the income differential between men and women which is apparent in both the formal and informal economies. Sethuraman (1998: viii) describes "...a significant association between gender, informality and poverty." (1998: viii) He elaborates, describing a range of range of factors which cause this. The income differential between men and women is the result of gender-based discrimination. It is played out through varying access to employment, training, land and infrastructure. In addition, female headed households often do not have access to the same safety net as male headed households, which more commonly consist of two working age adults. Having two working age adults means that not only are there opportunities for multiple incomes to be earned, and greater family income security, all of this translates to economic resilience.

The ILO (2013) mentions how women are often restricted to own-account or home-based employment, where they are also responsible for other household activities. In addition, they frequently have fewer hours to work as they need to carry out household and caregiver activities. Predominantly female informal activities such as tailoring, food sales, or cooking are often saturated economic activities. This stratification is clearly visible in Bangkok, where Sethuraman (1998: 33–34) describes how women make up the majority in certain activities: "vendors of fresh food, 71%; street vendors of cooked food, 82%; self-employed traders, 60%; and ready-made textiles, 100%". These factors contribute to women having a lower earning power. Dobson et al. (2009: 11) also comment that "women are more likely to spend their earnings on household necessities like food, clothing and education."

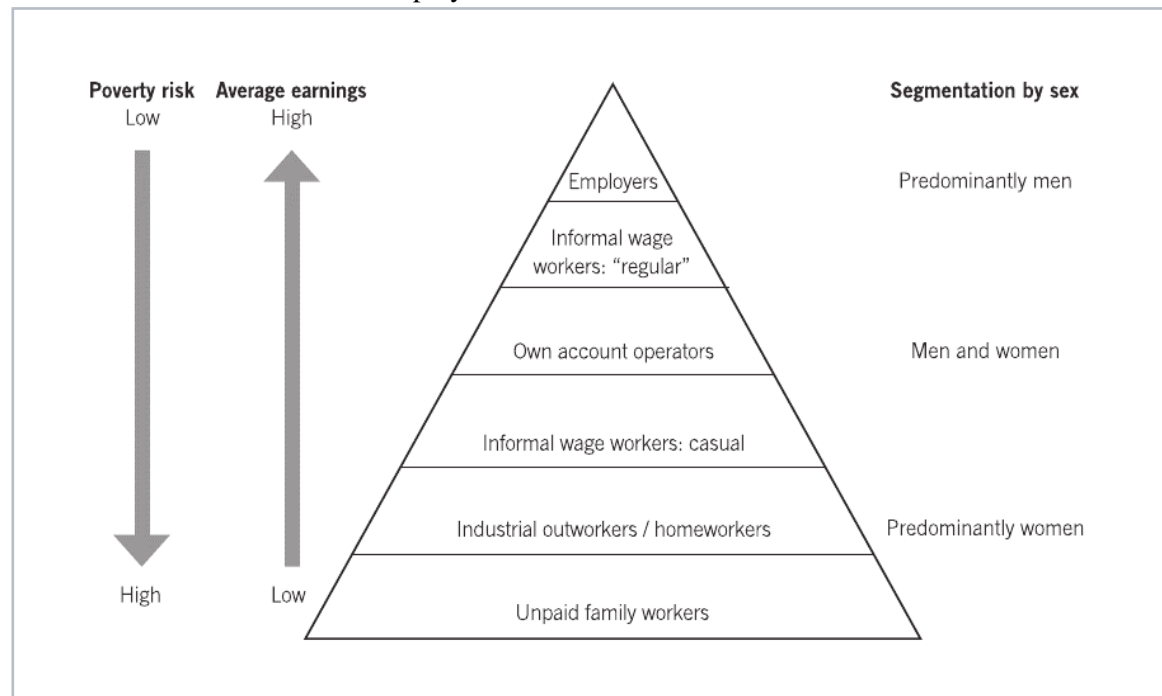


Figure 1: Model of informal employment: Hierarchy of earnings & poverty risk by employment status & sex. (Chen, 2012: 9)

The various factors culminate in generally higher vulnerability to poverty amongst women. Chen has modelled this relationship using data from numerous countries. Her findings are graphically represented in Figure 1, which shows the hierarchy of informal employment in relation to earnings and poverty risk. It shows that women are predominantly on the more vulnerable end of the spectrum, due to the nature of their economic activities. Like women, the youth are also disproportionately represented in the informal sector, and occupy a similarly vulnerable position in terms of income generation. Figure 1 also shows the often differing structures of employment, accordingly, employers are generally male while unpaid workers are women or youths. Informal trade is a sector of the informal economy in which over 50% of business is undertaken by women, except in those countries where the movement of women is restricted (Chen, 2001).

## Planning and informality

Urban planning plays a critical role in the creation of ordered public space. At the same time micro traders and other manifestations of the informal economy are *supposedly* chaotic and lacking in order – alleged polar opposites to well-planned cities. This opposition will be explored in greater depth, looking at how urban planning conflicts with informality, but also at how it has been a key player in making sense of the ‘chaos’ of informality, to uncover the ordering of space behind it and to integrate traders into cities.

The broad implications of order and legality typified by planning directly affect the informal sector. Porter et al. (2011) note how planning commonly interacts with informality through attempting to solve it by introducing legalistic mechanisms. Further, that informal traders usually find themselves on the wrong side of these mecha-

nisms. She highlights that legal structures are nonetheless important for ensuring some measure of protection for the informal sector.

Poor planning and accompanying legalistic mechanisms are often a result of what Roy (2005: 147) describes as: “Planning practices (that) are constantly borrowed and replicated across borders”. She goes on to criticise the duplication of these practices, which inappropriately apply planning solutions to problems without taking their contextual settings into account. Watson (2009) elaborates on this idea, describing how poor planning systems in the Global South are often the vestiges of early hegemonic Global North planning approaches. She highlights how changes in planning systems in the Global North have tended towards inclusive strategic, growth, and management planning, while in the South, archaic master planning still tends to predominate. Watson goes on to portray planning, particularly master planning, as a ‘double edged sword’; it may be used to build a sustainable city, or to further the priorities of oligarchs in repressive regimes.

Aside from master planning, the Global South is stuck with other antiquated planning forms which are likely to affect the informal economy negatively. This has given rise to critiques, such as that expressed by Watson (2009). She raises concerns regarding the persistent preoccupation with modernist doctrines concerned only with ideas of creating idealized cities which do not approach planning holistically, and their effects on informality. Watson (2011: 4) notes how planning ideals from the Global North were developed to idealise open space, compact living and mono-functional land uses where public space was reserved for aesthetic purposes and recreation (the City Beautiful Movement; Garden Cities). Within these planning ideals there is no scope for the vibrancy and supposed unplanned and spontaneous logic of informality. These idealised Global North cities further denigrate

informal trade, since, based on current statistical framing, they do not have informal sectors. In real terms, this amounts to nothing more than hiding the informal, a result of the redefining of informal to what Vanek et al. (2014) refers to as ‘non-standard’ or ‘undeclared’ work.

This persistence of the above notions is disconcerting and highlights the absence of adaptive planning to suit the contextual paradigms which confront cities in the Global South. The prevailing reluctance to make paradigm shifts, or even adjustments to meet changing needs, is concerning, especially considering global trends: the current unprecedented rate at which population growth is taking place, the resultant pressures, and their unprecedented scale.

The lack of development in planning paradigms in the Global South is one of the shortfalls, there is also a lack of clear ideas or follow through as to how policies may affect those on the ground. Regressive planning approaches tend to attempt to get rid of social blight by prohibiting it, instead of creating an environment which fosters development. Watson (2009: 157) aptly describes how the “effect of planning is often to raise the costs of informality and to shift it spatially, without removing it: poor people cannot, after all, simply disappear”. Thus there is a disjuncture between planning theory regarding issues such as the creation of sustainable settlements, and realistic implementation and practice.

Despite viewing the paradigm changes which planning has undergone in the Global South as inadequate, Watson does highlight certain cases which embody innovative forms of planning. These have arisen expressly to contribute to the creation of sustainable settlements. Thus planning may have a positive impact on the informal economy from an ideal, normative standpoint, where the institutional difficulties described above are not of concern. Fainstein (2005) argues for the creation of a Just City; this she describes as the creation of a city which

is socially inclusive, and gives everyone an equal chance at success. In the growth of cities with massive inequality, this should be a key goal. And this is then, the starting point for positive contributions to informal trade from planning.

Urban markets that are not formalised are often perceived as chaotic. There is, nonetheless, order in this chaos. It is best explained by the famous piece by Christopher Alexander, *A city is not a tree*. Alexander (1964) described how planners are often preoccupied with recreating visions of the past, and ticking the boxes in the hope that future city will be liveable. Dewar (2000: 4) puts forward a similar critique; he describes that a programmatic, quantitatively driven approach focusing on the use of a *single* urban building block has resulted in “monofunctional, sterile, monotonous, inconvenient and very expensive places in which to live and they are yielding a poor return in terms of generating opportunities for their inhabitants.” These critiques correspond in a number of ways, they both focus on the inter-relatedness and activity of spaces as a key element for the evaluation of their success.

A key role of urban planning which has not been explored in detail here, is its function of organising space and the potentially positive role that this is able to play in the creation of the spaces where informal trade occurs. The economic success or failure of a market is based upon its location and environmental quality. Traders are dependent on pedestrian movement through their space. The attraction of pedestrians is dependent either on a public service, such as a transport hub, or on a critical mass of traders, which sell a ‘functional mix’ of goods such that a market may act as a magnet in itself (Dewar and Watson, 1990). Infrastructure is often perceived as an important contributor to the success of a market, however, it is more important to assess the “...‘vibrancy’, colour, hygiene, and the spatial experiences of users” (Dewar and Watson, 1990: 54) as criteria. New, shiny and glitzy is

not necessarily better, and 'more' idealises modernism and capital expenditure, rather than functionality. The case is made that if costs are to be recouped through the fees charged for occupying a market space, then there is little incentive to provide large quantities of infrastructure to a market which has a low turnover potential. Instead, the focus should be on providing necessary and adequate infrastructure to create an environment of high quality, and on providing space which functions well. Environmental quality can be influenced by a number of circumstances, including the ability for floor surfaces to be cleaned, access to water both as a necessity, and to facilitate cleaning of produce, toilet facilities, shelter, cleanliness of sellers' stalls, and general waste removal.

In addition, Behrens and Watson (1996: 81–85) describe the ordering of access to services in relation to movement systems, and in turn, access to public space around public services to accommodate the large numbers of people which are drawn to these areas, which then allows the use of these spaces for public facilities. The prerequisites for well-functioning markets, such as water standpipes, ablution facilities, crèches, libraries or knowledge centres, and quality public space, should synergise with access to these services. Access to public transport should be favourable to benefit those who are more vulnerable and therefore more likely to use the said public facilities. Moreover, a movement system which readily provides access for traders to markets where they may obtain their goods, is crucial. Behrens and Watson also highlight the importance of markets with the sufficient agglomeration to compete with larger commercial enterprises, as a means of providing livelihoods to small scale business owners.

Great care needs to be taken that all these factors are afforded due consideration, since the planning and ultimately, the manner of their

implementation will affect the urban quality, and therefore the success of the market.

With regard to participation in the processes, Dewar and Watson (1990) go on to make the point that much market infrastructure such as sellers' space may be creatively and more appropriately provided by sellers themselves, as opposed to a one-size-fits-all solution. They also mention that it is common to find traders meshing with other land uses, as they create temporary markets based on the time of day, or the week, and that this will have an influence on the surrounding land uses. It is common to find a variety of sites being used as markets at certain times, and at other times being employed for purposes as diverse as storage sheds, parking areas and pavements.

Moving in to the actual markets, the spatial arrangement of traders and the location of their stalls may be organised in numerous ways, so that they either create active markets or 'dead spots' due to a lack of pedestrian movement (Dewar and Watson, 1990: 45 – 52). In order to mitigate the occurrence of dead spaces, markets need be aligned in such a manner that they are easily able to expand and shrink to meet changing demand, while ensuring that their expansion occurs in such a way that new sellers will have access to the flow of pedestrians and therefore, opportunities to sell their goods. This is an important design aspect both in terms of short spaces of time, as markets may grow or contract at different times of the day or week, and over longer periods, as the size of the informal economy grows or shrinks. Dead spots can also be created through the general design of a market, as the length, space between and intersection of 'runs' of stalls have an effect on the sense of activity in a market and on which stalls are active.

Planning may be a force for sustainable development through the creation of a society in which priorities regarding the environment,

equity, and economy are balanced. This implies holistic approaches which develop the informal economy as a function of the environment, equity, and potential economic growth. However, while initiatives such as sustainable development may be expressed in planning on the drawing board, they are often not embodied. They have essentially become buzzwords which have no bearing on the quality of a plan, being used instead, in an attempt to influence the *perception* of plans. For this reason (in reference to the informal sector and to what extent planning has had a positive effect on social equity) it is useful to look at *outcomes* as opposed to *expressed intents* in planning, to ascertain how the informal sector is affected.

Examples that illustrate the successful integration of the informal economy into urban plans, to the benefit of a wide range of stakeholders, are discussed in the “Case studies” which follows after the section on Street Trade. Success stories such as these can only be realised when urban planners are given open mandates, and are supported by a willing government.

## Street trade

Informal trade is a key component of the informal economy; we most often think of people working in the informal economy as selling goods on the street or in a small home-based shop. Street trade is carried out on a range of platforms. These include permanent home-based stores, semi-regularised markets, food carts or even goods vendors, walking between cars to sell their goods carried on their heads (Skinner, 2011), and there is significant variation in the types of goods being sold and the manner of selling amongst street traders.

Street trading is the most common of informal activities, constituting between 73% and 99% of all informal trade in all countries where data

is available (Chen (2001: 4). This, despite the fact that estimates of street trader numbers are often low because they “exclude those who use street trading as a secondary, seasonal, temporary, or part-time occupation” (Skinner, 2011: 2).

There are almost no entry barriers to street trading. As such it constitutes a survival strategy, especially in economic downturns and amongst new rural to urban migrants in cities. Thus, informal trade, and specifically street trading, probably constitutes the most vulnerable of informal activities. Women constitute most of these traders, except in countries where their activities are restricted. Skinner (2011: 4) describes street vending as a low-income-generating activity, where women “in many countries (earn) less than half as much as men. Vendors of food generally earn less than vendors of non-food products.” Their incomes are characterised as highly variable and they often earn below the poverty threshold of USD 2 per day (Skinner, 2011). In addition to low and highly variable incomes, the nature of informal trade causes street trading vulnerability, as described by Skinner (2008b: 1), “(street trader) livelihoods depend on access to public space – a terrain over which there is frequently conflict and competition”. She goes on to highlight how street traders are often explicitly marginalised, or persecuted by states because of the perception that they are at odds with concepts of modernisation. It is imperative to understand the nature of street trading, that it is a survivalist activity where profit margins are low, work is difficult and livelihoods are without exception fragile. By no means is it a preferred activity which is undertaken, instead, it is one borne of necessity.

Street traders struggle not only because of low incomes, but also through vilification by authorities. Bhowmik (2005) describes how police often deal with street traders as if they are criminals. It is common for police to persecute street traders by chasing them, beating

them and confiscating their goods. Other constraints raised by Skinner (2011) are that in their work, street traders are often exposed to a lack of infrastructure resulting in vulnerability to weather, pollution, fire, or other dangers such as traffic.

Bromley (2000) mentions several practical arguments for allowing street traders. These include reasons such as direct contribution to the economy, provision of business competition, and the ability to (with licensing) generate tax revenues from them. In addition to these macro benefits, informal trading provides entrepreneurial opportunities, by linking vendors and buyers, and by providing economic opportunities for those without the capital to enter the formal market. Street trading creates living streets on which people are active, providing the perfect form of commerce for festivals or street fairs. It also provides flexible working hours for those engaged in it. He also mentions that street vendors may attract business from formal business locations as a negative outcome. However, within the context of many developing countries, the ability of traders to do this brings the goods closer to customers, and at potentially better prices. This is in part because their costs are so much lower, as they generally do not pay taxes or have the same costs as stores. They provide an important service in terms of easing access to goods for vulnerable people in cities, which otherwise would have to travel further, spending time and money for more expensive goods. Bromley (2000: 6) reiterates the view of Hernando de Soto; that street traders are “visible manifestations of a peaceful, informal revolution by hard-working poor people against an obstructive, ‘mercantilist’ system”.

A pertinent perception mentioned by Dewar and Watson (1990) is the deceptive conceptual separation of the informal economy from the formal one. The term *informal* creates an image of unstable and illegal enterprises. This construct underpins many of the negative views of

the informal economy. These views are most often associated with informal trade, but more often than not with other segments of the informal economy which are out of sight. Thus many of the negative perceptions regarding the informal economy stem from perceptions dating back to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century hegemonic views of Fordist development economics, and from theoretical debates surrounding the wellbeing of the informally occupied.

Government critiques focus on the visible issues which they can equate with informal trade such as crime, grime, and a lack of safety. Bromley (2000) mentions a number of negative outcomes: traders are a pedestrian form of traffic and in the current car-dominated world they tend to congregate in places with significant vehicular traffic to sell their goods. Their congregation in these places further slows traffic, contributing to congestion. The knock-on effects from increased vehicular traffic may be an increase in pollution, increase in traffic collisions, as well as the barring of emergency vehicles from speedy access to places where they are needed. In pedestrian areas, traders may contribute to significant overcrowding, thus hindering the flow of people through spaces.

Areas with concentrations of street vendors are often associated with crime. The areas where street traders congregate may harbour large numbers of pickpockets, lured there by the crowds of people. The health, safety and quality of street vendor goods are often called into question. In these cases traders often do not have access to infrastructure to provide hygienic conditions to store and sell their goods. This is especially of concern in the sales of foods or beverages. Traders are also accused of selling poor quality goods, or selling goods or services to customers who are not familiar with standard prices at higher rates.

Governments often respond to these perceived negative outcomes by attempting to prevent informal trade from taking place. Given the extent, nature, and benefits that accrue through informal trade, this is hardly in the common good. Most governmental responses to street trading in places where it is illegal, include the persecution of street traders which entails the confiscation of goods, evictions, and physical abuse of traders. While these responses are framed as attempts to curb the negative consequences of street trading, they are in fact merely oppressive of the most vulnerable population group. It goes without saying that this poses a severe threat to their livelihoods. In order to avoid this sort of harassment, street traders either need to pay bribes to police or to stop trading (Bromley, 2000; Chen, 2012).

Dewar (2005) notes that "...local government has a clear responsibility to protect and enhance the public good and the reasonable rights of all individuals". Mitigating the negative effects from informal trade may be done through the provision of planning interventions. The use of balanced planning approaches and supportive legislative frameworks are the tools which can be used to achieve favourable outcomes. Dewar and Watson (1990: 19) describe how the negative effects of street traders are often circumstantial; "it depends on the scale at which, and the way in which, the activity is conducted. Thus, for example, if properly managed, informal vending need not cause traffic congestion". Bhowmik (2005) provides an example of this, describing street trading in Bangkok, which does not lead to traffic jams, as traders are not in the road. He goes on to further discuss a number of different approaches followed throughout South-East Asia, designed to support street trading and provide improved conditions both for street traders and their customers. Positive approaches range from tolerance for trading, to skills training, the provision of quality space and infrastructure for trading to take place, and gradual regularisation. Providing support for street trading can be an important

strategy for governments. Such an approach allows street trading, and benefits the public good through the economy, and the lives of those who depend on it for work, or access to goods. At the same time (and this may be more important for governments who view it as a chaotic activity) it also allows government to exert some form of control over street trading, through providing conditions for support. Thus, where many of the negative effects of street trading (such as the aforementioned crime, grime, congestion, and unhygienic conditions) exist, it is actually a reflection of poor planning and government provision for one of the primordial components of cities.

Planning is a practice which concerns itself with the making of space. As such it plays an important role in the success or failure of informal trade. Initially, many of the implicit paradigms behind planning, such as the pursuit of order, seem to counter the chaotic natural logic of informal trade. In actual fact, planning responds to the informal economy both positively and negatively, in a multitude of ways. Because of the array of positive contributions that street trading makes to the economy, and the social vibrancy it creates within cities, there has recently been an attempt to frame it in a positive light. Hart (1973: 81–82) cut through problematic economic jargon which links informality and the negative aspects it supposedly causes: the disorganisation, lack of morality, overcrowding, political unrest, rural depopulation, and lack of observable economic activity. He made the point that often these aspects are used as justifications "to shift the emphasis of income opportunities in the direction of formal employment for its own sake, or only to reduce participation in socially disapproved of informal activities". This assessment underpins most positive views of street trade by focusing on the lives of the people in the economy, as opposed to simply viewing them as economic units which cannot easily be counted or controlled.

## Case studies of street trader management

### Durban, South Africa

The case of Warwick Junction in the inner city of Durban in South Africa and the subsequent attitude changes by the city represents a case where street traders have engaged with planners and other city officials in a positive, collaborative fashion and benefited as a result. Trading in Durban was allowed after the introduction of the Business Act of 1991. Following an unmanaged growing chaos and the proliferation of several of the negative effects mentioned above in this busy trading and transport junction, an area-based initiative was launched by the city at Warwick Junction. The project initiated sector-based solutions for many of the concerns around trading in the area, including the provision of infrastructure to traders in the area. The city has since adopted an informal economy policy, with a pro- informal economy approach, and suggested similar approaches to those used in Warwick Junction throughout the city. This process represents a highly valuable case study for research into how collaborative intervention succeeded in creating a vibrant area. As such it is explored further below.

After the first democratic elections in South Africa there was significant tension in deciding the city's stance on informal traders due to the opposition between modernist city ideals and the evolution of planning towards a more contextual approach (Lund and Skinner, 2004). Prior to this South Africa was under Apartheid, where policies were highly repressive of all race groups with the exceptions of whites; alienating them spatially, economically and socially from opportunities, especially within urban areas. Survivalist and informal economic activities such as street trading were heavily restricted in urban areas. Lund and Skinner (2004) note how towards the end of Apartheid national policies on informal trading slowly started to ease, but this was not replicated in local settings, resulting in an influx of traders, but without any attempts by local government to offer support.

Warwick junction has always been a major transport hub in central Durban. Dobson et al. (2009: 5) recount how “thousands of commuters arrive and depart from here each day, making use of a main railway station, five bus terminals and nineteen taxi ranks. Roads, walkways and pedestrian bridges crisscross the area, which is only ten minutes from the city centre”. In addition to this they make mention of the large scale and the wide range of trading which occurs in Warwick Junction where goods range from CD sales to vegetables to meals of cooked bovine heads. With the end of apartheid and easing of regulations, pressure on the site grew significantly. Skinner (2009) describes how a continued influx of traders into Warwick Junction (many of whom started to live there), and a lack of intervention from government, led to deterioration of the area, as crime, congestion, and poor infrastructural conditions took their toll.

The newly formed Self Employed Women's Union (SEWU) and Informal Traders Management Board (ITMB) worked together with city council officials to begin to provide facilities in the area for traders and increase security. Through an integrated area approach, which included stakeholders, planners and other relevant government departments and a policy environment which fostered informal trading and collaboration between local government and trading organisations, the area was significantly improved. This included a municipal team which met on a daily basis with stakeholders to discuss management. The management office for the project was located on site. Municipal officials from various line departments worked in close collaboration from within the office allowing direct organisation and discussion. In addition to the site development, the office also served as a meeting room to discuss issues around health, informal trader management and crime, amongst others (Jenny Cameron, 2004; Kitchin and Ovens, 2008). These various interventions on site, and collaborative approaches are thought to have had a significant influence in the success of the

project. Improvements included increased security, access, trading facilities, hygiene and securing tenure for trade to continue.

Initial interventions in the actual site included the identification of a site for *muthi* (traditional medicine) traders away from the street to stop congestion of the pavement and onto a section of nearby disused highway, in addition, pedestrian linkage was provided (Kitchin and Ovens, 2008). Various other interventions followed and contributed to the success of the site, such as the provision of safe storage areas for traders' goods, and facilities for cooking the cow heads which are served as a delicacy. A number of other infrastructural and safety interventions were implemented, these reduced the high crime figures significantly.

Dobson et al. (2009) detail how it is currently a highly vibrant trading site which contributes significantly to the economy, and provides livelihoods for several thousand traders. The site is seen as a success in terms of all the role players in the area, local government, planners, commuters, and traders. Importantly, they make the point that the relatively small capital costs of the project have been compensated, many times over, by municipal revenue and turnover.

#### **Dar es Salaam, Tanzania**

The approach taken in Dar es Salaam in the 1990s is also viewed as a boon for informal traders. Due to a collaboration of the state and United Nations agencies, the city adopted an inclusionary approach which licenced traders in the city centre and identified key concerns relating to them. Identified features included the hygiene and cleanliness of traders. Standardised steel shelving was introduced as a means to mitigate these concerns. Trading areas were also allotted to allow traders in specific parts of the city. However, with the rapid saturation

of available space with traders, some were left without access and therefore remained outside legality.

#### **Singapore**

Singapore is a good example of a place where a positive developmental approach has been applied in dealing with street traders, resulting in benefit to traders and the economy, while allowing control, which so many governments desperately desire to exert, over traders. The Singaporean government set up food centres where hawkers could ply their trades, and where they had access to clean water, electricity, and refuse disposal services. A department deals with the management of the hawkers, ensuring that they adhere to standards of hygiene while providing them with training courses. Bhowmik (2005) highlights that this positive stance has helped to keep the cost of living low in Singapore. While similar approaches have also been used in other places, often the lack of sufficient acknowledgement of traders' contextual priorities and of skills development means that facilities provided do not have the opportunity to develop or often even meet basic hygiene standards.

#### **Malaysia**

Malaysia has attempted a similar approach, however, with limited success. A key difference was that the Malaysian government stopped issuing licences to traders, despite continued growth in their numbers, leaving many traders without legal status. Similar problems occur elsewhere as haphazard or weak policies regarding traders often mean that there is insufficient follow through in attempts to support trading. This results in poor impressions of traders by governments and vice versa.

## Indonesia

During the authoritarian rule of President Suharto in Indonesia up until 1998 the country's planning system was heavily opposed to the idea of informal traders. Under Suharto's rule street trading was not allowed at all and the control and regulation of illegal traders followed patterns similar to elsewhere in the world. Encounters with law enforcement involved bribes, there was a perception that street traders caused urban blight, claimed marginal locations, and obstructed public spaces. Suharto's resignation precipitated a thorough reformation of the Indonesian government's policies and responsibilities. Porter et al. (2011) describes the role that the revision of planning regulations have had on street traders in the case of Indonesia. The revision of planning law gave rise to a decentralised system whereby provincial, district and city government were granted significant responsibilities in spatial planning. Included in this was a mandate that spatial planning necessarily needed to include provision for the informal sector. The creation of provisions which stipulated a minimum planning allocation of 20% to public open space in urban areas, accompanied the mandate. This provision provided space, particularly for street traders to practice their trade. Porter et al. (2011) make the final point that the new law stipulated that public participation in spatial planning be included, and describes the rights, obligations and forms that this takes. They further mention that the inclusion of human rights into planning decisions has had a major impact on how the planning system has played out, as it is no longer able to remove traders without their consent.

An example of how the negotiation with traders worked out to the benefit of both the traders and the city, is the relocation of traders from the park and monument of Banjarsari to the traditional market of Klitikan by the then mayor and current president Joko Widodo (Porter et al., 2011). This included persuading the traders to pay a rent of USD 0.60 per day which would cover the land and construction cost of the

market in 8 years. Gibbings (2013) notes that, despite the institution of reforms since 1998, examples still exist of instances where planning priorities and traders clash, especially when it comes to conflicting priorities such as the removal of traders to other sites.

Indonesia is an example of how spatial planning may have been used to the detriment of the informal sector in the past, but then, used positively by government in supporting or restricting the informal sector. It shows how policy, and then planning as a tool, was used by government first to hinder and then to help development.

## Bangkok, Thailand

Bangkok in Thailand has a long tradition of street traders. Until recently the government's attitude towards these people has been ambivalent. Yasmeen and Nirathron (2014) describes how trading was first regulated in 1941. Vending has always been allowed in the city, but the start of regulation attempted to curtail and limit it to specific areas. These regulation attempts met with varying degrees of success over the years. Changing administrations revised and changed laws, while governors of Bangkok implemented these legislative and policy changes to varying degrees, depending on their personal ideologies.

In 1998 Thailand suffered a major economic recession resulting in large-scale loss of formal employment. Many previously middle class formal employees took to vending as a means of earning an income. According to Yasmeen and Nirathron (2014), from 1998 onwards, grants were provided to petty enterprises and self-help organisations were formed. She mentions how after 2000, Thailand underwent a policy shift, whereby petty trade was reframed so that it was no longer perceived as a mechanism of poverty reduction, but instead, as a means for economic self-reliance. Policy emphasis moved towards skills building, and the provision of credit facilities. In addition to this,

limits on the numbers of traders were lifted, trading fees and regulation focused on covering costs of cleaning in areas around traders (150 baht/m<sup>2</sup> [USD 4] per month), and ensuring hygiene standards as promulgated in 1992.

Yasmeen and Nirathron (2014) describe how the process has been one of gradual realisation by the government that street trading will not disappear, and despite many protestations, government has gradually come to embrace more supportive policies and increased the number of areas where trading is allowed.

### **Bhubaneswar, India**

Another example of the positive impact of planning on informal trading is that of Bhubaneswar in India. India's trader population is estimated at around 2.5% (Bhowmik, 2005; Kumar and Singh, 2013). Bhubaneswar was much the same as any of the other trader cases examined above, traders were considered illegal and persecuted as such. Kumar and Singh (2013) describes how this has changed, with the initial introduction of a policy which allowed trading in specific areas. The goal of the project was to create a space which would allow traders vertical social mobility. Key role-players included the National Association of Street Vendors of India (NASVI), Bhubaneswar Municipal Corporation, and private advertising agencies which funded infrastructure at the market in return for advertising rights. Kumar describes how its success hinged on a participation process between stakeholders. He shows how the implementation of Bhubaneswar benefited all the role-players in its construction. Traders are allowed to trade, and have received facilities to do so, Government has received a positive profile for the role that they have played, and a new source of revenue, NASVI has received prestige, and there has been an overall aesthetic improvement in the city.

## **Conclusion**

There are not many examples where informal trading has benefited all role-players. The approaches which they used have a number of similarities which might usefully be replicated, however, this must be done contextually.

There are numerous factors which influence the continuation of poverty and unsustainable urban development. Watson (2009) highlights that planning may often have detrimental effects on the ability of informal traders to operate in states. She qualifies this with the statement that the extent to which this occurs is subject to circumstance, and that it may therefore vary considerably across contexts. Much of the failure to adequately address informality may well be due to the rate of urbanisation in third world cities, as it often occurs at such a magnitude that there is insufficient capacity and experience to deal with it adequately either through policy, planning or implementation by the rest of government. Roy (2009: 77) describes how "India's urban growth is so dramatic that it 'consistently outstrips even the most perspicacious planner's vision for it'. This is the narrative of the chaotic Third World mega-city that defies all planning controls and forecasts." In addition to their lack of capacity, many of the migrants which make their way to cities have few skills, no institutional knowledge, and are expected to earn an income and send remittances to their families in rural areas. Despite massive challenges, there are several factors highlighted in the above case studies which inform recommendations for good future planning practices and integration of informal traders:

On a macro scale Governments need to change their attitudes towards informal traders and towards planning. Planners do not operate separately from the state, they are an organic part of it, and as such can operate efficiently if they have the power and facilitation to do so. This means that the political will to follow through on plans is essential to

the success of sustainable development, and successfully integrating informal trade into a city. All the cases above included some measure of regulation of public space. This occurred in a particular manner to allow sufficient access to a variety of spaces in a way which supported informal traders, while maintaining a middle ground where pedestrian priorities were not forgotten.

On a micro scale, there are also several influencing factors which were common to all the projects. In all the cases above another significant shared trait was the inclusion of some measure of decentralisation. Local governments have the power to make a difference, and are based at the scale where they can adequately engage with contextual issues at hand. This should occur in conjunction with a consultative process, whereby multiple stakeholders are consulted in the decision making process, including representatives of the traders and local government, as was the situation in all cases above. In many of these instances, other civil society organisations were also included. These play a positive role in terms of representing trader priorities where traders may not have the requisite experience or education to represent themselves effectively. This model follows an integrated area development approach.

In all cases a set of common goals should be agreed upon. These include moves to bring about poverty alleviation, or to support social mobility, and to provide traders with access to opportunities. A number of positive spin-offs resulting from the interventions validate these approaches. In many cases increased government revenue; community participation in place-making and subsequent ownership; the institutional development of vendors; and positive reputation of government; affirmed the interventions.

## Chapter 3: Context – Angola, Luanda and the role of the informal economy

This chapter provides the context for analysing the case of Congolenses market. It focuses on the various relevant historic, institutional, social, and economic factors in Angola and Luanda. It then goes on to deal with legal frameworks and the linked policies that currently relate to markets and traders. After exploring the recent history of markets and traders, Congolenses and its development, in particular, are examined in greater depth.

To inform this, the collection of primary documents, other relevant primary data, such as surveys on the informal economy in Luanda, and relevant newspaper articles were collected and scanned for incorporation into this section. Revised population estimates, and any relevant legal documents dealing with traders which could be sourced, were examined to ascertain whether Congolenses market is under threat of development, and how. Supporting these documents are newspaper articles which describe the implementation and ground level policies from government, as often-times policy and implementation are not aligned.

### History of Luanda

Luanda was founded in 1576 and is one of the oldest cities in sub-Saharan Africa (Development Workshop, 2005). The city was built as a slave and commercial outpost by the Portuguese who initially occupied only the spit of land known as the '*Ilha*'. Over the years the Portuguese settlement spread onto the mainland. Luanda remained relatively small until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The city grew quickly during this time, in part from increased rural to urban migration from the Angolan hinterland, but large numbers of Portuguese settlers also immigrated to Luanda. By the mid-1970s Luanda was estimated to have a population of around 350,000 (Development Workshop, 2005: 69). Most of these people lived in informal settlements termed *musseques*, as shown in figure 2. The Portuguese instituted a racially based class system which placed mixed Angolans above Africans, but also gave many Africans the opportunity to derive some sort of formal employment in government (De Oliveira, 2015). This resulted in the elevation of Portuguese as a lingua franca over local languages, which has endured up until present, such that most Angolans speak Portuguese to this day. Angola won independence in 1975 and most of the Portuguese immigrants left at the same time. Shortly after independence a civil war broke out, but neither independence, nor the civil war hampered Luanda's growth and in some ways impelled it. During the civil war Luanda was a safe haven for many from the Angolan hinterland where the heaviest conflict raged, to gain control of the country's valuable natural resources.

Post-civil war, the city is now home to over six and a half million people, making it the fifth largest metropolitan area in Africa (Cain, 2012; Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2014: 48). The nature of migration into Luanda during the colonial period was such that Africans were allowed housing in *musseques*, while the 'European' city was formally planned. The 25 years of post-independence conflict

and subsequent urbanisation of Luanda meant that by the end of the war Luanda housed roughly 58% of the Angolan population (World Bank, 2015). Most of these migrants settled in informal housing due to a lack of capacity from government which was preoccupied with the conflict. Thus the *musseques* continued to grow till the end of the civil war, as seen in figure 3. The result has been that Luanda has sprawled progressively further from the historical centre to engulf the nearby town of Viana. Even today the great majority of Luandans in the old city live in informal or low-income housing. Recent estimates indicate that 85% of all homes are in *musseques*, where most homes lack secure property tenure and connections to water, sanitation and sewage services (Cain, 2014a: 6). Thus, the great majority of people in Luanda live in informal circumstances. Given the dearth of formal employment many of these people depend upon the informal economy for jobs and as a source of goods and services.

The end of the civil war coincided with a period of generally high oil prices. This enabled Angola's growth to rocket to the point where it became one of the fastest growing economies in the world, and the third largest in sub-Saharan Africa with a GDP of USD 121 billion in 2013 (De Oliveira, 2015). Since then there have been severe declines in global oil prices in 2008, and later, from the last quarter of 2014 onwards. Currently (October 2015) prices are still below USD 60 per barrel. The high oil prices of the first post-war period generated large revenues, and opened access to good credit lines for the Angolan government. It has since invested significant amounts in post-war state rebuilding throughout Angola, but especially within Luanda. This investment has caused further waves of in-migration to the capital city.

## The Angolan economy

Angola has had the opportunity since the end of the war to diversify its economy by stimulating local production, thereby taking pressure off the informal economy (Development Workshop, 2009). Whether or not this in the interest of Angola's President Jose dos Santos and the coterie of generals which surround him, is disputed. It is commonly asserted, and De Oliveira (2015: 22) reiterates that,

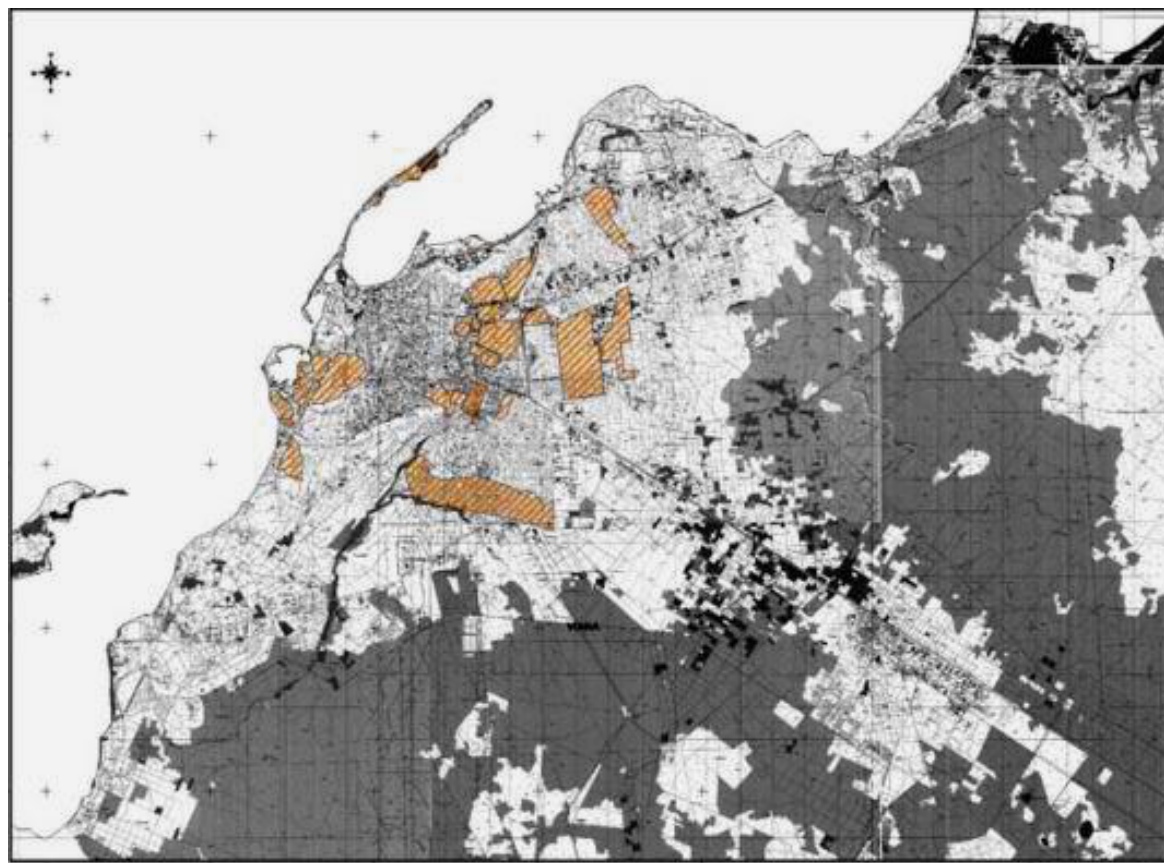


Figure 2: Luanda peri-urban population 1974. (Development Workshop, 2005: 74)

“dos Santos used the extraordinary circumstances of the war to carve out a veritable parallel state under his personal control that came to encompass the country’s revenue handling and coercive organisations and hold extensive links with the international economy”.

At the centre of these enterprises is the state owned oil company Sonangol. This is, in large part, the network which has been used to create Angola’s brand of patriarchy, whereby the elite are empowered by dos Santos’s hold on the economy, and in turn replicate it. Dos

Santos’s interests therefore lie in maintaining his control over the major sources of revenue coming into the country. It is uncommon in petroleum-dominated economies to find much economic diversification, and as a result of the war which decimated the local economy, and the resultant period of oil driven growth, most produce found in Angola is still imported. Some people hope that the recent decline in oil prices and subsequent pressure on the ruling elite in Angola may encourage policy makers to facilitate economic diversification away from oil (interview: Cain 2015). Skinner (2008a: 6) makes the point that,

“Liberalization of African economies has led to an increase of imports with informal traders acting as the final point of sale for many of these goods. This role has become particularly pronounced with the dramatic increase in imports from China to Africa over the last ten years. The greater availability of a diverse range of goods can be positive for informal traders. But trade liberalisation has often had devastating impacts on local industry. “

In Angola, the state of affairs as described above, has already taken firm root. The challenge now appears to be to grow other industries so that informal traders can start to sell more locally produced goods.

### Socio-political climate in Angola

Angola is well known for its authoritative regime and the patriarchal manner in which its government functions. The reasons for the ideological predisposition of the government are less well known. De Oliveira (2015) describes how the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola]) formed as a resistance movement during the Portuguese

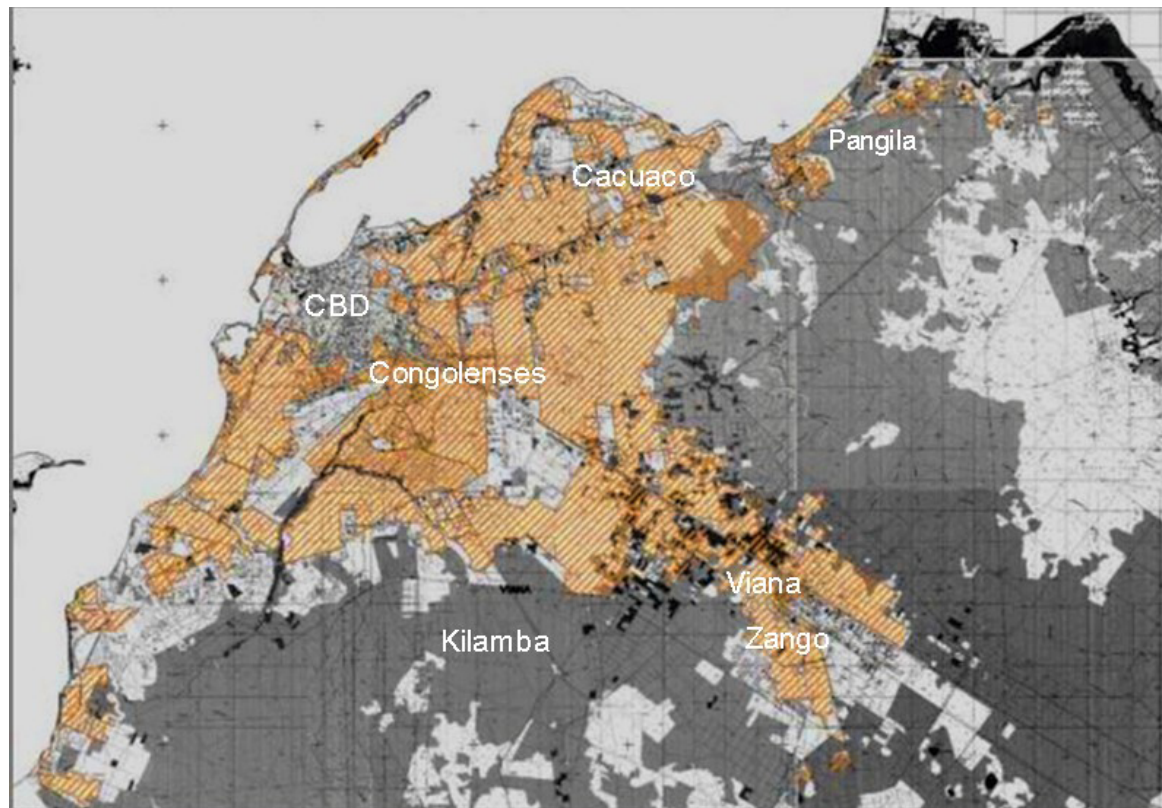


Figure 3: Luanda, peri-urban population 2001. (Development Workshop, 2005: 75)

colonial period. The MPLA is formed predominantly of Mbundu and 'creole' (mixed race) Luandans who, during the course of colonial history, were one rung below the Portuguese economically and socially. They thus occupied the second highest tier of Angolan society. He describes how this history has ideologically shaped the MPLA into supporting economic policies which are modernist and favoured the elites.

Due to the vacuum of political resistance as a result of MPLA's victory in the civil war; complete war fatigue (and contentment with peace) from the citizenry; and the recent high oil prices (and large revenues); the government could circumnavigate NGO and citizen priorities. Therefore, since 2002, the MPLA government has been able to follow their own policies unimpeded. This has allowed the Angolan elite to follow "a grandiose, boom-era vision of state-led modernisation and at least rhetorically, inclusive development" (De Oliveira, 2015: 3). Concurrently, a state of trepidation of perceived dissent amongst many Angolans has also played a major role in allowing the government to continue suppressing opposition to the current socio-political climate in Angola.

Normal citizens often fear speaking out against the government because of fear of being monitored, and the possible repercussions if caught doing so. The attitude is not without reason, as for example in 2014, the radio broadcaster for the opposition party UNITA was gaoled, "Childvia was held in custody for five days without charge. On February 7, a court sentenced him to 180 days in prison, suspended for two years, and a fine of \$600 on the charges of defamation and slander, disobedience against a corporate public authority, and 'abuse of press freedom'—a vaguely defined crime under the 2006 Press Law" (Human Rights Watch, 2015).

This, despite the fact that the Angolan constitution regards the right to life and physical integrity as completely inviolable even under the state of war (Art. 58c). In addition the country is a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (de Morais, 2011).

## Planning approaches

The Angolan government has focused its efforts of rebuilding mainly on infrastructure investment such as roads and other large prestige projects such as stadia (Cain, 2014a). Large-scale, high profile housing projects have also played a prominent role in developments, and have facilitated and allowed the movement of Luandans to formal housing outside the *musseques*. These housing and infrastructure projects are driven by a modernist desire to make Luanda a world-class city, however, the initiatives have lacked clear land-use planning, public participation, or assessment of the current housing market in Luanda (Cain, 2014a; Reindorf-Partey, 2015; Watson, 2013). The resultant problems associated with the lack of land-use planning and public participation are magnified by their large dimensions. For example, Kilamba was designed to house approximately 200 000 people. The lack of clear forethought regarding the results of decentralisation on such a massive scale has impacted the functioning of the city negatively, both in terms of contribution to traffic and the removal of these inhabitants from employment opportunities nearby.

Other critiques of the state's preoccupation with provision of infrastructure emphasise the idea that it is essentially a practice which is used to benefit the elite through reinforcing their business interests, and thereby the patriarchy which is so pervasive in Angola. It is also a means of furthering 'the limitation of popular mobilisation, the strengthening of the state apparatus, and the construction of a

stable but non-egalitarian political order' (Croese, 2015: 308); (De Oliveira, 2011; Stiftung, 2010). The foremost way in which the Angolan government has achieved this is through undertaking projects to improve infrastructure in high value, central parts of the city. This has meant large scale upgrading of areas around the port and city centre in Luanda.

While Angolans have proper title ownership over land in formal housing areas and on surveyed farms, decision makers in government have influenced the law to leave poor urban and rural people without land, as, "In order to receive title, the land must have infrastructure for water, electricity, and sanitation"(Nielsen, 2007: 15). Moreover, the government of Angola reserves the right to expropriate any land. Given that 85% of the population lives in *musseques*, this has effectively allowed the state to reorder Luanda as it sees fit, moving those most vulnerable to distant satellite cities, and allowing wealthy Angolan business interests with political connections to redevelop this high value land, thereby increasing and entrenching their domination of the city. Thus, *musseque* residents and markets such as Roque Santeiro and the formal Kinaxixi market located in high value areas, had to make way for multi-million dollar private developments (Development Workshop, 2009; Tomás, 2012).

Many of these projects have provided formal employment and stable construction jobs for Angolans. However, due to a skills shortage, lack of education and often restrictive terms and conditions which accompany the credit lines created to fund these large scale projects, local Angolans make up a small proportion of those employed in these jobs (Development Workshop, 2009: 6).

Many of the removed residents may not have been willing to give up their positions in the city, but their having access to formal housing

and services for the first time is perceived as prestigious and so many are also happy to move (Tomás, 2012). The negative outcomes of moving so many of the poor away from the centre of the city, is to remove them from the economic opportunities which they formerly enjoyed.

### Population patterns and implications for service delivery

Before Angolan independence the structure of Luanda was already divided along formal and informal lines. The Portuguese lived and worked in the formal, planned city centre, while black Angolans were forced to live in rural *musseques* outside the city's bounds. When the Portuguese left the country at independence, it was without a handover of existing services in the city. Since then the vast majority of Luanda's growth has been in its *musseques*, where Luandans continue to live without access to infrastructure services or formal tenure. The status quo of colonial times has thus been continued as a result of the civil war which ravaged the country. Cain (2012: 12) notes that "...Luanda suffers from land market distortions caused by poor land development and management policies, including the slow provision of infrastructure and services, poor land information systems, cumbersome and slow land transaction procedures". Despite the disadvantages of many *musseques*, their proximity to the centre of town means that they are situated in highly sought after areas, and on high value land.

During the civil war the Luanda Provincial Water Company [Empresa de Aguas de Luanda, (EPAL)] could not keep up with the maintenance or with providing water to Luanda's growing population. Cain (2014b: 67) notes that by the end of the war, piped water reached only a quarter of Luanda's households. Most of Luanda's water is

provided by truck, and sold for prices varying between 4 and 20 USD depending on the distance from the river or piped water connections. The trucks source water from the rivers, sometimes disinfect it, and sell it on to be distributed further by water vendors. Access to other services such as electricity and waste disposal are similarly developing, however, in most cases the *musseque* areas are not serviced. Much of Angola's private sector and government electricity is derived from diesel generators used as backups, as central supply is still highly variable.

This lack of provision of services epitomises Angola. Informality is present in Luanda in the form of housing, services, and trade. Even the Angolan government operates largely on the basis of informal connections and deals. In some cases the role of local government has been taken over by local residents in a quasi-socialist manner, without any legitimacy from the state (Croese, 2015).

As with most of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Angola has inherited its legal system from its colonisers. The Portuguese thus left Angola with a Napoleonic legal system, which has been changed to adapt to the Angolan society (Development Workshop, 2005). One of the most pertinent aspects of the legal system is its reference to land law. Under Angolan law the state can expropriate any land it wants. This has allowed it to remove residents, and change land uses in areas as it sees fit. This power has been flexed and is continually done so on a daily basis with the summary removal of residents who have been present for over 40 years (Cain, 2014a; Human Rights Watch, 2015).

Major migrations and relocations around Luanda have occurred to outlying areas of Viana, Kilamba, Cacuaço, Pangila, and more recently Zango, see figure 4 (Development Workshop, 2005). The

Angolan government continues to use its legal power to expropriate land and remove inhabitants (especially from *musseques*) near the city centre. Many of the removals from areas of government interest have been to these satellite towns which have few opportunities for jobs. Moreover, the relocated markets, moved to the edge of Luanda, now stand empty for the most part (Bento, 2015). Concurrent natural migration to these areas has occurred as a result of the expensive cost of rentals in the city centre, access to services, and the availability of more secure tenure. In addition to more moderate rent, a large drawing factor for many Luandans is the appeal of modernity (Tomás,



Figure 4: Location of Congolenses market within Luanda (Source: author)

2012), since many of those living in *musseques*, even close to the centre of the city, have limited access to water, electricity or waste disposal services (Cain, 2014b).

Robson and Roque (2001: 11) describe these *musseques* or peri-urban areas as “no longer a transition zone between rural and urban environments”. Despite their informality and lack of services, the *musseques* in Luanda are often interspersed with formal buildings, and many of these integral buildings are indeed constructed of concrete.

Outward migrations, along with the overall growth of the peri-urban population and lack of implementation of any plan in the city itself, from the 1960s till the end of the war in 2002, has resulted in increased population densification in the satellite cities (Development Workshop, 2005). This growth seems to be continuing with the current construction of Zango II (a new satellite town to the North-East of Zango), the development of the economic development zone, ZEE (*Zona Económica Especial*) and, the construction of a new airport adjacent to it. Not only are these areas far removed from the city centre, where a disproportionate amount of business is located, but their access to the city centre is limited, since there are few major roads leading into and out of the city, and little in the way of formal public transport. Despite developments of these large housing projects in the satellite towns surrounding Luanda, many of the city’s inhabitants still live near to the historic core and central business district (CBD).

A large proportion of those living in the satellite towns commute into the city centre to access work on a daily basis, creating traffic, and losing cumulatively tens of thousands of hours of otherwise produc-

tive time per day. This trend of commuting does not appear to be abating, especially with the continued residential construction on the outskirts of the city. The movement of so many people away from the centre of the city, and the government’s policies of decentralisation have thus had a major impact causing the mushrooming of traffic.

The government is planning and has started constructing a BRT (Bus Rapid Transit) system for Luanda, covering several major routes (ANGOP, 2015b). Until recently, however, there was little in the way of public transport in Luanda, and *candongueiros* (mini-bus taxis) were mainly used in the city (Lopes, 2005). There does not appear to be an implementation strategy as to how the *candongueiros* will integrate with the new BRT. The *candongueiros* are a critical part of Luanda’s functioning, as they do not only provide jobs to drivers and money collectors, but also to garages, car washes, and the *candongueiro* owners (Lopes, 2010). Many facets of the functioning of *candongueiros* are informal, and so the great many (approximately 20,000) form a crucial functioning part of the greater informal society and the services and economy of Luanda. Sites where the various informal activities come together, such as public transport hubs and marketplaces which provide access to goods, like Congolenses market, are thus crucial to the functioning of the lives of a great many Luandans (Development Workshop, 2005).

### The informal economy in Angola

The informal economy has been a provider of essential services in Luanda for many years for a great many citizens. In 2005, 84% of families in Luanda were completely or partially dependent on the informal economy (Development Workshop, 2009: 23). Due to the complete absence of a formal counterpart, the informal economy has virtually existed as the only real economy in Luanda. Due to the need

for services and the lack of provision, administrative capacity or attention from the state, the informal economy has developed extensively throughout Luanda since independence (Cain, 2012, 2014b; Development Workshop, 2005; Lopes, 2005). The informal economy is diverse and covers a wide range of activities, including an informal land market and tenure system in which 75% of peri-urban Luandans participate; the thriving *candongueiro* and motorbike taxi services which have been operating since the 1980s; the business of water provision to households located in *musseques*; and the thousands of informal traders who occupy the streets throughout the city (Cain, 2012: 20; Lopes, 2005). These types of essential, dynamic, and vulnerable services are the lifeblood of most of the city's inhabitants, and the places where or from which one or more of them operate are crucial spaces in the city. The Angolan government has benefited from keeping services informal in a number of ways. First, it has not had to prioritise the provision of services such as public transport or water to those who cannot afford their own vehicles or the limited formal supply of water. This has meant that the government has effectively not needed to deal with the poor having secure land tenure in high value areas, or to put up with urban blight caused by traders. It also signifies that as government prepares to roll out services or make changes, it is easily able to encroach upon whatever sphere of the informal it wants. In effect by allowing the informal, but ensuring that it remains illegitimate, the Angolan government has paved the way for establishing the vision of a modern world class Luanda.

Economic activity in Angola, it could be argued, has been kept 'informal' due to a lack of clear administrative procedures relating to what is required for formality. Shops, for example, first started to trade informally during the 1970s–80s as there was a breakdown in government administration. This meant that even if shops had

the intention of registering as formal enterprises, navigation of the complex bureaucracy makes this nearly impossible.

There is much uncertainty regarding the current size of the informal economy, but it is expected to continue to change rapidly, given Angola's recent economic ups and downs. Informal economy estimates for Angola vary from 42% of non-agricultural employment in the 1990s, to between 58 and 69% in the early 2000s, to 84% in 2006 (Development Workshop, 2009: 23), to 37% in 2011 (Gaspar, 2011: 2). This demonstrates how very difficult it is to try to establish accurately the size of the informal economy in Luanda. What it does confirm is that its size is similar to informal economy estimates in other countries within the region. There is little in the way of local informal manufacturing, and the Angolan economy is still largely based on oil revenues. There has, nevertheless, been a modicum of economic diversification recently. Local goods appear to be limited mostly to fresh foods such as bread, fruit, vegetables, meat, fish, starches (cassava/manioc) and beer. Small value added services have started to appear in informal enterprises, such as ice cream making. Informal manufacturing and service provision through markets is also present in Luanda in commodities such as furniture, and to a relatively small degree, electric goods repair.

### **Informal transport**

Public transport is a prominent sector of the informal economy which intersects with informal trade. Informal transport services developed in the 1980s at the time when the government's bus system collapsed. As in many developing countries, the informal transport sector in Angola is multi-modal. It consists of *candongueiros* (Luanda's white and blue mini bus taxis), with set routes, which stop on an ad hoc basis (granted there are no police around). Apart from *candongueiros*, sedan and motorcycle taxis are also common. These service

areas around the *candongueiro* routes where roads are either too small to use, or there is not enough traffic to justify a *candongueiro* route. Thus the informal transport system has developed to work in a hierarchical fashion.

*Candongueiro* drivers rent their mini-buses from owners on a weekly basis. It is the responsibility of the owner to provide a government licence. Despite the licensing scheme, there appears to be no knowledge as to how many minibuses there are in Luanda. These *candongueiros* travel along a complex web of transport routes throughout the city.



Figure 5: Map of major *candongueiro* routes, Luanda. Source: (Schubert, 2011)

The largest mapped stops (figure 5) include Congolenses and Sao Paolo major markets and Mutamba, the city centre.

Estimates of the number of *candongueiros* in Luanda range from between 3200 in 2004 (Lopes, 2005) to 30,000 in 2008 (Lopes, 2010), however, official government statistics have swung wildly between 9,000 in December 2014 and 20,000 in January 2015. Given the size of Luanda's population, and the similarities between it and Nairobi's public transport systems (both have in the order of 300 municipal buses), the number of mini-bus taxis serving Nairobi was used as a proxy to estimate the number of *candongueiros* in Luanda. Nairobi had a population of roughly 3 million in 2008 and was served by around 12,000 minibus taxis (Kumar and Barrett, 2008: 82); the author therefore estimates that there are in the region of 24,000 *candongueiros* operating in Luanda. The average *candongueiro* carries around 220 persons per day, thus providing about 5,200,000 single trips throughout Luanda on a daily basis (Mendelsohn, 2015). Each *candongueiro* provides employment for approximately 3 people (a driver, money collector, and then associated multiplier jobs such as mechanics, car washers, etc). This means that the total employment provided by the service is highly substantial, and that there may be clashes with the future Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) if not integrated well.

### Informal trade

Informal trade in Luanda increased in prominence as formal business declined during the war in the 1970s – 1980s (Development Workshop, 2009). Informal trading occurs throughout Luanda, however, dense trader concentrations are found in and around formal markets and transport interchanges. The major intersects of these are shown in figure 5, and to the author's knowledge there are prominent markets at Congolenses, Sao Paolo, Kikolo, and formerly, Kinaxixi and Roque Santeiro. Informal markets often coincide with significant

traffic, as is common throughout the world. The government initially allowed informal trading around the Roque Santeiro market as a means to move traders off the streets, but as Luanda continued to grow with the influx of migrants, so too did the number of traders in the city. More people became dependent on imported goods due to the lack of local produce. With supply systems collapsing during the war, the informal economy grew both as a survival mechanism and as a means for people to get what goods they needed. Despite the 13 years that have passed since the end of the civil war, the largest portion of the informal economy still appears to be trading (Development Workshop, 2009). It is uncommon to see many locally produced goods or much manufacturing in Luanda besides furniture.

Informal trade in Luanda is dominated by women and young men. (Development Workshop, 2009). Prior to 2009 the government's policy towards informal trade was such that it did not allow informal trade in or around the city centre, and actively suppressed wholesale trade in these areas (Development Workshop, 2009). A government directive was issued to clear all informal vendors out of the city centre as they 'ruin the aesthetic value' of the city (Development Workshop, 2009). This reflects the government's vision of creating a modernist Luanda. Despite this, street traders may be found on most busy corners in the city centre, where they are regularly pursued by the police. Development Workshop (2009) goes on to note that the informal trading sector is still growing and that the greatest part of the economy still runs in the same fashion as it always has. The government considers any trader who pays a fee for a space, and is given a set place of business within a permanent building (i.e. a market), to be formal (in definition, in practice there are often many other administrative logistics required). Thus, the distinction between formal and informal traders is their occupation of a formal building. Development Workshop (2009) notes that there appears to

be increasing development of small home based cantinas and shops which sell goods and engage in some minor value added activities. These businesses are technically no longer considered completely informal, and have some legal justification to trade, but they are products of development of the informal economy. Many shops and canteens do not fall within the bounds of what could really be considered formal, but are not actively persecuted for this. It is only traders who are actively and overtly stopped by the police; which emphasises the arbitrary division between the so-called informal and formal economies.

Towards the end of 2012, Luanda's provincial governor announced procedures to end informal street trading in Angola's capital. Street traders were registered, removed and transferred to markets elsewhere, mostly in places distant from concentrations of customers and other economic activity. Removals included those from the two most prominent markets Kinaxixi and Roque Santeiro.

The penalties for offenses relating to street trading are technically financial in nature, and relate to obstructing pedestrian or vehicular traffic, selling food in unhygienic conditions, or selling in non-authorised areas (Human Rights Watch, 2013). Despite these penalties, street traders have their goods confiscated, are detained and beaten, regardless of whether they are pregnant women or those carrying babies (Human Rights Watch, 2013). The attitude towards traders can be particularly harsh as the following excerpt from Human Rights Watch (2013: 1) illustrates:

The current attitude towards informal traders is such that they are constantly abused: "Where I sell there are many *zungueiras* [female street vendors] with babies on their backs. The police and *fiscais* [government inspectors] arrive on motorcycles.

They kick us and throw our goods to the ground, sometimes they take them, unless we pay. They say, ‘Take that filth away. This is not a place to sell.’ We tell them, ‘Where should we go? There are no markets for us. What are you doing with our things?’ Others remain silent. They are afraid. — 22-year-old female street vendor who sells water close to the railway line in Viana, Luanda, January 2013”.

The government does make provision for vendors under law no1/07 of the 14<sup>th</sup> of May 2007, but only within specific areas, and Article 15.1 specifies that they must have a rented or owned place of business. There do not appear to be any areas around the formal markets where traders may rent space; which is where most traders can be found. Moreover, it is a significant challenge to obtain a trading licence, especially for traders who are more often than not illiterate, who do not have the necessary identity documents to apply, and cannot afford the USD 50 per person required to obtain identity documents (Human Rights Watch, 2013). Over and above legal hurdles which have to be overcome, many workers lack access to social or monetary capital. Informal sector workers are sometimes recent migrants to Luanda from rural areas, displaced residents, or just generally affected by a lack of access to social or monetary capital or the legal status required to attain formal employment. Traders are also very likely to be unskilled and illiterate, and to have a large number of dependents, all of which diminishes their employability in the formal sector (Development Workshop, 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2013).

## Markets in Luanda

Formal Luanda is still highly monocentric and reliant on its historic core. Due to the aforementioned decentralisation of most of its inhabitants, major routes into the city have grown in use and importance. The Congolenses market is located along one of the three trunk routes into Luanda, as were Kinaxixi and Roque Santeiro. In addition, Sao Paolo is also one of the most prominent markets in the city. Each constitutes (or did) a significant public transport interchange and market space. The Kinaxixi (initially) and Roque Santeiro (later and to a much greater degree) were the hubs of informal activity in Luanda. Both these markets were moved to new locations by government (25km away, and outside the bounds of what could be considered even peri-urban for Roque Santeiro) (Development Workshop, 2009). These closures were justified in terms of post-war increases in congestion around the markets, and in terms of the high value of the land for development around Luanda’s port (for Roque Santeiro) and city centre (for Kinaxixi). Accompanying these market closures, were the closures of several other markets around the city, either for relocation or rebuilding.

Several markets throughout Luanda have been closed in order to be redeveloped, this has primarily been done using Chinese backed credit and predominantly Chinese construction companies (Development Workshop, 2009). While the new markets are formal, they are often smaller and have fewer spaces available in them for trading. Prices for space within the new markets vary, but are normally around 50-200 kwanzas (0.25- 1.5 USD) per day.

In many cases these new markets are not fully occupied and some are almost entirely empty. Instead of using them, traders prefer to trade outside the markets. (ANGOP, 2015a; Bento, 2015). The government attitude towards those traders unwilling to occupy the market spaces

provided, is that they will continue to be removed and their makeshift market spaces dismantled (Augusto, 2015).

Market administrators are unsure of why so many traders remain outside of the markets. Their view is that all the required infrastructure is available within the markets, and that the spaces will fill up at some stage (Bento, 2015). It is true that there is infrastructure in most of these markets, including cold storage facilities, bathrooms, electricity and concrete benches, however, traders continue to avoid them for various reasons. Traders cite higher footfalls of customers, exorbitant market fees, bad design or unfinished infrastructure (with water coming in when it rains) as major issues within the formal markets (Augusto, 2015). Based on principles of market design outlined both by Behrens and Watson (1996) and Dewar and Watson (1990) these markets fall very far short of meeting the needs of traders and the city.

The government's reasoning for disallowing traders has been fairly consistent, citing most commonly that traders are dirty and contribute to urban blight. However, other reasons have included unhygienic conditions for sellers on the street, as well as their contributing to traffic congestion. Recently the provincial government has decided that those who choose to buy from the illegal sellers will also be penalised. Other government ideas include the education of illegal sellers as to the dangers and negative effects that their selling has in public spaces (Bento, 2015). These ideas lack any form of implementation, and appear to be hollow rhetoric.

## The case study site: Congolenses market and surrounding transport interchange

It is important to define a number of terms to differentiate clearly between the formal market building in Congolenses and the natural market and surroundings which comprise various spaces where traders congregate. Thus, when referring to the formal market the term 'marketplace' or 'formal market' is used, while in all other cases, 'market', 'area', and 'site' are used interchangeably.

Congolenses market is both a natural and a formal marketplace. The surrounding taxi ranks, pedestrian traffic and street traders form the main hub of activity and most of this is situated to the northeast of the market building. As this is where most of the economic activity takes place, this constitutes the informal market. Dewar and Watson (1990: 26) state, "For planning purposes, an understanding of the generative capacity of different parts of the city will give a guide to potentially good locations for markets as well as to their possible size." For this reason the entire area, from where the formal marketplace is located, to where the majority of the informal activity stops, has been designated as 'the site' for purposes of this study.

The market occupies a strategic position in the city. It is located between the city centre and the area where the largest decentralisation drive has taken place; Viana, Zango, Zango II, the new airport, and ZEE as seen in figure 4. The two areas are joined by a major arterial road, Estrada Catete, with the market located along this road, relatively close to the city centre. Due to the continued nature of Luanda's growth and the almost complete dominance of its city centre as the business district, it is more than likely that movement through the area will continue to increase in intensity. There is significant congestion along the road, and so, upgrading of the road is a priority for local government, and will be implemented as part of the master

plan for the metropole (ANGOP, 2014). There has also been talk of a BRT line running along the Estrada Catete, which would undoubtedly have a stop at the market if it goes ahead. Currently there is significant congestion along the road.

The market is a particularly strategic site given its proximity to the city centre, and position adjacent to Catete road, one of the major spines leading into the city, as seen in figure 4. Congolenses is also one of the oldest markets in Luanda (Interview: Director: Development Workshop, Allan Cain, 9 July 2015) and serves an important area of trading, especially for the Bakongo ethnic group within Luanda (Pereira, 2004). As an important interchange, Congolenses provides an opportunity to understand how the informal traders operate, and how future interactions between government and the informal sector can take place in a manner which is most beneficial to everyone.

The renovation of the new Congolenses marketplace started in 2006 and it was reopened at the beginning of 2008. It is still often mentioned in Angolan news. The new formal market has toilets, storage space for traders to keep their wares, and other facilities (Gaspar, 2011). It is a hub for electronics repairs and sales, and much of the formal market is dominated by this activity (Simao, 2014). The market is relatively full, with only around 200-300 stalls being empty out of a total of 1009 stalls (ANGOP, 2008; Jornal de Angola, 2009). Most of these vacant stalls were earmarked for fresh produce. The sellers who have remained in the market are unhappy about the sellers on the street, as they are in a position to catch passing pedestrians, and this detracts from business within the formal market building. This view is shared by the administrator of Rangel (the local municipality), and of the market administration who also actively supports the removal of traders outside the market. They note that traders outside the formal building undermine business interests within the market.

There have also been some complaints by residents in the area that the street traders impede their access to buildings (ANGOP, 2015a, 2015c; Jornal de Angola, 2009). Municipal administrators have committed to the continued removal of the street traders in the area. This has been done through actively removals, confiscation of their goods, and also by raiding the houses where they store these in the evenings (ANGOP, 2015c).

## Conclusion

This chapter has explored the contextual seating of the Congolenses market by examining key features of Luanda which render this city a worthwhile place to study. Of critical importance is the role which the informal economy plays in Luanda in terms of providing access to services for most of the people who inhabit this city. Some of the challenges which these Luandans face are created by, and others are exacerbated by the centralised government which is essentially run by a cabal of the country's elite. The members of this clique exploit their positions for further gain at the expense of the general citizenry. This is often done through the re-ordering of the city, to allow their redevelopment of high value land. Some of the worst affected by state machinations are the street traders, as they are ruthlessly persecuted, but have no access to other livelihood opportunities. The Congolenses market presents an area where several aspects of Luanda's dynamics come together. There is a significant intersect of street traders and *candongueiros* here, and a redeveloped market close to the site which is not fully utilised. Congolenses also occupies a particularly strategic position along one of the largest roads within Luanda.



## Chapter 4: Research methods

This chapter describes the research methodology used to answer the central research question - What role does Congolenses play in the lives of the people who use the market: traders, shoppers and commuters? and, How may this be improved to provide a better environment for all those making use of this space and its surrounds?

The first section looks at the reasons for the use of a case study, describes the methods and explains the relevance of using the various research methods in its creation. The following section examines the techniques and the challenges faced during the process of conducting the research, and describes the reasoning for the various approaches.

### The case study method

Within the realm of the social sciences cases present themselves as a unique set of circumstances. Consequently, studies based purely on quantitative testing can reveal only part of a picture. On the other hand, case studies present particular strengths for understanding complex environments because they incorporate both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, in order to understand and interpret topics holistically and within context. Flyvbjerg (2011: 302) mentions how contextual understandings cannot be used to generate concrete theories in social science; as “in the study of human affairs, there appears to exist only context-dependent knowledge.” This means that while the understanding of a particular circumstance may be able to generate knowledge of a topic, we are not able to extrapolate from it solid rules for social workings in similar circumstances, as each of these is unique. A study of a marketplace such as Congolenses demands contextual understanding since salient features in sites like these can be investigated both qualitatively and quantitatively, and cannot be understood properly without an understanding of the contexts into which they fit.

In Congolenses the case study provides insights into the interactions between informal traders in the market and the surrounding complexities and pressures they face within Luanda. It also provides a critical understanding of the particular site; manifested in the physical environment, and through institutional, social, and economic challenges. Due to the nature of case studies and the ensuing context-dependent knowledge, it is necessary to note that there is significant scope for bias if only certain actors are given ‘voices’. The AAPS (2010: 10) describes the importance of giving opportunity to a variety of voices “such as case actors, research colleagues, members of the public, and the media. Capturing a ‘polyphony of voices’ is one of the hall-marks of definitive case study research.” This variety of voices allows a re-

searcher to gather differing reasons and justifications for the various actors' actions; to understand the topic from a variety of angles.

According to Yin (2003), case studies are useful for gaining answers to the 'why' as opposed to merely the 'what' questions, especially when there is no control of behavioural events, and when the field being studied is contemporary.

All of the above fits seamlessly within the purview of the Congolenses study. Asking 'why?' and using a case study will provide important nuances into understanding how informal traders have set themselves up, how their livelihoods are dependent on and affected by changes in the city, and why the city treats them as it does. The case study methodology creates an opportunity to explore the functioning of informal traders in Congolenses and the challenges they face, contributions they make to the city, and conflicts they are involved in. It furthermore provides a technique for understanding the priorities of the various actors, formal and informal, transient and intransient, in and around the market.

Looking at the analysis from a wider perspective, the AAPS (2010) describes several reasons as to why case studies are beneficial in terms of research in a Global South context. These relate to the ability to explain complex systems, including the various power relations and complexities in planning regimes in differing countries. In addition, they are useful in terms of research for elucidating complex issues relating to ethical values and social interactions in differing contexts. The ultimate intention of the case study is to provide recommendations that will deliver the best possible outcomes.

## The research process

Field research started with a preliminary visit to Luanda in January 2015. At this point the aim was to study the workings of *candongueiro* (informal taxi) operations. This research highlighted the symbiotic nature of informal transport and informal trade and the vibrancy of the transport interchange of Congolenses.

Research continued in June and July with a literature review to create an initial context, both in terms of current theory on the informal economy, and in terms of the market site. During this time observations and commuter surveys were undertaken. After completion of the literature review and the gathering of primary documents, and their analysis, a second visit to Luanda was undertaken. During this time the contextual analysis was undertaken, as well as trader interviews. It was particularly useful to have this second trip to the field in order to observe changes that took place since my first visit.

### Observation and physical assessment:

The first part of the fieldwork entailed site visits with the express purpose of doing observation only. This was done to understand the workings and layout of the site. These observations were also made during each subsequent site visit. Observation goals focused on understanding the movement of people through the site in terms of densities of pedestrians and the times the site operated, by carrying out directional counts of pedestrian movement at key points throughout the site. The various taxi routes and their terminals, as well as the formal market building were examined to look at how pedestrians and traders interacted with these.

An understanding of the spatial arrangement and the organisation of traders was one of the first and most critical goals of the observation. I considered the spatial tensions between traders of different types,

pedestrians and *candongueiros*, in order to understand how each of these relates to the other. The *fiscais* (fiscal police) are often spoken about and feared by traders and *candongueiros* and the actions and interactions of the members of different law enforcement agencies were carefully observed. I also looked at identifying other pertinent features, such as the availability of space and the security it provides, especially against personal harassment and confiscation of stored goods by members of the law.

Much of the surrounding urban fabric is clearly residential, but I did search for areas where small commercial activity had started; impressions of the land use of bigger erven within the larger area around the market, and the infrastructure on the site, to gain an impression of how this affects those using the area.

During these first visits to the site, observations were noted and commuter surveys were carried out to facilitate an understanding of the site from the perspective of those who use the area on a daily basis.

#### **Commuter interviews:**

Commuter interviews were carried out to ascertain how the market was being used by citizens not actively employed in it. A total of 51 commuter surveys were carried out over a number of days, at various times of the day, and in different areas where there were large numbers of pedestrians. The commuter survey specifically focused on sampling even numbers of men and women moving through the area in order to gain as balanced a picture as possible of what the general population was doing in the area. To target people moving through the space, the commuter surveys took place at the major points of entry into the area. These areas were specifically selected to target commuters, and to avoid any bias towards market-goers, since respondents interviewed at the entrance to the formal market would

more likely, have visited the area especially to undertake market-related activities. Thus, the sampling could capture an unbiased range of activities that took place in the area. Interviewees were selected randomly and asked if they would kindly answer a short set of questions about the market, their reasons for being there, their transport, and the frequency of their visits to the space.

Many of the commuters who were encountered appeared to be foreign and actively avoided being interviewed. There is a stigma associated with being foreign, especially in as contested a profession as informal trade. This flame of anti-foreign sentiment has been fanned by the employment of skilled ‘expats’ in high earning positions who are clearly much wealthier than many Angolans, while the government has simultaneously expressed disdain of poor ‘immigrants’ who migrate from nearby African countries in search of opportunities. This is echoed in their policies relating to informal trade.

#### **Trader interviews:**

Twenty in-depth interviews were conducted with street traders operating in the area. Care was taken to interview a variety of traders in the area. This was to account for all the major trading types, and to reflect an accurate representation of the demographic structure (in relation to age/sex/goods/location) of traders. Of the 20 interviews, 12 were with women traders, since they represented the majority of the observed traders in the area. Interviews were planned based on the initial viewing of the site, the movement of people through it, and the placement of the various traders.

The trader interviews were designed around several features of informal trade that were discussed in the literature review. An attempt was made to balance case-specific questions dealing with macro influences affecting the traders, such as the economic downturn, with

questions relating to informal trade and possible future planning interventions.

Interview questions focused on identifying trader priorities that could be incorporated into planning. Special care was taken to ensure that questions aimed at identifying priorities did not become leading questions. The normative position was as follows: identifying and understanding the priorities that rank highest in the views of the traders in the space, formed the foundation, and from there, the first thinking towards planning priorities could commence. Successful cases of integrating street traders into public space have focused heavily on concepts of collaborative planning through integrated area development as a means to balancing the various actors' priorities.

When compiling and framing the questions, some standard descriptors were purposefully left out. A case in point is a question regarding marital state, which is in essence a proxy for exploring dependency. Due to extended family structures that are often found in Angolan families, it was decided that better questions could be used to determine dependency. These were: How many children live in the household? How many people in the household work? Are you (the trader) the primary care-giver?

Questions surrounding education were also left out. This has been covered in past studies, and it is generally accepted that education is not a barrier to entry into the formal economy in Luanda, nor was it directly pertinent to the goals of this study.

Finally, the question of nationality was not included. As pointed out earlier, foreigners were on edge, and when approached to be interviewed, many declined. If traders agreed to an interview, and could pass as Angolans by speaking Portuguese, nationality as a descriptor

would not make a substantive difference within the context of Luanda in any case. A further consideration was that if a large number of foreigners were found to be trading in Congolenses, the Angolan government might take harsher action against them.

The interview process is sensitive, and a lack of trust was sometimes observed. This is often the case in research involving marginalised groups such as informal traders. Thus, when structuring the interview, the most sensitive questions were placed last. This was so that interviewees could relax as the interview progressed through questions related to their daily lives and struggles. They would have no reason to fabricate answers to these questions. Then, as they became more at ease, they would be more likely to respond truthfully to the later questions. Even if their answers to the sensitive questions were not truthful, the validity of the earlier answers would still be good, and the same would apply if they declined to answer the sensitive questions. The interview process was approached in such a way that, if at any time other interesting lines of questioning arose, they were pursued before returning to the set questions. The questionnaire may be found in annex 1.

### **Key informant interviews**

Key informant interviews were conducted with the Director of Development Workshop Angola in July, and upon my subsequent visit in September, with a consultant who has worked extensively with the Angolan government. The positions taken by key informants are important, since they represent the formal policies of their institutions. Moreover, their personal opinions as actors within those institutions will also be reflected, to a lesser or greater extent. Therefore the positions and names of the key informants are used as identifying features where possible, as long as there is no apparent danger that this might jeopardise the future for the person or organisation.

## Research challenges, constraints and shortcomings

### Institutional environment

Navigating bureaucracy in Angola is difficult. Finding and contacting the right local government official to speak to can take a long time, and ensuring that one has sufficient legitimacy to get an interview is another concern. Government is highly suspicious of research being undertaken which might reflect views which are in opposition to their own. During the course of the research I was followed by plainclothes policemen who asked me what I was doing at the market. Other researchers report similar experiences. Human Rights Watch (2013) also recounts several cases of police brutality against media reporters who supported opposition parties, as well as against a journalist who photographed the *fiscals* beating a trader.

I took extreme care to appear visible to the *fiscals* when they were in the area, but I did not attempt to engage with them or the traders during these times.

### Respondent unwillingness

During the course of the commuter and trader interviews there were several times when respondents did not want to be interviewed. This occurred in 30% of the commuter interviews and twice when speaking to traders. It was not a major stumbling block, as other respondents could easily be sampled in their place. However, a number of times during interviews, respondents became noticeably uncomfortable and unresponsive. This occurred twice during the first trader interviews. I became aware that traders became unhappy as soon as I asked questions relating to what they did not like about trading in the area. I decided to move these questions to the end of the interview schedule, and thereafter, the ease with which traders answered the questions improved markedly. This is an important consideration for further research in the area. It is common to ask the most personal questions

(such as regarding income) towards the end of an interview, however, it should be noted that value judgments which may have any bearing on government's provision of services or infrastructure in repressive environments should be treated as sensitive issues.

The reticence of traders and commuters in the Congolenses study, is contradicted by findings of the Human Rights Watch (2013:6) study. They report: "many street vendors were willing to speak out about abuses, most interviewed at work live in constant fear of imminent roundups, which in some places occur repeatedly in the course of a single day". Unfortunately, we can only speculate as to why the vendors responded so differently in the two studies.

In two cases traders became uneasy with answering questions, apparently because they wanted to move their goods to try to trade in different places. Luckily both of these interviews were already close to done. In one of these cases the trader became unresponsive towards the last few questions and seemed only interested in extricating herself from the conversation. Both of these occurrences were in the late afternoon, when they were anxious about making their last sales for the day.

### Authorisation

In conducting the trader interviews and commuter surveys an official introductory letter describing the activities of the researcher was presented. The letter introduced the researcher as a student at the University of Cape Town, and asked permission from local government to carry out research in and around the market. In order to add legitimacy to the letter it was signed and stamped by Development Workshop Angola. This NGO has been highly active in Angola since the early 1980s, in carrying out work on land tenure, water provision, the informal economy, and the provision of micro-finance, amongst

other projects. Prior to conducting research, a copy of the letter was submitted to the local municipality of Rangel under which the Congolenses market falls.

Upon receipt of the letter, the municipality issued an official receipt which could then be used as proof that permission had been requested before the research was started. (See annex 3). Despite this request for permission, a response from the municipality was never received, and I am as yet unaware whether it was permissible or not. Nonetheless in the view of the traders, commuters, and surrounding businesses the letter served to legitimise the research and show that it was independent from the local authority. This was useful in that it served to disconnect me, and the questions, from the authorities who have an overtly negative view of traders. It was also used as authorisation proof when questioned by local police.

The first time I visited the administrator's offices, in order to get authorisation for carrying out research in the area, I met only with the clerk, who would not let me see her. On my second visit, I was lucky enough to find the administrator there, and she kindly agreed to be interviewed. We arranged that this would happen upon my return visit to Luanda. However, when I returned, the clerk was adamant that she was too busy and that there was no way that I would be able to interview her. He also insisted in accompanying me and sending a guard from the market around to select the traders which I could interview in the formal marketplace. I had completed seventeen trader interviews prior to this, and decided to do an additional three within the market. Due to the presence of this market official during the interviews, the traders' responses were in all likelihood not genuine.

### **Anonymity**

Angola has an open history of oppressive stances to fringe or informal groups. For this reason, exceptional care was taken to ensure the safety of participants' identities. Informal traders were interviewed and absolute care was taken that identities of these groups were protected during research. Thus, clear identifying features such as names were not recorded. Traders are only identifiable through their gender, age and the goods they sell.

### **Language**

All trader and commuter interviews were conducted in Portuguese, the lingua franca in Angola. My limited Portuguese necessitated the use of an interpreter, who accompanied me. An unforeseen limitation of the research was the fact that neither the translator nor I could speak Kikongo or French, which are the native tongues of a number of the traders in the area. Most of them speak only basic Portuguese, and only enough to sell their goods. We managed to interview one of these traders through the use of an intermediary trader as a translator. Some traders may have feigned a lack of Portuguese as a way of sidestepping the interview. The lack of Portuguese was particularly surprising as it is generally accepted that Portuguese has been widely adopted as the lingua franca throughout the city. Much of the literature also speaks to the fact. This potential stumbling block should be noted for future fieldwork in Luanda.

### **Research times**

Different fieldwork exercises were carried out at various times. Observation was a constant, and during the course of the fieldwork the site was visited at least once on every day of the week. Commuter surveys were undertaken over 5 days, from a Thursday to a Monday. This is significant because Mondays are cleaning days, and the weekend was also expected to play a role in whether those passing

through the market were doing so as commuters or specifically for purposes of visiting the market. These surveys were conducted at various times of the day.

Trader interviews were done from Tuesday to Saturday. This was done to avoid any bias that may have occurred from interviewing those working in the market on Sundays and Mondays. Sundays are rest days in Angola, and it was felt that if these days were used, some bias may have occurred from finding traders who were especially desperate to sell, or who did not follow the general trading routines. From earlier observations it was established that there were very few traders in the area on Sundays and Mondays.

The traders were much more amenable to being interviewed earlier in the day, and so the mornings were much more productive in terms of interviews.



## Chapter 5: Research findings

The following chapter discusses the findings from fieldwork conducted in Luanda. Data were collected and processed in response to problems posed in the initial chapter of the dissertation. Two fundamental goals drove the collection of data and the subsequent analysis. These are a) to develop an understanding of the role which the Congolenses market and its surroundings play in the lives of those who use the market (traders, shoppers and commuters), and b) based on this understanding, to suggest how the space may be improved to provide a better environment for all who use the market and its surrounds. This chapter centres on the first goal, thus framing the recommendations for improvements, which are made in the next chapter, which relates to the second goal.

The area surrounding the formal market constitutes an informal market and three major minibus interchanges, the locations of these and the activity generated by them form the bounds of the study site. Continuing from where the situational context left off (see Chapter 3), we now examine this area, exploring the physical, social and spatial dynamics that constitute the surroundings. This includes the manner in which various actors use the site, and how their priorities become apparent through their interactions in the space. The chapter then reports the results of the trader interviews, looking first at their demographics, and the ways in which they operate before moving on to exploring their priorities within the space. It finally comments on the plans and policy of government which have potential future impacts.

### Site functioning

#### Land use

There is no land management database of sufficient detail to explore the site. The land uses presented here are therefore the composite result of observation, questions asked in the field and the use of the Google Earth platform as tools for identifying differing land uses and their spatial limits.

A multitude of land uses are observed around Congolenses; these consist of commercial and civic buildings, although the area is predominantly residential. The various land uses can be seen in figure 6.

The residential areas consist of pockets of low-income housing interspersed with medium-density apartment blocks to the North, East and West. The *musseques* are extremely dense, the buildings packed together so that, from an aerial view, they almost appear to present a single, continuous roof area, sandwiched between and against the

apartment blocks. In the centre of the site is a set of apartment blocks, unusually devoid of any informal housing around them.

There are several stretches of formal commercial property that appear to have been planned as warehousing and other small shops which agglomerated naturally due to the business opportunities provided by the market. A large number of the informal traders buy their goods from formal outlets, and other buyers moving through the market may be attracted to the formal outlets. The latter agglomerated commercial activity takes the form of strips of business development on the main street edges, while residential areas stretch out behind these, away from the informal market areas. The most prominent business area is along the main road, Rua Lino Amezaga. It consists largely of retail stores selling hardware, household goods and frozen fish, and hairdressers, situated only on the western side of the street. In addition, Rua Henrique Gago da Graça is lined with small shops on its northern side, selling bulk food, hardware, charcoal, household goods. On the southern side of this street are several warehouses, some of which also retail goods such as fish. In addition to these linear stretches of formal commerce, there are small pockets of shops in amongst the *musseques*. These mostly sell street food and beer, as described by Development Workshop (2009). A petrol station and bank face one another adjacent to the formal market.

Finally, there are three primary schools, two sports fields, a substation, a church, a municipal storage yard for construction machinery and material, a bus depot and a disused cinema.

### History of trade

Prior to the 2006 redevelopment of the formal market at Congolenses, the marketplace occupied much the same area as it does currently (Development Workshop, 2009; Google Earth, 2015). However,

from trader reports it appears as though there have been significant decreases in the number of spaces available in the area which now constitutes the formal market. This is due to a number of contributing factors. First, Congolenses has become a hub for electronics in the last five years, and so there is significantly more demand for market space for this type of trade. Second, the number of traders in the area has increased since the closure of Roque Santeiro, which is the result of a spill-over, with more traders now vying for space in this circumscribed area. Thirdly, the reservation of particular zones within the marketplace for specific types of goods means that there are fewer

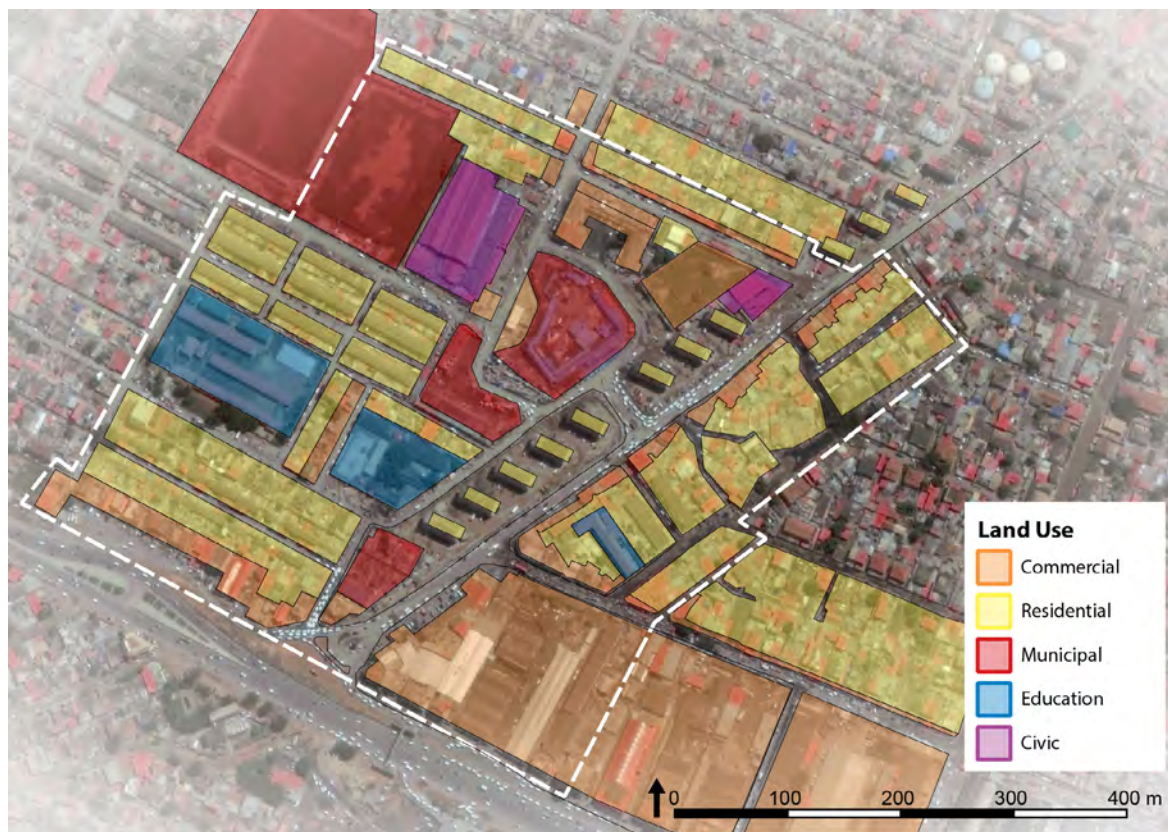


Figure 6: Land use around Congolenses (data: (Google Earth, 2015))

spots available for other traders who want to be accommodated. Finally, the formalisation of the marketplace space has meant that while it occupies the same area as before, the density of traders in the area is lower due to the introduction of market infrastructure and its layout. All these factors contribute to the great demand that already exists for market space by the traders.

Despite this demand, empty stalls designated for food sales within the market raise serious concerns over how potential markets will function in future. A factor contributing to the paucity of traders within the market is its placement in relation to pedestrian movements and the desire lines these create for trade. A government owned construction yard that is used to store vehicles and materials

separates the formal market from activity in the major street, and from *candongueiro* stops and commercial activity which all occur to its east. The marketplace is also located on the least active edge within the surrounding area; it is surrounded predominantly by residential areas to the south and north, and sports fields to the west. Thus, from a planning perspective, the market is poorly located and as a result, is not viable for traders who depend on passing pedestrian traffic for business. Food traders are thus justified in avoiding the marketplace since perishable goods are sold more effectively in places where there are passing pedestrians.

Informal trading around the market is evident from as early as 2001. Initially this only occupied spaces in and directly adjacent to the marketplace, but as time progressed and the marketplace was redeveloped, traders understandably moved away to fit the pedestrian movement routes created by the configuration of the *candongueiro* stops. Since this initial movement, the configuration of informal traders in the surrounding area has remained fairly static, except along Lino Amezaga Road. Traders began to congregate here quite heavily around 2008 and the road reached peak density at the end of 2012, before almost all traders disappeared in early 2013. Since that time, there has again been a steady growth in the number of traders moving back to Lino Amezaga and being chased away by the *fiscais*. The maximum and minimum trader activity can be seen in figures 7, and 8.

There are significant shortcomings in the infrastructure on the site, where traders attempt to sell their goods, and many thousands of commuters move through on a daily basis. These are primarily the result of a lack of decent roads, drainage, and waste disposal mechanisms. Since the construction of the marketplace, some roads have been paved, and pavements put in (trader interview, 9 September



Figure 7: Maximum trader density in August 2012 along Rua Lino Amezaga (Source:(Google Earth, 2015))

2015). Pedestrians walk comfortably through the middle of these relatively narrow streets, while traders activate their dead edges by arraying their goods on the pavements, allowing enough space for pedestrians to move past or stop to buy goods without disturbing the flow of movement.

Sporadic flooding appears to be a significant problem, however, it is not one that was highlighted specifically by traders or commuters moving through the area. Large portions of the dirt roads in the area flood easily, and these form a black muck of mud in which vehicles get stuck even after minimal rains during the dry season. Lack of drainage poses significant challenges to navigating these streets and it creates insanitary and often chaotic conditions, causing many difficulties for traders and customers. In addition to the health risk posed by stagnant, black water, the situation is compounded by the lack of toilet facilities and an abundance of decaying matter and other waste around the market. Streets where stagnant water was identified (in the dry season during my observations) as well as tarred versus dirt streets can be seen in figure 9.

### Circulation

The major circulations throughout the market consist of three distinct movement groups, *candongueiros*, cars and pedestrians. *Candongueiros* are not allowed on all the roads in the area. Movement is defined by several influencing factors, but very largely takes place along a South-West and North-East axis. This is due to the orientation of the urban fabric; Lino Amezaga links two major parallel roads, Catete and Hoji ya Henda, both of which allow access to other main parts of the city. In addition, most traders are along this axis, such that shoppers and commuters generally have access to goods here, with little incentive to move to the formal market to the west or the fresh food market to the east.

Heavy congestion is caused by *candongueiros* in the area at certain times of day, especially as the day wears on and they become more eager to make ends meet. Bottlenecks occur next to areas of informal trade, taxi-stops and the markets. To ease the *candongueiro* congestion along Estrada Catete, a diversion was created from the main road into Congolenses. Fencing was erected to stop *candongueiro* passengers alighting there, and a pedestrian bridge which allows people to move from one side to the other was put up. Between my visits in June and September 2015 the fencing was torn down, and it has now been replaced with barbed wire. Figure 11 shows *candongueiro* speeds, they are very low in and around Congolenses, but increase as they move away from it. Because of the manner in which *candongueiros* stop on an ad hoc basis, the average speed displayed is inversely proportional to the number of passengers they pick up in



Figure 8: Minimum trader density on site, December 2013 (Source: (Google Earth, 2015))

any given area. This demonstrates and reinforces the fact that they are congregating around Congolenses to pick people up. Without sufficient space and a designated, quality stop, they will continue to slow the traffic. Congestion most often occurs around their stops, as they push closer and closer to one another such that there is often no space to move between them and pedestrians and traders are forced to occupy the small spaces left available.

The functioning of Lino Amezaga as a connector road has influenced the placement of the *candongueiro* stops. Catete, which is the major



Figure 9: Paved and unpaved roads, and areas prone to flooding (Source: author)



Figure 10: View eastwards of candongueiros queuing in approach to Congolenses (photograph: author)

artery for large taxi routes into and out of the city is located on the southern edge of the site, and there is one *candongueiro* stop on either side of this. Pedestrian movement occurs between it and the other major taxi interchange along Lino Amezaga. From Lino Amezaga taxis move north to Hoji ya Henda which is the most direct link to Mutamba and the city centre (figure 12).

*Candongueiros* travel to several different locations. Schubert (2011) mentions seven routes which leave from Congolenses and although the Kinaxixi route has since been closed, it still exists, as do all the others he mentions. It thus appears that there have been no other route changes since the publication of his map indicating a fairly well defined system. All routes depart from three taxi stops (one spread across Catete). Figure 11 shows the various routes leaving from the market, as well as the average speed of approach to Congolenses. In the three months between my visits to the marketplace, the routes used to leave the site have changed slightly, since the police have started to prevent *candongueiros* from moving through some streets.

There are relatively few private vehicles which move along Lino Amezaga, despite it being a major connector. This is mostly due to the congestion of *candongueiros* which move slowly in an attempt to fill up before they embark on their return routes. There have been attempts to ease traffic flow by allowing only private vehicles to enter the Lino Amezaga from Catete. However, because of the long diversion and bad state of the road (even *candongueiros* sometimes get stuck and need to be pushed through the muddy potholes), few private vehicles move into or through this area from this direction.

Traders are generally stationary within the site, sticking to the areas where their goods are predominantly sold, although *zungueiras* (ambulant traders) move around as sellers on a regular basis. Other traders may move as well, but do not do so without good reason. Almost all traders in the market are easily able to pick up their goods, and move without real difficulty. This is most important for the traders who locate themselves closest to the areas where the *fiscais* arrive. It seems that they choose these locations because of better opportunities closer to the major pedestrian flows, such that they are

consequently willing to tolerate poor or absent infrastructure, and the threat of losing their goods to the *fiscais* or being beaten.

Public pedestrian movement through the space varies considerably from area to area. Several counts of pedestrian movement were done on weekdays between 14:00 and 15:00 during June, and averaged as seen in figure 17, which shows the different numbers of people moving through the area over a two minute period. The busiest times for pedestrian traffic are around 07:00 in the morning, moving into

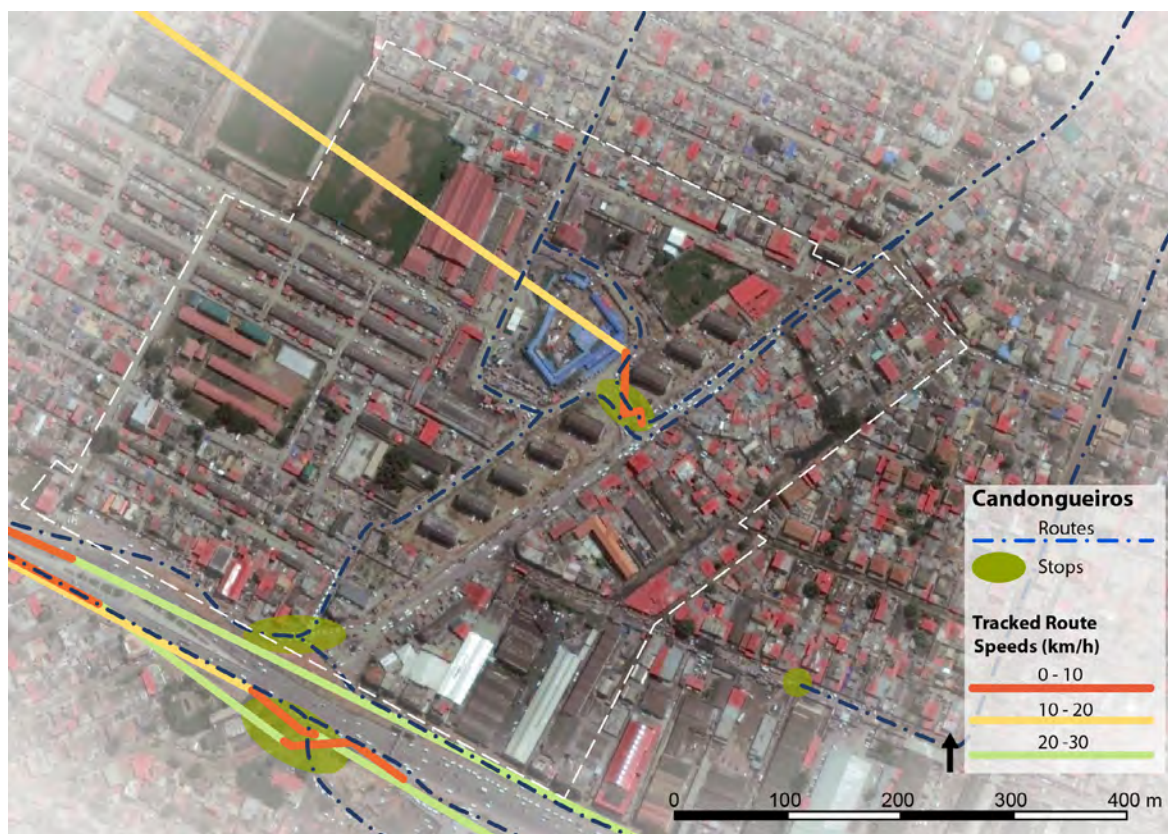


Figure 11: Candongueiro routes at the site, and recorded speeds on journeys to market (Source: author)

town, and from 4:30 onwards in the evening, moving out of town, as people commute in the *candongueiros*.

## Commuter perceptions

One purpose of the fieldwork was to conduct 50 commuter surveys (annex 2). These consisted of simple questions to see where people were coming from, going to, how they were moving from place to place, how often they moved through the market, and to gauge their perceptions of the market. The questionnaire used for this survey

may be found in annex 2. The survey was also intended to ascertain public perceptions of the site, of trading and traders. Angolan media often portray traders in Congolenses in a negative light, probably as a result of state censure or manipulation. I thus felt the need to assess views on traders more objectively.

The last two questions of the survey focused on asking the respondents to name two things that they liked and two things they disliked about the area. Many found this difficult, or did not want to answer. The most commonly mentioned concerns at the site are crowding, the unhygienic conditions and dirt, and the manner in which the police deals with traders (figure 14). This shows a high level of unhappiness about the way the state deals with the traders, contrary to the view portrayed by the media.

In contrast to these concerns, the most attractive features of the site are the competitive prices offered by traders, the wide variety of goods offered, and the location. This paints a positive view of traders. It seems that commuters are content having them there, and actively go to the space to access the goods they are selling.

With reference to this, Dewar and Watson (1990: 30) mention in relation to the situation of markets that, “On a broader scale the needs of the consumer are best met when a wide range of products is available in close proximity. In low income areas specifically, markets should be accessible to people who move primarily on foot.” Building on these views, this study examined the ways in which various people use and access the market space. The number of people accessing the site on foot, and in *candongueiros*, versus the number of people who use private cars to come to the site, provides a good indicator of wealth. Figure 15 shows that, of 51 people interviewed, 73% arrived by taxi, 21% by foot and 6% by car.

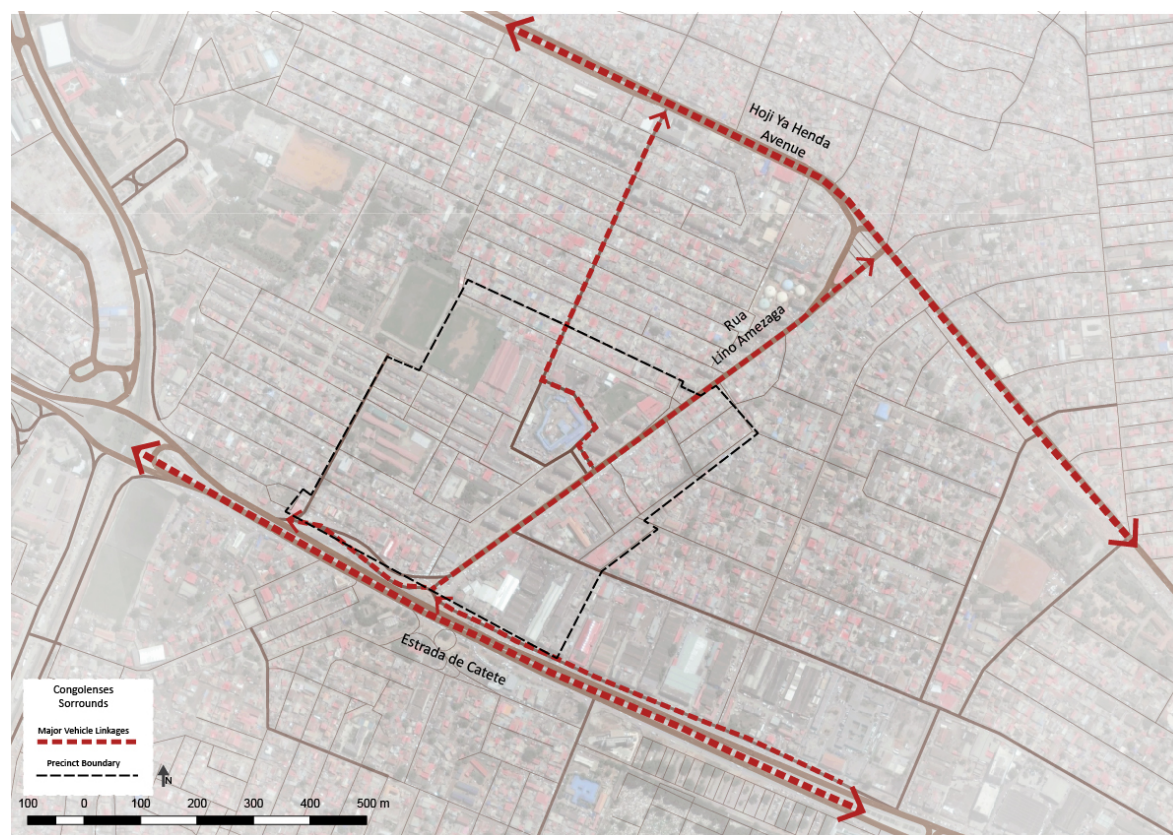


Figure 12: Congolenses sorrounds and major vehicular routes (Source: author)



Figure 13: View from pedestrian bridge into town along Estrada de Catete (photograph: author)

Given that 19 of the 20 traders interviewed used taxis to get to work, the number of commuters who arrived on foot seems large, although this may just show that many local residents use the site. A relatively high number (15 or 30%) of commuters listed the same origin and destination, indicating that they came to Congolenses specifically, presumably to do shopping. Six of them came on foot.

This finding intimates that the market functions well in terms of the criteria set out by Dewar and Watson above. Finally, out of 48 respondents that answered on how often they visited the market, 26 came to the market more than twice a week and 11 came less than

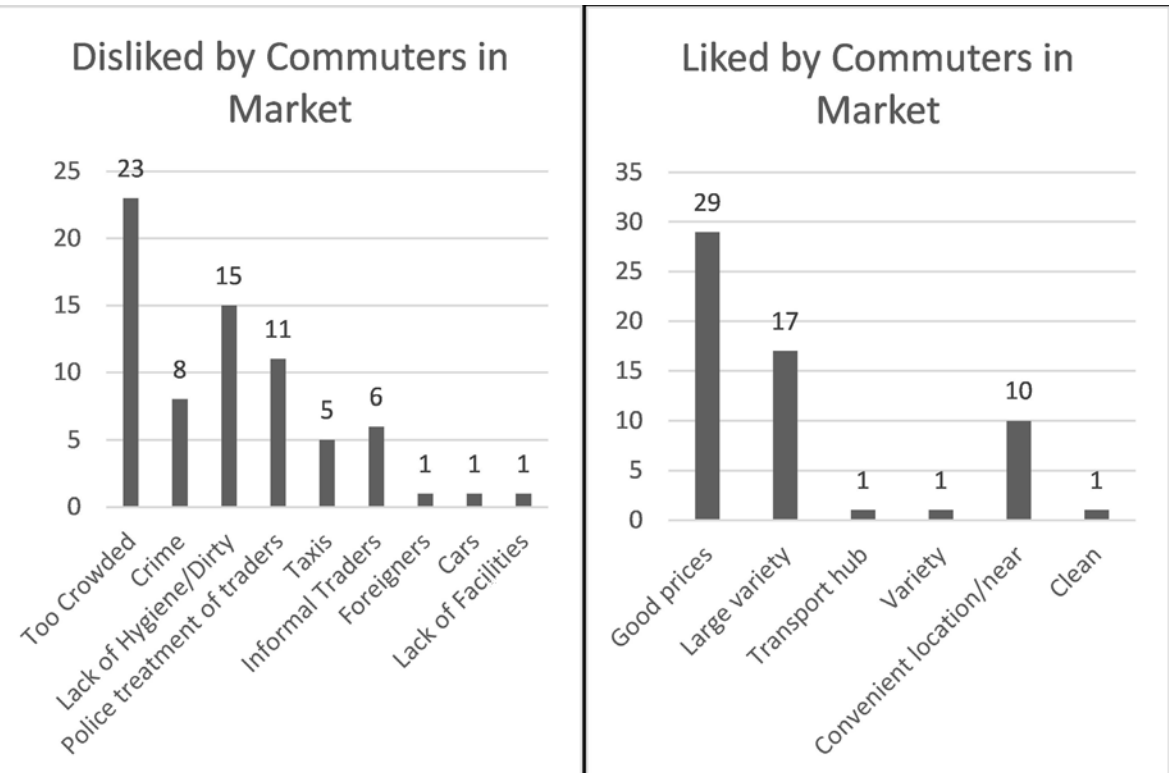


Figure 14: Major market characteristics liked and disliked by traders (Source: author)

once a month. These results suggest high levels of return, but also relatively high levels of unstructured use.

### Policing of the area

Two types of police operate in the area: regular police, who are present on a daily basis to keep order, and the *fiscais*.

The normal police are stationed on the site. They occupy a few key points in the market and remain within close range of these positions. They are active in keeping general order and allowing private vehicles to access through a boom into the main road, stopping *candongueiros* who move into areas where they are not allowed. Figure 17 shows the primary locations on the site where the normal police are stationed.

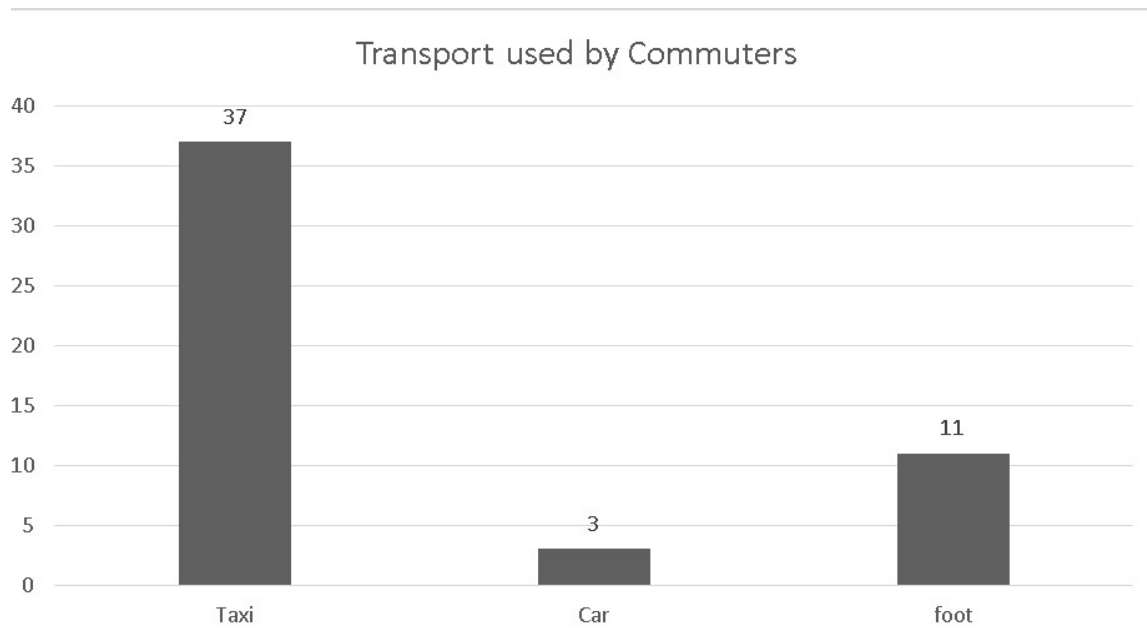


Figure 15: Type of transport used by commuters to access the site (Source: author)

The *fiscais* are Angola's fiscal police. They supervise the licensing of businesses and *candongueiros* as well as setting their prices (it is not clear how this is enforced, but it is abided by; in interviews with various *candongueiro* drivers in Luanda in January 2015, I was unable to find a clear explanation.) In addition, they 'deal' with informal traders in the city. The *fiscais* come to Congolenses intermittently, and are feared and despised by traders. The *fiscais* always appear to approach from the same point in the market (see figure 17). From here they move towards the traders. When the traders see the *fiscais*, they become visibly uncomfortable and will bundle their goods, but will continue to trade until the *fiscais* actively approach them. At times one or two *fiscais* may come to the market to chase traders from particular areas on which they are encroaching. At other times a group of ten officers will arrive. Moving directly towards the area where the largest conglomeration of traders is located, they will chase and beat them and throw their goods into the nearby rubbish piles. I saw *fiscais* come to the market on almost all my visits, and saw them using various methods to chase the traders away. If the *fiscais* arrive in insufficient numbers, they are unable to chase dense groupings of traders. On the numerous occasions when they arrived in numbers I watched as they approached on foot, horseback, or in a police car. They moved steadily forward towards the traders, who began to move back like a wave in a bathtub. The traders in front are sometimes unable to move away fast enough.

The traders try to keep a safe distance of about 30 meters from the *fiscais*. They move as if some invisible barrier carried by the *fiscais* repels them. As the *fiscais* turn to leave the market, the traders follow, sometimes jeering them by shouting "*entrar, entrar!*" (We enter, we enter!). This shows that these daily interactions, while they obviously bother the traders, are treated as just that: daily nuisances. Life goes on.



Figure 16: View of commuters, traders and candongueiro stop on Rua Lino Amezaga (Photograph: author)

Despite the traders' positive attitude, the *fiscals* are the single largest difficulty which they have to deal with. Their incursions chase customers away, drain the traders physically, and result in the loss of goods. Customers are also negatively affected as some traders retrieve their goods from the smouldering rubbish piles where the *fiscals* threw them. These tarnished goods are then sold on to customers.

During one of the trader interviews the *fiscals* arrived and started to confiscate traders' goods. They beat up those who were who were not

fast enough to run away and threw their goods into the smouldering rubbish pit nearby. We were approximately 100 meters from where the *fiscals* were, and so the interview was stopped immediately, the trader collected her goods and was able to move away easily. I returned later to finish the interview. Upon finishing the interview the *fiscals* returned for the second time that day.

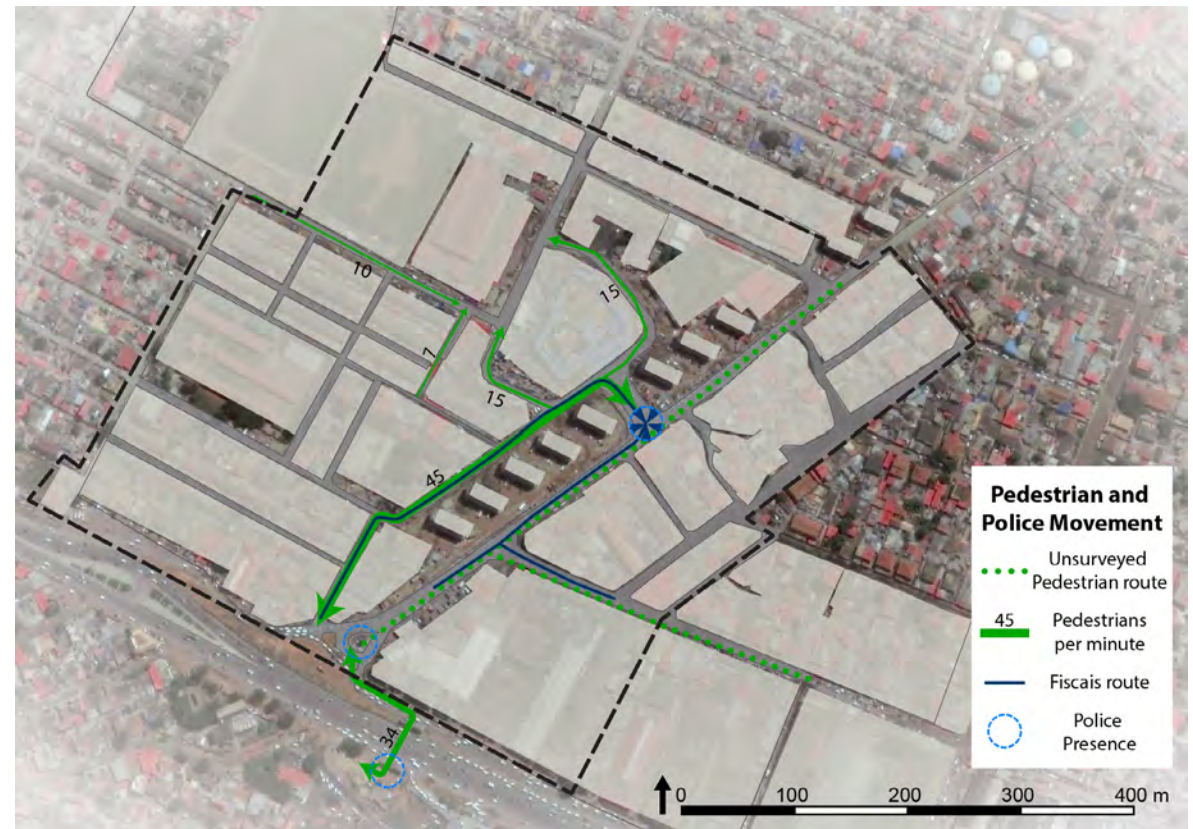


Figure 17: Pedestrian and fiscals movement, and stationary police (Source: author)

## The trading business

Although there are large numbers of traders in the area nearby the marketplace, this has not always been the case. Several traders cited the closure of Roque Santeiro as a defining point in the growth of



Figure 18: Traders retrieving their goods from the rubbish piles after an incursion by the *fiscais* (Source: author)

the market. When this happened the numbers of traders increased in and around Congolenses, but the increase in competition decreased business for individual traders (interviews, 10 – 14 September 2015). Google Earth historical imagery corroborates this, and it appears that trading in the area reached its peak in mid-2012, two years after the closure of Roque Santeiro. Since then the number of traders in the area has decreased. At present the most heavily occupied streets are Rua Henrique Gago da Graça and the unnamed street parallel and west of Rua Lino Amezaga.

Traders occupy several distinct spaces throughout the market, and some of these spaces changed between the two stints of fieldwork. Most of the movement by traders can be ascribed to the fluctuation of their density at different times of the week. At one site, traders were completely absent during the week on my first visit, and only moved into the space on the weekend when the *fiscais* were absent (trader interview, 16 May 2015). During the second fieldwork session in September, traders were found to be occupying this space all the time.

There is a clear spatial order to where various goods are sold in the informal market (figure 19). Thus market sellers appear to have agglomerated on a micro-scale in much the same way as commercial activities of specific types agglomerate in certain areas in cities, and in numerous markets such as Warwick Junction (Dobson et al., 2009).

In addition to the agglomeration of the various types of goods in specific areas, vendors who sell certain types of goods are more likely to be ambulant (known as *zungueiras*). *Zungueiras* are generally poorer than other traders as the goods they sell are of low value and are easily obtained elsewhere. An important factor influencing *zungueiras*' vulnerability is that their mobility prevents them from forming the agglomerations that attract customers searching for particular types

of goods. *Zungueiras* also need a high turnover to generate a living wage.

*Zungueiras* mostly sell goods such as chocolates and sweets, bread, fruits, and sometimes vegetables such as onions. These vegetable sellers are often actually stationary vendors who have decided to move around the market in the hopes of selling elsewhere. All of the *zungueiras* selling these goods in the market were women. Some male and female *zungueiras* sell jewellery or sunglasses, they may settle for a time, particularly close to the *candongueiro* stops. They display the goods on large card palettes. There are also teams of men who follow cars moving through the area, plying their trade of tinting car windows while polishing the dirt and dust off rims within a few minutes. Young men elsewhere in Luanda sell small toys, water and cool drinks in streets with heavy traffic. Development Workshop (2009) mentions that there are more ambulant male traders in Luanda than women, thus these men account for these numbers. Few of these young men were present in Congolenses.

### Vegetables, meat, flour, fish

Vegetable traders are by far the most numerous of all the traders in the general Congolenses area. They often specialise in a particular vegetable, selling for example, only potatoes, tomatoes, aubergines, beans, lettuce, or local greens. Traders selling flour, meat and fish were always to be found amongst the vegetable sellers. Vegetable sellers tend to lay their goods out on plastic sheeting, or keep them in buckets which they can easily carry if the *fiscais* show up. Similarly, meat and fish vendors tend to keep their goods in cardboard boxes or trays which they can easily hoist onto their heads. All the meat and fish vendors sell their goods in the open air. Often there are large numbers of flies on the exposed goods. Moreover, goods often become dusty or dirty, because the street that is primarily used by these

vendors is largely unpaved. Most meat and fish traders source their goods locally from the frozen goods storage shops and warehouses. The closer the traders are to the area where the *fiscais* normally arrive, the less likely they are to have set up their goods in the sort of semi-permanent fashion seen in figure 21.

### Clothes traders

One of the commonest types of goods found in Congolenses are second-hand clothes. Clothes are sold as one enters the formal market building, but they can be found in much greater volumes being sold by the informal traders. Clothes for both men and women are sold in



Figure 19: Locations of various trading areas and goods types (Source: author)

the market, but generally, women sell women's, and men sell men's clothing. Women's clothes are more abundant and mostly sold in separate zones, but in areas where men's clothes are sold, women's clothes are also generally available. Most clothes sellers can be found close to taxi stops. Their goods are laid out in large bundles on linen sheets, often with a clothes hanger displaying a pretty dress for marketing. If they feel that business is better elsewhere, or if the *fiscals* arrive, they wrap up their sheets into bundles and hoist them onto their heads. In one particular area of Congolenses, clothing is

displayed for sale on racks where it can easily be sorted through, as in a shop. This is the area which was occupied only on weekends on my first visit to the site, but was occupied full time on my return.

### Electronics

Congolenses is famed for its electronics sales and repairs. The inside of the formal market is packed with young men selling, but also fixing all sorts of electronics, including paraphernalia for phones, tablets and laptops. Further into the market one can find televisions, radios, and circuit boards for sale. Everything being sold is second hand, and the majority of the devices have cracked screens. The nature of electronics are such that the marketplace has developed significant drawing power. The marketplace has developed sufficient density of these traders as a critical mass of sellers are present. Dewar and Watson (1990) describe this as a prerequisite for a market being able to draw customers.

Outside the market one can find the same trade being plied. However, far fewer devices are on sale and fewer traders are present here. These traders are most often along the road leading into Congolenses, but there are also isolated sellers of electronics goods all around the market.

It is unlikely that these traders do as well as those inside the marketplace, where the space feels safer, given the high number of traders selling these goods, and the difficulty that pickpockets would have escaping from within the market. The Congolenses area has a reputation for pickpockets and safety is thus a consideration.

### Miscellaneous trades

The various vendors and traders mentioned above are the most numerous and obvious types of traders. However, they do not consti-



Figure 20: A team of young men tinting and cleaning a car. (Photograph: author)



Figure 21: View looking down on one of the market streets, Rua Henrique Gago da Graça (Photograph: author)

tute a comprehensive list of all the types of traders. There are traders selling books, stationery, cigarettes and alcohol, spread throughout the area. Transporters known as *roboteiros* are found throughout the market, willing to carry goods for customers or sellers who need to move large or heavy items. In addition, crews of young men doing manicures and young women doing braids and extensions congregate to form small cosmetics areas. They are allowed to trade inside the yard of the block of apartments occupying the central part of the market, and are thus not chased or persecuted by the *fiscais*.

### Demographics of interviewees

The following section examines the demographic profiles of the traders. Interviews were aimed at gaining an understanding of who the traders are, and at grasping the challenges they may face.

In terms of age, 80% of traders interviewed were 40 years or younger. These results correspond to age distributions reported by other studies that more than half the informal traders in Luanda are younger than 40 years. Development Workshop (2009: 19) study reports 58% of people being below the age of 40 while Gaspar (2011) obtained a similar result of 57% of informal traders being younger than 40 (figure 22). As 5 of the 20 traders interviewed were aged 40, the statistical distinction between 80% and 57-58% is not of concern.

Development Workshop (2009) also reported a relatively high proportion (8%) of everyone active in the informal economy as being between 10 and 19 years of age, but the youngest trader interviewed in Congolenses was 20. While the sample of traders interviewed is not representative of the demographic, the results suggest interesting avenues for further investigation, such as the spatial and economic segregation of the various trader age groups throughout the city. This may help to paint a picture of which age groups are the most vulner-

able in terms of their distribution between trade and other sectors of the informal economy.

Age and gender in the informal economy go hand in hand. In Congolenses, the more vulnerable jobs selling perishable foodstuffs or easily obtained products are dominated by women. By contrast, men are generally occupied in selling goods such as electronics or hardware in the marketplace. The youngest and women are generally the most vulnerable, as described by Chen (2012). This was observed to be in the case in the market. There is a perceivable gradient spatially in the area; as one approaches the marketplace the number of men increases, while the number of women decreases. Throughout the site there were areas where both female and male traders were pres-



Figure 23: Sketch of a roboteiro, Congolenses Market (Photograph: author)



Figure 22: Distribution of traders' ages (Source: author)

ent, and areas where only female traders occurred. Women tended to sell raw perishable foods, cooked foods, jewellery or clothes. Women selling perishable goods base themselves along pedestrian pathways. Those women who sell cooked foods are generally more stationary in enclosed areas and act as micro activity generators. This spatial configuration can be seen in figure 19.

At the end of the civil war in 2002 many people in Luanda were migrants from other provinces who had moved to Luanda as refugees, and in 2011, only 34% of those living in Luanda were reported to have been born in the city (Development Workshop, 2011: 12). Around this time the informal market was dominated by women, many of whom were such migrants (Cain, 2004).

All of the traders I interviewed were from Angola, and 15 of the 20 interviewees had grown up in Luanda. There were foreign traders ac-

tive in the Congolenses area but no foreign traders were interviewed, for two reasons. First, the language gap when trying to approach and interview foreign traders posed a problem, as foreign traders in the area would most likely have been from the Congo or other nearby francophone countries. Second, the stigma associated with being foreign is such that foreigners encountered during the commuter interviews were unwilling to be interviewed.

Often street vendors are foreigners, having come to a country to flee war or other conflicts, and as a result there may be xenophobic features to the way that they are treated (ILO, 2013). This is evident in the rhetoric of the Angolan government which has said that trading should not be carried out by illegal immigrants (Development Workshop, 2009).

### Home circumstances

In Angola the males who head households have higher levels of education, more access to capital, and earn an average of 20% more than female household heads (Development Workshop, 2009). Amongst the traders interviewed, women lived in larger households than men. While women lived in households with an average of 6 dependents per household, men lived with an average of 3 dependents, showing that households which included male traders tend to be about half the size of households which included women traders. Of all women interviewed, 60 % were the highest income earners in the household, compared to 75% of men being high income generators. This suggests that women came from larger households than men, and they were also less likely to be the highest income earner.

Generally women headed households are more vulnerable than male headed households, and Sethuraman (1998), notes a higher incidence

of poverty amongst homes headed by women. There are various reasons for this. First, in male headed households with children there are often also women who contribute economically or to household upkeep; conversely, female headed households are regularly single parent households with higher dependency ratios. Second, women headed households generally have a larger number of dependants since households headed by men also tend to be smaller, skewing the dependency ratios of these households even further. Third, women generally work for lower wages, and their access to assets is therefore more limited. Fourth, women generally bear the burden of household chores, and thus have less time to be economically productive than men (ILO, 2013; Rajaram, 2009).

To gain a measure of time lost in commuting to work, questions relating to travelling to work focused on travel time as opposed to distance from work. This distinction is important, as some traders may live relatively close by but because of heavy traffic moving to town in the mornings their commute would be significantly longer than someone travelling to the market from the opposite direction.

All the traders, except for two who walked (represented by the data points on the bottom of the y-axis in figure 24) travelled to work in *candongueiros*. As a rule, a ride on a *candongueiro* costs 100Kz (USD 0.70 at street conversion rates in September 2015), but if the distance covered stretches into a new route the price is higher, and a single bus ride may come to 400 Kz. Figure 24 shows a positive correlation between the number of taxis taken (which would be a proxy for distance from the market) and the time taken up by travelling to work. However, it is interesting that the time spent traveling in one taxi may vary anywhere between 30 minutes and 2 hours. The overall graph indicates that traders come from a variety of different spaces both near and far. One of the traders who walked, lived 2 minutes

from the market, while another walked for 3 hours from her home to the market. She also indicated that she would take a taxi when she could afford it. (At the time of the interviews she was recovering from a recent illness and taxi fares were beyond her means (trader interview 14 September 2015)).

### Trading history

Traders were asked what they did prior to trading in the area. Six of the 20 traders interviewed used to work as traders elsewhere. Two worked in Roque Santeiro before its closure, two in other markets in Luanda, one on the streets nearby, and one used to exchange currency. Three other traders used to work inside the market before it was

renovated to its current state; two of the three said that there was no space in the market for them now, despite there being a large number of open stalls at the time of the interview. One of these respondents was a *zungueira*, while the other sold onions; earning 5000 and 7000kz per week. Occupying the market would cost them 10% of their earnings per week, and they would likely not be able to make as much money selling there.

Traders were asked how long they had been trading (figure 25). Over half had been trading for over 10 years, which reinforces the assumption that few new work opportunities for Angolans have become available in the 10 years since the end of the civil war.

A trader interviewed within the marketplace described: “I have been selling food here for 25 years, since before the renovations, and we (the traders cooking and selling food in the market) take turns to work on different days because there is too much competition for our work” (trader interview 14, September 2015).

One of the more successful traders who has been working for over 15 years as a trader selling cooked food outside the market reported, “I used to sell in another street but there was no business there; after they paved the road I moved here and business has been much better” (trader interview, 13 September 2015). From this it seems quite common for traders to move around to other sites in search of better areas, their movements being to gain access to areas with potential customers, and to secure trading environments. The intersection which this trader occupied was in a prominent position with shade available, both features seeming to have a significant positive effect on her business.

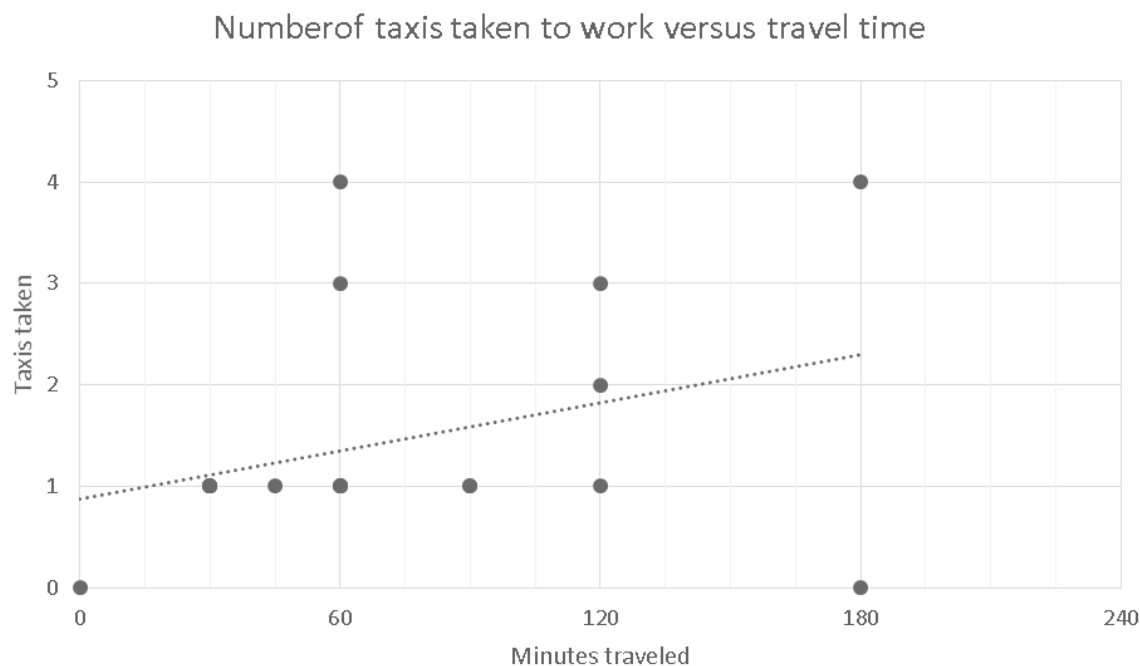


Figure 24: The number of candongueiros taken compared to the total time spent travelling from home to Congolenses by traders. (Source: author)

## Business operations

Traders were asked about the length of their working day. Their reports ranged between 6 and 13 hours per day in Congolenses, although most worked 10 hours. There was no correlation between hours worked and whether traders were household heads or not. Generally most traders work five days per week from Tuesday to Saturday. Monday is the market cleaning day throughout Luanda, and it appears both formal and informal traders respect this, both inside the formal market, and outside.

My first visit to Congolenses coincided with a delivery truck arriving at a nearby warehouse. The traders moved out of the road to allow the truck to drive in, but held their ground as much as possible, such that it was not possible to walk between the truck and the traders. The truck delivered frozen fish. There was no unloading and storing, as all the goods were immediately sold to throngs of traders all around the truck. Development Workshop (2009) did research on the various trading circuits and found that this method of selling is common, as middle men are able to buy wholesale directly from fishing boats, and then deliver and sell to street traders.

Other trader studies in 2011 in Luanda found that over 50% of goods that were traded came from wholesale markets, such as Katinton, Roque Santeiro, Kwanzas and Rocha (Gaspar, 2011). This study of Congolenses yielded similar results, as about half the traders bought their goods from wholesale markets elsewhere in Luanda and then transported them to sell them in Congolenses. Other goods were sourced from inside Congolenses market, and from supermarkets such as Shoprite or Jumbo. One of the traders interviewed, obtained her goods (second-hand clothes) from another trader, returning what she did not sell on a daily basis, and paying for what she did. Another trader bought fish directly from local fishermen (figure 26).

## Trading infrastructure (space and storage) and security concerns

Traders often have problems storing their goods (Willemse, 2011). In spaces such as Warwick junction the provision of secure storage spaces for traders made their lives significantly easier (Dobson et al., 2009). Notably, ANGOP (2015a) reported traders' goods were seized from the places where they had been stored during crackdowns on traders in Congolenses during the past year.

Providing adequate and safe storage spaces is likely to provide an important economic benefit to traders. If they have access to both safe and sufficient storage facilities, they are more able to buy in bulk, potentially resulting in lower costs spent on goods and transport. In



Figure 25: The number of years that the 20 interviewees had been trading (Source: author)

markets such as Warwick Junction, the provision of secure storage spaces for traders made their lives significantly easier (Dobson et al., 2009).

Of the traders interviewed in Congolenses, 15 reported no problems with security when storing their goods at night. They did, however, take issue with problems such as the malfunctioning of the cold storage facilities within the market, and the absence of any available

storage space. This meant that traders needed to take their goods home with them at night. The problem of security was raised by one trader who reported “traders are attacked and robbed as a result of the bad situation, men have no jobs and so become delinquents” (interview, 8 September 2015).

Almost all the traders interviewed paid to store their goods in nearby houses, shops, or the market itself. Perishable goods were stored by the wholesalers (who sell frozen fish or chicken to the traders) for 200Kz per day (USD1.40 at street conversion rates in September 2015).



Figure 26: Number of traders who obtained their goods from different sources (Source: author)

## Income

The informal economy often contributes in unforeseen ways to the formal economy, as demonstrated in the example of the distribution of fish sold directly from the truck delivering fish to the wholesale warehouse. Use of the informal economy enables wholesalers to provide goods to customers without using formal distribution channels. Neuwirth (2012) provides examples of how similar distribution methods are used by various multinationals such as Proctor and Gamble, Walmart, and MTN (Nigeria).

Two other, similar value chains came to light during the Congolenses trader interviews. The first is the trade of African Wax Print fabrics. These are produced in Asia, transported to other African countries, and then exported from there to Angola where they are sold in wholesale markets, to be bought by informal traders before being sold on to consumers. Similarly, the jewellery sold in the informal market was in fact purchased formally in Namibia, and may have been produced either in Namibia, or elsewhere, before being redistributed informally in Luanda.

Many of these products pass through countless middle-men before they reach the traders. Because little value can be added to most of the products, traders can only put low mark-ups on their products, especially when competing against large enterprises. The latter are able to leverage their size to give them comparative advantages, such as the lower costs of bulk transporting of goods. Despite this, there is still a relatively wide variety of earning differences between traders. Figure 27 shows the range of incomes earned by traders. There was no apparent correlation between earnings and the type of goods or age of the trader. This is probably because the incomes of individual traders are affected by a wide range of factors. The figures do show, however, that female traders generally earned less than male traders.

It is difficult to quantify the cost of living in Luanda. It has been touted as the most expensive city in the world for expats to live in, and yet in this parallel informal economy the cost of living is definitely significantly lower. As points of reference, a beer, coke and *candongueiro* trip cost 100kz, a bunch of 5 bananas cost 200kz, while a meal at a cantina, or from a cooked food trader costs 1000kz.

### Relationships between traders, shopkeepers and *candongueiros*

Traders have good relationships amongst themselves. Most of the traders in the area seem to have designated spaces for themselves where they set up every day. Here, they sit next to their friends who would sell their goods on their behalf if they were otherwise occupied.

None of the traders described any negative relationship with any of the shops nearby. In many cases traders occupy areas which would otherwise be edges, as the streets have many blank walls and

fences onto dull empty spaces. In these areas the presence of traders contributes positively to creating an active street, especially along Rua Henrique Gago de Graça where there are many traders close to the shops. Most of these shops sell non-perishable goods, such as plastic containers or charcoal, while the traders in this street sell only perishables. There is therefore little conflict between the two groups.

Goods sold	Sex	Nett Income Per Week (Kz)	USD
<b>Cooked fish</b>	F	N/a	
<b>Preserved hams</b>	F	3600	26
<b>Fresh fish</b>	F	3600	26
<b>Wax prints</b>	F	4000	30
<b>Clothes</b>	F	4000	30
<b>Flour: cassava (tapioca), wheat</b>	F	5000	37
<b>Sweets, chocolates</b>	F	5,000	37
<b>Cooked food (formal market)</b>	F	6,000	45
<b>Potato, onions</b>	F	7000	51
<b>Computer repair</b>	M	7,000	51
<b>Shoe shine</b>	M	7000	51
<b>Cooked meat</b>	F	10,000	74
<b>Donuts, and pastries</b>	F	12,000	88
<b>Shoes</b>	M	15,000	111
<b>Manicurist</b>	M	18,000	133
<b>Jewellery (formal market)</b>	M	18,000	133
<b>Meat</b>	F	20,000	148
<b>Phone booth</b>	M	24,000	177
<b>Telephone covers, computer repair (formal market)</b>	M	30,000	222
<b>Tailor</b>	M	35,000	259

Figure 27: Income earned versus goods sold and sex (Source: author)

The traders are generally happy with the presence of the *candongueiros*, and most traders acknowledge that they have a mutually beneficial relationship with them. Nonetheless, four traders complained about *candongueiro* behaviour, saying that the taxis disrupt their business and push them out of the way when they are passing. Due to the competitive nature between *candongueiros* they often speed through the streets, trying to pass their competitors to be first to reach and pick up the waiting customers. In the process, pedestrians are sometimes bumped, and traders need to move out of the way as the buses squeeze through tiny spaces.

### Access to support services

In all of the countries reviewed where informal trading has been successfully integrated into urban plans, there have been integrated development processes in partnership with traders. These have generally taken the form of trader organisations representing the priorities and desires of traders. In addition to their role as mouthpieces, the organisations often provide support to traders through skills building, such as training in business management. In Angola, some literacy programmes have been undertaken by the government and certain organisations have been formed that partially support the development of informal traders (Development Workshop, 2014b).

Only one of the traders interviewed was part of a trader's organisation, this being OMA (Angolan women's movement). She mentioned that "They have promised to help traders develop, and to allow me get a spot in the market, but have done nothing" (interview, 14 September 2015). It is worth noting that this organisation is a sub-organisation of the MPLA, and that similar organisations that are not part of the MPLA are perceived as a threat. This is explored below in the section on government policy views.

Access to micro-finance has been available to traders via KixiCredito, a Development Workshop initiative started in 1999 (Development Workshop, 2006). In addition to this, credit has become available from one of the existing banks. However, none of the traders interviewed has made use of this. One of the traders mentioned that they were aware of this access but felt that "it is not worth it", while another said, "I was promised access, but have not received it" (interviews, 9 September 2015; 13 September 2015).

Despite the lack of trader organisations and limited access to credit, several of the traders mentioned that they were members of savings collectives. These are called *kixikala*, and appear to operate in at least two fashions. The first of these is through a rotating mechanism whereby the total savings from the group is given to a different trader. According to the other system, money is collected on a daily basis, but is given out based on need. The sizes of these *kixikala* appear to range from as small as 7 to as large as 60 trader members. Of the traders interviewed, five were members of a *kixikala* while one had been, but had left when she fell sick and could not work.

### Policy views

#### Legality of traders

Development Workshop (2009) records how there has been a growth in the informal sector, especially in small shops and informal enterprises run from home. The general movement towards places of fixed employment allows Angolans legally to access economic opportunities, since their businesses are considered legal in the broadest sense. However, the law allowing this has serious repercussions for the most vulnerable. Those without access to secure tenure, or who are located in spatially isolated or disadvantaged areas where there is little commercial opportunity are still considered illegals. These

people still need to work, and their only legal option is in employment, as they are not allowed to become traders. Thus the law serves to benefit those who are spatially and economically in positions of power, while ostracising the poor.

The Angolan Government allows trading, but only in designated market areas. Moreover, traders are required to register themselves to be able to trade, a process which is difficult for traders who lack identity documents. Many traders all over the city are in this position. Furthermore, many of the traders who would be able to register, would suffer significant economic costs if they then had to pay levies imposed by the city.

### **Government interactions**

The authoritarian nature of the state in Angola is well known, and the government expects those who have the least to behave most responsibly. In essence they are forced to do so because they have no access to any institutional or financial capital to cushion their lives. This point is made clear by Neuwirth (2012) who describes how the informal economy is often victimised by governments for not paying tax, while they turn a blind eye to the transgressions of numerous other businesses or institutions. The difference is that those with capital are able to hide, while the actors in the informal economy have no spatial refuge, and no social or financial capital to facilitate avoidance of the law, or change it to serve them. Thus, Angola shows a blatant disregard for human rights. The weakest are the ones who are most persecuted in Angola.

A significant point made by a trader is this: the culture of fear and repression created by the Angolan government can be seen in their treatment of the opposition party and journalists, which means that groups such as trader organisations which are not related to the

MPLA, may be persecuted. This is emphasised by another perspective “We cannot do anything to change our situation, if we decide to form a group to fix the street, the government will become suspicious and lock us up” (interview 14, September 2015). This fear of perceived dissent also permeates the ranks of government workers. The case is made that the culture of surveillance cripples positive action in government as workers need to be wary of being perceived as ambitious, in case their co-workers report them to the police (Mignot interview 2015).

This is an important consideration for all Third World countries and especially for those which appear to embody centralised and linear systems of governance, such as is found in Angola. Without decentralisation of control, and improved efficiency in this large metropolis, Luanda, which is for the most part still peri-urban, will not be able to offer the majority of its inhabitants an improved quality of life in the near future.

### **Future developments – the implications of the proposed bus rapid transit (BRT)**

The Angolan Ministry of Transport has recently completed a new urban transport master plan for Luanda. This includes 105 proposed BRT routes to be integrated in the city. Several of the proposed routes are planned to move through Congolenses, including 19 that have stops near the market. Of these, 13 move along Rua Catete, and seven along Hoji ya Henda Avenue with one of these overlapping with the current *candongueiro* stops (Ministerio Dos Transportes, 2013). Even if far fewer routes were implemented, many are likely to stop at Congolenses due to the significance of the route.

The implementation of these new routes will – in turn – have a significant impact on the role of the *candongueiros* in providing transport

within Luanda. While the BRT plan mentions the integration of these routes with the existing public transport systems, the BRT is likely to have negative implications, given the Angolan government's poor track record for public participation and integrating the formal and informal sectors. The *candongueiros*, the informal traders which use the area, and even the marketplace, may be affected negatively if the proposed bus interchanges reduce the number of commuters passing through Congolenses.

## Conclusion

Several findings explain the functioning of Congolenses as a site which operates as a vibrant trading and transport hub. The most important of these are the desire of commuters to come to the site not only to commute, but also to shop; the occurrence of multiple types of goods and varying manners in which they are sold; and a lack of conflict between the various groups which use the site (barring the *fiscais*).

However, many challenges hold back the broad market area from more success. Illegality destabilises the whole site, and incursions by the *fiscais* affect traders, customers and commuters moving through the area. In addition to the temporary disordering of the site, *fiscais* incursions have implications for the way the site functions in terms of where traders are located and therefore the location of the *candongueiro* stop furthest to west. Traders are forced to trade in this easternmost street in order to avoid the *fiscais*. Consequently the environment that these traders inhabit is highly susceptible to unhygienic conditions from a lack of hard even surface, flooding and occurrence of the rubbish pit lining this street. On the other side of the market, significant potential trading space is taken up by the location of the construction storage yard between the market and

*candongueiro* stop. Pedestrian movement systems function relatively well, and are only disrupted by trader disruptions when they are either squeezed by the *candongueiros* pushing them out of the way, or run from the *fiscais*.

Thus much of the site's potential is lost through the lack of quality infrastructure and the provision of a safe, legal and perhaps less informal trading environment. The following chapter focuses on resolving these shortcomings in the hope of creating an integrated, well-functioning space which balances the various needs of the role-players.



## Chapter 6: Conclusions and recommendations

This final chapter reflects back on the literature review (Chapter 2) and Results (Chapter 5), and then explores avenues for improving the functioning of the Congolenses market area. It does this by suggesting contextually relevant and critical interventions which should be implemented at both macro and micro scales, and which could have a positive effects not only for the trading and public environment in Congolenses, but throughout Luanda.

### Speaking back to informal economy literature

In terms of informal economic theory, the Legalist and Dualist schools most accurately describe the informal activity carried out by the street traders in Luanda. The Dualist school describes the informal sector as consisting of economic activities which are distinct from the formal sector, and generally occupied by the poor as a means of survival. Dualists argue that those in the informal sector are working out of necessity, as a result of a lack of formal economic opportunities. This is the case among traders in Luanda, as suggested by the majority of interviewed traders who have been trading for over 10 years in extremely challenging conditions.

The aspect of Legalist thinking most applicable to the informal economy in Angola is their view of property ownership, which legalists believe is a key prerequisite to generate capital value. The majority of Angolans are unable to own property and their livelihoods will therefore largely remain dependent on the informal economy.

There is little evidence of the other two schools of thought – the Voluntarists and Structuralists – framing the informal economy in Luanda. Voluntarists argue that informal workers choose to do so to avoid the costs associated with formality. One could argue that there was evidence of this in the 1970s-80s when businesses started to function informally. However, since the state recognises any business at a registered address as formal, this does not seem a viable explanation for current trends in the informal economy. In order for Structuralist conceptions of the informal economy to apply in Angola the informal sector would need to be used by formal enterprise to gain a competitive advantage over others. The study found no clear evidence of this happening, but it is likely that there are cases.

The critique made by Watson (2009) regarding the prevalence of archaic planning systems such as master planning is accurate when describing Luanda. She raises concerns regarding the persistent pre-occupation with modernist doctrines concerned only with ideas of creating idealised cities which do not approach planning holistically, and how these result in poor and acontextual planning. In addition, Watson speaks about how backwards planning approaches attempt to deal with the supposed negative effects of informal trade by banning, or limiting it, a counter-intuitive approach given that the poor cannot disappear. Both critiques apply in Angola, as the manner in which the Angolan government has approached land use management has been through the creation of master plans (which are published but never implemented), while the primary excuse used for banning informal trade in Luanda is that traders are dirty and cause urban blight. There are clean parts of Luanda where there are no traders. But, in many other parts where there are also no traders, Luanda is far from clean. Thus, the Angolan government might make the same assertion about people, that they cause dirt and urban blight. Angola's illogical, modernist approach to the informal economy is flawed and urban blight and dirt are not due to traders, but to poor planning practice.

Dewar and Watson (1990) mention that the placement of markets should be based on an assessment of movement and the number of people moving through an area. This has clearly not been the case as many market relocations in Luanda have been to areas where there are few people, and no generative land uses. On a macro scale the Congolenses marketplace is exceptionally well situated. However, the manner in which the marketplace interacts with the surrounding infrastructure on a site scale is disorganised. The retention of a construction storage yard subsequent to the marketplace's renovation as a barrier between the major *candongueiro* stop and the marketplace is the most disconcerting example of this.

## Recommendations

Informal markets constitute an integral part of the economy of Luanda, and informal trading has provided jobs and access to goods on a substantial scale since during the colonial era. In the last 13 years since the end of the civil war, the Angolan government has followed a process of large scale infrastructure development throughout the city, following a modernist approach which is not inclusive and often highly damaging to the lives of the urban poor (Cain, 2014a; Rein-dorf-Partey, 2015; Watson, 2013). The majority of Luanda's populace is reliant on the informal economy for goods and services; it is also a major source of employment. This research has shown how traders' lives in Luanda are characterised by multiple difficulties, such as a lack of access to well-located trading spaces, persecution by the police, low incomes, long travel times to work, and a lack of access to basic services.

Due to its modernist vision of Luanda, the government is likely to continue to suppress the informal economy for the foreseeable future. The informal economy is also removed from the realities of the governing elite which dictate Angola's policies. It is foreign to their lives.

Although my recommendations are unlikely to be implemented in the near future, within the Angolan environment of governance, there remains a need to suggest measures which would result in a favourable reordering of the social, spatial and economic manner in which informal traders operate.

## City-wide interventions

### **Acknowledging the role of the informal economy**

The future of petro economies around the globe is in turmoil, since as long term oil price projections are not positive (Kolesnikov, 2015), and the Angolan economy is now struggling with the consequences of low oil prices and decreases in foreign direct investment. It is important that government begin to pursue economic diversification. In doing so, there is a distinct opportunity for it to acknowledge the role that the informal economy plays, and to support it as a tool for growth, especially as informal trade increases in response decreased in formal employment in the current economic climate.

### **Legal and institutional changes**

Planning throughout Africa is often used as a means to further the interests of the elite. Even where a legal framework and its statutes appear robust, the implementation of law is often compromised if power and decision-making is centralised. Through the devolution of decision-making and the responsibility for planning and service provision to local municipalities, the capacity for the abuse of centralised power is reduced. Decentralisation means that decisions regarding the management of individual areas are made locally, at the lower rungs of local governance, where the centralised system of political patronage is not (necessarily) as pervasive.

Article 15.1 of Act no1/07 of the 14<sup>th</sup> of May 2007 states that any economic activity which does not occur in a rented or owned place of business is considered illegal. The law should protect the rights of the vulnerable, and Angolan law must change to allow traders and create rights for them as a highly vulnerable group. Informal trading ought to be decriminalised as an activity throughout Angola. Traders may be problematic in spaces such as roads, but the law should allow for trading to occur in 'public open spaces' as a minimum. In addition,

planning law should ensure that the provision of designated public open spaces become a necessity to accommodate trading and other social activities. This will allow traders in areas such as Congolenses to invest in business infrastructure, which, for example, would improve hygiene and the appearance of the market area.

On a city-wide level, trader numbers should not be restricted. Informal trading is a means of survival for those who are most vulnerable and lack recourse to undertake other economic activities. That being said, it is of critical importance that enough, well-located public spaces be provided in the city for traders to use, so that particular sites are not inundated by traders. The creation of a law which allows micro-enterprises to exist with minimal registration and taxation would reduce limits on the number of informal traders. Additionally, the growth of micro enterprises will be facilitated if traders do not have to deal with difficulties of registering themselves (many do not have identity documents, for example).

### **Change in planning approach**

Watson (2009) talks about the failure of planning in recognising the need to move away from Global North and modernist paradigms. Luanda would benefit tremendously by doing this.

For instance, the city ought to develop policies which are supportive not only of informal traders, but also of all other forms of informality in Luanda. By recognising the informal land market, water vending, taxis and traders as legitimate, the government could start working with them to improve them. Support and development of these systems should be implemented incrementally, and collaboratively. By doing so, the Angolan government gains the opportunity of exerting measures of control over these systems, developing skills, the economy, and efficient service provision. In essence, this will enable a

progressive movement towards semi-formal systems of management which benefit from the dynamism provided by the informal economy, while simultaneously benefiting in efficiency from structure and development. An example of this would be the provision of health standards for goods being sold by informal traders, which would protect consumers in Luanda's tropical climate.

Such inclusive policies are not nearly as capital intensive as large scale projects, because these informal systems already exist, the people who run them are already experienced in serving many needs of the populace and in doing so efficiently in order to obtain the best financial returns and compete against other informal providers. Many informal systems may not require large changes to improve their efficiency significantly.

### Micro interventions

Despite the manner in which the Angolan government functions, governments are never homogenous entities. Croese (2015: 406) argues that different parts of the Angolan government “produce, recognise and negotiate public authority in multiple ways” when engaging with the populace. This offers some hope for positive contributions to be made to the livelihoods of the most vulnerable in Luanda.

With this in mind, this section focuses on mechanisms used in collaborative approaches such as those implemented in Solo, in Indonesia, Warwick Junction in Durban, South Africa or Bhubaneswar in India that have resulted in positive outcomes for all the role-players involved. The following section describes such mechanisms and interventions, which were implemented by local government or non-profit organisations.

### Integrated area management and development

Integrated area development is the keystone approach which should be used in the development of Congolenses. This approach has been employed in all the successful case studies of trader integration examined in Chapter 2. The key requirement is collaboration between traders through trader organisations and various government departments. Integration of various government line functions – such as water, electricity, planning, and transport – into a single team which is able to dedicate itself to the project, is needed. It is essential to create a sense of ownership and pride in the space through collaboration with trading organisations so that traders invest and keep the space functioning well. Moreover, traders need to work with planners and other government departments to ensure that while they have access to space within the site, the number of traders which can use the site is regulated. This is important in terms of the priorities of pedestrians and commuters so that the area is not over-run by traders. In the case of Bhubaneswar, funds to upgrade infrastructure were obtained from formal business, which constitutes an important potential source of financing.

### Trader organisations

Trader organisations in Angola are currently few and far between. Only one of the traders interviewed at Congolenses claimed to be part of the ineffectual MPLA affiliated OMA. Local NPOs such as Development Workshop or the municipality of Rangel, (under which Congolenses falls) should encourage and provide spaces for traders to meet, and promote the formation of a trader organisation for Congolenses.

Traders appear to have good relationships with their neighbours, and there are multiple *kixikalas*. These pre-existing relationships show there is a basis for starting organisations. The support, relationships

between traders in an organisation, and experience that they gain from being members, make membership desirable. Thus, the creation of independent trader organisations provides increased institutional security for, and accountability of traders, since members are less likely to engage in illicit activities. It is to be noted, however, that the Angolan government does not support collective action.

Through collaboration with trader organisations in developing Congolenses, Rangel municipality has the opportunity of creating an environment to benefit everyone in the area. Trader organisations provide a means for traders in an area to self-organise, and buy-in from trading organisations creates a sense of ownership over the space which can be leveraged to keep the area running well. An important requirement is the appointment of a dedicated municipal representative who is able to respond to the priorities and concerns of traders. The person would also represent the interests of the municipality to traders, all of this to maintain healthy communication so that market area can be managed effectively.

### **Infrastructure development at Congolenses**

Congolenses occupies a highly strategic spatial position within Luanda. It is also an area where various forms of the informal economy intersect. Despite these potentially ideal circumstances, the area's basic infrastructure falls short on various fronts. A key priority for Congolenses is the provision of site infrastructure upgrading which provides for quality urban space which can be utilised in a multifunctional manner, such that traders and the public may benefit from it as mentioned by Dewar and Watson (1990). In this regard Congolenses needs significant basic infrastructure which would dramatically improve hygiene and access to basic services, thus contributing significantly to place making.

Of importance is the provision of hard pedestrian-only surfaces which are easily cleaned, and with good drainage in areas where traders and pedestrians can function without being impeded upon, and without them slowing down traffic flows. This is vital in directing *candongueiros* which now tend to drive dangerously, often forcing traders and pedestrians out of the main areas. The provision of these spaces should be configured to provide paths in areas of major pedestrian activity, such as between the two major taxi stops in Congolenses, as seen in the plan (figure 28). In short, the provision of quality public open space will transform Congolenses from being an ugly place where traders appear to be part of the problem into an area where traders are integral to its vibrancy and attractiveness.

The provision of public space needs to be ordered to allow traders to use it in structured manner, but also in a flexible manner to allow for greater or fewer numbers of traders (given fluctuations within the informal trading sector). Through a collaborative process, trading sites should be agreed upon, such that they intersect with pedestrian flows, but without impeding their flows. The configuration of goods to be sold in various areas should be informed by what is currently there and traders' knowledge of what goods can be sold. For example, goods which do not have generative power – and are thus reliant on passing pedestrians – should be stationed closest the main pedestrian flows.

Covered walking and trading areas would benefit both traders and pedestrians. Luanda is often hot but does not have a high rainfall, and there is generally little wind. Additional options for this are the use of trees to break up and cool hard open spaces.

Existing transport interchanges at Congolenses work well where they currently are, but they cause heavy traffic congestion. There is

ample space on the site for them to be better managed, for example by providing rows for taxis to queue. Currently, taxis vie and push for the best spots for picking up pedestrians.

Waste disposal is a particularly critical issue which requires intervention from the Rangel municipal government. Currently, traders burn their waste, and some streets have been filled with waste. While this situation needs urgent attention, there is also an opportunity to develop waste sorting and the composting of perishable goods. This will reduce the amount of waste that government needs to handle. Taken forward, the sorting and ultimately recycling of materials would generate another stream of revenue, thereby benefiting more livelihoods. The opportunity of developing a profitable cleaning service is also something worth developing. Once again, collaboration between local government and those using the space is critical if such ventures are to succeed.

The provision of water supplies and sanitation services is a priority. While there is access to bathrooms around Congolenses, these are pay-for-use systems. Free public toilets which are well maintained and managed should be created, given the large number of traders which use the site. Maintenance could be paid for by the rates charged for prime trading spots on site; this would mean that the traders have a direct interest in their maintenance. Water provision in Luanda is sporadic, and private distribution sometimes sells unpotable water. Provision of one or more public water standpoints would allow people in nearby houses, those moving through the area using public transport, and traders to access water.

Lighting the area would improve safety. Adequate lighting in Congolenses would allow it to operate after dark as a trading and recreational space. This would be ideal given the massive volumes of

traffic which flow to the peripheries of Luanda on a daily basis, and the lack of security in the area.

The lack of secure storage space for trading goods is a further constraint. Providing a central on-site storage facility would lessen the risk of traders being robbed when transporting goods, and it would reduce the need to move goods over great distances or through back alleys. Similarly, opening the marketplace's cold storage for use by street traders, would provide them with a means to keep their goods fresh. Provision of adequate storage space would enable traders to reduce the frequency with which they have to buy new supplies.

The construction of a community hall would be beneficial. It could be used for collaborative meetings between traders, taxis and local government, as a meeting place for trader organisations and a venue for training and skills development for traders. A number of Congolenses traders have small children which accompany them to market, and so the use of a community hall as a crèche would provide a safe, secure and nearby environment to allow traders and residents to leave their children.

Many of these interventions have been synthesised into a plan of the recommendations described in figure 27. Collaboration and use of an integrated area development approach in implementing the recommendations would provide an example of how a range of public interests might be accommodated in Luanda in an amicable fashion. Access to this kind of infrastructure would also benefit surrounding residents and commuters who use the area on a daily basis.

## The Plan

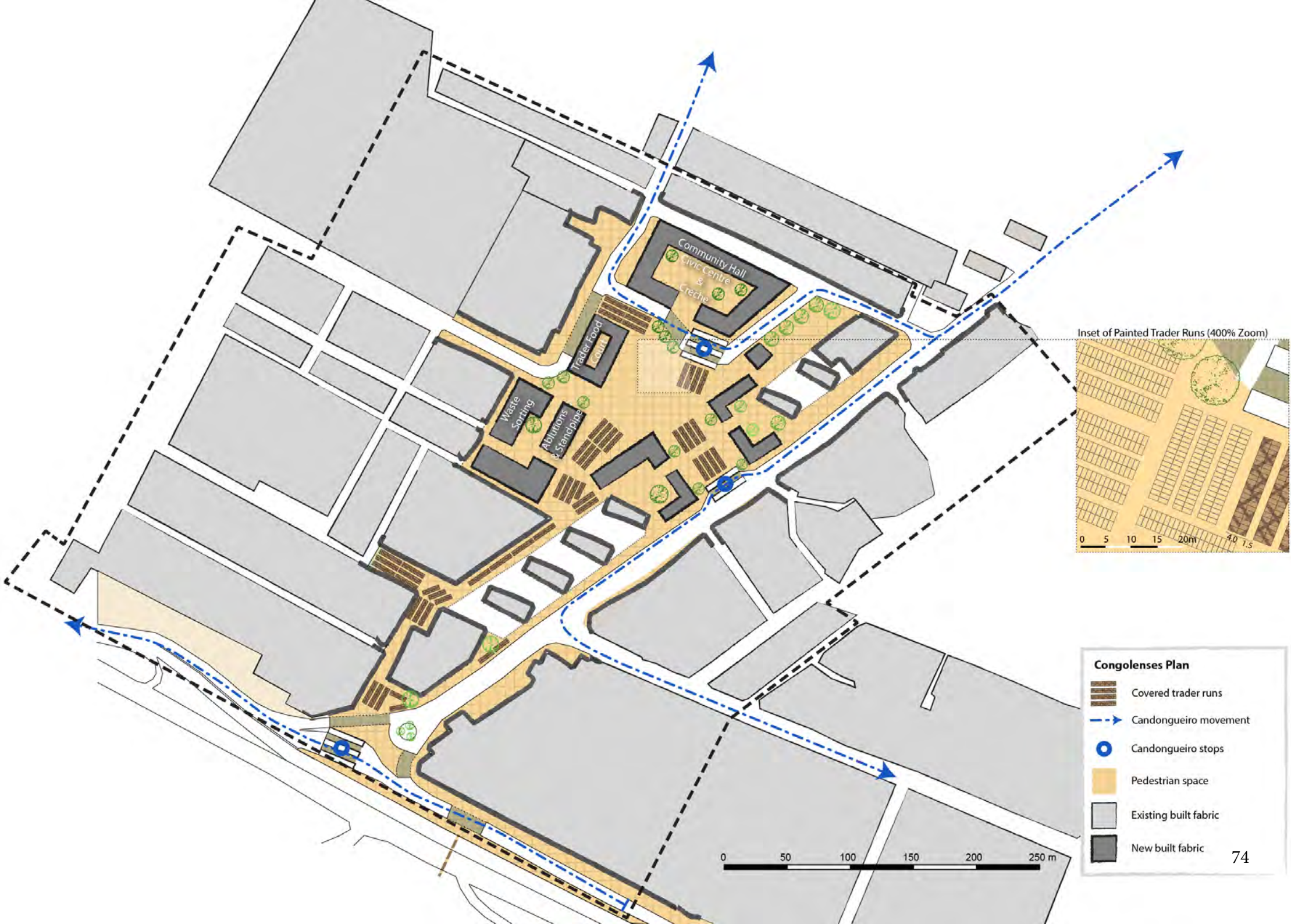
The use of an integrated area approach is a prerequisite for the success of the proposed plan. The plan is a suggestion for the redevelopment of Congolenses. Its proposals are based on creating an inclusive site and are informed by the key structuring elements found during fieldwork.

The creation of an efficient movement system which links commuters to current and potential activity generators through a system of pedestrian spaces (see plan) is the base strategy. Through the provision of allotted trading space within on pedestrianised land pedestrians can access goods, traders can sell goods, and movement can occur easily (see inset). Traders of goods types which are reliant on passing footfalls for making sales will occupy areas adjacent to the heaviest pedestrian flows (see pedestrian movement overlay).

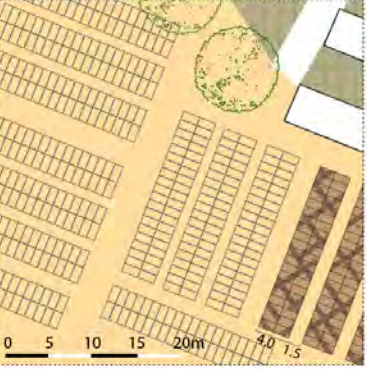
These movement systems run between candongueiro stops (see plan) such that major existent pedestrian movement remains in the site. They have been separated from vehicular mobility routes, additionally they have wide roads leading into multiple taxi loading runs provided to allow for large numbers of candongueiros to move through, and the ordering of various routes leaving from these major stops. This allows candongueiros to operate without inhibiting pedestrian or vehicular flow. Pedestrians have been given right of way in areas where major foot movement crosses roads. The use of different road surfaces in these places (may) dissuade candongueiros from driving quite as recklessly as they sometimes do now. The smallest stop currently located at the top of Henrique Gago da Graça (serving only one route to Asa Branca) will move onto Hoji ya Henda Avenue, away from its previous run. It now faces onto a public square which may be used by traders and for other activities depending on the time of day or week.

This square relinks the previously isolated marketplace to the rest of the site, and provides allotted public space and for traders. The proposed infill around the square provide access to public services of benefit to traders and the public (see new built fabric). In addition these buildings serve to frame and support the site, providing opportunities for other livelihood options to develop, and key services such as water, ablutions, local municipal civic facilities (these are at current about 1.5 kilometres away, and not well serviced by public transport), waste disposal systems, and a crèche for traders and commuters moving through the area.

The location of the civic centre provides direct access to possible collaboration with traders. The civic centre forms a landmark in the square, creating enclosure, and orientating those using the space. The provision of covered trader runs provides more hygienic spaces for food vendors to sell their goods (these are generally located along major movement routes as raw food is highly dependent on pedestrian incidence for sales), and partial shelter for pedestrians when it is particularly hot or raining. Finally the structure of the buildings surrounding the square provide a sequence of spaces for the public, some active, and others more secluded and sheltered.



**Inset of Painted Trader Runs (400% Zoom)**



**Congolenses Plan**

-  Covered trader runs
-  Candongueiro movement
-  Candongueiro stops
-  Pedestrian space
-  Existing built fabric
-  New built fabric



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## Appendix 1: Market Trader Interview

### *Read to Interviewee:*

Good day, my name is Martin Mendelsohn. I am a student from the University of Cape Town, South Africa. I am doing my dissertation in city planning and for this am researching the Congolenses market, and how it can function in the best possible way as a space for everyone who uses it. I have interviewed commuters moving through the area and am now in the process of interviewing traders such as yourself. Would you allow me to interview you as part of my study? I will not be asking for your name, so your confidentiality will be confirmed. If at any stage you feel uncomfortable answering any of the questions please let me know and we can skip it.

Time of interview: (mm/hh) Date: (dd/mm)

### 1. Observables

#### 1.1 Gender:

M      F

#### 1.2 Goods being sold:

1.3 Description of site, (mark location on map),  
(ask if photo allowed):

#### **Area goods occupy (m):**

Surrounding goods types:

Roof:

Walls:

Walking space/catchment (m):

Goods location – permanent table, temporary table, ground, carried by trader

### 2. Demographics & Introduction:

2.1 Where did you grow up?

2.2 How old are you?

2.3 How do you travel here every day?

2.4 How long does it take you to travel here every day?

### 3. Household:

3.1 How many children are in your home?

3.2 How many people depend on your income?

3.3 How many other earners are there in your

household?

How many?

3.4 Are you the primary income earner?

#### 4. Trading:

4.1 How long have you traded in the area?

4.2 How often do you work as a trader per week?

4.3 What times do you start and end your work day?

4.4 What made you choose to trade at this particular location?

4.5 Do you ever trade in a different spot?

4.6 What do you like about trading in this spot?

4.7 What don't you like about trading in this spot?

4.8 Do you experience any problems with storing your goods and if so what are these?

#### 5. Location:

5.1 In what ways has the trading environment changed since the beginning of the year?

5.2 How has trade changed over the last number

of years?

- What has been good
- What has been bad

#### 6. How has the space around your trading spot changed over the years?

- Surrounding Infrastructure
- Number of people

#### 7. Business Linkages

7.1 Where do you buy your goods from and how do you get them here?

7.2 Is there anyone other than the Fiscais which allow or do not allow you to trade?

7.3 Please describe your relationship with the surrounding traders?

7.4 What is your relationship the Candongueiros affect your trading?

7.5 What is your relationship with the surrounding shops if any?

#### 8. Regulation:

8.1 Do you pay money to anyone to occupy this

space?

Yes no

- How much?
- Too whom?
- What does paying this money provide to you?
- What do you think will improve the surrounding space most?

8.2 Who in the government do you have most regular contact with?

8.3 Do you have any interactions with the police, if so please would you describe them?

## 9. Support Structures:

9.1 Are you a member of a trading organisation?

Yes no

- What is the goal of the organisation?
- How does this organisation benefit you?

9.2 Are you a member of a trading or savings collective?

9.3 Have you received any support from any other organisation or government entity?

Yes no

- Please describe what support you have received from them?

9.4 Do you have access to any form of credit?

## 10. Infrastructure and services

10.1 Who cleans the street?

10.2 How often is the street cleaned?

10.3 Is there any water supply nearby?

How many minutes walk?

10.4 Are there any toilets nearby?

How many minutes walk?

10.5 What sort of facilities do you think the area is most in need of?

10.6 What are the three most important changes that you think should be made in this market?

10.7 Where do you store your goods at night?

10.8 Does the weather ever affect your business?

How?

## 11. Miscellaneous

11.1 What are the three biggest challenges to your business?

11.2 How much money would you guess you take home after all your costs of doing business in one week?

## Annex 2: Commuter Questionnaire

*The Following questionnaire is a set of quick questions to ascertain roughly how commuters make use of the market space, and what their perceptions about it are.*

Dear Sir/Madam, I am a studying towards my master's degree in City planning in Cape Town. I am exploring Congolenses market. I am interested in how the area works and what could be improved. Would you mind answering 6 quick questions to help me with this please?

### 1. Observables

1.1 Gender:

M    F

1.2 Time: (mm/hh) Date: (dd/mm)

\_\_ : \_\_ \_\_ / \_\_

1.3 Surroundings:

Location of start of questionnaire (mark on map direction being moved):

### 2. Questions

2.1 How did you get to Congolens?

Candongueiro/ Kapatata/ private car / Walking

2.2 Where are you going coming from?

From:

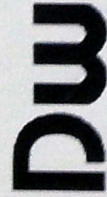
To (after purchase):

2.3 Why did you come here?

2.4 What are two things you like about Congolens?

2.5 What are two things you dislike about Congolenses?

2.6 How often do you buy goods here?



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Email: devworks@angonet.org  
www.dhw.angonet.org

**AO: EXMO SENHOR ADMINISTRADOR DO DISTRITO URBANO DO RANGEL**

Assunto: Permissão de Pesquisa sobre o mercado do Congolenses

Vossa Excelência,

Queira aceitar os meus respeitosos cumprimentos.

Atualmente, estou fazendo o mestrado em Planeamento Urbano na Universidade da Cidade do Cabo, África do Sul. Na prossecução deste, somos exigidos a fazer uma dissertação de pesquisa. Sou um cidadão namibiano que tem um enorme interesse em Angola, e particularmente em Luanda, que no meu ponto de vista é uma cidade excepcionalmente emocionante, com um grande potencial para se tornar em uma cidade líder. Tenho estado em contacto com a Development Workshop Angola, e eles me ofereceram um grande apoio e estão ajudando a facilitar a minha pesquisa aqui. Por estas razões eu decidi basear a minha tese aqui em Luanda.

Acredito que uma das chaves importantes para estimular o crescimento económico positivo em Luanda é através da criação de uma economia diversificada e robusta. Devido a isso, decidi focar em uma determinada área da cidade que eu acho ter o potencial de fazer contribuições importantes para a cidade, e que atende os requisitos para minha dissertação. O lugar que escolhi é o **Mercado Congolenses** no município do Rangel.

Na minha opinião, Congolenses é um lugar chave devido à sua proximidade ao centro da cidade, e as suas funções como um eixo de transportes e comércio. Ao fazer minha pesquisa eu estou explorando o que será o futuro deste lugar, como funciona e quem usa. Isto irá satisfazer a seção de trabalho de campo de minha dissertação. A segunda parte da minha tese se concentra em fazer uma reformulação conceitual do lugar, a fim de desbloquear qualquer potencial não realizado, que possa ter.

Desejo que esta dissertação pode trazer alguma contribuição positiva para futuros esforços de planeamento em Luanda. Por esta razão eu acho que é importante que eu aprenda tanto quanto possível da sua opinião sobre este lugar para que as minhas recomendações possam ter contribuições positivas e um melhor potencial.

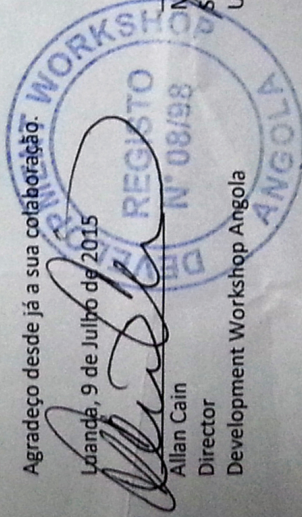
Sendo assim, venho por meio deste solicitar a permissão para a realização deste trabalho de campo em torno do mercado Congolenses.

Caso tenha alguma dúvida, por favor não hesite em contactar-me através do meu endereço de correio eletrónico: [Mf.mendelsohn@gmail.com](mailto:Mf.mendelsohn@gmail.com), +27 81 415 6793 (África do Sul), em alternativa, o escritório Development Workshop Angola: +244 222 448 366

Agradeço desde já a sua colaboração.

Luanda, 9 de Julho de 2015

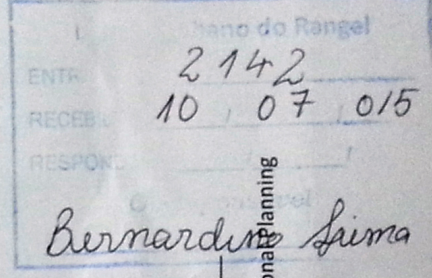
Allan Cain  
Director  
Development Workshop Angola



*Martin Mendelsohn*

Martin Mendelsohn  
Student of Masters of City and Regional Planning  
University of Cape Town

*Bernardino Lima*



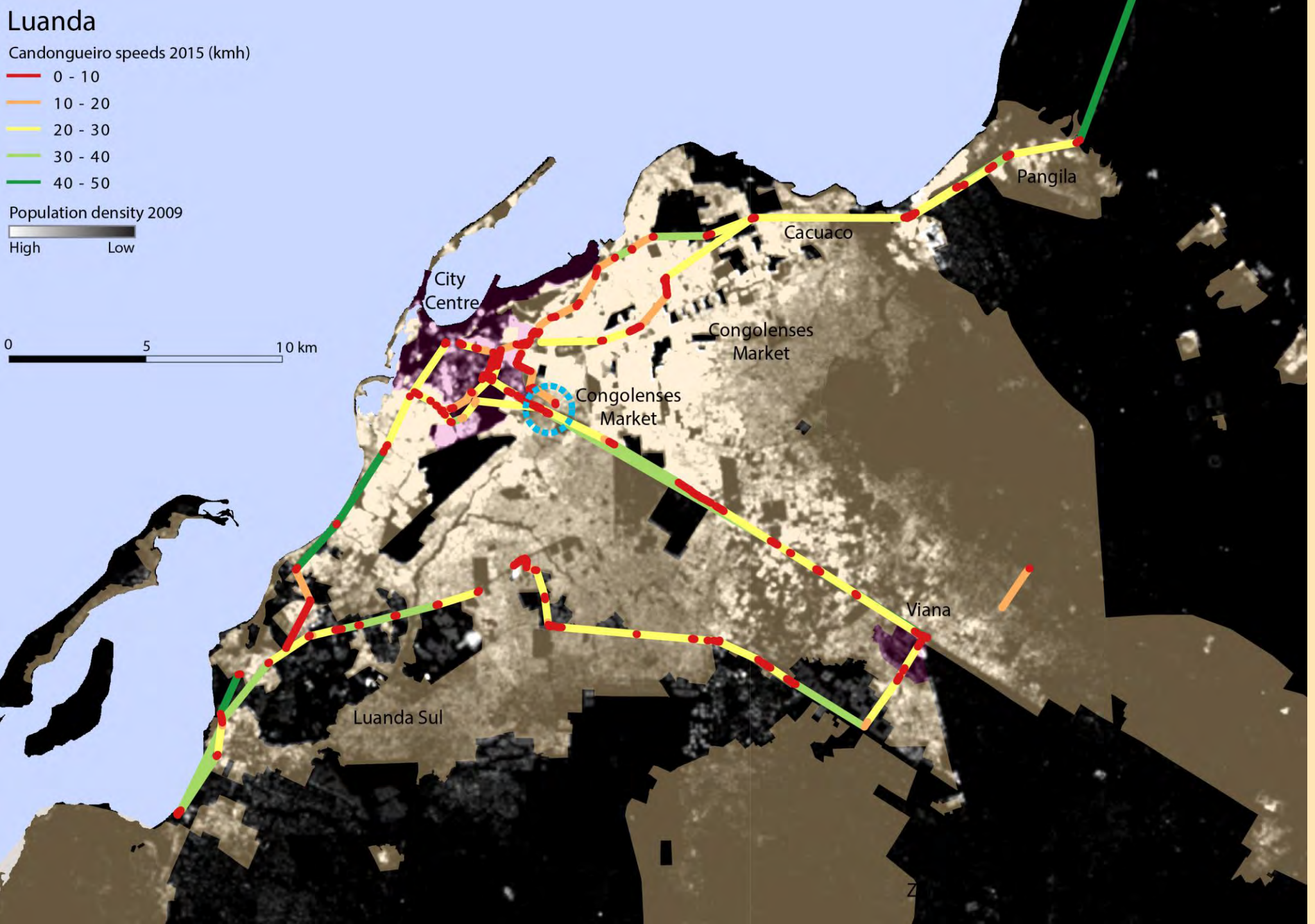
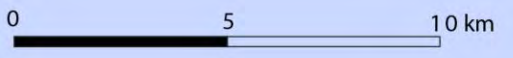
# Space, place and belonging: informal trading in and around Congolenses market, Luanda, Angola

# Luanda

Candongueiro speeds 2015 (kmh)

- 0 - 10
- 10 - 20
- 20 - 30
- 30 - 40
- 40 - 50

Population density 2009





### Trader Goods Types

- Raw Foodstuffs
- Women's Clothes
- Mixed Clothes
- Miscellaneous
- Cooked Food



Meat and eggs trader Henrique Gago de Graca





Potato and onion trader





Zungueiras (ambulant traders) near Catete





Cooked food trader in the formal market





Cooked food trader in the formal market



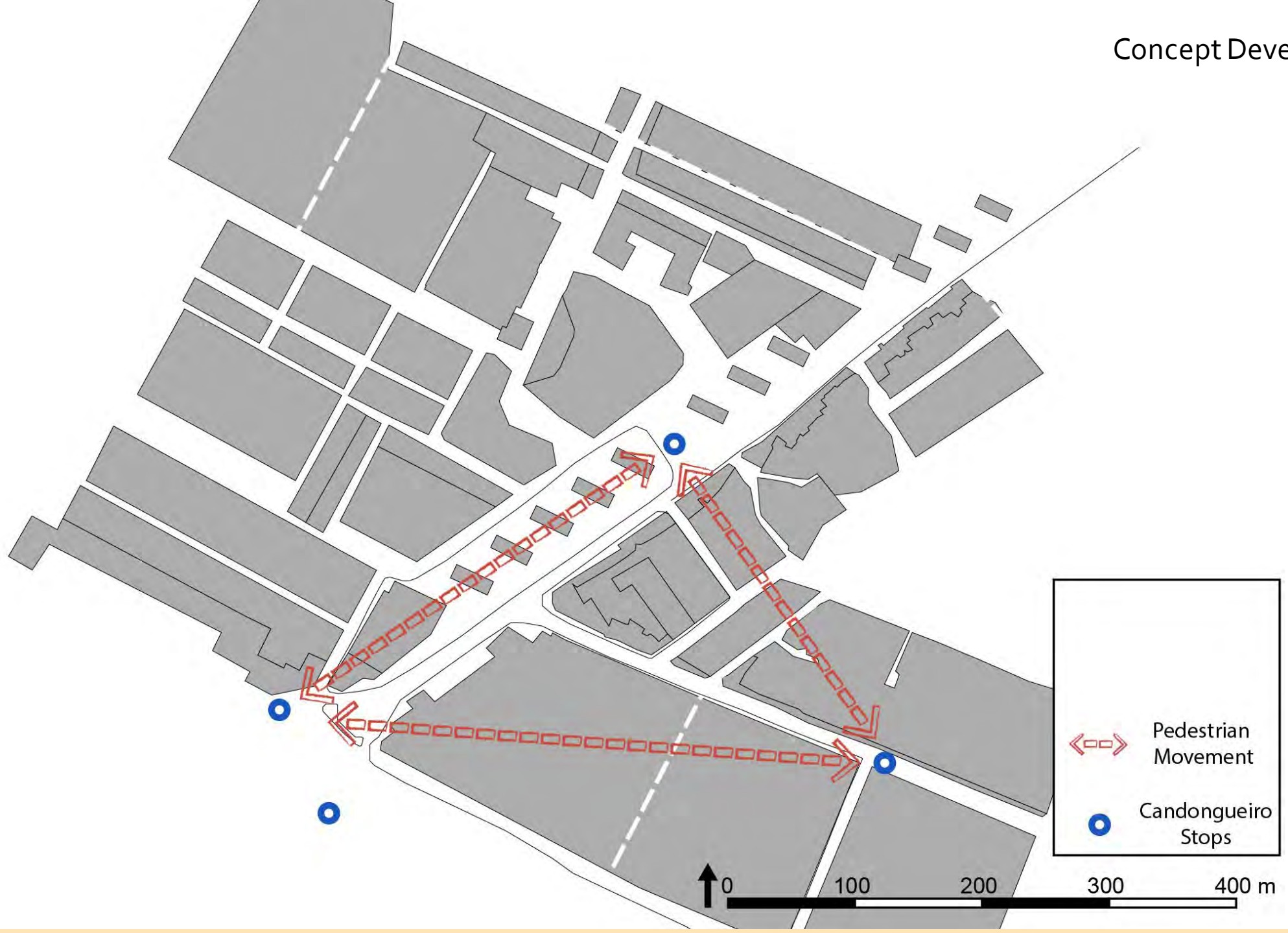


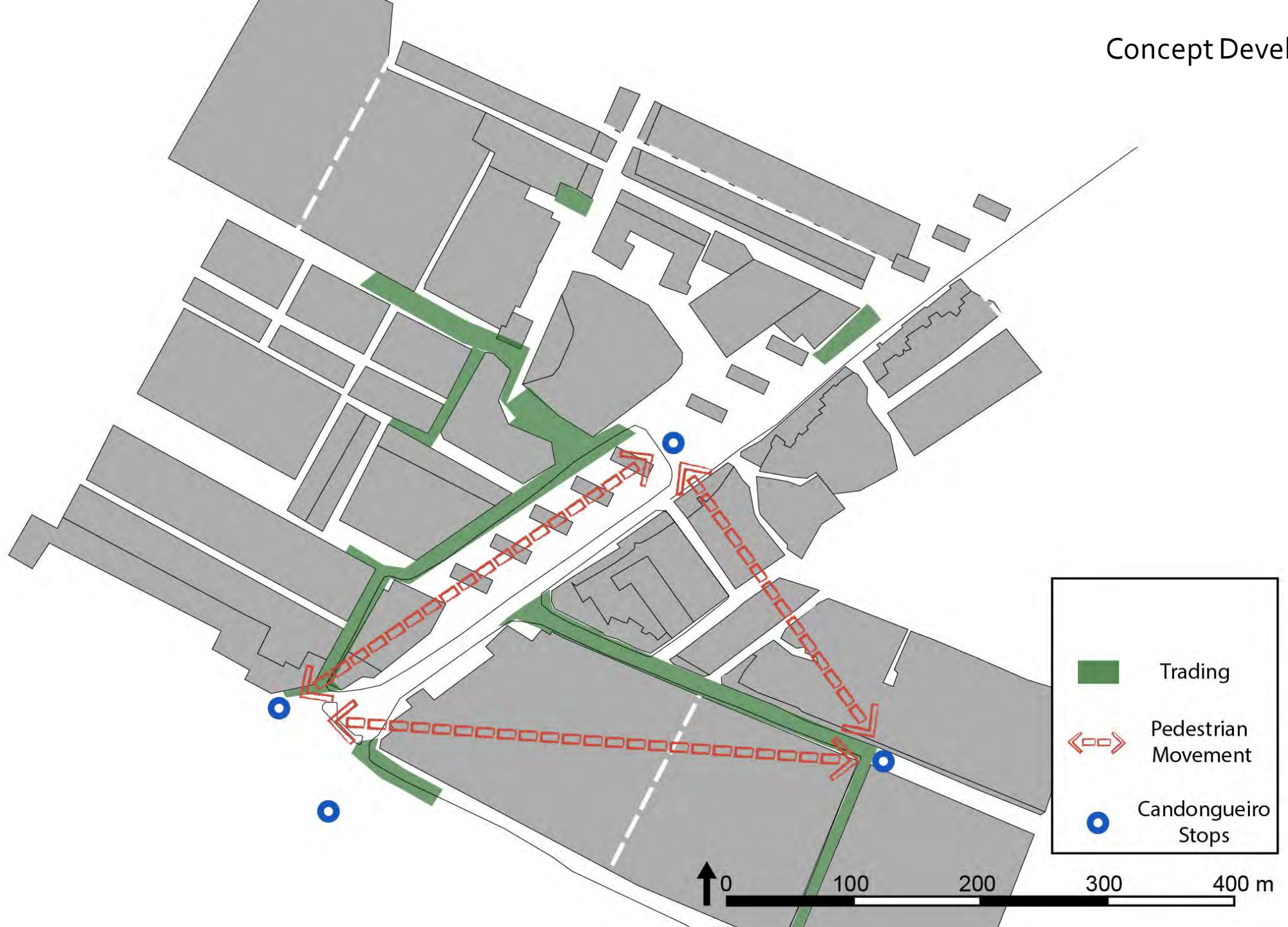
Cooked food trader in the formal market



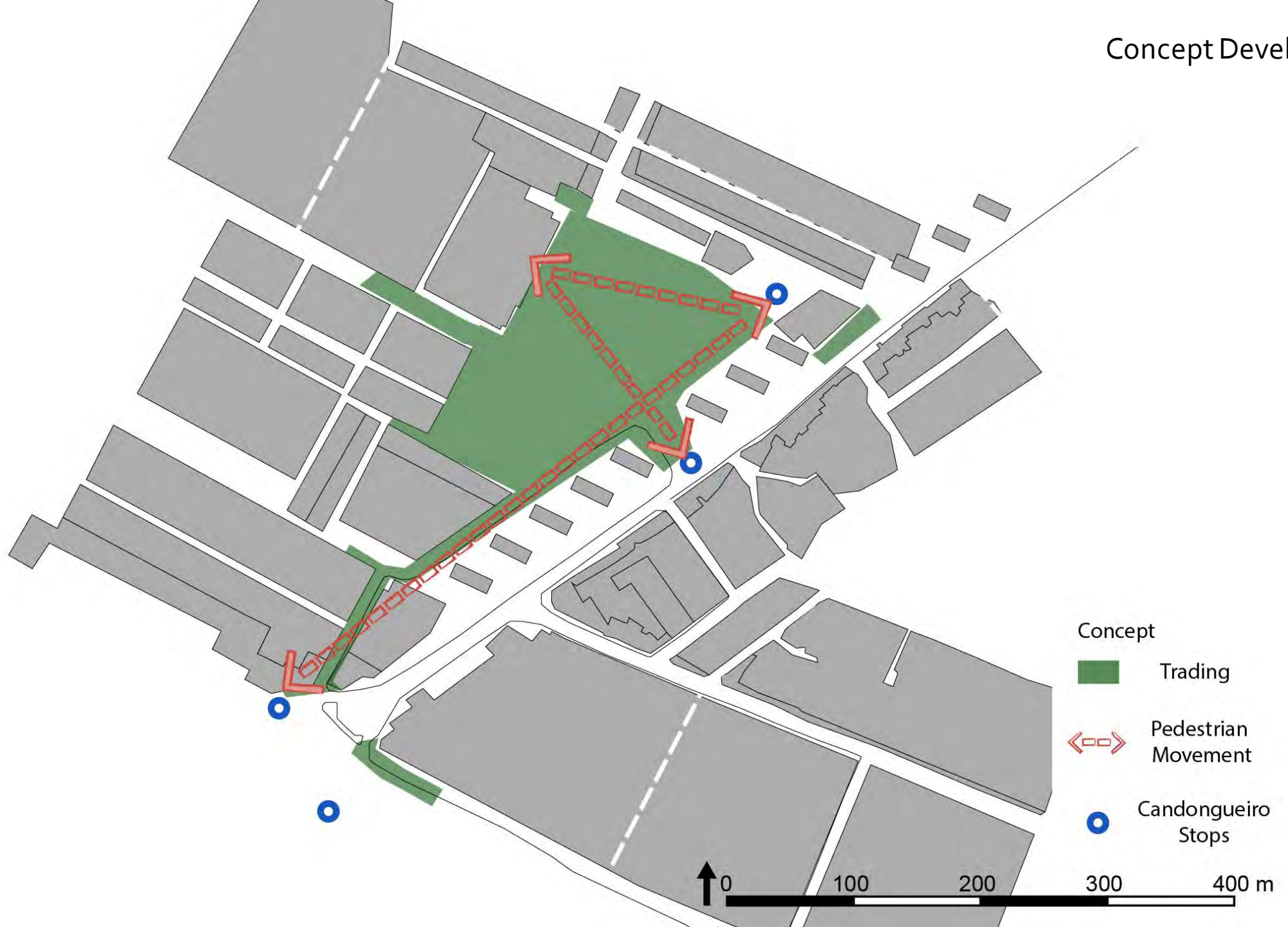


# Concept Development 1

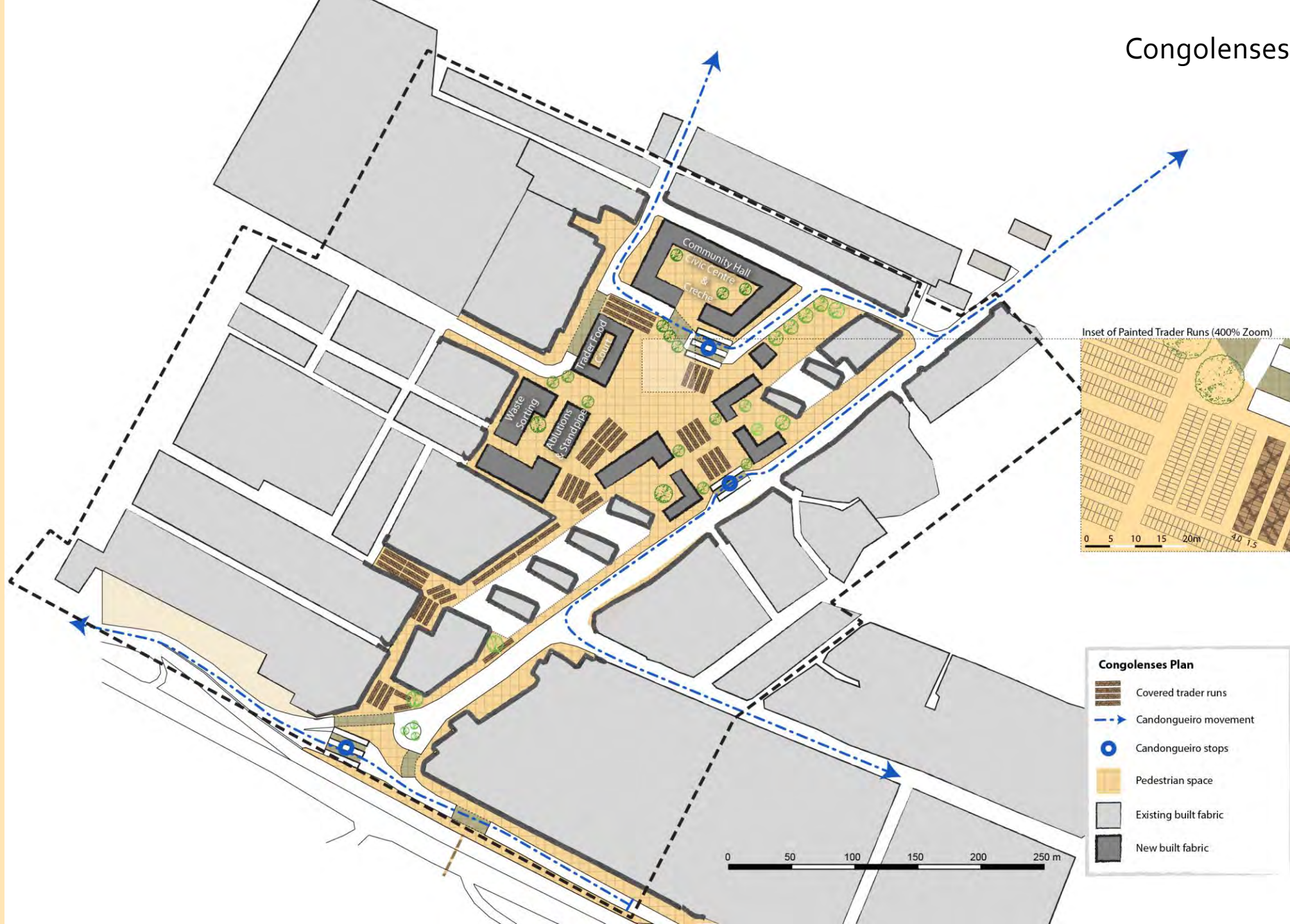








# Congolenses plan





Slide 1

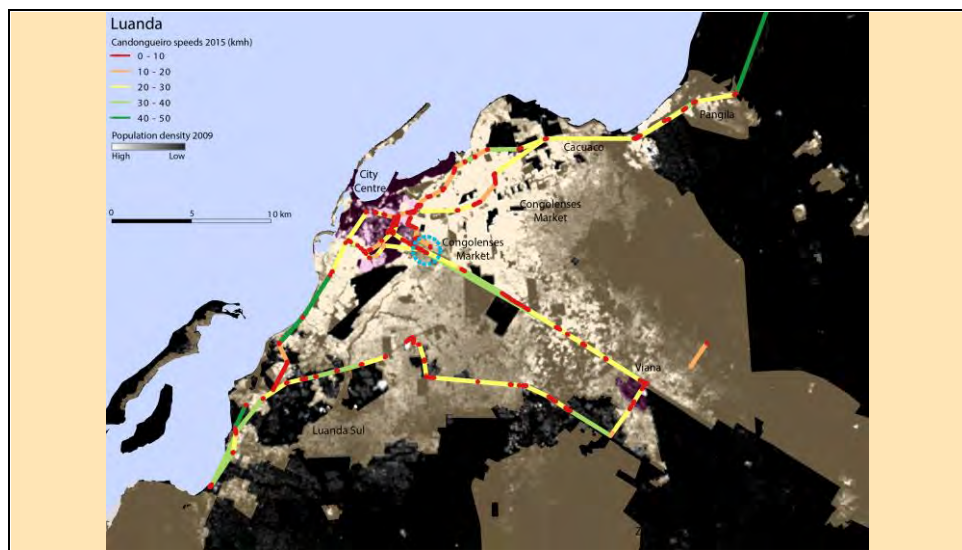
## Space, place and belonging: informal trading in and around Congolenses market, Luanda, Angola

Martin Mendelsohn

October 2015

Good day, my name is Martin Mendelsohn. My dissertation focused on the Congolenses natural and formal markets in Luanda. The Angolan government regards informal trading, as occurs in the natural market, illegal and routinely and violently harasses the traders which trade on the streets of Luanda. I looked at this interplay in the area, the livelihoods of the traders, and how they affect space and place as key structuring actors.

## Slide 2



Angola was ravaged by 27 years of civil war until 2002. Many Angolans migrated during the war moving primarily to Luanda, the capital. There was a lack of any real land management, and as a result informal suburbs known as *musseques* in the city grew in density close to the city centre, and new ones sprawled away from it. The Map shows one of the first population studies for Luanda compiled by Development workshop Angola in 2009.

During this the war, and still today, most Luandans make use of extensive systems of informal provisioning to survive. These include providing water, electricity, waste disposal, transport and access to goods.

The government has undertaken a high degree of spatial and social reordering with wide ranging consequences for those who inhabit the city, especially within the informal economy. The most prominent of these have been demolition of large parts of the inner city *musseques* and markets, and the creation of several satellite towns outside the city centre. Markets and citizens have been moved out of the city centre to these areas, often without thought of the social and economic consequences. This burgeoning population living far from economic and social opportunities commutes into the city centre to access these, putting pressure on the few trunk roads into the city centre.

Some of the trunk roads were travelled using local minibus taxis. These *candongueiros* were tracked using GPSes their speeds recorded. Areas on the map where the *candongueiros* move slowly are heavily congested as significant pedestrian activity occurs here. The Congolenses market constitutes not only an area where significant informal activity takes place, but is also close to the city centre, and the

major road into town. Additionally it is an area where a high degree of congestion takes place.

Slide 3



Despite the congestion on the road, the natural market occurs in specific spaces in the site and not on the road. Trading activity follows pedestrian and commuter movement. This occurs mostly between the *candongueiro* taxi stops in the area. There are varying types of trading which occurs. Most of this occurs linearly, and many of the areas where it takes place suffer from a marked lack of decent infrastructure for vehicle movement or decent trading conditions. The areas in which trading occurs are also influenced by visits from the *fiscais*, the fiscal police. Traders avoid the spot where they arrive, marked by the Yellow dot on the map. Traders which are closest to this area make sure that their goods are easy to pick up so that they can escape when the *fiscais* approach. The next few slides look at how individual traders have different experiences from various influences within the site.

Slide 4



This trader wouldn't let me photograph her, only her stall (center) on Henrique Gago de Graça road. She was concerned that the police would be able to identify her. Her main struggle was a lack of business, she sells goods for making hot dogs, and when the economy was better she had a lot of business. She has one child, and is busy finishing grade 9 going to classes in the evening. The police never push this far up the road anymore, but they used to when the road was in better condition.

The *candongueiros* never used to come so far down the street, but in the last few months they had started moving into the traders' space to try to find customers. Despite there being no rain for several months the mud in the foreground remains stopping shoppers from moving from the trader stalls on one side of the road to the other. This *Candongueiro* on the left had just got stuck in the mud and needed to be pushed out, this happens very often where one finds this sort of mud.

Slide 5



On my first visit to the area I asked if I could take a photo of this trader's goods. she and her neighbor refused, and became suspicious and unhappy with my presence. After interviewing traders across the street her curiosity was peaked, and I returned to interview her and eventually take a photo. Once again, I was not allowed to photograph her as she was scared of being identified. She took more care than surrounding traders to display her goods attractively. She could do this because the *fiscals* don't come to this part of the market often. When they do there are many surrounding traders so that she will have ample warning to collect her goods and move away.

Slide 6



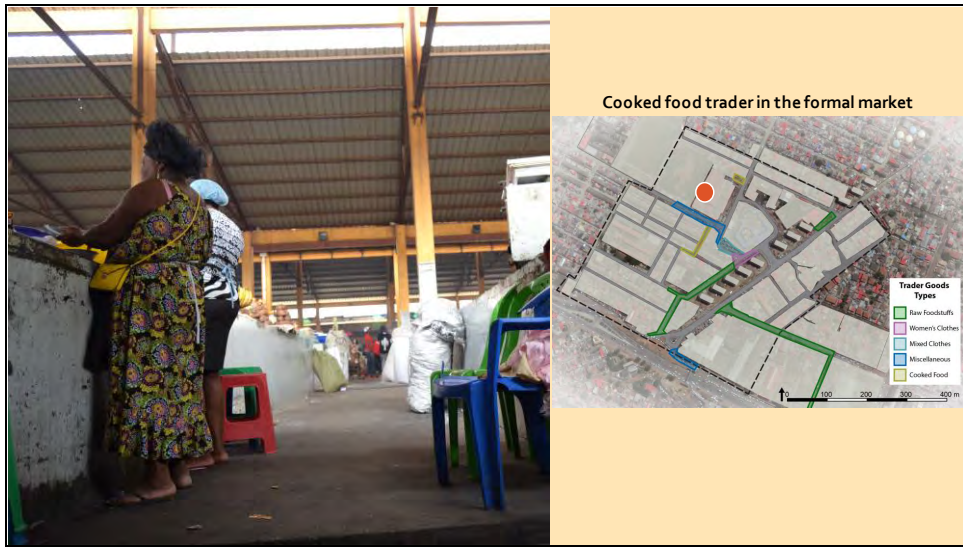
The *Zungueiras* here are right below the pedestrian bridge exit, they sell goods to passing pedestrians but will move around throughout the area to wherever they feel they are most likely to find business. Most pedestrians cross the street where they can, the puddles and *candongueiros* often make it difficult to find a place where one can actually get across. On the other side of the street traders hang their goods on fencing, its handy to display what you're selling to passing customers.

Slide 7



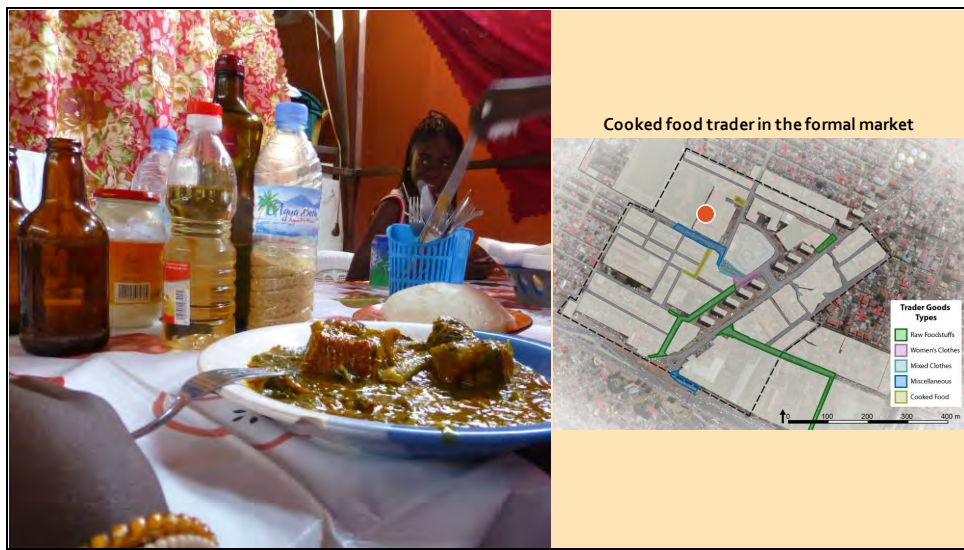
Inside the market, on the far west there is a run dedicated to cooked food. There are no specialized stalls, the traders bring makeshift barbeques made of tire rims with them to cook in. When it rains water runs in from the gaps in the roof above and they cannot work.

Slide 8



Cooking food inside the market is in high demand, and this trader could only work here 3 days a week. On the other days other traders have the opportunity to use these spaces to cook.

Slide 9



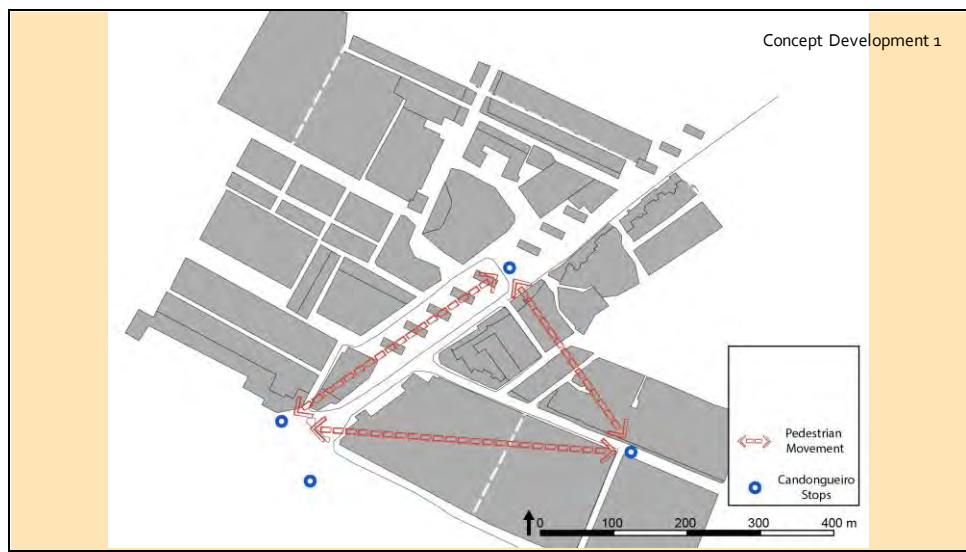
There are a wide variety of dishes available. Angolans love chili and olive oil. Some of the dishes are uniquely Angolan such as the stew shown here, made from salted dried meat. The dishes cost customers around 1000kz or 7.50 USD. Despite this high price the trader only takes home around 6000kz per week after business expenses. The following section explores the conceptual thinking behind the plan for Congolenses.

Slide 10



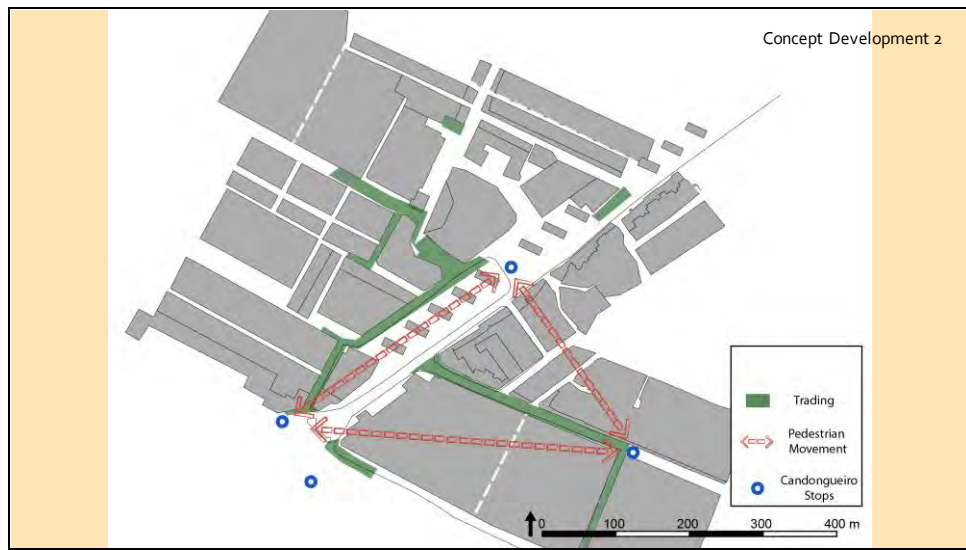
From a site level the map shows the major trunk road into the city in the south. Catete road narrows, winds and slows a little further on. For this reason Hoji ya Henda becomes the most direct route into the city center, it ends at Mutamba, the heart of Luanda and a stone's throw away from the Marginal. Lino Amezaga should function as a major connector to Hoji ya Henda, but doesn't because of significant congestion from *candongueiros*. Freeing this connector up would provide an easing of pressure on traffic in the area.

Slide 11



Pedestrian movement systems in the site function mainly between the *candongueiro* sites. Currently the most difficult of these commutes is to the eastern most stop.

Slide 12



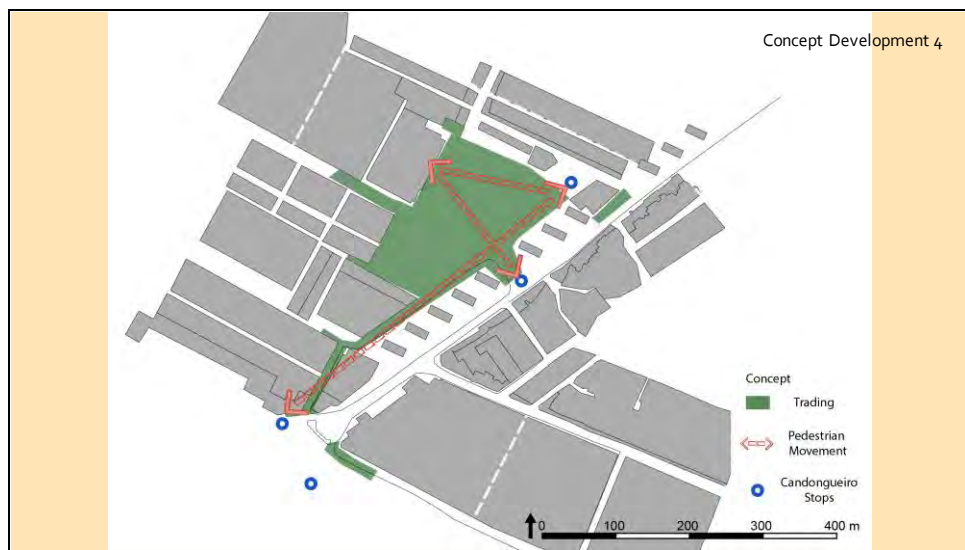
Trading occurs along these pedestrian routes, but not much on the main connector road, Lino Amezaga.

Slide 13



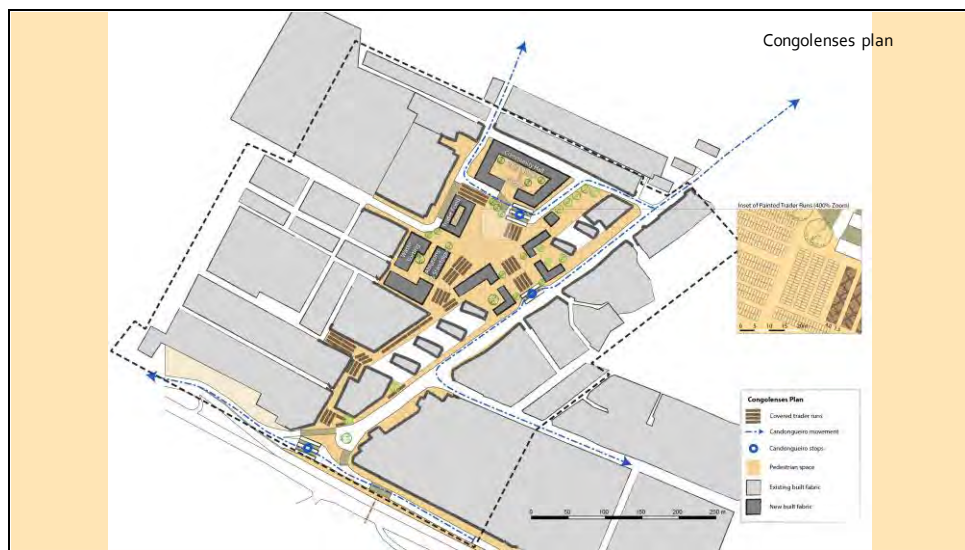
There are several underutilized, but occupied pieces of land in the central area between and around one of the main *candongueiro* stops and the market. These represent an opportunity for development.

Slide 14



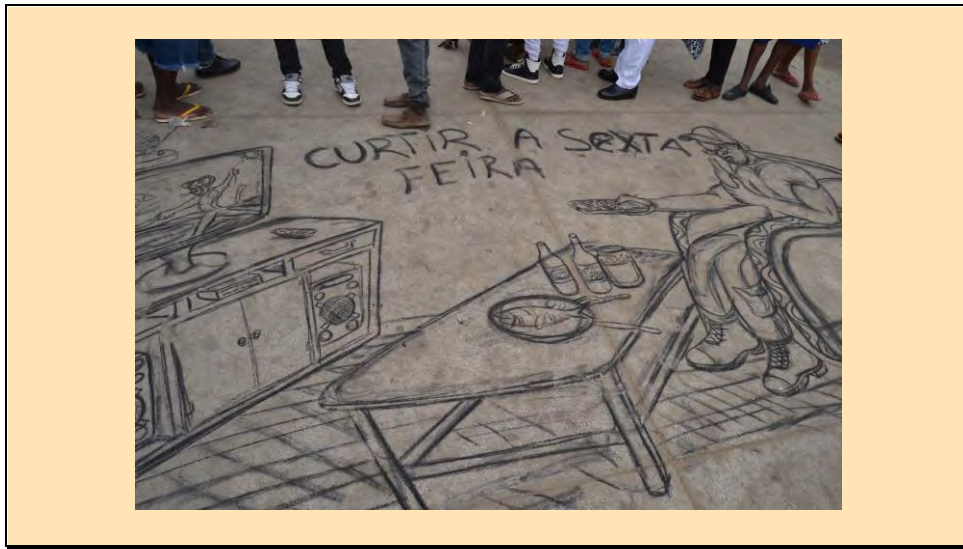
Possibilities arise in terms of being able to move *candongueiro* stops, so that pedestrians are no longer forced across Lino Amezaga, and don't need to move up Henrique Gago de Graça. Activity can be intensified around a public space and transport interchange, trading space made available, and both pedestrian and vehicular movement improved through pedestrianized space, and the restoration of Lino Amezaga to a mobility route, having positive macro and micro consequences.

Slide 15



The plan above shows the manifestation of this concept through the creation of pedestrianized public open space, trading areas suited to a variety of goods, access to services, restructuring of *candongueiro* routes to be more efficient, and relinking of the market to the site.

Slide 16



Thank you! Muito Obrigado!