

**IMPLICATIONS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STREET VENDING AND  
POLITICAL AFFILIATION ON DEVELOPMENT IN ZAMBIA: A CASE OF LUSAKA  
CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT**

**BY;**

**DAVID MUSONDA MASUPA**

*A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
of the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies.*

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## **DECLARATION**

I, DAVID MUSONDA MASUPA, declare that I am the original author of this dissertation. This dissertation is as a result of my own research work. The views expressed and contained in this report are my own and have not previously been submitted for a degree, diploma at any other University.

CANDIDATE: Mr. David Musonda Masupa

Date..... Signature.....

## APPROVAL

his dissertation of David Musonda Masupa has been approved as fulfilling the requirements or partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in Development Studies by the University of Zambia

**Examiner 1.** Dr. Charity Musamba **Signature**.....**Date** .....

**Examiner 2.** Dr. W. Mafuleka **Signature**.....**Date** .....

**Examiner 3.** Dr. Nawa Mwale **Signature**.....**Date** .....

**Chairperson Board of Examiners 4.**

Professor Felix Masiye **Signature**.....**Date**.....

**Supervisor.** Mr. Tiyaonse Kabwe **Signature**.....**Date** .....

## ABSTRACT

The topic of this study is, ‘Implications of the relationship between Street Vending and Political Affiliation on Development in Zambia: A case of Lusaka Central Business District’ (CBD). This study has been carried out for a period of two (2 years).

The major focus of this study was to investigate the implications the relationship between street vending and political affiliation on the growth of street vending activities and bureaucratic management of the Municipalities.

Three types of instruments were used to collect data. These were Semi-Structured Questionnaire, In-depth Interview Guide and Focus Group Discussion Guide. Primary data was collected directly from male and female involved in street vending and from the key informants. Key informants included the Street Vendors’ Association Chairperson, Lusaka City Council Public Relations Manager, Local Government Minister and State House Minister in-charge of Presidential Affairs. While secondary data was collected through review of literature from already existing data on the subject matter through books, articles, research papers, policy papers etc.

The qualitative data was analysed using a computer-based software called NVivo. This software made it easier to gather non- numerical data, organize data, and analyse data.

The major finding of this study was that political affiliation to the ruling party encouraged street vending; While other specific findings revealed that, first, street vending did play a role in the achievement of the development agenda of the ruling party; second, there were some benefits such as service, material and financial assistance that accrued to the governing party and its street vending supporters; third, the relationship between street vending and political affiliation caused implications in three areas namely; political, economic and public administration.

Therefore, from the above-mentioned findings, the conclusion of the study confirmed that political patronage was accountable for the relationship between street vending and political affiliation in Lusaka Central Business District.

To help mitigate the problem at hand, the study came up with the following three specific recommendations that could assist the Government and the public to resolve the problem at hand: Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) should come up with an Act of Parliament on Street Vending centred on Policy, Institutional and Political domains.

The significance of this study includes the following; First, it will contribute to the current existing body of knowledge on street vending and political affiliation. Second, it will be useful to political elites, street vendors and local authorities focusing on resolving the problem of street vending particularly in Lusaka Central Business District (CBD).

Key Words:

- Street vending
- Political Affiliation
- Political Patronage

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## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AMA	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
CBD	Central Business District.
CSO	Central Statistical Office
FDD	Forum for Democracy and Development
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GRZ	Government of Republic of Zambia
IDIG	In-Depth Interview Guide
ILO	International Labour Organization
KIs	Key Informants
KMC	Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC)
LCBD	Lusaka Central Business District
LCC	Lusaka City Council
MLGH	Ministry of Local Government and Housing
MMD	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
MSME	Micro Small and Macro Enterprises
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PEF	Presidential Empowerment Fund
PF	Patriotic Front
SSQ	Semi-Structured Questionnaire
SVMA	Street Vending Management Authority
TCP	Trinamool Congress Party
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UPND	United Party for National Development
UNZA	University of Zambia
USVFL	United Street Vendors Foundation Limited
ZCTU	Zambia Congress of Trade Union
ZRA	Zambia Revenue Authority

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Overview**

This chapter provides information on the following sections of the study; Background Information, Statement of the Problem, Objectives of the study, Purpose of the Study, Aim of the Study, Operationalization of the Terms and Conceptual Framework.

#### **1.2 Background Information**

The post-colonial Government that took over power in Zambia after independence largely pursued a state-led development approach in Zambia (Rakner 2003). This implied that the State was the main driver of the economy and development in general. The private sector and informal trade, including street vending, were almost non-existent (Hansen 2008). During the period, the Municipalities were able to effectively perform their roles of managing the public space, the collecting of revenue from formal local trading enterprises and maintaining public health standards in the country (Hansen and Vaa 2004:64). The Zambia Police Force undertook sporadic clean-ups and confiscated the goods as well as imposed fines on informal traders, known as black marketers, during this period.

The Country experienced significant changes in the relations among the State, Political elites and street vending after 1991. When the Movement for Multiparty Party Democracy (MMD) took over power in 1991, the Country abandoned the statist approach to development and adopted liberal economic policies underpinned by a multiparty democratic dispensation (Rakner 2003; Burnell 2001, 1999). This new economic order resulted in the emergence of various informal economic and private-sector led economic activities, including street vending (Resnick and Thurlow 2014:11). In the case of Lusaka District, young people and women set up trading places all over the Central Business Centre especially along Cairo, Chachacha, Freedom and Lumumba Roads (Hansen 2004).

The emergence of street vending in the Lusaka Central Business District (LCBD) became a challenge in managing this space by the Local Authority as mandated under the Local

Government Act, Cap 281 (FAO 2006). To overcome this challenge, a new legislation, namely Local Government (Street vending and Nuisances regulation no. 134 of 1992), was introduced in 1992 (GRZ, 1992). This legislation prohibited street vending in Zambia. However, the informal traders continued to put pressure on the political leadership to allow them to trade in the Central Business Centre. The MMD regime failed to resist this pressure and in 1996, as a way of showing support to these traders, the Government introduced the Street Vendors Desk at the State House in 1996 (African Studies Quarterly 2010).

Although the change of the ruling regime in 2001 from the Chiluba to the Mwanawasa regime generally maintained a similar approach to development, a key development with regard to street vending in Zambia was introduced. The new regime abolished the Vendors' Desk that had been established at the State House in 2002 (Hansen 2004). Instead, the Mwanawasa regime introduced a campaign dubbed as "Keep Zambia Clean and Health" where the state police and Municipal Councils were mandated to ensure that the street vendors vacated the Central Business Centers (Times of Zambia 2007).

The demise of President Mwanawasa in 2008 ushered in another MMD regime under the leadership of Rupiah Bwezani Banda (EU EEM ZAMBIA 2008). Based on his campaign pledges, street vending re-emerged, and this time, at a very massive level (Lusaka Times 2010). To manage this new development, this regime decided to provide formal and organized trading places, such as modern markets, for these street vendors (MLGH 2011). Examples in this regard, included the New Soweto Market in Lusaka and Nakadoli Market in Kitwe (Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation 2011). This strategy of taking street vendors to formal trading spaces assisted the Municipalities in their management of the Business District Centers (Larsen 2009).

After the Patriotic Front (PF) took over power from MMD in 2011, the new Government continued to pursue the same development approach but with some significant difference with regards to the management of street vending in Zambia (Horn 2018). Based on its campaign messages of pursuing "pro poor policies" and "putting more money in people's pockets," the PF Government justified street vending activities as a means of ensuring that all the citizens were given an opportunity to participate and benefit from the economy (ibid). This development implied that on one hand, street vending activities increased massively while Municipalities were

increasingly failing to manage public spaces, especially the District Business Centers, on the other hand. More importantly, political party cadres aligned to the ruling Party appear to have more authority on managing street vending than the Municipalities, particularly in the urban cities of Zambia, including the Lusaka Central Business District (Scott and Rienner 2019). To date, the situation has remained largely the same: the Lusaka Municipal Council undertaking sporadic cleaning up exercises of the Central Business District of street vendors, the Ministry of Local Government issuing statements that it has provided alternative trading spaces for the street vendor, the street vendors refusing to trade from the market areas because of lack of space, business and exorbitant trading fees and the ruling political leadership directing the two authorities to allow street vendors to trade in the Central Business District.

### **1.3 Statement of the problem**

The Government of Zambia introduced the Local Government Street Vending and Nuisance Regulation No. 134 of 1992 under the Local Government Act, Section 84, No. 2 of 1990 (MLGH 1992:1). This legislation prohibited street vending in Zambia. However, evidence shows that in fact, it was during the reign of the MMD Government when street vending persisted as a major economic activity in the informal sector. A noticeable factor that exacerbated increase in street trade that time was the interplay that existed between the street vendors and the ruling party.

Therefore, the major focus of this study was to investigate the implications the relationship between street vending and political affiliation on the growth of street vending activities and bureaucratic management of the municipalities. The study used the Lusaka Central Business District as a unit of analysis.

Figure 1.1 shows a picture of how street vending has thrived in one street under this current study assumed to be increasing as result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation.

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.4.1 Overall Objective**

To explore the implications on development that are caused as a result of the interplay between street vending and political affiliation in Lusaka Central Business District.

### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

1. To determine whether street vending plays a role in the achievement of the development agenda of the ruling party.
2. To probe the benefits that accrue to street vendors who support the governing party.
3. To examine the development caused by the relationship between street vending and political affiliation regarding bureaucratic management of street vending in Lusaka Central Business District.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

1. Which political party do most street vendors belong to?
2. What role does street vending play in the achievement of the development agenda of the ruling party?
3. What benefits accrue to the governing party and its street vending supporters?
4. What are the implications on development that are caused as a result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation as far as bureaucratic management is concerned?

### **1.6 Purpose of the study**

The purpose of this study is to generate analytical information on the implications on development that result from the relationships that exist among street vendors and political parties on the development of Business District Centers in Zambia.

### **1.7 Aim of the Study.**

The aim of the Study was to investigate and establish how the relationship between street vending and political parties affect the development of the Lusaka Central Business District (LCBD).

## **1.8 Operationalisation of Terms**

### **1.8.1 Street vending.**

According to this study, Street vending is trading without a permit, trading outside formally designated trading locations and non-payment of municipal/national taxes or self-allocation of shelter for trading (Lyons and Snoxell 2005: 1304).

### **1.8.2 Development**

Development has many academic definition, according to this study, development is defined as a system of wide manifestation of the way people, firms, technologies and institutions interact with each other within the economic, social and political arrangement (Centre for Global Development 2012).

### **1.8.3 Informal Economy**

The definition of the term informal economy has been drawn from the International Labour Organization (ILO) published Report entitled “Employment, incomes and equity: which defines the term as a situation where doing of things is characterized by (a) easy entry, (b) reliance of indigenous resources, (c) family ownership enterprise, (d) small scale of operation, (e) labour intensive and adapted technology, (f) skill acquired outside of the formal school system, and (g) unregulated and competitive markets” (ILO, 1972).

### **1.8.4 Political Patronage**

According to this study ‘Political Patronage’ means a system where the patron and a client has a mutual arrangement between a person that has authority, social status, wealth, or some other personal resource – patron- and another who benefits from their support or influence-client, (Roniger 2004). The patron provides selective access to goods and opportunities, and places themselves or their support in positions from which they can divert resources and services in the favour of the client. The clients are expected to buy support, and in some cases in form of votes. Patrons target low-income families to exchange their needed desires for their abundant resources: time, a vote, and insertion into networks of other potential supporters whom they can influence (ibid).

## **1.9 Conceptual Framework.**

The conceptual framework of this study was guided by the concept of “political patronage.” In this study, the following were the key terms employed as follows; Patron – entailed the political elites both at national, district and local level of society. These could be, for example, Republican President, District Commissioners or Members of Parliament, Political Party leaders; Client- entailed the Street Vendors. The interaction between the patrons and the clients was presented as follows; The patron provides selective access to goods and opportunities in favour of the clients. While the clients are expected to buy support, and in some cases in form of votes. Below is the graphic presentation of this Conceptual Framework (Figure 1.1).

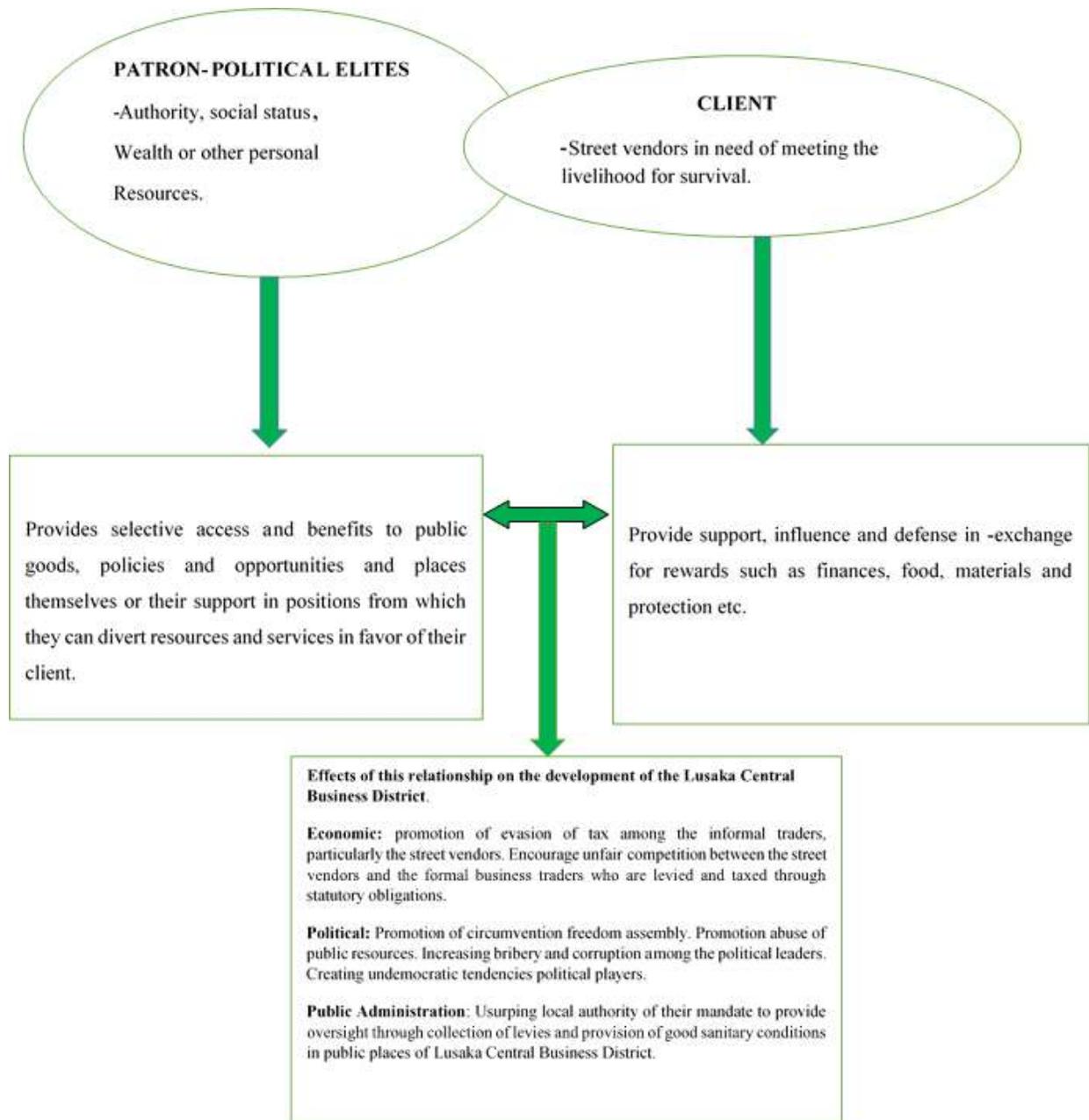


Figure 1.2: Graphic presentation of the conceptual frame work

### 1.10 Organization of the Dissertation

The chapters in this dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter One is Introduction; Chapter Two is Literature Review; Chapter Three is Research Methodology; Chapter Four is Presentation of Research Findings; Chapter Five is Discussions of Research Findings; and Chapter Six is Conclusion and Recommendations.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Overview**

Chapter two of this study presents the literature reviewed on the research topic. The review is divided into two main parts, namely the theoretical review which looks at the dominant theoretical and conceptual works on the topic of the research and the empirical works that have been undertaken on the subject.

#### **2.2 Theoretical Review**

Theories on the relationship between street vending and the state have mainly focused on the informality of this interaction (Crossa, 2009). Crossa, further argues that despite there been numerous studies at the phenomena on street vending, few have developed as grand theories, but have rather explored the multiple ways and conditions under which state institutions are associated with the so-called informal activities (Ibid). The four dominant theories with different diagnoses and prognoses about informality, including street vending are Dualist, Structuralist, Legalist and Voluntarist theories (Chen, 2012).

##### **2.2.1 Dualist theory**

According to the dualist theory, the persistence of informal activities is due to the fact that not enough formal job opportunities have been produced to take in surplus labor due to a slow rate of economic development and faster rate of urbanization (Tokman, 1978). It was argued that industrial growth would result in increased wage sector employment, on that basis there was a positive relationship between growths of output, employment and labor productivity, while filter down effect would eventually lead to redistribution of resources and income throughout society (Moser 1978: 104). Therefore, in this understanding the economy was seen as been dual, consisting of traditional and modern sectors. Thus, the dualist theory views the formal and informal sectors as two opposite parts of the economy.

However, Chen disputed the dualist view of thinking by arguing that the formal and informal economy are often dynamically linked with many informal enterprises having production or

distribution relations with formal enterprises, supplying inputs, goods and services ready for the market either through direct transactions or subcontracting engagements; moreover, several enterprises employ wage workers, under informal employment relations, for instance, the majority of the part time workers, temporary workers and home workers work for formal enterprises through contracting or sub-contracting arrangements (Chen 2007:2). In reaction to dualist theory, a new understanding of informal market emerged, the structuralist also known as the black-market theory.

### **2.2.2 Structuralist theory**

The structuralist theory is very broad, but as a school of thought it was propounded by many researchers including Moser and Castells and Portes in the late 1970s and 1980's and these analysts focused on the analysis of the modes of production within the capitalist system and the subordinations that occurred within it (Saha 2009). Structuralist proponents rejected the dualism argument of economic system and emphasized the way in which forms of production, productive units, technologies, and workers are integrated into various parts of the economy (Rakowski 1994:503). For instance, they argued that micro firms in the informal sector act as subordinated, dependent and specialized units of a formal sector (Moser 1978), where you have the owner of the means production producing for the market. Despite the long standing debates between the conceptual differences provided by the dualist and the structuralist theories, it is clear that by the end of the 1970's, the informal sector had been identified and there are several points of agreement between the two theories (Chen 2012). They both focus on forms of production, identifying economic restructuring and, or crises as heterogeneity of the informal economy (Rakowski 1994:503). Although, the two theories attracted a lot of attention in the public domain, there came another theoretical view on informal economy and this was legalist theory (Chen 2012).

### **2.2.3 Legalist theory**

Another theory regarding the informal economy is the legalist developed by De Soto who argued that informality is a consequence of bureaucratic barriers and that the inflexible rules and regulations, terms and conditions for operating a business in the formal sector are so tedious such that it becomes an additional burden for people hence they are forced to circumvent rules and

regulations by operating in the informal sector (Maiti and Sen 2010). According to De Soto the informal economy is comprised of different economic activities that include micro entrepreneurs who prefer to operate informally (De Soto 1989, 2000). De Soto argues that the informal sector include economy that grows because the traders try to avoid the cost of formality in terms of strict rules and regulation, taxes, time and effort involved in complying in state procedures (De Soto 1989). Another supporter of this perspective is Bernabe who argues that the word informal economy in less developed countries, has generally been associated with unregistered and unregulated small-scale activities or enterprises that generate income and employment for the urban poor, street vending is one such activity (Bernabe 2002:6). Legalist analysts focus on the link between informal enterprises and the formal regulatory environment, not formal businesses (De Soto 1989 and Chen 2007:7).

#### **2.2.4 Voluntarist**

The voluntaristic view defends that non-compliance is a dominant factor that manifest either in scenarios of exclusion and choice and that government should address unfair competition (Chen 2012). Chen further argues that there are other theoretical perspectives to informality, for instance, the *economia popular* or *solidaria* is also a dominant school of thought in Latin America. These perspectives demonstrate that not all economic activities are for a profit logic. This is because some of them advocate for more humane forms of economic organizations using the principles of cooperation and reciprocity (ibid).

### **2.3 Empirical Review**

#### **2.3.1 Global level**

A study undertaken by Chatterji and Roy in 2015 entitled ‘Margin to Mainstream: Informal Street Vendors and Local Politics in Kolkata’ which focused on the provision of an alternative perspective of political consolidation of the urban informal sector and its implications was reviewed (Chatterji and Roy 2015). The study revealed the following four key findings. First, street vendor’s affiliation to political parties was done through informal unions in Kolkata City in India. Second, enhanced political mobilization had allowed street vendors of Kolkata to protect their livelihood and scale up their operations to become partner of the Municipal State. Third, growth in street vending activities in Kolkata City had led to contraction in manufacturing and

other formal sector economic opportunities. Fourth, Kolkata City was emerging with the globalized and the organized economy moving towards the periphery, while the core city was increasingly being tied to the local and informal bazaar economy.

These findings were useful as they brought out an understanding that mobilization under the banner of labor unions had enabled street vendors in Kolkata (Calcutta); to not only resist the designs of the hegemonic state successfully but also to become a part of the city's governance framework. However, this study had some limitations in the sense that its main focus was on Kolkata's economic slide and informalization of urban economy and matters on policy guide line framed by India's national Government. The study did not consider factors related to the implications on development caused as a result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation on the role of spatial management by Kolkata Municipal Corporation (KMC). Hence, the need for the current study to be undertaken in order to highlight implications on development caused by the relationship between street vending and political affiliation on the Central Business Districts.

Another study undertaken by Gouza'lez in 2016 entitled 'The politics and institutions of informality and street vending in Mexico: The case of Mexico City', whose focus was on learning how increasing political competition resulting from democratization and alternation of political parties in power affected the politics and policies of street vending in Mexico (Gouza'lez 2016). This study revealed the following findings. First, multiparty democracy and change of the ruling governing parties in Mexico City did not result in improving the capacity of managing street vending. Second, there was increased street vendors' representation in political party participation. Third, increased bargaining power of street vendors due to political affiliation led to formation of street vendors' organizations. Fourth, Governments' capacity to implement policy to tackle issues of street vendors in Mexico City became weak (ibid). Although, the study focused on street vending and political affiliation, it did not address the effects caused on local Municipalities charged with responsibility of oversight on spatial management as a result of the interplay between street vending and political affiliation. Hence, there was need for the current study to be undertaken to fill this gap.

Linares also undertook a study in 2018 entitled 'The paradoxes of informalizing street trade in the Latin American city' whose review focused on the connections between street trade and

informality in the policy-oriented and scholarly literature and analyzing policy frames attending to three critical urban transition (Linares 2018). The study revealed three findings. First, the incorporation of the informal economy framework into local governments' policymaking has reframed street trade as a subject of policy. Second, there have been traces of a shift from worker-centred initiatives, through the deregulation of street trade, to entrepreneurial-centred approaches. Third, there have been more policy initiatives leaning towards the right to work from the right to access public space, spurring more marginal forms of street vending (ibid).

This study is a comparative analysis between two political regimes with contrasting economic ideologies, where one is neo-liberal in Lima, and the other is a socialist in Bogota responding to different priorities of development at stages of urbanization and political changes in the local governance. This study has relevance to the current study in the sense that it high lights similar issues of disregarding the local government regulations by the street vendors (Linares 2018:652).

The main interest of the study was not on the implications on development caused by the relationship between street vending and political affiliation but on reviewing the connections between street trade and informality in the policy-oriented and scholarly literature and analysing policy frames attending to three critical urban transition (Hirth and Pillsbury 2013). However, the study overlooked to consider the relationship between street vending, political affiliation and developments of Central Business Districts (CBDs) when examining policy framework of the three urban transitions. First, the period between 1970 and 1980 when most Latin American economies adopted the Import by Substitution Industrialization (ISI) development model and the informal economy debate emerged (Osterling and Chavez de Paz 1979). Second, the early 1990s, when the structural adjustment policies fostered labor-market deregulation and economist Hernando de Soto's legalist approach challenged previous casual relationships about the informal economy (Roever 2005: 80). Third, the 2000-2010 period, when Latin America consolidated as a free-market economy and many international development agencies agreed upon the need to formalize the informal sector (ibid).

The review of the three studies on the subject matter reviewed that most the empirical analyses have focused on political consolidation of the urban informal sector and its implications; political competition resulting from democratization and alternation of political parties and policies of

street vending. None among three studies above have interrogated the interplay between street vending, political affiliation and the development of the Central Business Districts.

### **2.3.2 Regional Level**

A study conducted by Kayuni and Tambulasi in 2009, entitled ‘Political Transitions and Vulnerability of Street Vending in Malawi’ focused on analyzing the political transition and its consequences on street vending (Kayuni and Tambulasi 2009). The findings of this study were as follows. First, Malawi had a positive and negative impact on street vending. Second, Local Authority of Malawi had challenges in controlling street vending to ensure that it did not affect the development of urban centers. Third, the Malawian Government undermined factors that made informal enterprise successful by trying to formalize this sector through the provision of formal markets, loans and registration, and not realizing that street markets become vibrant sources of economic growth if they regulated themselves. The study conducted by Kayuni and Tambulasi paid attention to similar areas of interest to that of the current study. For instance, in Malawi the study reviews that rampant street vending occurred during the introduction of neo-liberal policies under multi-party democracy, and this informal trade had the support of the head of state. Similarly, the background of the current study reveals that street vending in Zambia became extensive during the introduction of the neo-liberal policies, and was also supported by the head of state.

However, this study conducted by these researchers was limited in one way, as it focused on analyzing the political transition and its consequences on street vending in Malawi and not Zambia. In addition, the main focus of this study was on the “transition period” whereas the current study’s key focus was on the interplay between street vending, political affiliation and the development of the Central Business Districts which has gone beyond the transition period that occurred in 1991.

Spire and Choplin conducted a study in 2018 entitled ‘Street Vendors Facing Urban Beautification in Accra (Ghana): Eviction, Relocation and Formalization’ which focused on analyzing the tension between the poor people searching for a better living and the urban policies implemented by local governments to eradicate street vendors from downtown areas (Spire and Choplin 2018). This study had four key findings. First, acquisition of respect by street vendors

who are relocated through updated adaption of practices that consolidate their activities related to the urban authorities. Second, relocated street vendors learn how to integrate rules as a tool in their strategy to preserve their assigned “right place” in the city. Third, the local government ability to remove and relocate street vendors was an indication that it had power to regulate and re-arrange socio-spatial usages. Fourth, the social and political transformation of illegal street vendor to a legal street vendor through abiding to Central and Local Authority rules and constitutions on what to do and what not to do.

There are similarities between this study and the current study. This study reveals that the Ghana’s local government, Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) considers the regulation of street vendors one of the most pressing challenges faced in the last ten years (Spire and Choplin 2018). Whereas, the background information of the current study reveal that the Lusaka City Council has encountered difficulties in enforcing Local Government Street Vending and Nuisance Regulation No. 134 of 1992 (GRZ, 1992). But there is a notable difference between the two studies on the main purpose of the study. This study’s interest has been on analyzing the tension between the poor people searching for a better living and the urban policies implemented by local governments to eradicate street vendors from downtown areas. Whereas the purpose of current study was to generate analytical information on the implications on development that result from the relationships that exist among street vendors and political parties on the development of Business District Centers in Zambia. Hence, the need of the current study to be under taken because of the gap information knowledge.

Uwitije’s study undertaken in 2016 was also reviewed entitled, ‘Contributions of Street vending on Livelihood of Urban Low income household in the city of Kigali, Rwanda. This study focused on exploring street vending activities and its contributions to the livelihood of low income families and its effects on the city environment in Kigali City, Rwanda (Uwitije 2016). The following are the key findings of this study. First, failure to secure employment in formal establishments, the need to support the family and dissatisfaction with previous employment conditions were major factors that pushed people into the street business. Second, empirical data showed there was a surplus savings between income and expenditure for investment in the business conducted by street vendors. Third, street vending is not temporal; it is an alternative to job creation and a source of livelihood to the urban poor.

This study shows similarities with the current study in the following areas. First, the target group and the study area are similar, for instance the unity of analysis this study is street vendors and the study area is the Central Business District of Kigali the capital city of Rwanda. Whereas, the unit of analysis and study area of the current study is also the same.

However, the focus of the two studies were different, despite having similar unity of analysis and study area. First, this study focused on exploring street vending activities and its contributions to the livelihood of low income families in the urban city of Kigali. Whereas, the current study focused on generating analytical information on the implications on development that result from the relationships that exist among street vendors and political affiliation in the Central Business District in Lusaka. Second, while this study analyses effects on the city environment in Kigali City, the current study examines the implications on the development of Lusaka Central Business District.

Having carried out a review on the three above studies that showed that the empirical analyses done by Kayuni and Tambulasi , Spire and Choplin and Uwitije have focused on issues to do with political transition and its consequences on street vending in Malawi, analyzing the tension between the poor people searching for a better living and the urban policies implemented by local governments to eradicate street vendors from downtown areas in Ghana and exploring street vending activities and its contributions to the livelihood of low income families in Rwanda respectively. None of the three studies reviewed at regional level looked at generating analytical information on the implications on development that result from the relationships that exist among street vendors and political parties in the Business District Centers. Hence, it is important for the current study to be carried out in order to fill the gap information to the body of knowledge.

### **2.3.3 National/ Local Level**

Ndhlovu conducted a study in 2011 entitled, ‘Street Vending in Zambia: A case of Lusaka Central Business District’ that focused on analyzing why street vendors despite the provision of formal market infrastructure still decide to trade from the streets (Ndhlovu 2011). The following were main findings of the study. First, strategic location for street vendors where they could not pay for rent, taxes or licenses was to be on the streets for easier accessibility of customers.

Second, market traders selling from the formal market, secure and clean environment was important. Third governments should come up with more inclusive policies that will accommodate all traders according to their practical needs not perceived needs such as formal market infrastructure for all.

Though, this study had a similar target group and study area to this research the main aims of the two studies were different. For example, Ndhlovu's study main aim was to analyze why street vendors despite the provision of formal market infrastructure still decide to trade from the streets. Whereas the current study focused on generating analytical information on the implications on development that result from the relationships that exist among street vendors and political parties in Lusaka Central Business District. The current study is imperative to be undertaken as it stands as a buildup study to contribute to the body knowledge on providing further information limited to the findings of the Ndhlovu's study in 2011.

Another study was undertaken by Munkoyo in 2015 on 'An Assessment of the Management Strategies to Street Vending: A Case of Lusaka Central Business District of Zambia' whose main focus was to make assessment of the management strategies to street vending in Lusaka Central Business District (Munkoyo 2015). This study had two main findings. First, Lusaka City Council (LCC) and United Street Vendors Foundation (USVF) are involved in the management of street vending. Second, challenges with street vending management had persisted because of high poverty levels; lack of formal employment; political interference; lack of enforcement of the law and; massive migration of traders from various regions to Lusaka for business opportunities as a high customer base is found in Lusaka's main roads and streets.

This study reached out to the same target group and area of study with the current study with a difference of a year in between. However, the main aim of the study of Munkoyo was to make assessment of the management strategies to street vending in Lusaka Central Business District. While, the current study focused on generating analytical information on the implications on development that result from the relationships that exist among street vendors and political parties in the Business District Centers. These two focuses of study were different, hence, the need for the current study to be undertaken.

Shah, undertook a study in 2011 entitled “The informal Sector in Zambia: Can it disappear; Should it disappear”. The main focus of this study was to bridge the gap in knowledge about the size of the informal sector and the characteristics of firms within it (Shah 2011). This study had the following as findings. First, there are 1.02 million informal Micro Small and Macro Enterprises (MSMEs) in Zambia, along 30,000 formal MSMEs. Second, a majority of these businesses are very small: only fifteen percent of the firms have revenue greater than 1million kwacha (1 thousand Kwacha rebased) per month; less than eight (8%) have revenue more than 2 million kwacha (2 thousand Kwacha rebased). Third, informal business in the urban areas of Lusaka and Copperbelt provinces are atypical of informal sector businesses as a whole, comprising only about three (3%) of the informal sector. Fourth, taxation potential is likely to be higher for informal sector firms.

The main interest of this study limited itself to bridge the gap in knowledge about the size of the informal sector and the characteristics of firms within it. The focus of this study is different from the current study whose interest is to highlight implications on development caused by the relationship between street vending and political affiliation in the Central Business Districts.

However, this study displays the following similarities. First, both studies are making studies on the same target group as a unity of analysis. Second, both studies are concerned with street vending activities, although the dichotomy between the two is that this study concentrates in bringing out knowledge about the size of the informal sector, which include the street vendors and the characteristics of this type of trade. Whereas, the current study is more interested in highlighting the implications on development street vending and political affiliation in the Central Business District.

The conducted review on the three studies above whose main focus have been on, in the case of Ndhlovu, analyzing why street vendors despite the provision of formal market infrastructure still decide to trade from the streets; Munkonyo focused on making assessment of the management strategies to street vending in Lusaka Central Business District; while Shah’s focus was on bridging the gap in knowledge about the size of the informal sector and the characteristics of firms within it. None of these reviews did highlight implications on development that result from the relationships that exist among street vendors and political parties in the development of

Business District Centers. Therefore, the current study is relevant to be carried out, as so far there is no evidence showing that this research topic has been carried out at national/local, regional, or global level.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter outlines the methodology used to undertake the research entitled ‘The implications of the relationship between Street Vending and Political Affiliation on Development in Zambia: A Case of Lusaka Central Business District. It contains the following components, Research Design, Study Area, Sample Size, Sampling Techniques, Data Collection Instruments, Data Collection Procedure and Data Analysis Procedure. This was primarily a qualitative research because the main data collected focused on obtaining opinions, views and perceptions about the research (Saunders, et al., 2012).

#### **3.2 Research Design**

The rationale for the use of the exploratory research design in this particular study intends to explore the research questions with a view of establishing firm explanations on the interaction of variables on the relationship between street vending and political affiliation. This design also allowed for flexibility and changes in the administration of the questionnaire to the reality on the ground where necessary (Gabriel, 2013). Semi-Structured interviews, Focus Group Discussions and In-depth Interviews that the researcher had with the street vendors and key informants enabled the researcher to obtain a deeper and detailed narration of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation as well as the outcomes of this phenomenon. This being a qualitative research, it takes an inductive approach in the sense that it is focusing on exploring a

phenomena responsible for the relationship between street vending and political affiliation using research questions (ibid).

### **3.3 Study Area**

This study was restricted to the Lusaka Central Business District (CBD) and particularly covering the four famous streets in the city centre namely, Cairo, Chacha, Freedom and Lumumba Roads and stretching from Kafue Roundabout to the South and Kabwe Roundabout to the North. Whereas the boundary on the East side was the Rail line and Lumumba Rd was also the boundary of West side as can be seen on the map in Appendix (2). The city of Lusaka was selected because there is a high volume of street vendors compared to other districts in the country and most of the traders migrated to Lusaka. During the country's 2000 census, Lusaka recorded the highest population growth rate of three percent (3.5%) (Zambia Central Statistical office 2003). It is also important to mention that Lusaka Central Business District (CBD) has an alarming proportional increase as far as street vending is concerned. A 1997 estimate set the number of street vendors in Lusaka Central Business District at 12,000 (Zambia Daily Mail 1997 as cited in Hansen and Van 2004:71). Figure 2.1 shows the boundary of North Roundabout to the northern side of Cairo Road and South Roundabout of the southern side of Cairo Road, Lumumba Road to the Western side and the Rail line to the Eastern side of the Lusaka Central Business District area under study.

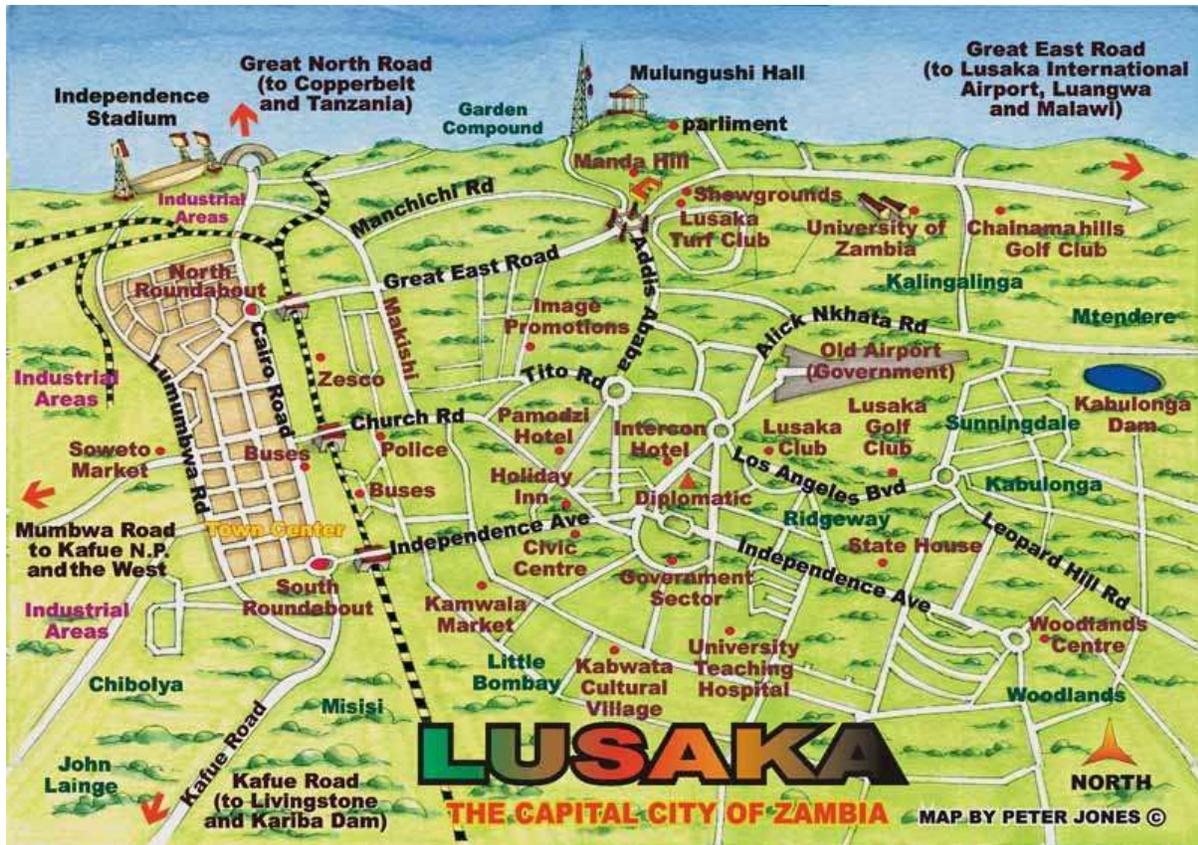


Figure 3.1: Map of City of Lusaka showing the Central Business District of Lusaka.

### 3.4 Sample Size

Fifty (50) street vendors were targeted out of a population of five hundred (500) and four (4) key informants was adequate because it translated into ten percent (10%) of the population to allow diversity of views represented in the target group.

Given that this was a qualitative research using exploratory design, only a sample of a population of street vendors were selected for the purpose of reaching saturation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The study's research objectives and study population helped to determine which and how many people were to be selected. Based on this criterion a target group of street vendors and key informants were selected as a sample size.

The study took gender imperatives into considerations. Out of the fifty (50) respondents, twenty-five (25) were females and twenty-five (25) were males. In addition, the research captured the following key informants, the Lusaka City Council Public Relations Manager, the Minister Local Government and Housing, the Minister of Presidential Affairs at State House and the Chairperson of United Street Vendors' Foundation Limited. This sample size is adequate enough to achieve saturations in terms of the responses needed from the respondents. It is large enough to allow for identification of consistent pattern and give no room to redundancy for this qualitative research.

### **3.5 Sampling techniques**

This study employed purposive sampling which is a type of non-probability technique to capture the research respondents. This technique was used because it allowed for the selection of a group of people that had the characteristics of the study being conducted and a targeted respondents available and willing to be interviewed. This type of technique in sampling was also helpful in either confirming or not the stories obtained from the field. Using of purposive sampling in this study had the following advantages; First, it included the targeted reliable respondents. Second, it allowed selection of rich information from the respondents and key informants. Third, it was helpful in securing the cooperation of the respondents in the given that street vending, according Regulation no. 134 of 1992 on Street vending and Nuisance is illegal. Fourth, the risk of biasness did not arise because street vending is an illegal homogeneous type of trade in Zambia. Fifth, the four major roads of Lusaka Central Business District namely, Cairo, Chachacha, Freedom and Lumumba were purposely selected in order to sample an assortment of variety of products sold by vendors.

### **3.6 Data collection instruments**

Three types of data collection instruments were used in carrying out this research. These were Semi-Structured Questionnaire, In-depth Interview Guide and Focus Group Discussion Guide.

Semi- Structured Questionnaire: This instrument was administered to collect empirical data from the street vendors in order to obtain information relating to the relationship between street vending and political affiliation. Some of the answers the researcher was soliciting during the semi-structured interviews with street vendors were those that answered the specific research

questions. Further, this instrument helped from the answers that the street vendors were giving from the questionnaire to start shading light to preliminary hypothesis as what was causing the relationship between street vending and political affiliation.

**In-depth Interview Guide:** This instrument was specifically conducted for the key informants; namely the Lusaka City Council Public Relations Manager, the Chairperson of the United Street Vendors Foundation Limited, the Minister of Local Government and Housing and the Minister of Presidential Affairs at State House. This type of interview was being guided by questions in the questionnaire which specifically was soliciting answers from those key informants' perspective as to what was main reason triggering the relationship between street vending and political affiliation.

**Focus Group Discussion Guide:** This type of instrument targeted small groups of street vending of not more than five (5) street vendors per focus group discussion. The discussion was being guided by questions in the questionnaire with a view to solicit for the street vendors' perceptions, knowledge and experiences, practices shared in the course of interactions with different small groups which information could be given by individual street vendors in the sense that street vending under Regulation no. 134 of 1992 on Street vending and Nuisance is illegal.

### **3.7 Data Collection Procedure**

The Data Collection Procedure was as follows; **Review of Literature:** Sourcing for already existing data on the subject matter was done through using of books, articles, research papers, policy papers etc.

Field work was conducted using the following tools- (a) semi-structured questionnaire to get primary data. The purpose for administration of this tool among selected respondents was to explore more unknown thoughts and ideas about the relationship between street vending and political affiliation; (b) in-depth interviews was administered in order to get rich primary data and new insights. This type of interviews targeted key informants to allow face to face conversation about the street vending and political affiliation; (c) focus group discussion was conducted in small groups of five (5). The respondents of the youth male and female and the adults were grouped separately during the discussions in order to explore different opinion on the relationship between street vending and political affiliation.

In order to be sure that the above-mentioned data collection instruments could be adopted, a pre-test was done on each of the tools. This was for the purposes of testing validity, reliability, practicability and sensitivity. While for semi-structured interviews, a few street vendors were interviewed; Pre-testing of the in-depth interview guide, the interview tool was tested by interviewing the Chairperson for Vendors' Foundation Limited; Focus group discussion guide instrument was pre-tested on a small group of street vending selected among the respondents. In all the three instruments administered to the key respondents and informants during the pre-testing and where adjustments or alteration of the instrument was needed, this was done accordingly.

### **3.8 Data Analysis Procedure**

The data collected in this research was analysed using a computer-based software called NVivo. The reason this software was used was because it is used for analysing data for qualitative researches similar to the current study. This software makes it easier to gather non-numerical data, organize data, and analyse data (The NVivo Blog. QSR International, 2017). The following steps given below were undertaken;

Step I: Development of a coding Frame: A coding frame based on the objectives of the research was developed to guide the encoding of the information collected on the study.

Step II: Review of the fieldwork notes. The information collected from the interviews and focus discussion as well as the administration questionnaires were reviewed for the purpose of identifying and electing the relevant information for the study.

Step III. Coding of Reviewed Notes: This involved the separation of the notes according to major themes of the study in preparation of text layouts and writing of the report.

Writing of Texts: The notes were used to prepare texts that narrated the preliminary key findings, conclusion of the text and recommendations of the text.

### **3.8 Ethical Considerations**

All research ethics regulations as laid down by the Ethics Committee of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at UNZA were strictly observed and the committee's consent was obtained before the commencement of this study. Participants in this study were respected

and were neither enticed nor coerced during this process. Informed consent from the respondents was obtained. The respondents were entitled to know what the study was all about before and after the study is to be completed. Privacy and anonymity of the respondents was assured.

### **3.9 Study Limitations.**

The following were the limitation encountered by the Researcher during the study:

1. Unwillingness of some street vendors to be interviewed due to sensitiveness of the illegal trade they do.
2. The Lusaka City Council Public Manager could not discuss with the Researcher freely during the in-depth interviews for reasons not shared.
3. The Researcher had also challenges in securing appointments with the two cabinet ministers, the one at State House and the other one at the Ministry of Local Government and Housing due their busy schedules.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study entitled: “The implications of the relationship between Street Vending and Political Affiliation on Development in Zambia: A Case of Lusaka Central Business District. It contains the following sections; Demographic Information of Respondents; Overall and Specific Findings of the Study.

#### 4.2 Demographic Information of Respondents

This study captured a total of fifty (50) respondents out of a sample population of five hundred (500) street vendors in this study. Of these, twenty-five (25) were female and twenty-five (25) were male. In addition, a total of four (4) KIs were engaged in the Study. These included Ministers in charge of Presidential Affairs and Minister of Local Government Housing, the Public Relations Manager of Lusaka City Council and the Chairperson of United Street Vendors Foundation Limited. Table 4.1 below shows the composition and break down of the respondents.

Table 4.1: Shows the number of respondents of both genders interviewed.

Respondents	No.	Male	Female
Street vendors	50	25	25
Key Informants	4	3	1
Total	54	28	26

Source: Survey questionnaire

#### 4.2 Overall Findings of the Study

The overall objective of the research was to explore the implications on development that are caused as a result of the interplay between street vending and political affiliation in Lusaka Central Business District. This overall objective was guided by the following research question; Which political party do most street vendors belong to?

The main finding of the research shows that eighty percentages (80%) of the respondents viewed political affiliation to the ruling party to be the main cause of street vending. This majority of respondents pointed out that street vendors affiliated themselves to the ruling party in exchange for protection of being evicted from the streets. The other reason these respondents gave was that street vendors affiliated themselves to the ruling party in order to have access to the Presidential Empowerment Fund (PEF) which was useful in sustaining their business as advanced by one of the respondents,

*“I am a victim of neo-liberal policies in 1991 I was retrenched and lost my job in government, the small retrenchment package I received was invested in my business I am doing through trading in the streets, therefore, not supporting a ruling party that comes in power is risky for me. This is because as long as I support the governing party my business will ever be protected”.*

Table 4.2 below shows the responses given to the questions.

**Table 4.2: Shows respondents who supported the ruling party by Political Affiliation from 2006-2016.**

<b>Political party</b>	<b>No. of Affiliates in 2006</b>	<b>No. of Affiliates in 2008</b>	<b>No. of Affiliates in 2011</b>	<b>No. of Affiliates in 2015</b>	<b>No. of Affiliates in 2016</b>
MMD	40	40	0	0	0
PF	0	0	40	40	40

**Source: Interview Schedule Form.**

The remaining ten (10) respondents representing twenty percent (20 %) of the total number of respondents held a contrary view. In their opinion, street vending was not influenced by political affiliation to the ruling party, so that vendors can receive protection when conducting illegal business. These minority respondents were of the view that what attracted them to support the opposition political parties was their ideologies and party manifestos. Seven (7) of these respondents were in support of UPND while three (3) respondents supported FDD’s ideologies and manifestoes respectively.

One of the respondent interviewed commented as follows;

*“I have enough capital and my business is booming, as a ‘Salaula’ (second hand clothing) trader, I do not change support of my political party because of ‘Capital’, no! I go for the manifesto of my party”.*

Table 4.3 shows the minority respondents who supported the oppositions political parties for their ideologies and manifestoes.

**Table 4.3: Shows respondents who supported the opposition Political Parties.**

Political party	No. of Affiliates in 2006	No. of Affiliates in 2008	No. of Affiliates in 2011	No. of Affiliates in 2015	No. of Affiliates in 2016
UPND	7	7	7	7	7
FDD	3	3	3	3	3

**Source: Interview Schedule Form.**

Figure 4.1 shows integrated details of total figures and percentages of respondents who supported either the ruling party and the opposition political parties from the period of 2006-2016.

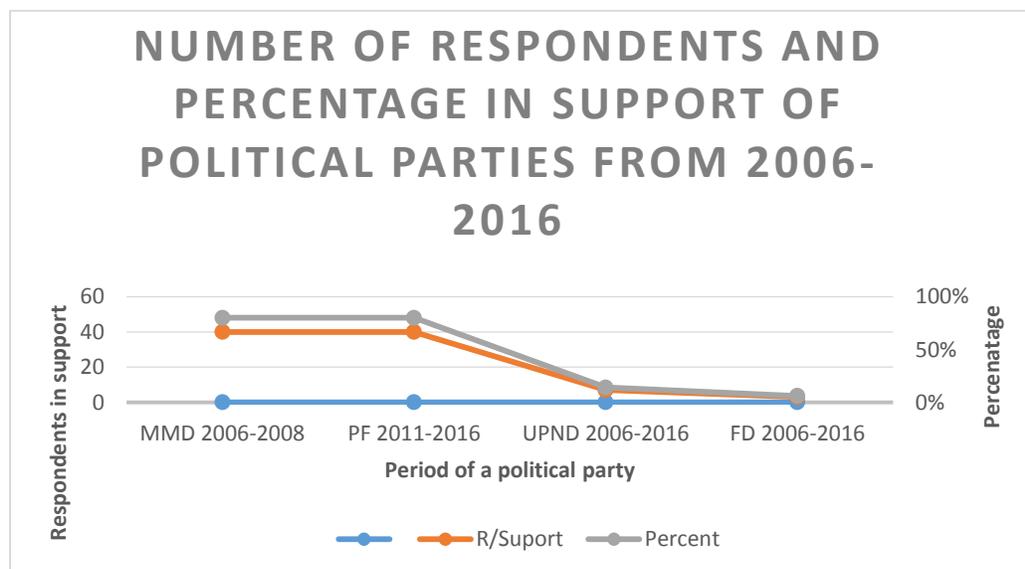


Figure 4.1 shows number of respondents and percentage in support of Political Parties from 2006-2016.

### 4.3 Specific Findings of the Study

4.3.1 The first specific objective of this study was to determine whether street vending plays a role in the achievement of the development agenda of the ruling party. This objective was guided by the following research question: What role does street vending play in the achievement of the development agenda of the ruling party? The findings of this study were as follows:

Out the fifty (50) respondents, forty (40) were of a view the street vendors contribute to the achieving of the ruling party development agenda. While the rest of respondents disagreed with the view. One (1) male respondent explained the following in this regard;

*“Street vendors are very important in the equation of the achieving development agenda of the ruling party, as their vote counts. If a party wants to lose an election let it neglect the street vendors. Without street vendors it is impossible for a party to achieve its development agenda”.*

Another female respondent also agreeing with this view stated that;

*“Most of us unemployed youth in Zambia who currently involved in street trade are the ones that make politician achieve their development agenda when we vote for them. We make political leaders realize their dream by voting for them”.*

One respondent among the minority ten (10) lamented that;

*“Other countries like Ghana and India have legalized street vending, and it is in such countries where one would say that street vending economic activities helped the governing party achieve its development agenda, because street vendors were counted as stakeholders in economic development of those countries”.*

Three (3) KIs shared a common view with the majority respondents. These informants were of the view that street vendors played a key role and contributed to the development agenda of the ruling party. These KIs in support of this view considered the street vending as a form of alternative employment especially for the youths who did not have jobs in the informal sector.

However, one (1), key informant who did not share this view. In the view of this respondent, street vending was not a form employment but informal business disrupting the Local authority from carrying out their responsibility of initiating the public administrative role of developing the district.

**4.3.2** The second specific objective of this study was to probe the benefits that accrued to street vendors who supported the governing party. This objective was guided by the following research question: What benefits accrue to the governing party and its street vending supporters?

According to this study, out of the fifty (50) respondents, forty (40), were in agreement that there were mutual benefits that accrued as a result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation. One female lady among the majority the respondents acknowledged having benefited from the governing party by saying;

*“I have been given a loan of K500, by the PF as my capital and I have been allowed to trade along Lumumba road; I like this government because it cares about the vulnerable people like me. The beauty of this loan assistance that the governing party is giving us, they do not give us the time frame when to be pay back and how much is the interest rate”.*

Another male respondent among the forty (40) acknowledged having benefited from the governing party said;

*“With the loans we get from the ruling party, no one will follow you up to make sure that you pay back, and I know of my friends who used the loans to pay for rentals and school fees of their children, to date no one has followed up to ask her to pay back the loan”.*

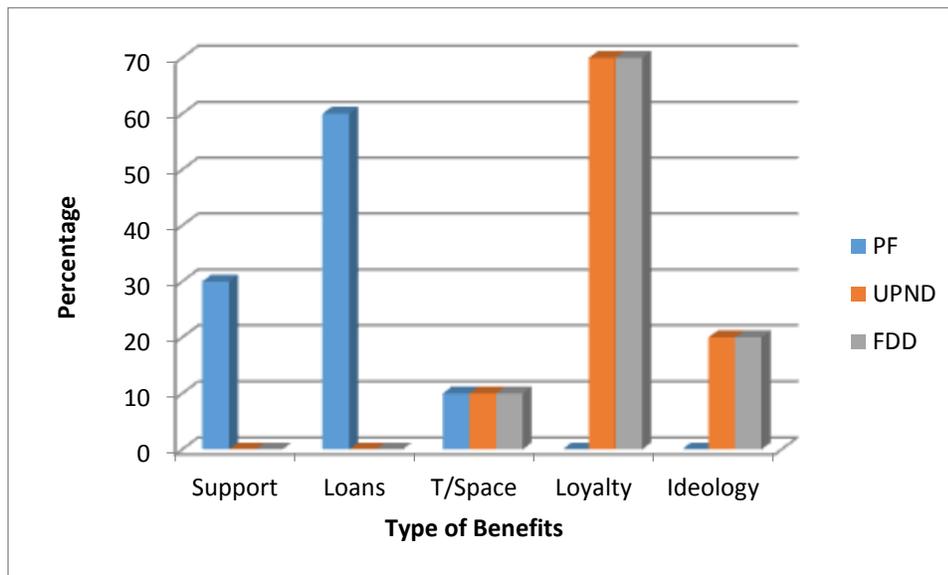
However, ten (10) respondents out of the fifty (50) respondents had a contrary view on this matter. Seven (7) of them indicated that over a period of ten (10) years they had been strong supporters of the opposition political party the UPND and have not been receiving the benefits from the ruling party. While the remaining three (3), indicated that they equally supported the opposition political party called the FFD and were not beneficiaries of any materials or financial support from the ruling party. Among the group of seven (7) that supported the UPND, one (1) lady had this to say;

*“As for me, I cannot compromise my integrity because of getting benefits from the governing party what matters is to support a party with good ideologies.”*

A similar view came from a young male respondent who supported FDD by acknowledging;

*“I do not need a loan from the ruling party, I have enough capital already, I will never support any other party other than FFD, as it is the only political party to bring hope to Zambia through the leadership of my President”.*

Below, is Figure 4.2 illustrates the mutual benefits that are accrued as result of the support the street vendors render to the political parties.



**Figure 2.2 Represents benefits that are derived by the political parties and its street vending supporters.**

**4.3.3** The third specific objective was guided by the following question: What are the implications on development that are caused as a result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation as far as bureaucratic management is concerned?

According to the findings of this study, there are three major implications resulting from the nature of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation regarding bureaucratic management of street vending in Lusaka Central Business District. These are Economic implications, Political Implications and Public Administration Implications.

#### **4.3.3.1 Economic Implications.**

According to this study, the nature of relationship between street vending and political affiliation showed both positive and negative economic effects on the operations of the Central Business District. Among the negative effects contended by a key informant were: -First, they create trade imbalance between the informal traders and formal traders, for example, shop owners whose shops are located along the main streets namely, Cairo, Chachacha, Freedom and Lumumba Roads of the Central Business Districted are crowded with street vendors selling in front of their shops same or counterfeit goods as those in shops at cheaper prices. Second, street vendors evade paying any form of tax to the Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA). Third, due to illegal trade conducted by street vendors, the Municipal Council are deprived of income through the collection of levy from traders operating in the Central Business District.

However, this study also established that there were positive effects that arise from the nature of relationship between street vending and political affiliation. Two (2) other key informants identified the provision of alternative employment, especially among the youths not in formal employment or in tertiary education as positive economic effect arising from the nature of relationship between street vending and political affiliation.

#### **4.3.3.2 Political Implications**

According to this this study, the following are the political implications on development that arise as a result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation: First, the ruling political party usurp the Municipalities mandate on administration and management of public space. Second, political effects resulted in the increase of street vendors in the Central Business Centre. Third, the other political effect that was on the increase as a result of the nature of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation were petty crimes.

Eighty percent (80 %) of the respondents argued that the political effects were brought about as a result of the nature of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation were positive. For example, a female among this percentage that supported view contended that,

*‘the ruling party allow us to trade in the streets as a way of earning our living by stopping the Lusaka City Council from evicting us from the streets in the Central Business Centre’.*

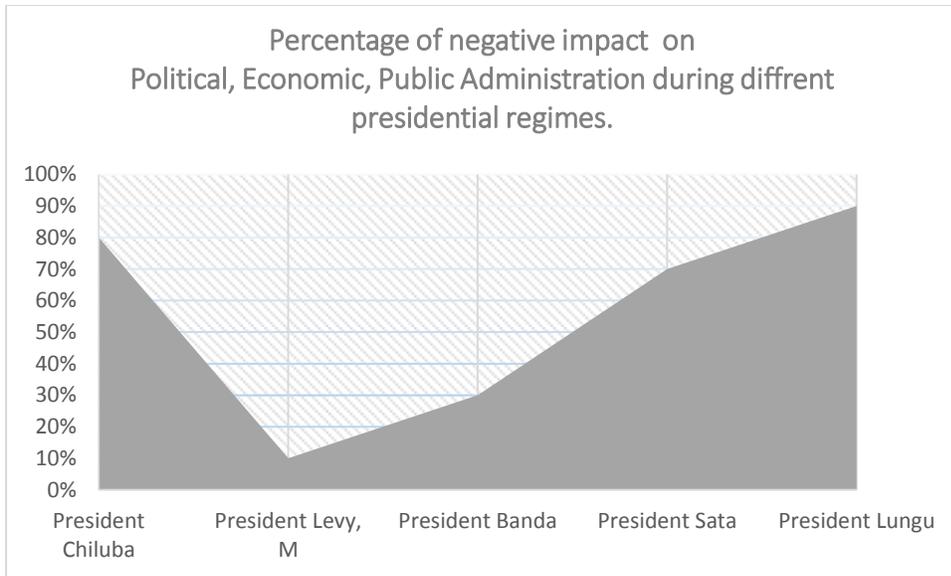
Another respondent among in support of this among those in the majority lamented by saying this,

*“Streets and bus stops is where we operate and conduct our illegal business as there are no jobs in Zambia, where do the local authority think we are going to operate from. We vote for political party to be in power and this also what we can also benefit”.*

#### **4.3.3.4 Public Administration Implications.**

According to this study, the nature of relationship between street vending and political affiliation brought about public administration effects on the operations of the Central Business District. For example, a key informant elaborated the following as some of the public administration effects: - First, increase on unsanitary conditions in the Central Business Centre. Second, the public administration effect resulted in traffic congestion both along the corridors of the shops and the main roads of the Central Business Centre. Third, the public administration effects also promoted public health risks.

Below, Figure 4.3 gives a projection on how economic, political and public administration are impacted in Lusaka Central Business District due to the nexus between street vending and political affiliation during different political party regimes.



**Figure 4.3: Shows the percentage on economic, political and public administration impacted negatively due to nexus between street vending and political affiliation in Lusaka CBD during different regimes.**

In summary, this study has established that political affiliation to the ruling party has encouraged street vending as the main finding. In addition, this study has revealed the following: - first, street vending does play a role in the achievement of the development agenda of the ruling party. Second, there are some benefits such as material, financial assistance and other services that accrue to the governing party and its street vending supporters. Further, this study also shows that there are, (a) political consequences that manifest in the form of usurping of municipality powers by the ruling party, increase in street vending and rise in petty crimes; (b) economic consequences manifest in form of creation of unregulated trade, evasion tax and deprivation of levy collection; (c) public administration consequences manifests issues such as increase on unsanitary condition, traffic congestion and promotion public health risks.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DISCUSSIONS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

Chapter five (5) of this study presents the discussion of the major and specific findings of the research undertaken two and half years ago, entitled, The implications of the relationship between Street Vending and Political Affiliation on Development in Zambia: A Case of Lusaka Central Business District.

#### **5.2 Overall Finding.**

The overall finding of the Study entitled, ‘The implications of the relationship between Street Vending and Political Affiliation on Development in Zambia: A Case of Lusaka Central Business District, is that the connection between political affiliation and street vending has affected the development in the Lusaka Central Business District in Zambia. The effect is mainly characterized in the nature of relationship that exists between the street vendors and the ruling party. On one hand the Local Government Act, Section 84, No. 2 of 1990 prohibits street vending, but the street vendors are “protected” and permitted by the political elites from the ruling regime to trade along the streets of the Business District Centre, on the other hand. This situation has meant that the local authorities have been unable to enforce the existing regulation

given the directives to allow street vending by the political elites. The political elites from the ruling regimes have given out directive to allow street vending mainly as a result of the support received from the street vendors during the election campaign and the subsequent vote given to their party during the elections. On the part of the political elites from the ruling party, allowing the continuation of street vending despite the existence of the law prohibiting this form of trade implies that they are fulfilling the promises of resolving the problems of poverty, lack of income and unemployment made during the campaign period. According to these elites, delivering on these promises implied that the ruling regime was pursuing the “development agenda” of the Country. On the side of street vendors, ensuring that the party they campaigned for and voted for won elections means that they had helped the particular party to meet its “development agenda for the Country. Here, it is important to note that these two interest groups, namely the political elites from the ruling regimes and the street vendors had two different perspectives on the “development agenda.” More importantly, this revelation resonates with the propositions advanced in the Conceptual Framework that guided this Study. The central argument of the Framework that underpinned this Study was that for the sake of maintaining the relationship between the street vendors and the ruling party leaders, the former are expected to support the later in political activities such as campaigning, attending party rallies, voting for the ruling party during an election on one hand, while on the other hand the later are also expected to protect and allow the street vendors to trade illegally. It is also important to note that this nature of relationship between street vendors and political elites’ entails that the Local Authority’s power to first, initiate, plan, manage and execute policies in respect of matters affecting people in the districts; Second, develop, prioritize and promote, social, spatial, financial and economic planning at district level are undermined. The undermining of these Local Authority powers stipulated in the Local Government Act leads to subsequent economic and political implications. Among other economic implications include unregulated trade, evasion tax, deprivation of levy collection, sale of counterfeit and illegal goods and poor capture of trade benefits. While political implications embrace crimes such drug abuse, Gender Based Violence, thefts among others.

The above described transaction between the street vendors and the ruling political leaders qualifies and supports the conceptual framework of this study which anchors on political patronage. According to this study the definition of political patronage is where the patron and a client has a mutual arrangement between a person that has authority, social status, wealth, or

some other personal resource and another who benefits from their support or influence (Roniger 2004). The patron provides selective access to goods and opportunities, and places themselves or their support in positions from which they can divert resources and services in the favour of the client. While the clients are expected to buy support, and in some cases in form of votes.

The explanation of political patronage as illustrated above, is exactly the action involved in the relationship between the street vendors and the ruling political party leaders in the Business District Centres in Zambia. In this case, the patron is an officer of the ruling party holding office at national, district or local level of the party structure provides goods, services and opportunities in favor of the clients. Whereas, the clients are street vendors who buy support by way of, for example, campaigning and voting for the ruling party during in an election. Therefore, with the preceding example, it can be deduced that overall finding qualifies and supports the conceptual framework of this study.

This finding resonates with the account of the outcomes of the relationship between street vendors and political elites that were experienced in Kolkata City of India between 2015 and 2016 narrated under the Chapter containing the review of literature of the study undertaken Charterji and Roy 2015. This particular finding established that the relationship between the street vendors and the ruling party (Trinamool Congress Party) attracted the exchange of goods and services. On the part of the street vendors' support rendered to the ruling party, they were offered free trading licenses and fifty percent (50 %) funding for construction of street hawkers' stalls through a 50:50 joint venture with the Municipal Corporation. Whereas, in turn the Trinamool Congress Party received votes from the hawkers and won West Bengal state assembly election in May 2016.

However, in the view of the researcher, although it can be assumed that political patronage influenced the relationships in the findings of both studies, the Charterji and Roy 2015 and the current study, the nature of the mutual agreement was totally different. In Kolkata City, street vendors were issued with free trading licenses and fifty percent (50 %) funding for construction of street hawkers' stalls through a 50:50 joint venture; whereas in Lusaka, Zambia, the ruling political party leaders had in most cases offered the street vendors with food, materials such as party regalia and small amounts money as financial assistance. Hence, it should be justifiable

that street vending in Kolkata City is much more sustainable and viable unlike in Lusaka, Zambia where street vending is temporal and not feasible.

In this regard, the researcher is of the view that if street vendors in Lusaka Central Business District in Zambia are going to take street vending as an alternative employment in the informal sector, they have to enter into a similar nature of mutual agreement with the ruling party as their counterparts in Kolkata City in India. This is because the set up in India allows for the empowerment of the street vendors, whereas, in Lusaka, Zambia street vending is for survival purposes.

Hence, the principle conclusion drawn regarding the overall finding is that the increase of street vendors as a result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation in Lusaka Central Business District is instigated by political patronage. As such, the overall finding qualifies and supports the conceptual framework of this study.

### **5.3 Discussion on the Specific Findings of the Study.**

#### **5.3.1 Street vending does play a role in the achievement of the development agenda of the ruling party.**

The first specific finding of the study revealed that there were differences in the understanding of how street vending played a role in the development agenda of the ruling party. As narrated in overall finding of the study, the political elites, street vendors and local authorities under this issue from different perspective. In the case of the political elites, their understanding of “development agenda” is that by allowing the continuation of street vending despite the existence of the law prohibiting this form of trade implies that they are fulfilling the promises of resolving the problems of poverty, lack of income and unemployment made during the campaign period. While the street vendors understood the term “development agenda”, to mean, the winning of the election by a particular political party they campaigned and voted for. On the contrary, the local authority understood this term differently from the description of the two groups above. In their view, achieving of the development agenda of the ruling party is when the party in power provides an enabling environment for the local authorities to implement the development model stipulated in Local Government Act is under Article 151 sub-article 1 (d) and (e) stating that “There is established a Local Government system where the capacity of local

authorities to initiate, plan, manage and execute policies in respect of matters that affect the people within their respective districts is enhanced'. Sub-article 1(e) states that, 'Social, spatial, financial and economic planning at district level, is developed, prioritised and promoted.

It should be noted that the preceding views expressed by the three actors are not limited to this study alone, but can be traced as well in the findings of other studies. One such a study is the one undertaken by Chartterji and Roy 2015. The finding of this study established that the development agenda of the ruling party, the Trinamoo Congress Party, was achieved through the role played by the street vendors in ensuring that there was fifty percent (50 %) funding for construction of street hawkers' stalls through a 50:50 joint venture. As such, the above cited transaction is a reflection of type a transaction based on political patronage arrangement.

The understanding of development agenda expressed by the political elite which according to them was the offering of employment to vulnerable people in form of street vending is not unique to the case of the Lusaka Central Business District Centre. Similar experience has been highlighted in the study works undertaken by Uwitije 2016. According this scholar in this particular study, the finding revealed that street vending should not be taken as a temporal venture but one that offered alternative job creation for sustaining the livelihood of the urban poor. The finding further established the ruling party in Rwanda, supported contributions made by the role played by street vendors of uplifting living standard of the low income household in the city of Kigali.

The perspective expressed by the third actor, namely the Local Authority the development agenda of the ruling party is when the party in power provides an enabling environment for the local authorities to implement the development model stipulated in Local Government Act can also be traced back to studies undertaken earlier on this subject. For instance, the Study undertaken by Spire and Choplin 2018 revealed that the development agenda of the ruling party is one described in the law through the empowerment of Central and Local Authority to plan and develop local districts.

In the view of the researcher, the perspective advanced by the Local Authority deserves attention in the sense that it is not through the street vendors where development agenda of the ruling party, but rather through adhering to the development model stated in Local Government Act.

Here, it can be argued that in most of the ruling political parties in the African Sub-Regional countries spend most of their tenure of office engaging themselves in political patronage activities of searching for relationships with partners who could support them in the next general elections is correct reflection of the reality on the ground. One would also support the argument expressed by street vendors in this study that development agenda is when the ruling party are given a vote and they win an election.

This position expressed in regard of this argument is based on the pre-occupation of most African ruling political parties with the issue of winning the next general election on the expense of the infrastructure development of the District Business Centers.

To conclude on this matter, it would be worth recommending the meaning of development agenda to mean the development model described under Local Government Act, Article 151 sub-article 1 (d) and (e) of the Laws of Zambia.

Based on the foregoing discussion, it is possible to conclude that that the role played by the street vendors has to the larger extent contributed to the achievement of the development agenda of the ruling party in terms of being voted for to win elections more than the one centered on the development of social, spatial, financial and economic planning at district level in the central business centres.

### **5.3.2 There are some benefits such as goods and services, and financial assistance that accrue to the governing party and its street vending supporters.**

The second specific finding of this study revealed that there are some benefits such as goods and services, and financial assistance that accrue to the governing party and its vending supporters.

This finding means that due to the symbiotic relationship that exist between street vending and political affiliation, both parties yield some benefits. On the part of the street vendors their benefits as a result of relationship with the ruling political party are such as cloth wrappers, bicycles, food stuffs etc., including financial assistance they receive from the ruling political party. On the other hand, the ruling party expect a vote from the street vendors to win an election. This arrangement of receiving mutual benefits between the ruling party and street

vendors is a transaction which reflects the features of political patronage as was described in definition above.

It is important to mention that the above description of mutual benefit between the street vendors and the ruling party has been cited in the study undertaken by Charterji and Roy 2015. In this study there were mutual benefits exchanged such as fifty percent (50 %) funding for construction of street hawkers' stalls through a 50:50 joint venture.

Here it can be argued in conclusion that this relationship between street vending and the ruling political party is only sustainable as long as it is supported by mutual exchange of benefits. In this regard, it can be concluded in this finding that the mutual benefits stand as an engine that drives and keeps the relationship between street vending and political affiliation in Lusaka Central Business District.

### **5.3.3 The relationship between street vending and political affiliation causes development implications on political, economic and public administration domains.**

#### **5.3.3.1 Political Implications**

The specific finding of this Study revealed that the relationship between street vending and political affiliation causes implications on implications on the political, economic and public administration development in Lusaka Central Business District.

In this regard, such examples of political implication emanating from the relationship between the street vendors and the ruling political party leaders is where laws as for instance, Local Government Street Vending and Nuisance Regulation No. 134 of 1992 under the Local Government Act, Section 84, No. 2 of 1990 which prohibits street vending is defied by both actors. The disregard of this piece of legislation causes political implications such as petty crimes, drug abuse, Gender Based Violence (GBV) in the Lusaka Central Business District.

These political implications cited above relate positively to the finding in Mexico City in 2016 and Malawi in 2009 respectively as cited in the Chapter of Literature Review of this study. The study undertaken by Gouza'lez 2016 in Mexico City showed some similarities in the finding that revealed that due the relationship between street vending and political affiliation, the ruling

government eventually became weak regarding the capacity to control vices such drug abuse and GBV. While in Malawi, the finding in the study undertaken Kayuni and Tambulasi 2009 also resonated with the current study establishing that due to the relationship between street vendors and political elites, the Municipalities in Malawi had had challenges in controlling street vending to ensure that it did not affect the development of urban centers.

On this basis, the researcher holds a position that these political implications cited above as result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation in the Lusaka Central Business District could be avoided if there was a political will on part of the ruling party. This political will was demonstrated in Zambia during the regime of President Levy Mwanawasa as it can be seen in Figure: 2, of this study. To achieve this feat President Mwanawasa, first of all abolished the Street vendors created by his predecessor President Fredrick Chiluba and second, Mwanawasa introduced a policy of 'Make Zambia Clean and Green'. This move undertaken by President Mwanawasa led to resumption of the Local Government resumed their powers under Article 151 sub-article 1 (d) and (e) stating that 'There is established a Local Government system where the capacity of local authorities to initiate, plan, manage and execute policies in respect of matters that affect the people within their respective districts is enhanced'. Sub-article 1(e) states that, 'Social, spatial, financial and economic planning at district level, is developed, prioritised and promoted.

In this regard, this researcher contends that political implications that occur are as a result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation which is fueled by political patronage. Therefore, it is in this vein that it can be stated that political patronage has been responsible for the relationship between street vending and political affiliation in the Lusaka Central Business District.

### **5.3.3.2 Economic Implications**

According to the findings in this study, economic implications have been cited among the other implications that have devastating effect as a result of the relationship between street vending and political Affiliation in Lusaka Central Business District. These economic implications include unregulated trade, evasion tax, deprivation of levy collection, sale of counterfeit and illegal goods and poor capture of trade benefits.

Unregulated trade arises when, first, the street vendors are conducting business without a trading license, meaning they can trade in any goods and services without limitation, genuine or counterfeit without a fixed price. Sometimes, they can even be hired by formal business houses to sell products on their behalf on commission basis. This off-course will bring out unfair trade especially with those formal traders dealing with the same products as those the street vendors also dealing selling. Street vendors take advantage of conducting unregulated trade because of the relationship that exist between them and the ruling political party leaders. Allowance of street vendors to trade without legal trading licenses does not go scot-free, they in turn expected to give a vote to the ruling political party leaders to win an election. This type of an arrangement is based on a political patronage agreement.

Second, the street vendors would trade in undesignated areas and pose health risks or traffic danger. Third, prices of goods vary whereby in a day the price would change three to four times and are sold to a client on negotiated price basis.

The fact that a street vendor earns an income on an everyday income, according the Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA) Act no. 10 of 2014, a tax has to paid to ZRA. However, as result of the relationship between the street vendors and the ruling political leaders, the former evade paying this statutory obligation thereby robbing the government its source of income used on public expenditure.

The Lusaka City Council is empowered under Chapter 281 Local Government Act to collect a levy on all goods sold in public markets and other designated places, and a street vendor is not exempted from meeting this obligation. Conversely, due to the relationship between street vending and political affiliation, street vendors in Lusaka Central Business District and other business centers in Zambia evade paying this levy used on management and development of a local city or district.

Selling of counterfeit or any goods in any undesignated area including the streets under Chapter 281 Local Government Act in Zambia is an offence. However, as result of the relationship between the street vendors and ruling political leaders, the former go scot-free and defies the law.

Traders in the informal sector are deprived of capturing trade benefits such as free flowing of customers in their shops trade due to the illegal trade conducted by on the door steps of their premises by street vendors. This trend is perpetrated as a result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation.

In the opinion of the researcher, all these economic implications cited under this finding of this study boarder on political patronage whose leverage is as result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation in Lusaka Central Business District.

It is also important to note that these economic implications mentioned in this finding that are initiated as result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation are not a standalone case in the district business centers in Zambia but also in other countries. Among the examples, is the study conducted in Kolkata City in India by Charterrji and Roy 2015.

This study revealed that, first, growth in street vending activities in Kolkata City had led to contraction in manufacturing and other formal sector economic opportunities. This means that because of the massive business conducted by street vendors trading in most of the goods in Kolkata City in India, there was contraction in the manufacturing and other formal sectors. However, it should be noted that without the relationship that street vendors had with the ruling political leaders in the Ms. Mamata Banerjee government, the former would not thrive in their business. Also to observe, is the fact the thriving of this business by the street vendors in Kolkata City in India anchored on political patronage transaction. The second economic implication mentioned in the finding of this study similar to the finding of the current study is the Kolkata City increasingly being tied to the local and informal bazaar economy. This pattern of economy cited in this study is similar to the one cited in the current study where street trade is overwhelmingly taking a lead on the consumer market, except this one in Kolkata City was much more legal and organized. Even though, this may be the case, the bottom line is that this transaction bears features of political patronage.

In the view of the researcher that the economic implications cited in the finding of this study would not be avoided as long as there is a relationship between street vendors and the ruling political leaders based on the transaction of political patronage. There is need to legalize street vending like in Kolkata City, but one which is not based on the relationship between street

vending and political affiliation. Doing so, would make street vending credible and viable as an alternative sector in job creation and contributor to the growth of the economy not only in Lusaka Central Business District but also in many district business centers in Zambia.

### **5.3.3.3 Public Administration Implications**

The finding of this study revealed that there were public administration implications as result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation in Lusaka Central Business District. Public administration implications were caused due to the defying of the Local Government law and order responsible for the effective and efficient running of the local authorities. The disobedience of these exiting Local Government pieces of legislation by the ruling political leaders and street vendors was perpetrated in order to sustain the relationship between the two actors which is based on political patronage transaction.

One major constitutional mandate conferred on the local authority by the Local Government Act is under Article 151 sub-article 1 (d) and (e) stating that ‘There is established a Local Government system where the capacity of local authorities to initiate, plan, manage and execute policies in respect of matters that affect the people within their respective districts is enhanced’. Sub-article 1(e) states that, ‘Social, spatial, financial and economic planning at district level, is developed, prioritised and promoted.

However, in order to sustain the relationship between the two actors, the political party leaders and the street vendors, from which both benefit, the former are given a vote to win an election and the latter in turn receive protection to trade illegally and receive other material benefits including financial assistance at the expense of defiance of the existing law.

The non-compliance of the Local Government Act by the above mentioned actors fosters public administration implications in the Lusaka Central Business District. The local authority faces problems to initiate, plan, manage and execute policies in order to achieve sustainable development and improve the welfare of the people in district business centres of the country. Further, issues to do with managing of public space, financial and economic planning at district level becomes unattainable as result of nonconformity to the law by the respective actors.

The other piece of legislation under the ambit of the local authority is Regulation 134 of 1992 which law specifically prohibits street vending in Zambia. Equally, this regulation is ignored by the ruling political party leaders who in actual fact are supposed to be the enforcers of this law. On the contrary, they are the ones encouraging the street vendors to trade illegally in the streets. The political party leaders do this with a view of strengthening their relationship with the street vendors who are expectant to give them a vote to win an election. This transaction arrangement the street vendors and the political parties is purely political patronage basis.

The local authorities are also empowered under Section (1) of Trades Licensing Act to prosecute anyone selling goods by way of business without a license. Again, this piece of legislation is not implemented by these local authorities due to pressure they get from the ruling political parties not to tamper with street vendors. In turn for the protection that street vendors get from the ruling political party leaders, they expected to give a vote to the later to win an election. This also demonstrates a transaction centered on political patronage.

Further, there is also Section 7 of the food and drug Act which makes it an offence for one to sell their food stuffs under unsanitary conditions which is under responsibility of the local authorities. This regulation is not implemented by the custodian of this law due to frustration they receive from the ruling political party leaders who encourage the street vendors to ahead to sell food stuffs under unsanitary conditions. But this protection which the street vendors receive from the ruling political leaders comes with a condition that the former give a vote to the latter in order to win an election, which is totally a political patronage transaction.

The public administration implications cited above as a result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation in the Lusaka Central Business District are not only confined to this study alone Zambia alone. Although, the focus of study done Munkoyo 2015 was different from that of the current study, the former concentrating on making assessment of the management strategies to street vending in Lusaka Central Business District while the later focused on investigating the implications the relationship between street vending and political affiliation on the growth of street vending activities and bureaucratic management of the Municipalities, Munkoyo 2015's one of the finding agreed with the current study on public administration implications. In its finding, Mukoyo 2015 stated that challenges with street

vending management had persisted because of high poverty levels; lack of formal employment; political interference; lack of enforcement of the law.

In the researchers' view, if adherence to the cited above laws and regulations by the ruling political party leaders and street vendors were observed by these two actors the public administration implications would be eradicated. The respect to the rule law regarding Local Government Act which empowers the local authorities on issues to with illegal trade would be the panacea to street vending and political affiliation to the party in Lusaka Central Business District which thrives on political patronage.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter gives a summary of findings before it makes conclusions and recommendations for further research to help find a lasting solution that could enhance an ideal relationship between street vending and the ruling party.

#### **6.2 Overall conclusion**

The main overall conclusion of this Study based on the findings and subsequent interpretation of the findings is that symbiotic connection between political affiliation and street vending is that it on one hand street vending provides support and guarantees a vote base for the ruling regime while the ruling party guarantees protection and shield from facing punitive measures for conducting street vending even when prohibited by law. In other words, this relationship is based on a well-defined patronage system that facilitates the exchange of political support for

rewards and incentives such as protection from law, receiving material goods, food stuffs, including financial assistance.

The study has concluded that this relationship has on the development of the Central Business District Centers (CBDC). These include (a) usurping of municipality powers by the ruling party, increase in street vending and rise in petty crimes; (b) unregulated trade, evasion tax and deprivation of levy collection; (c) increase on unsanitary condition, traffic congestion and promotion public health risks.

Therefore, the overall finding of this study supports and qualifies political patronage to be accountable for the relationship between street vending and political affiliation in Lusaka Central Business District.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

The recommendation of this study as regards the relationship between street vending and political affiliation is based on Structuralist theory, moving away from the current Dualism school thought prevailing in Zambia. Structuralist theory argues that micro firms in the informal sector act as subordinated, dependent and specialized units of a formal sector where you have the owner of the means production producing for the market (Moser 1978). The recommendations are in two parts, overall and specific.

#### **6.3.1 Overall**

The Researcher recommends that the Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) comes up with an Act of Parliament on Street Vending.

#### **6.3.2 Specific Recommendation- Policy**

The Researcher recommends that the Government put in place the following policies: -

1. There will be no political interference by any political party whether ruling or in opposition with the running of the Local Authorities in Zambia. Local Authorities shall operate under Local Government Act.
2. Street vendors shall be issued with permits or licenses, pay all legal statutory obligations and operate in the Designated places.

### **6.3.3 Specific Recommendation - Institutional**

The Researcher recommends the following:

Street Vending Management Authority be instituted to perform such functions as;

1. -Collect all the fees, taxes and revenues on behalf of the Local Authority.  
-Administer the operations of street vending in Zambia.
2. All street vendors to form Associations According to products they are trading and register with the Registrar of Society.

### **6.3.4 Specific Recommendation – Political**

The Researcher recommends the following: -

1. No Political Party shall be allowed interfere with the managing public space or collect any fee, levy, tax on behalf of the Street Vendors' Management Authority.
2. No political Party regalia/Uniform be allowed as form dress by street vendors.

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**APPENDICES**

Appendix 1: *A Questionnaire:*

**Semi- Structured Interviews and for Focus Group Discussion Guide**

**Introduction:** My name is David Musonda Masupa Masters Student University of Zambia (UNZA).

I am carrying out an academic research on ‘The implications of the relationship between Street Vending and Political Affiliation on Development in Zambia: A Case of Lusaka Central Business District’. You have been sampled to participate in this research by simply answering the questions in this questionnaire. Your answers will be confidential and you are not required to give your name or any particulars that will lead to your identity.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. If you do not feel comfortable answering any of the questions or do not want to participate in this research, you are free to do so. However, your participation and your honest answers are very important in this study and will be highly valued.

**Instructions:**

The Questions below can be answered in three languages, namely English, Nyanja or Bemba. Feel free to ask the Researcher to explain to you any question you do not understand and you are free not to answer any question if you do not want.

1. Sex of Respondents

a. Male

b. Female

2. How old are you?

.....

3 Are you called a street vendor?

.....

4.Which political party do most street vendors belong to?

5. What role does street vending play in the achievement of the development agenda of the ruling party?
6. What benefits accrue to the governing party and its street vending supporters?
7. What are the implications that are caused as a result of the relationship between street vending and political affiliation as far as bureaucratic management is concerned?
8. What do you think could be the main reason causing the relationship between street vending and political affiliation?

Appendix 2: **In-Depth Interview Guide.**

THE LUSAKA CITY COUNCIL P.R.M.

1. Why are you not implementing Local Government Street vending and Nuisances Regulation no. 134 of 1992?
2. What are the challenges being faced when implementing this piece of legislation?

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT MINISTER.

3. Are you in charge of supervising city councils in Zambia?
4. What are challenges when it comes to the administration of Local Government Street vending and Nuisances Regulation no. 134 of 1992?

STATE HOUSE MINISTER.

5. In your view what has brought about the street vending in Zambia especially in the third Republic?
6. What is your current political policy on street vending?
7. Is the assertion by the street vendors that you reward them if they vote for you correct?
8. Is it true that you encourage street vendors to participate in your political party activities so that you remain in power?
9. In your view what are the strategies that your party has to put in place in order to reduce on street vending?

THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE STREET VENDORS' ASSOCIATION.

10. As Street Vendors Association are you supporting illegal trading when you know Local Government Street vending and Nuisances Regulation no. 134 of 1992 does not allow street vending?
11. Is your role more of speaking for the rights of the street vendors or that of an intermediary between the politicians and street vendors?
12. Why in your view the head of state does not put you task for street vendors who do not pay back the loans you give them?
13. Why is that you do not participate in planning on policy issues regarding street vending at Lusaka City Council?
14. Do you think you have put enough pressure as street vendors' association on government so that street vending is legalized?