AN ETHICAL ASSESSMENT OF STREET FOOD VENDING IN LUSAKA'S CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

By

Sambo Cleopas Gabriel (BSW, MIS)

A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Zambia in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements of the Degree of Master of Arts in Applied Ethics

The University of Zambia

2014

Declaration

I **……..,** declare that this dissertation:

(a) Represents my own work;

(b) Has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other University; and

(c) Does not incorporate any published work or material from another dissertation.

Signed:…….

Date:…….

Copyright

Approval

This dissertation of …….. is approved as fulfilling the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Applied Ethics by the University of Zambia.

Signed:	**Date:**
……..	……
……..……....	……
……...	……
……...	……

Abstract

With high unemployment and soaring poverty levels, many Zambians live precarious lives. Consequently, street vending, and food vending in particular, is seen by many as a way out of poverty and into sustainable livelihoods. The aim of this study was to make an ethical assessment of street food vending (SFV) in Zambia. SFV has numerous benefits, among them the provision of affordable nutrition to urban populations while enhancing socio-economic livelihoods of vendors. Yet, it has serious public health risks, especially when poorly regulated. Based on their willingness to participate in the study, a total of 33 food vendors and 15 customers were selected into the study sample. Of the 33 food vendors, 20 were selected from the areas around bus stations while 13 were selected from the streets of the central business district. Purposive sampling was used to select two key informants, one from the Lusaka District Health Management Team (LDHMT) and the other from the Public Health Department of the Lusaka City Council. Methods used involved in-depth interviews and observation for primary data collection and while secondary data were obtained from published sources through a literature review. Data were analyzed to identify patterns of emergent themes and an ethical evaluation was conducted using utilitarianism, human rights and ethics of care.

The findings revealed that vended foods included fruit, raw vegetables, cooked meats and wild roots eaten for relish. SVF was found to be a viable socio-economic activity providing gainful employment to populations with limited education and skills. However, the limited education demonstrated by food vendors implied a corresponding lack of basic skills in food safety and hygiene. This was confounded by the usually unsanitary vending areas. Government's position is that SFV is illegal and therefore not subject to standardization, a situation which precludes any remedial policies. This study also established that children of school going age are involved in street food vending under conditions which constitute child labour.

With regard to the ethical assessment, utilitarian evaluation showed that the overall benefits of street food vending outweighed the risks involved. The rights based evaluation showed that the practice of street food vending is rights enhancing and offers little prospects for abuse of all concerned if properly regulated. Care based evaluation supported this position and showed that regulation would promote a culture of civility and relationships of responsibility among vendors, consumers and officialdom. Consequently, the ethical assessment concluded that street food vending was justified at present even though there is need to properly regulate the practice. The study finally recommended that government should enact regulation that will allow street food vending to flourish within set guidelines. This study contributed to the empirical literature regarding street food vending in Lusaka's central business district. This would significantly diminish the risks associated with street food vending.

Dedication

To Agatha and Augustine

Acknowledgments

I am indebted to many people and institutions for the completion of this dissertation. My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor Professor Clive Dillon-Malone for his guidance and support in completing this dissertation. I am also grateful to Professor George Spielthenner who was my supervisor in the initial stages of this dissertation for constantly asking me to think for myself and then to think again. I wish also to thank Dr. Anthony Musonda for his support throughout the duration of the Masters programme.

I extend my thanks to all the study participants who made this investigation possible. Many thanks also go to the Lusaka City Council and the Lusaka Health District Management team for pointing me in the right directions for data collection. Many thanks also go to Mr Ackson Mwale, Mr. Lazarous A. Mwale and Mr. Francis Lukunga for their assistance. I also extend my thanks to Mr Garikai Membele from the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of Zambia for the map of the study area. Special thanks go to Ms. Hilda Nachizya Namunyola for being my discussant during my data collection and helping me to make sense of field notes and observations. This work would not have been possible without their support.

I am grateful to my family and friends for their support for constantly believing in me and for pushing me to keep going even when things got tough. I extend my gratitude to my colleagues in the Master of Arts in Applied Ethics class of 2010 for all the intellectual exchange and sharing. I am also grateful to Urmimala Sengupta and Anne-Kathe Reme for proof reading my work. I also thank Monimala Sengupta for her moral and insightful support throughout the period of this dissertation. Thank you very much Guria for standing with me.

Last and most important, I am very grateful to GOD for the grace to find strength at each corner of the masters training.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

Acroynms

CBD:	Central Business District
ESCR:	Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
FAO:	Food and Agricultural Organisation
ICESCR:	International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights
IEP:	Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy
ILO:	International Labour Organisation
LCC:	Lusaka City Council
LDHMT:	Lusaka District Health Management Team
PHD:	Public Health Department
SEP:	Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy
SFV:	Street Food Vending
UDHR:	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
WHO:	World Health Organisation

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Street food vending has become a worldwide phenomenon in the recent past. Rationalising the rise of street food vending in Latin America, Arambolu et al. (1993: 345) explain that, like in most other areas, it arises from multiple causes which they enumerate as follows:

> deterioration of rural living conditions, migration to the cities, and accelerated urbanization leading to enormous urban congestion, long commuting distances between the workplace and home, and a shortage or absence of establishments that serve reasonably priced food close to the workplace.

In fact, street food vending has become a prevailing and distinctive part of most of the informal sectors of the world. According to Muzaffer et al. (2009 in Chukuezi, 2010b), food vending is commonly viewed in public spaces, particularly in cities, and is distinctive in that it provides a basic need to urban inhabitants. Blair (1999) records that drinks, meals and snacks sold by street food vendors are widely consumed by millions of people in developing countries, and that these street foods provide an affordable source of nutrients to many sectors of the population.

There are many definitions of street food. The FAO (2012: 3), for example, defines it with reference to how it is prepared and sold, hence the term "street food vending" (SFV). In this context, street food is seen as encompassing a wide range of ready to eat food and beverages sold, and sometimes prepared, along streets and general public spaces like bus stations, parks, schools, construction sites and "naturally all locations where there is a high number of potential customers". According to King et al. (2000: 1), street food refers to food and beverages prepared and sold by vendors in streets and other public places for immediate consumption. Hence, the term "street food" refers to a wide variety of ready-to-eat foods and beverages characteristically sold, and sometimes prepared, in public places. As with fast food, the final preparation occurs when meals are ordered by customers. Street food may be consumed where it is purchased or can be taken away and eaten elsewhere (Mensah et al., 2002: 546). Street foods are obtainable from street side vendors often trading from a makeshift or

portable stall. It is also argued that while some street vended foods are regional, many are country specific. Further, the food and vegetables sold in farmers' markets may also fall into this category including foods that are exhibited and sold in gathering fairs.

It is important to note that, usually, the food sold on the street is available for a fraction of the cost of a restaurant meal or one sold in a supermarket. For Chukuezi (2010a), this characteristic of street food is what makes it distinctive in nature amongst other informal sector activities. It provides a basic need to urban inhabitants at relatively low cost. Even more, scholars like Blair (1999) contend that street foods are more economical than eating at home for some households, and the poorer the families, the larger is the percentage of their budget spent eating on the street. In fact, she explains that "in areas where food takes up 51-74% of the average budget, street foods illuminate the means by which the growing urban population affords to eat. The rich are able to afford meat items, otherwise street foods are democratic" (1999: 321). In fact, FAO (2005) estimates that at least, 2.5 billion people worldwide eat street food every day. Additionally, Ohiokpehai (2003:77) reports that one factor that makes street foods potentially cost effective food is the time required for preparation. Many traditional foods involve lengthy preparation and the purchase of street food allows women to substitute time spent in food preparation for income generating activities. In this way, street food trading is seen as such a viable source of income for the urban poor.

The defining features of street food in view of the presented definitions are as follows: they are ready to eat food and beverage, prepared and sold on the street or prepared at home and sold on the street. These key features emphasise the type of food, the mode of preparation and the location of sale. In these respects, street food vending qualifies to be ranked among informal sector activities. However, even though there appears to be a consensus on what constitutes street vended food, a distinction can be drawn between types of food vendors. Apart from those who vend on the street as explained above, another category of vendors, referred to as "home based caterers," also exists. These are entrepreneurs who would cook food at their homes and serve it as finished

products packaged in boxes to workers in office building. Their distinguishing feature is that they deliver to specific places in a more organised manner than street hawkers.

A further distinction can be drawn between mobile and stationary vendors. Mobile vendors sell their merchandise from a cart and move from place to place while stationary vendors, as the term suggests, are those whose carts are immovable. However, by their practice, even mobile vendors qualify to be referred to as street food vendors and although some restaurants provide this sort of service, it is usually done by individuals or family groups. The FAO (2005) reports that when restaurants provide this service, they tend to under-report sales from this part of their enterprise or do not report it at all when they have to pay tax. This, as a matter of fact, is a common practice among informal sector businesses.

At present, street food vendors are gaining increasing recognition as a necessary element of daily urban life, especially in developing countries. This is in spite of the negative impacts of street food vending such as those on urban renewal, cleanliness, and traffic congestion. Food vending is also thought to ease the trouble that people working in urban centres have to go through to find affordable, tasty and nutritious meals close to their work places. Arambolu et al. (1993: 345) note that "labourers and white workers, teachers and their students, the vendors and their family members tend to consume the same food; even housewives feed their families the rich cultural array of foods available on the street in urban areas in Asia and Africa." They further explain that street food vendors also do a flourishing business catering to tourists, multitudes of whom typically find that they offer an attractive low-cost opportunity for sampling local fare (ibid.: 346). Another positive factor about street food vending is that it also provides employment. The sector not only provides work directly or indirectly to millions of people across the world but in some cases, it is the only way for households to sustain themselves. In most of Africa, food vending is argued to be one of multiple survival strategies adopted by poor urban households to maintain and expand the base of subsistence incomes, especially in the current surge of the economic crisis.

Despite all the above mentioned benefits of the practice, the sale of food on the street raises significant objections from a health standpoint. The poor hygienic and sanitation practices associated with the preparation of such foods, especially in most cities in the

global south tend to pose significant health risks. Hence, awareness that street food can serve as a vehicle for disease transmission has been sharpened in recent years. Various characteristics of street foods influence the health risks involved. In general terms, these characteristics include the type of food product, the non-use or use or overuse of food additives, and the nature and extent of microbial or chemical contamination (Barro et al., 2006).

The challenge, as most of the literature shows, is that while food vending is a very fast growing informal sector enterprise, it is still at an artisanal stage in most of the urban areas where it is practiced. This has often led to an urgent need for the creation of a supportive policy environment that could not only improve the productivity, welfare and income levels of the micro-entrepreneurs involved in food vending but also increase food quality and safety, (Acho Chi, 2002).

1.2. Problem Statement

Little research has been conducted on the contribution of street foods to the diet of people living and working in Lusaka. Notwithstanding this fact, the contribution of street foods to specific nutrient intake (important to public health) is quite significant and the importance of these street foods in the diet of urban dwellers cannot be overlooked (FAO, 2012). Street foods also provide viable income generation opportunities for those who cannot find their way into the formal job market (Acho Chi, 2002). Given that unemployment is a major concern in Zambia, the contribution of food vending as an informal sector activity towards the alleviation of this problem is indeed significant.

However, despite all these benefits which can be gained from street food vending, evidence suggests that food safety in street vended foods is highly compromised (Barro et al., 2006; Nyenje et al., 2012). With high incidences of out-flowing sewage systems, careless dumping of garbage and many other practices that contribute to unclean environments in the streets of Lusaka, for example, street food vending puts the health of unsuspecting public consumers at great risk. However, there is only one study extensively dealing with this matter in Zambia, namely, the Street food in Africa Project (2003-2004) by the Natural Resource Institute at Greenwich University.

Nonetheless, shutting down food stores and branding street foods as unsafe is unwarranted. Such an act would be irrational and would deprive food vendors of their source of socio-economic livelihoods while denying city dwellers and workers a source of affordable nutrition. To harmonize the need to secure the socio-economic livelihoods of those involved in food vending, and insure that poor households and urban workers are not deprived of affordable nutrition while safeguarding their health, is problematic. However, there is no ethical evaluation of the problem of street food vending in Lusaka hence this study.

1.3 Aim of the study

The purpose of this study was to make an ethical assessment of street food vending in Lusaka district.

1.4 Objectives

In view of the above stated aim, the following were the objectives of this study:

1. To provide a detailed analysis of the current situation (including the government position) regarding street food vending in Lusaka.
2. To determine an ethically tenable position regarding street food vending in Lusaka using ethics of care, human rights and utilitarianism.

1.5 Research questions

To meet the above stated objectives, the study pursued the following research questions:

1. What is the current situation regarding street food vending in Lusaka?
2. What is the ethically tenable position regarding street food vending in Lusaka from care, rights and utilitarian based ethics?

1.6 Methodology and Methods

This study was a qualitative case study with an ethical assessment. A qualitative case study was suitable because of the explorative nature of the study. To collect primary

data, in depth interviews and observation were used. An extensive review of literature was conducted for secondary data.

An ethical theoretical framework comprising three ethical perspectives namely, utilitarianism, human rights (specifically article 6 of the International covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights, ICESCR) and Ethics of Care guided this study in two major ways. Firstly, the framework guided the collection of data, in understanding the nature of sources and the kind of questions that needed to be asked. Secondly, the framework was used to conduct an ethical assessment on the collected data. The choice of perspectives was based on the understanding that food vending borders on the health and livelihoods of many Zambians, hence the need for a theoretical framework that deals adequately with how we can maximize gains and minimize risks for all parties concerned in an impartial and just manner.

1.7 Ethical issues

The major ethical considerations in this study are voluntary participation, confidentiality and informed consent for study participants. The researcher ensured that responses and field notes were kept in confidence and interviewees were only identified by numbers to ensure that responses cannot be traced back to participants. The nature of the study was explained to the respondents and consent was sought from them prior to their participation. In this way, the study conformed to conventional research ethics. Furthermore, even though this study had policy implications, it was conducted mainly for academic purposes. In this way, there were no further ethical issues arising from the study.

1.8 Significance of the study

Although street food vending has numerous benefits, there has been and continues to be public concern about its safety and effects on the health of consumers as well as on the environment in the places where it takes place. In Africa, the growing problem of street food vending is mainly that there is very little or no regulation governing street food supplies in many nations. This has resulted in the decline of safety and quality of such foods. Apart from littering of streets and cities with wastes generated from consumption of foods, problems associated with environmental contamination have

also been exacerbated by street food vending. Furthermore, utensils used in the trade may lead to contamination through toxic heavy metals or simply due to unsanitary environments (FAO/WHO, 2005:1). The government has a duty to protect its citizens from harm through its stipulated organs such as the Ministry of Health, Lusaka City Council (LCC), the Bureau of Standards and so forth. However, it also has a commensurate duty to ensure that it provides its citizens with the means through which they can earn sustainable livelihoods. Thus, through an ethical assessment, this study hopes to provide policy alternatives on how the state (as the actor bearing the responsibility for policy formulation) and other actors involved in the implementation of this policy can proceed on this contentious policy matter. Furthermore, since little information is known on this subject and no recent information on the Zambian context exists, the study will contribute to the pool of available knowledge on street food vending in Zambia. This knowledge can then be used to feed into policy and planning by governmental agencies like the LCC and LDHMT.

1.9 Study Area

Lusaka district is a vast area covering the Lusaka Central Business District (CBD) and various townships around the city. However, the scope of this study was street food vending in the central business district of the city. Therefore, only traders involved in street food vending in the CBD participated in the study (cf. map in appendix). The area where food vendors were selected from included the area covered by Cha cha cha road, Freedom way and Lumumba road. This area has the highest concentration of food vendors.

1.10 Scope of Study

Although this area of investigation has a microbiological dimension, it was not the purpose of this study to investigate it. The study was neither intended to assess the "rightness" or "wrongness" of street food vending nor was it an empirical research that would merely measure attitudes and practices of street food vending in Zambia. Its main thrust was the ethical concerns that street food vending raises in view of public health and the measures that, seen from an ethical standpoint, would be justifiable in protecting public health while also promoting the economic livelihoods of those whose lives depend on its vending.

1.11 Limitations to the study

- There was a very limited amount of recent literature on the subject especially in contexts similar to the domain of this study. This was a major limitation in the review of literature, hence the inability of the researcher to cite more recent literature on Lusaka and Zambia.
- It was difficult to collect data from vendors as some of the insisted that the researcher buy some of the food that they were selling.
- While it was thought prior to data collection (as revealed by the literature reviewed) that various agencies are involved in regulation and enforcement of safety standards regarding food vending, it was learned during data collection that only the Ministry of Local Government and Housing is directly responsible for such duties. In Lusaka, the Ministry carries out this task through the LCC. Hence, primary information presented in this chapter regarding regulation was obtained only from this single source and should be seen in this light.

1.12 Summary

In this study, the defining features of street food vending have been identified as follows: ready-to-eat food and beverage, prepared and sold on the street, or prepared at home and sold on the street. Clearly, these key features emphasise the type of food, the mode of preparation and the location of sale. Street food vending therefore qualifies as an informal sector activity. Since there are various types of street food vendors as highlighted in the section above, this study sought to get insight from each category. As highlighted, the nature of street food vending, while making it a profitable enterprise for those who engage in it, also makes it a risk to public health. Within this context and considering the paucity of research on the nature of street food vending and what can be done about it in Zambia, this study was formulated to make an ethical assessment of the practice. The methodology used was a qualitative case study with an ethical component. The study should not, however, be mistaken to be a microbiological examination of foods vended on the street but rather as an assessment of the practice of street food vending in order to inform policy regarding it.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO 2012:13) explains that although there are some things known about street foods, much is left to assumptions. Many hold opinions about street food without a proper understanding of the intricate dynamics and processes involved in street food and its vending. To some, street food is a hazard to public health as it gives a bad image of the city since it leads to congestion and should be stopped. To others, however, street food is a vibrant informal sector activity that gives urban dwellers and workers an affordable source of nutrition during the hustle and bustle of a working day; it is also a source of economic sustenance for its traders.

A substantial volume of literature on street food and street food vending is available albeit with an emphasis on health, hygiene and socioeconomic benefits (Muzaffer et al., 2009). Some of the research focuses only on its potential benefits to traders, while other scholars focus only on the nutritional and hygiene aspects of informal food vending. Often times, the literature lacks an integrated synthesis of street vended food as a whole. However, there are many overt and hidden ethical issues involved in street food vending. Accordingly, this chapter of this study is devoted to providing an integrated synthesis of literature and draws on research literature on the subject from other contexts and will pay specific attention to such ethical issues as care and rights. The review addresses the substantive issues of food vending such as conceptions, characteristics of food vendors and the merits and demerits of street vended food to both the vendor and the consumer, in this case, the general public. The literature reviewed is thus presented under the following sub themes: characteristics of food vendors, types of commonly vended foods, benefits and risks of street food vending and regulatory frameworks.

2.2 Characteristics of food vendors

Food vendors are not a homogeneous group. Usually, this category of entrepreneurs varies according to socio-economic and demographic characteristics. However, although food vendors are not a homogeneous groups, it is generally agreed that

women are more likely to be employed in the informal sector than men for a combination of factors. Scott (1994 in FAO 2007:18) argues, for example, that these factors include more household responsibility, unrecognised or low levels of skills and education, decreasing household incomes, and occasionally, women's desire for greater autonomy and flexibility. However, the FAO (1995) explains that although women may be more represented than men in the informal sector, they usually earn less and are concentrated in market niches considered to be "feminine," especially food production and service. Tinker (1987:89), however, contests this argument. He asserts that whether women earn more than men or not is dependent on the national context of the sector and he explains that women may actually earn more than male workers who are in such formal employment as construction or masonry. In addition, the FAO (1995) points out that there is great local variation in the impact of participation in the informal sector on women's livelihoods and that it is important to recognise that their activities in the sector are not just temporary or complementary to their husbands' work. They may be regular and permanent. Thus, this factor is a cardinal consideration for politicians and policy makers if the general condition of women who are involved in the informal sector is to be improved.

Additionally, the FAO (2007:18) proposes that the informal sector ought to be considered within the wider relations of kinship, alliances and patronage. Women involved in the informal sector use their income to support their families rather than to expand their businesses (Tinker, 1994), or gain social prestige and social solidarity from such work. Furthermore, it is argued that women also consider this sector more flexible than formal employment, and that they can more easily combine income-generating employment with other household responsibilities such as childcare. Consequently, it is important to consider these elements in policy about women's participation in the informal sector as women are not necessarily looking to expand their businesses and leave the sector for formal employment. Some women like to be their own boss (cf. Roubaud, 1994 in FAO, 2007; Hansen and Vaaa, 2004). Hence, the FAO (2007:18) explains that it is important in this light that women are empowered through the sector to make decisions on their own lives.

As with the above discussion on the informal sector in which street food vending is located, the FAO (2012:4) shows that street food vending is predominantly a women-led sector. Women are seen to be predominantly selling food on most of the streets in African cities while consumers range from a variety of social backgrounds, transcending income groups, gender, age and education. This study of street food vending in West African cities found that women represent between 89% and 98% of their sample and they were all in the age range of between 33 and 49 years (ibid.:5). In addition, Mitullah, in her six country case study comparative analysis, argues that women are the most represented in street food vending due to their role in the informal sector. She argues that in the African context, petty trade is viewed as an economic activity for those with a low level of education and that for women, it is considered an extension of their reproductive and domestic role. She writes that "the level of education attained has an influence on their occupational placement. Since women are comparatively less educated than men, they cannot effectively compete in the formal job market" (Mitullah 2003:2).

However, the literature on food vending from various parts of the world, while confirming that women are the most represented in street food vending, suggests that it is not only education that determines women's participation in food vending. A context based cultural background also plays a crucial role in determining who participates in food vending. It suffices at this point to state that the participation of women in food vending, while economically driven, is also more cultural than Mitullah seems to suggest. For example, it is natural in Africa and Asia for women to be associated with catering practices as the role is seen culturally as "woman appropriate." However, this may not be the case in every setting hence the need for an analysis lodged in local context.

Another major issue in food vending is that it usually involves children. Like many other informal sector activities, food vending suffers from an influx of child-vendors across the world. In most countries, children tend to work in the informal sector in situations ranging from stark exploitation to merely helping out their parents after school. About 246 million children in the world are working mostly in the informal sector without legal protection (FAO 2007:16). The International Labour Organisation

(ILO) further points out that "children preparing and selling food in the streets of metropolitan areas represent one of the main and the most evident groups of child labourers (2003b:1). They may work as part of a family or other informal enterprises or association, or they may be self-employed." Those children who live at home would usually work to help their families, whilst children living on the street usually work for their own survival (FAO, 2005). This situation thus adversely affects children schooling and ultimately their potential for growth and survival. The situation raises further questions regarding the regulation of vending as an employment activity in view of child domestic work and child labour. What becomes more and more apparent as one explores street food vending are the more critical issues of child poverty, child abuse and exploitation. The fact that children are also highly involved in street vending raises more ethical concerns regarding regulation of the practice as it borders on more sensitive issues of child poverty, abuse and exploitation which are amount to infringement of rights. The widespread involvement of children in food vending and the informal sector at large has critical implications for policy and practice FAO (2007:18). The needs of children and women should be a high priority in research and policy making in the sector. Arguably, authorities are justified when they insist on banning the practice. However, doing so juxtaposes the need to protect rights of vulnerable populations against their other livelihood needs like social sustenance. Such a position thus raises has far reaching ramifications in view of the broader problems of urban poverty.

However, in the context of African cities and of Lusaka in particular, one would concur with the assertion of Mitulla (2003) regarding women's involvement in food vending. Arguably, women in Zambia have fewer educational and economic opportunities than their male counterparts. Cohen (2010:2) accentuates the gender dimension of street food vending when she argues that she does not wish to advocate that women remain locked into what some may regard as their traditional role of food processing. She argues that the recognition of the importance of this activity as a source of income generation for women makes it incumbent to add gender specific criteria to any assessment of policy implications.

2.3. Types of commonly vended foods

It is generally argued that the customers of street food are mainly the pedestrians who pass by for food while on their daily routine. However, the FAO (2007) contends that in a few cases, especially when a vendor has done business in one spot for a long time, customer relations develop, thereby expanding the market beyond the pedestrians. Some food vendors look for customers in offices, homes and beyond the urban areas where they are based. This is quite common among those who have invested substantially in the street trade, especially those who use trucks, pick-ups and bicycles. Such vendors trade in cooked food, fruits, vegetables and clothes. Overall, the high transport costs and low profits prohibit street traders from accessing better markets in most of the case studies reviewed for this study.

Scholars have argued that most of the food vended on the street is nutritionally not healthy. Steyn and Labadarious (2011:464), in their study of street food consumption in South Africa found that the most consumed food items purchased were items made from fruits, cold drinks, savoury snacks, biscuits and cooked food such as pap and fried meat. Some of these were purchased out of convenience to both buyers and sellers. These authors argue that the purchasing of fruit was positive but that the other items were high in sugar, fat or salt and that the cooked foods were frequently fried. These items included fat cakes (Dumplings) and fried meat. Steyn and Labadarious also cite other studies in Johannesburg that observed the common consumption of fried and energy-dense fast foods, namely burgers, pizza, fried chicken and soft drinks.

A study on Burkina Faso, also cited in Steyn and Labadarious, found that vendors mainly sell cereals, meat, milk and fruits while another study of food vending in Mwanza, a city in Tanzania, found that food vendors prepared foods based on customer requirements and that it was, therefore, difficult to come up with a profile of commonly vended foods. However, the list of frequently vended foods included *ugali* (a thick porridge common as a staple food in East and Southern Africa), rice, banana, vitumbuwa (fritters), chapatti, beans, fish, tea and eggs. The pricing of foods, however, was very similar across food stalls because they all were each other's competitors (UAPs, 2007:28). In Zambia, it is not unusual to find such food stuffs as cassava, fried ground nuts, and boiled ground nuts and other food stuffs that are of particular

traditional value being sold on the street. This cultural characteristic of street food makes it dynamic and difficult to profile. However, Cohen writes of another reality. She argues that a headline such as 'Street Food in Singapore" not only acts as a colourful attraction in a travel magazine but also a delightful culinary experience for the tourist or researcher passing through. She is quick to point out, however, that behind these words lies a stark reality in which the production, sale and consumption of street foods often play a key role in the economic survival of many of the urban and rural poor (2010:2).

2.4. Benefits of street vended foods

Street food represents a significant part of urban food consumption for millions of low-and-middle-income consumers in urban areas on a daily basis. Street foods may be the least expensive and most accessible means of obtaining a nutritionally balanced meal outside the home for many low income people, provided that the consumer is informed and able to choose the proper combination of foods. In developing countries, street food preparation and selling provides a regular source of income for millions of men and women with limited education or skills. Arambulo et al. (1993:344) present similar reasons for the growth of the food vending industry in Latin America. Precipitating factors include marginalised urban populations, the unemployed status of innumerable potential street vendors, the lengthening commutes for workers, the public demand for cheap and culturally appropriate food near work, and the shortage or absence of regular establishments selling such food.

Mitullah (2003) states that, although it has been argued that vending attracts those who have limited opportunities for obtaining formal employment or prestigious business, and that it minimises chances of social exclusion and marginalisation, street vending is increasingly becoming an option for many citizens. It is no longer limited to lower social groups, especially the underprivileged who carve out a living in an environment full of harassment by urban authorities as demonstrated in case studies. A number of entrepreneurs have entered the trade as an option, especially since the beginning of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) that resulted in the retrenchment of civil servants across Africa.

Mitullah's (2003) six country comparative study on street vending shows that street vending is a large source of employment across the continent. The case of Uganda in this comparative study shows the importance of the informal economy throughout Uganda's turbulent civil strife. The informal sector is almost the largest source of employment in Uganda, accounting for over 13 per cent of the labour force as compared to 5.3 per cent of the formal sector. There is no evidence to suggest that the situation is different in other African countries.

The World Health Organisation (WHO Fact Sheet 3:2) asserts that "street foods are especially widespread among the urban poor." The fact sheet shows that over all, consumer spending on street foods represents a significant proportion of household budgets. In Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire (one of the countries in the review), the fact sheet shows that 20% of meals are taken outside of the home with most of these purchased from street vendors. In Ghana, almost 40% of the total food budgets go to purchasing street foods in the lowest expenditure quintile and 2% in high-income households. The FAO (2012:2) adds that the growth of the informal food sector is related to rapid urbanisation and the lack of marketing infrastructure in underdeveloped parts of rapidly growing cities.

Winarno and Allain (2010) explain that in Asia, food vending is a vibrant economic activity. They state that although each street enterprise is generally small in size, requires relatively simple skills, basic facilities and small amounts of capital, yet they are very numerous and have considerable potential for generating income and employment. Bogor, with a population of 250,000 has 18,000 street food enterprises, nearly one in every fourteen people. Roughly 26% of workers active in the formal sector in Bogor are directly employed as street food vendors.

Going by the above remarks, it is clear that the role played by street foods in the socio-economic livelihoods of people especially in Africa cannot be overemphasised. Opeolu et al. (2010:29), for example, emphasise that "street vended foods can contribute significantly to food security of those involved in its production, particularly suppliers of raw produce, food processors, vendors and consumers." Furthermore, FAO/WHO (2005) reports that the majority of street food workers are women who would otherwise be economically destitute. The 2003 census of street vendors in Harare,

Zimbabwe (quoted in FAO/WHO, 2005) explains, for example, that a total of 8,631 people were involved in the business of street vending with 81% of these being female. A similar study conducted in Zambia (also reported by FAO/WHO), revealed the presence of over 5,255 food vendors and a further 16,000 people who are employed by these business owners. These studies show that close to 81 million meals are sold from the street per annum and that profits made range from $0.20 and $31 a day. What this indicates is the fact that the sector is significant in so far as provision of social-economic sustenance is concerned.

In fact, Mensah et al. (2002:546) stress that "the consumption of street food is common in many countries where unemployment is high, salaries are low, work opportunities and social programmes are limited, and where urbanisation is taking place." Hence, street food vendors benefit from a positive cash flow, often evade taxation, and can determine their own working hours. In selling snacks, complete meals, and refreshments at relatively low prices, food vendors provide an essential service to workers, shoppers, travellers, and people on low incomes. These authors, however, point out that the people who depend on such food are often more interested in its convenience than in questions of its safety, quality and hygiene. Opeolu et al. (2010) explain that this continually increasing demand and supply of street foods is a result of the higher mobility status of people in the course of work.

Rane (2011) further points out that appreciation of street vended foods is not only due to their unique flavours, convenience and the role they play in the cultural and social heritage of societies, but also to the fact that they have become essential for maintaining the nutritional status of the populations. She adds that "besides offering business opportunities for developing entrepreneurs, the sale of street foods can make a sizeable contribution to the economies of developing countries" (ibdi.:100). The FAO (2012:4) points out that street food vending is a large source of employment that offers abundant informal labour opportunities in comparison with scarce labour demand in the formal sector. Particularly for unskilled workers, "it employs, on average, more than 37% of the labour force, and contributes about 38% to total GDP in Africa." Reliance on local produce as a source of ingredients means that the practice of food vending also has benefits for other small scale suppliers of food stuff. Some

authors also argue that street food is a marker of culture. Street food illustrates the local eating habits of a particular place and of the vendor who may be preserving and promoting their culture (FAO, 2012:4).

Matalas and Yannaloulia (2002:2), in their study of street food vending in Greece, point out that fast food chains in the country have now tended to include the kind of traditional foods that are commonly vended on the street so as to capture and expand the realm of ethnic cuisines including traditional Greek, Cypriot, Chinese and Mexican cuisines. However, this practice was not found to be universal amongst the other areas in the literature reviewed where food vending is practiced. The common tendency is that fast food outlets compete with street food vendors.

2.5. Risks of street vended foods

Many arguments about the risks of street food are presented in the literature reviewed. The World Health Organisation (WHO), for example, argues that food borne diseases include a wide spectrum of illnesses which are a growing public health problem worldwide and which are a major contributor to illness, compromise nutritional status and result in less resistance to disease and loss of productivity (WHO Food Safety, undated, 11). The globalisation of the food supply system has presented new challenges for food safety and has contributed to the international public health problem of food borne diseases. This is attributed to the growing industrialisation and trade of food produce, rapid urbanisation associated with increased food preparation/consumption outside the home and the emergence of new or antibiotic-resistant pathogens (WHO Food Safety, undated). The risk of serious food poisoning outbreaks linked to street foods remains a threat in many parts of the world, and a lack of knowledge among street food vendors about the causes of food-borne disease is a major risk factor. Sub sections below present a review of the literature regarding the risks associated with street food.

2.5.1. Pathogenic risks to health

The debate on the health risks of street food is about the potential for transmission of pathogens. Street foods tend to be potential drivers of both water and food-borne diseases. For example, many water borne diseases are spread by contamination of

drinking water systems with urine and faeces of infected animals or people. This is likely to occur where public and private drinking water systems get their water from surface waters. Indeed, this has been the cause of many dramatic outbreaks of faecal-oral diseases such as cholera and typhoid in areas where street food vending is common. However, there are many other ways in which faecal material can reach the mouth and some of these are through the hands or on contaminated food. In general, however, that contaminated food is the single most common way in which people become infected. Among the most common food-borne diseases are giardiasis (an infection with bacteria by a spiral shaped bacterium called campylobacter), and salmonellosis (an infection with bacteria called salmonella which lives in humans, animals and birds). Other diseases include a common but rarely diagnosed illness viral infection called calicivirus and an illness caused by rod like bacterium called Escherichia coli 0157:H7 spread by food or water contaminated microscopic amounts of cow faces. However, with the resurgence of contact, communicable diseases like ebola, new risks arise out of street food vending in view of food preparation, storage and vending.

There is evidence to suggest that the vegetables which constitute a large part of street food are prone to pathogenic contamination. Nyenje et al. (2012:2610) argue that vegetables have been associated with food-borne outbreaks in many countries. These authors explain that vegetables may be contaminated from the farm with human sewage and from irrigation water. They add that "unsafe water used for rinsing the vegetables and sprinkling to keep them fresh are other possible sources of contamination." In a study by Nyenje et al. (2012) the occurrence of pathogenic bacteria, mostly of the *enterobacteriacease* family, in vegetables irrigated by untreated waste was reported in Morocco. Although regarded as human pathogens, they argue that members of this family of pathogens have been recognised as inhabitants of soil and plants. Thus vegetables may serve as a reservoir from which these bacteria can colonise and infect a susceptible host. It is also argued that unhygienic vending areas register bacteria counts that could make this contamination worse. They also observed that the *Listeria species* were another major source of contamination in street vended food. *Listeria species* have been associated with a wide variety of food sources,

particularly poultry, red meat and meat products. In their study, Nyenje et al. (2012) found a high occurrence of *listeria spp* in pies (33%) and chicken stew (29%).

A study by Rheinlander et al. (2008) revealed that overall hygiene practices of vendors who participated in their study were insufficient to ensure bio-medically safe food. Unsafe practices reported in this study were especially related to inadequate storage and reheating of food before sale, insufficient hand washing, inappropriate cleaning of cooking utensils, and inadequate rinsing of vegetables. Knowledge to ensure hygiene handling of food was not turned into safe practices, not even by those who had obtained formal training in cooking (ibid.: 7). However, the findings of this study show that deception on the part of food vendors was a crucial aspect of their food hygiene practices. Customers were tricked into thinking the vendor was hygienic. The vendors had tendencies of ensuring neat and aesthetic impressions of the vending areas while at the same time ignoring messy and dirty conditions of the facilities and back kitchen. This study raises key ethical concerns about the motivation of food vendors and the extent to which they care about the food they sell to their customers. However, Rheinlander et al. (2008) do not pursue this issue in their analysis. This presents a point for critical analysis in this current ethical assessment of street food vending.

Lack of care in transportation of food products from one point to the next usually contributes to the contamination of foods even further. As Ohiokpehai (2003:77) asserts, "care must be taken that the raw materials consumed in the raw state (for example, salads, vegetables, fruits) grown with waste water are cleaned properly." A study by Mensah et al. (2002) found that most of the food vendors were women and that there was a high illiteracy rate (33.3%) among the women working as street food vendors. Despite having a high level of education, it did not appear to affect their knowledge of diarrhoea but was strongly associated with knowledge of the most common mode of transmission of enteric pathogens. The study concluded that the education of these women is essential in programmes aimed at improving the microbial quality of street foods. It recommended that special attention should be given to the following: causes of diarrhoea, transmission of diarrhoeal pathogens, handling of food after cooking and of equipment used for cooking and serving, hand washing, use of soap, and environmental hygiene. Action along these lines can be

expected to improve the safety of street foods and thereby to heighten consumer protection.

It can, thus, be seen that education of food vendors on the type of actions they can take to ensure that their foods are pathogen free becomes an integral part of any policy within the sector. In fact, others feel that this is so great a need for the sector that, once achieved, it would be the magic bullet solution to the problems posed to health by street food vending. Awareness raising programmes involving various stakeholders, for example, local councils, government public health departments and NGOs on public health are, therefore, very important.

Another very important consideration here in view of the risks posed by street vended foods to public health is that food vendors usually take their products to customers and therefore operate from such places as bus terminals, industrial sites, market places and so on where there are a ready and numerous clienteles. Unfortunately, these locations are usually devoid of food safety requirements. Sometimes, large amounts of garbage accumulate and provide harbourage for insects and animal pests. Furthermore, the literature reviewed showed that most street food vendors find it more affordable to use bar soap rather than liquid soap, which may be more effective to clean their utensils. They also utilise cold water resulting in inefficient cleaning and the washed plates may be stored in an unclean corner, which leads to recontamination of the said utensils. In some cases, especially for those who vend from bus stations, vendors might even use recycled water if finding fresh water is a challenge.

Mensah et al. (2002:546) espouse similar arguments when they explain that "the hygiene aspects of vending operations are a major source of concern for food control officers. For example, stands are often crude structures, and running water may not be readily available." Furthermore, toilets and adequate washing facilities are rarely available. These authors explain that the washing of hands, utensils, and dishes is often done in buckets or bowls. Disinfection is not usually carried out, and insects and rodents may be attracted to areas where there is no organised sewage disposal. Food is not adequately protected from flies, refrigeration is usually unavailable, and the food may also not be fresh. The above conditions and practices can lead to cross-contamination of cooked foods. Furthermore, safe food storage temperatures are

difficult to maintain since foods are often displaced over long periods and may not be reheated before serving.

Mosupye and Von Holy (2000:2) stress the fact that in countries where street food vending is prevalent, there is commonly a lack of information on the incidence of food-borne diseases related to street-vended foods. They state that microbiological studies on street vended foods in American, Asian and African countries have revealed high bacterial counts and a high incidence of food-borne bacterial pathogens in the food. They explain that, in some cases, street-vended foods have been implicated in outbreaks of food borne diseases. For instance, in the Malaysian state of Perak, 14 people died as a result of eating rice noodles bought from street vendors. A cholera epidemic in Pune City, India, was related to street-vended sugar cane juice containing ice that was contaminated with *Vibrio (V) cholera*. They write that "in Senegal, over 200 cases of food poisoning were traced to street foods made from dairy products. In the mountain region of Pakistan, tourists are reported to have complained of diarrhoea during or following travel to this region where they reportedly bought snacks or prepared meals from vendors" (ibid.: 2). Another example that these authors present is that of Western Cuba, where 14 people died and 49 were hospitalised due to food poisoning after eating fried food from a street vendor who was among those who died. This case actually shows that, most of the times, the vendors are themselves not even aware of the risks that their foods pose to their consumers.

Similar results are shown in a study of food vendors by Zawide (2009). This study found that very few street vendors apply hygiene principles of food protection during the preparation, storage and sale of foods. The author states that "the common hygiene fault practices observed were related to washing hands, utensils and pots in the same water container, drying hands and utensils with the same towel; sneezing, coughing, smoking and spitting near food; not wearing rubber gloves, hair cover and apron; and not removing jewellery while preparing food" (ibid.:4). This study also highlighted poor food storage facilities and explained that where food stalls are not provided, food was exposed to the sun, dust, wind, smoke, flies and dirty surfaces with a risk of cross contamination. Facilities such as running water, toilets, drainage and garbage disposal

were non-existent at most of the areas for use by the vendors. The study also found evidence of bacterial contamination after cooking where few samples examined.

2.6. Policy and Regulatory Frameworks

According to Bromley (2000), street food vending generates enormous controversy in cities throughout the world. Just as with other occupational groups within the informal economy, the core debates revolve around issues of legality and regulation. There is little consensus over what formalisation should entail despite advocates of formalisation being found on either side of these debates. Roever (2005) also points out that there is increasing recognition that formalisation may not be the "magic cure" for all street vendors and that street vending organisations all over the world are in fact engaged in a constant process of negotiating the terms of their formality. However, the debates over street vending also involve registration and taxation, individual versus collective rights, health and safety regulations especially where food is involved, and urban planning and governance. The policy environment for street traders in any given locality is a function of both the legal and political environment. In terms of the legal context, many countries have constitutional provisions related to individual rights to work and to private property, and to collective rights to public space and economic association that impinge on street vendors.

2.6.1. Food quality and Control

According to FAO/WHO (2005:5) the term "food control systems" refers to a "systematic set of activities carried out by food producers, processors, retailers and nutritional or local authorities in an effort to provide consumers protection against food poisoning and unscrupulous food traders." Food control ensures that all foods produced in or imported into the country conform to national food safety requirements. A food control system, therefore, consists of food legislation, a food inspection department, food analysis facilities (laboratories), and information dissemination and management. However, the challenge concerning food control in most developing countries is that often systems are inadequate or regulation is out of date, food inspectorates are ill-equipped, laboratory facilities are inadequate, and the enforcement and management of food regulation is poor. There is also a general lack of

coordination and cooperation among government food control agencies. These factors work together to disadvantage food vendors.

The FAO posits that food vendors are vulnerable to variations in the markets everywhere they obtain their supplies. They also suffer from limited storage capacity. The challenges posed by lack of inspection of informally vended foods relate in a more general sense to the fact that most food vendors do not run registered food stalls. However, this is also due to inadequate provisions in the legal frameworks that have to cater for vendors, or to the non-functional local authority systems that do not have the capacity to register and monitor food vendors and provide standards. These factors together imply that food vendors cannot compete with the more established and reputable food sellers. In the end, they may resort to using substandard food stuffs and ingredients that are cheaply accessible. Thus, most of the concerns about street food evolve around issues of contamination and hygiene. Rane (2011: 101), for example, contends that the conditions under which stalls of street vendors operate are reportedly unsuitable for the preparation and selling of food. While sellers prepare their food at home, where there is no possibility of food inspection by local authorities of any sort, most of them prepare the food at stalls at the road side. These places are usually littered with filth and are close to areas with waste, and the fact that some vendors prepare their food many hours before selling means that chances of contamination are high. The FAO (2012:2) also states in this respect that the risks of bacterial and chemical contamination during food processing, transport and marketing may be poorly controlled in informal food vending:

> Wholesale and retail markets often have inadequate infrastructure, including waste disposal and water supply. Storage is a problem since vendors in many countries do not have access to electricity and refrigeration. Further, improving market infrastructure is not sufficient to eliminate these risks. Since food is often processed at home, efforts must also be made to improve urban housing, including sanitation and access to water and electricity.

In this respect, the FAO states “the risk of serious food poisoning outbreaks linked to street foods remains a threat in many parts of the world. A lack of knowledge among street food vendors about the causes of food-borne disease is a major risk factor” (ibid.:2)

2.6.2. Regulation

As explained before, research suggests that the political environment influences the particular mix of policies towards street vending in each locality to a great extent. It is also argued that efforts to attract foreign capital through campaigns for "world class city" status often result in policies that threaten the livelihoods of street vendors. Since street vendors lack voice in the policy making process and visibility in policy circles, their ability to influence political outcomes is greatly constrained. In local jurisdictions as has been the case in Lusaka with the Patriotic Front (PF) government, policies toward street vending are contingent and fluid, ebbing and flowing according to election results and bureaucratic currents. For example, the somewhat populist PF government, which rode on local support from the lower and middle classes for their September 2011 election victory, has tended to allow vendors a greater level of freedom than did previous governments.

However, experience shows that street vendors face numerous challenges when it comes to regulation. These include the general lack of recognition by municipal authorities of informal sector activities as a legitimate activity, lack of recognised rights for vendors to set up mobile vending stands in regulated places, and a lack of access to state institutions to resolve conflicts or secure and enforce their rights. Arambulo et al. (1994:344) point out that besides placing a hidden burden on public services, the generally unregulated and quasi-clandestine street food industry tends to observe poor hygiene practices and to pose significant public health problems. Within this context, Latin America's cholera epidemics have drawn increasing attention to street food's potential for disease transmission and have created growing support for attempts to resolve these troubles.

The literature has revealed that in Africa, local authorities are a major obstacle to the development of informal sector activities in general. Mitullah (2003:10), for example, asserts that authorities use out-dated restrictive policies, by-laws and regulations originally intended to control and regulate the growth of indigenous enterprises. She argues that these restrictions make vending principally illegal, and they view vendors as responsible for making cities dirty, obstructing traffic, and are therefore, seen as a public nuisance. Mitullah contends that such provisions and perceptions are out dated

and originated from dealing with cities planned for colonial governors. She contends that such policies did not provide for any trade within the CBD and that most street trading activities that take place within the CBD had no legal provisions. These policies, she argues, did not appreciate the role of street vending in an urban economy. However, while these policies are necessary, they are inappropriate in today's economic hardships.

Her case studies revealed, for example, that in Uganda, the Local Government Act (1997) does not engender a review of by-laws. The Act simply gives powers to local authorities to enforce laws and by-laws consistent with the national framework. This implies that the local authorities have to review their by-laws to be in line with the 1997 Local Government Act. Her case studies also revealed that most local authorities are operating with out-dated by-laws that required review. Another challenge that her study revealed was that countries, for example, manage street traders through the Traffic and Enforcement Departments. Vendors are then viewed as a problem that has to be controlled rather than as production units that contribute to the urban economy. South Africa has initiated processes through its constitution that have a potential for improving the business environment for small scale enterprises by providing services to communities and promoting social and economic development. However, even in South Africa, differences exist among the different cities with respect to attitudes towards street vendors and the provision of a favourable environment. Most street traders have no tenure for the areas they use. This can be seen by looking at the numbers of street vendors licensed to trade as compared to the numbers that trade. For example, within the city of Nairobi, where there are over 100,000 street and roadside traders, the authorities have licensed no more than 10,000 trades (Mitullah, 2003:7).

By its very nature, the street vendors' sector lacks the formal legal status that would facilitate improvement in food hygiene and access to credit. Vendors also suffer from abuse by authorities, traffic, noise, and hygiene problems, while consumers face food safety risks. On their part, market relations amongst food vendors tend to involve mutual respect, except in cases where there is intense competition. Poor location of business, low purchasing power among customers and unreliability of customers who take goods on credit also affect the market.

In the Zambian case, a report by the Greenwich University Project (2003-2004) states that informal food is illegal in Zambia and that vendors who are unlicensed are excluded from government support and chased away from vending areas. However, vending of cooked food in Lusaka is well established and the Greenwich University Project discovered that over 5,355 vendors were operating around the city at the time. The study also showed that cooked food vending provided a major source of employment, income and nutritional intake for the urban poor in Lusaka.

The worry is that, although this sector is so vast and has a critical effect on many lives, there does not seem to be any serious implementation of policies to ensure soundness in food systems. This is mainly due to fragmentation of regulatory services as well as poor enforcement of the regulations themselves. As FAO (2005) explains, in Zambia the Ministry of Health has a major role to play in protecting the public against health hazards from food, drugs and cosmetics under the Food and Drugs Act.

There is, however, fragmentation in the manner in which matters of food safety are handled by gazetted state agencies. For example, the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives is responsible for animal and plant health in ensuring animal disease control and in the prevention of the introduction of new plant pests into the country. The Ministry of Commerce Trade and Industry is responsible for the registration and control of food industries, whereas the Ministry of Science and Technology is responsible for coordination of all issues related to genetically modified organisms. However, while the Bureau of Standards is the agency responsible for the development of voluntary standards for industries and the certification of products, the Zambia Consumers Association handles consumers and food-related complaints, which are later referred to the appropriate authority.

Due to these ambiguities, and indeed duplication of work amongst the not very adequately effective government agencies, food safety is one area that is of grave concern with the advent of a liberalised economy. The inadequate food control infrastructure of Zambia further facilitates poor food safety control. As FAO (2005) indicates, the emerging of the Council Health Department (Housing and Social) has diluted the statutory functions of the Health Department as stipulated under the Food and Drugs Act, the Local Government Act and the National Health Services Act.

Although Zambia has established a comprehensive Food and Drugs Act, its food component has not been implemented. Different Ministries administer the various pieces of legislation with mandates and responsibilities to varying degrees. Hence, the many gaps in the food control system which can be exploited by unscrupulous individuals. This puts the lives of the public at great risk.

The FAO (2007:11) asserts that "the informal food sector exists in all countries of the world. It has continued to flourish even when illegal or state oppressed. It offers autonomy and incomes to a wide variety of families in economic difficulties. It is thus unlikely to disappear." This assertion not only points to the universal nature of informal food vending but also to the fact that the practice is born and maintained by socio-economic circumstances. The legality of street food vending has always been a challenge in cities across the globe. However, illegal as it may be, if the prevailing circumstances deny people any chance of a decent standard of living, informal food vending will continue to thrive.

Fellows and Hilmi (2012) summarise the debate on challenges that surround the regulation of street vendors into six major issues. The first challenge is recognising that such informal street vending exists, and that the sector is not devoted only to occasional vending and processing, but represents opportunities for the livelihoods of many. It can, thus, be a viable economic sector. The second challenge is related to the need for the realisation that this sector is not an escape from poverty but rather a grassroots-level economic sector that can grow to become an integral part of the economy. The third challenge involves issues of unfair competition. The authors point out that doing business in the formal sector is easier than in the informal sector. They argue that "vendors and processors who are in the informal sector commonly have fewer overheads than food retailers and processors in the formal sector" (ibid.: 73). The fourth challenge is around the need to regulate the occupation of public space. As already discussed, vendors require strategic locations and these considerations have to be made in view of such factors as traffic congestion, especially in urban areas.

The fifth challenge presented is related to the need to understand the diversity and requirements of the sector. They state that there is a large diversity in terms of vendors and processors, enterprises within the sector, types of vending units, type of foods and

snacks sold, economic performance, etc. Related to this challenge are also the diverse needs and necessities related to access to water, energy and sanitation (ibid.: 17). The last challenge that Fellow and Hilmi present is around the need to recognise that, like other sectors, this sector does not only operate for financial reasons alone but also in account of some special social and cultural factors involved. They point to the role of both men and women in running enterprises and stress that regulation needs to consider gender vulnerability in the sector and other gender-related matters. The discussion presented above highlights issues related to the balance between governments responsibilities towards its citizens in providing regulation that allows street food vending to thrive in safe environment and the need to protect the traders and public from harassment and poor health respectively. This is essentially a discussion of rights and obligations of the government towards its citizens. However, as can be seen above, the literature does not ground the discussion in human rights.

2.7. Summary

The literature above highlights many pertinent issues regarding street food vending. However, the following can be said to be most salient:

- Street food vending is a viable and vital informal sector activity in the whole world and even more in developing countries like Zambia due to the employment opportunities it provides.
- Street food vending is a convenient and affordable source of food and nutrition for urban families and workers in the city.
- Street food vending poses serious risks to health if its practice is not regulated and monitored adequately because of the problems of food hygiene, preparation and environmental contamination.
- Regulation and monitoring of food vending as an informal sector activity is not easy to undertake due to the nature of the sector. In the developing world, this is made worse by the hostility exhibited by government framework and legal instruments that have not kept in step with time in terms of urbanisation, industrialisation and the increasing levels of poverty and hardship in urban areas.

- Food vending may also lead to congestion and an untidy city as well as disease outbreaks if vending is done in undesignated areas where sanitation is poor.

Despite the issues such as child rights, the treatment of vendors by their governments (balancing rights and obligations) and the benefits of street food vending, the literature reviewed puts no emphasis on these ethical issues that are embedded in street food vending. Aspects of rights, care and of the good that might be achieved if food vending is well regulated are infrequently discussed despite having been referred to by various authors. Furthermore, the literature reviewed does not extensively cover the case of informal food vending in the context of Zambia. The proceeding study will thus specifically address these ethical issues by analysis the case of the centre business district in Lusaka Zambia.

CHAPTER THREE: ETHICAL THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Knowing what the morally right action is at every single point of our lives is extremely difficult. However, Singer (1993:12) explains that our solution to this problem lies in ethics, because ethical judgments are universalisable. In simple terms, ethics is the philosophical study of moral decisions. By implication, ethical thinking enables us to go beyond our personal view points to consider like an impartial spectator would, a universal point of view (ibid.:13). Accordingly, this chapter presents a discussion of the ethical theoretical framework that was used to assess the findings of this study. In brief, an ethical framework is a set of ethical principles or theories built together and applied to an ethical problem to provide ethically sound solutions. In this way, an ethical framework is a necessary tool for ethical decision making. For this study, three ethical theories namely; utilitarianism, human rights and the ethics of care were drawn together to create the ethical framework. The proceeding segment presents a discussion of the theories and clarifies each theory's suitability to the study is clarified.

3.2. Utilitarianism

Although not a single theory, utilitarianism can be summarised as that ethical perspective that holds that an action is right if it produces, or tends to produce, the greatest amount of good for the greatest number of people. It belongs to the cluster of ethical theories commonly termed teleological. Teleological theories are ethical theories that are value based. To a teleological theorist, an action is morally right if it promotes the good or that which has value. It is, in this way, consequentialist since it looks to the value of consequences of actions for their moral rightness or wrongness.

Utilitarianism has its general roots in ancient Greek moral philosophy. Also, Driver in the Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (SEP) records that the core insight (the insight that morally appropriate behaviour will not harm others, but will instead increase happiness or 'utility') which motivates utilitarianism occurred much earlier even though the first systematic account of the theory was developed by Jeremy Bentham who lived between 1748 and 1832. Early precursors to the classical utilitarians include the British Moralists, Cumberland, Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Gay,

and Hume. Of these, Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746) is explicitly utilitarian when it comes to action choice. He argued, "… action is best, which procures the greatest happiness for the greatest numbers..." (Driver, 2014). David Hume (1711–1776) however introduced the term utility to describe the pleasing consequences of actions as they impact people.

Our present understating of utilitarianism, however, is one that is shaped by the so called classical utilitarians; Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart-Mill. As it is generally known today, utilitarianism has two main features, both of which Bentham articulated. These are the consequentialist principle (or its teleological aspect) and the utility principle (or its hedonic aspect). Simply stated, utilitarianism proposes that we choose from any set of available alternatives that alternative with the best aggregate good from the foreseeable consequences (Troyer 2003). The rightness or wrongness of an act is in this way determined by the goodness or badness of the results that flow from it. It has to be borne in mind however that what may be the alternative with the best foreseeable consequences may change in the light of new evidence. This may then change our conception of what the morally right action is. In applying utilitarianism to street food vending, this study will seek to understand what the best practice regarding the sector should be from a standpoint of the consequences of the practice on the various interest groups. On this basis, the best available alternative will be chosen.

3.3 Human rights

In the view of Shultz (2002), human dignity is "an inherent right of all people" and human rights are in this way promises that societies make to their members to assure that dignity. But rights are more than mere promises. They also become law, be it by domestic statute or international accord. Human rights are invariant with respect to local conventions, institutions, culture, or religion. To formulate a demand in terms of human rights implies that the demand is not merely worth having, but that there is a stringent need that the problem be solved. Human rights have three main features. They are universal and owed by every political society to everybody, they are requirements of political morality whose force does not depend on their expression in enforceable law and, they are especially urgent requirements. The original conception of human rights was mostly about protecting civil liberties, such as the freedoms of

speech, press and religion, and freedom against torture and abuse - restrictions on the excesses of governments against individuals. However, with time, human rights evolved to include what are now termed economic social and cultural rights (ESCR). Although all human rights are of value to any discussion of ethics, the central theme in this discussion is that of economic, social and cultural rights (ESCR).

ESCR are rooted in redistributive justice (Rwiza, 2010:175) contained in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). The ICESCR was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 16 December 1966 and entered into force on the 3rd of January 1976. The Economic, Social and Cultural Rights online manual suggests that the duty of government under this body of international human rights is to guarantee economic, social and cultural rights in view of three major action points: to respect, protect and fulfil. It summarises the ESCR as follows:

> Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

ESCR ground the debate about sustainable livelihoods into the concept of citizenship. Ebobrah (2008) explains that there is general consensus that "economic and social rights are guaranteed essentially to place states "under a legal obligation to utilise …available resources maximally to correct social and economic inequalities and imbalances." Ideally, all rights generate the duties to respect, protect, promote and fulfil. The case of street vended food is in fact a typical example of a situation in which the rights of one party may be infringed upon if another party is free to enjoy theirs without reservations. The right to work and the right to health are two of the ESCR that are relevant to the assessment of street food vending.

3.2.1.1 Right to work

The right to work is recognised as a fundamental right and appears in various international legal instruments. However, only article 6 of the ICESCR deals most

expansively with it. It recognises the right to work as indispensible for realizing other human rights and as forming an inseparable and inherent part of human dignity in so far as work is freely chosen or accepted with respect to his/her development and recognition within the community. In fact, it is difficult to see the possibility of one attaining the right to food, clothing and housing (article 11), the right to education (article 13) and the right to water without work. Although water is not specifically mentioned in the ICESCR, it is usually assumed as included in articles 11 and 12 without work. However, while Article 6 proclaims the right to work in general, the explicit development of the individual dimension of the right to work is through article 7. Here, the right of everyone to the enjoyment of just and favourable conditions of work is recognised, in particular the right to safe working conditions. Article 8 addresses the collective dimension of the right to work by proclaiming the right of everyone by choice to form trade unions that function freely.

As mentioned above the right to work is essential for many other rights recognised in the ICESCR. It is crucial for this study in considering the sorts of action morally appropriate in dealing with the practice of street food vending. The right of vendors to work (on which their ability to secure livelihoods is dependent) is however invariably linked to the right to health not only of themselves but also of those who consume their products. Consequently, both the rights to work and to health are of importance to this study.

3.2.1.2 Right to health

In article 12, the ICESCR establishes "the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health" (Health and Human Rights Fact Sheet undated: 2). The article stipulates the steps needed to ensure enjoyment of this right. They include, among others, the reduction of stillbirths and infant mortality; ensuring the healthy development of children; improving environmental and industrial hygiene; the prevention, treatment and control of diseases; and access to medical care for all. The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights also highlights that the right to health does not mean the right to be healthy, but rather that it takes into account the individual's biological and socioeconomic preconditions, and a state's available resources.

The committee emphasizes that the right to health be understood as a right to the enjoyment of a variety of facilities, goods, services and conditions that are necessary to achieve the highest attainable standard of health. Hence, it is expected of states to provide timely and appropriate health care, to address the underlying determinants of health, such as access to safe and potable water and adequate sanitation, an adequate supply of safe food, nutrition and housing, healthy occupational and environmental conditions, and access to health-related education and information, including sexual and reproductive health (ibid.: 3). These provisions as stipulated are important parameters for the evaluation of societal efforts towards ensuring a healthy population. In this study, these provisions make it possible to evaluate the extent of government's efforts through its relevant agencies to promote and protect health among consumers of street vended foods while recognising that street food vendors also have the right to work and to accrue the income much needed to secure their own livelihoods.

3.4 Ethics of Care:

The ethics of care has its roots in feminist ethics and was developed as an alternative to the justice based ethical perspectives considered above. According to the Internet Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (IEP), the "the ethics of care" implies that there is moral significance in the fundamental elements of relationships and dependencies in human life. Normatively, care ethics seeks to maintain relationships by contextualizing and promoting the well-being of care-givers and care-receivers in a network of social relations. Most often defined as a practice or virtue rather than a theory as such, "care" involves maintaining the world of, and meeting the needs of, ourselves and others. It requests us to recognize and take seriously the moral worth of relationships, particularly those characterized by caring.

The emergence of care ethics as a distinct moral theory is most often attributed to the works of psychologist Carol Gilligan and philosopher Nel Noddings in the mid-1980s. Care-based theorists assume that humans are interdependent and need others for survival (Tronto, 1993), that moral reason involves the interplay between emotions and reason (Noddings, 2003; Held, 1993), and that moral solutions must work for people within the context in which they live.

Held (1993) characterises care as "both value and practice." The term care, she explains, does not lend itself to the interpretation of morality as ideal but impractical, one to which advocates of the ethics of care often object. By rejecting the main emphasis on reason and by emphasising emotion in ethical decision making, the ethics of care seems to agree with Hume's assertion that reason alone is insufficient to produce any action, or to give rise to volition. This assertion contrasts sharply with Kant's claim that pure reason is our route to morality. In this manner, care ethics is distinguished from deontological (Kantian) and consequestionalist (utilitarian) ethics and found to relate more generally to Confucian and African ethics amongst others.

In this study, care ethics will be applied in its generalist form in which creating and sustaining responsive connections with others in societal practices becomes a moral concern (Mackinnon, 2012: 151). Care in this context will entail awareness and responsiveness to vulnerability in the power relationships between carers and care receivers (Barnes, 2012). Therefore, the ethical assessment of street food vending from a care based perspective will focus on the nature of relationships that characterise the practice to understand how each of the groups can carry out their various caring responsibilities without privileging one group at the expense of another. Attention will be paid to relationships that generate vulnerability so as to identify what can be done about them.

3.5 Summary

The framework as presented above address the problem of street food vending from three dimensions. These are, the maximization of the good that can come out of street food vending as a practice, the need to protect the rights of vendors and consumers and also in doing this, the need for empathetic considerations in formulating policies meant to regulate the practice. The focus in utilitarianism is the effects of an action: happiness and general well-being of the majority of those whom a matter affects should take priority over the individual. As can be seen, the rights framework accentuates our membership to society by establishing the sort of moral responsibility that institutions and structures of society have towards its members as well as what members of society have towards others within the society. As explained, rights to labour are human rights and so policies inimical to labour constitute a human rights

violation. It follows in this case however rights to labour should be promoted in a manner that jeopardises other people's rights to health. Without health, it is impossible to enjoy the rights to labour and vice versa. In this way, this framework found both rights useful in the assessment of street food vending. The care based perspective however entails that policy be attuned and respond to the potential spaces of vulnerability within relationship and the power structure that these relationships create. It is in this way transcending the rational and the impartial to include also, the emotional aspects of humanity.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Design

This chapter describes the research design, methodology and methods used in this study. This was a case study design using qualitative methodology with an ethical component. A qualitative case study was necessary as the researcher sought to understand the everyday practices and experiences of street food vending within the social cultural environment of Lusaka (Hussey and Hussey, 1997).

4.2. Location of study

The study took place in the CBD of the city Lusaka district. See apendix three for a map of the study area.

4.3. Methods

4.3.1 Primary data

Primary data sources were triangulated to include street food vendors, consumers/customers and local authorities who are involved in policy regulation of the informal food sector. To collect data from these sources, in depth interviews were used. In addition, observation of food kitchens and vending places played a crucial role in evaluating the hygiene and sanitation practices of vendors against a check list obtained from the local authorities. Data sources were triangulated to strengthen the reliability and validity of findings (Guion et al., 2011:1).

4.3.2 Secondary data

Literature was the source of secondary data. To understand the current situation, policies and practices regarding street food vending in general and in the specific case of Zambia and Lusaka in particular, a review of literature on the subject was conducted using varying combinations of the key words street food vending, informal food vending and public health. Databases used for the review included among others Google scholar and academic search premier on EbsCohost.

4.3.3 Sampling Techniques

Based on their willingness to participate in the study, food venders and consumers were selected into the study sample from each of the relevant populations. The sample included food vendors (i.e., those that trade in or around transit points like bus and train stations, outside markets as well as just along the streets of the main business district). Purposive sampling was used to select key informants from the Public Health Department of the LCC and the Lusaka District Health Management Team (LDHMT). Purposive sampling was used because it allowed for a focus on people that were most likely to experience and know about or have insights into street food vending. Also, food vendors could only be interviewed based on their availability and willingness to participate in the study.

4.3.4 Sample size

A sample of 33 food vendors, 15 customers and 2 key informants participated in this study. Of the 33 food vendors, 20 were selected from the areas around bus stations while 13 were selected from the streets of the central business district. The key informants were an official from the LDHMT and the Public Health Department of the LCC.

4.4 Data Analysis

The interviews and observation produced qualitative data which were mainly in word form. Analysis was manually done and involved going through the transcriptions to identify patterns of emerging themes. These themes were then summarised and presented focusing on areas identified in the literature. These revolved around the following three key issues: food vending as an economic activity, food vending as a practice covering public space and food vending in relation to public health, and public safety.

4.5. Summary

As highlighted above, this study used a qualitative case study design with an ethical component. The data techniques used were qualitative interviews and observation. Primary data was collected from field interviews with vendors, key informants and

consumers while secondary data was collected from a review of relevant literature. A total of 33 street vendors, 15 consumers and 2 key informants participated in the study. The primary data was then manually analysed to identify emerging themes which were then discussed in relation to themes identified in the literature.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS, DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter of the study presents the findings of the study as well as the subsequent discussion and analysis of the findings. The presentation follows and relates to the research questions presented in Chapter one: (1) what is the current situation regarding street food vending in Lusaka? (2) Why do food vendors engage in street food vending? (3) What challenges do food vendors experience in their daily activities? (4) How do consumers (the public) perceive street food vending? (5) What are the risks and benefits of street food vending with regard to public health? Emergent themes from the interviews with food vendors, consumers and regulatory authorities are summarised and presented.

5.2. Situation regarding street food vending in Lusaka City

The interview with the official from the Public Health Department of the LCC revealed that informal food vending within their framework refers to food vending that occurs in residential townships and includes the markets in these areas while formalised food vending refers to food vended from more institutionalised stores and markets. This definition of informal food vending contrasts greatly with the definition used in this study. Informal food vending in this study was taken to carry the same meaning as street food vending, that is, vending of food from the street, whether in the central business district or other streets in residential areas. This definition is consistent with that offered by FAO and hence has a universal reference. In so doing, markets are excluded from this criteria in keeping with universal patterns observed in the literature as well as the fact that markets are, in almost all instances, officially regulated and monitored formerly.

Observations within the CBD (Chachacha, Cairo and Freedom roads) showed that street food vending in the city is rife. In contrast, the information gathered from LCC revealed that food vending in Zambia is an ilegal activity, outlawed by statutory

instrument number 44 of 2007[1] which outlaws all such vending, even of food stuffs. The informant from the Public Health Department at the LCC was categorical about this in the interview stating that "if you have looked at statutory number 44 of 2007 before coming here, you will tell me that you saw that streeting vending of whatever type, whether in food or shoes in the streets of Lusaka, is illegal." Citing unsanitary conditions within the street, the official clarified that unless the instruement is amended, street food vending as any other form of vending remains illegal.

5.2.1 Concentration of food vendors

It was observed that the highest concentrations of food vendors in Lusaka's central business district are found in bus stations followed by busy street corners (such as the intersection of Chiparamba and Freedom way) and street corridors. As Figure 5.1 indicates, some streets tend to have concentrations of vendors who sell specific food types such as those foods eaten for relish.

Figure 5. 1: Food venders along Nkwazi Road

Source: Field Data

[1] The Local Government (Street Vending and Nuisances) (Amendment) Regulations of 2007.

There were more ‘stationary vendors’ than hawkers. Vending spots are permanent and vendors in one area usually develop relationships with each other so that they even sell merchandise for each other if one is absent. For example, interviewee no. 3 explained that her mother had been vending from the same spot in millennium bus station for the past five years. The highest concentration of vendors was observed in and around bus stations accounting for about 60% of food vendors followed by busy street corners such as the intersection of Lumumba road and Nkwazi road at about 30%. Those food vendors who sell from the streets account for only about 10% of food vendors. This distribution of food vendors by area of concentration is represented in the pie chart in the Figure 5.2.

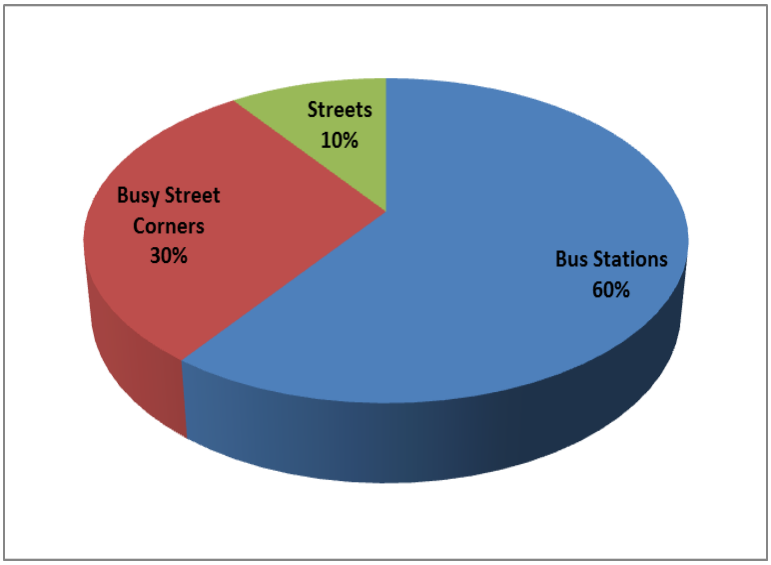


Figure 5. 2: Distribution of street food vendors by area of concentration
Source: Field Data

The study also revealed that authorities controlling the bus stations (who are independent of government departments) take a levy from vendors for vending space (about K1 each day). However, the authorities restrict new vendors from entering the market as far as the bus stations are concerned. Hence, the bus station operators make it extremely difficult for new vendors to acquire vending spots in bus stations.

5.2.2. Characteristics of sampled vendors

Both males and females are involved in food vending. However, females and children were comparatively more represented. As can be seen from the bar chart in Figure 5.2, about 65% of the food vendors who were study participants were women of adult age while 20% were men and 15% were children. Of the proportion of children, most were girls. Apart from children whose ages could only be approximated by observation, it was difficult to obtain ages of respondents as they were reluctant to reveal them. However, from amongst those who stated their ages, it was discovered that the youngest participant in the study was a boy aged 9 years while the oldest was a woman of 50 years.

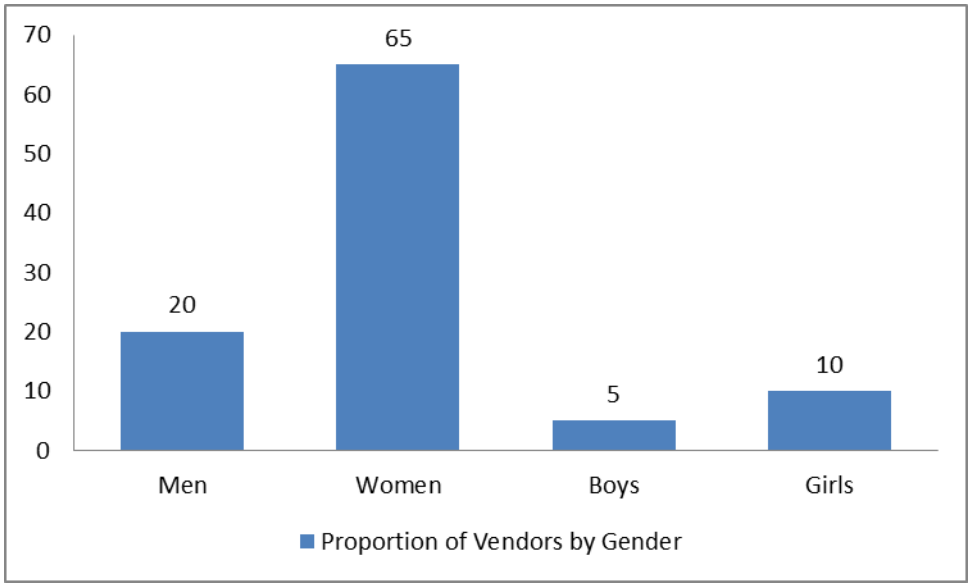


Figure 5.3: Distribution of Street vendors

Source: Field Data

The researcher observed during the investigation that there were more child vendors on weekends than during weekdays. Some of the children spoken to explained that they go to school during week days and come to help their parents over the weekend. Most of the girls selling especially in the bus stations were teenagers while the boys were considerably younger. Three of the girls who were willing to disclose their ages were 14, 15 and 17 and were from Matero Township in Lusaka.

5.2.3. Commonly vended foods

Foods vended on the street vary from ready to eat, cooked foods, snacks and fruit to vegetables and other relish based foods requiring further preparation (table 5.1). Most food vendors trade in varied combinations of the foods. Women and children specialize mostly in selling boiled eggs, fritters, pastries, drinks, fruit (i.e., oranges, plums, grapes, bananas and varieties of indigenous wild fruits) as well as raw vegetables which are not pre-prepared. Indigenous foods such as wild fruits and roots eaten for relish within Zambia were very common among vended foods (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.4: Indigenous Foods: Wild fruit (Masau)-Wild Roots eaten for relish (Busala)
Source: Field Data

As Table 5.1 indicates, foods vended on the streets of Lusaka have a large profile and vendors usually have more than one type of food stuff.

Table 5.1: Profile of street vended food

Commonly Vended Foods .
Foods sold as relishes: Beans, Ground nuts, Fish, Kapenta, Wild roots, i.e. busala
Boiled Foods: Boiled eggs, Ground nuts, Maize, cassava
Raw vegetables: Chibwabwa (pumpkin leaves), Rape leaves, Cabbage, Beans,Egg Plant etc
Fried ready to eat: Fritters (Vitumbuwa), Meat, chicken, Chips, Sausage, Popcorn
Fruit: Bananas, Apples, Oranges, Grapes, etc
Smoked/Roasted: Meat, Chicken, Sausages, Biltong, Cassava
Chikanda (African polony)
Fruit and carbonated drinks, i.e. Tango Pina, Coca Cola, Apple Max etc
Mineral Water
Nsima
Indigenous fruits, i.e. Ngayi ngayi

Observation revealed that fruit vendors were many. For example, there were over 20 vendors on the eastern entrance of millennium bus station all selling the similar types of fruit (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.5: Fruit vendors in Millennium bus station

Source: Field data

The pricing of food stuff is usually standard among vendors of particular food stuffs although the fixing of prices is dependent on order prices. Hawkers selling mainly fried meats, chicken, sausages and biltong explained that their prices were standard but that the measurement of units varied from vendor to vendor. Interviewee no. 1, for example, said: “Our profit is in how well you use the knife. If you cut big slices, you will only be replacing the order amount.” This vendor also explained that profits were

higher and business was good when the City Council used to arrest vendors because competition was less. However, food prices were found to be more affordable in comparison to conventional food markets (restaurants and supermarkets) and customers found them more convenient. When asked to explain how she had so many customers, interviewee no. 15, who was selling pies, chips and drinks said: "In Kanyama where I live, pies are bought for K1, while I sell them for K1.50 here. As the restaurants sell them for K3, I am cheap compared to the restaurants."

The study found out that it is usually the amount of food stuff being sold that determines whether one is a stationary vendor or a mobile one. As can be seen from Figure 5 above, those selling fruit and vegetables in large quantities are usually stationary while those with smaller quantities of fruit on traditional trays would move around the city. Some, however, will have a family member on a fixed vending point while others are moving about the city with the merchandise.

5. 3. Motivations for food vending

Most of those interviewed had limited formal education and skills. For example, aside from the children who reported going to school, only the 50 year old lady had been to college. The study also found that there are males (many of middle age) who trade in more consumption ready foods (i.e., sausages, fried chicken, biltong), carbonated drinks and water who had not attained any education, not even primary. However, they were all married with children and five was the smallest family size (wife, husband and three children). One of the girls interviewed (aged 14) narrated that she was the first child of four, that her parents were separated and that her mother was taking care of all four of them. The father's whereabouts were not known.

Food vending developed as a strategic business and is quite profitable if you are positioned well. All the vending was done during day light with vendors praising the practice as being "flexible working hours". They start as early as possible to ensure that the food from the day before does not go bad and they leave the streets when it becomes dark. Those who vend from shop corners start clearing off when the shops start closing while those in the bus stations stay longer until the traffic significantly reduces. They all leave when activity in the street lessens for safety and security

reasons. Although mid-day signals an increase in demand for foods sold on the street, sales can peak at any time. Business does not have confined times but the hawkers of fried chicken and sausages who vend from bus stations stated that whenever the traffic police mount road blocks, their business goes down because their customers are mainly bus drivers, call boys and conductors. Those who are hawkers argued that moving about increased their market population while those with strategic selling points did not see the need to hawk. Those selling fruit and vegetables did not move about while those vending such foods as cassava and groundnuts would move around with traditional trays because they had lesser quantities of food stuffs.

5. 4. Challenges faced by food vendors in vending activities

Although discussions with stakeholders such as the official from the Lusaka City Council revealed that there is an association for street vendors in Zambia that is based in Kabwe, none of the street food vendors spoken to were aware of its existence. Efforts to track down the association were futile as their details could not be located. None of the street vendors had membership to market associations based near their vending areas and so had no official representation.

Previous governments consistently enforced regulations that outlawed street vending through the council police. It was learned that prior to the PF government, food vendors were harassed by council officers. If the police officers came to patrol the street and inspect for vendors, one needed to bribe them as otherwise they would end up in court. Interviewee no.3, for example, referred to an incident when he was arrested just after he had started his business. He explained that he was captured by the council police, went as far as court and was in remand in Lusaka central police station until a fine of K460 was paid. He explained: “I could not manage to pay the fine because I had not sold yet and they took away my merchandise. It was my brother in marriage that paid the fine as otherwise I would have served a jail sentence.” Vendors reported, with some surprise that no matter what the state of their food stuff was when they were arrested by the police officers, less than 25% of it made it to court as evidence!

In comparison to previous governments, the vendors stated that the PF government has taken a more humane stance towards them. However, this change of approach is not the government's official position by policy. The body tasked with enforcing the policy argued that the act has not been amended and that therefore it is still the active legal framework regarding street vending.

5.5 Consumer attitudes towards food vending

When asked why they buy food from the street, most of those interviewed said that it was due to easy access and that the food items tend to be cheaper on the street than the big and well established food shops. When asked if they knew where the food they bought was prepared from, some of those interviewed stated that they did not know. However, when asked if the food they bought is usually well prepared, they stated that it usually is but that it depends on the type of food in question. When further questioned about why they buy street food in spite of these observed uncertainties surrounding its quality, some customers referred to the conscience of food vendors. They expressed some form of generalised trust and explained that a person of sound conscience, who is selling food to other people, cannot do so if it is not well prepared. Additionally, the fact that street food vendors want to create and uphold a reputation (which increases sales) was thought by consumers as enough motivation for the food vendor to sell good and well prepared food. The extent to which this is a motivation is questionable.

On food safety and hygiene practices, consumers held the view that food vendors try hard to maintain hygienic standards. It was observed, however, that the place where a vendor traded from mattered in shaping customer perceptions. The consumers spoken to were of the view that proper regulation was necessary depending on the kind of food items sold. They emphasised on the need for regulation that allows certain foods to be vended and other banned and that sanitation and adequate hygiene practices should be observed.

5.6. Risks of street food vending with regard to public health

To determine and assess the risks involved in street food vending, questions relating to food preparation, storage, hygiene and safety revealed the following responses which summarised and presented under the subthemes below.

5.6.1. Food preparation

Fruit and vegetable vendors as well as those selling dry fish, *Kapenta* and beans stated that they ordered their food from Soweto market while drinks and water are ordered either from a wholesale store in Freedom Way or from Kamwala market. No middle men were involved. They bought from whole sellers themselves. Meat sellers talked to indicated that they purchased their ingredients (i.e., raw meat, chicken and sausages) from reputable butcheries. Among the most cited were Luscold, Twikatane and Star beef (vendors had receipts in proof). When asked about why they bought raw materials from these butcheries, interviewee no.2 explained that there was 'security' in buying from these butcheries: "I keep the receipt and if the meat is not okay, I can take it back and claim my money back unlike if I just buy from anyone. Also, I do not want to sell things that are bad because my business will go down then."

Vendors selling cooked foods prepared the food at home and brought it to the 'market' early in the morning. Labour used mainly involved members of the household. Those with carts had a sort of heating system. One, for example, had a kitchen sink and a metallic box underneath it which had burning charcoal. When asked how they preserve the food, one vendor explained that they use spices and vinegar. Another mentioned nitrate but quickly changed the subject when asked what the nitrate was for. Preparation usually involved frying or boiling. They put the food in an oven, left it in low heat and ensured that it was sold first thing in the morning before they open another batch. Interviewee no. 16 said: "I store leftovers in the fridge for the next day and sometimes I take some home to the family especially if I know that there is no relish at home. I cook in advance." Interviewee No. 18 said: "I give some away on credit and take some home." Key questions regarding risks revealed here were those related to contamination due to poor storage for vendors who resale their food.

5.6.2. Training in food preparation and management

Only one vendor had received formal training in catering from Fairview College. For the rest of the vendors, no formal training in food preparation was recorded. For some, it was expensive and not necessary meaning that they not trained to prepare food for public consumption. Food preparation and time were important for foods being sold that day. In other words, there was no food specialisation like chips, nsima, rice, tea, etc. Tea was prepared upon order and this depended on whether one wanted it with or without milk. Food prepared on charcoal (brazier) and for chicken and chips were deep fried. Standard preparation for pies required flour, salt, water and an egg. When asked about training, interviewee no 11 responded: "No I did not go for training, I do not need training because I am a woman. We women learn from our mothers in the kitchen." Given that the norm is that carters who prepare food for public consumption are trained, this raises questions about the quality of food preparation from untrained carters as evidenced here.

5.6.3. Food safety and hygiene practices

Most vendors vend in the open air which is subject to dust. Although the actual spots were clean, surrounding areas were littered with plastics and other street dirt. Disposable plastics were mainly used as food containers while merchandise was mostly stored in paper/card boxes and transparent plastic buckets. Storage facilities were mainly poor especially for male hawkers. It was observed that some vendors, like those selling meat were storing the fresh meat in back packs, a condition which raises "quality concerns". Fruit vendors, however, washed the fruits and also had water ready for customers to re-wash the fruit upon purchase. Most of the fruit vendors stored the left over fruits with market authorities or at the police station. However, some vendors dispose left over merchandise on the islands on the main roads while they continue to vend on either side of the road (Figure 6).

Figure 5.6: Uncollected garbage on Lumumba Road

Source: Field Data

Knowledge of safety/hygiene standards was elementary and most vendors were not aware of any specific standards apart from keeping flies away and sprinkling fruit with water to keep them fresh. Interviewee No. 15, for example, explained how she carries food in clean transparent buckets, uses forks and plastics and a cooler box for drinks. Although she referred to good standards, she could not spell out what the standards were. Interviewee no. 2 operating a stationary cart mentioned that it was difficult to maintain heat in the cart during week days because of heavy traffic and the threat of vehicles catching fire. He noted: "If the customer insists on having the food warm, or has the time to wait, then we can warm it for them, but most people just buy on the go." However, the fact is that there is no standard against which to compare these practices as the Local Council insisted that food vending like street vending is illegal which precludes any discussion of standards.

5.7. Discussion and Analysis

The findings of this study confirm that street food vending is a rife informal sector activity in Lusaka and that it is an important socio-economic activity for the low skill, low education population, most of whom are female. Food vendors were found to be concentrated around bus stations and busy street corners. The results also suggest that foods sold on the street in Lusaka are diverse and range from fruit, snacks and ready to

eat cooked foods to raw vegetables and other foods requiring further preparation. Despite street food vending being a widespread informal sector activity, it is outlawed by current legislation and there are no standards to regulate its practice. However, despite the fact that street food vending is outlawed (officially), the current (PF) government has not enforced the legislation.

Most of the food vendors only have elementary knowledge of hygiene standards and, while some take precautions to ensure that what they sell is clean, the environment that they vend in is usually unsanitary. The fact that street food vending in Zambia is outlawed precludes the setting up of any hygiene and sanitation standards. Furthermore, food vending in Lusaka is a practice that considerably involves children.

The findings will now be discussed in relation to the issues highlighted in the literature reviewed to identify areas of difference as well as to point out ways in which this study reinforces what is in the literature on street food vending.

5.7.1 Vendor's profile

With vendor concentrations being in bus stations followed by busy street corners and street corridors, this study did not establish any differences in types of vending spots from what is highlighted in the literature (cf. FAO 2012:3). However, the study asserts that food vendors are not a homogeneous group. Food vendors vary by socio-economic and demographic characteristics and also confirm assertions in the literature that the sector is dominated by women and girls (FAO 2012:4). Many factors can be advanced for this. For example, Scott (1994) in (FAO 2007:18) argues that greater household responsibility, unrecognised or low levels of skills and education, decreasing household incomes, and occasionally, women's desire for greater autonomy and flexibility explain the over representation of women in the sector. Similarly, this study has revealed (i) that low skills and education limit entry into the formal labour market and (ii) that the long and flexible work hours that street food vending affords women are the most frequent determinants for their engagement in street food vending in Lusaka. These findings contrast with the profiles of vendors in Asia and West Africa where even more educated people are on the street selling food with more complicated cuisines. Consequently, it would appear that in Zambia, informal sector activities like

street food vending become a primary alternative for livelihoods among those with low skills and poor education. Also, the long and flexible work hours ensure that women can combine 'income generation' with other household responsibilities. The evidence points to the fact that women's involvement in street food vending is to a great extent contextually nuanced. The rationale for women's preferences for the activity in Lusaka contradicts, for example, the assertion of Mitullah (2003:2) that women are involved in food vending because it is seen in the African context, as an extension of their reproductive and domestic role. While the women see this form of activity as providing them with the opportunity to combine domestic roles with an income generating activity, they do not attach feminity to this role.

Furthermore, FAO (1995) explains that women in informal sector activities such as food vending earn less than men despite being more represented. The evidence in this study indicated otherwise. Although the women who participated in the study were unwilling to disclose their exact earnings each market day, it was revealed that they earn comparatively more than their male counterparts. The findings show that the women's ability to trade in several food stuffs at once, at a specific vending point at, say, a busy street corner and also to move (hawk) around at certain times of the day so as to increase the customer base gives them the edge. Moreover, the men are not able to carry foods in bulk, something that women can easily do. In this way, this study affirms contentions by Tinker (1987:89) that national context is a key factor in discussions of earnings by respective genders in street food vending. His claims that women may actually earn more than male workers who are in such informal employment as construction or masonry are highlighted in the case of Lusaka.

Similarly, FAO (1995) points out that there is great local variation in the impact of participation in the informal sector on women's livelihoods and that it is important to recognise that their activities in the sector are not just temporary or complementary to their husbands' work. They may be regular and permanent. The researcher has observed that the women are not involved in food vending as a sort of 'stop gap' economic activity but rather as a means of livelihood. Most of the women had been trading as vendors for long durations with some vending from one spot for over five

years. The evidence collected in this study then does not support the belief that women's engagement in the sector may only be temporary.

5.7.2 Profile of vended foods

Street food vending is said to reflect cultural/traditional cuisines (Cohen 2010:2). The profile of foods sold on the street in Lusaka shows a consistency with the profile of food sold on the street from across the world. Culturally specific foods that are vended on the street in Lusaka include wild fruits and roots eaten as food in Zambia and also foods like dry fish, beans and *kapenta* sold for relish. These reflect cultural/traditional cuisines specific to the country and region. However, the case of Lusaka shows contrasts to street food vending in other cities in Africa and elsewhere where street food vending is more established in that the fruit and other non-cooked ready-to-eat foods are comparatively more available on the market. Unlike the reports in the literature of more 'solid' foods being vended on the street, the profile of street vended foods in Zambia mirrors the concept of "social foods," food that can be consumed in the presence of other people (Helman 2007:58). The more solid foods like nsima and rice servings are reserved for the restaurants and food stalls in the markets and not on the street.

The fact that most of the food sold is fruit or vegetables or food requiring further preparation by customers has two major implications. The first is that the probability of contamination is considerably reduced (Steyn and Labadarious 2011:464). This is because fruit and vegetables, unless contaminated pre-sale, have a comparatively lower risk of contamination than foods like meat, fish and chicken (Nyenje et al. 2012). These foods also have a longer shelf life making them less prone to contamination through decay and so on. This also means that street food may be a vital tool in promoting healthy diets because street food in Lusaka could, in this way be more healthy than previously imagined. The second implication is that because the vendors trade in such things as fruit which is mostly imported, their ability to make profit is determined by exchange rates and so are vulnerable to shocks and currency fluctuations. This drives vendors to engage in a 'whatever has demand is what we sell' type of business strategy wherein several vendors end up selling the same food stuff and hence constricting market potential. It was learned that the pricing of food stuff is

usually standard among vendors of particular food stuffs although the fixing of prices is dependent on order prices. These observations resonate with observations elsewhere in other African cities where the pricing of foods is very similar across food stalls because they are all each other's competitors (UAPs, 2007:28). The study found, however, that unlike other cases, whether one is a hawker or a stationary vendor depends to a great extent on what they are selling.

5.7.3 Motivations for food vending

Arambulo et al. (1993:344) advanced the following as precipitating factors for the growth of the food vending industry in Latin America: marginalised urban populations, unemployed status of innumerable potential street vendors, lengthening commutes for workers, public demand for cheap and culturally appropriate food near work, and shortage or absence of regular establishments selling such foods. While regular establishments selling food in Lusaka are available, it is affordability and easy access that makes food vending a viable alternative to formal restaurants. Customers find food vended on the street as less inconveniencing to access. This study also establishes that food vending among vendors is for them a vital socio-economic activity.

While some use vending to augment incomes earned from elsewhere, food vending is the only source of income for a majority of the vendors who participated in this study. The fact that they all come from high density residential areas and have large family responsibilities shows that money (income) is an important motivation. Furthermore, the profile of vendors which includes single parents, mostly mothers and middle age men with families, confirms that food vending is regarded as an income generating activity among vendors in Lusaka. This study thus supports the conclusions of Mitullah (2003) that street vending attracts those who have limited opportunities for obtaining formal employment or prestigious businesses, and therefore minimises thier chances of social exclusion and marginalisation. However, the case of Lusaka shows that food vending is still regarded as an option for only this category of citizens unlike the six country comparative study Mitullah (2003) which found that in other countries food vending is an option even for those with higher educational profiles. Clearly, this shows that food vending, if 'practiced right,' can be a viable income earning act.

Indeed, as Winarno and Allain (2010) explain, food vending is a vibrant economic activity.

5.7.4 Challenges/ problems experienced by food vendors

A Greenwich University Project (2003-2004) reported that informal food is illegal in Zambia and that vendors who are unlicensed are excluded from government support and chased away from vending areas. This study established that street food vending is still illegal but that there is no such thing as a 'licensed street vendor.' The street food vendors in Lusaka face harassment from officials and this pervasive treatment of vendors is consistently evident in cities across the African continent (Mitullah 2003). Unlike other street vending activities, food vendors suffer (i) a general lack of recognition by municipal authorities of informal sector activities as a legitimate activity, (ii) a lack of recognised rights to set up mobile vending stands in regulated places and (iii) a lack of access to state institutions to resolve conflicts or secure and enforce their rights. Food vending as well as any other form of street vending is outlawed in Zambia, a practice that Mitullah, labels, "as out-dated restrictive policies, by-laws and regulations originally intended to control and regulate the growth of indigenous enterprises" (2003:10).

The above mentioned challenges expose street food vendors to various types of abuse. For example, none of the vendors that participated in this study had membership to market associations based near their vending areas and so have no official representation. As reported in the previous section, prior to the current PF government, food vendors in Lusaka were harassed by council police officers. If the police officers came to patrol the street and inspect for vendors, one needed to bribe them as otherwise they would end up in court. Unfortunately, the PF government has not amended the regulation that outlaws street food vending. The leniency observed has not translated into substantive action by the current government. Arguably, it is an act of political expedience. When it suits them, they may enforce the regulation. Furthermore, despite the existence of national associations for street vendors, these vendors were not aware of their existence. Given that this study drew vendors from the CBD in Lusaka, Zambia's capital city, it is difficult to understand who the associations represent if vendors in Lusaka do not know they exist!

5.7.5 Risks of street food vending

While exposure to abuse is one challenge related to food vendors resulting from new regulations, Arambulo et al. (1994:344) point out another challenge as poor hygiene practices that pose significant public health problems. The lack of policy on street food vending in Zambia, which stems from the fact that it is an illegal activity, means that there are no standards to be enforced with reference to food vending. The result is increased risk. The risks of unregulated street food vending cannot be over emphasized, for even with regulation, risk exists. However, when regulated and monitored, the risks diminish significantly. The situation in Lusaka is worse because of the profile street vendors have with low skill and low education. The implication is that the risk of unsanitary practices is considerably high. There is also a lack of understanding of hygiene practices. Knowledge of safety/hygiene standards is elementary and most vendors are not aware of any specific standards apart from keeping flies away and sprinkling fruit with water to keep them fresh. These practices are elementary as they do not meet any required standards. It is impossible to show if they comply with any standards.

It is a good precautionary practice that vendors prefer to buy meat products from reputable butcheries in the city as this reduces the chances of contamination. However, preparation and food storage (raw foods, prepared and left overs) are contentious. The findings regarding food preparation reveal that the methods utilized are as varied as the vendors. The fact that some vendors use vinegar and nitrate as preservatives raises concern about the danger of untrained culinary practices, especially given various concerns against nitrate as a preservative in curing meats. Most foods are prepared at home in environments that cannot be assumed to be clean given that most vendors are from high density areas which, in Lusaka, are identified as perennial diarrheal diseases-prone areas. However, indications that left-over food is also eaten by families reduce the chances of it being dangerous to others, at least not as a result of conscious contamination.

However, most vendors vend in the open air, open to dust and other contaminants. Although the actual vending points may be clean, the surrounding areas are littered with plastics and other forms of street dirt. Furthermore, apart from vendors operating

in bus stations which have fee paying toilets, those operating in busy street corners have no immediately accessible toilets. These factors are key in considerations of public health promotion. So far, the public health department of the Lusaka City Council see this as a key reason why street food vending should remain outlawed. However, as evidence shows, this does not have to be the case. The sector can be regulated and sustainable and effective contamination mechanisms devised.

5.7.6 Child labour

This study establishes that child vendors are prevalent in Lusaka. The children are aware that this constitutes a violation of legal norms and statutes. However, their involvement in food vending is such that they want to help the family, and by doing so they want to be seen as good children. Also, the involvement of children increases manpower available to the household. The fact that the children do not feel compelled by parents to be on the street is important but the fact that children who are supposed to be in school are vending on the street constitutes child labour. Even for those who only come to vend on weekends and attend school during week days, vending deprives them of the opportunity to rest. The lack of schooling opportunities creates a lot of uncertainty and hopelessness among children producing adults whose life chances are grim, a cycle that needs to be broken.

Furthermore, the working conditions on the street are exploitative and not favourable for children. Not only are the conditions of work poor but they are also characterised by human rights violations, abuse and exploitation (humiliation and psychological torture). Improper sexual advances towards teenage girls, insults and violence reported in the study are cases in point. Child involvement in street food vending, therefore, borders on child labour and children's rights issues. It is a child labour issue as it involves economic exploitation and harsh working conditions. It is a children's rights issue because the nature and condition of the work is unfavourable for children's age and psychosocial wellbeing (Flores-Oebanda, 2006).

5.7.7 Summary

The case of Lusaka has shown that street food vending is a viable economic activity mainly for low skill, low education populations. This profile agrees in part with the

literature in so far as the developing street food trade is concerned. The foods sold are both those that are specific to the Zambian cultural context as well as what may be termed as fast food. The food vended in Lusaka, however, leans towards the highlighted concept of social foods. Furthermore, the fact that most street food vendors sell fruit and vegetables and other non-ready-to-eat foods that require further preparation is seen as advantageous as it lessens the chances of pathological contamination of food. The discussion highlights the fact that food vending is illegal in Zambia and, while this law was passed to protect the public, it is having opposite effects since vendors' trade is now unregulated. The risks of unregulated street food vending cannot be over emphasized for even with regulation, risk exists. However, when regulated and monitored, the risks diminish significantly.

The study learned that vendors prefer to buy meat products from reputable butcheries in the city and this reduces the chances of contamination. However, the preparation and storage of food (raw foods, prepared and left overs) are contentious issues. While vendors may take precautions to ensure their foods are hygienically sound, the environment in which they trade which is usually characterised by unsanitary debris counteracts their good will. In spite of these shortcomings, it is worth noting that food vendors also eat from the food they sell and this is important as it pre-empts any arguments about intentional contamination of vended food. Also highlighted above is the nature of the environment within which food vending is conducted which the study finds to be of concern from a public health stand-point.

This study established that child food vendors are prevalent in Lusaka. The discussion has shown that the engagement of children in food vending regardless of their life circumstances constitutes a violation of international norms regarding the rights of the child and amounts to child labour. Furthermore, not only are the conditions of work poor but they are also characterised by human rights violations, abuse and exploitation (humiliation and psychological torture). This makes street food vending inimical to proper child development.

CHAPTER SIX: ETHICAL ASSESSMENT

6.1 Introduction

The sixth objective of this study was to conduct an ethical assessment of street food vending in Lusaka. It is to this objective that this chapter is devoted. The method of evaluation used is the case based method of ethical analysis wherein an ethical theory or theories are applied to a specific problem or set of problems (Beauchamp 1984: 526). Consequently, the purpose of this chapter is to reflect on the data from a moral standpoint so as to elicit insights that can be used in practical judgements about street food vending and what should be done about it. The ethical assessment follows the ethical theoretical framework presented in chapter three.

6.2. The utilitarian perspective

In applying utilitarianism, the aim is to assess the data provided in chapter five and from this data to arrive at an ethically viable policy to pursue regarding food vending. When deciding what the morally permissible thing to do is, the focus in utilitarianism is the effects of an action. In utilitarianism, the moral action is one which produces the greatest good for the greatest number. The good envisaged in utilitarianism encompasses both rights and freedoms in their right proportions in the context of what the agents affected by a matter consider relevant and important. To bring about the maximum good, one has to make the best choice from the available and foreseeable alternatives. These 'best choices' may, however, change in view of new evidence and alternatives. Formulated in this manner, general well-being of the majority of those who are affected should take priority over the individual. Thus, from a utilitarian perspective, street food vending in its current form in Lusaka can be evaluated on the basis of two critical issues: the first is, consequences for whom, while the second is what sort of consequences (Reiman 2009:2).

6.2.1 Consequences for whom

The evidence presented in chapter five shows that street food vending has consequences for two groups, viz. the food vendors (group one) and the consumers or public (group two). While the government as "actor" may be seen as an affected group,

it does not suffer any direct consequences and hence is excluded. Street food vendors were found to be citizens with low skill, and low education and with a limited ability to enter the formal labour market, while food consumers were found to be people who work and/or live in the city. These are the primary bearers of the consequences of street food vending.

6.2.2 The type of consequences

The consequences of street food vending on the groups identified above can be seen in two contexts, i.e., positive and negative. For group one, the positive consequences are that food vending provides them with both a means of livelihood through income generation and food for their families, as they too eat the food they sell. This consequence is a vital one as it significantly diminishes the number of an unemployed and destitute citizenry and in this way lessens social inequality. This function also has a broader societal benefit as the effects of poverty and social inequality on society are well documented, viz. lower levels of interpersonal trust, higher levels of violent crime, and the residential segregation of social classes which erodes social cohesion and the wellbeing of society (Jackson and Segal, 2004:6). Inequality also allows the wealthy to dominate political decision-making and to reduce political support and funding for public services. Therefore, the welfare effects of street food vending as an income generating activity on society are significant. Hence, the positive effect on group one is that food vending provides them with an affordable and adequate nutrition which also has broader implications on their health and ultimately on their economic productivity. Street food vending is in this way a cost effective way for individuals and families to obtain adequate nutrition and livelihoods.

The negative effects of street food vending relate mainly to group two as the vended food may not meet the standards required. This is worsened by the poor safety and hygiene practices amongst vendors. This harm is significant as it can have devastating effects on a large population within a short time. However, this negative effect is relevant only when the regulation of food vending is poor or non-existent. In line with the utilitarian approach that a practice is justified only if its future benefits outweigh its future cost, this study finds that the positive consequences outweigh the negative ones. As shown above food vending has significant positive livelihood returns for both

identified groups (affordable nutrition and income) while having a grave health risk posed by risks of contamination. However, even though the health risks highlighted are significant, they are preventable through regulation and control (Hillers, 1997; Omemu and Aderoju, 2008). Hence, the negative effects of street food vending can be prevented through a system of regulating and monitoring without losing out on the positive effects. According to utilitarianism therefore, street food vending is beneficial because as shown above, its positive effects outweigh its negative ones. However, this is only the case when the practice is well regulated. Hence, utilitarianism as used in this assessment justifies street food vending but in a regulated environment.

6.3. The Rights perspective

6.3.1 Labour rights as human rights

According to article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and article 6 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. Undeniably, labour rights as enshrined in the UDHR and the ESCR are human rights. Consequently, both individuals and states bear the primary responsibility for their fulfilment. Formulated in this way, we can derive from labour rights demands on political and economic organizations to render individuals capable of meeting their basic needs and, to prevent a violation of their rights (Hillers 1997).

For individuals, the above formulation implies that they should take active steps to seek employment even if it is informal which may be the only way they can enjoy the right. In this way, citizens' involvement in street food vending can be seen as putting into practice the right to work. However, as is the case with any right, the right to work is accompanied by duties. Since the right to work relates to the regulation of a society's acquisitive activities, this duty falls on the state (Risse 2009:7). In this way, the state ought to be seen as taking active steps to create an environment in which citizens can seek and find gainful employment. In countries such as Zambia where employment is scarce as a result of a declining macro-economic climate, which in turn creates avenues for exploitation, the state ought to provide an environment in which

the right to work may flourish without exploitative labour practices. Creating a supportive policy environment for the informal sector based entrepreneurial activities is one such duty.

Human rights are moral demands concerning the organization of society (ibid.: 31). Labour rights as human rights also imply membership rights of individuals and groups to their respective society. To restrict these rights through a policy that is inimical to labour constitutes a violation of human rights. It also exacerbates both social and economic exclusion. Providing avenues through which citizens can earn livelihoods is in this way in the best interest of the state in keeping with international statues regarding the right to work. By making street food vending illegal, despite the country's poor formal labour market coverage and economic performance, Zambia has violated these norms. Risse makes this point in the following manner:

> As in the case of the state not rendering individuals incapable of meeting basic needs, a broader understanding of these rights suggests itself, at least in societies with sophisticated economies that make it hard to satisfy basic needs without participation in the formal economy. That is, we could add more rights if securing them is essential to satisfying basic needs in the respective society. In this manner we could then obtain an elementary right to education and also a right to labour in the sense of those rights as protections against exclusion from labour markets (Risse 2009:36).

6.3.2 Protection against abuse

The right to work also establishes a moral responsibility on agencies against abuse and discrimination of workers. Street food vendors in Lusaka experience harassment and extortion by public officials. Public officials mandated to enforce the law against street vending harass vendors, take away their merchandise and arrest them. To avoid arrest or avoid being taken to court when arrested, a vendor has to pay a bribe. This counts for a violation of their right to work without any discrimination and abuse as set out by the human rights instruments. It also violates the dictates of the convention which ask for a just and favourable remuneration for a worker to ensure for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity. The harassment that street food vendors were found to endure is injurious to the concept of "dignified work" on which the right to work is anchored. Forcing vendors to pay bribes (because of a failure on

government to institute a policy on vending with a humane face) devalues their earnings and erodes the value of equal pay for equal work.

6.3.3 Right to health

In addition to ensuring that citizens are not rendered incapable of meeting their basic needs, states and organisations should use their power to accord citizens the opportunities to lead human lives, at least at subsistence level (Risse 2009). States must, therefore, ensure that citizens have opportunities to enjoy a minimally adequate standard of living as far as food, clothing and housing are concerned. Hence, we cannot ignore the right to health that consumers of street food vending possess. There is thus a dual relationship between labour rights and the right to health.

Following the formulation of rights given above, each individual should have equal access to health. This means that food vendors cannot be left to trade without regulation to the extent that their right to livelihood infringes on the right to health of those who cannot afford prices of food elsewhere and hence depend on street vended food. However, taking street foods off the street is disadvantageous to those who cannot afford the prices of food elsewhere. Such an act would contradict the right to health viz. adequate nutrition (of those who depend on street vended food). It has been shown that the contribution of street food to urban diets is significant.

While some argue that the attainment of health as a right is only achievable in wealthy nations that are able to provide universal access to health services, regulating the informal food trade sector is a step that even poor nations like Zambia can enforce. Given the evidence presented in chapter five, doing so is in the best interests of the nation. The concern here relates to what the state should do to guarantee a healthy status among those that consume street vended food. The promotion and protection of human rights and of health care are fundamentally linked. This is so because providing regulatory frameworks not only protects lives but can also be a source of revenue to the city if vendors can be subjected to proper tax regimes enforceable by the city council.

6.3.4 Government as a bearer of duties

Although it may appear that the assessment above invariably justifies street food vending, this is not the case. Apart from the duty to protect the rights of citizens by ensuring opportunities for livelihoods, government has a corresponding duty to keep order and safety within the city. This duty involves also ensuring cleanliness and public order. Given that street food vending generates litter and the environment within which vendors trade is usually unsanitary and lacks hygiene, government's intervention is crucial. The government is in this way justified to impose restrictions on street vending (through Statutory Instrument number 44 of 2007)[2] in order to safeguard the safety of other citizens by preventing congestion and enhance cleanliness. The key issue, however, is how the responsibilities and duties of the state can be balanced with the rights of citizens as explained above. Since allowing street food vending in Lusaka does not come with major costs to the government and allowing food vending enhances rights in the way explained above if the government regulates it appropriately, the government can meet its duties without infringing on citizens' rights.

Furthermore, while previous governments have enforced the law that prohibits street food vending, the Patriotic Front government has been reluctant to enforce it for the sake of political popularity. Consequently, the public officials mandated to enforce the law have been reluctant to take any action. As a result, street food vending has flourished without regulation. This is imprudent on the part of government and the situation creates opportunities for abuse of authority by public officials. It also heightens the risks associated with street food vending and in turn defeats the government's aim of protecting and promoting public safety. It is reasonable in this case to expect the state to develop a framework within which food vending can be safely practiced in a manner that does not involve human rights violations. The state can be effective in preventing these human rights violations. The discernible effects of street food vending on people's lives in Lusaka renders the illegality of street food

[2] The Local Government (Street Vending and Nuisances) (Amendment) Regulations of 2007.

vending a violation of the right to work and a denial of opportunity for people to earn decent livelihoods. Non-regulation of the practice means a failure to promote and protect public health by government. Therefore, street food vending is within the limits of human rights conventions regarding work, (decent work), livelihoods and health when regulated. However, when unregulated as is the case in Lusaka, it is inimical to the rights of the child, the right to health of consumers and makes traders susceptible to abuse by public officials. This assessment therefore points to need for policy regulation as a way of securing the rights of both vendors and consumers.

6.4 Care based perspective

The ethics of care belongs to a group of relational theories that emphasise connection and relatedness. Consequently, caring is characterised as comprehending and being attentive to people's need for care and being taken care of as well as the carer's ability to meet their obligations to care. Barnes argues that care in this context "entails awareness and responsiveness to vulnerability in the power relationships between carer and care receiver" (2012:1278). In considerations about food vending, three key groups which generate caring relationships can be identified. These are:

i. Food vendors and their families (envisaging their ability to provide care for families)
ii. Consumers and their families (envisaging their ability to care for their families by being able to provide adequate nutrition through affordable food)
iii. Government (envisaging the nature of the relationship between government and food vendors in the first instance and government's commitment to livelihood support for its citizens in the second instance).

It can be seen from the above that different types of vulnerability exist in the relationships involved in the food vending cycle. The most vulnerable in this web of relations are food vendors because they depend on food vending for livelihoods. However, this activity is characterised by patronage (from the state) and trust/distrust (from consumers). Furthermore, when left unprotected, vendors also suffer from weather variations (rain, cold and heat) which not only have effects on their merchandise but also on their livelihood. As they run from the council police, vendors

loose some of their merchandise while those who are captured lose all their merchandise.

The current policy on street food vending fails to appreciate the practice and subjects vendors to inhumane treatment. However, as chapter five showed, food vendors were found to care for the clients. Reasons included appeals to individual morality in which a vendor would not find it morally right to sell food that is contaminated. Vendors were also afraid of losing out on business if customers were to find out that they sold contaminated food. The fact that food vendors and their families also ate the food that they sold lowered the probability of selling contaminated food to consumers. However, consumers are also vulnerable as foods may be of low quality and injurious to health. Despite this, if vending is banned, then their food budgets would suffer as food vended on the street is comparatively cheaper.

To pursue the public health concerns advanced in chapter five, care ethics demands that concerns and effects of policy that are spiral, go beyond short term outcomes of the policy, and intersect with both the spatial, socio-economic and health reconfiguration of individual and family wellbeing are taken into account in policy decisions (Zhou, 2013). Considerations and attitudes towards food vending need to take recognise the fact that street food vending is dominated by women with low skills and low education but whose household responsibilities are vast. From a care based assessment, street food vending is in itself not an unethical practice. It is rather the manner in which it is conducted that raises concern. In this way, the approach of the state towards street food vending should be that of a benevolent father. The harassment that vendors go through at the hand of local authorities is inhumane and the abuse that vendors experience places them in a position which jeopardises their caring attitudes towards their customers.

However, this is not to suggest that authorities should ignore public health requirements and allow the practice to flourish because it is only the poor who consume street vended food. Consumers need to be protected from harm. Care ethics calls for humane policies that demonstrate care towards the citizenry and in this case a solution that bridges the interests of all parties concerned is the ethically tenable one. Care based assessment thus also points to a policy that regulates street food vending as

such a policy protects vendors and traders and provides a framework within which the local authority can discharge its caring responsibilities to the city with civility. Ethics of care thus justifies street food vending in an environment of well-regulated state policy.

6.5 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that there is no conflict between human rights and the common good when street food vending is critically considered. The study thus finds that street food vending as a viable socio-economic activity is an ethically tenable one. From the rights based perspective, food vending guarantees both the right to employment and the right to health and by so doing enhances the overall wellbeing of society. This view is reinforced by the fact that street food vending would have greater far reaching benefits if well regulated rather than by being banned by the state because it hinges on public health. However, in considering the types of policies that are appropriate, the study has demonstrated that there is need for an empathy based approach to governance, an approach that enhances relationships of trust amongst all the key players. This requires that abusive practices by authorities are investigated and punished, that vendors be accorded vending zones where they can be monitored, and where they will not experience the need to engage in unethical practices in order to boost profits. By so doing, government will be able to satisfy the motivations for the statutory instrument that outlaws street food vending without jeopardizing opportunities for the masses to earn livelihoods and maintain healthy lives. The ethical assessment concludes that street food vending is a practice that is profitable and rights enhancing but that these benefits can only be enjoyed if it is practiced in a humane way. This is however only possible in an environment of proper regulation. The ethical assessment thus justifies street food vending but under proper regulatory frameworks.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Conclusion

This study has revealed that food vending is, in most instances, the only available employment avenue for those who are involved in vending. Furthermore, the incomes earned from it are crucial to their livelihoods. It is women and children who are most represented in food vending in Lusaka. This study has also revealed that low skills and low education, which limit entry into the formal labour market in addition to the long and flexible work hours that street food vending affords women, are the most frequent determinants for their engagement in the activity in Lusaka. In this regard, the profile of food vendors in Lusaka differs from other cities across the continent where food vending is a more established practice luring even people with higher education. This finding also has further implications for broader policy considerations about the sector. If vendors are not allowed to trade, no other jobs are available to them, especially given the country's high unemployment rates and the food vendors' low skills and education.

The findings of this study affirm that food vending is dominated by women and children as is true in most cities in Africa, but they also point to the fact that women's involvement in street food vending is, to a great extent, contextually nuanced in that informal sector activities like street food vending are a primary alternative for livelihoods among citizens with limited education, skills and economic opportunity. Additionally, the long and flexible work hours that street food vending affords women enables them to combine 'income generation' with other household caring responsibilities.

The quality of foods sold as well as the hygiene practices of food vendors are a matter of concern. However, this stems largely from the fact that food vendors only have elementary knowledge of food safety standards due to low education as well as the lack of regulation of the sector. It cannot be expected that food vendors of low education and skills would have a high degree of knowledge regarding food preparation/handling and safety practices. To protect public health and maintain order and cleanliness in the city, street vending is consequently illegal in Zambia. However,

by making food vending illegal and then allowing vendors to trade, government policy has worsened the situation. As the literature reviewed suggests, it is time for government to make necessary changes regarding regulations on street food vending. Food vending is a viable economic activity and, if properly monitored, has the potential to offer significant returns. This also reaffirms assertions discussed earlier that policy needs to reflect civility and promote responsibility among citizens. Policies that do not reflect the realities of life, like the case of street food vending in Lusaka, only serve to exert pressure on the ability of the poor to earn livelihoods. Usually, the worst victims are women and children.

A further key finding of this study is that children street food vendors are prevalent in Lusaka. This constitutes a violation of the human rights of children regardless of their socio-economic situation, and despite the fact that the children themselves understand their involvement as that of helping their families. The fact remains that conditions of the street are exploitative and not favourable for children. Girl children in particular are even more vulnerable. The study concludes that despite being an illegal activity in Zambia, food vending is a widely popular both as a means of livelihood and as a source of affordable nutrition. Vended foods were found to include fruit, raw vegetables, cooked meats and wild roots eaten for relish. The practice of street food vending is a viable socio-economic activity providing gainful employment to populations with limited education and skills. However, most vendors have limited formal education and a corresponding lack of basic skills in food safety and hygiene. The environment in which they trade is also usually unsanitary. The study established that Government's position is that SFV is illegal and therefore not subject to standardization, a situation which precludes any remedial policies. This study also established that children of school going age are involved in street food vending under conditions which constitute child labour.

The ethical assessment demonstrates that street food vending is not in itself a bad activity. It is rather the manner in which it is conducted that makes it bad. The three ethical perspectives show that the problems associated with street food vending as identified in this study can be resolved with adequate regulation and monitoring of the practice by the government. The ethical assessment thus concludes that the benefits of

street food vending when done within a well regulated framework out weight its negative effects. It also shows that the practice is rights enhancing and that it will enhance relationships of responsibility and civility. On this basis, this study concludes that the ethically tenable position on street food vending when viewed from utilitarianism, human rights and care ethics is the enactment of regulation that enables the practice to flourish and bring all the established benefits with set guidelines. This position ensures that citizens of low skill and low education can enter the sector to make an honest income. This in turn will boost their livelihoods while what they sell can be monitored and regulated to promote public health and nutrition. By this framework, children will not be involved in vending, opportunities for harassment by public officials will be decreased while consumers will be protected and an environment for honest practice by vendors will be created.

7.2 Recommendations

To harmonize the need to secure the socio-economic livelihoods of those involved in food vending, and to insure that poor households and urban workers are not deprived of affordable nutrition while at the same time safeguarding their health, this study proposes the following:

1. The government should, through its rightful organs such as the Lusaka City Council, provide and promote a supportive environment for earning livelihoods to food vendors while at the same time ensuring the absence of congestion and the maintenance of hygiene in public spaces and streets.
2. The government should scrutinize merchandise for standards and should adopt a system of registration of hawkers and non-discretionary regulation of access to public spaces in accordance with the planning standards of the Lusaka City Council.
3. Laws governing street trade in Zambia such as SI. No. 44 of 2007 should be amended and government should through a consultative process provide legitimate hawking zones within urban development plans, especially on multi facility economic zones.
4. Child vending should be discouraged and government through agencies such as the child welfare department of the Ministry of Community Development and

Mother and Child Health should take appropriate measures for promoting a better future for child vendors such as rehabilitation and schooling.

References

Abdalla, M. A., Suliman, S. E., and Bakhiet, A. O. (2009). Food safety knowledge and practices of street food vendors in Atbara City (Naher Elneel State Sudan). *African Journal of Biotechnology, 8(24).*

Acho-Chi, C. (2002). The mobile street food service practice in the urban economy of Kumba, Cameroon. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography, 23(2), 131-148*.

Allmark, P. (1995). Can there be an ethics of care? *Journal of medical ethics*. 21: 19-24.

Arambolu, P., Almeida, C. R., Cuellar, J., and Belotto, A. J. (1993). Street food vending in Latin America: some insights into its sociocultural imperatives and public health implications. In Proceedings of the 11th International Symposium of the World Association of Veterinary Food Hygienists, Bangkok, Thailand (pp. 24-29).

Alston. P. Conjuring up New Human Rights: A Proposal for Quality Control. *The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 78, No. 3 (Jul., 1984), pp. 607-621*.

Barro, N., Bello, A. R., Savadogo, A., Ouattara, C. A. T., IIboudo, A. J., & Traore, A. S. (2006). Hygienic status assessment of dish washing waters, utensils, hands and pieces of money from street food processing sites in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso). *African Journal of Biotechnology, 5(11).*

Barnes, V. (2012). Social work and advocacy with young people: rights and care in practice. *British Journal of Social Work*, *42*(7), 1275-1292.

Barten, F., Santana, V. S., Rongo, L., Varillas, W., & Pakasi, T. A. (2008). Contextualising workers' health and safety in urban settings: The need for a global perspective and an integrated approach. *Habitat International, 32(2), 223-236.*

Beauchamp, T. L. (1984). Ethics and the Modern World. *The Monist, Vol. 67, No. 4, pp. 514-531.*

Bhowmik, S. K. (2005). Street vendors in Asia: a review. Economic and Political Weekly, 2256-2264.

Blair, D. (1999). Street food vending and nutritional impact. *Agriculture and Human Values, 16(3), 321-323.*

Bromley R. (2000). Street Vending and Public Policy: A Global Review. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy. Volume 20. Number 1/1 2000.*

Campbell P.T. (2011). Assessing the Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices of Street Food

Vendors in the City of Johannesburg regarding Food Hygiene and Safety. (Master Thesis). Accessed at: http://etd.uwc.ac.za/usrfiles/modules/etd/docs/etd_gen8Srv25Nme_8176_1318929570.pdf. Accessed on 09/01/13.

Chakravarty, I., and Canet, C. (1996). Street foods in Calcutta. *Food Nutrition and Agriculture, 17(18), 30-37.*

Chukuezi, C. O. (2010a). Food Safety and Hygienic Practices of Street Food Vendors in Owerri, Nigeria. *Studies in sociology of science, 1(1).*

Chukuezi C.O. (2010b). Entrepreneurs of the Streets: Socio-economic Features of Street Food Vending in Oweri, Nigeria. *European Journal of Social Sciences, Volume 14, Number 2. 183.*

Cohen, M. (2010). Women and the Urban Street Food Trade: Some Implications for Policy. Working Paper No. 55. Equity Policy Centre's Street Foods Project.

Cranston, M. (1983). Are there any human rights? *Daedalus, 1-17.*

Driver, Julia, "The History of Utilitarianism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2009 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2009/entries/utilitarianism-history/>.

Ebobrah S. T. (2008). A critical analysis of the human rights mandate of the ECOWAS community court of justice. Research partnership 1/2008. The Danish institute for human rights.

FAO (2012). Street Food Vending in West African Cities: Potential and Challenges. FAO Regional Office for Africa. Accessed at: http://www.fao.org/fsnforum/sites/default/files/resources/street%20vending%20in%20west%20african%20countriesfinalversion.pdf. Accessed on: 01/01/13.

FAO (2007). Promises and Challenges of the Informal Food Sector in Developing Countries. Accessed at: ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/010/a1124e/a1124e00.pdf. Accessed on 20.07.11.

FAO (undated). Street Foods. Accessed at: http://www.fao.org/fcit/food-processing/street-foods/en/. Accessed on 09/01/13.

FAO (undated). Food for the Cities. Accessed at: http://www/fao.org/fcit/foodprocessing/street-foods/en/. Accessed on 09/01/13.

FAO/WHO Regional Conference on Food Safety for Africa, Harare, Zimbabwe, 3-6 October (2005). Analysis of the Food Safety situation in Zambia (Prepared by Zambia). Conference Room Document 34.

Fellows, P., and Hilmi, M. (2012). Selling Street and Snack Foods. FAO Diversification
Booklet No. 18.
Flores-Oebanda, C. (2006). Addressing vulnerability and exploitation of child domestic workers: an open challenge to end a hidden shame. In *Expert Group Meeting "Elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against the girl child", UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence, Italy* (pp. 25-28).
Gilligan, C. (1982). In a Different Voice. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
Guion, L, A., Diehl, D. C., and McDonald. D. (2011). Triangulation: Establishing the Validity of Qualitative Studies. Accessed at: http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/pdffiles/FY/FY39400.pdf. Accessed on: 12.07.13.
Hansen, K., and Vaa, M. (2004). Reconsidering informality: Perspectives from Urban Africa. Uppsala, Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
Health and human rights fact sheet. Accessed at: http://www.who.int/hhr/Economic_social_cultural.pdf. Accessed on: 02/08/13.
Held, V. (1993). *Feminist Morality: Transforming Culture, Society, and Politics.* University
of Chicago Press.
Helman, C., G. (2007). *Culture, Health and Illness*. 5th edition. London: Hodder Education.
Hillers, V. N. (1997). Food safety and quality topics in national plans of action for nutrition. *Food Control*, *8*(1), 5-11.
Hovland, R., and Wolburg. J. M. (2010). *Advertising, Society and Consumer Culture.* ME,
Sharpe. Inc.
Hussey, J. and Hussey, R. (1997). Business Research. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
International Labour Organisation (2003b). *Facts on Children Working in the Streets*. International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). Geneva, Switzerland.
Jackson, B. and Segal, P. (2004). *Why inequality matters*. London: Catalyst.
King, L. K., Awumbila, B., Canacoo, E. A., and Ofosu-Amaah, S. (2000). An assessment of
the safety of street foods in the Ga district, of Ghana; implications for the spread of zoonoses. *Acta tropica*, *76*(1), 39-43.
Kusakabe, K. (2006). Policy Issues on Street Vending: An Overview of Studies in Thailand,
Cambodia and Mongolia. International Labour Organisation.
Lappalaine, R., E. and Motevasel, I., N. (1997). Ethics of care and social policy. *Scandinavian Journal of Social Welfare, 6: 189–196. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2397.1997.tb00188.x*
MacKinnon, B. (2012). *Ethics: Theory and contemporary issues.* 7th edition. International

Edition. Wadsworth, Cengaga Learning.

Matalas, A., L, and Yannakoulia, M. (2000). Greek Street Food Vending: An Old Habit turned New in Somopoulous, A. P., and Bhat RV (eds) Street Food. *World Review Nutrition Diet. Basel, Karger. Volume 86. pp1-24.*

Mensah, P., Yeboah-Manu, D., Owusu-Darko, K., and Ablordey, A. (2002). Street foods in Accra, Ghana: how safe are they?. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, *80*(7), 546-554.

Mitullah W.V. (2003). *Street Trade in Kenya the contribution of Research in Policy Dialogue and Response.* Accessed at: http://previous.wiego.org/publications/mitullah%20-%20street%20trade%20in%20kenya%20contribution%20of%20research%20in%20policy%20dialogue.pdf. Accessed on 02.08.13.

Muyanja, C., Nayiga, L., Brenda, N., & Nasinyama, G. (2011). Practices, knowledge and risk factors of street food vendors in Uganda. *Food Control, 22(10), 1551-1558.*

Muzaffar, A. T., Huq, I., and Mallik, B. A. (2009). Entrepreneurs of the Streets: an Analytical Work on the Street Food Vendors of Dhaka City. *International Journal of Business and Management, 4(2), P80.*

Natural Resource Institute (NRI), University of Greenwich (2004). Street Foods in Africa: Developing food safety strategies and procedures through reduction of food hazards in street-vended foods to improve food security for consumers, street food vendors and input suppliers. .Accessed at: http://www.nri.org/projects/streetfoods/project2.htm. Accessed on 20.07.11.

Noddings. N. (2003). Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education. University of California Press.

Nyenje, M. E., Odjadjare, C. E., Tanih, N. F., Green, E., and Ndip, R. N. (2012). Foodborne pathogens recovered from ready-to-eat foods from roadside cafeterias and retail outlets in Alice, Eastern Cape Province, South Africa: Public health implications. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, *9*(8), 2608-2619.

Omemu, A. M., and Aderoju, S. T. (2008). Food safety knowledge and practices of street food vendors in the city of Abeokuta, Nigeria. *Food control*, *19*(4), 396-402.

Opeolu, B., Adebayo, K., Okuneye, P., and Badru, F. (2010). *Physicochemical and microbial assessment of roadside food and water samples in Lagos and environs.* Journal of Applied Sciences and Environmental Management, 14(1).

Rane, S. (2011). Street vended food in developing world: hazard analyses. *Indian journal of microbiology*, *51*(1), 100-106.

Reiman, A. (2009). Moral Philosophy and Social Work Policy. *Journal of social work values and ethics, 6(3), 136.*

Rheinländer, T., Olsen, M., Bakang, J. A., Takyi, H., Konradsen, F., and Samuelsen, H.

(2008). Keeping up appearances: Perceptions of street food safety in urban Kumasi, Ghana. *Journal of Urban Health, 85(6), 952-964.*

Risse .M. (2009). *A Right to Work? A Right to Leisure? Labor Rights as Human Rights. Law*

& Ethics of Human Rights. Volume 3, Issue 1, Article 1 *Labour rights in the era of globalization.*

Roever, S. (2005). *Enforcement and compliance in Lima's street markets: the origins and*

consequences of policy incoherence toward informal traders (No. 2005/16). Research Paper, UNU-WIDER, United Nations University (UNU).

Rwiza. R. N. (2010). *Ethics of Human Rights: The African Contribution.* Nairobi: CUEA

Press.

Sastry, S.N.T. (2011). Introduction to human rights and duties. Ganeshkhind: University of

Pune Press.

Scott, A. M. (1994). "Divisions and solidarities: gender, class and employment in Latin

America." London, England, Routledge in FAO. "Promises and Challenges of the Informal Food Sector in Developing Countries." (2007).

Shultz .J. (2002). *Promises to keep using public budgets as a tool to advance economic,*

social and cultural rights. Accessed at:

http://www.internationalbudget.org/themes/ESC/FullReport.pdf. Accessed on 12.09.13.

Singer, P. (2011). *Practical ethics*. Cambridge university press.

Tinker, I. (1987). *Street foods: testing assumptions about informal sector activity by women*

and men. Sage Publications.

Troyer, J. (2003). *The Classical utilitarians: Bentham and Mill.* Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company Inc.

UAPs (2007). Accessed at: http://uaps2007.princeton.edu/papers/70865. Accessed on

12.09.12.

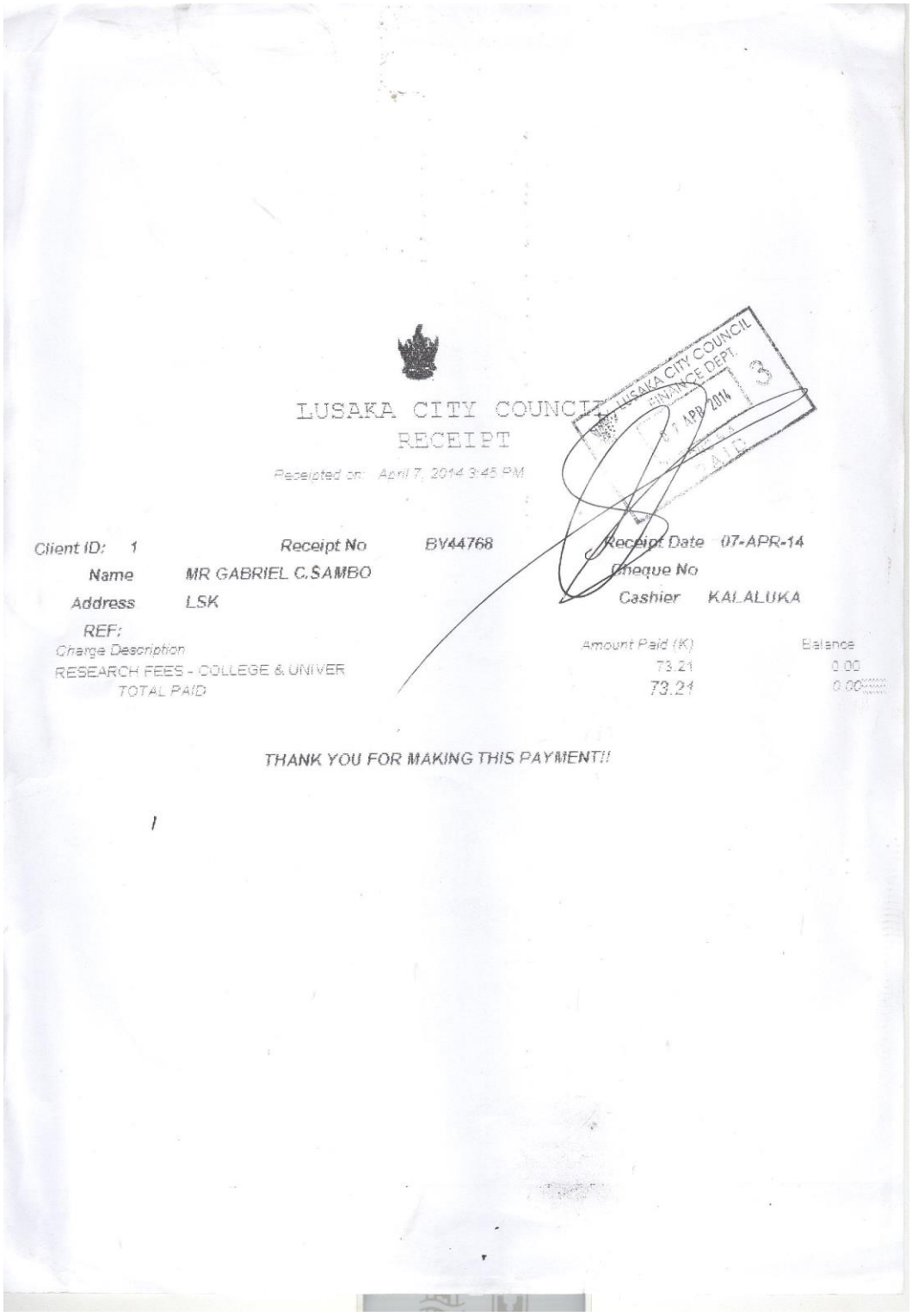
Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR):

accessed at: http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml#a6. Accessed on: 20.04. 2014.

Winarno, F. G., and A. Allain. (2010). Street foods in developing countries: lessons from
Asia. *FAO corporate document repository 2009.*
WHO. Fact Sheet 3. Street Food. Division of Prevention and Control of Non-communicable
Diseases (DNC). B.P. 6 Congo, Brazzaville.
Food Safety. (undated). Accessed at: http://www.who.int/topics/food_safety/en/. Accessed on 12.08.13.
Zawide, F. (2009). Strengthening the Role of Street Food Vendors to Reduce the Burden
of Foodborne Diseases in Developing Countries. *Epidemiology*, *20*(6), S109-S110.
Zhou, Y. R. (2013). Toward transnational care interdependence: Rethinking the relationships between care, immigration and social policy. *Global Social Policy,13(3), 280-298.*

Appendices

One: Clearance for research from the Lusaka City Council



LUSAKA CITY COUNCIL

RECEIPT

Receipted on: April 7, 2014 3:45 PM

LUSAKA CITY COUNCIL FINANCE DEPT. 07 APR 2014 PAID

Client ID: 1 Receipt No BV44768 Receipt Date 07-APR-14

Name MR GABRIEL C.SAMBO Cheque No

Address LSK Cashier KALALUKA

REF:

Charge Description	Amount Paid (K)	Balance
RESEARCH FEES - COLLEGE & UNIVER	73.21	0.00
TOTAL PAID	73.21	0.00

THANK YOU FOR MAKING THIS PAYMENT!!

Two: Interview Guides

1. Food Vender

Interview Guide Id Number |___|___|___|
Location Name_____

Introduction: My name is Sambo Cleopas Gabriel. I am a Postgraduate student at the University of Zambia. I am currently gathering information street food vending in Lusaka. I would like to have a brief discussion with you on this subject. The information that you will provide to me is very important and it will help me prepare a thesis which is a requirement my programme of study. The information you provide with be treated with strict confidence and your name will not be published anywhere.

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____\ ____ \ _____
NAME OF INTERVIEWER_____ :

Section A: Respondent's Background

- Age at last birthday
- Gender
- Area of residence
- Marital status
- Household/family size
- Level of education attained
- Duration spent in practice- how long the vender has been in business

Section B: Business profile

- Vending area- fixed location/hawkers etc ,Have you always operated from this area/why
- Working hours, when most active?
- Description of vending activity/business
- Sources of materials? Home grown, purchased
- Labour (involvement of children), Middle men, transport etc?
- Most frequent customers, males, females, children
- Amount of customers/ do you get a lot of customers here?
- Amount of returns/ on average how much do you make a day/month, other income sources

- Price standards?/competition

Section C: Food Preparation

- Description of the food preparation practices
- Average amount of time spent preparing the food
- Does the vendor have any type of training in cookery/why/why not/where?
- What happens to leftover food?/storage, preservation?

Section D: Food Safety & Hygiene Practices

- Description of the practices for ensuring that vended food is safe and protected from contamination
- Knowledge of safety/hygiene standards
- Practices of compliance to standards/how

Section E: Challenges/Opportunities

- Membership to associations/trade unions etc
- Nature of relationship with regulatory authority
- Advantages/disadvantages of having a food vending business
- Operational challenges. What challenges do you face in operating this business and how do you think they can be resolved? Harassment by authorities, police etc.

Thank you for your Participation

2. Consumer

Interview Guide Id Number |___|___|___|
Location Name_____

Introduction: My name is Sambo Cleopas Gabriel. I am a Postgraduate student at the University of Zambia. I am currently gathering information street food vending in Lusaka. I would like to have a brief discussion with you on this subject. The information that you will provide to me is very important and it will help me prepare a thesis which is a requirement my programme of study. The information you provide with be treated with strict confidence and your name will not be published anywhere.

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____\ ____ \ _____

NAME OF INTERVIEWER_____ :

Section A: Respondent's Background

a). Age at last birthday b). Gender c). Area of residence d). Marital status e). Household/family size f). High level of education attained g). Employment

Section B: Consumption of street vended food

a). Do you buy food from street food venders?

b). How often/ frequent? Explain

c). What type of food items do you normally/usually buy?

d). Why do you buy food from street vendors?

Section C: Food Preparation

a). Do you know where the food you buy is prepared from? Explain
b). Do you think the food is usually well prepared? Explain

Section D: Food Safety & Hygiene Practices

a). What is your view on the safety/hygiene of street food?
b). What in your view should be done about safety/hygiene in street vended food?
- Vending areas
- Sanitation
-Food preparation/hygiene etc.

Thank you for your Participation

3. Regulatory official

Interview Guide Id Number |___|___|___|
Location Name_____

Introduction: My name is Sambo Cleopas Gabriel. I am a Postgraduate student at the University of Zambia. I am currently gathering information street food vending in Lusaka. I would like to have a brief discussion with you on this subject. The information that you will provide to me is very important and it will help me prepare a thesis which is a requirement my programme of study. The information you provide with be treated with strict confidence and your name will not be published anywhere.

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____\ ____ \ _____
NAME OF INTERVIEWER_____

Section A: Respondent's Background

- Agency
- Portfolio & function
- Length of service in the agency/portfolio

Section B: Agency profile & Responsibilities

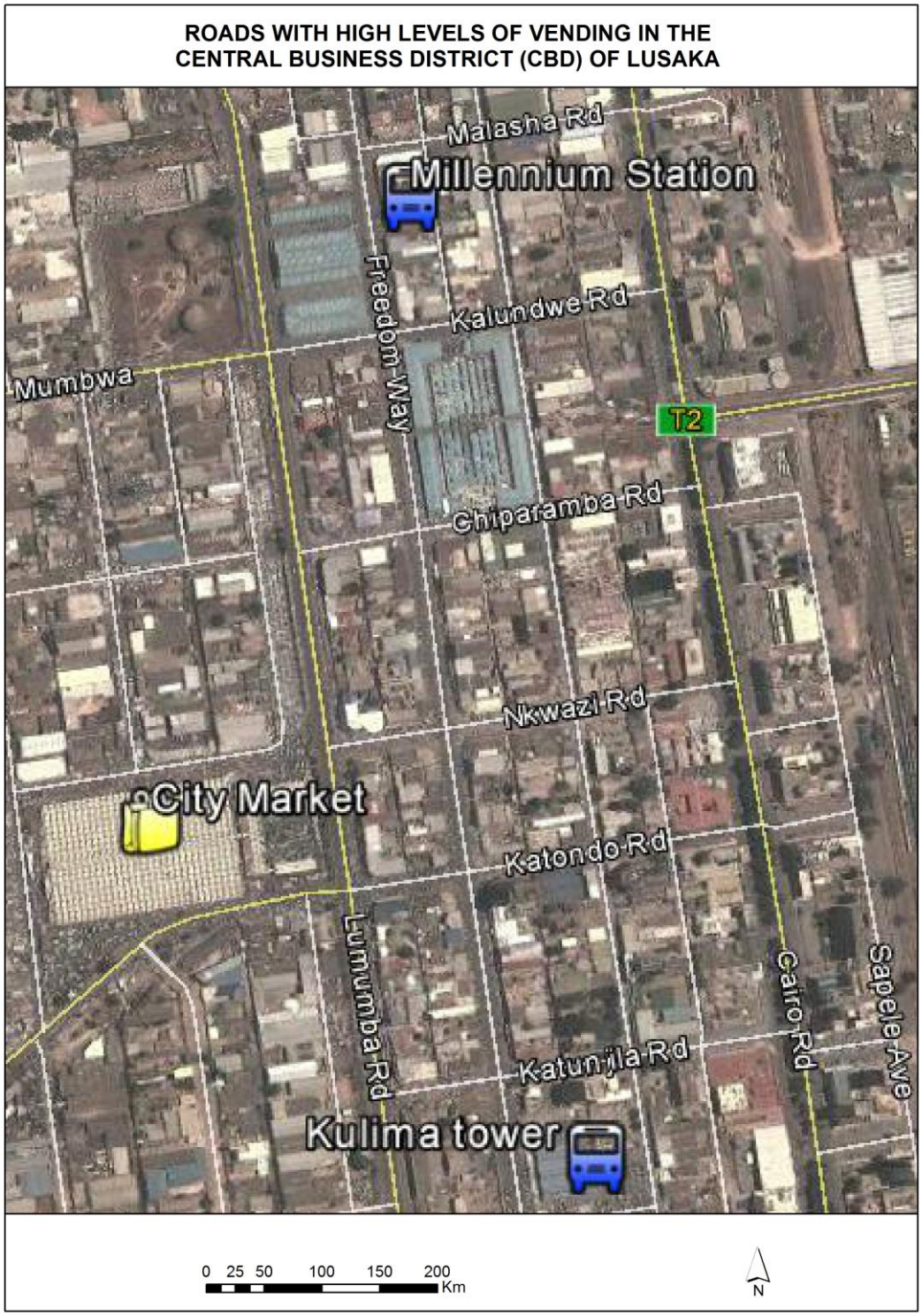
- Description of agency responsibilities/role with regard to street food vending
- Nature of enforcement- how well agency performs this role (explain why/why not)
- Collaborative arrangements with other agencies in enforcing regulation
- How effective are these collaborations?

Section C: Laws & Regulations

- Laws, regulations and standards regarding food vending
- Opportunities/challenges regarding regulation of food vending in Lusaka? Issues of market levy, sanitation and hygiene, food safety etc.
- Nature of relationship with food vendors/associations

Thank you for your Participation

Three: Map of study area



Source: Geography Department, University of Zambia