



**A “NOTORIOUS” MARKETS**

28	Red Zones	Bangkok	THA
56	Small commodities markets	Yiwu	CHN
44	Qipu Street	Shanghai	CHN
50	Quiapo	Manila	PHI
56	Karama	Dubai	UAE
62	Derb Ghallef	Casablanca	MAR
68	Pacific Mall	Toronto	CAN
74	Tepito	Mexico City	MEX
80	Septimazo's	Bogotá	COL
86	La Salada	Buenos Aires	ARG

**B POST-CONFLICT MARKETS**

96	Bush Bazaar	Kabul	AFG
102	Roque Santeiro	Luanda	ANG

108	IDP Camps	Darfur	SUD
114	Míngye Street	Naqoura	LIB
120	Ergneti Market	Ergneti	GEO
124	Arizona Market	Brčko	BIH

**C BORDER MARKETS**

136	Dajabón Market	Dajabón	DOM/HAI
142	TriBorderArea	Ciudad del Este	PAR/ARG/BRA
148	El Paso / Juárez		USA/MEX
154	Street markets	Tijuana	MEX
160	Swap meets	Los Angeles	USA
168	Vietnamese markets	Chvalovice-Hatě	CZE/AUT
174	Russian Market	Kirkenes	NOR
180	Sadakhlo Market	Sadakhlo	GEO/ARM
184	Rongkleu Market	Aranyaprathet	CAM/THA
190	Chungking	Hong Kong	CHN

**D INTERSTITIAL MARKETS**

202	Dawn markets	Hong Kong	CHN
208	Iranian Bazaar	Gaziantep	TUR
214	Kumbh Mela	Allahabad	IND
220	Tiretti Lane Bazaar	Kolkata	IND
226	Feirinha da Madrugada	São Paulo	BRA
232	Sabana Grande	Caracas	VEN
238	Bou Mendil Market	Tunis	TUN
244	Bangladesh Bazaar	Yerevan	ARM
250	Crv Pazar	Skopje	MKD
256	Jarmark Europa	Warsaw	POL
262	Montreuil flea market	Paris	FRA
268	Topkapi flea market	Istanbul	TUR
274	Rom-Hoob Market	Samut Songkhram	THA
280	Superhighway market	Dongguan	CHN

**E CONTAINER MARKETS**

290	7th Kilometre Market	Odessa	UKR
296	Four Tigers Market	Budapest	HUN
502	Cherkizovsky Market	Moscow	RUS
508	Dordoi Bazaar	Bishkek	KGZ

**F RECYCLING MARKETS**

318	Lajpat Rai Market	Delhi	IND
324	RN Road	Jessore	BAN
330	Alaba International	Lagos	NGR
336	Nairobi markets	Nairobi	KEN
342	Toi Market	Nairobi	KEN

**G WAYSIDE MARKETS**

352	Galata Bridge market	Istanbul	TUR
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358	Trade Routes	Sicily	ITA
364	Street Economy Archive		
368	Shangxiajiu Street	Guangzhou	CHN
374	Walking Atlas	Belo Horizonte	BRA
380	Micro-Retail	Lima / Tijuana	PER/MEX
388	Street vending	Cusco	PER

**H PEOPLE'S MARKETS**

398	Feria 16 de Julio	El Alto	BOL
404	Coleros and Feriantes	Santiago	CHI
410	Feira de Artesanato	Belo Horizonte	BRA
418	Second-hand markets	Nuku'alofa	TGA
424	Pasar Kaget Gasibu	Bandung	INA
430	Moran Market	Seongnam	KOR
436	Ivory Park	Johannesburg	RSA
442	Kiwira Market	Kiwira	TAN
448	Kejetia	Kumasi	GHA
454	Oshodi Market	Lagos	NGR

460	Merkato	Addis Ababa	ETH
466	Encants Vells	Barcelona	ESP

**I HIPSTER MARKETS**

476	Brooklyn Night Bazaar	New York	USA
484	Quartzsite	Arizona	USA
488	Flea markets	Copenhagen	DEN
494	Talad Rot Fai	Bangkok	THA

# INTRODUCTION

This atlas brings together more than 70 case studies of informal markets worldwide. While these markets differ widely in terms of form, size, history and social and economic orientation, they share common trajectories with respect to their exposure to the politics of informality. Mapping their spatial realities and tracing the myriad strands that connect them reveals a global picture of economic struggle and political contestation.

Markets are one of society's most prevalent and diverse sites of exchange. They are the meeting point for a fluctuating circle of individuals in whose encounters economic, cultural and social concerns intersect. What holds the market as such together is its claim to constitute a locus of multiple forms of agreement. In Greek antiquity, the *agora* – a centrally located city square – was regarded as a site for political, religious and juridical assembly as well as a marketplace and a place for consultations involving the community of citizens (*polis*). It was the place in which the public gathered and the character of the public sphere was negotiated on many levels. The development of the modern state has seen a separation of spaces in which politics are conducted from those in which markets operate and capital flows are regulated. This has in turn blurred the divided public character of different forums of civil assembly and of economic resource allocation. In the current phase of neoliberalism, this spatial separation is contributing to an ongoing concealment of the interrelationships within which political and economic forces, the state and capital are increasingly operating outside their respective, established repertoires of action in order to lay claim to market spaces and steer them in speculative terms.

In this context, different evaluations are made of the legitimacy and quality of the operations of individual markets depending on prevailing political, ideological and cultural circumstances. Today, places of public trade operate alternately as sites of opening and reinvention, as forums of reconciliation and integration, as social security nets for immigrant workers, and as sites of ethnic stigmatization and the enslavement of marginalized population sectors. In accordance with the strategic interests concerned, these attributions are used as a basis for facilitating some business activities and endeavouring to repress others that are classified as illegal, dirty and backward. The alleged “informality” of these non-conforming markets is alternately attributed to a lack of modernity, legality, profitability or public order: outmoded infrastructure, tax evasion, violations of trade regulations, product counterfeiting, non-transparent business relationships, health risks, unregulated employment agreements, trespass and traffic obstruction are only some of the many shortcomings of which informal markets are accused.

Seen against the backdrop of the globalization of world trade, the increase of the urban population and unprecedented levels of international migration, however, another picture emerges in which the dual logic of the worldwide spread of informal markets since the 1990s can be discerned. Reorganising politically imposed conditions, informality is a response to and dependent on formal societal structures. But it also exists

independently, producing its own social, economic and cultural spheres.<sup>1</sup> Within this tension, the definition and ascription of informality has increasingly become a strategic element in a global struggle for economic access, in particular to the processes operating at the lower end of the economic pyramid.<sup>2</sup> Against this background, the different contributions to this book explore not simply the specific forms taken by the informal economy but also the different paths being marked out by the socio-political conflict around informal markets.

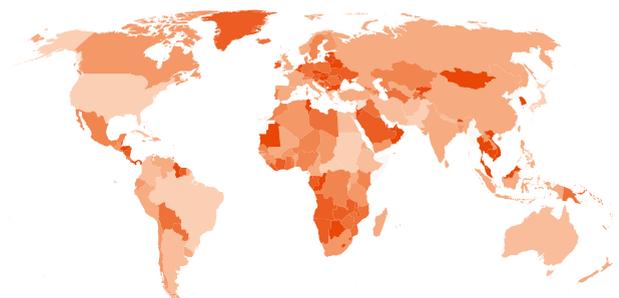
In this sense, the structure of this book is oriented to the instrumental utilization of the concept of informality and the uses which different interest groups derive from it. From this practice-oriented perspective, it becomes possible to discern how in the course of the last decades the concept of informality has developed from a simply structured economic situation into a figure that encompasses all the complexities emerging from the process of globalization. The operative dimension of informality, which is central to these investigations, thus points not only to an abstract, one-dimensional plan of action but to a field of forces spread across the world in which different milieus of actors, interests and aspirations unfold at different sites on varying scales. This field is a vehicle of the global economy as well as a site of everyday struggles and the step-by-step development of alternative interconnections.

What can be achieved by tracing these multiform interests around informal trade? Such a cartography has the capacity not only to reflect existing orders of power but also to open up the possibility of the constitution of counter-geographies by liberating sites of informal trade from an ideological delimitation in which the life of traders and the spatial manifestations of their everyday practices are often not appreciated as realities either in political narratives or in media representations of particular regions.<sup>3</sup> Mapping concrete locations re-territorializes the capitalist politics of abstract currents and relationships. It confronts the flow of commodity values with concrete neighbourhoods, socio-spatial milieus, everyday existential rhythms and urban niche constructions. The mapping of informal economies thus also entails the attempt to counter the de-realization of these everyday worlds and to recognize the relational systems of informal markets as politically and socially meaningful economic structures.

#### Determining Informality

Seen in this way, the maps and tables in an atlas are less a representation of reality than an epistemological instrument that suggests a form of access to the world and, in doing so, also establishes it, a political apparatus that generates attention, directs gazes, makes classifications, marks boundaries and identifies differences. Cartographies are not only an image but also an instrument of redistribution processes; they are an apparatus of human agency and a means by which that agency creates its world.<sup>4</sup> The definition of measurement parameters and the identification of thresholds determining whether countries belong to poor or rich regions, for example, thus produce a certain idea of the territorial distribution of these categories and at the same time send a signal for national measures designed to influence this picture from the respective national perspective. In

DEPENDENCY OF NATIONAL ECONOMIES ON MERCHANDISE TRADE



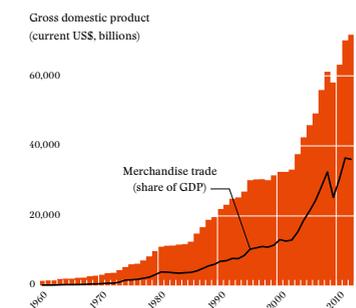
DEPENDENCY OF NATIONAL ECONOMIES ON MERCHANDISE TRADE

Percentage of GDP



Source: Collins Bartholomew / The World Bank, 2012

GROWTH OF WORLD GDP AND MERCHANDISE TRADE (SHARE OF GDP), 1960-2012



Source: The World Bank

TOP 20 EXPORT COUNTRIES (IN MILLION US\$), 2012

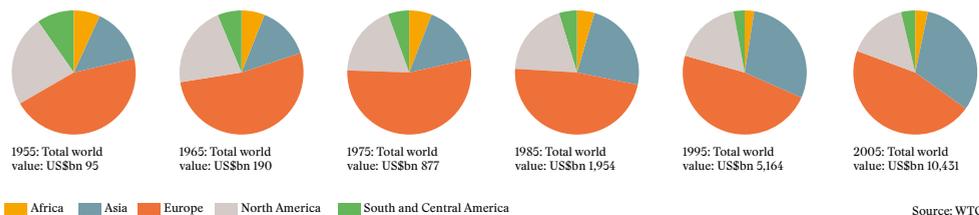
Country	2012	Global market share in 2012	2000	Global market share in 2000	Growth of global market share 2000-2012	Country	2012	Global market share in 2012	2000	Global market share in 2000	Growth of global market share 2000-2012
1 China	2,048,714	11.1%	249,203	3.9%		11 United Kingdom	474,476	2.6%	285,425	4.4%	
2 United States	1,545,709	8.4%	781,918	12.1%		12 Canada	454,794	2.5%	276,635	4.3%	
3 Germany	1,407,082	7.6%	551,810	8.5%		13 Belgium	446,529	2.4%	188,371	2.9%	
4 Japan	798,568	4.3%	479,249	7.4%		14 Singapore	408,393	2.2%	137,804	2.1%	
5 Netherlands	655,700	3.6%	233,130	3.6%		15 Saudi Arabia	388,370	2.1%	77,583	1.2%	
6 France	568,920	3.1%	327,611	5.1%		16 Mexico	370,827	2.0%	166,367	2.6%	
7 South Korea	547,870	3.0%	172,267	2.7%		17 United Arab Emirates	350,000	1.9%	49,835	0.8%	
8 Russian Federation	529,255	2.9%	105,565	1.6%		18 Taiwan	301,181	1.6%	151,357	2.3%	
9 Italy	500,719	2.7%	240,518	3.7%		19 India	294,158	1.6%	42,379	0.7%	
10 Hong Kong	492,908	2.7%	202,683	3.1%		20 Spain	293,959	1.6%	115,251	1.8%	
						World	18,404,000		6,457,000		

Source: WTO, International Trade and Market Access Data

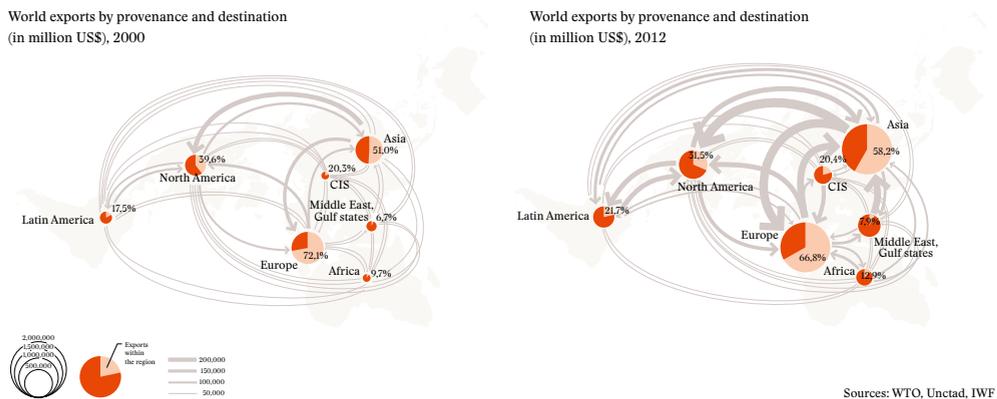
this context, one of the most significant parameters is the growth of world trade, which since the beginning of the twenty-first century has been far steeper than the growth curve of the overall economy. In particular, the rise of China to become one of the world's leading exporters has led to a new image of the global distribution of economic power. A central place is now occupied by Asia and the Gulf region, even though a far more differentiated geographical distribution of economic power is revealed when one takes into account the dependency of national economies on the trade in commodities. The deregulation of world trade, the increasing influence of trading blocks and the changes that have seen a shift in trading power from traditional industrial states to transnational concerns have additionally contributed to a complexly structured geography of poverty and wealth in the twenty-first century.<sup>5</sup> Wealth is now correlated to an unprecedented degree with the embedment of national economies in transnational alliances and their respective weights within a global struggle for superiority.

These divisions find their echo in an emergent global fabric of solidarity within informal economies such as international street vendor associations and local unions of informal workers as well as in the increasing significance of the remittances sent by immigrants to their countries of origin.<sup>6</sup> In particularly dependent economies such as

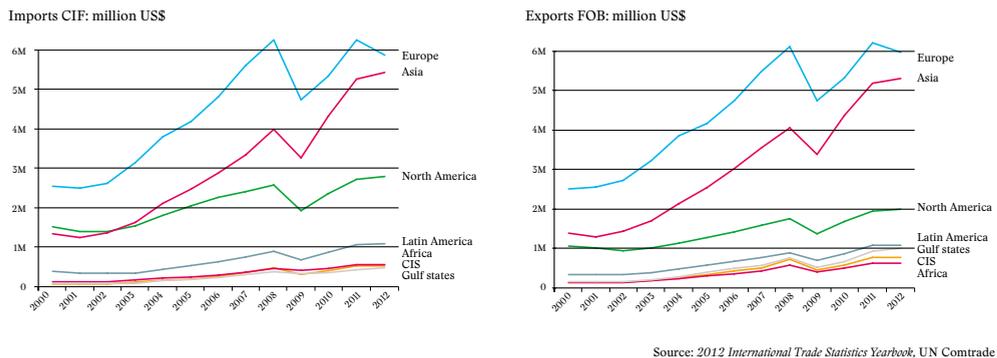
SHARE OF MERCHANDISE TRADE BY REGION, 1955-2005



CONTINENTAL SHIFTS IN WORLD TRADE BY VOLUME AND DIRECTION, 2000 AND 2012



INCREASE IN GLOBAL TRADE: IMPORT AND EXPORT BY REGION, 2000-2012



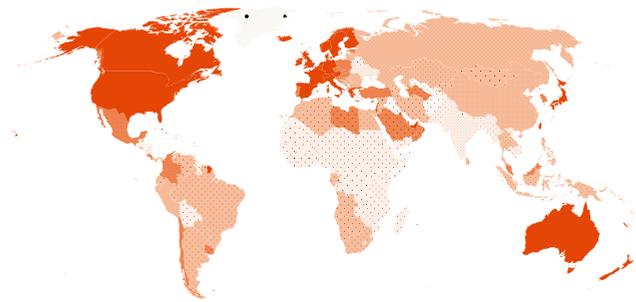
Tonga, Haiti and Moldova, these payments make up more than a quarter of the country's entire GDP. In conflict-affected countries they exceed foreign aid, foreign direct investment and other external financial resources by a factor of five. Global migration therefore represents an important link between low-wage work in developed countries, the formation of elites of private profiteers, the safeguarding of state resources, and the livelihoods of impoverished populations. Informal markets constitute important transfer sites for these distribution chains, not least for the processing of non-monetary remittances. Although in the course of globalization the spaces produced by migrant subjects are beginning to increasingly differ from one another, the fact that almost every seventh person in the world is now an international or internal migrant<sup>7</sup> means that the informal networks of migration are now an important component in the transformation of political economies.

It is difficult to estimate the sums of money generated by informal trade. When reports by the International Labour Organization (ILO) state that in Sub-Saharan Africa almost 80 per cent of the working population not engaged in agriculture works in the informal economy<sup>8</sup> or the World Bank publishes statistics showing that the informal economy generates almost half of GDP in most Latin American countries, such figures above all reveal the context in which informality is seen. In the case of the ILO, for instance, the focus is on the type of employment offered to workers and the endeavour to formalize informal working relationships. In the case of the World Bank, the focus is on rising tax burdens, labour market regulation and a low quality of public goods and services and their responsibility for the high level of informal economic activity in countries such as Peru, Bolivia and Georgia, where the informal economy generates over 60 per cent of GDP.<sup>9</sup> These ideological differences correspond to different methods of measurement and significant variations in estimates. The variety of measurement methodologies ranges from direct methods such as surveys and tax audits to a wide selection of indirect methods based on income-expenditure discrepancies, labour market figures, anomalies in monetary transactions and non-monetary parameters such as electricity consumption to complex modelling approaches that include different variables. Whatever methods are ultimately employed, in practice the dispute over the accuracy of abstract estimates often suppresses a theoretical conception of the economic processes on which the investigated variables are based.<sup>10</sup> It thereby also obscures the circumstances and motivations of people who are involved in informal economies in different ways.

Rather than orienting itself to estimations of aggregate numbers relating to the informal economy and conceiving of it as operating within a - for the most part - negatively connoted oppositional relationship to the formal economy, this atlas seeks to identify the multiplicity of connections between formal and informal economic activities in order to place a spotlight on neglected aspects of informality, such as questions of the legal situation of immigrant workforces, divergent cultural attitudes to organization by the state, the strategic role of emerging markets in the global economy, and the political basis of legality and opportunity. The atlas thus aims to offer a theoretical framework that allows us to better understand the changes in the global interplay of economic and other parameters whose platform and effect are informal markets. Top-down processes such as the enforcement by prosperous states of access to external growth markets, the development of citizenship arrangements<sup>11</sup> subject to the increasing influence of business interests, and the geographical delimitation and control of structural poverty in the production of orderly space<sup>12</sup> are playing an important role in these changes as is the bottom-up development of new social realities.<sup>13</sup>

In this context and particularly in light of the rapid growth in the worldwide use of resources linked with the growth paradigm of the free-market economy, the need to explore the possibility of more sustainable forms of economic activity is becoming ever more urgent. From this perspective, informality no longer represents merely a situation that needs to be overcome. The complex knowledge it encapsulates has the potential to generate fundamental approaches to the development of an alternative interplay of living

GLOBAL WEALTH AND TRADE BLOCKS

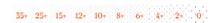


WEALTH PER CAPITA, 2013

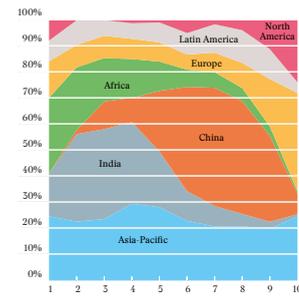
Wealth levels in US\$



PARTICIPATION IN GOODS AND SERVICES REGIONAL TRADE AGREEMENTS (RTAS)

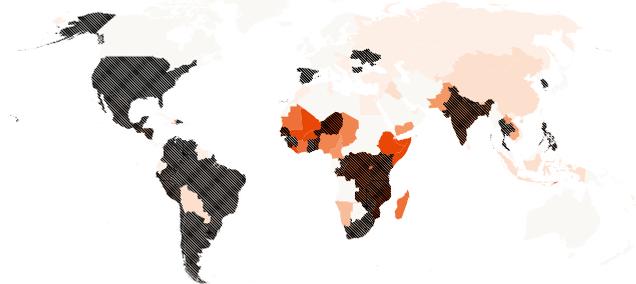


REGIONAL COMPOSITION OF GLOBAL WEALTH DISTRIBUTION, 2013



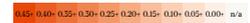
Sources: James Davies, Rodrigo Lluberas and Anthony Shorrocks, *Credit Suisse Global Wealth Databook 2013*; World Trade Organization

GLOBAL POVERTY AND INFORMAL WORKERS' MOVEMENTS



MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY INDEX (MPI)

Severe poverty Low poverty

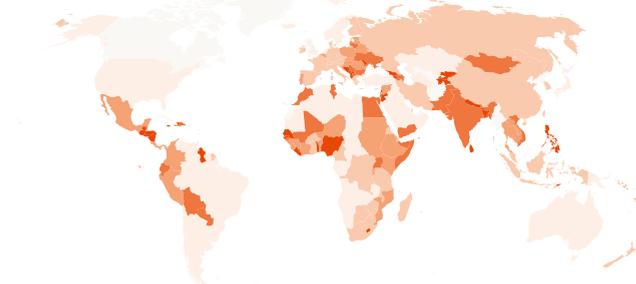


ASSOCIATIONS OF STREET VENDORS AND OTHER INFORMAL WORKERS

Countries with organizations active in StreetNet (International Alliance of Street Vendors) and/or WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment)

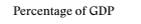
Sources: UNdata, 2012. StreetNet International, WIEGO

WORLD REMITTANCE FLOWS, 2011



WORKERS' REMITTANCES AND COMPENSATION OF EMPLOYEES, RECEIVED

Percentage of GDP

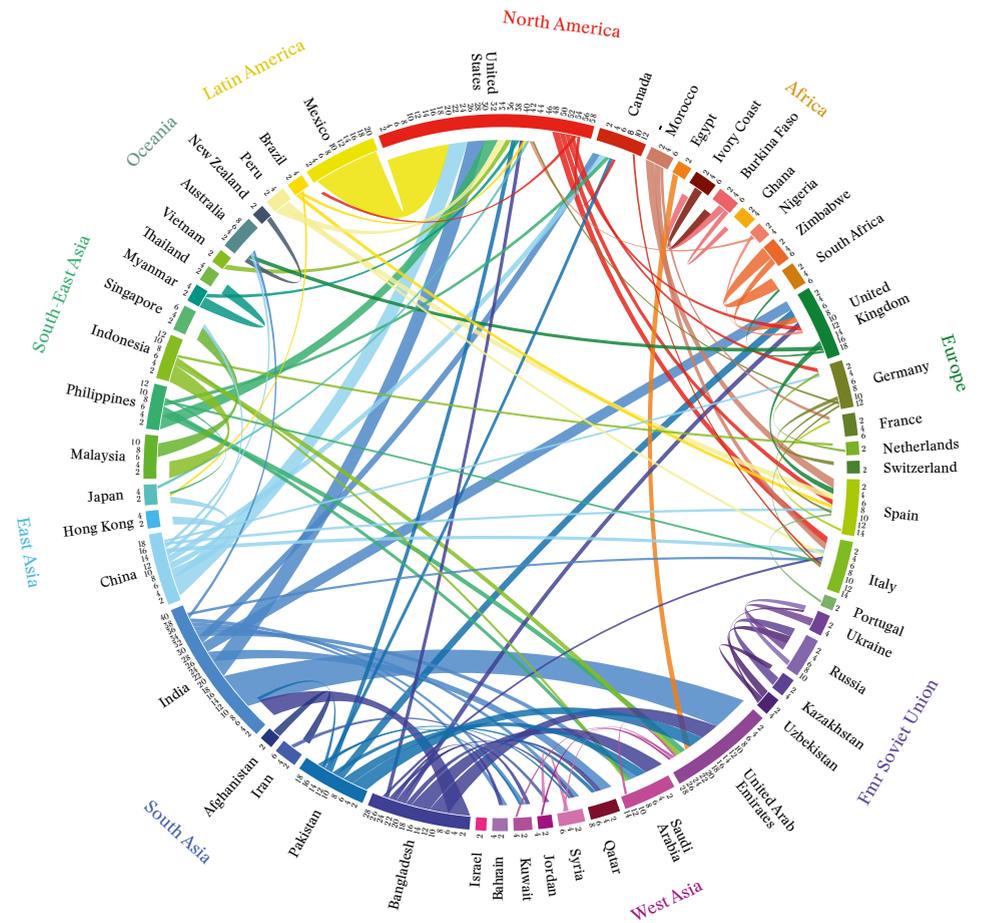


Sources: *e-Atlas of Global Development*, The World Bank

TOP 20 RECEIVING COUNTRIES, 2011

Rank	Country	current US\$, millions
1	India	63,818
2	China	40,485
3	Mexico	23,588
4	Philippines	22,973
5	Nigeria	20,619
6	France	19,307
7	Egypt	14,324
8	Germany	13,159
9	Pakistan	12,263
10	Bangladesh	12,068
11	Belgium	10,912
12	Spain	9,907
13	Vietnam	8,600
14	South Korea	8,494
15	Ukraine	7,822
16	Poland	7,641
17	Lebanon	7,322
18	Morocco	7,256
19	Italy	7,025
20	Indonesia	6,924

GLOBAL MIGRATION: TOP 50 SENDING AND RECEIVING COUNTRIES, 2005-2010



Graphics: Nikola Sander; Data source: Guy J. Abel, Nikola Sander

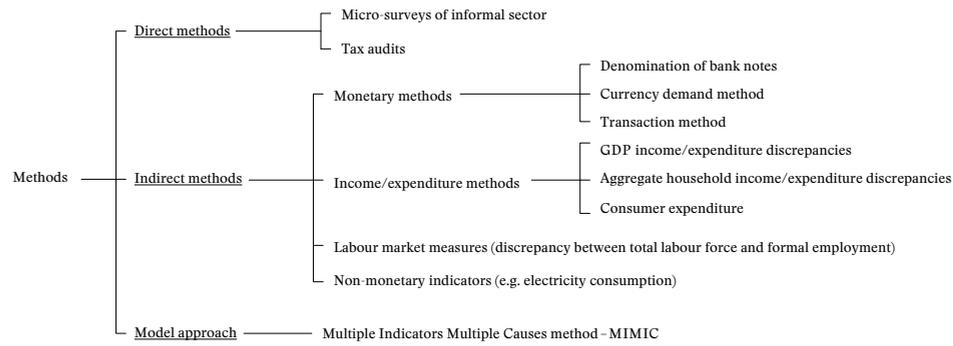
environments. The concrete spatial reality of informal marketplaces repeatedly generates fissures and openings that can serve as a means of eluding capital's proliferating claim to authority and of promoting a different form of market logic. In contrast to the idealized market economy, the everyday praxis of informal markets takes shape within an interplay of available resources and social alliances specific to a time and place. In

this sense, this atlas can be seen as a compilation of arenas spread throughout the world whose common strategy is based on translating systemic instabilities into opportunities.

Performing Informality

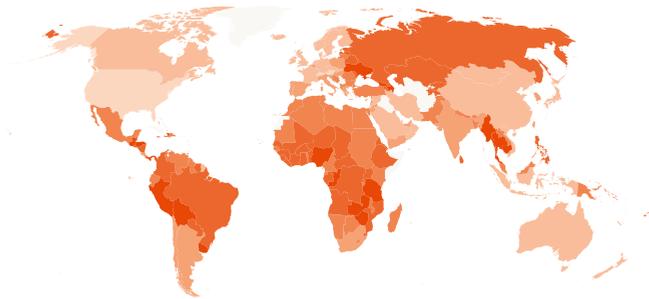
While atlases are usually based on a form of classification able to map all the entities included in a specified research field in a way that is consistent and clearly ordered, the structure we have chosen for this book is better suited to capturing the transformative capacity, impermanence and opportunistic orientation of informal marketplaces. Rather than establishing an exhaustive typology of the spaces in which informal trade takes place, we prefer to contemplate different frameworks underlying or applied to the emergence of informal marketplaces. Such an approach allows different types of informality to be understood as characteristic patterns of transaction through which different spaces and economies are brought together.<sup>14</sup> These transactions represent a process in which diversities are made compatible through the establishment of a temporary coherence serving the use of these diversities via informal points of contact.

METHODS FOR MEASURING THE INFORMAL SECTOR



Source: Garcia-Verdú / The World Bank; George M. Georgiou / Central Bank of Cyprus

ESTIMATED SIZE OF THE INFORMAL ECONOMY



MULTIPLE INDICATORS MULTIPLE CAUSES (MIMIC) METHOD  
Percentage of GDP

50+ 40+ 30+ 20+ 10+ 0+ n/a

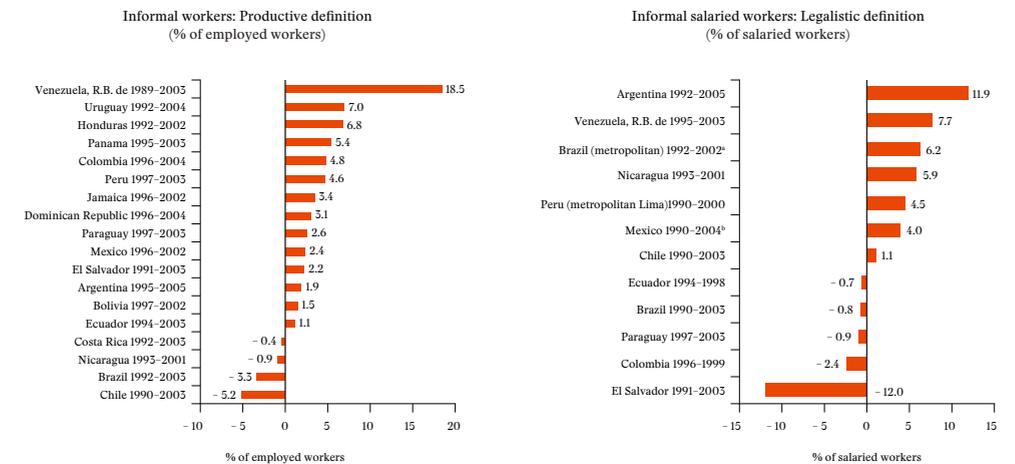
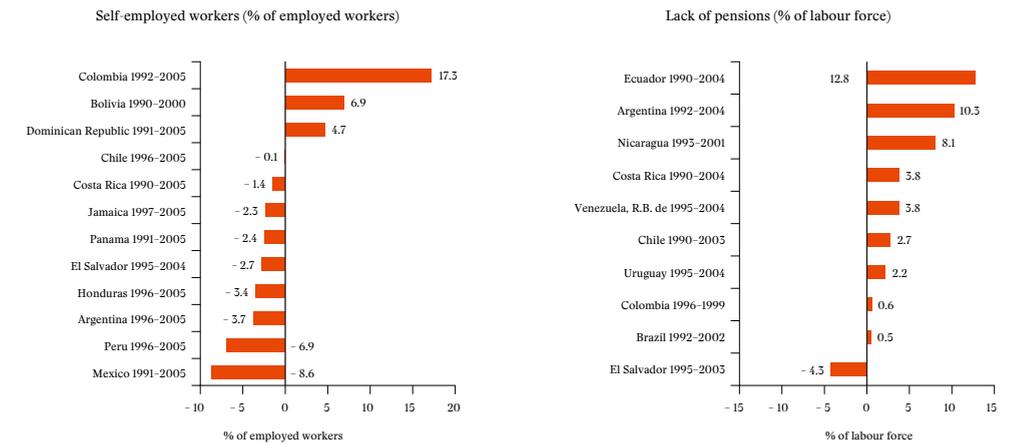
Source: *Shadow Economies Around the World*, Andreas Buehn and Friedrich Schneider, 2011

RANKING BASED ON THE SIZE OF THE SHADOW ECONOMY ACCORDING TO MIMIC ESTIMATES (AVERAGE 1999-2007)

1	Bolivia	66.1 %
2	Georgia	65.8 %
3	Panama	65.5 %
4	Zimbabwe	61.8 %
5	Azerbaijan	58.0 %
6	Peru	58.0 %
7	Haiti	56.4 %
8	Tanzania	56.4 %
9	Nigeria	56.2 %
10	Thailand	50.6 %
11	Uruguay	50.6 %
12	Guatemala	50.5 %
13	Myanmar	50.3 %
14	Benin	49.8 %
15	Ukraine	49.7 %
16	Cambodia	48.7 %
17	Honduras	48.5 %
18	Gabon	47.5 %
19	Congo DR	47.3 %
20	Zambia	47.1 %

Our atlas thus above all aims to map the worldwide relationships that exert an influence on the spontaneous emergence and local form of informal marketplaces. For this reason this book examines its arenas of informality not in terms of geographical regions, types of offerings, scales of magnitude or similar categories but with reference to different opportunity structures that allow informal trade to take place. The fact that informal economic activity cannot be subsumed into a stable and hierarchical taxonomy recalls Borges' fictive "Chinese encyclopaedia", which served as an inspiration for Foucault's *The Order of Things* and in which highly idiosyncratic categories of animals – fabulous ones, tamed, stray dogs, animals that look like flies from a long way off and so on – are arranged in purely alphabetical order. As Foucault explains, the disconcerting effect we experience here is not a result of the juxtaposition in itself but rather of the fact that there is no site at which such dissonant categories could coexist. What the different classificatory approaches lack is a shared site of propinquity.<sup>15</sup> Such a "homelessness" of categories is the model we have used in compiling the arenas of informal trade presented in this atlas. This compilation aims to direct the gaze not at an order supposedly underlying these economic activities but at the political-economic circumstances in which separate

LATIN AMERICA: TRENDS IN INFORMALITY, BY VARIOUS DEFINITIONS



Note: Although global data is available only for the definitions of informality as self-employed workers and workers not covered by a pension scheme, two other measures are calculated here based on regional data sources. In the "productive" definition, a worker is considered informal if he or she is unskilled self-employed, a salaried worker in a small firm, or a zero-income worker. In the "legalistic" definition, a salaried worker is informal if he or she does not have the right to a pension linked to employment upon retirement. a. Percent of workers without *carteira* (work card) b. Based on the balanced panel sample (common municipalities) for the period 1990-2004

Source: *Informality: Exit and Exclusion*, G. Perry et al./The World Bank, 2007. Data: Gasparini and Tornarolli 2006; International Labour Organization (ILO) Labour Statistics Database 2006; World Development Indicators 2006

systems of coherence are created for economic exchange – regions without explicit form in which new motives, opportunities and settings for informal trade are generated.

The structure of this book thus in large part traces the fault lines inscribed by the global alliance of money and power: wars, borders, profit zones, infrastructures, waste and grey areas. The marketplaces examined here are divided into categories based on the logics of their operation and the perspectives that influence these logics. Depending in each case on who shapes these perspectives and whose interests they serve, different frameworks coexist via which particular interpretations of an informal marketplace are instigated. We have therefore decided to select and group marketplaces in a way that

1974

**U.S. Trade Act of 1974, Section 301:** authorization by the U.S. president to impose trade sanctions on countries that “burden or restrict U.S. commerce”



1989

**First Special 301 Report:** identification of “foreign countries that deny adequate and effective protection of intellectual property rights or fair and equitable market access for U.S. persons that rely on intellectual property protection” on Special 301 watch lists or as Special 301 Priority Foreign Countries

1994

**TRIPS Agreement (Agreement on Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights), Annex 1C of the Marrakesh Agreement** Establishing the World Trade Organization, including formal and binding dispute resolution processes that can lead to the authorization of trade sanctions due to violations. Ratification of TRIPS is a compulsory requirement for WTO membership and as such the most powerful instrument for the globalization of intellectual property laws, linking trade policies to intellectual property standards.

1995

**Establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO),** replacing the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) as the organization overseeing multilateral trade



2005

**Special 301 reports start to include special sections on “notorious markets”,** describing piracy and counterfeiting activities and making specific recommendations on how to improve copyright law enforcement, how to implement penalties and how to lift existing barriers to global market access

2011

**First Out-of-Cycle Review of Notorious Markets** released by the Office of the United States Trade Representative (USSTR), a shortlist of “notorious markets” is announced to the press comprising “exemplary cases” of IPR violation **ACTA (Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement),** a multinational treaty to develop a legal framework outside

existing international institutions such as the WTO or the United Nations for targeting generic medicines, copyright infringement and counterfeit goods



1972

**Formation of the Self-Employed Women’s Organisation (SEWA), India**  
A movement made up of several types of organizations that support informal women workers, it was the first organization of informal workers to be recognized within the trade union movement

1980

**Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs de Guinée (CNTG)**  
**Kenya National Alliance of Street Vendors and Informal Traders (KENASVT)**  
**Malawi Union for the Informal Sector (MUFIS)**  
**Associação dos Operadores e Trabalhadores do Sector Informal (ASSOTSI)**  
**Federation Nationale des Syndicats (FENASEIN)**  
**L’Union Générale des Syndicats de l’économie informelle du Niger (UGSEIN)**  
**Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal (CNTS)**  
**Syndicat Unique et Démocratique du Mareyeurs du Sénégal (SUDEM)**  
**Coalition of Informal Economy Associations of Swaziland (CIEAS)**  
**Syndicat des Vendeurs de Matériaux de Construction du Togo (SYVMACOT)**  
**Alliance for Zambian Informal Economy Associations (AZIEA)**  
**Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economy Associations (ZCIEA)**  
**HomeNet South Asia**  
**HomeNet South-East Asia**  
**Labour at Informal Economy (LIE)**  
**All India Federation of Self Employed Women’s Association (SEWA Bharat)**  
**Kagad Kach Patra Kashtakari Panchayat (KKPKP)**  
**National Association of Street Vendors of India (NASVI)**  
**Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA)**  
**General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions (GEFONT)**  
**Pambansang Kalipunan ng mga Manggagawang Impormal sa Pilipinas (PATAMABA)**  
**HomeNet Thailand**  
**Association of Home Based Workers, Bulgaria (AHBW)**  
**La Red Latinoamericana de Recicladores (Red Lacre)**



1995

**Bellagio International Declaration of Street Vendors (at the first international conference of street vendors, Bellagio, Italy),** a document drafted by representatives of street vendor associations and activists, lawyers, and researchers working with street vendors from 11 cities around the world to form an international alliance (now called StreetNet International) of street vendor organizations and of organizations working with street vendors

1997

**Launch of the WIEGO network (Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing) – WIEGO** secretariat based at the Harvard Kennedy School (Cambridge, USA) and the WIEGO Ltd. office in Manchester, UK (33 institutional members)<sup>1</sup>



2000

**Launch of StreetNet Association**

2002

**Launch of StreetNet International in Durban, South Africa (more than 40 StreetNet International affiliates)<sup>2</sup>**

**90th session of the International Labour Conference: Resolution and conclusions concerning decent work and the informal economy**

2003

**1st International Conference on Organizing in the Informal Economy, Ahmedabad, India**

2004

**1st StreetNet International Congress, Seoul, Korea**  
9 resolutions: Promotional policies for street vendors, Promotion of informal women workers, Loans, Foreign and migrant street vendors, Child labour, Fight against harassment and government crackdowns, Street children, Fund-raising, Financial regulations

2006

**Launch of the International Domestic Workers Network (IDWN)**  
**2nd International Conference on Organizing in the Informal Economy, Accra, Ghana**

2007

**2nd StreetNet International Congress, Atibaia, Brazil**  
6 resolutions: Informal economy workers, StreetNet and fight against poverty, HIV-AIDS in the informal economy, Worker education in the informal economy, Exchange visit criteria, Creation of regional structures in StreetNet

2010

**3rd StreetNet International Congress, Cotonou, Benin**  
78 delegates from 33 countries in Africa, Asia and the Americas representing more than 350,000 members of street vendor organizations worldwide

2013

**4th StreetNet International Congress, Santiago, Chile**  
95 delegates from 40 countries in Africa, Asia, the Americas and Europe representing more than 500,000 members of street vendor organizations worldwide

1

**Institutional members of the WIEGO network:**  
International Union of Food and Allied Workers (IUF)  
StreetNet International  
Syndicat des Vendeuses et Vendeurs du Burundi (SYVEBU)  
Ligue pour le Droit de la Femme Congolaise (LDFC)  
Trades Union Congress (Ghana)  
StreetNet Ghana Alliance  
Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs de Guinée (CNTG)  
Kenya National Alliance of Street Vendors and Informal Traders (KENASVT)  
Malawi Union for the Informal Sector (MUFIS)  
Associação dos Operadores e Trabalhadores do Sector Informal (ASSOTSI)  
Federation Nationale des Syndicats (FENASEIN)  
L’Union Générale des Syndicats de l’économie informelle du Niger (UGSEIN)  
Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal (CNTS)  
Syndicat Unique et Démocratique du Mareyeurs du Sénégal (SUDEM)  
Coalition of Informal Economy Associations of Swaziland (CIEAS)  
Syndicat des Vendeurs de Matériaux de Construction du Togo (SYVMACOT)  
Alliance for Zambian Informal Economy Associations (AZIEA)  
Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economy Associations (ZCIEA)  
HomeNet South Asia  
HomeNet South-East Asia  
Labour at Informal Economy (LIE)  
All India Federation of Self Employed Women’s Association (SEWA Bharat)  
Kagad Kach Patra Kashtakari Panchayat (KKPKP)  
National Association of Street Vendors of India (NASVI)  
Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA)  
General Federation of Nepalese Trade Unions (GEFONT)  
Pambansang Kalipunan ng mga Manggagawang Impormal sa Pilipinas (PATAMABA)  
HomeNet Thailand  
Association of Home Based Workers, Bulgaria (AHBW)  
La Red Latinoamericana de Recicladores (Red Lacre)

Sindicato de Vendedores Ambulantes de la Republica Argentina (SIVARA)  
Sindicato de Trabajadores Vendedores de la Locomoción Colectiva (SINTRALOC)  
Federación Única de Trabajadores No Dependientes de Venezuela (FUTRAND)

2

**StreetNet International affiliates:**  
AFEE (Asociacion de Feriantes de Ferias Especiales), Uruguay  
ASSOTSI (Associação dos Operadores e Trabalhadores do Sector Informal), Mozambique  
ASSOVACO (Association de Vendeurs Ambulantes au Congo)  
AZIEA (Alliance of Zambian Informal Economy Associations)  
CIEAS (Coalition of informal economy associations of Swaziland), Swaziland  
CNTG Confederation Nationale des Travailleurs de Guinée  
CNTS (Confederation National des Travailleurs du Senegal)  
CTCP (Confederacion de trabajadores por Cuenta Propia), Nicaragua  
Eastern Cape Street Vendors’ Alliance, South Africa  
FAINTRASIT (Faitiere Nationale Des Travailleurs Du Secteur Informel Du Togo), Togo  
FEDEVAL (Federacion Departamental de Vendedores Ambulantes de Lima), Peru  
FENASEIN (Federation Nationale des Syndicats), Niger  
FENAVRAG (Federacion Nacional de Trabajadores y vendedores Independientes de Guatemala), Guatemala  
FNOTNA (La Federación Nacional de Organizaciones de Trabajadores No Asalariados) (CROC), Mexico  
FOTSSIEH (Federación des Organizaciones y Trabajadores del sector Social e Informal de la Economía Informales de la Economía de Honduras)  
FTUEU (Free Trade Union of Entrepreneurs of Ukraine)  
FUTJOPOCIF (Federación, Union de Trabajadores, Juntas de Vecinos, Organizaciones Populares, y c; Comercio Informely Afines, Inc)  
FUTRAND (Federacion Unica de Trabajadores no Dependientes), Venezuela  
Ghana StreetNet Alliance

KENASVT (Kenya National Alliance of Street Vendors and Informal Traders)  
Khatang Tema Baitasukuli Association, Lesotho  
KOSC (Korean Street Vendors’ Confederation), South Korea  
LAIE (Labour At informal economy), Bangladesh  
LDFC (Ligue pour les Droit de la Femme Congolaise)  
Moldova Business Sind, Moldova  
MUFIS (Malawi Union for the Informal Sector)  
NASVI (National Association of Street Vendors of India)  
NUIEWO (National Union of Informal Economy Workers’ Organisations) Uganda  
NEST (Nepal Street Vendors’ Union)  
SLETU (Sierra Leone Traders Union), Sierra Leone  
SEU (Self-Employed Union), Bangladesh  
SEWA (Self-Employed Women’s Association), India  
SINTRALOC (Sindicato De Trabajadores Independientes, Vendedores Ambulantes De La Region Metropolitana), Chile  
SINTEIN (Sindicato dos Trabalhadores na Economia Informal de Sao Paulo)  
SIVARA (Sindicato de Vendedores Ambulantes de la Republica Argentina)  
SUDEM (Syndicat Unique et Democratique des Mareyeurs du Senegal)  
SVP (Street Vendor Project), USA  
SYNAVAMAB (Syndicat National des Vendeurs et Vendeuses et Assimiles des Marches du Benin)  
SYVEBU (Syndicat de vendeuses et vendeurs de au Burundi), Burundi  
SYVMACOT (Syndicat des Vendeurs de Matériaux de Construction du Togo)  
TUCIO (Tanzanian Union of Industrial and Commercial Workers)  
UGSEIN (Union General de Syndicats de l’Economie Informelle du Niger)  
UGTI – CUT (Union General de Trabajadores independientes y de la informal), Colombia  
UPTA (Union de Profesionales y trabajadores autonomos de eEspaña), Spain  
USYNVEPIB – CSPIB (Union Syndicale des Vendeuses de Pieces Detachees et Divers du Marché Dantokpa), Benin  
ZCIEA (Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economy Associations)

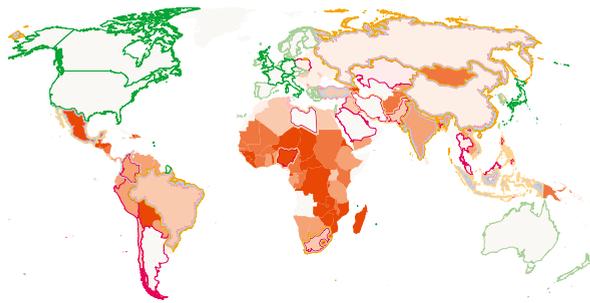
most clearly illustrates these differences. Each section presents one informal market world, a system of coherence that produces forms of economic participation and contestation across the globe.

### From “Notorious” Markets to Hipster Markets

We begin with a perspective that, rather than referring to an inherent attribute of informal marketplaces, has been foisted upon so-called “notorious markets” (section 1) by the Office of the United States Trade Representative. This strategic criminalization of certain informal markets based on fact-finding exercises, policy reports, international hearings and trade negotiations reflects the aspiration to integrate emerging and growing markets into the global commercial market controlled by the West by demanding protection of intellectual property rights and the comprehensive development of economic standards. In this context, copyright infringement, media piracy, and the production of fake and counterfeit goods function as the common identifying characteristics based on which dozens of informal marketplaces are publically stigmatized in annual “Special 301” reports. Such procedures constitute an important political instrument with which the USA puts pressure on other states, whether in the context of the negotiation of bilateral trade agreements or the implementation of economic sanctions.

Although generated by other circumstances, informal markets in regions where trade is significantly limited by violent conflicts between or within states (section 2: post-conflict markets) are also a consequence of a targeted exertion of influence. In this context, informal economies serve to maintain supply and service structures. In post-war situations, they are often not only attributed a role in maintaining peace but

EMERGING AND GROWTH MARKETS



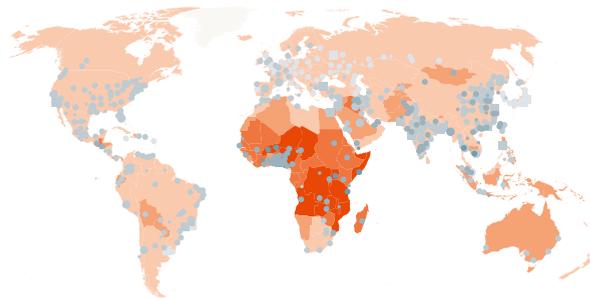
<b>G7 countries</b>	Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, United States
<b>Non-G7 developed countries:</b> this group corresponds to those non-G7 developed economies under the IMF definition which today have GDP of over US\$ 100bn PPP adjusted	(from largest to smallest) Korea, Spain, Australia, Taiwan, Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Hong Kong, Switzerland, Austria, Singapore, Czech Republic, Greece, Norway, Israel, Portugal, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, New Zealand, Slovakia
<b>BRICS:</b> five countries with major, emerging, fast-growing national economies	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
<b>Next Eleven:</b> eleven countries identified as having a high potential to become, along with the BRICS, the world's largest economies in the twenty-first century	Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Turkey, South Korea and Vietnam
<b>CIVETS:</b> six favoured emerging countries identified on the basis of their dynamic economies and soaring young populations	Colombia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Egypt, Turkey and South Africa
<b>Emerging 7 (E7):</b> seven countries predicted to have larger economies than the G7 countries by 2020	Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia, Turkey
<b>EAGLE:</b> key emerging economies whose contribution to world economic growth in the next ten years is expected to be higher than the average of the G6 economies	(as of 2015) Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia, Turkey
<b>EAGLE'S Nest:</b> set of countries whose incremental GDP in the next decade is expected to be lower than the average of the G6 economies but higher than the average contribution of non-G7 developed economies with GDP > US\$ 100bn. It is predicted that the EAGLE and Nest countries will together contribute 65 per cent of global growth during the next ten years.	(as of 2015) Argentina, Bangladesh, Chile, Colombia, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Thailand, Vietnam

POVERTY HEADCOUNT RATIO AT NATIONAL POVERTY LINE  
Percentage of population



Source: e-Atlas of Global Development, The World Bank

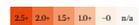
GROWTH OF WORLD POPULATION AND URBANIZATION PROSPECTS



**WORLD POPULATION: GROWTH RATE 2015-2050**

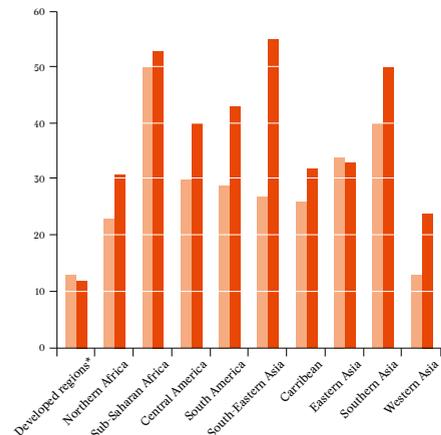
Growth rate	City population
<1%	• 750-1000 thousand
1-3%	• 1-5 million
3-5%	• 5-10 million
+5%	• 10 million or more

WORLD POPULATION: GROWTH RATE 2013-2050  
Growth rate



Sources: Populations Reference Bureau (PRB); United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA)

RATE OF SELF-EMPLOYMENT AS INDICATOR OF THE GROWTH OF THE INFORMAL ECONOMY

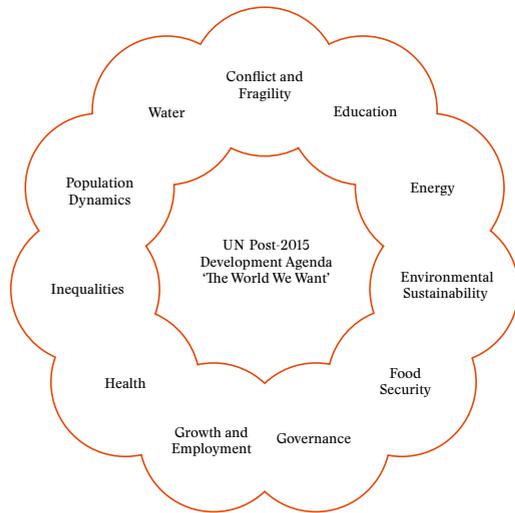


\* Developed regions: Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, USA

SELF-EMPLOYMENT AS PERCENTAGE OF NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT



FRAMEWORKS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT



Sources: International Labour Organization; United Nations

CHANGING CITIZENSHIP ARRANGEMENTS

From full citizenship based on the conviction of being equal to the rest and having the same rights and obligations to different models of economic/entrepreneurial citizenship focusing on citizens' capacity to contribute to economic growth

Economic citizenship: a short glossary of terms

**Citizenship By Investment** ("immigrant investor programmes - IIPs"): government sponsored programmes enabling foreign nationals a quick route to full citizenship rights in return for investments in the national economy

**Effervescent citizenship** ("technopreneurial citizenship"): citizenship based on value-added human capital and driven by the new technopolitical obligations of a self-enterprising citizenry (Aihwa Ong)

**Contractualized citizenship** ("work-related citizenship"): citizenship reverses from status to contract, its rights become conditional on quid pro quo obligatory exchange (usually of labour), and its modalities of policy implementation convert to market driven technologies of incentive management (Margaret R. Somers)

**Multiple citizenship** ("dual / plural citizenship"): growing number of citizenship arrangements under which a person is concurrently regarded as a citizen of more than one state under the laws of those states, enabling e.g. freedom of mobility or international investment

**Denationalized citizenship** ("citizenship rights of transnational economic actors"): the extent to which the new concentrations of power and "legitimacy" that attach to global firms and markets are embedded and filtered through the national (Saskia Sassen)

**Variiegated citizenship** ("differentiated / graduated citizenship"): populations subjected to different regimes of value enjoy different kinds of rights and privileges - those who can contribute most to the national economy have a broader range of rights and privileges (Aihwa Ong)

**Documentary citizenship** ("paper citizens"): the acquisition and possession of seemingly legal documents by illegal immigrants that "prove" juridical membership in a state, a process by which citizenship status can be ascribed to a noncitizen (Kamal Sadiq)

are seen as a potential source of stimulus for restoring the mainstream economy. Here, too, the question arises as to which interests come into play in the establishment of these new economic structures and the kind of geopolitical control that is being aspired to. Due to the key role of state and national boundaries, such markets are often found in border regions.

Borders are drawn not only to separate regions and populations but also above all to regulate circulations, i.e. to order exchange between different effective entities by means of border mechanisms and protocols. Lateral trade at border markets (section 3) is thus generated not *in spite* of existing borders but because the borders in question facilitate an opportunity for exchange. Economic difference and the control of it enable a finely adjusted form of circulation. This is shown by the workings of informal markets operating in the shadow of state boundaries, which utilize local goods shortages, economic gaps or differing legal situations between neighbouring regions as an opportunity to conduct local trade. The extent to which these areas affect not only local contexts but also wider regions that profit from this trade in one form or another often only becomes evident in the elaborate, inventive ways devised by actors in informal economies to evade the numerous regulations and limitations imposed by border controls.

In many cases, informal economies occupy gaps emerging in formal structures (section 4: interstitial markets), developing at sites than can be understood as *between* rather than *adjacent* to those given official recognition. Such informal activity may involve the utilization of otherwise unused sites in urban areas, the appropriation of empty infrastructure or particular time windows that allow for other types of trade - the improvisational dexterity of informal markets in these intermediate zones reveals one of their key strengths: the capacity to improvise in literally every situation. They thereby fulfil an important function both for economically disadvantaged population sectors and in the calculus of state and private actors, which often see such "operating" grey zones as a useful means of controlling and cushioning processes of urban transformation.

Transformations of political systems, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, often bring with them not only a change to the prevailing system but also wide-ranging changes in the organization of life at the institutional, social and even technological level. The Soviet containers that proved incompatible with the standardized container systems of the western world, for example, are now being used in this region as building modules for enormous container markets (section 5). These sites take what has become useless and reutilize it, a recycling principle that applies not only to infrastructural facilities but also the goods that are traded. Specialized recycling markets (section 6) can be found throughout the world, offering a range of goods drawn from what has been thrown away elsewhere. The refuse of the Global North's consumer society, from old clothes and metal to e-waste and broken car parts, thus flows into a further economy, one which cannot exclusively be equated with slums and miserable working conditions. Indeed, in some cases, it could provide a model for a more sustainable use of resources.

Resource awareness plays a particularly significant role in informal economies when the instruments available are extremely limited (section 7: wayside markets). As a rule, street traders do not have much more at their disposal than the goods they carry with them. On the other hand, their compact mobility enables them to service those areas that are mostly denied to stationary informal markets, such as undersupplied residential areas, the peripheries of busy thoroughfares and tourism hotspots. Many established markets also blur into the informal around their edges (section 8: people's markets). Often, these markets provide sites of resistance against market domination by global brands and international corporations. Both through their insistence on more traditional market operations – highlighting local goods and customs – and by providing a springboard for local talent, these marketplaces oppose the short-termism of neoliberal economic practices. Anchored by structures of self-organization such as market co-operatives and vendor associations, they often sustain a strong sense of belonging. Beyond mere economic exchange, they foster vocal communities in charge of their own infrastructural arrangements. After operating under the official radar for a long time, these markets are now being increasingly exposed to urban-investment interests. In many places, the politics governing informal markets has reached a crossroads that has seen them either declared a nuisance that needs to be gotten rid of in order to free up valuable space and make way for other profit opportunities, or targeted as sites of informal creativity and vitality for incorporation into relocation and urban development programmes.

Currently this situation is most cogently reflected by hipster markets (section 9). From Brooklyn to Bangkok, from California to Scandinavia, these markets play with the flair of the informal in urban space and, with their trendy offerings oriented to the lifestyle of young urban elites, are making an important contribution to the strategic dissemination of development opportunities. In contrast to the classic model of gentrification, they access the city and its possibilities not through the consumption of *space* but through the consumption of *consumption*. The culturalization of the informal economy sustains the promise embedded in the neoliberal ideology of privatization, deregulation and do-it-yourself culture. Today such practices of the informalization of urban structures

are decreasingly limited purely to the economic realm but rather represent a universal principle that is steering social and cultural imaginations. Clad in the rhetoric of the free market, the informal has found a new place in the consciousness of the Global North: as an urban feel-good zone, as a distraction from concealed economic exclusions and as an instrument for opening up new markets.

In order to explore the multilayered character of informal markets, this book brings together the observations of a large number of authors who have spent years, in some cases even decades, investigating informal marketplaces in situ in order to become acquainted with the multiplicity of perspectives influencing the development of these spaces: from the enormous expanses occupied by container markets in post-Soviet states to small-scale, mobile street trading throughout the world, from Yiwu's "notorious" International Trade City to informal trade under traffic bridges, in sports stadiums and on stretches of industrial wasteland, and from Lagos' sprawling electronics markets to Bangkok's red zones of illicit trade. The mapping of these arenas reveals a worldwide distribution of trading situations the form of which is often called into question through the use of the attribute "informal." Tracing the circumstances in which these marketplaces operate – technological changes, changes in political systems, the uneven distribution of prosperity, wars and many other factors that give rise to informal trade – shows how elastically concepts such as legitimacy, equality of opportunity and market conformity are applied to these constellations. The type of world that this book portrays is based on the idea that informal markets represent a globally distributed economic practice that is always orientated to concrete opportunities and whose differences cannot be understood from either a uniform overall perspective or a purely local one. It is rather the expression of a global economic situation in which forces of differing dimensions and ranges converge and create new market conventions.

- 1 AbdouMaliq Simone, *City Life from Jakarta to Dakar: Movements at the Crossroads* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).
- 2 Ananya Roy, *Poverty Capital: Microfinance and the Making of Development* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).
- 3 Pascal Dey and Chris Steyaert, "The Politics of Narrating Social Entrepreneurship," *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy* 4, no.1 (2010): 85–108.
- 4 Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994).
- 5 David Harvey, *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism* (London: Profile Books, 2011).
- 6 Saskia Sassen, *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).
- 7 International Organization for Migration (IOM): World Migration Reports 2000–2013.
- 8 International Labour Organization (ILO), *Women and Men in the Informal Economy: A Statistical Picture* (Geneva, 2013), 9.
- 9 Friedrich Schneider, Andreas Bühn and Claudio E. Montenegro, "Shadow Economies All over the World. New Estimates for 162 Countries from 1999 to 2007," World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 5356 (July 2010).

- 10 George M. Georgiou, "Measuring the Size of the Informal Economy: A Critical Review," Central Bank of Cyprus Working Paper 2007-1 (May 2007).
- 11 Margaret R. Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to Have Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).
- 12 Zygmunt Bauman, *Wasted Lives: Modernity and its Outcasts* (Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2004).
- 13 Gustavo Lins Ribeiro, "Economic Globalization from Below," *Etnográfica* 10, no. 2 (2006): 233–249.
- 14 Ananya Roy, "Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 148.
- 15 Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Pantheon, 1970), xvi.