

Deficits in Formal Legal Regime and Informal Responses to Governance of Urban Food Supply: An Investigation into the Informal Floating Food Supply System in Metropolitan Dhaka

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Abstract: Theoretically, it has been argued that institutions are critical to the effective management of cities and the delivery of efficient urban services and infrastructure. However, unlike many other constraints underlying institutional and governance issues stand out majority of the metropolitan governance problem raises from existing institutional paradoxes or absence of thorough formal regime. Several consequences of institutional paradoxes from vivid sectors such as transport, residential, drainage have been discussed however, urban food supply and distribution system is most often neglected. Hence, considering the Informal Floating Food Supply System (IFFSS) as case study this paper explores how deficits in formal legal regime has legitimatised the IFFSS and enforced it to operate through informal ways. The IFFSS, or selling fresh vegetables in local neighbourhood is an old tradition that is still visible in Dhaka's modern image. However, indiscriminate urbanization has not only lead Dhaka towards jeopardy, but also has left IFFSS's cultural endurance as an ambiguous concept. Arguing IFFSS as a nuisance, it calls for rigid state action and forced to manoeuvre through delicate local governance regimes, also known as informal rules. Therefore, this study discloses how in the absence of direct formal rules and regulations the IFFSS is designated as unlawful and illegal part of retail trade and it is subject to contestation since existing government institutions have failed to provide any rules, laws and regulations that can directly guide and administer the IFFSS.

Keywords: Dhaka, Informal floating food supply system, Governance Subject classification codes: Informal Food Supply System Governance

1. Introduction

Dhaka is a highly dynamic city that attracts some 300,000-400,000 new migrants each year in search of the many opportunities and for improved living standards (Arias-Granada, Haque, Joseph, & Yanez Pagans, 2018). Yet Dhaka has not been able to keep up with the needs of the rapidly growing population. The characteristics of Dhaka now includes excessively large slum population, poor quality housing, traffic congestion, water shortages, poor and irregular basic service delivery and the lack of adequate infrastructure and services (Etzold & Rahman, 2013). Given this rapid growth

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aforementioned inequalities steered increasing social and environmental informality those require urgent attention (Baud & Post, 2018). Food supply system, the Dhaka's market for fresh vegetables and fruits is facing an acute problem especially the floating food supply system. Floating food supply (FSS) system is an integral component of the urban food supply chain and an ancient culture that has been deeply embedded in the modern image. Its strong presence can not only be seen in local neighbourhoods and roads but also in public places, open grounds, streets, and other accessible locations of the city. However, in its current state, FSS's cultural endurance has been left as an ambiguous concept and termed as informal floating food supply system (IFFSS).

'.... potato, gourd, pumpkin, brinjal.....fresh vegetable, green vegetable.....low price...handy.....at your door...come and collect.'

Every day a regular shout from the road by Dhaka's sabjiwala's selling fresh and seasonal vegetables is part of the traditional nomadic trading that is also known as the mobile market and floating food supply system. The informal floating food supply system (IFFSS) is an integral component of the urban food supply chain that has been deeply embedded in the modern image. The IFFSS offers easy access to a wide range of fresh and seasonal vegetables that runs parallel to the formal food supply system (Keck, Etzold, Bohle, & Zingel, 2014). The IFFSS's strong presence can not only be seen in local neighbourhoods and roads but also squares, streets, open ground, lakes, market extension and other accessible location of cities.

However, in its current state, IFFSS's cultural endurance has been left as an ambiguous concept that contradicts between informality and illegality. Dhaka's vision towards urbanity and modernity is opposed to IFFSS. Metropolitan administration such as Dhaka city corporation (DCC)⁴ and Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP) defines selling perishable vegetables in the streets is illegal. State government ministries have further legitimised the IFFSS declaring IFFSS as unlawful and illegal part of retail trade. Thus, despite the significant contribution to the urban economy, IFFSS's role is unrecognised by the state and therefore, declared as an informal activity (Etzold, Hossain, & Rahman, 2013). The core informality cohesion of the IFFSS remains, that is production and sale of goods or services that are by themselves considered legal, whereas the activity of producing or selling those goods is not registered or regulated by formal governance institutions (Roever & Skinner, 2016). Hence, legislation and political discourse are challenged by what is considered the fundamental dilemma of the IFFSS (Xue & Huang, 2015).

It became apparent that IFFSS vending culture is understood in two main aspects. First, it is considered a part of the city's identity and traditional part of Dhaka's culture which should be preserved; on the other hand, it is contested practice when it is seen form comprehensive urban development practice. Arguing IFFSS as a nuisance, it calls for rigid state action, but the IFFSS manoeuvres through delicate local governance regimes, also known as informal rules, such as network and partnership formation, and collaboration and negotiation. Therefore, this paper discusses existing IFFSS that is operated in metropolitan Dhaka.

⁴ DCC-Dhaka City Corporation is divided in two corporations Dhaka North City Corporation and Dhaka South City Corporation. The study applied DCC since it discusses IFFSS territory rather discussing municipal affairs of Dhaka.

The paper *aims* to identify the way the IFFSS is operated in metropolitan Dhaka. Following the aim, the research quest for how various entities from the external and internal environment impact the IFFSS and how the governance process affects their relationship in a given entity. To comprehend the study, the paper first overviews existing informal food supply system. Later it characterises IFFSS's trade chain and finally, it describes its existing governance system to see how the actors and institutions collaborate across diverse interests, sectors of the IFFSS.

2. Methodology

The IFFSS in Dhaka is a transboundary perspective. Therefore, the IFFSS in metropolitan Dhaka is dependent on conceptual, rather than numerical analysis. The qualitative research method has been applied over the study using a case study approach to facilitate in-depth exploration of a phenomenon within IFFSS context. Dhaka has been selected as the case study area to implement evidence-based practice. Data was collected from semi-structured questionnaires among IFFSS agents, semi-structured questionnaires with government representatives and academic experts, and unstructured interview with market cooperative representatives. The semi-structured interviews were conducted among 45 IFFSS agents. These research participants are direct street vending agents. The 45 semi-structured interviews were conducted at 9 locations with street traders in front of the booth. During the period of data collection, the questionnaire was used to understand the IFFSS's market operation, spatial and social organisation, activities, the relationships between street traders and urban authorities, and between street traders and official merchants.

The semi-structured interview has been selected as the means of data collection to explore the perceptions and opinions of respondents regarding complex and sensitive issues. A total of 13 semi-structured interviews were conducted among government organisations, international humanitarian organisations and academic experts. Unlike the IFFSS, the semi-structured questionnaires were open-ended and standardised format was approved by the ethics committee. This was a verbal interchange where the respondents conversationally divulged their opinions, thus giving them to explore issues that they feel are important.

The unstructured interview resembles as 'guided conversation' with the 3 labour cooperatives, 3 transport cooperatives and the 3 wholesale market cooperatives. These chosen populations are representatives from government registered welfare cooperatives working with labours, transporting goods and market goods.

3. A Review of IFFSS experience

A systematic review of the literature identifies, appraise and synthesise highly fragmented bodies of literature on the IFFSS and various connections between informal activities, actors, and domains on a varying scale. The idea of IFFSS's larger involvement is an increasingly important component of urban informal economies (Datta & Christopher, 2011). Most of the urban poor living in the metropolis survive by working in this informal sector (Zhu, Krikke, & Caniels, 2017). Bouhali, (2018) presents the IFFSS as a phenomenon as ancient as the urban settlement itself. Keck, Etzold, Bohle, & Zingel, (2014) further enriched the idea of explaining as the system running parallel to the

mainstream food supply system. While the studies of Brown & McGranahan (2016); Roy, Bhowmick, & Dolui, (2014) show it is a system that has co-evolved from failed governance process. Julie & Amandine, (2014) illustrates describing operation on public or private property is not legally designated for the practice, as it takes place in public space, which is subject to frequent repression from urban authorities.

Therefore, the IFFSS is seen as controversial terrain by urban and state authorities (Saha, 2017). The study on informal relations to the food supply outlines that the informal rules and norms are fragile (Best, 2011). The literature of Brown & McGranahan, (2016) and Moore, (2011), focuses IFFSS activities and their spatial expansion depend on the unequal balance of power while revealing that the existence of the IFFSS is a question of power in urban organisations and space control of the commercial street, revealing public space as a contested territory. McFarlane, Solomon, & Memon, (2015) provide a more comprehensive definition of the contested territory explaining this relationship between the informal and the formal, describing it as an ever-shifting relationship between what is legal and illegal, legitimate, and illegitimate, authorised, and unauthorised. But informality may arise because the prevailing formal arrangements and regulations that are being applied are poorly designed or discriminate against certain segments of society (McFarlane, 2012).

Theoretically, governance is characterised by its ability to understand its institutional processes which operate at the level of the state to facilitate collective action (Stoker, 2018). The traditional use of governance is a synonym for authority and state, yet the growing work on governance has a redirection in its use and import (Patti, 2017). However, the IFFSS's governance points to the creation of a structure or an order which cannot be externally imposed but is the result of the interaction of a multiplicity of governing and each other influencing actors (Phillips, 2011). However, the IFFSS has shared governance procedures, which is more the result of political legitimization dynamics (Zhu, 2017), where the state gives its authority to institutionalise IFFSS and business self-regulation approaches, in which it is motivated to avoid governmental regulations. The scholarly contribution by Renting, Marsden, & Banks, (2003) conceptualises IFFSS as a goal-oriented network with particular emphasis on the rule to govern the supply chain and their multiple transformations representing the individual activities, actors and policies in producing and distributing goods and services.

Such an intricate connection could only work across multi-sector actors, with different dimensions and applications as well as intergovernmental linkages (Kübler & Heinelt, 2002; Popescu, Stefan-Gorin, & Tache, 2017). The supply chain management framework (SCM) by Lambert, Cooper, & Pagh, (1998) best comprehends this contrast and describes that governance is complicated because it is challenging to explore why structures are created and how they are channelized, however unlike the marketing channels' literature, a major weakness of SCM to date is that the researchers assume that everyone knows who is a member of the supply chain and therefore neglects the idea of how it will be managed.

4. Overview of the informal floating food supply system (IFFSS) in Dhaka

The IFFSS is one of Dhaka's oldest and most widespread occupations and an integral part of urban food systems. Unprecedented urbanisation attracts huge numbers of

disadvantaged and marginal people to become concentrated in Dhaka to sustain their livelihood. Marginal people face the insecurity of tenure where people have no right to the land and, under a cloud of possible future eviction, they engage in IFFSS that is also temporary and offers huge flexibility. A total of 86% of the respondents admitted to the statement that they prefer a short-run business because they are in migrants from disaster-prone districts. Because IFFSS agent frequently travels to their home districts during hazards and harvesting season (Figure 1). A percentage of 98% of the IFFSS agents affirmed that the IFFSS offered the flexibility and 62.22% confirmed lower capital investments below 10,000 Taka (equivalent to 175 AUD) are the prime reason for selecting the IFFSS.

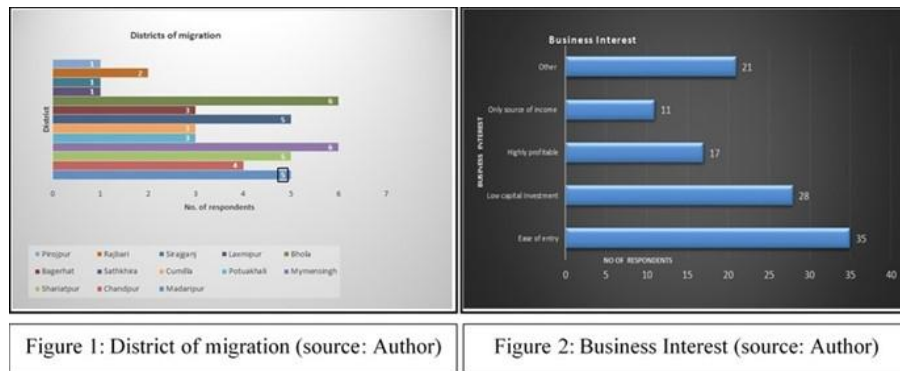


Figure 1: District of migration (source: Author)

Figure 2: Business Interest (source: Author)

Highest, 77% of the respondents, answered ease of entry to the business was the reason for choosing the IFFSS, where 20% of the IFFSS agents, who are in the business to support their family or relatives (Figure 2). The highest 44.44% of business is operated by the family, followed by 42.22% being collaborative (relative and village persons) and 13.33% single-handed.

5. Existing IFFSS Trade chain in Dhaka

The IFFSS in Dhaka views their trades as a strategic space for their economic development by offering a continuous flow of product line and discrete service level. IFFSS agents are involved in the food supply business at Dhaka's multiple locations, transporting and distributing food in the formal and informal retail market, trading with and selling it, processing, and preparing it, and transporting it again. Dhaka's IFFSS is largely dependent on formal proximity relations, that highlights there is no strict separation between formality and informality. Existing IFFSS inventory explores its functions and process principally counted on location and corridors of the wholesale market, collection of goods from the wholesale market, distribution of goods, transportation of goods, location of selling point and consumption (figure 3).

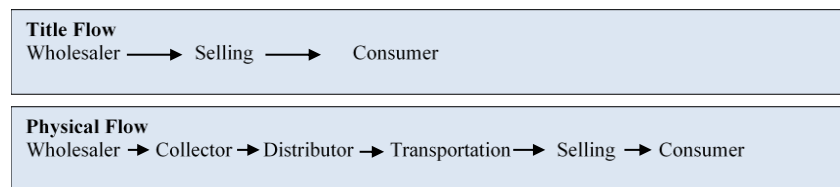


Figure 3: IFFSS Trade chain (Source: Author)

5.1 Location and corridors of wholesale markets

Shyambazar, Jatrabari, Badamtoli, Rahmatganj, Showarighat, Karwanbazar, Gabtoli, Rayerbazar, Lalbagh and Krishi Market are ten government-approved wholesale markets for supplying seasonal vegetables and fruits items in Dhaka. Drastic demographic changes and degraded traffic conditions have forced wholesale markets to become saturated and far away from the target audience. Decreasing efficiency of the traditional wholesale market and floating character drives IFFSS vendors to access the terminal markets developed at Dhaka-Mymensingh Highway that enters the capital at Tongi; the Dhaka-Aricha Highway that enters the capital at Gabtoli; and the Dhaka-Chattogram Highway that enters at Jatrabari (Figure 4). Market cooperatives in the unstructured interview outline these terminal markets are developed from pressure from the IFFSS vendors and are devoted to stock and supply products created to function during emergencies in response to market demand.

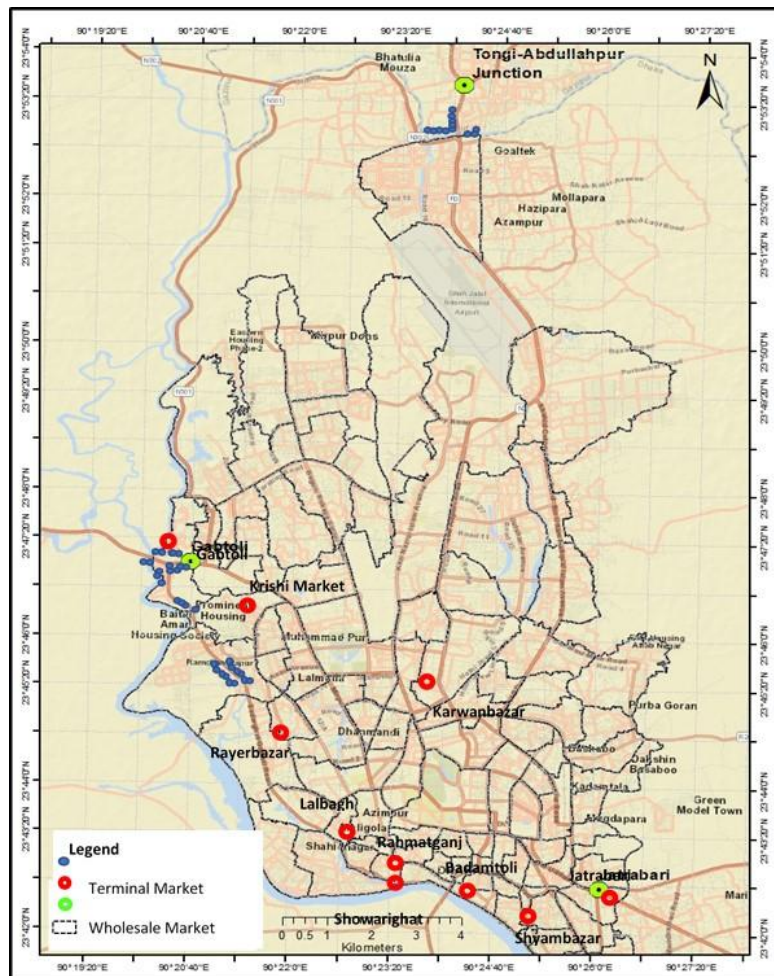


Figure 4: Entry access and location of IFFSS to wholesale and terminal markets

Source: Author

5.2 Collection

The collection system of IFFSS in Dhaka is a chain of the network of autonomous and trade-based organisations that operate through voluntary groups, which are formed by people not organised by a legal entity. There are no definite legal arrangements to guide and control IFFSS. Hence, the IFFSS agent has no restrictions towards direct trading for collection of goods from the wholesale market.

5.3 Distribution

The distribution system defines it is not always confined to the fix service delivery towards the IFFSS. IFFSS distribution system includes the origin of some intermediate destinations dominated by the IFFSS agents bridging the inadequacies of the formal distribution structure in newly developed and underdeveloped areas while responding to food distribution crises.

5.5 Transportation of goods

The informal identity of the IFFSS lead transportation challenges in four main categories: (i) selection of alternative transportation routes, (ii) mixed modal approach (use of para-transit), (iii) longer transportation routes and (iv) legislative constraints. The IFFSS agents have to travel long distances and to multiple locations for selling goods. A total of 42.22% of IFFSS agents have to travel 16-20 km. Although they cover larger distances, they are fixed to preselected alternative routes. A percentage of 67% of IFFSS agents adding that selection of alternative routes is a practicable solution against flood and waterlogging, and 31% of them answering it is a workable solution against legal harassment.

Additionally, to reduce transport uncertainty they further develop a multi-modal transportation network. Apart from van and pushcart, they use mini-truck, two-stroke engines, rickshaw and even cycle to transport goods. The semi-structured interview confirmed that use of mini-truck, two-stroke engine and the van used to carry kitchen goods causes 27% traffic congestion in the city. The transport cooperative respondent opposed the statement and said that they cannot carry bulk amounts of goods in Dhaka during the day, due to traffic laws. Hence, they carry goods in a mini-truck, two-wheeler, or rickshaw to supply goods all times at to all locations.

5.6 Location of selling goods

The IFFSS offers a continuous movement and a large number of sales points in Dhaka's pavements, streets, public gatherings, road junctions, school premises, hospital, public transport terminals and the organised secondary markets. The representative from city administration interviewed believed that constant movement has been observed as a measure to protect against uncertainty since transportation and infrastructure act as an analogy for their structure and flows. The IFFSS agents questioned regarding their choice of a specific location to sell their products answered 86.44% want to be near to the customer, 68.89% of the IFFSS agent prefer publicly accessible places while 46.67% of the respondents select the location to avoid harassment.

5.7 Selling destination of the IFFSS

An IFFSS agent's mobility is target-based, short-run and focuses on a fixed route following a daily cycle. They sell goods on the very same spot, the vicinity of a place that

constantly attracts potential customers. The scenario can be demonstrated using the example of the IFFSS agents trading in the Mohammadpur Asad avenue area (Figure 5). The Prime Minister's building, National Assembly building, seven secondary and higher secondary schools, two government kitchen markets, Townhall and Krishi markets, Bihari Camp market and Chandrima Uddayan are located in this area.

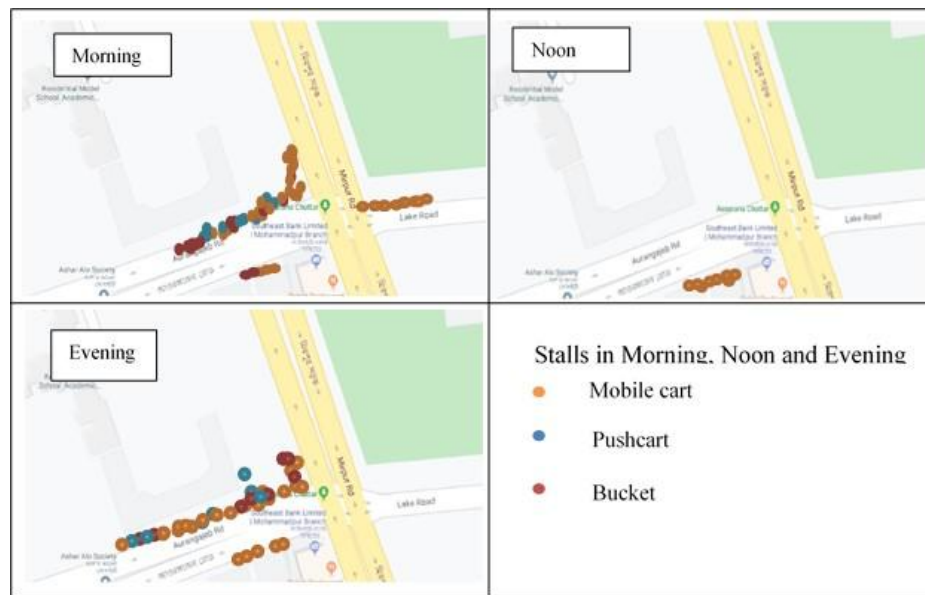


Figure 5: Locations of selling goods (Source: Author)

In the early morning hours, mobile and semi-mobile vendors sell fresh vegetables as well as fresh fruits, in front of the Chandrima uddyan and National Assembly area. This is a noted place with wide walkways and footpaths where people go for their morning walk between 5 a.m. and 7 a.m. The IFFSS vendors gather at each corner of the Chandrima uddyan and the exit point at the Prime Minister's building and residential school corner. Van and basket are used to sell goods. Shortly after 7.30 a.m., the IFFSS agents are chased away from the area, because the peak traffic period in Dhaka starts from 7.30 a.m. After 7.30 a.m.

After a short while, they start vending at 10 a.m. to adjacent neighbourhoods, school, college premises not far from their homes and within the Mohammadpur area. They return at 2 p.m. for lunch and rest for a couple of hours. They are back to their workplaces by 4 p.m. and they return home by 10 p.m. or 11 p.m. Thus, an IFFSS agent works 13-15 hours a day, which constitutes 68.88%. They prefer to sell for many hours and travel long distances for two reasons. The first reason is maximising profit, and the second reason is, it is the best way to reach the maximum people while facing fewer problems. In this case, 57.77% of respondents answered they want to attract a large target population and 53.33% prefer IFFSS because there is less of a problem in selling their goods.

5.8 Consumption

It has been argued that street vendors sell small units affordable to the poor; but in Dhaka, the target consumers are not only the middle and lower-income group; the IFFSS targets upper middle income and higher income group people too. The IFFSS agents adopt customer-friendly practices to cultivate loyalty: extra portions at no charge or provision of credit. Street food and the sale of fresh food have served to mitigate the increasing distance between work and home.

6. Existing policy and legal arrangements for IFFSS in Dhaka

6.1 Policy arrangement

Ministries of Labour and Employment (MoLE), Ministry of Commerce (MoC), and Ministry of Food (MoF) are the central ministry to the government recognises the IFFSS as ‘unlawful and illegal part of retail trade’. Besides, the concerned ministries for metropolitan administration as well as food supply system namely, Ministry of Local Government Engineering Department (MLGRD), Ministry of Home and Affairs (MH&A), consider IFFSS as a mass gathering and disapprove IFFSS under their policy jurisdiction. Existing ministerial policy guideline portray IFFSS is non-formal, non-organised, a non-regulated form of policy guideline, therefore, acts on an ad-hoc basis. The scenario establishes IFFSS is ‘co-constructed’ interactions between policy guideline under individual ministerial settings and declares IFFSS is absent from working right or entitlement.

6.2 Regulatory and legislative actions

Absence of direct policy guideline, the IFFSS is operated under Dhaka’s metropolitan administration such as Dhaka City Corporation (DCC) and Dhaka Metropolitan Police (DMP). DCC and DMP operated through the Dhaka City Corporation Ordinance, 1983 (ordinance no XL of 1983) and The Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance, 1976 [Ordinance No.III of 1976 (Amended)]. DCC and DMP ordinances are entitled to spatially regulate Dhaka therefore perceived the IFFSS as a structural problem and declare the IFFSS should be solved through public order concerns. Hence,

‘Law is the primary determinant to govern the IFFSS’

The DCC and DMP as regulatory actor declare IFFSS is subject to no legal entitlement and administer IFFSS accordingly. Thus, Dhaka City Corporation Ordinance, 1983 states,

‘The sale or preparation of any specified article of food or drink in any place or premises not licensed by the City Corporation (Chapter 3).’

and orders that,

‘No person shall make an encroachment, movable or immovable, on, over or under a street except under a license granted by the Corporation (Chapters7).’

Subsequently, Dhaka Metropolitan Police Ordinance, 1976 explains, to guide and control the IFFSS includes the following legal jurisdictions.

<i>Sub Section</i>	<i>Sub Section</i>
63. Penalty for entering or returning without permission.	77. Penalty for obstructing or annoying passengers in the streets.
67. Penalty for obstructing a footway	80. Penalty for committing a nuisance in or near the street.
68. Penalty for obstructing a street or public place.	84. Penalty for wilful trespass.

The existing law is insufficient, hence, DCC and DMP laws are widely being used to control IFFSS violators. Thus, the IFFSS outlines, the term norm remains a category of practice that depends on political agreements and value systems. that further adjust to members moved by 'local' norms.

7. IFFSS trade chain outcome from absence of legal arrangement

In current city-state, the IFFSS trade chain in Dhaka is not only the collection of independent, self-centered enterprises but also the coordination of interfaces between the fragmented functions of supply chain members. Because illegal contextualisation forces IFFSS to establish network outside the law; where informality is taken as a series of socially acceptable practices that would normally be regulated yet function beyond state oversight (Crossa, 2016). Dhaka's policy and regulatory arrangement state there are no direct guidelines to control IFFSS. Hence, IFFSS market channels are piecemeal, and the network is comprised of coalition-based and independently owned and managed institutions, each of which is only concerned with its short-run performance. Thus, the IFFSS in Dhaka is a horizontal process and its scale is large but not interrelated (figure 6).

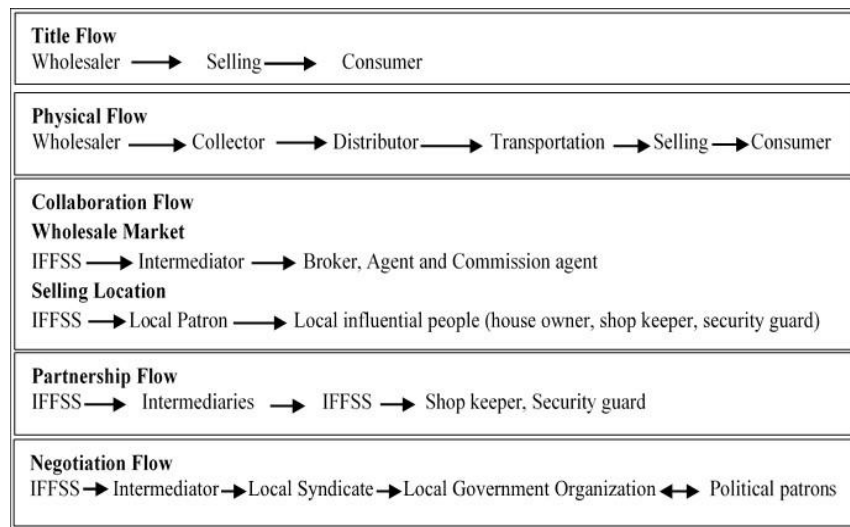


Figure 6: IFFSS trade chain flow (Source: Author)

Figure 6 demonstrates the IFFSS concerns seamless supply, the correctness of collection practices through collaboration with market intermediaries and frequent or endless access

to terminal markets. Additionally, it requires manipulation procedures such as collaboration and negotiation with existing political patrons, network local syndicates (local government representatives, local musclemen). Subsequently, illegitimate transactions and sensitive information sharing with market intermediaries, traffic management personnel and local patrons are done through partnership flow and negotiation flow. Thus, the IFFSS's trade chain has no hierarchy and intermediaries coordinate the conflicting interest. Whereas unplanned and unregulated interactions of interdependent and independent informal arrangements at different levels of IFFSS create a degree of segmentation, turning the IFFSS into a vast idiosyncratic governance system of micro-enterprises.

8. Governance arrangement of the IFFSS in Dhaka

Overview of the IFFSS, IFFSS trade chain, and existing policy directives, as well as regulatory regime, has seen IFFSS as the illegal element and hence representatives of the urban management call for rigid state action. In response to a standard argument, the IFFSS is governed through chaotic and inefficient numerous governmental units. The informality paradoxes force the IFFSS agents to manipulate procedures such as collaboration and negotiation with political patrons, network local syndicates *i.e* local government representatives, local musclemen creating diverse and multi-layered forms and spaces of power (explained in figure 6) to interconnect with local powerful interest groups who use their political influence to determine the IFFSS's governance at Dhaka.

Thus, the IFFSS governance in Dhaka is not a process, it is more of an '*environment*' that is embedded in several thematic areas through which actors persuade management to act in their interest, providing a degree of confidence that is necessary to function effectively. The IFFSS in Dhaka is governed through the influence of causal relationship with intermediaries and power relations, and government organisations. This includes not only actors from the social and political systems but also the government actors and institution.

Thus, the IFFSS agent has several contact groups where actors appear at different levels of hierarchy and IFFSS concerns the creation through links between activities, resources, and entities of a new system that can be stated as a quasi-organisation. Therefore, the IFFSS governance arrangement is heterarchical with no given centre and an open structure is enacted. Therefore, the IFFSS is embedded into three propositions,

- IFFSS agents are dependent on exchange relationships with other formal and informal agents.
- Exchange relationships are small scale and fragmented and located at heterogeneous space.
- Exchange relationships are directly and indirectly connected, forming dynamic market networks at the local scale.

Aforementioned proposition rationalises IFFSS governance is organised at four levels. They are core, controller, enabler, and peripheral levels (Figure 7).

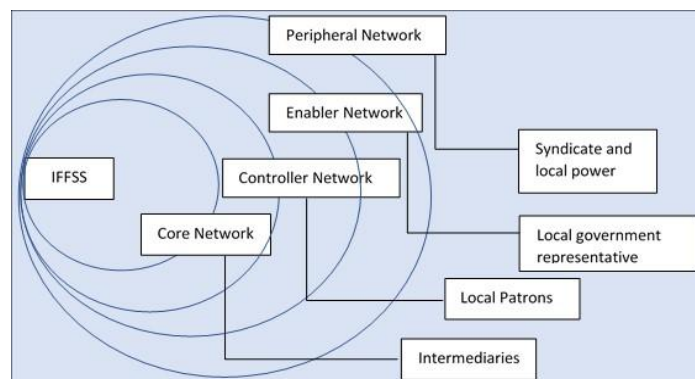


Figure 7: Governance arrangement of IFFSS (Source: Author)

The core level is at the centre of the IFFSS, dominated by the intermediaries. This includes wholesale intermediaries, traffic surgent, shop keeper, landlord and security guards. Next are the controllers, who are the local patrons or muscle men, local police who control the business operation in a given place. Enablers are the local ward commissioners, local government representatives or the formal businessmen who took the responsibility to control the business. Finally, is the peripheral level being a broader part of the political system (a selected representative from local parties) who links syndicate and local power.

While controller and enablers are linked through a common accord of mutual relationship, no evidence was found where the core network and peripheral network is linked. To clarify, the power of the core network actors is the key to the function of the system where they are merged around a local powerful syndicate. Such application of power tended to be related to the business permit, control of local police or settlement of disputes within the local area through negotiation.

9. Conclusion

This research thrives to explore absence of legal regime and informal responses to IFFSS. The research outcome outlines absence of formal governance regime is rigid, network based and informal. In the absence of any formal governance regime, Dhaka's IFFSS is subject to contestation since existing government institutions have failed to provide any rules, laws and regulations that can directly guide and administer the IFFSS. The open-ended definition allows different actors and groups to saturate the term with specific conceptions of informality. The dualist paradigm of IFFSS is deployed as "*informal*" thus highlights, involving insufficient and in many aspects' unclear coverage of formal arrangements by Dhaka's metropolitan administration. Overview of the IFFSS, IFFSS trade chain, existing policy directives as well as the regulatory regime has seen IFFSS as the illegal element and hence representatives of the urban management call for rigid state action and evict them from time to time.

In response to a standard argument of IFFSS, it is governed through chaotic and inefficient numerous governmental units. The IFFSS governance arrangement is heterarchical with no given centre and an open structure. Local negotiators such as police, local government representatives, and collaborators such as local patrons from

political parties are the traditional sovereign decision-making authority. Hence, the IFFSS's local patronisation and the informal rules govern the street where IFFSS have to align their business to the informal politics of the street. The IFFSS encompasses information based multi-stakeholder network based on interpersonal communications more active in the local arena with the interests of different groups of stakeholders from local powerful political groups or local syndicates.

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