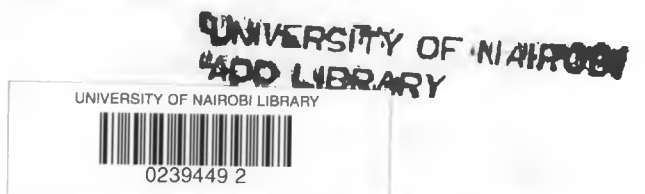


**PLANNING FOR URBAN INFORMAL SECTOR
ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES A case study of street
vendors in the Central Business District of Nairobi City.**

BY

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the Master of Arts (Planning) degree.**



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DECEMBER 1998.

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signed D. Mutegi

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor

Signed Z. Maleche

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ABSTRACT

One of the noticeable changes in Nairobi is transformation of its central business district. The CBD has been termed to have a dynamic component that is constantly changing in both its spatial and temporal dimension.

These changes cause modifications in the form and functional character of the core of the city. This can be attributed to the need to maximize utilisation of the scarce land.

The resultant effect of these transformations is an increase in attraction of activities to the CBD. Being the centrally located part of Nairobi with a high concentration of land use activities, the CBD experiences pressure from arrival of more cars, cyclists, handcarts, etc which in turn results in attracting pedestrians on walkways. The increase of pedestrians has simultaneously attracted the informal commercial activities entrepreneurs like newspapers and magazines vendors, fruits and vegetables vendors, florists, maize roasters, cigarette and sweets vendors, shoe shine boys, etc. These activities have invaded the pedestrian walkways/pavements, streets and any other open space available.

The existing, uncontrolled haphazard development of commercial street vending/hawking activities, and particularly in the CBD of Nairobi city, is already interfering with other land uses.

This creates a need for having an insight of these activities to guide the establishment of necessary planning policy to be implemented in order to avoid unharmonious land use next to each other and to manage street vendors/hawkers in the central business district of Nairobi city.

This study therefore aims to highlight the present characteristics of street vending economic activities.

It recognizes the existing locational problems and attempts to propose both short and long term solutions. It seeks to establish the characteristics that can act as guidelines during the planning process to determine conducive environment for locating street vending activities.

It has therefore attempted to study and understand this activity in its capacity as an urban informal sector economic activity, the role it plays and may continue to play in the economy of the city.

The study concluded that street vending activities may be contained to a certain extent in the CBD of Nairobi city due to the important role it plays in the economy if sound planning policies are adopted but required further research.

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However I am responsible for any commission or omission in this study.

DEDICATION

To My Genuine Friends.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title of Thesis	
Declaration	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgement	iv
Dedication	vi
Table of Contents	vii
List of Maps	xii
List of Plates	xiii
List of Tables	xv
List of Figures	xvii
List of Abbreviations	xviii
Operational Definition of Concepts	xix
CHAPTER (I): INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Background	1
1.2. Problem Statement	6
1.3. Significance of the Study	18
1.4. Study area and its Justification	21
1.5. Objectives of the Study	23
1.6. Study Assumptions/Hypotheses	24
1.7. Scope of the Study	26

1.8.	Organization of the Study	27
CHAPTER (II): LITERATURE REVIEW		30
2.0.1.	Informal Sector Definition	30
2.0.2.	Characteristics of the Informal Sector	32
2.0.3.	Location of the Informal Sector Economic Activities	38
2.0.4.	Emergence and Growth of the Informal Sector in Kenya	39
2.0.5.	Research Gap	43
2.0.6.	The Importance of the Informal Sector	45
2.1.	Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Model	49
2.1.1.	Theoretical Orientation	49
2.1.2.	Conceptual Model.	52
2.2.	Study Methodology	56
2.2.1.	Site	56
2.2.2.	Population	58
2.2.3.	Methods of Information Collection / Data Collection Methods.	60
2.2.4.	Analytical Framework	62
2.3.	Problems and Limitations of the Study	64
2.3.1.	Problems Encountered in the Field	64
2.3.2.	Methodological Limitations	65

CHAPTER (III):	BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	68
3.0.	Introduction	68
3.1.1.	Geographical Setting of Nairobi	68
3.1.2.	Historical Background (the birth) of Nairobi	69
3.1.3.	The Growth and Development of Nairobi	71
3.2.	Nairobi City the Central Business District (Growth and Development)	81
3.3.	Patterns of Land Use in the CBD.	93
3.4.	The Background of Street Vending Activities in the Study Area	100
3.5.	Evolution of Government Policy	103
3.6.	Institutional Policy and Control	111
3.6.1.	Nairobi City Council By-Laws	112
3.6.2.	Government Policy	115
3.6.3.	Implications of the Policies and Regulations.	116
3.6.4.	Summary on the Institutional Policy and Control.	119
3.7.	Conclusion	119

CHAPTER (IV):	ANALYSIS OF EXISTING SITUATION	121
4.0.	Introduction	121
4.1.	The sampled street vending commercial activities in the study area	122
4.2.	Sex	124
4.3.	Age	125
4.4.	Education	127
4.5.	Respondent's district of origin	130
4.6.	Marital status	131
4.7.	Respondents' household size	133
4.8.	Area of residence	135
4.9.	Reasons for becoming a vendor	136
4.10.	Preferred area of operation	139
4.11.	Physical characteristics and location of street vending commercial activities	145
4.12.	Type of commodities and their origin	149
4.13.	Cost of goods sold	152
4.14.	Ownership of the business	158
4.15.	Monthly income	161
4.16.	Hawkers perception of vending activity	164
4.17.	Stall ownership	169
4.18.	Vendors encounter with City Council Authorities	176

4.19. Problems encountered by street vendors	185
4.20. Capital Sources	190
CHAPTER (V): FINDINGS IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	193
5.1. Distribution and Locational Factors	193
5.2. The Role of Street Vending Commercial Activities	196
5.3. Constraints in Fulfilling their Role	203
5.4. Conclusion	205
5.5. Proposals and Recommendations	206
5.5.1. Short-Term Proposals and Recommendations	207
5.5.2. Long-Term Proposals and Recommendations	212
CHAPTER (VI): SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	221
6.0. Summary and Conclusion	221
6.1. Areas Suggested for Further Research	230
BIBLIOGRAPHY	232
APPENDIX 1	240
APPENDIX 2	247.

LIST OF MAPS

Map 3.1:	Nairobi in the Kenyan setting	77.
Map 3.2:	Nairobi in the regional setting	78.
Map 3.3:	City of Nairobi: Its location in the Republic of Kenya	79.
Map 3.4:	The Growth of Nairobi City since 1900	80.
Map 3.5:	Central Business District : Its location in the city of Nairobi	89.
Map 3.6:	Central Business District of Nairobi City as defined by the N.C.C in 1977	90.
Map 3.7:	The area of study concentration in the Central Business District (sampled areas and streets)	91.
Map 3.8:	Major pedestrian flow in Nairobi central area	92.
Map 3.9:	Land-use pattern in Nairobi central area	98.
Map 3.10:	A sketch map showing nairobi central business district where the government banned hawking as from June 1997	99.
Map 5.1:	A sketch map illustrating the short term proposals and recommendations	219.
Map 5.2:	A sketch map illustrating the long term proposals and recommendations	220.

LIST OF PLATES

- Plate 1.1: Nation centre, a tower that glows bright in the hustle and bustle of Nairobi central business district . 12.
- Plate 1.2: Anniversary towers. One of the modern high rise buildings in the city 13.
- Plate 1.3: The 36 storey "Times Towers", situated off Haile Selassie Avenue, Nairobi 14.
- Plate 4:1: A customer negotiates the price of a cap from a hawker along River Road. 142.
- Plate 4:2: Fruits and vegetables vendors sell their wares in a street set aside for them off Ronald Ngala street. The hawker sells fruits, vegetables, second hand clothes and toys 143.
- Plate 4:3: Shoe galore, women select shoes from the wide range of used ones along Tom Mboya street. Street shoe vendors have brisk business especially at month end 144.
- Plate 4:4: City council askaris load some of the property owned by the hawkers on a city council lorry in their continuing operation to clear central business district of hawkers 178.
- Plate 4:5: A team of regular policemen and city council

	askaris confiscate wares taken from hawkers on to city council lorry during a crackdown of hawkers activities in the city's streets	179.
Plate 4:6:	Order of the day. Hawkers run away from the city council askaris	180.
Plate 4:7:	Hawkers clash with city council askaris in the city of Nairobi streets. "For all the show of force, the authorities have not succeeded in driving them out	180.
Plate 5.1:	When shopping is fun : To many city residents, hawker's commodities are often cheaper than those in the shops	202.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4:1.	The sampled street vending commercial activities in the study area	123.
Table 4:2.	The respondents level of education	128.
Table 4:3.	Categorization of respondents according to their coming to Nairobi	135.
Table 4:4.	Reasons for becoming a street vendor.	137.
Table 4:5.	Type of activities one was involved in during his/her stay in Nairobi	139.
Table 4:6.	The space utilized by the street vending activities .	148.
Table 4:7.	The specific samples of each group	150.
Table 4:8.	The origin of goods sold by vendors	151.
Table 4:9.	Cost of goods	153.
Table 4:10.	The respondents' highest sale period in the day . . .	156.
Table 4:11.	The respondents' highest sale period in the month .	156.
Table 4:12.	The respondents' alternative source of income on top of vending	160.
Table 4:13.	The various advantages of hawking cited by the respondents.	165.
Table 4:14.	Hawkers expressed feeling about their activities. . .	167.
Table 4:15.	Alternative occupation preferences	169.
Table 4:16.	The main customers of the vendors	171.

Table 4:17. Reasons for not owning a stall	174.
Table 4:18. The various experiences of the vendors with N.C.C. askaris	177.
Table 4:19. Problems encountered by vendors.	185.
Table 4:20. Hawkers ways of dealing with the problems	187.
Table 4:21. Vendors proposed solution to the continued harassment by N.C.C.	189.
Table 4:22. Sources of capital	192.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure: 2:1. Diagrammatic representation of the model (explaining the emergence and operation of the street vending activities).	55.
Figure: 4:1. Respondent age	126.
Figure: 4:2. Respondent marital status	132.
Figure: 4:3. Respondent household size	134.
Figure: 4:4. Areas of preferences	141.
Figure:4:5. Respondents monthly income	162.
Figure: 4:6. Desire for stall allocation	175.
Figure: 4:7. Vendors opinion on government policy	182.
Figure: 4:8. Initial capital	191.
Figure: 6:1. Diagrammatic illustration of the role of street vending in the distribution of agricultural and industrial products	224.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. CBD: Central Business District.
2. ILO: International Labour Organization.
3. NCC: Nairobi City Council.
4. CBS: Central Bureau of Statistics.
5. KNT: Kenya National Theatre.
6. UON: University of Nairobi.
7. EEC: Europeans Economic Community.
8. MNC: Multi-nationals Corporations.
9. IDS: Institute of Development Studies.
10. OTC: Overseas Transport Company.
11. DURP: Department of Urban and Regional Planning.
12. SPSS: Statistical Packages for Social Sciences.
13. GPO: General Post Office.
14. KICC: Kenyatta International Conference Centre.
15. HABRI: Housing and Building Research Institute.
16. CMDA: Capital Markets Development Authority.
17. KIE: Kenya Industrial Estate.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

For the purposes of the study, the following terms will be taken for:-

1. Informal sector: Will refer to the economic activities that,
 - (a). are not protected or supervised by an official government authority (meaning they are left to operate autonomously).
 - (b). are not restricted by any laid down entry or exit criteria, but rather by personal abilities (often there are requirements and regulations governing the setting up business of the formal type).
 - (c). allow for ownership by individual, a family or a group of unrelated individuals.
 - (d). are labour intensive.
 - (e). do not directly import raw materials.
 - (f). do not require heavy initial capital outlay.

2. Vending is taken to refer to the act of spreading or displaying goods in open space with intention of attracting buyers. It is the display of goods, in this case in streets, with the motive of making a sale. The term is used inter-changingly with hawking.

3. A vendor is used to mean a person who displays and sells goods and services in the streets.
4. Low education: Education refers to the art of reading and writing. Any person having not attained a minimum of secondary education (form four) is regarded as falling within this category. The category also subsumes those with no education at all (illiterate).
5. Formal training - refers to the profession oriented training. The training imparts skills for a specific job to the individual. It is different from education in that education teaches one to read and write, but does not equip one with special skills for particular jobs.
6. Economic gain - this is the desire to earn money or make a profit.
7. Lack of employment (unemployment): for this study, the I.L.O definition of unemployment is adapted and used. According to the definition the unemployed are those with zero incomes and seeking work (1972 : 57). Street vendors who had no source of income before the vending activities are treated as those lacking employment.

8. Only means of livelihood - means here those vendors who have no other source of income and totally depend on vending for sustenance.

9. Supplement means of livelihood - refers to those vendors who already have some form of occupation, a source of income apart from street vending, but also engage in street vending activities in order to boost their income.

CHAPTER (I).

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND

Urbanisation, a process which involves the spatial distribution of people and their concomitant economic and social activities have been and still remain an interesting and absorbing field of academic inquiry to social scientists. It has been noted to raise peculiar problems ranging from physical, social, economic to political, in a country.

In Africa and other developing countries, the process of urbanisation has created many problems. These include poor housing, family breakdowns, hopelessness, crime, maladjustment, lack of recreational facilities and unemployment, to mention but a few (Oloo, 1969 : 14,25).

Throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America, indeed most developing countries, Kenya included, there is widespread and rising urban unemployment (Wohlmuth 1973 : 42). This situation is said to have resulted mainly from rapid urbanisation that has taken place over the past years (Todaro, 1976 : 10, Akerele 1979 : 2) large numbers of people have thus been moving from rural to urban areas, a trend known as rural urban-drift or rural-urban migration.

The phenomenon of rural-urban migration in Africa has been studied and discussed by several scholars (Mitchell 1969, Ommide 1968, Cadwell 1969, Rempell 1970 and 1976, Todaro 1971, 1973 and 1976). In some of these studies, economists like Todaro (1973 and 1976) have emphasized the importance of economic factors in causation of migration.

Migration, as Todaro explains (in Wohlmuth 1973 : 48), is mainly caused by the growing economic and structural imbalances between urban and rural areas. The situation creates differentials between average unskilled earnings in urban areas and average income in rural areas. The differentials further explains and represents both the "pull" of higher urban wages and the "push" of stagnating or declining rural income (Wohlmuth 1973 : 57).

Once in urban centres, however, not all the migrants get employment in the urban modern sector. This is due to the fact that the rate of rural-urban migration greatly exceeds the rates of urban job creation and also greatly surpass the capacity of both industry and urban social services to absorb this labour effectively (Todaro 1976 : 2).

Those unable to secure urban sector employment do not return to the rural areas but remain to "swell the unemployment problem" (Ankerele 1979 : 2). Some take up various types of income generating activities

such as car-washing, car repair, shoe-shining and repair, maize roasting, newspapers vending, all sort of hawking activities, prostitution, and even theft as an alternative means of survival in the urban areas.

The activities have been termed, "informal sector" activities, a term which was used by the I.L.O mission to Kenya to define a "target" population as part of a strategy for increasing productive employment in Kenya (I.L.O 1972).

The major problem facing government development planners and policy makers in Kenya is to guide the economy so that it creates employment and provide basic needs such as food, shelter and clothing for a rapidly growing population.

Planning of urban areas have failed to recognise the role of the informal sector. In major urban areas, the informal sector entrepreneurs operate their businesses under extremely difficult conditions. They are constantly harassed by local authorities. From 1970s up to date, for example, the shelters of informal sectors of Nairobi were and are often demolished by City Council Personnel, forcing the entrepreneurs to conduct their trade in open air. Where there are no shelter the entrepreneurs are evicted forcibly and in the process leading to confiscation or destruction of their

goods, etc. Such actions are counter-productive to the growth of the informal sector and the economy generally.

The problem of unemployment in major cities can be partially reduced by promoting the informal sector economic activities in urban system.

The informal sector should ideally have been developed to achieve greater economic development, social change and technical advancement, because of its low capital investment levels and relatively high employment capacity. However, in Kenya despite the staggering population growth rate of 3.34% and a strong rural-urban migration, leading to an average of urban population growth rate of 8.5%, and also the declining capital which is required for the formal enterprises development, it is observed that the development of informal sector has been greatly underemphasized.

In urban areas, where the concentration of activities have tended to come up spontaneously, out of necessity, and in a bid to utilise the economies of scale, many constraints emanating from politics, social and legal sources have hampered the informal sector activities.

The Nairobi Central Business District was taken as typical of an area where high demand forces in terms of high population growth rates, high

unemployment and with a colonial enterprises/businesses development background which was set up specifically to meet the interests of a particular group. The informal sector activities therefore sprung up in a bid to perform a number of roles like generating self employment, use of appropriate technology, etc which formal mechanisms were not geared to provide.

It was also observed that the study area, the CBD of Nairobi city, was heavily infected by informal sector activities. The development of these activities has been severely curtailed by a large spectrum of environmental planning issues. The analysis of these environmental issues show that they are interwoven between policy framework, legal setting and social-political entanglement. For example playing politics and civil administration at the same time. This has been experienced severally when the government allow hawkers to move into the city en masse especially during the general election period and then turning round to brutalise and impoverish them for political reasons.

1.2.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The problem of unemployment is critical in Kenya presently. This has been exacerbated by the relatively rapid growth of population and the low expansion rate of employment opportunities. This population growth has been due to natural increase as well as immigration of rural folks to urban centres/areas in order to seek employment.

According to findings of Maina Wanjigi's report of presidential committee on unemployment, other factors that contribute to unemployment are disparities in income and wealth distribution like the low returns of primary production like agriculture, pastoralism, fishing etc and limited job opportunities among different socio-economic groups in urban and rural areas. For a more equitable distribution of income, job opportunities have to be developed and distributed fairly.

The education system worsens the situation as it is strongly directed towards "white collar jobs" thus leading to mass migration to urban areas in search of wage employment.

The economic development policies have also been in favour of expanding the modern sector at the expense of the traditional sectors especially the agricultural sector which is seen as a residual employer.

Unemployment problems in Kenya are serious both in terms of the numbers involved and the overall implication for the social economic development of the nation. Indeed few problems can be said to pose as much threat to the social fabric of the Kenyan society as unemployment does. Its causes are complex and deep-rooted, and the consequences could become devastating. To individuals, unemployment means lack of income to provide the basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter. Lack of gainful employment also denies the individual a chance for self fulfillment and leads to a feeling of personal frustration and alienation from society. Unemployment is a problem to the immediate members of the family and the community. To the nation, unemployment entails the burden of providing basic needs to a sub-population that is not contributing to the national wealth. It represents a loss to the national productivity, loss of output and loss in the national tax revenue. It may also lead to social insecurity and instability.

One of the greatest challenges to leadership in the government of Kenya today is to stimulate the creation of more employment. This is not an easy task particularly in times of economic austerity. The number of jobs created each year in modern formal sector in the urban areas can only satisfy a fraction of job seekers. Development of informal sector, however, has a potential of generating many jobs.

The excess labour force has naturally absorbed itself in the informal sector, an area which specializes in small scale enterprises. It is in this sector that street vending economic activities falls. Street vending evolved in the Central Business District of Nairobi city to fill the gap of employment creation and the high rate of urbanisation process.

Despite the existing conditions of unemployment, efforts by street vendors to locate themselves in strategic (suitable) areas have been inhibited by the urban planning, regulations, business licensing regulations, and other supportive policy.

It is observed that street vending activities are small individual business and operate generally in unauthorised land. It is therefore found that the activities have spread haphazardly in the central business district (C.B.D.) resulting to an environment where land use activities are mixed regardless of their compatibility and the ensuing environmental consequences.

The nature of street vending is in itself a physical and social problem. It requires reasonable display space/area which is rarely available. Its invasion of the central business district means occupying such space as building frontages, the streets and the pavements and any open undeveloped land/space. This is because it has not had the recognition

of the of the planning authorities and therefore not suitably accommodated in the urban land use plans.

With this invasion or en masse movement of the hawkers into the city centre, a number of associated problems have risen. Where street vendors operate next to shops or buildings frontages, for example, their products will be found obstructing access to such premises. If on the streets or pavements they impede vehicular and pedestrians movements respectively and sprawl along the streets increasing risks of accidents.

Pollution in relation to noise and litter (garbage) arising from the hawkers' operations may prove to be very uncomfortable in the main thoroughfares of the CBD. and causes the problem of poor hygiene and sanitary. Pollution (noise and litter) and other general disturbances like congestion make the premises around less popular in business and if extreme the value of the property may be diminished.

Street vendors operate on sites destined for other developments so that after sometime (usually after the street vendor has acquired goodwill) the land owner come to develop the site, thus evicting and putting the vendor out of business.

Though informal sector activities have been in existence for a long time in Kenya, those who engage in these activities without proper licence are subjected to harassment by the police, city or town authorities.

In Nairobi harassments may take the form of arrests, beating, chasing and/or confiscation of merchandise and equipments. It falls heavily on street vendors, a category of the urban informal sector which is predominated by single mothers, cripples and the youth. These entrepreneurs sell their goods and services at strategic street corners and pavements from where comes the name "street vendors" or "street hawkers".

Despite frequent harassment, these vendors seem to be increasing rather than decreasing in number rendering this "solution" (harassment) a total failure. Moreover even those who have been allocated plots on which to build stalls from where to sell desert them and are soon back on the streets. For example, in the past efforts have been made to locate them to Kariokor, City park, Nyayo Stadium and recently at Mwaliro area near riverside bus/matatu stops and Kariokor flats. (Note that Mwaliro area was first allocated to hawkers in 1980s but they left the place for the CBD).

The above issues is just an indication of existing locational problems of the street vending commercial activities. The only solution that could help

in containing street vendors is where the chosen location will have all the characteristics favourable to them. Any other effort to assist the street vendors tend to be short lived if their work locations still remain uncertain.

Local authorities in major urban areas often fail to appreciate that street vendors tend to establish their businesses where their goods and services can easily be accessible to consumers. They have greater ability to identify gaps in supply of goods and to respond to changes in the market. Often people fail to appreciate the extent of economically efficient production in this sector. Thus they suffer a negative public image, yet it possesses many positive characteristics.

One of the noticeable changes in Nairobi is transformation of its central business district. The CBD has been termed to have a dynamic component that is constantly changing in its both spatial and temporal dimension. The former low rise buildings which were generally three storey inherited in the colonial era have been continuously replaced and succeeded by ultra modern skyscrapers.



Plate 1.1: Nation centre, a tower that glows bright in the hustle and bustle of Nairobi central business district. (Source: Field survey, 1998.)

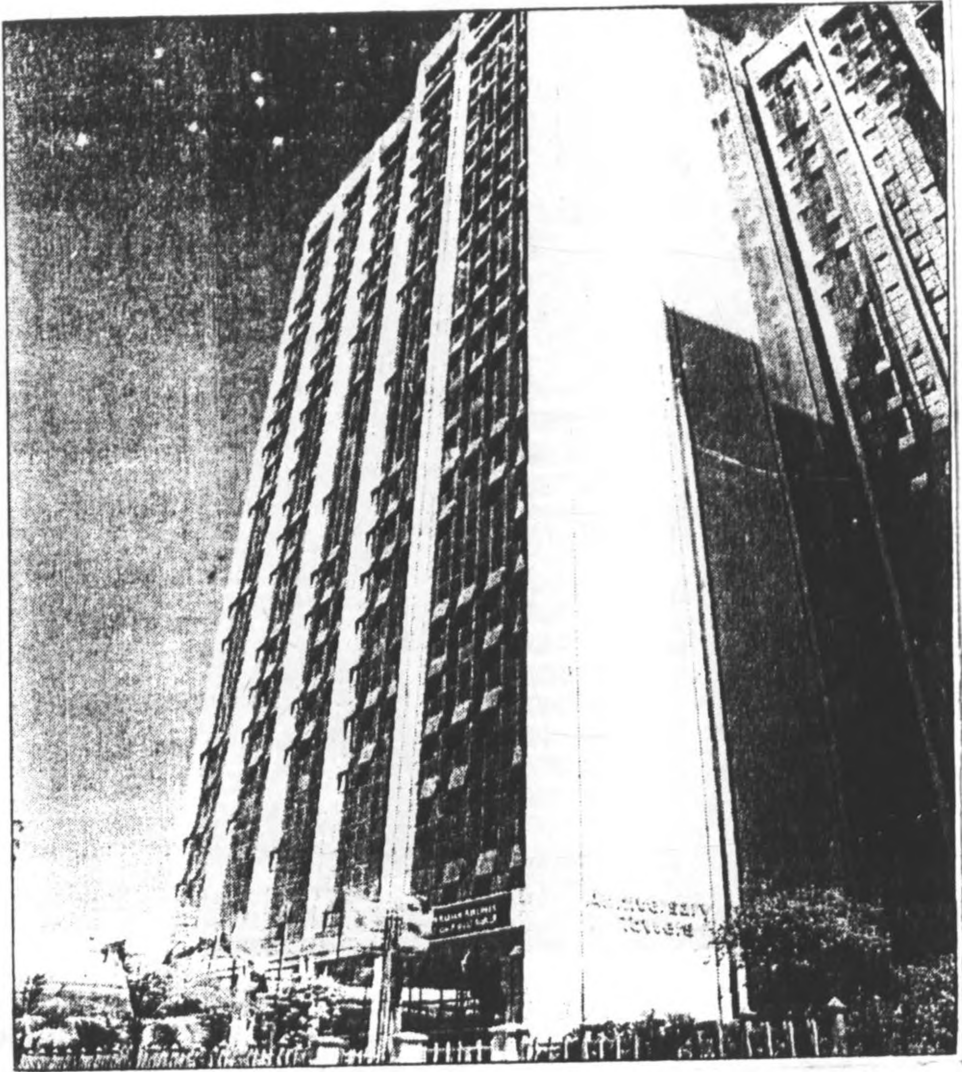


Plate 1.2: Anniversary towers. One of the modern high rise buildings in the city. (Source: Field survey, 1998.)

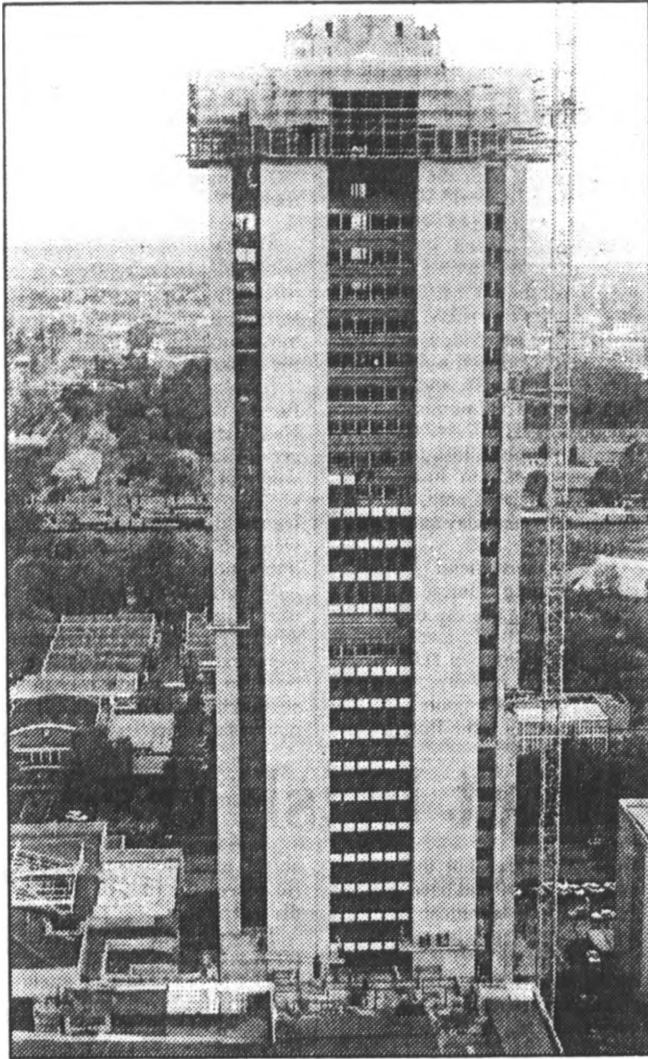


Plate 1.3: The 36 storey "Times Towers", situated off Haile Selassie Avenue, Nairobi. (Source: Field survey, 1998.)

These changes causes modifications in the forms and functional character of the core of the city. This can be attributed to the need to maximize utilisation of the scarce land.

The resultant effect of these transformations is an increase in attraction of activities to the CBD. Being the centrally located part of Nairobi with a high concentration of land use activities, the CBD experiences pressure from arrival of more cars, cyclists, handcarts, etc which in turn results to attracting pedestrians on walkways. The increase of pedestrians have simultaneously attracted the informal commercial activities entrepreneurs like newspapers and magazines vendors, fruits and vegetables vendors, florists, maize roasters, cigarette and sweets vendors, shoe shine boys, etc. These activities have invaded the pedestrians walkways/pavements, streets and any other open space available.

Hart (1973), Week (1973) and Wallace (1973) all recounted the observations of informal ways of earning a living and raised questions about the role such activities might play, not only to individuals' survival, but also in economic development. Hart phrased it this way

....Does the "reserve army of urban unemployed and underemployed" really constitute a passive exploited majority in cities like Accra, or do their informal economic activities possess some autonomous capacity for generating growth into incomes of urban (and rural) poor ?!

Hart K., "Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana", Journal for modern African studies, vol 2, 1973, page 61.

With the above experience, one can not help but stop to pose certain questions:

1. What problems does the vendor face which make them persistent in selling their activities even in continued harassment ?
2. From the persistence of vendors in the face of harassment, does it suggest that this is a viable form of employment which needs protection and even further development ?
3. What indeed is the nature of street vending that keeps it in the streets against all odds ?
4. Is harassment the best possible solution to street vending activity, if not, what is the best possible solution(s) ?

These questions if successfully answered, should go a long way in helping find a solution to the street vending "problem", not only for the authorities concerned (so that they have better control of the situation), but also for the street vendors whose plight as they try to eke out a living in this genuine manner, calls for some form of action in order to improve their lot.

Kenya's informal sector came to policy limelight after the I.L.O (1972) report on employment, income and inequality which recommended that the government should support and promote the sector as a way to lessen unemployment and augment economic growth.

The government responded to this by:

- (a). Sessional paper number 10 of 1973, where it officially agreed to support and promote the informal sector in all ways possible.
- (b). The presidential committee on employment 1982/83 (1984) recommended that the sector should be given legal status and recognition and that infrastructure be built for it to thrive and attract more people.
- (c). In 1986 sessional paper number 1, the informal sector was seen as having vital role to play in the renewed growth of Kenya economy. It was expected to create employment projected at 400,000 by the year 2000.

The need to generate employment to keep pace with the fast growing population has been emphasized both in the 5th development plan of 1984-88 and sessional paper number 1 of 1986 on economic management for renewed growth.

Though ignored by the planners, street vending fend for itself and contribute to the Kenyan economy. This study therefore concerns with highlighting the present characteristics of street vending economic activities. It recognizes the existing locational problems and attempts to propose both short and long term solutions. It seeks to establish the characteristics that can act as guidelines during the planning process to determine conducive environment for locating street vending activities.

1.3. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The Kenya government has increasingly been putting a lot of emphasis on the creation of jobs both in the formal and informal sectors due to increasing unemployment rate. This is evident from the employment policies in the last four development plans (1979/83 "Alleviation of poverty", 1984/88 "Mobilising domestic resources for equitable development", 1989/93 "Participation for progress", 1994/96 "Resource mobilization for sustainable development") and the sessional paper No 1 of 1986 on Economic management for renewed growth and 2 of 1992 on Small enterprise and jua kali development in kenya.

For instance, in 1984/88 national development plan, the government reaffirmed continued support for both urban and rural informal sector. It is stated here that: "the government will continue to support urban and

rural informal sector by provision of support services such as water, simpler licensing procedures, refuse collection, etc by the relevant authorities. In particular, regular inspection of the sector will be undertaken to prevent harassment from certain local interests".²

Despite government policies on encouraging the growth of the urban informal sector as an employer, street vending as an informal sector economic activity continued to face serious opposition from the city and towns authorities.

Therefore this creates the need to study and understand this activity in its capacity as an urban informal sector economic activity and the role it plays and may continue to play in providing employment especially to individuals (female, youth, cripples, etc) who have fewer chances of getting formal sector employment or may not engage in specific types of informal activities like car repair, carpentry, etc due physical disability, inadequate initial capital outlay and so on.

The importance of this study may be realised by both the street vendors and the planning authorities. The street vendors (entrepreneurs) may

² National Development Plan on mobilising domestic resources for equitable development, 1984/88, page 148.

become more secure since their activities may be catered for, for example pre-determined locations.

The planning authorities may be able to make provisions for the commercial street vending activities long before any development take place and because these locations may have characteristics suitable to the activities, the activities may be contained. Street vendors harassment may end unless they keep establishing outside their territory or engaging in anti-social activities like riots, deceit, looting etc.

The urban authority may be in a position to increase their revenue as an organized location pattern for street vendors may render them easily accessible and therefore taxable.

A sound policy may imply increased security of the sector's activities which may in turn provide basis by which those vendors can obtain credit from financial institutions.

An overall benefit of such a policy may be steady street vending commercial activities, providing employment opportunities (an assured income) to the people and convenient availability of some goods and services to several city dwellers visiting or working within the central business district of the city of Nairobi.

In summary, this study may provide suggestions on the means of either accommodating or eradicating street vendors in the CBD system.

Moreover, though a lot of studies have been carried out in Kenya on other forms of urban informal sector activities, no systematic study has been carried out to look specifically into the case of street vendors as part of urban informal sectors.

1.4. STUDY AREA AND ITS JUSTIFICATION

The study area comprises of a section of Nairobi city, referred to as the Central Business District (CBD). This is the area between Uhuru Highway, Haile Selassie Avenue, Race Course Road, and Nairobi River.

The area is the seat of major public and commercial activities and thus a major employer though it occupies an area of only 182 hectares only.

This is the area with the greatest concentration of street vendors. At the same time it is the core of the city and has a highest concentration of both pedestrians and vehicular traffic. The area best illustrates the problem at hand for street vendors displays their products at building frontages, pedestrians walkways/pavements, street sides, etc.

Since it is assumed that the upcoming towns are likely to take the path Nairobi has taken in growth, the study area though in Nairobi might reveal characteristics which would help in generalization to be used in other urban centres.

Being the capital city of Kenya, Nairobi receives a disproportionate share of rural-urban migrants in comparison with other urban centres. These come mainly in search of job opportunities. This has implications of resulting to high unemployment rate, which in turn has led to street vending economic activities. Moreover the way the city council authorities have handled their problem in a bid to contain it (typically by physical harassment) has made it appear rather unique in Nairobi.

A keen observation reveals a site of seemingly thriving street market suddenly disrupted at the sight of a city council lorry or *askari* is common occurrence in the CBD of Nairobi throughout the day.

Apart from the above consideration, that is, the apparent prevalence of street vendors as a physical and social problem in Nairobi, convenience also has a part to play in the choice of Nairobi as a research site. It was more cheap given the scarce resources available and the little language barrier experienced.

1.5. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The existing, uncontrolled haphazard development of commercial street vending/hawking activities, and particularly in the CBD of Nairobi city, is already interfering with other land uses. This creates a need for having an insight of these activities to guide the establishment of necessary planning policy to be implemented in order to avoid unharmonious land use next to each other and to manage street vendors/hawkers in the central business district of Nairobi city.

The main objectives of the study are:-

1. To evaluate the policies and regulations that govern the growth, operation and performance and control of street vending activities.
2. To examine the factors that perpetuate the growth, operation and performance of street vending activities in Nairobi with particular reference to Central Business District (CBD).
3. To examine the role and contribution of street vendors to the economy of Nairobi city.

4. To make a proposal on how street vending activities in central business district can be planned for.

1.6. STUDY ASSUMPTIONS/HYPOTHESES

To examine the study problem in relation to the objectives and scope laid out, the study was based on the grounds that street vending commercial activities in Kenya urban centres are not developed and encouraged due to poor organisation, unfavourable urban planning policies on these activities, lack of governmental concern and due to lack of sufficient research to enable an appraisal of the physical, economic and social potentiality of these activities.

Literature review on street vendors activities in the urban informal sector economic activities enabled the formulation of the following specific assumptions/hypotheses for the study:

1. Economic gain and lack of employment influences street vending activities, thus the unemployment condition existing in Kenya urban areas may be minimized by planning for street vending activities.

2. The street vending activities have an important role to play and is a major component in the urban economy and should be provided for during planning process.
3. Street vending activities will continue to grow and expand, thus the urban planning process will continue to be in a state of dilemma unless these urban informal economic activities are recognized and planned for in the CBD (where they have started spontaneously) instead of viewing them as a nuisance and interfering with the CBD land use plans, thus harassing the street vendor/hawkers in an attempt to evict them from the CBD of Nairobi city.
4. Low education and lack of formal training tend to lead to vending activities, therefore street vendors from whom vending activities is the only means of livelihood are more difficult to remove from the streets than those for whom it is a supplementary means of livelihood.

1.7. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study covers only the central business district of Nairobi city. It is therefore limited to the area bounded by Uhuru Highway to the west, Haile Selassie Avenue and Race Course Road to the south and Nairobi River to the north.

The research centres on the street vendors in the central business district of Nairobi city. The street vendors, defined in the clarification of concepts, were taken to be the unit of analysis, on which the usual investigations centre. Street vendors were investigated in their totality of background, social and economic standings and the physical planning possibilities for them in the CBD. This further examines the political, economic and social, and legal policy framework and constraints that have inhibited the development of street vending activities.

Since the research centres on the street vendors, it follows that it has discriminated, and purposely, against inclusion of those who qualify to be in the informal sector, but are not street vendors like mechanics, carpenters, kiosk operators, *Jua Kali* artisans, etc. Instead, street vendors are taken to be fruits and vegetables hawkers, florists, books vendors, cigarettes and sweets vendors etc. In some cases street vendors are found combining two or more activities. Since their characteristics are

similar, examples are drawn where relevant from any activity to illustrate certain cases.

Focussing on the CBD does not suggest that this is the only place that street vendors activities are found, but it was as a result of dictation by the prevailing situation, especially in regards to time and funds.

However generalization made from the study of the CBD of Nairobi street vendors, should not be necessarily restricted to the place, that is, street vendors and Nairobi city CBD situation only. It should be noted that these vendors share most of the prevailing characteristics and operating situations with many urban/town street vendors in Kenya.

1.8. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

To achieve the objectives of the study within the laid out scope, the study is divided into several chapters.

The first chapter consists of introduction, the statement of the problem that was investigated, significance of the study, study area and its justification, the study objectives and assumptions, the scope of the study and the study organisation.

The second chapter covers the review of the related literature. The reviewed literature is subdivided into several sections. These sections cover the general information on street vending economic activities and the research gap. The study theoretical framework and research methodology and limitations are also included.

Chapter three gives the background to the study. In this chapter the historical growth of Nairobi as the study area is examined in the context of evolution of physical, social, political and economic structure. The background of the informal economic activities in Nairobi and that of the study area namely the CBD specifically are given. The government policy in Kenya in relation to informal sector development as well as the institutional policy and control framework feature here.

Chapter four deals with the data analysis, that is, presentation and interpretation. The study findings and their implications are emphasized in relation to the factors that perpetuate the growth, operation and performance of street vending commercial activities in the CBD of Nairobi.

The fifth chapter examine the role played by street vending economic activities as well as suggested recommendations for street vending in the CBD of Nairobi city.

The sixth chapter is the last chapter that gives the study summary, conclusion and areas for further research.

Bibliography and appendices also form part of the final chapter.

CHAPTER (II).**LITERATURE REVIEW****2.0.1. INFORMAL SECTOR DEFINITION**

Defining the informal sector has proved rather difficult. There has been arguments as to whether it should be done by type of activity, size of establishments, official enumeration in government publications or by legal status. This difficulty in definitions comes about because the term informal is a general one covering a whole range of activities that greatly vary in nature, size and even in legal status. Faced with this difficulty, a formal definition of the sector has yet not emerged (Westley 1977 : 125)

In their attempts at coping with this difficulty, writers tend to describe rather than define the informal sector often giving its characteristics as a means of identifying those activities that fall within it.

The International Labour Organization report which was the first major work to highlight the potential of the informal sector in Kenya defined informal activities as a way of doing things characterised by:

- (i). Ease of entry.
- (ii). Reliance on indigenous resources.

- (iii). Family ownership.
- (iv). Small scale operations.
- (v). Labour intensive and adapted technologies.
- (vi). Skills acquired outside the formal school system.
- (vii). Unregulated and competitive markets.

The I.L.O mission to Kenya which had the "informal sector" and the "working poor" as its major themes of analysis used the term to describe the portion of the urban economy that escapes enumeration in official statistics. It is thus unenumerated sector (I.L.O 1972 : 504)

In addition, characteristics to the above may be that the sector particularly in urban areas usually operates under numerous restriction as a result of the view the authorities hold to it. This is seen in the fact that in the official government statistics, the sector is not defined, consequently, there exists no information on it.

Haggins 1968 (quoted in Muench 1977) referred to the informal sector as a the "traditional" or "retarded" sector in which techniques of production are traditional or highly labour intensive but with corresponding low productivity. These remarks are counteracted by Muench who said that:

"The pendulum of the informal sector has become unstuck and has swung rather wildly in the opposite direction. This

"traditional" sector has turned out to be cinderella and saviour as well for several key problems of development.

The sector must therefore be seen as a sensitive area of planners and urban dwellers without undue delay".³

Another scholar Hernado De Solo (1989) defined these activities as a set of economic activities that are at their core fundamentally permissible and are carried out in way that is not in compliance with current government law. Thus an entrepreneur conducting a permissible form of business according to Kiteme (1992), but does not have a licence because he/she have not fulfilled the bureaucratic form required by local government, is part of informal commercial activity.

2.0.2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR:

The I.L.O (1972: 6) report states that informal activities are characterized by ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises, small scale operations, intensive and adapted technology, skills acquired outside the formal school system and unregulated and competitive markets. These activities are further more largely ignored, rarely supported, often regulated and sometimes even actively discouraged by the government.

Muench L., The Informal Sector in Kenya. Occasional paper No 25, IDS, University of Nairobi, 1977, page 2.

In his study of the informal sector in Brazil, Merrick elaborates some characteristics of the informal sector as presented by I.L.O report. According to him, employment in the informal sector has the following characteristics:

"Arrangements are typified by self-employment or loose or even temporary agreements, lack of coverage by minimum wage of laws, social security and other types of government relations and without union contracts when such exists, ease of entry and high turnover of employment, small scale and less capitalised establishments and as a result generally more competitive determination of wage levels".⁴

In contrast the formal sector is more regulated, more difficult to enter and has a larger scale and more capitalised establishments (Merrick 1976 : 338)

Hart, one of the early users of the term, in his study of the Frafra, an ethnic group resident in Nima, a slum area in Accra, Ghana, divides the informal sector activities into legitimate and illegitimate. The legitimate informal income opportunities, he lists:

- (a). Primary and secondary activities such as farming, market gardening, building contractors and associated activities, self

Merrick, T.W., "Employment and Earning in the Informal Sector in Brazil: A case study of Belo Horizonte", the journal of Developing areas, Vol 10 No 2, April, 1976, Page 338.

employed artisans, shoe-makers, tailors, manufacturers of beers and spirits.

- (b). Tertiary enterprises with relatively large inputs - housing transport utilities, commodity speculation, renter activities, etc.
- (c). Small scale distribution - market operations, petty traders, street hawkers, caterers in foods and drinks, bar attendants, carriers (*kayakaya*), commission agents and dealers.
- (d). Other services - musicians, launderers, shoe-shines, barbers, night-soil removers, photographers, vehicle repairers and other maintenance workers, brokerage and middlemanship (the magida system in markets, law courts, etc) ritual services, magic and medicine.
- (e). Private transfers of payments-gifts and similar flows of money and goods between persons, borrowing, begging, etc (Hart 1973 : 68).

The illegitimate income informal economic activities he lists as:-

- (a). Services - hustlers and spiys in general, receivers of stolen goods, usury and pawn brooking (at illegal interest rates), drugs, prostitution, pouncing (pilot-boy), smuggling, bribery, political corruption - Tammy Hall style, protection rackets.
- (b). Transfers - petty thefts (eg pick pockets), larceny (eg burglary and armed robbery), peculation and embezzlement,

confident trickster (eg money doublers), gambling. (Hart 1976 : 69)

He points out however that his typology refers to activities or roles rather than to persons since, he argues, that actual individuals are often found on both sides of the analytical divide and in more than one capacity (Hart 1973 : 69)

Commenting on Hart's typology, Mukui (1977) notes the parallels between legitimate and illegitimate, formal and informal dichotomies. Formal sector activities are often conceived as legitimate whereas informal sector activities are often seen as illegitimate. Viewed from this perspective, formal sector activities appear superior and more honourable than informal sector activities.

In Hart's typology, street hawking, under which this subject of study falls, is listed as legitimate informal sector activity. However by virtue of the fact that it pertains to the informal sector, and as per the dichotomy that has been outlined above, it is "illegitimate" and to go even further "illegal". Illegality here is due to the nature of the economic activity as such, but to an official limitation of access to legitimate activity. This has two types of consequences: The risk and uncertainty of earning a livelihood are magnified (for example, through harassment) and the

regulations ensure a high quality of services and commodities for a wealthy few at the expense of the impoverished many (I.L.O 1972 : 204).

While contributing in a seminar of technological development in informal sector, Bwisa (1991) noted that the development of small scale enterprises tend to depend entirely on their capability to attract entrepreneurs to invest on them. This capability however can only be achieved if the motivating factors behind growth and operation are determined in order to encourage and lay a structure suitable for their growth.

The fact that informal sector activities are based on work and imaginations of individuals enable any person fit to do the manual work qualify for entry into the sector. Until recently the operators in this sector have been unskilled and semi-skilled persons having very little education if any at all and who have not been successful in obtaining formal employment. However this pattern is changing and fourth form school leavers together with some retired persons are presently joining the sector.

The informal sector as a whole is made up of many small sub-sectors -

".....the so-called informal sector includes a wide variety of people and activities situated very differently to people in

relation to each other (market power and degree of domination by larger units), it is therefore essential that the sector be substantially desegregated in such a way that its components become analytically significant and that each can be defined in a way that can be used statistically."⁵

Because of this heterogeneity in the sub-sectors they might each have completely different requirements but one common characteristics to all the sub-sectors is in their capacity to employ more and more people. Despite this great employment potential in the sector the planning authorities do not provide for them when planning urban areas. There are no specific zones set aside for them. As a result this activities have developed haphazardly in uncontrolled manner leading to all sorts of inconveniences to adjacent land uses. This is where the terming of informal sector as a "nuisance" arises from.

The location of the informal sector economic activities choice always happen to disagree with the planning authorities causing the entrepreneurs to be harassed by the N.C.C officials and in some cases evicted when other developments are either to be undertaken or not. It

I.L.O, Emplovment. Income and Equality: A strategy for increasing productive employment in Kenya, Geneva: Imprimeries Populaires Press, 1972, Page 204.

is from this issue that the insecurity of the informal sector enterprises stems.

This uncertainty causes most traders to operate in the open air or under sketchy temporary structures just because they fear risking demolition. This size and structure is difficult to give with accuracy as the C.B.S does not keep records of these activities.

2.0.3. LOCATION OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES:

Originally most of these activities were to be found in the squatter settlements and the periphery of the towns. Now they are found within the town, within the low-income residential areas and also in the industrial areas although not established as the formal industries.

Generally the sector activities will be found located next to roads or where they are directly visible from the main roads. Spaces between the public buildings and the streets seem to be the favourable sites.

2.0.4. EMERGENCE AND GROWTH OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR IN KENYA:

Immediately after independence when the racial segregation was lifted, the path for the growth of the sector opened. However the local authority inherited some negative attitudes from the colonialists towards the sector and this acted as a bottleneck to the continual expansion of the sector activities.

Within the informal sector there were two broad classes that show different growth characteristics:

"The community of the poor, those engaged in the formal sector jobs, lottery and continue eking out a subsistence with a growing sense of despair and helplessness". This group does not foresee any growth in the sector since they believe the sector is there as a sleeping stone.

The second group is made up of "small scale entrepreneurs who have decided to invest in their businesses after rejecting wage labour in the formal sector".⁶

⁶ Rempell Henry, "The informal sector", paper presented at the inter-disciplinary urban seminar held in Nairobi, 1974.

Sinclair (1978) attributes the emergence of the informal sector as a response by the urban unemployed to the unemployment crisis, a crisis brought about by the failure of the manufacturing and the service sector of the modern economy to absorb the labour supplies to which they have had access.

The informal sector characterised by the ease of entry, due to its relatively low capital and technological requirements, low level of knowledge required which is within easy reach of many people, reliance on indigenous resources is thus appealing to the less fortunate members of the society.

Charles Elliot (1975) refers to the participants of the informal sector as the "urban excluded". This group is composed of relatively undereducated and unskilled squeezed out of the formal sector, excluded from full time employment in the formal sector by the interaction of the two processes namely the slow growth of employment and the rapid increase in the number of those seeking employment at that level. In most countries contends Elliot, between a quarter and half of the urban labour force is excluded from employment in the modern sector, giving indication of the size of the informal sector. Like his co-author, Elliot has cause to lament the discriminating attitudes by the authorities towards this sector:

"Nothing so well reveals the obsession of the government and researchers with the modern "sector" as the almost unrelieved lack of information about the ways in which a large portion of the population actually earns a living".⁷

Gerry C. (1974 : 33) in his study of the petty producers in Dakar observes the structure and form of industrial development in particular and of development strategies in general creates a proliferation of self-employment arising from a complex of structural factors rather than from the free choice of the individual craftsman or worker. The factor include dramatic stagnation of the growth of employment compared to the growth of the urban population of working age implying that a greater majority of the youth have very little chance of being employed for wages in any permanent capacity in capitalist enterprises.

He further observes that petty production, as part of the informal sector activities, has little potential for autonomous growth and development in an underdeveloped country since this trend is directly opposed and blocked by the contemporary political and economic policies pursued by the underdeveloped countries and promoted by the developed ones. Such policies include concentration on exclusively one type of production which

Elliot C., Patterns of poverty in the third world; a study of social and economic stratification, Praeger Publishers, 1975, Page 285.

is often foreign capital intensive with little employment creation, dependent on developed countries own production of manufacturing goods and technology and oriented towards satisfying only the basic minimum of domestic mass consumption requirements.

Gerry therefore contends that the problem of the small producer must be understood within the global problem of development and not as an isolated case, causes of its plight must be made clear and solutions sought.

On the Kenyan scene, the first major analysis of the informal sector was undertaken in 1972 by a team of experts from the I.L.O. The mission was set up to study the causes of unemployment in the country with particular types of problems and make recommendations accordingly. The I.L.O mission had the "informal sector" and the "working poor" as its major themes of analysis. It did a whole analysis of the informal sector tracing the factors leading to its emergence, those which perpetuate its growth, its potential for growth as well as the constraints it faces.

The informal sector emerges as an attempt to close the gap between the limited number of jobs in the modern sector and agricultural sectors and the increasing number of job seekers. The high rate of population growth which exceeds that of the employment opportunities, in the modern

sector and the capital intensive techniques of production applied in this sector which leaves a bulk of unemployed, who must seek alternative means of earning their livelihood.

The report further observes that the existence of the informal sector is closely tied to the formal sector. It derives its demand from the low-income earners of the formal sector and the vast majority of the urban poor who have failed to be absorbed into formal sector.

In 1973, the government of Kenya published the sessional paper No. 10 on employment. Its main intention was to officially respond to the findings and recommendations of the I.L.O report. The response given that the government found "the report" to be refreshingly innovative on the subject of the informal sector and generally accepts its recommendations, (Republic of Kenya, Sessional Paper No. 10 on employment 1973 : 46).

2.0.5. RESEARCH GAP

While the recommendations were accepted wholesome the government did not give an outline of the strategies to be taken to realise these objectives. What it said was that ways would be found and feasibility be determined in order to achieve these recommendations.

Guy Hunter's rhetoric seem to make a thoughtful punctuation stop to the literature. In his observation of the Tanzanian manpower and employment, he wondered:

"There is high potential in her soil, much of it is still unexploited, there are other natural resources awaiting development. There is also a great reservoir of undeveloped human capacity. How does this tantalizing situation arise that resources are there and people are there, yet the two can not be brought into productive union".⁸

Incidentally, this question is very practicable to the Kenyan case, especially in the development of the small scale enterprises. It is therefore primarily observed that the literature on the informal sector tend to feature quite prominently on trying to define and isolate the sector for further examination.

This was also observed by Sinclair (1978), Dore (1976) and House (1977) an their similar statements that there is very little known about the informal sector from which the policy could be made. House's observation that the constituent components of the sector must be isolated and each analysed as entity so as to decipher the complexity

Guy Hunter : Manpower, Employment and Education in the rural economy of Tanzania in socialism, in Tanzania, Vol II, quoted by S.M. Mghweno, U.O.N thesis, 1977.

behind the activities draws much validity for this study. This is the main criteria behind the isolation of the street vending economic activities as a component, not only of the formal commercial activities at the C.B.D but also as a component of the urban land use system in Nairobi.

The real contribution of the study to the foregoing literature is anticipated to lie in the attempt to relate the findings to the urban physical environment planning policies for the future operation.

The study is an attempt to gather information for appraising the urban informal sector in physical planning process.

2.0.6. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR:

In the face of the massive economic difficulties prevailing at this time, the informal sector is set to become one of the major contributors to the country's economic growth.

Writing in 1972, the I.L.O mission to Kenya described the informal sector as an important potential focus of economic development, thereby recommending a number of government policies intended to encourage its growth. Several writers have since then written on aspects of informal sector in Kenya. Some have been optimistic about the sectors potential growth and income generation, others have not.

Easy entry requirements to the sector provides employment opportunities to so many people who failed to obtain formal employment and this trend is set to continue so long as the rate of population growth does not drop.

Mukui (1977), commenting on the I.L.O report notes that the sector does indeed provide a whole range of services on which city life depends, ranging from self-employed artisans to prostitutes. He also states that the informal sector provides services to the urban poor at the prices that they can afford. However it is usually the case that goods and services in the informal sector are cheaper in Nairobi than those in the formal sector, moreover the informal sector in Nairobi does not provide goods and services to the urban poor only, as can be seen by the large number of smartly dressed office workers who stop to have their shoe shone, who buy vegetables and fruits from street vendors or even those who frequent food kiosks for meals at certain times of the month. However, in Mukui's own findings in the study of food kiosks, he notes that these kiosks have a useful role to play not only in Nairobi, but also in other urban centres.

Henning (1975) regards the informal sector in the same light, an employer and also a provider of services to the urban poor.

The capacity of the sector to contribute to the local authority's revenue has not been exploited. The sector harbours so many entrepreneurs who can contribute a considerable portions towards the government's revenue once an organised system of collection is evolved.

A further role in the informal sector is noted on sessional paper No 6 of 1973 which stated that the small scale entrepreneurs can contribute to the country's economic objectives by among other things contributing to a more equitable distribution of national income by creating jobs in the rural and urban areas.

If the informal sector can continue to grow at its present rate, within a few years time savings on foreign exchange might be realised for no one knows the bounds of imaginations of artisans especially when utilizing the locally available resources.

Child in (1973:76) is of the view that the sector has a potential to contribute to economic development as a whole since it is labour intensive, efficient and has a high output capital ratio in comparison with the formal sector. He recommends that the growth of the sector can be encouraged. Muench (1977) on his part sees the sector as capable of generating high quantity of employment especially in the cities.

Casual labour and petty trade as aspects of the informal sector employment are seen by the world bank as highly important, not only as a source of employment but also for economic use of scarce resources. The world bank recognizes that though productivity is low in this sector in comparison with the modern sector, it is far much superior to unemployment.

House (1977) sees the informal sector as providing the basic day to day living requirements to migrants as well as servicing the basic demands for a large proportion of low-paid workers of formal sector, according to the mathematical model developed by Mazumdar, which show that if the informal sector acts as point of entry into the urban labour market, it would be expected to find an over representation of the young and perhaps the less educated.

Another prediction would also be that the sector acts as a secondary labour market for non-heads of households, those in prime working age.

Frank C. Child (1978) basing his research on the small-scale rural industry has used the term "intermediate" sector as synonymous with informal. To child, the sector that has been neglected, seen as social and economic problem is a blessing in disguise. It is seen to respond to the genuine economic needs of the less affluent portion of the society, has potential for growth since it generates employment at lower capital costs than

modern sector. Child too identifies policies affecting the informal sector like the discriminating fees and taxes, restrictive zones, unduly strict production and building codes, but goes on to recommend policy measure similar to these made by the I.L.O report.

Tony Killick (1977) contributing to the discussion of informal sector say that it helps to close the gap between urbanization and employment opportunities and the discrepancies in income distribution and landlessness. In his recommendations Killick points out that the interconnections between the informal sector and wider economy are important and complex and that a systems approach to informal sector policy would be highly desirable. And also that urban and rural interactions are particularly important in the context. He further indicates that the technology policy is likely to be of special important to the future development of the informed sector.

2.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONCEPTUAL MODEL

2.1.1. THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

In this study, street vending is considered as a feature of economic backwardness and social poverty which are characteristics of developing

countries such as Kenya. There are several theories in social science which have been advanced as explanation of this state of affair.

For the purpose of this study, the dependency theory is seen as appropriate. This pertains to what is generally referred to as "underdevelopment theory", "dependency thesis" and "world system thesis", (Wallersten 1979, Rodney 1972, Frank 1970, Galtung 1971, Amin 1974, Arrighi 1973).

This is a theory that is rooted in the world economic and social history. It focuses on the analysis of structurally induced economic backwardness and social poverty (such as exists in the third world countries) which arose and are perpetuated due to the sub-ordinate participation of these countries in the world capitalist economy. Its main argument is that the phenomena of underdevelopment is a by-product of the development and maturation of capitalism into a world economic system.

"Underdevelopment is not due to survival of archaic institutions and the existence of capital shortage in regions that have remained isolated from the streams of the world history Underdevelopment was and still is generated by the very same historical process which also generated

economic development of capitalism" (Gunder Frank, 1970: 90).

Development and underdevelopment are thus casually related and can here be seen as opposite sides of the same coin. This world economic system is also characterised by asymmetrical social relations of production. This encompass institutional spheres and are structured in such a way as to produce economic exploitation and sustain seemingly interminable domination of underdeveloped countries by developed ones.

Under such arrangements, economic gains and power automatically accrue to the developed countries by virtue of their dominant position in the world economic system whereas the developing countries undergo satellitisation and peripheralisation in the frame of this very same world economic system (Frank 1970).

In the framework of this theory, the study considers the relationship between the Kenyan urban formal sector and the urban informal sector as being analogous to the above discussed situation in the micro-level.

In this case, both the sectors are regarded as modern, both are consequences of urbanisation that has taken place in Kenya over the past

years, itself is a consequence of the insertion of the Kenya economy into the world capitalist system through colonial domination.

These two are inextricably related in casual manners, that is, the accumulation of wealth in the modern sector result in the concentration of the political power in that sector giving rise to the emergence of an impoverished and economically deprived modern subsector, what is referred to as the informal sector. (I.L.O 1972 : 503, 504)

2.1.2. CONCEPTUAL MODEL.

(a). Introduction to the model:

The model presented here is founded on the view that the informal sector is the consequence of the present and the past forces of economic and social history, forces that could affect and change its future operations, by way of constantly changing situation in the ways of earning livelihoods. While the formulation of the model centres on the present and the near past of the political economy of Kenya, the theoretical perception is that the subject can be analysed from the processes dating further back, using Africa's contact with the west as a starting point, and especially from the dawn of colonialism.

The growth and operation of street vending economic activities can be conceptualized to be influenced by a number of factors. These factors reflect the social, economic, physical, institutional and environmental aspects. The social aspects highlight the entrepreneur's (street vendor) social background like marital status, family size, gender, level of education, kind of professional training etc.

On the economic side aspects like source of income, business characteristics like ownership, market etc are considered.

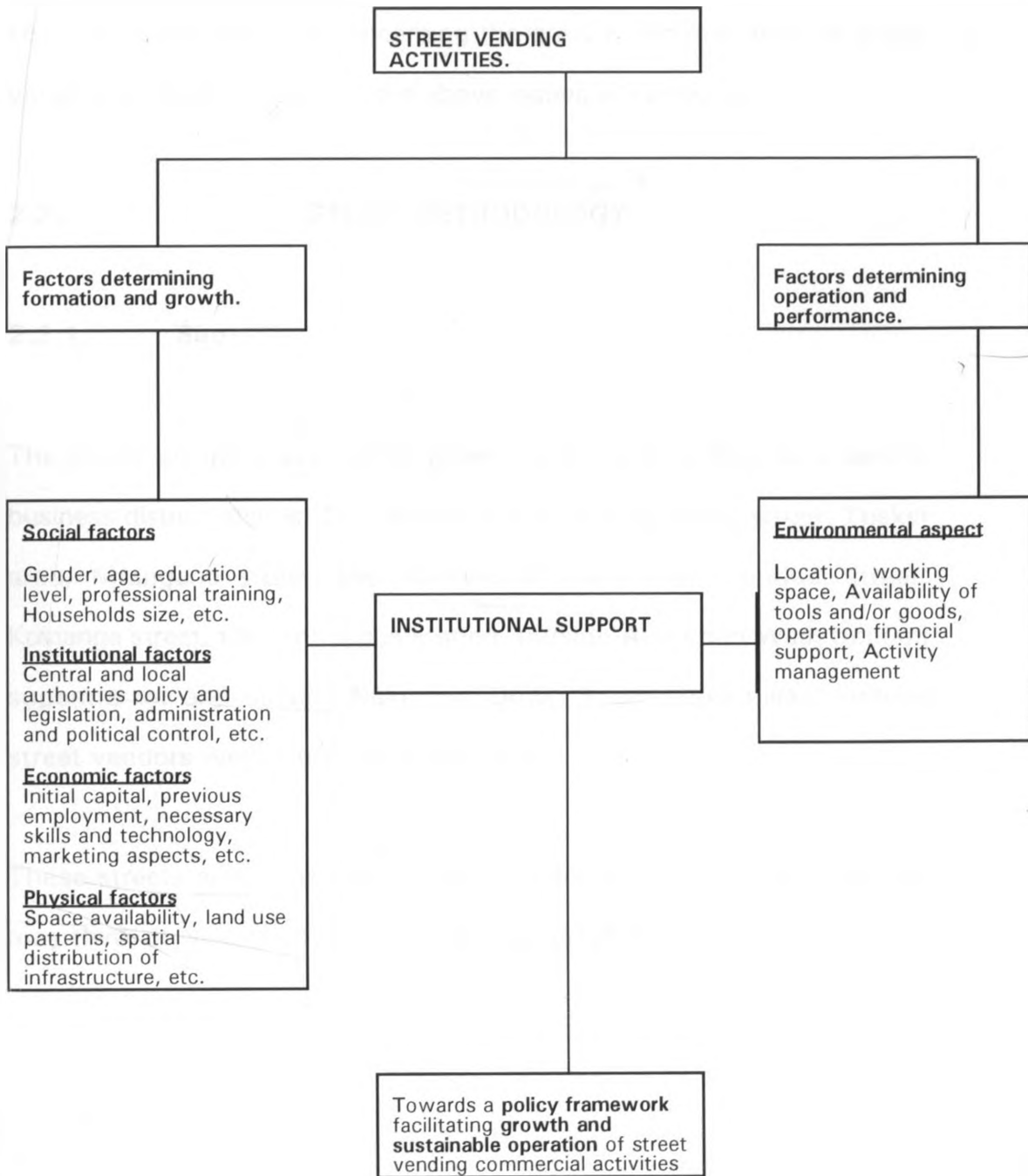
The physical aspects include the availability of space, land-use patterns, spatial distribution of available infrastructure etc.

On the other hand the institutional factors highlight the central government policy and laws, local authorities policy and By-laws, administration and political policy etc all of which control and regulate these activities planning.

Once started the operation and performance can be conceptualized to revolve around an environment of such factors as location, working space, skills received either formally or informally, initial capital, profit margin, marketing aspects, availability of goods to be sold or/and tools used, business ownership and management. The environment may either encourage or discourage the progress/development of these activities.

It is important to note that the factors determining the formation and growth (social, economic, institutional and physical) together with the ones determining the operation and performance (environment created) need institutional support (central and local government, non-governmental organisation, financial institutions etc) in order to be coordinated with the aim of developing a policy framework that may facilitate growth and sustainable operation of street vending economic activities.

(b). Figure: 2:1. Diagrammatic representation of the model (explaining the emergence and operation of the street vending activities).



Source: Adopted from Mulongo; 1993.

In summary both factors determining the growth and operation of street vending revolve around the vendors social and economic characteristics on one hand and the activities themselves on the other.

For any policy framework concerning the growth and operation of street vending economic activities the above issues are essential.

2.2. STUDY METHODOLOGY:

2.2.1. Site

The study sampled out certain streets and areas of Nairobi's central business district, that is, Tom Mboya street, Ronald Ngala street, Tusker area, Mfangano street, Moi Avenue, Kimathi street, Luthuli street, Koinange street, the central bus station, outside Aga Khan Walk Uchumi supermarket and outside Nakumatt Down Town supermarket, where street vendors were highly concentrated.⁹

These streets and areas had the entire spectrum of street vendors one may think of Nairobi city central business district.

See map 3:7.(page 91) on the area of study concentration in the CBD (sampled areas and streets).

The choice of these streets and areas was determined by the fact that street vendors were not located evenly throughout the site. According to McGee (1977 : 61), hawkers tend to concentrate in the areas of high population density such as nodes of transportation, or where adjacent activities are entertainment complexes, public markets and commercial enterprises where they can benefit from product complementarity and mutual customer attraction. This tendency to concentrate in areas where there is large numbers of customers and dense vehicular and human traffic flow, is explained and understandable from the hawkers point of view for they are anxious to increase the volume of sales.

Main *matatu* stops are located in some, of the above mentioned streets and areas. Tom Mboya Street has the Old Nation house *matatu* stop and another outside Standbank House (*commercial*) and at Gill House, Ronald Ngala Street has Tusker *matatu* stop, Mfangano street has several *matatu* stops. Moi Avenue has a *matatu* stop at development house and on top a gateway to Kenya Cinema and several cafes nearby. Uchumi and Nakumatt supermarket are popular for family shopping, while the central bus station is a busy single transportation terminus/node in the study area, thus they all attract a lot of people. Koinage, Luthuli and Kimathi streets are also popular among shoppers and pedestrians.

These were hawkers concentration areas. However, some hawkers tired of harassment and congestion prevalent in these areas, are found selling in isolation in other streets and areas of the central business district, like University way, Loita street etc.

2.2.2. Population

The nature of data sought made contact with the street vendors and the relevant authorities inevitable. Sampling of the population was done to get a representative sample.

In explaining sampling techniques in social research, Som (1973: 1) argued that sampling is a process whereby inference is made to the whole by examining only a part. Its purpose is to provide various types of statistical information of a quantitative or qualitative nature about the whole by examining a few selected units. He further adds that sampling method is a scientific procedure of selecting those sampling units which would provide the required estimates with associated margins of uncertainty, arising from examining only a part and not the whole.

Since the population dealt with in this study was a very mobile one, as already mentioned, it is rather difficult to decide on sampling method.

However, convenient sampling was found to be the most appropriate sampling technique for the research.

Convenient sampling is a non-probability sampling technique. Unlike probability sampling, the probability of selection of each respondent is not known in non-probability sampling. Its most obvious disadvantage was that, since the probability that a person will be chosen is not known, the researcher generally cannot claim that the sample was representative of the larger population. This of course limits the researcher's abilities to generalize the findings beyond specific sample studied. In addition the researcher was unable to estimate the degree of departure from representation of sampling error (Bailey 1978 : 81).

The advantage of non-probability sampling were that it was much less complicated, less expensive and was done on a spur of a moment basis to take advantage of available (and perhaps unanticipated) respondents without statistical complexity of the probability sample (Bailey 1978 : 81).

Bailey notes that the convenient sampling, which he calls accidental sampling, the investigator merely chooses the "*closest live person*" as the respondent and that what is lost in accuracy is saved in time and money. Writing on the same issue, Selltiz (1959 : 516) notes that in convenient

sampling, one "*simply reaches out and takes the cases that falls to hand*", continuing the process until the sample reaches a designated size.

On the basis of the above considerations, then questionnaires were administered to any street vendor present and willing to participate in the research.

2.2.3. Methods of Information Collection / Data Collection Methods.

The required information was gathered through questionnaires, personal interviews, direct observation in the streets and areas sampled, library research, etc. In the various cases, the method in use was modified accordingly to achieve the best results.

- (i). Secondary data: Relevant literature as pertaining to the national problems of informal economic activities in the urban areas, reinforced by research done in various specific towns was collected. Information and data was to bring out the magnitude of the various components as laid out in the published information. Such resources were journals, research papers, national development plans, etc.

- (ii). Questionnaire survey: This was done in order to update the gathered information from the literature survey. A questionnaire was drawn and administered, which as far as possible covered the required data.

(Note: The field questionnaire is shown in appendix 1).

- (iii). Specialised interviews: Non-structured interviews in order to obtain information was also administered to relevant authorities whose field deals with the welfare and the performance of the central business district. A number of special interviews were conducted with the Nairobi City Council's (N.C.C.) department of urban planning (**see appendix 2**), licensing department, some councillors and businessmen of the affected area and the Kenya government's department of physical planning.

In each some valuable information was obtained which on final analysis increased the understanding of street vendors in the CBD.

- (iv). Observation method: This was used to determine the behaviour of street vendors as well as identify them. This method was used to extract first hand data on street vending. The types of goods and

services and conflicts with other land uses was some of important observations done, supplemented by measurements.

The purpose of adopting this method was to validate the verbal reports of the street vendors and secondly to establish the relationship between the street vendors and their environment.

2.2.4. Analytical Framework (Methods and Statistics used in Data Presentation and Analysis)

Data presentation and analysis are largely descriptive and inferential. Since it is the nature of the data gotten that governs the type of statistical manipulations that are possible or not and their suitability to various purposes, the following techniques was adopted for data analysis (presentation and interpretation).

The data of this study was collected through a field study/ survey. The questionnaire was used as the instrument of data collection. A total of 60 respondents were interviewed and the data obtained from the interviews was coded by the researcher and ran through a computer programme, that is statistical package for social sciences (SPSS).

The computer was first used to get frequency distributions of the data on the basis of frequencies. Major variables in terms of respective hypotheses were then selected and analysed.

Data analysis falls into **Simple statistics**. This was significantly used in presentations of findings on single variables that needed to be presented in summary form and for descriptive purposes. This include frequency distributions, percentage, measures of central tendency like mean/average (\bar{x}) and dispersion, as deemed appropriate in the various cases presented. Spreadsheet (mainly Lotus 123) and harvard graphics were the main computer programmes used to draw graphs, pie charts, etc.

The presentation and discussion of the field data falls into three broad parts. The first part deals with the background information of the street vendors. Here, information regarding the respondents age, level of education, training, employment, marital status, place of origin, and residence, etc are outlined.

The second part discuss in length the vending activities itself. The third part consider the vendors attitudes and feelings towards vending and how it can be planned for by the relevant authorities.

All along the three parts of discussion, the study hypotheses were related to the findings and conclusions about them drawn.

Note: Maps and plates/photographs are used where necessary.

2.3. PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

2.3.1. PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE FIELD:

Several problems were experienced in the course of the study.

- (a). Sensitivity and general suspicion was markedly evident. Some of the street vendors who were initially part of the sample to be surveyed were highly suspicious of the intentions of the study, hence refused to give any information.

Some street vendors refused to be interviewed completely. Those who agreed after a great deal of persuasion ended up giving stereo type of answers for they claimed they have filled up so many questionnaires, yet they still remained in the same conditions.

- (b). Just before the study period and during the study period, there was a city hall operation to evict the street vendors in the C.B.D hence some had temporarily left and the few left came after 6.00 pm or were suspicious.

Harassment also by city council authorities made interviewing difficult. A respondent would suddenly take off in the middle of the interview at the site of an *askari* or a city council lorry. In such cases it was not easy to follow the respondent. However

sometimes they returned and the exercise continued, if not the questionnaire was discarded.

- (c). Hawkers busy schedules also hindered the study. Once they put their goods/wares on display, they were often too anxious to do anything else other than look out for city council *askaris* who could snatch their goods or even arrest them at one time and for would be buyers, their only hope of getting money.
- (d). Weather conditions due to the El Nino phenomenon which coincided with the research period especially rainy days. However most of the days were cold or sunny and dusty.
- (e). Some potential interviewees insisted on being paid before filling the questionnaire.
- (f). Due to lack of records, most of the data available was estimated.

2.3.2. METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS:

- (a). The fact that non-probability sampling techniques, that is, **convenient sampling** was used in selecting the respondents of this

study is clearly a major limitation of its findings in terms of generalization.

Biasness could have crept into the study in various ways; while conveniently sampling the interviewer might have unconsciously approached certain personality type, may be those who appeared less likely to refuse. Alternatively, those who were willing to participate might have had something in common implying the possibility that the interviewer got the wrong picture as it is because of self-selection on the part of the respondents.

The study found some of the street vendors' activities highly mobile in terms of location, hence difficult to establish what proportion of the population the survey covered.

- (b). The nature of the site made it conceivable that the first respondents to participate in the interview might have spread word about the ongoing exercise (interview) to their friends and acquaintance with whom they sold goods and services such that if the latter was conveniently selected for an interview, they had with them "ready answers".
- (c). The interviews were done on the open, for example along the streets, often with a lot of onlookers, some who were to be respondents themselves, some could have felt to conform with

what the others had said, therefore maintaining consensus but not giving their own sincere opinion.

Some onlookers would try to shout down the interviewees or try to force words into the interviewees.

- (d). Language problem was experienced because most of the respondents spoke kiswahili (and a reasonable number even insisted in using kikuyu). This meant that the questionnaire which was drawn in English had to be administered in Kiswahili. Translation was verbal and had to be done as the interview progressed, that is, the researcher verbally translated to the respondent what was written on the questionnaire in English into Kiswahili, waited for response which was given in Kiswahili and translated it into English when recording down the response on the questionnaire.

- (e). Limitations in the field was affected by the time period allocated for the research and financial constraints hence concentrated on a few sampled area of the Central Business District, that is the Central bus/*matatu* terminus (station) and a few shopping streets.

Note: All these problems and limitations of the study have thus affected the final content of the study.

CHAPTER (III).**BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY****3.0. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter addresses itself to four important aspects. These are the socio-economic background of the study area, evolution of the informal sector in the study area, government policy and the institutional policy and control in regards to the growth and performance of the informal sector activities.

3.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF NAIROBI

Nairobi is the capital city of the Republic of Kenya. It is the principle urban centre and also the social, economic, political and communications hub of the country, thus a classic primate city.¹⁰

Nairobi lies approximately halfway from Mombasa (Coast) to Kisumu on the shore of Lake Victoria (Western Kenya), the two Kenya's second and third largest towns respectively.¹¹ In a local perspective, Aberdares

¹⁰ Map 3.1 -Pg 77 -: Nairobi in the Kenyan setting.

¹¹ Map 3.3 -Pg 79 -: City of Nairobi: Its location in the Republic of Kenya.

Ranges which forms the eastern flanks of the Rift Valley borders its west. To the south and east are the Athi River plains while Kikuyu Plateau lies to the north.¹²

3.1.2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND (THE BIRTH) OF NAIROBI

In the developing countries urbanisation has preceded far in advance of industrialization, unlike in developed nations where the growth of towns and cities have been preceded by growth of industries.

Nairobi in particular has even more peculiar background in having a railway encampment as its pre-urban nucleus. The history of Nairobi as a concentrated human settlement started with the construction of Uganda railway at Mombasa which started in 1896. By 1899, the railway had reached the site halfway the distance from the origin (Mombasa) to destination St. Florence (present day Kisumu) on the shore of Lake Victoria.

So far the railway had transversed a relatively easy terrain of the Athi plains. Ahead lay much steeper slopes and the Rift-Valley escarpment which posed great construction problems.

The site of the present day Nairobi offered many advantages for a camp to the railway engineers. Lying to the north was Aberdare ranges, to the south were Ngong hills and the obvious choice lay between the two. Upstream the Nairobi River was an adequate though not abundant water supply for a small settlement. The topographical nature of the site was also advantageous, there were ample level land and close at hand was an elevated, cool area suitable for houses of senior officials.

By observation too, the land around the site was deserted. The implications was that friction over its appropriation would be minimal.

"Thus, it was that the physical characteristics of the site, and its relationship with the surrounding country which combined to make Nairobi an excellent choice for the purpose for which it was intended".¹³

The settlement was named after the river which meant a "place of cool waters". When Nairobi was founded, its intended function was nothing more than a railway town. But immediately thereafter the trend of change was spectacular. The railway reached Nairobi in 1899 and in July the same year, the railway headquarters moved there from Mombasa.

¹³ Morgan W.T.W. (ed), Nairobi city and region, Oxford University Press, 1967, Page 100.

In August 1899 the government administration of Ukamba Province in which Nairobi lay was transferred from Machakos to Nairobi. To avoid the imminent clashes between the two authorities especially in matters of land, colonel Ainsworth, the officer-in-charge of the government administration established his offices on the site north of Nairobi river away from the railway, on the present day Ngara. By the end of 1899 Nairobi depicted two districts growth nuclei, the railway complex lying south of Nairobi river and the administrative "Boma" on the north of the same river.

3.1.3. THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NAIROBI

The growth and development of Nairobi revolved around the railway centre of the growth nuclei, one for the railway headquarters and the other for the colonial administrative centre, north of Nairobi river, at the present day Ngara estate. The railway nucleus had more resources and could therefore afford to have more technical and administrative staff and attract more professionals like magistrates, doctors and police services.

By the turn of the century, the railway nucleus had a section of commercial activities fronting the victoria street, today Tom Mboya Street. The street had an hotel, a general store, various trading concerns and a soda water factory, which formed the very first service industry.

Residential areas were rather sparse. Close to the railway was the "Landhies" housing the coolies, west of the railway station was the railway sub-ordinate quarters, while up on "the hill" to the east of the railway complex were railway officers' quarters. Thus railway complex and its numerous workers provided a stable market for commercial activities.¹⁴

The population of Nairobi grew rapidly and reached a total of 5,000 people in 1902, expanding further to 16,000 people in 1910 and up to 23,000 in 1920. By 1948, Nairobi population had reached a total number of over 100,000 people (Elliot 1975 & Kingoriah Pg 81, 1980)

The rapid population increase led to doubts on the sustainability of the site for a larger settlement. Residential areas were composed of very low standards of buildings, inadequate water supply and poor drainage and sanitation systems, which later led to the development of a slum settlement. Consequently, in 1902 there was a plaque outbreak in the Indian Bazaar resulting in the burning of the area.

The problem was not however solved but became chronic, breaking out again in 1904, 1911, 1912 and 1913 and hence threatening the very

¹⁴ Kingoriah G. K., Policy Impacts on Urban Land Use Patterns in Nairobi, Kenya 1899-1979, PhD Thesis, Indiana State University, Indiana, 1980.

existence of the township. There were heated debates calling for the removal of the town to a new settlement further into the highlands which had deeper soils suitable for both buildings and drainage. However the railway authority was opposed to the idea of the shift.

Later suggestions were made calling for the segregation of the Asiatic and African communities from the Europeans. This was deemed necessary due to the unsanitary habits of the Asiatic and Africans making them unfit to take land as neighbours to the Europeans.

Following the segregation policy, Asiatic residential area was established on the north side of Nairobi River, Ngara and a trading centre on the south occupying River road and Kirinyaga road.

The Europeans residence occupied "the hill" area and suburbs of Muthaiga. Those and other areas were designated as the white highlands solely for Europeans. The Africans, except the railway workers were left to find their own residence, either in the native reserves or on the road reserves of the township. This was the beginning of the informal settlement and informal economic activities in Nairobi.

In 1919, Nairobi became a municipality with corporate powers. Its boundaries were extended to include some residential areas like Parklands.

The corporate embarked on public housing schemes for the lowest income groups, in the eastern parts of the city like Kaloleni and Pumwani. In 1928 the municipality extended its boundaries to include the autonomous residential areas like Muthaiga.

Up to this time, Nairobi was left at hand of chance. It was not controlled by a planner but developing under forces of racial segregation policies. In 1945, competent planning group led by Professor Thornton White was founded which later prepared a master plan for Nairobi outlining the physical planning guidelines for Nairobi for harmonious functional arrangement. The zone for industrial location was to occupy the area south of the railway station, away from the CBD. The plan also laid down guidelines for the development of the central business district with particular reference to the establishment of the "Kenya centre" as the heart of Nairobi.

In 1950, Nairobi was accorded the city status, but there were no major changes. A major step towards development of Nairobi was undertaken in 1972 by Nairobi urban study group. The development strategy that emerged consisted of first, policies related to major aspects of development (Employment, housing and transport) and secondly, of a broad physical structure within which policies could be realised. The strategy was formulated on a comprehensive basis to ensure that the

policies and the structure are compatible. The study also laid the guidelines for the expansion of Nairobi. What was forgotten however was the guideline for the expansion of the informal sector at every level of development.

In 1993 the Nairobi city convection on "**The Nairobi we want**" prepared the report and recommendations titled "***actions towards a better Nairobi***" as a historical attempt at participatory development by Nairobian to offer practical and pragmatic solutions to their problems due to the deteriorations of all the aspects of life in the city and to define the vision of the city they want in the era of political pluralism. It is this approach that the study employs by involving street vendors in planning of their city and particularly the CBD area.

In the 1995 presidential commission on local authorities prepared its report which *inter alia* has considered the current city status of Nairobi into a metropolitan city and the decentralization into more effective and efficient local authority structure and system that will significantly increase active local community participation in the designing and implementation of urban development plans. During the same year the Nairobi task force from the office of the president carried out a review of the various departments and sections of the Nairobi city council, including the establishment team which prepared a report titled "***Report on Nairobi***"

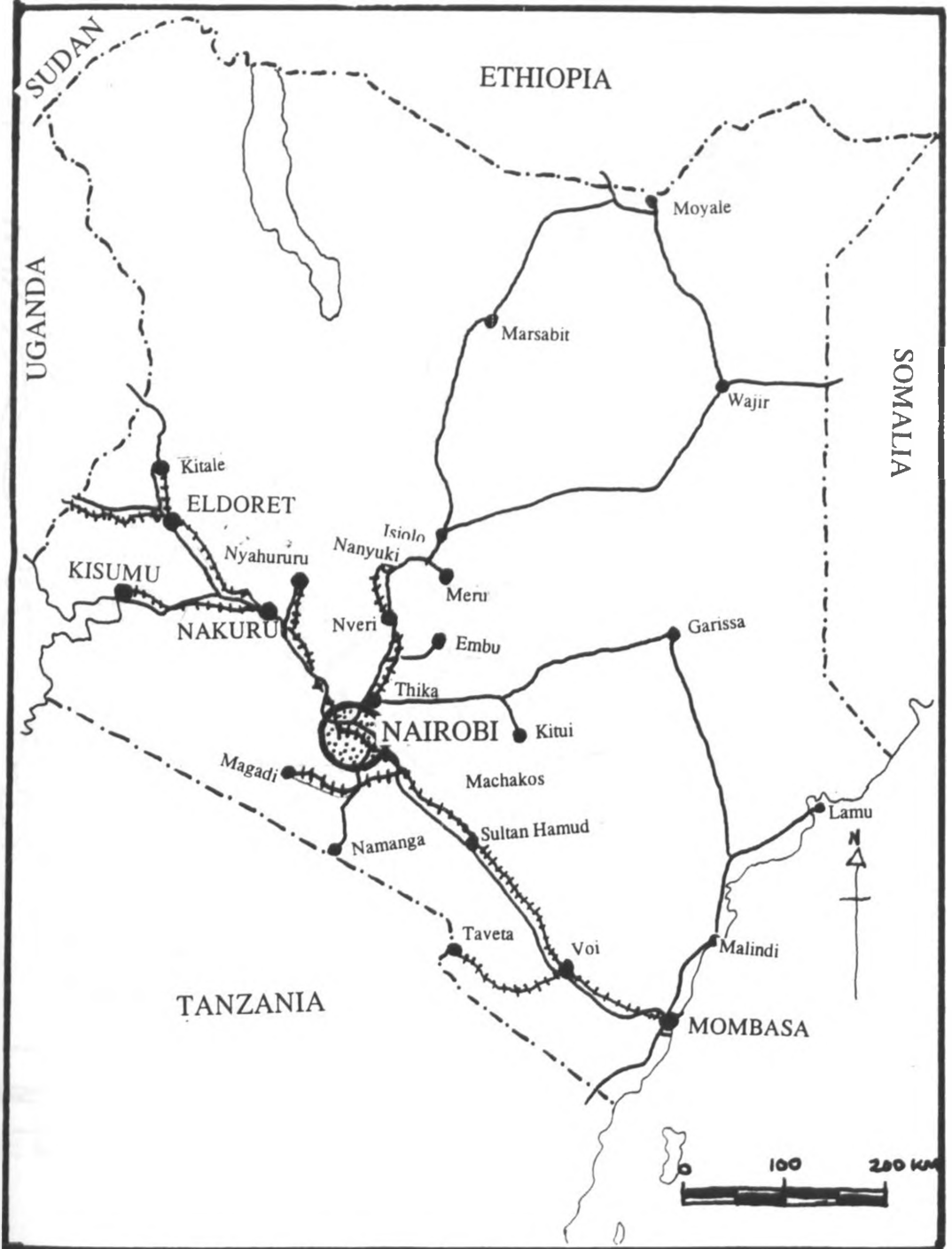
staffing and wage bill reduction". This report includes a plan of action on staff retrenchment and human resource development and training, amongst other actions on personnel management in NCC.

Note:

The physical area of Nairobi expanded from 3.84 Kms² in 1910 to 25 Kms² in 1919. By 1948, the city boundaries covered an area of 83 Kms². In 1963, the boundary was extended to 680 Kms² which is currently still the official extension of the city (Ondiege, 1990).¹⁵ The rapid boundary expansion can be explained by this high rate of urbanisation that has been attributed to increased immigration and high natural population increase.

See Map 3.4 -Pg 80 -: The Growth of Nairobi City since 1900.

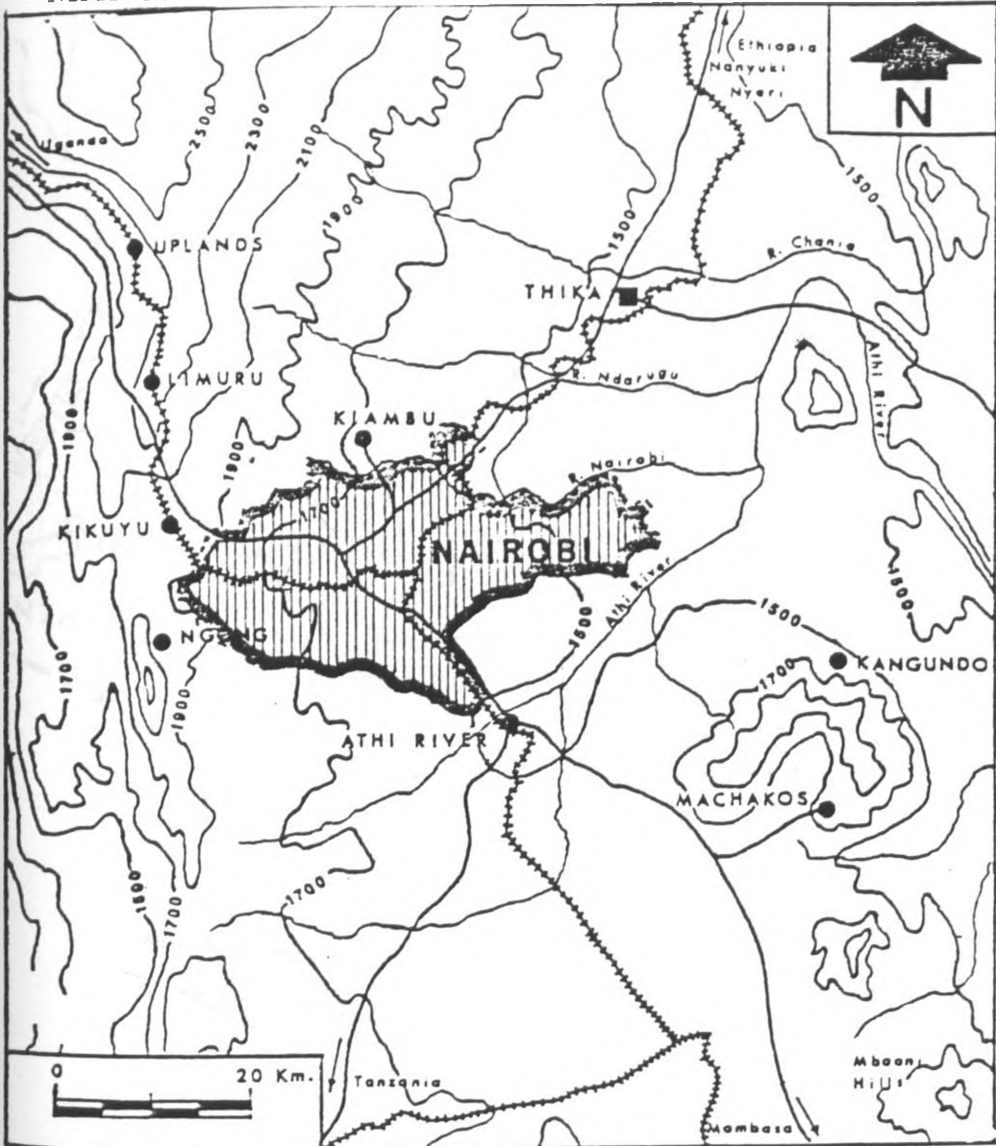
MAP 3.1: NAIROBI IN THE KENYAN SETTING



Source: Mochache J.M. 1985

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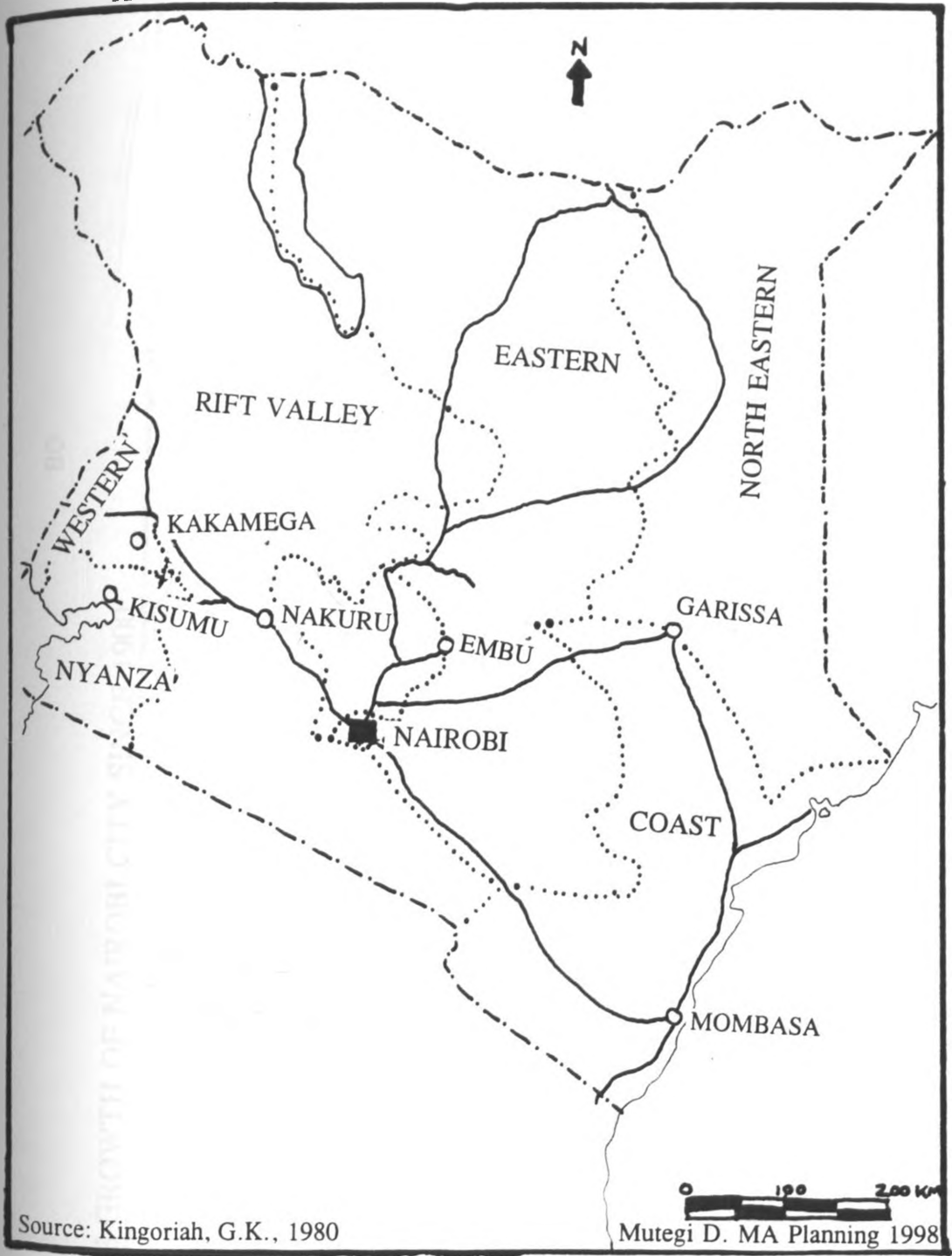
MAP 3.2: NAIROBI IN THE REGIONAL SETTING



Source: Kingoriah, G.K., 1980.

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MAP 3.3: CITY OF NAIROBI: ITS LOCATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA



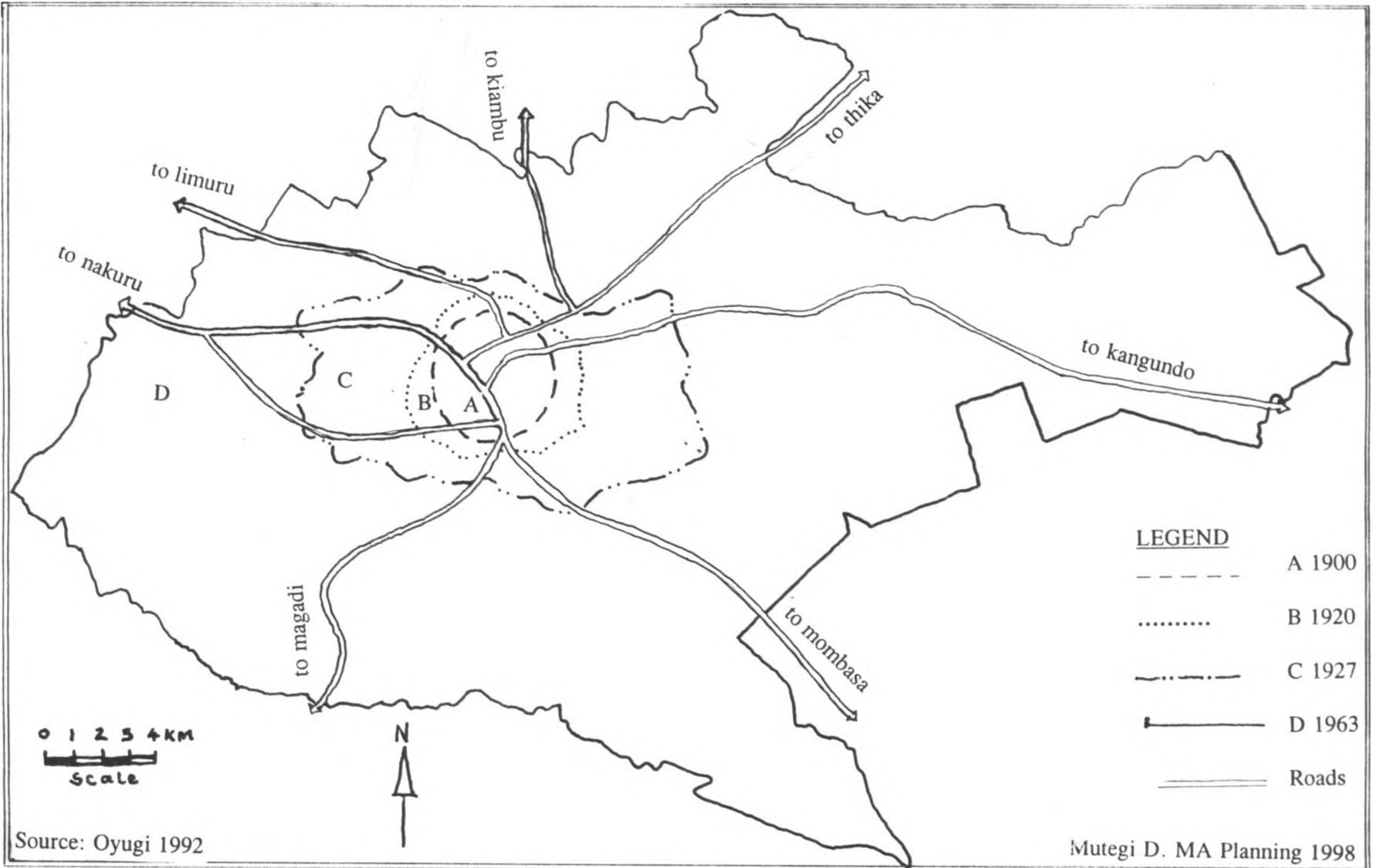
Source: Kingoriah, G.K., 1980

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KEY

- - - NATIONAL BOUNDARY
- PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES
- PROVINCIAL HEADQUARTERS
- CITY OF NAIROBI
- ~ ~ ~ MAJOR ROADS

MAP 3.4: THE GROWTH OF NAIROBI CITY SINCE 1900



Source: Oyugi 1992

Mutegi D. MA Planning 1998

3.2. NAIROBI CITY THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT (Growth and Development)

The CBD of the city of Nairobi is the areas bordered by Uhuru Highway to the west, Haile Selassie Avenue to the south and Nairobi River to the north.¹⁶

It is the centre of many important activities including commerce, administration, education, religion and culture, recreation, communication and so on.

Its evolution is strongly attached to the establishment and growth of the railway complex. Many commercial enterprises were attracted to this part of the town to take the opportunities offered by the numerous workers of the railway. The development and expansion of the railway complex attracted a large population of entrepreneurs, mainly Indians, Somalis and Arabs. There were also a few pioneering African traders.

By 1900 the Railway authority had the permission to subdivide the land between the railway station and the Nairobi swamp. Thus several business plots were surveyed and alienated to commercial enterprises

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- (i). **Map 3.5 -Pg 89 -; Central Business District : Its location in the city of Nairobi.**
 - (ii). **Map 3.6 -Pg 90 -; Central Business District of Nairobi City as defined by the N.C.C in 1977.**
 - (iii). **Map 3.7 -Pg 91 -; The area of study concentration in the Central Business District (sampled areas and streets).**
 - (iv). **Map 3.8 -Pg 92 -; Major pedestrian flow in Nairobi central area.**

along the present Tom Mboya Street. This then became the centre of commercial activity but basically for the Europeans. The asians who applied for plots were allocated farther up the street within the vicinity of the present day Ronald Ngala Street.

The Kenya-Uganda railway authority being responsible for only their workers/employees left the indigenous and other migrants to fend for themselves. They therefore camped either haphazardly to the north of the railway station or on the roads reserves where there was space.

Conflict over administration and especially in regards to land issues ensued between the railway authority and the provincial administration under Colonel Ainsworth. To solve these problems the Nairobi municipal committee was formed with Nairobi township under its jurisdiction.

Consequently the railway authority was called upon to give up land within the township that was not needed. Such land was earmarked for commercial and residential use.

Under Ainsworth, land use pattern was more regularized and defined, roads and plots were surveyed and demarcated, reflecting the commercial and residential segregation policies pursued by the government officers.

The Indians traders occupied the area farthest from the railway station, which was slightly over two hectares. Due to overcrowding and the poor sanitary conditions the area was subject to plagues epidemics. This raised the concern over the suitability of the site and the administration was called upon to evacuate the asians from this site to a better place.

As an attempt to fight the plague, the Asians were moved to a site on Biashara Street some distance north of Europeans commercial area. Continuous plagues outbreaks called for segregation of these communities. The Europeans wanted the Asians removed since they wanted to expand their business area. However total segregation of the commercial areas would have hurt the European trade since the Indians were known to offer goods at lower prices. Therefore a contact between races was an essential feature of life in Nairobi.

What happened was to divide the Indian Bazaar, the first attempt to segregate the commercial area. To the West European high class business area developed but with some Asian traders owing a few premises. This zone specialised in high class merchandise. To the east of the area there developed predominantly Asian and African shopping area, but the two could interact. But one thing was made clear that while Indians may have business premises in any part of the commercial area in Nairobi, they may not live in areas open only to Europeans. Thus the area along the banks

of the Nairobi River was proposed for Indians residential Bazaar. Compensation fee for repatriation of the Indians to a new area was too high so they were left. But eventual evacuation was seen as a solution to the plague problem. Hence a proposal by Mr. Jevanjee was adopted whereby the Asiatic residential area was set-up north of the river and a non-residential bazaar to the south. Consequently an Asiatic commercial area was established in the River Road and Kirinyaga Road areas and a residential area in Ngala.

By 1906, a definite land pattern had emerged even without conscious attempt to plan the city. The Indian Bazaar occupying three streets west of the present day Moi Avenue was the most intensively developed, with closely spaced single storey buildings, serving as commercial centres at front and residential at the back.

The Europeans commercial area was extensive with wide open spaces. Residential use was highly discouraged in this area. The policy was however silent on commercial use in formal residential areas.

This pattern crystallized and expanded with related land uses filling in the undeveloped spaces in their respective zones. By 1909 much of the road network as seen today had been established and in use in the CBD.

In 1926 there was a plan by Mr. Walton James giving guidance and control of Nairobi. However it was never implemented except for the zoning recommendations. In 1948, however, a master plan for Nairobi was prepared and its impact is still evident today. It had as one of its recommendation that there should be as little disruption as possible in the layout of the CBD area. The most remarkable recommendation was the laying out of the "Kenyan Centre". It was the wish of the civic leaders to have Nairobi reflect an international status like other cities of developed world. Within this "centre" there was to be adequate space reserved for official building. Thus the "Centre" was to be expanded from the high court which formed the eastern boundary to the "Hill area" in the west. There was to be wide ceremonial space surrounded by government buildings in the north and East African government building on the west. Also a carefully designed highway was to divide the centre and between it and "the hill" was to be an open space. In keeping, the city square then developed on the eastern end of the proposed "Kenyan Centre", the Kenya government occupied its southern flank along Harambee Avenue while an open space remained in between the city hall and the governments buildings. The Uhuru Highway was developed accordingly.

Another notable feature of the plan was that it established two districts zonal heights whereas buildings heights on the area of the Kenya "Kenyan Centre" were not limited, and likewise for Europeans commercial areas

concentrated along Kenyatta avenue, Moi Avenue and Tom Mboya Street while it was restricted to 15 metres in the Asian Bazaar. It is for this reason that we have most of the tallest buildings to the west of Tom Mboya street. So far it is not possible to attach any economic reason for the development pattern the CBD was assuming. Rather the reasons were basically political, based on racial segregation.

On the other hand, economic factors came into play after independence. The government of Kenya adopted such economic policies necessary to attract private investors with the view of improving a seriously depressed economy inherited from the colonial government. The effects of these policies was the expansion of the existing business and industrial concern which created a growing demand for office and industrial space. Hence the undeveloped and unoccupied space had to be filled up.

Promotional policies is another factor that played an important role in the development of the CBD. This led to the growth of tourism, which later played an essential role in shaping the CBD. To cater for this important income earning sector, multi-storied hotels like Pan Afric, Intercontinental, Six Eighty, Hilton International and many others were constructed in the CBD. Office buildings for auxiliary services also developed.

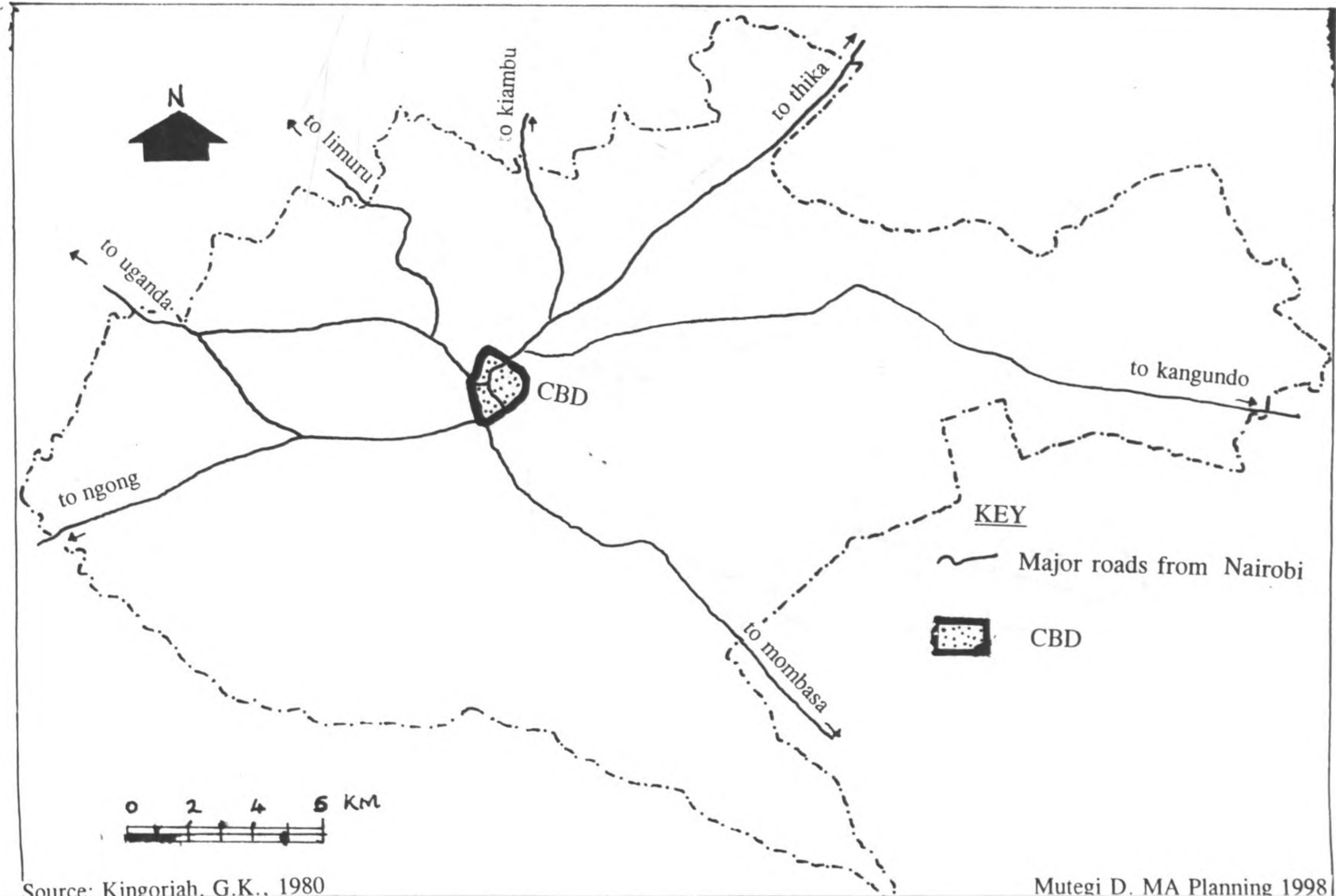
The economic trend that emerged in the city as a result of government efforts to attract investors and tourists was one with specialised land use patterns where each activity had its own zone without environmentally undesirable overlaps.

Before independence, due to racial restrictions imposed by the colonial administration, informal activities were strictly confined to the squatter and low income settlements. After independence racial bans were lifted and these activities slowly spread into all parts of the city.

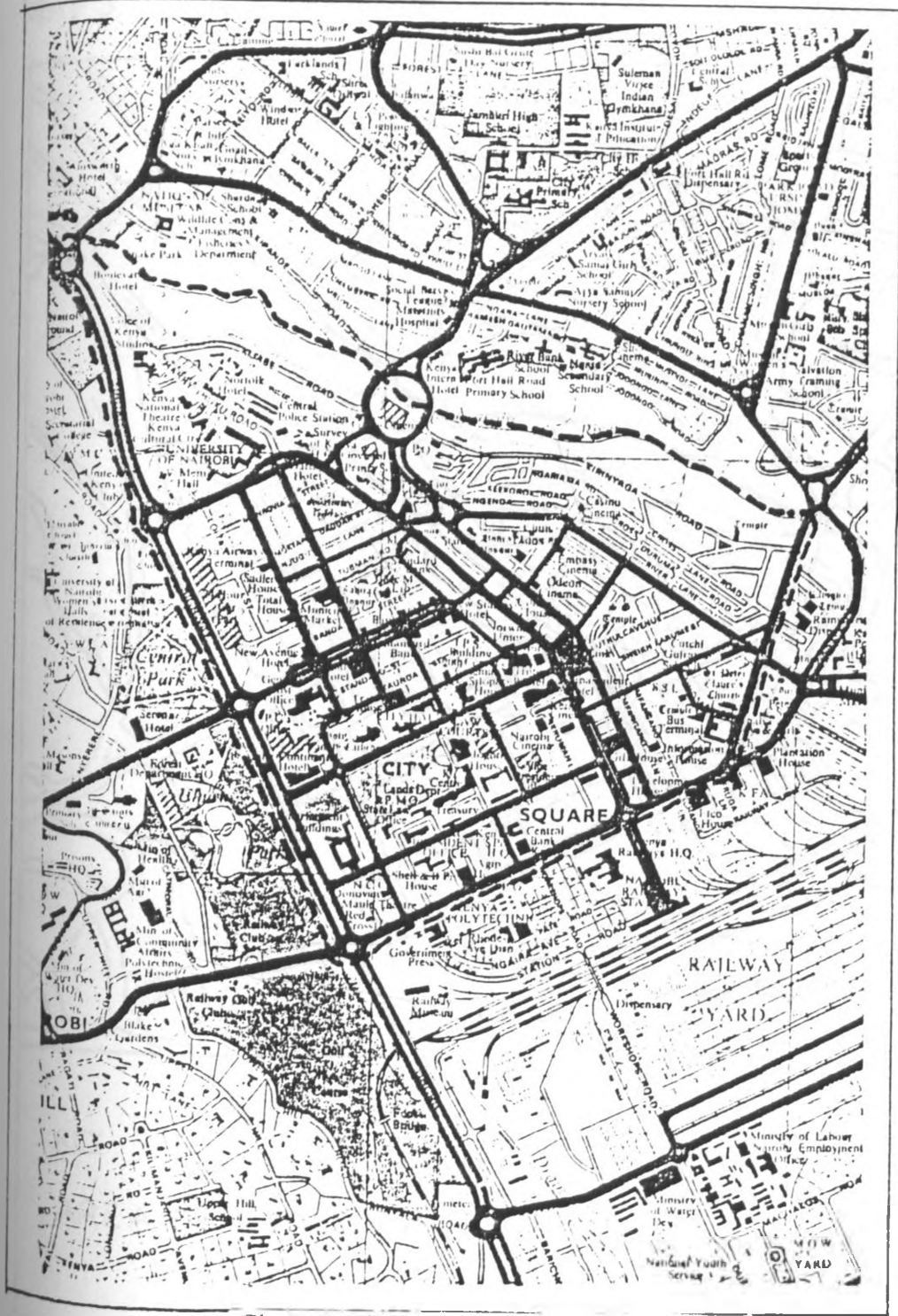
Apart from the informal settlements in the outskirts of the city to cater for the attracted industrial and commercial workers, there were no serious informal economic activities. However, as a result of increased population in the city without merging employment opportunities the attracted workers started joining the informal sector economy for livelihood. The CBD, because of its centrality and human and vehicles traffic flows offered a ready market for their trade. This unplanned economic activities are now in conflict with formal businesses and land-use like the earlier discussed hotels and other commercial establishments that have now to contend with environmental problems arising. Such problems includes high noise levels, obstructing of potential customers, garbage/litter, insecurity etc.

With almost every open space filled up, the trend is now to demolish the old buildings and erect multi-storied ones. It is still notable that this high rate of development and activity is concentrated on a limited area which has won the favour of the government policy throughout the city's history.

MAP 3.5: CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT : ITS LOCATION IN THE CITY OF NAIROBI



MAP 3.6: CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT OF NAIROBI CITY AS DEFINED BY THE N.C.C IN 1977



City council Nairobi, map and guide, 1978

Central Nairobi as defined by N.C.C. in 1977
source: City of Nairobi, Map and Guide, 1978

Key

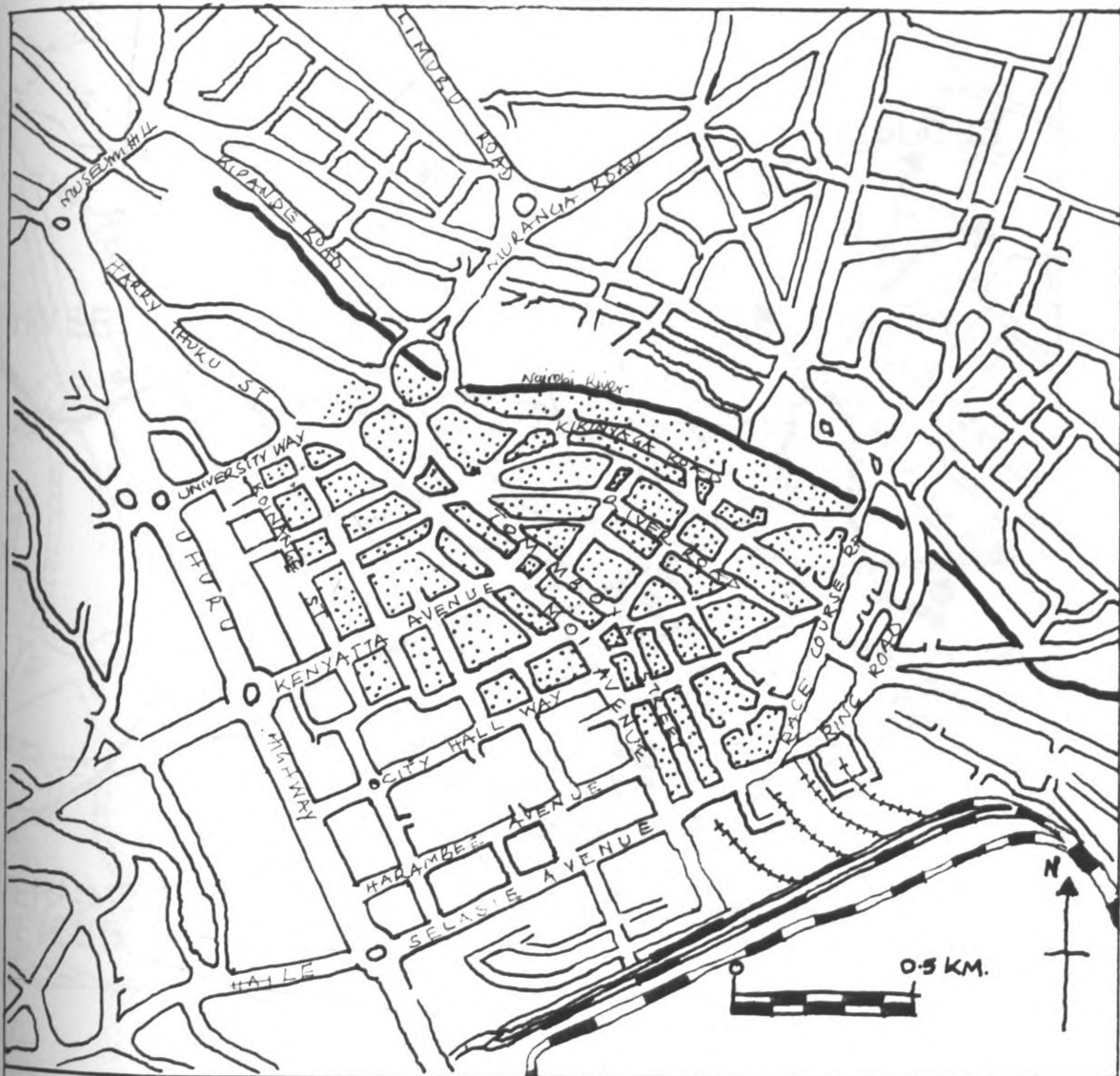


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MAP 3.7: THE AREA OF STUDY CONCENTRATION WITHIN THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

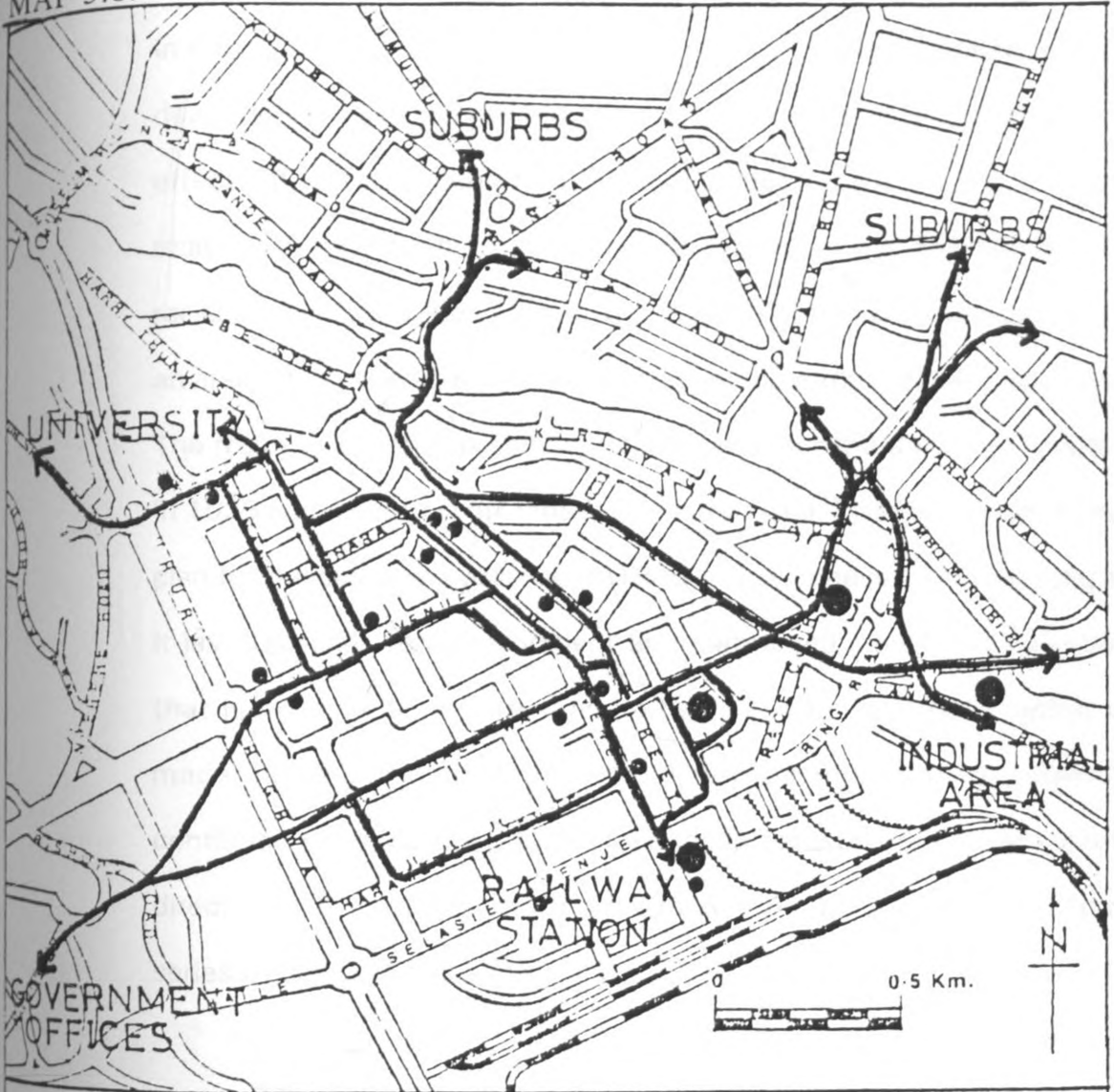




KEY

AREA OF CONCENTRATION



MAP 3.8: MAJOR PEDESTRIAN FLOW IN NAIROBI CENTRAL AREA



- Key
-  pedestrian flow
 -  public transport - termini or stops

Source: Njoroge T.R 1985

Mutegi D. MA Planning 1998

Major pedestrian flow in Nairobi central area

3.3. PATTERNS OF LAND USE IN THE C.B.D.

In the early years of planning, Nairobi was not considered seriously and development was uncontrolled and unguided. In the previous section, the effects of establishments of the railway depot in Nairobi, in attaching a multi-racial community of entrepreneurs was analyzed. Policies based on racial segregation were at force. The Indians for instance were located in an area which proved too small to accommodate their growing population. The result was health problems which called for the authority attention. In 1926 some controls on zones were introduced. The first comprehensive plan for the city was published in 1948 but was never formally adopted. It lay guidelines for development and earmarked land for various uses, that is, residential, industrial and others. In 1961 another attempt was made but abandoned on the way. The planning of the city therefore continued on an *ad hoc* basis. The concept of a comprehensive plan to direct Nairobi's growth and development emerged around 1967 from a series of sectoral pressures.

The Nairobi urban study group was thus formed to give guidelines for development of Nairobi. It could thus be argued that the land use pattern of Nairobi and more so of the CBD was a result of those uncontrolled developments. Only recent development is the crystallization of that

pattern of the CBD, which is the researcher's study area. Broad functional zones will be applied and is an adaptation of Morgan's classification.¹⁷

- (a). **PUBLIC BUILDINGS:** These mainly include the government offices and Public Institutions. Even with current trend to have some government offices moved from the city centre to "the hill" one can easily appreciate the agglomeration nature of this activity. The main areas of concentration is between Kenyatta Avenue and Haile Selassie and along Uhuru Highway. This zone was a special interest to the colonial government and was earmarked for development of a "Kenyan Centre" as mentioned in the preceding section.

These area house important international, national and civic buildings including the national assembly, the law courts, the office of the president, the attorney general's chambers, the city hall, the Kenyatta International Conference Centre (K.I.C.C), the provincial and District Commissioners offices as well as the General Post Office (G.P.O).

Another feature of this area is that it is characterised by most of the tallest buildings in the city.

¹⁷ See Map 3.9 -Pg 98 -: Land-use pattern in Nairobi central area; (adapted from Morgan on land-use pattern in Nairobi City central area).

- (b). **RETAILING:** This activity is widely distributed over the CBD. What can be discerned however is the strict differentiation it assumes, in terms of goods offered and the income group served. In this regards then two categories of shopping districts can be identified. The first designated as the upper income shopping area occupies the area along Tom Mboya street, Moi Avenue and between Kenyatta Avenue and University Way. The area houses a wide range of shops including the Supermarkets, the city market, automobile show rooms and high quality and specialty shops. The second shopping area extends towards river road from Tom Mboya Street. It is associated with low income group. The goods offered are relatively cheap and specialization is said to be minimal.
- (c). **OFFICES AND MULTISTORY HOTELS:** The area of concentration is between Kenyatta Avenue and City Hall Way. In and around this area are the leading banks, Insurance firms and building societies. Also housed here are associated services as professional lawyers and accountants. Tourists international flights and agencies are also to be found around this area. So are some of the main hotels to serve the tourists, like the new stanley hotel, six eighty hotel, Hilton International Hotel etc.

- (d). **RELIGION AND CULTURE:** Religious buildings are scattered over the city centre and includes the Roman Catholic Cathedral (The holy family basilica) on the city hall way, the Lutheran church, the University of Nairobi (U.O.N) Catholic Chapel, the Synagogue, all of which cluster around Uhuru highway and University Way roundabout, the Khoja and Jamia Mosques.

Another cluster can be identified between race-course road and Ronald Ngala Street. The other area of concentration is the north of university way which houses the national cultural Centre {the Kenya National Theatre(K.N.T.)} building , for cultural purposes.

- (e). **RECREATION:** Cinema theatres, night clubs and restaurants are widely scattered in the city centre, but it is hard to point an area of concentration.

Open spaces in the centre of the city are few and basically includes the Jevanjee gardens partly used for Lunch break, religious teachings (*Jevanjee Gardens which was put aside in 1905 as the first public gardens in East Africa, is remembered as the locality where the Nairobi (then Ukambani) provincial commissioner, the late Ainsworth, founded the East African Agriculture and Horticultural Society and as the site where the first agricultural show in East Africa was held.*

Jevanjee later donated the gardens to the City Council in March 1906 and it was officially handed over to the Duke and Duchess of Connaught at a ceremony also attended by former US President Theodore Roosevelt.

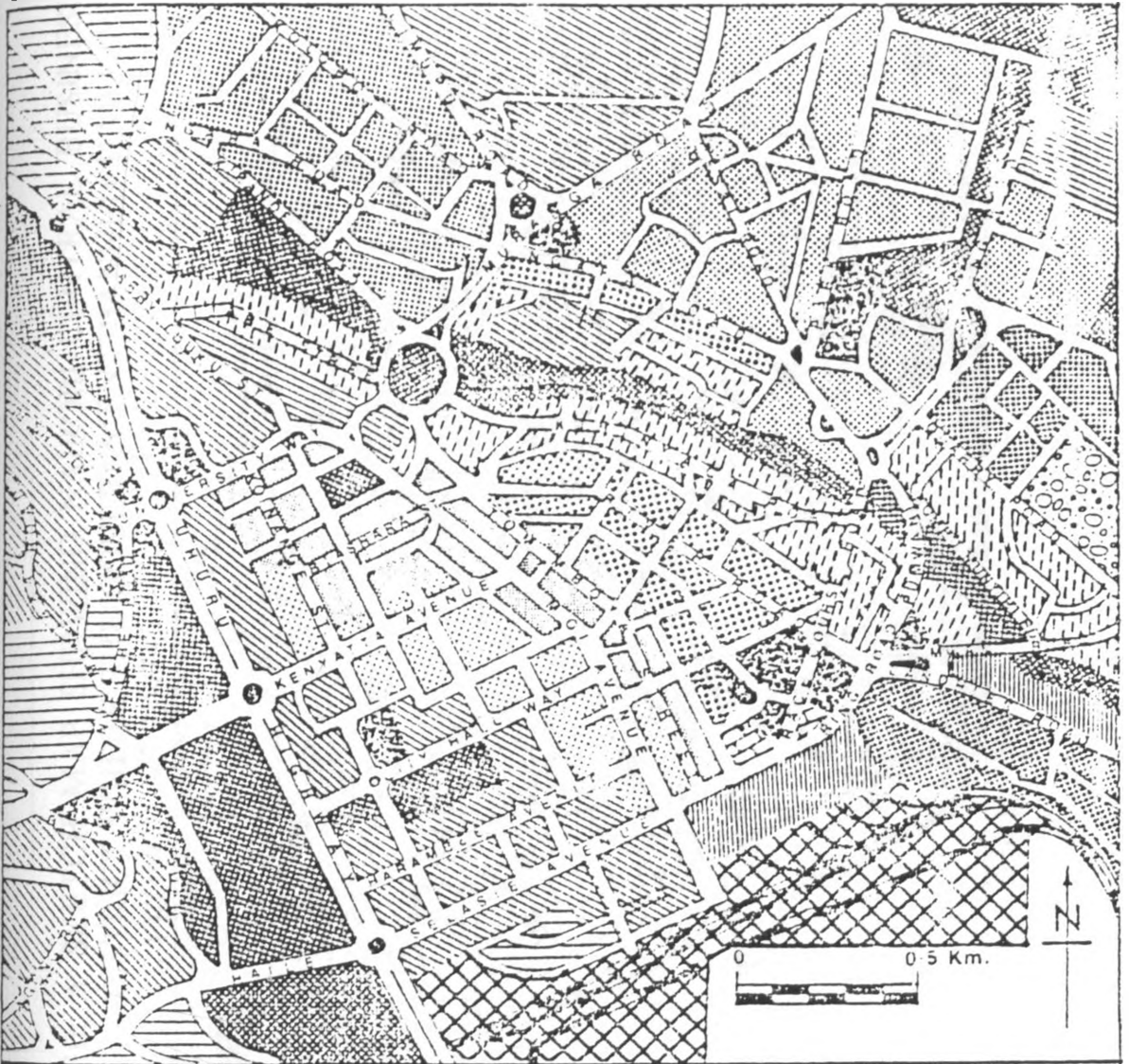
It was during that hand-over that the duke unveiled the now-dilapidated statue of Queen Victoria, a clear sign of neglect to this garden now being eyed by land grabbers with a

passion) and the area between garden square restaurant and city hall way and the government offices along Harambee avenue.

- (f). **RESIDENCE:** The main residential estates are found outside the boundaries of the C.B.D. However residents in this area are accommodated in hotels, lodgings and Multi-purpose building, commonly so in area of River Road and Kirinyaga Road where people resides in the top floors while the ground floors are used as shops or other activities.
- (g). **THE INFORMAL COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES:** These are widely spread over the CBD. Unlike other activities analyzed before, these were never planned for. Thus they are found on the streets, on the pavements, fronting the buildings, on the alleys as well as in the various vehicular parks and especially the terminus. Their occupation of these spaces which were not intended for such use has resulted in conflict of users mainly between the street vending economic activities, the pedestrians and the vehicular traffics.¹⁸ These activities are the subject of this research study and will be discussed in the next two Chapters.

See Map 3.10 -Pg 99 -: A sketch map showing nairobi central business district where the government banned hawking as from June 1997.

MAP 3.9: LAND-USE PATTERN IN NAIROBI CENTRAL AREA



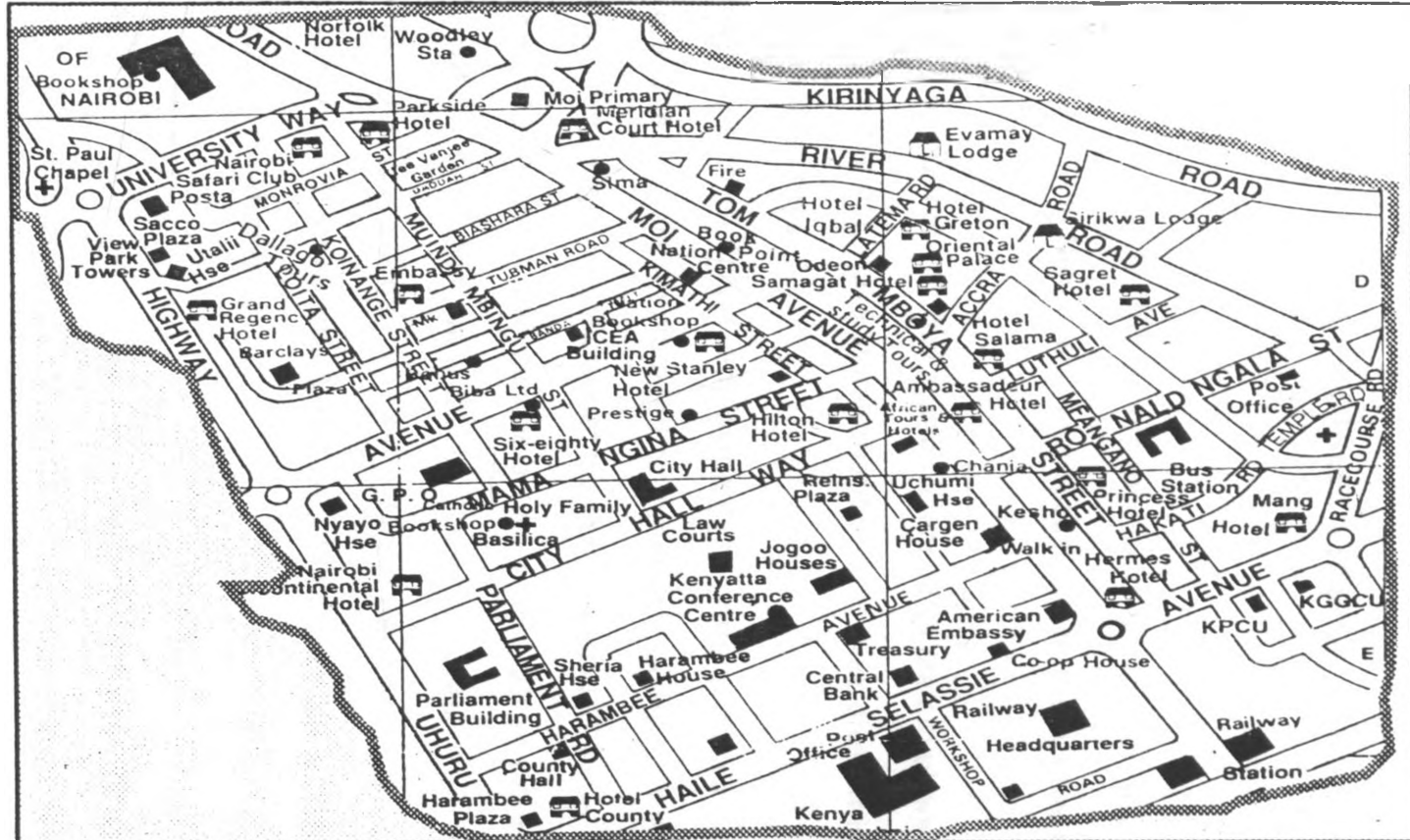
Key

Source: Kingoriah, G.K., 1980

Mutegi D. MA Planning 1998

Land-use pattern in Nairobi central area
source: Kingoriah, G.K., 1980

MAP 3.10: A SKETCH MAP SHOWING NAIROBI CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT WHERE THE GOVERNMENT BANNED HAWKING AS FROM JUNE 1997



Source: Daily Nation, June 11, 1997

3.4. THE BACKGROUND OF STREET VENDING ACTIVITIES IN THE STUDY AREA

This section deals with the emergence and growth of the informal economic activities in Nairobi and later specifically in the central business district.

It should be noted that informal economic activities are old phenomena in the history of Nairobi. Hake states that hawking was present in Nairobi from the earliest days.¹⁹

Africans mainly men found employment as porters, cooks and other helpers and later were encouraged to serve as labourers in the urban economy. Their wages were however too low to support their families. An average african employee's wage was between Kshs 23 and Kshs 57 per month, while estimates of cost of living showed that minimum requirement for a single man was Kshs 21 per month and for a married man was Kshs. 38 per month. Yet nearly 1600 men were getting less than Kshs. 21 per month.

The growth in employment was not keeping pace with that of population (a case experienced even today). In 1939, for instance, there were 23000

Andrew Hake, African Metropolis Nairobi Self-Help City. Sussex University Press, 1977, Page 179.

africans employees and in 1940 the number dropped to 18000. Yet africans population had then increased by about 30000 people.²⁰

The colonial government responded to this by enforcing such control measures as the repatriation of unemployed to their "native reserves", reduction in the number of domestic servants etc.

After the world war II and in the late 1950s after the state of emergency there was a major population influx in Nairobi with the removal of the restrictions which were previously prohibiting many of the africans from staying in Nairobi. Nairobi was flooded with job seekers and then open urban unemployment became a problem.

There was thus emphasis on hawking and the "informal" sector economic activities appeared in response to the pattern of demand of the great majority of africans who possessed low income.²¹

The aim was to supplement the insufficient wage earnings. The hawkers included daily commuters from nearby Kiambu and others who came on a long term basis. They engaged in such activities as street hawking, shanty food/tea kiosks and other street corner trades open air marketing all located at strategic points.

The trade has grown steadily inspite of hardships encountered. In 1963 it registered a total of 1500 licensed hawkers though the number of

Andrew Hake, African Metropolis Nairobi Self-Help City, Sussex University Press, 1977, Page 153.

Republic of Kenya, Session paper No 10 on employment, Government Printers, page 10.

unlicensed could equal that. In 1964 the figure dropped to about 1370 and was further cut down to 1040 in 1965. In 1968 the ceiling was fixed at 15000 licenses although only a total of 1414 had been licensed by the year 1969.²²

The trend continued whereby a total of 5000 licensed hawkers were registered into Nairobi area in 1984. The area has a capacity for 20000 licensed hawkers according to Nairobi city council trade licensing department report, 1984.

It could be argued that africans were faced with many discriminating rules during the colonial period which hindered their advancement. For example informal activities were strictly confined to the squatter and low income settlements in the periphery of the city. Their education was limited. The africans were even stereotyped as being "too backward to tender themselves to prolonged wage employment even in minor functions".²³ Even after independence and abolition of these restrictions which had hitherto placed the africans at a disadvantage in comparison with Europeans, the same trend persists. The africans continue engaging themselves in petty trades, and in ever increasing numbers.

These africans in doing so, are only responding to what has come to be called the employment crisis, the crisis being the consequences of the

²² Andrew Hake, African Metropolis Nairobi Self-Help City, Sussex University Press, 1977, Page 180.

²³ White L.W.T., Nairobi Master Plan for Colonial Capital, London HMSO, 1948, Page 12.

failure of the manufacturing and service sectors of the modern economy to absorb the labour supplies to which they have had access.

The most predominant street vending economic activities found within the CBD by the time of this study were newspapers, magazines and books vending, curios selling, fruits and vegetables vending, sweets and cigarettes hawking, maize roasting, electronics selling and repairing, flowers selling, both new and old clothes selling, general merchandise hawking among others. All these activities had operation characteristics which are discussed in the later chapters.

3.5. EVOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

In the second development plan (1970-74), the government pledged to put emphasis on the development of small scale industries and training of entrepreneurs as a strategy for the alleviation of unemployment which was part of the Kenyanisation of the Kenyan economic strategy. However no concrete measures were laid down for the implementation of the strategy.

1. **The ILO report of Kenya 1972**: This report emanated from an ILO study mission for Kenya on increasing productivity employment in Kenya. It used for the first time, the term "informal sector" to

describe the portion of the urban economy that escapes enumeration in official statistics. The study desegregated the employment in Kenya's economy into formal and informal. The characteristics of the informal sector were for the first time examined. The report highly recommended the sector as a priority area for emphasis in the economic development of the country.

2. The government's response to the ILO's report was prompt. The **1973 Sessional Paper No. 10 on employment** wholly accommodated the ILO recommendations on the informal sector. Since then commitments to the development of the informal sector continues to be mentioned in all the subsequent development plans, though their implementations was not very significant.

Five years later, however, House, Kabagambe and Green (1977) noted that in practice, few positive measures had been taken to actively promote and encourage the growth of the sector. They suggested that lack of positive action on the part of the government was due to an inadequate database on which to build a programme of help for the informal sector. As a result the ILO report and the ensuing sessional paper on employment, the informal sector received considerable attention in the third development plan (1974-78). The establishment of the industrial

estates and rural industrial development centres were proposed. Also harassment of the sector's entrepreneurs was to be curbed through the review of the central and the local government's regulations inimical to informal/small scale enterprises development.

Direct assistance to the informal sector enterprises and setting up of an administering organisation for the sector was envisaged for the plan period. Unfortunately, none of these policy strategies was implemented.

3. During the **fourth development plan 1979-83** various measures to encourage and support small scale and rural industrial development centres were proposed. Handicaps facing small scale manufacturers and the potential of the informal sector were noted. Measures for the promotion of small scale industries during the plan period included massive expansion of K.I.E services for every district, provision of Kshs. 5 million funding for informal sector, review of inimical laws and regulations, training and encouraging subcontracting between small manufacturers and large enterprises. In addition, the Kenya external trade authority was to assist handicraft producers to modify and adopt designs to meet export market requirements. The levels of implementation of these

programs was very low. The implementation of most of them began after the plan period.

4. The presidential committee on employment of 1982/83 recommended that the sector should be given a legal status and recognition, and that infrastructure be built for it to thrive and attract more people. Yet Aboagye (1986), fifteen years after the government's legal recognition of the sector, identified as among the problems facing the informal sector heavy taxation and harassment by the authorities. Moreover, in the same year (1986) an IDS workshop report on research priorities recommended that, given the governments increased interests in the informal sector, it is important to increase research in that field before policy makers began addressing the details of the governments increased interests and commitments there.

5. The Fifth development plan (1983-89) envisaged the establishment of full fledged small industries division in the ministry of commerce and industry to monitor the implementation of small scale development programme and to provide assistance to industrial extensions service. The division was established as planned. A shift of emphasis from capital intensive modern industries to small and cottage industries to increase the level of employment in the

country was also proposed. Partial protectionism for the manufacture of some items by small and cottage industries for the sake of their development was envisaged, but not enforced. With the adoption of the district focus strategy, it was hoped that the dispersion of the small scale industries would be accomplished. At the initiative of the president, several workshops commonly known as "Nyayo" sheds were constructed as support measure for the informal /small scale enterprises sector entrepreneurs in the country.

6. **The Sessional Paper No.1 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth** : Made it clear that the sector's features much more prominently in the country's development strategies and that it shoulders a much more heavier responsibility and plays a vital role in renewed growth of the country. To make the informal/small scale enterprises sector play its intended role, a number of measures were proposed to be undertaken, these include:
 - i. The setting up of special task force to review all the policies, laws and by-laws and regulations governing informal sector activities with a view of protecting self-employed people and hawkers.

- ii. Re-organising and rationalizing all technical training and vocational training to make it relevant to the sectors entrepreneurs.
 - iii. Making credit accessible to the informal sector much easier by amending collateral requirements, encouraging aid donors to provide funds to lending institutions for the sector firm and encouraging the formation of co-operatives and associations to represent the sector's entrepreneurs.
 - iv. The government was to promote schemes to provide graduates of youth polytechnics and other secondary schools with tools and small infusions of working capital to start their own businesses.
 - v. Macro-economic policies were also to be geared towards assistance of informal sector entrepreneurs especially those in manufacturing, transport, construction and housing.
7. **6th Development Plan (1989-93)**. During the plan period agencies in both public and private sectors were to be encouraged to develop supportive efforts in training, advising and counselling entrepreneurs in project formulation, implementation, operation monitoring and evaluation. The Capital Markets Development Authority (C.M.D.A.) was charged with the task of designing ways

and means through which successful small scale and "*Jua Kali*" enterprises could expand their capital base, whereas NGOs working in this area were to form an umbrella organisation to facilitate the optimal use of scarce resources in small enterprises development activities. It is during this plan period that the government prepared and adopted the sessional paper NO. 2 of 1992 on small enterprise and "*Jua Kali*" development in Kenya.

8. **Sessional Paper No.2 of 1992 on Small Enterprise and "*Jua Kali*" Development in Kenya.** This sessional paper can be said to have "formally" provided a comprehensive framework for the promotion of small enterprise and "*Jua Kali*" development in Kenya. It is geared towards the improvement of existing policy and regulatory environment, gender-specific issues, policy measures to improve access to credit facilities and measures to improve provision of non-financial promotion programmes. The government role will largely be to provide an enabling environment for sustainable growth and development within the small scale and "*Jua Kali*" sector. For this to come about, the following measures will be undertaken.

1. Structural adjustment policies of de-regulation and liberalization will be pursued. This will include: Investment incentives for new factories outside Nairobi and Mombasa among others.
2. The government will divest itself of its hitherto direct involvement in providing the small scale enterprise sector. Instead it will be involved in providing the physical infrastructure and information network to enable efficient operation of small scale sector.
3. Need to assess on actual and prioritized requirements of infrastructure, availing industrial land to small enterprise and encouraging formation of associations will be done through District Development committees.
4. Government organs will collaborate with existing relevant institutions to facilitate improved mechanism for information sharing, research training and other promotional activities.

Note: These measures together with a comprehensive review of the pertinent acts, licensing arrangements and the building codes, with a view of removing adverse impacts hindering small scale sector development are currently under implementation.

9. **7th National Development Plan:** During this period, policies laid down in Sessional Paper No.2 of 1992 are being actively implemented. The government aiming at divesting itself direct

control of informal sector activities and will concentrate on providing an enabling environment. This will be done through the provision of necessary institutional and economic infrastructure at local levels.

More private sector involvement will be encouraged through the provision of the wide range of measures and incentives to improve the small scale enterprises operations such as access to credit and provision of appropriate technology and training.

A continuous review and assessment of programmes and policies outlined in the Sessional Paper No 2 1992 is being carried out by the national coordinating committee in the Ministry of Planning and National Development whose results are incorporated in the implementation of programmes and realization of the goals of the sector.

3.6. INSTITUTIONAL POLICY AND CONTROL

The study attempts to look at the existing local authority policy and legal controls as they were seen to have affected the growth and performance of street vending commercial activities in the CBD of Nairobi city.

With this study, a number of regulations and statutory laws relevant to the vending activities were surveyed to assess their possible effects to

the development of vending activities in the CDB of Nairobi city. These included a number of acts in the laws of Kenya and adoptive By-laws.

3.6.1. NAIROBI CITY COUNCIL BY-LAWS:

They result to the legal control to the street vending activities development. The NCC adoptive by-laws 1948 section 18 stipulates that "a person shall not put any building to any use which might be calculated to depreciate the value of neighbouring property or interfere with the convenience or comfort of the neighbouring occupiers or cause annoyance thereto, or which might have deleterious effects upon the health of the occupiers in the neighbourhood". It is noticed that some of the street vendors are operating in shop verandas and frontages, pedestrians walkways, etc and littering the area as well as making alot of noise. This is seen as a contravention of the requirement of the above By-laws.

The NCC (Hawkers) By-law 1963 drawn by the city council of Nairobi as empowered by regulation 201 of the local government regulations 1963 governed and regulated hawking in the city of Nairobi. Under the By-law, hawking is interpreted as placing oneself in any street or public place or unclosed land or going about in streets or public places or from premises to premises for the purpose of carrying trade or exchange of goods, wares, merchandise or refreshment. This does not however include "the

seeking or taking orders for subsequent delivery, or the delivery of goods, wares, merchandise or refreshments to premises for the purpose of resale".

In order to be allowed to engage in hawking, any would be hawker is expected to apply for a licence to the town clerk thereby furnishing the town clerk with particulars of his/her place of work and the commodity as well as the place and places at which the applicant intends to engage in hawking.

Thereafter it is the discretion of the council to issue a licence permitting the person named therein to engage in hawking subject to such terms and conditions as may be specified in the licence including payment of a specified fee for the acquisition of the licence. The licence may be restricted to a particular area or place or may be issued in respect to particular goods, wares, merchandise and refreshment. These items are open to inspection to ascertain that they are the authorised ones.

It is also stipulated in the By-laws that the licence is issued to a particular person who should always carry and produce it at the request of the inspector. The same is not transferable unless with the consent of the town clerk. By the same token a licensed hawker must apply for a

separate licence for an assistant if in need of one, issuance of which is the prerogative of the council.

The hawkers are expected to abide by the conditions and terms of the licence and any person guilty of an offence under those By-laws is liable for a fine not exceeding one thousand shillings.

1. The Business licensing Act Cap 499 Section 5:

It states that "no person shall conduct business except under and in accordance with the terms of a current licence." In this case it was noticed that there in a section within legal requirements which stipulates that the licence shall indicate at least the following, business location, including plot number and certificate of proof of ownership premises or temporary lease. These are seen as difficult to obtain for street vendors who in most cases have no premises, land, etc.

According to the NCC officials, except for the newspapers and magazines vendors most of the other commercial street vending activities were not allowed within the CBD except for a few like shoe shining which could only be licensed to operate from Tom Mboya street towards Nairobi river.

2. Land planning legislation act Cap 303 of the laws of Kenya Section 10 (i):

States that any person carrying out development on land as for said shall seek the permission of the planning authority in the area before undertaking the development. Such development control would then ascertain whether the intended development is in order with the laid down principle plans for the area in question. In the CBD, it was found that street vending was prohibited. Therefore other than for development under taken by the NCC, hawkers do not seek development permission before locating in the CBD. Therefore their existence in the area should be seen as a result of contravention of this regulation. On the other hand the hawkers see it as the only fair option as they can not obtain permission to locate in the CBD.

3.6.2. GOVERNMENT POLICY:

There lack a clearly defined governmental locational policy meaning that there is no positive locational guideline for the street vending activities. This was disclosed by NCC officials in the city planning department. The city council only come to forefront when a major event is to take place in the city and there is need to evict the hawkers or when there in a crisis

situation development like was the case of 1997 (just before the national general election).

On general environmental analysis, however it should be seen that such activity mix should be planned with the By-laws in mind and the land-use around the street vendors. (Note that the general land use survey showed that the CBD is an area of a mixed and diverse land uses. The activities around where street vendors were operating were of varying magnitudes like open spaces, shops, pedestrians walkways, bus/matatu stops etc). The study therefore concluded that since law exists for the good of man, then some suitable areas need to be located where these commercial street vending activities could be accommodated within close reach of the customers.

3.6.3. IMPLICATIONS OF THE POLICIES AND REGULATIONS.

Generally the street vending activities play a significant role in the life of the city residents. It is for this reason that the government policies have the intentions to support these activities. This is however subject to the conditions deemed necessary if the same have to operate and co-exist with other urban land users.

These conditions are stipulated in the Nairobi (hawkers) By-laws which empower the council to prohibit or control peddlers, hawkers or street vendors. It is in accordance with these regulations that the city council askaris keep on ridding the city of the unlicensed hawkers.

These By-laws have a number of implications in the way the street vending commercial activities develop and operate. The provision of licence that one is limited to engaging in transaction of the few items acts against diversification of these activities and hence narrow the opportunities for such entrepreneurs to employ assistants, likewise restricting of the activity to a particular area or a place has the effects of narrowing down the market.

The long and hard process of acquiring the licence is a constraint to many people who would otherwise wish to enter this trade. The effects of simplifying the procedure would be easing of entry, which would lead to move competitive environment which is beneficial to both the entrepreneurs and the consumers with latter getting better goods and services at a lower price.

The licence also specifies that the term of occupancy of a trading area are strictly temporary (temporary occupation licence). This implies that the trade can not put up a permanent structure/construction safe enough for

trading operators. There is a sense of insecurity in the whole operation, constant evacuation from the area of operation, like the current trend, hinder smooth running of the business. One is not sure when he/she will be asked to vacate the area and thus it is hard to even think of enlarging the business. According to the field survey only very few entrepreneurs aimed at enlarging their present street vending commercial activities instead they wished to invest somewhere else. Also the literature review revealed that the informal entrepreneurs loss alot when evacuated from areas they had established a "good will".

The above show a contradiction between the two authorities policies, namely the government and the NCC. Whereas the government is out to assist the street vendors (as part of the informal sector entrepreneurs), the conditions set by the NCC's By-laws are a constraint to full development of these activities. The activities full potential can not be realised with the abiding to these regulations. It is therefore necessary that these regulations be reviewed to changing circumstances and be adjusted accordingly.

The street vending commercial activities have proved to be part and parcel of the urban economy, therefore NCC need to make proper arrangements to efficiently accommodate the street vendors as much as possible.

3.6.4. SUMMARY ON THE INSTITUTIONAL POLICY AND CONTROL.

The trace of regulations therefore show the existence of two categories of control; prohibitive and adoptive. In the street vending commercial activities development, the prohibitive regulations have thus far inhibited the development of more constructive environment where these activities could grow. They are however seen to have been on the increase. It may be argued that the planning authorities have been aware of the need for the development of the informal sector but can not due to prohibitive laws, which were perhaps set upon when there was no trace of the activities or were adopted from another system where such activities were not prevalent.

The adoptive regulations on the other hand are seen as counsels or guidelines which the planning authorities could use in collaboration with the urban activities stakeholders participation to replan the environment.

3.7. CONCLUSION

The informal sector is ignored in all aspects, helped and in some harassed by the authorities. Enterprises and individuals within it operate largely outside the system of government benefits and regulations and this have

no access to formal credit institutions and the main source of transfer of foreign technology. Many of economic agents in this sector operates illegally, though often pursuing similar economic activities to those in formal sector - marketing foodstuff and other customer goods, repair and maintenance services etc. The illegality here is generally due not to the nature of the economic activity but to an official limitation of access to legitimate activity. Sometimes the limitations are flouted with virtual abandon, sometimes the regulations are quite effective.

CHAPTER (IV).**ANALYSIS OF EXISTING SITUATION****4.0. INTRODUCTION**

The study was conducted during the month of July and August 1998. A total of sixty respondents were interviewed and the data obtained from the interviews was coded by the researcher and run through a computer.

The presentation and discussion of field data in this chapter falls in three parts. The first part deals with the background of the street vendors. Here information regarding the respondents sex, age, education, employment, marital status and places of residence are outlined. The second part discusses the street vending activities themselves. The third part consider the magnitude of vending activities and vendors feelings towards vending. All the three parts are used to achieve the second objective of the study and the findings are related to the study hypotheses and drawing conclusion about them.

4.1. The sampled street vending commercial activities in the study area:

Within the study area, there were a myriad of street vending commercial activities. It was not possible to carry a survey of all the street vending activities therein. The following (table 4.1) were therefore a representation of the activities covered in the survey.

Table 4:1. The sampled street vending commercial activities in the study area.

Type of Activity	Sample Size	Sample Size %
Newspapers and Magazines	5	8.3
Cosmetics, Jewels and Curios	3	5.0
Flowers	3	5.0
Electronics	3	5.0
Electronics Repairing	2	3.3
Shoe Shining	5	8.3
Books	4	6.7
Weaved Attires	1	1.7
Clothes	3	5.0
Vegetables and Fruits	10	16.7
Maize and Tubers Roasting	5	8.3
Sweets and Cigarettes	8	13.3
Polythene Paper Bags	4	6.7
Weighing Machine	1	1.7
General Merchandise	3	5.0
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

Due to the high demand and concentration of some of the activities , they account for a higher sample size, for example shoe shining, vegetables and fruits selling, newspapers and magazines vending, sweets and cigarettes vending, etc.

Having described some of the basic features of the study, attention have been paid to some of the street vendors' background factors that could have significant impact on the growth, operation, performance and location in the street vending commercial activities sector in the CBD of Nairobi city.

4.2. Sex:

The research covered 60 street vendors (respondents) in the selected streets/areas within the CBD of Nairobi city. Out of the 60 respondents, 43 were males and 17 females which represented 71.7% and 28.3% respectively. Street vending activities are dominated by both sexes. However some activities were predominantly male oriented as opposed to others which were predominantly female oriented. The sections of the street vending commercial activities with high level of female participation are vegetables and fruits vending. However a few males were actively participating in fruits (only) vending.

Males were mainly involved in maize roasting, newspapers and magazines vending, shoe shining etc.

The street vending commercial activities which had both male and female street vendors included fruits vending, clothes (*mitumba*) selling, cigarettes and sweets vending, etc.

It was observed that the present trend of economic push necessity may lead to a more heterogenous distribution and participation of both sexes in future.

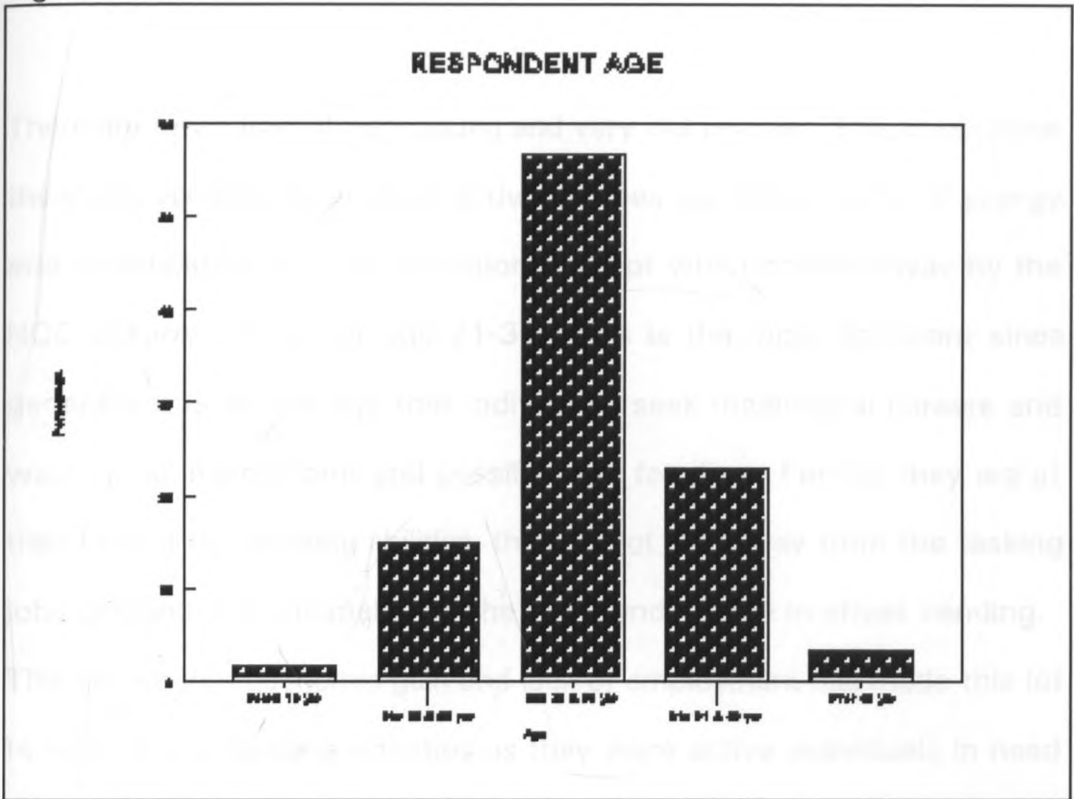
4.3. Age:

The distribution by the age of the street vendors is an important aspect of their background in order to compare their age distribution to that of Kenyan labour force. It would further serve as a pointer to whether the street vending economic activities sector attracts specific age-groups. All these would have implications of various concerns such as policy and planning.

The respondents age ranged from 8 to 45 years. The age with the highest frequency was 21-30 years and was followed by that of 31-40 years.

The figure below shows the distribution of the age of the respondents:

Figure: 4:1.



Source: Field Survey, 1998

The bar graph shows that over half of the respondents 80% were young adults, that is, aged between 21-40 years. A close look at the table also reveals that 95% of the hawkers were aged over 10 years but below 40 years, showing that they are still active individuals in need of active employment. On the other hand, if it is assumed that the productive age terminates at 50 years (considering the current average retirement age in Kenya), the bar graph indicates that 98.3% of the respondents fell under

the productive labour category and therefore needed employment of a kind.

There are few cases of very young and very old people. This is because the street vending commercial activities does not require a lot of energy and qualification on their operations except when chased away by the NCC *askaris*. However age 21-30 years is the most dominant since generally it is at this age that individuals seek meaningful careers and want to be independent and possibly rear families. Further they are at their best of the working abilities, thus do not shy away from the tasking jobs demanded in invariably all the work undertaken in street vending. This shows that economic gain and lack of employment has made this lot to venture into vending activities as they were active individuals in need of gainful employment.

4.4. Education:

The street vendors group is made up of school dropouts or of graduates of non-academic low level institutions. Most of them attributed their low education to financial problems. Generally the level of education an individual has attained coupled with the kind of formal training the individual has had, are important determinants of the type of employment an individual can have access to.

The findings in this study indicate that given the competitive nature of the current labour market only three respondents could automatically be absorbed for formal employment in Nairobi. Only 6% of the respondents had attained higher institutions of learning (university, polytechnics, etc) education level. Further analysis showed that 11.7% of the respondents were illiterate while 40% had only primary school level of education.

Table 4:2. The respondents level of education:

Level of education	Number of respondents	Percentage
Primary school	24	40
Secondary school O' level	19	31.7
Secondary school A' level	6	10.0
Higher learning Institute	3	5
None	7	11.7
No comment	1	1.7
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

Most of the street vending businesses like fruits and vegetables vending, maize roasting, etc require/demand no particular skills but just stationing at strategic areas for marketing strategy, except for those engaged in electronics repair works. The ease of entry and operation which does not call for any skills attracts many of the unemployed youth and actually accounted for 10% respondents. However since electronics repair requires some special technical training, it is somewhat more difficult to entry.

Acquisition of skills for repair work is also not very hard since an interested person only needs to acquaint himself with an experienced electronics repairer as an apprentice, if he is not able to enroll in commercial training.

In terms of professional training 5.0%, 35.0% and 1.7% of the respondents had white collar oriented, technical oriented and both white collar and technical oriented form of professional training respectively. 56.7% of the respondents had not received any form of professional training whatsoever.

Even those who had some training could not make use of their skills because they lacked enough capital to set up on their own, lack of employment opportunities in the formal labour market, trained in *jua kali* (informal) way thus had no trade test certificates, or because being employed/hired had less returns than vending activities.

The survey reveals that the hawkers were composed of 61.7% of unskilled labour while the rest had some form of skills training. Even the few with some training was also learning in the informal sector or copying from the others.

It was therefore concluded that most of the vending commercial activities in the streets/areas of the CBD of Nairobi City were operated by participants who have had no professional training. This was an indication that it was the only employment opportunity easily available for the most of them.

This statistics constitute evidence in support of the hypothesis that low education and lack of formal professional training leads to emergence of informal street vending economic activities.

4.5. Respondent's district of origin:

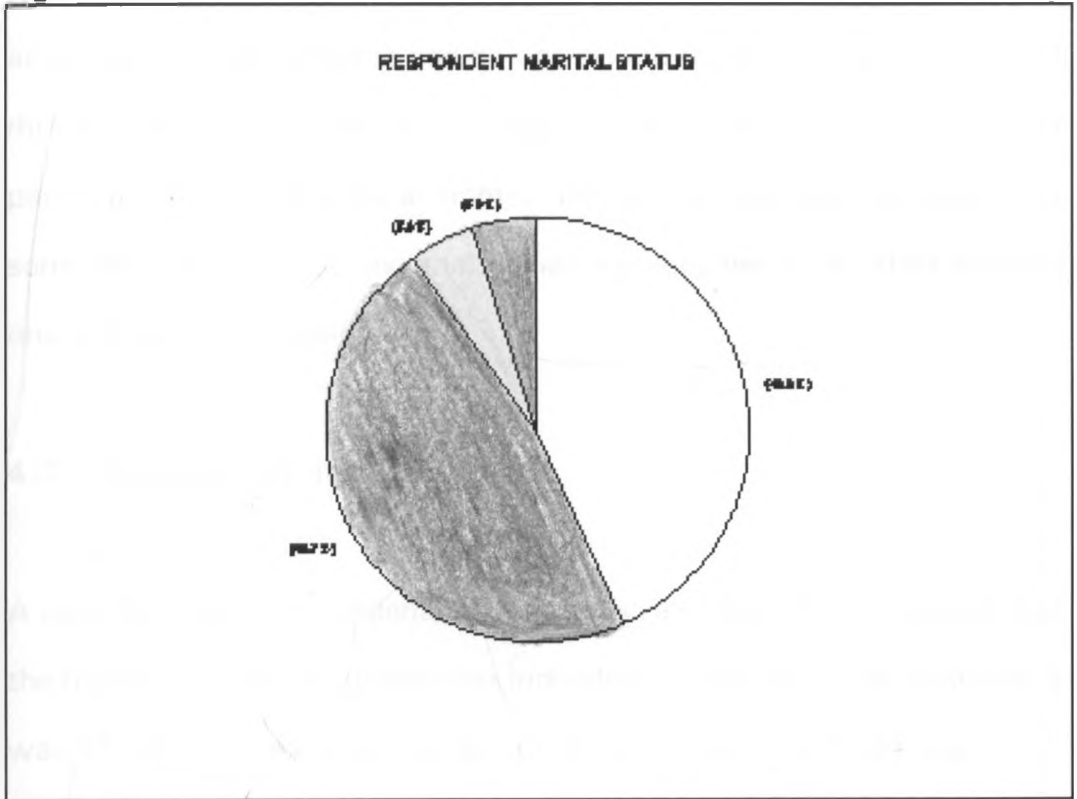
In terms of the district of origin, the study reveals that the hawking cadre population in the CBD of Nairobi city was composed of people from all the eight provinces of Kenya. However only specific tribes were represented namely the Kikuyu, Embu, Meru, Luo, Luhya, Taita, Kamba, Kisii, Maasai and Somali. The Kikuyu were the majority comprising of 51.83% (three respondents from the Rift Valley province, that is, 3.4% of 8.3% were Kikuyus plus all respondents in Nairobi and central provinces). This can also be explained by the fact that Kikuyus inhabit districts that either border the city or are within close proximity to the city.

Those from Kiambu can even vend in the city streets and manage to travel home the same day. The others were composed of the following percentages, Kisii 49%, Maasai 1.7%, Somali 1.7%, Luhya 5.0%, Meru 3.4%, Kamba 15.0%, Taita 3.3% and Embu 1.7%.

4.6. Marital status:

This is the data which was collected after the study examined the respondents' marital status.

Figure: 4:2.

**Legend**

Married.



Single.



Divorced.



Others.

Source: Field survey, 1998.

The majority of the respondents, that is, 46.7% (according to the figure 4.2 above) were single. If the number of the divorced and separated is added to this, it turns out to be 56.7% of the respondents who had no spouse (either male or female) on whom they could depend.

This singleness is one of the factors that influences street vending activities since respondents had no one else to depend on, although with direct responsibility of sustaining oneself, caring for children or parents/other dependents at home. Hence the necessity to engage in some form of economic (income) generating activities in an effort to meet one's/dependents basic needs.

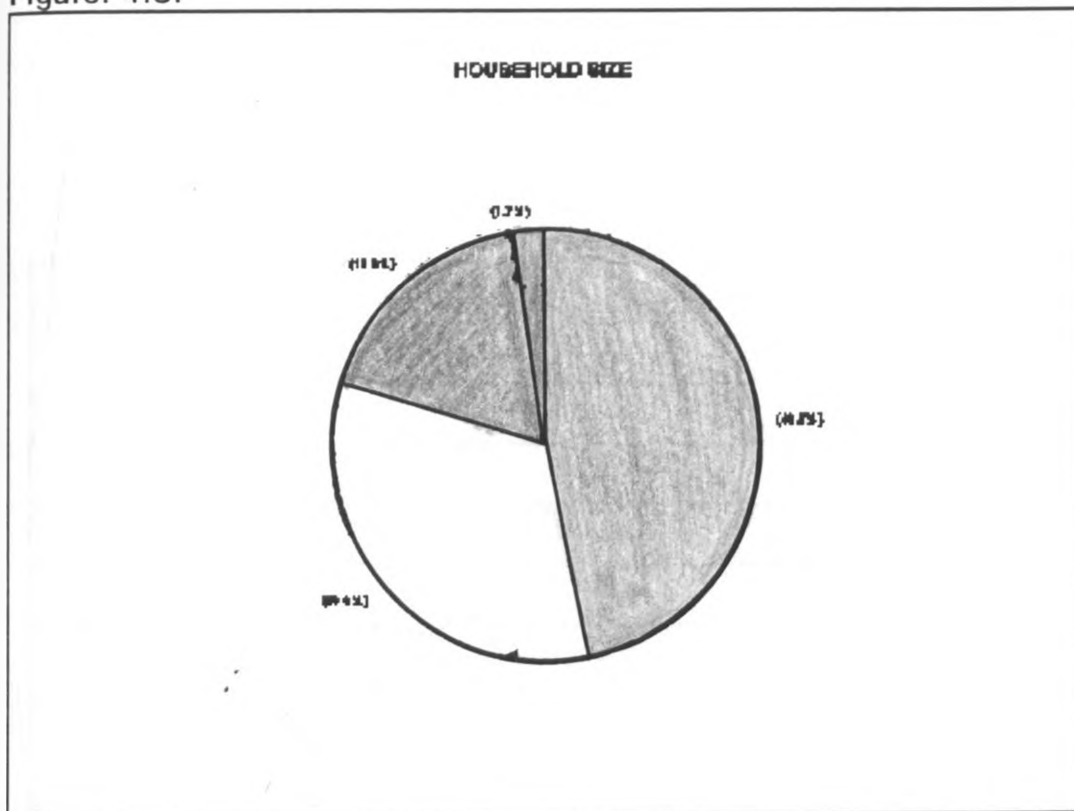
4.7. Respondents' household size:

A classification of respondents by number/size of household showed that the highest number of children an individual respondent was supporting was 11 while the average number of children per respondent was three (3).

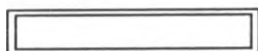
45% of the respondents had no children whereas 33.3% had 1-4 children and 21.67% had 5-11 children.

Further investigation showed that the vendors not only support their offspring, but also have other dependents (mainly parents and relatives). Analysis of the dependents showed that only a small (negligible) percentage of the respondents were fending for themselves alone.

Figure: 4:3.

**Legend**

None.



1 - 4 Children.



5 - 8 Children.



9 and Above Children.

Source: Field survey, 1998.

Many who now hawk their wares in Nairobi insanitary streets are parents of children who themselves live in the street. Others are street children who have come of age. And the third group are just plain poor and

desperate people who live else where including many from slums, who commute into the city to eke out a living.

Table 4:3. Categorization of respondents according to their coming to Nairobi.

Period in years	Number of respondents	Percentage
Before 1980	4	6.7
1980-1985	10	16.7
1986-1990	22	36.7
1991-1995	14	23.3
After 1995	6	10.0
Place of Birth	2	3.3
No comment	2	3.3
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

This study found out that the length of stay in Nairobi ranged from 1 to 28 years. However some claimed to have been born here in the city. Apparently, this seem to indicate that street vendors are both recent and old migrants into the city and some are the old migrants offsprings.

4.8. Area of residence:

The vending population in Nairobi is composed of those residing within and without/outside Nairobi city itself. The study found out that the majority, that is, 28 respondents representing 46.7% of the vendors lived

in low income areas/estates in the eastlands, 12 respondents (20%) and 10 respondents (16.7%) lived in low income estates in north and west of the city respectively. Only a few were residing in the southlands, central area and outskirts of the city.

4.9. Reasons for becoming a vendor:

The vendors gave various reasons as to why they took to these activities, some giving more than one reason. Lack of employment, identified by 31.7% of the vendors, emerged as the most dominant reason. This is consistent with the assumption that lack of employment and economic gain influence vending activities. Other dominant reasons are as a supplement of husband's income (8.3%), earn a livelihood (15%), easy to start (10%) and desire for self employment (8.3%).

Other reasons may be picked from the table (4:4) below.

Table 4:4. Reasons for becoming a street vendor.

Reason	Number of respondents	percentage
Profitable/Make Money	3	5.0
Provide for the Family	2	3.3
Keep me Busy	1	1.7
Poor Pay/Exploitation	1	1.7
Earn a living/Livelihood	9	15.0
Supplement Husband's Income	5	8.3
No Formal Employment	19	31.7
Easy to Start	6	10.0
Only Employment Opportunity available	4	6.7
Desire for Self-Employment	5	8.3
Lack of Land	4	6.7
No Answer	1	1.7
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

For example the sweets and cigarettes selling does not require any special skills, it is an easy one to engage in and actually among the traders interviewed were cripples. Also the tools required for maize roasting are simple composing of the "jikos" which is actually the dust bin lid, a wire mesh, a seat in form of a tin or a stone and the maize to be roasted.

While the main reason for entry into street vending commercial activities was failure to get into wage employment, the choice for a particular street

vending activity from the other was attributed to its ease of entry. It requires relatively low capital, for tools and goods which are brought from the manufacturers or shops, no specialised skills, etc.

In support of the above argument/statement that lack of employment and economic gain influence significantly the vending activities, 16.66% (percent) of the respondents pointed out that they did not have any other employment before becoming vendors. Those employed (43.3%) before becoming vendors included workers of very junior cadre like house girls, watchman, bar maids, hotel waiters, casual workers etc and they all claimed having been underpaid.

Table 4:5. Type of activities one was involved in during his/her stay in Nairobi.

Activity Type	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Casual Labourer eg in Construction sites etc	12	20
Employed as Hotel Waiter, Bar Maid, Watchman, House Girl etc	5	8.3
None	10	16.66
House Wife	3	5.0
Park Boy	2	3.33
Self Employment like vending, informal workshops etc	11	18.33
Employed in Boutiques, Saloon, Asian Shop etc	9	15
Student	5	8.3
Vending and Casual Labourer	2	3.33
House Wife and Vending	1	1.7
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

Note: Also see the preferred area of operation below.

4.10. Preferred area of operation:

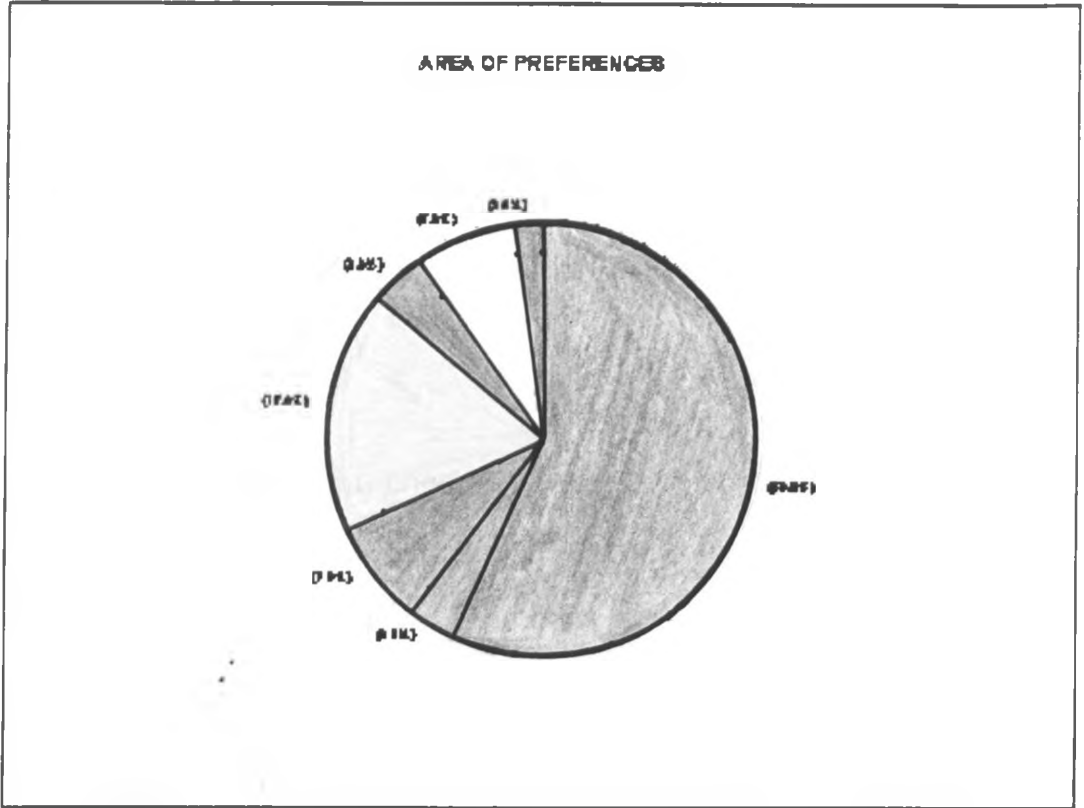
Hawkers are not evenly distributed throughout the city. They have a tendency to concentrate in areas of high population density where there

are large numbers of customers so as to maximise the volume of sales and therefore the net income.

However, the pattern of concentration is a basic cause of conflicts between the street vendors/hawkers and the city council authority (McGee et al 1977: 60, 61)

During the field survey, the data collected on vendors preferred areas of operation revealed that 48.3% of the vendors preferred vending in the streets, 3.3% in Matatu/Bus stops, 6.7% in market stall, 15.0% in the open spaces, 10% in shops/markets frontages, 3.3% in public service vehicles, 6.7% anywhere, 5.0% in public areas and 1.7% in lanes. The preference in one area to another was based on certain reasons including good business, protective, no harassment, etc.

Figure: 4:4.



Legend

-  Streets and lanes.
-  Bus/Matatu Stops.
-  Market Stall.
-  Open/Public Spaces/Areas.
-  Public Service Vehicles.
-  Shops/Market Frontages.
-  Anywhere.

Source: Field survey, 1998.

Further analysis showed that the majority of the respondents preferred operating in streets because of the good/profitable/lucrative business. Very few of the hawkers/vendors felt that the streets were protective. Obviously for counter checking questions, no vendors found in the streets was lacking a certain form of harassment, even those who claimed they had not experienced any.

In the problem statement, one of the question had to do with the nature of street vending which sustains it in the streets. The above findings show that majority of the vendors preferred selling in the streets which is explained by the making of big sales or prospects of good business.



Plate 4:1: A customer negotiates the price of a cap from a hawker along River Road. (Source: Field survey, 1998.)



Plate 4:2: Fruits and vegetable vendors sell their wares in a street set aside for them off Ronald Ngala street. The hawker sells fruits, vegetables, second hand clothes and toys. (Source: Field survey, 1998.)



Plate 4:3: Shoe galore, women select shoes from the wide range of used ones along Tom Mboya street. Street shoe vendors have brisk business especially at month end.

It was also observed that most of the vending activities occupied very small space which was ranging from a person standing on the spot or

walking to 3 by 3 metres space. Therefore this space can easily be gotten from the available areas, but need professional skills planning for such acquired space to avoid any land use conflict especially between vehicular traffic, pedestrians and commercial activities.

4.11. Physical characteristics and location of street vending commercial activities:

A common characteristics of these street vending activities was that they were operated on pavements and the verandas (shops and market frontages), open spaces (public and open areas), alleys/lanes etc.

For instance the newspapers and magazines were distributed all over the area of study while books were mostly in the lower side of the CBD from Tom Mboya Street, down towards Nairobi River. The most preferred sites were the bus/matatu stops and busier pedestrians routes. Even then the operators were supposed to occupy such sites as will not cause obstruction to both pedestrians and vehicular traffic.

Therefore they were in most cases found to occupy spaces outside the buildings with wider frontages, the open spaces between buildings and the corners of the buildings.

Jewels and curios street vending business was concentrated within the area of Moi Avenue, Biashara Street, Koinange and Kimathi Streets. The business operators conceded that this is the main tourist zone and office workers of the CBD and hence the most appropriate for this type of business for this type of street vending since a greater proportion of the customers are both local and foreign tourist and decent and smartly dressed professional workers.

There was a wide range of items like bracelets, earrings, Kamba carvings etc. In some cases all these items were accommodated in a shelf normally placed at the entrance of the alleys between buildings or on the pavement flanking the buildings.

Maize and tubers roasting is distributed all over the CBD, operating in both the very open spaces of the busy pedestrians streets and also in hidden alleys for fear of arrest by the city council askaris.

Sweets and cigarettes vendors were spread all over the CBD though much pronounced along Moi Avenue, central bus station and Tom Mboya Street down towards River Road.

The general merchandise street vendors were concentrated near central bus station and most of them were in motion. The clothes (both mitumba

and new ones) vendors concentrated along the lower section of Ronald Ngala street and River Road. The operators makes alot of noise to announce their items and prices in order to attract customers.

Fruits and vegetables street vending constitutes of various commodities, different kinds of fruits and vegetables. Some of these are consumed at site. These include pineapples, oranges, mangoes etc while others are taken home for cooking mainly cabbages, tomatoes, onions etc. There are also two modes of operation, one involves selling for a hand driven cart (Mkokoteni) and the other is just open air market where items are displayed on the ground. It was common in main bus/matatu stops like central bus station, Tusker and along Tom Mboya/Ronald Ngala streets junction.

Flower vending was mainly found along Koinange Street. This is an area associated with high income class with a European majority. The location of this activity is thus market oriented.

Shoe shining and electronics repairing was concentrated on the lower part of the CBD from Tom Mboya street towards the Nairobi river. Both the activities operated using simple temporary or mobile structures.

The activities physical conditions survey revealed that most of the street vending activities in the CBD were operated in the open, small goods

quantities and in specific areas etc with only exceptional cases being accommodated in temporary structures. Average spatial coverage of between $1/2\text{m}^2$ to 3m^2 was found, thus implying a very small total spatial occupancy of the CBD.

The table 4:6. show the space utilized by the street vending activities.

Amount of space	Number of Respondent	Percentage
2m^2	12	20
$2 \times 3\text{m}^2$	1	1.7
$3 \times 3\text{m}^2$	1	1.7
1m^2	2	3.3
$1/2\text{m}^2$	22	36.7
less than 1m^2	9	15.0
Person's size (standing on the spot)	4	6.7
Less than $1/2\text{m}^2$	4	6.7
3m^2	1	1.7
Person's Size but moving around	1	1.7
Small (agglomeration)	1	1.7
.	1	1.7
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field survey, 1998.

It was however observed that these activities were not efficiently organised on the study area thus creating alot of havoc and therefore

could be planned to occupy even less space if each actual space requirement by each activity was determined.

4.12. Type of commodities and their origin

Generally vendors in the CBD of Nairobi city sell a wide range of items. In this survey, various vendors were interviewed. They included newspapers and magazines vendors, cosmetics, jewel and curio vendors, clothes vendors, weaved attire vendors, vegetables and fruits sellers, maize and tubers roasters, sweets and cigarettes sellers, polythene paper bags seller, general merchandise like nail cutters, openers, etc vendors, florists, weighing machines vendors, etc.

Table 4:7. The specific samples of each group:

Type of Hawking	Number of respondents	Percentage
Newspapers and magazines	5	8.3
Cosmetics, jewels and curios	3	5.0
Flowers	3	5.0
Electronics	3	5.0
Electronics repair	2	3.3
Shoe shining	5	8.3
Books	4	6.7
weaved attire	1	1.7
clothes	3	5.0
Vegetables and fruits	10	16.7
Maize and tubers roasting	5	8.3
Sweets and cigarettes	8	13.3
polythene paper bags	4	6.7
Weighing machines	1	1.7
General merchandise	3	5.0
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field survey, 1998.

For example the range of magazines, newspapers and books sold was wide catering from many interest including education and leisure. They were also old and new ones from auction rooms, individuals and from publishers.

The main source of goods sold by the vendors was also varying depending on the type of street vending activities and commodities.

Table 4:8. Illustrating the origin of goods sold by vendors.

Origin	Number of respondents	Percentage
Nation centre/distribution vans	4	6.7
Brokers and other street vendors	3	5.0
Wholesalers and <i>jua kali</i> artisans	2	3.3
Manufacturers and retailers	2	3.3
Exchange with customers	6	10.0
<i>Jua kali</i> workshops/sheds	2	3.3
Markets within like Ukulima	10	16.7
Open markets within like Gikomba	2	3.3
Upcountry/suburbs	7	11.7
Wholesalers and supermarkets	10	16.7
Supplied by employers	3	5.0
Markets within and upcountry	1	1.7
Manufacturers and brokers	8	13.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field survey, 1998.

The source of flowers sold by the florists was mainly from the upper zones of Kiambu like Limuru etc and even Naivasha, Athi River, etc. The vegetables were also mainly from Kiambu and Ukulima wholesale market.

Sweets and cigarettes vendors mostly got goods directly from the manufacturers.

4.13. Cost of goods sold:

The purchase of the goods sold varied from one place to another. Some purchased the goods on daily basis especially the vegetable vendors, others weekly, others irregularly depending on the remaining stock especially the electronics vendors.

The purchases varied from one individual to another. In terms of expenditure, may it be daily, monthly, irregularly, etc, on purchases, Kshs.300 and Kshs.30,000 was the minimum and maximum expenditures of the respondents respectively. For instance most of the fruits and vegetables vendors, florists, maize and tubers roasters bought their commodities on daily basis and the amount spent varied from different items bought and their quantities but ranged between Kshs 300 to 10,000. The electronics, cosmetics, jewels and curio hawkers either bought their items on weekly basis or irregularly (when the stock got exhausted which could be either daily, after two days or any other period of time), with the amount ranging between Kshs 5,000 - 30,000.

For analysis purpose, the data on expenditure on purchases was grouped into categories irrespective of either the item or the period of spending and the following (table 4:9.) results computed:

Table 4:9. Cost of goods.

Cost of goods	Number of respondents	percentage
Below 1000	13	21.66
1000 - 2000	17	28.33
2001 - 3000	1	1.70
3001 - 4000	1	1.70
4001 - 5000	3	5.00
5001 - 6000	-	---
6001 - 7000	-	---
7001 - 8000	1	1.70
8001 - 9000	-	---
9001 - 10000	6	10.00
Above 10000	11	18.33
Can not tell	6	10.00
Irregular	1	1.70
Total	60	100.00

Source: Field survey, 1998.

It was also found out that at times group purchasing was done whereby a team of two or more street vendors selling the same or similar commodities marshalled cash to buy in bulk, for example, a full packet, a full sack, etc. In some cases vendors got goods on credit, that is, they

took goods from either dealers, brokers or fellow hawkers, and sold them to either keep the profit or got a commission.

It was generally observed that street vendors work for long hours in their economic activities endeavours, that is, goods procurement and selling. Some of them spend a total of 15 hours. The minimum time recorded as being used in vending activity among the sixty respondents was 6 hours. Closer look at the data indicated that 8.3%, 1.7%, 28.3% and 18.3% of the vendors were spending 6, 7, 8 and 10 hours daily respectively while another 33.3%, 5.0%, and 3.3% spent 12, 13, 14 and 15 hours daily vending respectively.

It was noted during the survey that most of street vending activities remain operational the whole day and generally without lunch break. The vendors start selling their goods and services as early as 7.00 am and towards or after dusk, each vendor packs her/his trading items for the night thus the street vendors work for an average of 10.1 hours per day. This is due to the general tendency of being run on individual basis, whereby each morning the trader takes/her respective position with his/her tools and goods to start the day endeavour.

In terms of respondents' preferred area of vending and the number of hours spent on vending activities, it was found that most of the vendors

engaged in the activity for long hours preferred to do so in the streets next to the bus/matatu stops areas and the central bus station and Tusker. These were found to be spending 8 and above hours daily in vending. Hence the length of time spent in vending is apparently connected with the area preferred for vending.

The vendors' time for starting the actual selling was found to vary. Some street vendors preferred to start selling in the evening. There are those others who did not have specific times for vending.

In case of some vendors, particularly women and children street vending was explained as subsidiary occurrence. The women were occupied in the household work or busy at the wholesale market for goods procurement in the early morning hours, while the afternoon and evening hours were used for retail sale street vending of their goods. Some of the children appear in the market after school hours.

The above data can be supported by the respondents' highest sale period in the day and month in the tables (4:9. and 4:10) below respectively which varied from time to time.

Table 4:10. The respondents' highest sale period in the day.

Period of the day	Number of Respondents	Percentages
Morning and Lunchtime	7	11.7
Afternoon	7	11.7
Evening	11	18.3
Lunchtime and Evening	1	1.7
10.00 am - 8.00 pm	2	3.3
Afternoon and Evening	3	5.0
Constant/Throughout	27	45.0
Lunchtime	2	3.3
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

Table 4:11. The respondents' highest sale period in the month.

Period of the month	Number of respondents	Percentages
Throughout/Constant	32	53.3
End Month	6	10.0
Weekdays	10	16.7
No Comment	2	3.3
Weekends	8	13.3
Can not tell	1	1.7
Muddy Months	1	1.7
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

Therefore the number of street vendors varied from time to time of the day or month.

Shoe shining was found to be a very active business but thrived best during the wet season. At such time one could easily realise up to Kshs 500 per day while earnings during dry season might fall up to about Kshs 100 per day at charge of Kshs. 10 per shoe shine. The service takes 3-5 minutes. For the shoe shiners the morning are the busiest periods as they serve their customers, mainly men as they stream to the offices.

According to the newspapers, magazines and books vendors, though the business run throughout the year the boom period coincides with the month end as well as the beginning of either the academic year term or semester. Others like maize and tubers roasters sold most during lunch time and especially the cold weather season, vegetables were mainly bought in the evening while fruits sold most during the lunch hour and evening. Watch repair was a throughout activity in the course of the day and month.

The choice of time to begin vending was found to be dictated by various factors. The desire to catch as many customers as possible, for example, was the major factor which made the majority of the vendors work for over 10 hours daily. The other factors were timing the hours when the city council *askaris* were few, domestic chores, etc.

4.14. Ownership of the business:

The street vending activities in the CBD were found to be organised at the four levels, that is, the individual proprietorship, employees, commission based sellers and helpers. There were no cases of real partnership or co-operative despite the solidarity they expressed in case of any external aggression. For example while all hawkers operate strictly on individual basis, each one with his/her own goods or services yet warning others of the arrival of city council *askaris*.

Presently the street vendors have started their own union (organisation) although it is informal, it was therefore concluded that a co-operative could lead to a better operation, control and expression channel without violence.

The vendors were asked if they received any assistance in their vending activities. Among them 49 (81.7%) of the respondents who had earlier indicated that they are business owners, 37 (61.7%) claimed to receive no assistance from anybody, 10 (16.7%) were receiving assistance from family members, 1 (1.7%) from friends and 1 (1.7%) had no comments. The remaining 11 (18.3%) of the respondents who said they do not own the business, this question was not applicable as they had no comments or were just employees.

As indicated earlier, 83.3% of the respondents were engaged in other forms of occupation before becoming vendors . The amount of income generated from such occupations ranged from less than Kshs 3000 per month with only 43.3% or 26 respondents of the 50 respondents in employment prior to becoming vendors earning a salary, that is, depending on employment type. The others were paid wages, (daily weekly or after a fortnight).

Out of the 50 respondents who had previous occupations before becoming vendors, only 3 (5%) did not give up occupation upon entering vending. The rest gave up previous activities for vending on various grounds, that is, they generated little income, sacked, little job reputation, exploitation by former employers and other reasons respectively.

By deduction therefore, only 11 (18.3%) of the respondents had alternative source of income on top of vending. They preferred vending to the alternative as it was lucrative.

These alternatives are as shown table 4:12 below:

Table 4.12. The respondents alternative source of income on top of vending.

Alternative Activity	Number of Respondents	Percentages
Upcountry Farm	3	5.0
Park Boy	2	3.3
Informal Kiosk	2	3.3
Fishing Boat	1	1.7
Butchery and a stall at the hawkers market	1	1.7
Hair Saloon	1	1.7
Formal Shop	1	1.7
None	49	81.7
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

However the income generated from the alternatives seem to be less compared to the vending activities. For example the park boy, upcountry farm, fishing boat etc were generating less than Kshs. 600 per month. It should be noted that only a small group of periodic hawkers are regular employees moon-lighting to make ends meet.

This support the hypotheses that vendors for whom vending is the only means of livelihood are more difficult to remove from the CBD of Nairobi city than those who it is a supplement means of livelihood.

4.15. Monthly income:

As pointed earlier, goods purchases varied from one hawker to another in terms of amount spent and the period of purchase. By inference therefore daily, weekly, monthly and annual profits must also have varied in accordance with the amount of purchases made, types of goods as well as the period. The monthly incomes of the respondents ranged from below Kshs. 1000 to above Kshs. 15,000. But monthly income from vending, like in any form of business fluctuate with the number of customers one get per day and also the stability of the market (in terms of absence or presence of harassment).

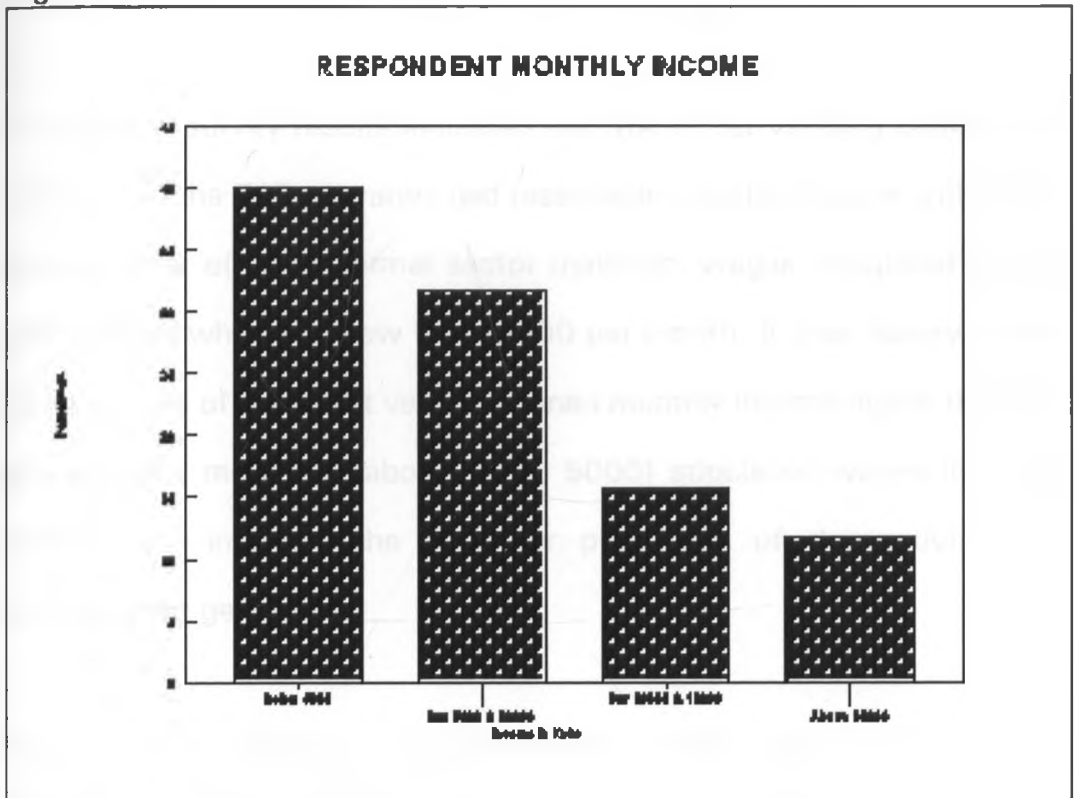
The shoe shinning business monthly earning depend on the season. It goes as high as Kshs. 10,000 per month in wet seasons to as low as Kshs. 5000 per month in dry season.

Most of newspapers and magazines vendors were employees and earned between Kshs. 3000 to Kshs. 5000 per month as a salary. This activity and books selling daily estimate was difficult for all since there are occasion when one might sell even a single book, very few magazines etc.

Electronics and flowers were among the activities surveyed. These particular two items indicated to be the most lucrative thus realised the highest turnovers. Actually some of the operators were earning as much as Kshs. 15,000 and above per month (the highest).

Below is a bar graph showing respondents monthly income.

Figure: 4:5.



Source: Field Survey, 1998

40% of the respondents reported earning below Kshs. 5000 per month. However, it should be noted that most of the respondents were not willing to disclose the typical amount of monthly income and in most

cases tended to give the lowest figure they could (according to the researchers impression).

To many people, the issue of money was very sensitive and they would hardly reveal the actual sum. Thus the figure stated may have been under or over stated.

The income survey results indicated that the street vending commercial activities in the CBD operators had reasonable monthly income with some being better off than formal sector minimum wages stipulated by the government which is below Kshs 5000 per month. It was observed that at least 60% of the street vendors earned monthly income higher than the government minimum (above Kshs. 5000) stipulated wages in urban areas, thus implying the need for promotion of the activities as employment generators.

However it was difficult to gather information from some of the hawkers unless during relatively calm and peaceful periods when the city council *askaris* were not pestering them.

A few vendors were asked to indicate the uses to which they put their earnings. They indicated more than one use. However the data clearly revealed that most of them went for basic needs like food, shelter,

clothing, school fees, parents maintenance etc. One woman respondent said she took up hawking to feed and clothe her children after she narrowly escaped death in the 1991 Molo land/tribal clashes. She was one of the single mothers who eke out a living by selling vegetables and other food items on street pavements etc. A few also indicated that they could afford to save a little with an intention of further investment in terms of assets like land, real estates etc, expansion of business and so on as well as other needs like bus fare, luxury etc.

4.16. Hawkers perception of vending activity:

This is an attempt to elicit the hawkers' feelings towards their occupation in terms of their perceptions of hawking activity, their desires to possess market stalls, their experiences as vendors and their future aspirations.

In expressing their perceptions of hawking activity, hawkers views differed. 96.7% of the hawkers claimed that hawking was good were it not for the continued harassment by the city council authority. Another 3.3% also included among their feeling that hawking was good but denied any harassment by the city council. 81.7% felt that they had no alternative to this form of activity implying that they could not quit it, that is, hawking needed perseverance and that the activity surpassed the only

alternative they had, namely remaining idle hence making no income at all or engaging in crimes like pick pocketing etc.

Table 4:13. below shows the various advantages of hawking cited by the respondents.

Advantage	Number of respondents	Percentage
No payment of rent	12	20.0
Reduce employment pressure	1	1.7
No harassment	2	3.3
Offer cheap prices	1	1.7
Promote education and profession training	1	1.7
No payment of rent and care for my family	1	1.7
No licensing	5	8.3
Maintain parents	12	20.0
Profitable/lucrative	9	15.0
Easy to start	5	8.3
Service to customers	2	3.3
Provide meals to poor	2	3.3
Supplement husband's income	2	3.3
Service to customers and supplement husband's income.	5	8.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field survey, 1998.

The hawkers had very differing observation about their activities. Most of the observation they expressed were related to the difficulties they had

in relation to their daily economic activity. To them, the environment around them was very hostile. Specifically, the hawkers were not only trying to avoid the city council askaris but also to dodge vehicles as they try to flee from the askaris, deal with rude customers sometimes, etc.

Table 4:14. Hawkers expressed feeling about their activities.

Observation	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Vending is better than stealing	7	11.7
Provide employment	6	10.0
Stop harassment	3	5.0
No comment	9	15.0
Promote Tourism	1	1.7
Mistreated by Employer	2	3.3
Important Service	1	1.7
Government to provide jobs	3	6.0
Take parking boys to school	1	1.7
Poor and needy people source of income	4	6.7
Allowance to operate	5	8.3
Security and fund provision	5	8.3
Customers not paying	2	3.3
Poor returns	6	10.0
Pioneers should be allowed to stay	2	3.3
	3	5.0
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

About 95% of the hawkers expressed their desire to change to an alternative occupation if available, the rest 5.0% were determined not to change. Consequently it became clear that those who preferred to vend in streets and matatu/bus stops were most willing to change as opposed to those in specific "legal" areas. This can probably be explained by the

fact that vendors, seeing streets as the best location in reaching many customers saw no future in this activity given the askaris continued harassment and the present campaign to totally evict them from the CBD.

The 5.0% of the vendors were decided not to give up the vending activity. They gave reasons for their decision. Out of the total respondents, 1.7% explained their decision in terms of instant income accruing from the activity thus very lucrative, that is, one does not need to wait until end month as in cases of formal employment. The same percentage (1.7%) felt that it was lucrative and easy to start while 1.7% felt that it was the only opportunity available for them due to low education level hence needed to expand the present business, that is, could not get a job anywhere.

The 95% who were decided to give up the activity given an alternative occupation, named various types of alternative occupations. What however came out clearly was that most of the vendors had attained limited education level to enable them compete effectively in formal employment. Some showed need for further professional training or start the business but which is formal, while others went for formal employment like tailoring, house girls (maids) etc.

Table 4:15. Alternative occupation preferences.

Alternative Occupation	Number of Respondents	Percentages
	3	5.0
Matatu Crew	5	8.3
Profitable Business	17	28.3
Farming	7	11.7
Shopkeeper	7	11.7
Undecided	2	3.3
Employment or Business	3	5.0
Tailoring Shop	1	1.7
Formal Employment	9	15.0
Knitting	1	1.7
Informal Kiosk	2	3.3
Professional Training	3	5.0
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

4.17. Stall ownership:

The study tried to find out whether street vendors are also owners of market stalls. The finding indicated that 53 (88.3%) of the vendors had not been allocated market stalls as at the time of the research and the remaining 7(11.7%) owned stalls at different places namely Nyayo stadium (3 vendors), City market (2 vendors), Hawkers market (1 vendor) and Maasai market (1 vendor).

The current move by the city authorities has been to move the street vendors from the city centre to a location on the periphery of the CBD like Mwaliro. Thus the city will be rid of the litter, congestion and also minimise the risks often faced by the hawkers when they have to run from the city council *askaris* and hence paying little if any attention of approaching vehicles. At the current site the hawkers are expected to be allocated individual plots whereby they will build some structures like stalls.

Nyayo stadium and Mwaliro areas are lands belonging to the city council which decided to allocate these areas to the street vendors temporarily in an attempt to curb street vending in the CBD of Nairobi city.

Note: Mwaliro area is located between riverside and Kariokor flats.

The two areas are however, quite isolated from most customers who are workers in the city centre, commuters, shoppers, etc.

Table 4:16. The main customers of the vendors.

Customers	Number of Respondents	Percentage
All office workers	15	25.0
Shoppers and Commuters	1	1.7
Teens of both sexes	2	3.3
Pedestrians	1	1.7
Students and office workers	3	5.0
Low income people	1	1.7
Both local and foreign tourists	2	3.3
Female office workers	2	3.3
No comment	2	3.3
Unmarried (female & male) Office workers	1	1.7
All the people	24	40.0
Shoppers	3	5.0
Matatu Crew and office workers	1	1.7
Commuters	2	3.3
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

Shoe shine business is busiest during the morning period as they serve customers mainly men as they stream to the offices. The curio business mainly serves tourists in the month of August and international conference attendants. Maize roasting though unlicensed is very lucrative and cater for people from all walks of life. Sweet and cigarettes vendors

serve a wide range of customers from the children to adults with the female customers and the children more inclined to sweets while the males are the main cigarettes customers. The electronics repair business does not cater for a particular clientele but for all watch wearers, electricity users, etc. However men form the majority but it could be argued that the ladies, when in need of such a service, will usually ask a male friend to seek service for her. There is a tendency among the females to think that they might be cheated, both in charges and in work done. In addition, the area in which the activity is concentrated is not very common with women.

The activity also demand elements of mutual trust. More often than not the customer will be asked to leave his watch or electrical gadget with the repairer to collect it after a given period. For this reason, many customers try to identify and cling to a particular repairer instead of asking for service from just anybody else. This then is a challenge for the individual/electronics repairer/vendor to produce a better piece of work than their fellow competitors in order to have and to maintain and attract more customers.

The florist target high income city dwellers whose majority are the European who form the greatest percentage of the customers. There are also many offices and hotels around their area of location, a number of

which enter supply contracts with the sellers whereby payments are made after a specified duration of supply. The survey also found out that they tapped customers heading to city market which is renowned for this activity. Flowers were also sold for wedding and funeral ceremonies. However to be successful the flower vendor need to have artistic talent in order to set the wreaths in an attractive manner.

According to some of the respondents, the allocation of plots never took into consideration access and could not be reached by customers. Because of the factor like the above, among others, 3 (5.0%) were operating from their stalls but sometimes on specific hours only (irregularly).

A ground examination at the Mwaliro, Nyayo Stadium and Maasai Markets areas revealed that there were neither toilet facilities nor running water. Moreover the layout of the plots did not facilitate access to those stalls/plots in the middle such that even those who remained to sell from those stalls/plots had abandoned the inner stall and moved to the minor roads passing through the market in bid to reach customers.

This meant that allocation of plots was not the surest way of removing street vendors from the CBD of Nairobi City and hence vendors will continue to find the streets more suited for their activities.

The 53 (88.3%) vendors who claimed that they have never allocated stalls cited various reasons, among them were rejection of applications, no application, corruption at NCC offices, ignorance of procedures, finding stalls inappropriate etc.

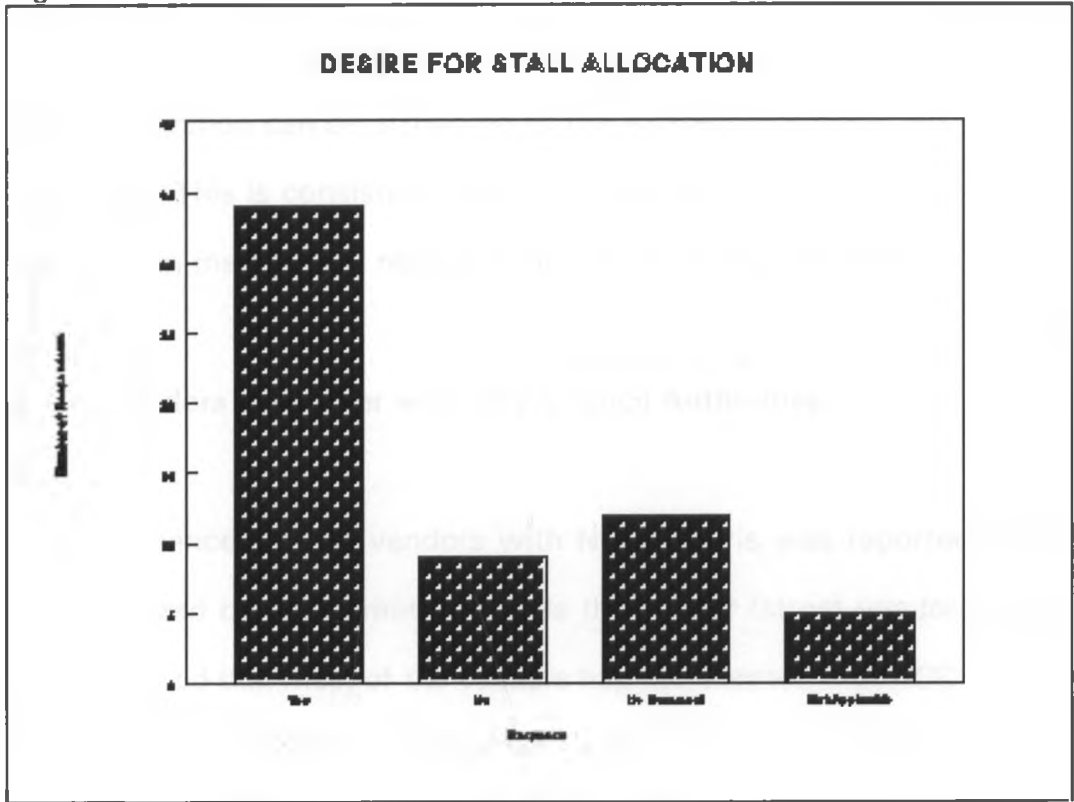
Table 4:17. Reasons for not owning a stall.

Reason	Number of Respondents	Percentage
	6	10.0
No Comment	32	53.3
Application rejected	3	5.0
Not applied	1	1.7
Corruption of N.C.C Officials	6	10.0
Scarcity of stalls	3	5.0
Ignorance of procedures	6	10.0
Not appropriate	3	5.0
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

Out of the 53 vendors who did not have stalls 34 (56.7%) desired to own a stall whereas the remaining were either for no desire, no comment or not applicable.

Figure: 4:6.



Source: Field Survey, 1998

The desire to own a stall showed a very strong association with the area preferred for vending. This is evidence that although the majority vendors preferred operating in streets, most desired to own plots/stalls. This can most plausibly be explained by the frequent harassment by the city askaris which results in significant losses on part of the hawkers.

Those desiring to own stalls and those seeing them inappropriate, that is, all vendors also gave suggestion on their opinion for the most appropriate areas of preference for such activities. 16.7% indicated Bus/matatu stops,

13.3% streets and markets, 31.7% public areas, 15.0% streets, 8.3% anywhere but within or near downtown etc.

Such suggestion can be attributed to the existence of good business in the street. This is consistent with the earlier argument by vendors that operating in market stall removed them from their customers.

4.18. Vendors encounter with City Council Authorities:

The experiences of the vendors with NCC askaris was reported to be characterized by harassment towards the former (street vendors). The study showed that most of the vendors has had contact with NCC askaris at one time or another. Harassment took the form of chasing away vendors, confiscating their goods, arresting, beating them among others.

Table 4:18. The various experiences of the vendors with N.C.C. askaris.

Form of Harassment	Number of Respondents	Percentage
Arrested and goods confiscated	3	5.0
Arrested and taken to court and fined	8	13.3
Goods confiscated	10	16.7
Chased away	15	25.0
Beaten	7	11.7
Irregular Bag Checking	1	1.7
Chased away and goods confiscated	3	5.0
Beaten and goods confiscated	2	3.3
Not applicable	11	18.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field survey, 1998.

It has been argued that city hall sanction's the harassment of hawkers because they (hawkers) affect the market built by the NCC as they do not pay rent or for licenses and thus undercutting those operating from the shops, market stalls in the CBD even charging lower prices since there are no overheads to be met. Thus the formal enterprises feel at a disadvantage in the face of the commercial street vending activities.

"too often established urban enterprises have argued municipalities to harass informal sector activities."²⁴



Plate 4:4: City council askaris load some of the property owned by the hawkers on a city council lorry in their continuing operation to clear central business district of hawkers. (Source: Field survey, 1998.)



Plate 4:5: A team of regular policemen and city council askaris confiscate wares taken from hawkers on to city council lorry during a crackdown of hawkers activities in the city's streets. (Source: Field survey, 1998.)



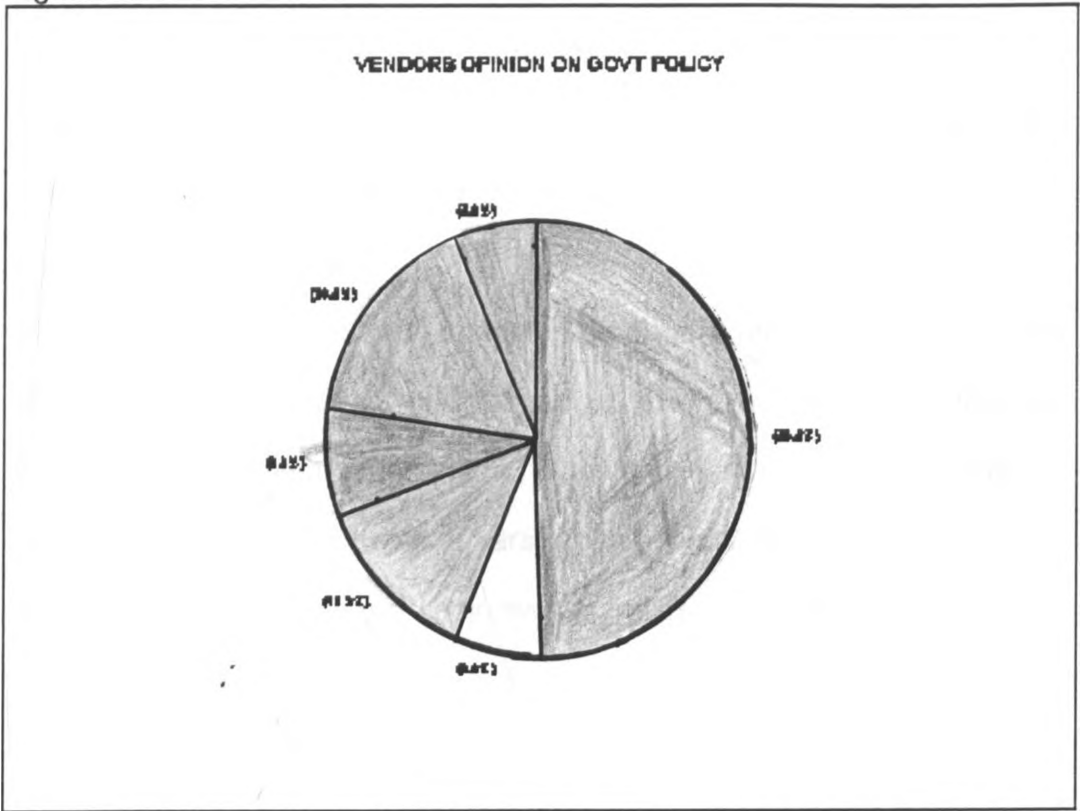
Plate 4:6: Order of the day. Hawkers run away from the city council askaris. (Source: Field survey, 1998.)






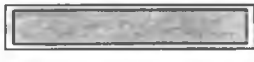


Plate 4:7: Hawkers clash with city council askaris in the city of Nairobi streets. "For all the show of force, the authorities have not succeeded in driving them out. (Source: Field survey, 1998.)

Asked about their feelings towards the continued harassment, most of them felt it was unfair as they were either trying to make the ends meet, that is, earn a living, feed the family etc hence it was frustrating, embarrassing and should be stopped by the NCC authority.

Figure: 4:7.



Legend.

-  No Comment.
-  Hostile.
-  Unfair.
-  Very Bad.
-  No Clear.
-  Not Affected.

Source: Field survey, 1998.

The vendors gave several reasons why they were being harassed. This included the fact that they made the city dirty and overcrowded, they

were unlicensed traders, they posed unfair competition to licensed traders in shops and markets and they were unruly in that given a chance to sell, they spread their goods/wares anywhere and everywhere including outside important government offices.

The licences, as well as the licensing procedure differ by type of trade. For example newspapers and magazines street vendors were licensed through their respective suppliers. They are in a way agents of various publishers and were not even aware of the licence charges. On the other hand the book sellers got their own licences at a fee which was very irregular.

The shoe shine was one of the few activities allowed in the down town area, that is, River road and below except in some areas for security reasons like the bank and government offices. The licensed shoe shiner operating in some specified areas are only allowed a small box for tools which include brushes and the polish, a stool and a foot stand for the customers. The business is licensed at a fee of Kshs. 600 per year. In some businesses like flower vending, licensing was not clear as the operators gave a ransom amount of money to the NCC officials as a group.

Most of the street vending activities were not licensed hence not accorded any particular place to operate from. The businesses were being carried out in the CBD illegally. However still risking arrest and other forms of harassment from the city council *askaris*, like confiscation of goods, the vendors take their position along the busy pedestrian streets, routes commonly taken by commuters from their offices to their respective bus/matatu stop, the notable places are central bus station, Tusker, Ronald Ngala, etc.

15 (25%) of the respondents claimed that their activities were licensed while 23 (38.3%) of the street vendors claimed that their activities were not licensed, 5 (8.3%) were not aware of the licences as they were just employees while 17 (28.3%) had no comment on the licensing issues.

Of those interviewed 38.3% reported working without a licence. The main reason given was that whereas they were able to pay for the licence, the process of acquisition takes rather too long. They also reported that survival without the licence is easy and cheap as long as you be-friend the city council *askaris*. All the same they all expressed the desire to have the licences. The traders indicated that though they were willing to pay for the licences, the city council authority argue that these activities should not be allowed in the city centre.

4.19. Problems encountered by street vendors:

The study tried to elicit from the street vendors the type of problems they encountered in carrying out their daily activities (in relation to vending). The major problems were harassment by N.C.C. officials (40%), congestion (11.7%), external competition (13.3%) etc ranked by order of importance.

Table 4:19. Problems encountered by vendors:

Problem Encountered	Number of Respondents	Percentage
.	1	1.7
NCC harassment	24	40
Lack of adequate capital	2	3.3
Lack of space	1	1.7
Little pay by the brokers	2	3.3
congestion	7	11.7
Harsh climatic conditions	3	5.0
Internal competition	2	3.3
External competition	8	13.3
2 & 3 above	3	5.0
1 & 2 above	4	6.7
1, 2, 3, 4, & 5 above	1	1.7
1 & 2 above	2	3.3
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

Vendors have to keep running away whenever city council askaris were spotted and sometimes this makes them spill their goods onto the streets. These get crushed and damaged in the process. Also confiscation lead to great losses.

Note: For more details on the form of harassment refer to table 4:18.

Although most of the vending activities are promising, the fact that they are not licensed renders them open to harassment by city council *askaris* and therefore street vendors risk arrest and prosecution as well as confiscation of goods.

Other information got either through informal interviews and observation indicate that an activity like electronic repairing, it is not uncommon to encounter some untrained repairers in the business. This, one repairer conceded is a threat to the business since many customers who might come across such untrained operator might lose faith in the hawkers if not well served.

The street vendors also lack storage facilities except a few curio shelves hence takes respective positions with their tools or goods in the mornings and pack their items for the night towards dusk.

There are various ways used by vendors to overcome these problems.

Table 4:20. Hawkers ways of dealing with the problems.

Methods of problem overcoming	Number of Respondents	Percentage
.	1	1.7
Bribery	16	26.7
No comment	2	3.3
Get sale commission	2	3.3
Plans to get a loan	1	1.7
Protective measure on climatic condition	6	10.0
Run away	6	10.0
Bribe & run away	2	3.3
Sell odd hours	3	5.0
Locate in specific areas	8	13.3
Intensive marketing	10	16.7
Pay operation charges	2	3.3
Saving the profit	1	1.7
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

Others including watch repairers, shoe shiners etc packed the tools in a box in the evening and stored in safe places usually in another buildings whose owner the vendor has an arrangement with. Otherwise the condition in which most businesses operate do not allow for a structure big and safe enough to be left at a area of operation even at night. However curio shelves enjoy an advantage over the others in that one

does not have to transfer the business items after the closing time. The shelves used are relatively safe. One need only to ensure that the shelf is safely locked. To minimise the risk of theft, the owner collude with the businessmen from neighbouring premises and businesses and employ a watchman.

It was observed that most maize and tubers roasters avoided confiscation of their goods by always/often hiding some of their maize and only being left with a few which can be accommodated in the roasting "*jiko*". As they get ready and are consumed, he keeps on refilling the "*jiko*".

Another measure used by most vendors was befriending the city council *askaris* through some tips so that they operate without being harassed but woe to them when another one, other than the friend is on duty.

The electronics (like watch, etc) repairer suggested that every operator should display the certificate of qualification at the location of work to fight against cheating by in-genuine repairers.

Vendors proposed some form of solution to the continued harassment by NCC. The most popular of them emerged as the allocation of specific streets or areas to the hawkers for the purposes of selling their goods and licensing of the vendors so that they could sell legally and thus without

harassment. Next in importance was the sweeping of streets by the hawkers after vending operation to maintain cleanliness etc.

Table 4:21. Vendors proposed solution to the continued harassment by N.C.C.

Suggestion	Number of Respondents	Percentage
No Comment	15	25.0
Provide more space	8	13.3
Allocate space and provide jobs	4	6.7
Charge fees and Building markets	15	25
Stop harassment and provide security	15	25
provide funds	3	5
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

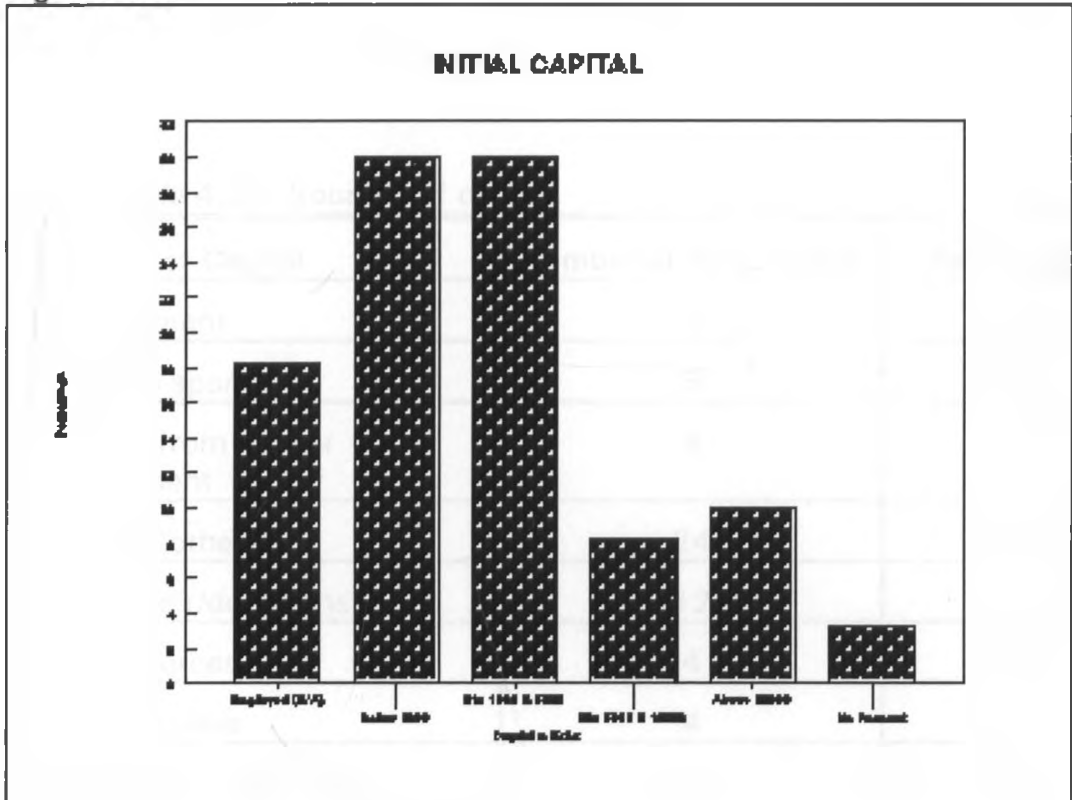
The issue of survival for street vending economic activities is a crucial one, for the general feeling is that the sector should continue to grow, so that the essential role it plays continues to benefit the Kenyans and the economy in general. To begin with, the general status of the Kenyan economy demand this sector existence for it serves it in ways the formal industry failed to. To the best and optimistic expectations, the formal and industrial sectors will take a long time to be achieved, if it ever occur.

Until the full-scale capitalist transformation occurs, the informal sector will continue to survive. In fact we should venture to hope that it thrives to play a part in such a transformation. As street vending commercial activities survives the predatory world of economic competition, those who depend on it for acquisition of consumer durable and services survive in the world of ever rising inflation, thus it helps oil the wheels of the economy in its unique way.

4.20. Capital Sources:

The investment level in the street vending activities was not easy to assess. This is true on the ground that the entrepreneurs were found to operate informal accounts, usually not recorded. They set up their businesses ed in an *ad hoc* manner without any recorded feasibility studies, thus without any financial statistics. The figures cited therefore indicated an approximation of what the vendors felt they used or use to operate. Majority of the street vendors operate with very meager capital investments except a small clique of about 3.3% of them whose present capital investment is above Kshs. 10,000 (between Kshs. 10000-30000)

Figure: 4:8.



Source: Field Survey, 1998.

It was however concluded that the vendor needed low capital investment level despite the fact that their turnovers in terms of income and generation of employment are comparatively high. This is relative since the more profitable a street vending business is in relation to others the higher the initial capital, for example, the flower vending.

But the most admirable attribute of the street vendors is that the majority of them, that is, 28 (46.7%) financed their own business investment from personal savings and borrowing from friends and relatives.

None of the respondent had any financial assistance from institutionalised sources such as banks, NGOs etc.

Table 4:22. Sources of capital.

Sources of Capital	Number of Respondent	Percentages
No Comment	4	6.7
Husband sponsored	5	8.3
Savings from former employment	4	6.7
Savings (others)	24	40.0
Loan/credit/donations	12	20.0
Other sources	4	6.7
Not applicable	4	6.7
Employer's (employee)	3	5.0
Total	60	100

Source: Field survey, 1998.

CHAPTER (V).**FINDINGS IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS****5.1. DISTRIBUTION AND LOCATIONAL FACTORS.**

The study reveals a somewhat distinct differentiation of the informal commercial activities in terms of location. This could be attributed to the number of factors which include, the city council authorities, the market mechanisms and other land users.

While issuing licences to the hawkers, the city council observes a street locational pattern of the various activities. It was pointed out in the presentation of the data that the council authorities have segregated some parts of the city from which operation of these activities are prohibited, mainly for security reasons.

An officer of the council confided that some of the street vending commercial activities are a thorn in the flesh and not fit to be let in the central area of the city, especially the area between Tom Mboya street and Uhuru Highway. As a result, such activities as electronics (watch etc) repair, shoe shining etc will only be allowed in the zone of Tom Mboya street and Nairobi River. Others like newspapers and magazines

vending, flower vending etc are allowed in the upper zone. Still within all these areas they are prohibited in such premises as those housing banks, government offices and high class hotels.

The choice of location of business is influenced to a large extent by market forces of demand and supply. An entrepreneur will therefore choose that location where he will be able to operate at optimal profit. In many instances the hawkers are asked to choose the location from which they intend to operate out their businesses prior to applying for the licence so long as it is within the permitted zones. In all the cases interviewed it was reported that the preferred location was one with very many people as well as the minimum number of competitors.

Thus the busy pedestrian routes, shopping precincts, public transport boarding and dropping points are favourable spots for these trades. In other words, the location of these street vending commercial activities are largely influenced by other formal land use types. These locations are also an indication that the activities are, to a very large extent, market or demand oriented.

Though the sources of materials (goods) are very different for various trades they all tend to concentrate in the central area of the city where the consumers tend to be in plenty.

Another factor that influences the distribution and location of street vending commercial activities in the study area is the ownership of the premises from which a particular activity operates. After identifying an area one would like to work from, the hawker must get the consent of the business owner to the effect that the owner allows him/her to do so, however this is so for only few street vending commercial activities. Thus a written consent must accompany the application for the licence. The implication of this is that while the position might not be able to occupy it the consent by the building owner(s) is not given. In such a case one may have to move to another area where he has the approval of.

Possession or lack of licence is another factor determining the location. When one is licensed to carry out a particular trade, one is assigned a specific location. Deviation from such a place render one liable for arrest. The unlicensed hawker on the other hand is not allocated any place. He will thus choose the area where he can easily evade the city askaris at the same time try to maximise his earnings. This position will be held as long as it is safe otherwise the unlicensed hawker is very mobile in a bid to avoid the NCC askaris.

5.2. THE ROLE OF STREET VENDING COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES:

(1). Generation of employment:

During the survey, it was identified that many of the street vending commercial activities covered in the study are a one man job. Only a few namely those dealing with books, flowers, etc had employed an assistant. However the respondents from the various activities indicated that there was more room for expansion even to accommodate extra people. The constraints to this, the respondents said, are many which emanate from the terms under which they are to operate.

The few who are lucky to have licences are allowed to operate in limited space, meaning there is hardly any extra room to accommodate extra commodities, the licences too specifies the type(s) of goods to be traded in thus limiting the variety of items and diversification. In addition the licence does not make a provision for hiring an assistant in some trades like shoe shining, sweet and cigarettes vending, and so on. Where such provision is made, like in the sale of books, newspapers and magazines etc, it is up to a limited number. Furthermore for each of the assistant, a licence must be acquired. The implication of this is that hiring or employing somebody else becomes too expensive. With citation of these

problems, it was hard for the researcher to effectively assess the level of employment generation in these trades. The traders were very optimistic on the potential of their trades as employers, but it is hard to ascertain to what extent this could be achieved.

However one thing was clear, that street vending commercial activities are an attraction to the less educated and unskilled as opposed to the wages sector (see table 4:2 on respondent education level). The larger percentage of traders have either never attained any form of formal education or have gone up to the primary school level. A handful others have reached the secondary school level and very few at post secondary school level. Of the same sample, only 36.7% had received some professional training through either apprenticeship or formal training.

The informal sector often forms an alternative to those who fail getting absorbed in the formal sector. The survey revealed that 31.7% of those involved in street vending commercial activities had failed to get formal employment and 6.7% are those who found it as the only form of employment.

Others had personal reasons for engaging in the trade like valuing the freedom of being self-employed (8.3%) which gave one time to attend to other chores, etc.

The relative ease of entry to these activities where skills and formal education are least demanded, where initial capital is relatively low make it easy for the underprivileged sector of the population. 10 per cent attributed this factor to their choice of the particular trade in relation to others.

(2). Income generation:

In addition to offering employment opportunities the street vending activities are also lucrative businesses in terms of income generation. An analysis of these activities indicate that most of the vendors derive enough income to sustain themselves and their families (see figure 4:5 on monthly income). It may be said that street vending commercial activities compete fairly well with the formal or modern sector especially bearing in mind that the minimum wage in the formal sector is less than Kshs. 5000 per month.

Although it is hard to strictly attach a particular trade to a specific income range, the activities identified to have a high potential for income generation include flowers, electronics, books and cosmetics, jewels and curios selling.

The income generation of the street vending commercial activities should not be underrated and it is for this reason that a more positive approach

towards the informal sector should be adopted. However the other observation made was that reinvestment into the business was minimal, restricted to maintaining constant stock. This failure to inject more into the activity was attributed to the conditions imposed since such an investment into the activity might inevitably call for a wider space or diversification of the items traded in which is not in keeping with the terms and regulations of the trade stipulated in the By-laws.

(3). The provision of goods and services:

The street vending commercial activities are renowned for their role in providing essential goods and services to urban workers. These includes offering goods mainly for domestic consumption like fruits and vegetables, luxury goods like sweets, flowers, while services like educational are offered through sale of books etc. For example old clothes hawking is so popular that today the mention of the word "mtumba" is not only limited to the urban poor but encompasses almost everyone. It should be noted that the goods offered here are not exclusively offered by the street vendors. The same are available in the formal establishments like the supermarkets and other retail and wholesale shops. But there are a number of factors that place these street vending commercial activities at an advantage relative to the formal establishments.

In the first place, street vending commercial activities thrive best by taking its services to the people. Thus the choice of location is to a large extent influenced by the pedestrian pattern of movement, that is, the activities will locate in or around the very busy pedestrian routes. Accessibility is a key factor for the survival of these trades. Selection of site is such that extra shopping arrangements need not be made by the customers. These commercial activities heavily depend on spontaneous buying by the customers. Actually in the street there are more people who buy on impulses than prior arrangement, while in many cases shopping in the formal establishments is usually made by prior arrangement or just in case of an urgent need.

Another factor is the ability of these traders to charge relatively low prices than their counter parts in the formal sector. This could be attributed to the fact that many of these traders have little or no overhead costs to meet. They are therefore able to lower their prices and make more profit by selling more. This is unlike in the formal sector where entrepreneurs have to pay for rents, tax, as well as employees. For this reason street vending commercial activities are an attraction to many when workers who feel that prices charged are more down to earth. In addition the items sold are open to bargain, unlike where prices are fixed, thus the customers believes that they will be able to strike a better deal. Therefore eviction of hawkers equally affect ordinary people, who see hawkers as

a buffer against the ever rising inflation. Many of the city residents condemn the brutality and callousness with which the operation of evicting hawkers is carried out. Many stakeholders interviewed informally saw the authorities responsible for the hawkers eviction as an enemy of the ordinary man. A lady stenographer in the city centre had this to say, "I always bought vegetables and fruits cheaply from these people on my way home, their disappearance have aggravated life for us". Also a smartly dressed man said, "we are now forced to go to expensive shops for shirts, ties, and textiles that we purchased cheaply from the streets before the eviction of hawkers".

Street vending commercial activities has an advantage of flexibility, especially in regards to the operational time. They are not governed by time schedules which are very important in the formal sector. They easily adjust to the demand periods. They will thus continue to operate long before and/or after the official business hours of the formal establishments; for instance the city market despite being a bit expensive close early, that is, around 6.00 pm. In fact even the supermarkets are trying to adapt the street vending commercial activities hours to increase their daily turnovers. It should be noted that late vending hours are for specific activities like vegetables etc.



Plate 5:1: When shopping is fun : To many city residents, hawker's commodities are often cheaper than those in the shops. (Source: Field survey, 1998.)

The street vending commercial activities have the advantage of working under a natural environment than formal establishments. While in transaction the client and the trader would often exchange in warm conversation like friends hence giving a psychological relief to the customers.

4. Revenue to the city council:

The urban authority will be in a position to increase revenue as an organised location pattern for street vendors render them easily accessible and therefore taxable. The sector also harbours so many entrepreneurs who can contribute a considerable portion towards the government's revenue once an organised system of collection is evolved. The type of revenue that could be charged are licences (business operating charge), service charge, space utility charge among others. These could be rated as those of licences, that is, between Kshs. 200 - 1000.

5.3. CONSTRAINTS IN FULFILLING THEIR ROLE

In an attempt to fulfil the above role the street vending activities are faced with the following constraints.

Locational constraints: The activities operates from the pavements, the verandas, etc. To start with, the activities are carried out in the open, subjecting the traders and their goods to harsh conditions of the weather (rain and heat, etc), storage facilities and insecurity of tenure.

Legal constraints: The city council provides licences for street traders through the trade licensing department. The study revealed a number of

malpractices in the process of acquiring the licences due to bureaucratic procedure which give a chance to the city council officers to obtain bribes in order to process licences. The licence has a limited scope in terms of goods to be sold, the user etc. The study also revealed that some activities are totally prohibited from licensing.

Financial support: The study revealed that street vending has a relatively low initial and development capital requirements. Although the traders were in need of financial support, most of the respondents revealed that they had no other source of income nor any external financial support like credit facilities.

Organisational constraints: The study showed that many of these vending activities are carried out on individual basis, each hawker working on his/her own as an independent trader, but cooperate with their friends in warning of approach of the police or city council askaris. Lack of organisation had made it difficult for an individual trader to lobby for required credit facilities, express their grievances etc.

5.4. CONCLUSION

The above is data analysis of the street vending commercial activities in the CBD of Nairobi city. The main source of data was the field survey, that is, information gathered using the questionnaire, direct observation, scheduled interviews with the key informants of the hawkers, shopkeepers, NCC officials etc.

Factors that perpetuate the growth and location of street vending like shoe shining etc are analysed. For instance their requirements in terms of spatial location, capital, skills, etc are explored. These factors include the unemployment crisis, a crisis brought about by the failure of formal sector in the modern economy to absorb the present labour supply, the ease of entry, due to its relatively low capital and technological requirements, low level of knowledge required which is within easy reach of many people, reliance on indigenous resources among others. Thus the street vending activities are appealing to the less fortunate members of the society.

It was established that street vending activities have an important role to play in terms of employment generation like self employment, income generation, provision of goods and services at low prices and convenient areas and may lead to increase of city council revenue if accommodated officially.

It is on the basis of these findings that policy suggestions and recommendations will be made.

5.5. PROPOSALS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The situation on our streets is volatile and ripe for major disaster. If our streets soon turn bloody, we will have blundered right onto it. We should consider how many times in the recent past the city councils askaris and the police have battled hawkers. Yet for all the show of force the askaris have not succeeded in driving them out of the city centre. Indeed hawkers have taken a defensive side leading to violent confrontation. These confrontation always lead to a stampede as the officers chase suspected hawkers since members of public takes off in the confusion. More official violence will not take hawkers out of town , but will stiffen their resolve. This is time for an ũrgent action. There is need for a mechanisms to regulate the use of Nairobi streets for hawking and other commercial activities. Rather than seek to expel hawkers from the city centre, we need a street management strategy.

Several policy proposals and recommendations may be made in relation to the facts revealed in the study analysis.

5.5.1. SHORT TERM PROPOSALS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Street closure programme.

The main problems of the streets in the CBD stems from the conflicting use of space by vehicles, pedestrians and both formal and informal commercial activities. The conflict is perpetuated by the streets being used as major arteries and shopping streets. The diminishing roadways for through traffic and local traffic reinforced by little pavement space for shoppers on foot but already invaded by hawkers result into pedestrians spilling over onto the roadways at their own peril. Besides the pedestrians, shoppers, hawkers and vehicular conflict is caused by vehicles which are parked on the pedestrians pavements.

Specific street vendors/hawkers should be allocated specific streets, pavements, back alley, lanes and open spaces within the CBD where they can operate throughout the day or certain specified hours of the day like from 3.00 pm in the afternoon to as late as they would wish in the night.

This alternative will involve allowing specific street vending economic activities to continue being operated in the specific streets, pavements, back alleys, lanes and open spaces so long as they are wide enough to accommodate them and the originally meant use like pedestrian

walkways, etc. A good example may be the central bus station, Aga Khan walk, etc.

There should be very strict selective retention or removal of the street vending economic activities in the specified areas in regard to space requirements, noise pollution, etc. For instance books display needs more space than sweets and cigarettes vending.

The street vendors/hawkers could be allowed to use some parking bays like the Koinange parking lot opposite Re-insurance Plaza is cleared of vehicles and could serve as market and streets vendors allowed to sell their wares be it on certain specified days of the week and hours of the day. This proposal should be considered bearing in mind that no city in the world has ever rid itself of hawkers and such a dream is phantom. What happens is better organised places, that is, certain areas are designated either permanently or at specific hours of specific days for hawking purposes. Some cities in the world like Harare (Zimbabwe), Maputo (Mozambique), Bangkok (Thailand), just to mention a few run street closure programmes which allow commercial activities to take place on designated roads on specific days without inhibiting traffic flow.

Such an action will also end playing of politics with civil administration, since it is the government's predilection with putting political considerations first that allowed the problem to go out of hand.

However in this second alternative several conditions should be formulated. For example litter/garbage management, noise pollution, hawkers concentration (congestion) and obstruction should be checked. This may be done by educating and enlightening the hawkers on health and related services so that they can maintain their areas of operation clean. This can include provision of dust bins in the various street and areas serving as hawking sites, and charging hawkers with responsibility of cleaning up their individual selling points failure to which they are prosecuted.

The specifically allowed hawkers operating at specific sites could be charged a small daily selling fee which could go a long way in boosting a financial standing of Nairobi city council which is faced by financial crisis. Such fee can be used to upkeep the hawking sites as well as provide other basic necessities elsewhere.

In order to have long lasting solution as regards vehicular movements in the CBD a total overhaul of the present structure of vehicular movement is necessary. It was observed that the vehicular flow have exceeded the environmental capacities of all the roadways in the CBD. The vehicular flow has first and foremost to be reduced by restricting the use of the vehicles in congested areas like most of the streets down town. Such a measure entails appropriate and strategic parking at the periphery of the

CBD and simultaneously a reliable mode of transport for motorist. This in view there is a strong case of restraining the use of private automobiles in such areas. To reinforce this measure, traffic should be re-routed with parallel side street restricted to take one way flow, for example, River Road would take one flow way whereas Tom Mboya takes the alternative flow, that is, one way traffic.

The increase of pedestrian shopping traffic volumes calls for the restructuring of both motorised and non-motorised traffic movements in the CBD. For the safety and convenience of the shoppers, the CBD is now ripe for pedestrianisation of some of the streets which are highly congested such as Luthuli, Tom Mboya etc.

To ensure that only specified hawking activities take place at the allowed sites, a city council *askari* may be deployed and charged with the responsibility of supervising a specific site rather than the present irregular patrols in a lorry.

2. Total prohibition of hawking in some streets.

Some streets, pavements and areas of the CBD should be prohibited of the vending activities completely. This is because one of the problems caused by the operation of street vending within the CBD of Nairobi city streets, pavements, open areas, etc is congestion from impeded

pedestrians and vehicular flow. A number of streets and lanes not mentioning the alleys/lanes are too narrow to cater for the two users simultaneously like Mfangano street. The situation is made worse by the cars parked adjacent to the pavement. For streets having such problems, it is recommended that vending commercial activities should be gotten rid of as they occupy reasonably large spaces.

The same should apply for pedestrians walkways and some open spaces meant to be recreational areas or car parks. For example where street vendors have taken over the area demarcated for a car park worsening the already existing problem of parking space.

The main retail shopping streets should also be freed for vending activities.

The above areas should be added to the zones which the Nairobi city council totally prohibit vending. According to the business licensing and city planning departments, street vending is prohibited around some zones notably around banks for security reasons, government offices, main posh hotels, etc. Therefore the same should be upheld.

The above two alternatives are only short term solutions, since the problem of space is not yet solved. None of them give up enough room

for expansion. They just attempt to establish optimal locations to where vending activities can operate.²⁵

5.5.2. LONG-TERM PROPOSALS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Development and re-development plans.

There is need for long term solution to the problem of street vending in the CBD of Nairobi city. The major sources of problems faced by these activities is failure to have them incorporated in the physical layout plans of the CBD of Nairobi city. The street vending problem is a challenge to urban planners who to date have never made an attempt to accommodate hawkers when drawing their master plans. It may be recommended therefore that in the future plans of the CBD, vending activities be accommodated if they have to play their role optimally. This can be done by open spaces being designated and set aside along major street as vending areas.

It is only then that adequate space and effective location can be acquired without causing conflicts with other land users, after taking account of their full range of requirements. The future plans of the CBD should be considered with the possibility of the future redevelopment of the decaying part of the CBD, that is, the areas between Moi avenue and

Nairobi river in order to revive it. Also the CBD may expand in the future to encompass the present CBD surrounding/environs like Ngara, museum hill, Gikomba, etc. This two factor creates a good chance of incorporating specific zones/areas for street vending commercial activities.

This strategy will resolve the seemingly contradictory approaches taken by the central and local government authorities, that is, the governments efforts to promote the informal sector which most local governments authorities (municipal councils and city councils) are set to get rid of in their urban areas.

Vending activities being not only an integral part of the urban economy but also an important employer, it is recommended that areas should be designated and set aside for vending activities in every residential estate to supplement spaces found in the CBD.

There should be deliberate action to decongest the CBD by the authority to minimise voluntarily the number of people and vehicles visiting the CBD of Nairobi. This measure can be used by essential facilities and services such as banking, postal facilities, professional and government offices accommodation and shops which in turn would attract other complementary facilities to enjoy the economies of agglomeration. This phenomena can be facilitated by creating incentives to attract developers

in other subsidiary nuclei like Muthaiga, Nairobi West, Westlands, Hurlingham etc and other outlying nuclei. The Nairobi city council can attract developers to these nuclei by improving the level of infractuctural facilities. These would serve as employment centres and therefore reduce the number of people visiting the CBD and consequently the street vending trading in the CBD.

Also adequate provision should be made for the vending activities in the land use plans for all emerging district commercial centres, that is, growth nodes like westlands, Muthaiga, Nairobi west, etc and in all future areas of new development expansion.²⁶

This is a more satisfactory long term solution to the vending activities needs. It is a way to considerably reduce the number of hawkers in the CBD of Nairobi city.

2. Relocation of street vendors.

Relocation of vendors to a suitable areas is also recommended. However decision on relocation (and on any issue affecting the hawkers) should only be reached after consultations between the Nairobi city council authorities and representatives of the hawkers.

²⁶ Map 5.2 -Page 220- An illustration of short term proposals and recommendations.

Relocation should also be done on the basis of thorough market survey to ensure that the hawkers are not removed from their prospective buyers.

Where relocation is possible and vendors are to be allocated stalls, access to especially centrally located stalls, should be given considerations. Plot demarcation should therefore not be done without professional guides like planners, surveyors, etc being involved to ensure the necessary access paths within stalls are catered for.

3. Streamlining of the licensing procedure.

Recommended is the streamlining of the licensing procedure. The process of acquisition should be simplified to both minimise the time taken between application for and the actual issuing of the licence (if and if only the activity being licensed have been allowed to operate at that particular site). A close supervision of the licensing department and city council *askaris* deployed at specific areas would ensure that black-marketing in trade licensing and corruption is eradicated. Thus many vending activities will be able to operate legally without risks of arrests and/or street land use conflicts. The licences issued have also been found to be restrictive. There is need for more comprehensive one. The licence should be issued in respect to business concern instead of a person. The advantage of such a licence is that one particular activity will be able to absorb as many

people as necessary whether as employees of business owners or when it is a group undertaking.

In addition, the licence should make provision for an entrepreneur to use the same for a variety of items. Diversification could be made possible in regard to related items. Diversification often leads to more efficient utilisation of physical, human and capital resources.

Hawking activities like vegetables selling and maize roasting which are totally prohibited in the CDB of Nairobi city should be considered for licensing. This is because though operating illegally, they are both popular in both the operators and the customers hence need to be keenly studied for feasible recommendations. In fact they are very lucrative than many take them.

From the field observation, vegetables selling and maize roasting are associated with a lot of garbage/litter generation. In regard to this the city council can provide for litter/dust bins while the hawkers pay for the services as suggested in one of the short term solutions. Maize roasting may also cause fire hazards, however the operators should be forced to use improved jikos, fully facilitated with the safety measures and at the same time, the activity should be restricted within given locations,

specifying distance to be observed from other activities and from buildings.

By licensing such activities as long as they comply with the set conditions, the NCC will be able to generate extra revenue either lost due to corruption, little supervision of street vendors or prohibition of some street vending activities in the CBD.

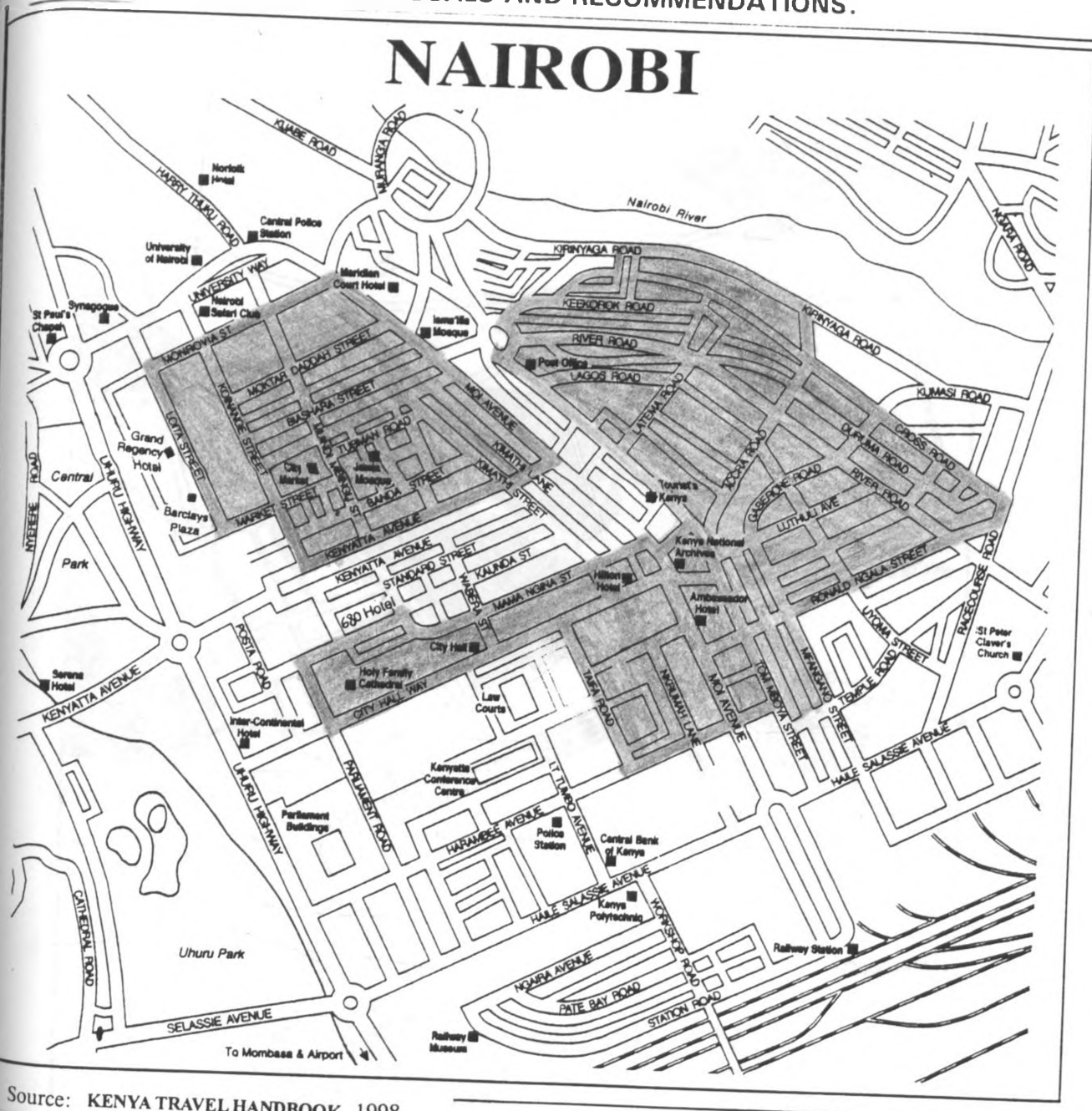
4. Organisation of the street vendors.

The organisation of the street vendors into effective groups or unions is recommended. Such organisation will provide the necessary mouth piece through which they can voice their problems, organise themselves or improve their working conditions and consequently their welfare.



The study reveals that the traders in the street vending activities are independent traders not affiliated to any organisation formally. Some organisation is necessary for marketing, financing, etc purposes. For example collective approach could be desirable in an effort to penetrate a wider market by the activities with such potential as already observed. The organisations or co-operatives have the benefits of also minimizing individual costs and could facilitate collective bargaining and marketing among operators. Also self-help groups among hawkers may to a large extent solve some financial problems facing individual street vendors.

Although these are several recommendations made in favour of street vending, care must be taken so that the street vendors are not allowed to colonize the urban space.

MAP 5.1: A SKETCH MAP ILLUSTRATING THE SHORT TERM PROPOSALS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

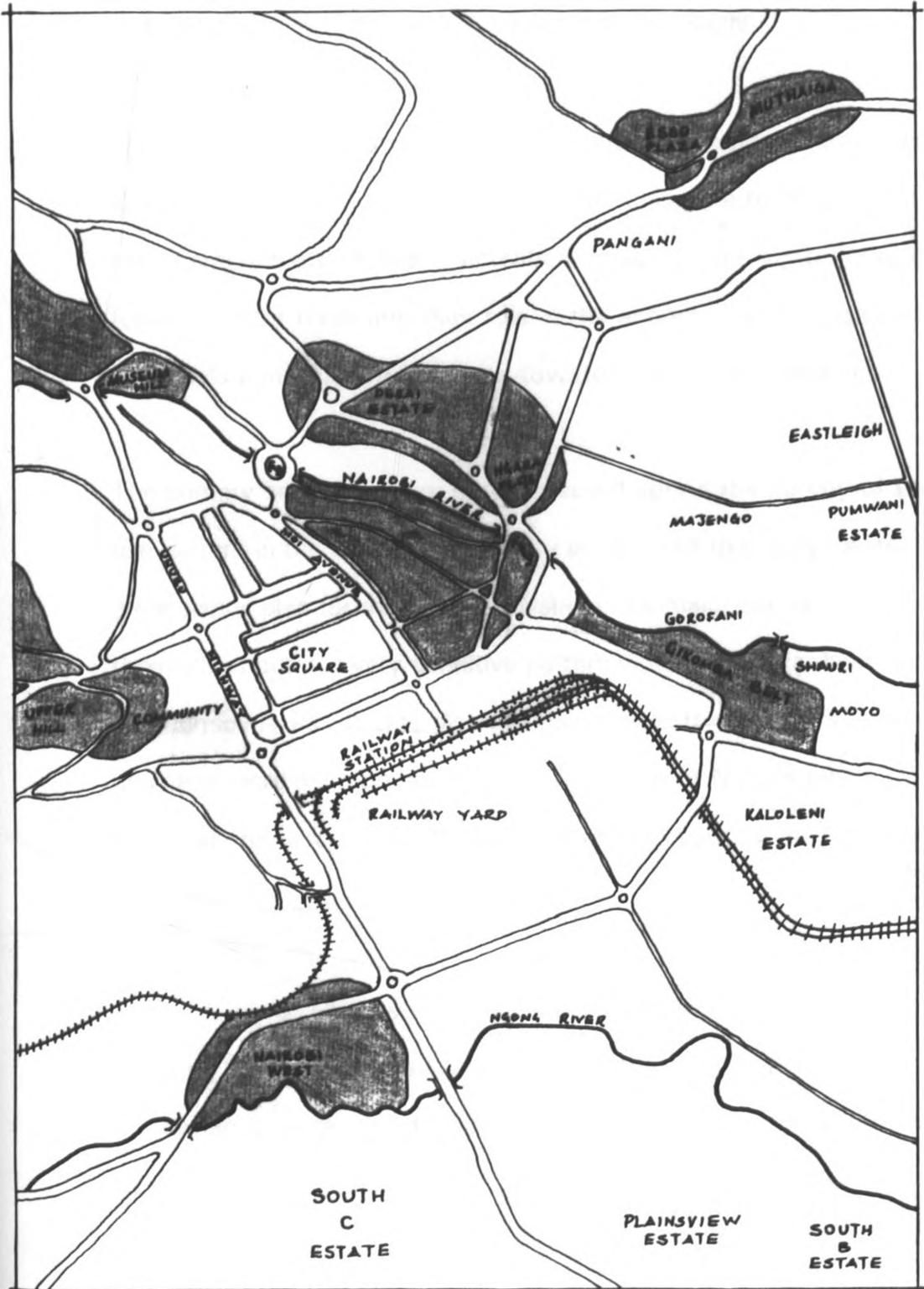


Source: KENYA TRAVEL HANDBOOK 1998

- Key
-  Closure Programme
 -  Pedestrianisation of some streets

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MAP 5.2: A SKETCH MAP ILLUSTRATING THE LONG TERM PROPOSALS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.



Source: Author's Sketching 1998

Mutegi D. M.A Planning 1998

Key



Areas proposed for consideration during Development and Redevelopment Plans

CHAPTER (VI).**6.0. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

The focus of the study was the street vending commercial activities in the CBD of Nairobi city. It embarked on establishing the factors perpetuating the development of these activities, policies and control regulations formulated for them and their role in the economy and suggested some proposals and recommendations towards their enhancement.

The primary and secondary data collected during the survey of the land use pattern in the CBD of Nairobi city established that despite the lack of a conscious plan for the layout of Nairobi, the major activities have sorted themselves out in a very definitive pattern which has so far been accepted and consolidated. It was also observed that street vending commercial activities were not significant in the evolution of Nairobi city. Therefore they were not accorded with any place in the layout by the forces at work then.

The analysis of various street vending commercial activities was made. Factors leading to these activities formation, growth, operation and performance were traced. The most dominant factor identified was the question of employment. From the study sample, 31.7% of the

respondents attributed their participation in this form of activities to lack of alternative employment and especially in the formal sector. Thus hawking has been their only other source of income. Other factors include little capital requirements, the high returns accrued, no professional skills needed etc among others.

From the study, the persistence of street vending is adequate evidence that the activity is not only part of the urban economy but may also be planned for to be a viable economic activity which will continue to flourish in future. It provides many of the unemployed urbanites with the only form of earning a genuine income. The alternative would be starvation or resorts to crime. At this point two questions arises, why impoverish hawkers when they are struggling to generate employment ?, why this kind of inhumanity from the government that provides itself on enjoying the public mandate. Therefore should blame the evicted hawkers if they resort to stealing now that the base they had set for themselves had been destroyed and reduced them to street urchins.

The study reveals that incomes generated from the activities range below Kshs. 5000 to over Kshs. 15,000 per month. In regard to operation, most of the activities were operated by one person. The importance of this should however not be under-rated in that those involved in the street

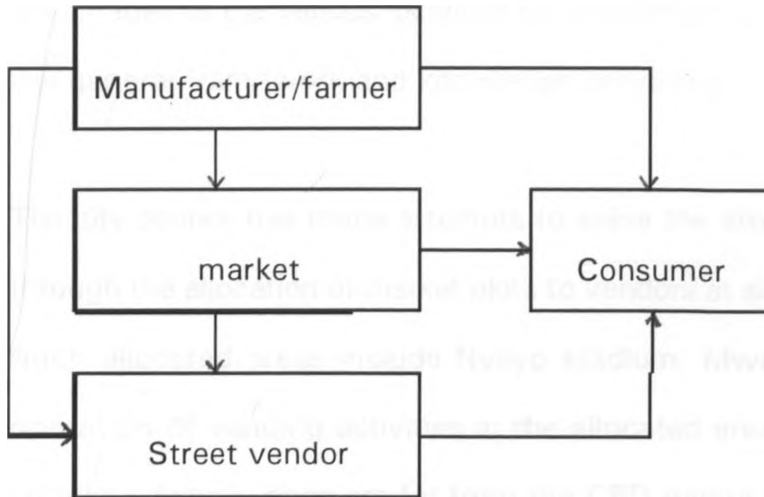
vending activities would otherwise join the bulk of the unemployed and the idlers.

The study also showed that the activities offer employment opportunities to less skilled and less educated members of the society whose chances of gaining entry into the formal establishments, is actually limited. The street vending commercial activities favours this group of society due to the low levels of requirements demanded. Entry is easy in that the initial capital requirements needed to start a given hawking activity is relatively low, formal education and basic special skills are hardly required.

This indicate that street vending can be a viable form of activity. The activity is not only capable of generating fairly substantial income, as can be seen in monthly income profits, but also aids in the distribution of agricultural and industrial produce, that is, the movement of farm and industrial produce from the farmer and manufacturer respectively to the formal market and then to the street vendor and vice versa. From the street vendor they are also distributed to the consumer. However it should be noted that the street vendor may get goods directly from the farmer or manufacturer, whereas the consumer may also get the goods directly from the farmer or manufacturer or directly from the formal market.

Note: See figure: 6:1. below for an illustration.

Figure 6:1. Diagrammatic illustration of the role of street vending in the distribution of agricultural and industrial products.



Source: Own perception; 1998.

On the other hand, proliferation of these activities is explained by the demand for the goods and services they offer. The study reveals that the market for these goods and services is derived from the employees of the formal sector. It has been argued that street vending activities cater for middle and low income earners of the formal sector. Majority of the people in this income category rely on public means/mode of transport and thus walk from their offices/work places to various bus/*matatu* stops for transport to their respective residences. The location of street vending commercial activities is such that they are easily accessible by this target group. They are thus located on the pavements and verandas of various buildings and generally along the busier pedestrians routes.

This goes with the argument that the choice of a location of any activity is normally a rational decision made after an assessment of the relative advantages of the various locations for the performance in question given the general framework and knowledge prevailing.

The city council has made attempts to solve the street vending problem through the allocation of market plots to vendors at sites outside the CBD. Such allocated areas include Nyayo stadium, Mwaliro area, etc. But operation of vending activities in the allocated areas has proved to be largely a failure, sites are far from the CBD where most customers are found. Most of the street vendors were found deserting the site back to CBD. Thus the allocation was found not to be the surest way of removing the vendors from the CBD (streets, open spaces, pavements and verandas).

In an endeavour to fulfil the various roles of income and employment generation as well as provision of goods and services, the street vending commercial activities face a number of problems which the study identified as locational, legal and organisational. It is in the light of these problems that proposals and recommendations were made.

Locational constraints emanate from the failure of these activities to be spatially taken note of in the development of Nairobi. The problems cited

relates to the inadequacy of space. Being located in verandas of various buildings which also house other business concerns, these activities can only occupy a very limited area in order not to cause obstruction to those other businesses and to both the pedestrians and vehicular movements. To abide by this condition, most of the activities operate in the open with no shelter. For instance harsh climatic conditions like rain, sun, etc. However the shoe shiners saw rain as a blessing in disguise because they did not consider the inconveniences they cause within shelter verandas in the process of exploiting the booming business opportunity for this period.

The implications here is that these activities are subjected to the dictates of the weather hence can not operate optimally. Construction of shelter at the current locations would mean a breach of the contract with the authorities for those licensed. For the unlicensed it would be either arrest, confiscation of goods and destruction of such structures or any other form of harassment in the course of eviction.

Lack of proper structures to operate from also implies that storage services have to be sought elsewhere, thus reliance on other businessmen who will then dictate when one business closes or opens.

The study also identified the problem of tenure. Most of the business are not licensed and those which are licensed are strictly temporary in as far as the location is concerned.

A good example of the former (unlicensed), is the vegetables and fruits vendors. Such vendors have been ordered to vacate the CBD to an alternative site just on the periphery of the CBD. However most of the vendors complained that such a measure made the business to go down. This can be explained by the loss of customers the activities had while in the city centre. This is because analyses had shown that these activities rely heavily on spontaneous shopping or buying by workers. Unless one has really planned to do some kind of shopping it is difficult for many to just walk down to the new sites like Nyayo stadium or Mwaliro, etc.

The latter (temporary licensed) condition has often been effected to terminate the operations of a given activity from a particular area, when the city authority decides that such an activity is no longer "desirable". Many times street vendors have been ordered to move from their sites within such a short period as twenty four hours. After such orders alternative sites have been sought which are not suitable for the activities as the previous ones but just as an alternative.

Harassment has been employed as another possible solution to street vending activities to force them to leave the CBD and consequently evict them completely. This was found to take the form of chasing away,

confiscation of goods and arrests leading to fines and jailing, etc. The city authority justify this harassment through reasons like hawking dirty and crowd the CBD, they are unlicensed hence illegal traders, they unfairly compete with licensed traders and they are unruly. Given the persistence of hawking even in the face of intensified harassment, it can be concluded that harassment is not the best solution to street vending alleviation.

In an attempt to improve their businesses, some of the more daring hawkers especially, are usually back in the CBD in the late hours of the day, from half past six (6.30 pm) in the evening. This clearly indicate how dependent the survival of these activities depend on the city life. The new sites may be an alternative but defeats the market factors by spatially segregating the activities from the clients/customers basically found within the CBD.

On legal constraints the study found out that there is a legal framework within which commercial activities do operate. This is embodied in a set of By-laws which control and regulate these activities. This also stipulates the conditions under which the licence are issued. Whereas law and order are vital for effective operations of businesses, the measures taken to enforce the same may, to some extent, be construed as punitive.

It has become almost a norm to bribe various officers concerned either with the licence issuance in order to have the licence processed or the inspectors at the site area to avoid arrest, since it is almost impossible to operate in the honest manner. For this reason 38.3% of the respondents reported to be operating without a licence. However it should be noted that quite a number of the activities could not be licensed within the CBD. Other limits are that the licences are restrictive even when offered to some activities like newspapers and magazines vending.

On the issue of organisation, the study also observed that many of those street vending activities are carried out on individual basis (highly fragmented), each hawker working on his/her own as an independent trade, whereby purchasing and marketing in most cases were done by the same person. The implications of this type of organisation is that significant inefficiency result. The only time the street vendors showed cooperation or a kind of organisation with friends is in warning of approach of police, city council *askaris*, etc. Lack of an organisation has made it difficult for an individual trader to lobby for required credit facilities as well as to penetrate the wider market, and especially so for those trading in goods whose demand goes beyond the city boundaries.

The study has come out with both short and long term policy proposal and recommendations to improve the operations of the street vending commercial activities in the CBD of Nairobi city.

The short term proposals and recommendations are clearing street vending activities in some specific areas of the CBD and conditional retaining of the same in some specific areas of the CBD.

The long term recommendations are streamlining the licensing procedure to making acquisition easier and the licence more comprehensive, creation of organisation in form of a co-operative and incorporation of street vending activities in the future development plans of the CBD of the city and Nairobi in general. This incorporation should be taken not only in the physical layout plans of the upcoming district commercial centres around Nairobi but also in residential areas.

6.1. AREAS SUGGESTED FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

It was however realised that the study is not exhaustive in all the areas related to the subject, that is, the scope of the street vending commercial activities but it is limited to a small part. Therefore this leaves room for a further research in some areas including:

- (i). Other left out informal commercial activities in the CBD of Nairobi city should be included in the survey so that more and richer information would be revealed.

- (ii). It is necessary for future researchers to try and establish in details what exists between street vending informal activities in the CBD and its suburbs and the regional hinterland with the purpose of determining scale of trade and how to sustain the growth of these activities.

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APPENDIX 1

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

FIELD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Subject: Planning for the urban informal economic activities, a case study of street vendors in the central business district of Nairobi city.

1. INTRODUCTION:

I am carrying out an academic research on urban informal economic activities as part of my studies at the University of Nairobi. I am interviewing people involved in street vending activities within the C.B.D of Nairobi City who I am selecting randomly.

Your co-operation and sincerity will be highly appreciated. I hope that the interview will not interfere much with your work.

I would like to assure you that the information you give will be treated as confidential and used for this academic study only.

1. Questionnaire Number _____.
2. Date of interview _____.
3. Area/street (where the activity is located) _____.
4. Type of informal economic activity _____.

2. RESPONDENT'S PERSONAL BACKGROUND

5. Respondent's
 - (i). Sex _____.
 - (ii). Age _____.
6. Respondent's district of origin _____.
7. Respondent's marital status
 - (i). Married _____
 - (ii). Single _____
 - (iii). Divorced _____
 - (iv). Widowed _____
 - (v). Others (specify) _____
8. Household size of the respondent _____.
9. How many years of formal schooling have you had? _____.
10. Have you any professional training? (i). Yes _____. (specify) _____.
- (ii). No _____.
11. (i). Which year did you come to Nairobi? 19_____.
 (ii). What activities have you been involved in since then/during your stay in Nairobi? _____.
12. Where do you reside? _____.

3. INFORMATION RELATING TO VENDING ACTIVITIES:

13. Why did you become a street vendor/chose this informal economic activity? _____.
14. For how many years have you been involved in street vending?
_____.
15. What other places have you operated in before locating here?
_____.
16. Among these factors, which one contributed to your locating here?
(a). Existence of other street vendors _____.
(b). Proximity to residence _____.
(c). Availability of space _____.
(d). Market force _____.
(e). Other factors (specify) _____.
17. Where do you obtain the goods you are selling from? _____.
18. How much does it cost to acquire them? _____.
19. How many hours do you spend on vending activities daily? _____.
20. When do you experience the highest sales during the (i). day _____
(ii). month _____.
21. Who do you consider to be the main customers of your goods/services? _____.
22. Are you the owner of this business (i). Yes _____.
(ii). No _____.

23. If yes, who helps you in selling?
- (i). None _____.
 - (ii). Family members _____.
 - (iii). Others (specify)_____.
24. What is your total income per month in Kshs?
- (i). Below 5000_____. (ii). 5000-10,000._____.
 - (iii). 10,000-15,000_____. (iv). Above 15,000_____.
25. Do you have any other source of income?
- (i). Yes ___ (Specify) _____.
 - (ii). No _____.
26. How much capital had you when starting this business?
_____.
27. What was the source?_____.
28. Is your vending economic activities licensed? _____.
29. (i). If yes, how much did you pay for the licence? _____.
- (ii). And what are the requirements in order to obtain the licence?_____.
30. Are there any conditions issued to you by the business licensing authority when you started your business concerning: (i). The land planning act_____, (ii). Public health requirements_____, (iii). City council adoptive by-laws _____, (iv) Any other _____ (Specify) _____.

5. **SURVIVAL STRATEGIES:**

31. Which of the following reason(s) made you join street vending (informal sector)?
1. Lack of formal employment _____.
 2. Wish for self-employment _____.
 3. Other reasons (state) _____.
32. Apart from offering employment, what other advantages does this activity offer?
1. No payment of rent _____,
 2. No licensing _____,
 3. Any other _____ (Specify) _____.
33. (a). Which of the following land-use activities surrounding your business did you consider before locating it here ?
- (i). Pedestrian walkways _____. (ii). Commuters Bus/Matatus stop _____. (iii). Shopping activities _____. (iv). Open space _____. (v). Any other (specify) _____.
- (b). How much space (in metres square) do you utilize to carry on with your activities? _____.
34. What do you wish to achieve through your present involvement in street vending/what are you future plans?
- _____.

35. Given an alternative, would you change from informal economic activities?

(i). Yes _____ (preferences) _____.

(ii). No _____ (reasons) _____.

6. ATTITUDES AND CONSTRAINTS:

36. Where do you prefer to vend from?

(i). Street _____ (ii). Market stalls _____.

(iii). Open spaces _____. (iv). In public transport vehicles _____. (v) Office to office _____. (vi). Others (specify) _____.

37. Have you ever been allocated a plot/stall

(i). Yes _____.(where)_____.

(ii). No _____.(why)_____.

38. If yes, do you ever sell from it?

(i). Yes _____.

(ii). No ____ (give reasons) _____.

39. If you have never been allocated a stall, would you like to have one?

(i). Yes _____ (where) _____.

(ii). No _____ (why) _____.

40. Given a choice where would you consider to be an appropriate location of an informal economic activity like yours?

- _____.
41. Do the police and the city council askaris harass people here for matters related to business? _____.
42. What is the form of harassment that you experience?
_____.
43. What are the major problems that you are faced with as a vendor while carrying out your activities? (i). NCC harassment _____. (ii). Congestion _____. (iii) Harsh weather conditions _____. (iv). Internal competition _____. (v). External competition _____. (vi). Others (specify) _____.
44. How do you normally try to overcome these problems?
_____.
45. What ways do you suggest could be used to overcome or solve these problems ? (i). By the NCC _____. (ii). Central government _____.
46. What is your opinion on government policy on street vendors?
_____.
47. Any other observation _____
_____.

Thank You.

APPENDIX 2**PLANNING OFFICERS - Development control questionnaire**

1. Are there particular places specified for street vending activities to operate in ? _____.
2. What proportion of street vendors operate in the specified areas?
_____.
3. What requirements are necessary for street vendors to fulfill so as to have their activities legal and secure? _____
4. What are the conditions for obtaining a working licence? _____.
5. (a). What conflict exists in land-use activities in the C.B.D?
_____.
- (b). What explains this conflicts _____.
6. What locational and operational policies do you have for the street vendors? (i). To evict them _____.
- (ii). Promote them _____.
7. (a). What benefits does the Nairobi city council get from street vending activities? _____.
- (b). What measures are taken to enhance this benefits?
_____.
8. Comment on the following in relation to street vending:
 - (i). The good aspects _____.

(ii). The bad aspects _____.

9. Comment on the future organisation or how street vending activities can be approached in terms of policy measures and regulations: _____

10. Any other relevant information concerning street vending: _____

Thank You.