

**AN ASSESSMENT OF STREET HAWKERS RESPONSE TO NEW  
MARKET SITES IN ELDORET TOWN, KENYA**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

Declaration by the student

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University. No part of this thesis may be reproduced without the prior permission of the author and/or Moi University.

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as the University Supervisors.

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## **DEDICATION**

To my parents, David and Florence Rotich; you have continued to be there for me in very real ways, through your support, encouragement and exemplify characteristics that I strive to emulate in my own life. Thanks a lot.

## ABSTRACT

Street vending contributes to a significant share of the urban informal economy through reducing poverty and unemployment. The number of street vendors in Kenya has increased as they take up street trade as a means of survival strategy. The government is increasingly coming to terms with addressing domestic economic problems and has been incorporating policies aimed at boosting this sector in its documents, an example being Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1992, which addressed specific means of promoting conducive environment for business. The same emphasis is also laid in the current Development Plan of Vision 2030 which asserts that most of the employment in trade is found in the informal sector and aims at providing secure business location, credit, training and access to markets. Even though a lot has been undertaken to promote the sector, little effect has been seen as more vendors return to the streets rendering the initiatives unsuccessful. This study sought to assess hawkers response to new market sites in Eldoret town using emdedded research design. The objectives of the study were to examine the factors behind relocation, to assess the effects of relocation on street vending in Eldoret town, to establish the challenges emanating from the relocation on street vendors operation, to explore appropriate strategies of addressing street vending in the town. The targeted population was vendors in Kenya. The source population was 4,052 vendors at Kahoya and West markets. Proportionate sampling was used to select a representative sample from Kahoya and West markets. Purposive sampling was used to select West and Kahoya markets and 30 key informants who were interviewed. Systematic random sampling was used to draw the actual 384 respondents from each market who filled the questionnaires. In addition, observation and photography were used to collect data. Data analysis employed quantitative techniques on the questionnaires and qualitative methods for content analysis. It was established that the relocation sites were not economically viable for trading, vendors experienced challenges thus resorted to selling at the CBD. It is suggested that by ensuring vendor involvement can planned urban change be accomplished, major activities be decetralised away from the CBD, on street space allocation could be tried, develop natural markets, and urban planners should consider long term viability of future projects.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS**

**EMC** Eldoret Municipal Council

**KEPSA** Kenya Private Sector Alliance

**UN** United Nations

**UNDP** United Nations Development Programme

**USAID** United States Agency for International Development

**CBD** Central Business District

**SSA** Sub-Saharan Africa

**SV** Street Vendors



## **CHAPTER ONE:INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Overview**

This chapter is essential to this thesis since it addresses key issues that form the foundation of the study. They include the background of the study, research problem, purpose, objectives, significance and scope of study as well as theoretical framework guiding the study.

### **1.2 Background of the study**

Urbanization is one of the key drivers of change in the world today. The world's population currently stands at around 7 billion. It will almost double to more than 15 billion by 2050 (UNDP, 2010). This is a challenge for urban areas because many people, will continue to migrate from rural areas to urban areas looking for livelihood (Beall and Fox, 2007). In almost all urban areas, the Central Business District (CBD), also referred to as “downtown” or the “City/Town Center,” is the nucleus of the urban area; the business, commercial and government hub. The most important vulnerability involves poor urban dwellers who are more immersed in the cash economy but earn incomes that are often erratic, unreliable and small resulting in engagement in street vending (Mitlin, 2005).

Urban areas in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) are growing at an exceptional rate of about 5% annually (Crush et al. 2007) and therefore a hub of continued street vending. Low levels of employment remain pressing problems in many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa as Mougeot, (2005) asserts, especially in and around the major urban centers . The UN Habitat, (2006) report that the urban population in Sub-Saharan Africa is expected to rise from 39.7% to 53.5 % of the continent’s population between 2005 and 2030. As a result

of the increasing population, many of the urban poor will continue to take up menial jobs in order to obtain income to purchase basic needs, of which informal sector and casual jobs are the main activities taken by most of the people. Nearly thirty years on, the various activities that constitute the informal economy are a permanent feature of the Central Business District's economy: street-vendors and small-scale service providers being the most common in many countries in the SSA.

According to Lyons & Snoxell (2005: 1302), by the year 2002, Africa's informal sector was approximately over 60 percent of all urban jobs and over 90 per cent of all new urban jobs, though estimates differ, street vending has been estimated to account for the largest share of the informal sector after home work. This is an indicator that street vending plays an important role in providing employment opportunities.

As Millennium Development Goals Status report for Kenya (2005) asserts, in Kenya, it is estimated that up to 50% of the people living in urban areas cannot access jobs. In the period 2000-2002 the average Domestic Savings Rate was 13.1%, public gross fixed Capital Formation as a percentage of GDP was 2.01% in 2003. This poor economic growth led to the increase of the number of people living in poverty to about 56% in 2002 up from 44.7% in 1992 and is projected that it will increase to 65.9% in 2015 if the current trend continues. Kenya Development Cooperation report (2005) estimates the number of people openly unemployed at nearly 2 million. The youth comprises 45 % of the total. Urban unemployment is higher than rural unemployment at 25 % and 9.4% respectively. The majorities of the unemployed are identified to be within the age bracket of 15 and 35. Thus despite significant improvement towards economic recovery, the growth of the economy is still far below the necessary growth rate of about 7% needed to

support implementation of millennium development goals related activities within the remaining decade to 2015.

The increase in the number of poverty levels has resulted into tension in many urban areas in Kenya between the desired modernization and the ongoing “un-modern” activity of street vending. This has resulted in urban space wars. The resulting cat-and-mouse tussles in Central Business District between street vendors on one side, formal businesses and the local government on the other are a manifestation of this tension. These tussles have existed for along time in many urban centers, but have increased in intensity since the late 1980s when a combination of retrenchment from the Structural Adjustment Programs and a downturn of the economy forced much of the working population into unemployment, and to “temporarily” switch to informal activities for sustenance.

The Ministry of trade and Industrialization Strategic Plan (2006) stipulates that in the year 2001, the trade sub-sector employed 156,900 people, whereas the manufacturing sub-sector employed 214,600 people, increasing the number to 175,800 and 247, 500 employees in 2005 respectively. At the same year (2001) the informal trade sub sector employed 2,717,100 people while the informal manufacturing sub-trade employed 1,039,700 increasing to 3,760,900 people and 1,386,100 in 2005, respectively. The two sectors indicated an increase in employment opportunities. The informal sector, which street vending is part of, indicated a tremendously higher employment opportunities and can further produce more opportunities if developed than the formal sector.

As street vendors trade at the CBD, they go against the local authorities policy by encroaching into public spaces. According to Brown (2006) formal spaces have historic, civic and ceremonial significance, and streets and highways are spaces for the movement

of people and vehicles to support the urban economy. Brown recognizes the challenge of reconciling competing claims for space and ensures that the poor have a voice in negotiations over its use. In many instances, urban design is generally dominated by the culture of the rich and powerful, as a result there is inclusion and exclusion of the culture of certain groups in urban society from urban public space such as the poor. In some cases, urban managers may try to construct an image of a modern city in order to attract foreign investment, or to implement infrastructure projects such as construction of new shopping malls or new roads. This type of intervention in the physical environment usually implies eviction of those who used to occupy the space causing severe implications for the livelihoods of the poor who depend on the streets. As a result conflicts have emerged between the local governance and the street vendors.

Street vending is an income-generating activity where individuals sell their wares along streets and sidewalks to passing pedestrians and motorists. It is one activity within the informal economy, that operates outside the regulation and protection of the state. Also referred to as hawking, this activity is legal according to the by-laws that govern many urban centers of the world cities and towns but its confinement to the Central Business District is illegal in many countries. However, while there is provision for street trading, there are numerous by-laws that are often used to supersede the provision for street vendors in the centre of the towns. These by-laws continue to provide the legal grounds on which city inspectors can control street vendors from doing business at the CBD. They claim that they are a nuisance to the well-being of the public by obstructing the sidewalks. The inspectors chase the street vendors off the streets often arresting them and taking them to court. (Kamunyor, 2007)

Eldoret Municipality arguably is one of the fastest growing towns in Eastern and Central Africa. Several institutions for instance learning institutions, have been established and continue to be established increasing the number of residents within the municipality. This provides a good clientele for various businesses. The town has about 450,000 residents (KNBS, 2010), it has a Central Business District of approximately 1.3 km<sup>2</sup>. Within this space, about 2,000 street vendors with a daily approximate capital stock worth Kshs. 45 million line the streets and alleyways selling their wares. High-end, multi-storied buildings are also located in this space (e.g. KVDA, White Castle, Sosian Building, Metro towers etc). Many of the offices of the major multinational corporations and banks are located in this space (e.g. Barclays, Standard Chartered and I&M).

In the town, officials from the Eldoret Municipal Council (EMC) and formal businesses prefer to keep street vendors off the streets; the former because they want to maintain the look of a modern town and seeing vendors obstructing sidewalks is not part of that look, the latter because street vendors are unfair competition primarily because they do not have to pay tax or rent and therefore have higher profits margins so can afford to charge a lower price for their goods than formal shops. Street vendors consistently return to the Central Business District (CBD) despite being continuously chased away by officials from the EMC. The CBD is the spatial location where they can find a market for their goods, often at a higher price than if they sold outside of the CBD which increases their profits. Street-traders have identified the CBD as their preferred location for their economic activity.

Relocations of street-vendors from the CBD have been tried by EMC officials, the most recent attempt in 2010, but the relocations are often not successful because the new locations have some challenges. Therefore, despite the harassment from the EMC and the

resulting high costs of being “a nuisance” if caught, vendors soon return to the CBD. At the county level, resolving this tension between the desired modernization of the town and the “non-modern” activity of street vending is critical as part of a larger economic development strategy.

The Eldoret Municipal Council undertook a project in 2010 by constructing markets outside the CBDs where the street vendors were expected to relocate and ply their business. By-laws were changed in line with the new reality of relocation so as to encourage the street vendors to take up their trade outside the CBD. This however, does not appear to have changed the street vending activities. Vendors were expected to move from the CBD to the peripheral parts of the town, business still carries on at the streets. The impact of relocation of the street vendors from the central business district on street vending is not clear. There is also very little information available concerning the effects of relocation on the street vendors. This study sought to assess the hawkers response to new market sites space allocation in Eldoret town.

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

Urban space as a contested resource for the urban poor has been discussed considerably in the context of housing, but hardly in the context of street vending. In Kenya, various relocation projects have been attempted in major towns. The government and donors have spent and will continue to spend millions of shillings in the construction of markets in an attempt to address the challenges of congestion and poor sanitation in the CBD. The traders too have different rationale for choice of trading location. Street vendors mostly survivalists want to maximize security therefore one may guess that they would want to locate at the government market because it is safer and that is a better way of maximizing security. In the process of addressing the hawking menace in the CBD, Eldoret like any

other town embarked on construction of market centers and relocation of street vendors away from the CBD to designated points. Although this in a way helped to fulfill the towns policy of decongestion, it was received by hawkers with mixed feeling. Enforcement of the law was used to encourage the street vendors to avoid moving back into the town centre. Despite this efforts like it happened in most major towns the relocation project failed, in most cases it was resisted or fruitless. Traders still trade in the streets, the question lies, why have they not moved to the formal market. This study sought to assess the hawkers response to new market sites space allocation in Eldoret town.

#### **1.4 Purpose of the study**

The aim of the study was to examine the effects of relocation on street vending in Eldoret Municipality with a view of suggesting policy issues that will reduce the problem of street vending in the town.

#### **1.5 Objectives of study**

The objectives of the study were:

- a) To examine the factors behind the relocation.
- b) To assess the effects of relocation on street vending in Eldoret town.
- c) To establish the challenges emanating from the relocation on street vendors operation.
- d) To explore appropriate strategies for addressing street vending in the town.

## **1.6 Research questions**

1. What were the factors behind relocation from CBD to hawker permitted markets in Eldoret town?
2. How has relocation impacted on vending business in Eldoret town?
3. What are the challenges being faced and what contribution has relocation brought to Eldoret town?
4. What appropriate strategies can be put in place to address street vending in Eldoret town?

## **1.7 Significance of the study**

The findings of the research aimed at bringing to light the voices of the street vendors so as to understand the challenges they face. In addition, it generated practical information that inform policy makers so that they are able to understand the dynamics of street vending by considering the voices of the vendors. Local development practitioners will also gain better insights in managing the problem of street vending since opportunities for intervention as well as policy gaps have been identified.

The results of the study contributed to the body of knowledge in understanding why street vendors do not use designated market infrastructure. Most of the body of knowledge was about the reason why street vendors exist and the pros and cons of vending, not much has been written on these reasons and why vendors sometimes choose not to use designated market infrastructure. This study therefore, added to the body of knowledge on street vending case.



The study offered the apt opportunity to understand the marketing behaviour of the street vendors during relocation, which is a useful guide to the Municipal Councils and local authorities and other policy makers in evolving appropriate bye-laws to address issues that pertain to hawkers. It is hoped that this research will serve as a basis for discussion with policy makers on matters that deal with hawkers and serve as a preliminary framework analysis of problems of relocation of hawkers and give guidelines in ensuring a successful relocation programme through appropriate recommendations.

Moreover outcomes of this study provided a deeper insight into the reasons for success and failure of relocation projects interventions in general in respect to relocation of vendors, policy framework and business trade volumes. Such findings may be beneficial to urban planners and policy makers, civil society, planners and will further aid in addressing problems facing hawkers. It will empower vendors in their organization and relation with authorities and further provide information for concerned authorities to relate amicably with vendors with a view to integrate them in planning and managing their activities.

### **1.8 Scope of the study**

The study was limited in scope geographically to Eldoret Municipality and in content to street vending business with respect to relocation and the aftermath of the relocation project. In terms of time scope the study, the study was limited to one year.

### **1.9 Limitation of the study**

This study comprised of vendors in Eldoret town. It may not be generalized to other towns since there are other determinants and regional differences that govern a particular area. The study was confined to Kahoya and West markets in Eldoret town, since the researcher was interested in the two areas.

### **1.10 Theoretical framework**

The study was based on the Peripheral urban Model (1965) of Chauncey Harris. According to the peripheral model, an urban area consists of an inner city surrounded by large suburban residential and business areas tied together by a beltway or ring road. Kahoya and West markets are tied together by Uganda highway to the CBD. It depicts urban land usage in concentric rings with the CBD at the middle while the city expanded in rings with different land uses. The model explained how the residents around the industrial area uses it for employment and to bring business to the urban area. The areas of the working class and the main council estates are located close to the industrial zone. The lower –middle class housing borders each side of each best residential area. The model also identifies a CBD, a transitional zone, zone of small terraced houses in Zone III and IV, Larger housing in sector V and large old houses in the sector VI. The model was illustrated by concentric rings as shown below;

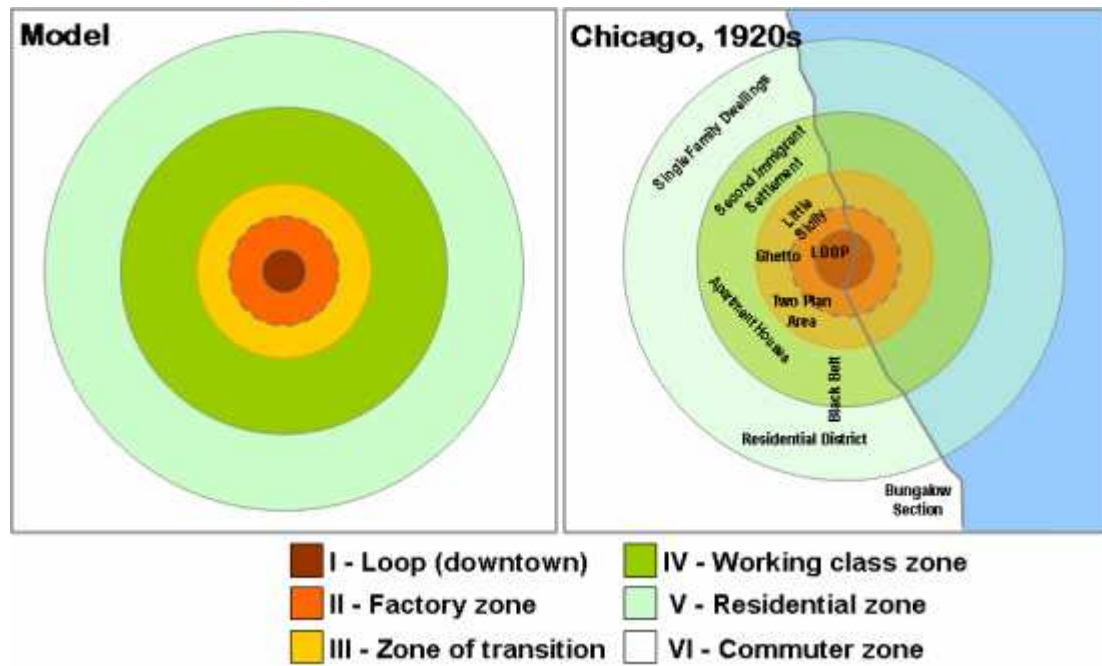


Fig.1.1 Sourced from, G. Linden (1995)

It presented a descriptive urban land use model, which divided cities in a set of concentric circles expanding from the downtown to the suburbs. The model assumes a relationship between the socio-economic status (mainly income) of households and the distance from the CBD. The further it is from the CBD, the better the quality of housing, but the longer the commuting time. Thus, accessing better housing is done at the expense of longer commuting times (and costs). According to this model, the zones were explained as followed;

- Zone I: Central Business District (CBD) where most of the tertiary employment is located and where the urban transport infrastructure is converging, making this zone the most accessible.
- Zone II: Immediately adjacent to the CBD a zone where many industrial activities locate to take advantage of nearby labour and markets. Further, most transport terminals, like bus stops, are located adjacent to the central area.

- Zone III: This zone is gradually been reconverted to other uses by expanding manufacturing / industrial activities. It contains the poorest segment of the urban population, notably first generation immigrants living, in the lowest housing conditions.
- Zone IV: Residential zone dominated by the working class and those who were able to move away from the previous zone as a result of the improvement in the living standards. This zone has the advantage of being located near the major zones of employment (I and II) and thus represents a low cost location for the working class.
- Zone V: Represents higher quality housing linked with longer commuting costs.
- Zone VI: Mainly high class and expensive housing in a rural, suburbanized, setting. The commuting costs are the highest. Prior to mass diffusion of the automobile (1930s), most of these settlements were located next to rail stations.

Urban growth is a process of expansion and reversion of land uses, with a tendency of each inner zone to expand in the outer zone. On the above figure, zone II (Factory zone) is expanding towards zone IV (Working class zone), creating a transition zone with reversion of land use. Different land uses evaluates sites in terms of attributes such as size and proximity to the desired facilities. Since each is limited to what it can afford to pay for any site, consumers may trade off space for accessibility. As a result of such trade-offs, different land uses occupy different locations in the city in a process that produces land use pattern.

This theory is relevant to this study in that land use patterns in urban areas are characterized by interdependence of certain types of their activities and their need for close physical proximity. Activities like retail trading and hawking are based at the CBD

because of the availability of customers as a result of high flow of traffic within the CBD since people go into and out of offices. Several activities take place at the CBD, thus commercial activities cannot be a success unless other industries and offices are decentralized to the periphery of the town so as to reduce the concentration of people at the CBD and discourage them from entering the CBD. There is a high concentration of street vendors in zone 1. At this zone, street vendors are reluctant to leave because of the availability of customers for their business.

This model remains useful in explaining urban planning through reorganization in towns if well adopted. The movement of vendors away from the CBD to the periphery of the town aimed at decongesting the CBD which partly succeeded. Vendors were relocated to areas where the people lived and this included the site where limited industrial activities took place. The inner system encouraged settlement outside the CBD while retaining access to the CBD through the roads. This was seen viable in offering limitless development since expansion could be done in the outwards region, whereas the center of the town would have the highest number of customers making it profitable for retail activities, the two sites would be joined through roads. Manufacturing on the other hand would pay slightly less for the land as they were only interested in the accessibility for workers while residential takes the surrounding land. The eviction of vendors from the CBD aimed at decongesting the town by moving the major activities to the periphery of the town. Vendors were relocated away from the CBD. On the other hand, social amenities like hospitals, banks, schools, key offices which proved to direct where the desire line would follow were not moved, thus resulting to pedestrian flow to the CBD.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Overview**

This chapter provides literature related to relocation of street vendors in the world. The review resources include books, journals, periodicals, magazines and Internet. It is divided into different sections which were considered relevant for the study.

### **2.2 Resilience of street vendors**

Cross (1998) defines street vending as the production and exchange of legal goods and services that involved the lack of appropriate business permits, violation of zoning codes, failure to report tax liability, non-compliance with labour regulations governing contracts, work conditions, and/or legal guarantees in relations with suppliers and clients. Bromley (2000), identifies the location of trade as streets and other related public axes such as alleyways, avenues and boulevards. Mitullah (2004) describes street trade as an activity which takes place outside enclosed areas, sidewalks, bus stops and in other public places. Bhowmik (2005) identified street vendors as self employed workers in the informal economy who are either stationary or mobile. These are people who trade from the street and offer goods for sale to the public without having a permanent built-up structure from which to sell. Lyons, M. and S. Snoxell (2005) define street vending as trading without a permit, trading outside formally designated trading locations and non-payment of municipal/national taxes or self allocation of shelter for trading.

Vision 2030 described hawkers as individuals who majority sell the same product resulting in very low profits. Their prices are usually negotiable resulting in low prices overall. The quality of the goods they sell tends to be low since they have the ability to escape tax payment which provides a buffer for hawkers to under price.

Based on a ten year research on street vending, Cross (2000) concludes “street vending should, by all logical criteria, eventually disappear. Cross adds however, street vending, despite some problems and frequent attacks, is a thriving and growing phenomenon. This is indeed true of the street vending in Kenya, efforts to eradicate it has almost seemed impossible. Vendors have continued to sell within the CBD despite great eviction. Jimu (2005) also wondered whether the resilience of street vendors to urban authorities and the government’s drive to relocate them from streets be a reflection of their power or powerlessness against marginalization and underdevelopment of their livelihood strategies. The forced relocation of street vendors in Kenya, though not entirely unique in contemporary Africa, has had a significant impact on the informal sector activities as well as livelihood of many other Kenyans who depended on it for their every day survival. This trade has been often affected by the urban planning policies often created by the local authorities and implemented at the community level. The local authorities approach at the community level is centralized with ideas coming from the top.

According to Muiruri (2010), street vendors are illegally in the central business district of the town as they are not originally designed for in a city street plans. These plans inherited various problems such as unpleasant urban space and obstruction of pedestrians. They are a perpetual problem for street and sidewalk users in most parts of Eldoret Town. They spill-over business onto roadways is the source of traffic congestion. Most people hold negative images of SV. Pedestrians are angered by their encroachment of sidewalks while drivers and other road users dislike them for their road encroachment. Store-owners despise the SV for their illegal use of the shops’ front sidewalks, which they then modify to suit their own needs. Furthermore, in a minority of cases where the SV are selling similar goods to the shops, then the shops’ business are directly threatened.

### **2.3 Concept of Planning**

Soon after Independence, Kenya adopted economic planning to achieve quick economic development. It had hoped that such planned development would remove poverty in a short time and bring prosperity to every nook and corner of the country. We have, however, been disappointed as poverty still exists on a large scale and the inequalities in the levels of income between the rich and the poor continue to expand. In these plans the policies and programmes are formulated centrally at the top. The Planning Commission is the highest policy-making body in this set-up. These plans are implemented at the lower levels like the state or district.

Several development plans have been made in Kenya since independence. As Mckeran (2004) suggests, an effective plan should identify the most suitable direction for the growth of the business and determine the constraints which have to be overcome to allow it to grow in that direction. The plan should be consistent, Practical and capable of being carried out within a predetermined time scale and available resources.

According to Polanyi (1967), central planning is the mechanism for the central allocation of resources which will achieve a higher degree of efficiency in deriving the maximum benefit from the available limited resources. However, such central planning could not fulfill many local needs, and local resources also could not be mobilized for use in the implementation of the plans as all funds are allocated centrally. Many local environmental concerns are also neglected in the formulation and implementation of the plans.



### **2.3.1 Decentralized Planning**

Falleti (2005: 328) defines decentralization as a process of state reform composed by a set of public policies that transfer responsibilities, resources, or authority from higher to lower levels of government in the context of a specific type of state. Decentralization, interpreted in simple terms, would mean moving away from the center or *deconcentration*. Decentralization means transfer of certain authority and power in the matter of formulation and implementation of development plans from the highest organization or institution at the national level or state level to organisations or institutions at the sub-state level. The lower level have a particular role in the planning exercise and are vested with the powers and the responsibilities associated with the role. In a truly decentralized situation such power include the power to determine goals and targets and to raise resources locally. Decentralized Planning can, thus, be defined as a type of planning where local organisations and institutions formulate, adopt, execute actions and supervise the plan without interference by the central body.

Planning is most meaningful when it moves with a rock bottom approach. This approach is also essential to achieve optimum utilization of meager resources with the participation of people at the grass root level. It is a system through which planning is done at different smaller administrative and executive levels. As you know the objective is to establish greater linkage between the developmental needs and priorities of local areas and different social classes in keeping with the sub-national and national level development policies and goals. It must be remembered that decentralized planning is a two-way process which begins both from the top level (National) as well as from the bottom level (Local). The processes meet at a point below which centralized planning becomes irrelevant and above which micro-planning becomes meaningless. In Kenya, National

Planning is called Macro-Level Planning, State Planning is called Meso-Level Planning and District Planning is called Micro-Level Planning.

The interface between the top down and bottom up processes of planning mentioned above takes place at the county level. Therefore, county planning assumes greatest importance in decentralized planning. County Planning begins with a careful analysis of the existing resource endowments of the district, the potential for development and the existing gaps between the potentials and the achievements.

### **2.3.2 Dimensions of decentralized Planning**

According to Mohapatra(2002) there are four major dimensions of decentralization, they include;

#### **a. Functional Decentralization**

When some functions are to be transferred from the national or state level to the sub state level, it is necessary that such functions must be selected carefully. A random transfer of functions results in inefficient and undesirable discharge of those functions at the lower levels. Such fear arises because the competencies available at the lower level may not be adequate to do justice to those functions. Similarly, are delegated to the lower level to discharge those functions. If these powers are not delegated along with the functions then there will be a mismatch between the two and the functions cannot be executed.

#### **b. Financial Decentralization**

Planning at any level without the necessary financial authority and resources is meaningless. In our country, like in other countries, most financial resources are mobilized by the Central government, which then distributes them to the lower levels.

The division of resources is done according to constitutional provisions. A statutory body called the Finance Commission, appointed every 5 years, decides these divisions.

Different criteria are adopted for the allocation of development funds from the Centre to the sub-national levels. Some of the socio-economic considerations are the following: area, population size, degree of relative backwardness, measure of tax effort, special locational or social characteristics, commitment to major national schemes. These factors are taken into consideration with a view to providing relatively higher grants to relatively more backward states. The purpose behind this idea is to encourage poor regions move upwards and discourage national dependency.

### **c. Administrative Decentralization**

Administrative decentralization is also known as *deconcentration*. It means deconcentration of functions and some powers from government departments and agencies to their field offices. However, the “command” remains at the top. The ability of those in office to restore public order in the streets shows the capability of the decentralized government to install the rule of law. Often a heavy investment of man power has been used in the past to drive away street vendors from the CBD. Those in office during implementation of bylaws and ordinances affecting hawkers are often held accountable. As a result, they are victimized by the hawkers for going against their business demands. Decentralisation therefore would place those in office responsible for upholding public space. Administrative decentralization involves taking a number of administrative actions, some of which are:

- (i) Setting up offices at regional and local levels to move closer to the people;
- (ii) Designating the decentralized functions for each level;

- (iii) Making necessary delegation of powers;
- (iv) Assigning adequate finances;
- (v) Posting adequately qualified persons through deputation or fresh recruitment;
- (vi) Establishing work procedures and framing departmental rules and regulations for coordinated functioning.
- (vii) Providing technical guidelines to field officers and establishing a time-bound program of activities to fit into the national planning process.

Such administrative decentralization lays the ground work for democratic decentralization. The officials not only acquire the necessary skills to execute the plan, and build up an attitude favourable towards decentralization and people's participation. They are used to executing plans framed at the top and handed down to the lower levels. In the changed situation, they will have to learn to work with people's representatives who will have more and more say in the formulation of policy and plans.

#### **d. Political or Democratic Decentralization**

In its perfect form, the concept of decentralization becomes the same as democratic decentralization, all people take part in the planning process. When only the elected representatives of the people take part in the process, it is called "partial decentralization". When all sections of the population are empowered to take part in local affairs of the community, it is called "total decentralization". There are three major components of political decentralization a Mohapatra(2002) further asserts, they include: Local autonomy, Devolution and Political Participation.

**i. Local Autonomy:**

The idea of local autonomy is based on the belief that the local community knows best where its interest lies and how to achieve them. They should be enabled to take decisions and initiate action with the minimum dependence on higher authorities. Self-reliance and assertiveness are key to such attainment by the local community.

**ii. Devolution:**

Local autonomy becomes primarily possible through devolution. Devolution refers to transfer of government powers, functions and resources to local authorities. Local authorities are empowered to take decisions and at the same time accept responsibility for those decisions. Devolution thus enhances the capacities of the local authorities through this they can plan their towns and control urban land use. In devolution most programmes, responsibilities and resources are transferred from the government to the local authorities to match the legal duties and powers given to them. As result Local authorities are empowered to generate their own revenue to reduce their dependence on government. This is made possible in most towns by taxing all businesses including street vending. It has often almost be impossible to tax street vendors as they often evade taxes in an attempt to maximize their profits.

**iii. Public Participation**

The ideal of democratic decentralization is achieved through people's participation in the process of governance. This is made possible through the institution of local self government. Through the functioning of these elected bodies, people participate in the process of governance and learn to make democratic institutions stronger. They realize the importance of freedom and democracy more.

Thus all the local This is a major reason for the failure of any planning process. This shows how important it is to spend time at the start of the process getting the objectives right and subsequently amending towns' activities are managed at the local level and determine the direction that the trade follows at every region. Street traders often are not involved in the public participation processes during the development of bylaws on street vending businesses.

#### **2.3.4 Possible reasons for failure of a project plan**

As Mckeran (2004) stipulates, a development plan may fail as a result of the following reasons;

i. Failure to set the objectives correctly

This is a major reason for the failure of any planning process. This shows how important it is to spend time at the start of the process getting the objectives right and subsequently amending

This is a major reason for the failure of any planning process. This shows how important it is to spend time at the start of the process getting the objectives right and subsequently amending them after the development analysis stage. If the objectives are not set properly then it will be impossible to reach the targets set plan.

ii. Failure to execute actions

This is another common reason for the failure of any plan, like many other problem areas, it is connected with the management ability, or lack of it. Management must be able to devote time to monitoring and controlling any plan which they have set in motion. It is

crucial that any action plan which is prepared is controlled through regular meetings monitoring the process of the plan.

- iii. Failure of the plan to be accepted

The workshop approach allows all the key decision makers to be involved. The people should be committed to the project for it to be achieved. Proper communication by stakeholders involved and community participation ensures that the project is accepted or achieved. Most relocation projects fail because of the local community are not involved at the inception stage as a result the project may not be accepted by those it is intended to benefit.

#### **2.4 Street trade as a component of the informal sector**

According to Muech (1983) the informal sector incorporates two different groups of people, both in terms of attitude and motivation. The first group consists of those who are searching for employment in the formal sector but to keep away idleness are engaged in the informal sector activities, as well as those who have failed to secure jobs in the formal sector and continue to seek out a subsistence with a growing sense of despair and hopefulness. Small scale entrepreneurs as Muech further asserts fall under the second category. They have made a conscious decision to invest in their business and have rejected wage labour in the formal sector.

The concept of informal sector and its definition remains elusive as well as controversial. As yet there is no consensus on the definition of or what constitutes the informal sector. Kulundu (1984) defines the informal sector as; small-scale industrial, commercial and service undertaking which are quasi legal but which are complementary and operate side

with large formal sector operations, seriously lack capital for self generation and operate in the unorganized urban and semi-urban periphery.

Hart (1971) introduced the term informal sector, following his study of the Ghanaian economy. He considered this sector as constituting a response by those excluded by and from the formal sector to reintegrate themselves into economic activity. He observed that within the informal sector, unemployment and underemployment were rampant. In 1984 the Central Bureau of Statistics defined the informal sector as semi-organised and unregulated activities largely undertaken by self employed persons in the open markets, in market stalls, in undeveloped plots or street pavements within urban centers.

The informal sector thus comprises of activities usually but not exclusive conducted in the open or temporary of which street vending is included. Such activities which exist in both urban and rural areas, are an offshoot of the formal sector or linked to the formal sector in that the informal sector arises at the point when the formal sector admits inability to provide jobs for the unemployed. Some of these activities generate a lot of income that is comparable to those of the workers in the formal sector, some provide income that is below subsistence level.

As the Sessional Paper No 7 of 1986 notes, with the increase in unemployment in Kenya, there has been a realization that the formal employment sector alone cannot provide the required employment especially in urban areas since the modern sector will be unable to raise enough capital to employ more than a fraction of the Kenyan workers, with the unsatisfactory performance of the formal sector in generating adequate employment, the informal sector has in most cases been considered the next best alternative.



The International Labour Office’s (ILO) mission to Kenya (1972) found the informal sector to be an economically viable sector within the economy. The ILO report notes that the bulk of employment in the informal sector, far from being only marginally productive, is economically efficient and profit making, though in small scale and limited by simple technologies, little capital and lack of links with the formal sector. This report saw the informal sector on a thriving economic activity and a source of Kenya’s future wealth. Although the sector has been operating under fairly unfavourable restrictions, employment in this sector has grown inspite of obstacles and of outside support. The ILO emphasized that this subsector of the economy of which street vending is part of possessed many unique positive characteristics which if nurtured could contribute to modernization and industrialisation at a lower cost. In highlighting the positive traits of the informal sector, the ILO adopted a contrasting backdrop, for each positive attribute of the informal sector, a corresponding negative characteristics of the formal sector was mentioned as shown in the table below;

**Table 2.1: Informal Sector Characteristics**

Informal Sector	Formal Sector
1.Ease of entry	1.Difficulty in entry
2.Reliance on local resources	2.Reliance on foreign resources
3.Small scale operation	3.Large scale operation
4.Labour intensive adopted technology	4.Capital intensive imported technology
5.Skill acquisition outside the school system	5.Formal acquisition in skills through school system
6.Unprotected by public policy	6.Protected by various policies

(Source; ILO report 1972)

The ILO report notes that for many individuals and their families, especially those in urban areas, the informal sector may provide the only income opportunity that is available. The report lamented that the government policy toward the informal sector has contained too few elements of positive support and promotion and too many elements of inaction, restriction and harassment, and it recommends that the informal sector can provide a major and essential input for the development of an indigenous capital goods industry which is a key element in solving the employment problem now facing Kenya.

Although street vending is not really different from the informal sector in general, there are some noticeable elements that make it unique. However it should be pointed out that some informal sector activities might share the street vending characteristics though to a lesser extent. These peculiar features of street vending are:

Firstly, street vending is more than a commercial activity but a lifestyle. Cross (2000) on his own research noted that vendors have many times claimed that street vending is also a life style choice, allowing them greater personal freedom and flexibility.

Morales (2000) mentioned that some vendors like to operate their business in the 'hustle and bustle' of the city because they want to 'feel' the city life while earning a living at the same time. Similarly, Mitullah (2003) mentioned that, although it has been argued that vending attracts those who have limited opportunities, street vending is increasingly becoming an option for many citizens. It is no longer limited to the lower social groups...A number of entrepreneurs have entered the trade as an option.

Morales (2000) further argues that Vendors are individuals, but vending is an outcome of the choices of many people, each one a part of a variety of social relationships...an activity whose benefits and costs cannot be reduced to a single metric and should be

understood over time and, analytically speaking, from the perspective of the studied not of the analyst. Secondly, by taking over the public space, street vending has an advantage in the sense that it has minimised overhead costs of rent and utilities, and is thus ideally suited for informal growth.

Cross (2000) referred to the informal sector in general as possessing the survival spirit of flexibility. This is more applicable to street vending as compared to other informal sector activities. Xaba et al (2002) also refers to this scenario as “‘survivalist’ activities”. These terms imply a very high level of commitment towards goal attainment amongst street vendors. Every day, new ways of survival have to be discovered whenever threats to their activities are looming. In relation to flexibility, street vending provides the opportunity to sell commodities in small quantities for those who can’t afford large quantities. (Bugnicourt, 1995)

According to Berner et al. (2008:1), street vendors do not start their business by choice but because they cannot find wage employment. These people attempt to increase security and smoothen consumption rather than maximising profits, as a result they diversify their activities instead of specializing since they consider profits as part of their household income. Similarly, Gomez (2008: 10) argues that the majority of survivalist micro-enterprises in developing countries do not pursue expansion in their business rather they are necessity driven entrepreneurs that are forced into selling due to family needs.

Despite these peculiar features of street vending, authorities regard it as interfering with public space and thus should be removed. The reasons why street vendors resist relocation are neither well understood nor appreciated by the authorities. Jimu (2005), raises three main reasons why street vendors resist relocation: (1) they want to have direct access to actual and potential clients; (2) their activity is in most cases their only or major

source of livelihood which is strongly defended against any possible interruption; finally (3) any effort by the municipal authorities to evict them is construed as contravention of their fundamental human rights.

## **2.5 The Importance of Street Vending**

Street trade is rampant and a source of employment and income for many urban dwellers. However, in most countries, it is unaccounted and unrecognised in national economic statistics. Street trade has in the past, been viewed as an underground activity that undermines the healthy function of the formal economy. This perception has resulted in conflicts with urban authorities over licensing, taxation, site of operation, sanitation and working conditions. Mainstream economists are perceived as lacking an understanding of street vending, and hence its lack of coverage in economic measurement in all the countries and cities covered. Even the Local Authorities who collect substantial revenue from the sector do not maintain records of the numbers and the contribution of the sector to urban economy. This implies that the Local Authorities cannot adequately plan since they have no representative statistics of the sector.

The negligence of the street vending activities has resulted in the lack of accurate estimates of the numbers of street traders. Charmes (1998) in his work provides some figures that can be used for assessing the importance of vending activities. In 1999, street based workers in Kenya were estimated to number 416,294. This accounted for 5.2 per cent of the non-agricultural labour force of which women were 3.9 per cent. The above situation shows that street vending has a significant contribution in the urban and national economy of African countries. In Kenya, street vending falls with the Small and Micro Enterprises [SME] which provides employment and income to about 70 per cent of Kenya's population, especially in urban areas. In the year 2002 alone, the SME sector

employed about 5,086,400 people up from 4,624,400 in 2001. This was an increase of 462,000 persons and consisted of 74.2 per cent of total national employment.

Although it has been argued that vending attracts those who have limited opportunities for obtaining formal employment and/or prestigious business, and minimises chances of social exclusion and marginalisation; street vending is increasingly becoming an option for many citizens. It is no longer limited to the lower social groups, especially the underprivileged who carve out a living in an environment full of harassment by urban authorities as experienced in the case studies. A number of entrepreneurs have entered the trade as an option, especially since the beginning of the Structural Adjustment Programs [SAPs] that resulted in the retrenchment of civil servants across Africa. (Alila&Mitullah,2000)

The total employment provided through street vending becomes larger if we consider the fact that they sustain certain industries by providing markets for their products. A lot of the goods sold by street vendors, such as clothes, cups, plates, among other household goods, are manufactured in small scale or home-based industries. These industries employ a large number of workers and they rely mainly on street vendors to market their products. In this way street vendors provide a valuable service by helping sustain employment in these industries. This section of the urban poor tries to earn a living by getting involved in this activity. Unlike other sections of the urban population they do not demand that government create jobs for them, or engage in begging, stealing or extortion. They try to live their life with dignity and self-respect through hard work.

The poorer citizens too are able to procure their basic necessities mainly through street vendors, as the goods sold are cheap. In this way one section of the urban poor, namely, street vendors, helps another section to survive. Hence though street vendors are viewed

as a problem for urban governance, they are in fact the solution to some of the problems of the urban poor. By providing cheaper commodities street vendors are in effect providing subsidy to the urban poor, something that the government should have done.

In many countries the urban poor prefer to buy clothes and accessories from street vendors because the goods that they sell are usually cheaper and affordable than those found in formal retail shops (Saha 2009: 231).

McGee and Yeung (1977) also noted that hawkers provide goods at cheaper prices than retail stores because they do not have expensive overheads, such as rent or heavy taxes. Hawkers can offer cheap meals to urban residents in the crowded living areas of many of these towns where fuelwood is expensive and time too is inadequate as the urban dwellers are trying to make ends meet. Goods are also cheaper because hawkers are in intense competition and are therefore willing to cut their profit margins substantially. In this way, the cheap goods hawkers provide help keep down the cost of living and temper growing inflation.

Bugnicourt (1995) supports the activity by saying that vending provides suitable services to the public so that they do not have to go to the shops. In some cities hawkers provide an important outlet through merchants by disposing of broken cargoes or merchandise that is not suitable for export or sale through more conventional retail outlets. Additionally, hawkers provide a service to the public by seeking locations that are easily accessible to the customer, thereby cutting down on the transportation costs that would otherwise be incurred. Hawking also performs an important social role through interactions between the seller and the buyer. By providing employment for many of the unskilled, the less educated, and others with little capital, it reduces unemployment and its attendant evils of crime. Hawking also provides an alternative source of income in

situations of fluctuating employment in sectors such as the construction or manufacturing industries. People can move backward and forward between these two forms of employment if necessary.

Hawkers, furthermore, are part of the atmosphere of most towns. To some people, hawkers contribute to the beauty of the cities and their activities may be regarded as an attraction to local residents and tourists alike. Hawking also offers training opportunity for the kind of entrepreneurial skills required for those interested in being entrepreneurs, slowly they can build their vision towards economic growth.

Casual labour and petty trading are highly important not only as a source of employment but also for the economic functioning of the cities and the economizing of scarce resources. They engage selling work of arts made from reuse of products as well as in reduced needs for equipment and buildings. Though productivity is low compared to the modern sector it is far superior to unemployment and in all probability exceeds productivity in marginal employment in agriculture. World Bank (1990)

The World Bank offers solution recognition of the fact that while such activities as petty trading may have low levels of productivity, the existence of such occupational sectors offers employment opportunities and aids the economic functioning of the cities in the less-developed countries of the world.

As to the disadvantages associated with hawkers' activities, the foremost among these is traffic congestion caused by hawkers congregating at points where there are very heavy flows of pedestrian and motor traffic. Another equally common complaint stems from potential problems of hygiene and sanitation. It is difficult to enforce sanitary laws on prepared food hawkers who, occasionally, are responsible for the transmission of fast-

spreading diseases such as cholera and typhoid. Another negative factor is that hawkers pose unfair competition to legal sellers both in public markets and shops because of their readiness to reduce prices. Lastly, depending on one's notions of aesthetics, hawkers give the city a disorderly image.

## **2.6 Street Vendors as an Urban Management Challenge**

Most people in various parts of the world hold negative images of SV. Pedestrians are annoyed by their encroachment of sidewalks and are forced to step onto the road to walk. Drivers and other road users dislike them for their road encroachment. Store-owners despise the SV for their illegal use of the shops' front sidewalks. The SV often modify the site to suit their own needs. This modification often involves semi permanent roof or umbrella to protect their wares from the sun and rain, which obstructs sun light from shining on the stalls and hampers the flow of fresh air. Others spread rugs or mats on the street. Furthermore, in a minority of cases where the SV are selling similar goods to the shops, then the shops' business are directly threatened. They view SV as direct competitors and unfair competitors at that, since SV steal their customers out in front, before the customers enter the markets. (Bandung.go.id, 7/13/07).

This could be a reason why with so much antagonism directed at them, it is no wonder that SV is seen as an urban scourge (ILO, 2006). City managers would like to eliminate them, since they deface city sights. SV are dirty, congestive, chaotic and uncontrollable. They are unwanted elements in a carefully laid urban architecture. Hence municipal governments, in most developing countries, regularly apply police powers to eliminate them.

In her study, Kamunyor(2007) mentions that SV are regularly "taxed" by different parties (thugs and officials) to pay for protection or avoidance of harassment, almost none



of this money ever reaches the municipal treasury. Thus SV have no significant direct economic benefit for the municipality. This is another reason for their harsh treatment by city managers. In Kenya street sweepings are done by the Administrative Enforcement Police They mount surprise operations, catching the SV and their wares. The wares are either destroyed on-site or confiscated, to be returned after fines are paid, or to be destroyed later, if the owners lack funds to pay the fines. The captured SV were usually released after a quick “advice” session (encouragement for relocation), or held for a short period.

Bodhikong&Moongjongklang, (2004) asserts that street vendors exist because of the desperation of demand and supply. On the demand side SV serve the need of their consumers, mostly the poor they do not force people to buy. People decide to buy from SV, because it is rational. SV offer low price goods sold at thin profit margin. In some sense they subsidize their customers, by working long hours supported by unpaid labor, usually family members (Nirathron, 2006). Hence street sweepings will only eliminate them temporarily. Thus repressive measures are deemed counterproductive. On the supply side, the discussion on the root causes of SV may be placed in the context of the informal sector economics. The informal sector as Todaro (2005) mentions is part of the economy that operates beyond the rules and regulations that govern the formal sector. Its size is astonishingly significant in most developing countries, although it rarely receives the attention that it deserves. It functions as a vessel to accommodate unemployed labour as a result of the movement of people from the rural to the urban areas in search of jobs which often are limited.

As mentioned in the (ILO, 1972), most of the migrating rural (agriculture) workers do not possess the skills demanded by modern occupations hence they are not employable

in the formal sector. To survive, they have no recourse except creating employment using their only asset, themselves. They mostly cater for the needs of people just above them in the urban social rung (the poor relying on the less poor). They hang precariously to their jobs, on the bottom of the economic ladder, barely surviving on the fringes of the urban formal sector. They, in turn, cater to the needs of the “real” urbanites, those sufficiently fortunate to possess the necessary skills required by the modern economy. They benefit from the cheap labor, due to the nonexistent labor protection, no legal contract (casual work arrangement), no minimum wage, no health insurance, no unemployment insurance, and unavailable work safety standards for the poor. (Bhowmik, 2003; ILO 2006).

The movement of people from rural to urban areas in search of jobs has thus in a way resulted in the inflating numbers of SV in the cities and towns. The national statistics suggest that since 1997 the rate of unemployment has been increasing. Starting at 4.7 % (4,197,000 persons) in 1997, to 10.3 % (10,854,000 persons) in 2005. The proportion of the population currently living under the poverty line has also increased relative since the early 1990's.

As Kenya Development cooperation report 2004 suggests, poverty is an outcome of economic, social and political processes that reinforce each other to exacerbate the state of deprivation. Nearly half of Kenyans live below the poverty line. It is therefore reasonable to expect the size of urban informal sector to expand and the SV “problem” to grow. The seriousness of the challenge underpins the urgency and a need for commitment to accelerate interventions for poverty reduction and reduce the rising trend in poverty incidence. Interventions for instance street vending development and support could be part of the measures that could be done to curb the poverty problem.

## **2.7 Challenges that street vendors face**

Street vendors work under extremely uncertain working conditions due to harassment from city inspectors which force them to keep their stock to a minimum. Hawking is legal according to the Municipal Council of Eldoret Hawkers by-laws (2002) that govern Eldoret as long as the vendor has paid a licensing fee. However, while there is provision for street-trading, another by-law, the General Nuisance By-Law, is often used to override this provision. The General Nuisance By-Law allows council inspectors to arrest any individual that they deem is creating a ‘general nuisance’ in public spaces. The council *askaris* are responsible for enforcing bylaws and protecting Council property. Daily licensing fee therefore does not protect vendors from the *askaris*.

According to the Knya Development Cooperation Report (2004) contrary to other African cities, the majority of traders in the CBD are male whereas most urban poor are women with 54% in rural and 63% in urban areas while 53% of the men in rural areas and 49% in urban areas are poor. This inconsistent in composition is due to the harassment that women receive. While this vendor composition is unusually in Africa, where often men who are hawking are seen to be doing a “woman’s job”, an account of street vending in Hong Kong in the 70s shows that fewer women engaged in the trade because they did not want to be harassed and thus earn shame in the community. Women suffer disproportionately as cultural and traditional practices often restrain equal access to economic resources and opportunities. (Smart, 1989).

## **2.8 Local Governance on policy framework of relocation of street vendors**

Bhuiyan (2010: 660) defines Local governance as the activities that the public carry out at different levels of government jurisdictions below the centre. They are processes in which local people take the initiative to engage and organize themselves for purposes of

participating in their governance. Helmsing (2002: 319) refers to it as structures and processes of societal decision making at the local level.

Local authorities control urban space among other various activities that they conduct. In many countries, space tends to be a highly political issue, involving many interests. The present structure of local government in Kenya has its roots in the Local Government Regulations of 1963 with the subsequent amendments appearing now as the Local Government Act (Cap 265) Laws of Kenya passed by the National Assembly 1977 which divides local authorities into Municipal councils; Town councils; County councils and Urban councils. Under the current legal framework, local authorities have permissive and mandatory functions, which local authorities may exercise at their own instance or subject to the approval of the Minister or subject to the compliance with other laws. The local authorities are charged with the responsibility of providing services such as health, primary education, refuse collection, water and sanitation, land use planning, housing among others in their areas of jurisdiction. Street vending relocation projects fall under the function of land use planning since public land is planned for so to cater for various urban street vendors.

The Act which has been amended several times provides for the establishment of authorities; defines their powers and functions plan and regulate development. They are empowered by law to establish and maintain a general rate fund, impose rate on land and buildings, enforce payments of rates and also have an opportunity through Public Private Partnership (PPP) to provide: water; solid waste; street lighting, roads and housing services. They also provide, manage and supervise the provision of several services in town which include; markets, bus park control, refuse collection, road and drainage maintenance, public health and sanitation among others. They implement by laws such as

the removal of vendors from the streets, demolish illegal structures, and control public transportation. These roles can effectively be used to implement sustainable urban development. (Lumumba, 2005) & (Municipal Council of Eldoret Service Delivery Charter, 2008)

According to Brown (2006: 191) actions of local governments can be a major hindrance to the development of a secure environment for street trading. The roles of local governments and their relations with traders depend on their structure and responsibilities, the urban financial system and the regulatory environment they enforce. Brown notes that involving all relevant stakeholders in decision making would probably result in more appropriate and acceptable policies with greater chance of implementation and success.

## **2.9 Policies and regulations governing street vendors**

According to the Municipal Council of Eldoret by Laws (2002) Policies are tools for setting standards in the provision of public goods and services. Policies protect consumers, investors and the general public, while by-laws set controls that ensure that urban areas are safe and clean. In the area of street vending, by-laws set standards in the provision of public goods and services provided by the street vendors and the expected manner of operations. They also enable the Local Authorities to collect revenue for payment of services such as refuse collection and management of vending sites. Eldoret town is categorized as the municipal council and has got by laws that govern it. As stated, any person who contravenes any provision of these by-laws shall be guilty of an offence against these by-laws and shall be liable;-

- a) To a fine not exceeding two thousand shillings in respect of a first offence and not exceeding three thousand shillings in respect of a second or subsequent offence,

or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months in respect of a first offence and not exceeding nine months in respect of a second or subsequent offence, or both such fines and such periods of imprisonment; and

- b) In the case of continuing breach of any such by-law, a fine not exceeding twenty shillings for every day during which the offence continues: That the aggregate of any such fines imposed shall not, in the case of any one continuing breach of the by-law in question, exceed two thousand shillings

Despite the penalties laid down, what happens on the ground is quite different, the vendors often end up paying more than the expected thus are often forced to dig deeper into their pockets, evade the law, or play hide and seek with the askaris.

## **2.10 Model of Policy Approaches**

McGee and Yeung (1977:42-44) made an analytical model of policy stances towards the hawkers by setting three spheres of policy actions with regard to location, structure and education as presented in the table below which provide the framework for assessing how municipal or local governments have approached and should deal constructively with this sector.

### **2.10.1 Locational policy actions.**

Locational policies are actions designated to interfere with the location patterns of hawkers. These may be undertaken by conducting clearance operations (negative attitudes) or offering new legalised sites (positive attitudes). The provision of functional space for street trade is advised by many urban development experts as an alternative to the congestion that plagues so many streets and pavements where street vendors conduct their trade (Bromley 1978; McGee and Yeung 1977). Marketplace construction projects

intended to address location problems associated with street trade have been implemented. These projects were, to a large degree, a reflection of capital intensive infrastructure investment. Some of these serviced marketplaces are either under-utilised or stand empty, silent witnesses to the misunderstanding by governments as well as international donors of the location and socio-economic dynamics of small scale entrepreneurs (Mittendorf, 1974).

Other strategies have been the relocation of vendors to specific sites chosen by government authorities or the provision of designated areas for vendors to sell at certain times of the day. Alternatively there has been the experience of Bangladesh and Thailand where by traders can choose from a range of alternative trading sites including designated footpaths, or outside schools or bus stations as well as market places (Cohen, 2004).

### **2.10.2 Structural policy actions.**

Structural actions are designed to eliminate or develop the hawkers according to their economic base. These actions intended to eliminate the hawkers would include government takeover of marketing chains or government encouragement to the growth of alternative employment opportunities at higher incomes to make hawkers leave their job. Actions geared to develop the hawkers could well take the form of provision of monetary credit facilities for expansion of hawker operations. In Kenya, this has been embraced through various initiatives such as the construction of markets, Increasing Hawker licensing fee, *kazikwavijana*, increase punishment for hawking within the CBD offences among others.

### **2.10.3 Educational policy actions.**

This entails educational actions designated to change the attitudes towards hawkers. The negative policy would include the public campaign stressing the danger of purchasing

commodities from hawkers as a result of poor hygiene. The positive one could be the provision of training for hawkers in such areas as hygiene and sanitation practices, business management, hawkers' bylaws, marketing, bookkeeping, and customer relation.

Vendor association can play a role to mobilise and provide an institutional base for government dialogue and support of the vendors. The civil society too can play a good role in education and empowerment. Micro enterprises so far have been very supportive in engaging the vendors to form groups and borrow money from them.

As asserted in Kenya's vision 2030, most of the employment in trade is found in the informal sector. However, formal wholesale and retail trade tends to be more efficient and to provide more permanent high quality jobs which is what most Kenyan job seekers require. Kenya's challenge in the future is to mainstream the informal sector into the formal sector by providing it with the support it currently lacks which include secure business location, credit, training, access to markets that will bring it closer to the formal market and ultimately into regional and global markets. Building bridges between existing formal and informal institutions is an effective means of enhancing the success of formal institutions



**Table 2.2: A Model of Policy Approaches towards Hawkers,**

POLICY OPT IONS	MODEL A	MODEL B	MODEL C	MODEL D
Locational	Allow hawkers to sell legally from locations they desire	Allow hawkers to sell legally from some of their locations chosen by government from others to public markets or approved sites.	Relocate hawkers in locations chosen by government authorities	Clear hawkers from all locations in City and do not allow them to sell within city
Structural	Encourage hawkers by; government loans ,inducements to enter hawking profession, no legal action against hawkers for employing children, allow existing marketing chains to remain, make large firms distribute commodities through hawkers	Limited encouragement of hawkers by small scale operation of measures put forward in model A	Limited discouragement of hawkers by small scale operation of measures put forward in model D	Discourage hawkers by; high license fees, make hawking punishable by many legal restrictions, offer high salaries to hawker enforcement agencies employees
Educational		Limited encouragement by small scale operation of measures put forward in model A	Limited discouragement by small scale operation of measures put forward in model D	Discourage hawkers by; emphasizing the immorality of hawking, stressing the possibilities of corruption, petty crime that exists in hawking, stress buying hygienic food

**Source: McGee and Yeung (1977:43)**

## 2.11 Effects of relocation

The attempt to alleviate the hawking problem in Eldoret by re-ordering the illegal street hawkers into government-regulated trading areas began back in the year 2003 in Nairobi and was later adopted by various Kenyan cities. In Eldoret the development of the off-Street Re-ordering Programme began in 2007. Despite the creation of many stalls and permanent markets, by the Urban Services Department to contain the illegal street hawking situation, the hawking problem in Eldoret persists.

Le Corbusier (1996) expressed the modern focus on the re-creation of society through a planned structure that would assign each individual to his or her place in life, regulating and caring for each need and demand. He mentioned that;

*"...without plan there can be neither grandeur of aim and expression, nor rhythm, nor mass, nor coherence. Without plan we have the sensation, so insupportable to man, of shapelessness, of poverty, of disorder, of willfulness." (1996:207)*

Thus Corbusier (ibid) exhibited the modernist dream of a model society run from above within a plan as an essential. Often Street vending relocation program are planned from above, everything is ordered, efficient and structured by the municipal Authority. Force is often used to implement the planned structures. Street vending relocation can thus be planned to accommodate vendors into the urban economy without interfering with the interests of the public and that of the vendors as well, which often may not be the case. As much as public space is important to the public, street vending as a livelihood can be integrated to proper planning and zoning where business can still be profitable to the vendors.

Many companies as Lawson (2002) suggests may relocate to other areas but later realise they made a mistake by not considering the broader picture. Some may be isolated from customers and staff, problems getting to work among other relocation 'push' factors may arise. Consultation thus is essential during planning to ensure that hawkers feel involved. It is vital to keep people in touch otherwise a vacuum develops that lead to broken communication and eventually problems.

Brouwer et al (2002), also identified the following factors as the most influential in a firms decision to relocate:

- a) Internal: sector; status (i.e. organisation type); ownership; size; age; growth; take-over; merger; acquisition.
- b) External: market size.
- c) Location: country; headquarters located in another country

Therefore the choice of the place to do business go hand in hand with the involvement of stakeholders like vendors together with proper project projection to ensure sustainability and availability of customers in the new site who will ensure the operation continuity of the business by buying from the seller. Studies have found that innovative firms are more likely to relocate than non-innovative. Additionally, (and intuitively) manufacturing firms (in particular those with low inbuilt sunk costs) are more likely to relocate than market-oriented service firms. The difference between the private and public sector is important. That is, on top of efficiency changes and operating cost considerations, economic or opportunity costs need also to be considered to take account of the broader national resource costs and public benefit.

## **2.12 Micro scale Assistance to Street Entrepreneurs**

The post-1970 introduction of basic needs and equity values into the mainstream of development assistance brought with it an impetus for projects aimed at assisting small scale entrepreneurs and those operating at the micro-level, such as street food vendors. The rationale for these actions reflected a view clearly expressed by the World Bank:

... that small scale enterprises play a major role in providing employment and income to the urban poor and that past neglect and policy bias need to be corrected to give small enterprises a fair chance in competition with large firms. (World Bank, 1979)

The response for many years has centred on supplying credit. Extensive research had suggested that obtaining capital is a major problem confronting small and micro-entrepreneurs (Liedholm and Chuta 1976). Traditional sources of capital - moneylenders, rotating credit associations and family - were either too expensive, or were ill suited to meeting the overwhelming need for working capital. Formal banking institutions regarded this sector as outside the purview of their field of operations; the majority of vendors were unable to meet the banks' collateral criteria and the costs of administering a lending programme to micro-entrepreneurs were regarded as prohibitive. Confronting these constraints, indigenous and international development agencies implemented a diversity of credit assistance programmes targeted on the informal sector. Since that time a multiplicity of credit programmes have been introduced utilising varying types of institutional arrangements for the delivery of the capital. These can broadly be grouped into:

(i) Specialised credit institutions that give individual loans.

(ii) Loans to individuals that are guaranteed and administered by community-based PVO organisations, e.g. the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK).

(iii) Group-based or solidarity loans which are granted to individuals who form part of a group of peers that guarantees the loan, e.g. youth fund and women fund, among other micro enterprises. Experience has shown that with appropriate design such credit programmes have been able to reach hawkers

To conclude, the study sought to fill the gap of knowledge on relocation since little has been written on it. The vast majority of hawkers in Kenya continue to operate outside the law. The willingness of the Ministry of Local Government to discuss the issue and recommend a revision of the hawker bylaws represents a positive step forward towards solving the problem. In other countries like the Philippines municipal council take an accommodating view toward street vendors. There is little evidence of the harassment and banishment from the streets that has occurred in the Kenya. The Philippines government has worked towards restructuring the legal system in to urban development in order to lower the barriers that keep this dominant sector legally.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Overview**

Methodology refers to the application of the principles of data collection methods and procedures in any field of knowledge. This section describes research design, target population, sampling design and sample size, data collection methods, validity and reliability of research instruments and data analysis technique.

### **3.2 Research Design**

This was a mixed method study. The design chosen in this study was embedded research design. The research employed quantitative techniques to assess the magnitude and frequency of constructs and qualitative approach to explore the meaning and understanding of constructs. The study sought to bring together a comprehensive account of street vending business in relation to relocation by giving elaborations, illustrations, enhancement and clarification of the results. Landsverk (2011)

### **3.3 Study Area**

The study was conducted in Eldoret Town, situated about 320 km north-west of the Kenyan capital, Nairobi. It lies at an altitude of about 1200 m above sea level with approximately latitude 00310 North and Longitude 35016 East and situated in Eldoret Municipal area which shares 3 districts, namely Eldoret East, Eldoret West and Wareng. It has urban and rural setting with cosmopolitan populace. This study was conducted in Kahoya and West Market estates where vending business was relocated to. Eldoret town has numerous shopping centres and small-scale industrial activities with many engaging in vending. A lot of business activities also transpire within the numerous scantily dispersed households in the town. It is majorly an agriculture town although UasinGishu ranks as a major food producer in the country, poverty incidence is still high. Rural food

poverty was estimated at 42.92% of the population in 1997 (UasinGishu District Development Plan 2002- 2008)

There are eight informal settlements in the Municipality namely MailiNne, Kamukumji, Kambi Somali, BomaTurukana, Kahoya, West Market, Huruma and Kimumu. West Market was selected to represent the hawker permitted place area where business was conducted along the roads, while Kahoya represented the enclosed market where business was conducted in the markets. These were formal sites where hawkers at the CBD were relocated to.

### **3.4 Study Population and Sample Size**

Migrations of people to urban centers have led to an increase in urban population, unemployment levels and poverty. The targeted population were vendors in Kenya. The source population was 4,052 vendors at Kahoya and West markets. This was the estimated population of hawkers at 2,807 and 1,245 for West Market and Kahoya which constituted the study population for the study.

The sample size was calculated using the equation adopted from Mugenda and Mugenda

(1999) using the statistical formula:  $n = \frac{Z^2 p(1-q)}{d^2}$

Where Z = Score at the respective confidence level (1.96)

d = Confidence Interval

p = Magnitude of the relocation

Since, there is no known magnitude of the relocation in Eldoret Municipality, 50 percent was assumed to ensure maximum sample size.

At 95 percent confidence level, the sample size (n) would be equivalent to:

$$n = \frac{(1.96^2 \times 0.50)(0.50)}{(0.05)^2}$$

$$(0.05)^2$$

$$n = 384$$

### 3.4.1 Sampling Frame

To identify the participants in the study, a sampling frame was obtained from the number of hawkers at the two sites. Vendors were counted at Kahoya and West. Owing to the heterogeneous composition of the study population and the various categories of participants targeted for the study, a combination of sampling methods was employed to draw the required sample for the study. Systematic random sampling, proportionate sampling and purposive sampling methods were used in the study.

### 3.4.2 Proportionate Sampling

This method was used to select a representative sample from Kahoya and West markets. This is because they comprised of different population sizes and each area had to be represented adequately. Sampling was therefore done in proportion to the area.

Table 3.1: Population and Sample of hawker for the current study

Settlement	Target population	Proportion	Sample Size
West Market	2,807	$2,807/4,052 \times 384$	266
Kahoya	1,245	$1,245/4,052 \times 384$	118
Total	4,052		384



### **3.4.3 Systematic random sampling**

This method was used to draw the actual respondents from each settlement involved in the study to meet the proportion of sample allocated to each. The questionnaire was administered to 266 and 118 respondents from the households in West Market and Kahoya respectfully.

### **3.5 Methods of data collection**

The variety of data collected required that several instruments be used for purposes of accuracy. In this regard, Kothari (1985,p.18) observed “...researchers want methods that provide high accuracy, general reliability and explanatory power with low cost, rapid speed and a minimum of management demands and administrative conveniences”. The study used instruments that were able to raise generalizations that could be explained with high accuracy of interpretation. The researcher used questionnaires, interview schedules, observations and photography. The selections of these tools were guided by the nature of the data to be collected as well as the objectives of the study and time limits. (Scheyvensand Storey, 2003).

#### **3.5.1 Interviews**

Interviews were held with a sample of 30 key informants from Kahoya market, West Hawkers Market. Fifteen (15) vendors from each of the two groups were purposely selected. Information was obtained using the interview schedule in appendix i. These interviewing approach, unlike questionnaire-based interviewing which tends to be shallow and rigid, probes more deeply and allows for explanations from respondents without necessarily jeopardizing the goal of the research (Patton, 1990). The interviews were to allow for detailed probing of respondents’ views and opinions and facilitate the elaboration of answers when necessary. This was to enable the expansion of the

interviews into other areas that originally were not part of the interview schedule, but nonetheless may help towards addressing the aim of the study.

### **3.5.2 Observation**

Observation was also used by the researcher to observe various features that reflected vendor business. These observations were guided by the observation checklist in appendix II. The observation checklist (appendix II) contained various characteristics such as physical setting, market behavior, and attitude of vendors which have been marked Bugmcourt (1995) to be attributes of hawker business. Observation was also applied concurrently with interviews.

### **3.5.3 Questionnaires**

Questionnaires were appropriate for this study. Questionnaires (appendix iii) were used to get vendor information in the markets. The questionnaires were justified on the basis of the fact that they enabled the coverage of wide area and extensive contents within a short period of time. The self-administered questionnaires were distributed by the researcher personally to the respondents with the help of two research assistants in the markets.

### **3.5.4 Photography**

Photographs were a very useful mnemonic device that helped the researcher cope with information overload at the research site and to come up with vivid images. Photographs captured a range of phenomena which included products sold, types of display, crowd activity and market behavior among others.

## **3.6 Validity and Reliability of the Research Instruments**

### **3.6.1 Validity of the research instrument**

Validity of an instrument refers to its ability to obtain data for which it was designed Kirk & Miller (1986). To ensure the validity and reliability of our research instruments, several steps were taken. First, the interview schedule and questionnaires were thoroughly discussed between the researcher and his supervisors; secondly, the researcher held training sessions with the research assistants before the commencement of the research. Thirdly, the questionnaire was pre-tested before the actual collection of the data. Pre-testing was done in order to determine the questionnaires' internal consistency and to detect the difficulties that the respondents were likely to face when responding to questions. During the questionnaire pre-testing and training sessions, problems with the questionnaire items were noted and styles of probing and seeking clarifications discussed.

### **3.6.2 Reliability of the instrument**

The reliability is consistency in measurement. It is to check on reliability of the instrument. The questionnaires were pre-tested through a pilot study to ascertain their effectiveness in soliciting the information intended. Pilot study was carried out in order to determine the questionnaires' internal consistency and to detect any difficulties that the respondents were likely to face when responding to the items. The questionnaires were administered to eight vendors drawn from the 2 locations in Wareng District. Split half technique was used to obtain X and Y scores. X distribution took odd positioned items, whereas Y distribution took even positional items. Pearson product moment correlation (r) was used to calculate the reliability coefficient. The coefficient obtained was then converted into an appropriate correlation for the entire test using Spearman and Brown prophecy formula. The reliability coefficient of 0.5 and above was accepted as a good measure of reliability.

### **3.7 Data Analysis**

At the end of data collection, all completed questionnaires were thoroughly examined by the researcher, coded and organized for computer analysis. The data was analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 18 to generate findings and emerging trends in the data that was collected. Presentation of the findings was made in appropriate and well interpreted diagrams and figures.

### **3.8 Ethical Considerations**

Participants were made to understand the nature and purpose of the study. This enabled them to have informed consent to participate in the study. No respondent was obliged to take part in the study. Likewise, all information obtained from institutional data bases was utilised with the full consent of the owners.

Confidentiality of the information gathered was highly observed to safeguard the respondents and to ensure that their customer interactions were not interfered with. The identity of the respondents was also withheld to avoid any form of victimization or personalization of issues emerging from the study findings. Moreover, to avoid plagiarism, sources and authors of information adopted in this study were acknowledged appropriately.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS & INTERPRETATION**

### **4.1 Overview**

This chapter outlines the presentation, analysis and interpretation of the data collected from the respondents. It presents and discusses the background information of the respondents including, information concerning Market behavior of the street vendors after relocation from the Eldoret Town centers, outcome of relocation, the challenges of the existing vendors face and the strategies employed.

#### **4.1.1 Hawker Permitted Place (West Hawkers Market & Kahoya Market)**

The hawkers were given a fixed pitch stall in the hawker permitted place measuring three feet by four feet. One hundred and fifty two stalls in the Kahoya permitted place were available for allocation; there were more street hawkers to be resettled than the number of stalls in the hawker permitted place. A selection process had to be introduced to distribute the available places among the street hawkers. Some of the displaced hawkers, at Kahoya on the other hand, were aggrieved by the municipal council "unfairness" in excluding them, one of the hawkers noted;

*“they claimed to use ballot papers yet the stalls had already been allocated to individuals, therefore only few ballot paper were put in a box yet the others were empty, all these stalls are occupied, the owners rent them out to us.”*

The researcher interpreted this as the hawkers' rightful claim to a placement in the hawker permitted place in compensation for their displacement from their usual place of business. These hawkers thought those who were in the street could have been given first priority, but the distribution process was not transparent, thus others bribed their way out.

Most businesses in the markets close between 5.00 p.m to 6.30p.m, while vendors at the CBD and those at the pedestrian pass conducted business quite longer, some going up to

as late as 10.00 p.m. At Kahoya and West markets few vendors conducted business on Sundays where as those at the streets were present even on this day.

The commuting pattern was altered by the relocation project, those who resided far from the market locations had to travel longer with the increase in the distance of the place of work from the place of residence. As a result those who resided far from the place of work/market locations responded least favourably to relocation process. Market therefore attracted those who lived nearby. This is because those who owned stalls from far would spend more transport costs.

#### 4.2.Questionnaires response rate

**Table 4.1: Response rates of the respondents in the study**

Respondents	Sample size	Number of respondents	Response rate
West market	266	241	90.6
Kahoya	118	115	97.5
Total	384	356	92.7

As stipulated in the table 4.1, the response rates were considered good when compared to the recommended response rates to verify consistency of measurements required for analysis as suggested by Kothari (1985) that it should be over 60%. Respondents in Kahoya had the highest response rate at 97.5% than that of West market at 90.6%.This indicated that the Kahoya vendors were more cooperative and prepared for change than the West vendors.

### **4.3.Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents**

In order to establish the nature of the respondents' sample, the researcher established the background information of the respondents. The background information sought included; age distribution, gender distribution, levels of education, marital status as well as the working condition.

The number of respondents used during the study in West and Kahoya markets was 241 and 115 respectively based on the questionnaire response rates from these two study areas. Distribution of the respondents by gender indicates that among the respondents in West market and Kahoya, close to two thirds were females while the remaining a third were males. There were no significant gender differences in the proportion of respondents in West market (about 1:3; Male: Female) in Kahoya, indicating that females respondents in West market and respondents in Kahoya were dominant in both estates. This indicated that women were generally disadvantaged educationally and economically thus could not get good job opportunities in the market resulting in them venturing into vending business which had easy entry. This is in agreement with Uasingishu District Development Plan 2002-2008 that urban food poverty especially among the women is higher than that of men.

Age distribution indicated that more than two thirds (73%) of the respondents in West market were aged between 18 to 35 years. Like in the gender distribution, there were no significant age differences of the respondents in West market and in Kahoya ( $\chi^2 = 2.334$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p = 0.531$ ).The researcher interpreted this as a fact that most young people were

**Table 4.2: Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents**

Demographic	Characteristics	West market		Kahoya	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Gender	Male	90	37.3	33	28.7
	Female	151	62.7	82	71.3
Age	< 18	28	11.6	5	4.3
	18-35	188	78	93	80.9
	36-50	16	6.7	11	9.6
	>50	9	3.7	6	5.2
Marital status	Single	101	41.9	16	13.9
	Married	126	52.3	85	73.9
	Divorced	10	4.1	6	5.2
	Widows	4	1.7	8	7
Highest education	None	5	2.1	0	0.0
	Lower primary	23	9.5	1	0.9
	Upper primary	67	27.8	13	11.3
	Completed primary	104	43.2	40	34.8
	Secondary	40	16.6	52	45.2
	College	2	0.8	8	6.9
	University	0	0.0	1	0.9
Occupation	Unemployed	144	59.8	35	30.4
	Farmer	73	30.3	42	36.5
	Casual	8	3.3	16	14
	Students	16	6.6	22	19.1

unemployed yet they were within the productive labour force a factor that affects development in most African countries but common in least developed countries.

Most of the respondents in West market and Kahoya were married with the proportion of married being higher in Kahoya (73%) than in West market (52%). No particular significant differences was discerned between West market and Kahoya ( $\chi^2 = 0.334$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p = 0.952$ ). This indicated that they had families or dependants to take care of that required them to work extra harder each day to meet the necessities of their families.



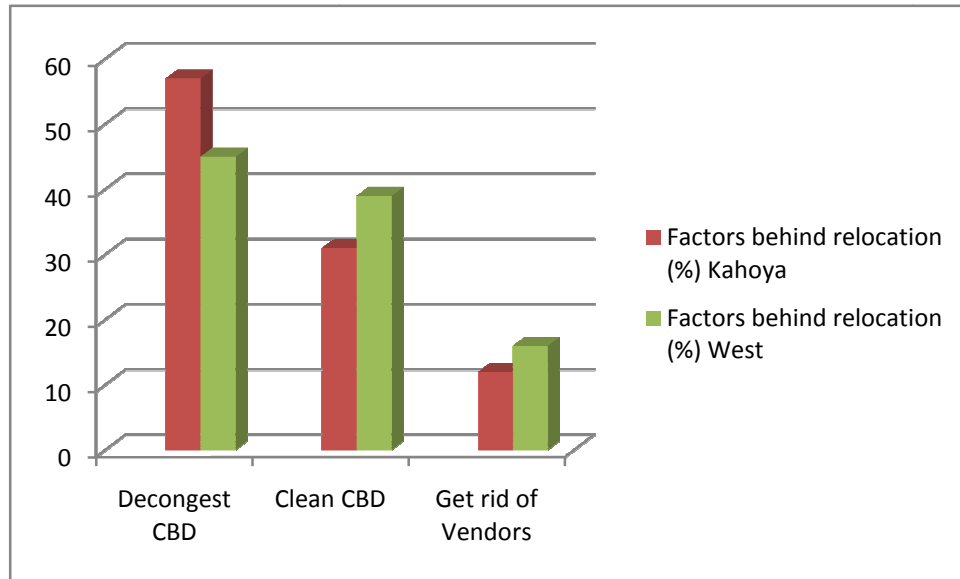
Among the respondents, highest proportion of the respondents in West market sampled, had managed to complete primary school (43%) followed by those who had just reached upper primary levels of education while 45% had secondary levels of education in Kahoya followed by those who had just completed primary levels of education. Comparatively, there were significant differences in the levels of education was found between Kahoya and West market estates ( $\chi^2 = 13.119$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p = 0.0258$ ). This indicated that Kahoya vendors are more learned than West vendors this could be a reason why there was a higher response rate received at Kahoya than at the West market.

Finally most of the respondents in West market and Kahoya were unemployed followed by farmers, casual workers and the least being students. There were no significant differences in the occupation of the respondents in West market and respondents in Kahoya. ( $\chi^2 = 2.104$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p = 0.5161$ ).

#### **4.4. The factors behind relocation**

The first objective of the study was to find out the factors behind relocation.

Majority of the vendors (Fig 4.1) 65(57%) at Kahoya and 108(45%) at West market agreed that the relocation project aimed at decongesting the CBD. The rest mentioned that the project intended to clean the CBD 36 (31%) at Kahoya and 94 (39%) at West market and get rid of vendors 14 (12%) at (Kahoya and 39 (16%) at West market.



**Fig4.1; Factors behind relocation**

Public space often has contradicting interests. This include the need of the street vendors to earn a living , the public who want to access space, the wholesalers, supermarket and retail traders who view vendors as unfair competition and the buyers who want to access affordable goods and services. Vendors are often associated with traffic congestion, unhygienic conditions, tax evasion, theft, and illegal groupings. Numerous laws and ordinances have often been devised to regulate street vendors as a way of dealing with the space wars. This include licensing, relocation and giving permits to those doing business at certain areas.

Municipal council of Eldoret hawkers by laws (2002) state that upon payment of appropriate fee specified, the hawker shall be issued with a license permitting the person to do business. This bylaws mention obstruction at the streets for free passage as an offence. Licensing permits the hawkers to do business but at the same time the general nuisance bylaws contradicts it by stating that any person without the permission of the town clerk in writing and for the purpose of hawking and selling shouts shall be guilty of

an offence. The general nuisance bylaw has often been used to remove vendors from the CBD in that they cause obstruction and noise pollution to the public.

#### 4.5. The effects of relocation policy

The second objective was to address the effect of relocation policy had caused to street vending.

The study also sought to find out the owner of the facility that the vendor frequently uses. The findings are presented in Table 4.3.

**Table 4.3: Ownership of the facility in the relocation sites**

		Site	
		Kahoya	WestMarket
Individual/Privately owned	Count	23	33
	Percent	20	13.7%
Rented (shared facility)	Count	5	67
	Percent	4.3%	27.80%
Public Facility	Count	87	141
	Percent	75.7%	58.5%

As shown in the table 4.3, most vendors utilized public facilities in the relocation sites. This indicated that public facility was more of great help for the vendors. They aided the people who could not rent or construct their own structures to do business comfortably. More vendors rented stalls in West market than in Kahoya, indicating that this was a booming business there.

Source of customers for the SV after relocation is provided in Table 4.4. Majority of the respondents in Kahoya (65.2%) compared to the proportion of those in West Market had previous customers in their new areas of relocation. However, the proportion of those

with local community members were found to be higher in West Market than in Kahoya, with each site reporting some low levels of customer base. This indicated that customer loyalty was a virtue in business as a vendor would maintain previous customers despite the relocation process proving that a customer may choose to buy from a particular seller depending on various reasons.

**Table 4.4: Sources of customers for the Street Vendors after relocation**

		Site	
		Kahoya	West Market
Previous customers	Frequency	75	97
	Percent	65.2	40.2
Locals	Frequency	29	111
	Percent	25.2	46.1
New customers	Frequency	11	33
	Percent	9.6	13.7

The respondents were also asked of the impacts of relocation on business at the new sites (Table 4.5). Majority of the traders (64.3%) in Kahoya Experienced more challenges at the new sites of operation. At the West market most vendors (45.6%) experienced a reduction in customers indicating that their number of sales decreased. It can therefore be said that relocation affected the vending business by causing more harm than good. Initially it was intended for the best interest of the vendors but as indicated in the table above the challenges that were being experienced by the vendors increased while at the same time the business was experiencing reduced customers.

**Table 4.5: Impact of relocation on business at the new sites**

		Site	
		Kahoya	West Market
Increased customers	Frequency	12	34
	Percent	10.5	14.1
Reduced customers	Frequency	29	110
	Percent	25.2	45.6
More challenges	Frequency	74	97
	Percent	64.3	40.3

It is important therefore to note that the location of where a trader operates and the business performance was of importance in this research. Majority of the traders (64.3%) in Kahoya Experienced more challenges at the new sites of operation. At the West market most vendors (45.6%) experienced a reduction in customers indicating that their number of sales decreased. It can therefore be said that relocation affected the vending business by causing more harm than good. Initially it was intended for the best interest of the vendors, but as indicated in the table above the challenges that were being experienced by the vendors increased while at the same time the business was experiencing reduced customers.

The research thus went ahead to investigate the state of hygiene in these facilities as shown below.

As stipulated in the table, Table 4.6 above shows a fair distribution of the responses regarding the hygiene of the markets with the majority of the respondents 70.4% at Kahoya and 46.1% at West market agreeing that they were fair. This indicated an improvement of the working condition of the vendors after the relocation projects.

**Table 4.6: Quality of the market facility in terms of hygiene**

		Site	
		Kahoya	West Market
Clean	Count	23	28
	Percent	20%	11.6%
Fair	Count	81	111
	Percent	70.4%	46.1%
Dirty	Count	11	102
	Percent	9.6%	42.3%

Relocated vendors experienced significant gains in the quality of the environmental conditions in their work place. The vendors were asked to compare the environmental condition of the market with those that they faced while working on the street prior to relocation; various environmental variables were looked at and these included; air, cleanliness, dust, garbage removal, light, noise, odour, space, and water. Vendors rated the environmental factors they experienced in the market as good and mentioned that it was conducive for business. The photo below indicate the situation at the ground.



**Figure 4.2: the drainage system in West market place**

The most striking benefits to relocated vendors were the improvements in cleanliness, garbage removal, availability of toilets and bathrooms and reduction of noise levels.

Vendors also reported that their working conditions exposed them to fewer dangers and accidents than the environment they were in while they were doing business on the street.

**Table 4.7: Convenience of the facility in Terms of selling**

		Site	
		Kahoya	West Market
Satisfied	Count	14	36
	Percent	12.1%	15%
Fair	Count	8	9
	Percent	7%	3.7%
Dissatisfied	Count	93	196
	Percent	80.9%	81.3%

The results in table 4.7 indicate that majority of the respondents, 80.9% at Kahoya and 81.3% at the West market, were dissatisfied with the convenience of the facility in terms of selling, 7% and 3.7% at Kahoya and West market respectively indicated that the situation was fair, while a number of respondents 12.1% at Kahoya and 15% at West market were satisfied with the situation of the markets. Business as stipulated by the table above was doing poorly. This could be due to various reasons including the location of the markets away from the CBD forcing customers to buy most of their items at the CBD where items could easily be access. The hawker permitted place experienced limited pedestrian flow thus possibly contributing to the limited amount of goods sold.

The other convenience that is of great importance when it comes to the storing of commodities for sale is security, especially at night time. All vendors mind so much

about their security. Below are the findings concerning the convenience of the facility in terms of security?

**Table 4.8: Response on Convenience of Facility in Terms of Security**

		Site	
		Kahoya	West Market
Satisfied	Count	7	4
	% within Site	6.1%	1.7%
Fair	Count	81	114
	% within Site	70.4%	47.3%
Dissatisfied	Count	27	123
	% within Site	23.5%	51.0%

The results in Table 4.8 above reveal that 6.1% of the respondents at Kahoya and 1.7% at West market were satisfied with the security of the facility that they used, the other 70.4% at Kahoya and 47.3% at the West market indicated that the security situation was fair, while another 23.5% at Kahoya and 51% at the West market were dissatisfied with the security state. Poor security could thus be a reason why vendors did not fully embrace the relocation project.

Table 4.9 presents the findings on the convenience of the markets in terms of operating time. Majority of the respondents, 56 (48.7%), and 174 (72.2%) at Kahoya and West market were not satisfied with convenience of the facility in terms of operating time, 33 (28.7%) and 26(10.8%) at Kahoya and West market respectively of the respondents indicated that the situation was fair, while 26 (22.6%) and 41(17%) of the respondents at



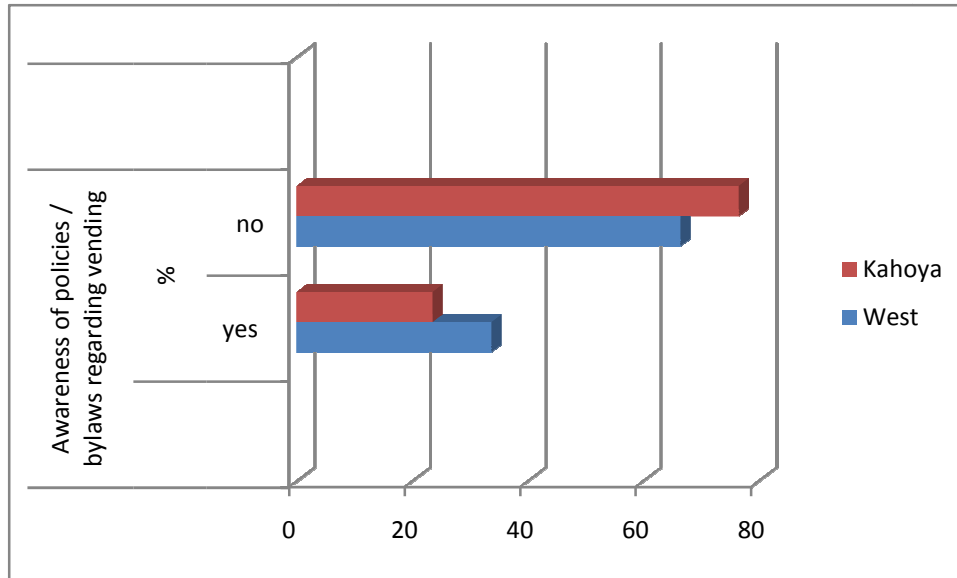
Kahoya and West market respectively were satisfied. It was of paramount importance to improve the state of operating time for the facilities. As indicated above, the vendors at the hawker permitted place possibly would have wished to sell for longer hours so as to increase the quantity of goods sold.

**Table 4.9: Convenience of the market facility in terms of Operating Time**

		Site	
		Kahoya	West Market
Satisfied	Count	26	41
	Percent	22.6%	17.0%
Fair	Count	33	26
	Percent	28.7%	10.8%
Dissatisfied	Count	56	174
	Percent	48.7%	72.2%

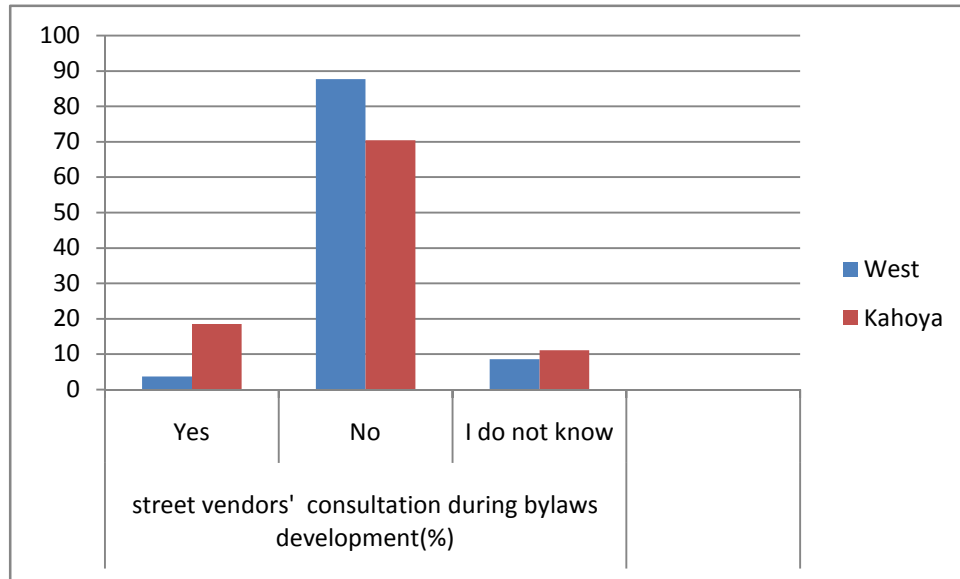
It was established that in street hawking, the number of working hours is determined by the target income level of the street hawker rather than the other way round as in most wage employment situations. Thus some hawkers may work eight to ten hours a day while others work only four to five hours a day. On a good day, a street hawker can take off as soon as he or she sells all his goods. On a slow day, he may decide to remain for an extra hour or two in order to bring his income closer to the target level. It was established that Vending was at its peak in the afternoons and evenings at the markets. The prevalence of shorter business duration is evident in Kahoya and West Markets probably because the clientele were few during the day. The sale of consumables picks up from the afternoon onwards.

#### 4.5.1. Awareness of by-laws regarding vending business



**Figure 4.3: the vendors' awareness of by-laws regarding vending business**

When asked of their awareness of the existing bylaws and policies regarding vending business, (fig 4.3) 81(33.61%) in West market mentioned that they were aware, the other 160(66.39%) mentioned that they were not aware. In Kahoya, 27(23.48%) mentioned that they were aware, the rest 88(76.52%) mentioned that they were not aware. This indicated that the West vendors were more enlightened than the Kahoya vendors, though generally most vendors were not aware of the policies regarding the kind of business they are involved in.

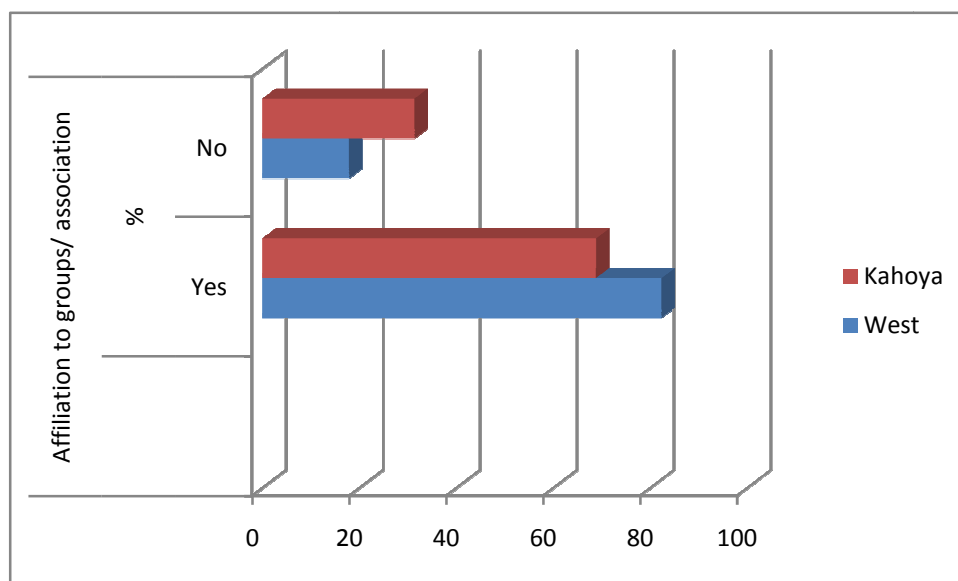


**Figure 4.4: street vendors' consultation during bylaws development**

When asked if they were consulted during bylaws development, for those who were aware, (fig 4.4) indicates that in West market, 3(3.7%) mentioned that they were involved, 71 (87.7%) mentioned that they were not consulted, the other 7(8.6%) mentioned that they did not know. In Kahoya market, 5(18.5%) agreed that they were consulted, 19(70.4%) mentioned that they were not consulted, the rest 3(11.1%) mentioned that they did not know. This stipulates that vendors are not consulted during the development of bylaws regarding their business.

#### **4.5.2. Informal groupings**

On groups, (fig 4.5) 82.2% (198) at the West market agreed that they belonged to groups or informal networks while the rest 17.8% (43) mentioned that they did not belong to any group. In Kahoya, 68.7% (79) mentioned that they belonged to groups while 31.3% (36) mentioned that they did not belong to any group.



**Figure 4.5: informal groupings**

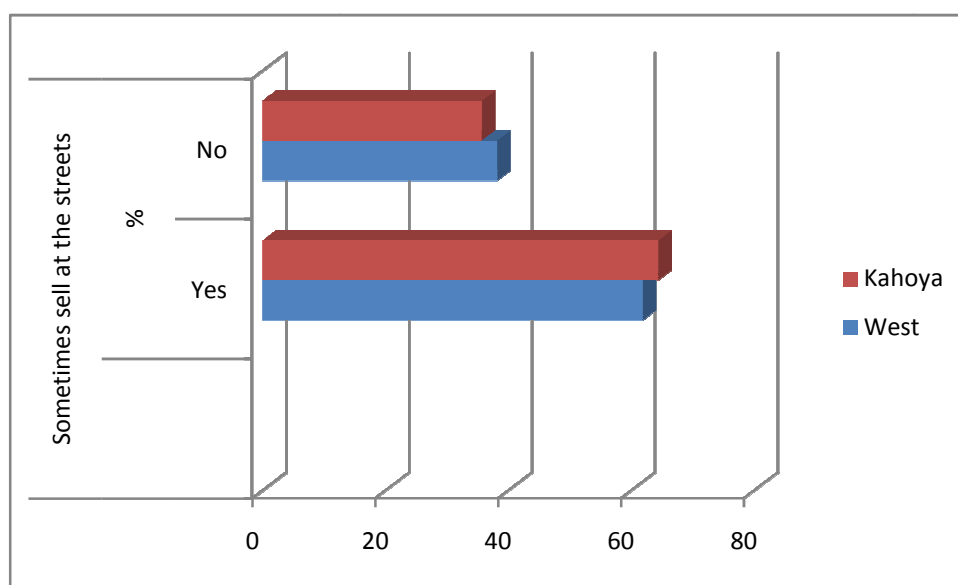
Vendors were organized into *chamas* (groups) where they contributed money. Less sophisticated devices were used by vendors for communication. An informal network communicated information by word of mouth to fellow group members who majority were vendors. The information networks in these groups were effective in lowering possible business risks and members gained information about the quality of partners and the business environment. This type of informal information exchange was based on trust. Close familial bonds and friendships permitted information sharing. Trust among strong bound ethnic groups or trading colleagues was built through multiple or repeated interactions, which allowed each group member to assess the other for reliability in adhering to contracts. Different types of information was exchanged within networks.

The groups also called *chamas* (Swahili word for association) had access to information or money were formed in many different ways. Market traders formed close-knit groupings that offered mutual support, with even direct competitors selling for a member if she was sick. Their bond existed even if they were of different tribe because their group was bound together by their common reason. A second binding element was their

repeated interactions that build up specific knowledge about one another. This helped cement the trust, letting the group know who among them could be relied on. Specific knowledge thus also helped determine the boundaries of the group on sharing the information they had or included other welfare issues. One of the key instruments was the knowledge that a reputation for untrustworthiness would exclude people from future transactions. Group members were urged to select one another with an eye to as much homogeneity as possible. Then, loan eligibility of each member in a group from lending institutions was made subject to the credit history of the other members of the group, creating a strong element of peer pressure and great knowledge of each other.

#### 4.5.3. Business on the streets

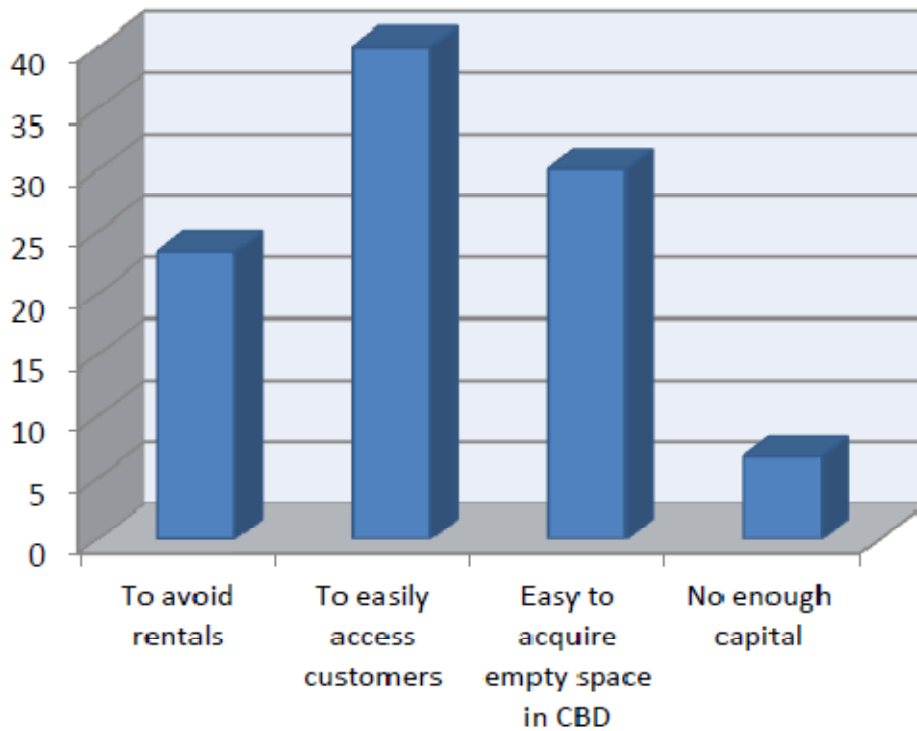
When asked if they sometimes sell on the streets, (fig 4.6) indicates that 149(61.83%) at West market mentioned that they do, the rest 92(38.17) mentioned that they don't. At Kahoya, 74(64.35%) agreed that they sometimes sell at the streets, the other 41(35.65%) mentioned that they do not.



**Figure 4.6; sometimes sell at the streets**

Vendors mentioned that they would sneak to the CBD when police and council *askaris* surveillance was minimal. They mentioned evenings, weekends, November to December or during election years as good times. Out of the total sample of 30 interviewed street vendors which includes, former market traders, Figure 4.7 reveals that the majority (40%) engage in street vending because they easily access customers due to the high volume of movement of people within the CBD. On the other hand, 30% sell in the streets because it is easy for them to acquire space within the CBD where there are no formal application procedures and this saves them from incurring costs. 20% sell in the streets to avoid paying rent in the formal markets and the remaining 10% due to not having enough capital to sell sufficient goods in the market. These findings are in agreement with De Soto's argument (De Soto 1989) that, the informal sector grows because traders try to avoid the cost of formality in terms of strict rules and regulation, taxes, time and effort involved in complying with formal state procedures. Street Vendors in Eldoret try to avoid all these costs by operating illegally on the streets.

Additional public spaces that have got a high flow of human and traffic are considered conducive by the street vendors. This is because they vendors an easy access to their customers. These findings resonate with the findings by Morales and Cross (2007: 15) that, where street markets are discouraged or repressed, vendors must often invade (illegally or informally) the space in which to gain access to their clients.

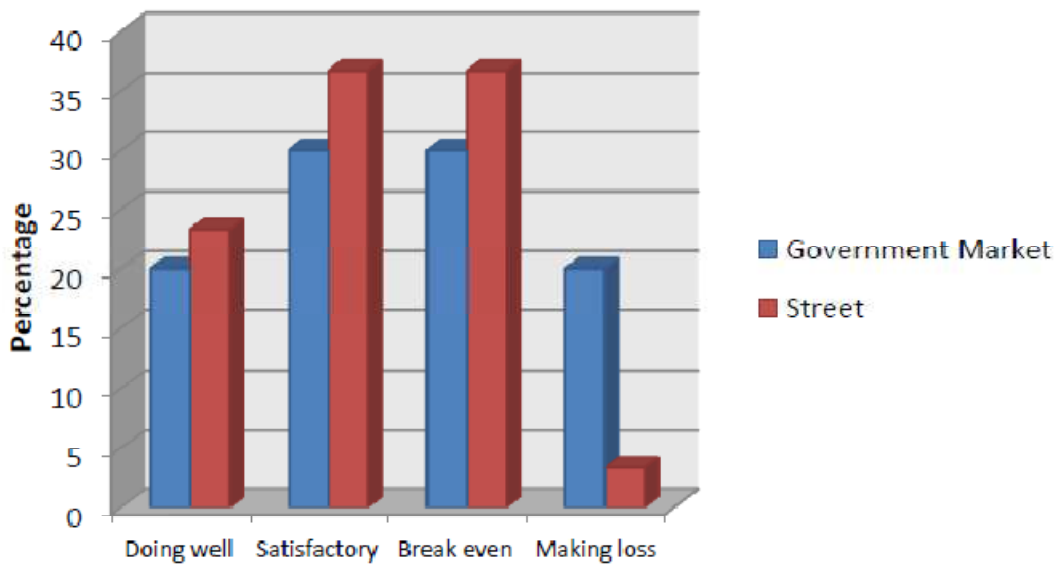


**Figure 4.7: Business on the streets**

It was observed that some of the traders have continued selling other items from the market on their allocated space and in the streets. This traders that have diversified their business by selling their goods in the market and some on streets were trying to increase their security rather than maximizing profits. By diversifying their businesses they were trying to spread their risks so that in case one business fails they were able to depend on the other business thereby increasing their security. This argument is in a agreement with Berner et al (2008) study where they characterized survival entrepreneurs as people who attempt to increase security and smoothen consumption rather than maximising profits; for this purpose they diversify their activities instead of specializing. It can be concluded that most of the former market traders in the sample have left the market due to loss of business and wanting to diversify their businesses.

#### 4.5.4. Performance of business verses location

Out of the total number of traders whose business is doing well, figure 4.8 as shown below indicates that 20% are from the market and 23.3% are from the streets. In terms of traders whose business is satisfactory, 30% are from the market and 36.7% are from the streets. For those whose business is at break even, 30% are from the market and 36.7% are from the streets. For those making losses, 20% are from the market and 3.3% are from the streets.



**Figure 4.8: Performance of Business vs. Location**

The findings have revealed that there are more traders making losses in the market than in the streets. It can be argued that traders selling from the streets are performing better than those in the market by having more sales. Hence, this becomes one of the motivating factors for choice of trading location.

This could be a reason why despite the relocation process, a number of vendors consistently sold on the street. At the CBD vending spots close to a bus terminus, busy



streets and outside supermarkets were considered more desirable. The vendors would gravitate to spots that looked “good” and would resolve competing claims by giving spots to the vendors arriving first. This was the method of allocation. The corners were consistently occupied, with other vendors setting up in between. They occupied not only the corners where the streets intersected, but the sidewalk in between as well. Others carried their goods in carts, wheelbarrows and boxes from one area to the other as they enticed pedestrians to buy from them. None of the vendors blocked pedestrian traffic completely, as two pedestrians could still walk abreast up the sidewalk. At the markets, footpaths and entry paths were the most preferred sites for doing business. A high number would sell consistently outside the markets and supermarkets.

By selling at the corners where these streets intersect at the CBD, a vendor significantly increased his visibility to potential customers and the council *askaris*. It stands to reason that, compared to other places, the corners are more profitable. This is likely to be part of the reason why, even on weekend afternoons, when pedestrian traffic was relatively light, these corners were consistently occupied.

It was observed that the greater a person's commitment to a given area the more likely was he or she to react unfavourably to relocation. The satisfaction of a vendor with the business area and the people there, were mentioned as influencing their attitudes towards relocation by undermining the sense of group identity.

Most of the vendors said they would prefer to remain trading from the streets within the CBD because the streets are very busy with so many pedestrians and vehicle movements. They felt that they were bringing goods closer to the people at a cheaper price. Nevertheless, they could only move if government would build more markets within the CBD, however, this is not possible because most of the land has been taken up by other

developments. These findings show how the Eldoret town planners zoned very little space for market traders within the central business district without taking into consideration future population growth and development. It has been revealed that as the population grows many people want to sell within the CBD.

Interviews with street vendors were carried out to get an in depth understanding of why they think they sell more in the streets than in the market. According to the street vendors, they sell more in the streets because there are more people passing through the streets of the Central Business District than in the market. As customers walk through the CBD on their way going to the market they get attracted to goods on the streets and they end up buying from street vendors (impulse purchases). On the other hand, most goods sold in the streets are similar to those sold in the market hence the reason why people end up buying from the streets. In addition, street vendors have strategically placed themselves in busy streets that are main access roads leading to bus stations and main markets near the CBD thereby, gaining access to more customers than the market traders.

Moreover, the closing hours of the shops and council markets have had an impact on why street vendors sell more. The shops within the CBD close at 5.30 pm and council markets close at 6 pm. It is around this time that the CBD gets really busy with people knocking off from work and trying to get on buses to go home. On their way home they buy goods from street vendors who close their business at their own time. Furthermore, the street vendors interviewed said they make more sells in the streets compared to the market. For example one street vendor aged 37 said,

*“I make an income of about Ksh 600 per day in the streets than a Ksh 300 I used to make when I was in the market this way after three days I can afford to buy more goods for sale, this was not the case when I was in the market.”*

The street vendors also said that they trade from the streets to cut down transport costs as this reduces their operational costs for their business. A 34 year old vendor said,

*“I trade from the streets to cut down on transport cost because I buy all my goods at the CBD and it is cheaper for me to sell from here than to pay transport cost to the markets.”*



Figure 4.9: Photos of vendors at the CBD when the police and the local authorities were not conducting surveillance.(evenings, weekends, during holidays and November and December)

It can be argued that the street vendors have managed to capture a specific segment of the customers market that sustains their livelihood. When asked to comment on the issue of formalisation of street vendors by government, the respondents noted that the informal sector is important for the poor as an employment sector as most of them are in the streets for many reasons. For instance others have limited capital to expand their business, others do not have shops in the market and most of them do not have any other livelihood activity apart from vending. Hence, government should come up with a better policy that would protect the livelihoods of the street vendors.

#### **4.5.6. Effects of policy framework relocation on market behaviour**

Street vendors mentioned that they would like to have a trading license so as to be able to trade in certain areas like bus stops and back lanes this could enable them to trade freely without fearing evictions from the council. Still, many SV preferred to run when faced with a street sweeping operation to avoid arrest. Hot pursuits often ended up with bad air even to a point of throwing stones. The tired policemen became short-tempered, especially if the SV offered verbal and/or physical resistance to the destruction of their properties. One hawker lamented;

*“the council police arrested me and confiscated my good, The judge ruled that I pay a fine of Ksh 3,000 for selling in the streets failure or be arrested for one month in prison. At the time of ruling I didn’t have money. My colleagues raised that money through contributions and I was released but i was never given my goods.”*

One hawker who sold snacks around Kiptagich House, noted:

*“The government is really unfair to us because they know that petty traders like us can not afford to rent a shop. I have been arrested by the council askaris severally, and all I do is pay fine to bail myself as well as my goods. Sometimes they don't take you to the court, they will just collect money from you without giving a receipt.”*

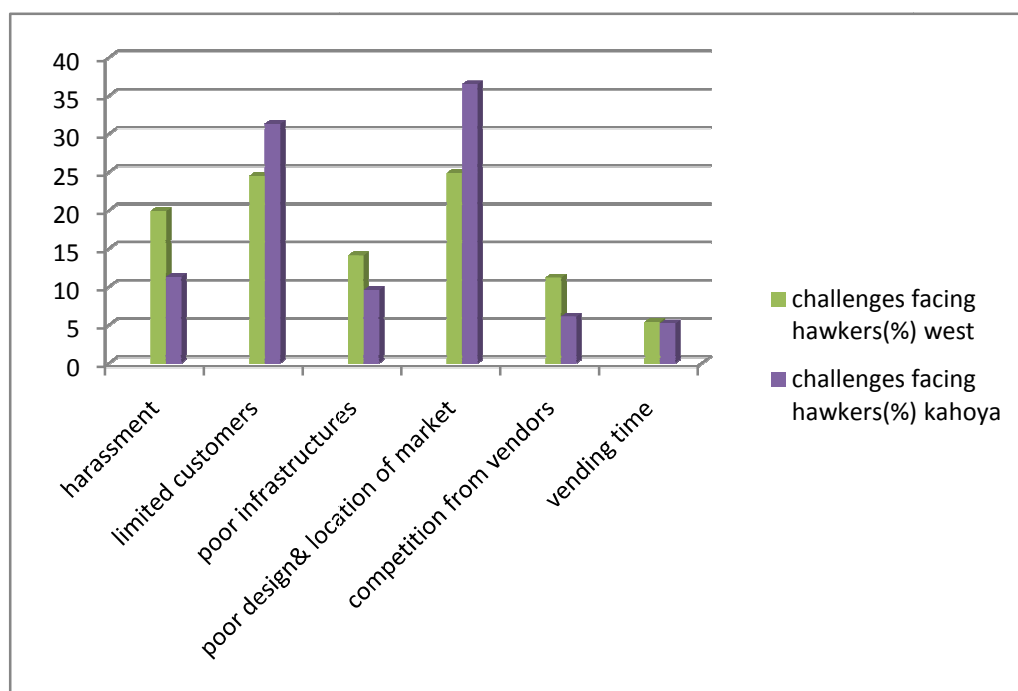
Another hawker, who sold used clothes, disclosed that no matter what regulations the government decided to adopt, they would not work until it considered the plight of weaker members of the public. According to him, they were aware about the existing law as well as the task force team but, they just had to survive no matter what it took. He further mentioned that they used to release their goods for bail but, these days; if your things were seized then you just have to start thinking of the next thing to do because you will never get them back.

It has been noted that the people in the informal economy are the majority voters, thus, politicians avoid enforcing the law in times of elections for fear of losing. This was evident even from my own observations. The streets vendors in the CBD would be crowded during election period when the town had no one to govern. In fact during research it was revealed that the vendors were aware that they were not being evicted because the politicians wanted their votes and they were also aware that after elections the situation may change, hence, they would maximise their opportunity to sell from the streets. In addition, the vendors said that during an election year they would sell from the streets with no worries of being evicted because they were usually protected by political influence.

Street vendors do not see order and security and having a clean environment as motivating enough for them to trade from formal market infrastructure. They see access to customers and non payment of taxes as important, thus they choose to remain in the streets. Further, they are focused on meeting their immediate needs and issues of sanitation and security become secondary. Thus, having easy access to customers enables the vendors to make more money in the streets, thereby having more competitive advantage over the market traders.

#### 4.6. Challenges that vendors face

The third objective was to determine the challenges that vendors face and the contribution relocation has brought to Eldoret town. As a result of the constant surveillance by the local authorities within the CBD, one would expect the hawker permitted place vendors to be doing better business and to be happier about their status since they now have spatial security and a hawker licence to legalize their trading activities. In reality, there was significant dissatisfaction among the vendors about various shortcomings in the re-ordering exercise.



**Figure 4.10; Challenges facing vendors in Kahoya and West markets.**

When asked on the hassles and challenges of being a street vendor as shown in the figure 4.10, Majority of the vendors 24.9% at West market and 36.5% at Kahoya market complained that the new vendors market were poorly designed and the choice of location was poor. Both markets had high brick wall. The stalls too had limited space and limited customers and were located very far away from town and residential estate (for

Kahoya market). Ironically, at pilot region (small center mushrooming at Huruma Estate), there was the growth of business activity even at the scotching hours of the day. At Kahoya the market was almost empty but at Pilot region business took place as usual, even forceful evictions from the area by council *askaris* could not make the vendors sell at the required place (Kahoya market).

These reflected problems in the design of the areas for the kind of businesses. Vendors wanted to sell at a region where buyers will buy from them. At West market 24.5% mentioned that they experienced limited customers as a challenge at the market where as 31.3% at Kahoya market mentioned that they experienced limited customers. This is a support of the fact that the performance of business at the two sites was dwindling as a result of poor sales. Customer availability was a necessity if business was to do better at the two sites.

In addition, 19.9% at West market and 11.3% at Kahoya market agreed that harassment by City officers was a challenge. They mentioned that when their goods were confiscated, they were unable to get their stock back. Further, when in court the process of pleading not guilty was often too expensive for the vendor, and vendors often had no choice but to plead guilty. Choosing this option allowed vendors to get out of the judicial system faster and return to their businesses. Despite paying a fine, confiscated stock was not returned. As a result when on the wrong, vendors would flee to escape arrest, sometimes ending up in verbal and physical resistance leading to destruction of their property or even deaths. This indicated an occurrence of corruption in our government structures which often the poor experienced the results.

Consequently, at the West market, 14.1% and 9.6% at Kahoya market agreed that poor infrastructure was a challenge to them. This affected the transportation of goods to the

market and further affected the development initiatives at the region. The researcher interpreted this as a possibility to the fact that pedestrian and traffic flow were limited. Moreover, 11.2% vendors at west market and 6.1% at Kahoya market mentioned competition from vendors as a challenge. This indicated that vending business was equally a competitive business.

The least 5.4% at West market and 5.2% at Kahoya market agreed that vending time was a challenge. They experienced many problems arising from the restrictions on their hours of operation. They were required to work during the day only with limited possibility of extending their working hours to late in the night which was possible when they were at the streets.

#### **4.6.1. The rejection of markets**

The relocation process never completely eliminated street vending, while street vendors seemed pleased with the market construction program at first, the markets were simply not profitable for many vendors, who began a slow process of returning to the streets. A number of reasons accounted for included; 1) The lack of adequate marketing plan for the new site, 2) resistance to the greater level of control over vendors, and 3) changes in the nature of commercialization due to the change of locale from the public streets to the enclosed market buildings.

It was observed that the markets were not as centrally located as the street markets they replaced, meaning that fewer clients came to them. New clientele were built up over time, thus getting new clientele would take time.

The high level of desertion rate in the markets indicates the outcome of the relocation project.





**Figure 4.11: Abandoned stalls in Kahoya Market**

Though the increase in working conditions are a positive consequence of relocation, the high rate of desertion contradicts the objective of the relocation project that is to keep vendors from selling on the public space. Even if vendors experienced improvement in working conditions, this alone is insufficient to keep them in a market. As one relocated vendor puts it;

*.....We may have limited work related accidents and sickness, but now we are very hungry and we sell very little*

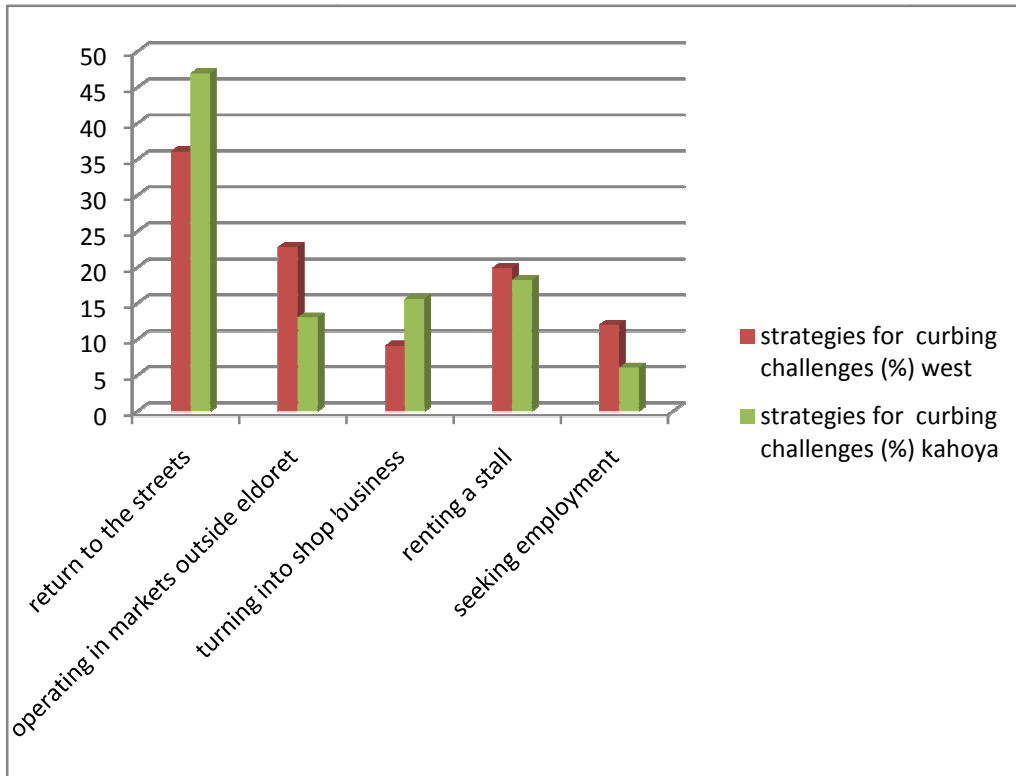


Figure 4.12: Business at Pilot region

#### 4.7. Strategies that vendors have employed to curb the challenges they face;

The last objective was to explore appropriate strategies for addressing street vending in the town.

As stipulated in the figure 4.13, majority of the vendors 36.10 % and 46.96% at West market and Kahoya respectively mentioned that they dealt with the challenge by returning to the streets at specific hours of the day especially evening when most customers were living for home from work. This evening street business was popularly called ‘*horahora*.’ They had the advantage of years of established clientele and experience in street training. They would carry part of their stock and leave the rest, but would rush for something needed incase a customer asks.



**Figure 4.13; Strategies that Hawkers have employed to curb the challenges they face.**



**Figure 4.14: an evident of business at night at the CBD**

Many of the relocated vendors returned to the same area they were relocated from. In some of the locations where council *askaris* kept constant watch, they would relocate to the periphery of the area where they previously sold. Areas where there was little surveillance and highly crowded were the best spots for selling since vendors could easily get customers and at the same time could easily hide once the local authorities came for them. Like street vendors in many other cities, Eldoret hawkers would employ look-outs to reduce their uncertainty and loss of stock. The look-outs would relay information through a whistling system. More elaborate escape plans included a waiting taxi that whisked away the street vendors' stock as soon as the look-out signals. This was interpreted by the researcher to mean that vendors were reluctant to shun street vending and would always go back to it whenever they had an opportunity.



**Figure 4.15: police and municipal council staff doing surveillance and arresting street vendors at the CBD**

One response that I got from a vendor on her decision to return to the street was interesting;

*“...the municipal council askaris do not inspect the streets at night, by then they retire to their homes. what we do now is to sleep during the day and do business at night, if you visit most areas around town like outside supermarkets, at bus stops for instance Kapsoya/ Ngurunga evening stage opposite Barng’etung Plaza, at the streets, you will see Many vendors at night .... We have no jobs, we have families and we have to provide for them. We have to do something that gives us income.”*

The researcher observed that street vending was indeed taking place at night, There was absence of authority at night, this indeed was a shortfall to the municipal council, when I visited some of the areas, vendors were selling everything from cooked food, fruits, Vegetables tomatoes, herbs , roasted maize, shoes, books ,among other items. At Kapsoya bus stand the area was crowded by vendors between 7-10 pm, which was not evident during the day. Some of them came as early as 6pm, during this time, the area was full of commuters who were going back to their homes and provided a good vending moment.

The researcher also observed that business was taking place between Trokadero and Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital. One vendor agreed that business was at peak between 1-2pm and 4-6pm when the hospital employees were leaving the hospital while people were visiting their loved ones.

Many of the ex-fish vendors and samosa vendors were not entirely convinced of the advantages of obtaining a placement in the hawker permitted place because it would entail a change in commodity type. As one vendor mentioned;

*I sell fish, a commodity that is costly and perishable, if I decide to sell at the markets who will buy from me? I have more potential buyers here than in the markets.*

In addition as indicated in the figure 4.13, 22.82% at West market and 13.04% at Kahoya market agreed that they dealt with the challenge by operating in markets outside Eldoret. Vendors would go outside Eldoret so as to improve the quantity of goods sold. They would go to various markets as mobile vendors travelling from one market to the other during market days but would remain in Eldoret on Friday since it was West market day. The researcher interpreted this as a means for the vendor to increase the volume of goods sold.

The other 9.13% at West market and 15.65% at Kahoya market (figure 4.13) mentioned that they dealt with the challenge by opening shops. They would come up together as a group, rent a shop and share the space amongst themselves which partly would function as a store at the same time have part of their stock sold there. This could be a reason why in the wake of the re-ordering exercise there was a mini-property boom in the area due to the high demand for viable shop spaces among the displaced hawkers. Many shops were sub-divided and sub-let to ex-hawkers. Many partnerships came into existence among the vendors in an attempt to spread the high overhead costs in shop rent.

Consequently, 19.92% at the West market and 18.26% at Kahoya market (figure 4.13) mentioned renting a stall as a way to curb the challenges they faced, with more than one stall, this would increase the probability of increasing sales. Legally, no hawker permitted place stall space can be rented or used by anyone else but the registered licensee. But practice is often based on expediency and self-interest in disregard of the legal consequences. In the West Market there was a thriving rental market for stall spaces. A prime stall could be rented at a rate of Ksh 500 a month, then the person who rented it may sub- let it again at a profit. The value of a stall is determined by its economic viability which is largely determined by its location in the hawker permitted place.

Moreover, 12.03% at West market and 6.09% at Kahoya market (figure 4.13) vendors mentioned that they were looking for jobs elsewhere. They experienced a decline in income in the markets as compared to when they did business at the street. In family based vending units which used to be operated by two or more persons, a situation of labour surplus and underemployment arose and some working members were required to seek employment elsewhere. Mostly it involved the departure of younger members who had the education level and other necessary requirements for wage employment in the industrial or commercial sectors. A few displaced hawkers turned to wage employment as a permanent solution to their spatial displacement. Many were also engaged in casual work during the transitional period before they re-established their trading activities at another location.

#### **4.8. Macro Effects on Eldoret Town**

The relocation project had tremendous effects on Eldoret at large; it boosted visitors' confidence on the town as a result of reduced pick-pocketing. Thieves could be spotted easily and thus followed up easily. There was also an easy movement of traffic as a result of less obstruction. Initially though most vendors sold licit goods in an informal manner, they were associated with the illegal gangs and theft that occurred within the town. Control of their population was therefore perceived as crucial to the maintenance of a legal economy based on tax payment and the respect of private property, though some of the largest projects are yet to be finished;



**Figure 16: Unfinished Hawkers Market next to Sosiani River behind Eldoret Market.**

some, projects like the one above still remain unfinished since its inception , this is one of the proposed hawkers market to be that was intended to accommodate hawkers after being driven away from the streets.

### **Conclusion**

As a result of a comeback of vendors, vendors face execution from the local authorities, They spend time dodging the municipal council *askaris*, this has resulted in a cat and mouse chase. The failure of the Municipal council to retain vendors has eroded the confidence of the street vendors in the municipal council thus creating a social conflict between the two. The vendor relocation project aimed at decongesting the CBD which failed to meet the objective as initially planned. The data collected indicated that the objective was not met as vendors would occasionally do business at the streets. The aim of the markets construction was to provide the means to attain sustained increase in living standards for the street vendors. This is in agreement with World Development Report 2000/2001 which argued that markets are central to the lives of poor people. By



providing opportunities to engage in productive activities, and by empowering citizens, they can promote growth and reduce poverty. But for markets to provide widespread benefits, they need to be inclusive and integrated. Policies that promote growth and reduce poverty are important, but the details of institutional design matter as well. Improvements in living standards, and overall improvements in the lives of poor people, depend on institutions that support growth as well as those that directly enhance the access of poor people to markets. This is because poor people are affected by what other market actors do.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 Overview**

This chapter provides the summary of the findings after analysis of data, the conclusions made, summary, recommendations and suggestions for further research are given.

### **5.2 Summary**

The first objective was to examine the factors behind relocation. It was determined that the project aimed at decongesting the CBD and providing a conducive environment full of basic amenities for vendors to do business. The success or failure of a development project depends heavily on its design. However, external variables are crucial determinants. The project initiators never understood the characteristics of street vending whereby in this kind of business regular clients never shifted. The sellers were moved but the buyers were not moved. Those selling will tend to go where buyers will buy their items.

The second objective was to assess the effects of relocation on vending business in Eldoret town. The facilities upon which the vendors were relocated to were found to be minimal of customers. The location was away from the CBD thus pedestrian flow was limited. This resulted in minimal sales. The profit Margin thus reduced considerably. Despite this, vendors mentioned having links with previous customers. Most facilities were public owned in the two markets. Findings revealed that ownership of business premises was important. Those traders who owned the business premises had their business doing better than those that were trading from rented premises.

Vendors agreed to having sneaked to the CBD at night, weekends and evenings to do business when supervision was limited. They would use their informal groupings and friendships to alert each other once the local authorities and police arrived. Insecurity of

vendors' items was experienced at the markets, they complained about their wares being stolen. Vendors did not have stores to keep their goods as a result they would team up and rent a room collectively for the purpose of storing their goods. At the west market absence of basic infrastructure at the site, for instance water, storage, good toilet facilities was experienced. In addition both sites Kahoya and West markets were Unhygienic environment. They experienced poor drainage system and absence of dustbins. It Was established that most vendors were ignorant about the local government bye laws regarding street vending. Vendors at the streets experienced better sales than those at the markets, as a result of high pedestrian flow, thus they were unwilling to leave the streets. The hawker permitted places ( Kahoya and West markets) were situated far away from the CBD. West traders were doing better than Kahoya traders possibly because of the proximity of West area to the CBD.

It was established that the vendor-municipal relationship was hostile, this was due to the fact that each party wanted its way out. Inappropriate regulations raised the cost of business entry, growth and distorted markets. Efficient institutional and legal framework is important for ensuring the smooth operations of business.

Most of the bylaws used were out-dated, restrictive policies, which were originally intended to control and regulate the growth of indigenous enterprises. The restrictions make vending principally illegal, and view vendors as responsible for making cities dirty, obstructing traffic therefore a public nuisance. The policies did not provide for any trade within the Central Business District (CBD), and most street trading activities that took place within the CBD had no legal provisions. The policies did not appreciate the role of street vending in an urban economy. This implies that the Local Authorities have to review their by-laws to be in line with the small business development in Kenya.

The street vendors on the other hand were hardly consulted in the development of the by-laws and planning development projects affecting them. Other street vendors were not aware of the by-laws applicable to their operations. This is a major obstacle to the growth of street vending activities in Africa.

The third objective was to establish the challenges emanating from the relocation on street vendors operation. As indicated in chapter four, most vendors operate in urban environments that are intrinsically hostile. Lack of legal status and a history of harassment and forced removal from the streets have been more the rule than the exception. But the trade is resilient. Usually, within three or four days of clearing the street the vendors return. The challenge for city governments is to mitigate problems associated with the street trade while leaving intact the constructive contribution this sector makes to the urban economy. Since this sector flourishes both in the face of official suppression as well as when the regulatory environment grants it total legitimacy, a strong argument can be made that recognition of the legitimacy of the trade is a first step in this process.

The Eldoret municipal council have placed the responsibility for street trading in the Traffic and Enforcement Departments. In this respect, vendors are viewed as a problem that has to be controlled rather than be viewed as production units that contribute to the urban economy. As a result the police are often used to evict vendors resulting in hostility between the police and the vendors. Harassment is the main mode of interaction between street vendors and the local government. In Kenya, the Central Government officials arbitrate between street vendors and the urban authorities. This leaves the street vendors in perpetual poverty.

Vendors experience expensive daily charges, poor and insecure working locations, poor infrastructure, inappropriate hours of business, poor design and locations for business, limited customers, competition from other vendors, constant harassment, confiscation and loss of goods to urban authorities and poor enforcement approaches by urban authorities. The study shows that, although the urban authorities collect revenue from vendors, street vendors hardly participate in important issues such as planning and management of urban development. There is poor communication between the urban authorities and street vendors. There is hardly any dialogue, and relationships are largely determined by conflicts, favouritism, nepotism and corrupt practices. Thus, the vendors have no influence on any policies developed for managing their operations, while the urban authorities hardly provide services nor are they accountable to vendors. This has affected potential joint action and impaired relationships between vendors and urban authorities. This is partly due to a lack of joint action by the different weak vendors associations. Their weakness has partly contributed to the imposition of decisions by urban authorities on their operations. In order for street vendors and their associations to influence policy, they need to be organised with well-established effective channels of communication with urban authorities.

The last objective was to explore appropriate strategies for addressing street vending in the town. Vendors as indicated in chapter four exhibited how this kind of trade can indeed be resilient. They forcefully returned to the streets to conduct business despite constant surveillance. Others operated in markets outside Eldoret town during market days while others turned into shop business. Vendors would take up stalls in vendor permitted regions and would rent them out to their colleagues then move to better economically viable sites. Vendors who were young and educated sought employment

opportunities elsewhere. Parents and guardians who initially enjoyed the help of their children released them to look for greener pastures in the job market.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

#### **Success of the relocation project**

Street vendors relocation partially succeeded in clearing the street of the congestion caused by the intensive street hawking activities in the area before the institution of the hawker permitted place. This success was made possible by a heavy investment of manpower. The municipal council askaris were posted at the permitted place at all times during the legal operating hours. Eldoret became a clean town partially but this was short lived. The re-ordering exercise also brought revenue as a result of the licensing of some of the permitted place vendors who were previously unlicensed street hawkers. Others decided to go formal by renting shops. However, there was only limited success in keeping the street hawker free as vendors would sneak in to sell but escape once inspectors arrive. Consequently, they also changed their mode and time of operation through hiding the goods they sold in bags and boxes or selling at night or when it was raining.

The political interests play a major role in the formalisation of street vendors. In Eldoret, street vendors are protected during election time by the politicians. Street vendors too take advantage of political interests and maximise the benefits by selling from the streets. This situation tends to undermine the efforts of formalization by local government because the streets become free for all neglecting law enforcement. The informal economy needs to be dealt with using long term appropriate interventions because it is here to stay (Lund 2009:37).

### **Ill conceived locations**

As Kettles (2004) asserts street vendors stamina to survive make their eradication cost more than the government may be willing to pay. This is supported by Cross (1998) who pointed out that the most common problems leading to the failure of street markets relocation process are ill conceived development schemes of the markets, inflexible market management regulations and the difficult transition of the nature of commercialization from an open air to an indoor or closed market.

Successful relocation projects are majorly determined by the location of the market. Markets should be visible and accessible to customers. They should be within a closer ring to the CBD. The markets were placed at the periphery of the town. Project failure resulted in the return of the vendors to trade at the CBD. Street vendors refused to move to the periphery where their customers and contact with pedestrians was limited. Moreover the location was unprofitable this was a factor that might have led to their rejection of enclosed public markets.

### **Hawkers' resilience and change adaptability**

Hawkers have thus persistently continued to sell on the streets, this means that the hawkers can no longer be ignored or swept away. It is time to recognise that, while vendors do pose problems, there is a need to address the problem positively. The challenge is to reduce the negative problems associated with street trading while leaving intact the constructive contribution this sector makes to the economy. The need exists to replace the controversy and ambivalence that surrounds hawking with positive actions.

Most urban project planners overestimate street vendor's ability to adapt to change and underestimate customer willingness to buy from vendors. By trying to formalize the

sector through provision of a formal markets and registration, the government is potentially undermining the factors that make many informal enterprises successful. Where street markets have become vibrant sources of economic growth, it is due to the fact that they have been able to avoid rigid regulatory control and regulate themselves (Cross, 2000).

### **Municipal council and police surveillance**

The Municipal Authorities viewed the relocation process as over after the hawkers' had been forcefully evicted from the CBD to designated areas. Hawkers' were required to adapt to the new environment but they did not adapt, discontentment and resentment arose. Two factors were central in undermining the success of the hawker permitted place as a solution to the hawking problem in Eldoret. First, some of the stalls were economically non-viable. This forced some vendors to resume illegal street hawking activities. Second, the limited success of the general duties team in the control of illegal street hawking activities in general was a crucial factor undermining the success of the permitted place scheme. The daily supervision of the CBD by the council staff and police were designed to contain the growth of street vending activities and were aimed at restricting existing illegal street hawkers to the markets. In reality, these surveillance do little to discourage the illegal street hawkers from their trading activities at the busiest locations. As soon as the surveillance teams leave, the street hawkers return within minutes to resume their trading activities at the same locations. It is a cat and mouse game which the council *askaris* seldom wins. Although success in clearing a given location of street hawkers by posting general duties team members on static duty occurred, enforcement agents ensured full time surveillance in these locations, but the heavy investment in manpower required by this strategy makes it impossible to deploy



similar tactics on a large scale. The street hawkers always manage to find a place to carry on their hawking activities despite the various control measures by the government.

### **Peripheral model**

As indicated by peripheral model, the residents of the town proved to follow desire lines into the CBD. They would come to the CBD to look for social amenities like hospitals which were located at the CBD. As a result they would buy items they needed at the CBD. This showed that unless the social amenities were relocated away from the CBD to the periphery of the town, residents of Eldoret would continue to enter the CBD for other activities thus forcing the vendors to sell their items at the CBD to attract the high clientele.

### **Informal sector as a job creator**

According ILO principle, Africa should put up efforts on creating an enabling environment for the informal sector. This is because this sector has great potential for job creation. The Kenya government has come up with various developmental approaches and policies to develop this sector. The formaliation of policies in street vending are hardly ever wholly successful and often fail as informal traders return to occupy public space, formal market buildings stand empty. (Lyons, M. and S. Snoxell 2005).

### **5.4 Recommendations**

Major activities and organisations should be decentralized from the CBD to the periphery of the town. This would alter the desire lines towards these activities resulting in a movement of people towards the major activities outside the CBD. This would entice vendors to stay away from the CBD in an attempt to follow the desire lines. Markets

which are within reach in the concentric model should be identified and developed. Therefore relocation should be seen as a continuous process and those concerned should be ready to embrace its consequences.

The government should improve access of street vendors to information at both local and national levels. Vendors should be educated on the by laws that govern them and how to adjust to changing situations. There is a need to review urban policy and local by laws that have implication for street vending throughout the country.

In future hawkers should be involved in the relocation projects through consultations and discussions with their representatives. Moreover, future relocation process should be done gradually without the use of force with consideration of hawkers adaptability to change. The Kenyan government should develop national policies for hawkers and vendors by making them part of the broader structural policies aimed at improving their standards of living by giving them legal status, and providing appropriate hawking zones in urban areas.

On-street re-ordering programmes could be tried. Hawking activities could be restricted to particular streets and trading areas within the CBD. This could be done by allowing hawkers to conduct their activities at given streets while leaving out others for free traffic flow. Moreover, certain streets which are predominant during weekends may be chosen and vendors' given permission to conduct business.

Street hawkers have pinpointed the best hawking locations in any given area by trial and error while coming up with natural markets. Their growth pattern indicates there preference for plying the trade in certain locations. They prefer to concentrate in areas where pedestrians prefer. If street hawkers are driven from these sites forcefully by

posting council askaris personnel on static duty there, it will only be a matter of time before they resume these same sites of operation once the static duty team departs. If these favorite sites are turned into government-regulated vending stalls, then the stall operators will see to it that they will not be obstructed by illegal street vendors. This sort of self-regulation will be instrumental in moderating the congestion now experienced at any hawking zones.

Hawker centers and storey markets should be constructed within the CBD. This will enable maximum space utilization. Urban planners should consider upgrading the current markets into complex storey buildings so as to accommodate a greater number of vendors.

Hawkers generally sell their goods where demand is high. Those selling fruits and vegetables should be permitted at a greater proximity to bus terminus and residential localities. Areas where pedestrians target may be given a greater preference. Facilities such as lighting can be put in such areas so that business can be possible even at night.

Urban planners should seek to accommodate street vendors to urban economies. This will aid in reducing the conflict between local authorities and the street vendors. Resources such as land will be planned for early enough to avoid conflicts from occurring. The government through the local authorities should strengthen the relationship between street vendors and local governments by coming up with conflict resolution measures between the two so as to be able to build proper sustainable measures to solving problems between them. Municipal authorities' vendor relations may be enhanced through effective communication channels through the vendor representatives. This will enable information flow through hawker representative and will thus limit the buildup of conflict between the two parties involved.

The present system of daily recovery needs to be reviewed because it is cumbersome and has given room for loopholes and a malpractice. This has resulted in a decrease of municipal revenue. Modern technology that reflects the individual's payments may be used to reduce council askaris corruption occurrences and create room for efficiency.

The long term viability of all projects should be considered in future development initiatives. These projects should be able to transform the lives of the people involved and be able to achieve the objectives it is intended to achieve. A major reason for the incapacity of these projects to do more is the policy environment in which they operate which have often been hostile to the growth of micro enterprises. The legal and regulatory frameworks already mentioned work against vendors who in most countries are poor and cannot afford the higher transactions involved in setting up a bigger enterprise.

As a long term measure an assessment of urban development plans should be made in order to find out if space could be allotted for the development of natural markets. Urban planners could take into account that these places that have been allotted space usually develop as natural markets for hawkers. Moreover small towns should take into consideration the transformation of towns in the present and future. Expansion and growth population should be considered as a factor in the achievement of vision 2030, thus town planners should allocate space for future development initiatives and road expansion to curb congestion in future. Vendors too have to be considered in the land expansion initiatives to allow them access a clean environment to conduct business.

### **5.5 Suggestions for Further Research**

In future studies can be done on Issues that pertain to urban development models in developing countries. Many studies that have been done in urban development are mainly

primary data, studies can be conducted on secondary data. An analysis of the impact of relocation exercise, especially on livelihood of the vendors should be studied. Policies facing street vendors and street vending business should also be studied.

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## APPENDI X I

### Interview schedule

1. Why did you decide to do this kind of trade and not any other?
2. Do you have any dependants?
3. What is your level of education?
4. How do you rate the economic returns from your business?
5. Do you allow the participation of others in your business?
6. How do you store your goods when after conducting business?
7. How do you choose an area of operation?
8. What are your views on conducting business in the markets with conducting business at the streets?
9. What criteria were used in vending space allocation?
10. Do you take days off from your business?
11. What views do you have on the government regulation adopted on hawking?
12. What is your business like at the site of operation?
13. Do you make any contributions to the municipal council?
14. What strategies have you and others employed to curb displacement.
15. Compare the environmental condition of the market with that of the street prior to relocation

## APPENDIX II

### Observation checklist

The researcher will observe the following aspects during the interviews and observation to be undertaken.

- Goods sold and service provided
- Vending spots/ location of the business
- Day to day organisation of the business
- Display of goods
- Physical setting
- Environment
- Reaction to authorities
- Market behaviour
- General effects of the relocation project on Eldoret town
- Attitude of vendors

### APPENDIX III

#### QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondent, You are kindly requested to respond to the questions below. Your contribution will aid the researcher in conducting a study on the effect of market relocation on street vending in Eldoret. This information will be kept strictly confidential.

#### PART A: RESPONDENTS BACKGROUND

1. Please complete the table below.

	Age	Sex	Occupation	Marital status
Respondent				

2. Level of education (please tick one)

- (i) Lower primary      (ii) Upper primary      (iii) Completed primary  
(iv) Secondary      (v) College      (vi) University      (vii) None

3. Who owns the facility you use to conduct business?

- (i) Individual      (ii) Rented      (iii) Public

4. Who were your source of customers after relocation?

- (i) previous      (ii) Locals      (iii) New customers

5. How has relocation project impacted on your business?

- (i) Reduced customers      (ii) Increased customers      (iii) Other, specify

6. Do you sometimes sell at the streets?

- (i) Yes      (ii) No

b) If yes in 6(i) why would you choose to do your business at the street and leave the markets?

- (i) To avoid paying space rent      (ii) To easily access customers      (iii) Easy to acquire empty space in the CBD      (iv) Not enough capital

7. How can you compare your business performance here with that at the streets?

8. Do you have an alternative place where you can operate if removed from the streets?

(i) Yes (ii) No

9. What is the state of hygiene in the market facility?

(i) Clean (ii) Fair (iii) Dirty

b) Compare the environmental condition of the market with that you experienced while working at the street prior to relocation?

10. Are you satisfied with the facility/ stall in terms of selling/ doing business?

(i) Satisfied (ii) Not satisfied (iii) Fair

11. How is the facility convenient in terms of security?

(i) Satisfied (ii) Fair (iii) Not satisfied

12. Is the facility convenient in terms of operating time?

(i) Satisfied (ii) Fair (iii) Not satisfied

13. Please comment on the formalization of street vendors by the government.....

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14. Are you aware of the existing bylaws for vendors?

(i) Yes (ii) No

b) If yes in 14(a) Are vendors normally consulted during by laws development?

15. Do you belong to any group or association?

b) If yes in (14 a) above, how does it benefit you to be a member of a group/ association?

16. What are the challenges that you face while conducting your business?

(i) Harassment (ii) Limited customers (iii) Poor infrastructure (iv) Poor design/ location of market (v) Competition from vendors (vi) Vending time

17. What strategies do you employ to curb the challenges that you face?

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