

THE VULNERABLE LIVELIHOODS OF STREET VENDORS IN UGANDA: A CASE OF KAMPALA CENTRAL DIVISION.

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List of Abbreviations

AVF	Asset Vulnerability Framework
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
GOEs	Growth Oriented Enterprises
ILO	International Labor Organizations
KACITA-Ug	Kampala City Traders Association-Uganda
KCC	Kampala City Council
KCCA	Kampala Capital City Authority
KCD	Kampala Central Division
LDC's	Low Developing Countries
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NUCPAC	National Union of Creative Performing Artists and Crafts
PSFU	Private Sector Foundation Uganda
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SEs	Survivalist Enterprises
UGISTO	Uganda Informal Sector Transformation Organization
USSIA	Uganda Small Sector Industries Association

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Dedication

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Abstract

This study explored the extent to which the repressive policies exacerbate street vendors' vulnerability to poverty and examine their coping strategies in Kampala Central Division (KCD). The study used a 'mixed methodological approach' to undertake the research. The 'business categorization' as a theory and 'micro enterprise score card' were used as a tool for business classification of street vendors' businesses in KCD, with income and expenditure levels, Size of the business, working conditions, access to assets, ability to absorb risks and business sustainability as indicators guiding the exercise. Moser's Asset Vulnerability Frame Work was adopted as an 'analytical tool' for data analysis and identification of various assets that can facilitate street vendors' livelihoods in a challenging working environment. The study found that, street vendors were differentiated, although a big number of them were 'survivalist entrepreneurs', majority are women, very poor with limited capacity to save, reduce family risks and invest to sustain their businesses. This is aggravated by repressive street vending regulatory laws that perpetuate vendor's working poverty through deprivation of opportunity and freedom to operate business, characterized by constant evictions and confiscation of goods. The paper argues that, because street vendors are considered as homogenous businesspersons in Kampala-Uganda, policy makers fail to design appropriate and feasible policies in relation to the needs of concerns of specific strata thus exacerbating their vulnerability to poverty and related risks. The main conclusion out of the study is that the current law as implemented by KCCA to get street vendors out of KCD is unjust and does more harm than good to the majority of the people, but also the development of Kampala as a town. We thus recommend a more street vendor friendly law, passed on basis of consultation with them, preceded by a study to establish their different categories.

Relevance to Development Studies

Street vending and informal sector are crucial opportunities for earnings of several people especially young entrepreneurs with limited social networks and insufficient skills to get employed in the formal setting. As an intellectual contribution, the study on the vulnerable livelihoods of street vendors in Uganda widens peoples' understanding of the street vending discourses, complexities, and different ways in which street vendors toil and trouble to sustain their survival and pave their way out of poverty. This is done under a challenging working environment characterized by oppressive policies that aggravate their vulnerability to poverty. At the policy level, the findings and recommendations are a vital guide to formulation of appropriate and viable policies for the betterment of poor workers' conditions in the global south that could lead to descent work and sustainable development.

Keywords

Street Vending, Street Vendors, Vulnerability, Livelihoods, and Assets

Chapter 1 : INTRODUCTION

This study is about the vulnerable livelihoods of street vendors in Kampala Central Division (KCD), Uganda. It explores the extent to which the repressive policies exacerbate street vendors' vulnerability to poverty and examines their coping strategies amidst the work related insecurities in KCD. It was investigated using a mixed methodological approach of qualitative and quantitative techniques. To explore the differences, complexities and dynamics of street vendor's businesses in KCD, a theory of business categorization and micro enterprise score card were used. Furthermore, for in-depth understanding of the phenomenon, the study interrogated and used the concept of the informal sector and survivalist enterprises. Moser's Asset Vulnerability Frame Work (AVF) of 1998 was applied as both an analytical tool for data analysis and a guide for identification of street vendor's assets that can facilitate their livelihood amidst work related risks. Finally, the study found that, not only is the current manner of legal enforcement making the vendors' situation worse, but also because street vendors are considered a homogeneous business group in Kampala, policy makers fail to design viable and consistent policies related to specific concerns of different vendor strata. Such neglect harms those most vulnerable to poverty even more. This led the study to simultaneously conclude and recommend that, differentiated sensitive policies arrived at through street vendors' involvement, are necessary. Similar to conceptualizing the survival and coping mechanisms of street vendors in Kampala, the issues and discourses of street vending were difficult to understand without a study. The desire to untangle some of these complexities, inspired the choice of the topic.

The contestation and critical relationship between the street vendors and the government authorities over the use of the 'public space' is a challenge in Kampala and at a global level (Bhowmik 2010a). Brown (2006: 1857) argues that, use of the public space in the developed countries is considered a profitable activity for the survival of the urban poor. In developing countries, street vending is viewed negatively because it doesn't pay direct tax (Mitullah 2003, Skinner 2010), although vendors pay indirect tax through private and public service providers.

In Kampala, street vendors are accused of every ill affecting the city, including competing with formal sector workers¹. There's intense pressure exerted on them by Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) to vacate into nearby markets (Ntegyereize 2006). This compares to experiences in other low income countries in Africa (Kamunyori 2007, Brown 2006, Skinner 2010: 185-203)

Street vendors are individuals operating from the road sides 'who offers goods for sale to the public at large, without having a permanent built up structure from which to sell' (Bhowmik 2010b: 21). Some scholars argue that, street

^{1&}lt; <u>https://namarajus.wordpress.com/2015/04/23/kcca-issue-management-case-of-evictions-of-street-vendors/</u> > Accessed 10 October 2015

vendors are 'one of the largest subgroups in the informal economy after home based and domestic workers, who operate in a visible but a contested domain in many African settings' (Charmes, 2001; Mitullah, 2003; Simone and Abouhani, 2005; Cross and Morales, 2007 as cited in Brown et al. 2010: 667).

Vulnerability on the other hand, is the failure of an individual to cope with existing shocks in a particular period of time (Moser 1998). It is linked to 'insecurity and sensitivity in the well-being of an individual, household and communities in face of a changing environment' (Moser 1998: 3). To Longhurst 1994: 18 in (Moser 1998: 3), vulnerability encompasses features in livelihood security, exposure to risk, shocks, hazards, stress and challenges encountered during risk mitigation.

Thus, livelihood is about people's ways of surviving and the individual's capacity to access and sustain the existing 'tangible and intangible assets', human capital, labor, physical, housing, social and natural capital (Moser 1998: 1, Moser 2007: 23-30), as a way of recovering from the shocks and lessen vulnerability levels among themselves (Chambers and Conway 1992, Brown 2006, Timalsina 2012).

1.1 Background of the study

1.1.0 Historical perspective-the evolution and size of the informal sector in the global context.

Street vending and the informal sector go hand in hand (Bhowmik 2010a: 1). To understand the discourses of street vending, one has to study the informal economy. Since the 1970's, the informal sector has provided the survival means of the marginalized group and low income earners in the global economy (Mitullah 2003, Bhowmik 2010a). Incessant poverty and joblessness among the majority population, led to altered perception and understanding of the sector (Nyakaana 1999), now considered a legitimate vehicle for economic advancement by different categories of people (Nyakaana 1999, Mitullah 2003).

As Verick (2006: 2) notes, the informal sector parallel the formal economy in 'output and employment'. To Skinner (2010: 188), 'informal traders in African countries for which data is available contribute between 85 to 99 percent of employment in trade and 46 to 70 percent of value added'. In Latin America, approximately 50 percent of employees are in informal work (Tokman 2001 as cited in Roever 2010: 208), Notably, the growth of the informal sector is linked to the advent of the structural adjustment policies of 1980's and 1990's that led to changes in the development discourses along the globe (Skinner 2010: 186, Kamunyori 2007: 8). The restructuring process perpetuated the joblessness and paved a way to the growth of the informal sector (Verick 2006, Skinner 2010). Informal sector in Africa is projected to 'account for 60 percent of all urban jobs and over 90 percent of all new urban jobs' (Skinner 2010: 185).

In Zambia, Mozambique and Ghana, 43, 30-40 and 89 percent of the working population respectively, undertake informal work (Verick 2006: 5). In

Uganda and Kenya the informal is bigger than the formal segment (ibid). Thus, a substantial sector for the livelihood of the majority poor in the global south.

1.1.1 Informal sector evolution and size in Uganda

The growth of the Uganda's informal sector dates to the time of expulsion of Ugandan Asians during Amin's regime in 1971, which resulted in dramatic collapse of the industrial sector in the country, accelerated in the 1980s by SAPs. Both invents caused people to lose many formal jobs and join the informal sector hence the latter's expansion (Mitullah 2003). Like other African countries, Uganda's economic restructuring perpetuated people's vulnerability to working poverty. There was a deficit in public service jobs that had collapsed approximately by 42 percent², pushing many urban dwellers into informal sector for their survival (Mitullah 2003). Moreover, women's involvement in the labor market increased bourgeoning in the sector (Nyakaana 1999).

Uganda's informal sector is dominated by people not employed on the base of written contracts (The Republic of Uganda 2010: 41), this is a feature of poor working conditions and vulnerable livelihoods of the informal workers in the country.

In Uganda, the informal sector is the biggest employer (Mitullah 2003: 4) and the fasted growing sector accounting for 43 percent of the economy (Kibelebele 2014). This is attributed to unemployment problems, insufficient skills and limited startup capital (Mitullah 2003). The Uganda National Household Survey 2009/2010 show 58 percent of the labor force in the informal sector with female and male accounting for 62 and 55 respectively (The Republic of Uganda 2010: 40).

Regarding the area of study, Kampala Central Division (KCD) is under the governance of Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), subject to the KCCA Act of 2010 (Sabiiti et al. 2014). KCCA started with an aggressive agenda to transform the city. It had crush ambitions in form of activities it wanted to undertake as outlined by its report (KCCA report 2011/ 2012)³ and⁴. In its ruthless policy to implement activities and achieve its objectivities it works with the support of Uganda police (Sabiiti et al. 2014) to jointly flush street vendors out of the city Centre

²<<u>http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/211247/Uganda_Urban%20Informal%20Sector.pdf</u>> Accessed 1 October, 2015

³< <u>http://www.kcca.go.ug/uploads/Annual Report Final Draft 2011-2012.pdf</u>> Accessed 10 September 2015

 ⁴ Kampala
 Capital
 City
 Authority
 Blog

 http://www.kcca.go.ug/?jsp=open%20gov&com_id=9220
 Accessed 2 October 2015

1.3 Research problem

Kampala in Uganda like many developing cities in the world, informal sector's street vending provide a substantial source of livelihoods for the urban poor (Mitullah 2003, Kamunyori 2007). Street vending business is carried out by people regardless of gender, age, sex, nationality, education and income levels. (Mitullah 2003, Kamunyori 2007). A number of scholars (Kamunyori 2007, Bhowmik 2010a, Ndhlovu 2011) report, street vending as having the most available and accessible activities for the young and growing entrepreneurs in urban cities. Those involved have low entrepreneurial skills, lack of connections and benefactors to get employed in the formal setting, thus opting for informal and precarious work of street vending that does not require highly trained skills (Mitullah 2003, Hart 1973 in Bhowmik 2010a: 3).

Despite the prominence and the importance of street vending to people's livelihoods and the economy at large, there's no any specific and appropriate policies, laws and regulations, permanent and viable structures put in place by the Ugandan government in support of street vendors to effectively conduct their trade in Kampala-Uganda. Street vendors operate in a very tough and brutal environment characterized by threats, intimidations, abuse, torture and harassment by the KCCA enforcement officers. This is a global phenomenon noticeable in other developing countries as well (Mitullah 2003, Skinner 2010: 185-190). Moreover, their activity is seen as 'an underground activity' deterring the well-functioning of the formal sector businesses, causing unceasing battles between street vendors and the authorities over vending sites, business permits and cleanliness in the city (Mitullah 2003: 3)

In 2011, the government of Uganda came up with a new law in accordance with the 'Trade Order Ordinance of 2006 (The Local Governments, Kampala City Council Ordinance 2006: 10) Part iv (13) to evict street vendors from the City streets of Kampala as a means to a clean and orderly city environment. Since then, Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA)-lead by the Executive director has continuously evicted street vendors from the city streets without an appropriate alternative in place! Their goods are destroyed or confiscated by KCCA enforcement officers and the police, without compensation. Moreover, they were given only 4 days ultimatum to relocate after passing the new law⁵!! Literature indicate that, in September, 2011 'more than 7,000 street vendors were forcibly evicted from the streets of Kampala in Uganda with bulldozers razing their stalls' (Parnell and Oldfield 2014: 226). It was a period of digress, demolition, and a moment of deprivation of people's livelihoods that worsened their vulnerability to risks like income loss and working poverty in the city.

Consequently, Street vending is deemed problematic and a social evil for reasons like nuisance, congestion, disorganization, and obstruction to the performance of the formal businesses, which give a poor image, backwardness,

⁵ <<u>http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=1439317</u>> Accessed 20 May 2015

and poverty to Kampala. The relationship between Kampala vendors and the government is like that of 'a cat-and-mouse game' as observed by Bhowmik (2010a: 7) -where the street vendors have to hide to avoid arrest and confiscation of goods. It is a country's marvel where the vendors are framed as useless people, lazy and a threat to urban development impinging on the public space (Mitullah 2003).

The new law forced street vendors to adjust in different ways including; stopping vending, moving to nearby markets like Owino and relocating away from the city Centre. The failure to get enough customers for their merchandise make them to persist in their return to dangerous and uncomfortable environment of fear, being on the run and stressed on a daily basis to escape KCCA legal enforcers who accuse them of operating illegal business in the public space. The ill treatment of the street vendors worldwide seem to aggravate their vulnerability to poverty and block their way out of it (Khan 2009)

Despite the difficulties of petty traders, and them having dependents to take care of, with the meager income from vending, there is no policy to assist them. Therefore, evicting street vendors without a viable alternative automatically infringe on their right to survival. While government officials and opposition politicians advocate for the right to freedom of assembly and speech, they ignore street vendor's rights to survival. This ignores that, street vending is a significant source of livelihoods for the majority urban population in the country. This paradox of a sector so important yet neglected, was the motivation to conducting research from KCD to explore the extent to which the oppressive policies exacerbate street vendor's vulnerability to poverty and their coping strategies.

1.4 Relevance/ justification of the study

The study findings provides a forum for policy makers in government, and concerned NGOs to think of appropriate policies and measures to improve street vendor's working conditions. Second, a report is a reference for future researchers and students in the field of informalities, and precarious work. Third, a study of street vending has broadened my understanding of the street vending discourses. It also provides insights to City planners about the complexities of street vendors and the importance of the informal sector in facilitating their livelihoods in poor countries.

There is scanty information on street vending in Kampala. The only accessible and published literature on street vending in Kampala, was conducted in 2003 by 'Mitullah' entitled '*Street Vending in African Cities*'. Moreover, the pieces on street vending in Kampala is gendered focusing exclusively on female street vendors, yet it's useful to capture men's voices too. Such huge information gap justified a study on the same subject in Kampala. Hence contributing to the global literature and debates on the subject of street vendors in urban areas. If adopted, it will guide feasible and appropriate policy formulation for the betterment of street vendors' working conditions and livelihoods.

1.5 Study objectives and research questions

The main objective of this paper is to ascertain the survival and coping mechanisms of the street vendors amidst the work related insecurities.

Specific Objectives

- To enhance public awareness & inform policy makers about the reality of street vendor's situation mainly for effective and appropriate policy formulation & implementation.
- To find out the vendors' opinions on the new law and their experience on the evictions.
- To ascertain the relationship between street vendors and the government authorities plus the government's plans for vendors in KCD
- To examine the major challenges and vulnerabilities of street vendors and propose possible solutions to their risks.

Main research question

How and to what extent do repressive policies exacerbate street vendor's Vulnerability to poverty, and what are their coping strategies?

Sub questions

- What impact does street vending have on vendor's livelihoods?
- What are the major challenges faced by street vendors in conducting their businesses?
- Are street vendors aware of the new law prohibiting Street vending in KCD? If so, why their persistence on the streets?
- Does the eviction of street vendors solve the problem of disorganization, dirtiness and underdevelopment as assumed by the government or it is worsening the problem?

1.6 Study scope

Geographically, the study was conducted from Uganda, Kampala central division. It covered 9 streets, including Ben Kiwanuka, Namirembe, Wilson, Wandegeya, Nabugabo, Owino, Nasser, Luwum, Burton's street and New Taxi Park road. A total of 45 people participated in the research. Primary data collection period was two months, from July to August 2015. It was an indicative research aiming at understanding the survival mechanisms of street vendors in KCD amidst the work related insecurities.

1.7 Research techniques and sources of data

Introduction:

This subsection comprises the study procedure, different methods, techniques and sources of data used.

Study procedure

The research journey started in July and ended in August, 2015. The first week was more of an orientation. Many changes had occurred in the city for the year I was a way for studies at the International Institute of Social Studies. Hence making the orientation necessary. The period was used to locate the sampled organizations. The interaction with the street vendors and urban dwellers, reduced mistrust and suspicion, gradually establishing rapport with them which later eased the work.

Research design

A mixed methodological approach of qualitative and quantitative techniques were used for data collection to answer the main question and achieve the main study objectives. A survey of street vendors and in depth interviews with the officials were undertaken, to generate data from deferent categories of responses.

Sampling technique

Purposive and snow ball sampling were used to select the study participants. Except some officials, all the street vendors, urban dwellers and market vendors were selected using purposive sampling. For officials, it was only KACITA-Uganda and KCCA officials that were identified through purposive, as I was certain about their undertakings and the location of their offices, the rest of the officials were reached through snowball sampling.

It was handy to use a snowball sampling because I was not acquainted with the existence of some organizations, associations and experienced persons in the informal sector in Kampala. The sample size was 45 composed of various categories of people as shown in <u>appendix I.</u>

Sources of data

Both primary and secondary data sources were contacted. Primary data was collected from street vendors, officials and market vendors in KCD. Secondary data was got from physical and online-libraries.

Data collection methods and tools

Interviews; both structured and un-structured interviews were conducted. Structured interviews conducted with key informants (Officials), formal in nature, whilst un-structure interviews targeted the street vendors, market vendors and urban dweller but in an informal way at their places of work. For officials, interview guides were used as data collection tools (Refer to appendix 2). Whilst, a survey instrument was used on street vendors (Refer to appendix 3). Careful listening during the interviews enabled to hear, explore and probe for relevant information.

Testing instrument; prior to the study, the questionnaire and interview guides were tested on a number of people, to ascertain their reliability and accuracy and were approved by the supervisor before the study.

The researcher undertook careful observation and noted street vendor's situations in terms of working conditions, goods sold, the mode of operation and recorded in the note book. This helped me to have an in-depth understanding of the issues that could not be explored from the direct interviews.

1.8 Data analysis and interpretation.

After field work, qualitative data was transcribed, organized into Themes in relation to the questions and objectives of the study. Different quotations and voices of the participants were generated for quicker analysis and interpretation of the data. On the other hand, quantitative data was analyzed using a computer software program called 'Micro soft excel, version 2013'. From people's responses, a 'data set' was developed, information was coded and cross tabulated, and presented in different tables, and pie charts projecting the vendor's situation in KCD to understand difference in variables of concerns.

1.9 Ethical considerations

Confidentiality of the participants was guaranteed before their involvement in the research. Voluntary participation was encouraged and Permission was sought before accessing information. Injurious information of any form is excluded from the study report. All respondents were asked to voluntarily participate after explaining to them the purpose of the research.

There two categories of street vendors in KCD, one group speaking 'Luganda'6-the majority and the other speaking English. For the former interviewed were conducted in 'Luganda', translated and recorded in English. However, English was applied to the latter group.

1.10 Study limitations and their handling

I was mistrusted and suspected by some street vendors as a government worker, (because street vending is illegal in Kampala), who wanted to record their names and forward them to KCCA. As a result, some street vendors re-

⁶ The local language for Baganda -the main ethnic group in central region which is taken as a business language in Kampala city.

fused to participate in the study, although others developed trust and gave their views on the subject. I failed to get a trustworthy contact that street vendors trusted who could initially introduce me to the participants⁷. I had to introduce myself emphasizing that 'I am a student and a study on street vending is just for academic purposes' which won me their confidence.

Most participants had busy working schedules and work at night as a strategy to hide from KCCA legal enforcers. Some of my interviews were conducted at night between 7 and 8pm. Though risky, tolerance, flexibility and patience to fit in their schedules helped.

Financial constraints were a big challenge. Some organizations were far from my home costing 5 euro. Ultimately a combination of NUFFIC facilitation and my relatives helped out. The time of 2 months allocated for field work was tight, but focus, commitment and determination, helped to accomplish the task in time.

1.11 Structure of the paper

The paper is organized into 6 chapters, following the first chapter, the second chapter explores literature review on street vending, debates, related policies, features and mode of operation. Third chapter describes various concepts, theories, Tools and Analytical Framework for data analysis. Fourth chapter presents a description of the legal situation and the reality of street vendors' situation in KCD, and ends with assumed KCCA market alternatives for Street vendors. Fifth chapter presents findings on business categorization in relation to street vending in KCD, gives the logic of business categorization, present empirical data analyzed using AVF. It describes the labor processes, impact of street business on vendor's livelihoods and ends with support programs and association. The concluding chapter presents authors' observations based on field work, conclusions and recommendations and areas for further research are highlighted.

⁷ Participant in this paper addresses street vendors

Chapter 2 : LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a conceptual review of street vending based on relevant literature around the globe, as it covers critical debates and arguments on street vending. Related policies, characteristics, working conditions, the mode of operation are explored and ends with the growth of street vending in the global economy.

2.2 A conceptual review of street vending, debates and related policies

Street vending is one of the main livelihood sources to people in African cities. It is a type of a business where people produce and sell acceptable products to the urban population (Kamunyori 2007, Brown et al. 2010: 668), it is undertaken either outside on pavements or under makeshift structures. Street vending remain an insecure form of activity in informal settings in the global south. (Cross 1999 as cited in Brown et al. 2010: 667)

2.2.1 Emerging trends and size of street vending in the global context

Street vending trends are linked to continuous development processes resulting from urbanization, globalization and migration processes (Skinner 2010: 185, Roever 2010: 208). According to Verick (2006), street vending is the most dominant form of informal economic activity in urban Africa. In Latin America, it is considered as the most noticeable and vibrant form of employment in the informal sector (Roever 2010: 208). The importance of street vending as a sector in Africa has been underlined by studies like the one done in Benin (Charmes 1998a as cited in Verick 2006: 6). Hence, a useful sector for the survival of the poor people in African cities.

A number of scholars in developing countries link the worldwide growth of street vending to issues related to increased migrations, urbanization and economic growth (Mitullah 1991, Landau 2007 as cited in Skinner 2010: 185-186). They argue that, insufficient skills and lack of connections among most migrant workers fail them to obtain stable employment in the formal setting and opting for informal work (Skinner 2010)

Scholars like Skinner (2010: 187) link street vending growth in Africa to SAPs which made workers redundant. Besides, Bhowmik (2010a: 2) relate this situation to endless poverty and unemployment in most rural areas that perpetuate rural-urban migration.

Nevertheless, the growth of street business is not proportionate to the political influence in terms of support and representation. Despite their big numbers Small traders are always excluded from the meetings or discussions over urban governance (Skinner 2007; Lyons 2005; Horn 2004 as cited in Brown et al. 2010: 667), one cause of the formulation of ineffective and repressive policies that worsen vendor's vulnerability to working poverty. Indeed Kampala's case of street vendors' situation tally with this argument. There's no positive policy for street vendors, they are just wanted out the city

2.2.2 Emerging debates on street vending in the global economy

Globally, there's a debate on the use of the 'public space' by street vendors to sell their merchandise and earn a living (Bhowmik 2010a: 8). Irrespective of this positive suggestion, Authorities continue to perceive street vendors as 'illegal encroachers on the public land' (Bhowmik 2010a: 9), which dislocates street business. This has increased control over street business, dislodgments and pestering in urban cities.

The argument which supports street vending is presented as a libertarian view based on the people's right to 'sell and work', while a countervailing view by urban elites seeking to protect their businesses and the government authorities focusing on urban planning oppose street vending (Bromley 2000, Setsabi and Leduka 2008 as cited in Brown et al. 2010: 668). In fact this situation is noticeable in Kampala where street vending is debatable by various groups of the people basing on various reasons.

In most developing countries, street vendors are traumatized by describing them using the derogatory terms (Bhowmik 2014, Mitullah 2003) This is why the presence of street vending in urban zones continue to be taken as a symbol of backwardness irrespective of its sustenance of small scale entrepreneurs (Kamunyori 2007, Skinner 2010).

2.3 Characteristics and working conditions of street vendors

Street vendors in most developing countries, have comparable features. They are largely informal, involve in unregistered businesses with no working permits and written contracts; usually operate on a very small scale with insufficient capital and challenged with risks related to constant evictions without suitable alternatives. Many lack access to social basic and fringe benefits like promotions. Notwithstanding poor health conditions due to tension and pressure imposed on them by the authorities (Mitullah 2003, Kamunyori 2007, Bhowmik 2010b, Skinner 2010, Roever 2010). *They sale legally accepted goods and services to the public, but their presence and work in most cities is prohibited!* (Bhowmik, 2014).

2.4 Related policies on street vending

While several studies indicate street vending as an important economic activity in urban areas, laws and policies continue to discriminate against it (Rupkamdee et al. 2006 as cited in Kusakabe 2006: 12-13). This is underlined by numerous acts that are passed and used to regulate street vending with the intent to ban it. These include; the cleanliness and Order of the City Act in

1992; the Public Health Act of 1992; the Traffic and Land Transportation Act of 1992 and the High way Act 1993 (ibid).

Most African cities experience a shortfall of 'policy best practices' in relation to street vending is also revealed (Skinner 2010: 190). Various countries continue to pursue dangerous eviction practices destroying and confiscating property and arresting street vendors in the name of modernizing cities (ibid), which escalate poor working conditions and street vendors' vulnerability to poverty. Despite this negative trend, some developing countries have enacted progressive laws to protect street vending (Bhowmik 2010b: 25-35), which should serve as a lesson to other developing countries in managing street vendor's trade.

2.5 Main activities of street vendors and the mode of operation

Along the globe, street vendors sell almost similar items, divisible into small bundles to ease movements (Mitullah 2003, Kamunyori 2007: 26). Pavements, footpaths are always utilized by stationary vendors for exhibiting their items through the use of mats, tables and fences. Whilst mobile vendors undertake door to door selling, with merchandise carried in the hands, on wheel barrels and bicycles (Mitullah 2003: 7, Bhowmik 2010a: 5).

Scholars of street vendors interested in gender dimension, report that, in Africa, females out number males (Skinner 2010: 189), the number raising as high as 88 percent in some countries (ILO 2002, Herrera et al. 2012, Wills 2009 as cited in in Parnell and Oldfield 2014: 226). This tallies with the gender situation in Latin America (Pamplona 2004 as cited in Roever 2010: 233). Scenarios where women street vendors are fewer than male attributed to conditions that undermine women's dignity and affect their performance (Smart 1989 as cited in Kamunyori 2007: 28)

2.6 conclusion

Generally street vending is a significant activity to the wellbeing of most urban dwellers in LDCs. Its failure to pay direct taxes makes it a useless activity to most policy makers. The regulatory policies are just there to suppress the activity instead of supporting it to improve the livelihoods of the poor people. This exactly tally with the Kampala's situation on street vending.

Chapter 3: CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is composed of the description of the concepts, theories and the framework used for data analysis. The study embraces the concept of the informal economy and survivalist enterprises to contextualize street vending in Kampala. A theory of business categorization and micro enterprise score card are is described as a basis for classifying Street Vendor's businesses in KCD. Finally a description of the Moser's Asset Vulnerability Framework of 1998 is given as tool for effective data Analysis.

3.2 Understanding the concept of the informal economy

The informal sector originate way back in the 1970's (Bhowmik 2010a: 1).It is described as a disorganized sector and historically related to various precarious activities in developing cities (Chant 2014: 200). It finds in the research by International Labor Organization on the labor dynamics and relations in the African countries, where Hart (1973) encountered conditions of poor people working for money-as a result, their activities were branded 'informal sector' characterized by 'low levels of skills, easy entry, low paid employment and largely immigrant workforce' (Bhowmik 2010a: 3). The broadness of informal economy in unpacking the intricacies and dynamics of informal workers within and outside the businesses perpetuated the shift from informal sector to informal economy (Chant 2014: 202)

Therefore, informal work contain individuals who 'work under conditions outside labor laws and regulations and who are self-employed in businesses that are not registered with the state' (Williams and Windeband, 1998 as cited in Swider 2015: 42-43), which include; street vendors, homeworkers, agriculture workers and builders (Mitullah 2003, Bhowmik 2010a, Chant 2014: 200, Swider 2015).

Erstwhile, informal economy focused mainly on 3 approaches; the dualist approach, Structuralist theory and Legalist approach. The dualist approach expected informal sector to grow and engross the informal sector ILO, 1972 and Hart 1973 in (Bhowmik 2010a: 3) implying the two sectors are independent. The Structuralist critique it for not recognizing economic changes that lead to the continued growth of the informal economy worldwide, to them the two sectors are related. To Hernando de Sotto, the legalist approach is of a view that, the informal sector hosts workers who find the formal economy laws unwieldly to bare and follow (Bhowmik 2010a: 4-5)

Amidst the above, this study adopt Berner's understanding of informal economy as on '*Helping a Large Number of People Become a Little Less Poor*' (Berner et al. 2012). Their logic is based on the complexities and variances of different entrepreneurs involved in informal work to explore their specific needs for effective, viable and sustainable policy formulation. This argument is based on 'Survival and Growth Oriented Entrepreneurs' model to supplement the previous work on informality. Nevertheless, Gomez argues that, these entrepreneurs are different and to understand their level of success in terms of 'graduation', they have to be divided providing a basis for feasible policy designs and decisions regarding specific concerns of small businesses in the informal economy (Gomez 2008a). The logic of taking Berner et al. 2012's understanding of informal economy was to explicitly explore the ideals of the two groups of the entrepreneurs in relation to street vendors in KCD as a basis for coherent policy implications. The categorization of the business enterprises is explored in the next sub section.

3.3 Business and enterprise classification

Following the above argument, below is the description of the two groups of the entrepreneurs focusing on their differences in relation to their challenges and different needs as described by Berners et al. (2012) with some inputs from other scholars.

3.3.1 Understanding growth oriented and survivalist enterprises

Quoting Berner et al. (2012: 387), Growth oriented enterprises also Known as an 'intermediate sector' is characterized by, 'barriers to entry, male majority, willingness to take risks, specialization, embedded in business networks with the ability to accumulate part of the income generated' whilst, survivalist enterprises termed 'necessity -driven' is characterized by 'ease of entry, low capital requirements, skills and technology, female majority, maximizing security, smoothing consumption part of diversification strategy, often run by idle labor, with interruptions and/or part-time, embedded in networks of family and kin obligation to share income generated'(ibid). Accordingly, Rogerson 1996: 171 argues that, necessity driven businesses show a number of undertakings done by entrepreneurs who are not in position to acquire paid work from the formal setting- are deprived and subsistence is their focus compared to the opportunity driven, focused on 'specialization'. This confirms Gomez's argument that, a big number survival businesses is immersed with unreal business persons and are just mindful of risk averse than creating initiatives for dropping out of the poverty circle through their undertakings (2008a: 1).

Because many survival entrepreneurs are very poor to afford the essentials of life (Berner et al. 2012), interventions in form of public amenities and funding are wanted to reduce their risks (ibid). Due to insufficient restrictions on informal work, 'competition and start-ups' are stiff (Mead and Liedholm 1998 as cited in Kanothi 2009: 15)-hence low returns and poor performance. Those with sustainable businesses are recommended for additional support as a strategy for business advancement (Gomez 2008a). However, their absolute advancement is debatable (Berner et al. 2012)

To explore different dynamics and complexities of the two groups of entrepreneurs explained above, Gomez (2008a) further divided each group in to two as in next sub section.

3.3.2 Survivalist enterprises with sustainable businesses versus those with non-sustainable businesses.

According to Gomez (2008a), the first group of Survival entrepreneurs have sustainable businesses and the second lack sustainable businesses. While, they have sustainable businesses, the first group is still limited by skills and technology, thus low potential for business advancement (ibid). However, small support like improvement of 'basic services' and affordable loans might reverse their fortunes, and help them access to basic social amenities (Berner et al. 2012: 392)

Nevertheless, the second group engrosses deprived and marginalized groups of entrepreneurs with limited capacity and skills to hold sustainable businesses and 'absorb shocks' jeopardizing their family members (Gomez 2008a). To them, direct poverty mitigation measures of direct basic necessities provisions is what they need to sustain livelihoods (ibid)

Growth Oriented Entrepreneurs are also divided into-those with 'great possibility' and other with no 'hopes of graduation'. The first category is characterized by advantages like skilled people, male dominated, able to retain paid workers, and urban based (Gomez 2008a). Market imperfections and inadequate finance being their constraint to advancement (ibid)

Conversely, the second group is characterized by Entrepreneurs with 'no realistic chances of graduation' (Gomez 2008a: 3). Their ambition to advance in business is botched by lack of capacity. However, assistance in the development of the 'business plan' hold promise to enhance their 'graduation'.

3.3.3 Micro enterprise score card (Business classification tool)

Gomez's typology of the 'Micro enterprise score card' was adopted as 'a tool' for business categorization in relation to street vending in KCD-to achieve this, a 'two tier assessment procedure' was employed as an instrument to differentiate Growth Oriented entrepreneurs (GOEs) from Survivalist Entrepreneurs (SEs) and show the level and possibility of success for each category-(under survival entrepreneurs) (Gomez 2008a). The adoption of survivalist enterprises and informal sector concepts is based on (Berner et al. 2012, Gomez 2008a, Rogerson 1996)'s notion that, 'survivalist entrepreneurs' undertake informal work mainly for subsistence than an opportunity for poverty alleviation. Also Moser's Asset Vulnerability Frame work (1998) was used as an 'analytical tool' for data analysis and its description is explored in the next sub section.

3.4 The asset vulnerability frame work

To explore the extent of street vendor's vulnerability to poverty and work related risks in KCD, the research is anchored in Moser's Asset Vulnerability Frame Work (AVF) of (1998)-adapted from Sustainable Livelihood Framework of Robert Chambers and Conway (1992). AVF is commonly used to analyze and comprehend the vulnerability levels of poor urban dwellers around the globe (Moser 1998). It emphases 'what the poor people have, rather than what they do not have with a focus on their assets' (Moser 1998: 1), acknowledging that, the capacity of the urban poor to utilize and sustain the available assets as a way of living should be recognized.

The framework categorizes assets into 'tangible and intangible', her argument is that, the urban poor are heterogeneous by nature and face different challenges. To understand their complexities, it's important to pinpoint the existing assets, the level of accessibility and the rate to which these assets can be used effectively to lessen their vulnerabilities (Moser 1998: 5). Moser's Asset Vulnerability Framework was adopted as a tool for data analysis and a guide for identifying and understanding the available assets for street vendors, risks, and various ways the available assets can go to mitigate various risks.

The understanding of these issues will be a basis for effective policy designs by concerned policy makers to protect street vendors from vulnerable livelihoods in various cities. The study based analysis on four types of assets; Human capital, Social capital, physical capital-housing and labor to comprehend street vendor's vulnerabilities and their coping strategies to deal with the risks to their survival and businesses.

3.5 Conclusion

The above chapter gives a description of the concepts and the theories used in the study. It has explored the main ideas of AVF and the two groups of entrepreneurs (GOE and SEs) as a basis for feasible policy formulation. The next chapter explores the reality on the legal situation and street vendor in KCD.

Chapter 4 : THE LEGAL SITUATION AND REALITY OF STREET VENDORS IN KCD

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an empirical description of the legal situation and the reality of street vendors in KCD. The laws regulating street vending and the latter's awareness of them prior to evictions of 2011 are also captured. People's perceptions of street vendors is explored and ends with expressions and debates on the KCCA assumed Alternatives for street vendors in KCD.

4.2 The empirical situation on street vending in Kampala

The Kampala's street vendor's situation doesn't differ from other African Cities. It is a normal business composed of numerous people of different status. It is an opportunity for low income groups to earn a living, though unrecognized, deemed illegal and discomfort to the city's development. They are harassed in numerous illegal ways including depriving them of their petty property with insecurity (Nangozi 2014, Mitullah 2003). Kasule, CEO, KACITA-Uganda, described street vending as "a business where people merchandise their goods alongside the streets to look for customers-It is viewed as a business that support low income earners in the urban cities"⁸

Regarding street vendors' activities in KCD, the study compiled the results in Appendix 4.

Observed from the field was that, Street vending is mainly done from open places where street vendors can easily be accessible to customers. They usually display their merchandise on the ground covered with different sacks made from sisal fibres and some under shift tents in form of umbrellas to avoid strong sunshine. The street vendors who deal in second hand clothes use fences to hung and display their clothes. While mobile vendors move with their goods from place to place looking for customers. This confirm Mitullah's (2003) study citing in Kampala on '*Street Vending in African Cities*'. Because street vending is unlawful in the city, vendors lack the power over the vending sites, they are neither registered nor structured-just scattered all over the city and with the "absence of entry and exist checklist, it is very problematic to measure their activity and tell the their exact number in KCD and the entire city" as explained by the Project Coordinator St Balikuddembe Market during the interview. This echoes the findings of the (ILO 2002 as cited in Skinner 2010:188) that,

"The number of street vendors can fluctuate from one season to the next, one day to the next, and even during a single day. This is because some

⁸(Interview conducted on 8 August and 22 July 2015).

vendors only sell in the morning, afternoon or evening; and others sell only during certain seasons. Some may move from one location to another during the day, appearing to settle at each; while others may change what they sell from one season, month or day to another"

This undermines the proper and appropriate planning for the improvement of street vendors' working conditions in Kampala and other Cities like Accra and Harare (Mitullah 2003, Skinner 2010).

Unlike Kampala-Uganda, some African Cities like Nairobi have tried to count and record the number of street vendors in their Central Business District with the help of Vendors' associations and other interest groups (Kamunyori 2007: 51). As a result, a total number of 6,000 street vendors were reported in 2006 in Nairobi Business Districts by NCBDA (as cited in Kamunyori 2007: 52). This is a positive lesson to Uganda and other countries that are still hesitant to undertake the exercise.

Regarding gender, quantitative data show a big number of women in street vending compared to men and this is attributed to various reasons like, "lack enough funding, expertise and education that affect and block their chances of getting retained in the formal setting"⁹. The figures on sex of respondents are presented in <u>Figure 1 in</u> appendices

4.3 Challenges faced by street vendors in conducting their businesses in KCD.

Risky working environment was repeated as the major challenge exacerbating street vendor's vulnerability to poverty caused by KCCA activities. This has been in form of ceaseless evictions, confiscation of goods, psychological torture and upset, pestering, detention, tension, bribery and lack of appropriate vending places, caused by repressive policies and laws regulating street vending in the city. Street vendors observed the illegality of street vending in Kampala has kept them in the state of perpetual poverty and income loss because of infinite confiscation their goods by enforcement officers.

To cope with this situation, many street vendors resort to borrowing to sustain themselves, pay monthly bills for utilities and children's fees, trapping them into vicious circle of borrowing.

As noted by participant 25 that, "my goods have been confiscated on several occasions in 2011, my stock was taken by KCCA Legal officers and was never returned. This loss of capital, made me sit home for over 2 months surviving on money from a friend". This is collaborated by the Legal officer (2) assertion that,

"Once confiscated, all the perishable goods are not returnable but dumped in the dust bin! [...] after six months the goods are sold off to other people under the order of magis-

⁹ As explained by participant 25 and 20 working from Burton's and Namirembe road respectively on 13 August and 18 July 2015.

trate officer and the money goes to the minister of finance, because according to the law, KCCA is not entitled to keep the confiscated goods for over 6 months"¹⁰

Participant 13 expressed the anguish by noting,

"Because of the daily confiscation of goods, Rent and access to essential needs like food, education, and medical care is a challenge. I have 3 children but only one is in school. I can no longer afford paying fees for the rest". The proceeding voices reveal a defenseless and vulnerable working and living conditions of the street vendors that perpetuate their poverty in Kampala.

The absence of street vendor's association to Lobby Policy Makers was considered a big challenge to street vendors' rights in KCD. This can be deduced from participant 3, that, 'In Kampala, there's no any association that has ever come out to respond to our needs because we are involved in unlawful business and without a common voice our challenges can hardly be solved". Therefore, absence of Street Vendors' Labor rights and recognition as the informal workers was a big obstacle undermining their working performance in KCD.

4.4 The legal situation in Kampala city.

Since 2011, a number of by-laws and policies have been passed to run the city. These include; Maintenance of Trade order Act (Main Act), Trade Licensing Act, Public Health Act, Market Statute law, and payment of the ground rent, which are in accordance with the Ordinance Act 2006 and KCCA Act 2010¹¹. These laws were administered under a newly established KCCA by the Ugandan parliament in 2011. KCCA is the legal entity concerned with the operation of the entire city, working under the control of Ugandan Government in relation to KCCA Act 2010¹². Prior, Kampala city was under the administration of Kampala City Council (KCC) that was deemed incompetent for transformation and service delivery to urban dwellers-to change the structure and the situation, Ugandan parliament approved the KCCA ACT in 2010 that became effective in 2011 with the aim of promoting a tidy and attractive city to both Ugandans and the investors¹³.

4.4.1 The legal system and street vending in Kampala

Since the establishment of KCCA and the passing of the new law (Maintenance of Trade Order Act) in the 2011, small scale entrepreneurs including street vendors have been evicted by KCCA Legal enforcers and the police from the City. According to (The Local Governments, Kampala City Council Ordinance 2006: 10) Part iv (13)

¹⁰ (Interview on 9 August 2015)

¹¹ Kampala Capital City Authority <<u>http://www.kcca.go.ug/</u>> Accessed 31 October 2015

¹² <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kampala_Capital_City_Authority> Accessed 31 October 2015

¹³ Kampala Capital City Authority <<u>http://www.kcca.go.ug/uploads/Statement.pdf</u>Accessed 10 November 2015

A person shall not, ply his or her trade on any pavement, arcade, foot-way, unalienated public land, unoccupied land or land in possession of the council unless he or she is in possession of a permit issued by the council under the local governments (Kampala City) (Street Traders) Bye-laws.

Accordingly, (Kampala Capital City Act 2010) Section 7(2), 35, puts that, the Authority should;

Prohibit, restrict, regulate or license the sale or hawking of wares or the erection of stalls on any street, or the use of any part of the street or public place for the purpose of carrying on any trade, business or profession.

Regarding regulatory laws on street vending in KCD and entire Kampala, the Legal officer 1-KCCA during the interviews on 9th August 2015 observed, "Street vendors are charged under 'Maintenance of Trade Order Act' that was amended in 2010 to replace Kampala City Council" he added that,

"The amendment and implementation of this law aimed at restoring trade order in the city, reducing the overcrowding of the public space and deal with illegal trading activities operating in Kampala including; street vending, illegal displaying of the goods and services outside the shops among others"

In relation to the above ordinances/ laws, street vending is considered illegal in Kampala-and this has aggravated their vulnerability to constant evictions and seizure of their merchandise. Street vendors are hunted at night, enforcers confiscate their goods and at times clienteles are also detained for supporting the criminals-Street vendors. In October, 20 people were jailed in Kampala for supporting illegal street vendors (Nabirye 2014). According to participant 3, "This incident instigated fear among customers and are apparently afraid of buying anything from a street vendor". This resulted in reduced sales, profits and constant working poverty.

This reaffirm KCCA legal Officer (2)'s statement on the regulatory policies that, 'In Kampala street vending is illegal 24 hours, and street vendors are much aware about it. They are not even supposed to be informed about evictions any more, they just have to be ready for it anytime"¹⁴. Therefore, street vendors are caught unaware by the enforcers, lose goods and jailed for persisting on the streets.

4.4.2 Prior notice on the evictions and Street vendor's awareness of the Law

Concerning eviction notice of the general eviction saga of 2011, the two KCCA legal officers said, "Street vendors were given 28 days to vacate the streets" whilst, the Revenue officer did not put a figure to the days but noted, "Street vendors were given about a month to look for alternatives". Their views contradict each other, secondary data and street vendor's voices.

According to media, street vendors were given 4 days ultimatum¹⁵ to vacate and join the nearby markets, after the passing the law. However, study findings reveal various responses from the street vendors who were certain about the days of prior notice before general eviction saga of 2011. The re-

¹⁴ (Interview on 9 August 2015)

¹⁵Government Plans to Clean Kampala <<u>http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=1439317</u>> Accessed 20 May 2015

ported number is 6 out of 27 participants and the remaining 21 appeared to be ignorant about prior notice-they explained that, they were not informed about it, the authority just woke one day and evict them, it looked like an astonishment and nothing has changed apparently in the undertakings of the enforcers. This is supported by participant 1 who asserted that, *"I have been evicted on several occasions without prior notice; even now I might face eviction,"*¹⁶ This echoed the legal officer's stated above (for prior notice, see appendix 5)

The information presented in the <u>(appendix 5)</u> reveals contradictions on the reported days of prior notice by KCCA officials and the street vendors. The officials insisted that, street vendors were given almost a month to relocate and were Cleary informed through media outlets like; radio, television, and newspapers. However, the effectiveness of the means used for communication is questioned. Information clarity, accessibility, and the mobilization process were not suitable. Some street vendors have no access to such means of communication, because street vending is mainly composed of poor and low educated persons (Mitullah 2003). In Kampala, many can't afford buying and reading newspapers for updates. Notwithstanding some vendors with lack of attention to laws because of their social levels. Therefore it is vital that, means and channels of communication are appropriate for the Audience (in this case Street Vendors) to which laws are communicated.

4.4.3 Awareness of the new law regulating street vending in KCD

From the study findings, all the 27 street vendors were certain about the illegality of street vending. However, none of the Participants could give a detailed explanation on the regulatory laws on street vending in the area of study. It seems, most of the street vendors are ignorant about these laws. Similarly the same issue was revealed during my interview with the Revenue officer –KCCA Usafi market who couldn't give the technical name of the law and where it is stipulated. When asked about it, she had to first contact a colleague who told her that, "street vendors are charged under the No License Act' that is in accordance with the Ordinance Act 2006" you can imagine! If some of the officials are not certain about the law, then what about the street vendors where some cannot even read and write? As Street Vendors await for a better law, them and KCCA Legal enforcers need to be educated about the current law for effective legal compliance, policy and legal implementation respectively.

4.4.4 Why do street vendors persist on the streets amidst the Laws?

Necessity obeys no law! Absence of a viable vending alternative was reported by all participants to be responsible of recurrence and perseverance on hostile streets. However, some officials and the urban dwellers had a different take on the issue. Urban dweller (v) said that, *"it is because of the inbuilt assumption*

¹⁶ (Interview on 16 July 2015).

that street vending create a quick market relation between the seller and the buyers- vendors think they are very visible and more accessible on the streets than in the markets". The revenue officer –KCCA added that, "selling on the streets is a culture to street vendors, it cannot easily be avoided". Nevertheless, the legal officer (2)-KCCA expressed that, "Street vendor's persistence is related to their deprivation, they are very poor to afford a stall from the specified markets-they are highly costly compared to their capital. Besides, they are much interested in quick money and to their assumption, it can be got from the thoroughfares than markets and many vendors try to maneuver and dodge registration and taxes" This confirm the legalist approach of Hernando de Sotto that, "Informal sector comprised small operatives who work outside the formal economy because they find the legal procedures too cumbersome to follow" (Bhowmik 2010a: 4-5)

4.4.5 Street vendors' experience with the new law.

The general psychological recall of law is traumatic for the majority. Street vendors attached a bad experience on this Law, attributed to unceasing evictions, confiscations and harassment that keep them in vulnerable working and living conditions. Street vendor-participant 2, expressed his experience of the law in the following way,

"It is a bad policy. Since its implementation, the working environment of the street vendors became violent. It's no longer peaceful as it was during the administration of KCC. On several occasions my goods have been confiscated and not returned. I have even run out of capital, however, survival keeps me on the streets".

Besides, some participants reported wearied experiences they are subject to by the Legal enforcers during evictions and confiscation of goods without prior notice since street vending is illegal. As by KCCA Legal officer (2) who asserted that,

"Eviction and confiscation of the vendors' goods does not require any prior notice. Vendors are very much aware that street vending is illegal in Kampala. Therefore, they have to expect evictions any day any time" he says.

This risky environment perpetuates street vendor's vulnerability to income loss, insufficient savings and investments as explained by participant 2. Women are more vulnerable to evictions compared to men, because they are physically weak to carry their items and free when KCCA enforcement officer approach to confiscate their merchandise. The law puts women mothers in even a more precarious situation. A one such case in 2014 a *KCCA vehicle knocked a two year old baby to death* the mother had at City hall in Kampala as cited in Daily monitor 18, 2015¹⁷

¹⁷ <http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/KCCA-vehicle-kills-two-year-oldbaby-after-mother-s-arrest/-/688334/2526888/-/rqay03z/-/index.html> Accessed 18/ 09/ 2015

A child whose mother had been arrested by KCCA law enforcers for hawking merchandise within the City Centre was overrun by the official vehicle of KCCA. It is noted that the child was crying after he was separated from the mother [...] the child, who needed the mother's presence, later crawled beneath the parked car and remained unattended to until the reversed and killed the child

Such horrifying experience signal need to reform the law and should not be overlooked by the concerned persons. However, related cases in KCD continue as detailed in Appendix 6

4.5 People's perceptions on street vending and regulatory laws on street vending

Various perceptions on street vending and the regulatory laws were expressed by different participants as below.

4.5.1 KCCA officials

KCCA officials get irritated by the word street vending. To them street vending is a cause of messiness, dirtiness, traffic and leg jam, and a challenge to city's development. One KCCA, Revenue officer stated that,

"Street vending is a mess to the development of the city [...] market are available where street vendor should vend their goods instead of overcrowding the city"¹⁸

KCCA officials think laws will stop street vending in Kampala without investigations to understand the cause and rationale. Without a consideration of other factors like planning, management, feasibility of the policies and a change of street vendor's mindset, their goals and objectives will remain a dream! Moreover laws exist but street vendors continue to sell merchandise in the city streets amidst constant harassment.

4.5.2 Urban dwellers

The majority of the urban dwellers sympathize with street vending in KCD. This is on account of convenience, accessibility, and the low priced products supplied by street vendors in the city. Below are their voices on street vending and the regulatory laws in KCD.

Urban dweller (iii)

When asked about her opinion, she started by identifying its significance; "Some of us cannot afford buying goods in supermarkets or malls, that money we don't have! Buying a tomato from a street vendor is as cheap as 100shs, whereas Shoprite could sale the same tomato at 500shs, what a big margin! Much as KCCA claims that vending business is

¹⁸ (Interview on 14th/8/2015 with KCCA- revenue officer, Usafi Market offices)

illegal, let it not be forgotten that it's where the majority of the urban population derive a living in Kampala".

Urban dweller (iv) expressed;

"Whether street vending is illegal or not, our focus should be on; if we do away with street vendors, what are the benefits and costs? KCCA wants a clean and organized city [...] Let us put ourselves in the shoes of the street vendors, could we support evictions by choice? The debate is lengthy, but the issue remains we need street vendors"

About KCCA, <u>Urban dweller (ii)</u> put that, "This city belongs to all people, whether rich or poor, does eviction mean the poor should go out of Kampala?" <u>Urban</u> <u>dweller v</u> intersected, "The implemented laws are not people centered-they are based on top bottom approach – street vendors are not consulted that's why they're always caught unaware [...] they were not represented and lacked a well-designed structure to mobilize themselves, officials stifle and suppress them"

However urban dweller (v) was against street vending noting, "It is illegal to operate on the streets of Kampala, vendors are a cause of our problems. They deny us freedom to free movement in the city. Hence street vendors should operate from gazzated areas" Despite his voice, to my observation, there's a short fall of the gazzeted areas for street vendors in KCD, Owino market-a traditional alternative for street traders, conversely it is very congested - it can no longer accommodate vendors because of limited space.

Minority elite claim that, street vendors obstruct their movements by causing a leg and traffic jam in the city. The Upper elites in society presume a sense of more entitlement to the city, its services and convenience, even if at the expense of the majority.

4.5.3 NGO's and associations

The study found that most NGOs support street vending and it is considered as a source of livelihoods to low income group in the city. Those interviewed reported that, the survival of street vendors is highly dependent on street vending, which is a source of income and livelihoods to them. Moreover, in the interviews, CEO KACITA-Uganda asserted that, *'Even though street vendors evade direct taxes, they contribute to the economy through indirect taxes. However, their contribution is not acknowledged yet their money is used by the government to execute its mandates through promoting socio-economic development*". In this regard, street vending is considered as a substantial base for survival and contribution to the economy's development.

4.6 KCCA market alternatives for street vendors in KCD

The Study found that 3 market places were taken as alternatives for street vendors in Kampala Central Division. These are; Wandegeya, Usafi and Open

Sunday Market). However, these KCCA assumed alternatives have issues in terms appropriateness to different categories of street vendors. Upon the introduction and implementation of the new regulatory laws on street vending in 2011, none of these markets was in existence as an alternative for street vendors. Wandegeya market was officially opened in 2014, Usafi market was built in 2013 and the current Sunday open market was opened in May 2015 (Mukisa 2015)

Subsequently, the study found that, these markets are not affordable in terms of rent/ market dues. The returns from goods sold by most street vendors wouldn't pay the required cost to obtain a stall in the specified markets. In Wandegeya market the stall cost is between 100,000 and 150,000sh¹⁹. Usafi market, which is a bit affordable at 6500sh is poorly located. Open Sunday market is also not affordable costing 12000sh each day. This was explained by the KCCA legal officer (2) during the interviews on 9 August 2015. He said that,

"Open Sunday Market was introduced as an alternative for the poor street vendors to earn a living but it is not for free. They are requires to pay 10000sh for 1 square metre space with the bank charge of 2000each Sunday they come to vend" Moreover, it operates only on Sundays when most of the customers are on weekend holidays! These are some of the reasons for street vending persistence on the city streets amidst alternatives. The policy is inappropriate because street vendors are not involved in decision making and their voices are ignored by policy makers.

Since development is people centered and considered as 'expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy' including political freedoms as noted by Sen (1999: 3), it is very important for beneficiaries to be consulted to participate in decision making processes for effective and sustainable policy formulations. This 'common sense policy need' continue to elude Kampala like other African Cities (Skinner 2010). The Laws for street vendors and operation are made by a few top officials led by the Executive Director of the City without adequate stakeholder consultations. This has led to continued conflict of ideas and interests between the government and the street vendors over the alternatives. As a result, many street vendors ignored the alternatives and persevered on the streets. This was well put by CEO –KACITA-Uganda, observing that,

"Despite the responses by government to provide alternative markets to accommodate the street vendors, vendors continue coming back to the streets. Poor planning that excludes the users result in sophisticated structures only to be rejected by beneficiaries. I therefore commend the physical planning units, to put up infrastructure after wide consultation of the beneficiaries"

Additionally, the Executive Director USSIA asserted that,

¹⁹ <<u>https://namarajus.wordpress.com/2015/04/23/kcca-issue-management-case-of-evictions-of-street-vendors/</u>> Accessed 10 October 2015

"Market places are not like people's residents to stay in, business people need customers to sell their products and survive. In Kampala, USAFI market is poorly located, 2 miles away from the city center. Few customers come there" He asked.

His observation is supported by USAFI market vendor (1) that, "Usafi is poorly located, there no customers here. It's possible to come and go back home with nothing [...] during day time am here and at night on the streets trading for survival"²⁰

The above led one to the conclusion that; the available alternatives are not appropriate to some categories of street vendors in KCD. This calls for a policy shift on part of policy makers to be considerate and think of the best appropriate alternatives where street vendors would relocate and continue with their businesses. The unfortunate thing is that street vendors in KCD are treated as homogenous entrepreneurs yet they differ in many aspects therefore they should not be treated in the same way. That's why it is very important to classify the groups of street vendors, know their personal challenges and think of the feasible and viable policy measures to deal with their individual issues. This require a wider consultation with the street vendors in a sort investigation and research of the facts around street vendor's businesses and lives. Some of which this research captured in the next chapter.

²⁰ (Interview on 24 July 2015)

Chapter 5 : EMPIRICAL FINDINGS ON BUSINESS CATEGORIZATION, ASSET VULNERABILTY FRAME WORK & IMPACT ON VENDORS' LIVELIHOODS IN KCD

5.1 Introduction

Referring to chapter 3 where the description of the theory of business categorization is given, this chapter discusses the empirical findings on business classification relative to street vending in KCD. Gomez's typology of business categorization (2008a) is used as a theory to classify street vendor's businesses and show the degree of their success in term of business advancement for coherent policy measures in relation to their concerns. The reasons for business classification, labor processes and street vending impact on vendor's livelihoods are highlighted. The chapter ends with support programs by NGOs, and Associations to street vending business in Kampala.

5.2 Growth oriented enterprises versus survivalist enterprises in relation to street vendors in KCD

Referring to chapter 3, Micro enterprise score card (Gomez 2008a) has been applied as an instrument to categorize GOEs and SEs in relation to street vending in KCD. The application of this theory based on a set of the 5 questions prepared with the answers ranging from 1-3. All the participants scored 10 and more were categorized as the GOEs and those below 10 were categorized as Survivalist entrepreneurs. The same approach was followed to classify survivalist entrepreneurs and show their level of business sustainability and advancement. Those who got 10 score and more were representatives of Survival entrepreneurs with sustainable business and those recorded below 10 represented survival entrepreneurs with non-sustainable businesses as for Appendices 7 and 8

Various variables and indicators were used as a basis for street vendors' business categorization. These include; Gender, Age, Education and income levels of an entrepreneur, access to credit, ability to expand the business, level of record's keeping, knowledge about the business, ownership of the savings account, adaptation to work related insecurities, a sensitivity and rapidity levels to recover from risks. A survey was used as a tool of data collection, and questions were set in accordance with the mentioned indicators and variables. The concealed goal was to identify complexities in vendors' businesses, principally for effective policy recommendations to improved working conditions of the street vendors in KCD to pave their way out of poverty.

The results on the business categorization are presented in the table below;

Group of entrepreneurs	Subtotal of the Busi- ness score cards	percentage
Survivalist entrepreneurs	15	56
Growth oriented entre-		
preneurs	12	44
Total	27	100

Table 5-1: Classifying Survival from growth oriented entrepreneurs in percentages

Source: field work, 2015

Basing on the above information, more than half of the street vendors were survival entrepreneurs who undertook business for subsistence compared to Growth oriented entrepreneurs who covered a small number of street vendors constituting to 44 percent of the participants. In terms of education, age and gender, survival group contain low educated street vendors and the big number is reported to have stopped at primary level of education, and the majority are young entrepreneurs in the age range of 10 and 29 and it absorbs more male than females. Conversely, the Growth oriented entrepreneurs are composed of somehow better educated vendors, normally above 30 years and most are women owned. Refer to (Appendix 9, 10 &11)

The interpretation of the information From (Appendix 9, 10 & 11) is that, a big number of street vendors in KCD undertake vending because of subsistence than a step towards poverty reduction- they are not real business persons as observed by Gomez (2008a). The 27 participants reported street vending not as a way out of poverty but survival. A related one noted,

"You see young lady, street vending is illegal in Kampala but I cannot just do away with it because it is a base for my survival. Without it I cannot have something to eat and my family will definitely be in total danger" (Participant 25)

In relation to (Berner' et al. 2012)'s argument, the main focus of the survival street vendor's strategy is diversification and not specialization, because of the extreme fear of risks related to income loss when the business collapses. When asked about what they would do with the donor funds if it was provided, 67 percent preferred starting a new business and only 17 reported business expansion. Whilst 83 percent of the street vendors under Growth oriented category reported business expansion compared to 17 percent who preferred a new business. Hence a sign of specialization and advancement in the business venture compared to the survival group as figures in **(Appendix 12)** show

Besides it is clear from (**Table 1**) that, the majority street vendors in KCD lack sufficient skills to acquire stable employment from the formal setting, hence their involvement in street vending that has no educational barrier to entry. This reaffirm the workings of various scholars like (Mitullah 2003, Kamunyori 2007, Skinner 2010, and Bhowmik 2010) that, street vending in

peripheral countries contains more of the low skilled personnel who are unemployable in the formal setting requiring skills and high qualifications.

This study finding contradict the assumption on gender aspect that Survivalist enterprises are largely dominated by the female and GOEs by male (Berner et al. 2012, Gomez 2008a). Here the study revealed different results on gender, where SEs and GOEs are dominated by male and female respectively. The issue of financial independence in the household among women was mentioned by female participants as a factor behind the stiff completion between women and men in the working environment. *One possible explanation is that women are more in informal than formal economy where the structure favor men. It would be intervening to test the results in a bigger study.*

For a clear understanding of the complexities and the conditions of street vendors in the KCD, survival group was further classified into survival enterprises with adequate income to sustain the business and ones with nonsustainable businesses with a reference to (Gomez 2008a). Because it is not automatic that all the survival entrepreneurs will succeed and sustain the business as noted by (Kanothi 2009: 32, Gomez 2008a, Berner et al. 2012), classifying them as in the table below helps potentially for effective support from policy makers.

 Table 5-2 : Classification of survivalist entrepreneurs with sustainable businesses

 nesses from those with non-sustainable businesses

Group of the survival T	otal of business score	
entrepreneur ca	ard	percentage
SENSB	11	73
SESB	4	27
Total	15	100
Source: field work, 202	15	

From above information, the first group of (SEnsb,) it is indicated that, the majority of the street vendors in KCD involve in non-sustainable businesses.

In terms of gender, age and education, majority entrepreneurs are female young between 10 and 29, mainly with primary education. They have low income and their social network is poor. No assistance with the percentage of 100. This poses a big risk, if the bread winner falls sick, the business will collapse or stagnate. Conversely, the second group of the entrepreneurs with the sustainable business, is largely male dominated and no female vendor appeared to own a sustainable business. They attend to their businesses regularly given the percentage of 100 and 50 percent of the participants were helped by their relatives in the business undertakings. An indication that they benefited from social capital. Refer to (Appendix 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17)

Besides, from <u>Table 2</u>, it is clear that there few street vendors under the survival group who can run a sustainable business, because of limited capital, skills and technology. This reaffirm Kanothi's finding on 'the dynamics of en-

trepreneurship' where he reported that, this group contain a small number of entrepreneurs who can accumulate sufficient revenue for business sustainability (Kanothi 2009: 33)

Therefore, a big number of the street vendors under the first group (SENSB) are deprived, vulnerable and very poor. As a result, they cannot accumulate sufficient income for more savings and investments. This fails them to sustain their businesses and graduate to a different step. Nonetheless, the second group (SESB) show some possibility of accumulating adequate income for business sustainability. It is the risks and hurdles that hinder their business advancement. However, the provision of support in the form of donations, public services such as; education and medical care, as recommended by Gomez (2008a) may lessen their risks and vulnerabilities without complete graduation from poverty as noted by Gomez (2008a) and Kanothi (2009). Despite that limitation, it may provide a chance for a shot at descent work and livelihood.

5.3 Level of graduation

The study results point to significant difference between the two groups on the level of graduation in the business venture of GOE and SEs. Survival entrepreneurs prioritize diversification as a shock absorber for risks and vulnerabilities, therefore, they have limited possibilities of graduation compared to the growth oriented entrepreneurs whose priority is based on specialization as a step towards business advancement from a low level to a higher level.

Given the estimated profits reported by GOEs, they stand a chance to save, accumulate capital and raise substantial income to sustain their businesses compared to the survival group. Majority of GOEs (92%) reported as keeping business records daily, a vital skill in monitoring status of business progress compared to survival group where only 17% knew the importance of records keeping in business. 100% of the survival group did not have extra paid workers and only 17% GOEs had one paid worker each, curtailing possibility to graduation. Indeed graduation for small businesses is 'exceptional' as observed by Gomez (2008b: 20) Refer to appendix 18 and 19

5.4 Business categorization and policy making processes

As Gomez (2008a) argued on business classification, policy makers to first do a feasibility study on different categories of entrepreneurs to understand the exact and viable policies that suits particular entrepreneurs for efficient and realistic policy formulation and implementation. That is the realistic way to descent work and improved livelihoods among street vendors in urban areas.

This Study on the business categorization of street vendors in KCD found that, street vendors are highly heterogeneous in terms of income, business size, family responsibilities, expenditure levels and capacity to deal with the risks and emergencies. After making street vending illegal in Kampala, policy makers don't mind much about street vendor's voices to understand their challenges and provide enabling policies. In Uganda, the government is untroubled by the issues and the needs of the informal sector workers and ignore them in decision making. This indifference is to be reasonable for many policy failures in the country.

According to "maintenance of trade order act", street vending is illegal in Kampala, Vendors are entitled to trade from the designated markets not on the streets. But causal observation during the research showed that, street vendors were all over the city streets plying and selling their goods. The interpretation here is that, these laws and the policies seem to be manipulated or failed policies an argument is supported by the statement made by CEO KACITA-Uganda that,

"Despite responses by government to provide alternative markets to accommodate the street vendors, the street vendors continue coming back to the streets. It's a point of poor planning [...] I therefore commend the physical planning units, to put up infrastructure after wide consultation of the beneficiaries. Conducting a pre-feasibility study is less costly compared to the outcomes of no consultation at all". *Moses Kalule, CEO, KACITA- Uganda²¹*

5.5 Empirical data analysis using Moser' asset vulnerability framework (AVF)

Referring to Chapter 3, data analysis is anchored in Moser's Asset Vulnerability Framework of 1998 (Moser 1998). This was adopted as a basis for identifying the various assets that can facilitate street vendors' livelihoods and act as a shock absorber for repressive policies impairing their wellbeing in KCD. To achieve this, I based on four types of assets; human capital, social capital, physical capital-housing and labor, to explore street vendor's vulnerabilities and the coping strategies to deal with the risks jeopardizing their survival and worsening their poverty. Below is the table summarizing the assets used for data analysis.

²¹ (The interview on 22 July 2015)

Table 5-3: Summary of the assets that can facilitate street vendor's livelihoods, their vulnerabilities, coping strategies and possible solutions to lessens the their r vulnerabilities

Type of Asset	Vulnerability	Coping strategies	Possible solutions
Human capital	-Low entrepreneur ex- pertise. -Lack of access to edu- cation	-Depend on children for some skills.	-Capacity building
Labor	-Loss of income -Loss of employment -Unable to retain paid labor force -Bribes by the mafias& legal enforcers -Stiff completion	-Social networks based on friends & relatives -Borrowing -Change of location -Selling stealthily - persistence	 Provision of appropriate vending sites to the ven- dors Access to credits at a low interest rate Issuance of the licenses & business permits Encourage vendors' regis- tration.
Social Capital	-Little unionized -lack of vendor's asso- ciations. -lack of physical mobil- ity for women vendors specifically at night	-Favoritism, race and ethnicity -Formation of saving groups - Merry- go -round -Reciprocal support -Teamwork	Formation vendor's asso- ciations -Reinforces security -provision of a wide and open thoroughfares for street vendors -facilitate open market days
Physical capital and hous- ing	-Lack of vending shel- ter -Inability to own a house	-Persistence on the streets -Bribes _Use of Alarms and symbols to alert each other -Hiding	-Construction of appropri- ate vending sites with af- fordable market dues

Author's ideas and the inputs from Moser (1998)

The above are some of the assets that can facilitate street vendor's survival and the wellbeing in a challenging environment characterized by evictions and confiscation of vendor's goods. They are analyzed as below.

5.5.1 Human capital

This is related to people's education levels, skills, knowledge and the capacity to utilize the acquired knowledge to operate a business, get a better job, sustain it and reduce the risks that jeopardize livelihoods (Moser 1998). Likewise, Moser (2007), link human capital assets to people's capacity to invest in education, medical care and nutrition which determine their capacity to work and their earnings.

Study results from KCD reveal none of the 27 participants attained a college/ university level of education. The highest education level is secondary accounting for 56 percent of the participants. The rest acquired primary education that cannot get them employed in the formal setting. This is the major reason for their involvement in the informal sector jobs, which do not require skilled and well trained human resource. This echoed scholars like Hart (1973) in Bhowmik (2010:3) who noted that,

'Developing countries have large reserves of untrained, unskilled workers who have little or no education, these people cannot hope to find work in the formal economy as they do not have the skills needed for specialized jobs in the formal sector hence they find employment in the informal economy'

Despite its easy accessibility, in Kampala informal sector occupations like street vending is associated with many risks. They include; unceasing evictions, confiscation of goods, lack of business registration, lack of working permits and long working hours. The related risks as explained by the participants lead to continued losses and poverty. To cope with the situation, social capital in form of friends, relatives and children.

Participant 20 stressed the important role children can play by, "I like working with my daughter, she is very humble and has customer care better than me. She knows how to plead with the clients and they buy, something that I cannot manage. When she is around during weekend, I make more profits [...] every time she is around, I am not disturbed with money computations". However, irrespective of this woman's illiteracy, increased capacity building in form of training could help her. The education levels of the research participants is presented in <u>Figure 2</u> in appendices

5.5.2 Physical capital

Street vendors in KCD face a big challenge of lack of infrastructure such as shelter points and appropriate market structures to freely ply their products without disturbances and risks. According to the current law "maintenance of trade order' in the city, street vending in Kampala is illegal yet the market alternatives provided are very expensive in terms of market dues and poorly located and/ or occur on unfavorable days for their operation as explained in subsection 4.8. This working conditions of the street vendors in KCD deteriorate as they persist on the streets with associated risks that led to losses and poverty.

To survive in KCB, street vendors apply several coping strategies. They include; persistence on the streets, selling stealthily at night, and change locations as reported by participant 06 that, "Ennaku Zino twebba bwebbi ekiro mpozi no'kukyusakyusa ebiforo ebitundirwamu" (Luganda) translated as "*These*

days we sell stealthily at night and where possible we change the location of vending" (Male Aged 38) However, this does not guarantee safety, at night, street vendors still are arrested by the legal officers. Confirming, "KCCA as an institution work 24 hour because street vending is also illegal 24 hours in Kampala according to the law"²²

Besides, some street vendors use alarm to alert each other when the Legal enforcers are approaching to seize their items. This is a coping strategy to avoid imprisonment and confiscation of goods. During the research, it was found out that different groups of street vendors operate in a social network and connect to each other within that social network. They develop symbols to alert each other in case KCCA officials come to arrest them. The symbols include 'Obusajja' and 'Abatujju' (in Luganda) translated as 'Dangerous men' and 'killers' respectively. This is evidenced by the response of participant 10 (aged 30) upon the coping strategies. She said, "Twebagulizaako buli omu naatemyako ku munne nga KCCA eggya nga tukozesa ebigambo bye batategeera nga 'obusajja' ne 'abatujju' awo fenna ne tudduuka n'e bintu byaffe ne twekweka okwewala okusibibwa" (Luganda) and translated as "we alert each other when KCCA legal officers are coming, using different symbols and nick names like 'dangerous men' and 'the killers' that are hardly interpreted by them and we all run away with our things and hide to avoid imprisonment and confiscation of our goods". So whenever they hear such nick names or symbols, they relocate into hide acts until the officials leave. Not an enviable environment to work in.

5.5.3 Productive assets like housing

Productive assets, according to Moser (1998: 10) is composed of assets that can help low income stipendiaries to survive and reduce emerging risks. These include; a plot land, housing, radio set, television, refrigerators, motorcycle, bicycle and a car. In most countries Uganda inclusive, housing is perceived as a necessity for every human being, but because of the extreme poverty, majority of the population cannot afford living in owned houses. For the urban poor, they mainly live in the rented houses, where they pay monthly rent which drains their household income that could have been invested in various development ventures.

Date show a small number of street vendors with owned houses. Of the 27 participants interviewed, only 7 street vendors sleep in their owned houses and 10 participants out of 27 owned a plot of land. The remaining 20 sleep in rented houses, pay monthly rent, hence reduced savings and investments. Should their goods be confiscated their life would be in danger. They can only hope to survive by friends or relatives in such a time. (Appendix 20)

5.5.4 Social capital

This is one of the intangible assets and according to Moser (1998:13), it is understood as 'the extent to which a community itself can be considered an asset that reduces vulnerability or increases on its stock of social capital'. However, Moser (2007: 30) define social capital as 'the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, and socie-

²² (Interview with KCCA- legal officer 2)

ties' institutional arrangements that enable that society's members to achieve their individual and community objectives'. Social capital is based mainly *on* reciprocal relationships, interactions, connections and trust embedded in individuals for basic services like food, space and money to minimize the risks different categories of people are exposed to.

Study results show the importance of social capital as a shock absorber for many risks related to dislodgments, detention, torture, seizure of goods from street vendors. During periods of such shocks, friends assets by providing assistance in form of money, direct services of food and water for daily consumption. And sometimes favoritism, ethnicity, tribalism, family relations and geographical locations help. This is best captured by Participant 26 on Nasser Road and (aged 30) assertion that;

"I survive evictions because I and the KCCA legal officer in charge of this road come from the same village [...] he feels uncomfortable to confiscate my goods. This is how I have survived".

Furthermore, street vendors depend on SACCOs and Merry-go-round²³ for their wellbeing and family sustenance. My argument here is that, social capital is highly attached to trust, team work, connection and reciprocity as noted by Moser (1998). However, its effectiveness is debatable since some street vendors with insufficient requirements are left helpless in a vulnerable situation. Moreover, street vendors do not have a vending committee/ association to fight for their rights. This is attributed to lack of a systematic structure of coordination as they are scattered with varying interests and utmost disorganized. This poses a big challenge to mobilization, networking, advocacy and lobbying which are avital step towards vendor's representation and improvement of their working conditions. Nevertheless, a common objective enemy KCCA authority harassment may force collective response, based on common grievances they were already expressing.

5.5.5 Labor as an asset

This is a person's involvement in a particular job as a source of income. Study results indicate that, in most cases, it's a man to work as a breadwinner. Most times it takes a man losing his job for a wife to think of joining the labor market to sustain the family. During research, some children were found working together with their parents. Asked why involving children in risky vending? Participant 2 responded that;

"It is because of these children that am still surviving [...] a child below 18 years doing vending is only warned while me I would be punished. I survive by leaving the business to the children whenever KCCA officials appear"

Even though child labor is illegal according to the International Labor Organization and the constitution of Uganda, it is perceived by some street vendors as a way to cope with evictions.

²³ A system of saving small amount of money by a small number of people in a Group and share the profits at the end of the month amongst yourselves.

5.6 Labor processes

In a simple understanding, labor processes is about what people do and how they feel about their work. Study findings indicate that, despite the illegality of street vending in Kampala, it is still taken as the major source of income to the majority of street vendors. Out of the 27 participants, 26 reported street vending as their main source of income and only one (participant 2) mentioned a different activity which is Small Farm holdings. Despite these figures, the feelings street vendors feel about their businesses should not be overlooked as it determines the graduation of the entrepreneurs. It reinforces their motivation to hard work hence advancement to a certain extent.

In the real life, it is very important for an individual to undertake a business venture that his heart wants but not because there no other alternatives. Such would retard the entrepreneurs' performance and motivation to work, resulting in low incomes, savings and investments that undermine business transformation. Refer to (appendix 21) for vendor's feelings about their business.

From <u>Appendix 21</u> more about half of the participants were not happy with street vending, because its illegal, As a result, many street vendors were un comfortable as put by participant 2 that,

"With street vending you cannot think of having a permanent business in Kampala because KCCA will always hunt you and confiscate your goods. That's why these days I spend most of my time in farming"

However, a very small number of the street vendors-15 percent were very happy with the business. This group considers street vending as their main source of livelihoods in the city despite the illegality as asserted by participant 23 (aged 17). *'I feel very happy whenever I go back home with some money, count it by myself and budget for it. Besides, my survival in terms of feeding and accommodation is based on my business''.*

5.7 Street vending and vendor's livelihoods

In the context of street vendors in KCD, the impact of street vending on vendor's livelihoods is either positive or negative depending on the working conditions and the status of the business

Street vending was reported by vendors as a significant source of their income and livelihoods support for survival and wellbeing in the city. Their basic needs of life is met by income derived from street vending. Thus making it a crucial business for the sustenance of their families. This, echoed Mitullah's findings on '*Street vending in African Cities*' including Kampala in 2003 (Mitullah 2003). Results from the study show that 96 percent of the participants derive their income from street vending as their main activity as indicated in (<u>Appendix 22</u>)

The study found that, only 7 participants (26 percent) owned houses, 20 (74 percent) were renting (rooms), the majority of the participants were paying energy and water needs using income from vending. Therefore it constitutes a significant assault on vendor's livelihoods in KCD if it is stopped. For more clarifications (see appendix: 20, 23 and 24)

Thus, while the positive impact is felt, street vendors' livelihoods are not secure, because of the risks associated with it as an illegal business in KCD. This makes it difficult for vendor's to focus on the long term growth and development of the individuals, households and communities. As a low paying business, it cannot provide incentives for motivation and its output is hard to predict due to losses from evictions. Street vending can easily provide survival but sustainable livelihood is difficult as it requires sufficient income to save, invest and accumulate wealth. Therefore, the long term objective of graduation and poverty alleviation can hardly be visualized because of risks associated with street vending in KCD and the city as a whole.

5.8 Support programs and associations.

Recognizing the harassment and rights violations street vendors are subject to in Kampala City, a few organizations and associations have come out to support street vendors through advocacy and lobbying them to be provided with Permanent and appropriate vending markets to improve their working conditions and lessen their vulnerability to poverty. These include; Kampala City Trader's Association –Uganda (KACITA-Uganda), Uganda Informal Sector Transformation Organization (UGISTO), National Union of Creative Performing Arts and Crafts (NUCPAC), and Uganda Small Sector Industries Association (USSIA).

More organizations would to help, according to participants, but were intimidated and threatened by the government of supporting the criminals. To KCCA street vendors are guilty as charged and don't deserve labor rights protection like any other workers in the city. This confirms Mitullah's observation on 'street vending in African Cities', that street vendors in most African cities are viewed as criminals because of the unceasing pocket picking and other forms of insecurity in these cities (Mitullah 2003). Likewise in Nigeria about 800,000 people mainly street vendors were evicted in 2006 in the names of 'beautifying the city and 'cleaning up' the criminals' (COHRE 2006 in Parnell and Sophie Oldfield 2010: 100).

Despite the intimidations from the government, police and KCCA legal enforcers in the city, there some organizations and associations that have shown significant concern for the working conditions of the street vendors in KCD. Some of the voices of the officials regarding their support to the street vendors are captured in such statements like;

"KACITA made an agreement with KCCA to gazette a street and allow low income earners to sale off their goods [...] Every Sunday, traders convene at Luwum Street and ply their goods, which is appropriate for traders who cannot afford shops and stalls in the markets". He explained²⁴

Accordingly the chairman UGISTO asserted that,

²⁴ Moses S. Kalule CEO, KACITA-Uganda during an in-depth interview on 22nd of July, 2015.

"UGISTO as an organization does not represent street vending but deal with street vendors [...] we do advocacy work, for better working conditions of street vendors"²⁵

Despite the effort of the above organizations and associations to support street vendors in KCD, many challenges still undermine their efforts. A significant example is the criminalization of street vending in Kampala, which instigated fear among the officials to the extent that they conceal their feelings about the street vendors in the city. They are ever accused of abetting the 'criminals' as explained by the ex-director of USSIA²⁶

Harmonization of the law is also a challenge, according to Chairman UGISTO, 'The law regulating street vending is very harsh, cruel and inhumane-They are always harassed and beaten during evictions and their goods are confiscated by the KCCA legal enforcers. Because KCCA uses an authority to evict the street vendors, it is very difficult for the law to be harmonized'. Moreover "the exact number of street vendors in the area of study and Kampala as a whole is neither known nor estimated by the policy makers in the KCD and Kampala city as a whole. Above all street vending does not have the specific age limit. All (the elderly, youth and the children) are involved in a disorganized manner. This creates a very difficult situation for the policy makers to have a common voice for all of them and design suitable policies for each category"²⁷ His argument is supported by the executive director of NUCPAC that,

"Unless movie vendors unite and form an association, no one can ever respond to their plight. So let the movie vendors get organized"²⁸.

Moreover, in KCD, there's no any street vendors' association provide a common voice for them and fight for their labor rights in an organized manner. Traumating Street vending as illegal in Kampala, has resulted in limited efforts by the concerned institutions to raise their voices and advocate for their labor rights. This was underlined by the voice below during the interview on $16^{th} 07/2015$

"Operating an illegal business in Kampala, you can never receive government government support programs to boost your business. Look at me, I am the example who started four years ago [...]²⁹

It should be recognized that, the mentioned organizations and associations are not street vendor's associations, but normal NGOs striving for the better livelihoods of the low income earners, including street vendors. Therefore, street vendors would benefit from forming associations or vending committees to give them a common voice and advocating for the betterment of their lives. Such an organization similar to the one reported in India as one of the successful initiative in supporting street vendors through advocacy and policy dialogue (Bhowmik 2010: 43).

²⁵ Says Asiimwe Ben J. R during the interviews on 11/08/2015

²⁶ Mr Walugembe, the ex-director of USSIA during the interview on 11/08/2015.

²⁷ Says Walugembe, the Ex project coordinator SSLOA during the interviews on 24th of July, 2015.

²⁸ Say Anita on 20/7/2015

²⁹ Participant1, female aged 29

There are many other examples from Chile, Sao Paulo, South Africa and Lima in Latin America whose strategies to form street vendor's associations to improve working conditions by bringing the street vendors together, settling emerging disputes among them, advocating for appropriate policies, vending sites and business amenities could be emulated (Roever 2010:226 232 & 234, Mitullah 2003:12).

To demonstrate this, other cases of best practice in street vendor management has in Santiago, appropriate policies in relation to time of vending have been recognized-where vending markets operate between 8 am and 3 pm principally to avoid daily expenditures on night security and electricity(Roever 2010: 232). Nonetheless, the influence of the government in street vending matters should not be underestimated. In some countries, municipal and local officials maneuver and control vending activities by reducing on the issuance of the vendor's permits with a hidden agenda of decongesting the urban centers (ibid)

Chapter 6 : GENERAL OBSERVATIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 General observations

Kampala is viewed as a place of opportunity both for the strugglers and those economically successful. Many of the people correctly soaked up by the informal sector migrated from the rural areas, in search of a better future, in this promised city. Even though many are yet to make it, but they beam with optimism, "one day" "God will" I will make it', are phrases that capture the future they hope for, even if they may not clearly visualize it at the moment. This expectation, paradoxically, amidst diminished possibility of a formal job in the city, brings new arrivals on constant, if not daily basis.

The other informal sector workers, actually town is what they have known as home, they live where their ancestors always dwelt, but as the city expanded it mopped them in. Therefore, to tell them not to undertake certain activities within the city, when you have not provided a viable alternative tantamount to intrusion in the domestic affairs of such people.

Existing laws have never been fully implemented by successive administrations of the city, traders exploit every laxity in enforcement to forge on with life. Even with the high handed iron-fist-like, implementation of the current executive director sufficient lapses exist to enable street vendors to continue the engagement from strategic public selling spaces, in a bid to survive.

Selective implementation of the law does not help the situation. The example here is exonerating the disabled from the law during enforcement. This is used as a loophole by others to skirt the enforcement. This is a taste acknowledgment by the authorities that certain categorizes of people need consideration, but if they are serious the option would be to get appropriate alternatives for all the categories of street vendors to achieve their policy objectives without ruining lives of poor people.

While street vending, is not the enviable business to do in town, especially Kampala, its attractiveness lie in its guaranteeing them a daily cash income, an option for example, not available to their village counterparts.

The severity with which laws are implemented to evict street vendors from the city centre fluctuates with changing political season. They are laced, like at the moment, and harsh after elections. Such conjunction implementation of the laws and policies undermine confidence in them in the public eyes, increase resistance and make implementation costly.

The handling of street vendors is an exercise in raw power application and most times violates their human and labour rights. Street vendors are handled like hardcore criminals in a disrespectful way extending to beating by the legal enforcers. This makes many to question the intentions and judgement of such authorities.

Most of the problems attributed to street vendors are just class bias and defensive justification by authorities, for their poor policies. The traffic congestion and dirt they are accused them of, is a result of motorcyclists and small cars, on small potholed roads and an irresponsible culture of littering stuff anywhere by all people, plus lack of garbage facilities in town Centre. Recent improvements in the cleanness an outcome of introduction of garbage collection mechanisms. Otherwise, they are still busy selling items while on the run, but the city looks cleaner than before.

6.2 Conclusions

Street vending in Kampala is an old business that precedes all successive regimes after independence. It is a source of income and a survival strategy to many families and individuals in the urban setting. Despite the repressive laws that have been tailored by the policy makers (KCCA) to evict Street vendors from the streets, policy implementation is inactive as street vendors remain in the streets. One can only observe that the need for survival can't be subdued by ruthlessness of the law, necessity as the mother of invention has armed vendors with novel ways to brunt the law.

Given that we established street vending as the largest employer of urban settlers, it is counterproductive to use the law in place to bring vending to a halt, because it would explode the already existing unemployment to which street vending is an antidote. If implementation of the law was to be fully successful, the consequences for the rest of society would be costly, as a good number of those involved would be compelled to turn to naked and dangerous criminal activities for survival.

The current practices of KCCA in its enforcement mechanism of the law has created an environment, which the economically weak members of society (street vendors) seeking to survive and advance find hostile to work in. This has render them to resort to capricious styles of business operation that undermine building a business mentality required to take lessons from every day experience in order for one to advance. Based on the findings, it's clear that life for the street vendors has degenerated from bad to worse.

Lastly, as majority of the street vendors are women, the naked implementation by "brutal physical forceful actions" used by KCCA authorities has caused double harm to women. In the ruthless game of physical force, women are less posed to cope than their men counterparts, and end up losing their stuff more. Secondary, it has blocked the most viable economic vehicle for women empowerment and emancipation from the domestic sphere into the public space.

6.3 Recommendations

Street vending is a significant sector of Kampala's economy as the biggest employer, thus also constituting a sizable market, and serve to soak in a number of people away from potential dangerous criminal employment. Therefore, instead of harassing the sector KCCA should seek to harness it and direct it for general development of the city and the country.

This study underlines the importance of street vending as a 'no hard barrier' entrance for women, as it turned out that street venting was a feminized(women majority) business in Kampala, albert with woman as the most hard hit by the brunt raw law enforcement of KCCA. Therefore it is recommended to those interested in justice and gender parity like the ministry of Gender and women NGOs, to take a pro-active role in advocating for more business friendly policy and laws for the sector, at parliamentary level.

As a strategy to improve the entire welfare of the city, KCCA will need to develop more precision policy tools to assist its resident street vendors in their businesses and grow them to reduce poverty. However, to achieve this, requires a detailed study to understand the multi layered and complex nature and differences of these street vendors for better policy targeting.

The street vendors constitute of the "survival" and "growth" oriented categories. However, the majority of street vendors are survival entrepreneurs, poor, less educated with meagre incomes to sustain their families and progress in business. Therefore, repressive regulatory laws aggravate their working and income poverty. However, protective policies in form of affordable loans, appropriate vending markets, child care services, and public education can reduce their vulnerabilities at home and sustain their businesses. Just like (Berner et al. 2012: 393) argues, the poor people can never get out a bad situation unless they are supported by the state.

For Growth Oriented category, 'promotion' policies in form of avenues for access to market information, funding and capacity building to enhance their business skills, considered a big challenge for their graduation, would be timely.

During the study a number of countries with best policy practices for their cities were encountered its therefore recommended that Ugandan government adopt and adapt after tempering them in research instead of the current erratic, emotionally ill-informed policies.

Street vendors have a lot of experiential knowledge, instead of despising them, government and KCCA should engage them in popular policy participation making, to generate both appropriate policies and consensus on such laws and policy, and their implementation.

In general, the papers has described the evolution of informal sector and street vending, within the emerging debates. It shows the distinction between survival and Growth Oriented Enterprises in relation to street vending in KCD, using the 'business categorization' as a theory and 'Micro score card' as a tool for business classification, and how repressive street vending regulatory policies in KCD are counterproductive, thus recommending legal amendments with street vendor's input.

Asset vulnerability Frame Work has been applied as 'an analytical tool' to identify different assets that can facilitate street vendor's livelihoods amidst a challenging environment. The paper argues that, the inability of policy makers in Uganda to recognize the differentiated nature of street vendors; treating them as a homogeneous business group, fails to contour their complexities and variances to establish the vendors' stratified specific needs, which has led to inappropriate and harmful polices, KCCA was pursuing. The failure has compounded vulnerability and poverty of the majority vendors, who happen to be women. This being one of the pioneering studies focused on business categorization to deal with the street vendors' differentiated concerns and complexities in Kampala-Uganda, bigger study with extended field work on the same subject would pay off. Such a study would map the specific business features and needs of every sub-strata and inform policy designers in fashioning relevant policy interventions.

Finally, contrary to the expectation of men dominating Growth oriented businesses, the findings indicate that in street vending, women out numbered men in this category. Therefore, to confirm the validity of the results, it is recommended to repeat the study with a bigger sample.

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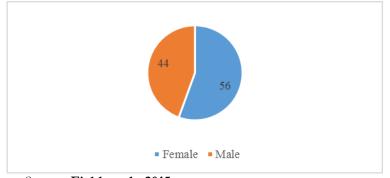
Appendices

Appendix 2	1:	Sample	Selection
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Target group	Number of participants
Street vendors	27 street vendors (15 women and 12 men)
KCCA officials	3
Members of the Association	4 (KACITA, SSLOA, NUCPA & USSIA)
NGO officials	3 (UGISTO, PSFU, & IPSOS)
Urban dwellers	5 participants
Market vendors	3 (2 from USAFI and 1 From Wandegeya market)
Total	45 participants

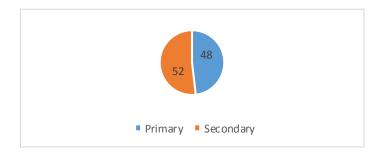
Source: Field work, 2015

Figure 1 : Sex of the Respondents



Source: Field work, 2015

Figure 2: The education levels of the participants



Field work, 2015

Appendix 2: Interview guide for KCCA officials

- 1 In your opinion, what do you think about street vending in Kampala?
- 2 Are there Laws regulating street vending in Kampala?
- 3 What do you think about these Laws?
- 4 When making the Laws which stake holders are involved?
- 5 Before passing the Law on street vending, were they informed about it/given a prior notice?
- 6 How many days of notice were they given before evictions?
- 7 In your opinion, what about this window period?
- 8 Who gets to decide the duration of eviction notice?
- 9 What alternatives were the street vendors given prior / after evictions?
- 10 How does street vending in Kampala contribute to the development of the city?
- 11 Do you face some challenges in dealing with street vendors? If so, what are they?
- 12 Whatplans does the government have for street vendors (in terms of support) in Kampala?

Appendix 3: Questionnaire

SURVEY ON STREET VENDORS IN KAMPALA

Brief introduction

Dear participant, you are kindly requested to respond to this questionnaire. The aim of this study is to ascertain the working conditions of street vendors in relation to their livelihoods in Kampala city. The information required is purely academic and it will be taken with due **Confidentiality**. To ensure anonymity, you are **NOT** required to indicate your name anywhere on this questionnaire. Your time and information is highly appreciated!

Part 1Back Ground Information

Code of the participant.....Date of interview Marital statusAge...... Location Place of origin a) Kampalab) a different townc) village

When did you/ and your family come to Kampala?.....(year)

Level of education (Tick in front of the appropriate answer)

- a) University
- b) Secondary
- c) Primary
- d) Tertiary/ technical
- e) Others (specify).....

<u>Part 2</u>Categorization of the business (vending) - (indicate your choice by ticking in front of the appropriate answer)

(i) Is vending your main activity (source of income)?

- a) Yes
- b) No

(ii) If (No) which other activities are you involved in? (Specify)

.....

(iii) So far how do you rate your business (vending)

- a) Promising (with some profits)
- b) Moderate
- c) Losses only
- d) not sure

(iv)Do you have a savings account?

- e) Yes b) No c) I don't have any knowledge about it
- (v) If (No) where do you always keep your profits?

- a) Home
- b) Send some to the village
- c) Others (specify)

(Vi) If you get more extra money from any donor agency, what will you do with that money?

a) Expand on this business
b) Start a new business
b) Start a new business
c) Debt repayment
d) Pay for school fees
f) Others (specify)

(Vii) How often do you keep written records regarding your business?

- a) Daily
- b) weekly
- c) monthly
- d) Once in a while
- e) I have never

(Viii) What is the estimated profit from your business?

- a) 30000-40000
- b) 10000-20000
- c) 20000-30000
- d) No idea
- e) Others (specify)

(ix) Do your relatives help you with vending?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- (x) If (yes) who are they?
- a) Children
- b) Partner (husband or wife)
- c) Others (specify).....

(xi) Except your relatives, do you have any paid workers helping you in business?

a) Yes

c) No

(xii) If (yes) how many are they?.....

(xiii)How many days do you attend to your work in a year?

- a) 200-300
- b) More than 300
- c) 100 and below
- d) Not sure

Xiv) What are the income sources of other family/ household members?

.....

What is the estimated household income at the end of the month?

.....

<u>Part 3</u> Business information (please fill in the appropriate answer in the provided space)

(i)When did you start operating as a street vendor? (Year).....

(ii) What other activities were you doing before joining street vending? (specify)

.....

(iii) How do you feel about your business?

- a) Very happy
- b) Somehow happy
- c) Not fine with it
- d) Not sure

(iv)If (not happy) Why? Explain briefly please

.....

(v) Do you know any laws concerning street vending?

.....

(vi) Have you ever experienced evictions?

- a) Yes
- b) No

(vii) If (yes) when did this happen? Indicate a (year and a Month) in thespace provided.

.....

(viii) Before evictions, were you alerted by the government about it?

- a) Yes
- b) No

(ix) If (yes) how many days were you given to prepare for relocation?

- a) One week
- b) More than a week
- c) Less than a week

(x) Were those days enough for you?

(Xi) As of now are you aware that street vending is illegal?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Not sure

(xii) If (yes) why do you continue operating on the streets?

a) No alternative

- b) Survival
- c) Others (specify).....

(xiii) What is your experience with the new law on street vending in Kampala?

a) Evictions

- b) Confiscation of goods
- c) Bribes
- d) Torture
- e) Others

(specify)

.....

Part 4Support programs

(i) Do you get some (business support) from any support group?

- a) Yes
- b) No

(ii) If (yes) which support group is that?

- a) Government
- b) NGO
- c) Association
- d) Bank
- e) Micro credits/ SACCOs
- f) Others (specify)

(iii) Which type of support?

- a) Credit/loan
- b) Business education
- c) Advise on saving
- d) Trainings
- e) Others (specify).....

(iv)How do you rate the support you have been getting?

- a) Very useful
- b) Useful
- c) Moderate
- d) Not helpful

(v) If (useful) explain how please

.....

Part5Association/ Trade Unions

(i)Do you have some vending associations in Kampala?

- (ii) Are you a member of any association?
- a) Yes

- b) No
- c) No associations in place

(iii) If (yes) which association is that (mention its name please).....and how do you assess its performance (give a brief explanation) (iv)If (No) explain why briefly Living conditions of street vendors-depicting poverty/ vulnerability (i) Housing situations a) Owned house b) Rented house c) Rented room d) Others (specify)..... ii) Are you connected to private electricity?.....what about water?..... iii) If (yes) how do you find the cost of electricity and water in your area of residence? iv) In which economic class would you rate yourself? a) High income class b) Middle income class c) Low income class v) Do you take yourself as a poor person? a) Ever poor b) Not poor b) Better nowc) Better before vi) Of the listed assets, which ones do you and your family own? Plot of land a) b) House c) Television d) Radio set e) Refrigerator Bicycle f) g) Motor cycle h) Car i) Others (specify).... Are all children in your school?....

If yes which type of schools

a) UPE b) USE c) private schools

Which level of education?

a) Primary b) secondary c) college d) university

Do you have some children that are not in school because of financial constraints?

If (yes) what plans are you having for these children?

THANK YOU FOR RESPONDING TO THIS QUESTIONNAIRE!

Appendix 4: Different Activities of Street Vendors in Kampala Central Division

Business categorization	Participants in the categorization
Stationery (books, pencils, pens, reams of papers, needles, scissors, razorblades	01, 06, 09, 12, 19 , 24, 25
Clothes (second hand and new ones)	02, 03,10, 13,14
Mobile Money and air time selling	04, 26, 24
Edibles (biscuits, sweats, obit, G'nuts, samosas, boiled eggs etc)	05, 07, 08, 11, 15, 17 16, 20, 23
Shoes vending and shoe making, bags and plastics	27, 18
Movie vending	21,22
Newspaper vending, handkerchiefs and traditional basils	24, 25, 26
Total	27

Source: Field work, 2015

Appendix 5: Days of Prior notice

Days of prior notice	Count of Code	Percentages	
A few days	1	4	
Less than a week	1	4	
One week	3	11	
Two weeks	1	4	
I do not know	21	77	
Total	27	100	

Source: Field work, 2015

	Count of	
Experience on the new law	Code	percentage
bribes	2	7
confiscation of goods	16	59
confiscation of goods & torture	1	4
Evictions	2	7
Evictions & confiscation of goods	2	7
Torture	3	11
Torture & confiscation of goods	1	4
Total	27	100

Appendix 6: Street vendor's experience with the new law on Evictions

Source: Field work, 2015

Appendix7: Business classification (Growth Oriented from Survivalist entrepreneurs)

	codes	sex	Age	Level of education	Main source of income	Any other activity	Records keeping	Paid worker	Donor Agency Fund	Total of business score cards
	4	Female	26	Secondary	3	1	3	1	3	11
	9	Male	27	Secondary	3	1	3	3	2	12
	10	Female	30	Secondary	3	1	3	1	3	11
	12	Female	50	Primary	3	1	3	1	3	11
Growth Oriented	15	Male	42	Secondary	3	1	3	1	3	11
	16	Male	34	Secondary	3	1	2	1	3	10
	18	Female	40	Secondary	3	1	3	1	2	10
	19	Male	26	Secondary	3	1	3	1	3	11
	20	Female	38	Primary	3	1	3	1	3	11
	22	Female	24	Secondary	3	1	3	1	3	11
	24	Female	32	Secondary	3	1	3	1	3	11
	26	Female	30	Secondary	3	1	3	3	3	13
	Total									12
	1	Female	29	Primary	3	1	1	1	2	8
	2	Male	27	Primary	1	3	3	1	1	9
	3	Female	32	Primary	3	1	1	1	2	8
	5	Male	30	Primary	3	1	0	1	2	7
Survival Group	6	Male	38	Secondary	3	1	0	1	3	8
	7	Male	36	Secondary	3	1	0	1	2	7
	8	Female	24	Secondary	3	1	1	1	3	9
	11	Male	18	Secondary	3	1	2	1	2	9
	13	female	29	Primary	3	1	2	1	2	9
	14	Female	20	Primary	3	1	1	1	3	9
	17	Female	25	Primary	3	1	1	1	2	8
	21	Male	26	Primary	3	1	0	1	2	7
	23	male	17	Primary	3	1	2	1	2	9
	25	Female	42	Primary	3	1	0	1	2	7
	27	Male	46	Primary	3	1	0	1	3	8
	Total									15

Field work , 2015

Appendix 8: Classification of Survivalist entrepreneurs with sustainable (SESB)from those with Non sustainable businesses (SENSB)

	Code	sex	Age	Level of education	Days of business attendance		Estimated profits	Rate of the business	Assistance of the relatives	Total of the score cards
	1	Female	29	Primary	2	1	1	2	1	7
	3	Female	32	Primary	1	1	0	0	1	3
SENSB	5	Male	30	Primary	2	1	0	1	1	5
	6	Male	38	Secondary	3	1	1	1	1	7
	8	Female	24	Secondary	2	3	1	2	1	9
	13	female	29	Primary	3	1	1	1	1	7
	14	Female	20	Primary	3	1	1	2	1	8
	17	Female	25	Primary	1	1	1	1	1	5
	21	Male	26	Primary	3	1	1	2	1	8
	23	male	17	Primary	0	1	1	3	1	6
	25	Female	42	Primary	2	1	1	2	1	7
	Total									11
	2	Male	27	Primary	3	1	1	3	3	11
	7	Male	36	Secondary	3	1	2	3	1	10
	11	Male	18	Secondary	3	3	3	2	3	14
SESB	27	Male	46	Primary	3	3	3	2	1	12
	Total									4

Field work, 2015

Appendix 9 : Distribution of Education levels among Growth oriented and survival entrepreneurs

		1		
		count of		
	Education level	code	prcentage	
	Primary	2		17
Growth	Secondary	10		83
	Total	12		100
survival	Primary	11		73
	Secondary	4		27
	Total	15		100

	Growt			Survival	
	h ori-			group	
	ented				
		No. of	Percentage	Number of	percent-
		the par-		the partici-	age
		ticipants		pants	
	10-19	0	0	2	13
Age	20-29	4	33	7	47
interval					
	30-39	5	42	4	27
	40-49	2	17	2	13
	50-59	1	8	0	0
	Total	12	100	15	100

Field work, 2015

Appendix 11: Distribution by gender among Growth Oriented and Survival

Entrepreneurs

		Count of		
	Gender	codes	percentage	
	Female	8		67
Growth	Male	4		33
	Total	12		100
	Female	7		47
survival	Male	8		53
	Total	15		100

Source: field work,

Appendix 12: The use of the Donor Agency Fund (DAF) if provid	led
in percentages	

		Count of	
	use of the DAF	codes	percentage
Growth			
oriented	Business expansion	10	83
	Start a new		
	business	2	17
	Total	12	100
Survival			
enterprises	Business expansion	4	26.66
	Pay for school fees	1	6.66
	Start a new		
	business	10	66.66
	Total	15	100.0
Field work	2015		

Field work, 2015

		Count of	
	Gender	Code	percentage
Snsb	Female	7	64
	Male	4	36
	Total	11	100
Ssb	Male	4	100
	female	0	0
	Total	4	100

Appendix 13: Distribution by gender between Snsb and Ssb

Source: Field work, 2015

Appendix 14 : Distribution by Age among SBSB and SBSB

	Age range	Number of partici-	percentage		Number of participants	percentage
		pant				
SBNSB	10-19	1	9	SBSB	1	25
	20-29	6	55		1	25
	30-39	3	27		1	25
	40-49	1	9		1	25
	50-59	0	0		0	0
	Total	11	100		4	100

Appendix 15: Distribution by education levels among Sbnsb and Ssb

	Education level	Count of Code	percentage
Snsb	Primary	9	82
	Secondary	2	18
	Total	11	100
Ssb	Primary	2	50
	Secondary	2	50
	Total	4	100

Appendix 16: Assistance of the Relatives between Snsb Vs SEsb

	Assistance of	Count of	
	the relatives	Code percentage	
Sensb	No	11	100
	Total	11	100
Sesb	No	2	50
	Yes	2	50
	Total	4	100

	Days of bussinance attendance	Count of Code	percentage
	100 and		
	below	2	18.18
SEnsb	200-300	4	36.36
	More than		
	300	4	36.36
	Not sure	1	9.091
	Total	11	100
	More than		
SEsb	300	4	100
	Total	4	100

Appendix 17: Distribution by Days of business attendance Between SEnsb and SEsb

Appendix 18: Distribution by records' keeping among GOEs and SEs

	Record's keeping	Count of codes	percent- age
	Daily	11	92
Growth Oriented	Weekly	1	8
	Total	12	100
	Daily	1	7
Survival Group	I have never	6	40
	Monthly	5	33
	Weekly	3	20
	Total	15	100

Appendix 19: Distribution by paid workers Among GOEs and SEs

	paid workers	Count of codes percentage	
Growh			
oriented	1	10	83
	3	2	17
	Total	12	100
Survival group	1	15	100
	Total	15	100

dors	
Count of code	Percentage
1	4
1	4
7	26
8	30
10	37
27	100
	Count of code 1 1 7 8 10

Appendix 20 Housing situation of researched participants –street vendors

Source: Field work, 2015

Appen	dix 21: Feel A	bout the Bu	isiness (Lab	or processes)	

Feel about street	Count of Code of	
vending	the participant	percentages
Feels good	1	4
Very happy	4	15
Not fine with it	8	30
Somehow happy	14	51
Total	27	100
C C 11 1 2015		

Source: field work, 2015

Appendix 22: Street vendors' accessibility to electricity

Access to electricity	Count of code	percentage	
connecter	18	67	
Not connected	9	33	
Total	27	100	

Appendix 22: connection to electricity

Accessibility to electric- ity	Count of code	percentage
Connected	18	67
Not connected	9	33
Total	27	100

Appendix 23: connection to water

Accessibility to water	Count of code	percentage	
connected	4	15	
Not connected	23	85	
Total	27	100	

TABLE1: List of street vendor interviewed

Participant	Gender	Age	Location (Street)
01	F	29	Ben Kiwanuka
02	М	27	Namirembe
03	F	32	Namirembe
04	F	26	Wilson street
05	М	30	Ben Kiwanuka
06	М	38	Wandegeya
07	М	36	Wandegeya
08	F	24	Wandegeya
09	М	27	Namirembe
10	F	30	Namirembe
11	М	18	Nabugabo street
12	F	50	Luwum Street
13	F	29	Namirembe
14	F	20	Owino market street
15	М	42	Nabugabo
16	М	34	Nabugabo
17	F	25	Nabugabo
18	F	40	Namirembe
19	М	26	Namirembe
20	F	38	Namirembe
21	М	26	Ben Kiwanuka
22	F	24	Wandegeya
23	М	17	Nasser Road
24	F	32	Luwum street
25	F	42	Buttons' Street
26	F	30	Nasser Road

27	М	46	New Taxi Park