

# **SPATIAL MARGINALIZATION AND URBANIZATION OF POVERTY: THE IMPENDING CHALLENGES OF SPATIAL EXCLUSION OF INFORMAL TRADERS IN KISUMU CITY, KENYA**

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## **Abstract**

*Informal trade in the designated public spaces in the Central Business District (CBD) may not be entirely an urban disorder but part of solution to the increasing rate of unemployment in the formal sector. This paper examined the challenges of exclusion of informal traders from planned urban public spaces. A sample of 152 respondents was selected. The study shows that informal traders prefer areas with high volume of traffic, which are easily accessible to clients and that there is significant association between land use and location of informal traders in the designated public spaces. Informal trade is also an important alternative source of employment to those who cannot secure jobs in the formal sector and that the youths form the largest percentage of those involved in informal trade. It concludes that the exclusion of informal traders in planning of areas considered prime for their businesses and arbitrary eviction is likely to exacerbate social and economic problems. Therefore, there is need to plan for flexible and pro-poor multi-functional public spaces which meet the economic and social needs of informal traders and to formulate policies which recognize informal traders in planning of public spaces.*

*Keywords: Public space; Informal trade, Employment; Unemployment; Crime*

## INTRODUCTION

The processes of informalization and casualization of livelihoods loom large in the world today (Lindell, 2010) especially in the global south where cities are grappling with the unprecedented growth and expansion of informality. The aforementioned processes are inherently related to particular issues; first, there has been massive loss of employment in the formal sector in the global south because many firms have either scaled down their operations or closed down (UN-Habitat, 2004)). Secondly, neoliberal development policies such as the Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAPs) led to massive retrenchment and dramatic increase in self-employment in most African cities (Bryceson 2006; Hansen and Vaa 2004, Mitullah, 2003). The economic adjustments coupled with the recent phenomenon of climate change have led to the expansion of informal trade as an alternative means of livelihood. According, to UNEP (2008), today's rural-urban migration and informality cannot be disaggregated from climate change because the profitability of rural agriculture has continued to dwindle.

As a consequence, the locus of poverty is gradually shifting from rural to urban areas and contrary to earlier beliefs, the informal sector which includes informal trade is not going to disappear with economic growth but is likely to grow and with it the problems of urban poverty and congestion (UN-HABITAT, 2003; ILO, 2000). Despite this observation, informal trade has remained spatially marginalized and is treated as 'unsightly nuisance' which reduces the image of planned urban public spaces (Bromley, 2000). However, UN-Habitat (2013) asserts that when prosperity is absent or restricted to some groups, when it is only enjoyed in some parts of the city or when it is a justification for financial gains for the few to the detriment of the majority, the city becomes the locus where the right to shared prosperity is claimed and fought for. A common observation from literature is that informality is expanding and informal trade will continue to be part of the growing urban economy. Consequently, exclusive allocation of space is likely to breed increased contestation for space as reported by (Bhowmik, 2005). To the informal traders, deprivation may mean deprivation of livelihood and hence hostility between informal traders and urban authorities is likely to be the norm.

### **Spatial characteristics and location of Informal traders**

Informal traders are not evenly distributed in the urban public spaces but occupy areas they consider prime for their business enterprises. Onyango et al (2012) and Skinner (2008) for example explain that informal traders often occupy pavements near a bank, business premises like supermarkets and transportation nodes which attract the largest possible volume of sales. The location behavior conforms to the Central Place Theory market principle where the most important factor that determines the spread of urban societies is the need to be as close to the

market as possible (Magigi, 2008). The location behavior is highly evident in the cities of Latin America such as Bogota and in Asia especially Indian cities of Mumbai and Calcutta (Donovan, 2002; Bhowmik, 2005; Mitullah, 2004). Bhowmik (2005) for example pointed out that in India it is natural to find informal traders outside the railway stations and major bus stands because passengers find it convenient to purchase their requirements. This is a rather symbiotic relationship as each group benefit from each other at the most convenient place and time.

In Kenya today, urban public spaces such as recreational parks in the Central Business District (CBD) continued to attract informal traders due to similar reasons of harbouring more customers. In Nairobi for example, Musyoka et al (2010) found that street intersections have significant opportunities for informal trade because of accessible spaces within road reserves and that there is lack of alternative land. Similarly, Kisumu City's CBD, like other cities is the commercial, office, retail, and cultural centre and a centre for transportation networks (Midheme & Amimo, 2013; Wouters & Lefever, 2008). With such areas attracting more customers, there is little evidence of decentralization of informal traders to the fringes of the CBD with limited clientele. The problems of conflict of space often proliferate in business prime areas because the city authorities, based on modernist planning of a neat city, view the public spaces as mono-functional. As a result, they fail to accommodate the way of life of the majority of inhabitants in largely poor and informal cities as reported by Watson (2009).

### **Socio-Economic significance of informal trade**

The decline of employment opportunities in the formal sector is not a new phenomenon. Globalization and de-industrialization which took off in the 20th century have been pointed out as major contributing factors to unemployment (Asiedu & Agyei-Mensah 2008). Globalization in this case, has led to technological advancements which have replaced human labour while de-industrialization has led to closure or reduction in the operating capacity of manufacturing farms. Because of the decline or stagnation in employment growth, informal trade is likely to form a significant segment of the global economy for employment opportunities.

From a global perspective, informal trade is thought to account for about 60% of all urban jobs and to have provided 90% of all new jobs (ILO, 2002). Statistical evidence continues to show that informal trade comprises about 65% and 51% of total employment in Asia and in Latin America respectively. In India for example, the workforce in informal sector which comprises informal trade is about 92% (National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector [NCEUS], 2007). At the same time, informal trade subsidizes the existence of other sections of the urban poor income by providing them with goods and foodstuffs at affordable prices and ensures a convenient and flexible urban economy (Budu, 2012; Bhowmik, 2005). Of

particular importance is the diversity of goods and services especially agricultural products from rural areas.

In Kenya, the economic survey of 2007 indicated that there are over 1.3 million informal traders which contribute 18% of Kenya's Gross Domestic Product (Kenya, Republic of, 2007). Nonetheless, Onsomu et al (2009) and Mitullah (2003) reiterated that informal trade turned out to be a worthwhile economic venture for individuals who were retrenched during the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). In Kisumu City, UN-Habitat (2006) reveal that many industries have closed down and the official unemployment rate is 48% while informal trade has employed about 52% of the urban population. Onyango et al (2012) explain that street vending is a one self-fulfillment especially for poor men and women struggling for survival. To this effect, exclusion of the urban poor from public spaces considered prime for businesses may be a deprivation of livelihood opportunities. The pursuit then is how to integrate informal traders into the urban public spaces to promote vital livelihood opportunities and abate the social and economic challenges.

### **Objectives of the study**

The main objective of this study was to find out the impending challenges of spatial exclusion of informal traders from the designated urban public spaces

### **Limitations of the Study**

The limitations encountered included the difficulties in getting some key informants, for example the Director of Environment. Some respondents also feared giving information because they thought it was a strategy to get information that would eventually lead to their eviction or relocation. It was also difficult to get the census data on the number of informal traders in the case study areas and this forced the researchers to do total count of traders who had demarcated spaces for their businesses in the study areas.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The research adopted a case study of three sites in Kisumu City's CBD. Multistage sampling was employed in selecting the case study areas and the target respondents. Multistage sampling designs provide important sampling strategies that facilitate credible comparisons of two or more subgroups that are extracted from different levels of study (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007).

In stage one all the informal markets in the designated public spaces in the CBD were identified then in stage two screening was done and the case study areas purposively selected

because of their unique spatial characteristics which suited the purpose of the study. The third stage involved identification of informal traders and final selection of traders with demarcated spaces. A total of 508 informal traders were identified through total count and a sample size of 152 respondents was then selected at 0.05 precision level and 95% confidence level. The sample size was derived from the sample size selection table developed by Yamane (1967). According to Creswell (2003) the use of published tables is recommended in determining the sample size from a given population. The study included eight key informants who were purposively selected as follows; three officials from the city of Kisumu who included the Director of Physical Planning, Director of Environment and Director of Social Services; one private physical planner; one representative of a Non-Governmental Organizations on urban informality; two lecturers from Maseno University's Department of Urban and Regional Planning and the Secretary, Kisumu Street Traders Association (KISTA). The Key informants were selected on the assumption that they had better insight on informal trade and spatial dynamics in Kisumu City.

Data collection was conducted through the use of questionnaires which were randomly administered to the respondents. The questionnaires are advantageous in generating quantitative data which made the study findings more precise (Singh, 2006). One Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was conducted with 12 representatives from each group of informal traders in the case study areas. The representatives were identified with the help of the general secretary of KISTA. Key informant interviews (KIIs) were also conducted with individuals from relevant departments in the city of Kisumu. FGDs and KIIs were vital in seeking research answers from respondents and as such helped to build theoretical bases (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Observation was conducted between 700am-8.00pm for a period of two weeks to get first hand information based on location behaviour of informal traders and the spatial dynamics. Observation also helped in eliminating biasness because the information obtained was independent of respondents and was directly related to the current situation.

The study involved both qualitative and quantitative approaches because of their ability to reinforce each other and make research findings more understandable (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Obala, 2011). Qualitative data for example was used to explain statistical data while quantitative data was used to provide precise statistical summary of qualitative data.

## **AN OVERVIEW OF CASE STUDY AREAS**

### **(a) Oile Park**

Oile Park is located within the CBD and is bound by Ang'awa Avenue to the South, Nairobi road to the North and Jomo Kenyatta highway to the West. The site developed from the grid pattern

plan of 1901-1909 which showed that the Park had a rectangular shape and was reserved for the native market (Anyumba, 1995). The park later got its triangular shape as a result of the extension of Ang'awa Avenue to join Nairobi road in order to ease traffic flow (Devos, 2010). Historically Oile Park has been a major centre for spatial contestation between the informal traders and the planning authorities. The park was first invaded by the informal traders in 1992 and reclaimed in 1994 without an alternative site to the affected traders. However, the struggle for space in the park heightened between 1998 and 2005. In 2005 a fierce battle took place which led to the death of one of the hawkers (Midheme & Amimo, 2013). Consequently, there was a peaceful negotiation between the traders and Municipal Council which saw the park allocation to the informal traders albeit temporarily. The period of massive invasion coincided with the introduction of the SAPs and collapse of several industries in the 1990s (Mitullah, 2003; Rono, 2007) characterized by massive unemployment. Interestingly, without limited consideration of the informal traders' plight of eking a living from the park, it was again reclaimed in March 2014 without providing an alternative site. As it is today, the park has been fenced; trees and grass planted and is under regular surveillance by the Kisumu City Askaris. The traders still display their wares around the park and based on historical background it may be a matter of time before it is invaded.

Devos (2010) reportedly noted that the siting of the park was not in order because of its location in an area with major traffic generators such as the Bus Park, Jomo Kenyatta Sports Ground (distinguished recreational facility in the CBD), and Kisumu District Hospital and major arterial roads such as Jomo Kenyatta Highway and Nairobi-Kisumu road. In addition, the design of the park even made it more favourable for pedestrians and informal traders because its walk paths provided short connecting routes between the bus park and the CBD.

### **(b) Bus Park**

This is the central Bus Park in Kisumu city and is located within the CBD. According to the Kisumu Structure Plan of 1908, the current location of the Bus Park was zoned for a school but later became an external planning extension area before the expansion of the bus park in the 1980s (Anyumba, 1995). Upgrading of the Bus Park gave it a new development dimension such as the construction of booking offices, passenger shades and parking areas for taxis. The bus park attracts large volume of traffic since it is the central point for almost all traffic in and out of Kisumu city (Midheme & Amimo, 2013). Ultimately, it has become attractive to informal traders due to the presence of diversity of passengers to and from different destinations. Despite being a major attraction centre to informal traders, subsequent upgrading of the bus park have given

little consideration to informal traders except for the container structures which were designed to accommodate 40 traders (Devos, 2010).

The City of Kisumu is not entirely in control of the Bus Park because local politicians and cartels who determine and even allocate space and collect rates. Midheme & Amimo (2013) for example reported that the shoe-shiners' shed was constructed with the support of the then area member of parliament despite being opposed by the Municipal Council. The bus park has thus become a zone with uncontrolled informal trade activities with wanton construction of sheds by informal traders.

### **(c) Ojino Okew Street**

Ojino Okew Street is located within the CBD and runs between Jomo Kenyatta Sports Ground and the commercial premises along Oginga Odinga street. It also links Jomo Kenyatta Highway to the East and Ang'awa avenue to the West. The structure plan shows that the area was an undeveloped lane behind the Indian Bazaars which fronted the Station Road (present day Oginga Odinga Street). According to the town structure plan of 1908, the street was developed as a sanitary lane at the back of the Indian Bazaars (Anyumba, 1995). However, the street was allocated to informal traders in 2002 on a temporary basis by the then Municipal Council of Kisumu to decongest Oginga Odinga Street (Midheme & Amimo, 2013). The move by the council subsequently transformed Ojino Okew Street into an informal market space with no through access for vehicles. The street has bollards installed to permit the use of non-motorised transport.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

### **Location of informal traders and its implications**

One of the aims of this study was to find out why informal traders prefer certain areas in the designated public spaces and the implications of occupying such areas. Preliminary observations and literature showed that informal traders are not evenly spread but locate in certain areas. Consequently the study focused on three main subjects namely availability of open spaces, proximity to institutions and main areas of traffic confluence. According to field findings, 21.7%, 32.9% and 45.4% of the respondents across the case study areas pointed out that they were attracted by the availability of open spaces, proximity to institutions and nearness to streets respectively. Specifically, about 23.8%, 44.4% and 31.7% of the respondents at the Bus Park, Oile Park and Ojino Okew Street were attracted by the availability of open spaces, nearness to institutions and major streets respectively. However, nearness to areas of traffic confluence is the most influential factor on the location of informal traders. Oile Park for example

had the highest number of respondents (61.0%) who noted that they were attracted by the park's close proximity to major transport nodes with large human traffic. The park is located along Jomo Kenyatta Avenue which is the main street for traffic movement to and from the CBD. It is also at the confluence of Nairobi-Kisumu Highway and Ang'awa Avenue which links to Jomo Kenyatta highway and Nairobi Kisumu highway.

Typical of the influence of transport nodes was the observation of high concentration of informal traders along the streets as compared to the core areas. At Ojino Okew Street, informal traders were mainly congested at the points of convergence with Ang'awa Avenue and Jomo Kenyatta Avenue. The Central bus Park on the other hand experiences high concentration in areas adjacent to passenger waiting bays and booking offices. Further observation showed that traders in core areas start closing down their businesses as early as 5pm due to reduction in human traffic. However, trade along the streets of Ang'awa Avenue and the Bus Park thrive beyond 7.00pm because of increased human traffic from the CBD. A summary of the study findings is shown in the table below.

Table 1. Reasons for occupying the designated public space

Informal market	Bus Park n(%)	Oile Park n(%)	Ojino Okew n(%)	Total n(%)
Availability of space	15(23.8)	12(29.3)	6(12.5)	33(21.7)
Institutions (e.g.offices)	28(44.4)	4(9.8)	18(37.5)	50(32.9)
Nearness to main street	20 (31.7)	25(61.0)	24(50.0)	69(45.4)
Totals	63 (100.0)	41(100.0)	48(100.0)	152 (100.0)

The chi-square test derived from table1 above for the relationship between land use in the case study areas and location of informal trade activities is shown below.

Table 2. Chi-Square Test for relationship between land use and location of informal trade n=152

	Value	Degree of freedom (df)	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson	11.298a	2	.004
Chi-Square			
Likelihood Ratio	11.636	2	.003

The Chi-square value is 11.298 and the asymptotic significance is 0.004 which is below the minimum cut-off of 0.05. If the cut-off point is 0.05 and above then there is no significant



association. Hence the chi-square test shows significant association between land use and location of informal traders in the designated public spaces in the CBD.

Even though the findings show strong relationship between spatial characteristics and the location of informal traders, planners of public spaces in the City of Kisumu have remained indifferent in planning for informal traders in such spaces. Failure to plan and allocate spaces for informal traders in the designated public spaces results into a situation in which the traders device their own means to survive. The struggle to survive is twofold;

- i) contestation for space through physical fight as witnessed lately in 2015 in Oile Park;
- ii) Squat in any available space and construct makeshift stalls using any available material. This form of disorder further breeds conflicts between informal traders and other institutions. Conflict with other institutions was confirmed through interviews with informal traders at Ojino Okew Street where the traders explained that they are not allowed to operate near banking institutions and major supermarkets. One of the traders remarked; *“The Banks located along this street have often liaised with the city authority to evict us. They claim that our stalls provide favorable hiding places for thugs and threatens the security of their enterprises”*.

Accordingly, field observation revealed that areas behind NIC Bank, Telkom Plaza, Ukwala Supermarket and family Bank were devoid of informal trade activities. This finding presents a scenario of formal-informal binary opposition only serves to exacerbate conflicts and disorder. Due to lack of secure tenure, informal traders become the immediate victims of spatial externalities such as disorderliness, traffic congestion and incompatible activities (Bromley, 2000 & Anjaria, 2006). Human-human traffic conflict and human-vehicle traffic were observed as one of the ills of disorderliness especially during peak hours when informal traders occupy the walk lanes. At the same time, the drainage channels in the study sites were clogged because of unplanned and uncontrolled construction of stalls over the channels and dumping solid waste.

The installation of bollards to prevent motorized transport through Ojino Okew Street poses additional challenge the CBD. The Director of Environment remarked; *“Allocation of Ojino Okew Street to traders was ‘ill-advised’ because no environmental impact assessment was done to ascertain the risks. It has ceased to be a service lane which makes it difficult to respond to emergencies such as fire outbreak. Waste management has also become difficult due to the large number of Kiosks and the blocked drainages”*.

Generally, what is taking place is the restructuring of designated public places as traders determine the use of spaces based on their own notions while the city authority make quick but precarious solutions to the menace of informal trade. Exclusionary planning does not adapt to the needs of rapid urbanization because elicits certain actions in which the poor try to adjust to the prevailing conditions (Nijkamp, 2004). Oile Park for example was zoned by the traders and included distinct areas for sale of fish, cereals, *mitumba* clothes, fruits and vegetables among others. The decision by informal traders to allocate and decide on the use of space is inevitable especially when the city authority fails to plan for them (Watson, 2009). The expansion and development of informal trade and related developments such as makeshift stalls in this case tend to take a natural course leading to loss of spatial quality as also reported by Rabare *et al* (2009).

Earlier findings from literature revealed that informality which includes informal trade is likely to increase with decrease of employment opportunities in the formal sector (ILO, 2002). Even so, urban planners in the City of Kisumu have remained indifferent in spatial inclusion of informal traders. They instead deal with its symptoms such as illegal occupation of spaces which eventually lead to arbitrary evictions and conflicts. Informal trade is an important economic activity and Bhowmick (2003) suggested that when urban plans allot spaces for parks, markets and bus termini among others they could take into account that these places usually develop as natural markets for informal traders. As a result, planners of public spaces need to desist from restrictive mono-functional land use planning but encourage spatial diversity which promotes economic welfare to all urban citizens.

### **Socio-economic benefits of informal trade and implications of spatial exclusion**

The study also delved into social and economic aspects of informal trade in order to comprehend the potential benefits and the impacts that spatial exclusion is likely to generate. Of particular interest were the level of income, gender composition, age and education. On income, the study established that 97% of the respondents relied solely on informal trade as their main source of income while 3% use informal trade as supplement to income from other sectors such as farming and civil service. Informal trade with this regard is not an unpleasant undertaking as reported earlier in Anjaria (2006) because even those in formal employment still use it to supplement their income. On monthly income, the findings revealed that 33.6% of the respondents earn between 10001-15000 shillings, 5.4% earn 5000 shillings or less while 6.0% earn more than 25000 shillings. Across the table, 65.8% of the respondents said they were satisfied with the level of income while 34.2% were not. A summary of the findings is shown in the table below.

Table 3. Income satisfaction

Income satisfaction	Satisfied	Not Satisfied	Total
<5000	7(4.7)	1(.7)	8(5.4)
5001-10000	26(17.4)	10(6.7)	36(24.2)
10001-15000	38(25.5)	12(8.1)	50(33.6)
15001-20000	15(10.1)	18(12.1)	33(22.1)
20001-25000	6(4.0)	7(4.7)	13(8.7)
>25000	6(4.0)	3(2.0)	9(6.0)
Total	98(65.8)	51(34.2)	149(100.0)

The findings of this study shows that income from informal trade has increased as compared to earlier findings by the UN-Habitat (2006) which indicated that majority of the informal traders in Kisumu City earn a meager US\$45-\$50 (Ksh4365-4850). The rise in income to significant level of satisfaction illustrates the importance of informal trade as a source of livelihood. Further discussion with the Director of Planning and observation of records from the revenue departments revealed that informal traders in the case study areas contributed about 12.6% of the total revenue to the City of Kisumu in 2013. Informal trade in the public spaces therefore play an important role not only to the traders but to the City of Kisumu and also supplements the national gross domestic product as reported in Vision 2030 (Kenya, Republic of, 2010). Denying the traders the opportunity to operate in planned public spaces is a move to deny them their source of livelihood and is likely to reduce the revenue base to the City of Kisumu. Conflicts are likely to proliferate under such circumstances because the urban space is restricted for the few formal business establishments to the detriment of the majority in informal trade.

Informal trade is also an economic entity to cushion diverse groups of individuals who are underprivileged to have formal employment. Lack of employment in this aspect may be attributed to factors such as the level of education, gender, age, and retirement/retrenchment. According to the findings presented in the table below, all the informal traders who were interviewed had at least primary education. Accordingly, about 28.9% had primary education, 63.8% secondary while those with tertiary education constituted 7.4%. On gender composition the study established that the number of men in informal trade is slightly higher (53.7%) than that of female which accounted for 46.3%. A summary of the findings are shown in table 3 below.

Table 4. Gender of respondents

Level of education	Male	Female	Total
Primary	19 (12.8)	24 (16.1)	43 (28.9)
Secondary	52 (34.9)	43 (28.9)	95 (63.8)
College	9 (6.0)	2 (1.3)	11 (7.4)
Total	80 (53.7)	69 (46.3)	149 (100.0)

From the analyses above, fewer women compared to men have actually attained primary, secondary and college education as compared to their men counterparts. However, both genders are engaged in informal trade and it is ironical that the number of men in informal trade is even higher than that of women. This is contrary to earlier findings by Mitullah (2003) and Saha (2011) who reported that petty trade in Africa is viewed as an economic activity for women and those with low level of education who cannot effectively compete in the formal job market. The chi-square test for the relationship between informal trade and the level of education is shown in the table. The asymptotic significance is 0.078 which is above the cut-off point of 0.05. This shows that there is no significant relationship between informal trade and the level of education. People participate in informal trade irrespective of their level of education and gender.

Table 5. Chi-Square Tests for relationship between level of education and informal trade n=149

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.104 <sup>a</sup>	2	0.078
Likelihood Ratio	5.442	2	0.066

The findings of on gender and level of education reflect a shift from earlier findings and it can be argued that informal trade provide a level playing ground where educated and non-educated men and women meet to satisfy their socio-economic needs. Further, the diversity of informal trade is reflected in its social scope as an inclusive venture of different age groups. The study found that even individuals below 18 years of age (3.0%) were in informal trade as well as those who were 60 years old above (4.0%). Of particular interest is the fact that majority of the traders were in the youthful ages of between 19-30yrs (27%) and 31-40yrs (40%). A summary of the finding is shown in the table below.

Table 6. Age range of informal traders

Age of respondent	Percent
<18yrs	3.00%
19-30yrs	27.00%
31-40yrs	40.00%
41-50yrs	17.00%
51-60yrs	9.00%
60+yrs	4.00%
Total	100.00%

Interviews with the informal traders underpinned the contribution of informal trade as venture which has helped to accommodate the retirees and individuals retrenched during the SAPs. A lady at Ojino Okew Street remarked; *“Traders in this market are not only those who could not get public jobs but also former employees who were retrenched. They came to trade here because they did not have alternative sources of employment.”* (Trader at Ojino Okew Street). Even though some researchers such as Mitullah (2003) reported that the involvement of children in informal trade amounts to child labour, the traders explained that children often assist their parents in the business after school hours. As a result the children help the parents earn extra income during peak hours. The study underpins earlier findings by Un-Habitat (2013 and ILO (2002) which revealed that SAPs and the closure or scaling down of the operations of some industries led to massive loss of employment in the formal sector and hence the involvement of different segments of the population in informal trade.

Despite these observations, it is surprising that eviction remains a common tool used to manage informal trade in the public spaces in the CBD to the detriment of the traders. While the pursuit of an orderly city may be a legitimate undertaking by the city authority to maintain order as stipulated in section 29(a) and (e) of the Physical Planning Act Cap286 (Kenya, Republic of,1996), arbitrary eviction is likely to exacerbate urban social and economic insecurity as observed by one of the key informant interviewees. He said; *“Evicting or relocating informal traders from the CBD will lead to loss of customers with whom they have developed good relations. It is also likely to cause increased school dropouts and crime rates due to massive loss of employment and general reduction in income”* (Director, Geoplan Consultant).

At the heart of this argument is the fact that eviction pushes informal traders to peripheral areas where they hardly get adequate customers (Lindell, 2010) because such areas are often less accessible and insecure. Eviction only provide quick and temporary fixes for ‘unlawful’ occupation of public spaces but social and economic problems such as theft or

robbery abound due to potential loss of employment. Informal trade like any other land use activities should find physical location in space if social and economic ills are to be avoided in future. As observed by Musyoka (2010), payment of rates alone does not guarantee security and hence planners of public spaces need to consider the inclusion of informal traders to enhance security of tenure and to curtail the potential challenges of forced evictions.

## CONCLUSION

The study presents two important scenarios; first informal traders prefer areas of high human traffic which attract large volume of sale. Secondly, informal trade provides employment to a diverse group of individuals who are not privileged to get jobs in the formal sector. The cost of arbitrary eviction of informal traders to peripheral areas is likely to be higher as it will deter the majority from accessing adequate livelihood opportunities. This may eventually lead to increased urban poverty, deprivation and related problems of insurgent contention of space, crime and unplanned sprawl of informal trade activities into the neighborhoods.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Land use planners should advocate for multi-functional public spaces which are flexible, pro-poor and inclusive of economic needs of informal traders, for example allowing street vendors in some parts of the streets especially in the evening or over the weekends. .

Give policy attention to informal trade in the context of spatial planning of designated public spaces to prevent costly situations in the future and public recognition of street trading as a backbone of urban economy.

Organize inclusive platforms involving the Directorate of Planning, Street Vendor Associations, Academic, and any other stakeholders to ensure more participatory approaches from conception to post implementation of the project.

Establish monitoring and evaluation mechanisms for trend analysis to project spatial needs and management of informal traders in designated public spaces.

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