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The Dwelling as a Workspace: Urban Planning and Home-Based Entrepreneurs in Kampala City Slums

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ABSTRACT

The ubiquitous urban informality that characterises the cityscape of most sub-Saharan cities, has been impacted by states' rationalised urban planning interventions to make urban spaces, and the activities of citizens more legible and governable. This study aimed at understanding the effects of urban planning and the regulatory environment on the business operations of the home-based entrepreneurial households and the strategies employed by these households to ensure their livelihood survival. The study used Katanga slum in Kampala, Uganda as a case study. The study approaches urban planning as a dialectical process, and therefore critically discusses the production and use of space (through urban planning) at different spatial scales of the city, slum and household, while highlighting the challenges experienced by the households and how they cope with these challenges. To facilitate the understanding of these issues, the study employed an integrated theoretical framework that comprised of Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, Scott's concept of state legibility, Jalan & Ravallion's concept of urban spatial poverty traps, and Clark's border theory. The study was informed by the interpretivist paradigm and employed a qualitative methodological approach that involved the use of multiple qualitative methods like document analysis, focus group discussions, key informant interviews, observations and semi-structured interviews. Owing to the nature of the methods employed, the study yielded both textual and visual data that were analysed using qualitative content analysis facilitated by ATLAS.ti 8. The study shows that in an attempt to create an abstract and legible space, the state and its agents employ a number of socio-economic-spatial techniques that affect or threaten the livelihoods of urban poor households. Nevertheless, driven by the desire to survive, households subvert or resist any intentions of the state that they believe can risk their livelihoods. Households' resistance to the state is characterised by, among others, the development of informal spaces. Though these informal spaces provide the urban poor households with a dwelling place and source of livelihood, they also present challenges that the households must address to ensure their survival in the city. Therefore, the study established that the livelihood survival of the home-based enterprise (HBE) households not only depends on how these households are successful at subverting the state's attempts to dominate and control their spaces, but also how well they can manage the socio-economic-spatial dynamics and challenges at community and household levels. Despite the fact that this study is context-specific, it provides insights on the rationalities and actions of the state, and their implications on the livelihood of the urban poor households. Moreover, it also sheds light on how these households survive in an unfavourable and precarious urban environment.

Keywords: Coping strategies, home-based enterprises, Kampala City, urban planning, urban space, slums

DECLARATION

I declare that ***The dwelling as a workspace: Urban planning and home-based entrepreneurs in Kampala City slums*** is my own work, and has never been submitted to any university for the award of a degree. I also declare that all the sources cited in this dissertation have been adequately acknowledged by complete references.

Jeremy Waiswa November, 2020

Signed.....

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved mum Margret Baseka, and late dad Mesulamu Waiswa, who despite their illiteracy knew the value of education

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AMREF	African Medical Research Foundation
CAQDAS	Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
CBD	Central Business District
CPRC	Chronic Poverty Research Centre
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FHH	Female-headed Household
FWC	Family-Work Conflict
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographic Information System
GKMA	Greater Kampala Metropolitan Area
HBE	Home-based Enterprise
HE	Household Enterprise
ICLS	International Conference of Labour Statisticians
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KCC	Kampala City Council
KCCA	Kampala Capital City Authority
KII	Key Informant Interview
KMTC	Kampala Metropolitan Towns and Counties
KPDP	Kampala Physical Development Plan

MGLSD	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development
MHH	Male-Headed Household
MLHUD	Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development
MSE	Micro and Small Enterprise
MSME	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise
MTIC	Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives
MVS	Maximum Variation Sampling
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NSUP	National Slum Upgrading Strategy and Action Plan
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SMME	Small, Micro and Medium Enterprise
SV	Structural Violence
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UN	United Nations
WFC	Work-Family Conflict

CHAPTER ONE

FRAMING THE RESEARCH AGENDA

1.0 Introduction

For many urban poor households, housing is not only a dwelling place, but a centre of production, trading and storage for those engaged in home-based enterprises (Nnaggenda-Musana & Vestbro, 2013). Despite this reality, the rationalities of the urban poor appear to be different from those of city authorities that perceive the presence of HBEs as a taint of the aesthetic image of modern cities. This study focuses on HBE households that operate from slum areas. It focuses on how urban planning and the regulatory environment affect the business operations of HBE households, and how these households negotiate the challenging livelihood and policy environment to ensure their livelihood survival. In this chapter, I set the research agenda for this study. I commence with a discussion of the background of the study, followed by the statement of the research problem. I then present the purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, rationale of the study, and research approach. I conclude this chapter by giving a brief description of the content and outline of the remaining chapters of the thesis.

1.1 Background of the Study

HBEs remain a common phenomenon in the urban landscape of most developing countries. This is evidenced by the increasing numbers of households in developing world cities that use their domestic space to generate income (Kellett & Tipple, 2003; Sinai, 2001). HBEs engage in income-generating activities that are located and undertaken within the same domestic environment, including the indoor and outdoor spaces of a given dwelling (Kachenje, 2005). The operation of HBEs involves the use of different parts of the home for income-generation purposes. Owing to the nature of the HBE, a business can be located inside the house, in the yard, on the veranda and in the street adjacent to the house (Sinai, 1998). Usually, households in developing countries use their home as an incubator location for their businesses, but for the majority of these households, the home becomes a permanent location for their business (Septanti, 2015).

Noteworthy is that HBEs are both of social and economic significance to the households. For example, numerous scholars agree that HBEs are a source of employment to many urban households (Egbu, Kalu, & Eze, 2016; Ezeadichie, 2012; Kellett & Tipple 2000; Kigochie, 2001; Smit & Donaldson, 2011; Tipple, 2004), and enable them to afford shelter, through payment of rental fees for their dwellings (Kellett & Tipple, 2000; Mpembamoto, Nchito, Siame & Wragg, 2017; Tipple, Kellett, Masters & Krishnamurty, 1996).

Nevertheless, urban authorities in Africa do not approve of households that operate businesses from their homes, and their intention has always been to separate home and work (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004; Nnaggenda-Musana, 2008). This is because the authorities believe that the use of a home to generate income encroaches on domestic space, and therefore violates the planning standards and zoning regulations with regard to the operation of economic activities within residential areas (Kamete, 2013b; Kellett & Tipple, 2002). Skinner and Watson (2020) observe that "single-use zoning schemes and infrastructure planning, as well as many state housing policies, fail to recognise this important economic role of housing and can end up banning such activity and adding to economic costs and inefficiencies for home-based workers". This evidences "the power of the past/colonial planning, in terms of a modernist outlook which favours formality at the expense of urban informality" (Moyo & Gumbo, 2020: 31). Informality denotes "a category of income generating, servicing or settlement practices that are relatively unregulated or uncontrolled by the state or formal institutions" (Duminy, 2011:1). In a similar manner Watson (2009a:157) conceptualises informality as "forms of income generation, forms of settlement and housing, and forms of negotiating life in the city".

Despite the fact that in most cities of sub-Saharan Africa, informality occupies the biggest percentage of these cities urban spaces, limited or no effort exists to ensure that urban planning provides for the space needs of the urban residents that live and operate in informality. For example, in the city of Masvingo, Zimbabwe, "the informal sector is believed to be using between 80 and 90% of city's space", but the city authorities appear to be unconcerned with these developments (Average, 2020: 1282). Noteworthy is that, even in cases were there have been attempts to include urban informality, the underlying Eurocentric urban planning approach tends to prevail or disrupt such inclusive attempts. Consequently, the urban residents that depend on informality have their right to the city, and livelihoods denied through among other discriminative legislative instruments (Moyo & Gumbo, 2020).

As such, urban planning interventions and regulatory frameworks are mobilised to impose the urban authorities' development vision (Kamete, 2013b). In Uganda, both national and city level policy and regulatory interventions have been proposed to address the issue of informality. At national level, the micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) policies, and the Physical Planning Act, among others, were established, whereas, at city level, physical plans and bylaws have been established in Kampala. While the state and city authorities might be optimistic that these interventions will deliver dividends as far as modern planning is concerned, such interventions may be divorced from the realities of the urban poor operating businesses at their premises, with far-reaching ramifications. Since HBEs are key livelihood sources especially to the urban poor households, it is imperative to understand how urban policy and regulatory interventions by the state and city authorities affect the operations of these households.

In this study, I approach urban planning as a dialectical process, and therefore critically discusses the production and use of space (through urban planning) at different spatial scales of the city, slum and household, while highlighting the urban related challenges experienced by the households and how they cope with these challenges. I argue that in an attempt to create an abstract and legible space, the state and its agents employ a number of socio-economic-spatial techniques that affect or threaten the livelihoods of urban poor households. Nevertheless, driven by the desire to survive, households subvert or resist any intentions of the state that they believe can risk their livelihoods. Households' resistance to the state is characterised by, among others, the development of informal spaces. Note that, though in this thesis I focus the discussion on the effect of urban policy and planning on the operation of HBEs, these factors cannot by themselves explain all the problems faced by the urban HBE households. It is acknowledged that there are many factors like biophysical limitations, macro-economic factors like inflation that lie outside the control of city authorities and planners. But my argument in this thesis is that, notwithstanding these broader contextual factors, contestations around spatial planning paradigms still make an important difference.

1.2 Problem Statement

Contemporary neoliberal urbanism and governance models promote ambitions, notions and policies that are often unfavourable to the urban poor, as they have significant impacts on their livelihoods (Lindell & Ampaire, 2016). For example, despite many households in Uganda and Kampala city in particular, operating from their own dwellings for economic

survival (Bakeine, 2009; Nnaggenda-Musana & Vestbro, 2013), they are considered by urban planners and city authorities as a nuisance that needs to be dealt with. Therefore, the state's urban planning policies, regulations and practices are often introduced to ensure that the state's version of order in the city is promoted. Despite these processes and practices having implications on the livelihood of the urban poor HBE households in Uganda, the majority of informal sector literature is limited to the market and street vendors (see Lindell & Ampaire, 2016; Monteith, 2016; 2018; Young, 2017; 2018a; 2018b), or the informal sector in general (Namatovu, Dawa, Adewale & Mulira, 2018; Pietrus, 2015; Young, 2019). The few extant empirical studies on HBEs in Kampala City and Uganda in general, limit their scope to HBEs as a livelihood strategy of the urban poor (Nalule, 2015; Nnaggenda-Musana & Vestbro, 2013). Other studies dwell on HBEs and gender relations in male-headed households (Happy, 2010), and HBEs as a form of space use in low-income households (Nnaggenda-Musana, 2008). Therefore, until this study, the implications of urban planning and the regulatory environment on the operation of HBEs had received little attention. In order to address this research gap, and also respond to the call by Lloyd-Jones et al. (2017) to expand the extant knowledge base on HBEs in Uganda, this study focused on issues of urban planning and regulation interventions, and how HBE entrepreneurs respond to these interventions.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to understand the effects of urban planning and the regulatory environment on the operation of HBE households in Kampala City slums, and the strategies employed by these households to ensure their livelihood survival.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1. To establish the nature of home-based entrepreneur households in Katanga slum.

2. To analyse the challenges and implications of urban planning policies, processes and the regulatory environment on the operations of home-based enterprise households in Katanga slum.

3. To establish how home-based enterprise households in Katanga slum negotiate both livelihood and urban policy, and planning related challenges to promote their livelihood survival.

1.5 Research Questions

1. What is the nature of home-based entrepreneur households in Katanga slum?

2. What are the challenges and implications of urban planning policies, processes and the regulatory environment on the operations of home-based enterprise households in Katanga slum?

3. How do home-based enterprise households in Katanga slum negotiate both livelihood and, urban policy and planning related challenges to promote their livelihood survival?

1.6 Rationale of the Study

City authorities in sub-Saharan Africa's growing urban centres, are much preoccupied with modernist notions of order, tidiness and conformity. In this regard, informal activities like HBEs are seen as an obstacle to the ideal city, and therefore have no place in a modern city (Kamete, 2013a). Given that HBE households are characterised by a co-existence of both domestic and business activities in a home environment, they have to comply with policies and regulations pertaining to employment, housing and land use planning (Majale, 2002; Tipple, 2001). In Uganda and in Kampala in particular, a number of policy and regulatory interventions aimed at modernity have been initiated, including Kampala Physical Development Plan (KPDP); Licensing of Trade Persons Ordinance, 2006; Public Health (Building) Rules; and Trade Licensing and Grading of Business Areas. Given the policy and regulatory context in which the HBE households operate, and the limited research on the subject, this study was justified by the need for an enhanced understanding of its implications on the operations of these households, and their reaction to city authority interventions.

Furthermore, though the existence and importance of HBEs in sub-Saharan Africa is no longer debatable, issues concerning this subsector have not received much attention in the enterprise literature (Fox & Sohnesen, 2012; Vorley & Rodgers, 2014), and they are largely invisible within official statistics (Vorley & Rodgers, 2014). The paucity of the HBE literature can be partly attributed to the limited availability of data on these enterprises, and their informal nature (Cassim, Lilenstein, Oosthuizen & Steenkamp, 2016). Due to the absence of data and the hidden nature of the HBEs, attributed to their location at home, the

present study made use of a qualitative holistic embedded case study design to advance the knowledge on HBE issues in Uganda and in Kampala City in particular.

1.7 Research Approach

In Kampala City, households operating HBEs are undocumented and research in this regard is still emerging. Therefore the nature of these households, coupled with the relative absence of studies on the subject, necessitated a qualitative methodological approach that could enable me to unearth rich and in-depth information about the lived realities of these households. As such, this study adopted a holistic embedded case study. The quest for rich and in-depth information meant that I had to interact with different research participants in order to understand their interpretations, perceptions, and contextual experiences concerning the issues under study. As such, I employed a multi-methods data collection approach that included document analysis, focus group discussions (FGDs), key informant interviews (KIIs), observation and mapping, and semi-structured interviews.

Owing to the nature of the methods employed, the study yielded both textual and visual data that were analysed using qualitative content analysis facilitated by ATLAS.ti 8. Results from the different methods were triangulated to ensure the credibility of the study findings, and drawing of conclusions and recommendations based on the collected data. Noteworthy is that, the approach employed in this study was designed to address some of the methodological issues in researching HBE households. Nevertheless, the qualitative approach adopted in this study has its own reported challenges and criticisms like limited rigour and generalisability. Therefore, I employed the four dimensions of evaluating trustworthiness of qualitative studies developed by (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 1986) to improve on the trustworthiness of the study. A detailed explanation of the methodology is given in chapter four.

1.8 Organisation of the Thesis

This study is organised into ten chapters. Chapter Two, ***The home-based economy in urban sub-Saharan Africa***, reviews the literature on HBEs in sub-Saharan Africa. It examines the history of home-based production in Africa, focusing on the colonial mentality towards this subsector, i.e. how planning was employed to control the sector. It also reviews the literature on the interactions between the state and HBE operators during the post-colonial period. The chapter also focuses on the dynamics involved in the coexistence of productive and

reproductive activities in a domestic sphere, characterises and locates HBEs as informal sector economic activity, and considers the factors driving its growth. The chapter also discusses the literature on the importance of HBEs and the constraints they face.

Chapter Three, ***Theoretical framework***, sets out the theoretical framework that guided this study. The urban planning process entails a complex web of issues and dynamics that cannot be understood through a single theory. In order to address this theoretical challenge I employ an eclectic approach to address a range of different but related issues. This includes an integration of different theories and theoretical concepts to understand the production and use of space at a variety of scales including the city, slum, and household scales. In this chapter, I discuss each theory/ theoretical concept, while indicating its relevance to the study, and at the same time commenting on how they complement each other. This integrated theoretical framework helps to theorise how urban planning and the regulatory environment affects the operation of HBE households in Kampala City slums, and the strategies employed by these households to ensure their livelihood survival.

Chapter Four, ***Research design and methodology***, presents the research design and methodological approach pursued by the study. It contains a presentation of the philosophical paradigm that underpinned the study. In this chapter I also describe the research design, and make clear the strategy and methods through which data was collected. The chapter also contains the data analysis process and procedure I employed to draw interpretations from the data. I also discuss the strategies I employed to enhance the trustworthiness of the study, the ethical issues that emerged in the study, and how I addressed them.

Chapter Five, ***Urbanisation, informality and planning in Kampala***, provides a contextual background to the study. The discussion in this chapter helps to place HBEs in the broader context of the past and the current socio-economic fabric of the urban landscape of Kampala City. As such, I commence the chapter with an exegesis of urbanisation and associated informality in Kampala. I also analyse issues of land tenure systems and informality, and discuss how planning was used by both the colonial and post-colonial states to deal with the challenge of urbanisation and informality. In the discussion, I also highlight colonial legacies in urban planning and regulation and trace the origins of Kampala City's current challenges, including informality.

Chapter Six, ***Characterising home-based entrepreneurial households in Katanga slum***, is the first of the five empirical chapters. In this chapter I provide a description of the characteristics of the HBE households in the study. I later develop and discuss the typologies of households based on the gender of the household head, the type of business operated, and the nature of the entrepreneurial strategy.

Chapter Seven, ***Urban policies, city authority practices and home-based entrepreneurs***, is the second empirical chapter. Here I explain how and why HBE operators and their economic activities were rendered legible and governable through the state and Kampala Capital City Authority's (KCCA) urban planning and regulatory interventions. Moreover, in this chapter I also explore the effects of such interventions on the operation and sustainability of HBEs, and the strategies employed by the HBE households to resist or to cope with them.

Chapter Eight, ***Community dynamics and home-based enterprises***, is the third empirical chapter, which provides a contextual analysis of the slum environment in which the HBE households operate their businesses, and its attendant socio-economic disadvantages. The focus here is mainly on the spatial poverty traps and their influence on the operation of HBEs. I also discuss the influence of urban planning on these spatial poverty traps, and lastly describe the coping strategies adopted by the HBE households.

Chapter Nine, ***Home-work boundary management dynamics of hybrid home/enterprise units***, is the fourth empirical chapter. Here I focus on the challenges, contestations and tensions arising from the dual functioning of space for both domestic and business activities, while relating it to the planning issues in the city. I also analyse the spatial and temporal strategies adopted by HBE households to promote the dual existence of both domestic and business activities in the home environment. In this chapter I also discuss how household relations and reciprocal exchanges are used in home-work boundary management.

Chapter Ten, ***Summary, conclusions and recommendations***, is the fifth and last empirical chapter, and also the final chapter of the thesis. In this chapter, I provide a summary and discussion of the key findings in reference to the objectives and research questions of the study. I also discuss both the theoretical and policy implications of the study, and provide the recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HOME-BASED ECONOMY IN URBAN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

2.0 Introduction

The dual functioning of a home as a place for productive and reproductive activities is not a new phenomenon in sub-Saharan Africa. Nevertheless, its contested nature in present-day urban Africa makes it an issue of concern more than never before. Currently, urban governance in Africa is characterised by a conflict of rationalities. For example, urban authorities that seek to achieve goals of orderly and modern cities see HBEs as one of the obstacles to this objective. On the contrary, urban dwellers see HBEs as a source of livelihood (cf. Watson, 2009b). Therefore, this chapter contains a review of relevant literature, to facilitate an understanding of how the dual functioning of a home in Africa has evolved, and the different dynamics that relate to it, and urban planning and informality in sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, this review of literature highlights research gaps that motivated the current study.

The chapter commences with the historical foundations of home-based production in Africa, and a discussion of colonial mentality towards this sector. This discussion helps to demystify any perception that HBEs are a new phenomenon in urban Africa, and informs the contemporary understanding of HBEs as informal economic activities. The next section focuses on the contestations between the state and HBE operators. The focus then shifts to the dynamics involved in the coexistence of productive and reproductive activities in a domestic sphere with a particular focus on household or domestic space. This is followed by characterising the activities within HBEs as informal sector economic activities, and drawing a distinction between these businesses and other informal economic activities. Attention then shifts to understanding the conditions and processes driving the growth of HBEs by applying the involuntary and voluntary lenses. The next section contains a discussion on the importance of HBEs to urban livelihood and wellbeing, followed by the constraints and challenges faced by HBEs. Lastly, the chapter focuses on urban planning and informality in urban sub-Saharan Africa.

2.1 HBEs in sub-Saharan Africa: A Historical Perspective

The use of home as a work space is not a new concept. Historically, communities all over the world used their dwellings for both household consumption and production with the aim of engaging with other households or communities (Strassmann, 1986). In pre-colonial Africa, a home, especially in settled communities, was a centre of production for both home consumption and exchange purposes. Many scholars have written about household modes of production in different pre-colonial African communities. Ndalilah (2012) has written about the pre-capitalist economy of the Babukusu people in Kenya. In what can be called a largely, if not entirely home-based production, the Babukusu engaged in crafts and industrial activities like iron working, pottery, woodwork, basketry and weaving. Rodney's (1972) research focused on the home-based production among the Baganda people of Uganda, and argues that the Baganda, through their household cottage industries, manufactured products like bark-cloth, iron products and pots for both local consumption and for exchange with other neighbouring African communities.

In Ghana, Hymer (1970) establishes that apart from the foreign trade sector, every single household possessed what it produced and traded with other households on a voluntary basis. Each household was predominantly an independent centre for production and consumption, performing various agricultural, services, and manufacturing activities. Therefore, Hymer argues that, the household contained an economy in itself, as it produced most of its own food, clothings, furniture and equipment, and constructed its own houses. The work of Osagie and Otoide (2015) discusses the skilled workmanship of the Esan people in Nigeria. They note that the Esan households devised techniques for producing various products from local resources for household use or for exchanging with neighbours or other communities to acquire goods they did not produce or had in limited supply. This led to an emergence of household manufacturing activities that were conducted either on a part-time or full-time basis, giving rise to various cottage industries. Given this historical background, it appears fallacious to argue that the coexistence of domestic activities and HBEs is a new phenomenon in sub Saharan Africa.

Colonialism led to a restructuring of the existing pre-colonial African modes of production so as to satisfy the needs of the colonists. Osagie and Otoide (2015) posit that the Europeans' conquest of Africa was primarily aimed at obtaining raw materials for their industries back in Europe, and providing market for their manufactured goods. The British and other Europeans

had no interest in developing existing local industries, and in cases where industries were introduced, the main aim was reduce costs for shipment of raw materials and finished goods from and to the colonies respectively, and not necessarily to develop local capacity. Similarly, Rodney (1972) asserts that colonialism led to the destruction of Africa's home-based industries without 'redress', with the majority of the Africans absorbed into the colonial economy as manual labourers. He argues further that, by the time Africa attained its 'political independence' the only surviving craftsmanship was activity related to tourist attractions, rather than serving the needs of the local people.

During colonialism attempts were made to supress home-based production. The colonists passed ordinances that barred the colonised people from participating in local production, and set up structures and conditions like a monetised economy and compulsory taxes, which compelled the indigenous people to abandon their usual economic activities to work for the colonists in order to get money to meet household needs and pay colonial taxes. Moreover, as explained in the context of Kampala City in chapter five, colonists suppressed home-based production through colonial planning, in which rigid zoning was enforced that discouraged the location of economic activities in residential areas or within a home. In so doing, all colonial planning schemes and housing architectural designs were geared towards this end. For example, in South Africa, townships were designed as dormitory residential areas for the blacks with very little provision for economic activity. HBEs were severely limited particularly during the 1960s when the government's policy approach was '"to provide only' temporary trading' facilities for the 'temporary people' of the townships"' (Rogerson, 1991 in Napier & Mothwa, 2001:339). Similar views are presented by Hiralal (2010), who argues that the apartheid government enacted municipal bylaws that prohibited informal sector economic activities. Although, the South African case was different due to apartheid, similar colonial restrictions occurred in Kampala (Uganda) as discussed in chapter five.

Consequently, African colonies were inducted into and subjugated to the global capitalist economy through international trade not as producers of finished products, but as suppliers of raw materials and consumers of European finished products. It must be said here that colonialism set in motion the idea of 'formal' and 'informal'. African practices and activities were labelled backward and outlawed, while those introduced by the colonists were held in high esteem as acceptable and progressive. As such, sub-Saharan countries were forced to drop their traditional ways of life, and were set on a new journey of 'modernisation'.

Nevertheless, despite efforts to suppress it, the traditional sector or informal sector outlived colonialism, and currently provides livelihood to a great number of urban dwellers in sub-Saharan Africa. According to Sparks and Barnett (2010:1), 'employment in the informal sector is no longer a journey, but has become the destination of many', due to the socio-economic benefits it presents to urban poor households.

It is noteworthy that the colonial legacy of repression of the informal sector still lingers in most cities of sub-Saharan Africa. The next section discusses literature on the HBE sector and the post-colonial state with the aim of unearthing the different practices that have been pursued by the state, and how HBE households respond to such state interventions.

2.2 Home-based Economic Sector and the Post-colonial State in sub-Saharan Africa

Despite the heterogeneous nature of the informal sector, most literature on the state and informal sector in sub-Saharan Africa remains disaggregated, while the rest is limited to specific categories of the informal sector including street and market vendors. An issue like urban planning, that is a source of contention between the state and HBE households, hardly feature in the literature. It is noteworthy that one of the most common contestations of the state and its citizens has been in the area of urban planning. Therefore, the discussion here dwells on the state's urban planning processes and practice, and their implications for the HBE households.

In an effort to attain modern city or world class city status, most urban authorities of sub-Saharan Africa cities strive to inherit and replicate colonialist planning ideals and Eurocentric modernist planning models which aim at the separation of working from home or residential areas. Since the advent of modern-day urbanism in sub-Saharan Africa, cities have turned out to be a battle ground for the state pitted against its citizens working in the informal sector including HBEs. In pursuance of sedentarisation, order and aesthetic appearance in cities, and the desire to organise urban populations in a manner that simplifies the 'classic state functions of taxation, conscription, and prevention of rebellion' (Scott, 1998: 2), the state has run into confrontation with its citizens operating in the informal sector. Scott observes that, the state's attempts at 'legibility' and 'simplification' can be seen through the processes of standardisation of various urban processes and preferences of 'monofunctional' role to enable it to have full control of its citizens. As such, the state enacts different legislations to force their citizens into compliance.

Nevertheless, informal sector activities contravene the stipulated planning and building codes, and are therefore considered by urban authorities as 'spatial pathologies' for which urban planning models are mobilised to normalise and rationalise through rehabilitation or eradication (Kamete, 2013b). 'Invested in planning are rationalities, practices and techniques deployed by the state to direct the conduct of people in the occupation and use of urban space' (Kamete, 2013b: 641), in ways deemed appropriate by the state. Kamete further argues that, urban planning normalisation interventions have been perpetually based on specific kinds of expert knowledge considered a preserve of trained technocrats. Often times, these planning experts and city authorities in general have preconceived ideas about the appearance of an ideal city; they believe a good city is one that is neat with no 'visible poor'. These attitudes together with others have been reflected through the decisions and policies made by the city authorities, resulting in 'an exclusionary and punitive approach to urban governance' (Berrisford & Kihato, 2006:26).

To this end, state officials have been faulted for being detached from the realities of the community under their governance (Scott, 1998). Also faulted are the regulatory frameworks that are considered to be inconsistent with the lived realities of the urban poor communities, and are a major obstacle to the achievement of sustainable urban livelihoods (Majale, 2002). In resonance with these arguments, Moser (2017) asserts that although the majority of the urban dwellers, especially women, draw their livelihood from informal economic activities, they are often stigmatised as unproductive and insecure, and policies and regulations are enacted against them which often erode the livelihoods of their proprietors. A case in point is the municipal authorities who seek to separate work and home (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004; Nnaggenda-Musana, 2008). They contend that the use of the dwelling to generate income encroaches on domestic space, and also conflicts with planning standards and zoning regulations with regard to the operation of economic activities within the residential areas (Kellett & Tipple, 2002), and raises environmental and health problems like pollution (Opoko, 2014; Schilderman & Lowe, 2002).

In most sub-Saharan Africa cities, the state's attempt to normalise or deal with urban informality has been actualised through clearance and eviction of street traders and slum dwellers. Drawing on different cases in Malawi, Zimbabwe, and Zambia, Potts (2008) explores how cities have embarked on operations to clear slums and move street vendors off the streets into formal markets, and how these operations have affected the livelihood of the

poor. Similarly, a study in Nigeria's cities of Abuja, Lagos and Port Harcourt established that violent eviction of slum dwellers have resulted in a disruption of businesses that are a source of income for the slum residents (Daniel, Wapwera, Akande, Musa, & Aliyu, 2015). In the event of slum eviction or relocation, HBE operators lose both their home and workplace, and are often relocated to peripheral areas with limited basic services, and far from markets (Chen & Skinner, 2014). In resonance with the above argument, Jensen (1996) indicates that most slum relocation and upgrading projects are unable to replicate the built form and proximity to markets accessed by HBEs before the project intervention, which affects the performance and profitability of these businesses. Noteworthy is that, for HBE households operating in slums, eviction leads to both loss of housing and livelihood, because when the households lose their home, they also lose a location for their business.

Apart from clearance and evictions, most governments in sub-Saharan Africa choose to ignore or neglect HBEs together with slums in which they are located. This neglect is manifested through government's exclusionary policies and actions, and failure to provide basic needs and services. As a case in point, Olajoke, Adigun and Akande (2013) argue that although in most sub-Saharan Africa cities HBEs exist in residential areas, their legality is not guaranteed as plans guiding their growth and development are either absent or never implemented in cases where they exist. Similarly, a study in South Africa and Ghana established that formal regulations were not effective, leaving HBEs unaffected by them (Gough, Tipple & Napier, 2003). These findings have been confirmed by Smit and Donaldson's (2011) study in South Africa, which established that the policing and regulation of HBEs in most municipalities is done in an ad hoc manner or with complete neglect due to limited financial and human source capacity. Furthermore, in Nigeria, it has been reported that government authorities tend to ignore informality to proliferate before corrective measures are employed (Daniel et al., 2015), which often are coercive in nature and detrimental to people's livelihoods. Governments' neglect of HBEs is also seen through exclusionary and misdirected policy focus. Du Toit and Neves (2007) point out government's preference to direct policy interventions towards relatively bigger enterprises, and less on the small ones like HBEs, which is a complete disregard of the diversity in the informal sector.

The neglect of or non-implementation of policies by government has relegated the HBEs to a non-existent position, which perpetuates a state of structural violence. According to Galtung (1969), structural violence (SV) is an indirect form of violence ingrained in social and

economic structures that inhibit human capabilities or potential. In other words, when human actual realisation is lower than the potential, this implies that SV exists, because the actual is avoidable and the reverse is true. Similarly, Farmer, Nizeye, Stulac and Keshavjee (2006:449) define SV as 'social arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm's way'. Farmer (2004) observes that, SV is an indirect and systematic form of violence that inhibits the agency of the poor through influence over the way resources are allocated and utilised. In this context, '…the poor are not only more likely to suffer; they are also less likely to have their suffering noticed…' (Farmer, 2003:50), or deliberately ignored. Rodríguez, Saborido and Segovia (2012:18) argue that 'actions or situations classified as structural violence are not necessarily directly designed or executed in order to deny the satisfaction of basic needs, but are rather indirect derivations of an inequitable economic policy and the unfair distribution of wealth'. Rodríguez et al. (2012) argue further that, SV is invisible and disguised in structures that impede the fulfilment of human needs, and becomes evident through the denial of these needs.

As previously indicated, the social, legal and policy void or exclusion suffered by the HBEs due to government neglect, results in SV that manifests through poor or unequal access to basic services, low income, limited access to finance, limited growth of enterprises, and vulnerability to failure. These impact a range of determinants to sustainable urban livelihoods. As SV victims, households operating HBEs suffer a double tragedy – their economic activities are neglected, while their only residence, the slum, is demonised, and face a constant risk of demolition. Therefore, SV places HBE operating households under a disadvantaged position and keeps them in a vicious cycle of poverty, characterised by great uncertainty. Yet the invisibility of HBEs propagated by their illegality, limits their leverage over urban housing and physical planning policies, and basic social services that are vital to their productivity and growth. It is therefore not a surprise that most sub-Saharan countries including Uganda, have limited or no statistics on HBEs. Moreover, as discussed later in this thesis, urban policies focusing on HBEs are lacking or neutral in nature with no clear link to HBEs.

Many scholars have argued for urban planners and policy makers to recognise HBEs as an important aspect of urban livelihood by incorporating them in urban transformation processes like slum upgrading (Ezeadichie, 2012; Lawanson & Oduwaye, 2014; Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012; Tipple, 2004; UN-Habitat, 2003), in order to promote inclusive and

liveable cities. Nevertheless, only a few isolated cases exist to this end. In Chaisa, Zambia, slum upgrading through provision of basic services and infrastructure like water and sanitation, electricity and roads increased HBE productivity. For example, access to water led to improved performance of water-dependent HBEs like saloons and drinks producers. Moreover, the paved roads facilitated easy movement of customers, and enabled distributors to deliver goods directly to the HBEs, hence reducing costs and time spent travelling to collect the goods. Access to electricity improved security in the settlement, encouraged long operation hours, and at the same time boosted activities of electricity-dependent HBEs (Mpembamoto et al., 2017).

Similarly, in Mathare 4A in Nairobi, slum upgrading involved the design of housing units with a provision for working space. This enabled the establishment of new HBEs and facilitated old ones to operate effectively in improved structures with better access to water and sanitation facilities, electricity, roads and street lighting. Moreover, the Kenyan government relaxed rigid building codes and exempted HBEs from paying licence fees and taxes. This facilitated HBEs to obtain some degree of legality, allowing for effective operation without fear of demolition or harassment from city authorities. Moreover, the provision of infrastructure like street lighting and roads, boosted the businesses by increasing working hours and speedy delivery of goods respectively (Kigochie, 2001; Muraya, 2006). Nevertheless, the fact that slum upgrading relies heavily on donor funds, casts doubt on the sustainability of such projects. For example, in Chaisa's case, the sanitation project established in 2010 was funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) and Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE), while the roads and drainage project established in 2011 was funded by the European Union. For Mathare 4A, funding was by the Federal Republic of Germany (ibid). Therefore, it is evident that without donor support, it is unlikely that such improvements would be possible. Moreover, such slum upgrading activities are project-related with limited scalability.

Despite some governments having undertaken projects to promote the growth of HBEs, the majority of them have maintained their repressive posture towards the sector. In such circumstances, the sustainability of HBEs then depends on how their operators negotiate with the state. Chen, Bonner and Carré (2015) argue that the urban poor engaging in informal sector activities like HBEs need to organise to overcome their structural challenges. They assert that, 'organizing confers greater voice, visibility and validity on informal workers,

which in turn enables them to exercise greater influence on the wider environment that impinges on their livelihoods' (Chen, Bonner & Carré, 2015:23). It is worth noting that, informal sector operators negotiate with different stakeholders and for various reasons. As such, the nature of negotiation is dependent on variables like employment status, nature of economic activity and work location. For example, street vendors may negotiate with local authorities on issues of space, harassment and seizure of goods, while HBE operators may negotiate with suppliers, customers and city authorities for various reasons. Nevertheless, Chen and colleagues observe that unlike employees in the formal sector whose rights are protected by labour laws, informal workers lack this legal basis to negotiate for their rights. In most cases negotiations are impromptu, only arising out of a crisis or need for consultation without legal obligation on the part of the state or authorities to have these agreements enforced. This implies that even when such negotiation efforts enable informal workers to voice their concerns, enforcement of their views is not guaranteed. Although Chen and colleagues focus mainly on collective bargaining, we need to note that negotiations can also occur at individual/household level, with non-state actors, institutions and processes, some of which may have far-reaching consequences for collective bargaining and negotiation.

In resonance with the above, Khadiagala (2002) observes that urban poor informal operators in East Africa's cities have formed 'internal governance' mechanisms to protect themselves from the actions of urban authorities. Most of these informal operators are mainly street and market vendors. Lindell and Ampaire (2016) conducted research about how market vendors in Kampala City navigate complex political landscapes, and how they exploit or manipulate the dynamic and unfriendly legal environment to their advantage. Lindell and Ampaire (2016) report that vendors' struggle for control over markets, involve the establishment of relationships with state and non-state actors, through networking in order to mobilise support from the elite political class. Nevertheless, the focus of this research was entirely on market vendors, who are mostly organised, and situated in defined spaces. Therefore, the need still exists to establish how HBEs in Kampala City negotiate with the state to promote their livelihood survival. Moreover, Lindell and Ampaire (2016) limit their analytical lens to negotiation at group level through market vendors' organisations, and omit negotiations that occur at individual or household level.

Despite some studies discussing issues of the state and HBEs, from the above discussion it is clear that there is a limited theorisation of issues pertaining to HBEs and the urban planning

processes in cities of sub-Saharan Africa. For example, though studies in the literature discuss the interventions of the state and their implications for the informal sector, they appear to depict the urban planning as a unidirectional, formal process. Moreover, the analytical lens of these studies is often limited to the city scale. This implies that there is limited understanding of how the production and use of space plays out at the lower levels of the community and households, and how these lower processes are influenced by urban planning or spatial processes at the city scale. Therefore, following from Lefebvre's (1991) writings on space, this study assumes that urban planning is a dialectical process, whereby the state's representation and spatial practices that materialised through the urban planning processes, are resisted by the urban poor households through informal appropriation of space. Moreover, this study recognises that the production and use of space takes place at different spatial scales including city, community/slum and household scales. As such, this study applies a multi-scale analysis focusing on the city, community/slum and household.

2.3 HBEs and Household Space in Urban sub-Saharan Africa

As alluded to in the previous section, in terms of modernist planning, an ideal home is meant to be a private domain in which households are able to conduct different domestic activities. Nevertheless, this view of home as a private domain, and the acts that follow to separate home and work, is increasingly being challenged as 'artificial' (Kellett & Bishop, 2003). To buttress their argument, Kellett and Bishop refer to Ahrentzen's (1997) argument that the 'myth' of home as a private space is negated by the fact it has been and remains a space for both reproduction and production activities. Perhaps what could have changed is the extent, nature of the production activities and context in which they exist. Proponents of the fusion of home and work believe that the role of a home is not only limited to structuring social interactions but also economic ones. As such, a home is not a mere container of human life but an essential shelter for life-sustaining economic activities (Kellett & Tipple, 2003). Based on economic reasoning and interpretation, Kellett and Tipple further argue that the scope of home as a provider of security should be extended to include home-based activities that provide fundamental substance without which the household would cease to exit. Thus, a home plays a crucial role both in the existence and operation of HBEs in numerous countries (Kellett & Tipple, 2000; Tipple et al., 1996). Kellett and Tipple (2003) argue that the focus on home as a workplace helps to shed light on the 'traditional binary' categories of public and private/domestic domains, male and female gender roles and productive and reproductive activities.

HBEs occupy different parts of the domestic space. Existent research in various cities of sub-Saharan Africa, indicate that the operation of HBEs is not only limited to a specific dwelling, as other domestic spaces like a courtyard, veranda, makeshift structures attached to the house, adjusted lane to a dwelling (Adeokun & Ibem, 2016; Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012; Nguluma & Kachenje 2015; Sinai, 1998; Yankson, 2000) or a combination of these spaces (Nguluma & Kachenje, 2015), are appropriated for HBE use. The nature of domestic space allocated to HBE depends on the nature of HBE, that is, form of production, and the socio-spatial setting of a dwelling and neighbourhood (Rahman, 2005), like size of the household and domestic space. It is important to note that the presence of economic activities in a home makes domestic space a key resource and 'fungible asset' in the operation of HBEs (Ahmed, 2017; Kellett & Tipple, 2003), but also a contested territory (Gondwe & Ayenagbo, 2013), as households have to meet competing demands of a domestic and economic nature in a single space.

The infringement on the domestic space requires a reconfiguration of spatial boundaries between domestic and HBE activities, along with readjusting the conceptual boundaries between production and reproduction (Marsoyo, 2012), functions of a home. Kazimbaya-Senkwe (2004) posits that the introduction of business in a home not only requires households to adjust the dwelling to enable income-generating activity, but also needs them to learn to adapt to the new environments created by the utilisation of a dwelling as a work space. It is on this basis that Kellett and Tipple (2000:211) observed that the 'integration of income-generating activities within the home must inevitably entail processes of negotiation between various parties over the allocation of resources, particularly space, time and labour'. Nevertheless, this area has not received much attention in the literature.

Gondwe and Ayenagbo (2013:365) observe that research on HBEs, 'as contested and negotiated for spaces remains undertheorized in urban studies especially in livelihoods studies'. In order to contribute to addressing this research gap, Gondwe and Ayenagbo explore ways in which poor households negotiate for the use of domestic space for the operation of HBEs in Mzuzu city, Malawi. The study established that households use their ingenuity to meet their competing space demands by constructing temporary shelter for HBEs. The space appropriation process, especially in case of inadequate space, usually involves weighing the value of space for the household vis-à-vis that of the business, where in most cases the needs for the former are sacrificed for the latter.

Furthermore, in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, different space appropriation techniques were employed by households in order to accommodate HBEs in a domestic setting. For example, households transformed their dwellings by elongating and/or enclosing the verandas, constructing additional rooms to the main house, adjusting room partitions, and replacing temporary structures (Kachenje, 2005; Nguluma & Kachenje, 2015). Similarly, in Uganda households located in Kampala City's informal settlements made unplanned alterations to the original dwellings in order to accommodate HBEs, a practice that was attributed to households' neglect for providing space for income generation at the time of construction (Nnaggenda-Musana, 2008).

It is worth noting that the operation of a business at home raises gender issues, in respect of utilisation of space for the HBE and sharing proceeds from it. In the context of gendered spaces, Kellett & Tipple (2003) posit that the challenge of operating a business at home is not only that of combining productive and reproductive activities in one place, but also relates to dealing with gendered divisions of space in the home. For example, if a household's kitchen is used by a man for HBEs, he infringes on space considered for a woman. Kellett & Tipple (2003) underscore the need to view space in terms of power relations, especially when attempting to grasp potential conflicts between productive and reproductive space demands within the dwelling.

Similarly, Gondwe and Ayenagbo (2013) in a study conducted in Mzuzu city, Malawi, observe that gender relations in HBE operating households were equally contested and negotiated, as was the case with physical space. They argue that even though the majority of the HBEs were female operated, a disguised form of imbalanced power relations existed, whereby women were assigned the role of business attendants, while their male counterparts assumed the role of manager of all business proceeds. As a result, women had to negotiate for resources they helped to generate. Nevertheless, this study does not explicate how women negotiate for their entitlement/access to and control of resources generated from the HBEs, and how the gendered relations affect the survival of the HBEs. Moreover, the study limits the analysis lens to a household, and therefore pays no attention to the nature of contestation and negotiation at neighbourhood or city level, and the actors involved. We need to note that a household does not exist in isolation of the socio-economic context or environment in which it exists. As such, to facilitate better understanding of HBE dynamics, there is a need

to contextualise the nature of the contestation and negotiations at household, settlement or community and city levels.

Furthermore, due to the existence of a business in a domestic space, a number of exchanges exist between the household and the business. A number of studies indicate that HBEs utilise household labour (Afrane, 2003; Gough et al., 2003; Tipple, 2005) and funds from household members (Tipple, 2005), relatives and friends to recapitalise the business. However, what remains to be known is how this is negotiated within the household. Other scholars indicate the presence of numerous transfers, interactions and interlinkages between the domestic activities and business operations in terms of labour and finances (Afrane, 2003; Du Toit & Neves, 2007).

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that different transformations are undertaken by the household to accommodate the business in the domestic space. Nevertheless, rarely are these practices framed as a process of space production at household level, and linked to the wider process of production and use of space at community and city scales. Moreover, the spatial practices and contestations within the households are rarely interpreted as dialectics of space in the literature.

2.4 Understanding HBEs as Urban Informal Sector Economic Activities

The 1993 International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) defined the informal sector as 'the production and employment that takes place in unincorporated small or unregistered enterprises' (Chen, 2012:8). As such, the informal sector is considered to be 'quite heterogeneous in terms of capital invested, technology in use, adopted management practices, productivity levels and net earnings, its players also constitute a heterogeneous group with different reasons for joining the informal economy' (Becker, 2004:14). In an attempt to stratify the informal sector, Rogerson (1996) coined two categories – 'survivalist enterprises' and 'growth enterprises'. He describes 'survivalist enterprises' as economic activities undertaken by people who fail to access formal employment or an economic sector of their choice. Such enterprises tend to fall short of the minimum income levels, have little capital investment, require minimum skills and are mainly operated by women. The growth enterprises are very small businesses, comprising the owner, sometimes with family members and one to four paid workers. In resonance with Rogerson's argument, Choto, Tengeh, and Iwu (2014), based on findings from a study in South Africa, reveal that although most small

businesses have been considered to be survivalist in nature and aimed at obtaining employment and satisfying family needs, the majority (87%) had growth aspirations or pursued growth as the overarching business objective. This implies that informal sector is a conglomeration of numerous economic activities, operated by people with differing motivations. Therefore, it becomes problematic to collapse this diverse and heterogeneous sector under two categories.

The informal economy is a conglomeration of enormously heterogeneous and complex forms of work (Rosaldo & Tilly, 2012), or different kinds of economic activity with differing economic potential and different employment relations (Skinner, 2005). HBEs are a recognised subgroup or component of the urban informal sector, especially in sub-Saharan Africa (Afrane, 2003; Ezeadichie, 2012; Gondwe & Ayenagbo, 2013; Lipton, 1984; Tipple, 2005), and form the great majority in this sector (Tipple, 2005; Van Elk, De Kok, Durán & Lindeboom, 2014). HBEs are categorised as informal because they conform to the known features of informal sector that include unregistered or undocumented, 'ease of entry; reliance on indigenous resources; family ownership of enterprises; small scale of operations; labour-intensive and adapted technology; skills acquired outside the formal school system; and unregulated and competitive markets' (ILO, 1972:6). Nevertheless, we need to note that not all of these features are found in businesses that seem to be 'informal' (Romanos & Chifos, 1996 in Kellett & Tipple, 2002) or define what an informal business is. For example, due to increased unemployment many educated people are turning to the informal sector for employment, which disqualifies the view that informal sector operators acquire their skills outside formal education (Asiimwe, 2011; Moffat & Kapunda, 2015). This implies that lack of formal qualifications can only be a characteristic of the informal sector, but is not a defining feature.

It is noteworthy that there has been lack of consensus on the definition of HBEs, which has resulted in the use of several typologies to classify the concept (Gondwe & Ayenagbo, 2013). As such, some scholars and even government departments have used overlapping and sometimes blanket terminologies to characterise or encompass HBEs. For example, HBEs have been categorised under household enterprises (HEs) (Bakeine, 2009; Fox & Sohnesen, 2012; 2016; Nagler & Naudé, 2017; Thomas, 2015; UBOS 2016c), which include all non-farm small economic activities. The other tendency has been to group HBEs and other small enterprises by size into MSMEs or small, micro and medium enterprise (SMMEs)

(Steenkamp & Bhorat, 2016). This categorisation does not consider the heterogeneity inherent in the informal sector, and hence does not facilitate a detailed analysis of issues pertaining to specific enterprises.

Akin to the informal sector group to which they belong, HBEs are not a homogenous group, as they too are comprised of different types of enterprises. Grown and Sebstad (1989) and Pearson (2004) have categorised HBEs into three groups – survival, stabilisation or security, and growth HBEs – based on the motivation for starting the business and prevailing conditions. The first, 'survival', located at the bottom of the hierarchy is characterised by low income and labour intensive operations with little or no use of machinery. The second, 'security', involves having access to a variety of income-earning opportunities, including diverse kinds of activities to be able to spread risks and achieve some kind of stability. Lastly, 'growth' is the highest category and is comprised of HBEs that are able to attain growth. Such enterprises are lucrative and are in a position to employ other workers.

Perhaps the easiest and most straightforward way of categorising HBEs is that proposed by Lawanson and Olanrewaju (2012) in which they categorise HBEs by trade, service and production or manufacturing HBEs. A similar categorisation based on the nature of business activity was proposed by Tipple (2004). Nevertheless, although these provide axes along which enterprises can be categorised, they are not mutually exclusive. Despite the different classifications, it is important to note that HBEs are income-generating ventures that are based and undertaken within a domestic environment, including the indoor and outdoor spaces of a given dwelling (Kachenje, 2005). As such, most, if not all of these enterprises, rely heavily on household resources like land or dwelling, capital, labour and time, which has implications for both the enterprise and the household.

2.4.1 Characteristics of Home-based Enterprises

Despite HBEs being embedded with the households, most studies on HBEs focus either on the enterprise or entrepreneur with little focus on the household context in which they are embedded (see Alsos, Carter & Ljunggren, 2014a; 2014b; Carter, Kuhl, Marlow & Mwaura, 2017). The literature characterising the HBEs and their operators is presented here. Studies on HBEs in sub-Saharan Africa have attempted to describe the characteristics of HBEs. Although these studies show a number of similarities with regards to the typical aspects of

HBEs and their owners, some differences also exist. These differences can be attributed to cultural factors, policy and geographical contexts.

Although HBEs are heterogeneous, one of the most unifying and distinguishing characteristics of these businesses from other informal economic activities is their location at home. This implies that compared to other informal sector activities, HBEs are more linked to domestic activities. As such, they are characterised by 'extended fungibility' in which domestic space, time, finances and labour are transferred between the business and the household (Lipton, 1984). For example, in South Africa it was established that domestic and business purchases were fused by households operating HBEs, and business stock was used to cushion the household during difficult times (Du Toit & Neves, 2007). Due to this fusion there is difficulty in accounting for the expenditure, and profit of the business, and the contribution of household income to it (Tipple, 2005). Similarly, in Ghana, the operation and management of the HBEs was found to be inseparably linked to and functionally integrated into the domestic realm through among others, use of household labour and time, fusion of business and domestic finances, as well as undefined boundaries between business space and domestic space in a dwelling (Afrane, 2003). Although fungibility may exist among different HBE households, how it manifests, greatly depends on contextual factors or household dynamics (like power relations), household size, culture, and geographical space.

With regard to the nature of business activity, consensus exists among scholars that HBEs are comprised of numerous activities including retail, services and manufacturing or production activities. Chen (2014) posits that although HBEs remain largely invisible to policy makers, they are engaged diverse economic activities and represent a significant portion of urban employment in some countries. The type of HBEs engaged in by a specific household is mainly influenced by the skills of the operator, space availability and capital. Nevertheless, disagreement exists among scholars about the most predominant type of HBE activities. Some studies indicate that HBEs dealing in retail activities dominate the home-based economic sector (Adeokun & Ibem, 2016; Afrane, 2003; Balance & Macozoma, 2000; Egbu, Kalu & Eze, 2016; Napier, Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012; Nnaggenda-Musana, 2008; Smit & Donaldson, 2011; Tipple & Coulson, 2007). Others indicate that the most predominant type of HBEs are those involved in the food sector (Gough et al., 2003; Yankson, 2000). Although HBEs may be categorised as retail trade, service or production, they may be involved in different activities. For, example, a study in Pretoria, South Africa established

that the service enterprises were mainly composed of traditional healers (sangomas) (Napier et al., 2000), which may not be the case in other locations or countries.

However, most scholars agree that most HBEs serve mainly customers within their immediate vicinity. Moreover, scholars agree that HBEs engaged in manufacturing/production activities are the least prevalent (Gough et al., 2003; Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012; Napier et al., 2000; Smit & Donaldson, 2011), probably due to the relatively higher capital and skill requirements needed for one to start such activities. However, in some countries in Asia, manufacturing and production, especially of cloth and ceramics, forms a considerable component of HBE activities (Chen, 2014; Mazumdar, 2018; Tipple, 2005; Tyas, 2015). It is important to note that some households may engage in a combination of two HBE categories like services/retail, production/service and production/retail activities (Smit & Donaldson, 2011). Although Smit & Donaldson make no effort to explain whether these combined activities are of a similar or different product line, Tipple (2005:618) posits that HBEs flout 'industrial classification systems' as they combine activities that could otherwise belong to separate stages of production, like the production and sale of products, for example, the making and selling of jewellery or cooking and selling food.

It important to note that since HBEs are mostly unregulated, they tend to operate for extended hours (Afrane, 2003; Gough et al., 2003; Tipple, 2005). However, the nature of informal economic activities, and government laws and regulation may influence the hours of operation of the HBEs. Afrane's (2003) study conducted in Ghana, established that HBEs engaged in retail activities, food processing, restaurants, and personal services, worked for longer hours more than those engaged in manufacturing activities. But no explanation is given for this occurrence. Nevertheless, in Cape Town, South Africa, shebeen operators were reported to reduce operating hours in order to minimise the risk of arrest and prosecution by police (Charman, Petersen & Piper, 2013).

Furthermore, due to poverty, the majority of HBEs in sub-Saharan countries are started with small amounts of capital (Yankson, 2000; Tipple, 2005; Tipple & Coulson, 2007). Most households acquire their start-up capital from informal sources (Adisa, Abdulraheem, Mordi, 2014). For example, in South Africa, Ligthelm (2005) established that 62.6% of HBE operators acquired their start-up capital from funds generated from private savings (62.6%),

while 20% used loans acquired from friends and relatives. Tipple (2005) and Tipple & Coulson (2007), also highlighted that private savings are usually generated from a formal sector wage or small profits from a previous business as a main source of capital for HBEs. Moreover, based on findings from a study in South Africa, Cross et al. (2001) in Tipple & Coulson (2007) concluded that households with a wage income earner are better placed to operate HBEs, because the regular wage income not only helps to establish and cross-capitalise the business, but also insures it against unforeseen risks, like temporary drop in cash flow.

In resonance with the above, like other informal economic activities, HBEs require minimal skills and levels of education to operate. However, this is debatable as the level of skill may differ from the type of economic activity. Some scholars argue that HBEs, like any other informal sector enterprises, are characterised by people of low education and skills (Sinai, 1998). In most studies, women constitute the largest proportion of the uneducated informal operators or those with limited educational attainment. As such, they dominate HBE activities that required less skill or those that are integrated with the usual household chores (Yankson, 2000). In most cases, HBE operators acquire their skills through informal education and training, like learning on the job and from other people, contrasted to operators of formal enterprises that acquire their skills through formal education (Steenkamp & Bhorat, 2016). In other cases operators learn through self-exploration until they acquire a stable level of proficiency in what they were doing (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004). Nevertheless, this trend is rapidly changing, as more educated people with tertiary education join the informal sector, including HBEs (Moffat & Kapunda, 2015**),** probably due to the scarcity of formal sector jobs and the need to augment meagre salaries obtained from the formal sector jobs. Studies in Ghana conducted by Afrane (2003) in Kumasi, and Yankson (2000) in Accra, established that HBE operators had attained some level of education. Indeed, Tipple (2005), based on findings from a multiple case study posits that, many HBE operators use skills acquired in the formal sector – acquired either through a training school or on the job. For example, the vehicle mechanics in Pretoria, South Africa were highly skilled, while jeans and T-shirt makers in Cochabamba, Bolivia, and bird-cage painters, mask-makers and mould-makers in Surabaya, Indonesia made products that were valued both nationally and internationally. It appears that the composition of the formally-educated in the HBE sector appears to vary across different countries.

In terms of number of operators, the majority of HBEs are small enterprises employing one or a few household members. For example, a study conducted in Surabaya, Indonesia, and in Pretoria, South Africa established that 30% and 60% of HBEs provided employment to one person, and 40% and 10% to two workers in Surabaya and Pretoria respectively (Tipple, 2005; 2006). Nevertheless, in some cases HBEs were found to employ between 6-11 workers (Smit & Donaldson, 2011). It is important to note that HBEs mostly employ household members. A study in South Africa established that household members represented 80% of employees in HBEs (Ligthelm, 2005). Similarly, in Lagos, Nigeria, over 80% of HBEs were categorised as HEs, with over 70% of them employing between one and four apprentices, who were mainly household members (Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012), Nevertheless, HBEs are not necessarily HEs employing only family members. For example, a study conducted in South Africa established that 57% of HBEs employed 1-2 full-time paid workers, compared to 36% that employed family members (Smit & Donaldson, 2011). We need to note that the number of workers employed by HBEs is highly influenced by the nature of the business. For example, a study conducted in Cochabamba, Bolivia, New Delhi, India, Surabaya, Indonesia and Pretoria, South Africa revealed that, HBEs engaged in production activities offered employment for more people than their retail counterparts (Tipple, 2005; 2006).

In terms of gender specificity, scholars argue that women are more likely to be engaged in HBE activities than the men (Brown, McGranahan & Dodman, 2014; Gough et al., 2003; Lange, 2003; Rogerson, 2001; Sinai, 1998; UBOS, 2013). This pattern is attributed in part to the societal consideration of a home as a female space (Gough, 2010), the narrow windows of opportunity for women in other domains, that leave them with no other chance than to engage in informal sector activities (Chant, 2014). Another factor is the flexibility that HBEs offer them to simultaneously perform both their reproductive and productive roles (Brown et al., 2014; Gough et al., 2003; Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004; Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012; Maloney, 2004). Nevertheless, there is another gender dimension to HBEs, in which running the business does not imply ownership. In Ghana, Afrane (2003) established that the owners of most HBEs were often the male heads of the households, who were also responsible for all important money-related functions and major decisions concerning the business. Moreover, HBE activities may also be attributed to masculinity and femininity. Gough et al. (2003), in a study in Ghana and South Africa, established that female HBE operators particularly dominate food processing and retail HBEs, whereas the male operators tend to operate HBEs that provide vehicle repair services.

It is worth noting that, although the HBEs are distinguishable (at least by their location at home) from other informal sector activities, in some countries like Uganda the practice has been to bundle them up with other informal sector activities. This agglomeration of informal sector activities has resulted in a limited understanding of HBEs due to a lack of conceptual clarity. Put differently, the conceptual understanding of HBEs in Uganda has been left out in categorisations and aggregative terminologies that are not mutually exclusive. As previously alluded to, categories such as non-farm HEs (Bakeine, 2009; UBOS, 2013); HEs (Bakeine, 2009; UBOS 2016c); MSEs (Ishengoma & Kappel, 2007; Stevenson & St-Onge, 2005); and MSMEs (Mawejje, 2013) have been used to describe HBEs and other informal sector activities. It is noteworthy that the invisibility of HBEs can explain why most scholars focus more on the visible informal sector economic activities like street traders and vendors, market vendors, waste pickers, and informal transport operators.

The literature discussed here helps to understand the individual characteristics of the operators and their HBEs. This study enhances this knowledge by describing the nature of the household under which both the business and the operators exist. By focusing on the HBE households, it is easier to understand the socio-economic-spatial dynamics and challenges associated with the introduction of business in a domestic environment.

2.5 HBEs in sub-Saharan Africa, a Product of 'Exit' or 'Exclusion'?

As indicated earlier, informal sector or informality by extension outlived colonialism in sub-Saharan Africa. Its persistence therefore belies the dualist view that these economic activities are temporary and could soon disappear with the growth of the formal sector (ILO, 2002; Chaudhuri & Mukhopadhyay, 2009). The proliferation of HBEs in sub-Saharan Africa can be examined or understood through two lenses – the involuntary lens, mainly focusing on issues of exclusion, and the voluntary lens, addressing factors related to the deliberate exit of people from the formal sector to the informal sector.

2.5.1 Understanding HBEs through the Involuntary Lens

Through this lens, the persistence of HBEs in sub-Saharan Africa is attributed to the exclusionary nature of the state. Exclusion is manifested through two ways. The first relates to the state's inability to meet the needs of its citizens (ILO, 2002), like provision of employment, and basic needs and services. Education and skills training is one of the key

services governments are mandated to offer to their citizens to enable them to determine their own destiny. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the skills acquired by graduates from the education and training system, and the required skills for the job market drives informality (Elgin, Youssef, & Arouri, 2014), as people whose skills do not match with those required in the job market are excluded, and find alternative employment in the informal sector. Moreover, the state's urban-biased policies result in the rural-urban exodus which drives urbanisation and creates job scarcity. Faced with limited opportunities, urban dwellers sometimes use their housing as a key economic asset to support their livelihoods through HBEs (Gondwe & Ayenagbo, 2013).

Secondly, the persistence of HBEs is attributed to repressive and inappropriate government policies and regulations. De Soto (1989; 2000), a renowned advocate of the legalist school of thought, considers informal activities like HBEs to be a product of the state's excessive regulations, and high taxation that encumber proprietors of such businesses from joining the formal sector. Similarly, Tokman (2007) observes that hefty regulations and inefficient business formalisation processes present barriers that force entrepreneurs to operate informally. Therefore, the quality of a country's legal system is an important factor in predicting informality (Dabla-Norris, Gradstein & Inchauste, 2005). For example, poorly designed rules and regulations create unnecessary bureaucracies and opportunities for corruption, which increases costs of registration and consequently discourages entrepreneurs from formalisation (ILO, 2002; 2007).

Cumbersome government regulation processes prevent those starting and those already in informal activities from joining the formal sector. For example, on the one hand, due to the bureaucratic and prohibitive costs involved in establishing a new business, HBEs benefit from being located in a home by avoiding the costs for business premises (Tipple, Coulson, & Kellett, 2001). On another hand, due to burdensome regulations and high taxation experienced by formal businesses, most informal small firms like HBEs consider leaving the informal sector a costly and risky move and choose to stay put, since the cost for formalisation outweighs the benefits that accrue to it (Elgin et al., 2014). Moreover, there are also other costs that relate to maintaining a formal status. For example, paying taxes or filing of tax returns; high utility rates; and compliance with regulations relating to operating hours, and work environment and safety. Such requirements not only overwhelm the capacity of

small enterprises and consume valuable time, but could also debilitate many HBEs by rendering them less profitable or lead to the total closure of business.

Although the state's social and regulatory exclusion is blamed for involuntary factors, other factors, especially in the context of HBEs, are of significance. Evidence from extant literature suggests that the growth of informal economic activities like HBEs in sub-Saharan Africa countries is partially an outcome of the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). Alemazung (2010) argues that the SAPs were introduced by the World Bank and IMF to compel African states to implement policies that could spur growth in their countries. Some of the SAPs enforced upon developing countries include cost sharing in public institutions like hospitals, privatisation of parastatals, retrenchment of civil servants and trade liberalisation. The SAPs were specifically aimed at restricting the state's role in the economy to create a favourable environment for the market forces and private sector to flourish, in a bid to curtail the inefficiency and waste associated with state control of the economy (Aliu, 2014).

Nevertheless, this move boomeranged and ended up being counterproductive for the countries that implemented the SAPs. For example, SAPs increased the rate of unemployment, and eroded the state's capacity to intervene in the economy and the provision of social services. Tipple et al. (2001) posit that the effects of SAPs have greatly increased the significance of HBEs, especially in developing countries, due to the shrunken formal sector. In Zimbabwe for example, Grant and Palmiere (2003) argue that due to the drastic reductions in formal employment positions through formal job retrenchment, HBEs and other informal economic activities increased in significance. Even after decades of implementation, SAPs did not have lasting impacts like commoditisation of the economy, and growth in the private sector and the markets which do not cater for the needs of the citizens, especially the poor.

2.5.2 Understanding HBEs through the Voluntary Lens

Through this lens, the persistence of HBEs is mainly attributed both to weak government regulations, and government's failure or limited capacity to implement its own policies (Perry et al., 2007), either due to limited funds or other factors like corruption. As a result, producers and traders voluntarily or deliberately choose to operate informally, after weighing the costs

and benefits of informality against those of formality (Levenson & Maloney, 1998; Maloney, 2004; Perry et al., 2007).

Perry and colleagues explain that unskilled workers employed in lower formal paying jobs, may realise that the wages which are commensurate with their qualifications, do not outweigh the benefits that accrue to the informal sector and choose to establish informal economic activities. In this case, operating informally is preferred because it makes economic sense to the operators. This free will to operate informally is blamed on the state's laxity in enforcing labour regulations (Maloney, 2004), and building regulations especially in the case of HBEs. A study conducted in Zambia's Copperbelt Province, established that laxity by the planning authority contributed to the spread of HBEs particularly in formal housing areas (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that strict state or city regulations and crack-down on informal economic activities like street vendors may force them to operate 'underground' by establishing HBEs. For example, in Accra, Ghana it was established that some people decided to operate HBEs for fear of harassment by city authorities who discouraged operators who occupied public spaces (Yankson, 2000). Similarly, a study conducted among shebeen operators in Cape Town, South Africa revealed that the enforcement of the regulatory requirement that liquor be sold by licenced outlets, did not help to do away with informality in this sector, as operators devised strategies to circumvent the law (Charman et al., 2013). However, it may not be the enforcement per se that is of concern, but the existence of legal lacunae that people may exploit to continue operating informally. Therefore, this boils down to the presence of strong enforcement against the backdrop of ineffective laws and policies.

In light of the foregoing discussion, Tipple (2001) observes that, the non-compliance with regulations offers HBEs and other informal economic activities a competitive edge over their formal counterparts who face the full brunt of state regulation. Therefore, the informal sector becomes a 'safe haven' from government's restrictive regulation, and affords the informal operators the independence, flexibility and control over their operations. But this is not without costs, as discussed previously and noted by Loayza (1999), as informal economic activities face penalties from government when their activities are detected, and due to their informal nature they are unable to benefit from government goods and services.

As discussed above, the existence of HBEs and other informal economic activities or informality in general, is considered to be 'a manifestation of the relationships between economic agents and a state' (Perry et al., 2007:1). But this is not entirely true, because other factors exist, like social issues that influence the persistence of HBEs and other informal economic activities. Nevertheless, such social issues like gender are rarely discussed, yet they are relevant especially in the context of HBEs. Gender discrimination against women causes them to voluntarily or involuntarily choose to join the informal sector. Maloney (2004) observes that women more often than men, out of necessity opt for HBEs in order to balance their productive and reproductive roles. Similarly, in a study conducted in Kenya by Wamuthenya (2010), it was established that women voluntarily chose not to work due to domestic obligations like child rearing. This implies that even when government regulations to formalise are relaxed, and women have the skills and resources to join the formal sector, they may voluntarily choose to operate informally due to their domestic obligations. Moreover, the unequal gender relations or discrimination, especially in strong patriarchal societies, have resulted in limited education and property rights for most women in sub-Saharan Africa. With limited skills and resources some women are involuntarily forced to establish HBEs. This implies that for women, gender relations are equally important as government regulation in determining the establishment of HBEs.

It is evident that both the voluntary and involuntary lenses help to understand the proliferation of HBEs and other informal economic activities in sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore, both lenses need to be considered in unison to achieve a holistic picture of HBE prevalence. Perry et al. (2007) posit that both the voluntary and involuntary lenses should be treated as complementary, rather than conflicting analytical frameworks. They support their argument by reasoning that, countries differ in terms of history, institutions and legal frameworks, which implies that the prominence of either exclusion (involuntary) and exit (voluntary) may differ from one context to another. Secondly, they argue that the informal sector is extremely heterogeneous, and therefore there may be relative importance accorded to both exclusion and exit among individuals and businesses within countries. Thirdly, they observe that the two lenses can be 'virtually indistinguishable', by arguing that a micro entrepreneur who concludes through a cost-benefit analysis that formalisation is not worth the high regulation cost, may be 'explicitly excluded' or 'self-excluded'. This implies that in some circumstances, exclusion and exit can be two sides of the same coin. These arguments are supported by the empirical findings from a study conducted in Côte d'Ivoire that indicated

a dual causal effect of both voluntary and involuntary causes on the informal sector (Günther & Launov, 2012). Similarly, Fields (1990; 2005) reveals that the informal sector comprises of two distinct parts – the 'upper' and 'lower' tiers. According to Fields, the upper tier comprises of individuals in the formal sector who voluntarily join the informal sector with an aim of reaping more benefits from this sector. Such individuals have the skills and funds from their previous formal employment to enable them to establish their businesses. On the other hand, the lower tier consists of those excluded from the formal sector, who migrated to the informal sector as a matter of necessity, with no alternative source of livelihood.

2.6 HBEs and Urban Livelihoods in sub-Saharan Africa

The importance of HBEs to livelihood of the urban poor has received some attention in the literature (see Egbu, Kalu, & Eze, 2016; Ezeadichie, 2012; Kellett & Tipple 2000; Kigochie, 2001; Smit & Donaldson, 2011; Tipple, 2004), although in the context of Uganda, little evidence exists to this effect, largely due to the aggregative categorisation of informal sector activities. Moreover, in sub-Saharan Africa, limited literature evidence exists on how the urban poor negotiate the different urban dynamics to ensure their livelihood survival.

HBEs have been reported to contribute to the solution of the development challenges faced by cities in sub-Saharan Africa, including unemployment and poverty. Numerous scholars agree that HBEs are a main source of employment to many urban households (Egbu et al., 2016; Ezeadichie, 2012; Kellett &Tipple 2000; Kigochie, 2001; Tipple, 2004), and without them many urban poor households would not survive. As many households are gainfully employed, they are able to generate the much-needed income for households' survival. In multiple case studies conducted in Cochabamba, Bolivia; New Delhi India; Surabaya, Indonesia; and Pretoria, South Africa, it was established that income from HBEs accounted for 60-70% of the household income, and was the sole source of income for 33-50% of households (Tipple, 2006; Tipple & Coulson, 2007). Similarly, a study conducted in Madina, Ghana and Mamelodi, South Africa established that HBEs helped to boost household incomes. The study specifically revealed that 70% of households had HBEs as their main source of income. In fact, in Mamelodi, HBEs generated about R1000 per month, an amount equivalent to the minimum pay of a municipal worker (it is important to note that overtime the minimum wages of municipal workers could have changed). In Madina about 84% of individuals depended on HBE-generated income, but only 32% of households were reported being entirely dependent on HBE income (Gough et al., 2003). This unique difference

between individual and household income is attributed to a common practice among certain communities in Ghana, where marriage does not imply the creation of a single economic entity (ibid). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that HBE income reduces the susceptibility of households to poverty (Nnaggenda-Musana, 2008), because in their absence, many households would slip below the poverty threshold (Tipple & Coulson, 2007).

Furthermore, HBEs are a source of social wellbeing for both the households and the community, as they afford people some degree of independence and self-esteem (Gough et al., 2003). For example, instead of begging, households could draw food from the HBE for home consumption (Du Toit & Neves, 2007; Gondwe & Ayenagbo, 2013; Tipple et al., 1996). Nevertheless, we need to note that this practice of 'eating from the business', is not suggestive of a business strategy failure (Du Toit & Neves, 2007), but rather a difference in rationalities. Whereby, instead of perusing growth objectives as one could expect, some HBE operators are motivated 'by various social and redistributional logics' (Neves & du Toit, 2012: 132). For example, a study conducted in Madina, Ghana presents a case where an elderly woman engaged in an HBE, to avoid reliance on her daughter's hand-outs for church offertory funds (Gough et al., 2003). In Malawi, a study by Gondwe and Ayenagbo (2013) established that in addition to income, non-income variables were also of much importance for household operating HBEs, as they helped them to access food on a daily basis and facilitated the establishment and nurturing of strong social networks with neighbours and friends. Similarly, Lawanson and Olanrewaju (2012) posit that the social security arrangements inherent in the social network groups formed around these HBEs facilitate community engagement and local economic development. Moreover, HBEs offer services to the community in suitable quantities, extend goods on a short-term credit basis, and operate for extended hours (UN-Habitat, 2003), providing convenience to the community.

The presence of HBEs enables households to afford shelter, allowing countless households to pay for their dwelling places (Kellett & Tipple, 2000; Mpembamoto et al., 2017; Tipple et al., 1996). In resonance with the above, a number of scholars have established that the existence and upgrading of HBEs, simultaneously improve the wellbeing and housing conditions of households living in informal settlements (Kellett & Tipple, 2000; Mestie, 2014; Smit & Donaldson, 2011; Tipple et al., 1996). In Kampala City slum upgrading and eviction pose a risk to people's livelihood as discussed in successive chapters in this study. Mpembamoto et

al. (2017:601) suggests that 'HBEs can themselves be regarded as a form of upgrading', because without them both the income and incentive for housing improvement could not exist, which could translate into even worse housing and neighbourhood conditions in the city (Strassmann, 1986). This does not imply that the living conditions of HBE-operating households are desirable, but rather to acknowledge that the situation could be even worse, if it were not for the presence of HBEs.

The other social significance of HBEs is in the field of gender. As previously stated, HBEs enable women to engage in economic activities (Gough et al., 2003; Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012; Tipple, 2004). This is mainly because women are able to combine their productive and reproductive roles (Gough et al., 2003; Nguluma & Kachenje, 2015; Yankson, 2000). Seen from another lens, HBEs may still restrict women to the domestic or household space, often with limited possibilities of exploring other livelihood possibilities. Given the above evidence, measuring the success or failure of HBEs using the poverty line lens, becomes problematic, because the livelihood expectations and outcomes of the urban poor are diverse and vary from one individual to another. For example, some households would want their HBEs to fulfil their daily needs, while others would prefer to amass assets like land (Gondwe & Ayenagbo, 2013).

Although HBEs are of social and economic significance to the households and communities in which they exist, they also engender risks, which may present retrogressive effects to the livelihood of the households and communities alike. For example, HBEs pose health risks and inconvenience to their operators and neighbours since they generate noise, waste, and bad odour (Jensen, 1996; Nguluma & Kachenje, 2015; Yankson, 2000), lead to overcrowding and its associated health risks, and limit free movement. The introduction of work into the domestic domain poses a number of challenges both to the implementing households and the neighbours. Since HBE activities require interaction with outsiders like workers, customers and delivery personnel who do not form part of the household or neighbour, this raises privacy concerns (Kellett & Tipple, 2000), overcrowding and poses security risks to both the household members and neighbours. It is due to some of these challenges that the sub-Saharan states and city authorities are opposed to the operation of HBEs.

Despite their shortcomings, the literature shows that HBEs are of great importance to the livelihoods of the urban poor. These enterprises undoubtedly face numerous challenges, as discussed in the next section.

2.7 Constraints and Challenges faced by HBEs

Tipple (2005) observes that although HBEs conform to the known characteristics of the informal sector, their location at home confer upon them constraints and advantages that are unique to them, and not experienced by other informal sector activities operating away from home, like street vending. Moreover, these constraints may be compounded by the fact that HBEs are located or operated in slums. Some states in sub-Saharan Africa and studies on the informal sector tend to treat the sector as a homogenous group. For example, when it comes to the analysis of constraints and challenges faced by the informal sector enterprises, the practice has been to bundle these without disaggregation by enterprise. In Uganda, as discussed earlier, aggregate terminologies like HEs, MSMEs are used in the analysis of the informal sector (see Ishengoma & Kappel, 2007; Mawejje, 2013; Stevenson & St-Onge, 2005). This may not only limit specialised knowledge of HBEs, but may curtail targeted policy intervention.

Given their nature, HBEs face a plethora of operational constraints, resulting in their offering only a basis for survival for the concerned households (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004). Numerous studies have been conducted across the developing world focusing on the growth potential and performance of different informal enterprises, including HBEs. A World Bank (2011) study conducted in Botswana established that small, micro and medium enterprises (SMMEs) do not have as good access to credit, markets, business services, or public utilities as do larger companies. Another study conducted by Gough et al. (2003) in Mamelodi, South Africa and Accra, Ghana, established that due to limited access to finances, most HBE operators were unable to expand their businesses, even when they had the desire to do so, while others closed their businesses. Limited access to financial services and markets by HBEs and other informal sector enterprises is attributed to their informality (World Bank, 2011), and invisible nature. For example, Kasekende and Opondo (2003) argue that access to financial resources by informal sector enterprises is curtailed, due to their lack of creditworthiness and management capacity, as such financial institutions regard them as insecure and costly businesses to deal with.

Although Uganda has limited information specifically addressing the issue of HBEs, some information can be gleaned from studies that have been conducted on informal enterprises. As in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa, the significant constraints to Uganda's informal enterprises, including HBEs, are primarily of a financial nature, mainly relating to limited access to finance and the cost of finance (Bakeine, 2009; Financial Sector Deepening–Uganda, 2015). This is attributed to formal financing institutions not often supporting enterprises in the informal sector (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development [MGLSD], 2006). There is a need for studies in Uganda to disaggregate the informal sector and focus on specific enterprises to avoid generalist conclusions.

Although different studies cite access to finance as a formidable challenge for HBEs and other informal sector enterprises, Ligthelm (2005) revealed that the majority of enterprises that did not make use of formal loans, were not necessarily limited by absence of capital. Indeed, a study by Tipple (2005) shows that informal sector enterprises do not depend heavily on informal credit or on formal loans, even with the growth in the microfinance industry. It is therefore not clear whether the limited use of external capital is driven by the inability to access these resources, or if it is an issue related to an HBE's choice of not taking loans for business purposes (Ligthelm, 2005). Equally unclear, is whether the nature of the enterprises and the motivation of the operators – survival or growth – influence or even qualify limited access to financial resources, as a challenge for some HBEs.

Furthermore, informal sector enterprises also face competition and low customer loyalty (Collings, 2011), due to a high number of enterprises associated with imitative businesses. Moreover, Kasekende and Opondo (2003) observe that informal enterprises also face technological incapacitation, and consequently produce poor quality products, resulting in limited markets and stiff competition from rival businesses producing similar products. It is noteworthy that HBEs face competition from both fellow HBEs and formal businesses. This is illustrated by a study conducted in Mamelodi, South Africa, that reported that the establishment of a supermarket offering goods at a low price near a formerly isolated settlement, resulted in a drop in HBE sales (Tipple, 2005). Moreover, due to financial and human resource constraints, most HBEs lack forward linkages, that is, they do not sell their products or services to formal markets, and thus remain small, and limited to markets within their vicinity (Smit & Donaldson, 2011).

The other challenge faced by HBEs is that of limited space. Tipple (2004) observed that due to limited space, the scale of business operation is limited, hence affecting the profitability of HBEs. The space challenge has also been highlighted by other scholars, such as Smit & Donaldson (2011), and Tipple (2005). Space problems appear to be more of a serious issue in production enterprises such as carpentry and metal fabrication works, which require larger workshop areas that may not be readily available, especially in low income areas (Yankson, 2000). In support of these findings, evidence from a study conducted in Cochabamba, New Delhi, Surabaya and Pretoria, reveals that except for New Delhi, space was not a problem for the majority of HBEs (Tipple, 2005). This implies that even within the category of HBEs, challenges and constraints vary with type, size and location of HBEs. One could therefore not expect HBE households located in slums to have similar challenges to those located in upscale or formal residential areas, or those located in rural and urban areas.

The constraints of operating economic activities from home vary greatly by gender and age (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004). In exploring the links between women's work and home-based enterprises in urban slums of the Global South, Chant (2014) established that the diverse deficiencies in housing, services and infrastructure, add considerable challenges and weight to women's dual burdens of productive and reproductive labour. These deficiencies also curtail the survival of HBEs, risking the livelihood of many women and their households. Although Chant (2014) provides compelling examples of how women juggle reproductive and productive roles to ensure their survival and livelihood in urban slum areas, her analysis is limited to women's and related gendered constraints. Nevertheless, Chant does not explore business-related constraints like limited space, markets, and social capital, and how they are catalysed by the gendered nature of households, and women's responses in the context of a gendered lens, and the resultant livelihood consequences.

In exploring the overlap of family and business demands, Miller, Fitzgerald, Winter and Paul (1999) note that the family (home) and business are interlinked and events in one component influence the domain participants, actions and outcomes in the other component. This denotes that household challenges may occur that flip over to the business. How the household chooses to deal with these challenges may have diverse consequences for the business and the reverse is also true. Therefore, the interplay between household and business constraints substantiates the need to be conscious in the analysis of constraints faced by HBEs.

The problems confronting HBEs and informal sector enterprises in general appear to be similar in least developed or developing countries. However, the extent of the problems varies from country to country and industry to industry; and it depends on firms' characteristics (Aremu & Adeyemi, 2011). According to Rogerson (1996), whereas certain general obstacles can be identified across informal enterprises as a whole, there is an urgent need to disaggregate the analysis and to focus on the specific problems that confront different types of informal enterprises. This view is shared by Ishengoma and Kappel (2007) who agree that micro and small enterprises are heterogeneous and therefore are affected differently by business constraints. They postulate that some business constraints might pose serious problems to micro firms in some sub-sectors, but not to others. Nevertheless, the heterogeneity in HBEs is not considered while exploring constraints and the eminent interaction between business and household constraints has not been explored by studies addressing constraints faced by HBEs.

The literature discussed here sheds light on the challenges faced by HBEs. Although many of the challenges faced by HBE households can be linked to the urban planning processes in cities of sub-Saharan Africa, this issue has not been sufficiently addressed in the literature. Moreover, limited research exists on how HBE households address these challenges.

2.8 Urban Planning and Informality in sub-Saharan Africa

In this section I focus on the nexus between urban planning regimes and informality in cities in sub-Saharan Africa. I focus on the motivation and rationalities that inform urban authorities' desire to do away with informality, and the rationalities of urban residents that operate and live in informality.

Kamete (2013a:17) observes that city authorities in sub-Sharan Africa's 'growing cities are obsessed with ideals of order, orderliness and conformity which are characteristic of modernity". Watson (2009b: 2260) argues that that most the urban planning systems in cities of sub-Saharan Africa have either been "inherited from previous colonial governments or have been adopted from Northern contexts to suit particular local political and ideological ends". Despite the fact that modernist ideas of how cities should look and work appear to be of dubious validity, they continue to serve as a model for many planners and residents (Myers, 2010). Consequently, the production of urban spaces and the designation of legal and permissible occupation, and uses for those spaces strongly suggest that the permissible and

acceptable ways of life and spatial practices are those that conform to strict Western-inspired precepts (Kamete (2013a). The implication of this is that urban planners are able to determine how the city is planned, while the powerless urban residents that live and operate in informality are excluded (Moyo & Gumbo, 2020: 31). Watson (2009: 2260b) observes that such modernist urban "planning systems and approaches have remained unchanged over a long period of time, even though the context in which they operate has changed significantly", hence giving no consideration to the need for urban planning systems to be pro-poor and inclusive.

States and urban authorities in sub-Saharan Africa have dealt with informality in different ways. According to Kamete (2013a) the approach to informality appears to be generally similar across sub-Saharan Africa, due to the fact that the logic of modernity and the underlying motivation for the quest of the modern city are there: which accounts for similarities in the methods of handling informality. Kamete argues that city authorities usually deal with informality through four methods including de-informalisation of squatter settlements, dislocation of street dwellers, eradication of unauthorised structures, and repressive tolerance. This response is motivated by the need to defend what has been gained and removal of obstacles to the continued pursuit of the modern city.

Although the other three methods involve the city authorities taking action against informality, Kamete argues that repressive tolerance method involves no action taken against informality. Nevertheless, Kamete observes that "tolerating what amounts to abominations, the authorities are not signalling acceptance or permission; they are simply taking no action". He argues that during this moratorium authorities continue with their condemnations, denunciations and threats, and imposition of tough conditions on informality. Kamete notes that the moratorium period may occur due to systemic corruption, incompetence or incapacity, and the fact that informality may be viewed as less inconveniencing and not visibly intrusive.

The urban planning regimes in most sub-Saharan African cities do not address the needs and aspirations the poor. As such, Watson (2009a) asserts that the high level of informality in many cities of developing countries can be attributed to inapt planning and zoning standards set by city authorities, rather than the desire by citizens to be rebellious. In Kampala, as I discuss in chapter five, formal urban governance and planning systems, have failed to address

the shortages in housing and formal employment leading to various forms of informality (Pietrus, 2015). Informality forms the core of 'conflicting rationalities' between the urban poor with the resolve to survive through informal means, and urban authorities with modernistic worldviews (De Satgé & Watson, 2018). The term conflicting rationalities was introduced by Watson (2003) to explain the competing demands and actions of the city authorities and urban residents in the production of urban space. Watson observes that there is a big gap between the urban planner and administrators' notion of 'proper' communities influenced by modernist rationalities, and the rationality which informs the strategies and tactics of the urban poor residents who are attempt to survive in the harsh urban environment of Africa's cities. She emphasises that, while the latter is informed by the logic of survival, the former relates more with the logic of governing. While literature exist on urban planning and informality, before this study more research was needed to understand the dialectics of urban planning in context of HBE operation. Focusing on urban planning as a dialectical process helps us to understand the state's rationalities and socio-economic-spatial techniques employed to control informality, and the rationalities and tactics employed by HBE households.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter showed that the existence of HBEs in a home challenges the contemporary modernist understanding and conceptualisation of the concept of home as a private domain, and locale for domestic activities. In urban sub-Saharan Africa, many households consider home as a space that affords both reproductive and productive functions. This phenomenon is not new, as it characterised traditional societies long before the advent of colonialism. However, its tenacity and contested nature is perhaps greater now than it was before. Generally, studies on HBEs, especially those focusing on urban planning, are still limited, especially in Kampala City and in Uganda in general, as attention is given mostly to other informal sector activities like street traders and vendors, market vendors, waste pickers, and informal transport operators.

Based on the literature reviewed in this chapter, it is evident that there is a limited theorisation of issues concerning HBEs and the urban planning processes in cities of sub-Saharan Africa. Although studies in the literature discuss the interventions of the state and their implications on the informal sector, they appear to depict these processes (such as urban planning) as unidirectional and formal in nature. Moreover, though questions are part of the

planning discourse, specific detail on HBEs is absent. Moreover, the analytical lens of these studies is often limited to the city scale. This implies that there is limited understanding of how the production and use of space plays out at the lower levels of the community and household, and how these lower processes are influenced by urban planning or spatial processes at the city scale. HBEs have persisted amidst industrial and technological advancement, coupled with the adoption of modern planning regimes in sub-Saharan Africa that present challenges that can affect their survival, but there is little research exploring this phenomenon. Therefore, there is a need to obtain a holistic and systematic analysis of the urban planning process as a dual practice involving both formal and informal processes, the challenges accruing to these processes, and how the HBE households address them. This calls for an integrated framework to facilitate a multi-scale analysis of these issues at city, community/slum and household scales. These issues are addressed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical framework that guided the study. In the literature, urban planning has been employed by the states and urban authorities in developing countries to create legible spaces. Urban planning is not a monopoly of the state, as informal planning works in dialectical relationship to influence the production and use of space. These processes present a number of challenges to the HBE households that must be managed by them to ensure their livelihood sustainability. Therefore, the complex web of issues and dynamics associated with the urban planning process cannot be understood through a single theory. In order to address this theoretical challenge I employed an eclectic approach to address a range of different but related issues. This includes an integration of different theories and theoretical concepts to understand the production and use of space at a variety of scales including the city, slum, and household scales. In this chapter, I discuss each theory/theoretical concept, while indicating its relevance to the study, and at the same time commenting on how they complement each other. This integrated theoretical framework helps to theorise how urban planning and the regulatory environment affects the operation of HBE households in Kampala City slums, and the strategies employed by these households to ensure their livelihood survival.

3.1 The Theory of the Production of Space

In urban sub-Saharan Africa, urban space is one of the areas of contestation between the state and its citizens. While the state views the urban space as a planning area, the urban poor view the same space as something that has to be appropriated for economic and other purposes in order to ensure their survival in the city. Henri Lefebvre is mostly interested in the production of space under capitalism, and highlights that struggles around the production of space has a class dimension (see Lefebvre, 1991). This is strongly linked to the tension between modernist visions of urban governance and the agendas of the urban poor, as discussed in the previous chapter. Therefore, understanding HBE household units requires one to attend to the spatial dynamics associated with their practice, and the representation and spatial practices of the state, which attempts to control and govern the socio-economic-spatial spaces

in which they exist. By applying the theory of the production of space, we are able to understand the state's representation of space and spatial practices, and the rationalities that drive them. Moreover, we are able to establish how the HBE households appropriate and alter space to meet their socio-economic-spatial needs in ways that shape the urban space. Therefore this theory is relevant to this study because it facilitates the analysis of the dialectical interaction between the different spatial actors, including the state and the urban poor, their rationalisations and assertions on urban space.

This theory was proposed by Henri Lefebvre, a French urban philosopher. Lefebvre's seminal book, *The Production of Space*, considers his 'most important set of theorizations and conceptualizations on space' (Ghulyan, 2019:1). Lefebvre (1991:26) observes that '(Social) space is a (social) product', and not a mere container of things. Lefebvre emphasises the need for '…an approach which would analyse not things in space but space itself, with a view to uncovering the social relationships embedded in it' (ibid:89). Lefebvre stresses that the production of space is not only attributed to a specific group charged with different functions of 'commanding' and 'demanding' of/for space. He therefore argues that the analysis of any space should be concerned about '…the dialectical relationship between demand and command, along with its attendant questions: 'Who?', 'For whom?', 'By whose agency?', 'Why and how?'' (ibid: 116).

Lefebvre's theorisations on space challenge and seek to address the reductionist conceptualisations of space, in which the different fields of space – physical, mental and social – have been treated as separate domains by philosophers and mathematicians. He therefore proposes a 'unitary theory' of space which combines the physical, mental and social fields of space. He proposes a spatial triad composed of three interrelated elements of perceived space, conceived space and lived space (see Figure 3.1). He considers these in 'spatial terms', the 'spatial practice', 'representations of space' and 'representational spaces' (Lefebvre, 1991:40) as discussed in the successive paragraphs. Lefebvre observes that each element contributes differently to the production of space influenced by their nature, mode of production and historical period.

***Spatial practice or perceived space*:** The spatial practice of a society secretes or defines its space; it proposes and presupposes it in a dialectical interaction (Lefebvre, 1991; 2009). For Lefebvre, 'spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space'

(Lefebvre, 1991:38). Deciphering space occurs through negotiations and is linked to the physical form of people's perceptions of daily reality and urban reality (Wolf & Mahaffey, 2016). Spatial practice relates to perceived space, and therefore people's perceptions structure their lived reality in regard to use of space (Merrifield, 1993; 2006). Lefebvre (1991:33) asserts that, spatial practice 'embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation', and it 'ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion'. According to McCann (1999:173), spatial practice mediates between conceived and lived space, and works within the confines of 'conceived abstract spaces of planners and architects while simultaneously being shaped and shaping individuals' perceptions and uses of space'. To McCann, the state's perceptions of space and that of the ordinary people may differ, whereby space allocated by the state for a specific purpose, can be used for a different purpose by ordinary citizens.

The representations of space or conceived space reflect the 'conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent – all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived' (Lefebvre, 1991:38). To Lefebvre, representations of space is the dominant space in any society, and it is undeniably abstract, 'since it is *conceived* rather than directly lived' (McCann, 1999:172). Abstract space is a materialisation or product of attempts by the conceived space to dominate and subdue lived experiences (Merrifield, 2006). Therefore, conceived space hinders the production of a differential space (Lefebvre, 2009), but this is not possible due to the negativity and inherent contradictions of the abstract space that creates a fertile ground for the differential space to emerge (Lefebvre, 1991).

Brenner and Elden (2009:359) observe that abstract space is a 'political product of state spatial strategies – of administration, repression, domination and centralized power' (cf. Lefebvre, 2009:214). Through these strategies, the state is able to '…expand economic growth and to create a homogenous national territory within which political and cultural differences can be managed and controlled' **(**Wilson, 2013:374). Conceived/abstract space manifests materially in the form of maps, photographs, master plans, zoning schemes, models, designs, and policy documents (Leary-Owhin, 2016; Moulaert, Wanka & Drilling, 2018). Lefebvre (1991) argues that these representations of space are informed by institutionalised knowledge and ideology, and are employed by the state and its agents to transform spatial morphologies. The aim is to achieve a certain degree of cohesiveness or

coherence. Therefore to Lefebvre, knowledge and technology are strategies through which the state attempts to homogenise and rationalise the society.

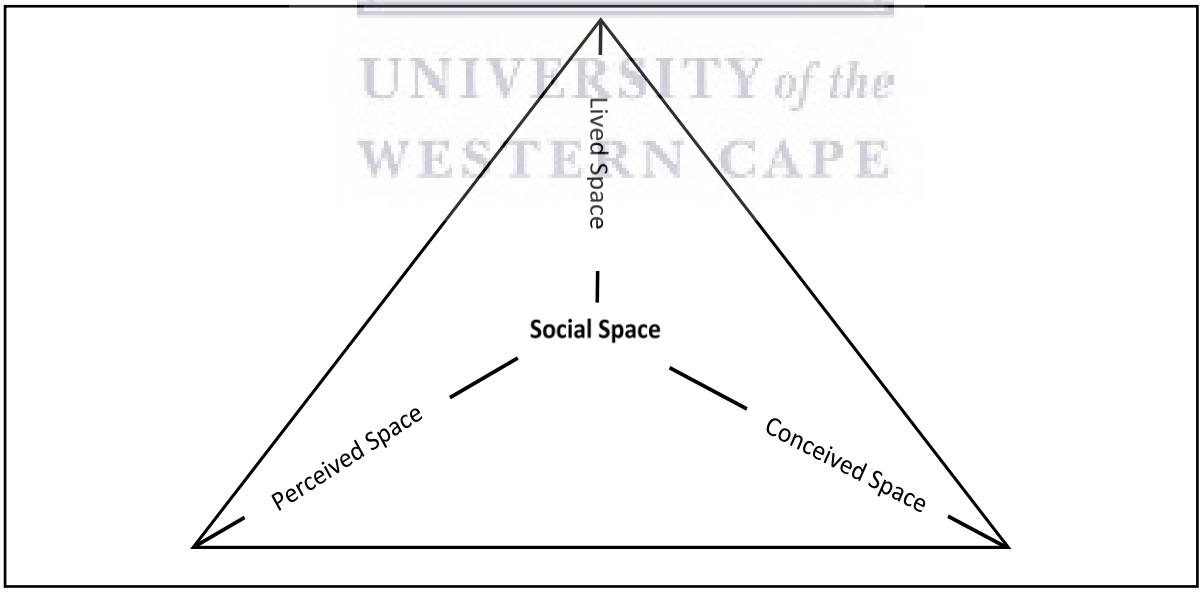
As indicated later, the state's rationality, techniques, plans and programmes, provoke resistance (Lefebvre, 1991) that can manifest in a myriad of both covert and overt forms. These social forces attempt to resist capital and state's spatial normality and rationalisation attempts as they 'create, defend or extend spaces of social reproduction, everyday life and grassroots control' (Brenner & Elden, 2009: 367). This dialectical interplay signifies a conflict of rationalities as state's knowledge, logic and spatial strategies differ from those of the local or ordinary people. For example, while the informal operators like HBE households view urban space as vital for their economic wellbeing and livelihood survival, the city authorities view the same space as a planning area which has to be transformed to achieve political goals (Babere, 2015). It is therefore imperative to note that 'urban phenomenon and urban space are not only a projection of social relationships but also a terrain on which various strategies clash' (Lefebvre, 2003:87). It is noteworthy that the production of space is not a monopoly of the state and its agents; the local people also contribute to this process through their own socio-economic-spatial practices.

***Representational space or lived space*:** This denotes 'space as directly lived' by 'inhabitants' and 'users' experienced through 'associated images and symbols' (Lefebvre, 1991:39). It is the space of everyday life or experience (Merrifield, 1993; 2006). According to Lefebvre (1991), representational space or lived space is the dominated and passively experienced space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. To Lefebvre, this space is concrete or subjective, when compared to the abstract or conceived space of experts. Wilson (2013:367) comments that '…abstract representations are projected onto the terrain of lived experience, as blueprints for its material transformation'. Skordoulis and Arvanitis (2008) postulate that representational space resists abstractions of the conceived space, and acts as a site where the perceived and conceived notions of space converge, are contested, combined and transformed. Wilson (2013) indicates that the capitalist state's domination of the lived space ensures its survival, therefore the capacity of the users to appropriate, create, and transform their lived space is crucial to a disalienated spatial practice. He therefore argues that the survival of the capitalist state much depends on the production of a lived space within which the users are unable to fully realise their diverse potentialities. The resistance to state-conceived abstractions can be explained by the fact that humans are conscious beings and

'know that they have a space and that they are in this space'. Therefore, they do not passively enjoy the space, but they 'act and situate themselves in space as active participants' (Lefebvre, 1991:294).

Lefebvre (2009) observes that local people are able to appropriate space and take control over their own lives through what he termed as 'autogestion' (self-management). Therefore, appropriation denotes 'acts of resistance engaged in by an individual or group to appropriate the space(s) they inhabit' (Wapshott & Mallett, 2012:70). Through this process, the ordinary people exploit lacunae or weaknesses in the state's spatial strategies to engender differential space. Since representational space resists abstraction, it harbours intentional socio-spatial practices that counter the state's representations of space leading to the production of differential space. Leary-Owhin (2016:71) emphasises that '[d]ifferential space seems not to be bestowed on city dwellers through the largesse of landowners or the state; it has to be appropriated through active assertion of rights to urban space'. This implies that the maintenance of lived space is through the creation of differentiated spaces, while resisting the homogenising forces of the state's abstraction or representation of space.

Figure 3.1: Illustration of Lefebvre's Conceptual Triad



Source: Author, 2017, based on Lefebvre (1991)

Lefebvre's theorisation of space mainly dwells on the dialectical analysis of these elements. As shown in Figure 3.1, space is produced through dialectical interrelationships between the three elements of space.

3.1.1 Interpretation and Application of the Theory of the Production of Space

Lefebvre's construction of the spatial triad is sketched out only in preliminary fashion, offering researchers the opportunity to modify and interpret it to fit their research (Merrifield, 2006). Moreover, Stanek (2007) observes that this theory is open-ended, and permits the modification of the analyses to fit a given situation. In this study the concepts of the spatial triad (perceived space/spatial practice, conceived space/representations of space and lived space/representational space), are interpreted and applied differently at different scales –city, slum and household scales. In this study, conceived space is manifested through zoning schemes, physical planning, policy and regulations employed by the state and its agents to transform Kampala City's spatial morphology. Perceived space includes HBE household routines like shopping; attending to the business; physical movement within the household, slums and the city; urban life; and leisure. Moreover, the lived space is interpreted as the HBE household's subjective social and spatial everyday experiences.

Lefebvre regards space as dialectically produced, and its production is not attributed to a specific group. Rick (1997:10) observes that all individuals have 'conceived spatialities, but these formally educated and powerful people, especially in a capitalist system, have the means to identify what is socially lived, perceived, and conceived, and then structure their own versions into what becomes disciplinary knowledge and institutional control'. In this study, at the city scale, while the state attempts to regulate and control the economic activities of HBE households and their lived spaces, through diverse tactics and strategies including zoning, master plans, formalisation, development of policy, and enactment of laws and regulations, these ambitions clash with the practices and lived experiences of the HBE households. Whereas the state aims at creating an abstract space and making HBE households and their economic activities legible, the HBE households, driven by the desire to survive, subvert or resist any intentions of the state that they believe would risk their livelihood. Therefore, the informal appropriation of the conceived urban space through informal sector activities and informal settlements are spatial practices by the HBE households' lived space. As discussed in chapter Two, this contestation between the state and the urban poor residents illustrates the conflicting rationalities that typifies urban spaces in sub-Saharan Africa cities.

3.2 The Concept of State Legibility

The concept of 'legibility' is closely associated with the works of Kevin Lynch and James C. Scott, although both conceptualise the term differently. Lynch (1960) defines legibility as the

ease with which an urban space can be identifiable and organised into an intelligible pattern. Lynch's conceptualisation of legibility is what Offenhuber and Ratti (2017) termed as 'legibility from below'. Lynch's (1960) focus is on the conception of the city by the citizens. He emphasised that, in order to understand legibility '…we must consider not just the city as a thing in itself, but the city being perceived by its inhabitants' (Lynch, 1960:3). Lynch observes that legibility is of great practical and emotional importance to the citizens, as it facilitates mobility, enables generation and organisation of knowledge about the environment they live in, and offers the possibility of choice. Therefore, legibility offers '…a useful basis for individual growth' (Lynch, 1960:4). It is evident that legibility in this form serves the purpose and needs of the citizens.

Lynch's conceptualisation can be contrasted with that of Scott – 'legibility from above' (Offenhuber & Ratti, 2017). Legibility conceptualised this way denotes '…the metaphorical seeing that a state undertakes in order to determine the identity of its citizens and those who dwell within its borders…' (McCall, 2013:36). This study adopted Scott's conceptualisation of legibility given the nature of modernist ambitions that are pursued by the state in urban centres in Uganda (see Kiggundu, 2014; Lindell & Ampaire, 2016).

James C. Scott's conceptualisation of 'legibility' is developed as a central theme in his publication, *Seeing like a State*. In this publication, Scott (1998) draws on different cases to explain how a modernist state and its agents in their attempts to make urban spaces governable, prosperous and architecturally imposing, aim to transform illegible settlements, economic units, property regimes and practices into something that can easily be manipulated, appropriated or transformed. Mattoon (2017) observes that legibility becomes a concern of the state, and any other organisation that seeks to shape the world and exercise power. She argues that legibility presents the 'ability to exercise power more easily through visibility which allows the accumulation of knowledge' (Mattoon, 2017:20-21). For example, urban planning in most cities of the developing world is illustrative of the state's desire to enhance legibility of the informal sector and urban spaces.

Scott (1998:183) argues that any state intervention requires the creation of units that are visible, and in order for these units to be manipulated, they 'must be organized in a manner that permits them to be identified, observed, recorded, counted, aggregated and monitored'. Scott contends that legibility is achieved through simplification, whereby the phenomenon

that is of concern to the state is made more legible, making it easy for manipulation. State simplifications are characterised by 'utilitarian facts', 'documentary facts', 'static facts', 'aggregate facts', and 'standardized facts'. It therefore appears that simplification is aided by standardisation. The establishment of cadastral surveys and freehold tenure, population registers, the design of cities and transport networks are all strategies of standardisation aimed at simplification and legibility. The concepts of simplification and legibility are used in this study to understand the different socio-economic spatial strategies undertaken by the state.

Scott (1998) observes that formalised facts provide a powerful form of state knowledge, which aids state manipulation. The accumulation of technical knowledge according to Scott requires a narrowing of vision. This involves making complex aspects of people's contexts simplified in order to render them governable, while aspects that do not fit this tunnel vision are purposefully ignored, and obscured. He also observes that the level of the state's desire for detailed knowledge about its people is influenced by the level of its ambition, whereby, the higher the state's ambition, the higher is its drive to seek detailed knowledge and vice versa. Scott argues that the state's modernist plans or schemes (mainly informed by abstract/technical knowledge) consider local knowledge, practice and context to be irrelevant or a source of irritation that must be avoided.

One of Scott's major concerns is that the grand plan of the ensemble created by legible urban order is divorced from the lived experiences of the local people. Therefore, though such order serves the interest of the state and city authorities as far as administering the city is concerned, it acts as a disadvantage to the local people. The state's schemes aimed at legibility may not be realised as they are resisted by the local people (Scott, 1998). Corbridge, Williams, Véron, & Srivastava (2005:247) observe that 'the state is challenged every day in the small acts of resistance that people deploy against government officials or systems of rule'. One of the most common forms of resistance deployed by the local people is termed by Scott (1998) as 'day-to-day resistance' or 'everyday forms of resistance' (Scott, 1989). Vinthagen and Johansson (2013:2) posit that '[e]veryday resistance is about how people act in their everyday lives in ways that might undermine power'. Therefore, it comprises of varied responses to circumstances which undermine people's livelihoods or are a source of exasperation (Charlton, 2018). These arguments resonate with Lefebvre's notion of space as contested and dialectically constructed.

Scott, Boudreaux, Delong & Lee (2010) argue that these acts of resistance are set in motion by the existence of disparities within different state policies or interventions. According to Vinthagen and Johansson (2013:28), everyday resistance is 'inconceivable without power since resistance is essentially oppositional to something, and affects existing power'. This form of resistance is contrasted with direct or open resistance that appears to be more confrontational, though both aim at more or less the same objective (Scott, 1985; 1989). Scott (1989) observes that the avoidance of open confrontations by resisters in itself signifies recognition of existing power relations. Everyday resistance is characterised by 'little or no coordination or planning', avoidance of direct symbolic confrontation with authority, and represents a form of individual mutual support (Scott, 1985:29). It represents the coping mechanisms that are employed by exploited and marginalised people in order to survive in contexts where open confrontation poses great danger or risk to the resisters. The resisters rarely aim at rebelling against the state, and their actions do not openly challenge existing power arrangements (Scott, 1989), but rather employ covert techniques using different rationalities. Scott contends that subordinate groups find collective open confrontation with the state difficult due to their lack of organisation, and fear of coercion. In this study, legibility and everyday resistance shed light on the state's rationalities for and effects of modernist urban planning, and the response of HBE households to such state efforts.

3.2.1 Integrating the Concept of State Legibility with the Production of Space Theory

The concept of legibility is employed to facilitate the understanding of the production of space processes at the city scale. This concept helps to enhance and extend Lefebvre's ideas on space by clarifying the desire, process and methods of creating conceived abstract space. Scott (1998) asserts that the state pursues legibility to make urban spaces governable, prosperous and architecturally impressive. Interestingly, there appears to be interplay between legibility and representation of space. Legibility facilitates the production of conceived abstract space (cf. Brenner & Elden, 2009), and conceived abstract space aims at legibility. Therefore, legibility is one of the characteristics of abstract conceived space.

Furthermore, according to Scott (1998), abstractions by the state are only possible when 'non-state spaces' are transformed into 'state spaces'. Therefore, the state and city authorities' 'representation of the lived space of the [informal] operators is usually framed

against the political reality of aesthetic issues, public health concerns, land values, competitiveness and congestion' (Babere, 2015:287-288). In such cases, mapping, building standards, and zoning embody the forms of representations that the state employs to shape citizens' perceived and lived experiences. In this study, I analyse the state's attempts at legibility and spatial domination, and their resultant effects on the operation of HBEs, by focusing on the dialectical relationship between spatial spaces, conceived space, and lived space. I place a particular focus on the state's representation of space and spatial practices, which I analyse through the policy and legislative frameworks on urban planning, and HBE subsector or informal sector in Kampala City, and the actualised urban planning outcomes, and how these have been resisted or subverted by the HBE households.

Both Scott (1998) and Lefebvre (1991) agree that states' attempts at legibility or creation of an abstract space are not without resistance. This is driven by the fact that state's representation of space is divorced from the representational (lived) space of the ordinary citizens, which is mainly based on their everyday experiences and practices. Scott (1998:348) argues that '[h]uman resistance to the more severe forms of social straitjacketing prevents monotonic schemes of centralized rationality from ever being realized'. In context of Lefebvre (1991), resistance to the homogenization of the abstract space results in a differential space that is imbued with heterogeneous qualities. In consonance with Lefebvre's theory, in this study resistance by the 'users of space' (HBE households) is facilitated in part by the inherent contradictions within the state's abstraction which provides these households with an opportunity to continue following their own spatial practices in opposition to the strategies employed by the state to create an abstract space. The nature of this resistance is most important to this study, whereby other than focusing on autogestion (a more radical and organised form of resistance) as conceptualised by Lefebvre (2009), this study adopts Scott's (1989; 1998) concept of 'day-to-day resistance' or 'everyday forms of resistance'. This is because subordinate groups like HBE households may find collective open confrontation with the state difficult due to their lack of organisation, and fear of coercion (Scott, 1989).

3.3 Urban Spatial Poverty Traps

The appropriation of urban space by the urban poor and the state's refusal to acknowledge and then service these sites results in the creation of informal spaces (differentiated spaces), which may engender urban spatial poverty traps. The concept of spatial poverty traps can be traced to Ravallion's (1996) writing on the 'economic geography of poverty', which was later

expounded by Jalan and Ravallion (1997). Spatial poverty traps refer to '…geographical areas which remain disadvantaged, and whose people remain multi-dimensionally deprived and poor over long periods of time' (CPRC, 2004:26). Such areas are characterised by physical isolation, poor infrastructure and services, and weak institutions and organisations. The emergence of spatial poverty traps is attributed to compound disadvantage or compound effects, whereby different spatial disadvantages interact, so that their collaboration increases the likelihood of poverty more than their individual effect (Burke & Jayne, 2010).

Spatial poverty traps also exist in urban areas, though most studies (like Bird & Shepherd, 2003; Burke & Jayne, 2010; Jalan & Ravallion, 1997) applying this concept, have been largely rural based (cf. Bird, Higgins & Harris, 2010; CPRC, 2004). Grant (2010) observes that urban spatial poverty traps are a common occurrence in urban areas like slums, as the majority of the population in these locations are poor, and basic infrastructure and services are exceptionally inadequate. He explains that this is because such locations tend to be informal and therefore less likely to be captured in official statistics, and/or recognised within formal policymaking frameworks (ibid).

Spatial poverty traps are characterised by neighbourhood effects and compound disadvantage or compound effects. In reference to the former, different scholars have argued that the locality in which a household or individual subsists can influence its livelihood negatively or positively (see Bird et al., 2010; Grant, 2010). In this regard, Jalan and Ravallion (1997) agree that the human capital and neighbourhood physical endowments influence the productivity of an individual or household's capital. Manley and Van Ham (2012) assert that negative neighbourhood effects are strongly associated with living in deprived neighbourhoods such as slums. According to Bird et al. (2010:4):

> [The] 'bad neighbourhood effect' constrains the opportunities of people living in spatial poverty traps and limits poverty exit. This means that, even if an individual in a spatial poverty trap has the entrepreneurial skills, the investment capital and the will to invest in a business, the returns on their investment will be lower than in a better connected area with higher geographic capital and a 'good neighbourhood effect.' Such areas are blighted, and enterprise success is harder to achieve.

This implies that bad neighbourhood effects engender various spatial disadvantages and vulnerabilities, which reinforce urban spatial poverty traps.

3.3.1 Integrating the Concept of Urban Spatial Poverty Trap with the Production of Space Theory

In most cities of the developing world, resistance to the state's abstraction has been characterised by informality (a differential space), shaped by different informal practices of the urban residents. Mahmoud and Elrahman (2016) argue that informal spaces like slums are lived spaces created by people under marginalisation or oppression, in quest of a right to the city that is constantly denied to them. Such spaces can be considered as informal representation of space that is planned and designed by the local people based on their aspiration and conception rather than by agents or technocrats of the state (Jabareen, 2014). Therefore, informal representations are not materialised through formal maps, urban planning schemes and formal policies and regulations. Informal space and relations challenge the state's representations of space through the creation of associative practices, economic activities, and production of their own spaces (Bower, 2017:36). Therefore, rather than being passive recipients of the state's representations, urban dwellers appear to be spatial actors or co-producers of space, albeit informed by different rationalities that differ from those of urban authorities.

In Jabareen's (2014) view, the state perceives these informal spaces as illegal entities since they contravene all its legal frameworks. Therefore, due to their contravention of the 'political normality and formalism' or perceived illegal appropriations of space, such spaces have been isolated by the state (Bower, 2017), or 'punished' through diverse socio-economic, spatial and legal actions (Jabareen, 2014). Consequently, in such spaces, little or no influence of the conceived space and limited investment in the perceived space exist (Mahmoud & Elrahman, 2016). This can affect the profitability of HBEs due to inadequate space, services and infrastructure (Chant & McIlwaine, 2013), and lead to compound disadvantages and neighbourhood effects. In this study, I draw on the concept of urban spatial poverty traps, to focus the analysis on the material environment in Katanga slum created by the dialectical process of space production to understand how it affects HBE operations, and how these households strategize or cope to ensure their livelihood survival in such precarious situations.

3.4 Border Theory

Thus far the study has considered the production and legibilisation of space at the macro and meso scales. But the politics of space can also be explored at micro scale. In an HBE household, both domestic and economic activities (home and work) co-exist in the same

space or environment, an issue that engenders various socio-economic-spatial dynamics, whose management is of paramount importance to the livelihood survival of these households. Border theory explains how individuals or households 'manage and negotiate the work and family spheres and the borders between them in order to attain balance' (Clark, 2000:750). Clark observes that the home and work domains differ along lines of cultures, means and ends. For example, the need to achieve can be attained through work, while emotional needs can be satisfied at home. Moreover, Voydanoff (2008) in her work-family interface model differentiates between two forms of demands and resources- within-domain and boundary-spanning. Within-domain demands and resources are associated with characteristics such as the structure and content of activities in a specific domain, be it home or work. Whereas, boundary-spanning demands and resources are intrinsically part of two domains. In the context of home-based enterprises, where both home and business activities occur in a single space, these differences have to be managed through integration or segmentation. Integration ensues when the boundaries between home and work overlap or are blurred. In contrast, segmentation occurs when the boundaries between the two domains are clear. Given that obtaining absolute segmentation and integration is rare, activities in both domains can be placed along a continuum extending from total integration to total segmentation (see Nippert-Eng, 1996a; 1996b; Voydanoff, 2008).

According to border theory, both integration and segmentation are influenced by the nature of borders – the lines of demarcation between domains that define the point at which domain-relevant behaviour begins or ends. These borders can be of a physical, temporal and psychological nature. A physical border defines where domain-relevant behaviour takes place. Temporal borders determine when specific domain activities are conducted. 'Psychological borders are rules created by individuals that dictate when thinking patterns, behaviour patterns and emotions are appropriate for one domain but not the other' (Clark, 2000: 756). The level of permeability and flexibility of these borders can influence both the integration and segmentation of domain roles. Flexibility refers to 'the degree that the spatial and temporal boundaries are pliable' (Allen, Cho & Meier, 2014:102). In contrast, permeability denotes the degree to which roles or elements from the home domain enter into or interfere with the work domain and vice versa (Clark, 2000; Voydanoff, 2008). According to Clark (2000), the occurrence of a great degree of flexibility and permeability around the border results in a blend or blurring of both home and work, which creates a borderland that cannot be solely attributed or referred to either domain.

According to the border theory, a blend of permeability and flexibility determines border strength. 'Strong' borders are impervious, inflexible and offer no room for blending, while 'weak' borders are permeable, flexible and facilitate blending or blurring (ibid). Strong borders and weak borders can be associated with segmentation and integration respectively. Although the integration of domains facilitates easier transition from one domain to another, it is linked to a higher occurrence of work-family conflict (WFC), than the segmented domains that make transition from one domain to another more difficult (Karassvidou & Glaveli, 2015). Borders can be symmetrical or asymmetrical in the flow of permeations, like where the home domain may be more pervious than the work domain or vice versa (Allen et al., 2014). In this case, border strength appears to be associated with the direction of permeation or pervasion. The flow of permeations appears to be unidirectional, from a powerful domain with strong borders, to a less powerful domain with weak borders.

Voydanoff (2005b; 2008) posits that border or boundary permeability and flexibility engenders boundary-spanning community, family and work demands and resources. Boundary-spanning demands denote role expectations and requirements, that is, abilities that emanate from both domains, and require equal attention from the individual at a given point in time. These demands may lead to strain as an individual or household's abilities to adequately meet them could be exceeded. Boundary-spanning resources focus on how the work and family domains associate in terms of boundary flexibility, for example, flexibility regarding when and where work and family activities are performed (Voydanoff, 2004; 2005b). Therefore, such resources may enhance an individual's management of the work-family boundary, which reduces work-family conflict, and enhances work-family co-existence (Voydanoff, 2004).

Competing or boundary-spanning demands evoke boundary-spanning strategies. These are actions undertaken by individuals or households to eradicate or reduce the incongruence between work-family demands and resources (Voydanoff, 2005a; 2008). Voydanoff (2005a) identified two categories of such strategies. The first category is targeted at reducing demands from either work or family domain through reducing time of working hours, and changing work schedules; and missing family occasions, doing less household work, respectively. The other set of strategies, focuses on increasing resources in both work and home domains like increasing working hours; and increasing work-family support respectively. Through these

strategies, individuals' and households' efforts to meet demands in another domain are enhanced.

Furthermore, according to the border theory, people are regarded as border-crossers. This is because they make frequent transitions between home and work domains, often altering their goals and demands to suit the demand for each domain. The most relevant attributes of border-crosser are those which enhance or contribute to their ability to modify the domains and borders to suit their needs. Border-crossers can be categorised based on their centrality in a given domain. For example, central participants or domain members have influence due to their competence and awareness of domain culture and values. This confers on them the power to negotiate and alter both the domain and its borders, more than peripheral domain member who are ignorant about domain culture, and have not yet developed the required competence. Clark (2000) observes that border-crossers who are key members in both domains will have greater work/family balance than those who are not.

According to the border theory, border-crossers undertake the process of border and domain formation and management with the support of other actors. The first of such actors are the domain members referred to as border-keepers. These are central to the process of border and domain creation. Second, are other domain members, although these may be influential in the process of border and domain creation, they do not control the border-crosser. The border-keepers and other domain members may either improve or limit the border-crossers' capacity to manage the domain and borders. This is because these domain members may have different expectations about what constitutes work and home, which may reduce the border-crossers' flexibility to address the conflicting domain demands.

Clark (2000) maintains that constant communication between border-keepers and crossers enables them to come to a common understanding, which may create awareness of the border-crossers' domain responsibilities hence reducing role conflict. Clark argues that domain members' awareness of the other domain can be enhanced when these members become co-crossers, a common occurrence among family-run businesses that experience high integration of both home and business work domains. Moreover, support to border-crossers is more likely to be provided by border-keepers who not only understand, but are also informed about other-domain activities. The other attribute of domain members that promotes communication, and builds understanding, is their obligation to the border-crosser,

manifested through their support to the border-crossers in their additional responsibilities. Voydanoff (2008) has conceptualised family support as a key boundary-spanning resource, which helps individuals meet their temporal demands. Apart from the individual characteristics of domain members and border crossers, the nature of the domains may also hinder or facilitate communication. For example, in conditions where the work and home domain are segmented, border crossers engaged in less cross-border communication, than in the case of integrated domains (ibid). This theory helps to understand how space is produced and utilised within the HBE households, which provides the opportunity to explore the contestations and challenges engendered by the co-existence of home and work, and the household strategies to cope with the dual functioning of a home.

3.4.1 Integration of the Border Theory with the Production of Space Theory

The border theory is employed to understand issues concerning the production and use of space at the household or micro scale. The introduction of economic activities in the home requires transformation or the creation and maintenance of boundaries for the peaceful existence of both economic and domestic activities in the same domestic space. In this study, work and home domains are understood as two distinct domains governed by different rules, emotions, values, thought patterns and behaviour (Karassvidou & Glaveli, 2015). Therefore, the introduction of economic activities in a domestic environment implies that the home space comes to be dominated by the needs, values behaviour and demands of the work. Consequently, previous perception of space and the lived experiences of the household members may be changed with the advent of work and its associated spatial practices. In this study, the process of the creation and management of borders or boundaries between these two domains is considered as a process of space production.

The production of space transcends the public to the private domain of a household/domestic space, and so are the processes and challenges that accrue to it. Lefebvre (1991:159) acknowledges that '[t]he nexus of problems relating to space and its production extends beyond the field of classical architecture, beyond monuments and public buildings, to take in the "private" sphere, the sphere of "residence" and "housing"'. This implies that the manner in which space is conceived, perceived and lived in this context, and the actors involved may differ from that at the city scale. Despite this acknowledgement, Lefebvre does little to move his conceptualisations on space to the private spheres like the household.

In this study, the shifting of the analysis to the household level or domestic space requires both a redefinition in conceptualisation and application of the spatial triad. It is through this redefinition or re-conceptualisation that it becomes more practical to apply Lefebvre's approach at household level. The concept of conceived space (representation of space) as depicted by Lefebvre is redefined to a subjective space that is influenced by agency and emotions of people, what I refer to here as informal representation of space. Informal representation of space is reflected through the use of borders to enforce the separation of home and work domains. According to Wapshott and Mallett (2012), representations of space are situated in homeworkers' attempts to clearly demarcate and control the spaces of their home. They argue that, this demarcation of space embodies an imposition on space, whereby the space is marked and specific meanings and relations are introduced that can alter the surrounding space in ways that appear to control or dominate both the perceived and lived space of users. The reverse can be true, as home articles come to be appropriated by the business activities.

Informal representation of space is not only influenced by the household or the initiator of the business, but since as indicated previously, most of the HBE households were renters, their reproduction of space or informal representation of domestic space was also influenced by the representation of space by others, like the owners of the buildings. The nature of buildings in terms of size and number influenced how the household members reproduced the space to cater for both their domestic and economic activity needs.

The activities and rules of the work domain tend to dominate the lived experiences and spatial practices of the households' members. Wapshott and Mallett (2012:71) observe that although work-related '...artefacts and rules (e.g. "work time") seek to dominate, there will often be some form of resistance where the non-work space seeks to reassert itself and the boundaries between the two spaces became more permeable'. This permeability of the borders of the two domains may also lead to the creation of a different space, where the two domains are largely integrated. Of significance, is that the process of production and use of space or border creation and management can be highly gendered in nature, and can be characterised by or entangled in household power relations. Against this backdrop, articulating the aspects of the spatial triad along with the border theory helps not only to decipher HBE household space, but also to document associated contestations and challenges of this process, and how these accruing socio-spatial challenges are addressed by the

households to ensure, not only the continuity of their businesses, but also the co-existence of both domestic and economic activities (home and work).

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

HBE households are characterised by a co-existence of both domestic and business activities in a home environment. Moreover, in Kampala City, households operating HBEs are undocumented and their research is still emerging. The nature of these households, coupled with the relative absence of studies on the subject, necessitated a qualitative methodological approach that could enable this study to unearth rich and in-depth information about the lived realities of these households. As such, the study adopted a holistic embedded case study design. The quest for rich and in-depth information meant that I had to interact with the research participants in order to understand their interpretations, perceptions, and contextual experiences concerning the issues under study. Although the research approach in this study was designed to address some of the methodological issues in researching HBE households, the qualitative approach adopted in this study has its own challenges and criticisms, like limited rigour and generalisability. Nevertheless, I employed different strategies like triangulation, leaving an audit trail and conducting a dependability audit, to enhance the quality or trustworthiness of the study.

This chapter is comprised of eight sections. The first section explains the philosophical paradigm that underpins my study. In the second section, I describe the research design, where I make clear the methodological approach and methods of data collection, while highlighting the methodological limitations and how I addressed them. The third section focuses on the study setting, where I describe the nature of the study site and how it was selected. In the fourth section, I detail the process through which the participants of the study were selected, including the sampling/selection decisions and assumptions undertaken. In the fifth section, I discuss the data collection process, explaining the strategy and methods through which data was collected. In the sixth section, I explain the data analysis process and procedure for drawing interpretations from the data. This is followed by the seventh section, where I focus on the strategies employed to enhance the trustworthiness of the study. In section eight, I focus on the ethical issues of the study, and how I addressed them.

4.1 Philosophical Paradigm

A paradigm refers to 'the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways' (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:105). A paradigm is made up of four beliefs or components – ontology; epistemology; methodology and methods; and axiology (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Ontology refers to the 'assumptions about the nature of reality and the nature of things' (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2018:3). Epistemology denotes, 'the philosophical underpinnings of researchers' beliefs regarding the nature of knowledge and how it is derived or created' (Yin, 2016:335). The researcher's ontological and epistemological assumptions have a significant bearing on the methodology – 'the principles and ideas on which researchers base their procedures and strategies' (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002:4). Lastly, axiology denotes 'ethics, encompassing the roles of values in the research and the researcher's stance in relation to the subject studied' (Wahyuni, 2012:69-70).

A paradigm is a vital aspect of any research process, as it dictates the methods of data collection and analysis. Žukauskas, Vveinhardt and Andriukaitienė (2018:123) emphasise that a 'researcher must have a clear vision of paradigms or worldview which provides the researcher with philosophical, theoretical, instrumental, and methodological foundations'. Guba and Lincoln (1994:116) explain that, '[p]aradigm issues are crucial; no inquirer, we maintain, ought to go about the business of inquiry without being clear about just what paradigm informs and guides his or her approach'. Despite this caution, a number of HBE researchers fail to highlight the research paradigm that guided their study and only mention the methodology and methods applied (see for example, Abolade, Adigun & Akande, 2013; Afrane, 2003; Ahmed, 2017; Gondwe & Ayenagbo, 2013; Kapasi & Galloway, 2018; Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012; Nguluma & Kachenje, 2015;Tipple, 2005).

I selected the interpretivist paradigm to guide this study. This paradigm emerged as a counteraction of the positivist and post-positivist paradigms. Ontologically, the interpretivists share a common view that social reality is relative, and thus no single reality but multiple realities exist about a given phenomenon (cf. Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017; Lapan, Quartaroli & Riemer, 2012). The epistemological position of the interpretivist is subjectivism, contrasted with the positivist epistemology of objectivism. Kivunja and Kuyini (2017:33) postulate that a subjectivist epistemological stance implies that interpretivist

researchers make ‘meaning of their data through their own thinking and cognitive processing of data informed by their interactions with participants’. To the interpretivist, reality is socially constructed (Willis, 2007), and context-specific (Cohen et al., 2018). Therefore, researchers guided by this paradigm ought to understand the research context, in order to better understand the phenomenon under study or to make meaningful interpretations of research findings.

The interpretivist methodology focuses on the manner in which people comprehend their subjective reality and attach meaning to it (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002). Wahyuni (2012:71) argues that in order to ‘understand the social world from the experiences and subjective meanings that people attach to it, interpretivist researchers favour to interact and to have a dialogue with the studied participants’. Therefore, interpretivist researchers employ qualitative methodologies such as a case study, phenomenology, ethnography, and grounded theory (Scotland, 2012; Shah & Al-Bargi, 2013; Willis, 2007), to assess participants’ sense of reality (Oetzel, Pant & Rao, 2016). Through these approaches, different data collection techniques such as document analysis, FGDs, KIIs, observation, and semi-/unstructured interviews were employed. These methods provide for open questions that enable the researcher to generate in-depth/rich information, and descriptions of specific social constructs (Creswell, 2009; Wahyuni, 2012) about the research participants’ experiences.

Axiologically**,** the interpretivist researchers take on the emic approach or insider perspective, whereby the study of social reality is from the perspective of the research participants (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Wahyuni, 2012), but also the etic construction of the researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This implies that the experiences and values of both the research participants and investigators have a substantial influence on the data collection and analysis processes (Wahyuni, 2012). An interpretation of a phenomenon is made jointly by the researcher and the study participants (Nordqvist, Hall & Melin, 2009). Furthermore, axiology also relates to the value that guides the research process and how it is evaluated. According to Patterson and Williams (1998) the ultimate aim of a paradigm (terminal goal) and criteria used to evaluate research efforts or findings (instrumental goal) differ from one paradigm to another. For example, the value of positivist research findings is evaluated by standards such as generalisability, reliability and validity, whereas the interpretivist research is evaluated by a distinct set of standards including credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, as I elucidate later in this chapter.

I selected the interpretivist paradigm to guide this study because understanding the challenges or demands, contestations and conflicts associated with the co-existence and permeability of home and work, and the strategies for negotiating this co-existence and its associated dynamics and challenges cannot be attained without engaging directly with the participants to capture their feelings and perceptions about these issues. Moreover, a number of issues like space use, household social relations and reciprocal exchanges can be unique to specific households, and may vary from one household to another, which makes a deterministic approach unsuitable for this study. According to Nordqvist et al. (2009), interpretive studies can unearth implicit and ambiguous relations and strains that are characteristic of family businesses, that quantitative methods are unable to address.

A complete understanding of issues pertaining to HBEs cannot be obtained without understanding the geographical and policy context in which these households operate. It is only through the interpretivist paradigm that a deeper and meaningful interpretation and understanding of contextual issues and their likely effects on different HBE issues can be achieved. Holloway and Wheeler (2002) observe that the context of participants' lives or work affects their behaviour, and therefore researchers have to be cognisant that the research participants are grounded in their history and temporality. Thus, understanding the context provides an opportunity for generating a fuller picture of the lived realities of HBE households, and the meaning these households attach to specific issues. Lastly, through a literature review, I realised that home-based enterprise research in Uganda is still emerging. I also established that the definitional issues and undocumented nature of HBEs in Uganda presented methodological challenges, specifically for quantitative approaches.

I adopted the interpretivist paradigm while cognisant that it faces a number of criticisms. For example, Shah and Al-Bargi (2013) posit that owing to the subjective and contextual nature of interpretive research findings, researchers are unable to generalise these findings to different settings. This criticism arises due to the contention between the interpretivist and positivist paradigms. Nevertheless, scholars like Patterson and Williams (1998) assert that these two paradigms pursue divergent goals. For example, whereas the post-positivist focus is on 'universals', interpretivism aims at the understanding of a particular context (Willis, 2007:218). Therefore, generalisability and replicability only become a requisite in the search for universals, but are not required if the purpose of inquiry or the assumptions of the paradigms are different (ibid), as is the case with the interpretivist paradigm. Therefore, any

critique raised against any of them is faulted either for the failure to recognise this difference or understanding its nature (Patterson & Williams, 1998). Furthermore, Scotland (2012:12) argues that participants' autonomy and privacy can be compromised since interpretive research methods are more intimate and open-ended than in quantitative research. Nevertheless, as indicated later in this chapter, I undertook different steps to ensure that the anonymity of the research participants was not compromised. For example, I avoided linking the participants' names to the information they gave, by using codes as a substitute for their names.

As indicated previously, the paradigm selected by a researcher influences the other components or research process. In the subsequent sections, I detail the extent to which the interpretivist paradigm influenced the different components and processes of this study.

4.2 Research Design

The research design for this study took the form of a holistic embedded case study (Yin, 1994). In this study, Katanga slum was construed as the main case (holistic case), and HBE households the embedded units. My selection of this design was influenced by the undocumented, heterogeneous nature of HBEs, and the limited extant studies and data on HBEs, especially in Uganda, and in Kampala City in particular. Moreover, obtaining an in-depth understanding of the attitudes and perceptions about the challenges, demands, contestations and conflicts associated with the operation of HBEs; the effect of urban planning policies, processes and regulatory environment; and the strategies employed by HBE households to negotiate these, can only be achieved through a qualitative case study design. As Zainal (2007) points out, case studies provide detailed qualitative accounts that facilitate an exploration and description of data in real-life environments and help to explain real-life complex situations that may not be captured through experimental or survey research. Specifically, Baxter and Jack (2008) show that holistic case studies with embedded units provide detailed analysis that illuminates the larger case through analysis of data within the sub-units, between sub-units and across all sub-units.

Notwithstanding their benefits, case study designs have been criticised for limited rigour and generalisability (Yin, 1984). However, Hancock (1998) postulates that such criticisms are based on a misinterpretation about the purpose of case study research, which is to obtain a detailed description of a specific case, and not to make generalisations to other settings. In

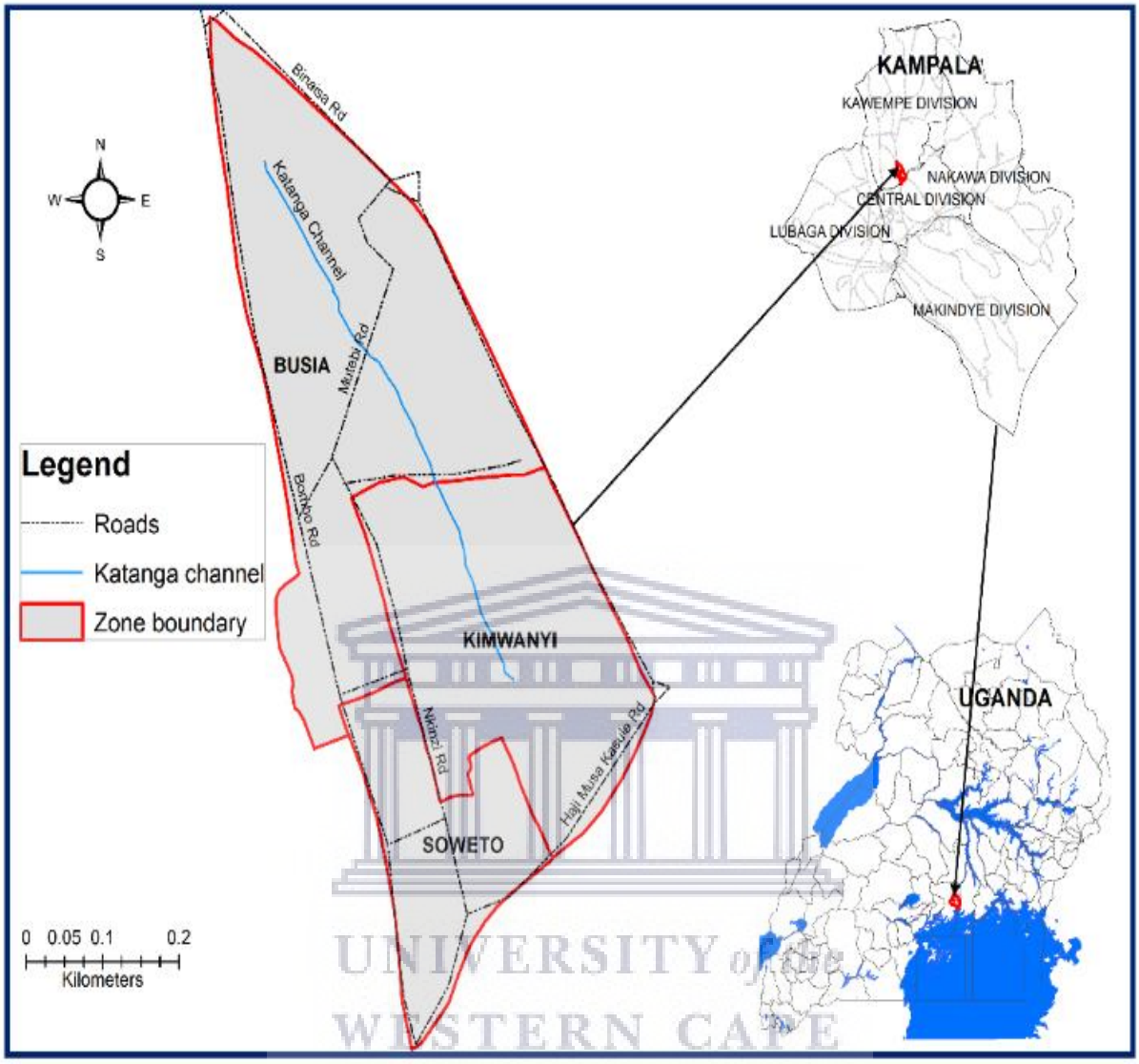
order to address some of the concerns raised by critics of this research design, I employed robust, multiple qualitative data collection methods, including document analysis, FGDs, KIIs, observation and mapping, and semi-structured interviews. Different scholars have argued that the application of multiple methods ensures convergence and validation of evidence, thus improving the credibility of the findings (Bowen, 2009; Eisner, 1991; Yin, 2003). Therefore, the use of multiple methods in the current study is aimed at facilitating the process of triangulation, which enhances the trustworthiness of the study.

4.3 Study Setting

The process of selecting the study setting (case) involved two steps. I first selected the case, and then determined the unit of analysis (Hays, 2004). In the first step, I conducted a reconnaissance visit to five slums around Kampala City. From each of the five city divisions, I purposefully selected the most prominent slum – Banda in Nakawa division, Katanga slum in Kawempe division, Kisenyi in central division, Nsambya slum-Nsambya-Gogonya & Nsambya-Kevina in Makindye division, and Nakulabye slum in Rubaga division. In each slum, I conducted an impromptu visit to the office of the local council leader and also conducted observations.

After this exercise, I made a description of all the five slums and discussed it with my supervisor. Through purposive typical case sampling, I selected Katanga slum as a case for this study. This is because I wanted to illustrate what is typical of slums in Kampala City as far as the operation of HBEs is concerned. Katanga slum was established in the 1970s by rural-urban migrants from different areas of the country. This slum is located in the valley between Makerere University and Mulago National Referral Hospital. The slum embodies the true characteristics of slum areas in Kampala City due to its unplanned and congested houses, poor living conditions and insecure land tenure. Moreover, like any other slum in the city, this slum possesses an economy within it, with multiple types of informal businesses, like HBEs (Dimanin, 2012). HBEs appear to be the main economic activity engaged in by slum dwellers due to their small start-up capital requirement and the ease of conducting such businesses at home. As shown in Figure 4.1, the slum is comprised of three administrative zones, namely Busia, Soweto, and Kimwanyi. Although published/official demographic statistics about Katanga slum do not exist, the local chairperson of Kimwanyi zone estimated the population of the slum at 20,000 people housed in 4,000 households.

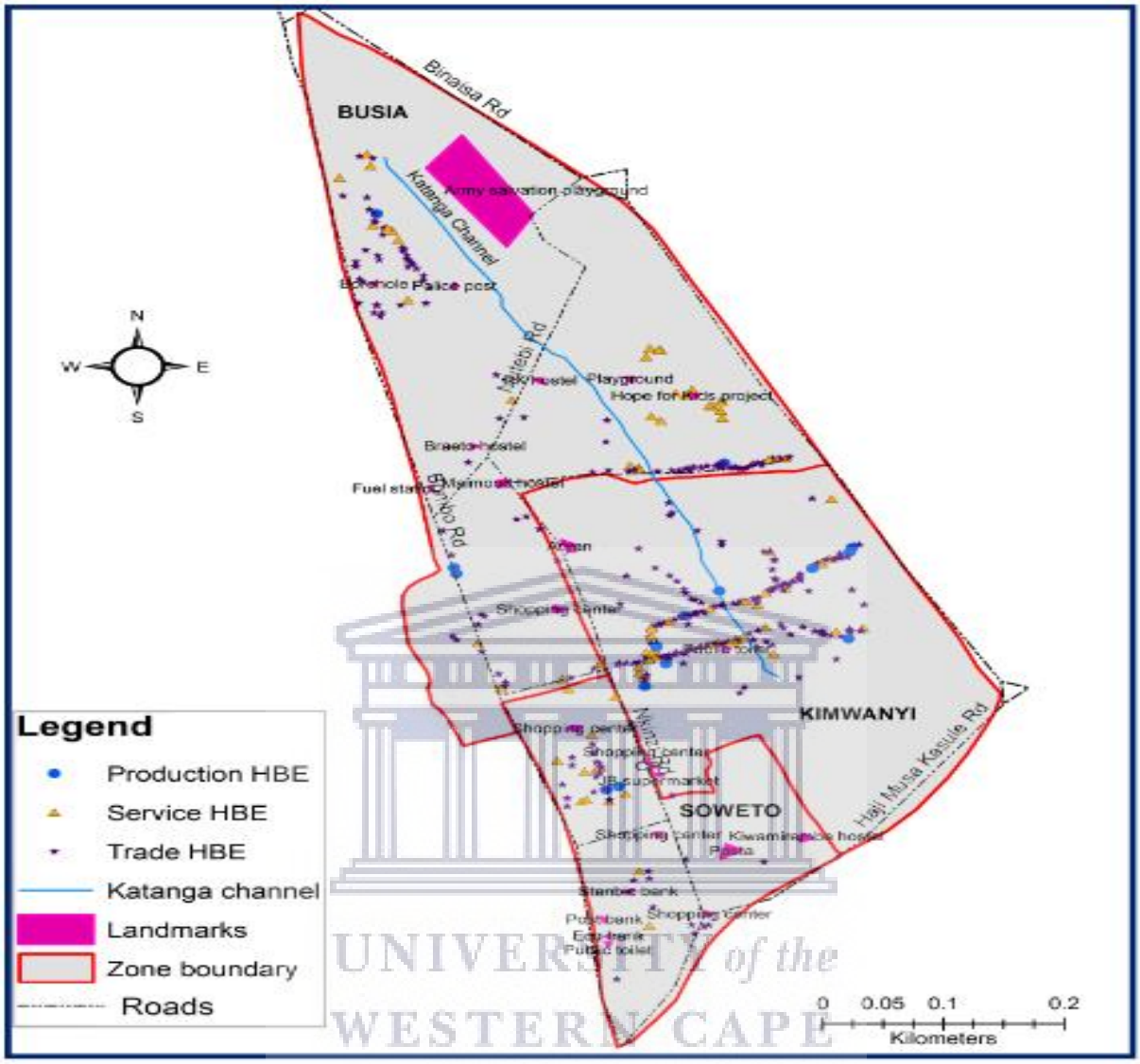
Figure 4.1: Location of Katanga Slum



Source: Author, 2017

After determining the case, the next step was to determine the unit of analysis (Hays, 2004). The unit for this study was the entrepreneurial household unit. The selection of the entrepreneurial household unit was influenced by the fact that within these units, the home/household and business domains are integrated, with business and household resources, routines and decisions intertwined (see Alsos et al., 2014a; 2014b; Carter et al., 2017), which helps to capture the interactions and off-takes between these two domains (Neves & Du Toit, 2012). Entrepreneurship research traditionally focuses either on the firm or its initiator, while little attention is given to the household environment in which the two are embedded (Alsos et al., 2014a; 2014b, Carter et al., 2017), resulting in a limited or narrow perspective about HBEs.

Figure 4.2: The spatial arrangement of HBE households in Katanga Slum



Source: Primary Data, 2017

As shown in Figure 4.2, the majority of HBE households in Katanga slum appear to settle in a linear pattern. It appears that this nature of settlement is influenced by the informally established alley-ways in the slums. In fact, some areas where fewer or no HBE households were mapped appear to be accessed only through tiny unpaved dirty passages winding between congested buildings. Due to limited accessibility, few people traversed such areas, making the location of businesses in these areas less favourable. Furthermore, the congestion of HBE households is noticeable, and appears to be conditioned by the informal tenement design and congested nature of the buildings. Most of these HBE households, as explained later in chapter nine, conducted their businesses either inside or in front of their houses, or both.

It is noteworthy that the slum landscape previously covered by temporary buildings, appears to be gradually changing, as permanent structures like university student hostels, and shopping centres are being established at the fringes of the slum, masking the slum behind them. Therefore, as shown in Figure 4.2, there appears to be a noticeable clustering of HBE households in specific areas of the slum, some distance away from the periphery of the slum. Through mapping and observation, it was also noticeable that HBE households appear to be mostly located in areas characterised by severe slum conditions, for example Kimwanyi and Busia zones.

4.4 Selection of Study Participants

4.4.1 Sample Size Determination

Sample determination in qualitative research has been an issue of contention amongst scholars, with some scholars in support of a priori (before data collection) sample determination, while others argue for an ongoing sample decision. The latter is based mainly on the principle of saturation, where the researcher continues to interview people until no new information emerges (Saunders et al., 2018), whereas the former is based on numerical guidelines derived from empirical investigation (Sim, Saunders, Waterfield & Kingstone, 2018). Nevertheless, the scholars agree that samples in qualitative studies should be selected using non-random sampling methods and should involve relatively small samples to facilitate an in-depth investigation of a given phenomenon of interest (see for example, Gentles, Charles, Ploeg, & McKibbon, 2015; Yin, 2016). The aim therefore is to achieve an in-depth understanding of a given phenomenon rather than making statistical generalisations, as is the case with quantitative studies (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). The sample size for this study is shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Study sample size

Participants	Sample size
HBE households/operators	50
Key informants	15
FGDs	2 groups

As shown in Table 4.1, the sample size for the study was determined at 50 households/operators for semi-structured interviews, 15 participants for KIIs and 2 FGDs. This number was arrived at based on sample size numerical guidelines derived from empirical investigations by methodological scholars, which appear to be a common sample determination technique, especially for case studies (Baker & Edwards, 2012; Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003; Yin, 2016). Scholars argue that studies employing individual interviews should not exceed 50 interviews (Ritchie et al., 2003; Yin, 2016). For KIIs, a range of 15-35 participants is indicated as an ideal sample size (Kumar, 1989). Although the literature indicates that most social science research studies use 3 to 6 FGDs (Morgan, 1996; Stewart, Shamdasani & Rook, 2007), this study used only 2 groups. This was due to practical limitations and methodological considerations. In the latter case, my assumption was that two groups were adequate, as FGDs in this study were used in a complementary way. In the former case, it was difficult to mobilise HBE operators for FGDs, since this involved gathering them in a central place, away from their businesses.

The sample size for this study was determined a priori, as this is mostly emphasised in case study research (see Gentles et al., 2015). Usually a priori sample determination involves a specification of a minimum number of samples for the study, based on expected reasonable coverage of the phenomenon, purpose of the study and stakeholder interests (Patton, 2015). In this study, the choice of a priori samples was due to methodological considerations. It was done, to achieve variations in terms of participants in order to capture diverse views and experiences about HBEs (cf. Sim et al., 2018). In order to obtain information on the HBE dynamics and challenges, influence of policy on the operation of HBEs, and how the HBE households negotiate their livelihood and policy challenges, different participants from whom data were to be collected, had to be determined beforehand.

4.4.2 Sampling Techniques

Given the qualitative nature of the study, a non-probability sampling design was employed in the selection of the research participants. Marshall (1996a) argues that, the lack of evidence that aspects (like attitudes, beliefs and values) that are central to qualitative investigations are normally distributed, renders the probability approach unsuitable for qualitative studies. This implies that quantitative sampling does not align with the epistemological, methodological and ontological positions/principles of the interpretivist paradigm that guide this study. Patton (2015) emphasises that the type of sample selected (and how it is selected) needs to support

the inquiry into the study's research questions. Qualitative research aims at an in-depth and rich understanding of complex issues surrounding a given phenomenon, and not necessarily to make statistical inferences or generalisations from a sample to the wider population. Therefore, the need for a representative or statistically-generated sample for an interpretivist study like this one, does not arise. Moreover, the use of non-random sampling design is best suited for this study due to the methodological challenges posed by the undocumented/hidden nature of HBE households in Kampala City, which makes their sampling through a probability sampling design practically difficult (cf. Orser, 1991). Therefore, the study employed purposive sampling to select the research participants, as discussed in the successive sections.

4.4.2.1 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling is non-random sampling technique, in which the decision to select the sample is based on or influenced by the researcher's specialised knowledge of the research issues, and respondents' willingness to take part in the study (Jupp, 2006). This sampling technique was applied to select research participants, based on my personal judgement of which individuals possessed the information that met the purpose of the study. Due to the heterogeneous nature of HBEs and the extensive nature of information required to understand the complex issues that relate to the operation, different variants of purposive techniques were relied upon to select the participants, as discussed later. Purposive sampling is a predominant technique in qualitative studies (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2015; Palys, 2008; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). This is because it helps to strategically focus the selection of participants or cases 'in alignment with the inquiry's purpose, primary questions, and data being collected' and facilitates the selection of varied research participants 'to get variation on dimensions of interest in order to document diversity and to identify important common patterns that are common across the diversity on dimensions of interest' (Patton, 2015:402).

According to Etikan et al. (2015), the non-random and subjective nature of purposive sampling inhibits drawing of inferences about a population. However, in this sampling technique the sample may not be representative of the HBE households as it might be the case in probability sampling. The diversity in selection of the HBE operators with reference to gender, location, and type of HBE, provided a firm basis for the exploration of HBE-based livelihood in Kampala Capital City slums through the use of different variants of purposive

sampling, including maximum variation sampling, homogenous sampling, and expert or stakeholder sampling.

Maximum Variation Sampling (MVS)

This is a variant of purposive sampling where samples are selected from a broad spectrum in relation to the purpose of the study (Etikan et al., 2015; Palys, 2008). The procedure for recruiting or selecting cases or participants for semi-structured interviews, involved a mapping and observation exercise (see sub-section 4.5.2.1) to generate a rough idea of the diverse characteristics of HBE households. This exercise generated a sample structure of six categories, including gender of HBE operator, household space used for HBE, household headship, location of the HBE household in the slum, presence of household members, and type of HBE. Each of these was further divided into sub-categories which formed the basis for a priori sample allocation. Although these categories were not exhaustive, they helped to reflect a wide range of dimensions and perspectives among HBE households in Katanga slum.

The sample structure depended on the objectives of the study and the observed possible categories of cases during the mapping exercise. After establishing the criteria, 50 cases with the specified characteristics were selected. The sample size for each category and the allocation of cases to each category were conducted subjectively, and depended on my perceived judgement about sample adequacy for each category and the relevance of the cases to the study objectives. Although this sampling method has been criticised for its inherent biased sample selection due to being based on personal judgement rather than randomisation (Elder, 2009), it helped to add rigour and improve the transferability of research findings (see Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Moreover, it also facilitated the documentation of diversity and the identification of common patterns across diverse categories (Patton, 2015).

Homogeneous Sampling

Directly contrasted to MVS, homogenous purposive sampling entails the selection of samples with similar traits or characteristics (Etikan et al., 2015) in terms of age, gender, education, income levels, and nature of economic activity. I employed this sampling strategy to recruit FGD participants, whereby homogenous cases were selected in order to reduce variation, simplify analysis, and facilitate group interviewing (Palinkas et al., 2015). My criterion for selection of FGD participants was based on gender due to the assumption that women and

men could have different HBE practices, experiences and challenges. The selection was also done for practical and ethical reasons to ensure that women and men discussed their issues independently of the other.

Expert or stakeholder sampling

This entails the selection of experts in a specific field of study (Etikan et al., 2015). This type of sampling involves selecting people who have expert or specialised knowledge about the study and those affected by a specific policy or phenomenon (Palys, 2008). This sampling strategy was employed in selecting key informants based on their knowledge of HBEs and the context in which they operated. Therefore, this sampling method enabled me to identify participants who were likely to provide data that is detailed and relevant to the objectives of the study (Jupp, 2006).

4.5 Data Collection Methods and Processes

4.5.1 Pre-data Collection Processes

The main data collection process was preceded by a number of processes to ensure credibility of the research process. The first process was to get clearance from the University of the Western Cape Higher Degrees Committee. In order to meet the national ethical guidelines for Uganda where the study was to be conducted, I acquired ethical clearance from Gulu University Research Ethics Committee and final ethical approval from Uganda National Council for Science and Technology, a cooperate body established by an act of parliament to oversee research activities in the country. Moreover, permission was also acquired from Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) and the local council office in Katanga slum.

After acquiring the relevant clearance, the next step was to undertake a pilot study in which five interviews were conducted with purposefully selected participants. The main objective for conducting a pilot study was to establish whether the questions on the interview guide elicited adequate responses and that all necessary questions were incorporated. After obtaining participants' written informed consent and permission to audio-record, the interview sessions commenced and lasted between 1 and 2 hours (the extended interview time was attributed to the interruptions by customers). Since the interviews were conducted at the participants' homes, where their businesses were also located, the interviews were frequently interrupted by customers and I had to pause the interviews to enable the

participants to attend to their customers. I realised this could be a major challenge in the main study both in terms of quality of the interviews and inconveniences caused to the participants, if relevant remedies were not put in place. Although semi-structured interviews were the main method employed during the pilot study, since the interview sessions were conducted at the research participants' homes, I also got an opportunity to observe the spatial context in which the participants lived and operated their businesses. My observations and reflections during the pilot study were captured in a journal. The data from the interviews was transcribed verbatim and analysed manually to establish whether it answered the research questions of the study (Ravitch & Carl, 2016).

From the pilot study experience, it was evident that I needed to delve more into issues of spatial demands, tensions and contestations occasioned by the co-existence of home and work. This necessitated stating some questions more broadly and doing more probing to enable the participants to give more detailed information about their lived experiences. Therefore, I decided not to include the pilot study results in the final analysis, since there was some degree of alteration of questions. One of the critical issues that emerged from the pilot study was how to select the sample to reflect the diverse views of HBE households. This was further complicated by the fact that the potential participants were still hesitant about participating in the study. This appears to have been caused by the fear to divulge vital information concerning livelihood activities to me, because they knew little about me. Their concern was particularly about the organisation I worked for and the funders of the study. Upon realising that unfamiliar people in their community dressed in formal attire are treated with scepticism and considered to be central government or KCCA officials, I had to change my dress code.

Furthermore, I prolonged my stay in the research site and also used a gatekeeper to gain the participants' confidence and trust, in order to conduct a smooth data collection process (Creswell, 2007; Creswell & Poth, 2018; Hays, 2004). Scholars like Creswell & Poth (2018) and Yin (2016) agree that gaining access to a research site (but also to participants) is not a single incident, but a gradual process that needs to be managed during the course of the study. Although I had acquired permission from the local council office, upon request, the Secretary of Defence on the local council committee was assigned to escort and introduce me to the community.

Moreover, strategic sequencing of data collection methods (see Ravitch & Carl, 2016), enabled sampling of diverse participants. For example, as alluded to later in this chapter, I undertook observation and mapping before conducting interviews, which gave me an opportunity to obtain a general overview of the different types of HBE activities and their spatial layout or pattern in the slum, and helped to unravel different community dynamics. During this process, potential participants for interviews were identified. The participants who agreed to participate in the study were requested to share their contact details and also to indicate the date and time when it could be possible for me to schedule an interview with them. A day before the agreed date for the interview, I contacted the participants to confirm the time and to make any other necessary communication. On a few occasions the interviews had to be rescheduled upon request by the participants. Therefore, making confirmatory calls helped me to avoid finding the participants busy or not at home. I realised that in qualitative data collection, ample time is not only needed in the actual data collection process, but also in the preparation of this process. For example, time and care should be taken to select samples that meet the purpose of the study.

4.5.2 Actual Data Collection Process

This study involved understanding the nature of HBE households, their challenges, including the effects of urban policy and regulations on their business operations, and how they negotiated livelihood and policy challenges. This required me to interact with and ask participants questions about their lived experiences in relation to the spatial, social and policy environment within which they operated their businesses. Therefore, as indicated previously, I opted for a subjectivist epistemology whereby I had to interact with the participants whose experience provided me with relevant answers to the research questions of this study. Therefore, my thoughts about and interpretations of the study findings are based on these interactions with the research participants. Owing to the subjective nature of this study and the ontological assumption of multiple realities, I had to apply multiple qualitative data collection methods (see Oetzel et al., 2016). This is because a single data collection method appears to provide a partial picture of the issues under study. The use of multiple methods therefore enabled me to explore these issues from different angles, which enabled me to generate diverse information about these HBE household units.

Since I used multiple data collection methods, deciding on how I could implement (sequence) these methods, locate appropriate cases and collect detailed information was necessary. Through my experiences and reflections in the pilot study, I realised that it could be helpful and convenient to commence the data collection process with observation and mapping, as this could provide me with an opportunity to understand different community dynamics and the context within which the HBE households lived and operated their businesses. Observation and mapping opened up a number of realities that were pursued through other data collection methods, like FGDs, KIIs, semi-structured interviews, and enabled me to identify potential research participants for semi-structured interviews.

In order to generate information on relevant policies and regulations, document analysis of key policy documents was conducted. Information generated from the semi-structured interviews and document analysis, provided triangulation opportunities for KIIs and vice versa. FGDs were conducted last, to give a detailed understanding of the major issues that arose from the different data collection methods. For example, concluding the data collection process with FGDs enabled me to lay emphasis on emergent policy implications, hence providing me with an opportunity to triangulate information from KIIs. Therefore, the sequencing of data collection methods offered room for triangulation to improve on the completeness of information generated by being able to capture diverse views on a given aspect. The subsequent sub-sections present the data collection methods employed in this study.

4.5.2.1 Observation and Mapping

Observation took the form of overt non-participant observation where I conducted purposeful observation so as to gain an enhanced understanding of the spatial environment in which HBE households operated their businesses. The observations were guided by an observation check list (see Appendix 4), and recorded using narratives and photography. Mathers, Fox and Hunn (1998) suggest that written descriptions and photographs help a researcher collect observable data of a phenomenon through capturing observable events and making notes of what is observed, respectively. Observation was not limited to a specific point in time; it was conducted throughout the life course of the study. Moreover, I undertook observation at two levels. The first level focused on gaining a general impression about the physical setup of Katanga slum, and the different types of HBEs operated in the area. As I explain later, at this

level, observation was supplemented by mapping. The second level focused on mapping space used by the household for both domestic and economic activity. Observation helped me to capture information that could not be accessed through interviewing and focus group discussions. According to Kothari (2004), observations provide limited information. It is for this reason that I did not use observation as a stand-alone method, but instead as a supplementary method, whereby data generated through the different methods was triangulated with that collected from other methods.

Although data on the different types of HBEs, and the use of space was obtained through observation, I undertook mapping as a supplementary method to enable me to establish the spatial patterns of HBE households. This involved logging global positioning system (GPS) coordinates of HBE households using GPS machines. The generated spatial data was later transferred to a geographic information system (GIS) tool (ArcGIS 10.2) to enable me to visualise, through a map, the spatial layout of HBE households across Katanga slum. I used different shapes and colour codes to distinguish HBE households by the type of business operated (see Figure 4.2). The use of spatial data and description is currently on the increase especially in qualitative approaches like case studies, due to their attention to contextual factors (Rucks-Ahidiana & Bierbaum, 2015). For example, '[u]rban mapping has been used as one of the key methods for exploring informal morphologies at the city scale …' (Kamalipour, 2016:71), since maps help to produce spatial knowledge/information that can be used to understand ways in which cities operate in reference to spatiality and sociality (Kamalipour & Peimani, 2015). In this study, mapping coupled with observation helped me to paint a clear picture of the nature of HBE households and their spatial characteristics. Moreover, the mapping process also gave me an added advantage of understanding community dynamics.

4.5.2.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews entail a number of open-ended questions about a topic or issue a researcher deems relevant to the study (Mathers et al., 1998; Moriarty, 2011). Semi-structured interviews are used to gain in-depth knowledge from respondents about specific phenomena, experiences or sets of experiences (DeMarrais, 2004) facilitated through their open-ended nature (Mathers et al., 1998). In this study, I conducted the interviews in a conversational style with the help of an interview guide (see Appendix 1) and these sessions

lasted between 45 minutes and an hour. During the interview sessions, I asked the research participants to describe their experiences and actions related to their business operations in order to understand their daily lived experiences and realities. My interactions (interviews) with the participants were tape-recorded, with their permission. My observations during the interviews, including issues for further exploration in successive interviews, were handwritten in a notebook. During a few interviews, participants appeared to be reluctant to answer some questions. Nevertheless, they became more relaxed and loquacious, when I indicated to them that I wanted to learn from their experiences of operating their businesses.

Semi-structured interviews provided me with the opportunity to probe when inadequate responses were given by respondents, or when I wanted to enquire about an interesting subject introduced by them (DeMarrais, 2004; Mathers et al., 1998). While the interview guide had key questions that were asked of all HBE operators, the follow-up and probe questions I asked resulted in each interview taking on a unique and customised conversational path (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). Moreover, the outcome of the initial interviews helped to inform successive interviews, whereby new findings were incorporated and probed further in successive interviews. This flexibility helped me to generate in-depth understanding of participants' lived experiences. Conducting interviews with HBE operators required proper planning, and taking note of special sensitivities. For example, interviews needed to be conducted at the participants' convenience to ensure that their daily livelihood operations were not affected, and to reduce chances of interruptions during interviews. This was achieved through scheduling of interviews. However, since interviews were conducted at the participants' homes, which also served as the location of their businesses, interruptions of interviews by customers or children, especially among participants without helpers, were inevitable. Therefore, this required me to exercise patience, and pause the interview to allow the participants to attend to their customers or children, and resumed once they were ready.

4.5.2.3 Document Analysis

This involved a rigorous and systematic analysis of the content of different written documents (Wach & Ward, 2013). The documents I analysed included policies and legislations like the MSME policy, Buy Uganda Build Uganda (BUBU) Policy 2014, draft National Investment Policy (NIP) 2018, Uganda's Vision 2040, National Development Plans (NDPI & NDPII), Kampala Capital City Market Ordinance, Kampala City Street Traders'

By-law, Kampala City Hawking By-law, Local Governments (Kampala City Council) (Licensing of Trade persons) Ordinance 2006, Public Health Act, Trade Licensing and Grading of Business Areas, Kampala Physical Development Plan (KPDP), National Slum Upgrading Strategy, National Housing Policy, and the draft National Urban Policy.

The main focus of the document analysis was to establish whether both national and city-level policies and regulations capture issues of HBEs or have mechanisms and structures to implement stated policy commitments for HBEs. The analysis thus focused on establishing the contextual environment created by these policies and regulations, and how this facilitated or hindered the HBE-based livelihoods. The document analysis process involved a thorough examination of the documents, and making both descriptive and analytical interpretations. Where the examination of these documents revealed an absence of or a limited focus on HBEs, I interpreted this to either suggest the state's limited attention to HBE issues, or limited/no influence of HBE operators, or deliberate ignorance of such voices in the policy-making process. However, in cases where stated commitments about HBEs existed but no implementation was done, this pointed to limited political will or state inefficiencies. Document analysis was conducted in two rounds. In the first round, I conducted an analysis of a few policy and regulatory documents to get a general overview of the policy environment, before conducting KIIs. Findings from this initial document analysis were pursued further through KIIs and FGDs, in order to attain better triangulation results. In the second round, the final and more detailed document analysis was conducted at the end of data collection, as indicated later in this chapter.

Document analysis helped me to gain an understanding of and build empirical knowledge about the policy and regulatory context under which HBEs operated. Moreover, it also helped me understand the policy direction of both government and Kampala Capital City concerning HBEs. Bowen (2009) observes that document analysis helps to understand the context within which research participants operate, and may be a source of knowledge and questions to be pursued through other methods. However, he cautions that document analysis does not provide appropriate detail to answer research questions of the study. As such, I decided to triangulate results of this method, with findings from FGDs and KIIs.

4.5.2.4 Key Informant Interviews

KIIs are a key component of qualitative research that involve interviewing a selected group of individuals with specialised knowledge, ideas, and insights on a particular subject (Kumar, 1989). In this study, I conducted interviews with different government officials both at city and ministry levels, and staff of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) working among the poor in slum areas. The main focus of the KIIs was on urban policy, institutions and processes, and their influence on HBE livelihoods. In order to ensure meaningful and focused discussions, a KII guide was developed to guide the interviews (see Appendix 2).

This method helped me to generate detailed knowledge of the research setting and topic under study (De Clerck, Willems, Timmerman, & Carling, 2011). The use of information from KIIs has been critiqued as being unrepresentative of the views of a wider community and could be regarded as being politically motivated (Marshall, 1996b). This challenge was addressed by the use of multiple methods, and triangulation of data from this method with data from other methods like focus group discussions and document analysis.

Table 4.1: List of Key Informants

Code	Key Informant
K1	Chairman – National Slum Dwellers' Federation of Uganda (NSDFU)
K2	Deputy Director Physical Planning – KCCA
K3	Deputy Director Revenue Collection – KCCA
K4	Director of Gender, Community Services and Production – KCCA
K5	Executive Director – Enterprise Uganda
K6	Executive Director – Institute for Social Transformation
K7	Deputy Director of Gender, Community Services and Production – KCCA
K8	General Secretary – Platform for Vendors in Uganda (PLAVU)
K9	Principal Policy Analyst – Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives (MTIC)
K10	Assistant Commissioner MSME – MTIC
K11	Commissioner – Urban Housing – Ministry of Land, Housing and Urban Development
K12	National Chairman – Uganda Informal Sector Transformation Organisation
K13	Programme Coordinator – AcTogether – Uganda
K14	Senior Sociologist – MLHUD
K15	Urban Planner – MLHUD

4.5.2.5 Focus Group Discussions

FGDs are part of qualitative data collection methods that involve guided discussions focused on 'particular issues that are introduced in a predetermined order as carefully worded, open-ended questions or topics' (Payne & Payne, 2004:105). Focus groups are suitable for understanding differences in perceptions among groups or categories of people or to unearth motivations that underlie people's opinions or behaviour (Krueger & Casey, 2000). The FGDs focused on a discussion of emergent issues (including issues of common interest to all HBEs) from the other data collection methods. Of particular interest was a discussion of different issues pertaining to government policy on and regulation of HBEs. Two FGDs were conducted with 6-8 purposely selected homogenous HBE operators. The homogeneity and categorisation of the groups were determined by the gender of operator and the type of HBE. I developed an FGD guide with open-ended questions to provide a broad structure for the discussions (see Appendix 3). The open-ended nature of the questions and the careful selection of group members based on gender, enabled the participants to express their opinions freely. Owing to the semi-structured nature of the tool, specific discussion points that emerged during the discussion were adopted.

4.6 Data Analysis

As discussed previously, the data collection process yielded both textual and visual data. Textual data was obtained from FGDs, KIIs, semi-structured interviews, and secondary data sources, including policy documents. Visual data was generated from observation and mapping. Although the data analysis phases are presented in a sequential order, this process was recursive or iterative as I had to move back and forth between the different phases.

All data in this study was analysed using qualitative content analysis. It refers to 'a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns' (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005:1278). Although some scholars like Elo and Kyngäs (2008) and Zhang and Wildemuth (2017) differentiate between quantitative and qualitative content analysis, others like Morgan (1993) and Schreier (2014) argue that the two differ along a continuum from highly qualitative to highly quantitative. This study adopted a mainly qualitative content analytic approach, as opposed to a quantitative content analysis.

The first phase in the data analysis process was to transcribe, organise and edit the raw data to prepare it for analysis. I personally transcribed all the recorded data, as this provided me with an opportunity to fully immerse myself in the data. I used ATLAS.ti 8, a computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) to analyse the data. I found using this software beneficial, because it enabled me to manage large textual and visual data, generate memos about the analysis process, and helped increase the trustworthiness of the research process by providing an audit trail of the entire process of data analysis (Ngalande & Mkwinda, 2014). After transcribing and editing the transcript, I created an ATLAS.ti 8 project and uploaded all the primary documents. In order to facilitate the organisation and analysis of the data, document groups were created, based on the data collection methods. Therefore, each group contained the corresponding files for visual data, semi-structured interviews, FGDs, KII transcripts, and data from secondary sources (policy documents). With the exception of textual data like interviews, KIIs and FGD transcripts, the secondary data (policy documents) and visual data (maps and photos) were not subjected to the process of transcription and editing.

The next phase was the development of a code frame using a mixture of both deductive and inductive coding (see Kuckartz, 2019; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Schreier, 2014). Schreier (2014) suggests that part of the codes always need to be inductively derived from data, in order for the coding frame to provide a true description of the data. In this study, I deductively developed the coding frame using descriptors derived from the different theories (see chapter three), followed by an inductive coding of relevant aspects of data that was not captured (Friese, Soratto & Pires, 2018). Before undertaking the coding of the data, I checked all the codes to ensure that they aligned with the questions and objectives of the study. Thereafter, I read through each individual file, selected relevant data segments, and applied a corresponding code from an existing code list. This process was repeated until all the textual data (both primary and secondary) was coded.

When coding graphical or visual data, I selected graphical/image quotations, applied them to an existing code list and also used ATLAS.ti 8 comment function to record my interpretations of the images. My descriptions and interpretations of the images mainly focused on their content. Therefore, the focus was not mainly on what was depicted in the images, but the meaning conveyed by these images. After deductive coding, I conducted a second cycle of reading. This was aimed at inductively coding relevant issues about the study that were not

captured through the deductive coding. After coding all the data, I undertook a critical analysis of codes and their corresponding quotations informed by the study's objectives and research questions. Besides applying the codes to the data, I wrote comments and analytic memos. The comments enabled me to record my interpretations of the data, while memos enabled me to construct a narrative of emerging patterns, and integration of findings from the different methods was done.

After coding all the data, I grouped all codes into categories in relation to the research questions. My task here was to compare and evaluate the codes to determine those that appeared to be related, and grouped them into a category (Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017). At this phase I was able to organise and show patterns that existed in data with manifest content. For example, I used the ATLAS.ti 8 network function to organise some codes/categories into a network. Figure 8.5, shows a semantic visualisation of challenges/risks faced by HBE households grouped into categories of direct challenges, indirect challenges, and risks. Moreover, some data was also summarised in frequency tables. Owing to the interpretivist nature of this study, data abstraction progressed to the latent/theme level. At this level, it was possible for me to make interpretations from the data, and theorisations of the significance of the patterns emerging from the data, their wider meanings and implications (Friese et al., 2018; Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017). To facilitate abstraction at this level, I developed themes by grouping two or more categories. I evaluated the themes to ensure that they adequately represented the codes placed under them, and also related to each other to form a coherent storyline. The process of theme development was iterative rather than linear, as it involved a constant review and arrangement of themes.

The last step was report writing. I exported all quotations and their linked memos and comments to a Microsoft Word document, followed by making sense of the identified themes and categorises. Moreover, quantitative data was exported to a Microsoft Excel spread sheet, and converted into frequency tables, while semantic networks were exported as graphic files and inserted into the report. Thereafter, I started developing a storyline based on my interpretations, supported with evidence from the literature. Moreover, I used theories to guide the discussion of findings (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). I used excerpts and vignettes from the data not only to tell a compelling story, but also to improve on the trustworthiness of the study. Results from the different methods were triangulated to ensure the credibility of the study findings, and drawing of conclusions and recommendations based on collected data.

Baxter and Jack (2008) recommend that, when analysing qualitative data for case studies, data generated from various sources need to be dovetailed in the analysis process, rather than handled separately in order to facilitate the detailed understanding of the case and improve on the credibility of the findings.

4.7 Quality Valuation Criteria/ Trustworthiness of the Study

Scholars of qualitative research have argued that the criteria used to evaluate the quality of positivist research, are based on ontological and epistemological positions that are incongruent with interpretivist research (cf. Berryman, 2019; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 1986). Different scholars have developed standards and criteria used to evaluate the quality of qualitative research that is more attuned to the ontological and epistemological positions that align with qualitative research (see Altheide & Johnson, 1994; Britten, Jones, Murphy & Stacy, 1995; Elder & Miller, 1995; Lincoln, 1995; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 1986). This study adopted the four dimensions of evaluating trustworthiness of qualitative studies developed by Lincoln and Guba (1985; 1986), due to their wide acceptability and application by most qualitative scholars. In this criterion, positivist notions of internal validity, reliability, objectivity and external validity or generalisability are juxtaposed with the four dimensions of trustworthiness including credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability or applicability (Guba, 1981; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 1986), as explained in the following sub-sections.

4.7.1 Credibility

Credibility denotes 'the degree of correspondence between the realities of the research domain and participants, and how closely the researcher interprets their intentions and realities, and how closely the researcher is representative of those participants' (Guba & Lincoln, 1989 in Travis 1999:1043). I undertook different activities to improve on the credibility of the study. To start with, I visited the research site for a period of six months. This enabled me to become acquainted with the research site and the participants. Moreover, it also enabled me to detect and take note of distortions produced by my presence and how to mitigate them. For example, as alluded to previously, Katanga slum was faced with the constant threat of eviction, and the fear of KCCA law enforcement and tax officials by residents, and my presence in the study site first attracted undue attention. Therefore, upon request, I was assigned a local council representative in each of the three research site zones

to introduce me to the community members. This provided an opportunity to explain and answer questions about the aim and funders of the study. Consequently, the residents became familiar with the research project and acclimatised to my presence. It became clear to the residents and to the research participants in particular that I was not a threat to their safety and livelihood. Therefore, the prolonged engagement period helped to build trust (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and rapport among the study participants and the community in general.

I was also able to enhance credibility through triangulation, which took on three different facets. First, there was data source triangulation. This involved the use of multiple sources of data, including HBE operators, key informants, and secondary data sources like legislative and policy documents. Second, theory triangulation involved the use of different theories like border theory and theoretical concepts like legibility, simplification, urban poverty traps and neighbourhood effect in the interpretation of findings. Third, there was methodological triangulation, which can imply either application of different data collection methods or different designs (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Since this study was informed by the interpretivist paradigm, triangulation did not involve the use of different designs but data collection methods including, FGDs, KIIs, semi-structured interviews, observation and mapping, and secondary data analysis. During data collection, I employed the data collection methods sequentially to facilitate cross-examination, especially when conflicting findings were obtained from different participants (Guba, 1981). For example, data from document analysis, FGDs and interviews was used to cross-check and confirm findings from KIIs. Triangulation enabled the convergence of data from different methods, which not only helped me to confirm and support my interpretations, but also to generate a holistic picture of the study.

I was able to enhance the credibility of the study through conducting member checks. This involved continuous verification of the data captured and the interpretations derived from it, to ensure that they were a true reflection of the participants' views. According to Lincoln and Guba, (1985) member-checking is both formal – conducted through a planned session with participants, and informal – conducted during the course of the investigation. Owing to both financial and time constraints, I preferred the latter to the former. After each interview I played back a summary of the recorded interview for the interviewee to provide a final comment. In cases where a participant had no time to listen to the interview, I used my interview notes to seek confirmation about aspects of the interviews that appeared to be

fascinating or atypical. This process not only helped the participants to approve or agree with the interview recordings as a true record, but also gave the participants the opportunity to make corrections in case of errors or to provide additional information. Lastly, the credibility of the study was enhanced through ensuring thorough data analysis procedures such as conducting verbatim interview transcriptions, and the use of verbatim quotes from the data in order to illuminate and support my interpretations.

4.7.2 Transferability

Transferability denotes the applicability of a qualitative study to other contexts. Wahyuni (2012) observes that although qualitative studies are not reproducible, it is possible to apply these studies in another setting. I enhanced the transferability of the study through undertaking two different activities. The first activity was through giving a detailed description of the context of research data and site. Lincoln and Guba (1985) recommend that the researcher should provide enough contextual descriptions to enable potential future researchers to make transferability judgements about the suitability of the study for their own settings. I therefore made an effort to give detailed information about the local context and the wider contextual (city level) background within which this study was undertaken. As discussed later in chapters Six to Ten, a contextual analysis is of paramount importance to the understanding of issues pertaining to HBEs. Second, as discussed previously, I employed various non-random sampling approaches to maximise the variety of information uncovered (Guba, 1981). For example, I used purposive maximum variation sampling to ensure that rich and diverse perspectives are represented in the study. Moreover, I clearly described the sampling procedure and characteristics of the sample to enable future researchers to undertake transferability decisions.

4.7.3 Dependability

Dependability denotes the 'stability of findings over time' (Korstjens & Moser, 2018:121). In order to improve on the dependability of this study, I undertook different activities including the use of overlap methods/triangulation, conducting a pilot study, leaving an audit trail and conducting a dependability audit. As explained previously, I employed various data collection methods so as to build complementarity of these methods, while addressing their individual limitations. Moreover, a pilot study, as explained previously, was also conducted to ensure that data collection tools adequately addressed the objectives and research questions

of this study. Furthermore, I also left an audit trail of how data was collected and analysed, through providing a step-by-step and detailed account of the methodological and procedural decisions and choices, and my rationale for undertaking such decisions is provided to enable future researchers make informed judgements about their studies. The audit trail facilitated a dependability audit to be performed, a recommended activity after data collection (see Guba, 1981). In this study, a dependability audit was done by the supervisor who examined how data was collected and gave comments and critique on the data generated and the degree to which procedures and methods used to collect this data fell within the generally accepted qualitative data collection practice.

4.7.4 Confirmability

Korstjens & Moser (2018:121) define confirmability as the 'degree to which the findings of the research study could be confirmed by other researchers'. In order to achieve confirmability, I implemented triangulation strategies, conducted reflexivity processes, and provided an audit trail to enable my supervisor to conduct confirmability audits (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As indicated previously, triangulation of data sources, methods and theoretical perspectives helped to test the correctness of my interpretations and conclusions, and deal with the pitfalls of each individual data collection method. Guba (1981:87) suggests that a researcher 'should provide documentation for every claim from at least two sources' to ensure that negative instances are eliminated and the data supports his/her analysis and interpretation of the findings.

The other method used to achieve confirmability was conducting reflexivity. Reflexivity denotes 'a process of critical reflection both on the kind of knowledge produced from research and how that knowledge is generated' (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004:274). This involved reflections about my influence on the research process and its outcomes. There are two forms of reflexivity – personal reflexivity and epistemological reflexivity (Crosby & Nightingale, 1999 in Pitard, 2017; Dowling, 2006). The former relates to how the research process is influenced by the investigator's values, experiences and assumptions, whereas, the latter deals with the reflections undertaken by the investigator regarding to the influence of the research design on the research (Pitard, 2017). Reflexivity is particularly important for studies informed by an interpretivist paradigm, where the investigator is considered a co-producer of knowledge or data. Moreover, the fact that reflexivity needs to be practiced

throughout the research process, shows that it is imperative for researchers to declare and take responsibility for their positionality (ibid), and its influence on the research process and outcomes.

I maintained a journal where my introspections and decisions on various processes of the study were recorded. This journal contained both my personal and epistemological reflexive moments before, during and after data collection. One of my reflexive moments at the onset of data collection, involved a reflection on my presence in the study area. This emerged after I realised that my presence in the study area attracted undue attention and scepticism from the community and the participants, as they thought I was a disguised KCCA or government official. I therefore critically reflected on the sensitivity of researching about HBE households in slum communities, and how my presence in the area, conduct and appearance could affect the quality of data that was generated. Moreover, the reflection also enabled me to ponder about the discourses on informality and policy/legal regimes, and the fear and uncertainty they created among the slum communities. Upon this reflection, I had to be mindful about the nature of my dress, and I also realised that I needed more time at the study site for the residents to get used to me, and to be able to create a rapport with the study participants. These reflections subsequently influenced the way data collection was conducted and how the participants were interviewed, to avoid raising suspicion.

I also maintained an audit trial, by ensuring explicit and detailed description or documentation of the research process (including methods and procedural decisions with all their justifications) to facilitate the examination of the integrity or correctness of the research findings. Therefore, an audit trail facilitated the confirmability audit process conducted by my thesis supervisor. Immediately after the data collection, the supervisor requested me to write a reflective paper detailing the methodological and procedural process undertaken and a summary of the findings and challenges encountered during the fieldwork. This provided the supervisor with a glimpse into how the data was collected, and enabled him to give corrective suggestions about the issues that were left out or not adequately explored during the data collection process. Moreover, each empirical chapter was reviewed several times by the supervisor to ensure that data exists to support every interpretation, and that analysis and interpretations were made in ways consistent with the generated data.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Owing to the qualitative nature of this study, I had to interact intimately with the participants, which required entering their personal lives and spaces, in order to collect data. Moreover, the undocumented nature of HBEs meant that exposing the identities of the operators not only risked their safety, but also their livelihood. In order to address the different ethical concerns in this study, I ensured that written informed consent was sought from the research participants before their involvement in the study. In order to cater for the illiterate participants, the information sheet and the consent form were translated into the local language (Luganda), and where necessary, were read out to the research participants. The research participants were informed about the voluntary nature of their involvement in the study, and their right to pull out from the study at any point, without any suffering any negative consequence. Interviews did not commence unless the consent forms were signed or thumb-printed by the participants. Besides signing the consent forms, care was taken not to cause physical or emotional harm to the participants. Therefore, I avoided asking participants sensitive questions, and also treated all the information given to me with utmost confidentiality. The confidentiality and anonymity were not only limited to the data collection process, but extended to the process of data analysis (Schutt, 2019). Therefore, as alluded to previously, during data analysis and report writing, research participants were identified by codes instead of their names, to ensure anonymity.

Furthermore, I provided the research participants with adequate information about the research and everything they needed to know about their involvement in the study. Therefore, I avoided deception by not withholding information about the study or deceiving participants to ensure their participation in the study. Lastly, I ensured that my interpretations of the study findings were a correct representation or reflection of the research participants' views. To this end, all the interviews and discussions with the research participants were transcribed verbatim, and direct quotes and cases from the interviews were used while reporting the study findings.

4.9 Conclusion

The nature of the study necessitated the application of a qualitative methodology. Through this approach it was possible for me to interact with participants and generate in-depth information about the study. Use of multiple qualitative methods helps to build on the

trustworthiness of the study, but a lot of data can be generated, which makes data analysis an onerous task. Nevertheless, I found using ATLAS.ti 8 helpful in managing and analysing large quantities of data that emerged from this study. Specifically, one of the benefits of using ATLAS.ti 8 in data analysis was the ability to integrate data from the five different data collection methods, which enhanced the trustworthiness of the study. It is worth noting, that the use of the multi-methods approach should not be limited only to text-based methods like interviews, document analysis and FGDs, but should also integrate visual-based methods like mapping. Therefore, HBE researchers need to expand their methods and tools set to enhance the trustworthiness of their studies. The use of visual methods like mapping in HBE research is still at emergence stage. Therefore, there is a need for future researchers to incorporate this method into their methodology. Mapping can be used both in theoretical knowledge development and in development practice. With reference to the latter, urban mapping can help urban designers and planners to enhance their understanding of how the city operates, and how it can be transformed through socio-spatial interventions that better target the urban poor.

One of the arguments in this chapter is that, researchers guided by the interpretivist paradigm ought to understand the research context, so as to better understand the phenomenon under study or make meaningful interpretations of the research findings. Therefore, in order to understand and put into perspective the findings of this study, my discussion in the following chapter focuses on the research context, where I provide a summary of the urbanisation, informality and planning situation in Kampala City. These three processes are important as far as the emergence and survival of HBEs are concerned.

CHAPTER FIVE

URBANISATION, INFORMALITY AND URBAN PLANNING IN KAMPALA CITY

5.0 Introduction

Kampala Capital City offers an interesting context in which to explore ways in which HBE-operating households negotiate various urban dynamics to ensure their livelihood survival. Due to Kampala City's primacy in Uganda, numerous forces are at play therein. On the one hand, there are challenges relating to poverty and informality, and on the other, the response by the state apparatus in dealing with this informality, most of which have an imprint of Uganda's colonial legacy. The interaction of the two creates an important context that needs to be discussed and analysed by any study conducted in such an environment. In the context of this study on HBE households, knowledge of the socio-economic developments like urbanisation and its associated consequences, and decisions on plans of bureaucrats relating to urban planning, informality, land tenure and housing in the city, is necessary in order to appreciate the environment in which HBE households operate, and the context of their interaction with the state or the city authorities in particular. Also important is the fact that Kampala City, akin to other former colonial cities, faces numerous challenges that are deep-rooted in its colonial legacy. Therefore, in order to understand and contextualise the current state of affairs in Kampala City, one needs to delve into its colonial history to unearth key colonial policies and actions that have had lasting ramifications for the city as far as the informal sector is concerned. The intent here is not to pass judgement on the colonists nor castigate the colonial administration for the current situation in the city, but rather, the purpose is to understand the lived realities or context under which the HBE households operate. The discussion in this chapter helps to place HBEs in a broader context of the past and the current socio-economic fabric of the urban landscape of the city. Therefore, addressing the objectives of the study without this contextualisation may blur one's understanding and discussion of the subject at hand. To this end, the chapter commences with an exegesis of the urbanisation trend and its associated informality. This is followed by a section on how colonists and the state approach(ed) the challenge of urbanisation and informality through planning, while highlighting the genesis and legacies of Kampala City's informality. To avoid confusion, the name 'Kampala' is used to refer to the area formerly

under British colonial administration, while 'Kampala City' is used to refer to both a post-independent and unified city.

5.1 Urbanisation in Kampala Capital City

Africa is currently considered to be at the 'epicentre of global urbanisation' (UN, 2017:20) in the world. Four main factors have been fronted as the dominant drivers of urbanisation in Africa. These include, natural population growth (due to high fertility rates and reduced mortality due to advances and innovation in the health sector); rural–urban migration; upgrading rural settlements to urban areas (Cobbinah, Erdiaw-Kwasie & Amoateng, 2015; UN, 2017); and to a lesser extent, international migration (UN, 2017). Scholars like Cobbinah et al. (2015) argue that some drivers of urbanisation are not 'mutually exclusive'. While citing different scholars, Cobbinah and colleagues present the argument that, a factor like the upgrading of rural areas to urban areas is primarily determined by natural increases in populations and the rural-urban exodus. In Kampala's case, factors like annexation (instead of upgrading of rural areas to urban areas), rural-urban migration and natural population growth are of much significance to both the historical and contemporary urbanisation trends of the city.

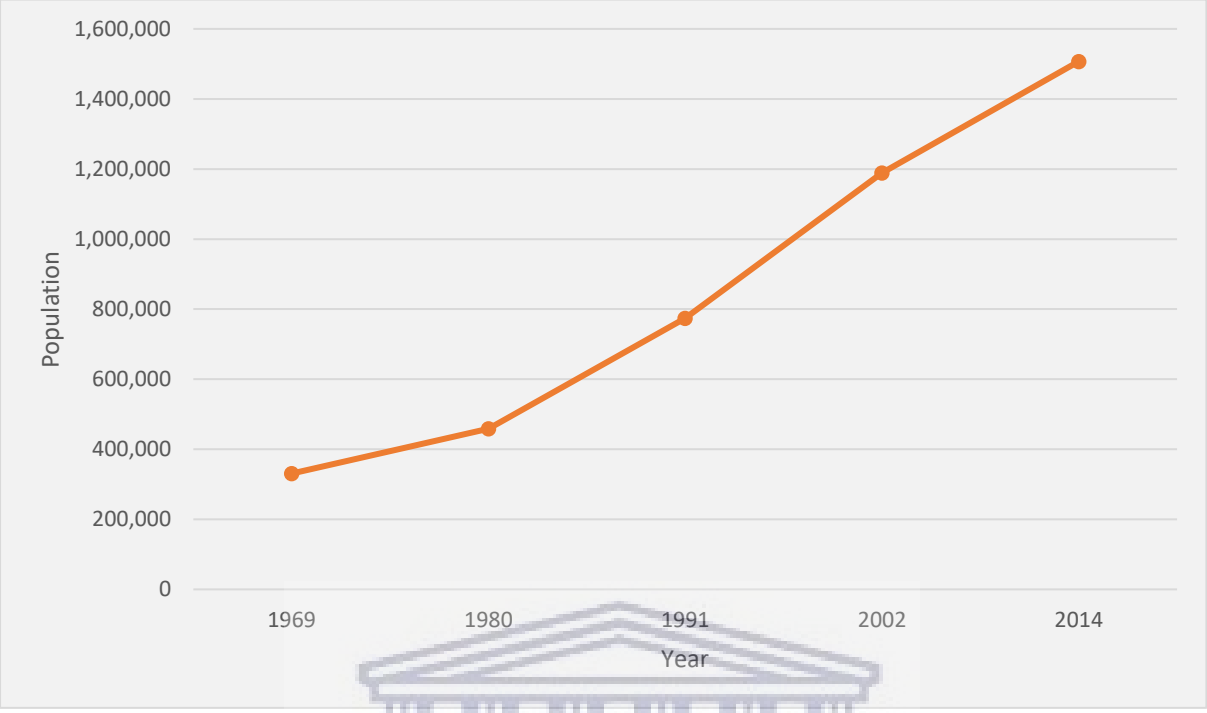
Kampala City is both the administrative and commercial capital of Uganda. As the country's economic hub, the City accounts for 80% of the country's industrial and commercial establishments with a 65% contribution to the country's gross domestic product (GDP) (KCCA, 2014). Kampala's contribution to the national GDP could be bigger if it were not for the large undocumented informal sector. We need to observe that, by all definitions, Kampala Capital City is a primate city in Uganda. Consequently, it has become a centre of attraction for rural-urban migrants in their quest for better services and employment (Mutabazi, 2012; World Bank, 2015a). Kampala's urbanisation is attributed primarily to increased population growth emanating from rural-urban migration fuelled by poverty and limited services in rural areas (KCCA, 2012; 2014; Lwasa, 2004; Mukiibi, 2012; World Bank, 2015a). Other scholars like Bidandi (2015) attribute this rate of urbanisation to what he terms 'formal' and 'informal' dynamics. The former relates to government's deliberate legal and policy framework geared towards urban development, whereas the later includes but is not limited to, the city's attractiveness to job-seekers and excessive rural poverty. Noteworthy is that, after Uganda attained her independence in 1962, the population size of the city spiked due to slackened colonial restrictive policies on the migration of 'natives' to the city, and the

expulsion of Asians by former Ugandan president, Idi Amin, which attracted more native Africans from the rural areas in search of economic benefits, to the city (UN-Habitat, 2007). Scholars have debated the truism that rural-urban migration is fuelled by the quest for economic attainment in urban areas. Scholars like Potts (2016) argue that during the structural adjustment period (1980s–1990s), many African urban economies became fragile and were characterised by the increased rates of informality and vulnerability of urban households. The rate of rural-urban migration continued unabated, which implied that the principal motives driving their migration were not of economic significance. Therefore, it is imperative to note that rural-urban migration is an outcome with a multiplicity of causes that are of a social, economic and political nature, and are context-specific.

Whichever the case might be, urbanisation in Kampala due to rural-urban migration has continued unabated, to date. Currently, Kampala Capital City is experiencing an inexorable 'demographic tsunami' due to its primacy in the region (KCCA, 2012). As result, the city is overwhelmed as it cannot keep pace with the growing infrastructural and service demands by the majority of its residents (KCCA, 2012; MLHUD, 2016; Mutabazi, 2012).

Urbanisation and its associated evils are not unique to Kampala alone; Davis (2006) acknowledges that urbanisation is a challenge across cities of the developing world. He observes that, 'over urbanisation', witnessed in cities of developing countries is 'driven by the reproduction of poverty, not by the supply of jobs' (Davis, 2006:16). There is a counter argument for this particular view, that agglomeration brings benefits and that urbanisation drives development, and economic growth (see Turok & McGranahan, 2013). Nevertheless, the former perspective better explains the situation in Uganda and Kampala in particular due to rural poverty, most people have been forced to migrate to urban areas in quest for better standards of living. This is because they perceive urban areas to be the land of opportunity. As shown in Figure 5.1, Kampala Capital City's population has grown from 330,700 in 1969 to 458,503 in 1980; from 774, 241 in 1991 to 1,189,142 in 2002; and 1,507,114 in 2014 at average annual growth rates of 4.5% to 5.0% (KCCA, 2012). Given its economic significance, a sizable number of people reside in nearby towns and commute to work in the city, greatly increasing the day-time population to about 2.5million (KCCA, 2014; World Bank, 2015a). Despite the daily transient population, it is mostly the official night-time population figure that is considered for planning purposes.

Figure 5.1: Population growth of Kampala Capital City (1969-2014)



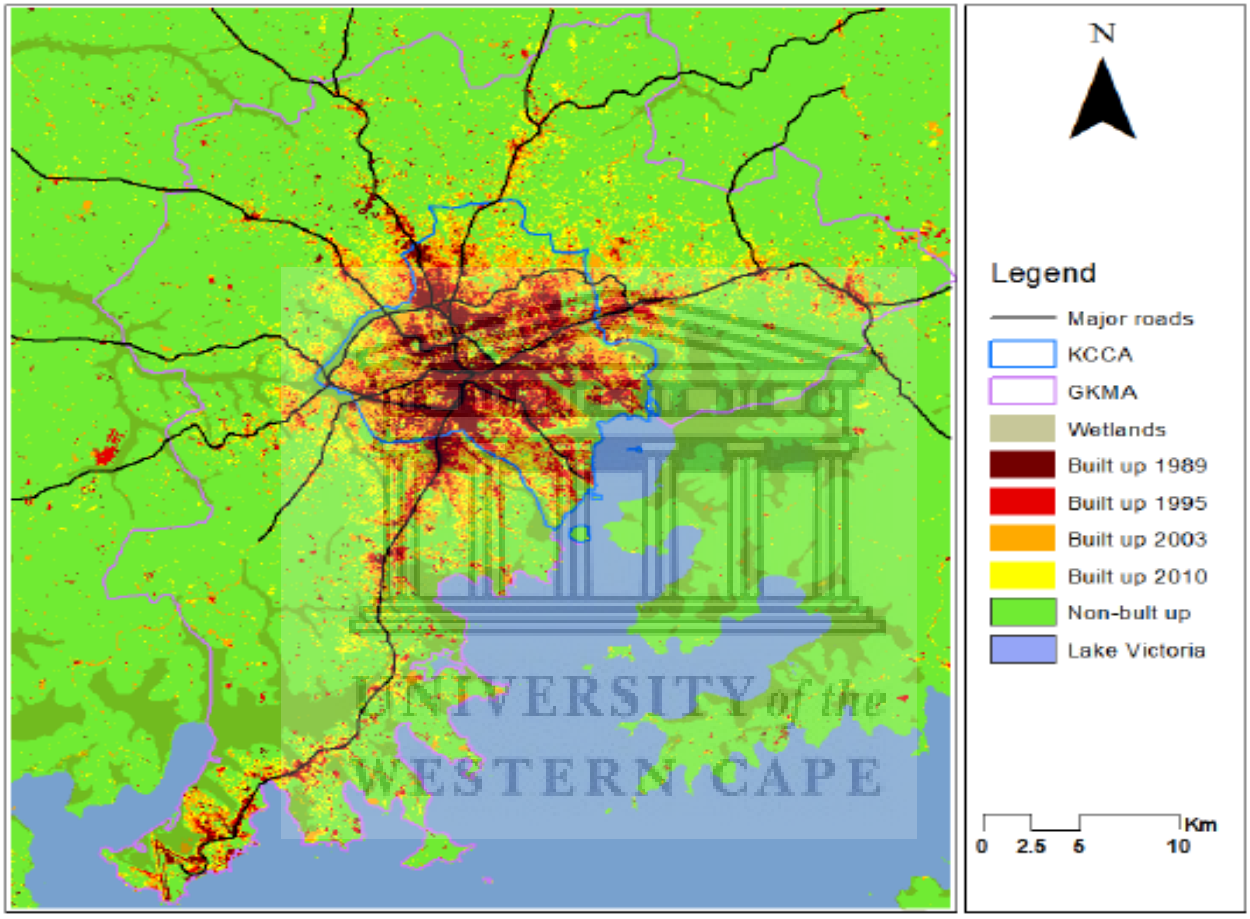
Source: Author, 2017 based on data from UBOS (2006; 2016a)

Despite the fact that Kampala has maintained primacy in Uganda for many decades, the proportion of the city's population in relation to the total urban population has declined steadily from 41% in 1991 to 25% in 2014, showing that the smaller urban areas like Wakiso, Hoima, and Mukono are growing, some even faster than Kampala City (MLHUD, 2016; UBOS, 2016a). The high rate of rural-urban migration in Kampala can be compared to no other urban centre in Uganda. Amidst this trend of events, Kampala Capital City remains the most populous and urbanised region in Uganda, and if the current growth pattern continues unabated, the city is projected to grow into a mega city with at least 10 million residents in the next two decades (KCCA, 2012; World Bank, 2015a).

Due to the annexation of neighbouring areas and in-migration, Kampala has developed from an administrative township of 0.7km^2 in 1902 (World Bank, 2012) to 195 km^2 between 1967 and1968 (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). As discussed later in this chapter, in 1968, areas under Mengo municipality (Kibuga) were added to Kampala (former colonial town). This led to the physical expansion of Kampala from 21km^2 to 189km^2 (KCCA, 2014), and consequently increased its population from 50,000 (Byaruhanga & Ssozi, 2012) in 1962 to 330,700 in 1969 (UBOS, 2006), a year after the amalgamation. As shown in Figure 5.2, before 1989, most development in the city was concentrated around upland areas of the urban core and along

major transportation corridors (Abebe, 2013). As the population increased, the development spread to the unplanned lower slopes and swampy valleys (World Bank, 2015b), and nearby suburbs of Kampala Metropolitan Towns and Counties (KMTC) (KCCA, 2012; MHLUD, 2016; Omolo-Okalebo, 2011).

Figure 5.2: Expression of KCCA and Greater Kampala Metropolitan Area (GKMA) 1989-2010



Source: Abebe (2013)

The uncontrolled urbanisation in Kampala City has instigated numerous processes that have far-reaching ramifications for the management of the city, and for the livelihood of the city dwellers, especially the urban poor. To address some of the key corollaries of urbanisation, the next sub-section discusses informality with all its manifestations.

5.2 Bridging the Gap? Informality in Kampala City

In many cities across the world, informality is manifested through informal housing/settlements, informal economy and informal land markets. Therefore informality, 'is

both an economic reality where pervasive poverty and precarious self-employment are the norm and a form of shelter and service provision where slums are a defining feature' (Kudva, 2009:1614). Informality concerns practices of infiltration of the formal (Alsayyad, 2004 in Dovey & King, 2011), power relations (Müller, 2017), negotiation, and urban resistance characterised by 'deliberate ingenious responses to hostile states and adverse economic conditions' (Kudva, 2009:1617). Informality forms the core of 'conflicting rationalities' between the urban poor with the resolve to survive through informal means, and urban authorities with modernistic worldviews (De Satgé & Watson, 2018).

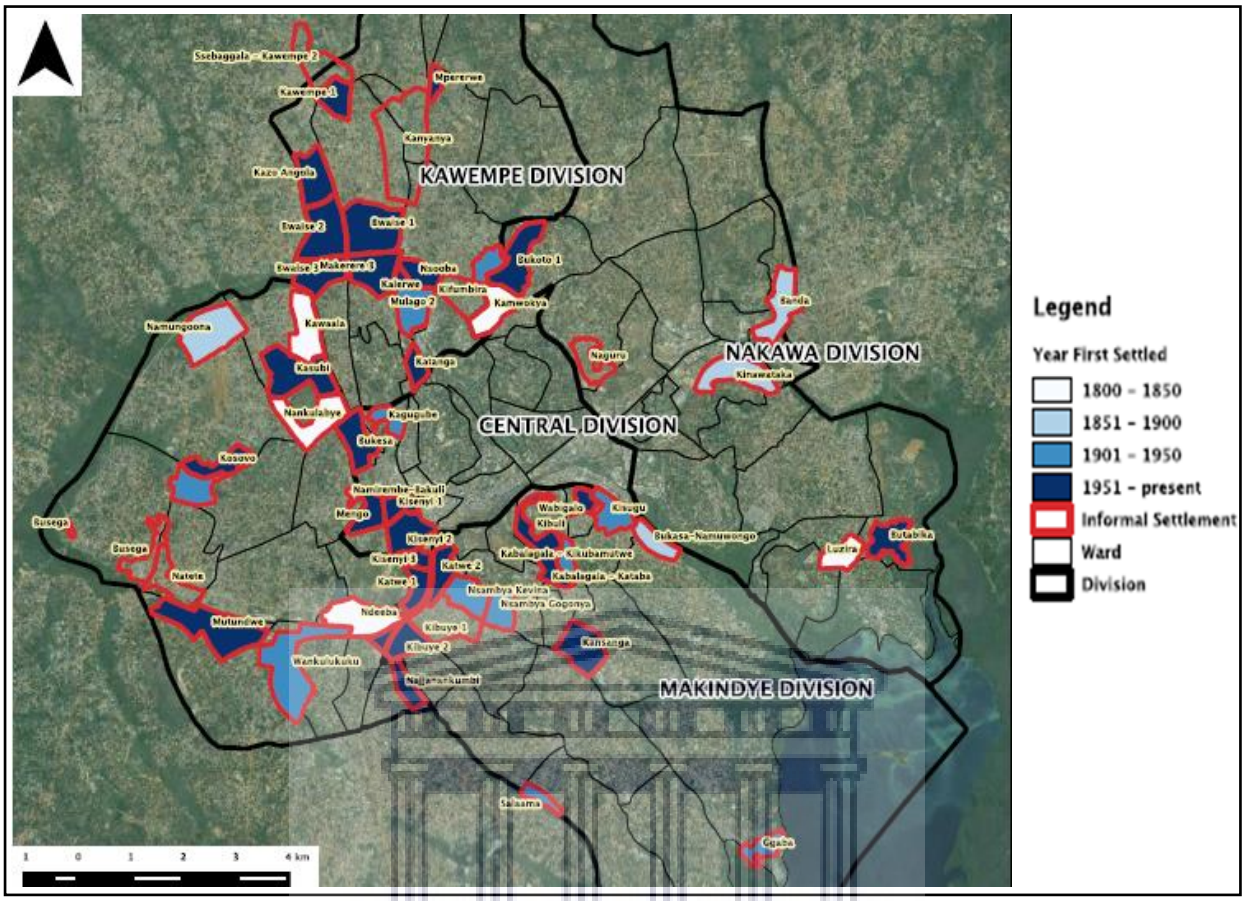
Despite the existence of formal urban governance and planning systems, Kampala has become a city of informality, as the shortage in housing and formal employment has compelled the urban residents to engage in the informal sector through either establishing informal settlements or joining the informal sector (Pietrus, 2015). Some of the informal economic activities are HBEs, as well as street and market vendors. Watson (2009a) asserts that the high level of informality in many cities of developing countries can be attributed to inapt planning and zoning standards set by city authorities, rather than the desire by citizens to be rebellious. Watson argues that such standards are not only difficult to implement, but result in spatial and social marginalisation. Even more interesting, is the fact that informality signifies an imprint of colonial legacy. For example, Home (1997) observes that the location of informal housing at the urban fringes was a common feature of the colonial urban development, which was of little interest to the colonial authorities' control and management. Moreover, colonial land policies aimed at the exclusion of the natives from urban life, resulted in the creation of informal settlements on the urban periphery. As previously discussed, African cities, including Kampala, are urbanising amidst inelastic employment rates and the declining quality of basic amenities like housing. Resultantly, many people have resorted to informality in order to meet their employment and housing needs. To address all the above issues, the successive sub-sections present a discussion about the nature of urban informality in Kampala City, with the first addressing issues of slum and informal settlement development, while the second gravitates around issues of the urban informal economy in the city.

5.2.1 Slum and Informal Settlement Development in Kampala City

As indicated in the previous section, many cities across Africa, including Kampala City, are facing unprecedented urbanisation rates, amidst limited budgets and manpower capacity to enable urban authorities to match this increase with infrastructure and services. This has resulted in the exertion of pressure on the limited urban infrastructure and services. Housing is one of the services stretched by rapid unplanned urbanisation experienced by Kampala City. With a small housing stock increase of 11% between 2011 and 2014, the City's housing deficit has increased from 65,054 units in 2011 to 73,388 units in 2014 (MLHUD, 2015). To make matters worse, with the current population growth rate, Kampala City will need 18,400 units to cater for the demand of new households between 2010 and 2020 (UN-Habitat, 2010). Moreover, this is happening amidst inaccessibility to land for housing, owing to the skyrocketing prices for land (Mukiibi, 2012), driven by increased land demand for industrial, infrastructural and estate development. Mukiibi (2012) therefore cautions that, unless the government takes appropriate action to avert the situation, the current trend is poised to continue unabated.

It should be noted that the housing needs of the residents in Kampala are met primarily through the private sector that only caters for a small fraction of the housing demand (World Bank, 2015a), which is not proportionate to the growing housing demand in the City (Mukiibi, 2012). Amidst the increasing urban population, the limited housing finance and supply, many city residents have been left with no alternative other than living in slums. The cheaper alternatives are mainly in the form of tenement housing (*Muzigo*) usually in close proximity to their employment (KCCA, 2012). Needless to say, housing is an important asset, especially to HBE households, as it not only provides them with shelter, but also enables them to earn a living through different economic activities.

Figure 5.3: Slums in Kampala Capital City



Source: ACTogether (2014)

Given the acute housing deficit, Kampala Capital City is epitomised by people living in informal housing located in the 62 informal settlements (See Figure 5.3) dotted throughout the City (Jones, Bird, Beck, & Haas, 2016; KCCA, 2014), a home to 53.6% of Kampala's residents. This number has reduced from 60% in 2010 (UN Habitat, 2016). Resultantly, the city has earned all manner of epithets, mostly from the elite, including a 'modern executive slum' (Otage & Ngosa, 2011) and 'one big slum' (New Vision, 2012), which one can consider a mockery of the uncontrolled sprawl and squalid living conditions under which many city residents subsist. Therefore, what should be of concern is not the urbanisation and growth of Kampala City, but rather the nature of urban development as it relates to the city's environment (World Bank, 2015b) and the living and working conditions of city residents, more specially the urban poor.

The situation of slum development is not unique only to Kampala City; slums are a ubiquitous aspect of most cities in the developing world. Davis (2006) reports that Africa's

slum area growth doubled the speed of the continent's expanding cities, and this happens amidst faded hopes for mitigation of the continent's urban poverty. Indeed, the situation has not changed, as over 60% of sub-Saharan Africa's urban population reside in slum, the highest level of slum occurrence of any region in the world (UN-Habitat, 2008 in Fox, 2014). The majority (70%) of city dwellers in Kampala resided in tenement houses (*Muzigo*) in the survey period 2009/2010 increasing from 64% in the previous survey period 2005/2006 (UBOS, 2010). This is attributed primarily to the high accommodation demand and poor levels of income. Equally so, during the same period, the number of people residing in rented houses increased from 64.3% to 70.1% in 2005/2006 and 2009/2010 respectively (ibid).

Furthermore, 68.4% of households occupied one-roomed dwellings, while 20% occupied 2-roomed homes. Moreover, the rental costs for the *Muzigo* per m^2 'built' area are the most expensive options in Kampala, despite the limited privacy and personal space for household members (KCCA, 2012). Therefore, the socio-economic challenges faced by the city are epitomised by the presence of slums (Jones et al., 2016) and their associated challenges. Barrow, Johnson, Kisembo, Lwasa and Marx (2016) observe that rapid urbanisation has exacerbated poverty and land shortage which has intensified the establishment of informal settlement in wetland corridors of the city fringes, resulting in a decimation of the environment. In congruence, Davis (2006) avers that, as the housing crisis worsens in most cities in the developing world, slums directly invade vital ecological sanctuaries and protected watersheds. Davis draws on diverse examples across cities of developing countries, including Kampala, where slum dwellers' encroachment has resulted in water pollution from untreated sewage.

Although not all urban poor people reside in slums, not all slum dwellers are poor (Davis, 2006). The reality is that, in most sub-Saharan African cities like Kampala City, slums and poverty can be considered as 'bedfellows', as poverty epitomises all slum areas in these cities. For example, the rapid urbanisation experienced by Kampala City has debilitated the city authority's capacity to adequately provide the needed housing, infrastructure, employment, services and amenities for the majority of its population (see Richmond, Myers, & Namuli, 2018). Despite the fact that the KCCA has witnessed a considerable growth in local revenue collection from 55.06 billion Ugandan shillings in 2012/2013 to 85 billion Ugandan shilling in 2015/2016 (KCCA, 2017a), attributed to improved tax administration and institutional modernisation (KCCA, 2017b; Kopanyi, 2015), the resource envelope is

outstripped by the enormous infrastructure and services demand at hand. In the 2016/2017 financial year, the KCCA's budget amounted to 563.84 billion Ugandan shillings, with approximately 50% and 30% funded by the World Bank and central government respectively. Given the limited resource envelope, the city has up to the tune of 206.5 billion shillings in unfunded priorities (KCCA, 2017a). As alluded to earlier, with the increased influx of rural-urban migrants, amidst an inelastic infrastructure, employment and services, poverty and informality have been a true defining characteristic of the city's socio-economic landscape (KCCA, 2012). Poverty has resulted in the polarisation of the city with pouches of poor areas dotted around the city (see Figure 5.3) (Mugamba, 2016). Mugamba further argues that although slums are in close proximity to the city, their inhabitants remain detached from other city counterparts along lines of access to infrastructure, education, space and capital. Therefore, how the urban poor, especially the HBE households negotiate the different dynamics presented by such exclusion, finds a central location in this study.

The KCCA (2012) revealed that about 70% of Kampala's population could be categorised under low or subsistence level. Similarly, a survey conducted by the John Paul II Justice and Peace Centre (2011) in selected informal settlements in Kampala City, established that 63% of households were living below the estimated Food Poverty Line (150,558 Uganda Shillings per month), whereas 61.5% were leaving below the estimated Absolute Poverty Line of 382,220 Uganda shillings (ibid). Poverty in Kampala City slums is characterised mainly by poor living conditions, typified by poor housing, congestion, poor hygiene and sanitation, and high crime rates. The John Paul II Justice and Peace Centre further established that the 85% average latrine coverage of Kampala City was not reflective of the actual situation in the slums as 99.7% of the households lacked toilets of their own. It was further established that, households met their sanitation needs by sharing toilets with neighbours, whereas others had to spend between 100 and 200 Uganda shillings to access a public toilet. Those who could not afford to pay, resorted to 'flying toilets' – a practice of defecating in a plastic bag and throwing it away, either in a drainage channel or garbage collection spot. Moreover, slum communities in the city also face limited access to safe water. The World Bank (2014) reports that 65% of the city's population has access to clean and safe piped water, whereas the rest resort to unhygienic and polluted water sources, mainly due to the high cost of water. Studies have revealed that the cost of water per litre paid by Kampala slum residents is thrice the cost paid for the same amount of water by residents in the formal settlements (John Paul II Justice and Peace Centre, 2011), and the majority only use 20 litres per capita per day, a minimal

consumption standard set by the World Health Organisation (World Bank, 2014). Chapter eight addresses the effect of this informally-produced space on the operation and sustainability of HBEs.

5.2.2 The Urban Informal Economy in Kampala Capital City

The informal sector in Kampala City can be traced back to the colonial period. As detailed in the successive discussion, the City's current growth and importance is greater now than never before, as a great number of urban dwellers eke out a living from this sector. The growth of the informal sector in Uganda is attributed to socio-economic and political factors. During the regimes of Presidents Milton Obote and Idi Amin (1960s-1980s), Uganda underwent a difficult period marked by economic stagnation due to economic mismanagement and political violence (Golooba-Mutebi, 2003; 2008), followed by a collapse of social service provision, unemployment and a great sense of insecurity and uncertainty in the country. This coincided with the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) – preconditions for borrowing from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in the late 1980s and 1990s. Amis (2006) argues that the implementation of SAPs led to a further decline in real minimum wage levels, as both formal employment by industries and government significantly reduced, due to government's budgetary cutbacks, including the retrenchment of workers. Therefore, due to eroded livelihoods, the urban poor turned to the participation in the informal sector and agriculture in order to survive (ibid). Though Amis's argument might be correct, it shadows the diacritical process through which informality was produced during colonial and post-colonial periods.

As discussed previously, rapid urbanisation fuelled by demographic and socio-economic factors, amidst contracted formal employment, has resulted in job scarcity. The informal sector thus becomes a major source of employment and income for many urban poor in the city (Barrow et al., 2016; Mukiibi, 2012), as they create their own jobs in untaxed and unfettered moneymaking activities (Pietrus, 2015). Therefore, joining the informal sector is one of the strategies the urban poor have devised to ensure their survival in the city (Mugamba, 2016; Oonyu & Esaete, 2012), and an assertion of the right to the city that is denied to them. Although Kampala's informal economy has hitherto been dominated by the illiterate, this scenario has since changed as more educated people join this economy (Asiimwe, 2011), due to the increased scarcity of formal employment. Scholars such as

Pietrus (2015) have argued that informality exemplifies the denial of rights, and the informal sector defies this denial as it provides an opportunity for the urban poor to claim what they have been denied. People who are denied housing, build informal housing and those precluded from the economy, find creative ways to earn a living. Nevertheless, Pietrus contends that the informal sector in Kampala cannot guarantee secure access to livelihood and housing of its operators, because it is outside of the state's legal protection. As such, the informal workers lack the legal rights to the socio-economic benefits of the city. For example, Pietrus observes that city residents living in informality can construct a dwelling, but then KCCA officials can forcibly and legally evict them; and though they can engage in street vending, the city authorities can legally arrest them and confiscate their goods. How then do these urban dwellers (especially those operating HBEs) survive? This question becomes one of the pertinent issues for this study.

A survey conducted by UBOS (2016b) in Kampala metropolitan area revealed that 85.8% of the working population in Kampala was engaged in informal sector activities, including HBEs. The report also showed that, informal employment accounted for 87.2% of the total employment and 86.2% of the non-agricultural employment. In regard to the gender composition of the informal sector in the city, the survey revealed that 84.2% and 88.6% of men and women respectively, were categorised as working in the informal sector. Therefore, more women than men are engaged in informal sector activities, an issue that can be attributed to their low education levels and limited opportunities compared to their male counterparts. The informal sector economic activities conducted in the city include, shop-keeping, food vending, market vending, street vending, small scale manufacturing activities like metal fabrication, craft works, and hairdressing. Most of the informal business operators, including HBE operators, rarely change business. Dimanin (2012) revealed that informal sector workers in Kampala slums did not change their type of work since migrating to the city, and only 16% had stayed in the city for a period of less than 6 years. This is expected, as changing to a new business could require new skills, capital and venturing into unfamiliar business could place the livelihood of the household at risk.

Having looked at the magnitude and composition of the informal sector in Kampala City, we now turn the discussion to the nature of the working environment under which the informal sector workers operate. Here the discussion will focus on the nature of working spaces, and factors that influence their choices.

5.2.3 Working Environment of the Informal Sector Entrepreneurs

In 2012 the KCCA noted that commercial space in the city is at a high cost and in limited supply. Moreover, commercial housing development projects are largely privately-owned and are limited to the city centre targeting businesses in the formal sector with a higher level of capital, while excluding the segment of informal sector operators. Consequently, most informal sector operators have resorted to operating their businesses from informal premises like homes and street sidewalks. Informal sector workers in the city operate their businesses from different venues, incentivised by factors such as cost to commute, cost of working space, accessibility to customer, and fear of being arrested. In a survey conducted by UBOS (2016b) it was established that 57.5% of informal sector operators operated businesses in a structure separate from a house; 15.1%, the majority of whom were men, had no fixed location, and 11.7% operated from fixed stalls in the market or the street. It was also revealed that 11.3%, the majority of whom were female, operated businesses in their homes, in a structure attached to their own home, and that 4.4% used other locations, including clients' or employers' homes, or construction sites. This survey covered greater Kampala (including Mukono and Wakiso districts). Barrow et al. (2016) established that the majority of informal sector workers residing in slum areas around Kampala City, work at home or within their settlements. It is worth noting that, statistics on the informal sector in Uganda in general and in Kampala in particular, appear to be characterised by inadequacies. For example, it is not clear whether people who operate from a structure separate from a house, actually operate within a domestic environment (a structure within the compound) or out of it. Moreover, UBOS has also expressed challenges of locating and collecting survey data on businesses like HBEs due to their household-based nature (Mukalazi, 2010; UBOS, 2011).

Although there are other factors, like the availability and cost of working space that force people to operate from home, scholars have attributed working from home to costs to commute. Vermeiren et al. (2015) contend that, two-thirds of the urban poor do not commute to work and earn income for their households by running small businesses at home. Similarly, Goswami and Lall (2016) argue that due to the high costs of commuting and the fragility of the 'production externalities' in Kampala's business centres, most city residents, especially the urban poor, choose to work at home. Goswami and Lall (2016:4) are of the view that, although the central business district (CBD) is of significance, it does not portray a 'monocentric model', where employment concentration declines in line with increased distance from the city centre. Rather, the employment is dispersed, with slum areas having

higher employment density and mixed land use, whereas high income residential areas have a lower employment density as people living in such places are richer and can afford to commute to work in the city's CBD.

After discussing the nature and prevalence of the informal economy in Kampala City, the focus now shifts to approaches through which the KCCA has managed and regulated informal sector activities in the city.

5.2.4 The Management of Informal Trading in Kampala City

The KCCA Act mandates the Kampala Capital City Authority to ensure cleanliness and trade order in the city. The Act under the third schedule 3(a) empowers the KCCA to '[p]rohibit, restrict, regulate or licence–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' (Government of Uganda, 2010:35). The KCCA has since 2011 embarked on the process of evicting street traders and also arresting people who buy goods from them. The aim of the KCCA is to get all street traders and other informal business operators to shift to the upgraded markets. While some street traders chose to cooperate with the state/city authority and vacated the city streets, others opted to resist the ban on street trading (Young 2018a; 2018b). Noteworthy is that, in Uganda and Kampala City in particular, components of the informal sector like street and market vending have received considerable scholarly attention, while studies on HBEs are still few.

Notwithstanding the cruel manner in which KCCA law enforcement officials handle street traders, the management and regulation of the informal sector has been highly politicised. In order for the central government to gain control of Kampala City from the opposition, urban informal sector groups such as the *Boda-boda* riders and vendors have been exploited by politicians to achieve their political ambitions (Goodfellow & Titeca, 2012). The president of Uganda and other politicians like the Members of Parliament have on several occasions subverted or opposed KCCA efforts aimed at managing and regulating the informal sector in a bid to amass political support. Cognisant of their worth, informal sector operators have on several occasions exploited their 'political capital' as potential voters to draw the attention of the president to subvert KCCA's regulation and control attempts of the informal sector (ibid). Goodfellow and Titeca (2012) exemplify what they term the 'politics of survival', by a case of *Boda-boda* motorists that have defied KCCA efforts to tax them, demarcating and

regulating their numbers in the city by seeking the president's intervention. But such political capital may appear to be temporary or unpredictable due to the changing political environment in the city. For example, Young (2017; 2018a; 2018b) provides a detailed account of the rise of street vending aided by the political capital of the street traders, and the repression faced by these operators due to the disappearance of these political gains with the advent of the KCCA. One may ask, how do HBE operators survive in this highly charged political environment and crackdown on informal sector activities? How do they interact with the state and what are the results of this interaction? These questions, among others, will be addressed in the successive chapters.

In this section we observed that Kampala City is faced with numerous challenges that are of a socio-economic and political nature. The next section discusses ways in which Kampala City has addressed some of these challenges through urban planning. We need to note that planning can be a double-edged sword. It can help deal with informality or fuel it especially if it is based on modernist ideas and introduces unrealistic regulations that promote the exclusion of the majority, especially the urban poor.

5.3 Urban Planning and Informality in Kampala City

Just like any other former colonial city, Kampala City's current cityscape is mainly influenced by the colonial legacy (Namuganyi & Johansson, 2014; Nawangwe, 2009; Omolo-Okalebo, 2011; Omolo-Okalebo, Haas, Werner & Sengendo 2010; Sanya, 2005). The colonists initiated a number of structures and processes that have influenced the development trajectory of Kampala City in the post-independence era. Therefore, in order to understand the current urban planning approaches and activities pursued by the KCCA, one needs to delve into the colonial history of Uganda to trace the colonial origins of Kampala and urban planning, and ways in which colonial planning ideals have had a lasting imprint on planning in post-independent Kampala City. As alluded to in the preamble of this chapter, the name 'Kampala' as used in this section denotes the area previously under British colonial administration, while 'Kampala City' is used to refer to both a post-independent and unified city. The section commences with a discussion of the colonial origin of Kampala City, as it resonates with the discussion of urban planning, followed by an account and discussion of the colonial formal planning and later post-colonial planning.

5.3.1 The Establishment of Kampala: The Emergence of a Dual City

The origin of Kampala can be traced to 1890, when Captain Lugard established a fort at Kampala Hill (Southall & Gutkind, 1957). Its formal status as a colonial administrative town was obtained after the signing of the 1900 Buganda Agreement between the Buganda Kingdom and the British colonial administration. The signing of the agreement resulted in the creation of a dual city, under two distinct administrations, but sharing a single urban sphere. Already in existence was the seat of the Buganda Kingdom – the *Kibuga*, located on and around Mengo hill, under the administration of the King (*Kabaka*) and his chiefs and residence to the 'natives'. Adjacent to the *Kibuga* was Kampala, established as a fort by Captain Lugard on Kampala Hill, administered by the British and residence to the Europeans and Asians (Nawangwe, 2009; Omolo-Okalebo, 2010; 2011; Sanya, 2005).

The congestion brought about by an Indian bazaar that developed around Kampala hill, led to the relocation of the district colonial offices to Nakasero hill in 1905, expanding Kampala eastwards. Due to the booming business, Kampala was designated as the commercial capital of the British protectorate, while the protectorate's administrative and political offices were transferred to Entebbe, several miles away from Kampala. By this time Kampala covered only two hills (Old Kampala and Nakasero hill), and was surrounded by areas under the administration of the Kabaka. Therefore, developments in Kampala were determined by the colonial administration, while in the *Kibuga* these decisions were made by the King and his chiefs. In this case, the *Kibuga* that the peasants were mandated to build was not organised according their needs and preferences (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011), but to those of the King, nobles and chiefs. Although the Kibuga was more urbanised, by 1906, Kampala had already bypassed the *Kibuga* in concentration of development and was designated into a township. Due to the financial muscle and administrative capacity to deal with the rapid population growth, Kampala became clearly distinguishable from the *Kibuga* whose structure changed sluggishly (Southall & Gutkind, 1957). Since the two entities (Kampala and *Kibuga*) where under different administrations, there was a marked difference in service levels. Kampala under the British administration had services like water, sewerage and waste management, while such services were limited in the *Kibuga* under the administration of the King and his chiefs (Nilsson, 2006).

As discussed in ensuing sub-sections, the bifurcated administration and development of Kampala propelled the exclusion of 'natives' from Kampala, a condition that was achieved

through planning and segregationist policies. The colonists believed that in order to preserve their health and maintain their status and dominance over the 'natives', there was a need to segregate themselves into exclusive, and secure enclaves (Home, 1997) through implementing modernist planning ideals that promoted the needs of the colonial administration over those of the 'natives'. In so doing, movement of the 'natives' from Mengo (*Kibuga*) into Kampala was restricted, as it was the case in other colonial cities across Africa. Entry into Kampala was only possible either through working as a house helper at European residences or as a manual labourer in the Indian bazaar, and as a smallholder farmer delivering produce for sale in the bazaar (Monteith, 2016; Shillington, 2005). The bifurcation between Kampala and the *Kibuga* caused the urbanisation process to take on a dual trajectory (Nawangwe, 2009; Sanya, 2005). Areas where the colonists settled developed into urban areas, with orderly settlement and permanent structures based on colonial modernist urban principles of order, formality, zoning, green open spaces and slum removal, while those occupied by the 'natives' lagged behind and remained rural, hence culminating into an urban-rural dichotomy.

5.3.2 Colonial Formal Planning in Kampala 1912-1950s

By 1912, Kampala had developed rapidly and in a haphazard manner characterised by congestion and poor sanitation due to increased trading, especially at the Indian bazaar. This influenced the development or formulation of the 1912 planning scheme. The planning scheme was aimed at creating a conducive living environment for the colonists (Omolo-Okalebo, 2010; 2011; Omolo-Okalebo et al, 2010), and therefore it was confined to Nakasero hill (Muwonge, 1977), and involved the construction of the first roads and layout plan of the central part of Kampala, most of which exists to date (Omolo-Okalebo, 2010; 2011). Planning during this period was influenced by utopian ideals that aimed to promote aesthetic notions of order, harmony, formality, symmetry and euro-centric ideals of environmental designs (ibid). Kampala developed as a town with orderly settlement and permanent structures based on the above colonial modernist urban principles, while the *Kibuga* was developed in unplanned manner.

By 1915, provisions of the 1912 planning scheme were outstripped by the developments in Kampala Township, attributed to the growth of the Indian bazaar at the lower slopes of Nakasero hill. Much of the development in the vicinity of the bazaar did not follow any plan,

and crowding of both humans and functions became a defining characteristic of the bazaar (Muwonge, 1977). In order to bring the situation under control, the colonial government in 1915 invited Professor Simpson from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine to survey Kampala and make recommendations as to how it should develop (Omolo-Okalebo et al., 2010), as a healthy and comfortably habitable place (Muwonge, 1977) for the colonists. Following Simpson's recommendation, more residential areas of the Europeans were constructed in upper Nakasero and Kololo hills separated from Asian residences and the Indian bazaar by green belts to prevent diseases carrying organisms like mosquitoes from reaching the European residences. The implementation of the 1919 planning scheme marked the beginning of racial segregation of the 'natives' based on health grounds, as 'natives' were believed to increase the risk of Europeans catching diseases like malaria (Omolo-Okalebo, 2010; 2011).

Despite the implementation of the 1912 and 1919 planning schemes, Kampala had expanded unsatisfactorily and the challenge of poor sanitation, especially in the Indian bazaar vicinity still perturbed the colonial government. Consequently, Mirams, a UK planning consultant was engaged to develop a new planning scheme for Kampala in 1930, in which he made significant recommendations that led to changes in the layout plan in Nakasero and part of Old Kampala hills (Omolo-Okalebo, 2010; 2011). Akin to Simpson, Mirams promoted the ideology of racial segregation and never catered for residences for the 'natives' (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011), and relegated them to the periphery of Kampala town or the neighbouring *Kibuga* township (Gutschow, 2004; 2009). This implies that, although by the 1920s, the colonial administration had officially denounced segregation, there was 'continued *de facto* segregation in essentially all policy areas' (Byerley, 2019:659).

We need to note that the challenges presented by the Indian bazaar were not the only concerns for the colonial administration. At the neighbourhood in the *Kibuga*, population densities and hygiene standards had reached dangerous levels, that colonists feared could result in an outbreak of epidemics. To address this, the colonial administration made attempts to extend planning control to some areas in the *Kibuga*, but the Kingdom and 'natives' were hesitant about this move because they thought it could lead to loss of revenue and eviction respectively (Muwonge, 1977).

Yielding to pressure from the colonists to address the health problems and informality in the *Kibuga*, the Buganda government enacted the Buganda Township Sanitary Law in 1931 and later replaced it with the 1947 Buganda Town Planning Law, which constituted the Buganda Township Sanitary Board and Town Planning Board respectively (Southall & Gutkind, 1957). Nevertheless, the Buganda government was incapable of ensuring order through enforcing strict planning codes. For example, the Town Planning Board failed to exercise control over the development in the *Kibuga* (ibid), because the uncontrolled growth of the *Kibuga* created a lucrative business for the landed class, who obtained a stable income by constructing informal houses and renting them out to the 'natives'. Therefore, introduction of European planning was seen as a risk to their income, because it could lead to partitioning of land to provide for roads and open spaces, yet to the 'native' private developer, land had to be maximised to obtain a higher return per unit of land (Muwonge, 1977).

Furthermore, the Buganda government had limited finances and technical capacity, compared to the colonial government. Lastly, due to ethnic diversity in the Kibuga arising from migration of people from neighbouring tribes, and the transient nature of this population, the kingdom's political control over this section of the population was reduced. This was mainly because people coming from other regions out of Buganda were reluctant to integrate in the Ganda political system (Southall & Gutkind, 1957). Therefore, due to limited restrictions in the *Kibuga*, African immigrants flocked there for employment especially in the emerging informal sector (Sanya, 2005). It is reported that Kisenyi area under the Kibuga (now one of the biggest slums in Kampala Central Division) was a convenient trading area for the poor workers, often dealing in legal (or even illegal activities like brewing and selling *Waragi*–a local liquor brand made from sugarcane), low quality goods and services compared to those required in Kampala. The informal sector workers were locked out of Kampala due to their inadequate capital and qualifications, as well as institutional impediments (Gutkind, 1963, in Omolo-Okalebo, 2011) and strict colonial policies. This resulted in unplanned and informal development, a situation that is evidenced today, typified by informal settlements in Kampala City especially in areas that were originally located within the precinct of the *Kibuga* (Nuwagaba, 2006; Sanya, 2005; Omolo-Okalebo, 2011), as discussed earlier.

Although the *Kibuga* was developing in a more informal manner, Kampala's development progressed in a planned fashion. In 1945, Ernst May from Germany, was hired by the British Colonial government to develop a plan for the expansion of Kampala (Gutshow, 2004; 2009),

which was undergoing rapid economic growth (Göckede, 2012). May's work focused on the decongestion of Kampala City's 'metropolitan centre' into a 'looser' pattern of 'satellite cities' and providing for African residences within Kampala (Gutshow, 2004; 2009). In order to promote an evolution of Africans from inerrant to productive city dwellers, May introduced a mix of modern and traditional planning in which he provided for workshops to cater for Africans that were not employed in the industrial sector, garden allotment to keep women productive, and social and recreational amenities (ibid). Nevertheless, May's plan was trashed by the colonial administration on the basis that the colonial government lacked financial resources to fund a project of that magnitude, while some members in the government did not approve of the fact that May's plan accorded Africans similar environments to Europeans (Gutshow, 2009). Byerley (2019:20) expounds on the conflicting rationalities that existed between May and the colonial administrators:

> May's proposals–even if seemingly congruent with wider colonial policy goals of stabilization and detribalization–were deemed over elaborate, costly and potentially incendiary in terms of his enunciation of forms of knowledge of the African that the administration could not, at least publically, condone for the given political context.

Therefore, May's plans contradicted with the colonial government's policy as far as management of 'natives' and colonies were concerned. As a result his plans were not implemented immediately, but were later adopted by incorporated by Henry Kendall in the 1951 Kampala planning scheme (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011).

By the 1940s the British colonists had come to a realisation that the British Empire was no longer sustainable and had to create a new environment in which they could maintain their benefits even after the end of colonialism (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). This was achieved through modernisation and integration of colonies into the world economic system both as producers of raw materials for British industries and consumers of British manufactured goods (Carswell, 2007; Göckede, 2012). In order for the 'modernisation project' to succeed, there was a need for a change in British colonial policy, from a segregationist to an inclusive one. In mid-1940s, the Colonial Development and Welfare Act was passed in which colonies were encouraged to transcend fragmentary planning schemes and adopt comprehensive development planning (Carswell, 2007), to promote holistic development in colonies. The change in colonial policy, coupled with the rise in popular discontent and anticolonial nationalism (Gruffydd-Jones, 2012), and the post-Second World War influx of migrant

labour that created a sudden increase in demand for accommodation (Göckede, 2012; Muwonge, 1977; Omolo-Okalebo, 2010; 2011; Omolo-Okalebo et al., 2010) compelled colonial powers to modify their colonial development approach by incorporating welfare concerns of the 'natives' (Gruffydd-Jones, 2012).

In Uganda, the 1945 Uganda development plan underscored the need for housing the African population, and their right to urban space (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). Consequently, in 1951, the colonial government town planner Henry Kendall developed a new planning scheme for Kampala, which resulted in the categorisation of Kampala into land use zones including residential, commercial, industrial, forest areas, and open spaces; and the construction of African quarters in Naguru and Nakawa on the eastern outskirts of Kampala (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011; Shillington, 2005), to serve as transient labour camps. Despite catering for 'natives' in colonial planning and development schemes, '…physical demonstration of civilisational difference and hierarchy was nevertheless maintained in such endeavours, while the number or cost of housing units only ever catered for a small minority of African urban residents' (Gruffydd-Jones, 2012:29). By comparison, the residential areas of the British colonists and other Europeans in Kololo and Nakasero had a low density, and were more organised, planned and serviced with water, sewerage and solid waste facilities. This was the direct opposite of the housing estates of the 'natives' that had high residential density and lacked basic amenities like roads, sewerage, solid waste facilities and storm drains, among others (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011; Sanya, 2005). Whereas the Europeans resided in bungalows set in large gardens, and Asians resided in shop-houses that combined business premises and dwellings (McMaster, 1968), the houses for the 'natives' were built in blocks, comprised of one or two rooms, and laid out in what Van der Bijl called a 'conventional grid road layout', where houses are grouped in a 'traditional kraal formation' (Van der Bijl, 1947 in Home, 1997: 250), similar to those constructed at Vanderbijl Park in South Africa in the 1940s.

Although Asians were allowed to operate business at their residences, the 'natives' were barred from such activities. In order to enforce this, tenancy contracts and housing manuals specified what the colonists perceived to be the 'normal' use of house-space and house-plot, and the acceptable conduct of the tenants. The house-space was to be used specifically for accommodation purposes with no economic activity (like liquor selling or lodgers), and had not to be altered, while the outer space was not to be used for farming. Moreover, tenants were restrained from indulging in 'immorality' and being a nuisance to the neighbours, and

had to pay their monthly rent promptly (Byerley, 2013). Housing was another platform at which the conflicting rationalities between the colonists and the 'natives' played out. The colonists were strong advocates for the separation of work and recreation from domestic spaces, and enforced this through zoning and assigning different functions to specific urban spaces, while the Africans believed in the maximum utilisation of domestic spaces through the fusion of reproductive, productive and recreative functions.

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that informality is not a recent phenomenon in Kampala City. Initially, the physical and economic informality witnessed in the city today can be traced back to the colonial era. As discussed previously, colonial planning was concentrated on areas under the direct administration of the colonial government, while ignoring areas under the Kabaka of the Buganda (cf. Young, 2018a; 2019). The early bifurcation of Kampala and Mengo (*Kibuga*) created a dual city, whose effects still linger in the present-day, as discussed later.

5.3.3 Post-Colonial Formal Planning in Kampala City: An Enduring Colonial Legacy

After Uganda got its independence in 1962, Kampala replaced Entebbe Town as Capital City, whereas Mengo (*Kibuga*) was transmuted into a municipality. Nevertheless, the dichotomy between Kampala and Mengo still existed even after independence, as the 1962 constitution accorded Buganda full federal status and semi-federal status to other kingdoms (Ankole, Bunyoro and Toro), and local government status to districts in Uganda. Therefore, Mengo (*Kibuga*) continued as the capital of Buganda kingdom, while Kampala became Uganda's capital city. As discussed earlier, during the post-independence period, Kampala City like other urban areas in Uganda witnessed a rapid growth in population due to the cessation of colonial exclusionary policies that prohibited the migration of the 'natives' into Kampala (UN-Habitat, 2007). Due to the bifurcation of the *Kibuga* and Kampala, the rural-urban migrants that flocked to Kampala City preferred to settle in the *Kibuga* due to its less restrictive development standards and cheaper standard of living compared to that of Kampala City. This led to an increase in informal settlement development and its associated challenges of poor health, poverty and social ills like theft and prostitution.

In order to deal with the problem, the government requested support from the United Nations (UN), and between 1963 and 1969, three different UN planning missions comprised of teams from Britain and Sweden were constituted. The teams were involved in conducting situation

analysis surveys and planning activities in the Kampala-Mengo area. One of the notable outcomes of the UN missions was the construction of Mulago hill housing project in 1964. We need to note that, despite the fact that this housing estate was meant for low-income earners, there was no provision for work places, as the estate was zoned for only residential purposes (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). Currently the estate, though in dilapidated state, is occupied by staff of Mulago National Referral Hospital. Nevertheless, apart from the Mulago hill housing project, no other UN mission plans were implemented. Although this was attributed to limited human and financial capacity, the nature and comprehensiveness of the plans meant that the project could take years to be implemented (ibid). Moreover, the post-colonial bifurcated administration of Kampala (1962-1966) translated into limited coordination and cooperation between the two administrations. Akin to the colonial period, the political atmosphere in the Kampala City-Mengo region was not favourable for the execution of the plans, as Mengo accused the government of harbouring machinations of taking away its land.

The political contestation between the Buganda Kingdom and the government culminated in the deposition of the Kabaka of Buganda in 1966 and the abolition of kingdom areas in 1967 by then prime minister of Uganda, Apollo Milton Obote. Consequently, all areas under Mengo municipality were added to Kampala City in 1968 (Giddings, 2009; Omolo-Okalebo, 2011; Sanya, 2005; UN-Habitat, 2007). With the merger of Kampala City and Mengo Municipality (Kibuga), a dual city was created comprising of both planned (Kampala City) and unplanned (Mengo municipality) areas under a single authority – Kampala City Council (KCC), currently known as KCCA. Although the areas added to the city were now under KCC administrative control, the authority lacked control over the land in former Mengo municipality areas, because it was now private property (Nuwagaba, 2006), of the Kabaka, chiefs and notables as per the 1900 Buganda agreement. The KCC found itself in a serious predicament, in which it became a challenge for the city to develop ‘a consistent policy for the provision of services for an area of considerable heterogeneity both in terms of past developments and its present population’ (Gugler 1968 in Omolo-Okalebo, 2011:127).

In order to bring the new annexed areas under the city’s planning framework and to address the challenge of urbanisation and unplanned development, the Kampala Development Plan (KDP) was laid out by both the Town and Country Planning Department, and the Town and Country Planning Board in 1972 (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011; UN-Habitat, 2007). On the basis of

the 1969 survey report conducted by the 3rd UN mission, the KDP gave comprehensive plans and policies relating to housing, industry, transport, water supply and sanitation, among others. Although the proposed national stadium and the northern by-pass projects proposed by the 1972 plan were implemented, the National Resistance Movement government in 1997 and 2004 respectively, the majority provisions of the plan were never implemented. The non-implementation of the plan is attributed to the numerous encumbrances faced that related to the political instability faced during the 1970s and 1980s (Matagi, 2002); the reduced priority accorded to planning by President Idi Amin's government; and the economic stagnation resulting from Amin's declaration of economic war against the Asians in 1972, that affected the city's revenues (UN-Habitat, 2007), and consequently the implementation of the KDP.

Since 1972 no other plan was developed until 1994. This was partly attributable to the political turmoil experienced by the country in the 1970s and early 1980s. The 1994 structure plan developed by Van Nostrand, a consultant from Canada, was aimed at providing an integrative (including physical, socio-economic and financial aspects) framework for the direction and management of urban growth for Kampala City for the period 1994-2004. In order to address the challenges facing the city including increased informality, Van Nostrand suggested, among others, introduction of mixed land-use zones in order to promote home-work integration and informal sector activities including home-based enterprises. Van Nostrand's mixed land-use ideals could have been influenced by the renascence of mixed land-use approaches in Europe and North America, at the time of his planning activities. Miller and Miller (2003) argue that the mixed land use approach was a common phenomenon before the advent of modern zoning systems in the 1910s to 1950s, which promoted a separation of commercial and residential areas. Nevertheless, from the 1960s to the 2000s there was a paradigm shift in town planning towards mixed-land use and mixed-use development in several European and North American cities, as it was viewed to be an important tool in creating and maintaining 'attractive', 'liveable' and 'sustainable urban environments' (Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005: 968). The re-emergence of mixed land use planning is attributed to the works of Jane Jacobs, who in her 1961 publication 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities' argued that 'a balanced mix of working, service and living activities provides a lively, stimulating and secure public realm' (Jacobs, 1961 cited in Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005:970).

Influenced by planning notions at the time, Van Nostrand's overarching objective for a mixed land-use zoning scheme was to aid, rather than discourage, mixed-use housing that had cropped up in formerly designated zones for residential or commercial areas. The plan also suggested a 'de-densification' of slum areas and other high-density areas in the city. The plan provided for a relative mixture of residential and employment functions as a source of increased economic investment (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011) and employment creation for the majority of urban dwellers. Nevertheless, the provisions in the 1994 Kampala structure plan were never implemented, because the plan only offered a general framework to guide the development in the city, but lacked large-scale detailed action plans (KCCA, 2012; Omolo-Okalebo, 2011), to make the implementation of the plan a reality. Although limited planning was undertaken, this was conducted by private landowners and developers on an incremental basis and only approved by the city authorities. Therefore, implementation in this case was based more on city dwellers' needs and preferences, than on the provisions of the plan (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). We also need to note that, the plan and its proposals were largely unfinanced and not prioritised and remained inaccessible to both developers and decision-makers (KCCA, 2012). The above-mentioned factors, coupled with limited staffing, political interference, and limited enforcement led to the limited implementation of the 1994 Kampala structure plan. The non-implementation of urban plans is a common occurrence across Africa. Berrisford and Kihato (2006) argue that, in most African cities, implementation of urban plans is rarely done, and if it happens, it is done at the spur of the moment with the intent to: crackdown on political opponents, acquire land for profitable economic ventures, and in preparation for major events like international summits or sport events.

As such, even with these planning schemes, development in the city has remained largely unplanned with growth occurring in a haphazard manner, driven by increased demand for housing and based on individual developer preferences, but with no zoning scheme to allow for orderly development of the City (Lwasa, Nyakaana & Segendo, 2007; MLHUD, 2008; Mutabazi, 2012; Oonyu & Esaete, 2012). In congruence, the World Bank (2015a) point out that, Kampala Capital City has expanded way beyond its original spatial plan, with little increment in housing and services. The City has been urbanising, driven by increased population, yet it has been depending on old plans developed during the colonial period and the 1994 Kampala structure plan (Lwasa et al., 2007; Oonyu & Esaete, 2012). Omolo-Okalebo (2011) argues although, a number of planning efforts were carried out during colonial and post-colonial periods, it is mainly ideas from the 1912, 1919, 1930 and 1951

colonial plans that have had lasting impact on Kampala City's spatial landscape. As already discussed, most post-independence planning schemes have remained largely unimplemented due to political and economic reasons.

Kampala City's population has more than quadrupled, yet the city's planning and structure has been unable to keep pace (Government of Uganda, 2015; MLHUD, 2016). To solve the socio-economic and physical challenges faced by the city, the KCCA, with support from the World Bank, procured the services of a consulting team from Israel led by Prof. Yigal Tzamir, to develop the KPDP that is to guide the city's development between 2012 and 2040. Consequently, the plan was approved by the National Physical Planning Board in 2013. The development of the KPDP involved the comprehensive public participation of 1,500 stakeholders ranging from politicians, professionals and residents, including those residing in slums. Okpala (2009) observe that participatory planning is gradually taking root in many sub-Saharan African countries, although it is only limited to consultation. This trend is partly attributed to the growing demand by funding organisations like the World Bank to ensure participation of the local people as a means of promoting sustainable development. Noteworthy is that, even with these efforts, urban planning is still viewed as a technical activity and therefore a preserve for the elite or foreign consultants with little involvement of the urban dwellers (Home, 1997; Kiggundu, 2014). This has been the case for Kampala; apart from the 1972 KDP, the rest of the plans have been developed by foreigners. The fascination with foreign planners raises questions concerning the relevance and level adaptability of plans to local context, and the technical capacity of local planning experts to develop and implement the plans.

The KPDP plan suggests ambitious strategies that need to be pursued by the KCCA and other stakeholders to make Kampala a 'Vibrant, attractive and sustainable city'. Nevertheless, such aims are tied to modernist and elitist perceptions of what comprises a good city (Berrisford & Kihato, 2006), and harbour colonial mentality likened to the colonial notion of a garden city, where towns were planned with green open spaces to promote a liveable environment for the colonists. Moreover, such ideals are typically unaccommodating of the urban poor, and result in the sanitisation of cities through forceful measures like evictions with the intent to eliminate 'undesirable' elements (such as the urban poor and informal activities) from the urban landscape (Lindell & Ampaire, 2016), hence maintaining spatial exclusivity as was the case during the colonial era (Berrisford & Kihato, 2006). The KPDP identifies slums as one

of the threats and obstacles for the successful reformation and transformation of Kampala City (KCCA, 2014). This implies that for the elites, the city could not develop if the slums are not dealt with.

Furthermore, the KPDP also aims for the creation of satellite cities radially surrounding the city and connected to it through corridors. This proposition will see the creation of GKMA with emphasis on decongesting and easing pressure on the city's infrastructure and services by enabling planned expansion of the city through a corridor system from the eastern flanks towards Mukono and the south-western part towards Entebbe and Ssisa-Nsangi, with Wakiso-Nansana and Nakisunga-Ntenjeru areas serving as satellites connected to the city. Implementation of this plan will require the strengthening of the existing urban centres of Wakiso, Mukono, and Entebbe and development of new urban centres in Ssisa-Nsangi and Nakisunga-Ntenjeru, with the further development of the KCCA as the core of the GKMA (KCCA, 2012). Although the planning model is aimed at decongesting the city, the question remains whether the proposed planning scheme will benefit the urban poor households especially those operating HBEs, and also bring an end to the dualistic structure of the city witnessed today, or fuel it.

It is worth noting, that there has been growing criticism of the development of satellite cities in Africa. Watson (2014) is sceptical about the success of satellite cities projects, yet she is concerned that such efforts to achieve them are bound to have a great impact on the lives and livelihood of the vast majority, in addition to widening the inequality gap. Moreover, Watson is of the view that satellite cities in most cases are unable to sustain the employment and service needs of their residents, which results in mass movement of people back to the more established centres. Furthermore, satellite cities have been discredited on the grounds that they advance the proliferation of urban slums, since the new cities almost exclusively provide for the residential needs of the wealthier class (UN-Habitat, 2014). Moreover, the satellite city approach does little to reduce the urban dwellers' dependence on motorised transport, an issue that exacerbates the difficulties faced by the urban poor who walk on foot (Grant, 2015), and also increase the cost of commuting to those who use taxis. Grant (2015) cautions that, satellite cities may restructure urban hierarchies established in colonial times, by creating exclusive enclaves for the wealthier classes.

Kampala City, like other modern African cities, seeks to replicate Eurocentric modernist planning models that are characterised by rigid zonation and ordering of urban space based on functions (like administration, commerce, industry, trade, recreation and residence); and modelling ideal citizens that are rational and free of culture, dogmatic beliefs and bias (Namuganyi & Johansson, 2014: 288). For example, typical of modernist planning, the KPDP puts forward a proposal to create employment centres and a relocation of low valued-added economic activities such as a produce market, workshops and labour-intensive industries to areas at the periphery of the city, served with affordable housing in close proximity to the new place of employment. Nevertheless, such practices of relegating the low-income earners or urban poor to the margins of the city, 'have a long history of being used to maintain the exclusivity of affluent areas by removing poor people to more controllable and distant spaces', analogous to the colonial practice of racial segregation of the 'natives' under the disguise of health, sanitation and security concerns (Berrisford & Kihato, 2006:29). It is worth noting that urban modernism has promoted social and spatial ostracism, due to its failure to accommodate the wellbeing of the majority of urban dwellers in cities of developing countries (Watson, 2009a). As such, the urban forms (usually formal and aesthetic in nature) promoted by this paradigm are oblivious to the needs and aspirations of the urban poor, who eke out their living from the informal sector.

Lastly, the KPDP proposes a redevelopment and upgrade of slums, but the KCCA's approach to slum upgrading has been criticised for being top-to-bottom in nature (Richmond et al., 2018), as opposed to bottom-up approach which would foster local participation and assurance that local needs and aspirations are well taken care of. Moreover, due to the current setup of most slums in Kampala, any redevelopment or upgrade could lead to eviction of slum dwellers, yet due to unscrupulous officials, the return of the evictees to the redeveloped or upgraded area is not guaranteed. Moreover, it is not clear how this process will benefit the poor, especially those operating HBEs, because renting two separate premises for business and residence may be costly to the poor. The other proposed slum development and avoidance strategies include but are not limited to, the reduction of the demand for basic shelter through construction of high-rise buildings (in hostel format); strict enforcement of planning law and existing construction codes. The practicality of these plans is dubious given the modernist planning interventions proposed in the KPDP, which prescribe broad and grandiose solutions to address all urban challenges, a move that fails to transmute urban settlements and limit the growth of slums in cities of developing countries (Kiggundu, 2014).

Such plans tend to impose visions and standards of developed cities, on cities which are largely informal and poor (De Satgé & Watson, 2018). This kind of Eurocentric and 'context-less planning' deviates from the reality in African cities which have experienced growing unemployment, due to weak and resource-deprived local government institutions (ibid). In this regard, Nuwagaba (2006) recommends that urban planning needs to internalise the concept of an 'African City', to avoid seeking development models that are removed from the African reality, and adopt plans that not only reflect local values, but also recognise the socio-economic context of the recipients of a specific plan.

In the preceding discussion, it is evident that, even with the attainment of independence over five decades ago, planning processes in Kampala City have an imprint of urban modernism dogma that dominated colonial planning in Uganda. Kiggundu (2014:17) argues that zoning that is typical of modernist and master planning approaches are dominant in urban centres in Uganda including Kampala City. He argues that this has resulted in a 'mono-centric urban structure' with all employment and other services concentrated in the urban core far from people's residences. Kampala City shares the same predicament with other former colonial cities in Africa. Home (2019) observes that the landscape of most African towns and cities still depicts the legacy of colonialism. Such cities are characterised by a dichotomy typified by an urban core with planned, regulated upscale residential and business areas, and unplanned informal settlement at the periphery. This scenario is attributed to the fact that in most former colonial African cities, former colonial residential areas are nowadays secured enclaves for the elites, while the poor have been relegated to urban periphery living under deplorable conditions (Bissell, 2007 in Myers, 2011; De Satgé & Watson 2018; Home, 1997; King, 2009). In Kampala, the former colonial residential areas of Nakasero and Kololo are now occupied by the elite and affluent section of the city population, whereas underserved areas especially in the valleys are occupied by the poor city dwellers. Perhaps what has changed is the face of zoning and segregation, whereby colonial zoning and racial segregation has been substituted with socio-economic segregation in which settlements are categorised, based on level of income, with the poor occupying high-density settlements and the rich live in low-density residential areas (Home, 1997; Omolo-Okalebo, 2011; Young, 2018a).

King (2009) observed that the continuation of colonial legacy evidenced by unequal social and spatial segregation in post-independent cities is paradoxical to the democratic aspirations

of most independent states. King's argument finds resonance in most cities of sub-Saharan Africa like Kampala, because although the racial dimensions of segregation that characterised the colonial period ceased to exit, the fundamental structures of exclusion like land formalisation, building codes and density requirements bestowed by the colonial government remained largely unchanged in the post-independence era (Fox, 2014). In fact, most post-independence governments 'have often improved upon the strategies of colonial administrations, becoming even more exclusivist, authoritarian, and segmented' (Bissell, 2007 in Myers, 2011:56), because maintaining the status quo serves both economic and political interests of different actors in African cities (Fox, 2014), including the urban elite and ruling class. Furthermore, most of the social and political systems in sub-Saharan Africa have an imprint of colonial legacy due to three factors. First and foremost, the economic and political interests that these systems served during the colonial era still prevail in the post-colonial period. Moreover, formal institutions like education institutions, judicial institutions, and law enforcement agencies, which served colonial interests, do not readily embrace change. Individuals raised under colonial systems either as beneficiaries or victims, become indoctrinated through formal education, socialisation, and adult experiences; it therefore becomes difficult for such people to accept or seek alternative world views (Bulhan, 2015). Omolo-Okalebo (2018) observes that the persistence of out-dated urban planning approaches limits the efficient implementation of plans, leading to a growth in urban informality.

Noteworthy is that, urban planning in Uganda has not been without challenges. Various scholars have documented the issue of limited priority accorded to physical planning in Uganda, especially when it comes to the implementation of urban plans and strategies by government (Sliuzas, Flacke, & Jetten, 2013), the poor facilitation of physical development departments, and the absence of articulate local funding strategies for physical planning activities and programmes (Kiggundu, 2014). For example, after nearly 4 years of approval by the National Planning Authority, the operationalisation of the KPDP through the development of detailed neighbourhood plans, remains one of the unfunded priorities of KCCA, yet these plans are intended to guide the planning for strategic infrastructure development and socio-economic investments in the city, and serve as a key regulatory tool and legal basis upon which clear and objective guidance of development in the city are to be premised (KCCA, 2016; 2017a). Amidst limited government support for urban planning, physical planning activities and infrastructural projects in Uganda and in Kampala in particular have been heavily reliant on international donor agencies like the World Bank, UN-

Habitat and Cities Alliance (Kiggundu, 2014; Sliuzas et al., 2013), which poses sustainability issues of such projects. Nevertheless, planning challenges are not limited to Uganda or Kampala alone. Okpala (2009) argues that the administrative, technical and financial incapacitation faced by institutions responsible for city development planning and management in sub-Saharan African countries, has prompted the non-implementation of numerous urban plans designed for cities in these countries. He also notes that due to corruption, approved plans have been distorted by both informal and formal developers aided by unscrupulous city officials.

Furthermore, Kampala City is confronted with a complex land tenure system, one of the ubiquitous challenges in sub-Saharan cities. Lall, Henderson, & Venables (2017) posit that most African cities, including Kampala City are confronted with overlapping and sometimes inconsistent land tenure systems, which pose barriers to urban land access. Goodfellow (2013a) contends that the blurred land rights constrain urban land redevelopment throughout Africa. Notwithstanding the complex land rights in Kampala, 52% of the land in the city is privately owned under *Mailo* land tenure (Giddings, 2009), whereas land under leasehold tenure is in diminutive supply (Dudwick, Hull, Katayama, Shilpi, & Simler, 2011). Moreover, even the land vested under the KCC was leased or sold to private investors (Giddings, 2009; KCCA, 2012; Mutabazi, 2012). This implies that most of the land in Kampala City is not held by the KCCA or the state, which hinders proper planning and development control in the city. In most cases, physical planning and infrastructure development on private land, especially one under *Mailo* tenure have stalled, as adequate compensation of landowners has to be effected, before the projects commence (John Paul II Justice and Peace Centre, 2011), and in some cases developments in the city have been paralysed due to unresolvable land disputes (Dobson, Lutwama, & Mugisa, 2014). Unless appropriate actions by government are undertaken to increase the KCCA or government's control over land in the city, infrastructure development will only be a chimera. Noteworthy is that, though such contradictions and challenges enable the urban poor to produce their own space, they may limit the state's provision of urban infrastructure and services.

5.4 Conclusion

Given its primacy, Kampala Capital City is currently experiencing rapid urbanisation driven majorly by rural-urban migration and natural population increase. This rapid increase in

population out-strips the city's infrastructure and services leading to the development of informality. For example, in the absence of housing facilities, urban dwellers have been forced to establish informal houses, while others have used their dwellings for production purposes to enable them to eke out a living through HBEs. In order to address the challenge of increased informality, Kampala City has for a long time laid out plans to ensure controlled development in the city. Nevertheless, the urban planning projects developed have been highly influenced by the colonial legacy, and Eurocentric urban planning paradigms that are incompatible with the traditional African context. Such modernist planning ideals, resist 'alternative spatialities' by imposing rigid planning and zoning regulations in which functions and people are assigned to specific areas in the city, public life is strictly directed, while those that do not fit the definition of 'modern citizenry' are excluded (Namuganyi & Johansson, 2014:273), and outlawed from the city.

The desire to create 'good cities' based on 'context-less' modernist planning ideals leads to a conflict of rationalities between urban authorities who desire a 'smart city', and the urban dwellers, mostly the poor that strive to survive (De Satgé & Watson, 2018). The resultant effects of this contestation in Kampala City have been rampant arrests and evictions of street traders and tenants without being given alternative accommodation and place of work, hence affecting the livelihood of the urban poor. Therefore, it makes sense for Pietrus (2015) to argue that Kampala City has turned out to be a place only planned to satisfy the needs of the wealthy, while the needs and rights of the underprivileged urban poor have been disregarded. Therefore, the poor in the city find themselves surrounded by a sea of uncertainty as their right to the city is legally challenged in all possible ways. Pietrus further notes that, it is only when a city provides space to its inhabitants and equal access to its benefits, including the city's economy, that it can be considered inclusive. Nevertheless, the realisation of an inclusive city status for Kampala City is to remain a dream, if the KCCA persists with its modernist urban planning ideals. This chapter has set a foundation and context for the successive chapters where I present the findings of the study. In the next chapter I discuss issues pertaining to the nature of the HBE households in Katanga slum before delving into issues on urban planning in chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SIX

CHARACTERISING HOME-BASED ENTREPRENEURIAL HOUSEHOLDS IN KATANGA SLUM

6.0 Introduction

Although it is widely acknowledged in HBE literature that home-based enterprises are embedded within the domestic realm, there has been a tendency by HBE scholars to isolate the analysis of HBEs from an understanding of the context. Recent studies show that entrepreneurship research has been inclined towards either the enterprise or entrepreneur, with little attention accorded to the household context within which these are embedded (Alsos et al., 2014a; 2014b; Carter et al., 2017). Moreover, a lot of economics literature tends to focus on households as consumption units and not as production units that use their capital and labour (Ironmonger, 2001). Focusing on the household or enterprises in isolation, and the treatment of households only as consumption units, limits our understanding of the relationship between home and work. Rather, these formations should be approached as hybrid household/enterprise units. It is imperative that HBE studies like this one adopts a household perspective where entrepreneurs and their enterprises are viewed within the context of their households, while recognising the blurred boundaries between the business and domestic domains, which are often inseparably linked among small firms like HBEs, with both business and household decisions and activities intertwined (Alsos et al., 2014a; 2014b; Carter et al., 2017). In this study, adopting a household perspective enables us to focus on key household characteristics or composition, which not only define the nature of HBEs, but also influence or affect their functioning and sustainability. Drawing upon findings from interviews and observations, this chapter focuses on the nature of HBEs and households in Katanga slum. The first section of this chapter focuses on a description of the HBE household units. This includes: HBE household headship, size and age structure of HBE households, education status of household members, and the household's source of livelihood. In order to facilitate an understanding of the nature of HBEs in Katanga slum, the next section focuses on the development of a typology of HBE households based on entrepreneurial strategy.

6.1 Nature of HBE Households in Katanga Slum

Understanding the production and use of space, especially at household level, requires an understanding of the nature of households. As seen in the successive chapters, a number of household variables like HBE household headship, age structure and size have an influence on the production of space and the challenges that accrue to it.

6.1.1 HBE Household Headship

Household headship is an important aspect of urban household livelihood, as it influences the allocation and utilisation of the household's resources. Verrest (2007) argues that household characteristics such as household headship have a great bearing on the assets and livelihood opportunities accessible or desired by households. Out of the 50 HBE households in the sample, 30 were male-headed households (MHHs), and the remaining 20 were female-headed households (FHHs). Although male household headship predominates in Kampala City, the number of FHHs has continued to increase. UBOS (2014) indicates that the number of FHHs in the city has increased from 29% in 2005/2006 to 32% in 2012/2013, against a deceasing number of MHHs from 71% to 68% in the same survey period. In line with Stromquist (2014), this study attributes the cause of this phenomenon to widowhood, single parenthood following divorce or out-of-wedlock childbearing, and other socio-economic factors like disability, imprisonment and unemployment of the male spouse.

The study explored whether or not household headships influenced key HBE-related responsibilities. One of these responsibilities is the operation of HBEs. In the majority of cases the household head was responsible for the operation of HBEs (see Table 6.1). Nevertheless, in some cases, especially among MHHs another household member (female partner) was charged with this responsibility (n=20). This implies that household headship (especially among MHHs) did not necessarily translate into HBE operation and ownership as shown in the Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Household headship and selected HBE responsibilities

Household headship	HBE Operation			HBE Ownership				Decision-making			
	M	**F**	**Total**	**M**	**F**	**Both**	**Total**	**M**	**F**	**Both**	**Total**
MHHs	10	20	**30**	13	9	8	**30**	25	2	3	**30**
FHHs	-	20	**20**	-	20	-	**20**	-	20	-	**20**
Total	**10**	**40**	**50**	**13**	**29**	**8**	**50**	**25**	**22**	**3**	**50**

Source: Primary Data, 2017

Furthermore, the study revealed that the majority of HBEs were owned and operated by female household members, and a few by their male counterparts. Nevertheless, among MHHs the operation of HBEs did not necessarily translate into ownership. For example, although 20 FHH members indicated operating the businesses, only 9 of them owned the businesses, despite the fact that many women were involved in the operation of the HBEs. This appears to be evidence of the existence of unequal gender power relations, where men as heads of the households control resources and make all the important decisions in the household. As such, a business that could act as source of empowerment to the women, may also turnout to be another site where the men exercise their power over the women at the household level. This phenomenon is a common occurrence within patriarchal societies, and has been reported in other parts of Africa, like Ghana (Afrane, 2003). Nevertheless, some HBE studies (Hadebe, 2010; Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012) mainly focus on the gender of the operator, and fail to distinguish between enterprise operation and ownership across gender, which may limit the understanding of gender dynamics, engendered by the operation of HBEs.

Although HBEs provide a means of livelihood to both women and men, it appears that women are overrepresented in this particular economic activity across sub-Saharan Africa. Numerous studies have established that women more often than men are engaged in HBE activities (Brown et al., 2014; Gough et al., 2003; Lange, 2003; Rogerson, 2001; Sinai, 1998; UBOS, 2013). In this study this phenomenon can be explained by the fact that women more than men were motivated to establish HBEs due to their domestic obligations like child-care, coupled with the need to augment the household's income. In the literature, this phenomenon is attributed to the societal consideration of a home as a female space (Gough, 2010). Indeed, several studies have attributed the dominance of women in HBEs to the flexibility these

enterprises offer women to simultaneously perform both their productive and reproductive activities, including child care (Brown et al., 2014; Gough et al., 2003; Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004; Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012; Maloney, 2004). Moreover, Chant (2014) also suggests that the narrow windows of opportunity for women in other domains also leave them with no other chance than to engage in informal sector activities, such as HBEs. Therefore, HBEs appear to be particularly significant for urban women, more especially the female householders.

Furthermore, with respect to business-related decision-making, as expected, all female household heads undertook all decisions concerning their businesses (see Table 6.1). A different scenario was witnessed among MHHs, whereby the majority of the decisions were made by the men (male household heads) irrespective of the ownership and operation of the HBEs. This implies that in some cases where women from MHHs operated the HBEs, they did not have the prerogative to make decisions on what to purchase, and how the money generated from the business was used. For example, when Respondent 3 (R3)[1], was asked whether she made decisions concerning the HBE, she reported that, '[I] do not have power over money generated by the business. The manager is my husband, I work and report to him'. Similarly, Respondent 9 (R9)[2] also revealed that her role was to sell, while the management of the enterprise was a preserve of her husband because he was more experienced in business than herself. This implies that in such cases, major decisions concerning the HBEs were made by the male household head, a common occurrence in patriarchal societies. However, in few cases decision-making was undertaken by the wife (n=2), while in three cases it was jointly made by the husband and the wife.

6.1.2 Size of HBE Households

The nature of a household composition in regard to size is an important factor in the study of urban livelihood. This is because it may not only help to determine the amount of labour available to the household, but also the number of people that have to be catered for. Verrest (2007:122) argues that household size can affect household 'livelihood opportunities and vulnerabilities'. She notes that whereas larger households have the opportunity to share living

[1] Female retail shop operator, personal communication, May 15, 2017

[2] Female retail shop operator, personal communication, May 19, 2017

costs, and time for care, they may require more resources in terms of income and space in order to meet their basic needs. Table 6.2 shows the size of HBE households in this study.

Table 6.2: Size of the HBE households

Household Size	Total counts
1	4
2	7
3	11
4	13
5	7
6	4
7	1
8	1
9	1
12	1
Total	**50**

As shown in Table 6.2, the HBE household size ranged from one individual (non-family householder) to 12 members (family householders). On average, an HBE household in this study was comprised of four members, a figure that is slightly above the City average of 3.5 (UBOS, 2016a). This phenomenon can be attributed to the fact that slum areas usually have higher densities compared to other areas in the city. In a number of cases, households in this study were of a nucleated nature (n=39) (comprised of either one or both parents with their biological or adopted children). A few households were made up of extended families (n=9), three of which were skip generational in nature (Respondents R36[3], R40[4], and R41[5]), and only two households comprised of both family and non-family members. In a few cases, spilt households existed, where some of the household members were back in the village – this was the case with some non-family householders in this study. The big household size appears to have implications for the operation of the HBE, space requirement, more labour for the households, and many mouths to feed. As discussed in chapter nine, household size influences the nature of spatial challenges experienced by HBE households, bigger households experienced more spatial challenges compared to smaller households.

[3] Female food and charcoal seller, personal communication, June 7, 2017

[4] Female cloth maker, personal communication, June 8, 2017

[5] Female eatery operator, personal communication, June 12, 2017

Households of both smaller and larger sizes were engaged in similar enterprises. This can be explained by the fact that households with smaller household sizes, but engaging in labour intensive economic activities, met their labour through hiring. Furthermore, there seems to be a gendered perspective to hiring of labour, as female operators in the sample appear to have hired external labour more than their male counterparts. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that most male operators in the sample were into retail trading, whose human capital requirement was relatively lower compared to other HBEs. Moreover, male entrepreneurs had the female family members (spouses) as their labour source, while female household heads were unable to command family labour in this way. Household size and its influence on HBE activity has captured the attention of HBE researchers, where studies in the literature compare HBE and non-HBE households reveal that households with many members are more likely to establish HBEs (Gondwe & Ayenagbo, 2013; Sinai, 1998). Exploration of this possibility in the current study has not been possible due to the nature of the study, where only HBE households were considered for the study.

6.1.3 HBE Households' Age Structure

The ages of household members and those of HBE operators have a great bearing on the operation and survival of HBEs, as it acts both as an asset and a liability. Therefore, the ages of household members and those of the HBE operators in the sample, were established, in order to paint a clear picture of the social context within which the HBEs existed. Table 6.3 shows that the majority of HBE household members in Katanga slum were children (n=82), followed by those in the prime working age (n=67). The third category was composed of household members in the early working age (n=43). A few members were of mature working age (n=5) and elderly age (n=2). With an average age of 21 years, it suffices to say that these households were mainly composed of youthful members. This phenomenon is not unique to Katanga slum, as it is found in other slum areas in the city (see International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2017). This population picture appears to pose a 'double edged sword' to HBE households. While the relatively big household size (see Table 6.2), and youthful household composition may act as a pool of labour for the HBEs, such benefit may come along with the reduction of space available for HBE activities and increased costs for the household (especially when members are not economically active).

Haynes, Walker, Rowe and Hong (1999) observe that the presence of dependent household members like children increase the claims on the household's income. Malik and Khan (2009) also observe that although working-age members augment household income through joining the labour force, the presence of infants and school-age children may affect the performance of female HBE operators, and increase household expenses on food and education. In this study, out of the 199 household members, 116 of them were still at school (see Table 6.4), while others were infants with limited or no contribution to household income. With a limited number of economically active household members, there appears to be a high incidence of dependence among HBE households in Katanga slum.

Table 6.3: Age category of household members and HBE operators

Age Category	Household members*	HBE operators
0–14 years (Children)	82	0
15–24 years (Early working age)	43	*5*
25–54 years (Prime working age)	67	*38*
55–64 years (Mature working age)	5	*6*
65 and above years (Elderly)	2	*1*
Total	**199**	***50***

***HBE operator included**

Despite the fact that the majority of HBE household members were below the age of 24 years (n=125), the study revealed that the age structure of the HBE operators was more dominated by household members in their prime working age (25-54 years), with only a few individuals in other age categories. Noteworthy is the fact that, all HBE operators but one (Respondent R41[6], aged 65 years) fell within the conventional economically active population segment (working age) of 15–64 years, with an average age of 37 years.

Noteworthy, is the fact that, HBEs were operated by both youthful and elderly household members. For example, most youthful HBE operators were compelled to establish HBEs, because compared to other businesses, HBEs required relatively smaller start-up capital amounts, since other costs for start-up like renting premises, transport, and labour are determined by the mere location of the business at home. The elderly, as discussed later in

[6] Female eatery operator, personal communication , June 16, 2017

this chapter, established HBEs because other economic activities like street trading and hawking were physically demanding. For example, Respondent 15 (R15)[7], aged 60 years, a former hawker in the city, realised that the more he grew older, the weaker he became, making it impossible for him to continue carrying merchandise over his shoulders and walk long distances. Moreover, due to his old age, he could no longer stand the altercation with and harassment by the KCCA law enforcement officers, yet he still needed money to take care of his household back in the village.

Similarly, Respondent 8 (R8)[8], a former cooked food vendor in shopping malls in the CBD reported to have reached a time when she could no longer manage the job. She indicated that her cooked food vending job was arduous as it involved carrying heavy buckets full of foods upstairs in shopping malls and working in the sun, which put her at risk of developing health complications due to arduous physical activity. Therefore, according to her, establishing an HBE was the only available means to remain economically active, while meeting her health needs. In the literature, age rarely features as a factor influencing preference of HBE over other businesses. In the literature, anecdotal evidence exists on the influence of age on the type of business a person started (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004), and in some countries, HBEs appear to be a last resort for the survival of vulnerable households like households headed by the elderly.

6.1.4 Education Status of Household Members

The education status of the household members affects many aspects of the HBEs. For example, studies have shown that the household's education status influences its economic behaviour (Carter et al., 2017). Most studies of HBEs and informal sector in general tend to place more emphasis on the education of the individual operators and less on that of the household members (Charman, 2017; Njiro, Mazwai & Urban, 2010; Steenkamp & Bhorat, 2016). In this study the education status of the household is used as a proxy, to help paint a picture of the nature of the manpower pool available to the HBE households, and to identify the cost area for the HBE household.

[7] Male retail shop operator, personal communication , May 23, 2017

[8] Female vegetable seller, personal communication, May 18, 2017

Table 2.4: Education status of household members*

Educational level/status	Attending	Completed/ Dropped out	Yet to start/No formal Education
University	1	5	
Secondary	45	23	
Primary	51	27	
Nursery	19		
Yet to start school			14
No formal education			14
Total	**116**	**55**	**28**

Source: Primary Data, 2017 ***HBE operator included**

Table 6.4 shows that education status of household members in this study varied greatly. The majority of household members (n=116) were still undergoing studies at various levels, while 55 household members had completed or dropped out of school at different levels. Furthermore, 14 household members were yet to start school, whereas 14 household members had no formal education. The composition of a household with many school-age members appears to increase the household's expenditure and strain on the HBE. Attention is now shifted to the education status of the household member that was operating the HBEs. The education attainment of the major HBE operator mirrors that of the household as indicated in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Education level of the HBE operators by gender of the operators

Educational Level	Gender of the operators		Total
	Female	Male	
University	1	3	**4**
Secondary	14	2	**16**
Primary	16	5	**21**
No formal education	9	0	**9**
Total	**40**	**10**	**50**

Source: Primary Data, 2017

As shown in Table 6.5, out of the 40 female HBE operators in this study, 16 had acquired primary education, and 14 of them secondary education. Only one female operator had acquired university education, while 9 had no formal education. Contrastingly, 5 of the 10 male HBE operators had some primary education, and 3 of them had university education.

Two had attained secondary education and none of them had ever acquired some kind of formal education. Based on these findings, the study made the observations outlined below.

First, this study revealed that the majority of the HBEs are operated by individuals with some form of formal education. Moreover, the findings also show that HBEs in Katanga slum are a source of livelihood to both those with formal and informal education alike. In line with Moffat and Kapunda (2015), this study observes that there is what appears to be a growing trend of highly educated people joining the informal sector, primarily due to the scarcity of formal employment. Second, male HBE operators in this study were on average more educated than their female counterparts. In the literature, studies show that HBE operators generally have some level of education (Afrane, 2003; Yankson, 2000), while women comprise of the largest number of HBE operators with low levels of education (Yankson, 2000). This can be attributed to, inter alia, cultural factors, though these are gradually subsiding. Third, it is important to note that, due to what appears to be low levels of education, only a few HBE operators could actually qualify for formal employment. This implies that even when such chances of formal employment existed, such people could most likely not qualify. This observation has also been made in literature (see Charman et al., 2012). This implies that some people appear to join the informal sector, because it is where their skills are more applicable and relevant.

6.1.5 Source of Household Income

As discussed in chapter five, Kampala City has been urbanising amidst inelastic employment opportunities and declining quality of basic amenities like housing. This implies that the majority of rural-urban migrants in the city, including those in this study, were unable to get formal employment. Most importantly, studies show that the skills set of most rural-urban migrants in Uganda are not easily and perfectly transferable to the urban formal job market (Boutin, 2016; Namiiro, 2016), making their entry into this labour market near to impossible. Nevertheless, as discussed in successive chapters, the state's interventions are mostly geared towards the needs of the educated and middle class, while the needs of the urban poor and largely uneducated are generally neglected. As such, many people in Kampala City have resorted to informality in order to meet their employment and housing needs. Therefore, the informal sector becomes a major source of employment and income for a big number of the

urban poor in the city (Barrow et al., 2016; Mukiibi, 2012), as they create their own jobs in untaxed and unfettered moneymaking activities (Pietrus, 2015).

Joining the informal sector is one of the strategies that these urban poor people undertake to ensure their survival in the city (Mugamba, 2016; Oonyu & Esaete, 2012). In this study, in addition to the HBEs, 29 out of the 50 households had at least one household member working in the informal sector away from home, while the rest of the households had none. Moreover, in a few cases (n=13) households had 2 economic activities located and performed in the city or back in the village. Such activities included informal activities like street trading or market vending, and agricultural activities conducted back in the villages or rural areas. Although not the main source of livelihood for the household, such activities appear to have helped these households to generate more income and facilitate cross-capitalisation.

Table 6.6: Contribution of HBEs to household livelihood

Nature of household headship	**Contribution of HBE to household livelihood/Income**			**Total**
	Main source	***Sole source***	***Secondary Source***	
MHH	26	3	1	**30**
FHH	4	16	-	**20**
Total	**30**	**19**	**1**	**50**

Source: Primary Data, 2017

As shown in Table 6.6, the study established that in the majority of cases (n=30), HBEs were the main source of household income. In 19 of the cases, HBEs were the only source of income, and in one case the secondary source of income. It can be observed that the majority of respondents in the sample that indicated HBEs as a main source of income were from MHHs. It is interesting to note that 18 of the 26 of such enterprises were operated by women from MHHs. This phenomenon can be attributed to, inter alia, the great risk of employment insecurity propagated by the KCCA's clampdown on informal sector activities in the city, like street trading, where most household members work, and the low income generated from such activities or low pay from both formal and informal jobs. HBEs appear to be a key livelihood source to urban households in sub-Saharan Africa. In Ghana, the majority of households had the HBE as the main source of income, while for others it was their only source (Gough, 2010).

Studies in South Africa established that household members, more especially the women, engaged in HBEs as a livelihood strategy to supplement the meagre salaries of the household head during periods when households experience economic hardships (Charman, 2017; Charman et al., 2012; Hiralal, 2010; Juries-Whiteman & Campbell, 2001). This picture seems to be changing given the emergence of foreign HBE owners who pursue HBE entrepreneurship as a major and permanent source of household income (Charman et al., 2012). These differences can be attributed to the fact that the majority of households operating HBEs in South Africa, have members working in the formal sector or receiving a pension, and HBEs are used only as the second source of income. Moreover, some activities like operating shebeens are illegal, making their operation on a full-time basis to be of great risk to arrest by police. This implies that the nature of the livelihood derived from an HBE by a household, appears to explain the longevity and sustainability of HBEs, as variously highlighted in this study.

As shown in the foregoing discussion, HBEs provide a vital source of livelihood to slum dwellers in Katanga slum and other slums around the city. As discussed in the successive chapters, many of the state's interventions are either explicitly or implicitly aimed at the separation of home and work through zonation of business and residential areas. The goal of the state's urban planning processes is mainly that of modifying space or directing behaviour and culture in order to serve its needs or desires. To this end, urban policies and practices relating to registration of businesses and tax administration are developed, based on the state's technical knowledge and rationalities, while ignoring local context and knowledge. State interventions are therefore not only of little practical relevance to the lived realities of HBE households, but also present diverse negative ramifications for the households, as discussed later in this thesis.

6.2 Nature of HBE Activities Engaged in by the Households

Since the urban economy is mainly cash-based, households in this study engaged in different home-based income-generating activities to ensure their livelihood survival. As indicated previously, these activities are a component of the urban informal sector existing in most sub-Saharan African cities (Afrane, 2003; Ezeadichie, 2012; Gondwe & Ayenagbo, 2013; Tipple, 2005). HBE activities are a heterogeneous group and vary in size and nature of economic activities. In this study, as indicated in Table 6.7, these economic activities were limited to

four categories, including retail, service, production and those that combined both retail and service activities.

Table 6.7: Economic activities engaged in by the HBE households

Type of Business	*Total Counts*
Retail	24
Service	15
Retail/Service	5
Production	6
Total Counts	**50**

Source: Primary Data, 2017

As shown in Table 6.7, the majority of HBE households were engaged in businesses of a retail nature. Studies in the literature suggest that retail shop HBEs dominate the home-based economic sector especially in sub-Saharan (see Adeokun & Ibem, 2016; Afrane, 2003; Egbu et al., 2016; Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012; Napier et al., 2000; Nnaggenda-Musana, 2008; Tipple, 2005; Tipple & Coulson, 2007; Smit & Donaldson, 2011). In this study, retail businesses were dominated by those dealing in general household merchandise, like dry food items, sandals, cigarettes, soft drinks, bread, sugar, soap, tea leaves. Most retail HBEs also sold liquor packaged in sachets. The nature of commodities sold by the HBE household appears to be influenced primarily by the location of HBEs in the slum. For example, one of the respondents operating a retail shop presented this account:

> The environment dedicates [sic] what to sell here. When I reached here, I found that most people are drunkards so I had to offer them what they want […] the demand for alcohol is very high compared to other commodities. So if you venture into selling only household commodities without liquor sachets you will not get anything [...]This is a ghetto; if you do not sell liquor, what else will you sell? Don't you see how I have stocked liquor sachets, even when I don't drink? [...] but I have to sell these sachets in order to attract customers to buy other commodities' (Respondent 6 (R6), male retail shop operator, Personal Communication, May 17, 2017).

It is noteworthy, that due to the weak enforcement of alcohol-related laws and corruption (Naamara, & Muhwezi, 2014), households in the slum sell alcohol with limited interference from the authorities. Due to the high demand for alcohol and cigarettes among the slum

dwellers, such commodities are a must have for retail HBEs, the lack of which could reduce the customer base and proceeds from the business.

Figure 6.1: Examples of retail trade HBE activities in Katanga Slum

Typical retail shop selling household merchandise

Retail shop and 'mini dairy'

Retail shop selling liquor and other goods

Retail shop selling clothes and other items

Source: Primary Data, 2017

Furthermore, service-related activities were the second most common income-generating activity engaged in by HBE households (n=15). This category was dominated by the shebeens dealing in both locally brewed alcohol, and bottled spirits and beer from companies, and eateries preparing local dishes. A few HBE households were offering beauty and hair services and health services. Interestingly, a few households were engaged in a combination of economic activities. This category comprised mainly of service and retail trade activities.

For example, Respondent 18 (R18)[9] was engaged in dry cleaning services and selling clothes, while Respondent 7 (R7)[10] operated a hair salon and also sold women's cosmetics and beauty products like hair weaves, hair styling and skin care products. It appears that one of the reasons households operated more than one economic activity, was to augment their income to enable them to cater for their household livelihood demands. For example, one respondent reported the following:

> Initially, I was only operating a charcoal stall, but the death of my husband meant that the household's livelihood was solely dependent on me. Therefore, in order to raise money to meet the household's livelihood, and school fees for my children, I had to venture into food preparation and selling of fresh food stuffs [sic] and vegetables (Respondent 36 (R36), charcoal retailer and eatery operator, personal communication, June 7, 2017).

As shown in the above report, some households introduced new economic activities as the needs and responsibilities of the household increased.

[9] Female dry cleaner, personal communication , May 25, 2017

[10] Female salon operator, personal communication, May 18, 2017

Figure 6.2: Examples of service trade HBEs in Katanga Slum

Hair salon

Clinic/drug shop

Eatery serving local dishes like 'Matooke'

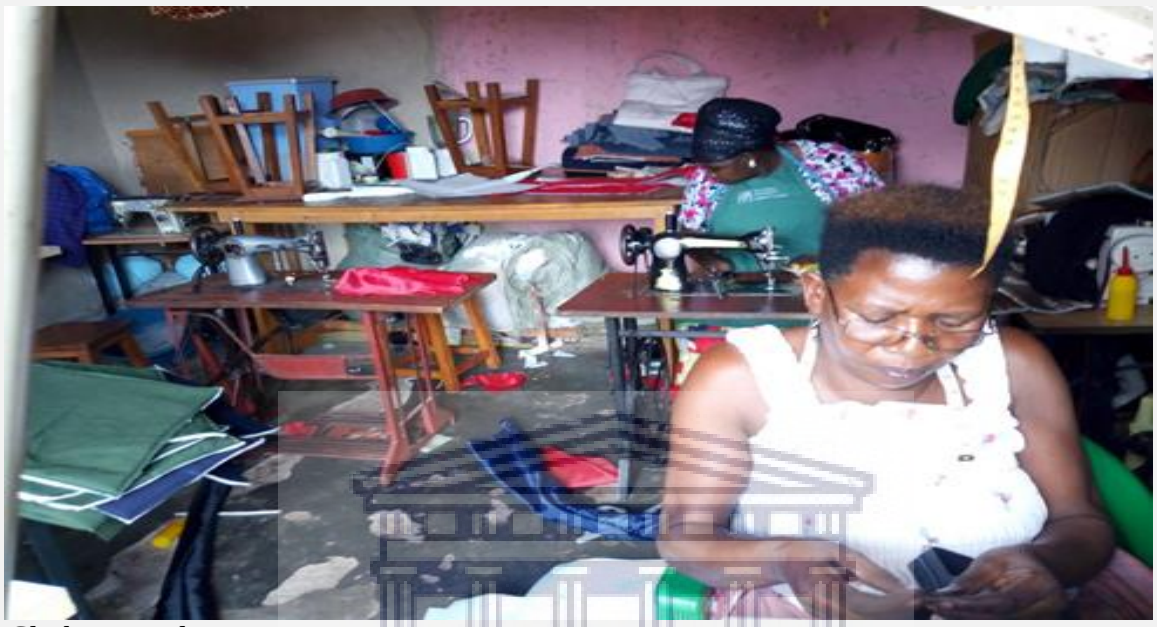
A shebeen

Source: Primary Data, 2017

A few households (n=6) were engaged in production activities which were dominated by the production of clothing commodities like school uniforms, baby carriers and dresses made out of African print material (*Kitengi*). The other income-generating production activity engaged in by the households was the production of local soft drinks (*Bushera*) made out of millet flour. The findings with regards to the limited number and variety of manufacturing HBEs, appear to be attributed to the residential nature of the slum, limited skills, capital, and space, characteristic of the area. The limited presence of production HBEs appear to be a common phenomenon in various countries in sub-Saharan Africa (see Gough et al., 2003; Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012; Napier et al., 2000; Smit & Donaldson, 2011). However, in some countries in Asia, manufacturing and production, especially of clothing and ceramics, form a considerable component of HBE activities (Chen, 2014; Mazumdar, 2018; Tipple, 2005; Tyas, 2015). The causal factors for the absence or presence of home-based production

economic activities can be complex and therefore require careful exploration through an independent study.

Figure 6.3: Examples of production HBEs operated in Katanga Slum



Clothing production activities

Source: Primary Data, 2017

As explained in the successive chapters, the nature of activities engaged in by the household influenced the reproduction and use of household/domestic space, and the challenges and tensions that accrued to these processes. The creation of boundaries and the introduction of rules to create space for the business, resulted in the change of spatial practices (perceived space) and representational space (lived experiences) of not only the household members, but also of the community members, especially in cases where the activities were conducted in the appropriated public space (alleyway). For example, activities like operating a shebeen, which required lengthy stays of customers at home, presented more spatial and temporal challenges, than activities like retail trade with relatively shorter customer stays.

6.3 Typology of HBE Households

In order to better understand the nature of HBE households, this study developed a typology of these households based on entrepreneurial strategy. Households were grouped based on their desire for survival or growth of the business.

6.3.1 Sustainers/Survivalists – HBE Households

The first category is the sustainer/survivalist household. This category formed the majority of households in this study (n=36), and represents HBE households that showed no interest for expansion, and relocation of their businesses to commercial premises. For this category, survival and not growth of the HBE was of major interest. The sustainer/survivalist households initially established their HBEs with an aim of expansion, but along the way were faced by unexpected circumstances that changed the life course of their businesses. For example, Respondent 36 (R36)[11], a female charcoal stall owner, was operating one of the biggest charcoal stalls in the area and had plans of opening other branches, but when her husband, a special-hire driver was murdered, her business was grossly affected as she had to take on the full responsibility of providing for the family. As a result, her capital drastically reduced, and she resorted to maintaining a smaller business which she considered manageable. Other respondents (like respondents R8[12], R12[13], R13[14], R16[15], R17[16], R19[17], R20[18], and R30[19]) reported having resigned their informal jobs (and in a few cases formal jobs) to start their own businesses with hopes of a better future, but their businesses had remained small, enabling them only to meet household needs, and buy a few household assets. This category was also comprised of households with members who formerly pursued other informal jobs like street trading, but as they aged, such activities became physically demanding. Therefore, HBEs were established to make ends meet and to ensure their continued survival in the city. In the literature, anecdotal evidence exists on the influence of age on the type of business a person started (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004). In this study, HBEs appear to be a last resort for the survival of vulnerable low-income households, like the elderly-headed households.

[11] Female charcoal retailer/ eatery operator, personal communication, June 7, 2017

[12] Female dry cleaner, personal communication, May 25, 2017

[13] Female retail shop operator, personal communication, May 22, 2017

[14] Female salon operator, personal communication, May 22, 2017

[15] Female shebeen operator, personal communication, May 23, 2017

[16] Female shebeen operator, personal communication, May 25, 2017

[17] Female eatery operator, personal communication, May 25, 2017

[18] Female shebeen operator, personal communication, May 26, 2017

[19] Female retail shop operator, personal communication, June 1, 2017

Noteworthy is the fact that a gendered pattern existed in respect of the nature of this category. The majority of HBE households categorised as sustainers/survivalists were mainly female (n=34), and a few were male (n=2). The majority of these women were from FHHs (n=19), and a few from MHHs (n=11). Hudson (2006:32) argues that some HBE entrepreneurs, more especially the women, are less likely to be growth oriented, and only aim for 'business stabilisation and income security' for their households. Female operated and owned enterprises are less likely to move to a commercial location due to socio-cultural factors. For example, in this study, HBEs afforded female household members operating HBEs an opportunity to balance productive work and domestic duties, like child care. This is because women in many African countries still bear the responsibility of domestic work (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004), and out of necessity opt for HBEs in order to balance their productive and reproductive roles (Maloney, 2004). But this is not the only factor; this study showed that women operators had more concerns and impediments for growing their businesses. For example, a female shebeen owner, when asked about the growth prospects of her business indicated that,

> Growing my business is something I don't stress about, because establishing a big bar will require finances I have never dreamt of getting…my immediate concern is maintaining this business to enable us to survive and also pay fee for my son (Respondent 16 (R16), female shebeen operator, personal communication, May 23, 2017).

Therefore, the socio-cultural impediments to growth of women-owned businesses are compounded by economic factors, including limited access to finance. In Africa, the literature on small businesses indicates that limited access to finance is a major challenge for the growth and development of women-owned enterprises (Mandipaka, 2014; Namatovu, Dawa, Katongole, & Mulira, 2012; Richardson, Howarth & Finnegan, 2004), an issue that is attributed primarily to lack of collateral.

Survivalist enterprises have been considered temporary or transitory in nature (Berner, Gomez, & Knorringa, 2012; Hartnack & Liedeman, 2016; 2017). Moreover, survivalist entrepreneurs have been presented as individuals who establish businesses with a major aim of surviving unemployment (Charman, 2017; Ligthelm, 2011), usually following the loss of a formal source of income (Hartnack & Liedeman, 2016).

In this study the households had operated their business for 1 - 37 years, and average time in business/operational duration was 8.2 years. Therefore, it appears that households' engagement in HBEs is not necessarily temporary, as the sustainability of the business was part of the long-term livelihood plans and survival of the households. This implies that the nature of this category appears to differ across geographical scales depending on the socio-economic-political context within which the households exist.

6.3.2 Growth-oriented HBE Households

This category comprised of HBE households that had the ambitions for expanding their businesses (n=14) and invested in equipment. For example, Respondents R45[20] and R46[21] who operated shebeens, bought refrigerators, music systems and television sets, and showed the desire to grow their stock and expand their businesses through establishing other branches. Hartnack and Liedeman (2016) show that growth for some HBEs may entail growth of stock and establishment of new enterprises. Moreover, these households had the desire to shift their business operations from home to commercial premises. For example, a male graduate from Kyambogo University operating a shebeen, reported:

> [I] am not looking for a job, because I have bigger plans for my business. Now that I have fridges, a television set and music system and other assets, I want to uplift the standard of my bar, and also formalise my business, so with time I will have to leave this place. As I told you, most of my customers are students and the working class, so I want to get them a place befitting of their status, even if it means working away from home (Respondent 46 (R46), male shebeen operator, personal communication, June 16, 2017).

Similarly, a graduate from Makerere University also asserted:

> I grew up in an entrepreneurial household, and from my childhood I grew up with that idea that no one should employ me […] I plan to sell my cattle in the village and get enough capital to relocate my business to a bigger place, and also open other branches (Respondent 1 (R1), male retail shop operator, personal communication, May 15, 2017).

From the above quotations, it is evident that households that were growth-oriented appear to acquire significant resources or assets they could use to grow their businesses. Moreover,

[20] Male shebeen operator, personal communication, June 14, 2017
[21] Male shebeen operator, personal communication, June 16, 2017

shifting of business operations away from home to commercial premises appears to be one of the growth trajectories pursued by growth-oriented households. In the literature, anecdotal evidence exists that seem to suggest that, though the home is a critical incubator of HBEs, subsequently some of them relocate to commercial locations in order to expand (Mason, Carter & Tagg, 2011). It is important to note that although the Government of Uganda defines growth primarily in terms of sales turnover (MTIC, 2015), in this study, HBE households viewed growth in terms of expansion in stock and opening of new branches or businesses. This implies that growth as perceived by the state or government differs from that of the local people.

Furthermore, as with the sustainers/survivalists category, there seems to be a gendered perspective in respect to the operator's growth motivation. In this study, male operators appeared to be more growth-oriented (n=9), as they expressed the desire to establish other branches, and move from home to commercial premises, compared to their female counterparts (n=5). This can be explained by the fact that commitment of time, attention, energy and financial resources required for enterprise growth may conflict with gendered expectations about women's responsibilities of their life cycle (Coleman, 2016). Interestingly, a few female operators who showed growth ambitions were mainly from MHHs (4). For example, Respondent 7 (R7)[22] indicated that she started a hair and beauty products retail HBE together with her husband after selling part of their land in Bombo village. After two years, due to the demand for salon services, she combined resources with her husband and bought salon equipment like hair dryers, to start a salon. After operating the HBE for some time, they opened up another hair and beauty products shop in Makerere Kivulu, which was operated by her husband. She explained that she handled things together with her husband and if there was anything to do with business that requires money, they handled it together. It appears that some married female HBE operators received support from their husbands, which not only improved the financial stand of their businesses, but also reduced the heavy reliance on the business by the household. However, it appears that female-headed households were in a much more vulnerable situation more generally, as they lacked this form of support.

[22] Female salon operator, Personal Communication May 18, 2017

The foregoing discussion shows that HBEs are not necessarily all survivalist, as depicted in the literature. Choto et al. (2014) observe that most small businesses have been considered to be survivalist in nature, with a major aim of obtaining employment and satisfying family needs, and the majority have growth aspirations or pursue growth as the overarching business objective. Although growth-oriented HBE households in this study were few compared to their survivalist counterparts, this finding supports the literature that recognises that some HBEs have growth ambitions, and may overcome their problems to obtain stable income (Charman, 2017; Hartnack & Liedeman, 2016; Mengistae, 2014). Despite the fact that growth-oriented HBE households exist, this study established that the HBE sector is still largely dominated by sustainer/survivalist households.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at understanding the nature of HBE households in Katanga slum. HBE households are heterogeneous in respect to household headship, size, age structure, and entrepreneurial strategy. Establishing the nature of HBE households facilitates the understanding of not only the reproduction and use of space, but also the challenges and contentions experienced by these households, and how these challenges are addressed. Therefore, understanding the nature of these households helps to contextualise the findings and discussions presented in the successive chapters. It is important to note that with the observations made in this chapter, the categorisation of HBEs across geographical space needs to consider the different socio-economic setups of the HBE household unit, to avoid the undesirable implications of 'a fit all' approach. Moreover, the study established that HBEs are a main source of livelihood to many households, male-headed and female-headed, youthful and the elderly, alike. The next chapter discusses how the urban poor households face a constant threat to their livelihood as the state introduces interventions and plans that implicitly or explicitly make the operation of these businesses challenging or bring their operations to a complete halt.

CHAPTER SEVEN

URBAN POLICIES, CITY AUTHORITY PRACTICES AND HOME-BASED ENTREPRENEURS

7.0 Introduction

The informality that characterises HBE businesses means that they are unincorporated, and unregistered, which makes them invisible and illegible to the state and its agents. Moreover, these businesses are operated in spaces that the state considers to be illegally appropriated. This illegibility tends to rationalise the state's intervention to make these businesses and their operators more legible, and governable. Under this context, the state and city authorities' 'representation of the lived space of the [informal] operators is usually framed against the political reality of aesthetic issues, public health concerns, land values, competitiveness and congestion' (Babere, 2015:287-288). In such cases, mapping, building standards, and zoning embody the forms of representations that the state employs to shape citizens' perceived and lived experiences. Drawing on both Lefebvre's theory of the production of space and the Scottian concept of legibility, this chapter explores the state's representation of space and spatial practices, and why and how HBE operators and their economic activities were rendered legible and governable through the calculated practices of standardisation and simplification on the parts of the state and the KCCA. Moreover, this chapter also explores the effects of the state's abstraction and legibility motives on the operation and sustainability of HBEs, and the strategies employed by the HBE households to resist or cope with them. The idea here is not to present a case against state interventions into the informal sector, but rather to argue that since these interventions ignore local knowledge and participation, they appear to undermine the livelihood and wellbeing of HBE households. In order to understand the rationalities, mentalities and practices of the state, it is necessary to connect the findings in this chapter with the discussion in chapter five, which gives a wider geographical, policy and regulatory context within which these findings can be understood and interpreted. Drawing upon findings from interviews and FGDs with HBE operators, interviews with technocrats from government MDAs and NGOs, and document analysis of state policies, regulation and city bylaws, this chapter commences with an understanding of how HBE households are rendered in/visible through urban policy, city regulations and practices. This is followed by a discussion of how the state attempted to create a homogenous space through formalisation and licensing of HBE households' business operations. I then shift the

discussion to the state's representation of space through physical planning, and also discuss the state's practices and rationalities under slum upgrading. After understanding the state's abstractions, rationalities and legibility attempts, I discuss strategies employed by the HBE households to resist or cope with the state's interventions.

7.1 Rendering HBE Households In/visible through Urban Policy, City Regulations and Practices

In order to paint a clear picture of how the state and city authorities in Uganda in general and in Kampala City in particular view the informal sector, this chapter begins with the quotation from the Uganda Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise (MSME) Policy below:

> The majority of enterprises within the micro, small and medium sector operate informally. This high incidence of the informal economy in all its aspects is a major challenge for the achievement of growth and expansion of the enterprises, enterprise productivity, and working conditions and has a negative impact on the development of sustainable enterprises, public revenues and government's scope of action, particularly with regard to economic, social and environmental policies, the soundness of institutions and fair competition in national and international markets (MTIC, 2015: 6).

The informal sector in Uganda in general, and in Kampala in particular, as described in the above quotation is characterised by great illegibility, which reduces the control of this sector by the state and its agents. As such, the state and the KCCA have striven to address this illegibility, in order to model its operators into subjects befitting of a modern society – one that pays taxes, abides by planning and other regulations, and whose businesses are registered and operate from well-defined and permanent business locations. In order to achieve the above stated objectives, the state instituted a number of policy interventions targeting the informal sector. Policies and regulations can be seen as conduits through which expert knowledge become prescriptions on how the informal sector in the city should be understood, organised and rationalised. For example, the MSME policy highlights priority sectors, proposed by the state for the growth of the MSME sector, and fulfilment of its national development plans and vision. These sectors (irrespective of legal form) include: food processing, textile manufacturing enterprises, non-food manufacturing like metal fabrications and construction, enterprises in the energy, oil and gas sector, enterprises in the service sectors like those in information, communication and technology (ICT), and those in education, hospitality and support services.

It is evident that this policy (MSME policy), the Buy Uganda Build Uganda (BUBU) policy of 2014 and the draft National Investment Policy (NIP) 2018, appear to re-echo the provisions in Uganda's Vision 2040 (A transformed Ugandan society – from a peasant to a modern and prosperous country within 30 years), and its attendant National Development Plans (NDPI & NDPII), which appear to promote production and manufacturing ventures, with the main focus on enterprises operated away from home. It is worth noting that Respondents K7[23], K8[24] and K9[25] were of the view that government's policy orientation is more inclined towards the development of small and medium manufacturing and production enterprises, and not necessarily micro enterprises like HBEs. Respondent K13[26] commented that, 'when they are drafting the policy, they do not have the micro trader like an HBE operator in mind; they presume that all traders are small and medium enterprises'. Such government practices appear to be common in sub-Saharan Africa. For example, in South Africa, Du Toit and Neves (2007) report on government's preference to direct policy interventions towards relatively bigger enterprises, and less on the small ones like HBEs. This comes across as a complete disregard of the diversity in the informal sector. State preference for and direction of attention to bigger enterprises can be seen as one of the characteristics of state simplifications, whereby the focus is concentrated on enterprises of official interest. According to Scott (1998) state simplification entails the desire by state officials and city authorities to obtain a synoptic view of the whole society, which involves collapsing or neglecting peculiarities that could otherwise be of relevance. As such, the state or city authorities show no concern for, or interest to understand the dynamics of the informal sector before interventions are designed to help operators of such enterprises.

Despite the fact that the informal sector is a complex and heterogeneous group, state policies and strategies appear to treat this group as homogenous. Generic and indistinct policy strategies are prescribed with limited understanding and/or appreciation of the heterogeneity inherent in the sector. Scott (1998) observes that, in order for state officials to comprehend aspects of the ensemble, large and complex reality must be reduced to schematic categories to facilitate summary descriptions, comparisons, and aggregation. Consequently, this could lead

[23] Deputy director of gender, community services and production – KCCA, personal communication, July 18, 2017
[24] General secretary – Platform for Vendors in Uganda (PLAVU), personal communication, July 20, 2017
[25] Principal Policy Analyst – Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives (MTIC), personal communication, July 21, 2017
[26] Programme Coordinator – AcTogether – Uganda, personal communication, July 28, 2017

to state focus on aggregative categories, while obscuring the distinct characteristics and forms inherent in these categories.

The state's desire for simplification results in aggregative statistics and categories that appear to restrict or 'sweep under the carpet' information on HBEs. In sub-Saharan Africa, the non-recognition of specific enterprises is not uncommon. In South Africa, Bénit-Gbaffou (2018a; 2018b) berates the state for its deliberate refusal to enumerate certain groups or areas. The state deems that such a practice could help to exert minimum control on unwanted populations, while those that benefit from the state's attention are enumerated (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2018b). But, how can the state that pursues legibility, appear to ignore specific informal enterprises? This is because its desire for legibility is not directed at a detailed understanding of the different informal sector enterprises, but rendering them legible through formalisation. Therefore, understanding the nitty-gritty of the informal sector and the enterprises therein appears to be of less immediate attention and interest to the state.

In this study, the state's non-recognition of HBEs was characterised by the absence of analytical data to inform or bring HBE issues to the core of urban policy debates or discussions (Respondents K1[27], K8[28] and K15[29]). Specifically, opacification of HBEs plays out in state analysis of the informal sector. Respondent K15[30] indicated that usually government statistics on the informal sector are not disaggregated to establish the number of people operating HBEs. He stressed that, often, 'government's informal sector analysis is only limited to enterprise categories with some form of formalisation or organisation like market and street vendors'. Respondent K8[31] corroborated this view, by confirming that the state usually prefers working with organised groups. The lack of organisation among HBEs therefore limits their visibility, which hinders their access to government resources. It is therefore important to note that, whereas HBE opacification, as noted previously, can be attributed to state practices or calculations. It also appears to be reinforced by HBE operators' lack of collective action like 'self-enumeration' (see Roy, 2009) to improve on their visibility. Although, as discussed later in this chapter, remaining invisible and illegible to the

[27] Chairman – National Slum Dwellers' Federation of Uganda (NSDFU), personal communication, July 3 , 2017
[28]General Secretary – Platform for Vendors in Uganda (PLAVU), personal communication, July 20, 2017
[29] Urban Planner – MLHUD, personal communication, July 14, 2017
[30] Urban Planner – MLHUD, personal communication, July 14, 2017
[31] General Secretary – Platform for Vendors in Uganda (PLAVU), personal communication, July 20, 2017

state protects the HBE operators from state wealth extraction. Therefore, it appears that the illegibility of HBE households or operators to the state is a double-edged sword. While it helps them hide from the gaze of the state, at the same time it increases their vulnerability and limits their inclusion in urban policies.

Due to HBE opacification discussed above, these enterprises have not attracted direct government support (Respondent K3)[32]. Yet, as 'a natural starting point for most businesses, it could be incumbent upon government to give them the rudiments to spur their growth' (Respondent K5)[33]. Although there are government fund schemes in place, such as the Community Driven Development (CDD) and the Youth Livelihood Programme (YLP), these are limited to group-based ventures, as outlined in the case FGD 1 below.

Case, FGD 1:

> Tetufanana women's group was first established by four women in 2013 and later grew to eighteen members. The group was established after the four founder members acquired information about CDD grants. Despite the fact that all of these women were involved in different HBE activities, the funds could only be accessed via a registered group (a community-based organisation (CBO)), and only specific activities that were vetted and decided upon by the CDO were funded. To fulfil the conditions of registration, the group started a weekly contribution of 2,000 shillings. This money was to enable them to open a bank account, register their group, and hire someone to train them in candle-making. Since many groups were already into candle-making, the CDO declined to fund the group. They made another attempt; this time it was making beaded products. Since the group did not have the skills in this area, they hired someone to train them. They increased each member's contribution from 2,000 shillings to 3,000 shillings, and accumulated 250,000 shillings, which they used to hire someone to train them in making products from beads. After acquiring the skills, they went back to the CDO's office. This time their idea was accepted, and within three months they were given the go-ahead to register their CBO. The registration process and acquisition of a certificate from the KCCA also took another month. After acquiring a certificate of registration as a CBO, the group waited for six months before receiving a grant of 5 million shillings. After getting the money they bought the materials, and started making the beaded products, such as hand bags, bangles, necklaces and rings. However, since the members of this group had their individual home-based economic activities, it was too demanding to accord time to the group venture. Moreover, the group was also new to business; they did not know where to buy the beads cheaply and also lacked the markets for their products. As a result, the group became demoralised and

[32] Deputy Director Revenue Collection – KCCA, personal communication, July 6, 2017
[33] Executive Director – Enterprise Uganda, personal communication, July 12, 2017

> ceased their activities. Although the group was not required to refund the money, it had to meet the requirement of continuous saving. Since the funds were all spent, the group decided that each member would contribute 3,000 shillings at every meeting to keep their bank account active, so that the state was satisfied that their group was still functional (FGD with Tetufanana women's group members, personal communication, July 31, 2017).

From the above vignette, it appears that the state's fund schemes like the CDD do not support entrepreneurs along their current individual businesses in which they have developed expertise. This is because group economic ventures are favoured over individual economic activities like HBEs. The state's preference for group-based ventures, and the power to decide on the business ventures that receive funding can be interpreted as an unspoken logic or technique, whereby the state is able to direct, guide and shape the nature of business ventures and their operators (subjects) in a way deemed legible and more governable. Moreover, the implementation of these fund schemes greatly depends on technical knowledge and rationalities of the state and its agents, while ignoring the local context and the beneficiaries' own knowledge. In this context, the programme beneficiaries are depicted as deficient subjects in need of expert guidance and correction. This devaluation of local context and knowledge presented sustainability issues to the programme, and also presented a number of challenges to the HBE households. For example, the operators had to attend meetings and participate in group economic activities, which limited the time accorded to their businesses. This tended to over-stretch the entrepreneurs in terms of capability, time and resources. It thus reduced the operators' amount of effort and commitment to their business due to the divided attention they had to pay to group activities and the business.

Furthermore, despite the fact that the urban informal sector in Kampala City is composed of a variety of economic activities, only a few of these economic activities have specific regulations guiding their operations. A case in point: informal operators like market vendors, street traders and hawkers have special by-laws, namely, Kampala Capital City Market Ordinance; Kampala City Street Traders' By-law and Kampala City Hawking By-law respectively, regulating their activities. Moreover, by the time of writing this thesis, the KCCA was proposing a new Kampala Capital City Regulation of Street Ordinance, which will provide for the process for registration and issuance of Special Street trading licences to street traders and hawkers in the city. The focus on street traders and hawkers can be attributed to the fact that such enterprises are more noticeable, and as such directly affect the city authority's desired legibility in the city.

No specific regulations address issues pertaining to HBEs in Kampala City. This was confirmed by Respondent K8[34], who asserted that, 'we are still at a level where we have not put the entire focus on designing interventions that are deliberate to ensure that the HBEs are incorporated in the legal and administrative framework'. HBEs appear to operate in a grey space of sorts, existing in an environment of fragmented provisions across the different legislations, which appear to be prohibitive, and also offer no avenues for the development of the HBE sector in the city. A case in point: The Local Governments (Kampala City Council) (Licensing of Trade Persons) Ordinance, 2006, stipulates that a trade licence be issued only when the business premises have appropriate hygiene and sanitation, and building standards in conformity with the provisions of the Public Health Act. This implies that all the HBEs in this study could not qualify for an operator's licence, since they operated in deplorable conditions, hence making them technically illegal.

Furthermore, the Public Health (Building) Rules provide separate guidelines for residential and commercial or other purposes, and do not cater for how mixed-use buildings should be arranged. The national housing policy is silent about mixed-use housing. Respondent K8[35] stated candidly that, 'there is more of prohibitive than supportive environment for the operation of HBEs in Kampala City'. This is a clear indicator to government or the city authority's insensibility to or ignorance of the economic contribution of HBEs both to the livelihood of city dwellers and the city economy. It is evident that there is no deliberate attempt by the KCCA to incorporate HBEs into the urban fabric of the city. The lack of regulations and guidelines for HBE operations occasioned by state's opacification of the sub-sector appears to increase HBE operators' vulnerability and uncertainty, leaving them at the mercy of state authorities, who in the first place are conflicted about their operations.

7.2 A Homogenous Economic Space: Formalisation and Licensing of HBE Households' Business Operations

The Civil Society Budget Advocacy Group (2017) complained that one of the major constraints to revenue mobilisation and tax administration in Uganda is informality. This is because the majority, if not all enterprises in the country operate largely outside the ambit of

[34] General Secretary – Platform for Vendors in Uganda (PLAVU), personal communication, July 20, 2017
[35] General Secretary – Platform for Vendors in Uganda (PLAVU), personal communication, July 20, 2017

state supervision and taxation. In this study, Respondent K9[36] identified the challenge faced by the state: 'HBEs are difficult for us to track and monitor vis-à-vis those registered by the URSB'. It is therefore clear that the illegibility of the informal sector enterprises presented administrative challenges by making the informal sector ungovernable to both the state and city authorities in Kampala City, and the desire has always been that of bringing it under state control through making enterprises therein more legible. Scott (1998:183) is very clear that, 'legibility is a condition of manipulation', where the units or entities being manipulated 'must be organized in a manner that permits them to be identified, observed, recorded, counted, aggregated, and monitored'. Such projects aimed at legibility appear to enable or guide the 'conduct' of the informal sector operators towards the manipulator's desired ends. In Kampala City, different attempts have been made to ensure simplification and legibility of HBEs and the informal sector in general.

First, the policy measure of the issuance of annual operational licences to unincorporated business entities like HBE operators ceased to exist, as all informal businesses (irrespective of size) operating within the city had to formalise in order to be offered a trading licence. The Trading License Act Section 8 (1) as amended prohibits trading without a trade licence. By way of implementation of these provisions, in 2014 government instituted the Taxpayer Register Expansion Project (TREP), whereby HBEs and other informal sector operators were required to register their businesses with the Uganda Registration Services Bureau (URSB), acquire a tax identification number (TIN) from the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA), before they acquire or renew their trade or operational licence from the KCCA. The main logic behind this registration was that it could increase the tax base to ensure that the KCCA meets it mandate of service provision, but also to ensure trade order in the city, and to increase the state's capacity to manage these informal sector enterprises. Scott et al. (2010) comment that the state is only able to exert power on something it is knowledgeable about, which necessitates measurement, systematisation and simplification. Moreover, Scott (1998) observed that the level of the state's desire for detailed knowledge about its people is influenced by the level of its ambition – the higher the state's ambition, the higher is its drive to seek detailed knowledge and vice versa. In this study we see that the state's desire to make

[36] Principal Policy Analyst – Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives (MTIC), personal communication, July 21, 2017

visible and legible the informal sector through registration and formalisation was much needed for purposes of taxation and control of this sector.

The majority of key informants in this study agreed that the TREP project was initiated due to the dire need by government to widen its tax base, and not necessarily due to a need to transform the players within the informal sector. Some key informants presented divergent rationalities from those of the state about registration and taxation of HBEs. One of the key informants noted:

> The state is developing interventions that seem not to resonate with the reality of our informal economy… Formalisation should look beyond the tax, as tax is just one of the outputs of formalisation. The state needs to facilitate the growth of HBEs, and tax will set in automatically (K12, National Chairman – Uganda Informal Sector Transformation Organisation, personal communication, July 27, 2017).

Similarly, another key informant observed:

> Though formalisation is a good thing, the approach of the state misses what it means to be formalised. Formalisation is not paper work; formalization is in the mind and creating an entrepreneur. You don't formalize a person using paper work; you will have a lot of paper work of formalised businesses in your registry which don't exist (K5, Executive Director – Enterprise Uganda, personal communication, July 12, 2017).

From the foregoing respondent comments, we understand that formalisation needs to be approached as a process rather than as an event, ensuring that the targeted individuals need to understand or appreciate the need and benefits of business formalisation. Failure to do this may create uncertainty and resistance. All the HBE operators in this study expressed fear about the requirement to formalise their sector, indicating that its enforcement could stifle them out of business, hence greatly affecting their household livelihood. One of the HBE operators was particularly exasperated:

> They could have killed us! [...] I think the plan to formalise our businesses is a ploy by government to fail us or chase us out of the city. If government cared about us, it could have put in place a favourable environment for our businesses to grow, before it comes in to formalise and tax us (Respondent R37, female shebeen operator, personal communication, June 7, 2017).

The above three respondent observations show that the narrow emphasis on formalising HBEs primarily for taxation purposes is advanced at the cost of understanding the different dynamics of the sector, which may not only risk the success of the programme, but could also present negative consequences to the livelihoods of HBE households. Moreover, the above views show that the realities of the communities are quite divorced from those of the state and city authorities. The state's rationalities are largely driven by administrative and legislative rationality. The logic of the state is that, tagging licence acquisition to registration could force the informal operators into compliance, and that the registration of HBEs and other informal economic activities could help to widen the tax base, thus increasing revenue collection.

Second, legibility and simplification were also implemented in the collection of city taxes. For example, before 2017, authorities used to visit business premises to conduct business assessments or evaluations before taxes were levied. Due to high collection costs, tax assessment was based on a predetermined schedule (the Trade Licensing and Grading of Business Areas) published by the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives. Under this schedule, Kampala City was categorised into four grades/zones, with prescribed licence fee rates per business type, irrespective of its size, legal status (formal or informal), and location. Katanga slum's location in the precinct of the city therefore mandated it, together with all other businesses located in it, irrespective of their nature, to pay licence rates for grade one as shown in Table 7.1. Development of categories as noted by Scott (1996; 1998) is not a mere means to legibility, but presents an authoritative directive that the population must comply with. In this study, the grading of businesses and the prescription of tax rates for each zone and type of business, are attempts to standardise tax administration by creating a grid upon which HBE operators must be categorised for taxation purposes. Through this zonation, the state and city authorities appear to implicitly discourage the operation of HBEs and other informal businesses in specific areas. That means that business owners who cannot meet the demands of operation in specific areas of the city, automatically have to find their owner levels.

Table 7.1: Selected trading licence rates for Kampala City Authority

Type of business	Trading licence rates per grade/ zone in UGX			
	Grade I	Grade II	Grade III	Grade IV
Retailers	210,000	78,750	84,000	31,500
Cottage industry	131,250	90,000	52,500	36,000
Boutique beauty salon	210,000	131,250	84,000	52,500
Clinic	300,000	157,500	120,000	63,000
Drug store	165,000	135,000	66,000	54,000
Bar, pub, inn, etc.	187,500	112,500	75,000	45,000
Restaurant	187,500	90,000	75,000	36,000
Eating house	172,500	60,000	69,000	24,000
Small cottage	112,500	45,000	45,000	18,000
Dobi (dry cleaner)	75,000	37,500	30,000	15,000
Kiosk	75,000	15,000	30,000	6,000
Scrap dealers	150,000	75,000	60,000	30,000
Hawkers	112,500	60,000	112,500	60,000

Source: MTIC (2017)

As shown in Table 7. 1, all businesses, formal or informal, big or small, that fall under the prescribed categories are obligated to pay the same licence fees. Likened to Scott's (1998) case of the door-and-window tax introduced in France, where tax assessment was based on the number of doors and windows and not size of the house, the development of grades in this study was based on the geographical location and type of business. The assumption behind this categorisation could be based on a normative view that small and vulnerable traders do not belong in the city centre and should be driven out. Under this arrangement, there was no need for the tax assessor to physically visit the premises to determine the amount to be paid by the business entities, as this could be done in their offices using this predetermined schedule.

This could be interpreted as the tax zonation facilitating state legibility through standardisation and simplification, as the HBEs are regarded as being complex, diverse and not easy to track, which raises the cost of tax collection. To this end, zonation or grading helps the state to reduce the complex and wide array of businesses into grades or spatial categories for easy assessment of licence fees. As a result, the state and its agents are able to

obtain a schematic representation of how taxes are to be paid and collected. All things considered, the tax grading schedule appears to be used by the state and its agents as an instrument of control that reflect and consolidate state power.

Such projects of simplification prevent various challenges by those at the receiving end of inequitable legislation. Corbridge et al. (2005) point out that the state engages in simplifications that have dangerous or unintended consequences for the citizens. In this study, although tax zonation served the best interests of city authorities to deal with the conscription burden, it neglected or ignored the peculiarities at the grassroots. Subjecting all businesses to pay uniform licence fees could plunge households operating HBEs and other small enterprise operators into financial dilemmas. Representing the voices on the ground, Respondent R31[37] lamented that, 'the licence fees are too high and not commensurate to the location and context in which we operate […] Instead of government supporting our business to grow before they can tax them, the reverse happens which threatens our livelihoods'. It is evident that the state, under the guise of 'simplification', is willing to sacrifice fairness, while putting the livelihood of the poor at risk.

In the foregoing discussion, the formalisation of HBEs and tax zonation embody the forms of representations that the state employs to create not only an abstract economic space, but also shape HBE households' perceived and lived experiences. However, the state's homogenisation ambitions clash with the practices and lived experiences of the HBE households. As the state aims at creating an abstract economic space where HBE households and other informal sector operators become legible, the HBE households believe that such a move could expose them to numerous costs and the state's scrutiny. As discussed later in section 9.4, HBE households mounted strategies to counter the state's abstractions.

7.3 The State's Representation of Space through Physical Planning: Spatial Techniques and Practices

Due to the ubiquitous urban informality in cities of sub-Saharan African countries, governments of these countries have been preoccupied with the development of planning models and regulations to bring order and control to an ungovernable situation, to modernise

[37] Male retail shop operator, personal communication, June 2, 2017

the society and aid government to exert more power over spatial patterns (Berrisford, 2011; 2014). As discussed in previous chapters, uncontrolled urbanisation, slum development and informal sector development created spatial illegibility, and posed administrative challenges to Kampala City authorities. Respondent K6's[38] despondency was evident in this response: 'KCCA views HBEs and other informal sector activities as dirty, associated with congestion, and as such deserves no place in the city'. The city authorities believe that such illegibility led to the city losing its 'form, attractiveness and identity as the "Garden City of Africa"' (KCCA, 2012:2) – a term that originated from Ernst May's 1945 Kampala City plan (see chapter five), where the city was planned with open green belts to meet colonial interests, and the visions of order and urban design that prevailed at the time. Such situations, as argued by Kamete (2013b: 641) have called for 'normalisation', comprised of the classification of activities and things, 'regulation and criminalisation', and 'detection and correction of abnormalities based on the specified norms'. This 'normalisation' leads to an abstract space, which is a materialisation or product of attempts by the conceived space to dominate and subdue lived experiences (Merrifield, 2006).

The normalisation process usually entails development of utopian plans, whose achievement or fulfilment, Scott (1998) argues, require the infusion of large sums of money and the creation of specialised agencies to oversee such projects. In the case of Kampala City, the KCCA was established in 2011 to address the urban planning and governance challenges faced by the city (see Lambright, 2014; Nabukeera et al., 2015). Since its inception, the KCCA has undertaken different interventions aimed at transforming Kampala's cityscape. One such intervention, as discussed in chapter five, was in the area of physical or spatial planning. The KPDP proposed the zoning of the city into different functions, such as residential, employment and business, industrial, recreational; decongesting the city, by relocation of 'low valued economic activities' to the periphery, and development of low-cost housing adjacent to these employment centres; and slum redevelopment or upgrading. Kamete (2013b) avers that the classification of things (i.e. activities and land), and the specification of activities to be conducted on land, characterises any state normalisation process, and are implemented through tools and techniques of planning. Urban planning specifies how the city's space and residents' economic activities should be organised. Therefore, inherent in this process, are grids upon which different aspects of the city should

[38] Executive Director – Institute for Social Transformation, personal communication, July 13, 2017

be aligned. According to Lefebvre (1991), the main purpose of a grid is to get rid of contradictions, establish consistency, and enhance the rule of logic by reducing the dialectical thoughts.

In this study, since HBE activities are believed to be anathema to modern planning and the aesthetic vision of urban authorities, most proposals in the KPDP either explicitly or implicitly aim at the separation of home and work through the zonation of business and residential areas. Scott (1998) asserts that the separation of work from home characterises conventional/modernist planning and state simplifications. He emphasises that zonation or single-use planning, is much sought after by modernist urban planners, because it makes the planning exercise easier than in areas zoned for mixed-uses, and enables mono-functional uniformity and visual organisation.

As discussed in chapter five, Kampala City authorities appear to maintain spatial exclusivity that characterised the colonial era, due to the fact that such ideals still serve their interests of controlling urban spaces and governing city dwellers through directing their conduct as far as occupation and use of urban space is concerned. Respondent K6[39], observed that, 'despite the fact that building inclusive and sustainable cities requires the incorporation of the urban poor, KCCA seems to be aiming at closing all avenues through which the urban poor can obtain a livelihood'. This view was supported by Respondent K8[40], who commented that, 'KCCA does not recognise the informal sector as an active player in the city's development'. He asserted that the trade order ordinance was designed with a colonial mentality, whereby people in the informal sector are pushed out of the city, because the city is seen to be for the affluent people like shop owners, while those who are unable to obtain formal/permanent business locations are considered a nuisance that has to be dealt with.

It is noteworthy that urban planning is used as a tool or technique to restore and maintain the state's version of order (representation of space) and control of HBEs and other informal sector activities in the city (cf. Kamete, 2013b; Mabogunje, 1990). Resultantly, Kampala's cityscape is slowly becoming dominated by what the state and its agents deem to be the correct form and functionality of space.

[39] Executive Director – Institute for Social Transformation, personal communication, July 13, 2017
[40] General Secretary – Platform for Vendors in Uganda (PLAVU), personal communication, July 20, 2017

With so much uncertainty concerning the future of HBEs in the city, members of FGD 1 were sceptical about whether any development in their area could benefit them. This is because in all previous developments around the city, the original occupants or intended beneficiaries of the projects ended up not benefitting, as the standard of the developed places was raised pushing the rental fee high. Respondent K15[41] appeared to provide a clue to this malaise. He commented that, 'the problem with government approach is that people who plan for the informal sector or settlements do not reside in such places, and yet they do not mobilise the local people to participate in policy development and slum upgrading activities'. He further noted that, 'some people would think that the informal settlements have to look like Nakasero'– an upscale location planned during the colonial era.

Additionally, Respondent K8[42] continued in this vein, suggesting that, 'KCCA officials have not bothered to understand the dynamics of the HBE sector and the informal sector in general, because they have some modernist impression of what a city should look like; their desire is for Kampala to look like London'… or any other city in the developed world (see Figures 7.1 and 7.2). Bénit-Gbaffou (2018a:2142) berates the state and its agents for their disdain of the informal sector, criticising their approaches towards informality, whereby informal places and economic activities have been 'unmapped as unwanted, ignored, categorised as temporary and therefore not worthy of attention'. This implies that the state's techniques and practices concerning informality are influenced by its rationalities that are informed by its disinterest in the wellbeing of the most vulnerable among its citizens, the urban poor.

[41] Urban Planner – MLHUD, personal communication, July, 14, 2017
[42] General Secretary – Platform for Vendors in Uganda (PLAVU), personal communication, July 20, 2017

Figure 7.1: Proposed New Kampala City CBD Urban Design Perspective

Figure 7.2: Proposed New Kampala City CBD Urban Design Scheme

Source: KCCA (2012)

Furthermore, since its inception in 2011, the KCCA has embarked on operations and projects to ensure trade order in the city. Respondent K8[43] implied that the KCCA envisions a modern city free of congestion by informal traders, and therefore informal traders are either required to cease operating from homes or streets, and shift or relocate into the markets or arcades. To this end, the KCCA was undertaking redevelopment of markets around the city. Scott (1998:187) notes that the role of statecraft is to defuse or transform 'nonstate spaces' to 'state space'. He argues that modern development projects necessitate the creation of 'state spaces', within which the state shapes its subjects, and their economic activities. Therefore, the state and city authorities' 'representation of the lived space of the [informal] operators is usually framed against the political reality of aesthetic issues, public health concerns, land values, competitiveness and congestion' (Babere, 2015:287-288).

In this study, planning was used to rationalise and normalise informal sector operators and their activities in space and time. Through construction of 'modern' markets, the state aimed at creating an abstract space and inculcating certain behaviours in business operators. Therefore, an ideal modern business operator is required to identify their subjectivity by operating during specific times and from formalised business premises like markets and shopping centres. The state's attempts to relocate the HBEs to formal locations are integral

[43] General Secretary – Platform for Vendors in Uganda (PLAVU), personal communication, July 20, 2017

parts of the spatial practices that aim at replacing the urban poor's lived space and spatial practices with conceived space, which is more suited to the desired mode of production of urban development, and guarantees the conditions necessary for the production-reproduction of capitalist relations.

Although a number of markets that have been redeveloped by the KCCA exist in Kampala, focus here will be limited to Wandegeya market due to its proximity to Katanga slum where the study was conducted. The redevelopment of this market involved the demolition of the old single-storey market to pave way for the construction of a new four-storey modern structure. Findings from this study show that interventions like these are aimed at separating home and work, to enable the KCCA to have better control of informal sector activities and ease their work of tax collection. Moreover, these interventions also fit well with the city authorities' modernist plans and visions of an 'ideal city'. It is clear that the state requires HBE households to use space in a manner that does not cater for their needs.

The challenge with such interventions is that they fail to pay attention to issues that make individuals operate from home, and also assume that each individual prefers to work away from home. Kazimbaya-Senkwe (2004) cautions that, formalising home-based enterprises by limiting them to specific spaces or land use zones might attract new and unmanageable costs, diminishing the viability of the business. For example, typical of utopian plans, Wandegeya market was not designed to meet the needs and preferences of the traders. Requiring HBEs in Katanga to shift their operations to formalised business locations like Wandegeya market, could lead to increased business costs, as HBE households have to incur separate costs for accommodation and business premises. Therefore, forcing the HBE households to relocate their operations to markets and other formal trading areas could have serious implications not only for their spatial practice, but also for their financial and temporal practices. But above all, the operation from the market will technically mean that the HBEs will cease to exist.

Although the state's ideals and practices are divorced from the lived realities of the HBE households, they present to the urban planners and city authorities the ideal situation that they all work to achieve (cf. Scott, 1998). It is worth remembering that the exclusion of HBEs from planning has not started recently, as indicated in chapters two and five. It is something that has roots in colonial planning, and has been sustained by post-colonial states and their agents, because its serves their interests and desires. The contemporary situation in Kampala

City bears some resemblance to the colonial practice of building permanent market structures, in order to centralise the production and distribution of goods to facilitate State control and taxation of these economic activities (see Monteith, 2016). Therefore, space in the city is conceptualised for the elites and the rich or capitalists, while the urban poor households continue to be ignored.

In the foregoing discussion, we see a number of the state's spatial practices aimed at conceptualising space in a manner that shapes the citizen's perceived and lived experiences. The next section focuses on the state's spatial practices relating to slum upgrading.

7.3.1 The State's Practices and Rationalities under Slum Upgrading

As discussed in the previous chapter, HBE households in this study faced multiple spatial disadvantages and vulnerabilities, and were locked in spatial poverty traps conditioned by their location in a slum. This not only impeded the operation of their businesses, but also kept them in a state of uncertainty about their livelihood survival. Respondent K8[44] yet again pointed out that, 'the poor working environment in slums like Katanga does not provide HBE operators with an opportunity to maximally utilise their potential'. Although most of these challenges could be addressed through a comprehensive and participatory slum upgrading programme, not much has happened to this end. Respondent K2[45] underscored this point, saying that, 'though plans are in place to develop slum areas, there are currently no concrete interventions in terms of physical planning for any slums in the city'.

Slum upgrading can be understood both as a state or city authority practice, but it also has various practices and techniques embedded in it. Noteworthy is that in 2008, with funding from United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the government through MLHUD developed the National Slum Upgrading Strategy and Action Plan (NSUP) to address issues of slums in a participatory manner. One of the recommended actions of this strategy-managing urbanisation and tackling urban poverty, emphasises that urban authorities need to promote both urban agriculture and HBEs as poverty-reduction measures. However, this strategy with its provisions has remained unimplemented. As indicated earlier, no regulations or guidelines exist on the operation of HBEs in the city, (those that are available either

[44] General Secretary – Platform for Vendors in Uganda (PLAVU), personal communication, July 20, 2017
[45] Deputy Director Physical Planning – KCCA, personal communication, July 5, 2017

implicitly or explicitly discourage the growth or operation of HBEs). Moreover, no planning or household design models are in place to encourage or promote the operation of HBEs.

Two reasons can be attributed to the non-implementation of the NSUP. Respondent K15[46], a technocrat in MLHUD, attributed the non-implementation of government policy to the fact that most of these policies are mainly donor-driven. He noted that, sometimes government ministries develop policies because they have a grant or support, and that such interventions do not necessarily originate from their own pressing or planned priorities. Therefore, policies are developed to satisfy the donor, to attract resources for the survival of entities and to have the policy as an output, but not considering the content of the policy, or the need to transform the community through the policy. Resultantly, policy documents remain on the shelves, and are only pulled out for reference purposes. The other reason relates to what appears to be contradictions within government policies and institutions, arising from limited institutional coordination. This has resulted in limited integration or non-alignment of NSUP provisions in other urban policies and programmes. For example, the NSUP was developed by MLHUD in 2008, two years before the KCCA was established to take over the management of the city. It appears that the provisions in the NSUP were never prioritised by the city authority. The city authority appeared to start from a new slate when it developed the new KPDP, whereby it pursues a different approach to the challenge of the ubiquitous informality in the city.

According to the KPDP, all slums in the inner-city including Katanga are planned for redevelopment with limited attention paid to the economic activities conducted in these areas such as HBEs. Bénit-Gbaffou (2018a; 2018b) points out that the contradictions in government policies and practices provide the state with functional benefits of restricting informal sector activities from public attention by limiting collective debate and mobilisation by informal trader organisations. Bénit-Gbaffou further argues that these contradictions present to the state both positive and negative outcomes as far as the governance of the city is concerned. She notes that, whereas they help fulfil specific functions of the state, they may also create 'ungovernability'.

In this study, we see that although a provision exists in the NSUP to support HBEs as an urban poverty measure, this has not influenced or altered the practice and policy orientation

[46] Urban Planner – MLHUD, personal communication, July 14, 2017

of the KCCA. The ambition or plan of the KCCA has remained that of transforming Kampala into a modern city. This representation has influenced the city authority's spatial practices, which have already been discussed earlier, are disconnected from the reality at the grassroots.

The challenge with such utopian plans is that they do not pay much attention to the households that derive their livelihoods within the informal locations of the city. This is because such imposition of city authority or state legibility and simplification neglects people's local knowledge, and embraces the state vision of what a city should look like. Scott (1998) contends that since formal schemes dismiss local knowledge they are untenable and are injurious to the human wellbeing or livelihoods. In this regard, the state's representations of space and spatial practices are divorced from the lived realities of the HBE households. Therefore, the state in this respect becomes a source of physical violence experienced by the populace (Corbridge et al., 2005). This violence is used by the state to enforce or ensure that urban dwellers submit to its conceived space.

Noteworthy is that, the violence experienced by HBE operators and other slum dwellers in Katanga slum was more invisible in nature, as it appeared to be embedded in state or city structures and policies. For example, the social, legal and policy void or exclusion of HBEs and the slums in which they were located, manifest as structural violence (see chapter Two). Structural violence was manifested primarily through poor access to basic services, as discussed in chapter eight, but also through the insistence by the KCCA that HBE households operate in better conditions; and yet, as Respondent 15 (R15)[47] indicated, it does not offer services in slum communities. According to Farmer (2003:50), 'the poor are not only more likely to suffer; they are also less likely to have their suffering noticed'… or be deliberately ignored. Structural violence appears to have excluded HBE households from the benefits of citizenship, and kept them trapped in the vicious cycle of poverty. Olajoke et al. (2013) observe that although in most sub-Saharan African cities HBEs exist in residential areas, their legality is not guaranteed, as plans guiding their growth and development are either absent or never implemented in cases where they exist. This appears to be the case in this study.

Although one could argue that such upgrading activities are limited by finance, sometimes it is an issue of priority – concerning what government or the city authority thinks should be

[47] Male retail operator, personal communication, May 23, 2017

pursued with the limited resource envelope at their disposal. Allocation of resources is sometimes politicised, whereby the state can argue that it lacks resources, but avails funds for certain activities that favour their political standing. For example, in 2019, President Yoweri Museveni dished out money to slum youth around Kampala as a strategy to win their political support. This was done in total disregard of policy and any other structures in place on slum upgrading. Many critics argued that this was mainly aimed at counteracting the support of a youthful opposition politician, the honourable Robert Kyagulanyi (also known by his stage name, Bobi Wine) who grew up and developed his musical career based in Kamwokya slum. In most cases these funds were not given to individuals with businesses, but to groups, some of which were formed purposely to tap into the funds from the president. The observation made by Respondent K5[48], in this regard, is on point: 'government's approach towards the informal sector is completely ad hoc, emotional, and done at the spur of the moment, in total disregard for any structured approach using policies'. Moreover, most of these interventions are aimed at achieving political expediency, whereby the poor are targeted for their votes. Benefits of such interventions are unsustainable, and do not guarantee the urban poor's achievement of formal access to services or institutional recognition (see Clerc, 2016; Goodfellow, 2013b; Goodfellow & Titeca, 2012).

With the absence of the state/KCCA physical upgrading interventions in slums, Respondent 14 (R14)[49] argued that the work of slum upgrading in Kampala has been left mainly to NGOs. This is true in the case of Katanga slum, where the only four latrines serving a population of over two thousand people were majorly provided by the Church of Uganda, African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF) and Concern Worldwide. Nevertheless, their work also remains uncoordinated due to the absence of an institutional framework and mechanism for coordinated implementation. While Respondent 15 (K15)[50] argued that although different NGOs provide services in slums like Katanga, the challenge has been how to bring them on board to operate within the existing policy framework. This issue can be attributed to the non-implementation of the NSUP, which provides for and lays out strategies for participation and coordination of slum upgrading actors.

[48] Executive Director – Enterprise Uganda, personal communication, July 12, 2017
[49] Female retail shop operator, personal communication, May 23, 2017
[50] Urban Planner – MLHUD, personal communication, July 14, 2017

Despite inclusive urban governance contributing to urban poverty reduction (Avis, 2016), establishing systems and institutions to facilitate this has largely remained a dream in cities of sub-Saharan Africa, like Kampala. In most of these cities, development is pursued along modernist and utopian visions. In pursuit of these visions, little or no attention is accorded to the urban poor HBE households. In the foregoing discussion, we saw that the state employs different strategies to bring under control the spaces and economic activities of the urban poor. According to Lefebvre (1991) the state may achieve this objective if no counterattack is mounted by the citizens. Therefore, the continued existence of HBE operations much depends on the strategies employed by the HBE households to counter the homogenisation forces of the state and its agents. In the next section, the focus of the discussion is on the strategies of these households.

7.4 The Art of Everyday Resistance: HBE Households' Resistance to the State's Abstractions and Rationalities

The state's attempts at legibility or representation of space provoke resistance by its citizens (Lefebvre, 1991; Scott, 1998). Corbridge et al. (2005:247) remind us that 'the state is challenged every day in the small acts of resistance that people deploy against government officials or systems of rule'. These social forces attempt to resist capital and the state's spatial normality and rationalisation attempts as they 'create, defend or extend spaces of social reproduction, everyday life and grassroots control' (Brenner & Elden, 2009:367). The resistance of HBE households is engendered by the conflict of rationalities as the state's knowledge, logic and spatial strategies differ from those of the local or ordinary people. For example, while the informal operators like HBE households view urban space as vital for their economic wellbeing and livelihood survival, the city authorities view the same space as a planning area which has to be transformed to achieve political goals (Babere, 2015). This conflict of rationalities engenders citizens' everyday resistance.

Everyday resistance is characterised by 'little or no coordination or planning', avoidance of direct symbolic confrontation with authority, and represents a form of individual self-help (Scott, 1985:29). Findings from this study revealed that no formalised structure existed through which the state or the KCCA engaged with the informal sector operators

(Respondents K1[51], K12[52]). Moreover, HBE operators had no platform for collective bargaining or negotiation with the state (Respondent R6[53]). Although the power of the poor lays in their numbers and ability to self-mobilise to form a formidable political force (Respondent K11[54]), in order to engage with the powers that be, the absence of any form of organisation among HBE households in this study created their invisibility. This acted as a source of disadvantage, whereby their concerns do not reach the policy-making framework (Respondents K7[55], K14[56]). Noteworthy is that, due to the imbalanced power relations between the state and its citizenry, the urban poor like HBE operators are cornered, with limited or no process or spaces for negotiations. Where opportunities exist for negotiations, '[t]he urban poor… negotiate with the state from a position of disadvantage, seeking to secure urban citizenship that they do not already have' (Subadevan & Naqvi, 2017:78). In such cases these households resort to more covert than overt forms of resistance.

This form of covert resistance comprises of coping mechanisms that are employed by exploited and marginalised people in order to survive in contexts where open confrontation poses great danger or risk to the resisters. The resisters rarely aim at rebelling against the state, and their actions do not openly challenge existing power arrangements (Scott, 1989), but rather employ covert techniques using different rationalities. Scott argues that subordinate groups find collective open confrontation with the state difficult due to their lack of organisation, and fear of coercion. This form of resistance is contrasted with the direct or open resistance that appears to be more confrontational, though both aim at more or less the same objective (Scott, 1985; 1989). Scott (1989) observes that the avoidance of open confrontations by resisters in itself signifies recognition of existing power relations. In this study, the majority of HBE households expressed fear about the repercussions of staging demonstrations to demand services from the city authorities. For example, a female HBE operator reflected on this thorny issue:

[51] Chairman – National Slum Dwellers' Federation of Uganda (NSDFU), personal communication, July 3, 2017
[52] National Chairman – Uganda Informal Sector Transformation Organisation, personal communication, July 27, 2017
[53] Executive Director – Institute for Social Transformation, personal communication, July 13, 2017
[54] Commissioner – Urban Housing – Ministry of Land, Housing and Urban Development, personal communication, July 26, 2017
[55] Deputy Director of Gender, Community Services and Production – KCCA, personal communication, July 18, 2017
[56] Senior Sociologist – MLHUD, personal communication, July 31, 2017

> How many people strike and they receive help? [...] Our slum is located near important national institutions like Makerere University and Mulago Hospital, and it's not so far away from Nakasero State House, and the city centre, so when we strike, anytime they can choose to evict us…the result may turn out to be catastrophic (Respondent 22, female local beverage producer, personal communication, May 26, 2017).

The fear expressed by HBE operators in this study is understandable given that, the illegibility characterised by the HBEs and informal settlements in which they are located, limits their legal footing, and therefore claims on urban space and municipal services. Moreover, HBE households feared that their direct or overt resistance could attract unnecessary interference from the state and city authorities, with its attendant negative outcomes. The ensuing discussion shows that HBE households in this study did not passively experience the state's abstractions, as they engaged in different forms of everyday resistance to counter the attempts of the state and the KCCA's at legibility and subjectification.

As discussed previously, state/KCCA projects aimed at formalising the informal sector enterprises by tagging issuance of operational licences to registration and incorporation, and the grading of business areas have been resisted by HBE operators in Katanga slum. Initially, HBE operators in this study used to close their businesses whenever KCCA tax officials visited the slum to demand tax payments. It was reported by the respondents that operators at the periphery of the slum alerted their colleagues in the slum interior about the presence of the tax officials or health inspectors, operators reacted by closing their businesses. This shows that as the state and its agents attempt to maximise the society's legibility and amount of resources extracted, the subjects at the same time try their level best to render themselves invisible to avoid state wealth extraction (Carson, 2011). In this study, this conduct had some shortcomings. For example, closing shop in order to evade tax meant that the operators had to cease all business activities until the officials left the slum. This interfered with the smooth operation of the businesses. Moreover, closing a shop could not guarantee the non-return of the tax officials, which created a state of uncertainty and vulnerability.

Consequently, the operators decided to bribe the tax officials to enable them to operate without any interference. Both HBE and non-HBE operators contributed between 10,000 and 20,000 shillings depending on the type and size of business. The money was handed over to an elder who operated his business at one of the entrances of the slum, who then handed it to the KCCA officials. There are a number of reasons why HBE operators evaded paying taxes.

The operators considered the grading of business areas exploitative and did not take into consideration their location and level of income. Moreover, a number of operators indicated that even when they pay the taxes they do not see any improvement in service provision in their locality. Carson (2011) observes that the existence of a zero-sum economic relationship between those in authority or the state and subjects from whom rents are extracted, creates a motivation for the subjects to render themselves illegible and limit tax extraction by the state or authorities. One could think that such operators vehemently evade paying taxes. The above-mentioned factors partly explain why these operators are willing to pay for bribes instead of paying licence fees.

Although the new regulation, as discussed previously, required all businesses to be registered and formalised before they are granted operating licences, through bribing the tax officials, the HBE operators managed to continue their operation unfettered – unregistered and unlicensed. Bribing government officials appears to be a common practice among informal operators in Kampala City (see Young, 2018b). Moreover, the zones created to make tax administration more legible and manageable were also rendered ineffective. Instead of the operators paying license fees ranging between 75,000 and 300,000 shillings as shown in Table 9.1, they only paid 10,000–20,000 each as a bribe. This implies that everyday resistance may not only appear in an individualistic form, but also in a collective form. Moreover, there could be an oscillation between the two, depending on the nature of the authority to be resisted. Despite there being no established form of organisation, and the existence of differences among HBE operators occasioned by competition for customers, the threat posed by business registration and formalisation, meant that the collective effort of all operators was the most efficient and rational way of resisting state power. However, Scott (1989:42) observes that acts like these are of little 'advantages and opportunities which can have little effect on overall relationships of power'.

The evasion of tax by households in this study, through bribing tax officials may appear to be inconsequential, and could occur unnoticed. But like Scott indicated, the impact of such acts may appear great when considered cumulatively. Worth mentioning is the fact that, not every collective effort can attract the attention of the state. For example, although HBE operators in this study mobilised each other to contribute funds to bribe tax officials, this still appeared to go unnoticed. This can be attributed to the fact that state's capacity to detect the non-payment of licence fees could have been weakened by the tax officials' connivance with the HBE

operators. But even when everyday resistance is short of a wide-spread effect on power relations, it can be a basis for more wide-spread and organised forms of resistance that have the power to thwart state policies. Lilja, Baaz, Schulz and Vinthagen (2017) observe that resistance in its initial stage could be carried out in an individual manner, but could translate into a collective and public struggle when the state and other institutions vested with state power crack down on or threaten the livelihood of the informal sector operators.

Furthermore, the technique employed by the city authorities of using space through building markets to guide behaviour and enforce subjectivity, was met with resistance from the HBE operators through their refusal to transfer their operations to the new market mall. As discussed previously, the construction of the modern market was aimed at promoting trade order in the city. Moving informal traders in the market could also rationalise and standardise the operations of the informal sector by making them more legible and manageable. This could then make it easier for the KCCA to provide services, but also control and tax them. During this study, respondents indicated that KCCA officials made several attempts to move them to the nearby modern Wandegeya market. Most of these attempts were in the form of warnings and threats of eviction, which were ignored by the operators. As a result, the market remained not fully occupied (Auditor General, 2014).

The refusal by HBE households appears to be informed by their rationalities and knowledge. For example, the majority of the households indicated that the rental fee was too high, and the market had design flaws – the lookups were small, limiting space for merchandise, while the enclosed nature of the market, and its four-storeyed designs resulted in limited numbers of customers visiting the facility. These concerns were also confirmed by key informants (Respondents K3[57], K4[58], K9[59] and K10[60]). Requiring traders who are well aware of the challenges of operating within such a place, to relocate into the market, is always likely to be met by resistance. It is important to note that HBE households were not resisting the idea of the construction of markets, but the nature in which the market was designed, the rent charged, and the requirement to relocate their operations to the market. Moreover, the shift to formal business locations like markets could challenge and complicate the women's ability to

[57] Deputy Director Revenue Collection – KCCA, personal communication, July 6, 2017
[58] Director of Gender, Community Services and Production – KCCA, personal communication, July 10, 2017
[59] Principal Policy Analyst – Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives (MTIC), personal communication, July 21, 2017
[60] Assistant Commissioner MSME – MTIC, personal communication, July 24, 2017

manage both their domestic and work responsibilities; and it could also increase household expenditure in terms of rents for both residence and business premises.

As discussed previously, HBEs have been generally left out of state policies and interventions. Specifically, physical planning interventions and regulations in the city have not catered for HBEs, partly because they are perceived by the state as unacceptable appropriation of urban space. As such, the practice has been to deny the concrete lived space of the HBE households in favour of the abstract conceptions of the state and city authorities. Nevertheless, as discussed in chapters eight and nine, the HBE households in this study adapted and modified their homes to accommodate their business even in the absence of government house designs and regulations for HBE activities, and have depended on their self-governance to regulate their day-to-day activities, e.g. hours of operation. The continued operation of business at home and in an informal settlement, amidst the state's desire to do away with or ignore such activities, can in itself be seen as a form of everyday resistance. Charlton (2018) argues that home-based practices, that are often non-compliant to state requirement can be considered as pragmatic adaptations to the needs of urban residents. This implies that even amidst state crackdown on informal activities, such activities will continue to take place as a matter of survival for those engaged in them, and due to the existence of gaps within policy and intervention that can be exploited by the operators. Additionally, the creation of licence fee zones and requiring all businesses to register did not reduce the interaction or contact of KCCA tax officials with the business operators, which created room for corruption to thrive. But the HBE households' resistance is not an end in itself, because these acts of resistance appear to inform further state intervention and rationalisation programmes or ignorance by the state, creating a vicious cycle of sorts (cf. Hesketh, 2017). This is partly because the resistance strategies initiated by the informal workers do not lead to structural change, but they only offer a temporary relief from the state's repression (Young, 2018b).

As discussed in this chapter, it is evident that the state and its agents aim at establishing an abstract conceived space, but due to the above forms of resistance, the state's representation of space and attempts of legibility have not completely dominated Kampala's urban space. The existence of resistance implies that the state's efforts to eradicate informality only fuels it, as households that reside in informal settlements, and derive their livelihoods from the informal sector find ways of subverting these interventions. Moreover, due to resistance, the

HBE households' spatial practices appear to influence urban planning decisions, but are also moulded and ordered by the state's representations of space.

7.5 Conclusion

The state and city authorities use various tools and techniques to shape and enforce HBE operators' subjectivity, and governability. The state and its agents attempt to enforce their representation of space and legibility over HBE households and the urban space. Therefore, the goal of urban planning often becomes that of modifying space or directing behaviour and culture in order to serve their needs or desires. The successful implementation of these interventions implies that the conceived space could erase HBE households' lived spaces that have been appropriated and imbued with meaning for decades. This is because these policies and practices relating primarily to registration of businesses and tax administration, are developed based on the state's technical knowledge and rationalities, while ignoring local context and knowledge. These state interventions are not only of little practical relevance to the lived realities of HBE households, but also present diverse negative ramifications for the households. For example, the operation and sustainability of HBEs is threatened, by the tendency for planning interventions to aim at separating home and work, while the unfair tax administration presents financial challenges for the households. Therefore, the acts of resistance by the HBE operators are in a way driven by agency and the need to survive, whereby households have to bribe tax officials, resist the state's abstractions, and resort to improvisation in cases of absence of state intervention. Due to the covert nature of these acts of resistance and the limited capacity of these households, these coping strategies appear to be temporary, and do not guarantee an everlasting solution to their challenges. But it is important that we note that, the continuous abstraction and legibility attempts by the state and its agents like the KCCA continue to create potentialities for the urban poor to create differential spaces through resistance. Yet these acts of resistance also create avenues for the state's future rationalisations and abstractions. This implies that, both the socio-economic-spatial practices of the state and the HBE households have a direct or indirect mutual or reciprocal effect.

This chapter focused on the city scale, discussing issues related to the effects of the state's abstraction and legibility motives on the operation and sustainability of HBEs, and the strategies employed by the HBE households to resist or cope with them. The dialectics of urban planning presented in this chapter engender an informal space produced by the urban

poor. In the next chapter the focus is on the discussion at the community or slum scale, to understand the nature of the informal socio-economic and material environment in Katanga slum (including how informal space is produced at community level), how it effects HBE households' operations and how they strategize to ensure their livelihood survival under such precarious conditions.

CHAPTER EIGHT

COMMUNITY DYNAMICS AND HOME-BASED ENTERPRISES

8.0 Introduction

The contribution of the informal sector to the livelihood and housing needs of the urban poor households cannot be overemphasised. Nevertheless, despite all its contributions, the informal sector remains neglected by the planning systems to the extent that most of the informal activities are operating in life threatening environments (Kamete, 2017). The development of informal space offer a golden opportunity for the urban HBE household to survive in the city. Consequently, the production of informal spaces shapes both state and urban poor's rationalities regarding the production of space that is disapproved by the state and city authorities. Noteworthy is that the urban planning and policy regimes have driven HBE households to a state where their livelihoods depend on their ability to meet their housing and livelihood needs.

Since, as shown in chapter Seven the state's conceived space and spatial practices neglect the socio-economic-spatial needs of the urban poor, slums like Katanga slum afford urban households a fixed location for the operation of different HBE activities. The location of HBEs in these areas implies that such activities are undertaken under poor conditions, typified by poor housing facilities, with limited and in some cases complete lack of access to basic public utilities like water and sanitation. This chapter provides a contextual analysis of the external environment in which the HBE households operate their businesses, and its attendant socio-economic disadvantages. Furthermore, the chapter also explores the strategies employed by these households to address these challenges. In this chapter I employ the theory of the production of space and the concept of spatial poverty traps to understand the nature of the informal socio-economic and material environment in Katanga slum, how it affects HBE households' operations and how they strategize to ensure their livelihood survival under such precarious conditions. Drawing upon findings from household interviews and observation, this chapter commences with a discussion of the informal production of space in Katanga slum, followed by urban poverty traps and HBE operation. This section specifically tackles the nature and extent of spatial poverty traps as experienced by HBE households in this study, while discussing their effects on the operation and sustainability of HBEs, and how households cope. In order to facilitate a deeper understanding of the coping

strategies adopted by HBE households in this study, I developed a typology of these strategies.

8.1 Informal Production of Space in Katanga Slum

As discussed in chapter Seven, the state and city authorities in Kampala City were excessively preoccupied with the creation of an abstract space. This was characterised by the establishment of 'modern' markets, shopping centres and planned residential areas, with the provision of infrastructure and services mostly limited to such places. Such interventions or conceived spaces created by the state appear to provide for the housing and workplace needs of the rich, while the needs of the urban poor were largely neglected. This implies that the state's formally-conceived space did not meet the needs of the urban poor. The urban poor consequently struggled to reclaim these spaces and transform them into spaces that are attuned to their needs. As indicated in chapter Three, Katanga slum was formerly a swampy area (marginal land), but was reclaimed by the urban poor, who transformed it into both a residential and business area. The appropriation of this marginal land enabled the urban poor to access space in the city that could otherwise be impossible. Other than being planned by the state's technocrats, like planners, informal space in Katanga slum was planned or designed and produced by the urban poor. Therefore, as discussed previously, informal planning co-produced space in dialectical relationship with formal or state planning. Roy (2010) cited in Babere (2015:288) observes that '…informality in African cities has influenced the production of spaces outside the norms of planning and architecture and hence plays a fundamental role in shaping the city image'. Therefore, the urban poor are both producers and users of the space they inhabit. As such, Skinner and Watson (2020:130) argue that "…those working and living informally have a nuanced understanding of their context, challenging the very notion of "who is a planner"".

Jabareen (2014) observes that the informal space production or informal spaces characterise a common mode of everyday life practices and the socio-economic-spatial production in the developing societies. As discussed in chapter Three in this study, buildings inhabited by the HBE households in this study were informally designed as one-storeyed tenement of single or double rooms. Due to the need to maximally utilise the available space, the houses were built to cover the entire small plots leaving only small alleyways. Noteworthy is that, the size and arrangement of buildings, and the material used for building were influenced by the households' logic and other prevailing conditions like availability of funds, rather than the

logic of the state, and its technocrats. Mahmoud and Elrahman, (2016) observe that slums have little or no influence on the [formal] conceived space, and limited investment in the perceived space exists in such areas. In this study, save for the few formal buildings hosting private hostels for Makerere University students that are located at the eastern periphery of the slum, informal representation of space dominated both the perceived and lived experiences in the slum, but in a flexible manner that encouraged the production and reproduction of heterogeneous spaces. For example, as opposed to the state's desire for an abstract space (homogenous space), space in Katanga slum has been appropriated and reproduced over the decades for both shelter and business. Under this functional mix, the home environment was changed into a social-public space, used for both domestic and economic activities, while the alleyways (public space) were transformed into a private space for cooking and playing for the children. This resulted in congested alleyways, a key defining feature of the lived environment in this slum. In the next chapter I focus on space production and use at household level, the challenges it engenders and how these are addressed by the households concerned.

Just like any other slum in Kampala City, the quality of the perceived space in this slum was poor compared to other planned areas of the city, like Nakasero. The perceived space in this slum was majorly defined by open drainage channels, and narrow and dusty alleyways without street lighting. This perceived space did not only affect the movement within the slum, but also influenced the location of HBE households in the slum (see Figure 4.2); the challenges faced by these households are discussed later in this chapter. As discussed in chapter Four, areas along major alleyways had a high concentration of HBE households compared to areas located deep in the slum that usually become inaccessible due to flooding caused by poor drainage. This is because areas along the alleyways have a high pedestrian traffic or movement, making them ideal as a business location.

After discussing the production and use of informal space, the successive sections focus on the discussion of the conditions or challenges engendered by the created informal space, and the coping strategies employed by the HBE households.

8.2 Urban Poverty Traps and HBE Operation in Katanga Slum

Watson (2009a) observes that urban modernism promotes social and spatial ostracism, due to its failure to accommodate the wellbeing of the majority of urban dwellers in the cities of

developing countries. Average (2020) argues that while the informal sector has been ignored in the development of cities, there is a growing demand for space by people operating in this sector. Given the limited state interventions in the slums, as discussed in chapters Seven and Eight, the urban poor informally produce and reproduce their own livelihoods and space. Unplanned temporary and semi-permanent structures are established by urban dwellers (tenants) to meet their households' housing needs, but also of other residents through renting out these structures. As noted previously, HBE households in this study operated from what the state perceived to be illegally appropriated spaces. Therefore, such spaces were both socially and economically isolated by the state and its agents, which engendered a number of spatial poverty-related issues. These households may, most of the time, have to depend on their ingenuity to manoeuvre or cope with these challenges in order to ensure their livelihood survival. Wisner, Blaikie, Cannon and Davis (2003:6) observe that 'human livelihoods are often earned in locations that combine opportunities with hazards'. In this study, although HBE operators argued that the operation of HBEs in slums provided cheaper space and helped them avoid commuting costs and high rental fees for business premises in the formal city, operating from these locations engendered enormous social, economic and financial burdens on these households, constraining the survival of their businesses, as discussed in the successive sub-sections.

8.2.1 Poor Infrastructure and Services: The Centre Stage for Spatial Poverty Traps

As explained above, due to the reluctance of the state to install infrastructure and services in slum areas, Katanga slum, by the time of this study, was characterised by poor and inadequate basic infrastructure and services. To begin with, none of the households in this study had a private latrine, and only a few had makeshift bathing shelters. They were mainly served by public sanitary facilities, where they had to pay 200 shillings for using a toilet, and 500 shillings for using a public bathing shelter. Nevertheless, respondents like R33[61], who could not afford the daily expense of paying for the bathing shelter, decided to wake up at 5:30am, and bathed in the open, while at night she bathed inside her single partitioned room. Some community members, who could not afford the fee for using the public toilet, resorted to using buckets or plastic bags that were later thrown in drainage channels. Moreover, a few community members with latrines, but due to lack of money for hiring cesspool emptier services, released their sewage in the drainage channels during rainy seasons.

[61] Female cloth maker, personal communication, June 2, 2017

HBE households also faced limited access to clean and safe water. In this study, no respondent had a piped water connection at their premises. Therefore, access to water was through a public tap stand, where they had to pay 200 shillings per jerry can. Studies have revealed that the cost of water per litre paid by Kampala slum residents is thrice the cost paid for the same amount of water by residents in the formal settlements (John Paul II Justice and Peace Centre, 2011), and the majority only use 20 litres per capita per day – a minimal consumption standard set by the World Health Organisation (World Bank, 2014). As shown in Figure 8.4, HBE households that could not afford the daily cost of water resorted to the use of unhygienic and contaminated water sources (cf. Richmond et al., 2018). Furthermore, Katanga slum was not served by Kampala City's waste management system. In order to address this challenge, the village local council passed a by-law requiring all business owners to pay a mandatory fee of 2,000 shillings per month for refuse collection. Respondents indicated that the refuse collection was sporadic, and some had to incur an extra cost to hire manual labourers to collect the rubbish. However, observation revealed the existence of indiscriminate disposal of garbage in the drains and alleyways, which appeared to cast doubt on the effectiveness of the informal refuse collection arrangement (see Figure 8.2).

The poor sanitary conditions under which the HBE households operated, not only encumbered their business operations (for example, households using water in their business had to pay for it expensively), but also increased their susceptibility to disease (like typhoid, malaria, dysentery, parasitic infections and diarrhoea), and eventual low productivity and loss of income. John Paul II Justice and Peace Centre (2009) reports that poor sanitation accounted for all the cholera outbreaks frequently experienced in the slums of Kampala City. In a scientific study involving laboratory analysis conducted among children (between 59 months and 6 years) in Katanga slum, Cusick et al. (2018) found high blood levels of six heavy metals (including antimony, cadmium, cobalt, copper, lead and manganese,) among the sample, all of which had neuro-development consequences. High blood concentrations of lead, cobalt and copper were linked to poor sanitary conditions, like drinking contaminated well/spring water, residing near garbage dump sites, and exposure to waste water, respectively. Richmond et al. (2018) established that vulnerability evident in Kampala City slums communities was linked to unsafe water and poor sanitation. This implies that although the lack of basic infrastructure and services impedes HBE activities, it can also affect the households' general wellbeing, which in turn could have negative consequences on the HBEs. For example, the productivity of household members working in the HBEs may be

affected due to disease, while money could be drawn from the business to cater for medical bills.

Noteworthy is the fact that limited access to water and sanitary services exacerbated the work-family conflict experienced by female HBE operators. For example, women without helpers or older children had to leave their businesses to go and fetch water, or had to police their children not to fall in open drainage channels. Moreover, due to limited outdoor space, the smooth operation of their dual functions also appears to have been complicated, adding to the work-family conflict mix. The existence of poor infrastructure and services may thus influence the spatial practices and lived experiences of the households or some of their members. Chant (2014) asserts that, the diverse deficiencies in housing, infrastructure, and services add considerable challenges and burden to women's productive and reproductive responsibilities, and also curtail the survival of HBEs, risking the livelihood of many women and their households.

Furthermore, the indiscriminate disposal of solid waste as highlighted above, together with the location of Katanga slum in a reclaimed swampy valley, and the poor storm water drainage system (see Figure 8.3), made flooding a common occurrence in the area. In this study, 30 households were located in severe flood-prone locations in the slum (like the lower parts of Kimwanyi and Busia zones). Flooding exposed such households to water-borne diseases, and negative effects on the operation and survival of HBEs as described in case 33.

Case 33:

> Respondent 33 (R33) a seamstress and single mother with four children, resided next to Katanga channel in the lower laying areas of Busia zone, and as such experienced frequent flooding. One of the worst floods she had experienced occurred during the night of 20 April, 2016, when she and her children were asleep. Muddy flood water gushed into her house, and the entire stock of three dozen pieces of clothing material she had finished trimming, personal clothes and household items were soaked in muddy water. Since the clothing material was already ruined and could not be salvaged by washing, she ended up incurring losses amounting to 200,000 shillings. She approached her landlord with a request to construct an embankment at doorsteps, which was turned down by the landlord. She went back to him with another proposal, offering to construct the embankment with her own funds, so that they balanced off the cost with rent. However, the landlord told her to vacate his premises if she was not comfortable residing there. As a result, she decided to install strings across her room to hang her clothing material and finished clothing products. Other valuable household items were placed on a raised

> table during floods. The alleyway leading to her premises also got flooded, and after the flood water had receded it was filled with mud, this prevented customers from accessing her premises. She placed stones and a bag of soil in front of her door steps to create a passage for customers to access her premises (Female cloth maker, personal communication, June 2, 2017).

In the above vignette, it is evident that flooding affected the operation of HBEs, as it damaged business merchandise, limited the accessibility of customers to business premises, and interfered with the delivery of goods. Households applied different strategies to cope with the challenge of flooding. These include outdoor strategies like the use of compacted soil bags and stones. Indoor strategies included, vertical placement of goods in shelves, and raised platforms. However, such strategies seemed to be ineffective especially with high-level flooding. It is important to note that actions to cope with floods were mostly localised and limited to household level. No community-wide mechanisms to deal with floods and its after-effects existed. This can be attributed to three factors. First, limited social capital inhibited mutual support and collective efforts during such occurrences. Second, the uncertain or insecure land rights characteristic of slum areas in Kampala City limited household investment in land. Third, the lack of financial resources to undertake structural improvement projects to address flooding. Projects of such magnitude could require the design and implementation of slum upgrading projects by government, which is currently lacking, as discussed in chapter Seven. KCCA in 2010 had mapped out the channel for construction and houses along the channel were earmarked for demolition. Nevertheless, by the time of this study the project had not been commenced. An HBE operator like R22, who lived and operated their business near the channel, was sceptical about receiving any compensation upon eviction since she was renting and did not own the house.

Owing to the informal nature of housing in Katanga slum, all formal building regulations pertaining to structural design, plumbing and drainage, electrical installations and accessibility were ignored. As discussed previously, the houses occupied by the HBE households in this study, were mostly of a tenement nature, occupying the entire small plots, with many other buildings adjoining them at the back and sides, whereas others faced them, leaving small alleyways in between them, resulting in overcrowding. According to Grant (2010), physical overcrowding engenders specific forms of neighbourhood-wide threats and vulnerabilities. He argues that in congested situations, the risk for fire outbreak is high, and the moment it happens, it becomes extremely hard to extinguish, leading to loss of household

assets, and sometimes loss of life. Due to lack of motorable roads within the slum, most HBE households in this study could only be reached by passing through small unpaved alleyways (often littered with garbage) snaking in-between heavily congested buildings. The limited accessibility and mobility within the slum restricted the movement of goods and customers. This meant that most of the customers served by the HBEs were mainly limited to those dwelling within the slum. Therefore, the perceived space within the slum influenced the spatial practices not only of the HBE households, but also of their customers. Therefore, the informal conception of space influenced both the spatial practices and lived spaces in Katanga slum.

Furthermore, the majority of HBEs in this study lacked formalised connections to electricity, and hence depended on informal power vendors or distributors. Due to the informality that characterised the power distribution in this area, the vendors were at liberty to charge a higher cost per unit, more than the official rate or charges. This increased the cost of the operation of a business. Moreover, due to illegal power connections that characterised informal power distribution, coupled with the congested nature of the slum (see Figure 8.1) all the HBE households were at risk of fire outbreaks. During a fire outbreak in 2014, Respondent 18 (R18)[62], a female dry cleaner, lost her entire household property, including that of her customers. Due to the congested nature of buildings and the absence of motorable roads within the slum, as indicated previously, the fire brigade vehicle was unable to reach her home in time to save both household property and customers' clothes. Although some customers sympathised with her, and did not require compensation for their destroyed clothes, others did not. It took the support of family and friends for her to obtain capital to rebuild her business. From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the physical framework of Katanga slum constrains the daily activities of HBE households.

[62] Female dry cleaner, personal communication, May 25, 2017

Figure 8.1: Congested nature of Katanga Slum

Figure 8.2: A section of Katanga drainage channel

Figure 8.3: Poor hygienic conditions

Figure 8.4: Contaminated spring well

Source: Primary Data, 2017

In the foregoing discussion it is evident that, spatial poverty traps existed, and that they defined or influenced a variety of issues relating to the operation of HBEs in this study. Grant (2010) observes that urban spatial poverty traps are common occurrence in urban areas like slums, as the majority of the population in these locations are poor and basic infrastructure and services are exceptionally inadequate. Grant argues that, this is because such locations are informal and therefore less likely to be captured in official statistics, and/or recognised within formal policy-making frameworks. This is because the state perceives these informal spaces as illegal entities since they contravene all its legal frameworks (Jabareen, 2014). Therefore, as discussed in chapter five, though slums in Kampala City offer the urban poor a dwelling place and source of livelihood, their illegal nature limits the right of the slum dwellers to demand basic infrastructure and services from the state.

8.2.2 Neighbourhood Effect and HBE Operation in Katanga Slum

Bad neighbourhood effects have been considered as one of the aspects of spatial poverty traps. Different scholars have argued that the neighbourhood in which a household or individual lives can negatively or positively influence its livelihood. This phenomenon has been conceptualised as 'neighbourhood effect'. Jalan and Ravallion (1997) comment that neighbourhood human and physical capital endowments have a profound impact on the productivity of a household's own capital. While Manley and Van Ham (2012) assert that negative neighbourhood effects are strongly associated with living in deprived neighbourhoods such as slums. As discussed previously, HBE households in this study resided and operated their businesses in poor conditions, within deprived and poor neighbourhoods. This engendered a number of neighbourhood challenges that affected the operation and sustainability of their HBEs. Such challenges include low consumer purchasing power, competition, and crime, as discussed in more detail in the successive sub-sections.

8.2.2.1 Low Consumer Purchasing Power

HBE operators in this study indicated that most of their customers were low-income earners, which translated into low consumer purchasing power. The low consumer purchasing power coupled with the increase in commodity prices, resulted in reduced goods and services purchased by the customers. For example, some respondents argued that due to increased sugar prices (a kilogram selling at 5,000 shillings) most customers had abandoned buying it, while others resorted to buying in smaller quantities. According to Respondent 6 (R6)[63], a male retail shop operator, 'Katanga is a ghetto […] we work among people of low class, with no money. Therefore, we cannot stock high priced commodities; they will not buy them'.

This was confirmed by the vignette on Case 2 below.

Case 2:

> Respondent 2 (R2) was a female retail operator, living with her husband and their boy child. She had several concerns with the operation of her business. One of these concerns regarded people in her area who demanded lower prices. She argued that although her counterparts in other locations around the city sold at a higher price, she was not able to do so. For example, she attempted to increase the price of tea sachets from 100 to 200 shillings, but her competitors remained at the old price. Consequently, she was forced to revert

[63] Male retail shop operator, personal communication, May 17, 2017

> to the old price as no customer was willing to buy at the new price. She further argued that price competition was too high. In another case, she bought a sack of rice at 320,000 shillings, expecting to sell a kilogram at 4,000 shillings, but her competitors sold it at 3,800 shillings. She argued that the issue of others selling at lower prices, did not imply that such people bought from cheaper sources, but she believed their actions were deliberate, aimed at pushing others out of business. In order to remain competitive, she was also forced to sell at reduced prices, which limited her profits. The other challenge she faced was that of bad debt, especially from female customers. She cited two incidents where two women refused to pay her. One of them disappeared without paying a debt of nearly 500,000 shillings, while another refused to pay a debt of 302,000 shillings, and even stopped buying from her shop. Even when she pledged never to sell on credit again, she was persuaded by customers into doing so. Moreover, she also feared that her refusal to offer credit sales could lead to loss of customers to her competitors. Although she attempted reporting this to the local council authorities, she never received any help, yet she had to pay a fee of 10,000 shillings for filing the case. She concluded that bad debts affected the growth and sustainability of her business, since they reduced her stock, operational capital, and consequently resulted in limited profits (Female retail shop operator, personal communication, May 15, 2017).

It is evident from the previous quote and from this case that, most customers, due to their low income levels were inclined towards purchasing low-priced commodities and in smaller quantities. There appears to be a trade-off in the benefits and disadvantages of operating in an informal settlement. Whereas the HBE household has the advantage of being more easily reached by customers and operated for a lengthy period of time, compared to big shops in the city centre, their unit costs can be higher, and their customers poorer. HBE households in this study indicated that, since their customers were poor, they were not at liberty to charge higher prices like their colleagues operating from markets and shops, yet they mostly purchased merchandise from the same wholesale shops in Kikuubo area, and other shops around the city.

Observation showed that customers bought commodities in small quantities. For example, a kilogram for sugar sold at 5,000 shillings, but the majority of customers could not afford it. Therefore, operators packed sugar in small sachets (equivalent to three teaspoons) costing as low as 100 shillings. Those selling fresh vegetables (like garlic, bananas, cabbage) sliced or divided them into smaller quantities to enable customers to afford them. This limited the amount of goods purchased, and consequently resulted in low income for the HBE

households. Grant (2010:2) observed that, '[the] marginalised urban poor receive incomes that are too low to purchase what they need for long-term survival and advancement, reflecting poor employment opportunities, low wages and/or low returns from informal vending or other forms of self-employment'. This implies that the urban poor's demand for goods and services is curtailed due to their deprived situation.

Furthermore, due to customers' low income, credit sales were inevitable. Extending credit to customers appears to be one of the ways through which HBE operators maintained an affiliative and amiable relationships with their buyers to ensure stable sales, and fend off competition. Therefore, HBEs were embedded in social relations of the households (cf. Du Toit & Neves, 2007; Verrest & Post, 2007). As presented in case 2, most credit sales ended in bad debts, as the customers refused to pay their debts. Although some bad debts were due to the customers' deliberate refusal to pay, in some cases it was due to their poor economic status. Peprah, Buor, Forkuor and Sánchez-Moral (2019) in their study in Ghana also established that customers with limited economic ability find it challenging to meet their commercial transaction obligations. But, Peprah et al. observed that due to the limited customer base and the fact that most informal enterprises operate far away from central locations, informal traders tend to sell their goods without thinking about the repercussions of non-payment. It appears that due to a number of contextual factors, selling commodities on credit is unavoidable practice.

In this study, as discussed later, due to competition, most of the households in this study sold their goods and services on credit, knowing the negative consequence of this practice –bad debt. In this study there was a gender perspective with regard to the challenge of bad debts. Out of the 20 respondents who indicated bad debt as a challenge, 17 were women, the majority of whom were from female-headed households. Informal sector literature in sub-Saharan Africa indicates non-payment as a common challenge of informal female operators, more so than male operators (see Abebe, 2017; Warrag & Sabil, 2019). In South Africa, Mathebula and Motsoeneng (2015) established that this phenomenon was attributed to men's ability to use intimidation and violence to force their customers to pay them, a practice the women are unable to undertake due to the patriarchal nature of the society.

In the foregoing discussion we see that the operation of HBEs in a spatially disadvantaged location limits both the profitability and sustainability of HBEs (cf. Peprah et al., 2019). In this regard, Bird, Higgins and Harris (2010:4) assert that:

> [The] 'bad neighbourhood effect' constrains the opportunities of people living in spatial poverty traps and limits poverty exit. This means that, even if an individual in a spatial poverty trap has the entrepreneurial skills, the investment capital and the will to invest in a business, the returns on their investment will be lower than in a better connected area with higher geographic capital and a 'good neighbourhood effect.' Such areas are blighted, and enterprise success is harder to achieve.

The argument by Bird et al. above raises key issues concerning the import of spatial challenges in the operation and sustainability of HBEs. Noteworthy is the fact that, in order for the individual HBE household's endowment to function properly, the context within which this household and business are embedded, is vital.

8.2.2.2 Stiff Competition

The study revealed that 48 HBE operators reported competition as a major challenge to the operation of their businesses. Competition among informal sector enterprises like HBEs has been attributed to the low barriers to entry (Altenburg & Eckhardt, 2006; Njaya, 2015; Van Elk et al., 2014). While this appears to be particularly true for HBEs in this study, as most of these businesses, as discussed previously, were started with relatively small seed capital, competition among these enterprises was largely a product of spatial poverty traps. The KCCA's operations to rid Kampala streets of informal traders without providing alternative cheaper working spaces for the affected traders, has seen increased number of new entrants in the home-based enterprise sub-sector. In this study, seven HBE operators were former traders that failed to get better working space after being chased from Kampala streets. The continuous establishment of new businesses within the slum resulted in market saturation. This is due to the number of HBE operators increasing, but the customer base they served, remained static. Moreover, as discussed previously, the spatial disadvantage of Katanga slum characterised by limited accessibility within the slum due to congestion and lack of infrastructure like roads, appear to have restricted the markets of HBEs mostly to the slum residents. During an interview with Respondent 11 (R11)[64], he indicated that, '…we serve the

[64] Male retail shop operator, personal communication, May 19, 2017

same customers, the person you sell to today, is the same person you sell to tomorrow. It is as if we are in a village or an island!' This quote describes a clear picture of how HBEs in this study, due to their location in a slum appear to be isolated from the wider city. But although these households were isolated from the rest of the city in some aspects, they were connected in others. For example, the majority of them purchased their merchandise from wholesale shops in the city.

Furthermore, the stiff competition seems to have been fuelled by the limited differentiation of goods and services sold, caused by imitation business and limited innovativeness or opportunities to innovate. For example, Respondent 39 (R39)[65] operating an eatery reported that, 'There are many people dealing in food business; more than the customers available […] even when I decided to buy a fridge to make a difference, others also bought them'. Similar views were held by Respondents 35 and 38 (R35[66], R38[67]), who indicated to have enjoyed a relative monopoly, and a big customer base at the beginning of their businesses, before it gradually reduced on the advent of new HBE establishments. Observation showed that HBEs were not only competing amongst themselves, but also with other informal traders like hawkers, market vendors and other non-home-based business entities like shops in the immediate vicinity of the slum.

Competition and over-tradedness resulted in poor inter-household or inter-personal relations that manifested through envy about the success of others. Claims of witchcraft were made by respondents in the study. For example, Respondent 46 (R46)[68] reported that since his shebeen business was thriving, some of his competitors turned to witchcraft to sabotage his operations. He noted that, on several occasions, on opening in the morning, he found fetishes thrown at his door. This finding does not come as a surprise, as the accusations of witchcraft has been established to play a role in articulating tensions and envy among informal sector operators in Uganda (see Monteith, 2018). In South Africa, claims of witchcraft have characterised competitive markets in the informal sector, and sometimes believed to be an obstacle to business growth or the cause of business failure (Charman, 2017; Charman et al., 2012).

[65] Female eatery operator, personal communication, June 8, 2017
[66] Female retail shop operator, personal communication, June 6, 2017
[67] Female retail shop operator, personal communication, June 8, 2017
[68] Male shebeen operator, personal communication, June 16, 2017

In order to deal with competition, HBE households practiced price discrimination. Daily customers were offered a lower price to ensure steady buying, while strangers were offered a different price, probably higher than that offered to daily customers. Nevertheless, the general practice was to sell at reduced prices to all customers. In fact, HBE operators like Respondent 28 (R28)[69], intentionally sent 'spies' to go and pretend buying a given commodity from a competitor to establish the price so that she can in turn sell at the same or lower price. Consequently, this resulted in decreasing profits, and losses. Some respondents, like R11[70] were concerned about the future of their businesses. This concern could not come as a surprise, because the majority of the respondents, due to limited income appear to have struggled to meet their operational costs like rent, power costs, licence fees, garbage collection fee, in addition to other household expenses like buying food.

In a rather unique incident in this study, Respondent 45 (R45)[71] a shebeen operator reported agreeing with two of his competitors and neighbours to charge a uniform price, but factors influencing this kind of arrangement were not clear. Although R45 was the local council leader for the zone in which his business was located, it is not clear whether his political influence could have played out to enable this arrangement to exist. With the exception of this single incident, no other such arrangement existed in the study area. This appears to have been attributed to individualism engendered by the stiff competition and the transient nature of Katanga slum which limits building of long-lasting social and business relationships. Young (2018b) observes that competition impedes cooperation. The lack of cooperation not only limits the opportunity to leverage upon the political capital of the informal operators as indicated by Young, but it also reduces cooperation in the running of their businesses. Respondent 6 (R6)[72], reported that 'everyone is on his or her own, and pulls to his or her side, in such a situation we cannot agree to a uniform price'. In order to deal with competition, a few individuals stocked non-perishable commodities during periods when prices were low in anticipation of a price increase in the future. This enabled them to have an advantage over other operators by offering competitive prices during times of scarcity when such commodities are expensive. Due to the lack of storage facilities, stocking commodities

[69] Female retail operator, personal communication, May 31, 2017
[70] Male retail operator, personal communication, May 19, 2017
[71] Male shebeen operator, personal communication, June 14, 2017
[72] Male retail operator, personal communication, May 17, 2017

appears to have encroached on space for domestic activities, and caused congestion within the dwelling.

Although some HBE operators devised the means to remain competitive, others chose not to engage, by leaving everything to God (R18[73], R19[74], R27[75], and R36[76]). In Uganda, the literature indicates that religious beliefs have an influence on entrepreneurial behaviour or practices (Namatovu et al., 2018). In this study, although the passive response to challenges could appear to signify a strong religious belief, it could also signal a state of despair. This implies that although competition affected each and every HBE household, strategies to address this challenge were more individualised, rather than a collective effort of every HBE household. Competition remains a main challenge to HBE sustainability, as a number of studies have attributed the closure of some HBEs to this phenomenon or occurrence (see Charman, 2017; Hartnack & Liedeman, 2017).

Lastly, competition among HBE households also contributed to credit sales, a common practice among HBE operators in this study. Respondents who engaged in different HBE activities had various views about extending credit to their customers. Respondent 11 (R11)[77], a male retail operator argued that, 'I offer goods on credit to my customers, but most times they do not pay, and if I refuse to give them, I risk having no one to sell to'. Similarly, Respondent 20 (R20)[78] a female shebeen operator, said that, 'paying debts, especially among drinkers, can be a struggle, and if you tell them to order with cash, when they leave, they do not come back'. Furthermore, another respondent, when probed about why she did not ask of her customers to order with cash, responded that,

> There are many people operating eateries in this area. If I insist on customers paying cash before they are served, they may as well choose to eat from someone else. We get few customers for cash; most people pay in the evening. Additionally, because I am known in the community, someone will come, eat and go without paying because they know I cannot do anything to them (Respondent 47 (R47), female eatery operator, personal communication, June 16, 2017).

[73] Female dry cleaner, personal communication, May 25, 2017
[74] Female eatery operator, personal communication, May 25, 2017
[75] Male scrap dealer, personal communication, May 31, 2017
[76] Female food and charcoal seller, personal communication, June 7, 2017
[77] Male retail operator, personal communication, May 19, 2017
[78] Female shebeen operator, personal communication, May 26, 2017

In the above response, though the respondent attributed the customers' behaviour to her being known in the community, what is implicit about the action of her customers is the fact that their behaviour could have been influenced by her being female, hence less likely to inflict or threaten violence to demand payment. It can be seen that offering credit was inevitable and an integral part of HBE operation in this study. But as discussed previously, most female HBE operators in this study struggled to demand payment from their customers.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that competition and its associated challenges appear to characterise the ripple effects of the entrenched spatial disadvantages that manifest in Katanga slum.

8.2.2.3 Crime and Violence

While discussing the security challenges faced by HBEs, it emerged that not all HBE operators had the same experience of crime. The majority of them were indirectly affected by crime, whereby customers were robbed of their property, like money and phones. As a result, they avoided specific crime-prone places, leading to limited business. Operators in such places witnessed a fluctuation in the number of customers, with night time having fewer customers than day time. Moreover, would-be customers residing outside the slum were reportedly turning away, due to fear of crime. Few operators (n=9) were directly affected by crime in the past twelve months. Such operators were victims of shoplifting or larceny, and issuance of counterfeit notes meted out by unscrupulous or disguised customers. For example, Respondent 13 (R13)[79] a female salon operator indicated that some of her customers stole her hair weaves, while others disappeared without paying after receiving hair services. This resulted in loss of property and consequently loss of income.

It is interesting to note that, other than larceny (theft), no respondent had ever experienced assault, burglary, harassment, looting, and robbery at their premises for the time they had operated their businesses, which is in marked contrast with other places in sub-Saharan Africa, as discussed later. Interviews with the local area chairpersons for the three zones that make up Katanga slum (Busia, Kimwanyi and Soweto), revealed that burglary and looting cases were mostly reported by community members that left their houses unattended to during day or night, while assault and robberies were reported by residents moving within the

[79] Female salon operator, personal communication, May 22, 2017

slum, especially at night. Respondents argued that due to the high unemployment rates, congested nature of the slum, poorly-lit alleyways, drug abuse and absence of police, it could appear delusional to think of Katanga slum as a secure place. In the literature, higher urban crime rates and violence are usually associated with more economically and socially disadvantaged areas (Brunton-Smith, Sutherland & Jackson, 2013; Kilroy, 2007), caught up within urban spatial poverty traps. Grant (2010) argues that overcrowding coupled with deprivation and unemployment can increase crime and violence levels in a specific area or location.

Noteworthy is the fact that, studies conducted in informal settlements across sub-Saharan Africa observe that HBEs are usually a main target for crime (Charman, 2017; Gough et al., 2003; Ligthelm, 2005; Piper & Charman, 2016; Shabalala, 2014). The nature and level of occurrence may differ greatly along economic, social and environmental lines. In places like South Africa, violet crimes (assault, burglary, harassment, looting, and robbery) are experienced by HBE operators in townships and have been linked to violent entrepreneurship, a form of violence perpetuated by business men and women to defend their business interests by getting rid of competition (Charman & Piper, 2011; 2012; Freedom House, 2017; Piper & Charman, 2016). Chebelyon-Dalizu, Garbowitz, Hause and Thomas (2010) observe that HBEs are an appealing target for crime and violence, due to their largely cash-based operation that make robbers more assured that such businesses have cash. Moreover, other scholars attribute crime and violence, especially experienced by non-indigene HBE operators to xenophobic violence meted out to them by a section of South African nationals (Crush & Ramachandran, 2015; Tawodzera, Chikanda, Crush & Tengeh, 2015). Nevertheless, scholars like Charman and Piper (2011), Freedom House (2017), and Piper and Charman (2016) argue that such incidents are purely a result of robberies.

In this study, apart from the loss of merchandise, income, having to stay home to avoid break-ins, and restrictions to free movement of customers within the slum, crime appears not to have influenced the type of business and hours of operation. However, in other countries like South Africa, a number of HBE aspects including 'the type of HBE operated, the importance of strong structures and security hardware, hours of operation, distribution of target clientele, profitability from turnover, overhead expenses for security, and losses arising from direct criminal incidents' (Gough et al., 2003:274), were reported to be influenced by

crime and violence. This implies that, as argued previously, the nature and effect of crime and violence may differ across geographical locations.

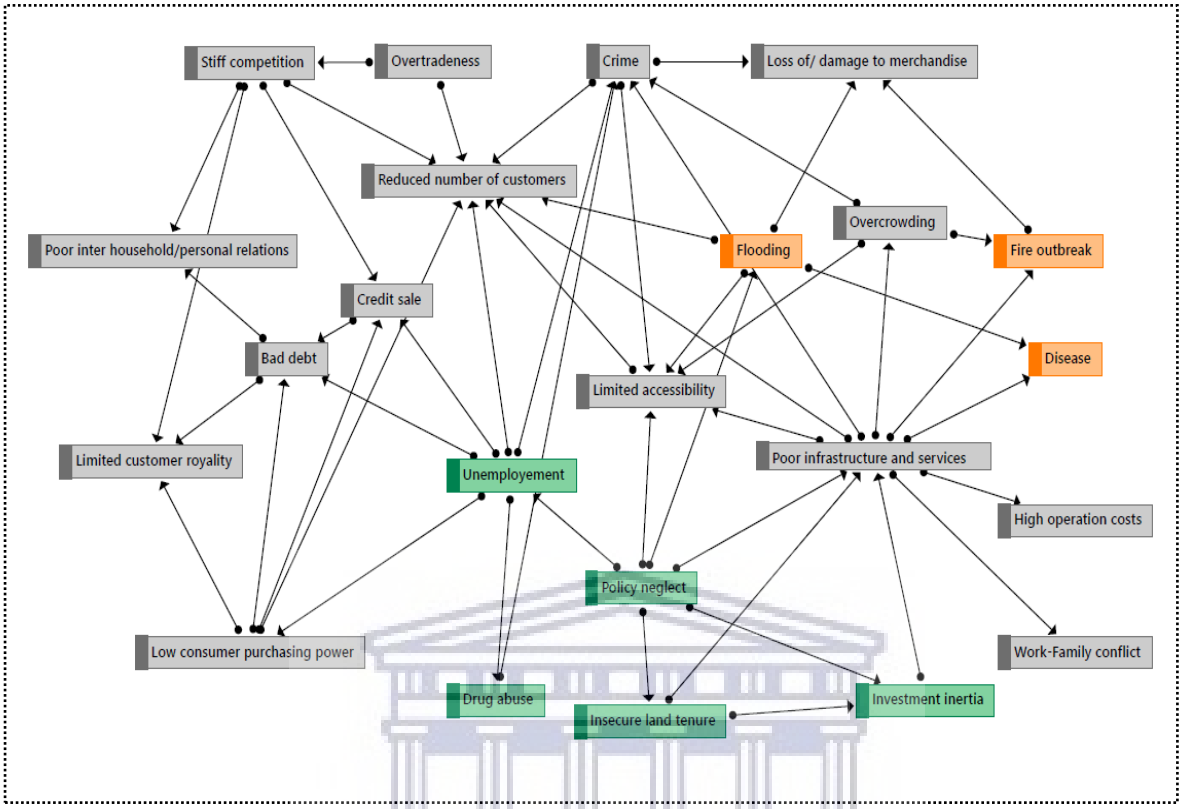
In a bid to address this challenge, some retail HBE operators installed burglar bars at the entrance, so that customers were served through the spaces left between the iron bars. Shebeen operators installed locks on their refrigerators, to avoid uncontrolled/unauthorised removal of drinks. Moreover, all operators reported being vigilant, especially in the presence of customers, and had to avoid leaving their premises and businesses unattended to. At community level, the local council leadership in the area, established a security community composed of specific community members, which oversaw the security of the slum by conducting foot patrols at night. In order to facilitate this committee, a by-law was passed requiring all people with businesses to pay a monthly security fee of 2,000 shillings. However, a number of respondents complained about the effectiveness of this committee, and the financial obligation it imposed on their businesses. Moreover, the midnight curfew imposed by the security committee affected businesses, especially shebeens.

Although the effect of individual factors or challenges discussed previously is important, it is the multifaceted and interconnected nature of these factors that is more significant in explaining the state of vulnerability faced by HBEs in this study. The next section focuses on the compounded nature of these challenges.

8.2.3 Compounded effect: Multiple disadvantages suffered by HBE Households

As discussed previously, HBE households in this study experienced various challenges and risks. Due to their location in a slum, households appear to face similar risks and vulnerabilities (Grant, 2010). As shown in Figure 8.5, a semantics visualisation is used to gain deeper insight into these spatial challenges, and how they appear to interact and reinforce each other to form a ‘trap’. The forested nodes help us understand the challenges with more multiplier effects, and not necessarily that such challenges are more significant than others. The nodes in colours grey, orange and green represent the direct challenges, indirect challenges, and risks faced by HBE households respectively.

Figure 8.5: Semantics visualisation of causal links among challenges/risks faced by HBE households



Source: Primary Data, 2017

HBE households in this study experienced multiple challenges and vulnerabilities conditioned by their location in a slum. When these spatial disadvantages overlap and reinforce each other, there is the likelihood for spatial poverty traps to emerge (Burke & Jayne, 2010). As alluded to previously, the multifaceted and interconnected nature of these factors appear to have a more significant impact on the operation and survival of HBEs, than the sum of their individual effects. Therefore, participatory approaches to slum upgrading need to adopt a multipronged approach to deal with the multifaceted nature of deprivation faced by slum dwellers, including HBE households. Moreover, as argued by Richmond et al. (2018), slum upgrading processes need to adopt bottom-up approaches in order to capture individualised community needs and preferences. This implies that the active involvement of the slum dwellers is central to this process (Muchadenyika & Waiswa, 2018). As variously discussed in previous sections, when such efforts and processes are absent or flouted, HBE households devise different strategies to cope with their deprivations. The next sub-section focuses on the development of a typology for the coping strategies employed by HBE households.

8.3 Typology of Coping Strategies adopted by HBEs under Spatial Poverty Traps

Urban livelihood studies have explored different strategies engaged by the urban poor to cope with their deprived situations. Although these studies acknowledge that HBEs and other informal sector activities form part of the core urban poverty coping strategies (see for example, Chambers, 2006; Dimanin, 2012), rarely do they focus on the strategies that HBE households undertake to ensure the survival of these businesses. This study established that although these households operate within a context that constrains their business sustainability prospects, they employ a variety of strategies to ensure their livelihood survival. The successive discussion focuses on the development and analysis of a typology of coping strategies adopted by HBE households to deal with the key spatial disadvantages.

Table 8.1: Challenges and typology of coping strategies

Predisposing issues	Specific Challenges /Risks	Strategy	Typology
Over-tradeness, Informal electricity connection, Poor infrastructure and services, Drug abuse, Unemployment, and Policy neglect	Stiff competition	Price reduction	Individual based active coping strategy
		Depended social network of friends, kinsmen and relatives for customers	
		Stocking non-perishable goods and offer competitive prices when the commodity prices shoot up	
	Limited customer loyalty	Depended social network of friends, kinsmen and relatives for customers	
	Bad debt	Stop selling on credit	
		Offer credit to people well known to the operator	
	High operation costs	Contribute money to bribe tax officials	Collective active coping strategy
		Use of spring well water instead of buying water	Individual based active coping strategy
	Low consumer purchasing power	-Sell at reduced prices -Sell commodities in minute quantities	
	Reduced number of customers	Depended social network of friends, kinsmen and relatives for customers	
	Limited access to water	Use of unprotected spring well	Individual
		Buy water	

	Lack of sanitation facilities and poor drainage/flooding	Indiscriminate waste disposal	based active coping strategy
		Pay for garbage collection	Collective active coping strategy
	Crime	Community security	
		Individual vigilance	Individual based active coping strategy
		Burglary proofing	
	High power cost per unit	Give up on use of power	Individual based active coping strategy
		Did nothing (especially for households whose businesses were power dependent)	Passive coping strategy
	Risk of fire outbreak	Did nothing	Passive coping strategy
	Limited accessibility due to overcrowding and lack of motorable roads	Did nothing	
	Poorly lit alleyways	Did nothing	
	Insecure land tenure	Did nothing	

Based on the previous discussion, a typology of coping strategies employed by HBE households was developed. As shown in Table 8.1, three possible typologies of coping strategies were established. These included, individual-based active coping strategies, collective active strategies, and passive strategies. Individual-based active coping strategies involved strategies undertaken by an individual household. Therefore, these strategies were mostly influenced by the individual decisions of a particular household. In this study, the majority of the coping strategies applied by households were mostly localised or limited at household level. This is directly contrasted with the collective active coping strategies that were a result of the concerted effort of many households. Although some of the coping strategies adopted by households helped to ameliorate or counteract specific challenges faced by these households, they had costs of their own that appear to increase the vulnerability of HBE households. For example, as already discussed, although price reduction helped the

households to counter competition, it reduced household income. Moreover, analysis of the households' coping strategies shows that these strategies were mostly directed to the symptomatic challenges rather than the predisposing challenges. This meant that these strategies only offered temporarily relief or solution, rather than a permanent solution of the household challenges.

The passive strategies involved households taking neither individual nor collective action to address the challenges they faced. It should be noted that studies in the literature perceive the poor as active and not as passive participants. For example, Beall and Kanji (1999) argue that although households may be faced with structural constraints, human agency might succeed in shifting some of the barriers to enhanced wellbeing. Beall and Kanji emphasise that, the urban poor are not passive participants at the mercy of wider social processes, but are active agents that respond to social and economic challenges, irrespective of the circumstances they find themselves in. But the findings from this study reveal that agency can be limited, especially when the challenges encountered by the households are beyond their capacity to handle. Households were not limited to one strategy, as they adopted all three kinds of strategies, depending on the circumstances.

8.4 Conclusion

The chapter focused on the contextual analysis of the slum or local environment in which the HBE households operated their businesses, and its attendant socio-economic-spatial disadvantages. Given the fact that the urban poor households reproduced their own space and livelihood, they faced multiple spatial disadvantages, and were locked in spatial poverty traps, that not only impeded the operation of their businesses, but also kept the households in a state of uncertainty about the survival of their source of livelihood. Many of these challenges appear to be recognisable in the context of slum communities. In order to ensure the survival of their enterprises, households devised different strategies to cope with their risks and challenges, with different resultant outcomes. It is noteworthy that most of the coping strategies adopted by HBE households were more individual-based than collective in nature, an issue that can be attributed to the lack of a forum or an institutional organisation of HBE households to address common challenges or cause some kind of collective bargaining power to demand for better services from the government. Although the challenges and risks experienced by HBE households in this study could be adequately addressed by participatory slum upgrading, such efforts were lacking.

After focusing on the socio-economic and material environment in the slum, engendered by the informal spaces created in dialectical relationship with state practices, in the next chapter I discuss issues concerning the production and use of space for both income generating (business) and domestic activities within the HBE household. Moreover, I also discuss the contestations and challenges engendered by the appropriation of the domestic space, and the strategies engaged by these households to ensure not only the continuity of the business, but also the co-existence of both home and work.

CHAPTER NINE

HOME-WORK BOUNDARY MANAGEMENT DYNAMICS OF THE HYBRID HOME/ENTERPRISE UNITS

9.0 Introduction

The logic and actions of the urban poor HBE households differ from those of the state. While the state views the unauthorized structures and their use as violating most operative regulations as far as planning, tax, building, public health, safety, labour and environmental sanitation are concerned (Kamete (2013a), the urban poor view these informal structures as both a source of accommodation and livelihood. Informal logics and practices are employed to transform these spaces to facilitate the satisfaction of both the household's accommodation and livelihood needs. This has both negative and positive results. The introduction of business in a home results in the existence of two domains in a single space.

Due to the permeability of business and family domain boundaries, events in one domain may influence the domain participants, actions and outcomes in the other component (Miller et al., 1999). Few studies go further than the mere recognition of this phenomenon to focus in detail on the demands, tensions or contestations and conflict that the combination of these two domains impose on the operation and sustainability of these enterprises, and how these are addressed. Using the production of space theory and the border theory, this chapter analyses the production and use of space within the households, and also analyses how the HBE operators create, sustain, negotiate and cross borders or boundaries between business (work) and domestic (family) domains. When exploring the dynamics and challenges associated with the operation of HBEs, the borders or boundaries between home and work are a critical factor in understanding how HBE households ensure continuity of their businesses. Moreover, articulating the aspects of the spatial triad (production of space theory) along with the border theory helps not only to decipher HBE household space, but also document associated contestations and challenges of this process, and how these accruing socio-spatial challenges are addressed by the households. The current study extends the production of space theory by extending the analysis of the production and use of space at household level, and also extends the border theory by exploring how home-work boundary management can influence the continuity or sustainability of HBEs. The sustainability or continuity of HBEs appears to be influenced by how well the household manages the border and boundaries

between the home and business. Drawing upon findings from interviews and observations, this chapter begins with a discussion of urban planning and the foundations of home-work boundary dynamics, followed by the challenges, contestations and tensions arising from the double functioning of space. The second section analyses the strategies adopted by HBE households to promote the co-existence of domestic and income generating (business) activities in the same environment (home). The third section lays emphasis on household relations, reciprocal exchanges and home-work boundary management. Noteworthy is that rather than adopting a firm analysis like other previous HBE studies, this study, as discussed in the preceding chapter, adopts an integrated approach, whereby the two domains or sub-systems of family and business are treated as a holistic system (home-based enterprise unit), because they not only co-exist, but interact and inform each other.

9.1 Urban Planning and the Foundations of Home-Work Boundary Dynamics

In order to understand the spatial issues (production and use of space) at household level, it is imperative that we contextualise them within the historical context of colonial and post-colonial planning and regulatory frameworks. As discussed in chapters Five and Seven, due to policy and regulatory neglect, planning interventions in Kampala City have not paid attention to housing and work needs of HBE households and other informal sector operators. Since colonial era town planning, housing, architectural and building code norms and regulations have focused on buildings for single purpose with no provision for multiple or mixed use. As such, planning and building regulations have always focused on the separation of home and work through zoning.

During the colonial era, the native Africans were relegated to the peripheral areas of Kampala Township (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011; Sanya, 2005). In contemporary Kampala City, segregation has taken a new twist with the rich residing in well-planned and serviced locations of the city, like Kololo, while the poor reside in unplanned areas (slums) like Katanga, with limited or no access to basic infrastructure and services (cf. Home, 1997; Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). Watson (2009a) observes that urban modernism promotes social and spatial ostracism, due to its failure to accommodate the wellbeing of the majority of urban dwellers in the cities of developing countries. Given the limited state interventions in the slums, as discussed in chapters Seven and Eight, the urban poor informally produce and reproduce their own livelihoods and space. Unplanned temporary and semi-permanent structures are established by urban dwellers (tenants) to meet their households' housing needs, but also of others

through renting out these structures. In this study, all buildings inhabited and used by the HBE households for their businesses were informally designed for residential purposes, and repurposed by households (the majority of them renters) to serve both residential and business functions. The buildings provided for single and double rooms with a total indoor space of 5-10.5m^2 (n=31), and 10-18m^2 (n=19). Typical of a slum setting, the houses were mostly of a single-storey tenement nature occupying the entire small plot, with others adjoining them at the back and sides, with blocks of dwellings separated only by narrow alleys. As noted previously, the introduction of work in a home or domestic space requires the transformation of this space. Wapshott and Mallett (2012) develop an understanding of space at household level that is imperative to this study. According to Wapshott and Mallett, the demarcation of domestic space embodies an imposition on space, whereby the space is marked and specific interpretations and relations are introduced that can alter the neighbouring space in ways that appear to control or dominate both the perceived and lived space of users. This results in the appropriation of the domestic space, which sets in motion a number of contestations and challenges that have to be managed to ensure not only the continuity of the business, but also the co-existence of both domestic and economic activities (home and work). The next section addresses the conflicts, tensions and challenges associated with the operation of HBEs.

9.2 Boundary Spanning Demands: A Locus for Conflicts, Tensions and Challenges Experienced by HBE Households

The nature of flexibility and perviousness of the border/boundary between business (work) and home (family) domains engenders work-family boundary-spanning demands. Boundary-spanning demands denote role expectations and requirements, i.e. abilities that emanate from both domains, and require equal attention from the individual at a given point in time (Voydanoff, 2008; 2005b). Examples of these include spatial and temporal demands. In the context of HBEs, time and space are considered as critical resources for the operation and sustenance of HBEs (Gondwe & Ayenagbo, 2013). These demands are typical of integrated (work) and home (family) domains, and lead to strain as an individual or household's abilities to adequately meet them could be exceeded. In this study, such strain related to both spatial and temporal demands, tensions and contentions.

9.2.1 Spatial Demands, Tensions and Contestations

In this study, all 50 HBE households occupied small spaces and in a number of cases the establishment of businesses impinged on the household space in ways that appeared to inconvenience other domain or household members, particularly the children. As such, both the lived and perceived spaces of household members were changed by the presence of work at home. Lived experiences of the household members were altered as their sleeping time, and social behaviour changed due to the presence of customers, while their spatial practices, like the use of space and movement within the home was also altered. Wapshott and Mallett (2012:73) comment that, 'by introducing work into the home, the home space can come to be "dominated" by the needs and demands of the work. As a result, previous spatial practices or understandings are displaced and new spatial practices emerge'.

This domination of home space by work was in a number of cases contested and subverted by household members (cf. Wapshott & Mallett, 2012). This is because their representational space (lived space) changed from the one they were used to before the introduction of the business. For example, Respondent 13 (R13)[80] operated her salon business from an entrance porch of her rented single room – a space initially used by her children as a play area. Although this space was now exclusively designated for work, she had to keep her children at the porch with her, because she cooked inside the room, and worried that they could get burnt. She indicated that she struggled with enforcing rules or restricting her children from playing while she worked, and often work items like hair rollers and anything that appealed to them were used as toys. Therefore, it is not only the space allocated to the business that is subverted from its intended purpose, but also the items of that space. This caused tensions due to the constant need to monitor the children as she worked. She argued that, 'I am kept on tenterhooks, always on the lookout for what they are playing with … shouting at them, "leave that, don't go there" … it makes me crazy!' In another case, Respondent 22 (R22)[81], a female shebeen operator indicated that although they played video music for their customers, and she insisted that no household member watched television in the presence of customers, the children, in her absence, would sit among customers and watch their favourite programmes. Moreover, sometimes they requested customers known to them to ask their mother to change channels on their behalf.

[80] Female salon operator, personal communication, May 22, 2017
[81] Female local beverage producer, personal communication, May 26, 2017

In this study, it is evident that the size, design and layout of the physical space, and the number of people using the space (household size), engender home-work boundary tensions and management challenges. According to Sullivan (2000), in order to promote the co-existence or integration of home and work, there is the need for the design and structure to work in a way that caters for the experiences and spatial needs of household members (Sullivan, 2000). This is particularly hard to achieve in the context of this study, owing to space limitations. The previous vignettes help to illustrate how work intrudes on the personal lives of other domain members, as their lived experiences of a home are changed by the introduction of work or business. The co-existence of home and work engender spatial restrictions and modifications to the behaviour of domain members, especially the children, and their reactions can be seen as a display of dissatisfaction, reclamation of the lost space, and access to specific household items. Interestingly, the change in space function – to that of work, did not erase the household members' attachment to the space, both as a play area and a living room, as these remained imprinted in their mental faculties. Furthermore, the spatial co-existence of home and work amidst space limitations resulted in privacy and security tensions for the household members. For example, Respondent 16 (R16)[82], a female shebeen operator occupying a single undivided room (see case 16) reported that, since her business involved lengthy stays of customers at home, she experienced limited privacy and security. In such instances, she had to dress at the neighbour's home when customers were present, and had to stay alert to avoid unscrupulous customers from stealing household items. This implies that work-home border or boundary management appears to be a task in itself, requiring effort.

Spatial tensions and contestations were not only limited to the indoor space, but depending on the nature of the business, these were extended to the outdoor space. It appears that the use of outdoor space is common among HBEs in sub-Saharan Africa, especially those located in informal settlements characterised by congestion (Kachenje, 2005; Ligthelm, 2005; Nguluma & Kachenje, 2015; Sinai, 1998; Yankson, 2000), but rarely has it been explored or viewed in the context of border or boundary management. In this study, businesses like eateries had their activities (cooking and washing of utensils) done in the outdoor space – mainly on the veranda or in the alleyway adjacent to the entrance (see Figure 9.1).

[82] Female shebeen operator, personal communication, May 23, 2017

The appropriation of public space as a means of dealing with households' space shortages, appears to set in motion new forms of spatial tensions and contestations. In most cases, the outdoor spaces (especially the alleyways) used for HBE activities were also used as a play area for both the neighbours' and the HBE households' children. Moreover, the same spaces were used by the community or general public for mobility purposes within the slum settlement. As shown Figure 9.1, the presence of home-based economic activities in Katanga slum changed the representational space of the neighbourhood, and influenced the spatial practices of the community members. Although this appropriation helped the households deal with space limitations, there was a risk of children getting injured, or food getting wasted. For example, Respondent 39 (R39)[83], a female eatery operator, reported that, '[s]ometimes, KCCA law enforcement officers ensue in running battles with street traders and they end up knocking down what I am preparing'.

Figure 9.1: Appropriation of public space – alleyways

Source: Primary Data, 2017

9.2.2 Temporal Demands, Tensions and Work-Family Conflict

Voydanoff (2005c) contends that time spent on paid work is a fixed resource, and once committed to needs in one domain, may be insufficient to the meet needs in the other domain, resulting in temporal tensions. In the literature, temporal tension is associated with long working hours (see Voydanoff, 2004). On average, HBE operators in this study operated for approximately 16 hours each day. This shows that the time demand for operating HBEs is

[83] Female eatery operator, personal communication, June 8, 2017

high. Therefore, although operating from home reduced the temporal strain related to time spent on commuting to work premises away from home, it did not necessarily do away with this challenge. Even though both women and men in this study worked for extended hours, it was the women more than men who experienced temporal tensions. This is because these women were still bound by their culturally ascribed reproductive obligations of child care and other domestic chores like cooking, dropping and picking children from school, some of which appear to be time-dependent. Managing the dual family and work demands therefore remains a challenge for most female entrepreneurs (Shelton, 2006), as they have to allocate their time and energy between their domestic and business activities, which results in conflicts and tensions. Case 13 illustrates one of the typical examples of the tension and conflict associated with the competing demands of family and work.

Case 13: Juggling the dual demands of family and work

> Respondent 13 (R13) was a female salon operator, with 4 children aged between 9 months and 9 years. She was married to a street trader, but for the past three months had ceased working since he was arrested and his merchandise was confiscated by KCCA law enforcement officials. In order to accommodate her salon business, R13 converted the porch at the entrance of her rented one-roomed dwelling, formerly used as a play area for her children, as her workplace. Since she used one corner of her room as a cooking place, she had to stay at the porch area with her children, where she operated her salon, to prevent them from getting burnt. R13 woke up at 5am, prepared and took her two children to school. While they are away, she washed the utensils, mopped the house and lit the charcoal to prepare tea for the children who remained at home. On several occasions, before she could complete her domestic chores, customers started trickling in. This interruption of domestic activities or family time usually led to a delay in the preparation of lunch, and limited time of interaction with her children. Moreover, since her children played in the same place where she operated her business activities, she got interrupted. Moreover, her attention to the customers' needs was disrupted by the fact that she had to monitor the children for them not to eat hair and other materials from the salon. However, sometimes the actions of her children escaped her watchful eye, and she only noticed hair strands in their faeces. After a very long day, R13 goes to bed between 12-1am, exhausted. In an effort to balance domestic and business activities, she sometimes ended up making mistakes, or doing things in a hurried manner without due diligence. For example, due to divided attention, sometimes the hair treatment burnt customers' scalps, or could not work well as the right procedure for its application was not followed on time. R13's children, especially the one suffering from autism, frequently fell sick, and had to be taken to hospital. During this time,

> customers could not come to her when she was away. She indicated this to be one of the major factors leading to the loss of customers (Respondent 13, Female salon operator, personal communication, May 22, 2017).

As shown in the above vignette, R13 like many other female HBE operators with children, struggled to strike a balance between their domestic and business demands. In such circumstances, business activities received significant disruptions from domestic activities and vice versa. This phenomenon has been conceptualised by different scholars as Work-Family Conflict (WFC) or Family-Work Conflict (FWC) (Neneh, 2018; Netemeyer, Boles & McMurrian, 1996; Shelton, 2006). In this study, female operators like R13 sometimes halted their business activities to afford time to their family, resulting in FWC. The reverse was also true, where in certain instances customers or business activities disrupted domestic activities, leading to WFC. According to Netemeyer et al. (1996) there are two main sources of FWC/WFC, including the strain produced by a given role or activity, and time dedicated to a given activity or role. These authors argue that strain-based FWC/WFC emerges when the tension generated by either family or work roles interfere with the accomplishment of family/work tasks. Time-based FWC/WFC arises when the time dedicated to either work or family roles interfere with the execution of family or work-related tasks.

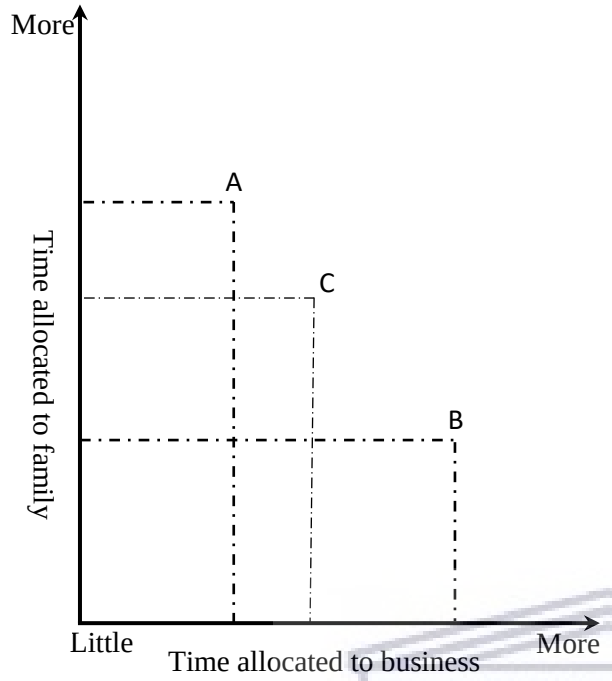
In this study, both strain and time-related FWC/WFC were evident. As depicted in R13's case, the emotional and physical strain experienced by R13 as a result of the need to monitor and take care of her children, seem to affect the quality and manner in which she conducted her business activities. Conversely, business-related strain manifested through exhaustion related to overworking, which limited performance of domestic activities like washing clothes. Worth mentioning is that strain-based WFC appears to be conditioned by the time-based WFC. This implies that where time-based WFC exists, the likelihood that strain-based WFC exists could be high. Scholars like Kapasi and Galloway (2015) maintain that, contrary to what is implied in most enterprise literature, HBEs are not necessarily a remedy or solution to work-family problems. This is mainly because the operation of HBEs usually leads to the coexistence of home and work roles, all of which require the attention and time of the operators. Although this integration of domains facilitates easier transition from one domain to another, it is linked to a higher occurrence of WFC, than the segmented domains that make transition from one domain to another more difficult (Karassvidou & Glaveli, 2015). However, in the literature, WFC is mostly considered a temporal phenomenon, but this study

shows that it is also a spatial issue. For example, limited space appears to have limited the HBE operators from conducting some of their domestic and business activities sequentially.

In order to demonstrate how the work-family/family-work conflict played out among households in this study, I developed the illustration in Figure 9.2. However, it is important to note that the illustration does not depict a permanent situation of the households because as indicated later, this situation was momentous, as the allocation of time to business or domestic activities varied during the course of the day.

As shown in Figure 9.2, at **A**, more time and energy were allocated to family and less to business. Noteworthy is that, this situation varied in an oscillatory manner during the course of the day. For example, R13, like other female HBE operators, woke up early to attend to her domestic responsibilities, but as time progressed, attention was shifted mostly to business activities. Moreover, in some situations like family emergencies, more time was accorded to family. This was the case with female HBE operators like R13, who took time off from their business to take their children to hospital or pick them up from school. In this case, the flow of permeations appears to be unidirectional (asymmetrical), from a powerful domain (business) with strong borders, to a less powerful domain (family) with a weak or permeable and flexible border (see Allen et al., 2014; Karassvidou & Glaveli, 2015), and vice versa. Therefore, due to the above dynamics, different HBE operators may experience differing levels of FWC/WFC.

Figure 9.2: Work-family/family-work balance conflict



Source: Author, 2018

Furthermore, at **B**, more time is allocated to the business and less to the family. As alluded to previously, HBE operators worked for extended hours. Akkas, Hossain and Rhaman (2015) highlight that longer working hours are one of the contributory factors to WFC. This implies that when an individual operated their business for longer hours, automatically little time will be accorded to family or domestic demands.

Scenario **C** depicts an ideal state, characterised by a symmetrical flow of permeations. In this study, female HBE operators, especially those with family support, reported affording time for both business and family activities, which brought some semblance of balance between these two domains. In the literature, '"[b]alance" between work and home lives is a much sought after but rarely claimed state of being' (Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2009:704). In the current study, this state of equilibrium was unstable and fluid, and varied across households due to various household characteristics, like the availability of family support.

In this study, the allocation of more time to business occurred at specific points in time, especially when a business activity, like purchasing stock involved travelling away from home or during peak hours of the day, and season. For example, eatery operators like Respondents 4, 39 and 47 (R4[84], R39[85] and R47[86]) were mostly busy with customers during lunch times, while Respondent 7 (R7)[87], like other salon operators, became extremely busy with salon activities during festive seasons. During such periods, more time was allocated to

[84] Female eatery operator, personal communication, May 17, 2017
[85] Female eatery operator, personal communication, June 8, 2017
[86] Female eatery operator, personal communication, June 16, 2017
[87] Female salon operator, personal communication, May 18, 2017

the business than to the family, which could have a profound effect on other familial or household aspects. One such effect is the reduced time for family bonding and inculcation of family values among family members, especially the children. Coleman (1988) contends that children are affected by the human capital of their parents, but this capital may be irrelevant to them if their parents are preoccupied with work, and do not form an important part of their lives. Coleman notes that the social capital within the family that gives the children access to their parents' human capital depends on both the parents' physical presence in the family and the attention they give to the children. This implies that paying much attention to business and less to family, may affect the social capital within the household. Consequently, the family may 'gain' on the financial front by offering more time to the business, but lose on the social front, by not creating time for bonding within the family. Moser (1998) indicates that household actions that diversify or increase household income may reduce its susceptibility, but this can have social costs. Therefore a household engaged in a HBE has to make critical decisions to ensure its livelihood survival.

There appears to be a gender dimension with regards to WFC/FWC. Owing to the patriarchal nature of the Ugandan society, men are culturally not obliged to undertake domestic activities like cooking. As such, by comparison, all male operators in this study (n=10) accorded more time to their businesses, more than their female counterparts, since the domestic activities of their households were taken care of by their female spouses. This implies that female operators had both their HBE and domestic activities more integrated than those operated by men, because such women also had to fulfil their domestic duties. Most HBE operators, especially women, were drawn into the operation of HBEs, primarily due to their perceived flexibility, and ability to juggle domestic and business activities. The resultant tensions and conflicts as presented previously, appear to have far-reaching consequences for the operators, their households and their businesses. In this study, female HBE operators experienced work overload due to WFC, which appear to have been both emotionally and physically draining (cf. Panda, 2018). In the foregoing discussion, it is clear that the introduction of work at home does not only affect the spatial practices of the household member but also the social and temporal aspects of their lived realities.

9.3 Managing Boundary-Spanning Demands and Associated Challenges

The co-existence of home and work domains and their associated demands call for distinctive adaptive and coping strategies to ensure 'peaceful' co-existence of these two domains and the

sustainability of the HBEs. Coping strategies in the context of work-home boundary management denote actions undertaken by individuals and households to reduce or eliminate work-family conflicts and tensions (Voydanoff, 2005a; 2008). In this study, this was influenced by several factors, including the nature of space, household and economic activity. By employing these strategies or practices, the household creates either temporal or physical space to ensure the co-existence of the two activities in the same home environment.

9.3.1 Managing Spatial Tensions and Contestations

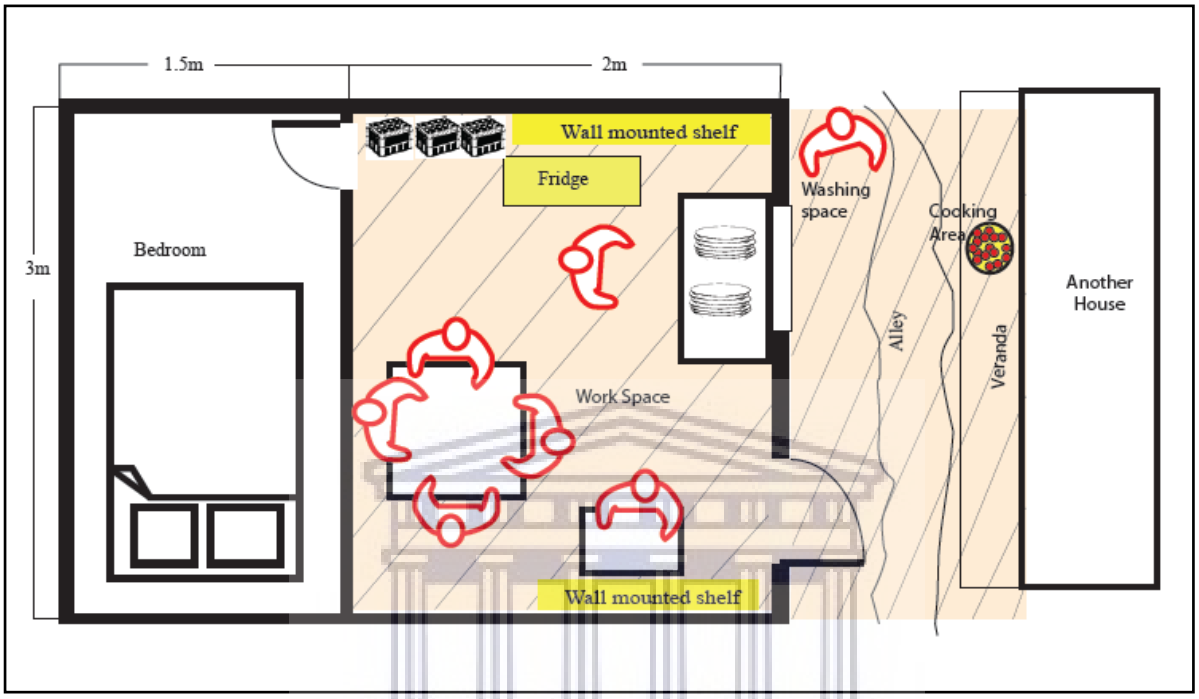
In order to promote the co-existence of home and work, HBE households in this study employed various strategies to negotiate the work-home border/boundary. In order to better understand and contextualise these strategies, this section begins with an in-depth description of three cases (Cases 39, 7, and 16).

Case 39: Respondent 39's management of the dual demands

> Respondent 39 (R39), a single mother aged 32 years, operated her eatery from a rented single room, where she also resided with her 8-year-old son. She was initially operating a fast-food restaurant from a rented container along Haji Musa Kasule Road in Wandegeya. In 2014, R39 was one of the victims of the KCCA's eviction operations aimed at freeing Kampala of streets traders. During that early morning operation, all her equipment and stock of Irish potatoes were bulldozed and carried away. After acquiring capital from a friend, she decided to relocate her business to her home. Since her home was only accessible through a narrow alley between buildings which limited the visibility of her business to potential customers, the fast-food business was not suitable for the new location. Consequently, she decided to venture into preparing traditional dishes to target those working in motor vehicle garages and boda-boda riders. As shown in Figure 9.3, R39 partitioned her room into two; the biggest partition facing the alleyway was allocated to the business, while the small one was allocated to domestic activities. Moreover, R39 requested her landlord who also owned the adjacent house to allow her the use of the veranda of this house as a cooking area. Due to limited space, business activities interfered with the daily routine of household members. For example, R39's child had enough space to do his work when his mother was working away from home. The co-existence of work and home meant that he had to do his school homework from the same space where customers were seated. Since there was no room for him to write when customers came, R39 instructed him to do his homework outside, as shown in Figure 9.6, or to go and play and complete the work later. After playing, the child could come back tired and sleepy, and failed to do the work or did it poorly. Although R39 wanted her child to study hard and not face the same predicament that she had faced, the disturbance he endured, witnessing the unbecoming behaviour of male customers patting his mother's behinds, and the use of unsuitable

language in the presence of her child, created a lot of concern for her (Respondent 39, Female eatery operator, personal communication, June 8, 2017).

Figure 9.3: Spatial arrangement of R39's household space



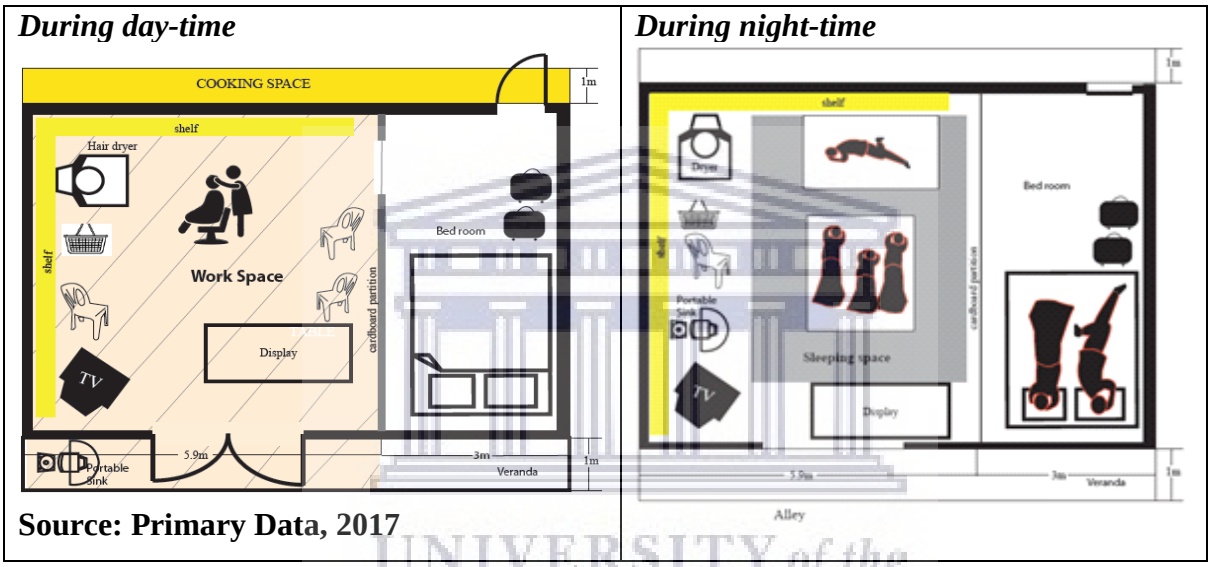
Source: Primary Data, 2017

Case 7: Respondent 7's Management of the Dual Demands

Respondent 7 (R7) was a female salon-cum hair/beauty products retail shop operator. In 2011, together with her husband, they sold part of their land in the village for 7 million shillings with an aim of moving to the city to establish a retail shop for household commodities. When they got to Katanga slum, they realised that there were already too many retail shops, yet there were few hair and beauty products shops. On discovering this need, they decided to establish a beauty products retail shop. After operating the shop for 1½ years, she discovered that she could get more profits, if she started offering salon services. She then started purchasing salon equipment like a hair dryer, and after 2 years she began operating a salon. But since she didn't have the experience and skills to provide salon services, she hired a hairdresser, whom she paid on a commission basis. She operated for 1 year under this arrangement, until she decided to learn the hairdressing skills gradually by observing the employee. Over time, she perfected the art of plaiting, braiding and perming hair, and stopped depending on hired services, unless she got many customers. After gaining some experience, she began exploring and learning other new styles of braiding through self-discovery, and from friends in similar businesses. R7 resided with her husband, three daughters and one son in their one-

partitioned room at the periphery of Katanga slum. As shown in Figure 9.4, the room was sub-divided using plywood to create a bedroom and a space for business. As indicated in this figure, the space allocated to the business was bigger than that allocated for domestic activities. The room allocated to the business was also used as a guest room during the day. After 10pm when they closed the shop, the space allocated to the business was re-arranged, to provide sleeping space for children at night. During festive seasons, when she worked until 2am, their bedroom was reorganised for the children to sleep in. After customers left, the children moved to their usual sleeping space (R7, Female salon operator, personal communication, May 18, 2017).

Figure 9.4: Spatial arrangement of R7's household space



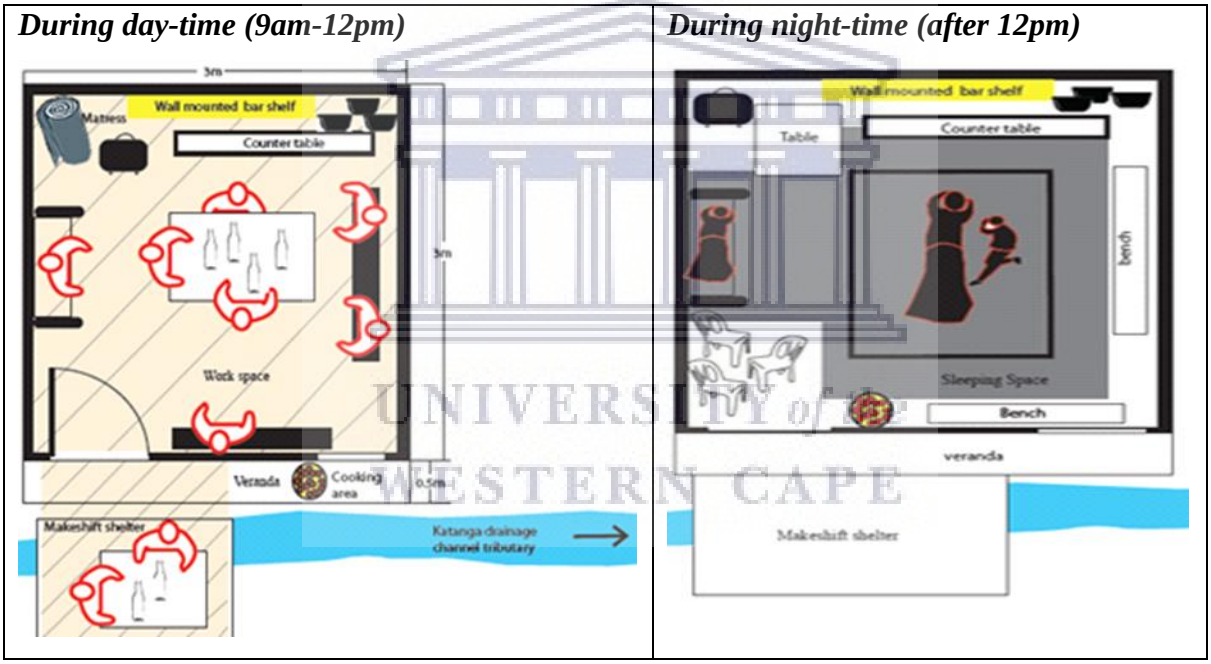
Source: Primary Data, 2017

Case 16: Respondent 16's Management of the Dual Demands

Respondent 16 (R16), a single mother with one child, lived and operated her shebeen in one room located in the heart of Katanga slum. Her room was among five single-storey tenements with doors facing a channel feeding into Katanga drainage channel. R16 migrated to Kampala City from her home town, Port Portal located in western Uganda, in 2009, to work as a housemaid in Katanga slum. She worked as a maid for three years before working as a bar attendant in Wandegeya for one year. In 2014, citing mistreatment from her boss, she decided to abandon her job to establish her own shebeen. By the time of the study, R16 was operating her shebeen with the help of a cousin sister, who was residing with her. As shown in Figure 9.5, R16 had to alternate the function of her space, in order to accommodate both her domestic and business activities. In order to create room for her business, some of her personal belongings, and that of household members were packed in a suitcase, while others like handbags were hung on nails against the wall. During the day, a mattress on which she slept with her child was rolled and stuck in the back corner of the room, while other household items like utensils were kept behind the bar counter table, just below the wall-mounted bar shelf where different alcoholic drinks (mainly beers) were displayed. That area provided room for setting up seats for

customers. A makeshift shelter was also constructed over the channel to attract and accommodate more customers, while the end part of the tiny veranda running parallel to the channel was used as a cooking area. At about 9 pm at night, when it was bed-time for the child, he slept behind the counter until the customers left. After midnight when the business was closed to customers, the room was re-arranged to create room for sleeping. The table and chair in the centre of the room were moved the sides, and the mattress was laid on the floor. The cousin sister slept on the sofa, while R16 and her child slept on the mattress laid on the floor. Although R16 expressed concerns about privacy and security, due to absence of a boundary between her domestic and business activities, she indicated that her room was too small to be partitioned, yet she did not have enough funds to enable her move to a bigger space (R16' Female shebeen operator, personal communication, May 23, 2017).

Figure 9.5: Spatial arrangement of R16's household space



Source: Primary Data, 2017

As seen from the three vignettes, the co-existence of domestic and business activities or home and work requires the creation and maintenance of boundaries between these two domains. In this study, physical boundaries between the business and domestic realms were achieved through the use of cardboards, curtains and shelves (see Figures 9.3 and 9.4) to provide separate spaces for the two domains. This strategy was particularly important to HBE households that operated from a single room (n=19). The creation of boundaries in such cases appears to be influenced by pre-existing factors like architectural layout and orientation of

buildings. The space facing the alleyway was used for the business, while the one behind the partition was used for domestic activities. As discussed previously, all the buildings that were inhabited by the HBE households were previously designed or planned without any consideration for work or business. The common practice was to redesign the interior space of these buildings to meet both the domestic and business demands. In redesigning the interior space, in all cases, a bigger space was allocated for the business than that allocated to domestic activities. Kellett and Tipple (2003) argue that, using a bigger space for the HBE is harmful to the household's living environment. This implies that although space sub-division may enable the co-existence of home and work, it may present health risks to the members of the household in question. In this study, this practice of space sub-division appears to be attributed to two reasons.

First, the boundaries between business and domestic activities were permeable and flexible to allow for the use of business space for domestic purposes if the need arose (see Figures 9.3 and 9.4). In such situations, business boundaries were collapsed especially when it came to activities like hosting visitors, whereby domestic space (mainly used for sleeping and storage of personal items for household members) could not be put to use due to privacy and safety issues. This implies that even when the home space is modified or partitioned, work demands can still permeate beyond the designated area (Sullivan, 2000 in Wapshott & Mallett, 2012). In this study, for example, due to the size, layout and design of the dwellings, the complete segregation of business and domestic activities was not possible, even among households that dwelt in double-roomed apartments. This is because most of the buildings were planned with only one entrance, which meant that the operators and other co-residents had to pass through the space allocated to business to access the domestic space. This implies that the informal representation of space not only influenced the spatial practices of the households, but also altered their lived (representational) space.

Moreover, in some cases, part of the space designated for domestic activities was also used as storage space for merchandise. Therefore, the size of space available to households, and the spatial configuration of dwellings and plots, not only have implications for how space can be used (Kellett & Tipple, 2003), but also how boundaries are created and maintained. For example, where space was too small to be partitioned (see Figure 9.5), space alternation was employed by HBE households to adapt household activities to the small spaces, by scheduling different activities in a single space at different times of the day. During the day-

time the HBE households allocated space exclusively to HBE activities, while at night-time, space was used for domestic purposes like sleeping. This spatial flexibility was also exhibited among households with divided space (see Figure 9.4) and those that operated from the outdoor space, but used the indoor space (domestic space) for storage of business merchandise or equipment during the night-time.

Second, the allocation of more space to the business can be considered as a form of self-exploitation or a trade-off, undertaken to enable households to operate and sustain their businesses. Although households that undertook this practice were able to have a bigger space for the business, their space for domestic and social activities was reduced. It appears that the amount of space released for business, is influenced by the extent to which the households prefer either integration or segmentation of domestic and business activities. According to Respondent 12 (R12[88]), more space was allotted to the business to enable her to create enough space to store and display merchandise in order to attract customers to the shop. HBE operators were less concerned about the fact that the business consumed more space than the domestic activities. For example, one of the respondents expressed himself as follows:

> The quest for money is like going for battle. If you go to war, you don't expect things to go your way, nor do you expect comfort. Since I came from the village to look for money, I consider myself to be at war, so where I sleep is really not an issue […] I know time will come and I will get a better place (R11, male retail shop operator, personal communication, May 19, 2017).

From the above quotation, it is evident that the extent of spatial integration or segmentation of the home (domestic) and work (business) domains may be influenced by the operator's goal – the need to generate income. Moreover, the degree of spatial integration or segmentation appears to differ by gender. For example, female HBE operators were more spatially integrated, than their male counterparts. As noted previously, due to the male dominated nature of the Ugandan society, women are culturally obligated to undertake domestic activities like child care and domestic chores. In some cases, especially where the nature of the business allowed it, female HBE operators were able to undertake both business and domestic tasks in the same space. According to the border theory, people are regarded as

[88] Female retail shop operator, personal communication, May 22, 2017

border-crossers, because they make numerous transitions between home and work domains, often altering their goals and demands to suit the demand for each domain (see Clark, 2000). Therefore, obtaining absolute segmentation and integration in this case is a rare phenomenon, and activities in both domains can be placed along a continuum extending from total integration to total segmentation (Nippert-Eng, 1996a; 1996b; Voydanoff, 2008). The majority of women and men in this study are located at both ends of this continuum, respectively.

9.3.2 Managing Temporal Tensions and Contestations

As discussed previously, the co-existence of domestic and business activities engenders temporal challenges that are particularly fundamental for the operation and sustainability of HBEs. Therefore, managing time between domestic and business activities is of paramount importance. In this study, the majority of respondents indicated that they had used time as a method for creating and managing home-work borders or boundaries. The most common temporal-based boundary management strategies in this study included simultaneous and sequential strategies. In the latter, a block time period was allocated to both business and domestic activities, where some domestic activities were performed before commencing business-related activities. For example, female HBE operators like R13[89] with school-going children woke up early to prepare them to go to school. Domestic activities requiring much time, like washing clothes, were done very early in the morning before the operators became busier, or later at night after closing the shop.

The time blocked off for business was interposed by domestic activities such as child care and domestic chores, and community activities like attending social networking meetings. This scheduled flexibility enabled HBE operators to vary the time that both domestic and business activities were done depending on agency and priority. This flexibility and differential porosity led to a blurring or integration of temporal borders or boundaries of both business and domestic domains. This implies that the flow of permeations appears to be more symmetrical, than asymmetrical since the domains tend to affect each other (see Allen et al., 2014). Interestingly, the level of symmetrical permeation appears to differ along a continuum across gender, with women more likely to interpose their business activities to attend to their

[89] Female salon operator, personal communication, May 22, 2017

domestic responsibilities than their male counterparts. For example, one of the respondents reported that:

> I only visit the village once every month to check on family and our projects. Unless there is an emergency that requires my physical presence, I tend to avoid unnecessary trips back to the village…Since the phones are available, we chat with family over [the] phone. If there is any advice my wife needs, I give it to her and if she has any problem that requires money, I sent it to her through mobile money (Respondent R6, Male retail operator, personal communication, May 17, 2017)

Most male HBE operators in this study considered family emergencies like sickness and death, as the major acceptable exceptions for the violation of work-family boundaries.

The concurrent strategy involved a simultaneous operation of both domestic and business activities by way of multi-tasking. Implementation of this strategy can be influenced by a several factors, including: the availability of space to undertake both activities; the fact that both activities do not require the same level of attention of the operator; and the availability of household support or labour. The existence of such conditions allows for more flexibility to conduct both activities. For example, some HBE activities like retail trading allowed for more flexibility than others (like eateries and shebeens that required extended stays of customers at home), because operators of such enterprises were able to conduct some of their domestic activities like cooking or washing clothes in the process of waiting for customers. Strategies are not a one-off or permanent solution to work-family tensions and conflicts, because they need to be engaged on a daily basis, and necessitate continued discipline on the part of the HBE owners (Kapasi & Galloway, 2015). Moreover, the range of work-family management strategies available to a household is influenced by the nature of resources at its disposal (Shelton, 2006). In this study, the adoption or pursuance of any of the above-stated strategies was influenced by the operator's access to a broad range of resources like space, household labour and finances.

Noteworthy is that, the maintenance of spatial and temporal boundaries had to be accompanied by specific behavioural changes within the household. One such change was the establishment of unwritten rules, relating to the use of space, equipment, hours of operation and noise. A number of cases existed in this study where household members like children were restricted access to specific places (e.g. where customers sat) (see Figure 9.6), and

objects like tables, chairs and television sets. Household members like children were also instructed not to play or make a noise close to where the customers were seated. But these rules were subverted and the continued existence of work in the home environment required the constant enforcement of these rules, especially among children, but this was reported to be burdensome and disruptive to the operators of the business. Moreover, in some instances, children were relocated away from home, and taken to live with relatives in the rural areas, to create space for the business. Therefore, in an effort to manage the home and work boundary, household members' perceived and lived experiences of the home were changed.

Figure 9.6: Children doing their school homework outside while the indoor space is used for business

Source: Primary Data, 2007

9.4 Household Social Relations, Reciprocal Exchanges and Work-Home Boundary Management

In order to understand how social capital is used in work-home boundary management, one needs to focus on the fine-grained household or family social relations, through which households engage in reciprocal exchanges. This section discusses how household relational resources and mutual support are developed and exchanged within the household for the management of the home-work boundary. Most studies in the literature underscore the importance of household/family or kinship relations on business performance or growth (Alsos et al., 2014a; 2014b; Alsos, Carter & Ljunggren, 2012; Imbaya, 2012), but it appears that the importance of household social relations in managing borders/boundaries between home and work had until this study remained undertheorized in HBE literature. In order to

better understand and contextualise household social relations, reciprocal exchanges and work-home boundary management, this section begins with an in-depth description and discussion of case 8.

Case 8: Cultivating family social relations and reciprocity

> Respondent 8 (R8) was a single mother with five children, three of whom lived with her in a one-roomed house. The other two children resided with her brother in the village, due to her the limited space. R8 argued that although her brother catered for most of her children's needs, she periodically reciprocated by remitting money to him to meet some of the children's needs. She also recounted several times her brother had financial hardships and she came to his rescue. In this case, the system of reciprocal exchange is not only limited to the household, but is extended to close kin and friends. R8 owns and operated a veranda fresh food and vegetable business, and her niece operated an eatery business. Both R8 and her niece shared the outdoor space of their dwelling to operate their businesses, and also used the same storage space – their one-roomed house. Due to limited space, her niece had to deliver food to her customers' premises, and also resided in another place within the slum. When the researcher visited R8's home at around 3pm in the afternoon, she was having lunch with her youngest daughter and niece. That day, R8 had not prepared lunch and the niece offered them a portion of food that remained after serving her customers. R8 and her niece had a strong sense of cooperation and mutual assistance in the operation of their businesses. For example, sometimes R8 and her daughters helped the niece peel bananas, while the niece and sometimes R8's daughters helped attend to her business when she was away for shopping or travelled to the village. Therefore, none of them were ever worried about their businesses if they had to run errands to the city or travel to the village. Since R8 was dealing in consumable products, sometimes her daughters drew commodities like tomatoes, onions and cabbages to make vegetable salads to eat. However, R8 did not bother much about that, because two of her daughters, one employed as a hairdresser and the other as a bar attendant, helped with buying food and gave her money to recapitalise the business. She argued that when she had bought the commodities expensively, and expected a low profit margin, she requested them not to eat any at least until they showed signs of perishing. R8 indicated that she talked freely with her daughters about the debts and demands of the households and they worked together to address them. This helped to build a sense of unity, cooperation and mutual trust among her household members (R8, Female dry cleaner, personal communication, May 25, 2017).

9.4.1 Intra-household/family Relations, Reciprocity and Border/Boundary Management

Household/family members play a significant role in border/boundary management through the provision of support to border-crossers (Clark, 2000; Karassvidou & Glaveli, 2015) or

HBE operators. This support appears to be a product of a system of social relations and reciprocity. As seen from the previous vignette, social relations within the household and the extended family were characterised by cooperation and reciprocal exchanges governed by familial principles. R8's case presents a scenario of reciprocity which took the form of both monetary and non-monetary exchanges, and came in different measures. For example, R8's niece reciprocated the support she received by offering food, which saved R8 from having to cook. The mutual understanding among household members enabled HBE operators through family support to manage their temporal demands by increasing their flexibility to deal with boundary-spanning demands. Voydanoff (2004; 2008) argues that family support is a key boundary-spanning resource, which helps individuals meet their temporal demands, hence reducing work-family conflict. This implies that without family support, it could be difficult for some households to manage their temporal demands.

Table 9.1: Nature of labour engaged by HBE households

No. of workers	Unpaid family labour		Hired/paid labour	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
1	41	11	8	-
2	9	3	1	1
3	-	3	1	-
4	-	3	-	-
5	-	-	-	-
6	-	2	-	-
Total count	**50**	**22**	**10**	**1**

Source: Primary Data, 2017

As shown in table 9.1, family support or labour was the most common form of labour employed among HBE households. This implies that the use of household labour is a common phenomenon among HBEs across Africa (cf. Hiralal, 2010; Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012; Tipple 2005; 2006; Yankson, 2000). However, rarely do these studies focus on this phenomenon in terms of border/boundary management.

Unpaid household/family support in this study was either used directly in the production of commodities, attending to the shop and offering of a service, or in auxiliary activities like collecting payments from customers, fetching water, lighting the charcoal stove and washing clothes and utensils. It should be noted that even in cases where household members were not directly involved in the HBE activity, their labour input in activities such as cooking for the

household, baby-sitting and fetching water, afforded time for the main operator to concentrate on the business activities. This support rendered to HBE operators enabled them to manage their temporal demands or boundaries, as time was freed up for work or domestic activities, depending on the domain in which the support was received. Although R8 was able to get support from her family, they also made claims on her, such as supporting her brother financially, and providing her niece with a place of work. In order for one to be part of a system of reciprocal exchange, one needs to dispose of some resources of one's own, so that one can enter this system of exchange. It is worth noting that, although familial support was reported among both male and female HBE operators, it appears to be of greater importance to women than to men. As stated previously, this is due to the patriarchal nature of the Ugandan society, where women are expected to undertake domestic activities, like child care. Therefore, family support afforded them time for their businesses or family roles. Shelton (2006:292) suggests that family support helps women to 'enjoy the enhancement of both work and family roles, while reducing the level of inter-role conflict'.

It is noteworthy that, family support is determined by the nature of the household. For example, households that were composed of many older members, had a great opportunity to manage their temporal demands by relying on the support from family members, something that was not possible among households with children or elderly dependants. However, the level of family support or labour may change during the life course of the household. The amount of labour accessible to the household could increase as the children come of age, and reduces as they become independent and move away from home. Furthermore, mobilisation of family support is influenced by the nature of cohesion within a household (Tacoli, 1999). According to the border theory, family support is more expected from border-keepers (household members or co-residents) who appreciate, and are conversant with other-domain activities (Clark, 2000). In this study, household members' knowledge about both domestic and business activities and responsibilities of HBE operators was aided by the integrated nature of the HBEs, and their direct involvement in these activities (cf. Clark, 2000; Voydanoff, 2008). Family support was not uniform across the sample, as some domain/household members always had divergent expectations about it, which limited the HBE operator's flexibility. For example, R41's 15-year-old grandson refused to support her and chose to seek employment in another eatery.

The management of borders/boundaries appear to be structured by household gender power relations. Although HBE work falls within women's traditional space – the home, it was not uncommon for women to consult their husbands before any changes to the household space was made, which reinforced men's social identity as overall household decision-makers. Consent-seeking differed across the sample, based on the nature of household headship. For example, female operators residing in MHHs had to negotiate with their husbands, which was different from their counterparts from FHHs. Gender relations appear to have implications for boundary management, especially among females residing in male-headed HBE households, unlike their counterparts in female-headed households. As discussed in the next section, male decisions, especially among renter households, were also subject to the landlords' consent.

9.4.2 Neighbourhood Relations and Border/Boundary Management

Voydanoff (2008) observed that although the border theory is centred on the linkages between the home and work spheres, the influence of the community dynamics on the work-home interface and vice versa, require the inclusion of community issues in the analysis of this relationship. In this study, neighbourhood social relations were helpful in border/boundary management among a small section of the respondents. For example, R22[90] had established a lasting relationship with Betty, a housewife in her neighbourhood for a period close to ten years. Both Betty and R22 came from Ibanda district in western Uganda. They had conversations together, and Betty sometimes helped her to cook when she was busy. R22 indicated that Betty was like a sister to her, and always supported her whenever she was need. This implies that even neighbourhood relations were built on some form of social exchanges and reciprocity, but one based on trust, neighbourliness and shared origins. However, relationships like this one are rare. This is because Katanga slum is essentially a transitory place, where in- and out-migration limited building lasting relationships with neighbours. Brisson and Usher (2005) and Larsen et al. (2004) maintain that individuals residing in unstable neighbourhoods due to high rates of migration find it challenging to build long-lasting neighbourhood relations. Moreover, competition due to imitative businesses created tensions that sometimes appear to have affected neighbourhood social relations.

[90] Female local beverage producer, personal communication, May 26, 2017

9.4.3 Landlord-Tenant Relationships and Border/Boundary Management

Landlord-tenant relations played a vital role in the operators' border/boundary management, since the majority of HBE households in this study operated their businesses from rented premises (n=44/50). Cadstedt (2010) avers that the landlord-tenant relationship is more symbiotic and interdependent. In this study, these relations were characterised by asymmetrical monetary exchanges, and unbalanced power relations, whereby negotiations for any house alterations were only based on the landlords' terms. For example, Respondent 46 (R46)[91], a male shebeen operator, explained that, 'I plan to construct another shed in this other open space… but I will need to agree with the landlord on how the structure will be built and how much I have to pay him for using the space'. HBE households usually preferred to make temporary house modifications due to fear of losing their investment upon eviction. Due to the informal nature of housing markets, HBE households lacked formal tenancy contracts which exposed them to insecure tenure, and associated evictions (see Gunter, 2014; Gunter & Massey, 2017). Therefore, avoidance of evictions was not obtained through formal tenancy contracts, but rather through being on good terms with the landlords. Respondent 27 (R27)[92], a male scrap dealer, candidly asserted that, '…the landlord's friendship is maintained by money', illustrating that harmonious relationships with landlords were only maintained through consistent and timely payment of rental fees.

9.5 Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter centred on the dynamics of home-work boundary management among HBE households. The co-existence of domestic and business activities in the domestic space results in the domination of this space by work practices, objects and rules. The narratives of the HBE operators revealed the daily practices and tensions/challenges that emerge within these informal spaces that relate to this co-existence. As such, the operation and sustainability of HBEs in a home environment requires multiple and sustained boundary or border management. Women and men have different boundary management preferences, which are mainly influenced by cultural, familial and spatial factors. Boundary management practices and strategies are not only influenced by the aforementioned factors, but also depend on both household and neighbourhood social relations and reciprocal exchanges. The creation and management of home-work boundaries depict poor households' innovativeness

[91] Male shebeen operator, personal communication, June 16, 2017
[92] Male scrap dealer, personal communication, May 31, 2017

to ensure survival of their businesses in spaces neglected by state formal planning interventions, as discussed in previous chapters. Therefore, there is great need for specialised mixed-use planning where space for specific HBE activities is provided, for in-house design development, to help these households run their businesses in a more effective and sustainable manner.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.0 Introduction

The review of the literature at the beginning of this study established that, despite many households in Uganda in general and in Kampala City in particular, operating from their own dwellings for economic survival (Bakeine, 2009; Nnaggenda-Musana & Vestbro, 2013), they are considered by urban planners and city authorities as a nuisance that needs to be dealt with. As such, the state's urban policies, regulations and practices are often introduced to safeguard the state's version of order in the city is promoted. However, empirical studies on how this phenomenon affects HBE households has been limited, with extant studies being limited to HBEs as a livelihood strategy of the urban poor (Nalule, 2015; Nnaggenda-Musana & Vestbro, 2013); HBEs and gender relations in male-headed households (Happy, 2010); and HBEs as a form of space use among low-income households (Nnaggenda-Musana, 2008).

Against this backdrop, the aim of this study was to understand the effects of urban planning and the regulatory environment on the operation of HBE households in Kampala City slums, and the strategies employed by these households to ensure their livelihood survival. Specifically, the study established the nature of home-based entrepreneur households in Katanga slum (addressed in chapter six); explored the challenges that affect the operation of home-based enterprise households in this slum (addressed in chapters Seven and Eight); analysed the effect of urban planning policies, processes and regulatory environment on the operation of home-based enterprise households in this area (addressed in chapter nine); and established how HBE households negotiate both livelihood and policy challenges to promote their livelihood survival (addressed in chapters Seven, Eight and Nine). In this chapter, I commence with a reflection on these objectives in order to examine the main empirical findings of this study, after which I provide the key theoretical implications of the study. Furthermore, I provide the implications of the study for policy and practice, and then conclude with an outline of the recommendations for future research.

10.1 Summary of the Key Research Findings

In this section, I summarise the key findings of this study based on the research objectives.

10.1.1 Nature of HBE Households

This study focused on the HBE household unit. Traditionally, entrepreneurship and informal sector research has focused on either the enterprise or the entrepreneur, with little attention given to the household context in which these two are embedded (Alsos et al., 2014a; 2014b; Carter et al., 2017). Such decontextualisation limits our understanding of both household and enterprise as a hybrid unit. This study established that although HBE households are distinguishable from other informal sector entities due to the operation of business from home, they are not a homogenous group as they have diverse factors that distinguish them.

One of the key characteristics of HBE households in this study was the nature of household headship. HBE households in this study were generally male-headed, while the ownership and operation of the enterprise was mainly female-dominated. But even with the domination of the operation and ownership of HBEs, decision-making concerning the enterprise, like the use of income generated from the business (especially among MHHs) was undertaken by the men. This resulted in disagreement or conflict within the households about the allocation of resources or distribution of profits. Although a number of studies in sub-Saharan Africa acknowledge women's dominance of HBE activities (Brown et al., 2014; Gough et al., 2003; Lange, 2003; Rogerson, 2001; Sinai, 1998; UBOS, 2013), there are little efforts in these studies to distinguish between enterprise operation and ownership across gender, which may limit our understanding of gender dynamics intrinsic to male-headed HBE households.

The other important HBE household characteristic was the household size. The average household size of the HBE households in this study was relatively bigger compared to the city average, and was comprised of different age groups, but mostly dominated by children. This is not surprising as it speaks to a wider youth bulge in Africa (UNICEF: 2017). A big household size presents boons and banes to the household concerned. Verrest (2007) argues that, whereas larger households have the opportunity to share living costs and time for care, they may require more resources in terms of income and space so as to satisfy their basic needs. This study established that whereas larger HBE households were better-off than their smaller counterparts with reference to labour, they experienced space challenges and

dependency burden. But even with the above difference, there was variation with regard to type of business operated among households with different sizes. One of the reasons for this was that some smaller households, who engaged in labour intensive activities, filled their labour needs through hiring labour. Although, as indicated above, the majority of HBE households in this study were large in size, there is a need for future comparative studies to ascertain whether the large household size is linked to the operation of HBEs, or a common characteristic of households in the area.

The study established that the education status of most HBE household members was relatively low, and could not qualify them for formal employment, even when such opportunities existed. Although the majority of households' members were of low education, this study established that HBEs are not only a source of income to such households, as some households had members who had acquired tertiary education. Studies show that the household's education status influences its economic behaviour (Carter et al., 2017), and may have implications for the operation of HBEs. Nevertheless, most studies on HBEs and the informal sector in general tend to place more emphasis on the education of the operators and less on that of the household members (Charman, 2017; Njiro et al., 2010; Steenkamp & Bhorat, 2016). This limits the understanding of the implication of the education status of household members on the operation of HBEs.

One key pattern about the HBE household in this study case was the nature of economic activity conducted by the households. The majority of households in this study were engaged in retail trading of general household merchandise like food and non-food items. The other common HBE activity was the provision of eatery, salons and shebeen services. The sectoral distribution of household HBE activity appears to be influenced by the gender of the household head, but also ownership of the economic activity. For example, retail shops were mostly common among male-headed households, while service-based economic activities like eateries, salons and shebeens were common among female-headed households. This seems to suggest the persistence of gender stereotyping and gendered role relations in the HBE ownership and operation. Traditionally, women are associated with activities like cooking, hairdressing and alcohol brewing and selling. These economic activities are mainly a commercialisation of domestic skills (Akyeampong & Fofack, 2013). In this study retail economic activities required relatively large sums of start-up capital compared to other businesses. This appears to explain the reason why retail businesses were dominated by men

and women from male-headed households, as female-headed household due to their vulnerability were unable to raise the needed capital for such businesses. This is one of the ways through which gender shapes the HBE sector, whereby FHHs appear to be at a disadvantage compared to the MHHs.

To gain a better understanding of the nature of HBE households, the study identified two main typologies of these households based on entrepreneurial strategy. The first category is the 'sustainers'. These were the majority in the study area, and comprised of HBE households that showed no interest for expansion, and relocation of businesses to commercial premises. Therefore, for this category, survival and not growth of the HBE was of major interest. Moreover, this category comprised of HBE households who were averse to the financial implications and risk associated with operating from formal or commercial premises in the city.

There was a gender aspect to this category, as the majority of households were mainly female-headed as opposed to male-headed, and where the owner of the business was a female residing in MHHs. Female operated and owned enterprises are less likely to move to a commercial location, because of socio-cultural and economic factors. For example, in this study, HBEs afforded female household members operating HBEs an opportunity to balance productive work and domestic duties, like child care. This is because women in many African countries still bear the responsibility of domestic work (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004), and out of necessity opt for HBEs in order to balance their productive and reproductive roles (Maloney, 2004).

The growth-oriented HBE households comprised of HBE households that had ambitions for expanding their businesses. The growth of the enterprise was seen in the form of growth in stock, and expansion through establishing other branches, investment in equipment, and moving from home to commercial premises. For these households, expansion was to be achieved through savings, acquiring loans and finances from sale of agricultural produce and animals in the village. Under this context, anecdotal evidence exists that suggests that, home is a critical incubator of HBEs, and subsequently some of them relocate to commercial locations in order to expand (Mason et al., 2011). In this study, growth in the context of HBE households is not necessarily perceived as sales turnover as usually depicted in enterprise literature (see MTIC, 2015). There seems to be a gendered perspective in respect to this

category, whereby MHHs mostly expressed the desire to grow their businesses, compared to their female counterparts. This can be attributed to the fact that commitment of time, attention, energy and financial resources required for enterprise growth may conflict with gendered expectations about women's responsibilities of their life cycle (Coleman, 2016).

10.1.2 Urban Planning Related Challenges faced by HBE Households in the Operation of their Businesses

In this study, it was evident that the conceived space and spatial practices of the state appear to be responsive to the needs of the urban elites and capitalists, while neglecting the socio-economic-spatial needs of the urban poor. To assert their right to the city, the urban poor have resorted to appropriating urban spaces so as to satisfy their economic and housing needs that are not readily met by the state and city authorities.

Due to the fact that the appropriation of spaces by the urban poor households is not approved by the state and city authorities, places like Katanga slum are both socially and economically excluded or isolated (cf. Bower, 2017). This exclusion resulted in poor perceived and lived experiences and their associated challenges. For example, HBE households in this study experienced multiple challenges and vulnerabilities conditioned by their location in a slum. Different scholars have argued that the neighbourhood in which a household or individual lives can negatively or positively influence its livelihood (Jalan & Ravallion, 1997; Manley & Van Ham, 2012). HBE households in this study resided and operated their business in poor conditions, among deprived and poor neighbourhoods. This engendered a number of neighbourhood challenges that affected the operation and sustainability of their HBEs. Such challenges included, low consumer purchasing power, competition, crime, bad debt, and poor infrastructure and services. As shown in chapter eight, these challenges reinforced each other. For example, poor sanitary conditions not only encumbered business operations of HBE households, but also increased their susceptibility to disease (like typhoid, malaria, dysentery, parasitic infections and diarrhoea), and which may eventually lead to low productivity and loss of income. Noteworthy is that, some of these challenges had a gender perspective. For example, limited access to water and sanitary services exacerbated the work-family conflict experienced by female HBE operators, and increased the vulnerability of female-headed households. Generally, this study established that the challenges faced by HBE households have either a direct or indirect link to urban planning processes in Kampala City.

Furthermore, the location of HBEs in the domestic environment also presented a number of challenges to the HBE households. For example, the permeability of home and business domains as experienced among these households engendered work-family boundary-spanning demands (cf. Voydanoff, 2008; 2005b). These demands take either a spatial or temporal form or both. Typical of a slum setting, houses inhabited by HBE households in this study were mostly of a single-storey tenement with single or double rooms. Therefore, though the introduction of the HBE in the home affords the households an opportunity to start a business, it created spatial challenges, which in turn created a competition for space between the enterprise and domestic activities. This dual function of a home altered the spatial practices of the household members, and also changed their lived space, as household space was demarcated and restrictions instated in order to accommodate the enterprise activities. Despite the change in space function from a single to dual function some household members like children did not erase their previous attachment to the space both as a play area and a living room. Business activities were often interrupted by these members when they attempted to re-appropriate space for their own use. Moreover, the enforcement of these rules especially among children was reported to be burdensome and disruptive to household members operating the business, especially the women. This study established that spatial challenges were shaped by the nature of the households and the HBE, for example, bigger household size, limited space and those operating business-like eateries, salons, and shebeens that required lengthy or extended stays of customers.

Although the operation of HBEs reduced temporal strains related to daily commute to places of work away from home, it created other forms of temporal strains and challenges associated with the coexistence of home and work roles. Households struggled to strike a balance between their domestic and business demands, and each activity experienced disruptions from the other, as both roles required the attention and time of the operators. This phenomenon was a common occurrence among FHHs and MHHs where a female household member was the operator of the business, but appeared to be limited to households with young family members and those without family support. As such, HBEs are not necessarily a remedy or solution to work-family challenges (Kapasi & Galloway, 2015).

10.1.3 The implications of Urban Planning Policies, Processes and Regulatory Environment on the Operation of HBE Households

As discussed previously, Kampala City, like other African cities, seeks to replicate Eurocentric modernist planning models that are characterised by rigid zonation and ordering of urban space into administrative, commercial, industrial, trade, recreational and residential functions (Namuganyi & Johansson, 2014). But in this study, the operation of HBEs by urban poor households interfered with what the state deems to be the correct form and functionality of space. Therefore, the state and its agents (city authorities) employ various economic, legal and spatial tactics and strategies to maintain its social, economic and spatial conceived space, and therefore enforce HBE households' subjectivity, and governability. Among the strategies employed, included the requirement for HBE households to register or formalise. Given the fact that HBE households in this study indicated that they had no capacity to formalise, this technically meant that their operations were illegal since the law prohibits trading without a trade licence, an issue that risked their livelihood. The other strategy was the standardisation of tax administration through the creation of trade licence grades/zones that categorised businesses based on sector and location. Such attempts at legibility, Scott (1998) argues, are a precondition for manipulation, whereby units are organised in a manner that permits state manipulation. Corbridge et al. (2005) contend that such state simplifications may have precarious or unintended effects on its citizenry. In this study, although tax zonation served the best interests of city authorities to deal with the conscription burden, it neglected or ignored the peculiarities at the grassroots. Therefore, the subjection of all businesses to pay uniform licence fees, could plunge small businesses like HBEs into financial problems as the taxes are based on location and not assessment of the business and the ability of the household to pay.

Furthermore, the state's desire to promote a legible and abstract space has been through spatial or physical planning. Scott's (1998) major concern is that such planning schemes aimed at legible urban order are divorced from the lived experiences of the local people. In this study, the state and the KCCA's representation of space, as reflected by the KPDP, is one of zoning the city into different functions like residential, employment and business, industrial, recreational; decongesting the city, by relocation of 'low valued economic activities' to the periphery, and development of low-cost housing adjacent to these employment centres; and slum redevelopment or upgrading. Therefore, all inner-city slums,

including Katanga slum are planned for redevelopment, but with no attention paid to the economic activities conducted in these areas such as HBEs. Since HBE activities are believed to interfere with modern planning and the aesthetic vision of urban authorities, most proposals in the KPDP either explicitly or implicitly aim at the separation of home and work through zonation of business and residential areas. Therefore, the implementation of the KPDP implies that the state's representation of space is erasing the lived spaces (and experiences) of HBE households, and replacing them with abstract notions of a modern city. This is made possible by the fact that the state's interventions are developed based primarily on technical knowledge and rationalities, while ignoring local context and knowledge. This study established that Kampala's cityscape is slowly becoming dominated by what the state and its agents deem to be the correct form and functionality of space. Therefore, there appears to be no deliberate attempt by the KCCA to incorporate HBEs into the urban fabric of the city. As discussed later, this can be achieved through establishing mixed-use buildings to satisfy the spatial needs of the city dwellers engaged in this form of business.

Moreover, the state's establishment of 'modern' markets and the requirement that informal operators like HBE households relocate their operations to these markets or modern arcades appears to be a clear aim of the state to guarantee abstract space or conditions that are conducive for the production and reproduction of capitalist relations. Such ambitions, Scott (1998) contends, necessitate the creation of 'state spaces', within which the state shapes its subjects, and their economic activities. It is therefore evident that the goal of formal urban planning and design often becomes that of modifying space or directing behaviour and culture so as to satisfy the needs of the state and capital at the expense of the livelihood and wellbeing of the HBE households. Studies have shown that the tendency to formalise HBEs by limiting them to specific spaces or land use zones might attract new and unmanageable costs, which can diminish the viability of these business (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004). In this study, the operation and sustainability of HBEs was threatened by the state's motivation to separate home and work. HBE households believed that this move could risk their livelihoods since it could lead to increased cost of business, as households had to incur a double cost for accommodation and business premises.

Since HBE households appear not to feature in the state and the KCCA's plans for the city, no regulations or policy existed to guide their operations. This appears to have a double-edged sword effect. The absence of policy or regulations targeting appear to increase the

HBE households' vulnerability and uncertainty, leaving them at the mercy of state authorities, who in the first place are against their informal operations. Whereas the absence of regulations enables the HBE household to stay away from the direct policy gaze of the state, this is achieved at a cost of missing out on state services. Burattini (2019) argues that when aspects of a citizen's life remain unnoticeable to the state, they cannot be addressed by policy. As shown in chapter five, the benign neglect and repressive orientation of the state and city authorities towards HBE households and other informal workers is not a recent practice as it dates back to the colonial period. The ambiguous effects of regulatory exclusion are therefore worth noting. This is in stark contrast to the tendency of many neoliberal writers on the informal sector (e.g. de Soto) to valorise the informal sector as people escaping from overly rigid regulation.

In line with Lefebvre (1991), this study established that urban planning is not a monopoly of the state, as informal planning works in dialectical relationship to influence the production and use of space. It was established that the urban poor also produced their own informal spaces, since formal urban planning processes by the state and city authority did not address their needs. In these spaces, buildings inhabited by the HBE households were initially designed for residential purposes, and later repurposed by households to serve a dual function of home and work. As opposed to formalised urban planning, informal planning is less restrictive of dwelling alteration to give way for HBEs (cf. Nnaggenda-Musana & Vestbro, 2013). Owing to the small size, layout and design of the dwellings, and limited access to basic infrastructure and services, informal planning also presents its own challenges.

10.1.4 Coping Strategies Employed by the HBE Households to Address their Challenges

HBE households operate within an environment that appears to limit the operation of their businesses. Therefore, the livelihood survival of these households depends greatly on their own ability to deal with challenges that face them at different levels. Beall & Kanji (1999) emphasise that the urban poor are not passive participants at the mercy of wider social processes, but are active agents that respond to challenges, irrespective of the circumstances they may be in.

The spatial challenges faced by HBE households, like limited space, were addressed by the demarcation of household space to provide for domestic and enterprise activities. These strategies helped to reduce or eliminate the work-family conflicts and tensions (Voydanoff,

2005a; 2008). One important spatial strategy employed by the households was the appropriation of outdoor space to cope with the challenge of limited space. Moreover, physical boundaries like cardboards, cloth curtains and shelves were used to provide separate spaces for business and domestic activities. This study established that the creation of boundaries appears to be influenced by pre-existing factors like architectural layout and orientation of buildings, type of HBE and size of household. In redesigning the interior space, it was common to find a bigger space allocated to business than to domestic activities. Kellett and Tipple (2003) warns that this kind of practice is harmful to the household's living environment. This implies that although space sub-division may enable the co-existence of home and work, it may sometimes present health risks to the members of the household in question.

Temporal challenges and tensions were addressed by concurrent and sequential strategies. In regard to the latter, specific domestic and business activities were scheduled at different hours of the day. In case of the former, households conducted both domestic and business activities concurrently or simultaneously by way of multi-tasking. This strategy appears to be influenced by the availability of space to accommodate both activities at the same time – availability of household support or labour, and conditions where both activities do not require the same level of attention of the operator. The maintenance of spatial and temporal boundaries through the above strategies had to be accompanied by specific behavioural changes within the households, and establishment of unwritten rules, relating to the use of space, equipment, hours of operation and noise. Moreover, the strategies employed are not a one-off or permanent solution to work-family tensions and conflicts, because they require sustained application, and discipline on the part of the HBE owners (Kapasi & Galloway, 2015). Needless to say, the operation and sustainability of HBEs in a home environment requires multiple and sustained boundary or border management.

Challenges and vulnerabilities associated with the location of HBE households in the slum were addressed through different strategies. For example, the challenge of stiff competition was addressed through price reduction. The challenge of low consumer purchasing power was dealt with by selling goods in minute quantities and at reduced prices. However, selling at reduced prices reportedly affected household income. Moreover, limited access to water and sanitation facilities was addressed through payment for these services. Households that were unable to meet the cost of water and waste collection resorted to the use of unprotected

spring wells, and indiscriminate disposal of waste, a course of action that risked the health of the household members.

Furthermore, the state's representations of space or attempts at legibility through modernist urban planning were subverted by HBE households through covert forms of resistance. It is worth mentioning is that, historically, as discussed in chapter five, urban space in the colonial Kampala town was conceived as a racially segregated residential and trading enclave by and for the colonists. The town was inhabited by the Europeans and Indians, but not by the 'natives', thus denying them the chance to appropriate and use this space. Since the Buganda government was incapable of ensuring order through enforcing strict planning codes in areas under its jurisdiction, the 'natives' were able to appropriate space in the Kibuga, establishing informal houses and businesses, including HBEs. After independence, although the local people could then more easily access the city, the residential and commercial areas of the city were occupied by the elites and politically connected individuals, where the urban poor remained at the periphery or appropriated marginal areas like swamps and transformed them into lived spaces, serving both residential and commercial purposes.

The abstraction attempts by the state and the KCCA upon this space that has been appropriated and imbued with meaning for decades has been resisted, though covertly, as indicated above. This resistance took the form of non-compliance by HBE households to the state's abstractions. For example, the state's legibility strategies of tax zonation and formalisation of HBEs was resisted through bribing of the tax officials, thus enabling the households to continue operating their HBEs unfettered – unregistered and unlicensed. Moreover, the HBE households exhibited non-compliance to the KCCA's demands for informal businesses to operate in formal business locations like 'modern' markets and arcades. Although the state's efforts have been geared towards maintaining an abstract urban space through the elimination of HBEs and other informal sector economic activities**,** the continued existence of these enterprises show that this representation of space has not completely dominated Kampala's urban space. Since these acts or strategies of overt resistance are characterised by 'little or no coordination or planning' (Scott, 1985:29), they may not guarantee an everlasting or sustainable solution to their challenges. Therefore, there is a need for a longitudinal study to explore issues pertaining to the sustainability of these strategies or acts.

Generally, from the foregoing discussion, three observations can be made. First, it is evident that the livelihood survival of the HBE households not only depend on how these households are successful at subverting the state's attempts to dominate and control their spaces, but also how well they can manage the dynamics and challenges at community and household levels. Second, coping strategies adopted by these households are not without repercussions or implications. This study revealed that some strategies adopted for pragmatic reasons may actually increase the vulnerability of the households. Third, the coping strategies adopted by the households are majorly individualistic in nature. This can be partly attributed to the limited organisation of these households.

10.2 Theoretical Implications

The integrated theoretical framework applied in this study is a notable contribution of this dissertation. This framework theorises the effects of the state's spatial practices and attempts at creating an abstract conceived urban space, and how the urban poor residents in a dialectical manner appropriate and alter space to meet their socio-economic needs in ways that shape urban lived spaces. In Kampala City, the production of space is implemented through urban planning. This process (urban planning) is dialectical in nature, whereby it is not entirely a monopoly of the state and its agents, as the local people also contribute to it through their own informal socio-economic-spatial practices. In this study, the application of Scott's (1998) concept of legibility in the integrated theoretical framework extends Lefebvre's (1991; 2003; 2009) ideas on space by clarifying the desire, process and methods of creating a conceived abstract space. Since the state's ambitions and rationalities are not attuned to the needs of the HBE households, these households resist them by exploiting inherent contradictions within the state's abstractions. In this study, we understand the state's socio-economic-spatial isolation of HBE households, their economic activities and slum locations to be due to the fact that the state perceives them as illegally appropriated spaces.

This theoretical framework helps to transfer the analysis of the production and contestation of space from the macro (city) to the micro (household) level. Therefore, this study furthers the theory of the production of space, which acknowledges, but does not provide a conceptualisation of the dynamics of space production at household level. Since the context and actors at household level are different, this study redefined conceived space from how it is depicted by Lefebvre (1991), to a subjective space that is influenced by agency and emotions of the HBE households. In so doing, a new term – informal representation of space

– was developed. As opposed to [formal] state representation of space, this form of representation of space is situated in homeworkers' attempts to clearly demarcate and control the spaces of their homes (Wapshott & Mallett, 2012). According to Wapshott and Mallett, the demarcation of domestic space embodies an imposition on space, whereby the space is marked and specific interpretations and relations are introduced that can alter the neighbouring space in ways that appear to control or dominate both the perceived and lived space of users. The reverse can be true, as home articles come to be appropriated by the business activities.

In this study, informal representation of space is reflected through the use of borders to enforce the separation of home and work domains. Therefore, the articulation of the production of space, along with the border theory, helped not only to decipher HBE household space, but also to document the associated contestations and challenges engendered by the co-existence of home and work, and the households' strategies to cope with the dual functioning of a home. This study established that the introduction of work in a domestic setting implies that the home space came to be dominated by the needs, values, behaviour and demands of the business, which results in the contestation between work and domestic demands. Therefore, the operation and sustainability of HBEs in a home environment requires multiple and sustained boundary or border management. It is noteworthy that the politics of boundary management have profound gender dimensions. For example, women and men have different boundary management preferences or strategies, and these strategies are influenced by cultural, spatial, familial factors, neighbourhood social relations, and reciprocal exchanges. This study adds to the border theory the use of social network and reciprocal exchanges as a form of border/boundary management.

Furthermore, this thesis significantly contributes to the literature on urban planning and HBEs, which has been largely discursive and under-theorised (see Busolo & Agembo, 2017; Ezeadichie, 2012; Ezeadichie et al., 2018). In the literature, urban planning is mainly presented as a monopoly of the state, with limited appreciation of its dialectical nature. By adopting a dialectical perspective to urban planning, not only are we able to understand the state's representation of space and spatial practices, but we are also able to grasp how the HBE households strategize to subvert the state's abstraction attempts and cope with the challenges associated with urban planning. The study advances literature about production of urban space, by illustrating how space is produced and contested at different levels of the

city, community and household; the rationalities of the actors involved; the challenges presented by these processes, and how they are addressed by the household. Moreover, the study reveals that the context in which HBE households operated their businesses, and the challenges they faced are directly or indirectly shaped by the urban planning processes extant in the city.

In the literature, Rogerson (1996) observes that although there are common obstacles that face informal enterprises, there is need for a disaggregated analysis to draw attention to the specific problems that confront each of these enterprises. Despite this recommendation, challenges faced by HBE households have been generally undertheorized, an issue that can be attributed to the use of aggregative terminologies like HE, MSME. This implies that the analysis of the constraints or challenges faced by the informal sector enterprises are bundled up with limited or no disaggregation based on the type of enterprise or nature of the household in which they exist. By applying the integrated theoretical framework, the study established that HBE households operated in a landscape that is filled with numerous challenges and contestations, hence making their resilience key to their livelihood survival. This study has shown that the majority of the challenges faced by HBEs are directly or indirectly linked to the dialectics of urban planning processes. Moreover, the nature and level of these challenges are also mediated by gender, nature of the enterprise, and space available to a household.

As discussed in chapter Two, most studies establish challenges faced by HBEs, but most of these studies not only fail to disaggregate these challenges as previously alluded to, but also do little to establish how HBE households address them to promote their livelihood survival. Households in this study were not majorly passive actors, as they adopted various strategies based primarily on their ingenuity and contradictions inherent in the state's policy and legislative frameworks. Notable is the fact that, these strategies are not uniform and may differ by nature of the household headship. Moreover, strategies employed to engage with the state are more covert than overt in nature. This is because subordinate groups like HBE households may find collective open confrontation with the state difficult due to their lack of organisation and fear of coercion (Scott, 1989). It is noteworthy that the coping strategies adopted by households were without overtly political repercussions or implications. This study revealed that some strategies adopted for pragmatic reasons may actually increase the vulnerability of the households. This implies that coping is not an end in itself or a stable

state. It can be cyclical in nature, whereby the strategies adopted by the household could be a basis for more challenges faced by the household, and a justification for more state strategies of normalisation or abstraction. The livelihood survival of the HBE households will not only depend on how successful these households might be at subverting the state's attempts to dominate and control their spaces, but how well they can manage the dynamics and challenges at community and household levels.

Lastly, HBE literature widely acknowledges the embeddedness of HBEs within the domestic realm (Adeokun & Ibem, 2016; Du Toit & Neves, 2007; Kachenje, 2005; Lawanson & Olanrewaju, 2012; Nguluma & Kachenje, 2015). Nevertheless, there has been a tendency by some studies to isolate the household context from the analysis of the HBEs. These entrepreneurship studies are either inclined towards the enterprise or entrepreneur, with little attention accorded to the household context within which these are embedded (Alsos et al., 2014a; 2014b; Carter et al., 2017). This study contributes to the understanding of HBE households as embedded units, that have to be studied as such and not in a decontextualized or disjointed manner. In this study, focusing on the HBE household unit helped to show that the appropriation of household space for income generating activities, the nature of the challenges faced, and how they are addressed, are partially shaped by the nature of the household.

10.3 Implications for Policy and Practice

This study has three significant implications for policy and practice at city, national and international levels.

As indicated in this thesis, the repression and exclusion suffered by the informal sector operators in Kampala City traces back to the colonial epoch, when Kampala was planned by the colonists as an exclusive enclave for the Europeans and the Indians. The state has maintained the colonial legacies and mentalities that maintain the exclusion of the urban poor in the urban processes in the city. As discussed in chapter Seven, urban planning in the city has been mainly intended to meet the socio-economic-spatial needs of the elites, capitalists and middle-income citizens while ignoring the needs of the urban poor. For example, although HBEs were a major livelihood source for the urban poor, especially the women, the state was opposed to their existence, by formulating urban planning interventions aimed at directly or indirectly separating home and work. Since the majority of informal sector

workers in and around Kampala City reside and work at home in slum settlements (Barrow et al., 2016), the separation of home and work could increase their commute cost and time.

Despite the state's opposition to informality, informal settlements and businesses like HBEs have continued to characterise the cityscape of urban centres in Uganda, including Kampala City. This is because the urban poor, driven by their rationality and agency, undermine or subvert the state's formal urban planning interventions, because these interventions do not address their housing and income needs. As such, the state's neglect or repression of informality has not curtailed it, but instead fuelled it, as the households, in a bid to secure their livelihood are opposed to the state's actions. A nuanced and sensitive approach to urban planning needs to be introduced to ensure inclusive cities for all urban residents. This requires that approaches to training of urban planners and planning practice be changed. Knowledge on how urban planners can engage with diverse views and deal with tension laden situations typified by conflicted rationalities, need to be inculcated among the planners right from school.

Furthermore, in order to break the urban planning impasse, and achieve the targets of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) on poverty, gender equality, inequality and sustainable cities and communities, HBEs need to be encouraged rather than repressed and neglected. Therefore, there is a need for the state and city authorities to undertake a number of critical interventions, in order to enhance the socio-economic-spatial inclusion of the urban poor in the urban development processes.

First, so as to promote both economic and spatial inclusion in Kampala City and other urban areas in Uganda, the urban space should be planned to satisfy the housing and economic needs of both the rich and the poor. For example, the housing and economic demands of the urban poor households operating HBEs can be promoted through specialised mixed-use planning, whereby, space for specific HBE activities is provided for in housing design and development, in order to help these households operate their enterprises in a more effective and sustainable manner. Due to the limited land in Katanga slum and other informal settlements around the city, mixed use developments may take on a vertical mixed-use building dimension composed of multiple uses within a building, rather than a horizontal dimension composed of single-use buildings located in a mixed-use area or zone. The vertical mixed-use dimension may take the form of shop-houses, whereby specific rooms on the

ground floor face the street or the entire ground floor can be devoted to the businesses, while rear rooms on the ground floor and the entire upper floor are used for residential purposes. The idea of shop-houses is an old concept that traces back to the colonial epoch, where the buildings inhabited by the Indians in the colonial Kampala had the ground floor occupied by the business, and the upper floor used for residential purposes (see McMaster, 1968). This type of building could facilitate the integration of work and domestic activities by providing enough space and services needed for the operation of HBEs, but it could also reduce congestion, improve mobility in the area, and promote efficient use of space.

For the above project to succeed, the government needs to address the complex, yet insecure land tenure, and challenge of landlessness faced by the urban poor. The Land Act 1998 Section 41, establishes a land fund to enable tenants to acquire land. This fund can be used to create a land bank, whereby the government pays off the absentee landlords on whose land most slums in Kampala are located. This will avail land for slum upgrading projects like the one presented above.

Second, Busolo and Agembo (2017) caution that, countries that ignore the inclusion of the urban poor in policy frameworks risk achieving growth without development, and driving many urban residents into absolute poverty. Therefore, in order to ensure social inclusion, and successful urban planning processes in Kampala City, there is an urgent need for meaningful participation of the urban poor. In Kampala City and urban areas in Uganda, participation of the slum dwellers in the urban planning processes will help to promote context-specific urban planning interventions that address the socio-economic-spatial needs and peculiarities of the HBE households and the urban poor more broadly. Making the planning process more participatory and inclusive, can facilitate the planners to understand and appreciate the lived experiences of HBE households, and the dynamics associated with HBE operation. Noteworthy is that, some opportunities exist for the participation of the urban poor in the urban planning process. For example, through the national urban policy, the Government of Uganda pledges to promote the participation of all urban residents in urban development planning.

Moreover, in Uganda, the Physical Planning Act 2010, and the Building Control Act 2013, provide for decentralised physical planning structures like District Physical Planning Committee, Urban Physical Planning Committee, Local Physical Planning Committee, and

District and Urban Building Committee respectively. These structures provide an important avenue for the local participation in the urban planning processes. The remaining challenge is that, the structures are only composed of technocrats, yet no effective mechanism exists to ensure meaningful and effective community engagement in these processes. For example, the Acts cited above require that a notice be published in the gazette calling for the community to submit their objections to the developed plans. The Ugandan experience shows that the majority of Ugandan people use the radio as the main source of information, which implies that the majority of the people miss out on this information. Therefore, there is a mismatch between the state's rhetoric on citizen participation in the urban planning process, and its actual practices. I recommend that, the participation of the urban poor should transcend mere consultations to meaningful and active participation, where the community is involved in the processes of urban planning and implementation.

The notion of the Municipal Development Forums established by the Government of Uganda, with support from development partners like Cities Alliance, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank and the UN Habitat (Bogere, 2015), offers an opportunity for inclusive urban planning of the urban poor in Uganda. However, Brown (2012) observe that the forums do not have mechanisms to offer greater influence. Moreover, the forum meetings are sporadic, with several key members not in attendance, hence making it unlikely that the government's already established priorities could be modified to provide for the needs and preferences of other stakeholders, like the urban poor. Above all, there is also no legal obligation for the government to enforce what has been agreed upon at the forums. Therefore, for these forums to work effectively as a tool for inclusion of the urban poor, there is an urgent need for frequent meetings to ensure a consistent momentum of engagement. Since these forums are hosted by the municipal council, only a few people are able to attend. As such, there is a need for slum-level development forums to enable the majority of slum dwellers who are unable to travel to municipal offices for the meetings, to attend. As indicated above, there is a need for a review of the operational mechanisms of the forums to provide for more active participation. Mechanisms need to be developed to make the government and city authorities more accountable for the implementation of actions agreed upon at these forums. This can be achieved through legislation like by-laws at city level.

Furthermore, this study revealed that, although the state and city authorities discourage and neglect HBEs, they continue to target them for taxation, which implies that these economic activities are important, to both the households and the economy. The rush to formalise and target HBEs for taxation appears to be counter-productive, as it could lead to the closure of many HBEs, leading to loss of livelihood for the urban poor, and a source of taxes to the state. Therefore currently, the state should be more concerned about the growth of these enterprises before strategies to formalise and tax them are initiated. For example, the office of the commercial officer in each of the five divisions of the city can be used to provide specialised knowledge and skills to the HBE households, and also monitor the growth of their HBEs. The training should be relevant to the skills and knowledge gap of a specific category of HBE operators. So as to enhance the effectiveness of this strategy, local council chairpersons at village level can be used to provide support to the commercial officers to identify and mobilise HBE operators for training.

Lastly, Chen et al. (2015) suggest that the urban poor engaging in informal sector activities like HBEs need to organise to overcome their structural challenges. Although the literature reports on some informal sector operators like street vendors, Boda-boda riders and market vendors, through their organisations have been able to leverage upon their numbers and governance mechanisms to influence policy or protect themselves from the threats and actions of urban authorities (Goodfellow & Titeca, 2012; Khadiagala, 2002; Lindell & Ampaire, 2016). However, this has not been the case with HBE households in this study. This study revealed that due to limited organisation and fear of the repercussions of overt engagement with the state, HBE households' resistance to the state's abstractions were largely individualised and covert in nature. This resulted in the invisibility of HBE households, which was a source of disadvantage, whereby their concerns do not reach the policy-making framework. Therefore, NGOs should help these households to self-organise in order to enhance their interaction and engagement with the state and its agents. This will enable the HBE households to increase their bargaining power, and ensure that their needs and priorities form part of the policy agenda. It is noteworthy that, since Kampala City administration has been controlled by the political opposition, this has witnessed partisan political struggles between the state and the political opposition in Kampala City (see Guma, 2016; Lambright, 2014), for control of the city. The HBE households can use this political environment to their advantage by leveraging upon their political capital (votes), to attract the state's attention to their needs and priorities.

10.4 Recommendations for Future Research

The integrated theoretical framework advanced in this study can be applied to study HBE households' interaction with the state and urban authorities in other urban areas in Uganda, and sub Saharan Africa in general. While this study was limited to HBE households operating from an informal settlement, HBEs are not only limited to such areas. Therefore, this framework needs to be applied to understand the experiences of HBE households in formal housing or upscale areas. Moreover, due to differences in policy and regulatory regimes across different sub-Saharan countries, comparative studies (cross-country studies) are needed to compare the experiences and nature of HBE households' interaction or negotiation with the state.

Furthermore, there is a crucial need for studies that focus on the integration of HBEs in the formal urban planning and development processes. This study established that HBE households are not passive actors in the urban planning and development processes. Therefore, studies should focus on understanding the co-production of space as an approach to promoting participatory urban planning. Moreover, design studies are needed to develop potential housing designs that support the dual functioning of a home.

The review of the literature showed that studies on HBE households are still scanty, an issue that is partly attributed to most research treating the informal sector as a homogenous entity. Therefore, there is a vital need for more studies that squarely focus on HBE households in Uganda in order to expand the knowledge base on this sub-sector. For example, longitudinal studies are needed to uncover dynamics related to HBE operation. Such studies can explore the growth trajectory of these enterprises, to establish how households start and transform their businesses (including whether HBEs graduate from home to formal trading locations), and the factors that facilitate or hinder this process.

Lastly, in this study, interviews conducted at household level only focused on the operators of the HBEs. Although the operators were able to provide information about the household, the exclusion of other household members like children and spouses of the operators could have missed out on the first-hand experiences of these individuals. This is particularly important given the need to understanding the gendered relations of power and gendered conflict in the HBE household. Therefore, future studies need to explore innovative approaches to incorporate all household members in the study. Though in this study it was possible to

discuss gender perspectives of some aspects of the study, a nuanced discussion of gender issues especially relating to gendered contestation of urban spaces was expected, but did not feature vividly in this case study. As such, feature studies need to explore this phenomenon in greater detail.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

INTRODUCTION

1. Location of interview……Date of interview……Time……
2. Interviewee code……Age……Gender…….
3. Education level……..

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE HBE HOUSEHOLD UNIT

1. Tell me about your household:
   Probe:
   a. *Who is the head of your household?*
   b. *Who are your household members (talk about their age and education level)*
   c. *What are the sources of income for your household?*

2. What economic activity do you undertake from home?
   Probe:
   a. *For how long have you operated this activity/business?*
   b. *Who is the primary operator of the business?*
   c. *Who is the owner of the business?*
   d. *Who in your households makes decision about the business?*

3. Tell me a brief history of your business
   Probe:
   a. *When did you start your business?*
   b. *What was major source of initial capital for the business?*
   c. *What are the main reasons for conducting your business at home?*
4. How is your typical day like?
   Probe:
   a. *What is the operating time for your business?*
   b. *How do you manage your business and domestic tasks?*

5. What socio-economic and structural changes have you undertaken to accommodate your HBE?

6. What demands, tensions and conflicts are created by the operation of business at home?
   Probe:
   a. *How do these affect your business?*
   b. *How does your household deal with these demands, tensions, and conflicts?*
   c. *How do household relations hinder or facilitate your business?*
   d. *How do you negotiate household relations to ensure the continued survival of your business?*

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE COMMUNITY

1. How is space created at community and household level to cater for business and domestic activities?
   Probe:
   a. *Does the state or KCCA approve of the way space is used for businesses in your community? If no why? If yes how?*

2. What challenges do you face due to the location of your business in a slum?
   Probe:
   a. *How do these risks and constraints affect your business and household livelihood?*
   b. *How are these addressed by your household?*
   c. *What community or group based strategies have you developed to address the risks and constraints faced?*

3. What physical, social and economic development or changes are happening or have happened in your community and how do these affect your business?

QUESTIONS ABOUT URBAN POLICIES, INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES & HBE OPERATION

1. How have government policies, laws, institutions and urban processes affected or influenced your business activities?

2. What mechanisms do you employ (both as an individual and a group) to counteract the negative consequences of these policy and institutional processes?

3. How has the state/KCCA influenced how you use space in your community and city?
   Probe:
   a. *To what extent have the state's spatial planning activities met your needs?*
   b. *How do you achieve your space needs in case they are not fulfilled by the state/KCCA?*

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE-HOME-BASED ENTERPRISE OPERATOR (Luganda Version)

EBIKWATA KU MAKA NE BIZINESI

1. Mbulilako ebikwata ku maka go:
   Ebibuzo ebigoberera:
   a. Ani akulira amaka gano?
   b. Bani abasula mumaka gano? (ba myaka emeka era basoma kyekana wa?)
   c. Enyingiza ye ensimbi mu maka gwo eleterwa mirimu ki?
2. Bizinesi ki gwokolera ewaka?
   Ebibuzo ebigoberera:
   a. Omazze banga ki ngo gidukanya bizinesi eno?
   b. Ani a dukanya bizinesi eno?
   c. Ani nanyini bizinesi eno?
   d. Ani asalawo ku nsonga ezikwata ku bizinesi eno?
3. Mbulira ko ku bikwatta ku bizinesi yamwe:
   Ebibuzo ebigoberera:
   a. Mwatandika ddi bizinesi eno?

   b. Esente zentadikwa wazigyawa?
   c. Lwaki odukanyiza bizinesi yo ewaka?
4. Olunaku lwo oludukanya otya?

   Ebibuzo ebigoberera:
   a. Sawa ki zokolelamu bizinesi yo?
   b. Osobola otya okukwataganya emilimu gyaawaka ne bizinesi?
5. Nkyunkakyuka ki mu ntegekka ya maka zemwakola okusobosezza okuduukanya bizinesi ewaka?
6. Buzibu ki ebileterwa okuduukanya bizinesi e waka?

   Ebibuzo ebigoberera:
   a. Bino bikossa bitya bizinesi ne'byenfunna bya maaka go?
   b. Biki byokoze okuvunuka ebizibu bino?
   c. Enkolagana yo'mumaka wakati womwanyi n'omukyala, nabanna ekosa oba eyamba etya bisinesi yo?

EBIBUZZO EBIKWATA KU KIFO MWOBERRA

1. Ebifo oba etaka likozesebwa litya mukitundu mwoberra era myokolera bizinesi nemilimu gyawaka?

   Ebibuzo ebigoberera:
   a. Ekozessa zino zi wagirya gavumenti? Bwe ziba teziwagirwa, lya ki? Oba bwezibba ziwagirwa, ziwagirwa zitya?

2. Bizibu ki byosonga ebileterwa kifo mwoberra era mwokorera?

   Ebibuzo ebigoberera:
   a. Ebizibu bino bikoseza bitya bizinesi yo?
   b. Ebizibu bino obyaŋŋanga otya?
   c. Ntegekka ki eyawamu eyamba okwaŋŋanga ebizibu bino?

3. Nkyukakyuka ki egenda mumaso mukitundu kyo? Enkyukakyuka eno ekoseza etya bizinesi yo?

EBIBUZZO EBIKWATTA KU MATEEKA NE'NKOLA ZE'BITONGOLE BYA GAVUMENTI

1. Ngeri ki amateka ne'nkola ze'bitongole bya gavumenti (nga KCCA) gyebikoseza bizinesi yo?
2. Biki byokoze oba byemukoze okwaŋŋanga enkola n'amateka ga gavumenti (ngaKCCA) ebikosa bisinesi yo/zamwe?
3. Govumenti ne KCCA zikozewoki kukutekateka ebiko mwowangalila ne mukibuga kyona?

   Ebibuzo ebigoberera:
   a. Entekateka zino zi tukiriza e'bilubilirwa n'ebwetago byo?
   b. Govumenti ne KCCA bweziba tezitukiriza bilubilirwa n'ebwetago byo, okola otya okubitukiriza?

Appendix 2: Key Informant Interview Guide

Introduction

1. Location of interview……Date of interview……Time……
2. Occupation of Key Informant…….. Gender……

Specific Questions

1. What is the state and KCCA's legal and policy approach towards informal sector including Home-based Enterprises?

   Probe: What challenges and opportunities has this approach presented to the HBE operators?
2. How is the existence of Home-based Enterprises in slum areas changing the state and KCCA's policy approach to slum areas in the city?
3. What development or changes are planned for city–including slum areas, and what effect will these have on HBE households and their businesses?

   Probe: To what extent are the planned development strategies cognizant of the needs of the HBE households including mixed use housing?
4. Has government/KCCA mobilized slum dwellers to participation in the planned development of their slums? If yes how and if not why?
5. What planning implications do HBEs have on slum upgrading in the city?
6. What mechanisms are in place to protect the livelihoods of slum dwellers from diverse effects of slum upgrading?
7. What are the intentions of the state's regulatory mechanisms towards the operation of HBEs?
8. Are there zoning laws in Kampala City? If yes, what provisions exist in regard to HBEs especially in informal settlements?
9. Do you think the current policy, institutional and regulatory environment is conducive for the continued existence of HBEs in Kampala Capital city? If yes how, if not why?

Appendix 3: Focus Group Discussion Guide

1. Name of modulator ……

2. Location ……Date of interview……Time……

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS (English Version)

1. What risks and constraints do you face as HBE operators and what influences their nature?
2. How do these risks and constraints affect HBE operators in your community?
3. What community or group based strategies have you developed to address the risks and constraints faced?
4. How are HBEs operators organized in your community?
   Probe: Who organizes them and why are they organized?
   In case organisations for HBE operators do not exist, what could be the reason?
5. What specific policies, institutions and urban processes have influenced your business activities and how?
   ***Probe*:** How do you negotiate or deal with their potential hindrances?
6. What socio-economic, legal and spatial development or changes are taking place in your community or city?
   Probe:
   How have you been involved in these processes and how well do they address your needs and aspirations as HBE operators? How do these changes affect your business?
7. How have you engaged with urban authorities to ensure the continued survival of your business?
   Probe: What are the outcomes of this process? If no engagement exists, why is this so?

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS (Luganda Version)

1. Bizibu ki byemusaanga mukukakalabya emilimujamwe, era kiki ekibiletta?
2. Ebizibu bino bikosezza bitya bizinesi zamwe?
3. Nkolagana ki eriwo wakati wabalina bizinesi ewaka mu kitundu kyamwe eyamba okugonjola ebizibu bino?
4. Abakolera ewaka mukitundu kyamwe bakungwa batya?
   Ebibuzo ebigoberera: *Ani abakunga, era lwaki abakunga? Ebibina byobwegasi bwebiba tebiriiwo, lwaki kiri bwekiti?*
5. Mateeka ki nenkyukakyuka mu kibuga Kampala ebikoseza bizinesi zamwe?
   Ebibuzo ebigoberera: Ebizibu bino bi bakoseza bitya?
6. Nkyukakyuka ki egenda mumaso mukitundu kyamwe oba mukibuga?
   Ebibuzo ebigoberera: Enkyukakyuka zino ozetabyemu? Era ziyamba okutukiriza ebirubirirwa ne bwetago byamwe? Enkyukakyuka eno ekoseza etya bizinesi zamwe?
7. Ntesaganya ki ze mukoze nabakulembeze be kibuga Kampala okusobola okubesaayo bizinesi zamye?
   Ebibuzo ebigoberera: Birungi ki ebizivuddemu? Ntesaganya bwezibanga teziliwo lwaki kilibwekiti?

Appendix 4: Observation Checklist

Date…….Time…….Location……

Aspect/Activity observed	Comment
Modifications made to the house to accommodate the business	
Spatial arrangement in the house, with emphasis on the space occupied by the business and domestic activities Size of space allocated to each activity. (Measure the space used for each activity)	
Nature of business activities and their gendered distribution	
Nature of the physical and spatial environment around the business/household including quality of housing, drainage, and accessibility to the household's dwelling and mobility within the slum Utilization of space with the slum, how are things and activities arranged in space within the slum?	