Analysing the lives and livelihoods of young informal vendors in urban Tanzania

A thesis submitted for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy*

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Declaration: I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged

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Abstract

Given the socioeconomic challenges persisting across much of Africa, and the complex and dynamic nature of city spaces, ongoing investigations into how young informal vendors manage and negotiate their everyday lives in often challenging urban areas are needed. An ethnographic methodology was employed, involving 51 participants (37 youth participants and 14 key stakeholders) in Arusha and Dar es Salaam. Ethnographic, mobile, participatory, and qualitative methods were used with youth participants (aged 15-35) undertaking small-scale informal businesses. The study draws on understandings of youth as social 'being and becoming' to explore how multiple aspects of young people's lives are shaped by an interplay between the present and future. Several issues connected to young vendors' lives and livelihoods are examined including, their migration trajectories within the lifecourse, their daily spatial and temporal mobilities in the city, their engagements in support networks and caring relationships, changes to gender norms and ongoing gender inequalities in urban areas, and participants' aspirations and support needs.

The research found young vendors' efforts and decisions in the present were linked to their anticipated futures. It also reveals how young people's everyday roles, practices, and choices were influenced by their interconnectedness and interdependence with others. It finds that while these connections can present opportunities to youth, they can also constrain their abilities to obtain socially desired adulthood.

This study provides nuanced insights into the complex, diverse, and interconnected lives and livelihoods of young vendors, who continuously attempt to adapt to, and manage, the changing nature of city life. It contributes towards a relatively new but growing body of research analysing young people working informally.

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1 Introduction

Purpose of the research

Contrary to previous assumptions that the informal sector would 'disappear' with the modernisation of economies (Potts, 2008), it is now acknowledged that it will remain a significant feature within urban markets in the global South for many decades to come (Chant, 2014). In Tanzania and other African countries, the importance of the informal economy has long been recognised as it provides people with the opportunity to pay for private solutions to income, security, and social welfare at a time when the state cannot provide such means (Tripp, 1997). Yet, as urban populations continue to grow, existing challenges are being exacerbated, and 'new' context specific challenges are arising (Rigg et al., 2016). It is thus imperative that the positions of urban informal workers continue to be analysed. In particular, the position of young people working informally requires ongoing attention, because in regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa, over 50% of its inhabitants are under the age of 25 (UNECA, 2016). In Tanzania, youth (aged 15-35) comprise 35% of the total population (~53 million) (UNA Tanzania, 2014). However, this is expected to exceed 60% by 2030, within the timeframe of the sustainable development goals (SDGs) (UN 2015). And, as with many young Africans, most youths in Tanzania are entering the informal sector because of a lack of formal sector jobs (Guengant and May, 2013). Thus, studies of informality in Tanzania focused on understanding the circumstances of youth within ever-changing urban environments, including this investigation, are pertinent.

Although research on youth and informality has increased in recent years (see. van Blerk, 2013; Bank, 2016; Gough and Langevang, 2016), there is a need to bring more attention to how young vendors' complex and diverse spatial and temporal mobilities shape their livelihoods over the lifecourse. Addressing this, the thesis will draw on, and contribute towards, the concept of 'being and becoming' (Ansell et al., 2014; Uprichard, 2008) through exploring how youths' attempts to sustain and develop their livelihoods in the complex and dynamic urban environments of Dar es Salaam and Arusha are shaped by their considerations of the present and future. Dar, the business capital of Tanzania, is the largest city in the country with a population of 4.36 million (NBS, 2013), and it is currently undergoing rapid urbanisation which is expected to have a range of social and economic impacts. Arusha is the third largest city in Tanzania, with a population of 416,000 people (Ibid). In contrast to Dar, its economic focus is geared towards tourism as it is the gateway to both the Serengeti National Park and Mount

Kilimanjaro. The research uses ethnographic, mobile, participatory, and qualitative methods, to explore the everyday lives and livelihoods of young men and women undertaking small-scale informal work within the abovementioned urban localities. It is hoped that this investigation will make valuable contributions to the literature concerning youth and informality by developing insights into how young men and women manage their complex informal livelihoods in urban landscapes in attempts to improve their current and future situations, linked with notions of social 'being and becoming'. Arguably, research such as this will also be vital if the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) on 'gender equality', 'decent work' and 'sustainable cities' among others, are to be met.

The following section will detail why the research topic was selected, and then the aim and research questions will be discussed, followed by a synopsis of each chapter in this thesis.

The choice of topic

My interest in researching issues relating to informality began during my undergraduate studies at the University of Reading. I spoke to the convener of a development module regarding the lack of attention men's experience, identities, and perceptions receive in studies concerning gender and informality. From this point, I began to consider how I could contribute to these debates by providing more rounded insights into men's and women's experiences of working within the informal sector.

Additionally, my interest in young vendors' everyday lives and livelihoods in the city, was further shaped by pilot research I undertook for my Masters in 2017 over a 7-week period between May-July in Tanzania. This explored urban livelihoods and gender transformation in Dar es Salaam and included a range of participants between the ages of 18-50 years old. During this time, I undertook research with several young people, and I also worked closely with a community-based organisation that supported youth with skills and education-based training. I volunteered at this organisation and spent time getting to know the circumstances of their beneficiaries. Through these experiences, I identified the need to focus specifically on the heterogenous issues young vendors experience while undertaking their informal income-generating activities. I also recognised the need for more research to explore the interconnected and interdependent nature of young people's livelihoods. Thus, the research presented in this thesis builds on the initial insights and findings from my Masters research.

Research aim and research questions

An ethnographic methodology was used in this study, involving 37 youth participants and 14 key stakeholders in Arusha and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Youth participants were aged between 15-35 years old and undertook small-scale informal businesses in the abovementioned urban localities. Key stakeholders across both cities were included in the research to understand their opinions and perceptions on issues such as the circumstances of youth and the contemporary policies and strategies put in place to support young people. The main aim of this investigation is to explore young informal vendors' complex and diverse lives and livelihoods in urban Tanzania through drawing on the concept of 'being and becoming'.

To address the overarching aim, this research examines the following research questions:

1. How do young people's everyday temporal and spatial mobilities shape their urban informal livelihoods and gendered transitions to adulthood in Dar es Salaam and Arusha?

2. What kind of resources, caring relationships, and support networks do young men and women in urban Tanzania draw on to manage and develop their lives and livelihoods in the city?

3. What are the support needs and priorities of young urban informal vendors and to what extent are these influenced by their imagined futures?

Chapter synopsis

This thesis is comprised of nine chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 introduces and reviews a range of relevant literature from the social sciences. It begins by outlining sociocultural understandings of 'youth' across Africa and in Tanzania. Then, contemporary conceptualisations of youth transitions and pathways to adulthood in African contexts, including the notion of 'being and becoming', which I draw upon throughout this thesis, are considered. Previous research on young people's daily spatial and temporal mobilities, and their migration trajectories, are also examined. Attention then turns to the literature on gender, which considers work on gender performativity, changes in gendered norms, ongoing gender inequalities, and the interconnected and interdependent lives and livelihoods of married youth. I also discuss research on caring roles, responsibilities, and relations, reflecting on how this can bring attention to the interrelated nature of young vendors' everyday unpaid and paid activities

in this study. The chapter then reviews the body of literature relating to informality, and contemporary policy approaches towards the informal sector in Tanzania.

Chapter 3 details the ethnographic methodology used in this investigation to explore the complexity and diversity of young people's everyday lives in urban Tanzania. Firstly, it reviews the literature relating to researching young people. Then, it explains the ethnographic methodology used in the research, followed by an analysis of my positionality and the impacts this had on research outcomes. Thereafter, I discuss the diverse range of ethnographic, mobile, qualitative, and participatory methods used to collect data. The research sample is then detailed, followed by reflections on gaining and maintaining access to participants. Ethical considerations are reflected upon, and so too is the role of research assistants in the study. I also consider issues of language and research emotions. I then outline the process of data analysis and my strategy for disseminating the research findings.

Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 present research findings from Tanzania, and each speaks to the overarching aim of the thesis by understanding the role of 'being and becoming' in different aspects of young people's lives and livelihoods. Chapter 4 focuses on the everyday lives and livelihoods of young vendors in Dar and Arusha. It starts by investigating the experiences of 16 out of 22 participants (with whom more in-depth research was undertaken) who had engaged in migration to the city. It also examines the connections young people drew on in the cities they migrated to, to help facilitate their migration. It then explores the numerous benefits of informality young people identified, and the interconnected nature of young vendors' livelihoods. Thereafter the multiple challenges of undertaking informal work in the city are discussed.

Chapter 5 explores the spatial and temporal movements of young informal workers. The convenience of itinerant vending is investigated, which then sets up discussions on the diverse spatial and temporal mobilities young people undertake to sustain and manage their livelihoods. The embodied experiences of young vendors are also brought to the fore. After, the impacts of religion on youth vendors' spatial and temporal movements are considered. Attention then shifts to the ways young people are undertaking, or plan to undertake, informal work online using smartphone devices and social media platforms.

Chapter 6 turns attention to young vendors' caring roles, responsibilities, and relationships and how these intersect with their livelihoods. A case study is used of a participant whose father died during this research. This introduces key literature on care and examines changes to caring

duties and relations within a household and to livelihood activities and plans, following parental death. Then, participants' support networks and caring relationships are analysed to understand how young vendors manage and negotiate their lives and livelihoods in increasingly challenging city environments. Following this, I assess the gendered nature of caregiving by investigating young vendors' unpaid caring roles and how these are interconnected with their informal paid work.

In Chapter 7, the gendered norms, responsibilities, and collaborations that shape young vendors' daily lives are evaluated. It details perceptions of, and factors influencing, changes to gendered norms in urban locations. Comparisons and experiences of gender norms in urban and rural areas are then discussed, bringing further attention to urban gender norm alterations. After, I draw attention to the interconnected and interdependent lives and livelihoods of married youth in the city. The last sections of the chapter examine the continued devaluation of women's economic activities, and the multiple challenges women experience working in urban arenas.

Chapter 8 concludes the empirical chapters by analysing the support needs of young informal vendors in Tanzania. It does this, first, by understanding young vendors' diverse goals and ambitions. Then, it discusses participants' plans to achieve their aspirations and the challenges constraining them from doing so. Thereafter, the needs of young vendors are analysed by drawing on the perspectives of youth participants and key stakeholders. The chapter then reports on the barriers restricting young vendors from receiving support while also understanding the barriers impacting the types of support stakeholders can offer to youth. Thereafter, the ways stakeholders identify they could improve the support they provide to young people are assessed. The final section in this chapter explores a contemporary policy in Tanzania, the *Machinga ID*, evaluating the impacts this has on young vendors' everyday livelihoods.

In Chapter 9, I summarise the key findings of this study and demonstrate how these contribute to different areas of research. I also provide recommendations for policymakers and stakeholders based on the findings. The study limitations are then discussed, followed by suggestions for further research.

2 Young informal vendors in urban Tanzania

This chapter will bring together key strands of literature, developing insights into young people's complex and diverse lives and livelihoods within urban contexts. This will enable the research in this thesis to be situated within current bodies of knowledge.

The chapter begins by exploring the culturally and socially constructed concepts of 'youth' and 'youth transitions'. This brings to light the multifaceted and interconnected nature of youth lives and livelihood, which is repeatedly identified throughout the chapter. Importantly, when discussing youth transitions, the notion of 'being and becoming' will be introduced. This is a key concept that this thesis draws on and contributes towards throughout the empirical chapters. Thereafter, the literature on mobility will be introduced, and the importance of focusing on livelihood mobilities within Majority World contexts, will be highlighted. Contemporary youth migration to urban localities will then be reviewed, followed by a discussion of 'gender'. The latter will include insights into how gendered norms, roles, and responsibilities are both changing and persisting. It details the opportunities and challenges women in cities face, but it also argues for the increased inclusion of men within development research.

Then young people's care roles and responsibilities, an understudied topic within youth and informality research, will be brought to the fore. After that, attention will focus on research related to young people's caring relationships and support networks to understand how youth draw on these to sustain their livelihoods in dynamic urban contexts. Subsequently, research on urban informality will be discussed. This will include an examination of young people's complex spatial and temporal livelihood mobilities in urban spaces, youths' experiences of vending in the city, and how young people are using smartphone devices to undertake their informal business activities. To conclude, the chapter explores contemporary approaches towards the informal sector and young informal vendors across Africa and in Tanzania.

2.1 Youth in African contexts

Situating youth in urban Tanzania

Youth is a significant focus of this thesis and, thus, this section necessarily outlines contemporary understandings of 'youth' in African contexts. Often, 'youth' is defined using chronological age. Yet, these definitions can vary notably. For example, the UN defines 'youth' as people between 15-24 years of age (United Nations, 2007), whereas the African Youth Charter outlines 'youth' as 15-35 years old (African Union, 2006). These definitions differ

because, in many African contexts, transitions to adulthood can be marked by a series of lifecourse events such as initiation rites, marriage, and/or childbirth, rather than defined by age or entry into the labour market as is common with Western conceptualisations of transitions (Evans and Skovdal, 2015). Youth across African contexts are also expected to fulfil numerous responsibilities including, but not limited to, working for family life and cohesion, respecting parents, and elders, and contributing to the economic development of the country they are in and Africa more generally (Africa Union, 2006). Yet, achieving the sociocultural norms and expectations associated with adulthood is becoming increasingly difficult for youth across African contexts, delaying youth from obtaining these markers (Mabala, 2011). This is why the upper limit of the African Youth Charter age range is considerably greater than the United Nations definition (Ibid). Further, although age-based definitions of 'youth' are common and have been adapted to reflect the circumstances of youth, they continue to be critiqued for being homogenising and insensitive to culturally specific notions of youth, childhood, and adulthood (te Lintelo, 2012; Mabala, 2011). Ayele et al. (2017) note that 'lumping together' individuals who span a range of 20 years in the case of the African Youth Charter makes it difficult to formulate coherent policy.

'Youth' in African contexts is widely understood as a dynamic, fluid, and relational category, which is the outcome of sociocultural contexts and power relations (Cole, 2011; Christiansen et al., 2006; Ungruhe and Esson, 2017). Resultantly, 'definitions of youth are constantly negotiated and adapted to the contexts they are actualised and generated within' (Christiansen et al., 2006: 13). Importantly, as a transitional category connected to social, cultural, and economic drivers (Diouf, 2003; Gupte et al., 2014; Locke and te Lintelo, 2012), 'youth' is difficult to pin down analytically because young people occupy multiple positions at once (Honwana and de Boeck, 2005; Kallio and Hakli, 2010). Further, 'youth' is linked to other categories of social difference including age, (dis)ability, race, gender, and class (Gupte et al., 2014; Hopkins and Pain, 2007), in ways that shape young people's experiences and life chances (Judge et al., 2020). These understandings provide an insight into the complexity and heterogeneity of 'youth' in African contexts (Cole, 2011), which I will consider when analysing the experiences and circumstances of young vendors in this research. The study will also contribute to developing insights into the complexity of youth through comprehending how young people manage and develop their informal livelihoods within ever-changing and often precarious urban environments in Tanzania.

Tanzania employs an age-based working definition of 'youth' in line with the African Youth Charter, however, it also recognises 'youth' as a social construct (Banks, 2016; Government of Tanzania, 2007). te Lintelo (2012) notes that the National Youth Policy in Tanzania acknowledges the variety of community-specific understandings of 'youth', arguing that this makes it more responsive to the growing fluidity of youth transitions. This is important because as Banks (2016) notes, it is increasingly difficult for youth in urban Tanzania to achieve key life stage events such as finding employment and getting married, in line with social and cultural norms and expectations.

Youth transitions

'Uncertainty' is considered a defining characteristic of the liminal period of 'youth' in Africa (Christiansen et al 2006). Because of a rise in neoliberal governance (Esson, 2015), youth have become unable to accumulate the social and economic capital necessary to reach desired forms of social adulthood (Day, 2015; Honwana, 2014; Ungruhe and Esson, 2017). This has been conceptualised as a period of 'waithood' (Honwana, 2014; Judge et al., 2020), which has become a popular way of analysing youth in limbo, who anticipate that one day they will be able to achieve gainful employment, marriage and a family, and a sense of stability (Simone, 2020). However, for some youth, these expected transitions may never be realised (Christiansen et al., 2006; Cole 2011; Simone, 2020). Esson (2015) explains that these temporal dynamics have been caused by structural adjustments and global economic disparities. The current circumstances young people find themselves in makes planning and preparing for the future increasingly difficult (Gough, 2008; Mains, 2007). However, youth are seldom passive in the face of such uncertainties, and they will tirelessly attempt to generate meaningful lives (Barford et al., 2021; Skelton, 2013). They are dynamic and use agency to invent new ways of being and interacting with society (Honwana, 2012; Langevang, 2008a). Young people also forge new paths to the future and seek new ways of becoming an adult (van Blerk, 2008; Cole, 2011). Waithood can therefore be perceived as a period of creativity, experimentation and improvision whereby youth adopt strategies to manage the challenges of contemporary life (Honwana, 2014).

In recent decades, there has been much interest in youth transitions to adulthood. Transitions, which are highly interconnected (Banks, 2019), can include going to school, finding work, getting married, and starting a family (Honwana, 2012). These transitions are relational rather than individualistic (Hopkins and Pain, 2007), and they also involve movements between

positions of power, authority, and social worth (Christiansen et al., 2006). Transitions are influenced by the above-mentioned social differences (Hopkins and Pain, 2007), and they also vary depending on cultural and historical contexts (Punch, 2004). However, Jeffrey (2010) warns that a focus on youth transitions can overlook the complexity and diversity of young people's lives. Addressing this, Hörschelmann (2011) contends that to capture the intricacy and non-linearity of situated lives, transitions need to be understood as occurring across the lifecourse rather than at pre-defined points of a person's life. Transitions are not a 'one off' event or moment (Thomson et al., 2002), nor are they a 'one-way' process (Valentine, 2003). They are heterogeneous and can involve reversals, returns, and reinterventions (Hörschelmann, 2011; Johnson-Hanks, 2002). Thus, a lifecourse perspective can afford insights into young people's unfolding lives across time and space (Assaad and Krafft, 2021; Valentine, 2003; Worth, 2009). It can also draw attention to the unpredictability and precariousness of young people's lives (Hörschelmann, 2011), which are tied to wider geographies and structures (Diouf, 2003; Punch 2002; Valentine, 2003). This is important, because in the context of contemporary socioeconomic and environmental changes across Majority World contexts (Bailey, 2009; Porter and Turner, 2019), it is unlikely that youth will move neatly from one developmental stage to the next (Hörschelmann, 2011). Across African contexts, it has been identified that lifecourses are increasingly becoming destandardised (Ansell, 2004a; Mains, 2007). Youth are not passing through linear life stages, they are traversing back and forth between them (Ansell, 2004a; Honwana and de Boeck, 2005).

Theorizing the temporality of youth transitions has recently gained increased attention (Ansell et al., 2014). Social scientists have been concerned with how young people negotiate multiple transitions in relation to their imagined adult lives (Brown, 2011; Hardgrove et al., 2015). Nancy Worth's (2009) work on 'becoming' illustrates that the decisions young people make are orientated towards the futures they imagine for themselves. Worth has also argued that this concept is attentive to the instability and changeability of youth transitions to adulthoods (Ibid). Yet, Ungruhe and Esson (2017) argue that the notion of 'becoming' could have greater nuance if young people's own ideas, visions, and actions towards it were understood in greater detail. Other work has critiqued 'becoming' for focusing solely on the future, which overlooks the interplay between the future, present and the past (Ansell et al., 2014; Hanson, 2017). Ansell et al. (2014: 387) argue that a sole focus on 'becoming' situates youth as 'adults in the making', rather than a stage with its own distinctive experiences and issues (Banks, 2019; Honwana, 2012; Skelton, 2002).

Instead, scholars have identified that it is more advantageous to perceive youth as 'social being' and 'social becoming' (Ansell et al., 2014; Crivello, 2015); a *position* and a *process* (Vigh, 2006a). This concept helps to comprehend how young people's actions and decisions in the present are shaped by their considerations of both the present and future (Ansell et al., 2014; Uprichard, 2008). It also enables insights into young people's complex and changeable lives (Ansell et al., 2014), bringing attention to how their anticipated futures are shaped by cultural and social norms and experiences of living in contemporary African contexts, increasingly marked by 'waithood' (Christiansen et al., 2006; Honwana, 2012). The thesis will draw on these understandings throughout to analyse the interplay between young vendors' present and future in relation to their migratory decisions, spatial and temporal mobilities, care roles and relations, gender roles and relationships, aspirations, and support needs. This will help gain insights into both the difficulties and possibilities youth face in trying to attain desired adulthood in contemporary societies and communities (Christiansen et al., 2006) and draw attention to the complexity of young vendors' interdependent and interconnected lives and livelihoods. The research will also make important contributions to conceptual understandings of 'being and becoming' by examining how young vendors' spatial mobilities, health and emotions, and care roles and responsibilities, shape these processes.

To understand more about the intricate nature of youth, the next section introduces the concept of mobility and how young people draw on this in relation to their livelihoods.

2.2 Mobility

The 'new mobilities paradigm' critiqued the social sciences for failing to look beyond static world views (Cresswell, 2012; Kusenbach, 2012). This has changed how researchers from disciplines including anthropology, geography, and sociology, think about and conceptualise movements and flows (Sheller and Urry, 2006). An abundance of contemporary research has investigated the intricate movements of people, objects and information, and the ways these combine in complex and highly relational ways (Eidse et al., 2016; Sietchiping et al., 2012). Eidse et al. (2016: 3) identify, that the new mobilities paradigm has offered 'a particular take on the process of movement, one that unravels the entanglements of movement with power and meaning and interrogates its social, cultural, and political production'. Through an 'embeddedness within societies, culture, politics, histories' (Adey, 2006: 83), movement can become ascribed with meaning(s), at which point it becomes mobility (Langevang and Gough, 2009). Movements are a central part of modern life, and through a focus on mobility,

movements can be examined, and connected across space and time (Cresswell, 2010a). Because mobility is socially and culturally produced and reworked (Cresswell, 2006; Lund, 2014), it will mean different things to different people depending on the contexts they are in (Adey, 2006). Mobility is also inherently political as it is produced by, and reproduces, hierarchies of power and social exclusion (Eidse et al., 2016; Tanzarn, 2008). Thus, mobility is widely acknowledged as a resource which people have differential access to (Cresswell, 2010b; Sheller and Urry, 2006), depending on factors including age, gender, class, ethnicity, economic status, and geographical location (Lund, 2014). These will impact people's experiences of mobility (Langevang and Gough, 2009), and will determine the extent of a person's (im)mobility (discussed further in Section 2.3) (Adey and Bissell, 2010).

Cresswell (2010a), identifies that there are three intertwined aspects of mobility including, physical movement between places, representations of movement, and the experienced and embodied practice of movement. Related to this, contemporary mobilities scholarship has investigated who is and who is not able to move, the types of movements which are privileged and desired over others, and how movements take on different meanings depending on a person's positionality and their motivations for moving (Adey, 2006; Cresswell, 2006; Eidse et al., 2016; Tanzarn, 2008). However, although the 'new mobilities paradigm' has reinvigorated and raised the profile of mobilities approaches in social science research (Porter et al., 2017), there has been a tendency for mobilities scholars to label many things such as controlled movements as 'new', even though these have been a feature of people's lives for many years (Cresswell, 2010b). Moreover, studies of mobility patterns and practices have a long history in African contexts (see. Bryceson et al., 2003; van Dijk et al., 2001; Porter, 2002) as this type of research enabled researchers to identify and understand reasons for socio-cultural changes (Porter et al., 2017). Thus, it is crucial not to disregard the relevant work produced before the 'mobilities turn' (Cresswell, 2010a, 2012).

The 'new mobilities paradigm' has been critiqued for being centred mostly on studies situated within the Majority World (Turner and Oswin, 2015), meaning that much theory on mobility has been founded on understandings developed in these contexts (Esson et al., 2016). Although there have been a growing number of studies in African contexts that have contributed towards this paradigmatic turn (see. Benwell, 2009; Langevang and Gough, 2009; Porter et al., 2017), more insights into people's diverse mobility experiences and practices from Majority World contexts are needed (Esson et al., 2016). Contemporary mobilities scholarship has been

particularly slow to investigate the interrelationship between livelihoods and mobility (Cresswell et al., 2016), especially in the Majority World (Gough, 2008). Esson et al. (2016: 187) concur with this, stating: 'The new mobilities paradigm itself neglects the essential livelihood dimensions underpinning much mobility'. This is surprising, because prior to the 'new' mobilities turn, literature had emphasised the significance of mobility in defining and shaping many people's livelihoods in the Majority World (Bryceson et al., 2003; Porter, 2002). Moreover, van Blerk (2013) identifies that the spatial and temporal mobilities of young people who traverse urban street spaces in Africa have also received scant attention in the 'new' mobilities literature, even though youth populations are dominant across the continent (Porter et al., 2010a). In recent years however, the study of young people's mobilities, including their livelihood mobilities, has started to receive more attention in the mainstream literature on mobility (Porter et al., 2017). Continuing to develop these understandings is pertinent to capture the diversity of youths' livelihood mobilities from across Majority World Contexts (Esson et al., 2016; Todd et al., 2017). Section 2.7 will include further discussion relating to young people's livelihood mobilities.

Along with other studies, this research conceptualises mobility as an everyday interconnected practice (Cresswell, 2010b; Sheller and Urry, 2006). This understanding of mobility will help bring focus to the various spatial and temporal movements at different scales, young vendors undertake daily in attempts to ensure, sustain, and enhance their livelihoods (Bryceson et al., 2003; van Blerk, 2016) in consideration of both the present and future. It will contribute to gaining insights into the multifaceted nature of young people's livelihood mobilities within a Majority World context, an area of research that has only recently begun to receive notable attention. It will also highlight how young people's everyday mobilities are shaped by their daily roles including, but not limited to, their unpaid caring responsibilities. The next section reviews the literature on youth migration, detailing the impacts this can have on young people's present circumstances and lifecourse trajectories.

2.3 Youth migration

Young people's migratory trajectories have received increased scholarly attention in recent decades (van Blerk and Ansell, 2006; Esson, 2020). These studies have brought a greater focus to young people's movements at wider spatial scales (Barker et al., 2009). Yet, contemporary literature has identified the need for more research to illuminate the importance of migration mobilities in young people's lifecourse (Bailey, 2009; Judge et al., 2020), building on

understandings that migration is entangled with lifecourse trajectories as youth 'move' in complex ways towards adulthood (Day and Evans, 2015; Punch, 2014). Judge et al. (2020:1), identify that adopting a temporal lens provides insights into how young people's mobilities including migration, 'are driven, experienced and shaped by structural and social dynamics'. In African contexts, much research on youth migration has been analysed as a response to 'waithood' (detailed in Section 2.1) (Honwana, 2014; Judge et al., 2020). Increased experiences of socio-economic inequality, and common perceptions that migration can lead to wealth, has driven significant numbers of young people to migrate (Datta, 2018; Esson, 2020). Additionally, it is also important to recognise the impacts that environmental changes are having on the lives of youth. In response to the increased frequency and intensity of climatic events such as droughts across sub-Saharan Africa, people are drawing on migration (Jokisch et al., 2019; Tacoli, 2009) in attempts to manage their conditions (Olwig and Gough, 2013). Changing environmental circumstances are influencing young people's daily mobility experiences, which is having implications on their migration decisions (Porter and Turner, 2019). In these situations, youth are not passive, and often they make choices about where they migrate to and for how long (Olwig and Gough, 2013). Further research is needed to understand how climatic perturbations shape young people's lifecourse trajectories (Porter and Turner, 2019).

Studies have found that young people may draw on migration to improve their current circumstances (Esson, 2020; Hörschelmann, 2011), and to increase their chances of achieving their life ambitions (Esson, 2015). This relates to notions of youth as social 'being' and social 'becoming' (Crivello, 2015; Vigh, 2009), explored in Section 2.1. These understandings also demonstrate that migration is not merely a single act or event, but rather a heterogenous process situated in relation to other youth transitions (Crivello, 2011; Jokisch et al., 2019; Yeboah, 2017). Contemporary migration studies have also brought to light young people's aspirations to migrate (Crivello, 2011; Datta, 2018), which has been important in identifying young people's understandings of 'being and becoming' (Crivello, 2015). Yet, youth may also engage in migration for other reasons, such as to escape abuse (Evans, 2005). Other research has further identified that reasons for migration can go beyond individual motivations and framings, and youth may migrate to provide care for people in other households, including extended family members (Evans, 2006; Young and Ansell, 2003).

However, it is important to note that migration is not desired by all young people, nor is it always possible (Todd et al., 2017). Concerning the latter, Esson (2020) explains that engaging in migration as a strategy can be difficult for young people to achieve and depends on their economic and social status. Although migration may offer a way for youth to manage environmental and socioeconomic challenges (Oscello et al., 2015), many do not have the economic or social resources needed to engage in such movements (Jokisch et al., 2019; Tacoli, 2009). Furthermore, household power dynamics also determine the (in)ability of a young person to migrate, where they migrate to, and for how long (Todd et al., 2017). Young people's caring responsibilities and familial expectations can also constrain their capacity to migrate (Evans, 2012).

Urban arenas are important in relation to youth migration (Malefakis, 2019; Sommers, 2010; Thorsen, 2013). For young people who cannot fulfil their aspirations in rural localities, cities offer promising alternatives (Porter et al., 2017; Punch, 2014). As Banks (2019: 199) states, 'dynamic city contexts heighten youth aspirations through their offer of economic opportunities and higher wages, infrastructure, better access to education and services, and perceptions of 'modernity''. Cities are also commonly perceived by youth as places where they can weave a resource base, improve their social status, and obtain greater economic and social independence (Swanson, 2007; Thorsen, 2013). This further demonstrates that young people's reasons for wanting to migrate are often multiple and interrelated (Crivello, 2011). These insights also recognise cities as 'promising machines' (Kemmer and Simone, 2021), offering youth hope that they will be able to improve their lives (Holt and Costello, 2011). For young people, the prospect of being able to change their life by migrating to the city is incredibly powerful (Porter et al., 2017). Because of this, the phenomenon of migration from rural to urban areas is closely linked with youth (Banks, 2019; Honwana, 2012).

The search for employment is often a key driving factor behind young people's strategic decisions to engage in rural to urban migration (van Blerk, 2008; Gough, 2008). Research has found that cities can offer youth an array of economic opportunities (Sommers, 2010), and through being in the city young people are also able to gain numerous work-related experiences, skills, and competencies (King et al., 2016). For youth, migrating to urban areas can also afford them greater agency and independence, which in turn can present them with opportunities to improve their daily mobilities (Huijsmans, 2012; Porter et al., 2017). This is significant, as movements are crucial in enabling youth to accumulate the social and material resources needed

to achieve respectful forms of adulthood (Langevang and Gough, 2009). It has also been identified that young people can reinvent themselves and shape new identities through situating themselves in urban arenas (Sommers, 2010). From a gendered perspective, it is important to acknowledge that an increasing number of women across sub-Saharan Africa are migrating to cities (Tacoli et al., 2015). Cities have less rigid social norms than villages (Giddings and Hovorka, 2010), and women have more access to services and paid work opportunities in these arenas (Oduro et al., 2015). Section 2.5 discusses in greater detail the opportunities women may experience through being in urban localities.

However, Banks (2019) notes that not all young people experience beneficial economic and social outcomes through migrating to urban areas. Cities can be unforgiving places, and when young migrants fail to achieve their expectations/goals, they can become trapped in these arenas without the financial resources necessary for them to leave (Hossain, 2005). Furthermore, the benefits women experience from migrating should not be overstated. Women who migrate may undertake activities such as unpaid caring/domestic responsibilities for a relative (Gough, 2008), or paid domestic work or sex work, which can in different ways be exploitative and constraining (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; van Blerk, 2008). Moreover, many women who migrate to the city often live within low-income settlements and are concentrated within low-paid and insecure jobs (Chant and McIlwaine, 2016; Tacoli et al., 2015). The above insights highlight that young people's engagement in migration influences their lived experiences and spatial lives in urban arenas, in both positive and negative ways (van Blerk and Ansell, 2006; Yeboah, 2017).

It is also crucial to distinguish between people's engagement in temporary or permanent migration (Paavola, 2008). According to Jokisch et al. (2019), temporary domestic migration is the most common form of migration youth engage in. Research has found that young people from rural localities, who are commonly engaged in agricultural activities in Majority World contexts, will sometimes participate in seasonal movements to urban areas to improve their material conditions (Olwig and Gough, 2013; Swanson, 2007; Tacoli and Mabala, 2010). Temporary migration has become an important way for youth across Africa to diversify their incomes (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008). Yet, this is mostly overlooked in the mainstream literature on youth migration (Tacoli, 2009). Moreover, the type of migration young people engage in is highly gendered, as it is embedded in notions of masculinity and femininity (Datta, 2018; Rigg, 2007a). Across sub-Saharan Africa, women are more likely than men to

move further away from home and engage in permanent migration (Tacoli and Mabala, 2010) because of reasons including a lack of paid work opportunities and land inheritance rights (Kudo, 2015; Tacoli et al., 2015). Patrilocal marriage practices in many patrilineal societies also increase women's engagement in permanent migration (Ansell et al., 2017; Kudo, 2015). Men more commonly migrate on a more temporary basis as they often have land to return to (Tacoli and Mabala, 2010).

Young people's migratory trajectories are highly relational (Huijmans, 2012). Youth rely on various social connections which play a crucial role in facilitating/enabling their migration (Crivello, 2011; Punch, 2014). Young people frequently draw on established family networks at the destination they wish to move to (Hujismans, 2012; Lyons and Snoxell, 2005; Malefakis, 2019), or on other contacts including friends from the same village (Gough et al., 2019; Hossain, 2005). This illustrates that migration is dependent on social support, not just financial resources (Tacoli, 2009). Moreover, while some youth migrate as part of an individual strategy, others migrate as part of a household strategy. The latter involves a member or members of a household migrating to search for income, which they then send back to family members who have remained at home (Paavola, 2008; Punch, 2014). Although young people's caring responsibilities and familial expectations may constrain their abilities to engage in migration (Evans, 2012), Todd et al. (2017) found that youth in Tanzania are more likely to migrate than older household members because of fewer social and physical constraints. Because of this, they may migrate on behalf of others in the household who cannot do so (Ibid). This suggests that young people's migration trajectories and livelihoods can be strongly implicated in household strategies (Crivello, 2011).

The study draws on contemporary understandings of youth migration in African contexts to examine the importance of young vendors' migration decisions in the process of 'being and becoming'. This will highlight how young people attempt to develop their livelihoods through migratory practices. It will also consider how socioeconomic conditions, and young vendors' anticipated futures, shape their decisions and motivations in urban Tanzania. The following section provides in-depth understandings of 'gender' and how gendered norms, roles, and responsibilities are both changing and persisting in urban localities.

2.4 Gender

It is widely accepted that gender is socially constructed rather than biologically determined (Cislaghi, 2018; Gough and Franch, 2005). Judith Butler's work on gender performativity has been significant in illuminating the socially constructed nature of gender through everyday reiterative performances such as speech acts and nonverbal communications (1990). Understanding gender as performative also recognises that it is produced and reproduced by societal norms acting on people (Akurugu, 2019; Butler, 2009; Wangui, 2014). Socially constructed aptitudes and dispositions ultimately determine the roles and responsibilities men and women are allocated (Kabeer, 2016). Importantly, understandings of gender differ depending on historical, geographical, cultural, and political contexts (Akurugu, 2019; Cresswell, and Uteng, 2008).

It is crucial to understand that many African societies, as elsewhere, are patriarchal, and that patriarchal relations are significant in determining 'who does what, who gets what and own what, why and when' (Akanle, 2020: 9). Because of patriarchy, there are significant distinctions between private and public spaces (Cislaghi, 2018; Tamale, 2004). Public spheres are widely associated with men in African contexts, and this is where socially valued activities, including business, take place (Tamale, 2004). These usually male dominated arenas are also where power, privilege, opportunities, and wealth are concentrated (Ibid). Men are customarily expected to provide for their families and their household (Akanle and Nwaobiala, 2020), and the work they undertake in public domains is fundamental to their masculine identities (Amankwaa, 2017). Conversely, women are expected to spend most of their time within domestic, private, and reproductive spaces (Robson, 2004), where they are solely responsible for unpaid activities including various care work (Jagero and Kushoka, 2011; Rao, 2019). Because of this, many women are in disadvantaged positions (Akanle and Nwaobiala, 2020), often enduring high levels of discrimination in access to credit, resources, skills, and paid work opportunities compared to men (Akanle, 2020; Iyenda and Simon, 2006; Kuada, 2009). Yet, evidence from African contexts has shown that dominant gendered norms are being challenged (Akanle and Nwaobiala, 2020; Badstue et al., 2020; Smith, 2015).

Changes in gendered roles and responsibilities

In Tanzania, Manji et al. (2020), identify that their participants used words such as "nowadays" and "right now" when talking about genders norms and roles, indicating that practices and behaviours had changed over time. Gender identity as performatively constituted (Butler,

1990), entails ritualised repetition (Akurugu, 2019; Wangui, 2014). It is because of this reiteration that changes to gendered norms and roles can occur (Butler, 2009; Wangui, 2014). Subtle adjustments can happen over time, and they can lead to micro-scale shifts in social norms (Evans, 2016; Rost, 2021). Wangui (2014:1070) describes this as 'slippage'; an integral part of performativity that can be intentional or unintentional. Importantly, men's, women's, children's, and other family members' performances often occur in relation to each other, reacting to the performance of others (Ibid). In response to changes in politico-economic environments across African contexts (Amankwaa, 2017; Shefer et al., 2008), gender norms and roles are being re-experienced and reconstructed (Akanle et al., 2018; Wangui, 2014). Contemporary economic challenges and the increasing cost of living has made it difficult for men to fulfil normative expectations as family heads and primary breadwinners across urban Africa (Manji et al., 2020; Rutashobya, 2001). Women have responded by increasing their participation in 'productive' informal income-generating activities (Rutashobya, 2001). This has enabled them to make notable material and financial contributions to their households (Iyenda and Simon, 2006). Women have endeavoured to find solutions to the challenges confronting them, illustrating that they have not been 'passive victims' during times of economic hardship (Tripp, 1997). As Sen (2000: 189) identifies, 'women are increasingly seen, by men as well as women, as active agents of change: the dynamic promoters of social transformations that can alter the lives of both women and men'.

Research has found that women's familial caring responsibilities and their desires to improve their family's welfare, has motivated many to start their own informal businesses (Barrientos et al., 2003; Darkwah, 2007; Langevang et al., 2015). Because women are a heterogenous group, it is important to acknowledge that their motivations can differ considerably (Jagero and Kushoka, 2011). As Wolf (2011) highlights, women's motivations for generating income can be for personal social and economic reasons. Moreover, through their income-generating activities, women have been able to become more financially independent (Giddings and Hovoroka, 2010). How women perceive independence varies. For some, it may mean being able to use their business profits to buy things for themselves and their children, whereas for others, it may entail being economically independent of their husbands (Smith, 2015).

Through their informal business activities, women have also become more visible actors in urban public spheres (Diouf, 2003; Smith, 2015). This exposure has allowed women to demonstrate that they can competently undertake socially valued roles (Evans, 2014; Sen,

1999). As Evans (2018) notes, this can lead to the undermining of gender ideologies and assumptions. In Tanzania, women's involvement in certain market activities has become widely accepted, and in some instances, it is expected (Smith, 2015). Undertaking informal work in public spaces has arguably improved women's positions on a household and societal level (Evans, 2019). The abovementioned changes challenge traditional patriarchal practices (Akanle et al., 2018), illustrating that gendered behaviours are time and place specific (Amankwaa, 2017).

Ongoing gender inequalities

The social and economic benefits women gain from undertaking informal work, should not be overromanticized (Chant and McIlwaine, 2016; Langevang et al., 2015). An abundance of research has highlighted that informal work can be a poverty trap for women, who often occupy the lower echelons of informality, concentrated in low-paid and low-quality forms of arduous work with little chance of making progress (Chant and Pedwell, 2008; Chen et al., 2006; Meagher, 2010). Ongoing patriarchal power relations and gender-based divisions of labour have increased women's work burdens (Rao, 2019; Rutashobya, 2001). Evidence has found that women often bear triple burdens of labour undertaking up to 112 hours of work each week (Iyenda and Simon, 2004; Momsen, 2004), balancing domestic, reproductive, and informal income-generating activities (Esson et al., 2016). As Momsen (2020) notes, the allocation of unpaid care work to women persists even with their increased participation in the labour market. Women's disproportionate responsibilities can cause stress and exhaustion (Moussié and Alfers, 2018), as they often struggle to balance their time between the multiple activities they undertake (Badstue et al., 2020). Undertaking all care and housework activities with often little or no help from men (Akanle et al., 2016) impacts women's abilities to participate in market work (Duflo, 2012; Rao, 2019). These unpaid works are mostly unseen and underappreciated (Evans, 2018), and they are absent from traditional economics and GDP statistics (Budlender, 2008; Kabeer, 2016; Tamale, 2004).

Because patriarchal societies are conservative and resistant to change (Akanle et al., 2018), women continue to be undercounted as workers in other ways too (Agarwal, 2018). Although women's household contributions have increased, they are often depicted as marginal family supporters who 'cover' for men, rather than significant contributors to household economies (Akanle and Nwaobiala, 2020; Akurugu, 2019). Because of these perceptions, women's contributions do not necessarily translate into increased power within the household either

(Guma, 2015). Also, women's businesses tend to be smaller than men's, yet they often use much of the income they generate on familial responsibilities rather than reinvesting this into their business activities (Khavul et al., 2009; Langevang et al., 2015; Guma, 2015). Evans et al. (2015) have observed that women can be forced by their husbands to use their small incomes to support the family. This illustrates another way in which women's disadvantaged positions hamper their ability to progress with their lives/livelihoods (Akanle, 2020)

Although changes to gendered norms and responsibilities are occurring, women can still be chastised for diverging from 'accepted norms' (Akurugu, 2019). Women's entry into the labour market can be seen as inappropriate because it diverts time away from taking care of the family and undertaking household duties (Manji et al., 2020). Customers may also feel uncomfortable if women are undertaking what is traditionally perceived as "men's work" (Akanle, 2020). Furthermore, despite women's increasing presence throughout urban spaces across African contexts (Evans, 2018), patriarchal institutions continue to shape their social practices and material inequality, which can constrain their mobilities (Porter, 2011; Tamale, 2004). Women can be perceived to be having an affair or engaged in prostitution (Porter, 2011), if they are travelling through public spaces alone (Manji et al., 2020). To avoid these perceptions, men may impede women from working in urban spaces (Vyas et al., 2015). Moreover, women's multiple responsibilities often limit their ability to move freely (Langevang and Gough, 2009), and their lack of financial resources and the high cost of travel in cities restrict the distances they can journey (Evans, 2018). Because women's movements are more constrained than men's (Gough, 2008), this hinders their ability to create profitable livelihood strategies (Mandel, 2004). And, although cities may have less rigid social norms than rural localities (Evans, 2014; Giddings and Hovorka, 2010), they are places where incidences of rape and sexual harassment occur more frequently to women and girls, further restricting their mobility and their right to the city (Chant and McIlwaine, 2016; Evans, 2006; Tacoli and Satterthwaite, 2013). The overcrowded nature of cities and a lack of basic amenities can also exclude women from urban spaces (Yeboah, 2010).

This section highlights the importance of continuing to understand the heterogeneous experiences of women who traverse urban spaces in search of income (Akanle et al., 2018; Guma, 2015). It has also shown that men may be unwilling to relinquish the benefits they amass through being situated within patriarchal societies, which contributes to ongoing gender inequalities (Porter et al., 2020).

Bringing men's roles into greater focus

Because men can act in ways that reinforce and reproduce the inequalities women face (Sweetman, 2013), they are often depicted as the 'problem' (Silberschmidt, 2011). However, these generalisations homogenise men as a group (Chant, 2000), overlooking the increased disempowerment, marginalisation, and vulnerability some men may experience (Chant and Gutmann, 2000; Silberschmidt, 2001; Ungruhe and Esson, 2017). Men are widely expected to serve as household heads and take care of family needs (Amankwaa et al., 2020; Manji et al., 2020), and studies of masculinity in African contexts have been crucial, in part, because they have brought focus to the inseparability of notions of masculinity and an ability to provide financial and material support (Mains, 2012; Morrell and Jewkes, 2011). Yet, processes of neoliberal globalisation have constrained men's abilities to fulfil these normative expectations (Esson et al., 2020; Mains, 2012; Fast and Moyer, 2018), which have had implications on male identities and masculinities linked to constructions of what 'being a man' should entail (Silberschmidt, 2004). Yet, beyond a small but growing body of work focusing specifically on masculinities and the 'crisis of masculinity' (see. Connell, 2005; Mains, 2012; Silberschmidt, 2004), an analysis of men's gendered identities, experiences, and perspectives concerning the impacts that socioeconomic changes are having on their lives and livelihoods, have remained ill-understood, particularly within the mainstream gender and development literature (Akanle et al., 2016; Greig et al., 2000; White, 1997).

It has been identified that men's and women's economic responsibilities within households have long been complementary (Hannaford and Foley, 2015; Langevang et al., 2015). It is therefore pertinent that research on informality develops detailed insights into the interconnected and interdependent nature of young men's and women's lives and livelihoods (Adama, 2012; Kabeer, 2008; Riley and Dodson, 2016). Married youth have received little attention from geographers which is surprising given that it is a socially expected transition to adulthood across many African contexts (Day, 2015; Langevang et al., 2012), albeit one that young people are increasingly struggling to obtain (Barford et al., 2021; Honwana, 2014; Mains, 2012). Drawing attention to marriage is important as it is a process that develops lifecourse interconnectedness (Ansell et al., 2017). Through marriage, men and women can obtain linkages to new resources and form relationships consisting of mutual social and economic support (Armchambault, 2011; Stark, 2018). In marriage relationships, spouses may work together to secure necessities such as food, shelter, clothes, and other provisions (Ansell et al., 2017). Importantly however, women and men will often retain separate incomes (Evans et al., 2015), rather than pooling their

financial resources together (Carr, 2008). Furthermore, socioeconomic challenges have motivated people within marital unions to collaborate in innovative ways to improve their economic security (Hannaford and Foley, 2015; Stark, 2018). Rost (2021) argues that partnerships that involve sharing duties such as income-generating responsibilities are increasingly perceived as modern and forward-thinking. This also links to literature on companionate marriage (see. Evans, 2021; Thomas and Cole, 2009; Wardlow and Hirsch, 2006). Collaborations are important, however what this entails, will differ between spouses. For example, Acosta et al. (2020) identify that an equal say in decision-making processes is not always the desired form of collaboration a husband and wife wish to achieve. Moreover, it is also important to acknowledge that marriage is not merely instrumental. It also entails love, affection, and intimacy, which are tied to economic, social, and material exchanges (Thomas and Cole, 2009; Evans, 2021).

Marriage relationships are not always 'equal', and martial unions can reproduce and even exacerbate the inequalities women face in relation to their workloads and power relations within the household (Frost and Dodoo, 2010). Women have vocalised the ongoing lack of support they receive from their husbands (Moussié, and Alfers, 2018), particularly in relation to household and care work (Badstue et al., 2020). Many women also express desires to establish reciprocal partnerships with their husbands involving sharing ideas regarding income expenditure, so that they can achieve a 'good life' for their families (Rao, 2019; Vyas et al., 2015). Yet, women fear that tensions may arise if they suggest these ideas to their husbands (Vyas et al., 2015). These circumstances have resulted in some women resenting their spouses because they see it that they are 'carrying' their responsibilities through assisting with the household financial needs, yet in return, they are gaining nothing (Akanle and Nwaobiala, 2020; Silberschmidt, 2004). This resentment may also stem from men's inability to provide the financial and material resources in line with social and cultural expectations (Hannaford and Foley, 2015).

I adopt a gender lens in this research which will complement other conceptualisations highlighted in this chapter, to inform the analyses of the complex and diverse daily lives of young men and women working informally. Understanding gender as performative is particularly important, as this will help uncover how young vendors' gendered roles and responsibilities have changed (if at all), in response to contemporary urban conditions in Tanzania. Significantly, my research will address gaps in current research, contributing insights

into men's gendered identities, experiences, and perspectives, while also bringing greater attention to the interconnected and reciprocal livelihoods of married young men and women undertaking informal work. With regards to the latter, it is hoped that this will help to gain more rounded insights into the interconnected nature of youth 'being and becoming'. Next, attention will be drawn to young vendors' caring roles and responsibilities, another aspect of their everyday lives commonly overlooked.

2.5 Young people's caring roles and responsibilities

Joan Tronto identifies that care entails 'practices aimed at maintaining, continuing or repairing the world' (Tronto, 1993: 104). Further, in this study it is recognised that 'care' can take on various forms (Morrell and Jewkes, 2011), encompassing economic, emotional, and physical activities (Bowlby et al., 2021; Chopra and Sweetman, 2014). Caring activities can be undertaken within and beyond the household, and can include, but are not limited to: 'income-generating activities' (e.g. rearing livestock, street vending, begging), 'household chores' (e.g. cooking, washing dishes, fetching water, sweeping), 'child care' (e.g. bathing, dressing and washing children, preparing children for school, helping with school work), and 'household management' (e.g. allocating tasks, paying school contributions, budgeting, future planning and decision making) (Evans, 2010a).

In the literature on feminist care ethics, care is conceptualised as an interdependent and interconnected practice (Bowlby, 2012; Gouws and Zyl, 2014; Tronto, 1993). It is regarded as universal and inherent in all human relationships (Gouws and van Zyl, 2014). While some analysts have identified the importance of care work in relation to economic development, others recognise that it is a significant part of societal structures and vital to social development (Razavi, 2007). Importantly, Tronto (1993) notes that care is a process rather than a single activity. She has argued that there are four distinct but interconnected phases of care: 'caring about', 'taking care of', 'care-giving', and 'care-receiving' (Ibid: 106-108). 'Taking care of' and 'care-giving' are the two phases that will be referred to throughout this section and used to analyse young vendors and care in the empirical chapters. 'Taking care of', consists of identifying a need and responding to it, thus requiring agency and responsibility (Ibid: 106). 'Care-giving', involves directly meeting the needs of care through performing physical work (Ibid: 107). Hence, although care can be performed at a distance, certain types of care require proximity or co-presence (Evans, 2012).

Cultural and social norms dictate who needs caring for, who provides care, and how care is provided (Abebe, 2012; Raghuram, 2016; Rost, 2021). Caregiving is deeply gendered (Gouws and van Zyl, 2014), and burdens of care often fall disproportionately to women and girls (Budlender, 2008; Razavi, 2007). The types of care men undertake are often in line with constructions of masculinity (Morrell and Jewkes, 2011), thus men usually 'take care of' their families through providing financial and material support (Evans, 2014; Hannaford and Foley, 2015). There are still widespread perceptions in many African societies that men should not undertake unpaid care activities, including physical caregiving work for children, sick, disabled, or older relatives, and/or domestic work such as cooking, cleaning dishes, and sweeping (Rost, 2021). Because of this, women must balance numerous unpaid care work with paid work activities (Badstue et al., 2020; Chopra, 2015). This often shapes the work women undertake, with many engaging in informal home-based enterprises (Chopra, 2015; Esson et al., 2016; Momsen, 2020). Amankwaa (2017) notes that the flexibility of informal work can enable people to successfully combine their paid work with their unpaid caring roles and responsibilities. Yet, in contrast, other studies have emphasised that these multiple roles and responsibilities impact women disproportionately, often leaving them time scarce (Chopra, 2015; Evans, 2012). Akanle and Nwaobiala (2020) note that this can affect women psychologically, physically, and emotionally, which can negatively impact their business activities. Moreover, the gendered nature of care also has significant implications concerning a person's im/mobility (Mandel, 2004; Plyushteva and Schwanen, 2018). Women's undertaking of multiple care-related obligations combined with paid work shapes their routines (Murray and Doughty, 2016) and means that their movements are often more deliberate than men's (Esson et al., 2016). The above insights are crucial as they draw attention to the inseparability of women's unpaid and paid work activities (Barrientos et al., 2003), furthering insights into the subtleties of their overlapping roles (Momsen, 2020).

'Caringscapes', a concept developed by McKie et al. (2002), has been an important way through which relations and practices of informal care have been analysed. As Bowlby et al. (2010: 151) note, 'caringscapes is generally used to illuminate the multi-faceted nature of care practices and care relations in a range of settings'. It highlights the spatial and temporal dimensions of people's caring relations, practices and mobilities over the lifecourse (Bowlby, 2012). People's caringscapes are shaped by social values, responsibilities, and obligations, as well as gendered and generational expectations (Bowlby et al., 2021). They can also be influenced by others (Bowlby, 2012). Studies have used the concept of 'caringscapes' to understand the time-space

practices of youth caring for younger siblings in youth-headed households in Tanzania and Uganda (see. Evans, 2012) and to gain insights into time-space practices of care for family members following familial death in urban Senegal (see. Bowlby et al., 2021). A focus on caringscapes can reveal expectations of who should undertake care and how (Bowlby et al., 2021), while also gaining insights into how caring roles and responsibilities interact with people's daily routines and rhythms (Evans, 2012).

Studies have highlighted that young people's transitions to adulthood such as completing education, migrating to pursue livelihood opportunities, or having the financial means to support a family, can be delayed and/or restricted by their caring roles and responsibilities (Day, 2015; Evans, 2012; McQuaid et al., 2019). Importantly, unexpected events such as parental death can notably change or shape a person's transition to adulthood (Bowlby et al., 2010) by altering the types of care work they undertake. Recognising that care-related duties can have significant impacts on young people's lifecourse trajectories and transitions (Evans, 2012), Day (2015) calls for a deeper exploration into how youth navigate transitions to adulthood while negotiating their caring responsibilities as well as wider socioeconomic challenges.

I will employ a care lens to inform my analyses of young vendors' everyday roles and responsibilities. To date, research on informality has engaged little with the literature on care. This study will address this, and through doing so, it will highlight how young people's everyday unpaid care roles and paid informal income-generating activities intersect, shaping their present livelihood activities, as well as their opportunities for the future. It will also help to understand how care roles are shaped by everyday livelihood practices. The caring relationships and support networks young people draw on will be explored in the following section. This will develop insights into other ways young people's lives and livelihoods can be supported or constrained.

2.6 Caring relationships, peer support and other support networks in urban areas

In response to the changing economic and social landscapes of cities, and an inability of the state to provide for their basic needs (Cole, 2011; Hanson and Blake, 2009), many urban actors across African contexts are managing their lives/livelihoods through improvisation (Brown et al., 2010; Lindell and Utas, 2012). Informal vendors often display their agency in response to changing urban conditions and the absence of support (Amin, 2014), by forming and drawing on various informal caring relationships and other social networks to generate livelihood

stability and structure (Lindell and Utas, 2012; McFarlane and Silver, 2017; Simone, 2003a). These networks are culturally constructed responses to socio-economic pressures and opportunities (Hanson, 2005; McFarlane and Silver, 2017), and gaining insights into these provides a way to examine various facets of city life (Di Nunzio, 2012; Simone, 2015).

In this thesis, it is recognised that networks can comprise relationships of care and support with kin, neighbours, peers, people from religious groups and/or other traders (Adama, 2020; Acquaah, 2008; Hunter et al., 2020). These relations are created and sustained through social relationships based on mutual support and sharing of opportunities (Evans and Thomas, 2009; Wrigley-Asante, 2018; Yeboah, 2010) and highlight the interdependent and interconnected nature of human relations (Tronto, 1993). Through relationships with others, vendors may be able to access vital resources for their business activities, such as: trading spaces, advice and information, customers and wholesalers/suppliers, informal skills training, financial support, local knowledge about business and city environments, and job and business opportunities (Evans, 2011; Mumba, 2016; Wrigley-Asante, 2018). Because informal work can be particularly vulnerable to economic shocks, the resources which vendors' networks may hold can help them to manage business uncertainties and mitigate risks (Kebede, 2018; McFarlane and Silver, 2017). These relationships are also important to vendors daily, not just during times of crisis (Conticini, 2005), and they can provide vendors with moral and psychological support not just business-related assistance (Hunter et al., 2020; Kuada, 2009).

The everyday social interactions young vendors have through their networks shape their identities (Hanson and Blake, 2009; van Blerk, 2005). Through their relations, young people can acquire the life and business skills and experiences they need to advance socially (Cole, 2011; Porter et al., 2017). The resources young people may obtain from their diverse and multiple caring relationships can help them cope with uncertain futures and navigate their pathways towards adulthood (Evans, 2011; Yeboah, 2017). This navigation is often spontaneous (Esson, 2020; Vigh, 2009), as youth react to opportunities that become available through their connections (Punch, 2014). This builds on insights from Section 2.1, further illustrating that young people's pathways are produced through ongoing interactions with others (Evans, 2011; Hopkins and Pain, 2007).

Youth often have multiple networks they draw on, reflecting the changing types of support they require over time, depending on their life and/or business circumstances (Berrou and Gondard-

Delcroix, 2018). Many young people start their business activities through accessing resources such as advice, guidance, and financial support from kinship ties (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005; Langevang et al., 2016). However, across many African contexts, including Tanzania, worsening economic conditions has resulted in family members being less able or willing to offer young people financial assistance (Mumba, 2016; Rusonmyo et al., 2017). Informal family-based care systems based on reciprocal responsibilities of care (Day and Evans, 2015; Oduaran, 2010) have been threatened by these contemporary challenges meaning that youth are increasingly having to look beyond these familial caring relationships for continued material support (Langevang and Gough, 2009). Young people have increasingly become reliant on a mix of short- and longer-term peer relationships (Evans, 2011; Hunter et al., 2020; Simone, 2004) to manage and adapt to challenging urban environments (Theron et al., 2010). Aufseeser (2020), notes that these relations are significant in shaping young people's daily livelihood experiences in city spaces. Importantly, youth must choose the 'right' peer relationships and networks, as being involved with the wrong kinds of people can negatively affect both their current and future lives (van Blerk and Ansell, 2006). Thus, for young vendors, whom they know has as much (if not more) of an impact and influence on their lives/livelihoods as what they know (Acquaah, 2008).

Mobility is also an important part of young people's social relationships (Porter et al., 2017). It enables young people to engage in moments of co-presence, which is vital in forming and sustaining meaningful relationships and social networks (Cass et al., 2005; Langevang and Gough, 2009). Through mobility, young people can gain access to help and support (van Blerk, 2013). Importantly, young people's social networks also shape their mobilities (Langevang and Gough, 2009; van Blerk and Ansell, 2006). Yet, because mobility is not a resource everyone has equal access to (see. Section 2.2) (Bryceson et al., 2003; Gough and Franch, 2005), this can prevent the development of social networks and contribute to social exclusion (Andreasen and Moller-Jensen, 2017; Eidse et al., 2016).

Furthermore, the relational nature of networks means that they are inextricably linked to trust (Kuada, 2009; Oduro et al., 2015). Trust is commonly built over years, but it can also develop after several interactions (Lyons, 2000). Reciprocity and corporeal proximity are important aspects of building and sustaining trust (Ling et al., 2019; Wrigley-Asante, 2018). Developing high levels of trust within networks is important for youth (Kuada, 2009), as this can enable them to access embedded resources such as financial support and business information and

ideas (Afutu-Kotey and Gough, 2019). Yet, youth must carefully assess who they can trust and the degree to which they can trust certain people (Lux et al., 2016; Mwasalwiba et al., 2012). As Simone (2008) identifies, there have been many instances whereby people have invested money and/or resources with partners/collaborators who have thereafter disappeared.

Understanding care relations and support networks from a gendered perspective is also vital. Wrigley-Asante (2018) identifies that because women are less likely to receive formal support training than men, many obtain trading skills and experience from their mothers and grandmothers. Although this 'training' is informal, it enables women to commence and maintain income-generating activities (Darkwah, 2007). Moreover, women often struggle to leverage financial resources to start, manage, and sustain their businesses (Kuada, 2009). Research in Kenya, by Rao (2019), found that many women faced humiliation from their husbands if they asked to borrow money. Because of this, women often turn to their networks to obtain financial resources. Without these informal support systems obtaining financial support, a crucial resource for most vendors (Mumba, 2016), would be difficult for many women. Through their networks, women can also gain regular social and emotional support (Evans, 2014; Kuada, 2009). Wrigley-Asante (2018) observes that women often seek guidance from one another if they are facing family related issues such as marital difficulties, or challenges with a wayward child. Because of their increased presence in urban markets and street spaces in recent years, women have increasingly formed caring relationships beyond the household through which they can advise, encourage, and inspire one another (Evans, 2014). By gathering collectively in groups (working near to one another), women can be afforded greater safety and security while working in city spaces (Tacoli and Satterthwaite, 2013). The above highlights the benefits of women's caring relationships and support networks.

It is also important to understand the types of support men derive from their networks with specific issues they experience. Research by Boulton (2019) in Namibia, found that male participants drew on friendships with other men to discuss matters relating to masculinity and shifts in gender norms (discussed in Section 2.5). Young men may also establish groups through shared experiences of weakness and social exclusion caused by inabilities to live up to ideals of masculine identities because of increasing levels of unemployment (Langevang, 2008b). Men's relationships can provide emotional and material support, with many young men struggling to obtain the latter on their own in challenging urban environments (Boulton, 2020; Langevang, 2008b). In Accra, Ghana, Langevang (2008b) observed that young men would

engage in rotating savings and credit groups and share employment and educational opportunities. Men's social relations can also be vital in enabling them to navigate daily uncertainty and give them a sense of direction and purpose towards the future (Asselberg, 2016) in environments where they are often perceived as a nuisance and/or a threat (Diouf, 2003; Langevang, 2008b).

Yet, the benefits of young people's caring relationships and support networks should not be overromanticized. As Rakodi (2002) highlights, these relations are not always effective nor supportive. They can be exploitative and/or taxing for vendors (Lyons, 2000). Although family networks can offer support to young vendors, they can also be time-consuming and resource-draining (Khayesi et al., 2014). Across Africa, family support, which is based on norms of exchange and reciprocity, is considered an obligation, and as such youth may be expected to support numerous family members (Mumba, 2016). Societal and cultural pressures can ultimately constrain a young person's business, and even cause it to fail (Kuada, 2009). Khavul et al. (2009) found in Kenya and Uganda, both patrilineal societies, that women were more inclined to draw support from their friends than family members. They did this to reduce the likelihood of their business resources being appropriated for other purposes, potentially resulting in business destabilisation and collapse (Ibid). Similarly, peer relations can be flawed and damaging, limiting the business progression young people achieve (Hunter et al., 2020). If a young person's business starts becoming successful, their friends may expect support which will restrict the amount of money that can be reinvested into the business (Langevang et al., 2016). These challenges illustrate some of the limitations of support networks (Mumba, 2016) and demonstrate the impacts that age and gender can have on power relations within networks (Hanson and Blake 2009). Opportunities to access networks also varies depending on age, gender, and other biographical factors (Adama, 2012; Hanson and Blake, 2009). As Adama (2012) notes, women and children are most likely to be excluded from networks because they often lack resources limiting their bargaining power. Certain people/groups of people will be more privileged than others in being able to access valuable networks and resources, which works to increase inequality and social injustice within societies (Yeboah, 2017). Although youth are competent social actors, they may be restricted in accessing effective networks and vital resources, which can severely limit them (van Blerk, 2013).

Furthermore, although caring relationships and mutual support networks can be crucial assets for young people (McFarlane and Silver, 2017), these often go unnoticed by the state (Brown

et al., 2010; Lindell, 2018). As de Boeck (2015) importantly identifies, the value of these informal relations/systems is only realized once they break down. Moreover, they do not protect vendors against crime and harassment from local authorities, and through these, it is unlikely that vendors will be able to demand societal change at local levels and beyond (Lindell, 2018; McFarlane and Silver, 2017).

I will bring together work on caring relationships, peer support, and support networks in my analyses of young people's complex and diverse support relations and needs. Through this, my research will make important contributions to the literature on informality. To date, this has not interacted much with work on care relations, but as will be demonstrated, this can provide more nuanced insights into young vendors' interconnected and interdependent everyday lives and livelihoods, and help to understand how these shape youths' 'being and becoming', introduced in section 2.1. Next, in-depth understandings of urban informality, and young people's reliance on informal work to sustain their livelihoods within city contexts, will be discussed.

2.7 The informal sector and urban Tanzania

Definitions of the "informal sector" are contested (Gough and Langevang, 2016), yet it is widely accepted that it encompasses a heterogenous group of activities and employment that lacks legal recognition, regulation, and protection (Lindell, 2010a; Lloyd-Evans, 2008). A string of structural adjustment programs across Africa since the 1970s has resulted in the retrenchment of formal sector jobs (Bryceson et al., 2003; Thieme, 2018) and a significant rise in informality, especially in countries across sub-Saharan Africa (Tripp, 1997; Wrigley-Asante and Mensah, 2017). The informal sector has continued to grow and appear in new guises (Chen et al., 2006; Malefakis, 2019; Neuwirth, 2012), contrary to beliefs that it would disappear with the modernisation of economies (Thieme, 2015; Potts, 2008).

In Tanzania, 87.2% of women and 79.9% of men work within the informal sector (ILO, 2018: 85). Informality is particularly high in dominant cities such as Dar es Salaam which have high population concentrations (Tripp, 1997). A rise in unemployment, coupled with the shrinking of the state, has led to the growth of urban informality because many urban dwellers have had to find alternative ways to provide for themselves (Fast and Moyer, 2018; Lyons and Snoxell, 2005). Informal work provides many urban residents with opportunities to earn a living (Amankwaa, 2017; Castells and Portes, 1989; Guma, 2021), and it also produces a diverse range of low-cost goods and services that many urban inhabitants rely on (Bromley, 2000; Esson et

al., 2016; Lindell, 2010a). Urban informality is complex, messy, and continuously changing (Guma, 2021), which has implications for how this phenomenon is understood across economic, political, and spatial spheres (Banks et al., 2019). Therefore, ongoing investigations are required to understand how informal workers, who are a heterogeneous group (Meagher, 2005, 2010), establish and maintain their lives and livelihoods within dynamic urban localities (Hart, 2004; McFarlane and Silver, 2017). The thesis will use informality to critically examine young people's informal livelihoods, situated in specific contexts and shaped by economic, social, and political processes (Banks et al., 2019; Lindell, 2010). This helps recognise that urban informality is more than just a 'setting', 'sector', or 'outcome' and acknowledges that it is defined by relationships, attitudes, agency, and strategies (Banks et al., 2019).

Although only 31% of Tanzania's 53 million population lived in urban areas in 2014, it has shown one of the highest rates of urbanisation in Eastern Africa (2.3% annual rate of change 2010-2015) and is projected to reach 53% by 2050, just below the predicted average of 56% for Africa as a whole (UN 2014: 289). Dar es Salaam, with a current population of 4.36 million (NBS, 2013), is expected to reach megacity status by 2030 with a population of 10.7 million (Huang, 2017). Other cities across Tanzania are also experiencing high levels of population growth (UNICEF, 2012). Between 2002-2012 Arusha City's population grew from 281,601-416,000; a growth rate of 3.96% per year (NBS, 2013). Many studies often focus solely on the largest cities in a country and give little attention to small and intermediate urban centres (Satterthwaite, 2017). Yet, understanding the dynamics of smaller cities and the changes taking place within these is equally as important as understanding the changes occurring within major urban arenas (Yankson et al., 2017).

Moreover, informal workers may come under one of several classifications, including: own account self-employed workers, contributing family workers, and employers/employees within informal enterprises (Ilahiane and Sherry, 2008; Vanek et al., 2014). Own-account workers are the predominant focus in this thesis. In Eastern Africa, 48.8% of people who work informally undertake own-account work (ILO, 2018). As Banks (2019) highlights, most work opportunities in East Africa come from self-employment. Own account informal work can include several activities, including street vending (Chant, 2014), which is the most common form of informal work undertaken in cities throughout Tanzania (Mramba et al., 2015). According to Vanek et al. (2014), own-account work is often characterised by low earnings, poor working conditions, and weak connections to formal structures. This corresponds with literature that identifies informal work as characteristically unpredictable, exploitative, unstable

(Obeng-Odoom and Ameyaw, 2014; Simone, 2001), and vulnerable to economic shocks in changing urban environments (Hanson, 2005). Yet, other work has championed the informal sector as creative, resourceful, ambitious, and survivalist (Neuwirth, 2012; Manyati and Mutsau, 2019). For Simone (2004), informality is a complex combination of all the above. As Munive (2010) identifies, work that solely focuses on the sub-standard and 'not decent' aspects of informality fails to capture the everyday realities of informal workers and the diverse and important economic strategies they employ (Malefakis, 2019). I also believe it is important to highlight both the benefits and challenges of informality as this will enable insights into young people's different experiences of pursuing informal livelihoods. As Potts (2008) states, informality will remain central to people's lives in Majority World contexts for many decades. Thus, although it is crucial to understand and address the challenges of informal work, it is equally necessary to acknowledge that informal businesses can give young people opportunities to establish, manage, and develop their livelihoods. This approach avoids placing informality into homogenising categories and promotes more rounded insights into the complex and diverse impacts it has on young people's life and livelihood development. More on this will be discussed in the subsection to follow.

Young informal workers

As discussed in Section 2.1, work is an important marker of adulthood in African contexts (Chigunta et al., 2005). The ability to work and provide financial resources, defines a person's self-worth and position in the family (Honwana, 2014). Yet, young people are experiencing high rates of under- and un- employment within cities in sub-Saharan Africa (Assaad and Krafft, 2021; Banks, 2016), which is creating major obstacles in their transitions to social adulthood (Day and Evans, 2015). Youth are expected to be 'job creators' rather than 'job seekers' (Gough and Langevang, 2016). Consequently, many young people are entering the informal sector (Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Ayele et al., 2018). Informal work is enabling young people across Africa to cope during a time of contemporary economic uncertainty (Langevang et al., 2012). Mumba (2016) notes that in urban Zambia, youth are reliant on informal work as part of their survival strategies. Arguably, informal employment gives young people an opportunity to 'make something' of themselves in environments where there are few alternatives (Afutu-Kotey et al., 2017; Barford et al., 2021; Goodfellow and Titeca, 2012). Informal work can offer youth a viable way to support themselves and others, as well as sustain their desired pathways to adulthood (van Blerk, 2008). Thus, it is imperative that insights into young people's informal business efforts, and their experiences of undertaking

these, continue to be developed (Gough and Langevang, 2016; Thorsen, 2013). Importantly, young people's uptake of informal work could be seen as a display of their agency considering the challenges and constraints they face (Punch, 2002). As de Boeck and Honwana state, 'it is part of the Africa doxa to see young people as strong and resilient; portrayed as survivors who actively grow on their own, even under difficult conditions' (2005: 4).

Thus, young people's uptake of informal work could be perceived as part of their 'alternative route' to adulthood in response to the contemporary conditions they are experiencing (see. Section 2.1). However, Assaad and Krafft (2021), warn that youths' undertaking of informal work, which is characteristically uncertain and unstable, could constrain their abilities to transition to desired forms of adulthood. Thus, it is imperative that young people's informal livelihoods and anticipated transitions to adulthood are examined in relation to the contexts they are situated within (Afutu-Kotey et al., 2017).

Young people's livelihood mobilities in and across urban spaces

Across urban Africa, youth populations are increasing (Langevang and Gough, 2009). Cities are important places for youth (Banks, 2019), who are highly visible in urban arenas throughout sub-Saharan Africa (Gough and Langevang, 2016). Young people are shaped by various urban dynamics, and they are also 'significant actors in, and creators of, the city' (Skelton and Gough, 2013: 457). This recognises youth as active participants in cityscapes (Porter et al., 2010a; Simone, 2004). Yet, until recently, young urbanites had received little attention within urban studies literature (Skelton and Gough, 2013). Young people's engagements with city spaces are inherently mobile (van Blerk, 2016), and many young Africans rely on spatial mobility to create and maintain their livelihoods within these arenas (Gough et al., 2013; Langevang and Gough, 2009). This challenges previously held Western assumptions that youth mobility was solely centred around personal travel (Barker et al., 2009; Porter, 2002).

Urban street and road spaces have recently received increased attention in mobilities scholarship (Eidse et al., 2016) as they have been recognised as a significant part of community life in African cities (Khayesi et al., 2010). They are prime locations where a range of young vendors peddle their wares to pedestrians and motorists passing by (Porter et al., 2017). The highly relational, dynamic, and interlinked nature of these urban spaces is a product of the entanglement of various mobilities (Knowles, 2011; van Blerk, 2013); the coming together of different communities of practice (Beck et al., 2017). These lived spaces where human practices and ascribed meanings combine, create 'place' (Anderson 2004; Langevang, 2008b). These

places are continuously produced and reproduced through everyday social practices (Sheller, 2017). Through their activities, youth vendors contribute towards the making of city places through transforming road and street spaces into market areas (Beck et al., 2017; Malefakis, 2019). Yet, the ongoing development of these spaces across cities in Africa predominately prioritises the needs of motor vehicles, overlooking the important function these spaces serve for young informal vendors (Khayesi et al., 2010).

Walking has been found to be a particularly dominant form of mobility young people draw on in African cities (Todd et al., 2017; Porter et al., 2010a). The practice of walking is often characterised as "unskilled" and "straightforward" (Binnie et al., 2007), however it requires several practical skills such as landmarking and navigation, and a range of social competencies and strategies which are highly dynamic and situated (Porter et al., 2017). Research by Langevang and Gough (2009) conducted in Accra, Ghana, found that young people acknowledged that their movements, including travelling on foot, street hawking, and carrying goods, were crucial to their survival in the city. Through mobility, young people traverse a range of urban landscapes, including market and street spaces, as part of their livelihoods (Porter et al., 2010a). Importantly, different youth ascribe different meanings and levels of importance to city spaces (Gough and Franch, 2005; Porter et al., 2018a), depending on numerous factors, including the type of business(es) they undertake.

Through their mobilities, youth also 'move towards' positions which they envisage will bring about better possibilities to improve their lives (Porter et al., 2010a; Vigh, 2009). This corresponds with insights by Langevang and Gough (2009: 752), who note that young people's mobilities are important to both their 'everyday wellbeing and their processes of social becoming'. As Judge et al. (2020: 5) state, young people often draw on different forms of mobility, including daily mobility, in a bid to 'become someone'. As such, youth mobilities will entangle youths' specific needs and imagined futures (Simone, 2011). This shows that examining youth mobilities can afford insights into other interconnected aspects of young people's lives (Gough, 2008). However, although young people navigate their ways through space with various intentions and goals, their ability to achieve these are influenced by their social positioning (Langevang and Gough, 2009). Their experiences of the urban will differ depending on their backgrounds and the spaces they traverse (van Blerk, 2013, Gough, 2012). While some urban spaces are inclusive to youth, others are exclusive (Gough and Franch, 2005).

As well as mobility, it is also crucial to consider how immobility influences young people's urban experiences, livelihood practices and identities, and future life chances (van Blerk, 2016; Porter et al., 2010a). As Langevang and Gough (2009) identify young people's everyday urban lives involve both movement and stillness. Mobility and immobility are shaped by power relations, which influence where youth travel to, when they travel, how they travel, whom they interact with, and where they can stop in the city (Cresswell, 2010b; Porter et al., 2010a). Young people's im/mobility arrangements also involve complex intergenerational and household negotiations (Plyushteva and Schwanen, 2018; Porter et al., 2010a). Moreover, young people's strong presence throughout city spaces (Gough, 2008) has also led to widespread perceptions of youth as 'deviants' (Evans, 2006) and as threats to social order (Diouf, 2003; Langevang, 2008a). The socially and culturally encoded nature of mobility (Cresswell, 2010b), means that youth must also continuously assert, contest, and negotiate their identities in public spaces too (Langevang, 2008a). This also relates to ideas about youth as 'trouble' (Honwana and de Boeck, 2005). The above insights illustrate the highly relational nature of young people's im/mobile lives in the city (van Blerk, 2013).

Moreover, although religion plays a significant role in shaping people's lives across many African societies (Namatovu et al., 2018), few studies have examined the influence of religion on young people's mobilities (Porter et al., 2017). It is necessary to understand how aspects of religion such as practices of daily/weekly prayer, or less frequent religious events such as Easter and Ramadan, directly or indirectly shape youths' spatial and temporal livelihood mobilities (Balog et al., 2014; Holloway and Valins, 2002; Narayanan, 2016). Concerning daily/weekly prayer, understanding places of worship as 'moorings' (Porter et al., 2017), sites where one goes to, comes from, or passes (Cresswell, 2010b), would enable greater understandings into young people's im/mobilities. This would also contribute towards recognising that young people move between 'other' spaces rather than just street spaces while generating income (Gough and Franch, 2005).

Further, urban systems are complex. They change over time, and these changes will influence the opportunities and challenges youth experience (Langevang and Gough, 2009). It is, therefore, crucial to understand young people's lives and livelihoods in relation to the urban contexts they are situated within. Many African cities have experienced rapid economic and population growth in recent decades (Oduro et al., 2015). This has increased the level of spatial, economic, and political precarity within these arenas (Myers, 2011). Resultantly, young

people's livelihoods in rapidly urbanizing postcolonial cities have for some time been marked by instability and unpredictability (Schilling et al., 2019). These challenges have become more pronounced as urban markets have become more overcrowded and competitive (Banks, 2016; Langevang et al., 2012). Thieme (2013) identifies that these circumstances have extended the liminal phase of "youth-hood" for many urban youths. However, Fast and Moyer (2018) disagree with this observation and claim that young people can find a powerful sense of forward momentum in city spaces, rather than experience periods of 'waithood'. Similarly, Sommers (2010: 318) argues that cities are not inevitably "black holes" for youth. They can be places where young people find opportunities, develop their identities, and progress with their lives/livelihoods (Ibid). Other work has identified that although city life can be tough for youth, it can provide young people with valuable life experiences (Thorsen, 2007).

'Hustling', has been an effective way of analysing young people's attempts at securing the means of life (Peterson, 2003) within African urban contexts increasingly characterised by growing informality and precarity (Thieme, 2015, 2018). It entails navigating uncertainties and capitalizing on opportunities that present themselves (Munive, 2010; Thieme, 2015). It is a way of living, and illuminates young people's creativity and self-reliance (Chulek, 2019). 'Hustling' is an alternative way through which young people can improve their social and economic standing within cities (Munive, 2010; Thieme, 2018), at a time when traditional pathways to adulthood in these localities have become harder to navigate (Honwana, 2012). In line with notions of youth as social 'being and becoming', hustling can be perceived as a constant momentum and movement (Munive, 2010), driven by hopes of future progression (Di Nunzio, 2012).

Vendors' livelihood strategies

As mentioned previously, walking is the main form of mobility young people draw on in cities, and it is also crucial to the sustainability of itinerant vendors' livelihoods (Eidse et al., 2016; Robson, 2004). Vendors travel across urban landscapes to locate suitable vending locations (Balarabe and Sahin, 2020; Turner and Oswin, 2015), to maximise their access to potential customers (Adama, 2020). The daily movements of itinerant vendors are often based on complex readings of where opportunities and/or constraints are likely to arise (van Blerk, 2016; Bromley, 2000; Langevang and Gough, 2009). Through their movements on foot, vendors create makeshift vending spaces as they traverse urban localities (Balarabe and Sahin, 2020; Moatasim, 2019). Itinerant vendors' complex mobility patterns shape their vending activities

(Adama, 2020; Dorow et al., 2017), and they are a crucial aspect of their livelihood strategies (Balarabe and Sahin, 2020; van Blerk. 2016). In Nigeria, Robson (2004) observed that children who hawked food-based goods such as breakfast bean cakes (*kosai*) established a routine by passing through the same place at the same time each day, which enabled them to maintain regular customers. Other research has also identified that young people occupy specific urban spaces at certain times of the day to increase their chances of generating sales (Adama, 2020; van Blerk, 2013). These insights illustrate that mobility has temporal as well as spatial dimensions (Esson et al., 2016; Malefakis, 2019). The structuring of routes and routines can afford vendors with economic benefits (van Blerk, 2016), through creating degrees of stability and predictability (Binnie et al., 2007). The strategic movements and practices vendors undertake are heterogenous, and in addition to the factors mentioned above, these are also influenced by a vendor's knowledge and experience (Mramba et al., 2015), the type of business they undertake, and the customers they are targeting (Balarabe and Sahin, 2020). Even for journeys that are 'structured', some movements will be improvised in response to the continuously changing nature of urban spaces (Quayson, 2010). Itinerant vendors' dynamic mobilities enable them to navigate and survive in provisional urban worlds (Guma, 2021).

Yet, even for 'static' vendors who undertake business in a specific part of the city, mobility will be ingrained into their livelihoods and livelihood strategies in urban spaces (Andreasen and Moller-Jensen, 2017). Location is an important strategic aspect of static informal businesses (Quayson, 2010), and some vendors will travel extensively every day to undertake their business activities in areas of the city where customers are abundant (Esson et al., 2016). During their working day, vendors may also have to journey to local markets to purchase goods they are selling, and/or to collect any equipment they may need to run their business (Ibid). Highlighting the complex and diverse nature of different vendors' movements is crucial as often these are viewed as mundane everyday occurrences, which can overlook their significance (Binnie et al., 2007).

Experiences of vending

Even though young vendors are skilful with their movements, roads are particularly hazardous environments (Porter et a., 2017). Being struck by a moving vehicle is an everyday danger facing vendors who peddle their wares on the road (Amankwaa, 2017). Even though youth are aware of these dangers, situations on the road can unfold very quickly and they can easily

become distracted if they are focused on generating sales (Porter et al., 2017). Throughout many city spaces, vendors are also regularly subjected to hot, polluted, and dusty environments which can have a range of short- and long- term health impacts (Klaeger, 2012). Health is a crucial asset (Hossain, 2005) which impacts youths' (in)abilities to generate income and work towards their goals (Banks and Sulaiman, 2012; Yeboah, 2010). Decreasing health can cause young vendors to become immobile for indefinite periods of time, severely impacting their livelihoods (Lindell and Adama, 2020). Despite these potential impacts, there is very little evidence on the effects that street vending has on the health of young people (Porter and Turner, 2019).

Street spaces can be dangerous in other ways too. As Gough and Franch (2005) and Porter et al. (2012) note, young people may fear being attacked/robbed in certain areas of a city. The likelihood of incidences such as these occurring will change depending on the time of day it is. This fear is significant, as it can constrain and/or alter young people's mobilities (Gough and Franch, 2005). Research conducted by Porter et al. (2018b) in South Africa, found that young people actively avoided certain places which they identified as hotspot areas for thefts. Faced with these issues, youth can employ diversionary tactics to reduce the likelihood of coming across thieves and other undesirables (Porter et al., 2010a). These strategies are also employed by youth to avoid being mocked by people on the street and/or to evade being harassed by local authorities (McFarlane and Silver, 2017; Porter et al., 2018b).

Although Section 2.3 discussed how spatial and temporal mobility can enhance young people's livelihood opportunities, the above has illustrated that these mobilities can also cause young people to experience danger, fear, and numerous health implications (Porter et al., 2010a). These issues, such as being hit by a vehicle or being mugged, can cause significant changes to young people's daily mobilities, which in turn can have notable implications on both their livelihoods and their futures (Porter et al., 2017). Yet, not enough attention is given to these issues in the literature concerning young people's livelihood mobilities. The following section discusses how young people are using smartphone devices to undertake informal work. It details how this is reconfiguring their mobilities and business practices.

Smartphones and digital mobility

Numerous studies across African contexts have examined the ways informal entrepreneurs have used basic mobile phone functions, such as calling and texting, to assist them with their business activities (Komunte, 2015; Porter, 2012). Research has found that these basic functions have

enabled vendors to; reduce their need to travel, gain greater access to business/market information, grow their customer bases, increase their connectivity to both suppliers and customers, and coordinate business activities anytime and anywhere (Komunte, 2015; Porter, 2012). This digital mobility offered by basic mobile technology (Porter et al., 2010a), can make aspects of vendors' businesses more efficient, saving them time and money (Jagun et al., 2008). In recent years mobile technology has significantly improved and smartphones, which now have similar capabilities to personal computers, are becoming increasingly accessible across the African continent (Amankwaa and Blay, 2018). Among countries in the East African Community (EAC), smartphone adoption rates were at 36% in 2019, and this is expected to increase to 62% by 2025 (GSMA, 2020). This growth is attributed to the influx of affordable smartphone devices sold by Chinese brands such as Tecno and Infinix; many of which are sold for less than $100 (Ibid). Smartphones have all the benefits of basic functioning phones (detailed above), but they also have the capability to share photographs, documents, and videos in almost real time (Amankwaa and Blay, 2018; Gwaka, 2018). Moreover, these devices can support various applications, including social media platforms including Instagram and WhatsApp. These applications have enabled people to be more connected to one another (Amankwaa et al., 2020).

Examining smartphone usage in relation to youth is important, as young people have been identified as being at the forefront of mobile technology adoption (Porter et al., 2018a). This is supported by evidence from Tanzania which shows that 17% of young people aged 18 to 29 years identified owning a smartphone device in 2018 compared with 8% of people aged 50 and older (Silver and Johnson, 2018). Despite this, few studies have investigated the interconnections between smartphone technology and youth livelihoods (Porter et al., 2018b; Rumanyika et al., 2019). This is surprising, because almost a decade ago Gina Porter (2012) called for research to monitor and track people's uptake and use of mobile phones in African contexts. However, scholars are still discussing the potential that smartphones and social media platforms could have on people's livelihoods, rather than examining the impact(s) these devices and applications are already having (Porter and Turner, 2019). For example, research by Rumanyika et al. (2019) in Dodoma, Tanzania, identified that street vendors used smartphones and media platforms such as WhatsApp, Twitter and Instagram to market their products. Yet, beyond this observation they provide no further analysis**.**

These deficits need to be addressed, because it is recognised that advancing mobile technology is creating new possibilities of encounter and connectivity (Amankwaa and Blay, 2018). New

spaces are being created through which people, ideas, knowledge, and information can move (Gwaka, 2018). This is changing the daily experiences of life across the global South (Ash et al., 2018). Through using smartphones and the apps they support, the above-mentioned benefits such as access to more customers and the ability to access and share information, has become 'easier' (Gwaka, 2018; Porter and Turner, 2019). Amankwaa et al. (2020), note that these devices enable people to innovate new ways of operating and promoting their informal business activities. This deviates from 'traditional' conceptualisations of informality discussed earlier. Smartphone usage increases young people's 'digital mobility' and changes the spaces they conduct business in (Ling et al., 2019). This is creating new forms of spatiality and sociality (Amankwaa and Blay, 2018). Thus, it is pertinent to understand how the multifunctioning nature of contemporary smartphones can be used by youth to manage and improve their livelihoods (Duncombe, 2014). Amankwaa et al. (2020) develop this further, noting that it is imperative to gain insights into how youth are using smartphones to navigate personal hopes, social expectations, and the financial uncertainty of living in urban arenas. This links to notions of 'waithood' and social 'being and becoming' discussed in Section 2.1.

However, although smartphones can reconfigure young people's livelihood mobilities and practices, they mostly enhance the efficiency of existing systems rather than change them completely (Schwanen, 2015). For example, phones can help to maintain business relationships with customers/suppliers (Gwaka, 2018), but they are seldom used to create them (Porter, 2012). Relationship formation, an integral aspect of informal trade in Africa, requires face-to-face meetings (Overa, 2006). Thus, increased digital mobility will not eliminate corporeal mobility; rather, these will be interwoven and how these interweave will continually be reshaped (Porter and Turner, 2019).

Moreover, as Aker and Mbiti (2010) state, mobile technology should not be considered a "silver bullet" for informal workers' development. Mobile phones can exacerbate the competitiveness and oversaturation of job markets rather than increase the number of work opportunities available (Porter et al., 2018a). Thus, owning a mobile phone does not necessarily create more or better income-generating opportunities (Ling et al., 2019). This illustrates the limitations and frictions of 'more mobile' worlds driven by technology (Cresswell, 2010b). It is also important to recognise the 'digital divide' created by advancements in mobile and other digital technologies (Gwaka, 2018, James and Versteeg, 2007). Even though smartphones are becoming 'more affordable' across Africa, most people, including informal vendors who often have small capital, cannot make the one-off payments required to buy these devices (GSMA,

2020). Even if vendors can purchase a smartphone, many will be unable to regularly buy the internet bundles required to conduct business online (Komunte, 2015; Ling, et al., 2019). Moreover, low levels of literacy can hinder people's abilities to operate smartphones and navigate social media platforms for business (Gwaka, 2017; Rumanyika et al., 2019). In Tanzania, 47% of people (aged 18+) with a secondary education or higher possessed a smartphone, whilst only 6% of people with less than a secondary education owned such a device (Silver and Johnson, 2018). In relation to gender, 10% of women and 16% of men own a smartphone in Tanzania, respectively (Ibid). Women are less likely to be able to afford advanced mobile devices compared to men, because of the lower incomes they generate (Komunte, 2015). It is crucial to consider how a person's gender, income, and education, among other factors, may constrain them from owning or using a smartphone device (Alozie and Akpan-Obong, 2017).

The final section of this chapter will discuss contemporary approaches taken towards the informal sector and young vendors.

2.8 Policy approaches towards the informal sector

Urban informal economies across sub-Saharan Africa seldom receive recognition and protection (Chen and Skinner, 2014; Potts, 2008; Sietchiping et al., 2012). Because of neoliberal urbanisation taking place across many African cities (Lindell and Adama, 2020; Potts, 2008), informal workers have increasingly been subjected to crackdowns, evictions, and confiscations, undertaken by urban authorities (Chen et al., 2018; Lindell, 2010b). The informal economy is often seen as undesirable and an obstacle to achieving city modernity (Eidse et al., 2016; Guma, 2021; Robinson, 2002). Informal vendors are blamed for making the city dirty and for impeding pedestrian and vehicle movements because of their presence and mobilities (Bromley, 2000; Eidse et al., 2016; Khayesi et al., 2010). Policymakers striving to improve city statuses (Robinson, 2002), favour the fluid movements of "modern" transportation rather than the disjointed stop and start movements of vendors selling their wares on street and roadside spaces (Eidse et al., 2016; McFarlane, 2011). States often impose restrictions and/or bans on the undertaking of informal activities in cities or certain places within these arenas (Cuvi, 2019; Eidse et al., 2016). Such approaches effectively erase the spaces informal vendors can work in (Swanson, 2007), increasing their socio-spatial exclusion (Adama, 2020; Guma, 2021). These changes affect informal vendors' daily routines, severely disrupting their livelihoods (Binnie et al., 2007). These approaches fundamentally overlook the importance of informal work to the

survival of many urban dwellers (Adama, 2020), and they also fail to recognise the vital contributions that informal activities make to local economies (Khayesi et al., 2010; Robinson, 2002).

Informal workers are seldom included within socio-political arenas (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005), and they are often blamed for their own marginalisation (Barsoum, 2016). It has been argued that reaching out and supporting small-scale vendors is difficult because often they are individualised and scattered across cities (Bonner and Spooner, 2011; Lindell, 2018). Nevertheless, governments have been critiqued for their lack of meaningful engagement with the informal sector (Olvera et al., 2013). Policymakers often take short-term approaches when dealing with informality (Brown et al., 2015), and many policies are obscure and poorly implemented (Bromley, 2000). Goodfellow and Titeca (2012) also note that governments' handling of the informal sector can be politically motivated, especially in the run-up to a general election, as it is recognised that informal workers wield significant political capital.

Formal support for young vendors

Concerning youth, it has been recognised that these actors are often recipients rather than generators of ideas (Langevang, 2008a; te Lintelo, 2012). As Drah (2003) states, adult voices have commonly dominated policy and decision-making spheres. Consequently, young people seldom have their voices heard, thus their beliefs, experiences, desires, and priorities tend to be ignored (Conticini, 2005; Olvera et al., 2013). When youth receive support from policy makers or NGO's, this is often based on 'received wisdom' (Conticini, 2005). More recently, governments have become aware of the economic, social, and political challenges which could arise if they do not meet the needs of youth (Sikenyi, 2017; Porter and Turner, 2019). Youth unemployment has been a particular focus of governments, who recognise that without work, young people can become vulnerable and susceptible to engaging in illicit and violent behaviour (Goodfellow and Titeca, 2012; Honwana and de Boeck, 2005; Izzi, 2013). Skills-building programs have been a common response to youth unemployment (Ayele et al., 2018; Banks and Sulaiman, 2012). Yet, as Ayele et al. (2018: 2) state, these approaches imply that 'Africa's youth employment challenge is primarily a problem stemming from the unemployability of young people, rather than a problem of too few jobs'. Even after undergoing vocational training, many young people across sub-Saharan African contexts are finding that there are no jobs opportunities available for them to undertake (Morgan, 2016).

Understanding the needs of young people requires their direct involvement in the decision-making processes which affect them (Ayele et al., 2017; Sikenyi, 2017). Bottom-up perspectives have been used effectively to understand the heterogenous experiences and desires of both informal workers (Song, 2016), and youth (Conticini, 2005). These approaches can provide detailed insights into the environment and opportunities that exist in specific social and political contexts (Ibid). Understanding young people's imagined futures is also crucial (Barford et al., 2021). It is assumed that attaining wage employment within the formal sector is the desire of many youths across Africa (Leavy and Smith, 2010). Yet, as Ayele et al. (2017) note, growing numbers of young people aspire to work/continue working within the informal sector, as they recognise that this work can help them become self-reliant (Barford et al., 2021). States have also been promoting self-employment and entrepreneurship among youth, which may also be shaping young people's desires to work informally (Sikenyi, 2017). Nevertheless, it is important that policymakers engage with young people's aspirations to ensure that they avoid making assumptions about youth (Ayele et al., 2017; Barford et al., 2021). Thus, considering both the experiences and aspirations of youth can facilitate the creation of more informed policies, which address the diverse and complex requirements of young people (Izzi, 2013). These approaches can also help to reveal who is working informally, why they are working informally, and the reliance they have on informal work (Gough et al., 2013; Lugalla, 1997).

Because youth are increasingly working within the informal sector, the skills and knowledge they receive need to be appropriate for this work (Thorsen, 2013). Sikenyi (2017) notes that young vendors also require ongoing support and mentorship to successfully navigate challenging and continuously changing urban business environments. Young vendors may also need financial assistance, yet this type of support is often difficult to come by (Berrou and Gondard-Delcroix, 2018). As identified in Section 2.6, young people attempt to overcome these constraints by engaging in caring relationships and informal support networks. Thus, it has also been argued that initiatives should focus on strengthening these existing organisations and networks (Porter, 2002), as this will help increase the longevity and effectiveness of the support offered to youth (Mabala, 2011). As noted previously, short-term approaches are often an ineffective way of supporting informal workers. Furthermore, young people also undertake numerous forms of unpaid care work in addition to their paid work (see. Section 2.5). Yet, they do not receive support in relation to these activities even though they often impact on their paid work (Barford et al., 2021; Chant and Pedwell, 2008). For example, research from South Africa

and Ghana has revealed that women's unpaid childcare responsibilities can significantly affect their income activities, yet women have received little support with this (Moussié and Alfers, 2018)

As mentioned in Section 2.7, smartphone technology usage in Tanzania is notably increasing. This technology, along with the rise of social media platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp, has significantly enhanced human connectivity (Amankwaa and Blay, 2018). Through using smartphone and social media platforms, it has been observed that young people can more easily receive and share ideas, knowledge, and information (Gwaka, 2018), and contribute to discussions and debates on matters which concern them (Hall et al., 2019). The latter point shows that contemporary technology could offer young vendors a way to increase their visibility and voice their experiences and opinions (Bonner and Spooner, 2011; Ergler et al., 2016). It has also been noted that young people can develop their business activities through using smartphone devices and media platforms (Mramba et al., 2015). Thus, Ephraim (2013) argues that young people need more support in using digital technology to improve their opportunities and increase their presence within decision-making spheres. Moreover, research has also found that organisations are using mobile technology and media platforms to contact and maintain dialogue with their beneficiaries (Guo and Saxton, 2014). This enables organisations to monitor young people and offer them ongoing support, including advice, which shows the potential of technology to better the consistency and longevity of support youth receive. Offering young people support on and through technology has promise. However, not everyone has access to modern digital technology (Aker and Mbiti, 2010). Stakeholders must ensure that their approaches to supporting youth reflect the diverse circumstances and needs of young people. This would avoid contributing to the exclusion of certain groups of youth and exacerbating existing social inequalities (Gwaka, 2018).

Contemporary approaches to youth, and the informal sector in Tanzania

As Gough et al. (2013) identify, many countries across Africa have established National Youth Policies (NYPs). These have been created to address numerous issues including contemporary employment challenges (Ibid). Tanzania's *National Youth Development Policy*, published in 2007, recognises that young people have been most affected by growing levels of unemployment in the country (Government of Tanzania, 2007). It identifies how informal work has given urban youth the opportunity to make a living, but it acknowledges that many of the young people working informally often do not have the working capital, adequate equipment,

or the technical knowledge and skills necessary to progress with their informal livelihoods. The policy suggests that to improve this situation there is a need for active and meaningful youth participation in decision making spheres, and a greater attentiveness towards the gendered aspects of youth and informal work. Additionally, it recognises that the government should collaborate more with a range of institutions and organisations who work closely with youth, so that young people can be supported more effectively.

Yet, despite the above identifications, the relationship between urban authorities and informal workers in Tanzania continues to be ambivalent (Brown, 2015). Much of the government's approaches towards the informal sector are focused predominantly on collecting taxes from many groups of informal workers, so that it can increase its revenue base (Semboja, 2015). This has been high on many governments' agendas across Majority World contexts (Joshi, 2014). In December 2018, former President Magufuli, initiated a policy that required all small-scale traders with a running capital below 4 million Tsh (£1,240) (Steiler and Nyirenda, 2021) to purchase a '*Machinga ID*' card for 20,000 Tsh (£6.20), annually (Nyirenda and Msoka, 2019). It was claimed that this card would remove tensions between vendors and authorities (Karondo and Tumaini, 2021), and would officially make informal workers taxpayers (Nyirenda and Msoka, 2019). It can be argued that another function of this card is to increase the visibility of vendors so that they can be more easily defined and located (Simone, 2004). This enables urban authorities, who are adopting Western ideals of city planning in Tanzania, to better control and manage the presence and movements of informal sector workers (Brown et al., 2010).

Whilst Karondo and Tumaini (2021) state that the *Machinga ID* has helped to support and improve the operating environments of small-scale vendors, Steiler and Nyirenda (2021) struggle to identify any tangible benefits that informal workers gain from purchasing the *Machinga ID*. These authors highlight the notable drawbacks of this identification card. They state that while the annual fee of the card is affordable to some vendors, for others, it requires all the capital they have, which has caused some vendors' businesses to collapse. The authors also note that because the benefits informal workers gain from owning the *Machinga ID* is unclear, the uptake of the card may decrease in the future. Nyirenda and Msoka, (2018), state that more research is needed to evaluate the effectiveness of this card. This research will address these calls by analysing the impacts of this ID card on the temporal and spatial livelihood mobilities of young informal workers in Dar and Arusha.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has drawn together a diverse range of literature, to illustrate that young people's mobile urban lives and livelihoods are complex, heterogenous, and highly interconnected. Skelton (2002) states that youth is a distinct life stage with its own experiences and issues. This has been evident throughout this chapter which has identified that young vendors face numerous challenges and opportunities through living and working in the city. It is widely acknowledged that young people's present circumstances as well as their imagined futures are key influences on the actions and decisions they make (Christiansen et al., 2006). Conceptualising young people as social 'being and becoming' (Ansell et al., 2014; Vigh, 2006a), enables detailed insights to be developed in relation to young people's migration trajectories, their daily temporal and spatial mobilities in the city, and the support networks they form with other urban actors. As such, this conceptualisation of youth will be drawn upon throughout the empirical chapters in this thesis when analysing the lives and livelihoods of young vendors.

Although gender-based research is well established within human geography, I have argued that there is the need for more analysis of men's gendered experiences, identities and perspectives in Majority World contexts. There has been work that has identified the positives and negatives of involving men within research processes (see. Chant and Gutmann, 2000; Silberschmidt, 2001; White, 1997), however few contemporary studies have acted on the issues raised in this literature. Other notable gaps in the existing literature on youth and informal work have been identified in this chapter. Young people's care roles and responsibilities are important everyday activities, yet these are seldom considered in relation to the lives and livelihoods of young vendors. More attention also needs to be paid to the health and wellbeing of young vendors in city spaces. These shortfalls in existing research will be addressed in the chapters to come.

Lastly, an examination of the contemporary policy approaches taken to address and manage the informal sector has revealed the need to continue understanding how young people's livelihoods are affected by the decisions made by state and urban authorities. This work has also illuminated that youth participation within decision-making spheres needs to increase. As Barford et al. (2021) identify, this will enable better understandings of young vendors' varied experiences, needs, perceptions, and aspirations. The next chapter discusses the methodology employed to understand the lives and livelihoods of young informal vendors in this research.

3 Methodology

This chapter will detail why an ethnographic methodology was most suited to the aims, objectives, and research questions of this study (see. Chapter 1). Young people's informal livelihoods are incredibly diverse and complex. Thus, several qualitative methods were employed to develop in-depth understandings of the dynamic and varied contexts in which young vendors are situated. Participatory methods were also used in the research to disrupt power imbalance imbalances between myself and youth participants by giving young vendors control over how they represented their lives and lived experiences.

I will discuss how each method was employed while also being attentive to my positionality and how this influenced and impacted the research at various stages. Ethical considerations were central to this project, and these will be detailed in full within this chapter. I will also explain how data was processed, analysed, and interpreted during and after the data collection period in the field. Due to the cross-cultural and cross-language nature of this study, issues of language were important to consider and address throughout this study. The inclusion of research assistants and the impacts (both positive and negative) that they had on this project will be considered. This addresses the general shortcomings of many research outputs, which often overlook the influence of research assistants, even though they are often central to overseas fieldwork.

I then reflect on my experiences and emotions as a researcher, not only from an ethical perspective but also concerning how these can influence and impact data collection. Lastly, I explain how the Covid-19 pandemic disrupted intentions to disseminate key findings in Tanzania and detail the alternative plans that have been conceived.

3.1 Research with young people

Research has highlighted that children and youth are the best informants of their own lives and that 'their abilities to interpret, express, and communicate their lived experiences should not be underestimated' (Smørholm and Simonsen, 2016: 1). Young people are widely acknowledged as being active social agents who possess 'voice' and 'agency' (Barford et al., 2021; Holland et al., 2010), and as such are competent actors in research processes (Christiansen and James, 2000; Skelton, 2008). Resultantly, researchers now focus on creating environments that are inclusive and allow young people to participate on their own terms (Barker and Weller, 2003). Ethnographic and participatory approaches to research have been identified as particularly suitable when working with young people, as more inclusive and holistic techniques and

practices can be used within these methodologies (Grant, 2016). This not only enables participants to have more input within research processes, but it is also a way to redress and challenge imbalances of power between the researcher and the 'researched' (Kesby, 2000). As Porter (2016) highlights, in contexts whereby participants are "powerless" in relation to the researcher, co-production can promote more equitable relationships.

However, utilising these methodologies does not automatically make research 'inclusive'. Young people are incredibly heterogenous, therefore a researcher must cater for a range of needs and capabilities and create conditions which also favour those who are considered marginalised (Sander and Munford, 2017). For example, in this study participants with low levels of literacy could participate in activities such as diagramming sessions, because research assistants were on hand to assist them in putting to paper their experiences, perspectives and opinions. Yet, if this had not been considered then these participants would have been excluded. Furthermore, techniques or approaches that work for one participant will not necessarily work with others (Abebe, 2009). This emphasises the need for a facilitator to be adaptive and reflexive (Barker and Weller, 2003). The age range of participants in this study differed by 20 years from youngest to oldest, therefore lifecourse stage may also impact on which methods participants prefer and/or are able to use (Ansell, 2004b). Throughout the study, multiple methods were employed. Ansell et al. (2012) identify the benefits of this approach because the methods young people feel comfortable expressing themselves through will differ between youth participants.

Observing young people as they participate in research processes is also paramount. As Langevang (2007) exclaims, young people may not feel as if they can say "no" to a researcher who is often seen to be in a position of authority. Thus, power relations are important to consider when working with youth. Participants may give subtle 'clues' to researchers that they no longer wish to participate in research, and it is important that these cues can be identified and acted upon (Ibid). The following section discusses the ethnographic methodology used in this study.

3.2 Ethnographic methodology

An ethnographic methodology was utilised in this research enabling a 'view from below' to understand the perspectives and experiences of young men and women (aged 15-35) and their lifecourse. An ethnographic approach produced a 'thick description' of research settings, and of the actors situated within these (Delamont, 2007). It captured how daily life for informal workers unfolded through various practices, experiences, and interactions (Ingold, 2017).

Miller (2017) argues that ethnography is not necessarily a specific approach or process, but instead it is the overall outcome of a study which is also developed through the analysis and write up phases of research (Evans, 2012; Ingold, 2008). Many argue that a key element of ethnographic inquiry involves a process of close and prolonged contact with research participants (Gold, 1997). Ethnography in its intended form requires long-term commitment, relational depth, and an awareness and sensitivity to context (Ingold, 2014). It can be employed to understand the often messy and complex realities found throughout the world and does this through serious and open engagements (Cook and Crang, 1995). This allows for an understanding of the perspectives of participants and an insight into their everyday lives (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995).

Overall, I spent one year in urban Tanzania undertaking intensive ethnographic research. During this time, I was able to observe, talk to and understand the situated daily lives of young informal workers in both Dar es Salaam and Arusha. As an "outsider", with cultural, social, and economic differences between myself and youth participants, undertaking ethnography and living within local communities for an extended period enabled me to gain insights into participants' lives, lifestyles, and the cultural and societal norms which influenced their practices and perceptions (Punch, 2001). As Katz (2010) highlights, understanding the economic interactions that take place within urban arenas is vital to gaining an insight into urban life. This is particularly true of informality, which is a key feature of life within Dar es Salaam and Arusha. Moreover, young people will often have to navigate through various social, political, and economic contexts, and therefore ethnography can help to position young people as experts of their own worlds (Tickle, 2017). Next, I consider issues relating to researcher positionality.

3.3 Positionality

It is widely documented that the presence of a researcher will shape the encounters, processes, and outcomes of research (England, 1994). Knowledge production is partial and positioned, and unavoidably bound with power (Rose, 1997). In poststructural terms, power is identified as an *effect* which can shift between actors (Kesby, 2007). Being reflexive is a way in which researchers can minimise, but by no means eradicate the impacts of their positionality (Berger, 2013; Hopkins, 2007a). Ozano and Khatri (2018) note, that being reflexive is not simply an act of reflection, it is a deconstruction of a researcher's positionality. Viewing research as a "process" as opposed to a "product" (England, 1994), highlights the need of a researcher to

constantly reflect on the similarities and differences between themselves and participants so that they can monitor and address the ways in which they are having influence (Hopkins, 2007a). Yet, as England (1994) comments, just because researchers identify how their presence has, or might have impact, it does not necessarily mean that they are going to be able to do anything about this.

My positionality, a white, educated, 25-year-old male researcher from the UK in post-colonial Tanzania who spoke basic Kiswahili (see. Section 3.11), has undoubtedly impacted the research. It has shaped several aspects of the study including, but not limited to, gaining access to research participants and locations, developing trust with participants, and being able to communicate and build rapport with youth directly. The extent to which these attributes impacted the research would have varied depending on the participant(s) I was with, the methods being used, and the location(s) research was taking place. As an "outsider", participants may have held back details about their lives due to my status (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). However, because I was not viewed as a member of the community, this may have made participants feel more comfortable sharing personal details and opinions with me. Being an outsider may have also shed a different perspective on the lives of participants (Evans et al., 2017).

Furthermore, I was of a similar age to all the participants in this research, therefore this may have worked in ways that did not make me seem authoritative or official, compared to if I was middle-aged or older. However, for the younger participants who were 15/16 years old, there was still an age difference of 9 years, which would have been a marker of power (Skelton, 2008), even though I was considered 'youth'. Furthermore, when talking to older key stakeholders, I sometimes felt that I was not taken seriously. This could be because knowledge and ability are often correlated to age in a Tanzanian context.

I was also mindful of my performance of gender throughout this study, especially when undertaking research with women, as certain situations, including one-to-one interviews, could be more intimidating than others (Herod, 1993). However, because research assistants were present whenever I was with participants, a female assistant would always be with me whenever female youth participants were involved in the research, which may have minimised imbalances of power. Yet, I was aware that the social attributes of research assistants may have in fact reinforced or increased imbalances of power, regardless of their gender (Hankivsky, 2012). This will be discussed further in Section 3.10. Furthermore, even though questions posed to the

participants were asked through research assistants, participants were still very much aware that they were mediators of conversations, and that all questions and responses were coming from me. In Arusha, I asked a female participant some questions about her biography. Upon asking her whether she was married, her initial response to my research assistant was, *'why is he asking this question? Does he want me to be his girlfriend or wife*?'. Initially, my assistant did not translate this to me, but when I asked, she told me that it was a joke. At the time, I felt uncomfortable by this, and embarrassed that the question (which I had asked to participants many times before) had perhaps come across in that way. As Vanderbeck (2005) states, it is important to discuss uncomfortable interactions rather than to gloss other them. In this instance, no further comments relating to this were made, but it still highlighted the ways in which my gender may have shaped certain interactions in this context.

My performance of gender was also noticeable in other parts of the research. For example, whilst helping women with certain activities during participant observations, such as washing clothes or helping to prepare food, I would sometimes be told that this was not the "normal thing" for a man to be doing publicly in Tanzania. Yet, because of my own beliefs and previous experiences which I had 'brought' to the field, these activities were very "normal" for me to be doing. In a conscious effort to reduce the barriers between myself and participants, participating in these activities regularly proved to be an important way to gain trust and build rapport.

Scheyvens and Leslie (2000) argue that it is important to consider the skills, experiences, and the cultural, social and political awareness of a researcher, rather than to focus solely on essentialised characteristics of gender and/or nationality. Prior to undertaking my PhD data collection, I had spent 7 weeks (May-July 2017) in Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, where I conducted a small-scale qualitative study with informal workers and key stakeholders for my Master's in Research dissertation. During this time, I gained experience in managing a small research project and undertaking research in a cross-cultural and cross-language setting. This experience allowed me to understand cultural and social nuances, such as the importance of greetings in Kiswahili in Tanzania, and the different greetings that should be used depending on a person's age. Moser (2008) furthers this, by arguing that the personality and social skills of a researcher are also very important and can impact knowledge production, and the relationships built with participants. Therefore, having too much focus on a few 'main' characteristics can limit a researcher's reflexivity. Practical reflexivity was undertaken throughout this study by recording my experiences, feelings, and perceptions in research diaries. This was done before, during and after the data collection phase of this research.

My presence and influence on the outcomes of the research

On one occasion my presence and its impact on the research process was very noticeable. I had arrived to undertake an interview with a participant (male, aged 18), who sold sesame seed cakes in between traffic jams just outside of central Dar es Salaam. He worked for his older brother and had been doing so for 7 months. He did not receive direct payment for this work, but instead his brother paid for his transport, food, accommodation, and any other items he required. The participant had given his consent to be included in the research, and I had already undertaken an observation with him for several hours. At the end of this observation, we agreed that I would come back in a few days and undertake a life-mapping interview. My research assistant informed him that he would be paid 20,000 Tsh (Tanzanian Shillings) (£6.22) to compensate for the time he would take out of his day. However, on the day of the interview, the participant was not at the agreed meeting place. My assistant tried calling his mobile phone, but there was no answer. Other vendors in the area gave my research assistant the phone number of the participant's older brother. When my assistant spoke to this brother, he was very abusive and told us that we should pay him and not his younger brother (the participant of the research at that time). We asked the older brother if he would like to meet us in person to talk about this situation, to reduce further escalation. When I spoke to the older brother, it transpired that he had intentionally removed his younger brother (the participant) from the area, as he did not want him to have any involvement in this research. After conversing with the older brother for some time, we explained to him that his younger brother would no longer be involved in the research from this point onwards. I also wanted to make sure that the younger brother would not be negatively impacted because of this situation. The older brother said that he could not make guarantees and that he was the person who had brought his younger brother to the city and, therefore, he could send him back to the village if he wanted to.

Because this situation had been made known to me, I had the opportunity to try and minimise any negative consequences from this, yet it was very difficult to be certain of what the outcomes would be as ultimately this was in the hands of the older brother. Fortunately, a few weeks later I saw the younger brother selling sesame seed cakes in the same area he had been working previously. This example illustrates that gaining consent from youth participants does not necessarily equate to access, because adult gatekeepers (or older siblings in the example given above) may control a young person's participation in a research process. Age is not always a factor in this, as sometimes husbands and wives of participants were also suspicious of our presence and why we were interested in involving their spouse in the research. It was sometimes

necessary to explain the research to the kin of participants before they became involved in the study.

Another issue that arose during the example above was that the older brother also told me that he had organised people to follow me out of the area to ensure I left. Upon reflection, I am sure this was only said to intimidate me as I was not aware of anyone following me home, but at the time, I did feel afraid. Bloor et al. (2010) identify this as 'situational risk'; where the presence of the researcher in research settings may lead to the occurrence of certain risks/dangers. Foreseeing such events is very difficult (Bahn and Weatherill, 2012) and arguably there was very little I could have done to avoid this situation. The reason for the brother's reaction is unknown, however in other ethnographic studies, researchers have encountered similar negative situations because they have been mistaken as police spies or officials for the government (Bloor et al., 2010; Nkobou, 2020). Because his younger brother was undertaking work for him unpaid, and he did not know who I was or what I was doing, he may have been fearful that I would report him to the local authorities. In the following section, I expand upon the use of mobile methods with participants of this research.

3.4 Using mobile methods with young people

Ethnography can involve a series of practical experimentations (Hitchings and Latham, 2019) exploring what methods and approaches work best to achieve the aims, objectives, and research questions of a study (Becker, 2009). Ethnography in general has undergone some development in recent years in response to a greater emphasis on mobility within the social sciences. Mobile ethnography has increased in popularity which has led to researchers combining methods in ways allowing them to better understand space and place (Reed and Ellis, 2018). Thus, in this section, I will detail how ethnographic approaches and mobile methods were used in innovative ways affording this research with detailed insights into the meanings of space and movements for young vendors in urban Tanzania.

Sheller and Urry (2006), comment that the social sciences have become stagnant and that there is a need to understand in greater detail, the complexity and diversity of movements through which flows of people, goods and communication interlink. Scholars have argued that this can be done by moving beyond dominant sedentary practices (Kusenbach, 2012). In what has been coined as the 'new mobilities' paradigm (Sheller and Urry, 2006), researchers have sought to revitalise the methods they employ to understand movement. Movements are often pivotal in shaping people's identities (Kusenbach, 2003), and for young people, these identities are often

shaped through the spaces they navigate (Holloway and Valentine, 2000). Holten and Riley (2014: 63) highlight that, 'young people's interactions with places are not linear but intricately layered'. This requires researchers to use more creative and innovative methods to capture and understand the complexities of young people's mobile lives. Yet, as Woodyer (2008) warns, researchers should not strive to be innovative just for the sake of it. These methods need to be an appropriate and relevant method of inquiry suited to a project's research questions.

Studies on young people's mobilities has burgeoned in recent decades. Yet much of the research on this topic has been concentrated within Minority contexts, which has led to assumptions that young people and children are mostly mobile for reasons of personal travel (Barker et al., 2009). Contrary to these assumptions, these "movements with meanings" (Langevang and Gough, 2009), were found to be highly variant and context specific. Studies of mobility in Africa, have shown that young people's movements may be for reasons such as collecting water or travelling to local markets (Porter, 2002). Langevang and Gough (2009), drawing on research in Ghana, detail how young people's movements in and around the city were linked to finding opportunities. These studies have been important in reconsidering how we understand the movements of young people and how we conceptualise childhood and youth (Barker et al., 2009).

Mindful of this, the study used mobile methods to understand the movements of 12 itinerant young vendors. Mobile methods in the form of participant observations and informal go-along "interviews", were employed to capture the meaning and importance of place and space to mobile street vendors. GPS was also included to visualise the routes undertaken. The appropriateness of employing such methods is specific to the context and the aims of the research, and depends on the mobility of both participants and the researcher (Evans and Jones, 2011). Furthermore, the data gathered from walking with participants cannot be generalised, as spaces are both dynamic and dialectical and can therefore be interpreted differently every time they are passed through (Porter et al., 2010b).

Participants had control over the routes we walked during mobile methods, as these journeys were undertaken for the purpose of generating income. As Evans and Jones (2011) explain, this can be empowering to participants as they are the ones leading, rather than being led. In this sense, 'the researcher is a visitor sharing and performing the participant's daily environment as an embodied guest' (Ponto, 2016: 16). This links to ethnographic principles of immersing oneself within an environment and experiencing it first-hand. As Rhys-Taylor (2013) adds,

being in different environments and walking around the city can also be a sensory experience as a researcher can be exposed to a range of sights, smells and sounds. Being an 'embodied guest' may also give insights into participants' journeys after the research has been undertaken. The morning after an observation with a vendor who walked for over 20km's in Dar es Salaam, I wrote in my diary; 'I have woken up this morning feeling very achy in both my legs and in my shoulders. I still feel very tired from yesterday' (Research Diary, 30th February 2019). Participating in these journeys can reveal more than just the perceptions, experiences, and insights into environments from participants' perspectives, it can also reveal the physicality of such voyages. In this sense, I was able to physically appreciate participants' lived experiences (Porter et al., 2010b).

Moreover, research settings while using mobile methods are fluid, unpredictable and therefore hard to control (Ponto, 2016). Environments can very quickly change from being 'safe' to 'dangerous'. In Dar es Salaam, I was observing street vendors selling crisps to people in cars who were stuck in traffic jams. When appropriate to do so, I would walk in between vehicles with participants (see. Figure 1) to experience for myself the conditions these vendors endured. On several occasions, the traffic lights changed, and the traffic started to move on either side of us, which required us to cut in front of slow-moving vehicles to reach the safety of the side of the road. This showed how research settings could become unsafe or dangerous, almost unexpectedly. Arguably these journeys and how they unfold gives a 'natural' insight into the everyday journeys participants undertake (Kusenbach, 2003). Yet, I am aware that situations that I perceived as unsafe or dangerous may not be viewed as such by participants.

The presence and positionality of a researcher will also influence the routes of the journeys taken (Holten and Riley, 2014). During an observation in Dar, a male egg seller told my research assistant that he had avoided an area in Tandika (Temeke district) that is known for female sex workers. He said this area was good for selling eggs but did not want to take me through here because I would have drawn a lot of attention which he thought would be bad. I told him that I did not want to disrupt his usual route, and therefore I would meet him after he had passed through this area. In this instance I was able to 'minimise' some impact caused through my presence, yet similar situations may have occurred many times over the course of the research unbeknown to me.

Figure 1: Photo of mobile crisp seller in Dar es Salaam selling to customers in traffic

Participant observation

Participant observation is centred around being immersed within, and participating in activities with, particular social groups (Evans, 2012). Many regard this method as central to an ethnographic approach, however Ingold (2017), insists that both are not synonymous as the act of observing is not to objectify; it is to notice what is unfolding by watching, listening, and feeling. Evans (2012: 98) states that the purpose of participant observation is 'to know what it is to inhabit their [participants'] environment, live their social relations, understand their preoccupations and appreciate their values and feelings about each other and what matters in their world'. Understanding attitudes, behaviours, and practices in detail (Gold, 1958), requires researchers to situate themselves amongst those whom they wish to learn from and/or study for extended periods of time (Ingold, 2014). What researchers learn from those being observed is inextricably rooted in context (Iacono et al., 2009).

During the research I mainly took an 'observe as participant' role (Kawulich, 2005). Participants were aware of my presence, and my role mostly entailed observing and talking to participants as they went about their activities. Occasionally I would help participants with their

activities, which allowed me to understand what their work entailed. Some types of work were more strenuous than others because of the distance walked, and others were challenging because of the weight of the products participants carried. As Anderson (2004) highlights, through participation, bonds are created and the traditional interviewer/interviewee power relations can be reduced, forging more collaborative relationships.

In total, 37 participant observations were undertaken over the course of this research (18 in Dar es Salaam, 19 in Arusha). I observed a range of participants who sold many items including, fruit, vegetables, handicrafts, groundnuts, shoes and hard-boiled eggs. The young vendors in this study were a mix of static and mobile street vendors and therefore observations occurred in many places around the city. Observations occurred outside formal market spaces, often in the street, and sometimes in home spaces. To understand differing dynamics, I also undertook observations with people who worked with kin and with those who worked with friends in a small collectively run business. Some observations were undertaken in one (static) location, and others were mobile, depending on the type of work participants undertook. Mobile observations were undertaken in combination with informal go-along "interviews" or "conversations", discussed below. The underlying principle of participant observations in all these contexts was similar, as they all involved observing and interacting with participants.

The number of observations undertaken per participant depended on the work they did, and whether repeating observations would add any more depth to the study. Gold (1997) identifies that the level of insight and knowledge gathered from participants can vary considerably, therefore a researcher should carefully think about how they allocate their time. Observations could last between 4 to 10 hours, and in some instances as many as four observations with one participant was undertaken over the course of this study. Such depth gave me the opportunity to uncover the cultural beliefs and practices that generate observed behaviours (Wall, 2015), whilst also gaining an understanding of how, as actors, young informal workers interpreted their world (see. Shah, 2017).

It was found, especially with static vendors, that it was best to split observations over two days. Undertaking 8+ hours of observations in one day could be intimidating for some participants who seemed more aware of my presence because we stayed in one location. Observing a participant for 3-4 hours, twice (for example), allowed for a slower approach to be taken because even though I would still spend 8-10 hours with an informal worker at their working space, the hours were more distributed. This worked in favour of building rapport and

familiarity. However, spending shorter days with participants may have skewed what I observed because I may have only visited participants during quieter or busier times. Yet even during an 8-hour observation, I may have accompanied participants on days that were quieter or busier than usual. My experiences, and the knowledge gained from these observations, was always partial (England, 1994).

Observations enabled me to capture detail that participants would unlikely explain in interviews, such as the environments they worked in and the varying nature of sales throughout their working day. Moreover, participants' daily interactions were seldom discussed during interviews, yet these could be witnessed during observations. Observations were always the first method undertaken with participants in this research. I could then ask participants more specific questions during life-mapping interviews relating to what I had observed, which allowed me to capture the diversity and uniqueness of participant experiences and perspectives. Yet, the complementary nature of ethnographic work and interview processes is seldom acknowledged (Hitchings and Latham, 2019).

Observations can also come across as more 'informal' compared to an interview, therefore employing this method first was an effective way to build rapport and trust. In Dar, a vendor who sold crisps in traffic jams had to go to afternoon prayer at a local mosque. He asked if I could look after his stock of crisps while he was away. This was the first time we had met the participant, yet he entrusted me to look after his goods. Perhaps this is because I had immersed myself in the activities he was undertaking, such as walking in between lorries and cars and helping to carry bags of crisps for him, which he was surprised about when he first became involved in the research process. Unsurprisingly, it was found that the more times I visited a participant, the more likely they were to talk to me about their work and livelihoods without being asked many questions.

Due to the nature of the work participants undertook, I had to ensure that I did not impact the sales they made while observing them. In some contexts, if participants had a relatively fixed location, it would be more appropriate to observe from afar and talk to the participants whenever customers were not around. For a male participant selling drinks to customers on *dala dala's* (buses), he needed to make sales as quickly as possible, thus I stayed some distance away from him, otherwise, customers would take a greater interest in why I was with him, rather than buying the drinks he was selling.

The length of observations would depend on the routines of participants. If they were working 10-hour days, we would observe them for that length of time. In the case of a female cassava seller, her business did not start until 4pm, and finished around 11.30pm at night time. Prior to undertaking these observations, I consulted with my research assistant and the participant, to ensure that it would be safe for us all, for me to undertake observations at night. Night observations were possible in Dar because many areas remained busy throughout the night, yet in Arusha the city became very quiet from around 8/9pm onwards, therefore it was deemed unsafe for me to do night observations there. When doing observations at night, I also had to consider how my research assistants and I would travel back home after these observations because usually, the main public transport systems in Dar es Salaam stopped at around 11.30 pm. My safety and the safety of my research assistants were paramount in these situations, therefore on two occasions, I had to cut observations short with a participant who continued selling cassava until 12/1 am to ensure we made it home safely.

All observations were transcribed to a field diary, however because of the mobile nature of some vendors in this study, it was not always possible to write down observations and interactions at the time that they were taking place. Instead, I used an audio-recorder to make short recordings at various intervals. However, Finlay and Bowman (2017) state that using an audio recorder does not allow for a researcher to be flexible, reflective, and connected during an observation process. Yet, I would only record my voice on an audio-recorder for short periods while participants were selling their products or when they were a distance ahead of me. This reduced summarizing or forgetting what was observed or spoken, which is more likely if a researcher solely relies on recall (Willis, 2006).

Participants were always informed when I planned to use an audio-recorder, however for passer-byers, such an object could arouse suspicion. Where possible, I would try and use the recorder in quieter places without many people present. If people did have questions, then my research assistant would inform them.

Informal 'go-along' "interviews"

The 'go-along' interview is a product of the "mobilities turn", discussed previously. The go-along interview in this research was combined with participant observations with mobile street vendors, which Reed and Ellis (2018) state is a hybrid method used in contemporary go-along ethnography to emphasise movement. This approach to research has been used in many settings, predominately outside and in urban localities (Kusenbach, 2003).

In this study, go-along "interviews" shared similarity with open-ended informal conversations (see. Carpiano, 2009). Rather than asking participants a pre-determined set of interview questions, questions developed through observations and interactions. This approach allowed me to make sense of participants' practices, experiences, and perceptions (Pink et al., 2010), as they navigated the city in search of income. This also permitted participants to continue working while they were talking, which limited disruption to their daily livelihood routines (Porter et al., 2010b). Moreover, talking on the move whilst undertaking income generating activities produced different types of knowledge whereby 'atmospheres, emotions, reflections, and beliefs' could be accessed (Anderson, 2004: 26). Being outside and having these conversations with participants while they worked, also reduced feelings of awkwardness during periods of silence, which can be common during more formal and 'unnatural' interview settings (Porter et al., 2010b).

GPS tracking

In a quest to utilise innovative methods to understand movement, researchers have employed mobile-GPS mapping to further interrogate and visualise movement (see. Evans et al., 2018; Joseph et al., 2019). On its own, mobile GPS does not constitute a mobile method, but in combination with the methods mentioned previously (informal go-along interviews and participant observations), they can combine as tools to describe and understand patterns of human travel (Borsellino et al., 2018; Kusenbach, 2012). In combination with other methods, maps created through mobile-GPS mapping can become contextualised (Kusenbach, 2003).

Mobile-GPS tracking was used with 8 participants in this study: 1 in Dar es Salaam and 7 in Arusha. Three maps were created in Dar and twelve were created in Arusha (see. Figure 2 for an example). Prior to using mobile-GPS tracking, consent was negotiated with participants, and they were made aware of what this method involved, and how the maps created from their journeys would be used.

Figure 2: GPS map created with participant in Arusha in its original format

Originally, I bought an inexpensive mobile phone in Dar es Salaam and downloaded a free-to-use mobile GPS app (Strava), to be able to track mobile vendors. I had planned to buy several more to give to participants of this research. However, upon testing the mobile device, it transpired that it did not have the capacity to support GPS tracking, therefore it was decided that I would use my own personal mobile phone, as I did not have the financial resources to buy a more advanced model. Furthermore, many participants did not own a smartphone, therefore it was not an option for participants to download the application themselves and track their own movements.

In Arusha, I set aside half a day to familiarise myself with the workings of the GPS application, by walking around various parts of the city to ensure that the mapping worked effectively. Because the phone was my own, I decided to keep it in a rucksack. This created an immediate limitation on the number of maps that could be created, as GPS tracking was only possible when I was with participants. Having sole control over the GPS mapping conflicted with contemporary practice in the social sciences, which emphasises the importance of participant

involvement at most stages of a research process (Caretta and Riano, 2016). Yet, as Evans (2016b) argues, resource scarcity can limit the ability of researchers to engage in participatory praxis, therefore given these circumstances, this was the most suitable way in which to employ this method.

Furthermore, given time constraints, it would have taken too long to teach participants how to use the GPS tracking and safely and securely download and store maps after each journey. Also, because I controlled the mapping, I was able to ensure that the tracking started as soon as participants started selling. Participants may forget to start and stop the GPS application when they are working, and they may map routes which they do not take for business purposes. For example, on several occasions I paused the GPS tracking whilst participants walked to other parts of the city for prayer; participants may not have thought about doing this. As Literat (2013) states, involving participants at all stages of the research process may not be desirable or effective, and therefore determining the limits and opportunities of engagement is important for researchers to consider.

With the GPS tracker in my bag, I could regularly monitor the mapping application to ensure that it was working correctly. As seen in Figures 3 and 4 several problems can occur during mapping. These included errors in finding the location we were at, or difficulties in acquiring GPS signal. I was able to solve most issues, but with one participant in Kigamboni, Dar es Salaam, I was unable to acquire signal for the entirety of an observation I undertook with him. These examples illustrate that technology in the field cannot always be relied on.

To account for a lack participation during the mapping stages, I adapted this method to ensure that participants annotated their maps at a later point in the research process. This was beneficial allowing participants to give insight into their journeys and share knowledge relating to the environments they had traversed (see. Evans and Jones, 2011). Participants were asked a range of questions in relation to their maps, such as what part of their routes they found most difficult and why, areas they identified as being worse/better for business, why they undertook the routes they did, and whether there was a strategy behind their movements. Involving participants in this way gave context to their maps, reducing the chance of them being oversimplified or misinterpreted (Evans and Jones, 2011). Expanding on these discussions, the subsequent section considers the use of participatory methods.

Figure 3: Image of a GPS application failing to load the area being mapped

Figure 4: Image showing the GPS application failing to find GPS signal

3.5 Participatory methods

Emerging in the 1970's, participatory research methods were developed to respond to extractive 'top-down' data collection techniques, which had become prevalent within social research (Kindon et al., 2007). Participatory practices encourage bottom-up modes of learning, which in theory allows participants to gain from the activities they participate in. This is made possible through more reciprocal partnerships with researchers (Chambers, 1994). Pain (2004: 653) identifies that participatory research in design, is 'context specific, forefronting local conditions and local knowledge and producing situated, rich and layered accounts'. Participatory research emphasises working 'alongside' rather than 'on' people, allowing them in their own words to share knowledge and experiences and their understanding of issues concerning them (Pain and Francis, 2003).

The visual and tactile nature of participatory methods promotes greater inclusion and participant diversity as there can be less reliance on words during these methods, thus participants can contribute to activities regardless of their literacy levels or confidence (Cameron and Gibson, 2005; Kesby, 2000). They also give young people greater control over representing their lived realities (Evans and Becker, 2009) and the freedom to express themselves in ways they prefer (Valentine, 2008). More focus is also placed on the activity rather than the presence of the researcher, and therefore participants may be more open and willing to participate in the research (Grant, 2016). For all visual methods, participants can also add 'layers' to what they put to paper through discussing and analysing what they have created (Alexander et al., 2007). Yet, this will not happen automatically. The onus is on the researcher to recognise the abilities of participants and to foster an environment where they feel comfortable in expressing their stories and opinions (Smørholm and Simonsen, 2016).

Researchers must also consider gender before undertaking any activities with participants (Cornwall, 2003), as men and women will often have differing amounts of time they can spend undertaking activities (Chambers, 2005). As Chant (2013) highlights, women will often have double or triple burdens of labour, therefore a researcher must discuss with women the best time for these activities to take place and the length of time they should last (Moser and McIlwaine, 1999). Considering men's positions is also key, because as Cornwall (2008) explains, in some contexts men may work outside of their community during the day and only return at night. Therefore, if this is not accounted for then men's non-participation in these activities may also be high.

A range of visual methods with young people have been used in a variety of contexts (see. Evans 2012; Hopkins, 2007b; Worth, 2009). They are versatile methods (Chambers, 2008) that have been used extensively in Majority World contexts, including the extensive use of visual methods in Tanzania to research issues relating to gender, livelihoods, and poverty (see. Chambers, 1997). Participatory methods have also been used with street children and youth (Abebe, 2009; Evans, 2006) and young people working in cities (van Blerk, 2016; Roever and Skinner, 2016).

With the proliferation of such methods however, there has been scepticism towards the level of participation young people have in these approaches (Evans, 2016). Because of the attractive and photogenic nature of these techniques, some researchers have adopted these methods for reasons of self-gain to use in research outputs (Beazley and Ennew, 2006), which have not

benefitted participants (Manzo and Brightbill, 2007). Askins and Pain (2011) argue that researchers should not use these methods simply because they are 'in-trend', otherwise this can create new forms of exploitation and reproduce existing power relations (Evans, 2016a).

When using participatory methods in this research, emphasis was placed on 'handing over the stick' to participants (Chambers, 1994) so that they could choose how to contribute to and complete activities. Before utilising any participatory method, I briefed my research assistant concerning the nature of the activity and the emphasis on giving control to participants. I was present during all activities to answer any questions from participants/my assistant and to provide further explanations where needed. This promotes a more equitable and shared mode of learning and knowledge production (Kindon et al., 2007). If any participants needed assistance during these tasks, myself and my research assistant would be on hand to help. This is important to foster inclusion, not only for those who have low levels of literacy, but also for those who are not confident in such tasks (Chambers, 1994).

Before each session (life-mapping or time-use diagrams), the tasks were explained to participants and they were given the necessary resources that they needed; A2/3/4 paper, pens, pencils, rulers, sticky notes, and stickers.

Participatory life-mapping timelines

Participatory life-mapping timelines were used in combination with life-mapping interviews (see. Section 3.6). This method complements the interviews used because these timelines allow for the visual organisation of rich narrative data (Patterson et al., 2012). These timelines were adapted from what Thomson and Holland (2002) call 'lifelines', which they used with young people to understand their 'imagined futures'. Participants were given little guidance regarding how to draw their timelines or what content to add. However, I did explain that they should add anything they regard as a 'significant moment' or conjuncture (Johnson-Hanks, 2002) of importance to their lives. Some participants chose to give detailed accounts about their personal life, whilst others focused more on education, their work, and the challenges they have faced, as well as their future goals and ambitions. During this process I was predominately a 'listener' while participants decided what to add to their diagrams (Kolar et al., 2015). I was aware that what participants included in their timeline diagrams was a representation constructed at a certain time and place, influencing what participants included and excluded (Langevang, 2007) As with any visual participatory method, its suitability varies between participants (Guillemin, 2004). Despite leaving this exercise open to interpretation (Chen, 2018), all participants wrote

blocks of text rather than using illustrations (see. Figure 5). This can perhaps be attributed to a lack of focus on art in the primary school curriculum in Tanzania. Some participants spent 2-3 minutes on their diagrams, while others dedicated 30+ minutes to theirs. However, the overall detail of the timelines produced did not correlate to their value or insightfulness (Alexander et al., 2007), as some very brief diagrams led to some very important discussions and understandings of participants' lives. Discussing and interrogating the timelines was an important part of this diagramming process. As Kesby et al. (2005: 119) explain, there is a propensity for diagrams to 'condense the complex multiplicities of lived realities into rather linear and formalised representations'. Through discussions and analysis of their diagrams (Kolar et al., 2015), participants could expand on key and complex issues they had included (see also. Copeland and Agosto, 2012). Worth (2009) also found that timeline maps could increase the level of detail in the interview process, as they could act as prompts for certain topics or questions (Chen, 2018). Maps may also be beneficial in allowing participants to concisely identify specific events or moments of importance that may be much harder to verbalise in an interview (Bagnoli, 2009).

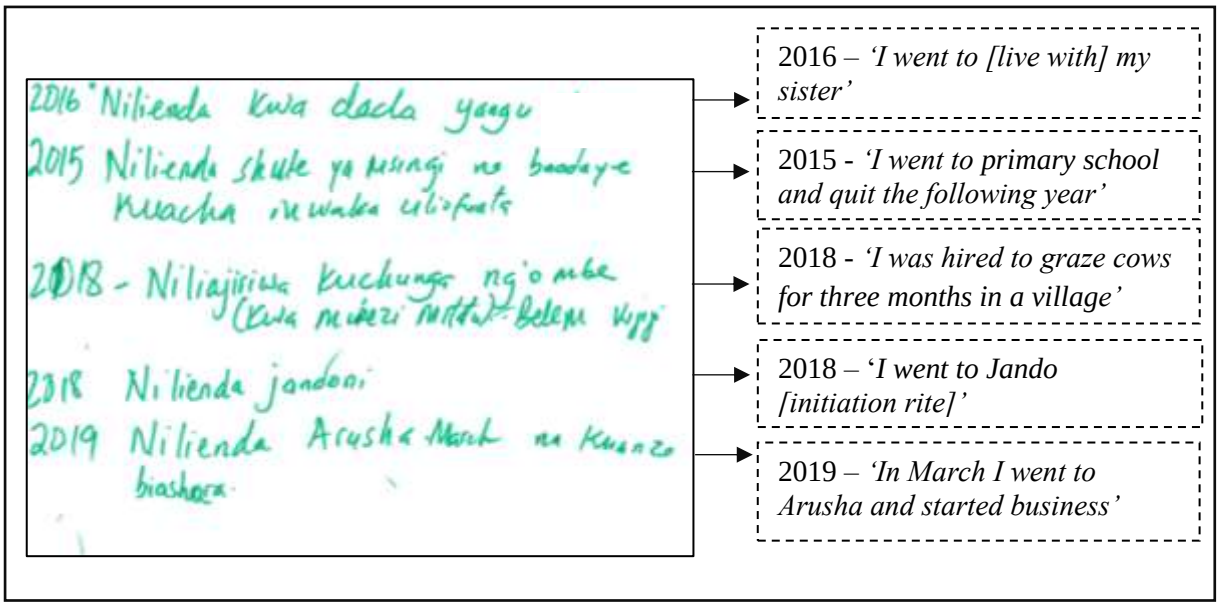


Figure 5: Example of a participant life-mapping diagram

This activity was empowering for some youth participants, as it allowed them to visualise the stages of progression they had moved through in their lives. One participant in Dar, after participating in this activity explained , *'I have been able map out where I have come from [in terms of business size], and where I am today. It may allow me to see what other things I can achieve from this point'* (Male, Aged 30). Participants were given copies of their diagrams to

keep track of their progress and to keep them as reminders of how far they had come over time. During follow-up interviews, some participants added to and amended their timelines.

However, life-mapping timelines can evoke bad memories. Distressing 'moments' were brought up during life-mapping diagrams, including accounts of physical abuse, dropping out of school, and failing business. As Langevang (2007) states, asking participants to recall their past can be intrusive. To address this, I spent time with participants before undertaking such activities to build rapport and trust. Through doing this, participants usually felt more open to tell me whenever they did not want to talk about past events or experiences.

Participant workshops

Workshops involved using participatory time-use diagrams and focus group discussions (discussed in the sections to follow). I use the term 'workshops' because the two methods used, complemented one another and the boundaries between the two activities were blurred. Table 3 (page 77) provides a breakdown of workshop participants. Participants were placed in separate gender groups and were recruited through existing participants. Thus, everyone in these workshops was familiar with one another. This helped produce a more relaxed and informal environment, and discussions seemed to occur 'naturally' requiring few prompts. Yet, I am also mindful that this familiarity may have been a limitation as participants may have refrained from discussing certain matters and expressing opinions, they may have thought were unpopular (Browne, 2005; Smithson, 2000).

From the beginning of each workshop, participants took the lead in completing their time-use diagrams and then guiding the discussions and debates during the focus group. All workshops were undertaken in informal settings, such as under a tree, usually close to where participants worked. These sessions needed to be relaxed and in a quiet environment where distractions were minimal (Caretta and Vacchelli, 2015).

Participatory time-use diagrams

The literature on informality, has seldom focused upon the unpaid care work informal vendors undertake on top of their remunerated work. Participatory time-use diagrams (23 in total) were used during workshops (discussed above) to explore the different activities informal workers undertook over a 'typical' 24-hour period (see. Budlender, 2008). As Skovdal and Cornish (2015) identify, a time-use diagram enables participants to explore their daily routines and allows researchers to identify the commonalities and differences in daily activity between

participants, which may vary depending on their age, gender, and income (Budlender, 2008). Similar time-use activities have been employed in a Tanzanian context to understand young people's caring practices (Evans, 2012).

During the first workshop, undertaken on 27th of June 2019, participants were asked to list all the activities they undertook during a 'typical' day. Some activities written down included: praying, washing and sleeping. The participants were asked to condense these activities into categories. Five categories were created; Majukumu ya Nyumbani (house work), Kazi (paid work), Mapumziko (resting), Usimamizi wa Familia (caring for family, or time spent with family) and Shughuli Binafsi (personal activities or self-care). The categories created by participants in the first workshop, were then used for the three other workshops undertaken during the research.

Participants were then given two different stickers, representing different variations of time (stars represented 1-hour, and small circles represented 30 minutes (see. Figure 6)), and an A4 piece of paper with each of the categories already written on them. They added these stickers to each category ensuring that the total amount of time they had nominated to the categories added up to exactly 24-hours. Even though participants had their own diagrams to fill in, influence was still a factor in these sessions as some participants were watching others and making changes to their diagrams. Some participants may have under- or over- stated the activities they undertook. Yet, there were differences between participants, which were discussed as a group upon diagram completion. These discussions were important, as they shed light on actualities unidentifiable through just looking at the diagrams. For example, some participants undertook activities simultaneously. Several women in this study undertook remunerated and child care activities together, which would have been overlooked had this not been discussed.

Moreover, it became apparent that some participants interpreted each category differently from other youth. For example, 'Shughuli Binafsi' can mean 'self-care', but it can also refer to very small income-generating activities people undertake to supplement their incomes. Each category was explained to participants before they undertook this activity, but the definition of categories did generate debate and discussion. These categories could also be interpreted differently depending on gender. 'Mapumziko' can mean sleeping and resting, but as one former NGO worker explained to me, *'rest for men is different than for women. Men can sit*

idle for many hours. Women cannot'. Women may interpret 'resting' as preparing food or caring for children while at home.

Figure 6: Time-use diagrams created by participants (stars represent 1 hour, and circles present 30 minutes)

Translation left to right: 'house work', 'paid work', 'resting', 'caring for family/time spent with family' and 'personal activities/self-care'

Focus group discussions

Contrary to popular use of focus groups to orientate a researcher to a new field (Hopkins, 2007b), this method was used towards the end of this study to gain insight into topics needing further development. The first focus group was undertaken in late June (2019), over a month before the end of the data collection period in Tanzania.

Focus groups are well established within the field of development and can be particularly useful in understanding community dynamics and viewpoints (Lloyd-Evans, 2006). They allow participants to participate on their own terms (Evans 2006), and if they are well facilitated, group interactions can bring to light perceptions and opinions seldom articulated in one-to-one interviews (Punch, 2001). Lloyd-Evans (2017) identifies that focus groups can be particularly beneficial for young people, who have often never thought about or reflected on their routines. Focus groups may also bring up conversation topics that young people have seldom spoken

about with others before. Nyumba et al. (2018) identify that focus groups have been used countless times in African contexts to understand people's livelihoods. Focus groups also allow for a shift in researcher-researched power relations as the focus is more on interactions and generated discussions between and through participants (Jakobsen, 2012). However, power and hierarchy within focus group settings need consideration, and being attentive to participant silences is as important as understanding the spoken word (Hyams, 2004). This was vital in these separate gender focus groups, as the age of participants ranged from 15-35 years old, and therefore a range of dynamics was at play, promoting the input of some participants while constraining the participation of others. A facilitator should not aim for equal contributions within a group, but instead, an inclusive environment should be created, enabling reasoned debate and dialogue (Tuck, 2009). If individuals are left to dominate within these settings, then existing structures of power and hierarchy can be reproduced (Mason, 2015)

A pre-prepared set of semi-structured questions for focus groups was created (Nyumba et al., 2018), and participants were selected based on the same characteristics as the wider research; small-scale, static or mobile, working outside of formal market spaces. The topics covered within focus groups related to; 'gender relations, roles, work and responsibilities', 'youth identify and informal work', 'mobile phone usage for work and personal use', and 'government support to young informal workers' (for full schedule, see. Appendix A)

Trial and error enable researchers to find the most effective way of facilitating methods in any context (Jakobsen, 2012). Because research assistants translated focus group discussions, we needed to find a way to translate participants' comments without disrupting the flow of conversation. It was decided that each participant would talk in turns, and then the assistant would say the name of the participant before translating what they had said. This made it easier to distinguish between participants, simplifying the transcription process. Yet, this more regulated way of undertaking a focus group may have limited the depth and extent to which conversations developed. Yet, managing the focus group this way also allowed me to manage participant contributions ensuring certain voices did not dominate (Smithson, 2000). In the next section, discussions focus on the types of interviews used in this investigation.

3.6 Interviews

Throughout this research, it would often take several questions for participants to settle into an interview and feel comfortable with the format of the process. Therefore, all interview schedules, with both youth participants and key stakeholders, began with contextual questions.

Life-mapping interviews with youth participants

Life-mapping interviews were used with 22 youth participants in this study (see. Table 1 for breakdown). In total, 31 life-mapping interviews were conducted, which included 9 follow-up interviews (6 with men, 3 with women). Interviews were also complemented by participatory life-mapping diagrams (see. Section 3.5). Hörschelmann (2011) has called for methods including life-mapping interviews to be used more often to further understandings of the relationality of age (Hopkins and Pain, 2007), and to gain greater insights into the complexity, unpredictability, and diversity of lifecourses. This method was the most suitable for this study, enabling insights into how an individual's lifecourse and informal livelihood developed over time-space, including the relationships, connections, and sources of support facilitating and hindering their pathways. As Bailey (2009) states, understanding how certain moments or events have accumulated over time to shape a person's life and transitions to adulthood demands greater attention. Life-mapping can also gain understandings into youth participants' subjective experiences, creating revealing links between their past, present and future (Leung, 2010). This showed that young people's livelihoods are complex, strategic, and bound by 'wider contexts that are social, cultural, political and economic' (Ansell et al., 2014: 390). Life-mapping interviews covered six main areas including: 'background and experience of the city', 'current work', 'relationships and support networks', 'previous work and experiences', 'gender, generation and work' and 'perspectives on the future' (see. Appendix B for interview schedule).

Follow-up interviews

Follow-up interviews were used, adding extra depth, breadth, and validity, which is beneficial to an ethnographic study interested in the lives and narratives of participants (Read, 2018). On average, these were undertaken three months after the first interview. During some life-mapping interviews, it became clear that one session with participants was not enough to understand their experiences and perspectives in enough detail; certain issues demanded further discussion and expansion (Pessoa et al., 2019). The first interviews undertaken with participants could sometimes be quite long (between 2-3 hours including life-mapping diagrams), therefore having the option to undertake a follow-up interview meant that initial interviews could be shortened to avoid participants getting tired and answering questions briefly. Because of the nature of the work participants undertook, repeat interviews were also valuable in capturing the transient/changeable nature of the informal work young people undertook. Repeat interviews

also helped build trust with participants, who were likely to give more detailed and personal accounts of their life, work, and perspectives during these sessions (Pessoa et al., 2019).

Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders

Semi-structured interviews were used with professionals. In total, 14 interviews were undertaken with a range of key stakeholders (7 in Dar es Salaam and 7 In Arusha). Semi-structured interviews allowed for the collection of in-depth and rich accounts of stakeholders' experiences, knowledge, and perceptions (Tickle, 2017). Most interviews with professionals were conducted in English, and three were conducted with a research assistant, translating between English and Kiswahili. All professionals were given the option for interviews to be in Kiswahili, but many opted for English.

Interview environments and audio-recorders

The environment(s) in which interviews are undertaken has a significant impact on interview processes. I organised an interview with a female participant who recently changed from selling eggs at a local market in Dar es Salaam, to working as a house worker. Due to her long working week/hours, she informed me that it would be best to conduct the interview at the house she worked at. When my research assistant and I first arrived at the house, the house owners were not in, however halfway through the interview they arrived back. From this moment, even though we were in a room away from her employers, the participant was very brief with her questions and avoided answering questions relating to the challenges she had faced.

Research environments also changed in other ways. An interview setting could start off quiet, but then in a matter of moments, loud passer byers could disrupt the interview and impact the quality of the audio captured on an audio-recorder. Rainfall also impacted audio quality. Many buildings in Tanzania have metal roofs, therefore when it rained heavily, the noise was loud, meaning that I sometimes had to pause the interview until the noise levels had reduced.

Audio-recorders were used during all interviews in the research. However, as Finlay and Bowman (2017) identify, audio-recorders can create unease during interviews and participants can be more 'guarded' about what they say. This was evident during an interview with a professional who worked for a youth-led organisation in Dar es Salaam. When asked about government approaches and practices, he answered questions briefly, but then once the audio-recorder was turned off, he expanded on the challenges of working with government officers.

At the time of the interview, the Tanzanian Government was cracking down on political opposition, which is most likely why he did not want these opinions captured on the recording. The section to follow details the purposive sampling method used to select participants.

3.7 Purposive sample

The cities of Arusha and Dar es Salaam (see. Figure 7) were chosen as research locations in this research. I had existing contacts in Dar, having undertaken my Masters research in this city. Thus, I was able to build on these during my PhD research. Further, Dar is the largest city in Tanzania, and it is undergoing rapid urbanization. Therefore, research is needed to continually monitor any social and/or economic changes occurring within this urban locality. Arusha was selected because many contacts in Dar had offices or connections with organisations in this city that I could draw on. Additionally, medium urban centres, including Arusha, receive scant attention compared to the largest cities in a country (Satterthwaite, 2017), yet understanding the dynamic nature of these urban localities warrants as much attention (Yankson et al., 2017). This was another reason why Arusha was decided upon as a research location.

Figure 7: Map of Tanzania, showing Arusha (north eastern Tanzania) and Dar es Salaam, (east Tanzania) (Source: The World Factbook, 2021)

A diverse purposive sample of 51 participants (37 youth participants and 14 professionals) were recruited for this research. Of the 37 youth participants, I undertook in-depth ethnographic research involving participant observations, informal conversations, life-mapping interviews and life-mapping diagrams, with 22 young people (see. Table 1 for general breakdown of these 22 participants and Table 2 for more detailed participant characteristics). These 22 participants will frequently be referred to throughout the empirical chapters. The remaining 15 participants took part in a focus group session on a one-off basis (discussed below).

Palys (2008) states that purposive sampling is a strategic choice of who to include in research based on several characteristics. For this research, I wanted to recruit men and women from Dar es Salaam and Arusha, of varying biographies, aged 15-35 years old, who worked within the informal economy on a small-scale business outside of formal market spaces (either static or mobile), and who worked on their own or with others either in a small-scale family business or in a joint business with friends. This 'criteria' was necessary, as the informal economy can encompass many types of work and activities, yet I still wanted to capture the diverse livelihoods of youth.

Snowballing techniques were also used within the research to recruit participants. Initially, I contacted numerous organisations who I had contacted during my master's research. Through this approach, several participants were recruited, however it was mostly through other informal workers that most of the participants included within this research were recruited. As the research progressed, I was able to be more specific with the participants I selected. Gaining access to younger participants aged 16-19 was difficult, especially younger women, as they were less visible as vendors on the street, likely because their work and activities are often concentrated within the household (Ellis et al., 2007). However, as the research progressed, accessing groups of people who are more 'hidden' or of whom there are less of, was made easier through drawing on networks of informal worker participants.

Four workshops were organised (one with men, and one with women, in both cities), involving participatory time-use diagrams and focus group discussions (see. Section 3.5). There were 23 workshop participants in total; 14 in Dar es Salaam and 9 in Arusha (see Table 3). These included 8 existing participants (2 in each workshop/focus group session) with whom more detailed research had been undertaken. Workshop participants were recruited through the 8 participants mentioned above, and their selection was also based on the 'criteria' described previously.

Purposive sampling was employed for selecting a range of key stakeholders (7 in each city), including those who worked at; youth associations, community-based organisations, workers' associations, women's development organisations, street children organisations, local government offices and non-governmental organisations. This allowed for an insight into a range of perspectives relating to gender, informality and/or youth. The next section develops more detail on issues regarding accessing youth participants.

Number of Youth Interviewees and Sample Breakdown						
	DAR ES SALAAM		**ARUSHA**		**TOTAL**	
Gender	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
	6	6	6	4	**12**	**10**
Age						
15-20	1	2	2	2	**3**	**4**
21-25	4	1	2	1	**6**	**2**
26-30	1	2	-	-	**1**	**2**
31-35	-	1	2	1	**2**	**2**
Type of Work						
Street vending (mobile)	4	2	-	-	**4**	**2**
Street vending (static)	2	4	5	4	**7**	**8**
Online	-	1	-	-	-	**1**
Self Employed	5	6	6	4	**11**	**10**
Working for close relative	1	-	-	-	**1**	**-**
Level of Education						
Primary school Standard 1-7	3	4	1	3	**4**	**7**
Secondary school Form 1-4	2	1	5	1	**7**	**2**
Further and/or Higher Education	1	1	-	-	**1**	**1**
Number of Youth Participants	**12**		**10**		**22**	

Table 1: Number of youth interviewees including a sample breakdown

Participant Characteristics

Dar es Salaam

Pseudonym	Age	Work (sells)	Gender	Education	Migrated to City	Married	Children
Jackson	17	Eggs (I)	M	Standard 7	Yes	No	-
Collins	23	Charcoal (S) then unemployed	M	Form 4	No	No	-
Abdul	23	Crisps (I)	M	Standard 7	Yes	No	-
David	23	Fruit and Veg (S)	M	Form 4	Yes	Yes	-
Edward	25	Eggs (I)	M	Bachelor's degree	No	No	-
Vicent	30	Crisps (I)	M	Standard 4	Yes	Yes	3
Esther	17	Fruit (S)	F	Standard 7	Yes	No	-
Agatha	20	Fruit and Veg (S)	F	Form 2	No	Yes	-
Grace	24	Clothes (O)	F	Diploma	No	No	-
Veva	26	Eggs (I) then house worker	F	Standard 7	Yes	No	-
Doreen	30	Cassava (I)	F	Standard 4	Yes	Divorced	-
Victoria	31	Fruit (S)	F	Standard 7	Yes	Divorced	3

Arusha

Pseudonym	Age	Work (sells)	Gender	Education	Migrated to city	Married	Children
Nasser	18	Eggs (I) then oranges (I)	M	Standard 7	Yes	No	-
Joseph	19	Peanuts & phone vouchers (I)	M	Standard 1	Yes	No	-
Victor	24	Shoes (S)	M	Form 4	No	No	-
Godfrey	25	Eggs (I) then Oranges (I)	M	Standard 7	Yes	Yes	1
Benson	31	Peanuts (I)	M	Standard 7	Yes	Yes	3
Emmanuel	33	Handicrafts (S)	M	Standard 7	Yes	No	-
Clara	19	Peanuts (I)	F	Standard 7	Yes	No	-
Doris	20	Bananas (I)	F	Form 4	No	No	-
Winnie	23	Fruit (S)	F	Standard 7	Yes	Yes	1
Cynthia	33	Maize (S)	F	Standard 7	Yes	Yes	2

Table 2: Participant characteristics – (I) = Itinerant Vendor (S) = Static Vendor (O) = Online Vendor

Workshop Participants						
	DAR ES SALAAM		**ARUSHA**		**TOTAL**	
Gender	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
	7	7	5	4	**12**	**11**
Age						
15-20	-	2	-	-	**-**	**2**
21-25	3	-	3	1	**6**	**1**
26-30	3	1	1	1	**4**	**2**
31-35	1	4	1	1	**2**	**5**
Type of Work						
Street vending (mobile)	7	1	-	-	**7**	**1**
Street vending (static)	-	6	5	4	**5**	**10**
Level of Education						
Standard 1-7	6	5	1	3	**7**	**8**
Form 1-4	1	2	4	1	**5**	**3**
Number of Workshop participants	**14**		**9**		**23**	

Table 3: Breakdown of workshop participants' characteristics in Dar es Salaam and Arusha

Access to youth participants

Ways in which access to participants was sought varied and often depended on the age and gender of participants. For example, in Arusha, a female participant, aged 19, had to seek permission from her aunt and uncle before agreeing to participate in the research. Section 3.3 also mentioned the constraints 'adult gatekeepers' can have on gaining access to youth participants.

Accessing participants can be challenging, but as Sanders and Munford (2017) state, maintaining contact with participants can be even more difficult. Due to the ethnographic nature of this research, maintaining contact with participants for long periods of time was favoured, yet this was not always possible. In Tanzania, people often have multiple mobile numbers, and switch between sim cards depending on bundles and deals offered by various networks. I was sure to ask participants for all their contact numbers, but sometimes even after doing this, numbers could be offline when I tried to contact them, and sometimes it could take up to a month to reconnect with participants. It was also common that the youngest participants in the research did not have a mobile device. I tried to work around this and arrange observations days in advance, hoping that participants would be present at the time and location agreed. However,

as expected, this approach only worked a handful of times. Ethical considerations are discussed in the following section.

3.8 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were paramount throughout the research process involving careful preparation as well as reflections on and responsiveness to any ethical dilemmas that arose. As Laws et al. (2013: 163) exclaim, it is the moral and ethical obligation of a researcher to protect the 'physical, social and psychological wellbeing and the rights, interests and privacy', of those involved in research. Gaining informed consent from all participants in this study was crucial. I ensured that participants understood why research was being conducted, what their role in the research was, and how the information they gave was going to be used. Participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw at any point without explanation. However, it was not always clear when participants wanted to withdraw from the study. In Dar, I undertook an observation and life-mapping interview with a participant who sold hard-boiled eggs (male, aged 25). I had planned to conduct additional observations with this participant as there were elements of his work I wanted to understand further. Yet, whenever I tried to arrange these, he said that he was ill. I started to doubt whether the participant was willing to participant in the research, however I did not want to assume he wanted to withdraw from the study because, for all I knew, he may well have been ill. If I had decided on his behalf to withdraw him from the study, then this would conflict with common notions of young people as competent actors who can make decisions for themselves. Instead, I told the participant that if he wanted to participate in the research at any point in the future, he could text/call my mobile. In this instance, the participant did not make any further contact.

Moreover, participants were also made aware that their rights, privacy and confidentiality would be fully adhered to and respected. In line with other research, it was also made clear that I could not offer ongoing support to participants (Evans and Becker, 2009). Two information leaflets were produced; one for youth participants (see. Figures 8 and 9) and one for professional stakeholders (see. Appendix C), to ensure that the information above was effectively conveyed. All participants were given an information leaflet before they participated in this research. The leaflet for youth participants was translated into Kiswahili by a research assistant in Dar es Salaam, while the leaflet for professionals was produced in English. For those with low literacy levels, research assistants read through and verbally translated this information to them.

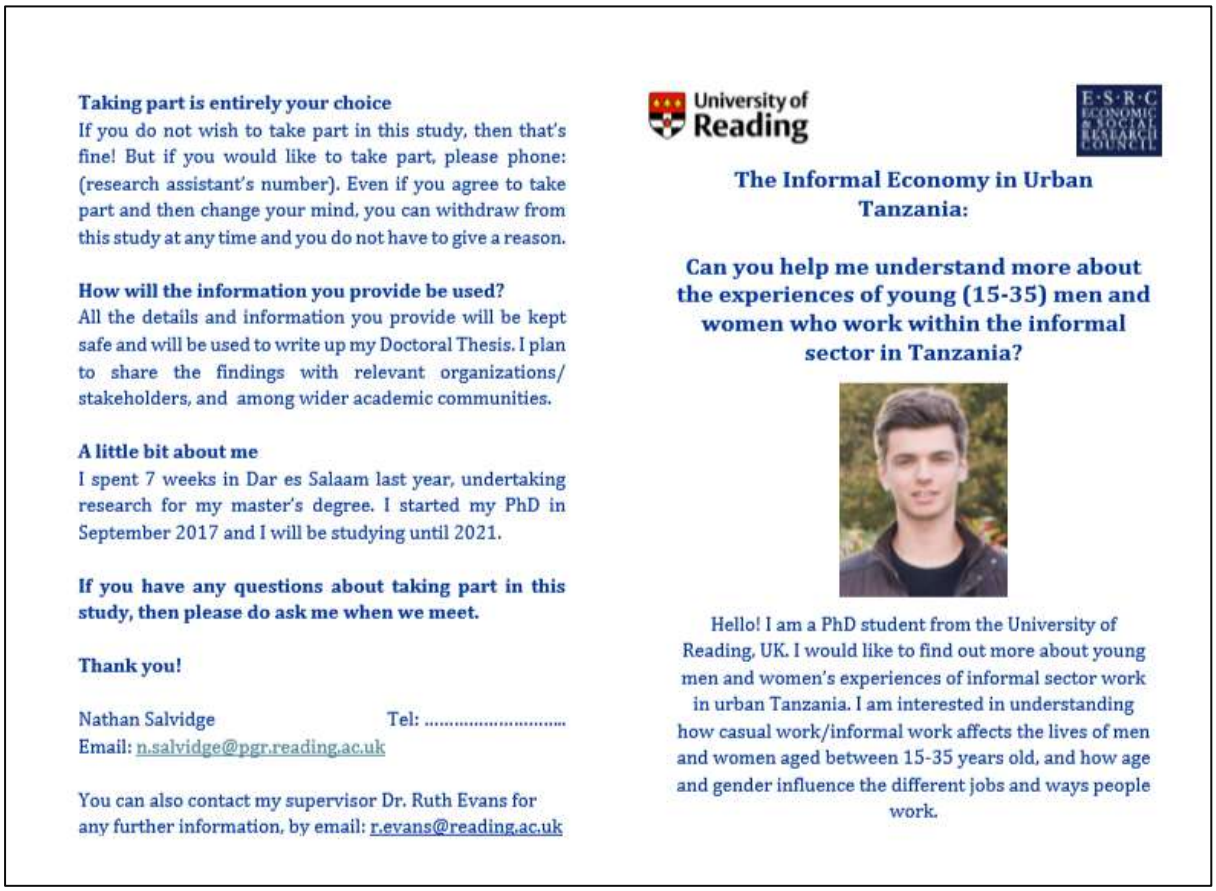
As is common ethical practice when conducting research with participants of varying levels of literacy in Africa, audio-recorded verbal consent was utilised for all informal workers. Participants can be suspicious about signing written documents (Day, 2014) therefore this approach was the most appropriate in this context. A signed written consent form was used as part of the process of seeking informed consent from professionals. Before taking photographs, I also asked participants for their consent and I explained that these could be used for publications, my thesis and/or educational purposes. Even though consent was gained from participants, I still had to be mindful of when/where I took photos. In busy areas, other people sometimes thought I was taking photos of them. Being aware of this was important to minimise confrontation and unwanted attention.

Due to the nature of this research, it is acknowledged that the time taken out of any individual's day could have been used to work and contribute towards household income and activities (Laws et al., 2013). I ensured that research was conducted during times that were suited to the daily schedules of the participants. In line with the University of Reading Ethics Committee guidelines, participants were given a small financial payment as a token of appreciation for their participation in the research. Some scholars believe that the process of paying participants is a reassertion of power relations, yet as Thomas (2007) identifies, if you do not remunerate participants, this can be seen as exploitative and will work to reinforce power relations over the 'researched'.

Ethical approval was obtained from the University of Reading Research Ethics Committee and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) before fieldwork commenced. Before starting research in Arusha, I also sought approval from the Regional Commissioner, City Director, and the Regional Police Commander. This research also conformed to the ethical protocols of the Economic and Social Research Council and the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth. All data was anonymised and stored securely.

Discussing sensitive topics with participants was carefully considered throughout this research. Evans and Becker (2009), emphasise that talking about sensitive issues requires a researcher to be mindful of the distress that such topics can cause to participants. Over the course of this study a participant's father suddenly passed away. The participant informed me of this over text, explaining that his situation had changed and had become more difficult. I had planned to undertake a follow-up interview with this participant anyway, but because of this change in

circumstance, I made an informed decision to wait several months before undertaking a follow-up interview. The sensitivity of this topic (Evans, 2014) required me to think carefully about the questions I was going to ask the participant about the death of their father, and how this was going to impact them (Agee, 2009). I was also aware of Tuck and Yang's (2012) critique of social scientists, whom they state purposefully elicit 'pain stories' from communities that are not white or wealthy. In this research, it was found that parental death had affected several participants, therefore it was important to understand how these issues affected young people who worked informally (Ribbens McCarthy, 2006). The role and impact of research assistants in research processes are discussed next.



Taking part is entirely your choice
If you do not wish to take part in this study, then that's fine! But if you would like to take part, please phone: (research assistant's number). Even if you agree to take part and then change your mind, you can withdraw from this study at any time and you do not have to give a reason.

How will the information you provide be used?
All the details and information you provide will be kept safe and will be used to write up my Doctoral Thesis. I plan to share the findings with relevant organizations/ stakeholders, and among wider academic communities.

A little bit about me
I spent 7 weeks in Dar es Salaam last year, undertaking research for my master's degree. I started my PhD in September 2017 and I will be studying until 2021.

If you have any questions about taking part in this study, then please do ask me when we meet.

Thank you!

Nathan Salvidge Tel: .....
Email: n.salvidge@pgr.reading.ac.uk

You can also contact my supervisor Dr. Ruth Evans for any further information, by email: r.evans@reading.ac.uk

University of Reading

E·S·R·C ECONOMIC & SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Informal Economy in Urban Tanzania:

Can you help me understand more about the experiences of young (15-35) men and women who work within the informal sector in Tanzania?

Hello! I am a PhD student from the University of Reading, UK. I would like to find out more about young men and women's experiences of informal sector work in urban Tanzania. I am interested in understanding how casual work/informal work affects the lives of men and women aged between 15-35 years old, and how age and gender influence the different jobs and ways people work.

Figure 8: The information leaflet given to youth participants, which was translated into Kiswahili

I would like to talk to a range of people, including:

- Informal sector workers; men and women who are aged between 15-35 years who are self-employed or do casual work
- Government representatives, NGO staff, leaders of youth and workers' associations, community/peer support groups
- People who provide training and support for informal sector workers.

Why am I undertaking this study?

I would like to gain an insight into the lives of young men and women who work informally within Dar es Salaam and Arusha. So far, very few studies have assessed the impacts of informal work on the lives of young people. It is important that research understands the contemporary challenges that affect urban youth, daily.

What am I aiming to find out?

1. How do age and gender influence the types of work people do and the times and places where work is undertaken? Are these changing?
2. What are the benefits and challenges of informality for young men and women in Dar and Arusha? In what ways do these differ according to place, gender or age?
3. What support networks and resources do young people draw on to facilitate their work/enable them to achieve their goals?
4. Which policies and practices would best protect and support young informal sector workers

What I would like to talk to you about

- The type(s) of informal work you undertake and why
- The benefits and challenges of informal work and key turning points in your life
- Any support you have received and what would most help to improve your working life and achieve your goals for the future

Taking part

I am grateful for the time that you have taken out of your day to participate and will provide a small payment for your time. I will plan my research around times that suit you.

This study has been reviewed/approved by the University of Reading Research Ethics Committee.

Confidentiality

When I write up my thesis, I will use the information that you and other informal sector workers as well as a variety of professionals have told me. However, I will not use any real names or disclose any information that will reveal your identity to anyone.

Figure 9: The information leaflet given to youth participants, which was translated into Kiswahili

3.9 The role of research assistants

Because of my basic understanding of Kiswahili, I employed research assistants to accompany me throughout the duration of this research process, on an ad-hoc basic. Research assistants are an important aspect of cross-cultural and cross-language research, yet very little has been written about their impacts on research processes (Turner, 2010). This is unusual, given that qualitative researchers tirelessly emphasise the importance of reflexivity (Temple and Edwards, 2002). This section will address this by reflecting on the opportunities and challenges of working alongside research assistants.

Overall, I worked with 5 research assistants: 3 in Dar es Salaam and 2 in Arusha. I actively 'gender matched' research assistants with participants in attempts to address issues of power and gender relations (Temple and Edwards, 2002). The gender of an assistant, in addition to that of a researcher, can have considerable impacts on knowledge production and research outcomes (Molony and Hammett, 2007). Moreover, a sole focus on gender overlooks the impact

that an assistant's age, class, experiences, educational background, and so forth will also have on the research process (Ozano and Khatri, 2018). In cross-cultural and cross-language contexts, knowledge is produced through interactions between a researcher, research assistant and participants, bound by a 'triple-subjectivity' (Molony and Hammett, 2007). Caretta (2015) highlights that participants' knowledge will be mediated by research assistants, who can summarize, change, skip over, or give greater/lesser meaning to certain parts of translations (Theron, 2016). I briefed all research assistants before their inclusion in the research, and they were all given a short document detailing my expectations of them. Emphasis was placed on the importance of whole and accurate translations of what partiicpants said.

The research assistants in this research were predominately in their 20's (one was in his 40's), and they all volunteered at local youth-based organisations in either Dar es Salaam or Arusha. All assistants had experience working with young people, and almost all were considered youth themselves. They were all considered "insiders", as they were Tanzanian and had lived and/or worked for many years in the cities research took place. As Dwyer and Buckle state, 'shared status can be very beneficial as it affords access, entry, and a common ground from which to begin the research' (2009:58). This was evident throughout this research, as my assistants were either directly connected to organisations who supported youth or knew contacts who could assist us in recruiting participants. In this regard, research assistants were gatekeepers to participants (Harrowell et al., 2017). However, having an assistant with shared status/insider knowledge was not always beneficial. Participants would sometimes assume that assistants already knew their situation as they lived in 'their environment' and had grown up in the same country and lived in the same city they did. Sometimes, participants would answer questions by saying 'but you already know this' to my research assistants. On several occasions it had to be explained to participants that I did not know their stories, and that I was interested in hearing about their personal experiences and opinions.

The nature of this research, meant that I would always be accompanied by a research assistant, therefore trust and rapport were built through myself and my assistant in combination (see also. Duran, 2019). However, a male assistant in Dar es Salaam quit after 6 months of being involved in the project, meaning that I had to introduce a new assistant to male participants in Dar. Because they had got to know the previous assistant very well over the space of many months, it was difficult to rebuild rapport and trust. This was noticeable because some participants seemed more guarded when a new person was introduced, and they would frequently ask what had happened to the other assistant (Edwards, 1998).

Because I would often be spending long periods in the street with youth participants, research assistants played a key role in informing local officials, the police, and members of the public of who I was, and what I was doing, and why. Further, assistants can be 'cultural navigators' who offer guidance and clarification to researchers with regards to norms, practices and traditions (Ozano and Kjatri, 2018). Being open with research assistants is important (Evans et al., 2017), as researchers can learn a lot from their assistants. I found that having an honest and open dialogue with assistants was crucial as they would be more inclined to let me know if they were unhappy with a situation or if it was better to do something in another way.

Very little is written about the impacts research processes can have on research assistants. Assistants would sometimes tell me that they 'felt bad', because participants perceived that they were rich through their involvement in this research. Consequently, participants would ask assistants to pay for their lunch or to buy equipment for their business, but when they explained to them that they were not rich, participants would sometimes say that they did not believe them. Moreover, a male research assistant in Dar es Salaam told me that he had faced some pressures since working as my research assistant, because members of his community and family kept asking him if they could borrow money, as he was working for a *Mzungu* (European). In addition, research assistants were often the first point of contact for participants in this research. This meant that sometimes assistants would get calls late at night or early in the morning. The following section highlights the importance of considering language in this study.

3.10 Language

As Gibb and Iglesias (2017) identity, a lot of ethnographic research involves two or more languages. English and Kiswahili were the two spoken languages used throughout my PhD data collection period in Tanzania. Before entering the field, I studied Kiswahili for 20 weeks at SOAS University (UK). During this time, I grasped the basics of the language, which allowed me to work on my language skills while in Tanzania. Yet, as I detailed in Section 3.9, I had to rely on research assistant throughout this study. Learning the language competently to the stage where I would have felt comfortable conducting interviews on my own would have taken a long time (see also. Harrowell et al., 2017). I am aware that being able to speak Kiswahili fluently would have afforded me with a better understanding of my surroundings (Caretta, 2015), and it would have allowed me to develop more meaningful connections with participants (Watson, 2004).

Further, during the research, it became evident that certain words used during interview questions with youth participants were hard to translate from English to Kiswahili. During an interview in Dar, an assistant said to me, *'I have decided to use another term because the word 'opportunity' in Swahili is quite confusing, so I have used the word 'benefit' instead'*. In a different interview, a participant identified "opportunity" as a word they found difficult to understand and stated, *'I don't understand the word "opportunities"! Even when I was studying entrepreneurship that word gave me a hard time to understand'*. Theron (2016), highlights similar issues with language while undertaking research in Lesotho. She identifies that the word 'resilience' cannot be translated from English to Sesotho, without its meaning being changed. In this research, I reflected on these issues of language with my research assistants, and I would address these by amending my interview schedules to make the wording of questions more accessible if this was the most appropriate option. Further, I was mindful that assistants could interpret words and phrases differently (Evans, 2019), therefore I only used two assistants throughout the research period (one in Dar es Salaam and one in Arusha) to transcribe audio recordings to minimise differences in translation and interpretation.

As Evans (2016a) identifies, language is a very important aspect of any research project, yet very little is written about how it impacts translations within studies based in cross-cultural and cross-language contexts. Data analysis is the focus of the subsequent section.

3.11 Data analysis

All audio-recorded interviews and focus group discussions (37 in total) were transcribed and translated from Kiswahili into English by two research assistants. I transcribed 12 interviews conducted in English with key stakeholders. One assistant also translated all 22 participatory life-mapping diagrams from Kiswahili to English. Data analysis was an ongoing process when I was in the field. On two occasions (four months apart), I flew back to the UK for 4 weeks, which allowed me to remove myself from the field and reflect upon the data collected.

Data analysis also continued for a long time after the fieldwork was completed. Around three to four months were dedicated solely to reading through and coding data. A thematic analysis was conducted to identify any patterns within the data, and I also integrated visual data with other data sources such as observations and reflections. This process required familiarization with data (Braun and Clarke, 2006), and the employment of codes to compress and 'organise' the extensive and rich data sets that I was confronted with (Mason 1996). Codes allow researchers to make sense of data, through indexing or mapping (Elliott, 2018). In this study,

codes were assigned to categorize data which allowed for comparisons and similarities to be detected across transcripts (see. Lopez-Dicastillo and Belintxon, 2014; Saldana, 2016). A lot of data was collected in this study, therefore I had to be selective with the data I included within this thesis, to ensure that the research questions could be adequately answered. I also wrote summaries of each participant's life-mapping interview, which provided a concise guide of what each participant said.

At the front of each transcript, I also wrote key biographical details of each participant, including age, gender and religion as well as their educational background and marital status. I was then able to refer to this during the write-up phase of the research. The following section provides a reflection on my experiences and emotions as a researcher.

3.12 Experiences and emotions as a researcher

As a PhD researcher a lot of time is spent preparing to undertake research. Prior to entering the field, I was fortunate that both of my supervisors spoke in detail about the physical and mental challenges I could face whilst conducting fieldwork, and as such, I felt adequately prepared. Yet, being in the field was a huge learning curve and there were moments when I felt out of my depth. There were also times when things did not go according to plan, yet it is common within academia to gloss over these. I have sought to address this throughout this chapter by including honest accounts of situations that I feel 'went wrong'. Harrowell et al. (2017), frame 'failure' as an important aspect of research, because a researcher can learn from these moments and adapt their methods or approaches accordingly to minimise the chances of 'failure' reoccurring.

Emotions are unavoidable during research processes, and as Evans et al. (2017) identify, they will influence how data is interpreted. Many of the ethical challenges discussed in Section 3.8 evoked a range of emotions for me, including frustration, sadness and even isolation. These emotions were carried with me, even after I had undertaken research and returned to my accommodation after a day in the field (see also. Klocker, 2015). Often, I would repeatedly think about what had happened, and question whether situations were avoidable, and whether I could have done better in certain circumstances. Even when I came away from the field, these emotions did not stop, especially when reading through transcripts where participants spoke about having been physically abused or driven to the point of thinking about taking their own life. From an ethical perspective, the impact that 'hard to hear' topics has on a researcher, is important to consider (Stahlke, 2018). Yet, as many university ethics applications show, more concern is placed on the physical danger researchers may be subjected to rather than the

emotional risks. Arguably this contributes to the emotions of researchers being overlooked. As a way of dealing with difficult emotions, I found it helpful to write about these in my research journal and discuss these with family.

3.13 Dissemination workshops

In the research design phase of this project, disseminating the research findings was a vital feature of the study and one which was explained to youth participants and professionals throughout this research. I had planned to return to Tanzania for two weeks in June/July 2020 to discuss the findings of the research with key stakeholders and youth participants through holding workshops. The contributions from these workshops would have fed into this thesis. Yet, because of travel restrictions due to the Covid-19 pandemic, this was not possible.

However, as originally stated in the research design phase, I will still produce and distribute small booklets containing key findings to participants and reports containing key findings to professionals. Professionals will receive these reports via email, and a research assistant has agreed to distribute small booklets among youth participants. Where possible, I will also hold online workshops with key stakeholders including, local NGOs, CBOs, Local and Regional government figures, and other relevant stakeholders, to discuss the research findings.

3.14 Conclusion

This chapter began by exploring the literature concerning undertaking research with young people. It then explained the suitability of an ethnographic methodology for this project, given its aims and research questions. The chapter also described the data collection phase involving using mobile, participatory, and qualitative methods. An important aspect of the chapter was to reflect on my positionality and discuss how my presence in research settings shaped and impacted data collection and interactions with others. Ethical considerations were discussed in detail, and insights into how research assistants enabled, influenced, and sometimes constrained research processes were provided.

The latter stages of the chapter discussed language, the process of data analysis, and how researcher emotions shape data collection and interpretations. It then detailed how the Covid-19 pandemic disrupted original plans to hold dissemination workshops with youth participants and key stakeholders in Tanzania but explained that alternative ways of sharing key findings have been considered. Next, Chapter 4, the first of the empirical chapters, explores the diversity and multifaceted nature of young people's lives and livelihoods in urban Tanzania.

4 Young people's lives and livelihoods in urban Tanzania

This chapter provides insights into young people's life and livelihood experiences within the cities of Dar es Salaam and Arusha. It begins by understanding young men's and women's migration trajectories and their reasons behind migrating to the abovementioned cities from elsewhere in Tanzania. It also explores the connections young people draw on to facilitate their migration. Then, it examines whether young vendors had any intentions to migrate in the future. The chapter subsequently investigates the benefits and challenges of the urban informal work young vendors in this research undertook. This will also illuminate the heterogenous and interconnected nature of young people's lives and informal livelihoods. In these discussions, the financial support young vendors provide to family members will be analysed through drawing on understandings of these responsibilities as forms of caring relations and responsibilities. This will help to provide detailed insights into the complex and interlinked nature of young informal vendors' livelihoods while also beginning to show ways in which 'care' and informal livelihoods intertwine.

This first empirical chapter intends to bring a focus to young informal vendors' complex, diverse and interconnected lives and livelihoods in Arusha and Dar es Salaam. Throughout, it draws on conceptual understandings of youth as social 'being and becoming' to comprehend how young people forge their livelihoods in the present with both their present and future in mind.

4.1 Migration to the city

As Chapter 2 discussed, youth is widely understood as a temporal process of 'becoming' (Christiansen et al., 2006; Worth, 2009). Young people as active agents continually seek to better their conditions, and migration to cities can be one way through which youth attempt to improve their situations (Esson, 2020; Langevang and Gough, 2009). Urban arenas can afford youth with increased agency and independence which can improve their daily mobilities (Porter et al., 2017). This is crucial as movements increase young people's abilities to accumulate the social and material resources needed to attain social adulthood (Langevang and Gough, 2009). Thus, in contexts of increased socioeconomic challenges across Africa (Esson, 2020), it is vital to understand how young vendors' migration mobilities are entangled with their lifecourse trajectories as they 'move' towards desired forms of adulthood (Hörschelmann, 2011; Punch, 2014).

In this study, 16 youth participants (8 from each city) out of 22 had engaged in migration. As discussed in Section 3.7, these 22 participants are the majority of the sample of 37 youth participants with whom more in-depth ethnographic research was undertaken. For many, economic motivations were one of the driving forces behind their decision to migrate. During an interview with Nasser (see. Table 2, page 76 for participant characteristics), he explained that after having worked in his hometown of Himo, north east Tanzania, for several years, he decided to move 107 km's away to Arusha: *'I was employed [in Himo], so when I got some amount of money, I decided to move here in Arusha to start my own business'*. Nasser said he was drawn to Arusha because he believed that this would be an optimal place to start a business with the financial capital he had accrued through previous employment. Another participant, Abdul, had been working on a farm in Coastal Region (surrounding Dar) for several years. He explained that he wanted to change the type of work he undertook, so he chose to move to Dar, '*because of the business environment, and sufficient population which is good for business'.* Nasser and Abdul were both attracted to the city as they perceived that these arenas were where the best business opportunities could be found. This relates to research that has identified that youth draw on migration mobility as a strategy to improve their access to material resources (Esson, 2015; Thorsen, 2013), contributing towards efforts to 'become someone' (Judge et al., 2020: 5). Further discussion with Abdul also revealed that his allure to the city was heightened because of the physically demanding nature of the agricultural work he was undertaking in his village. This suggests that rural push factors rather than urban pull factors (Turok and McGranahan, 2013), shaped Abdul's decision to migrate.

Other participants were also drawn to 'the city' because they believed that the economic opportunities in these areas could enable them to improve their lives and gain greater autonomy. Upon asking Victoria what her thoughts were prior to migrating to Dar, she commented: *'I was hoping that I will be able to live my life and depend on myself since I will get a job and be financially stable'.* Victoria was motivated to migrate to Dar by prospects of becoming more independent. Thorsen (2013) observes that youth seek indepdendece as this is commonly associated with adulthood. Similarly, another participant, Joseph, stated: *'I came to Arusha looking for a good life, to be able to be [financially] independent'*. This recognises that cities can be 'promising machines' for young people (Kemmer and Simone, 2021) who seek to improve both their social and financial positions. Additionally, Joseph's reference to searching for a 'good life' corresponds with research that has found that migration may offer young people viable pathways towards 'meaningful futures' (Kleist, 2017), again, relating to notions of social

'becoming' (Vigh, 2006a). Furthermore, another participant, Godfrey, who migrated 380 km's to Arusha from a village in Tanga, stated *'I couldn't just stay home after graduating [from secondary school]. I had to think an alternative of how I can have a good life'.* Godfrey said that he reached a point where he needed to decide how he was going to progress with his life, and like other participants, he believed that the city held opportunities that would enable him to achieve this. This again highlights how young people's migration trajectories are influenced by their considerations of the future (Judge et al., 2020)

Another participant, Emmanuel, also explained that he migrated to Dar to increase his independence. However, his motivations were not solely centred around attaining financial autonomy: *'I decided to move from the village because my parents did not agree with what I wanted to do […] I wanted to become an artist, but my parents wanted me to just remain at the village'.* Emmanuel moved to city so that he could become economically and socially 'independent' from his parents, allowing him to exercise greater agency over his livelihood decisions. Increased independence gained through the diminishing influence of parents and family is also widely connected to young people's transitions to adulthood (Banks, 2019).

Moreover, not all participants cited economic motivations and/or greater independence as their rationale for migrating. For one participant, Clara, she explained that she moved to Arusha from Kigoma (north west Tanzania), to assist her aunt with childcare responsibilities: *'I decided to come here in Arusha to help my aunt with taking care of her child who is so young. This has allowed for my aunt to continue doing her work'.* Familial caring responsibilities and expectations influenced Clara's decision to migrate. The findings above, reveal that drivers of migration are complex and diverse and can vary depending on young people's circumstances. Importantly, they also contribute to understanding how for many young vendors, especially those coming from rural areas, migration to the city was perceived as a necessity if they were to progress with their lives and livelihoods.

The following section builds on the above insights developing understandings into the connections young people drew on to facilitate their migration to the city.

Connections facilitating migration

Young people often draw on interpersonal ties to facilitate their migration (Huijsmans, 2012). Of the 16 participants who migrated to Arusha or Dar, only 1 informant identified that they had not drawn on any connections to enable their migration. Most participants drew on family-based ties (Zaami, 2020), to commence their economic activities in the city. While interviewing Veva,

she explained: *'I was brought to Dar es Salaam with my aunt, to do business for her'.* Likewise, another participant, Godfrey, commented: *'When I first came here [to Arusha] it was for the purpose of working for my uncle thus, I worked for him and later I left to work on my own'.* As Lyons and Snoxell (2005) identify, family ties are important for young people who wish to engage in income-generating activities in a new environment. Godfrey's comments illustrate that after having established himself in the city through initially drawing on familial ties he was able to pursue his own business ventures. In line with other research, this shows that existing connections in the city can provide the foundations through which young people can develop their livelihoods (van Blerk, 2016; Malefakis, 2019).

Other youth participants identified that they were able to find, or learn about, financial opportunities in the city they were migrating to through drawing on friendship ties (Yeboah, 2020). Abdul explained that he came to Dar to work for his friend Vicent (another participant in this research), whom he had met at his village in Coastal region: *'I lived with my friend Vicent. He was one who called me to come here [Dar], so when I lived with him he taught me business'.* Similarly, another young vendor, Nasser, said he decided to move to Arusha when a classmate from his village in Tanga informed him of the financial opportunities he could find in the city: *'Here in Arusha was one of my friends, so he was helping me and showed me different [financial] opportunities'.* Nasser's and Vicent's comments illustrate that friendship ties were important in facilitating their migration. As van Blerk (2016) notes, these can be vital connections, supporting youth to settle into unfamiliar and often challenging urban environments.

Young people actively manage their migration to the city by drawing on their social connections who support them with, or assist them in finding, financial opportunities upon first arriving in a city (Yeboah, 2017). Participants' accounts highlight the implications these connections have on processes of youth migration and 'becoming' as they can afford young people opportunities to establish and develop their lives and informal livelihoods within complex and often challenging urban localities.

Rural to urban migration

When identifying city opportunities, participants often made comparisons between urban and rural areas, drawing on present and past experiences. During a follow-up interview with Vicent, who had migrated to Dar from a village in Coastal region (surrounding Dar), he identified the constraints of village life: *'In the village there are few instant income-generating'*. Similarly,

Veva, who migrated 1,380 km's from a village near the city of Bukoba (northwest Tanzania) to Dar, stated: *'The life here [in the city] does not depend to season, while in the village life does depend on seasons*. She explained that because of this, life in the city was more favourable: *'It is better for me to be in town because at least I can hustle and earn something compared to the village'.* Both Veva and Vicent identified having greater financial opportunities in the city than they did in their villages. Veva's use of the word 'hustle' further reinforces this, as 'hustling' commonly refers to economic opportunism, a chance to 'make a living' (Amankwaa et al., 2020; Thieme, 2013). Other sections in this chapter will discuss this further.

Other participants explicitly drew on the increased financial independence they gained since living in a city. During an interview with Benson, who migrated from a village in Tanga Region to Arusha, he explained:

> *'Life is somehow hard [in the village], so I decided to come here [to Arusha] to look for life. At least I can rely on myself [financially] here […] no one can keep on staying in his or her village if there are no opportunities'*.

Similarly, during an interview with Doreen who migrated to Dar from a village in Manyara Region, she noted that the city had more income-generating opportunities compared to the village: *'Life here [in Dar] is better compared to the village, because in the village we didn't have land, nor jobs, but it is easier to get a job and income here'.* She then explained that in Dar she was able to buy things for herself and seek opportunities to improve her life. The presence of customers and more vendable trading spaces presented Benson and Doreen with opportunities to become more financially autonomous, again linking to social constructions of desired adulthood. In their narratives, participants regularly identified migrating to the city *because of* the challenges and constraints of village life. This again suggests rural 'push factors' influence young people's decisions to migrate to the city (Turok and McGranahan, 2013).

This was also evident in other participants' accounts, who identified that environmental conditions and events had exacerbated the challenges of village life, resulting in their migration to the city. Joseph, who migrated to Arusha from a village in neighbouring Arumeru District, had previously established a livelihood herding cattle, but explained that this had become unsustainable because of climatic stressors: *'Here, life is good compared to home because of the environment […] at home, there is drought and it's hard to get income there compared to here'*. Climatic changes had made pastoral farming difficult, forcing Joseph to move to the city

indefinitely, where he worked informally selling peanuts and mobile phone vouchers. For another participant, Jackson, he migrated to Dar from a village near Dodoma (440 km's away), also because of worsening environmental conditions:

> *'This year we [Jackson and his family] did not have enough rainfall in our place, thus crops failed and life has been tough there […] if I would have stayed there, I am sure I would have no money'.*

Jackson came to Dar to work for his older brother selling eggs. He planned to work in the city for 4 months, during which time he hoped to accumulate enough financial resources to allow him to return to his village and resume working on the family farm. This suggests that seasonal migration was a key livelihood strategy for Jackson. Other research has also found that seasonal and temporary migration are drawn upon by youth in African contexts (Tacoli, 2009) to accrue various assets in attempts to navigate transitions to adulthood (Paavola, 2008; Tacoli and Mabala, 2010). Further, both Jackson's and Joseph's accounts illustrate that migration was a strategy they employed to manage and sustain their livelihoods in response to climatic perturbations. Olwig and Gough (2013), note that climate-related mobility can often involve active choices and decisions. These insights, along with others throughout this section, show youth as 'active agents' (Langevang and Gough, 2009) who sought to improve their livelihoods through migrating away from rural localities where they faced environmental and/or socioeconomic uncertainties. This contributes to a growing body of work analysing youth migration in Africa as a response to periods of 'stuckness'/'waithood' (Honwana, 2014; Judge et al., 2020; Kleist, 2017).

Urban to urban migration

Although many participants migrated to Arusha or Dar from rural areas in Tanzania, there were some who had migrated from other cities. One participant, David, explained why he had migrated 180 km's from Morogoro (west of Dar) to Dar: *'Searching here [for financial opportunities] in Dar es Salaam is quite better compared to Morogoro because here there is a large population'*. Even though Morogoro is one of the largest cities in Tanzania with a population of 315,866, it is considerably smaller than Dar which has a population of 4.36 million (NBS, 2013). Similarly, another participant, Godfrey, explained why he had migrated from the city of Tanga, which has a population of 273,332, to the larger city of Arusha with a population of 416,442 (Ibid): *'Arusha is better [than Tanga], because there are many customers here'.* In correspondence with insights in Section 4.1, both participants were drawn to these

larger cities as they perceived that these more populated areas would present them with greater opportunities to develop their livelihoods. Although much research focuses on rural to urban migration (Crivello, 2011), drawing attention to the reasons why young people migrate between urban arenas and to 'dominant cities' is also vital (Meikle, 2002; Tripp, 1997). The findings shed light on the complexity and heterogeneity of youth migration decisions linked to notions of 'becoming', revealing that migration can be linked to livelihood opportunism and not necessarily 'stuckness' and 'waithood'.

Building on these insights, the following section will analyse whether participants planned to stay in the city they were in, or whether they had plans to migrate to other places in Tanzania in the future.

Participants' plans to migrate in the future

Overall, 3 participants in Dar, and 7 in Arusha, identified plans to leave the city they were in and migrate elsewhere in Tanzania. Edward, who was born in Dar and had lived there his whole life, identified that he wanted to move to Dodoma because of the opportunities he could find there: '*My dream is to leave Dar es Salaam and move to Dodoma […] there are farms of grapes and so many other opportunities'.* Other participants, particularly those in Arusha, highlighted that it would be more favourable for them to live in other cities. During an interview with Victor, he stated an intention to move from Arusha to Dodoma or Mwanza, as he perceived that these places were more economically favourable: *'If I go to other places out of Arusha, I can become more successful than here in Arusha'*. Similarly, whilst talking to Clara, she also perceived that it would be advantageous for her to move away from Arusha: *'I wish to go there [Dar es Salaam] because the circulation of money is better compared to here in Arusha'.* These three participants planned to engage in migration in the future, to seek 'better' opportunities in other cities. This further illustrates the importance of considering young people's reasons for wanting to engage in urban-to-urban migration. The above comments also show young people's orientations towards the future (Worth, 2009), as they identified other places where they perceived they would more easily be able to achieve personal goals and aspirations because of better opportunities to develop their livelihoods.

Other participants engaged in temporary migration (mentioned previously) as a strategy to accumulate assets and develop their livelihoods (Tacoli and Mabala, 2010). One vendor, Abdul, explained that he planned to stay in Dar on a temporary basis, for a maximum of 5 years, before

returning to his village: *'I have planned to go home to deal with agriculture activities because I will become old compared to now, so I need to go back to establish a family and farm'.* Abdul identified that Dar had greater income-generating opportunities than in his village, where he could amass the financial assets required to support a wife and family. Likewise, another participant, Veva, explained that she came to Dar intending to generate enough income to pay for skills training to enable her to open a tailoring business in her home village: '*I plan to return to the village after I accomplish my goal here, within one year'.* Both Abdul's and Veva's planned temporary migration to Dar was a way they endeavoured to improve their material conditions, which they could not do in their villages. These examples of 'migration for accumulation' are not considered here to be 'end points', but rather part of a process (Rigg, 2007a) through which these participants attempted to become somebody (Crivello, 2011). This again recognises migration as an important strategy young people may draw on to improve their chances of achieving desired pathways to adulthood.

In contrast, 6 participants in Dar and 2 in Arusha, noted that they planned to continue living in the city they were in, with no intentions to move elsewhere. Young people's reasons for staying in the city were mostly related to income-generating opportunities. While interviewing Victoria, she explained: *'I won't go anywhere, because I am here [Dar es Salaam] since 2010 and I will continue to be here […] I suffer there [in her village near Morogoro] as there are no opportunities for generating income'.* Victoria's comments correspond with previous insights in Section 4.1 which highlighted that urban arenas were perceived to be more economically favourable than rural localities. Her remarks also suggest that because she had established a life in the city she had no reason to move away. Simiarly, Winnie noted: *'I will live here in Arusha, and I will not move anywhere else […] I am familiar with Arusha and it is the place where I am doing business'.* Another youth participant, Emmanuel, said that his reasons for wanting to stay in Arusha were linked to his aspirations: *'I make my permanent settlement here in Arusha because I had an ambition to deal with tourism and to learn different languages, because I want to become a tour guide'*. These comments show that Emmanuel was attracted to Arusha because of the opportunities in tourism it could provide, which corresponded with his aspirations, illustrating that his decision to situate himself in this city was done in consideration of his future. This shows an overlap between present and future temporalities, suggesting the need to understand youth as social 'being' *and* 'becoming', rather than just 'becoming' (Ansell et al., 2014; Crivello, 2015). Additionally, although much research has developed insights into why

young people migrate (Crivello, 2011; Huijsmans, 2012), Emmanuel's comments reveal that it is also important to understand why youth choose to stay in certain places.

Four participants identified that they were unsure whether they would leave the city in the future. During an interview with David, he identified that he did not have immediate plans to leave Dar, however he was open to the idea of moving to other places in Tanzania:

> '*My life just depends on how much I can earn. From the way I eat to the way I dress, all these [things] depend on the income thus if I will get a place which will ensure me sufficient income maybe I will go, but for now I am hustling here'*.

David's comments of 'hustling here', illustrate that he was attempting to make a living in Dar. This resonates with the wider literature on 'hustling', used to analyse and frame young people's attempts to improve their economic and social standing in urban arenas characterised by uncertainty (Peterson, 2003; Thieme, 2018). David also explained that he might move elsewhere should better opportunities arise, yet he was unsure of when or if this would happen. Conditions of uncertainty make it hard for young people to know when improvements to their lives will come (Chulek, 2019; Honwana, 2012), yet hopes of progression in the future drive youth to pursue change in the present (Di Nunzio,2012; Munive, 2010). This illuminates that the process of 'being and becoming' for youth is entangled with the messiness and unpredictability of the city environments in which they are situated. Another participant, Doris, mentioned that she would leave Arusha, but only to pursue specific occupations*: 'The opportunities I am interested in, are learning about things such as saloon work, cosmetics, and cooking […] if these opportunities are here [in Arusha], I can join them, but if they are out [of the city], I can go'.* Amankwaa et al. (2020) identify that 'hustling' can also be a survival strategy youth employ to seize opportunities relating to occupational choices. Thus, Doris' comments regarding the possibility of seizing opportunities in other places link migration to 'hustling' because she acknowledged that relocation could enable her to secure relevant opportunities to help attain her aspirations. Thus, migration and 'hustling' can be understood as ways youth attempt to improve their conditions and manage their situations in contexts of growing informality and precarity (see also. Esson, 2020; Thieme, 2015).

The following sections develop more detailed understandings of young people's experiences of living and working in Arusha and Dar.

4.2. Income generation in the city

In response to public sector retrenchment in many African contexts (Hansen, 2010; Owusu, 2007; Tripp, 1997), many people including youth have turned to the informal economy to cover their basic needs (Manyati and Mutsau, 2019). Unsurprisingly, given the insights from previous sections, 17 participants (out of 22) identified 'income generation' as the main opportunity of living in Arusha and Dar es Salaam. During a follow-up interview with Vicent, he explained:

> *'Life in the city is quite fine because there are many income-generating activities which one can do […] selling drinking water, selling groundnuts, selling cassava, selling maize, selling mishikaki [grilled meats]'.*

This supports insights by Sommers (2010: 318), who notes that youth can find an abundance of income opportunities in urban localities, contrary to widespread notions of cities as "black holes" for young people. Moreover, while interviewing Doreen, she also identified income generation as a benefit of being in the city but stated that it required persistence and creativity: *'Life is favourable in the city. You can generate income easily, but it all depends with your efforts. You can even take a broken fridge and use it to sell water on roadsides and get income'*. Likewise, another participant, Collins, stated: *'In the city, there are many opportunities, what is needed is to be an opportunist'.* Collins' and Doreen's comments identify informality as opportunistic, resourceful, and survivalist, echoing others' observations of informal work (Manyati and Matsau, 2019; Neuwirth, 2012). To understand whether young people's experiences correspond with these perceptions, the following sections will investigate how participants used the incomes they generated. This will reveal the types of opportunities young people had found through situating themselves in the city.

Many participants identified that much of their incomes were spent on paying for necessities including clothes, food, rent costs, and utility bills. While interviewing Godfrey, he summarised the benefits of his informal business activities: *'It is beneficial because I get an income to cover my expenses [rent, water, utility bills and food]'.* Similarly, for Victor, he explained, *'it [informal work] helps me to get the accommodation and food and clothes.* Additionally, Doris identified similar ways she used her income, but also added: *'I use some of the income [I earn] to pay for my bus fares'*. This illustrates the interconnection between her livelihood and mobility (Bryceson et al., 2003), because through her income-generating activities Doris was able to continue travelling into Arusha city centre (a 45-minute bus journey from her home) to undertake her business of selling bananas. Corresponding with other research, the above

examples illustrate ways young people used their incomes to establish and maintain a livelihood in the city (Meagher, 2010; Thieme, 2018). The next section expands on this, demonstrating ways young people's incomes supported others.

The interconnectedness of informal livelihoods

It became apparent in this study that in addition to supporting their own needs, young people also used their incomes to provide for the needs of others. This has also been identified in Zambia and other African contexts (Day and Evans, 2015). In the literature on care, financially supporting others to meet their demands, has been recognised as a form of 'caring' (Evans, 2014; Gouws and van Zyl, 2014). 'Care' is widely understood as a process rather than a single activity (Tronto, 1993). This is important to understand when considering the care young vendors provide through the incomes they generate. One participant, Winnie, explained the benefits of her business activities: *'The benefit of the work that I am doing is that I am able to support others […] I use it [financial income] for caring for my family [daughter, husband, younger siblings]'.* Similarly, Cynthia also mentioned the benefits of her work in relation to supporting her children:

> *'There is a benefit because it helps me to get what I want for my children and I can buy what they need […] I support them with things like books when they need them, and things like a bicycle, shoes, and all school needs'.*

The independent incomes Cynthia and Winnie generated enabled them to 'take care of' (Tronto, 1993: 106) their children and other family members they lived with. These insights correspond to common expectations in East African contexts that women should use their earnings to fulfil familial responsibilities (Khavul et al., 2009). Both participants' comments also relate to women's expected roles as mother's to be responsible for taking care of their children's needs (Langevang et al., 2015). Yet, male participants also identified that their incomes were beneficial, enabling them to provide for others in their household. Whilst interviewing Edward, he stated: *'It [the business] means that I can provide basic needs to the family'*. Edward estimated that he contributed between 8,000-10,000 Tsh (£2.46-£3.08) to his household every day, which was used to pay for bills, food and water, and other necessities. Cynthia's, Edward's, and Winnie's accounts illustrate that they made valuable financial contributions to their households. This relates to geographies of care and interdependence as these youth participants felt obligated to support household needs through providing financial resources (Abebe, 2012).

Furthermore, several youth participants also identified that their incomes were beneficial in enabling them to support both themselves and their parents. During an interview with Doreen, she explained that through her business of selling cassava, she was able to support her mother as well as make progress with her own livelihood: '*It [informal work] has helped me support my mother [financially] who is often sick, and it has helped me to buy two pieces of land'.* In many African contexts, young people are expected to offer support to parents and older generations if they are sick, disabled or in old age (Evans, 2015). Another vendor, Esther, explained the multiple benefits of her income: *'It enables me to support my parents as well as myself, through buying some food and paying rent'*. Esther then noted that her father was blind and so her mother relied on her for financial support: *'I support my parents because my father is no longer seeing, thus whenever I get something [money], I send it to my mother because she is the one who is taking care of him'.* Both Doreen and Esther sent remittances to the family members they supported as they lived in separate households. Their comments highlight their intergenerational relations (discussed further in Chapter 6) (Oduaran, 2010), showing that through their livelihoods they could take care of their parents' specific needs while simultaneously supporting their own lives (Day and Evans, 2015). These insights relate to other research which has illuminated the interconnectedness of young people's livelihoods through showing the regular 'care' young people provide to their families (Evans, 2014). The findings show how bringing attention to young people's caring responsibilities and relations can help analyse young vendors' complex and heterogenous lives in the city, characterised by their connections to others.

Several participants also identified that their businesses enabled them to support their younger siblings through education. While interviewing Edward, he explained, *'my younger brother is in secondary school, so I contribute some transport [costs] and basic school needs [stationery, uniform and shoes]'.* This illustrates another way young vendors took care of others (Tronto, 1993) through their work. Moreover, Edward's position as eldest sibling in the family meant that he was expected to contribute towards the needs of his younger sibling. Research in Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire has also identified the expectations placed on youth to financially support their younger siblings (Thorsen, 2013). This illustrates how 'birth order' influenced Edward's caring responsibilities and use of his income, which brings much-needed attention to the role sibling caring relationships can play in influencing informal vendors' everyday livelihoods.

The insights in this section illustrate that youths' complex and diverse livelihoods are shaped by their caring relationships and responsibilities. As Day (2015) and Evans (2012) highlight, young people's familial responsibilities and sibling relationships also influence their transitions to adulthood. The findings thus far have shown that there is a need to bring more attention to the ways young vendors' complex and varied care relations and practices shape their pathways to adulthood. Chapter 6 will discuss this in more detail.

Informal work as more than survivalist

Accounts by other youth participants revealed that their informal income-generating activities enabled them to do more than just survive in the city. During an interview with Grace, she explained the many things she had used her income for:

> *'I pay for personal needs and as for our house [family home], I bought that flat screen [television] and the radio you have seen […] the personal needs which I am taking care of, are dressing my hair, buying clothes, eating nice foods, going out to have fun and many other things'.*

Although literature on informality has identified that much informal work generates a 'subsistence income' (Bromley, 2000), Grace's comments show that her business allowed her to generate an income that was more than survivalist. Furthermore, although key literature has identified that women are disproportionately concentrated within the lower echelons of informality generating small and irregular income (Chant and Pedwell, 2008; Chen et al., 2006), Grace's account illustrates that it is important not to assume that all women are in these situations.

Furthermore, another participant, Doris, identified that in addition to paying for necessities (noted previously), she had also developed her business activities through the income she generated (see. Figure 10). I interviewed Doris twice during the research (12th of April 2019, and 8th of July, 2019), and during her second interview she explained that since the first interview her income had increased: *'The last time [at the time of the first interview], for the week I was making 25,000-30,000 Tsh [£7.85-£9.42] in profit, but now I can make between 35,000 to 40,000 Tsh [£11-£12.57]'*. In under 3 months, Doris' weekly profit had increased by 10,000 Tsh (£3.08). She explained how this had happened: '*It is because I have expanded my business […] I also decided to keep chickens to continue increasing the capital'.* Doris had expanded her main business of selling bananas by also selling avocados, and in addition to keeping chickens, she explained that she had established a small temporary charcoal business

outside the front of her family home. In relation to selling charcoal, she commented: *'I decided to sell charcoal because of the rain. A lot of people have stopped using firewood and now buy charcoal instead'.* This demonstrates Doris' opportunism because she engaged in charcoal selling temporarily during the rainy season as she was aware she could find customers over this period and generate extra income. Through her initial business of selling bananas, Doris was able to invest in other economic endeavours, helping her to expand her business activities and increase her livelihood security. Research by Afutu-Kotey and Gough (2019) in Accra, Ghana, has also noted that youth engage in business diversification as a strategy to develop their livelihoods as well as manage the uncertainties they experience. The findings contribute to a growing body of work which focuses on continuing to develop insights into the agency and dynamism of young people pursuing livelihoods in urban African contexts (Ungruhe and Esson, 2017).

While interviewing another participant, Abdul, he initially identified that his income allowed him to pay rent, but then explained: '*I have also been able to save sufficient money, which has helped me to buy a farm and land'*. Abdul's acknowledgement that he had been able to save money, indicated that his economic activities, like Grace's, enabled him to generate more than a survivalist's living (Knox et al., 2019). Importantly, his work, which enabled him to purchase land (an important livelihood asset (De Haan and Zoomers, 2005)), was part of an income diversification strategy he employed to safeguard his livelihood and expand his business endeavours in the future. This builds on previous insights, demonstrating that young people's decisions to diversify their incomes can be conceived with both their present and future in mind. This again contributes to understanding the complexity of 'being and becoming' as the findings show that this process can vary significantly between youth who take different approaches to progressing their livelihoods, depending on their circumstances.

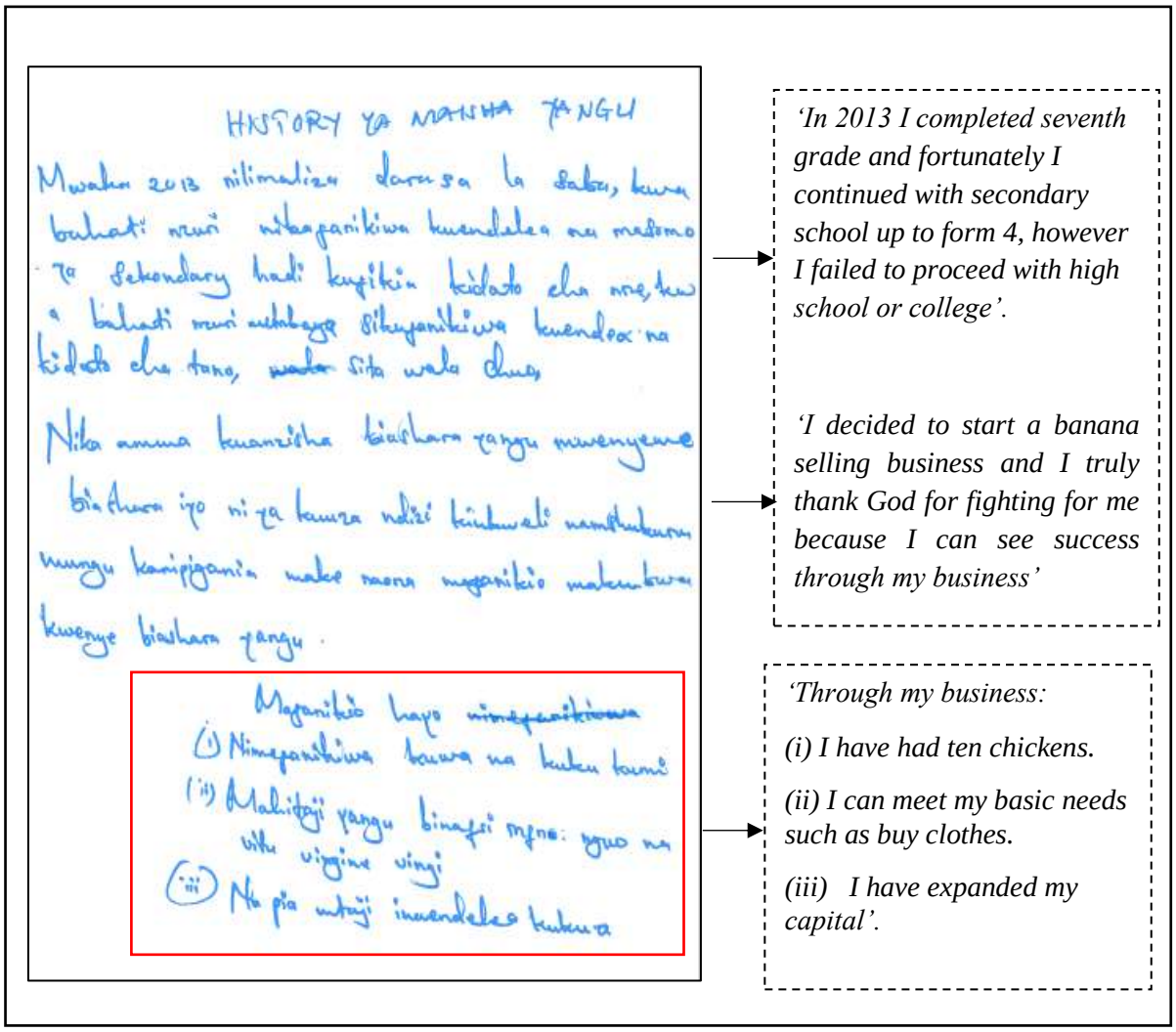


Figure 10: Life-mapping diagram created by Doris illustrating the benefits and expansion of her business

For other participants, their businesses had enabled them to attain other markers of progression. Benson, who sold groundnuts in Arusha, said during an interview: *'I built my house through doing my business'*. Likewise, another participant Vicent also stated that he had constructed his home through engaging in his own business: *'The opportunity which changed my life is selling crisps, because from this business I built a house with two rooms and a sitting room, and I got married from this job'*. These comments are important, because marriage and having the financial ability to construct a house are considered socially accepted markers of adulthood across many African contexts (Boehm, 2006; Day and Evans, 2015). In line with work by Cole (2011) and van Blerk (2008), the findings show that in environments where formal employment is difficult to attain, informal work can be an alternative way through which youth can sustain pathways to adulthood. On a life-mapping diagram Vicent had created (Figure 11), he detailed

that through his business he was able to purchase items for his house including a DVD player, furniture, and solar panels. These items were also important to him as they illustrated indicators of success and financial wealth. During a follow-up interview he then reflected on the significance of his business:

> *'When I recall my life before I have started this business [of selling crisps] I had nothing. But since I started the business I am thankful that even though I don't have a fancy house I have a place where I can sleep and my life is well and sound'.*

Vicent acknowledged that his informal work allowed him to develop over time from 'nothing'. This reinforces identifications from other research that informal employment can afford young people with viable opportunities to make something of themselves in constrained environments (Afutu-Kotey et al., 2017; Barford et al., 2021). Vicent's comments regarding having built a house where he could sleep and his life was well, also demonstrates that his work had enabled him to engage in a process of 'becoming' which was producing desired outcomes (see. Christiansen et al., 2006).

This indicates that while some young people were reliant on urban informal work to survive, for others, it was a source of accumulation and a way through which they could pursue desired pathways to adulthood (Banks et al., 2019). The findings illuminate the heterogeneous realities of young vendors highlighting how they can maintain and/or develop their lives and livelihoods in accordance with cultural and social norms through the different types of informal work they undertake.

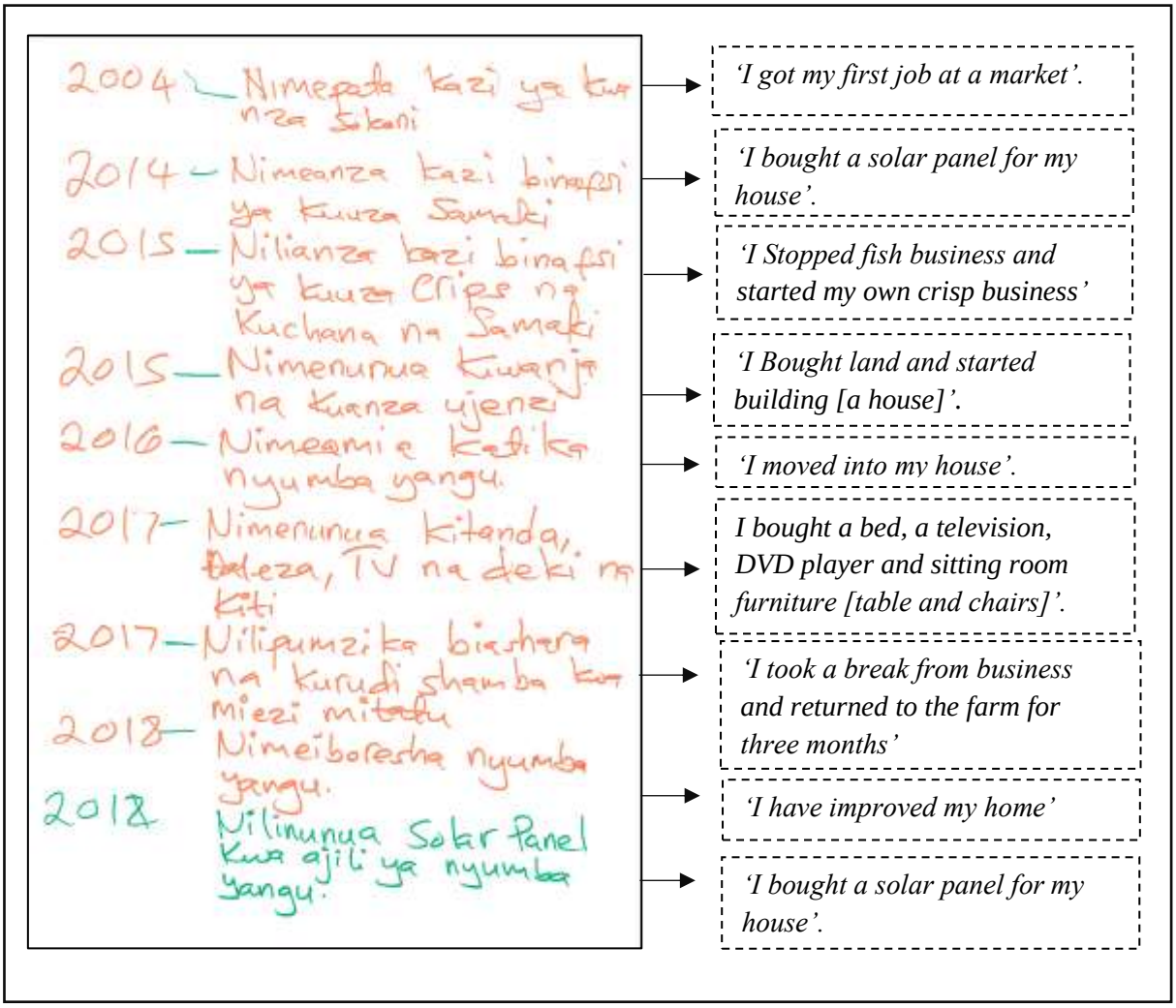


Figure 11: Vicent's life-mapping diagram, showing the progress he made through undertaking his crisp business

Several youth participants also discussed the benefits they anticipated they would obtain from undertaking their current informal income-generating activities. Doris identified that her current business of selling bananas in Arusha was beneficial, as this enabled her to lay the foundations for her future livelihood: *'The benefits of this work are for my future livelihood […] I will fight on my own until I get my own jobs and to employ myself [working in a shop]'.* Doris said she perceived that her current situation was a temporary phase through which she could eventually achieve 'gainful employment' (Simone, 2020), which entailed owning a store selling cosmetic products or motorcycle spare parts for *boda boda's* (motorcycle taxis). Whilst interviewing another informant, Jackson, he explained that he had planned how he would spend the money that he was waiting to receive from his older brother who he sold eggs for in Dar: '*I will send it back home and they [parents] can use that money to rent farms [agricultural land] for me'*.

Through their current income activities, Doris and Jackson were considering how they could invest their money to expand their livelihoods. This further illustrates how young vendors' current work is undertaken with their futures in mind (Ansell et al., 2014). Another participant, Victor, spoke in less certain terms, but identified that his business could allow him to develop his business endeavours over time: *'If the capital increases in my business, I will see the opportunity to start another business'.* Unlike Doris and Jackson, Victor did not have a defined plan, however he was ready to pursue any opportunities that arose from his current business activities. Punch (2014) has also observed this in Bolivia, noting that youth often react to opportunities, making it difficult to formulate clear, long-term strategies. Victor was still considering the future, even if he did not yet know what this entailed. This itself is indicative of 'becoming' (Simone, 2020). Importantly, all three participants suggested that their current informal work could act as a 'stepping stone' towards progression/greater opportunities in the future.

Another vendor, Joseph, said that through his economic activities, he planned to accumulate assets which he could then draw upon during times of need: *'I am saving so that I can buy goats which I can sell whenever I am in emergencies'.* Like Abdul's comments previously, Joseph also acknowledged that he planned to safeguard his livelihood, but through investing in livestock. This is a common form of income diversification in African contexts (Paavola, 2008), and a way risk can be distributed (Carr, 2008). This is significant, because as Ansell et al. (2014) identify, livelihood actions in the present can be deliberate acts to secure individual (and collective) futures. Joseph perceived that buying goats was a way he could protect himself against any future challenges.

Self-employment versus employment

The benefits of informal work should not be overromanticized (Owusu, 2007), yet it is necessary to comprehend the extent to which informal self-employment can enable youth to engage in 'self-making' practices (Mwaura, 2017; Thorsen, 2013). Through using life-mapping interviews (see. Chapter 3), understandings of young people's past and present experiences of work were gained. Most participants who had previously been employed, tended to highlight the challenges of this work. One participant, Vicent, summarised his experience of being employed by someone at a local fish market in Dar: '*You cannot get time to rest when you are tired and off days are limited […] you also can get threats of redundancy and sarcastic words'*. Other participants expanded on this, detailing the economic challenges they faced while employed. Agatha, who was previously employed as a waitress at a hotel in Dar, stated: '*The*

challenges of being a waitress was the exploitation from the boss. Sometimes you can come to work on time, but a boss can say that you came later and then they will cut the salary'. Collins, who had previously undertaken employed construction work on a project in the suburbs of Dar, also mentioned challenges with receiving payments: *'Working for someone is like slavery because you can do very tough work, but the payment is small, also sometimes they are not paying you on time'.* Other studies have also identified that young people in the global South are often subjected to oppressive and exploitative conditions by employers, characterised by low and irregular pay (Banks and Sulaiman, 2012; Simone, 2020) which can cause youth to experience socioeconomic hardships (Yeboah, 2017). Being employed can be a significant constraint on young people's agency as it can hinder their chances of improving their lives and livelihoods (Holt and Costello, 2011).

However, one participant, Jackson, who worked for his older brother selling eggs on the street, being informally employed (paid a set monthly salary) was beneficial to him: *'There are many benefits of working for him. For instance, on those days which business is not good my brother understands, which is impossible for other people'.* Jackson identified that because of the family relation, his older brother was more understanding than other (non-family) employers would be if, for example, he was unable to sell all the eggs he had been given. Furthermore, this was Jackson's first experience of undertaking informal work, and he identified that his brother often offered him guidance. This illustrates that not all young people's experiences of being employed are negative, as this form of work can provide young people with valuable work-related experiences (Khayesi et al., 2014).

Nevertheless, most participants emphasised the multiple opportunities of working for themselves. Although informal work is characteristically unstable and unpredictable (Lloyd-Evans, 2008), many young people identified that self-employment enabled them to be financially and socially independent (see also. Mwaura, 2017). As noted formerly, this relates to constructions of social adulthood across many African contexts. Moreover, another vendor, Emmanuel, who had undertaken several types of work throughout his working life, including employed barber work, explained the financial benefits of being self-employed in the informal sector: '*You can maximise profit, and by working by myself, I can be free without being under the control of anyone […] I am comfortable and independent because now I have my own business'*. Another participant, Nasser, made similar comments while comparing his current work to previous agricultural work he undertook where he worked up to 14 hours a day and

was paid 50,000 Tsh (£17.49) a month: '*My current work [selling oranges] is better than the previous one because now I am depending on myself*'. For both participants, self-employment afforded them greater financial autonomy. Yet again, this illustrates how informal work can enable youth vendors to obtain markers associated with adulthood.

Social independence was also acknowledged by participants as a notable benefit of being self-employed within the informal sector. Doris, who had established a business selling bananas in Arusha city centre, explained the advantages of working for herself: '*It is advantageous [to work for myself] because there is no one who is forcing you to go anywhere, you can just sit'*. This illustrates the value Doris placed on being able to have control over decisions relating to her daily routine. Another participant, Vicent, also identified a benefit associated with the flexibility of his work: '*I don't have a fixed timetable because it is self-employment. So, I'm free even to move for any opportunity'*. This also draws on ideas of 'being and becoming' (Ansell et al., 2014) because although Vicent was undertaking self-employed work in the present, he was considering the future and how the flexibility of his work could allow him to grasp opportunities that arose. Importantly, the variable nature of young people's circumstances is reflected in the relatively dynamic and spontaneous nature of their pathways to adulthood (Punch, 2014). Additionally, participants' reflections on their previous work illustrate the importance of understanding how young people's pasts (Hanson, 2017) shape their present informal work experiences, perceptions, and practices.

Identifying the benefits and opportunities of informal work throughout this section has provided insights into how youth participants managed, sustained and/or improved their lives and livelihoods in the city. Yet, these insights alone fail to comprehend the complexity of young people's informal livelihoods (Gough and Langevang, 2016). To address this, the subsequent sections will focus on the numerous challenges young people faced working informally.

4.3. Challenges of informal work

Throughout this research, youth participants identified several challenges they experienced through undertaking informal work. The impacts these had on young people's lives/livelihoods will be examined throughout this section.

Income instability

Overall, 16 out of 22 participants identified income instability as a notable challenge they faced through undertaking informal work. During an interview with Victoria, she explained the

uncertainty of her work selling fruit and vegetables at a roadside in Dar: *'The challenges are there, because business fluctuates […] most of the time the [business] capital shrinks*'. This corresponds with widespread notions of informality as volatile and unpredictable (Lloyd-Evans, 2008; Simone, 2001). Another participant, Victor, also acknowledged income insecurity as a challenge and explained the impact this had on him:

> '*For one week you can't even sell anything, but in the week after we can sell two to three pairs of shoes […] the challenge is when we get low income and we divide the money and take to buy food and clothes but the money is not enough'.*

Victor's comments relate to insights by Yeboah (2017), who notes that the precarious nature of informal work can result in young people experiencing difficulties such as being unable to meet their everyday basic needs.

Many participants also identified that the small/unpredictable income they generated exacerbated the challenges of living in the city. Esther, who sold fruits on the outskirts of Dar, explained the difficulty of residing in the city with the little income she made: *'Small income makes life [in the city] very tough'.* Esther had numerous expenses such as rent, transport and food costs, which she identified were higher in the city compared to the village she came from. Likewise, while interviewing Doreen, she stated:

> *'Things here [in Dar] are very expensive. For just food and flour alone it can cost more than 2,000 Tsh [£0.67] and the maximum income which I earn in a day is 10,000 Tsh, [£3.08] so it is always stressful. How can I spend my earnings to cater for my needs such as food and rent as well as my mother's and children's needs?'*

High living costs combined with the responsibility to provide financial support to the family caused Doreen stress and anxiety. Urban youth in other studies have also identified similar feelings when explaining the difficulties they face in generating sufficient income to cover their expenses (Thieme, 2013, 2018; Munive, 2010). Another participant, Veva, also explained the difficulties of living in the city because of the low income she made:

> *'I expected to obtain rent, transportation fare, and food from it [egg selling business], but the problem was when I earned less than 5,000 Tsh [£1.57] in a day, I did not know how to divide that amount to cover all my needs, and 180,000 Tsh [£56.56] for rent [for three months]'.*

She expanded on this, explaining that she had anticipated that through informal business her life would improve. However, this had not come to fruition:

> '*I was positive that my life will change after a few months [of undertaking business], but things were not as I expected […] you can find years are passing and you are here in the city without any noticeable achievements'.*

Veva found that her income was often inadequate to cover the costs of living in the city and came to realise that she could become "trapped" in this arena, without improving her circumstances. This relates to 'waithood' (Honwana, 2012), and feelings of 'stuckness' in the lifecourse (Judge et al., 2020), because of the uncertainty and challenging nature of the urban environment she was in. Similarly, another participant, Emmanuel, noted that the cost of living in the city hindered his ability to improve his situation: '*I cannot go further [progress with life] because I have to pay the rent and food, and also, I need to expand my business'.* Both Emmanuel and Veva felt that their efforts to develop their businesses were inhibited because of the incomes they generated, making it difficult to live and progress in the city. These insights reveal how income instability in urban areas (Schilling et al., 2019) can constrain young people's abilities to obtain the resources necessary to pursue pathways to adulthood (Christiansen et al., 2006; Honwana, 2014).

Moreover, in this study, young women often commented that they used most of the incomes they generated on household/familial responsibilities. One vendor, Winnie, explained: *'I get money here [doing business], but then something may happen at home, like there is no food and I have to buy food, so instead of saving money I keep using it'.* Women can often be forced to use their often-small incomes to fulfil numerous obligations (Evans et al., 2015). This restricted Winnie's ability to save money which could have been used to expand her business activities. Another participant, Doreen, explained the difficulties of having to regularly send remittances to her mother and younger brother who lived in another region of Tanzania: *'Small income and many family needs [creates a challenge], because I am sharing my income with them, so I fail to make some steps [with my business]'.* Doreen's emphasis on 'sharing' her income with her mother and young brother is crucial. This corresponds with insights by Ansell et al. (2014), who note that young people's livelihoods are shaped by the needs and expectations of others. Both Winnie's and Doreen's comments illustrate that their responsibilities and obligations had affected their business progression. Other studies have also found that women's familial duties can hinder business progression and contribute to experiences of income

instability (Guma, 2015; Khayesi et al., 2014). Women are widely expected to fulfil responsibilities relating to the home and family, which often contribute to the financial challenges they experience (Manji et al., 2020; Shefer et al., 2008). Interestingly, although some men in this study identified fulfiling similar family and household obligations, none identified that this contributed towards income instability. This section has illustrated how income instability in the city can hinder youth 'becoming' (Worth, 2009), protracting youths' transitions to adulthood (Assaad and Krafft, 2021). It has also highlighted the importance of considering the gendered aspects of this challenge.

However, some participants acknowledged they had been able to actively manage the challenge of income instability (Yeboah, 2020). Collins, who had experienced financial difficulties while undertaking a small-scale charcoal business, decided to change the work he was undertaking: *'Diminishing capital left me with many debts [to charcoal suppliers] and that is why I decided to choose another job'*. Collins then started working on a construction project, enabling him to pay off the debts he owed to charcoal suppliers. Another participant, Veva explained that after enduring financial difficulties for several months, she quit her egg selling business because, '*the generated income was not sufficient for rent and my needs'*. She was able to find another job as an employed domestic worker, and commented: *'I am employed now, I earn my income, I am saving [money]'*. Veva's comments indicate she had become more financially stable through changing the work she undertook. Both Collins and Veva adopted an improvisation strategy, through switching the work they undertook, to improve their circumstances within a challenging business environment. Afutu-Kotey and Gough (2019) also found that youth switch the businesses they undertake to manage challenging situations. The findings contribute to wider debates regarding young people's agency by showing that young vendors are not passive as they continuously attempt to manage context-specific difficulties that confront them.

Whilst interviewing another respondent, Abdul, he also discussed the unpredictability of his business and explained his approach to managing this challenge:

> *'This business is not promising, it always fluctuates […] I can earn 50,000 Tsh [£17.49] per week but it depends since sometimes it can even be three months until I earn 50,000 Tsh because both capital and sales shrink. This was the reason why I decided to spend the amounts [of money] I collect, on the agricultural project [buying farmland], so that at least after harvesting I can get sufficient amount for doing other things'*

Because of income instability, Abdul invested in other income streams as a strategy to safeguard his livelihood (see. Section 4.2). Through this income diversification approach, he planned to expand his business activities in the future. This depicts Abdul as a social agent who did not passively 'accept' the challenges he experienced. Collins', Veva's and Abdul's accounts share a similarity because in response to changeability and instability (Worth, 2009), these participants made decisions enabling them to continue sustaining their lives/livelihoods in the city, again drawing attention to young vendors' agentive efforts in challenging urban environments.

However, the ability of young people to manage the challenge of income instability in this study was noticeably gendered. Young men were more likely than young women to manage this challenge. This was not because young women were more 'passive' than men; it was because women's agency was constrained by their limited financial resources and opportunities (Porter et al., 2020) and because of the multiple caring obligations they undertake (Khavul et al., 2009) (discussed further in Chapters 6 and 7).

Competitiveness of informal work

Several participants also highlighted that the competitive and overcrowded nature of the urban informal sector (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005; Rakodi, 2002) contributed to the difficulties they experienced in generating income. Godfrey, who sold oranges, explained that many people were doing the same business as him: '*The business environment has changed, therefore the business [of selling oranges] is not good nowadays because many people are doing this business'.* Likewise, Vicent noted: '*Currently there are many people who sell crisps, and because of that customer numbers decrease'.* This situation is hard for young people to manage, as this challenge is also common with many other types of informal work (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005). Another participant, Doreen, who sold cassava, also identified that there were, *'many other [cassava] sellers around'.* Because of this, Doreen explained that over time she had been forced to start business earlier each day. Even though her working hours had increased, the amount of stock she sold per day had not changed since she first started the business in 2014. This indicates that competition from other vendors had thwarted Doreen's business progression. Chapter 5 will detail how the increased presence of other vendors shapes young people's spatial and temporal mobilities.

Moreover, in Dar, David identified that access to suitable trading spaces had become increasingly difficult because more people were undertaking informal work in the city. David

had originally acquired a space to undertake his business through his uncle, however during the later stages of this study he had been forced to relocate to another part of the city. It is here that he faced challenges, and during a follow-up interview, he stated: *'The challenge I don't like is the fighting for places to put our business'*. Like many other informal vendors, David did not have a fixed location (Bromley, 2000) and so he had to compete with other vendors to obtain a place which was conducive for his business. This placed him in a position of uncertainty because he was unsure for how long he would be able to trade in this area.

This section has identified the multiple challenges that can arise because of increased competition within urban arenas (Thorsen, 2013). It has shown that these challenges are interrelated as increased competition can reduce young people's access to customers, increase their working hours (Obeng-Odoom and Ameyaw, 2014), and make finding viable vending spaces hard (Balarabe and Sahin, 2020). These challenges can contribute towards 'waithood' and uncertainty (Thieme, 2018), delaying young people's transitions to adulthood (Cole, 2011).

Figure 12: Two female vendors selling bananas down the same street in Arusha

Customer related challenges

Twelve participants also identified that customers posed challenges to the survival and sustainability of their informal businesses. Godfrey, an orange seller in Arusha, explained that sometimes customers would eat his product and then tell him to come back the next day to collect their money:

> *'When they [customers] are done eating eggs, they just say they don't have money and that "you should come tomorrow", but when you go again, they tell you they don't have money and in the end they don't pay you at all […] I find myself getting mad because what I am expecting is not real and I am failing to fulfil my targets'.*

As Meagher (2006) states, customers expect informal vendors to understand their circumstances without considering the impact(s) their actions can have on the trader. Similarly, Clara explained: *'It [not being paid by customers] has impact because it makes me lose the capital, like I don't get the expected money for my business as planned and on time'.* The above accounts show that issues with receiving payments can delay young vendors from achieving their targets. This contributes to work on the interconnectedness of young people's livelihoods (Ansell et al., 2014) by showing how customer-related challenges can, in part, shape youth 'being and becoming' through constraining vendors' livelihoods in the present which can hinder their abilities to accrue the financial resources necessary to develop and obtain future goals and objectives. The findings here also begin to show that issues with customers can affect young vendors' agency and emotional well-being. The impacts this has on youth 'being and becoming' will be developed towards the end of this section.

Moreover, during an interview with Doreen, she noted that customers could sometimes be very selfish:

> *'The challenge is when people who buy on credit are refusing to pay back, you can find that he owes me 200 Tsh [£0.06] but next time when he is buying another piece and pays with a note, he is becoming mad when I deduct the first debt as well. I am always surprised with customer's selfishness'.*

This further illustrates the disregard that customers can have towards young vendors' needs and circumstances. Managing this challenge was difficult for Doreen, because as Mumba (2016) identifies, selling products on credit is an important way for vendors to generate custom. Not engaging in this practice would likely result in a decrease in customer numbers (Ibid).

Another participant, David, commented that customers regularly complained that they were not receiving enough product for the price he was charging:

> *'He or she says to you, "add mister", you see? "Add at least a little even for my children to be full after eating, mister". So, those are challenges. You may find that maybe I can't add [more] so he or she tells you, "if you are not adding more, I am going with my money"'.*

Although bargaining is part of the market culture in many African contexts (Mumba, 2016), excessive haggling can reduce the already low incomes and profits vendors generate each day (Mramba et al., 2015). This can contribute to income stability, identified earlier in the chapter.

Arguably, it is because of young vendors' marginalised position within society (Hansen, 2010; van Blerk, 2013) that they experienced multiple customer-related challenges. These insights bring focus to the impacts customer issues can have on young vendors' livelihood development, addressing a gap in the current literature on youth and informality.

Perceptions of informal vendors

Youth participants, predominately in Dar, identified that people's negative perceptions were another challenge they endured while undertaking informal work. While interviewing Vicent, he explained some people's perceptions of the enterprise he undertook: *'We [street vendors] are insulted for our business, from people who have a negative perception of these businesses, and they think we are stupid to do such businesses'.* As Hansen (2010) identifies, people often perceive informal vendors as unskilled and uneducated, thus street sellers are often 'looked down' upon (Mwasalwiba et al., 2012). Another young vendor, Benson, explained that people insulted him when he told them the business he ran:

> *'When you meet with rich people, they can insult and despise you when you tell them that you are selling karanga [groundnuts], however it is not something which bothers me because I have learnt how to tackle it […] I normally walk away from them'*

Benson's identification that 'rich people' insult him, illustrates how class differences can impact youth as they traverse street spaces in search of income (Gough, 2008). Benson noted that he managed these situations by walking away without retorting. Yet for other youth in this study, these situations affected them. While observing Edward, he explained that he sometimes felt emotionally hurt because people occasionally devalued him because of his egg-selling business, even though he was just trying to support his family through this work. I asked him more about this during an interview and he stated: *'I hate to be ignored and devalued and seen*

as if I am not much educated'. Edward had a Batchelor in Procurement and Supplies Management, thus he felt belittled when people assumed he was uneducated because of the work he undertook. Young people strive to become respected citizens within their communities, which is widely associated with socially accepted adulthood in many African contexts (Banks and Sulaiman, 2012; Ephraim, 2013). Yet, increased informality and precarity has made this more difficult to attain (Honwana, 2014; Thieme, 2018). Edward did not always feel respected or valued, and he said that people's negative remarks can, *'make you want to give up'.*

Although previous studies have highlighted the negative perceptions associated with informal workers (Bromley, 2000; Klaeger, 2012), few studies have investigated the emotional impacts of these perceptions on young people (Porter et al., 2017). Edward indicated that others' comments and perceptions made him feel ostracised and led him to consider quitting his business. Corresponding with insights by Evans (2012), this shows that the emotional wellbeing of youth can constrain their transitions to adulthood over the lifecourse. The above analyses make a vital contribution by beginning to develop understandings into the ways in which young people's emotional welfare interact with processes of 'being and becoming'. They provide understandings of how vendors' daily encounters can enable or hinder the development of their lives and livelihoods in the city.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has gained insights into young vendors' complex lives and livelihoods within urban arenas. Drawing on work relating to youth migration (Esson, 2015, Crivello, 2011) and young people as social 'being and becoming' (Ansell et al., 2014; Vigh, 2006a), it began by analysing youth participants' reasons for migrating to urban localities. It revealed how youth participants commonly migrated to Arusha and Dar from rural areas to obtain the economic and social resources needed to improve their present and future life and livelihood chances. The findings showed how migration trajectories are an important aspect of youth 'being and becoming', shaped by contemporary socio-economic and environmental conditions. This contributes to conceptual understandings of 'being and becoming', drawing much-needed attention to the complexity and variability of young people's actions, choices and experiences in urban African contexts.

To an extent, young people's experiences of 'the city' corresponded with their perceptions of urban localities as places where financial opportunities could be found. Several participants identified that they had made significant achievements, such as building a house or expanding

their business activities, through working informally in the city. These accomplishments illustrate that it is possible for young people to engage in a process of social 'becoming' (Christiansen et al., 2006), through undertaking informal work. Participants' accounts also highlighted how they used their incomes to support others as well as themselves. The care literature was introduced, to analyse how these practices and relations, understood as forms of 'care' and 'caring', shape young vendors' livelihoods and pathways to adulthood. This highlighted how vendors' everyday lives and livelihoods are shaped by their connections to others. Chapter 6 will develop further insights into young vendors' caring responsibilities and relationships.

However, contrary to widespread perceptions of opportunity, vendors also identified experiencing numerous challenges. Many highlighted the unpredictable and unstable nature of informal work, noting that this made it difficult for them to know when or if they would progress with their lives. Some expressed feelings of 'stuckness' and 'uncertainty' in the city linked to 'waithood' which has become a popular way of analysing youth in African contexts (Honwana, 2012; Thieme, 2018). The findings also revealed how the challenges experienced by young vendors affected their agency and emotional wellbeing. This contributed to understanding the how these issues impacted young people as social 'being and becoming'. Yet, many young vendors were not passive in response to the numerous difficulties and uncertainties they experienced. Many engaged in different strategies to try and improve their chances for the future. Again, this showed the complexity of youth 'being and becoming' and how different youth engage in, and attempt to navigate, this process.

Throughout this chapter, it has been apparent that youth is a position in 'movement' (Vigh, 2006a). Drawing on notions of 'being and becoming' has helped to analyse how young vendors' actions and decisions in the present are connected to, and impact in different ways, their anticipated futures. The insights gained in this chapter have also brought attention to the multiplicity of young vendors' experiences and have started to uncover the complex nature of their life paths (Skelton, 2002). The following chapter takes this further, examining young vendors' spatial and temporal mobilities in Arusha and Dar.

5 The spatial and temporal movements of young informal workers

This chapter examines young itinerant vendors' spatial and temporal mobilities in the cities of Arusha and Dar, drawing on and contributing towards conceptual understandings of 'being and becoming', concerned with understanding the interplay between young people's present and future. It explores young people's daily business practices and performances, which are undertaken to secure the resources needed to develop their lives and livelihoods in the city. The challenges youth encounter is then investigated, followed by an exploration into the influence of religion on young people's everyday livelihood routines and experiences. These discussions contribute towards understanding the many factors influencing youth livelihoods in urban environments.

The latter stages of this chapter examine how mobile-based social media platforms such as Instagram and WhatsApp are reconfiguring young people's informal work and mobility practices. This includes an integrated examination of the benefits and challenges of using digital platforms to undertake informal business. It also analyses how these contemporary changes may impact young vendors' abilities to achieve their goals for the future. Overall, the chapter gains understandings of the complex and diverse spatialities and temporalities of young vendors' livelihoods. These insights will contribute to understanding young people's distinct experiences of undertaking informal work and their attempts to progress with their lives and livelihoods within increasingly competitive and challenging urban landscapes.

5.1 The convenience of itinerant vending

From the outset, it is important to recognise that young itinerant vendors' movements are spatial strategies they undertake to establish and maintain their livelihoods (Adama, 2020). Langevang and Gough (2009) found during research with youth in Accra, Ghana, that young people attributed their survival in the city to the movements they undertook. All mobile vendors in this research (12/22) identified the ability to seek customers, as the main benefit associated with their mode of selling. One participant, Clara, noted: *'There is a benefit [of walking] because by walking around, you can earn more money compared to the one who will just stay waiting for customers'.* Comparably, Abdul also identified the benefits of seeking out customers: '*It helps to get customers [walking in traffic] because we are approaching them instead of waiting for them to approach us, since it is hard to get customers that way'.* Abdul's and Clara's comments highlight that moving around the city was an effective way of generating sales for the businesses they were undertaking. Both participants also allude to the convenience of the informal work

they undertook, yet this is often overlooked when analysing the benefits of vendors' movements (Adama, 2012; Lyons and Snoxell, 2005). While interviewing a youth-led organisation leader in Dar, I asked whether informal work in Tanzania was sustainable, and they replied:

> '*If I need to buy a cup, maybe I have to go to Kariakoo [market in central Dar]. But, it does not have to be that way, because someone [an informal vendor] can come here and bring it here to me, for a lower price than I could take it from Kariakoo, and then I don't have to take a bus to Kariakoo either'*

This quote acknowledges how vital informal work can be within city environments, as it can offer low-cost goods and services to urban residents in accessible and convenient locations (Bromley, 2000; Chen and Skinner, 2014). As Adama (2020) explains, vendors' mobilities can save customers time and money as they will not have to travel far (if at all) to purchase low-cost items. For itinerant vendors, it is, therefore, crucial to know where they can find the 'right' customers for their business so that they can continue to sustain and/or develop their livelihoods. The following sections provide an in-depth analysis of informal vendors' routes and routines while also examining other notable influences on their spatial and temporal mobilities.

5.2 Young vendors' diverse and complex livelihood practices and performances

Young vendors' movements across time and space (van Blerk and Ansell, 2006) are a crucial component of their everyday livelihoods (Gough, 2008; Rigg 2007b). It is also important to understand the skills, knowledge, and experiences youth draw on while navigating urban landscapes to generate income (Binnie et al., 2007; Hossain, 2005). Youths' abilities vary enormously (Gough, 2012), thus ongoing attention is required to comprehend the heterogenous spatial and temporal strategies young vendors employ to manage their livelihoods within rapidly changing urban environments (Tacoli and Mabala, 2010; Thieme, 2018). In this study, GPS map annotations were used to capture the diversity of young vendors' routes and routines. Unsurprisingly, youth participants predominately detailed where they were most likely to find customers (or not) on the routes they travelled. For example, Godfrey's annotated map (Figure 13) shows that he expected to sell many oranges at Morombo Market, while another respondent, Doris, identified Sokoine Road as a place she often generated custom (Figure 14). Likewise, on all the annotated maps presented in this chapter, vendors noted parts of their routes that they had to pass through that were not good for business but necessary to traverse to reach destinations where they could generate income.

'Around banana area before mbauda it's the quiet place […] because a lot of people do not pass in that area'.

Going to Morombo (North to South) Godfrey stated, *'It is easier [the route], because I am going down hills'*, but going back in to town, he stated, *'it is hard when I am back to town from Morombo [South to North], because of the hills and because of the terrain also [uneven paths]'.*

'For that day I walked more than other day because I started the work early […] the distance is just depending with the day. I walk the same location everyday, but it sometimes happens when I find the place where there is customers then I walk there to get the customers'.

Usually sells a lot at Morombo market as there are a lot of people

Mbauda is also an area where Godfrey identifies he typically finds a lot of customers

Figure 13: Godfrey's annotated GPS map from a route undertaken on the 17th June 2019

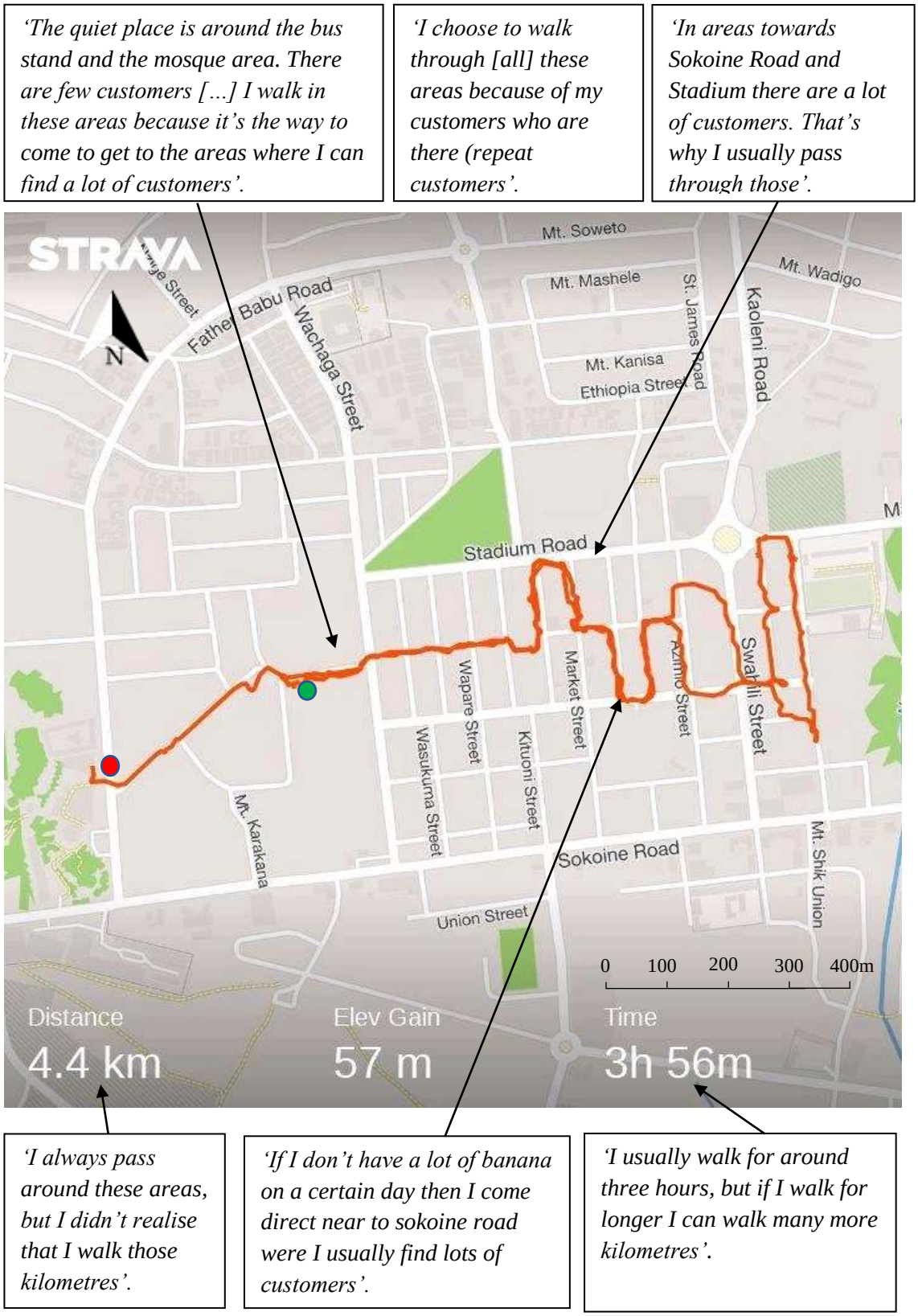


Figure 14: Doris' annotated GPS map from a route undertaken on the 8th April 2019

Of the four annotated maps presented in this chapter, three make specific reference to repeat customers. On her map, Doreen highlighted two areas where she targeted regular customers (see. Figure 15). The first, Mnazi Moja, is where she identified she had reliable clients (taxi drivers) who she sold raw cassava to on credit. Doreen was able to sell cassava to these customers on credit as she had developed trust with them over time. As Mumba (2016) observes, selling on credit can enable youth to maintain and strengthen customer bases. Because of this, Doreen said that she knew that she was likely to generate custom whenever she passed through this area. The second place, Posta, is where she commented she could sell between 3-5,000 Tsh (£1.03-£1.71) worth of cassava to security guards on patrol around the hotel and business district of the city. In both examples, targeting customers to whom cassava could be sold, gave meaning to Doreen's movements in these parts of the city (Langevang and Gough 2009). Likewise, in Doris' annotations (Figure 14) she also identifies, arguably more explicitly than Doreen, the interrelationship between the route she took and the location of regular customers: *'I choose to walk through these areas because of my customers who are there [repeat customers]'.* Doris chose to walk the same route each day as she had, over time, built a reliable customer base through her movements. Unlike Doreen, Doris walked far shorter distances through the city as she predominately targeted 'static' customers who worked in shops, wholesale warehouses, and on small wooden stalls selling the precious gemstone, Tanzanite. Doris knew that many customers frequented the streets she passed through, presenting her with daily economic opportunities.

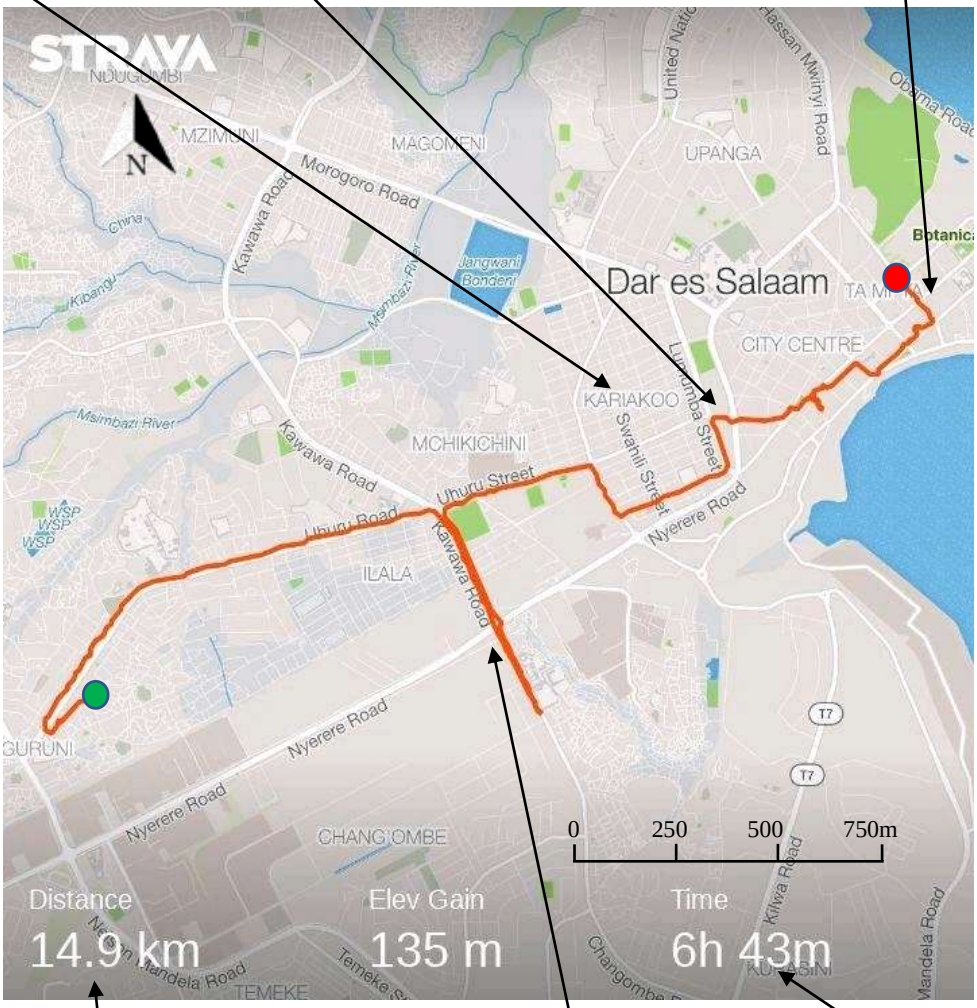
Another participant, Nasser, who sold hard-boiled eggs in Arusha, also employed the strategy of walking almost the same route each day, as illustrated in Figure 16. During an interview, I asked Nasser why he walked the same route daily and he replied, '*I am not walking that far, just around town, and it's the place where there is a lot of people and different businesses going on'*. Upon further discussion, he highlighted an area in Arusha called Makao Manya (circled twice in figure 16), which he identified as a busy area for business: *'I always go where there is boda boda [motorcycle taxi] garages, and that is where I find a lot of customers'*. Nasser was able to sell around 60 hard-boiled eggs in under 2 hours every day in this area of the city.

'Many women are ending (their day's business) at Kariakoo […] I am just passing there to test my luck'.

'At Mnazi Mmoja [near Dar city centre] I have very reliable customers who can buy for credit and pay me without any problem, I really trust them'.

'It hurts me that I am using all these hours and walking all these kilometres, but I am getting very small income'.

'I have regular customers around Posta nearby Mwendokasi and petrol station […] they are regular customers and even buy cassava on credit which costs 3,000-5,000 Tsh, and they are paying me'.



'I think I walk a long distance sometimes. I become very tired in such a way that my body pains everywhere. Now I have realized why. It is because of this distance'

'I never knew that I worked and walked this way, I was just going'

Doreen often sells at this locality (VETA) due to heavy traffic in the area during rush-hour. *'VETA is busy because of traffic jams'.*

'I have realized why I have chest problems and pains; I am spending a lot of time on the road'

Figure 15: Doreen's annotated GPS map of her route undertaken on the 11th July 2019

The routes of Doris, Doreen and Nasser were to varying extents influenced by the location(s) of repeat customers. Mramba et al. (2015) compellingly argue that vendors establish familiar/typical routes where they regularly pass through for business, as an alternative to having permanent premises. In other words, through repetition and building a customer base along these routes (Turner and Oswin, 2015), vendors can promote consistency through generating regular sales which is important given that young people's lives are often associated with instability and uncertainty (Honwana, 2012). The findings build on recent scholarship that has recognised the significance of a vendor's location in relation to accessing customers (Lindell and Adama, 2020), by bringing greater attention to the importance of repeated mobilities role in establishing and maintaining customer bases. For some vendors, these spatial strategies and tactics enabled them to sustain and develop their livelihoods in the city and accrue the social and material resources required to attain socially accepted adulthood in the future. These findings make a theoretical contribution to notions of social 'being and becoming' through illustrating how the spatial dimensions of young people's lives and livelihood interact with both their present and future temporalities. Furthermore, through their movements, trading activities, and social interactions with others, young vendors are also part of place and space-making within the city (Beck et al., 2017; Malefakis, 2019). The discussions here contribute towards understanding the intricacy, diversity, and interrelatedness of mobility and livelihoods within African urban environments (see also. Gough, 2008).

Figure 16: Comparison of two GPS maps created with Nasser on the 19th and 20th March 2019 during separate observations

However, repeat customers were not always sought after by participants, nor were they the sole reason why vendors would repeatedly target specific city spaces. Although part of Doreen's route targeted repeat customers, the most important area of the city for her business was around VETA Junction (see. Figure 15). This part of the city is notorious for traffic jams and during an observation I witnessed Doreen walking up and down a 250-300 metre stretch of road, selling to customers who were stranded in standstill traffic. She did this fifteen times over the space of three hours during this observation. Balarabe and Sahin (2020: 13), refer to this as 'repetitive temporality', which is another example of how repetition can feature in a vendor's route. These findings reveal how the spatial and temporal aspects of young people's livelihoods combine. There is even more complexity to these repetitive routines. Vendors need to be skilled as they habitually weave in and out of traffic, deal with customers, and avoid being struck by road users (Beck et al., 2017). Moreover, their businesses are also heavily influenced by the speed of traffic (Klaeger, 2012). While observing Doreen, she explained how crucial traffic movements were to the success of her work:

> 'Doreen has explained that when there was less traffic earlier, this was better for business as there was a steady flow of cars moving in and out of the area which meant that new customers could be found. When the traffic is stagnant for long periods of time, she says that customer numbers drop significantly'. (Research Diary, 11th July 2019)

Doreen suggested that this ephemeral trading space became less effective for selling cassava if traffic moved too quickly or too slowly. During this observation, Doreen also identified that traffic police, who control traffic movements, could hinder her business. She said that these police officers sometimes held the traffic for 10-15 minutes, significantly reducing traffic flow and the number of customers passing through the area. Street vending is intricate and is subject to multiple variables which can positively or negatively impact business (Balarabe and Sahin, 2020). Doreen's account also shows the temporal nature of her work, as she targeted VETA junction during evening rush-hour because customer numbers in this area were high at that time. This temporal strategy was an important part of her business, enabling her to sustain her livelihood activities within the city.

Similarly, other participants' income-generating activities were also dictated by specific times of the day. Nasser commented that he sold eggs during the morning because this was the time customers wanted to have a snack. Doris also identified that early to mid-afternoon was the best time to sell bananas because people wanted an accompaniment to their lunchtime meals. These

'temporal tactics' (Adama, 2020: 14) illustrate the time-space movements of young vendors' livelihood mobilities (van Blerk, 2013; Robson, 2004). Because the characteristics of urban space change over a day (Gough, 2008), vendors target city spaces at times they believe will be most conducive for the business they are undertaking. Binnie et al. (2007) note that vendors can create degrees of predictability through having a structure to their routes and routines.

Several participants in this study also acknowledged that their movements were influenced by the spatial and temporal practices of other vendors undertaking the same business as them. Doreen's annotations (Figure 15) identify Kariakoo as an area of Dar es Salaam where many women selling cassava ended their routes. Aware of this, Doreen walked beyond this part of the city towards the centre, as she knew there would be customers in these areas who had not yet bought cassava from anyone else. For another participant, Vicent, an increase in the number of vendors who sold crisps in a location he had traded at for several years had forced him to seek other trading spaces in the city. During a follow-up interview he said: *'I am going to different places. The day before yesterday you have seen me at Uhasibu [during an observation], but yesterday I was not there as now I am trying to go to places which have no crisp sellers'.* Doreen and Vicent adjusted their spatial movements in response to their awareness of the location of other vendors. Again, this illustrates how youth can use mobility strategically to increase their chances of acquiring resources in city spaces, which, as discussed in Chapter 4, are becoming increasingly competitive.

Embodied nature of young vendors' movements

Building on discussions concerning the routes of vendors, this section focuses on the inherently embodied nature of the mobilities itinerant vendors undertook. Walking was the most common form of mobility for participants in this research, yet many itinerant vendors attributed this to feelings of fatigue and pain they regularly experienced. Abdul, who sold crisps to customers in traffic jams, spent several hours a day navigating through rows of vehicles attempting to sell his products. He commented: '*The challenge is walking under the sun in such a way we are hurt […] I become very exhausted when I go home'*. Weather, especially hot conditions, can exacerbate vendors' feelings of tiredness and pain (Bryceson et al., 2003), and this was highlighted more by participants in Dar due to persistently higher temperatures in this city. Moreover, itinerant vendors in the research often carried all the stock they aimed to sell over a working day. Carrying heavy loads requires embodied skills, and transporting these goods can make informal work very difficult (Porter et al., 2017). In Arusha, Doris used to sell one hundred bananas and several avocados each day and carried these in a bowl on her head. She

explained how she felt after doing this each day during a follow-up interview: *'You walk a lot and thus you get tired. You have a bowl on your head, you wish you could just throw it away'.* It is predominately women who carry loads on their heads in many African contexts (Yeboah, 2010). As Porter et al. (2017) state, the gendered politics of mobility shapes women's and men's bodily comportment. It is also important to note that the use of carrying equipment such as carts (discussed below) was highly gendered, with only men in this study using such apparatus. This is because the use of machinery is heavily linked to social constructions of masculinity (Yeboah, 2010). Doris said that the burden of having to carry a heavy load every day sometimes caused feelings of frustration towards the work she did. The feelings that participants in this study felt whilst undertaking their informal business on the move, corresponds with the mobilities literature which recognises that it is through the body that the practice of walking is enacted and experienced (Cresswell, 2010b; Porter et al., 2017). The findings here also build on discussions in Chapter 4 concerning emotional wellbeing, contributing to understanding how feelings of pain and tiredness shape young people's daily livelihood mobility experiences and their opinions of the informal work they undertake.

Participants in this study also identified specific sections of their routes which evoked more notable feelings of embodiment compared to others. In Nasser's annotations (Figure 17) he describes encountering a difficult part of his journey while pushing several hundred oranges in a heavy metallic cart: '*The hardest place is near Sakina when I climb up the hill […] I am feeling tired and pain in my hands'.* Similarly, Godfrey who also used a cart to sell oranges in Arusha noted on his map (Figure 13) that the journey from Morombo back to Arusha city centre (south to north), was the most difficult part of his route. During an observation I had witnessed the difficult terrain in this part of the city prior to completing map annotations with Godfrey: 'The paths are not smooth walking back from Morombo market. They are rough and Godfrey visibly struggles, especially when there are jagged rocks that he has to push his cart over' (Research Diary, 17th June 2019). It is through their embodied knowledge that Nasser and Godfrey determined the more challenging sections of their routes. As Wylie (2002) notes, because walking is a sensory encounter, feelings such as exertion will frame people's experiences of interacting with specific environments. Moreover, young vendors' experiences of urban landscapes develop over the course of a journey (Porter et al., 2010a), and depend on a range of factors including terrain, weather, and increased tiredness over time. The entanglements between mobilities and objects (Sheller, 2017) is also key to understanding the experiences of young vendors. Nasser's and Godfrey's use of a heavy metallic cart (see. Figure

18) was beneficial in allowing them to transport several hundred oranges across parts of the city. Yet, the inclusion of the cart also added to the difficulty of the work they undertook. It can be argued that the benefits outweighed the challenges in these instances, otherwise carts would not have been utilised.

Figure 17: Nasser's annotated map from a route undertaken on the 13th June 2019

The significance of drawing attention to the embodied experiences of itinerant vendors as they traverse various urban environments, was excellently summarized by Charles, a male research assistant in Arusha who accompanied me during an observation with Godfrey who walked 14.4 km's over a 10.5-hour period (see. Figure 13). He exclaimed, '*people who advocate, have the pain of Machinga's [itinerant traders] on their brains, lips, and minds, but not on their bodies'*. Our presence on these journeys coupled with the use of GPS map annotations, allowed for greater insights into the embodied nature of informal vending; something which was less likely to be shared through other methods such as interviews (Martens et al., 2014). The research focused on the role of participants' bodies in constructing meanings, experiences, and interactions as they moved through the city undertaking their informal livelihoods. It found that that embodiment is intensifying for young vendors, who have been forced to walk longer distances over longer hours to sustain their livelihoods within urban environments that are becoming more challenging (see also. Simone and Pieterse, 2017). The following section will expand insights into the time vendors spent working each day.

Figure 18: Metal cart used by vendors selling oranges in Arusha

The time young people spent daily undertaking their informal businesses

As discussed in previous sections, time is crucial to the movements of young informal vendors. It was important in the study to understand time in relation to how long vendors spent undertaking their business activities over the course of a day. It is widely acknowledged that long working hours are characteristic of informal work (Obeng-Odoom, 2014; Yeboah, 2010). However, it became apparent in this research that many participants were unaware of the amount of time they spent working. This was evident in Doris', Doreen's and Nasser's comments which they included on their GPS map interpretations (see. Figures 14, 15, and 17). Doreen's map annotations were particularly revealing as she exclaimed: *'It hurts me that I am using all these hours and walking all these kilometres, but I am getting very small income'.* Even though Doreen walked for 15 km's over 7 hours (see. Figure 15), she still only generated little income. Doreen highlighted the emotional hurt she felt from putting in so much labour but getting little reward for it. This makes an important contribution to understanding how emotional wellbeing and social 'becoming' interact, as it reveals that Doreen's feeling of hurt were caused by the little livelihood progression she was making through her informal activities.

To explore vendors' working hours in greater detail, I incorporated time-use diagrams into focus group sessions. Over both cities, it was found that men (n=12) worked on average 9.4 hours over a 24-hour period, and women (n=11) worked 9.5 hours on average over the same period (see. Table 4, page 169). And, as shown in Figure 19, one participant who completed a time-use diagram indicated that she worked 12 hours over a 'typical' 24-hour period. Likewise, time was also something that many focus group participants had not considered. One participant, a bottled water seller, aged 27, attributed the long hours he and other vendors worked to the daily goals they set themselves: '*We don't have a specific time for work, that is why you may find a person is here until 10pm […] he might stay here until 10pm as he wants his products to be sold. There are others who are even leaving here at 11pm'.* The uncertain nature of informal work will often result in young people committing long hours to achieve daily income targets (Yeboah, 2017). Like Doreen, many of the participants in these groups were pained (both physically and emotionally) by the amount of time they worked. This provides more evidence showing how young people's livelihoods can evoke a range of emotions. These feelings may also shape young vendors' livelihood practices, driving them to work long hours in attempts to achieve their visions for the future. This again relates to youth as social 'being and becoming' and shows how young people's emotions may play a role in shaping this process. Thus, simply acknowledging that vendors work long hours overlooks the

complexity of this issue and how young people's present and future shape their everyday engagements with city environments.

Figure 19: Time-use diagram of a 15-year-old focus group participant who fried and sold cassava. Each star represents one hour, and circles represent 30 minutes

Translation left to right: 'house work', 'paid work', 'resting', 'caring for family/time spent with family' and 'personal activities/self-care'

Health issues and hazards experienced by itinerant vendors

Upon spending extended periods accompanying youth participants whilst they undertook their income-generating activities, I became aware that the environments they worked in could have significant impacts on their health. Health is an essential aspect of human capital (Yeboah, 2010), and good health is widely regarded as important in being able to pursue a livelihood (Scoones, 1998; Oduro et al., 2015). Many studies have highlighted the impacts that traffic-related accidents and injuries can have on the health of itinerant vendors (Klaeger 2012; Schenck et al., 2019). Yet, few accounts or statistics explain other health issues affecting vendors' activities (Porter and Turner, 2019). As Doreen's annotated GPS map shows (Figure 15), she attributed the length of time she spent moving and selling cassava on the street to the chest pains and problems she suffered from. These annotations also reveal that Doreen was notably shocked by the length of time she spent working on the roads and had not thought about the impact this could have on her health. During observations with Doreen prior to these annotations I had written in my diary: 'Here [at Karume Junction] you can clearly see the dust particles and the haze created by the fumes from vehicles idling in the traffic' (Research Diary,

11th July 2019). Although I cannot confirm that Doreen's chest issues were caused directly because of her work on the roads in Dar, it is not inconceivable to imagine that regular exposure to dust and pollution from walking in between traffic jams would impact her health to some degree. During the same observation, Doreen explained that she used to sell mangoes and avocados as well as cassava but had to stop this as the combined weight of the stock, when balanced on her head, put a strain on her chest. In a follow-up interview, she stated: *'I have a future plan, but the issue is the chest problem hinders me from working harder to reach my goals'*. As the extract from my research diary and this quotation from Doreen shows, her chest problems curtailed the number of products she could sell hindering her business progression. Due to a lack of capital, Doreen conceded that it was hard for her to change the business she undertook, thus at that point in time, there was little she could do to manage this situation.

Vicent, who sold crisps in traffic jams, also mentioned that he had suffered from health issues including, sore legs and eyes, caused by spending extended periods navigating his way through traffic jams. Yet, unlike Doreen, he was able to address this temporarily by taking a break from his work. On his life-mapping diagram exercise he completed, he wrote: *'In 2018 I went back to the farm [in coastal region] and took a break from [the crisp] business'*. Although Vicent could take a break from his work to manage his health issues, this was only a temporary solution as he returned to the same work months later. Thus, it is possible that over time these issues will affect him again. For both Doreen and Vicent, health issues had affected the everyday mobilities and business activities they undertook. As shown above, Doreen had further identified her health problems as one of the main reasons why she was unable to develop her business. The health of young informal vendors must be brought into sharper focus because as the findings here show, health issues in the present can hinder the livelihood progression young vendors can achieve over time. This makes an important contribution by considering how the health of young vendors in urban environments shapes 'being and becoming', adding to understanding the complexity and variability of youth livelihood development.

Participants' research into appropriate vending locations for their businesses

As discussed previously, young vendors draw on their knowledge and experiences of urban landscapes to seek locations they perceive will be best for their businesses. Two participants spoke of undertaking preliminary research prior to commencing their income-generating activities. Nasser explained during an informal conversation that when he first arrived in Arusha, he was unsure where the best place for him to undertake his business would be: '*last*

December [2018] I spent two days in two different locations; two days at Arusha bus stand, and two days where we are walking near [near to Kilombero Market]'. He decided to sell eggs near Kilombero market as he identified fewer vendors sold this product there compared to Arusha Bus Stand, and he also identified the potential to sell regularly to motorcycle garage workers in this area (the benefits of this sales approach have been discussed previously). Another participant, Veva, who also sold hard-boiled eggs but in Dar, also spoke of conducting research before selling in an area of the city:

> *'I went to do simple research at Tandika [Temeke] and found that there was nobody who was selling this kind of eggs [local breed eggs]. Though at Tandika they told me that it is not possible to sell eggs by 1000 Tsh (£0.37) as it was quite expensive, so I decreased the price and started to sell them by 700 Tsh (£0.26)'*

The tacit knowledge (Mramba et al., 2015) that Nasser and Veva gained through spending time to understand the areas they planned to undertake business illustrates the importance these vendors placed on seeking locations of the city that would be most advantageous for their work. Both participants also commented on having chosen areas for their business that had little competition from other vendors, corresponding with discussions from earlier in this section. Thus, understanding how vendors select the routes they take is crucial in gaining insights into how their spatial practices develop within the city. Next, the influence of religion on vendors' spatial and temporal mobilities is examined.

5.3 Influences of religion on the routes and routines of young informal vendors

Religion has been of interest to some geographers for decades (Holloway and Valins, 2002). Although there is a small body of literature that examines entrepreneurship and religion (Balog et al., 2014; Namatovu et al., 2018), there has been little analysis on the role of religion in shaping the spatial and temporal practices of young urban informal workers in Majority World contexts. Scoones (2009) recognises that understanding religion in relation to people's livelihoods is fundamental, however other demographic characteristics such as a person's gender, age and/or ethnicity commonly receive greater attention (Gökarıksel, 2009). Yet in this study, it was evident that religious practices had a notable influence on the daily/weekly routines of informal vendors. Throughout the research, it became evident that many youth participants took a day off from their businesses on a Sunday. For Christian participants this was because they would attend church. During observations with male Muslim participants, it was apparent that prayer also shaped their business activities. Yet, for Muslims, this occurred more frequently, up to 3 or 4 times per day, depending on the hours they worked.

In Arusha, I had planned to commence an observation at 6 am on a Sunday with Godfrey in the city centre. He had to travel around 20 minutes on public transport from his home into the city, but on this day, he had been delayed by over an hour. He explained that he had started business later than expected because he was praying at his local mosque and, *'the imam took extra time this morning'*. I accompanied Godfrey for several hours whilst he worked until he decided to stop doing his business just after midday. In my diary I remarked: 'Godfrey has finished his work at 12.45 pm even though he has 7 eggs left to sell. He says he has finished for today as he needs to go and pray at 1 pm' (Research Diary, 10th April 2019). During this observation it was apparent that Godfrey's prayer routine had shaped his daily work schedule at two notable moments: at the beginning of his working day, and at the end. These insights contribute to discussions in Section 5.2 about the diverse temporal practices of young people in cities, illustrating that vendors' religious commitments can also shape their spatial and temporal livelihood mobilities.

An observation coupled with GPS mapping with another vendor, Benson, showed that the physical site of a religious building had a direct influence on his temporal and spatial mobility practices. As Figure 20 shows, Benson temporarily stopped his business at two different locations; he stopped at the first location just before 1 pm and at the second location just before 4 pm. The proximity of these two locations to the mosque Benson frequented, indicates that his route was influenced by this place of worship as he would walk through areas of the city that were near this site around times of prayer. In this instance, the mosque can be understood as an infrastructural mooring (Hannam et al., 2006). Cresswell (2010b) defines moorings as places where people go to, come from, or pass. As Benson's map suggests, the mosque was a key contextual element shaping his spatial and temporal livelihood mobilities. Langevang and Gough (2009) have also observed that places of worship such as mosques can steer young people's movements. Yet, given that religion is an integral part of the culture in many African societies (Darley and Blankson, 2008; Namatovu et al., 2018), it is surprising that little research has examined its role in shaping the everyday spatial and temporal livelihood mobilities of informal workers. As established previously, these mobilities shape youth as social 'being and becoming', thus understanding the influence of religion on vendors' daily routes and routines can add depth to understanding the complexity of young people's life and livelihood development over time.

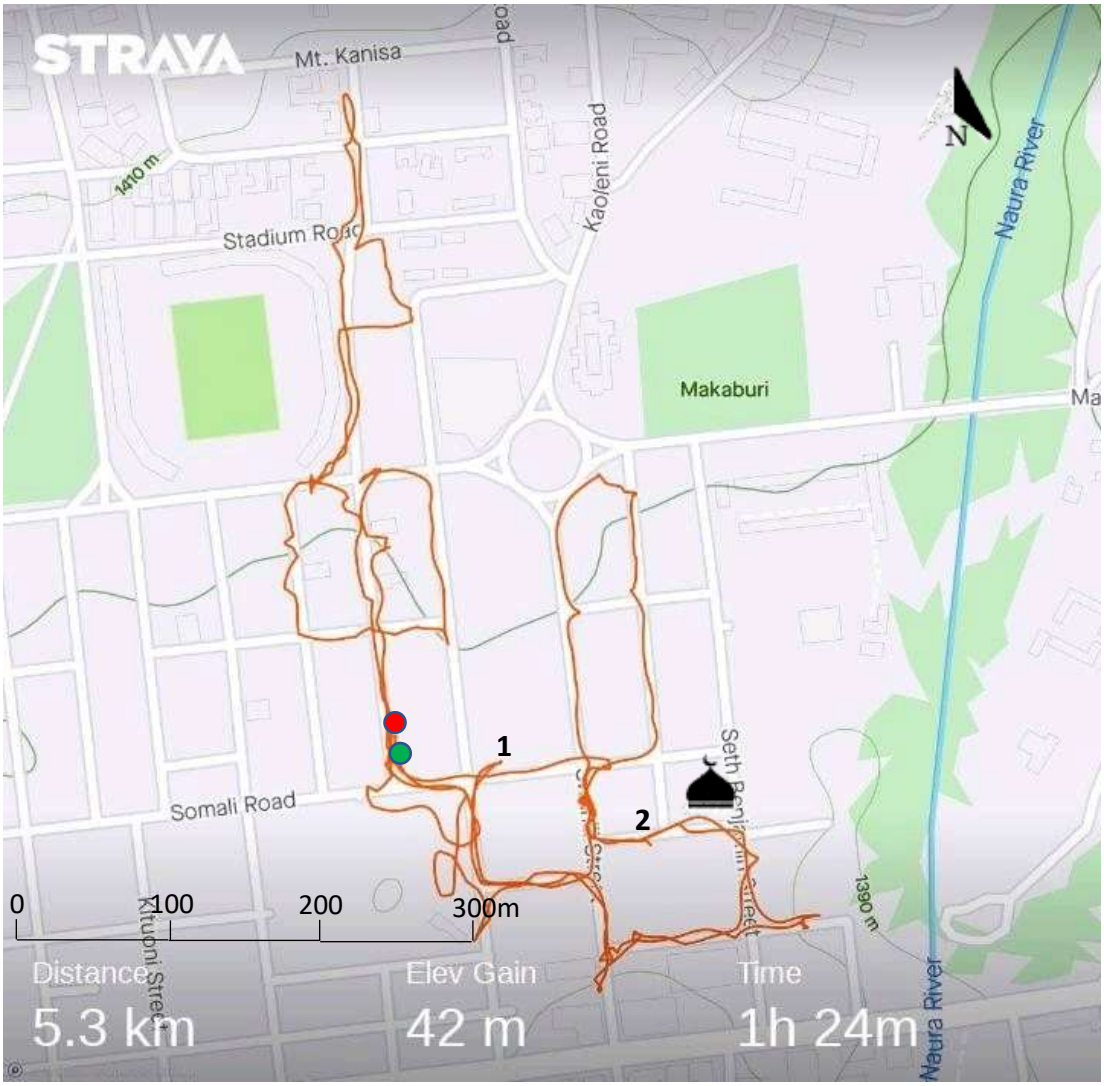


Figure 20: Numbers '1' and '2' mark the two places where Benson stopped his business (at 1pm and 4pm) to pray at a local mosque, shown on the map - the green dot indicates where GPS tracking began, and the red dots shows where it finished

The concept of 'moorings' will continue to be referred to for the remainder of this section to illuminate how religious activities, which can occur at different temporal scales (weekly, monthly, yearly), impact the businesses and movements of informal vendors who are not directly involved in these activities. During an informal conversation with Nasser, a Muslim participant in Arusha, he explained, '*I take a day off on Sundays to rest, because it's quiet on the street*'. I asked him why Sundays were quiet, and he explained that many people either attended church or rested at home. Similarly, Victor, a shoe seller in Arusha, said during an interview: *'From Monday to Saturday you can find a lot of people, but on Sunday there is not a lot'*. Many people attending church on a Sunday impacted the streetscapes in both Arusha and

Dar, and thus young people would regularly inform me that Sundays were mostly unfavourable for business.

Less frequent religious events also impacted the work of vendors in this research. I undertook my first observation with Doreen, who sold cassava around central Dar, on the 19th of April 2019, which was on Good Friday (a public holiday in Tanzania). This was the first time I had observed Doreen, therefore I was unaware which areas of the city were good for her business and which were not. During this observation, Doreen and I walked past an area of Dar called Karume Junction. I noted that this area was quiet and that few sales were made here. However, upon having an informal discussion with Doreen she explained that this was not a 'typical day'. In my diary I noted:

> 'Doreen is explaining that there are no traffic jams today because it is Good Friday. She explained that normally, there is a lot of traffic where we are [at Karume Junction] in all directions, which usually presents many opportunities for sales (Research Diary, 19th April 2019)

At later dates I then observed first-hand that contrary to my original observations at Karume Junction on Good Friday, that this area of the city was where Doreen sold a substantial amount of cassava to customers stuck in traffic jams during evening rush hour between 5-8/9pm (see. Figure 21). Like Sundays, on Good Friday many people attended church services away from typically busy areas of the city thus customer numbers on this Bank Holiday were substantially lower than usual. Aware of this, Doreen only bought 3 sticks of cassava to sell on the street rather than the 5 she would have usually purchased, and instead of working until midnight like usual, she finished her work at 10 pm. The adjustment Doreen made to the quantity of stock she planned to sell shows her knowledge that this religious event would impact her business. Furthermore, as mentioned above, these moorings (resting at home or attending church) draw people/customers away from parts of the city they would usually frequent. An analysis of the impacts of infrastructural 'moorings' has commonly been undertaken in direct relation to people who travel to, from or past them (Cresswell, 2010b; Porter et al., 2017), however the evidence presented here suggests that an assessment of moorings should also extend to understand how the mooring of other people affects those who are not moored. As shown in Doreen's account, Good Friday resulted in a temporary reconfiguration of city spaces as other people's 'usual' mobilities had been disrupted, ultimately resulting in her generating less custom on that day. These understandings are crucial, illustrating the impact religion can have

on city spaces and, by extension, the work of urban vendors. To follow, insights into the influence religion can have on the sustainability of certain types of informal work will be gained.

Figure 21: Photo taken at Karume Junction, Dar es Salaam, during evening rush hour

The impacts of religion on types of informal work young vendors undertake

As discussed above, religion can have notable influences on informal work. However, it was found that Ramadan, which occurred between Sunday the 5th of May and Monday the 3rd of June (2019), was a religious 'event' that impacted several participants in this research, forcing them to either change their business or stop working entirely. Those who undertook food-based businesses were most affected. Again, Doreen's business was impacted by religion but during the period of Ramadan the consequences were far more significant than detailed previously. During a follow-up interview, she explained that she had attempted to sell cassava over Ramadan, however, her business was not doing well due to the fasting practices of Muslim customers:

> *'Every place I passed people were saying they were full. This impacted business which became tough as I was not selling […] it is because of budget, once they [Muslim*

customers] eat a meal after fasting for hours, they don't have money to spend into other things thus they are careful with their budgets'.

The religious practices of customers drew custom away from Doreen over an extended period, negatively impacting her business. Further discussions revealed that she could not sustain her work over this time, so she stopped her business activities until the end of Ramadan. Limited customer numbers over this period resulted in Doreen's livelihood immobility for over a month, during which she generated no income. During this time of not working, Doreen relied on 115,000 Tsh (£38.89) of savings which allowed her to continue buying food and paying for rent. However, after a month, this money had been spent in its entirety. She said that she was aware that this would hinder her ability to progress with her life. She planned to build a house on a piece of land she had already bought on the outskirts of Dar, yet because of these circumstances during Ramadan, these plans were delayed while she attempted to resave the money she had been forced to unexpectedly spend. Due to immobility, Doreen's goals had been disrupted. The contemporary mobilities literature has emphasised how structural inequalities and limited options to earn a livelihood can cause and reinforce immobility (van Blerk, 2016; Porter et al., 2010a). Yet, as the findings show, understanding the influence that less acknowledged factors, including religion, have on young people's livelihood mobility patterns and their abilities to pursue their goals helps improve insights into how complex and interconnected youth 'being and becoming' is.

Ramadan also affected the businesses of two other participants. One of these participants was Godfrey, who originally sold hard-boiled eggs in Arusha City centre when I first met him in April 2019. Two months later in June, I was in contact with Godfrey again and was told that he had changed his business and now sold oranges rather than eggs, as it was the season for this type of work. However, when I conducted a follow-up interview with Godfrey and asked him why he had switched business, it became apparent that there were other reasons behind this. He explained, '*I decided to change at that time because there were no customers of eggs during Ramadan. That made me change my business'.* I then asked him what the difference was between selling eggs and oranges during Ramadan and he stated, '*you can carry the fruit home for the family and for the children [to eat after fasting]'.* Drawing on knowledge and experience, Godfrey knew that selling eggs during this holy Islamic month would be incredibly challenging. Unlike Doreen, he was able to change the work he undertook which enabled him to continue his livelihood activities. As Afutu-Kotey and Gough (2019) state, the strategy of changing businesses can enable young people to manage difficult environments and situations. Gaining

insights into the reasons why young people's livelihoods change is significant in understanding why more broadly, youth are often understood to be in a state of transience (Bernays et al., 2020; Simone, 2020). As discussed throughout this chapter so far, young people's urban livelihoods can be subjected to many different influences which can impact their daily experiences of living and working in the city.

This section has shown how religion and religious events can impact young vendors' temporal and spatial livelihood practices. It highlights the need to bring more attention to often-overlooked dimensions of young people's lives and livelihoods that can have notable influences on youth 'being and becoming'. Next, young people's use of social media platforms to undertake informal work will be discussed.

5.4 Young people's use of social media platforms for informal work

This section will build on the discussions gained throughout this chapter, to analyse how social media platforms are influencing young vendors' informal livelihoods. This is pertinent given that cities throughout Africa are experiencing intensifying digitization (Simone and Pieterse, 2017). Bringing attention to this mode of informal selling also responds to calls made by Lloyd-Evans (2008), for researchers to take more holistic and informed approaches to understanding diverse forms of contemporary informality. Upon talking to stakeholders in both Dar es Salaam and Arusha it became apparent that social media usage among young informal workers was of increasing importance. A youth-based organisation worker in Dar stated that some vendors had started to adopt technology in their work: *'Africa is receiving upgrades to technology and people including street vendors, are adapting and using this to their advantage'*. Scholars had previously noted that advancements and increased accessibility of mobile technology could be utilised by entrepreneurs in innovative ways (Duncombe, 2014; Ilahiane and Sherry, 2008). Yet, what this 'innovation' could look like 'on the ground', has seldom been analysed in relation to informal work. Building on this, a professional who worked with youth in Arusha explained the potential of media platforms for young informal workers; *'They [young people] have to use the potential [of social media] to promote their work. Like, you are doing a business, just put your product on social media. So, through posting your business, you are also branding yourself'.* Although professionals in Tanzania were aware of how mobile technology and associated media platforms could be used by young people for informal business, this has seldom been acknowledged and examined within the mainstream literature on informal work and youth livelihoods (Porter et al., 2018a). The following section will address this by using a

case study of a female vendor who sold various clothing items using her smartphone and social media platforms including WhatsApp and Instagram.

Case study: Selling clothes via WhatsApp and Instagram

One participant in this study, Grace, undertook a significant proportion of her informal business online. Box 1 provides a detailed overview of Grace's business, which will be central to much of the discussions in the remainder of this chapter. While talking with Grace, it became apparent that her online informal business shared commonalities with traditional forms of street-based informal work, already discussed during the earlier stages of this chapter. As highlighted in Section 5.1, convenience is an important aspect of informal work in Tanzania, and this was vital to Grace's work too. As detailed in Box 1, Grace sourced clothing items cheaply from Kariakoo market (central Dar) which she then sold to customers for a profit. Kariakoo is a public market which anyone can go to and buy inexpensive products from, so I asked Grace why her customers did not just travel to this market themselves and buy cheap clothes directly. She explained, '*many of them [customers], are businesspeople, or they live far from the city centre, so they do not have time*'. Grace's business specifically targeted salaried workers who were active on social media and who were more likely to pay slightly inflated prices for the convenience of being able to order clothes online and have them delivered to their homes.

Through using media platforms, Grace simply had to post photos of clothing items to her WhatsApp and Instagram accounts, and customers were able to view the products she was promoting at any time of the day and from any location including their homes, places of work or on public transport. Upon scrolling through Grace's social media accounts, if customers saw anything they wished to purchase, they could screenshot this item and send it to Grace via WhatsApp (Figure 22), requesting it to be ordered. Through digital mobility, Grace's customers could choose and order clothes on their mobile devices eliminating the need for them to physically travel. As Adama (2020) notes, buying products online can increase convenience as it can save customers notable amounts of time. This aspect of online vending also influenced Grace's mobility because unlike the itinerant vendors discussed in Section 5.2, her work was not dependent on routes and routines to generate custom. This contemporary performance of informal work illustrates how Grace's mobility was notably different to those who undertake street-based vending.

Box 1: Case study of Grace, a young vendor selling clothes via WhatsApp and Instagram

Background

Grace, aged 24, was born in Dar es Salaam and lived in the suburbs of the city with her mother, father, and younger siblings at the time of the research. She was not expected to make daily financial contributions to her household as her mother and father fulfiled these obligations, however she explained that she contributed in other ways: '*I bought all of these things like a flat screen TV, radio, and I have paid for house renovations as a surprise'*. Grace completed Form 4 education (equivalent to leaving school at 16 in the UK), and then went on to complete a diploma in Marketing in 2018.

Starting Business Online

Grace explained to me her situation after graduating with a diploma: '*I lacked opportunities. I attended many interviews [for jobs], but they never called back, so after I evaluated myself, I decided to use my marketing expertise to do this business*'. Grace's mother gave her 100,000 Tsh (£33.60) so that she could start a small-scale business. Grace had the idea of selling clothes, and her friends advised her that she ought to do business online. Her friends helped her build a network of contacts by giving her numbers of people they thought could be potential customers. Grace added these contacts to various WhatsApp groups and followed them on Instagram. She started her business of informally selling clothes via social media platforms in August 2018.

Business Activities (and Customer Base)

Grace identified that her business predominately targeted waged workers, most of whom were repeat customers. She regularly uploaded photos of clothes she was selling to her Instagram story, and she also displayed these on her WhatsApp status updates. Customers then screenshotted the item(s) they wanted, or they commented their interest of purchasing a specific item on her posts. This enabled Grace to easily identify exactly what her customers wanted (see. Figure 22). At the time of interviewing Grace (07/02/2019), she had just under 1,000 Instagram followers.

Since starting business, Grace had built a rapport with many retailers and wholesalers in Kariakoo Market (central Dar es Salaam). Grace told me that she was a "royal customer" and shopkeepers informed her as soon as they received new stock. Whenever this happened, she travelled to Kariakoo and took photos of new stock which she then promoted on her social media platforms. Due to the nature of Grace's work, she had to upgrade her mobile to be able to take high-quality photos, which she identified was key to making sales: '*It took me a long time to get the suitable smartphone because this business relies much on the qualities of the phone and my former smartphones had the small ability; it had network problems and it didn't have a nice camera'*.

Because Grace had built a relationship with shop owners at the market, she was able to take products on credit and then make payments for these items once her customers bought from her. She offered free delivery to her customers who lived within Dar es Salaam.

Income and Profits

Grace stated that she did not keep track of her profits as she had only been doing business for 5 months, but she estimated that she made 200-300,000 Tsh (£67.88-£101.82) profit per month. She was unable to estimate the amount of time and money she spent travelling as this varied enormously.

She also gave examples of profits on items of clothes. She could buy a pair of trousers (her most popular item) for 18,000 Tsh (£6.61) and sell them for 25,000 Tsh (£8.84), making 7,000 Tsh (£2.38) profit per pair. Grace also sold more expensive items. During an observation, I was in a shoe shop with Grace, and she showed me a pair of shoes she once bought for 55,000 Tsh (£18.67), and sold for 150,000 Tsh (£50.91), giving her a profit of 95,000 Tsh (£32.24).

The ability to access large numbers of potential customers was also found to be a significant feature of online selling in this study. In less than a year, Grace had amassed over 1,000 followers on Instagram (see. Box 1) to whom she could without charge, advertise her products. Reaching out to this amount of people required short inputs of time and effort and could be undertaken from Grace's home. The space-time reduction presented through this modality of selling (Larsson and Svensson, 2018) meant that in contrast to the itinerant vendors discussed in Section 5.2, Grace did not have to navigate the street for many kilometres and across many hours of the day, often in difficult working conditions. However, because she offered free delivery to customers anywhere in Dar (see. Box 1), the amount of time and money she had to spend on travelling through the city was often unpredictable.

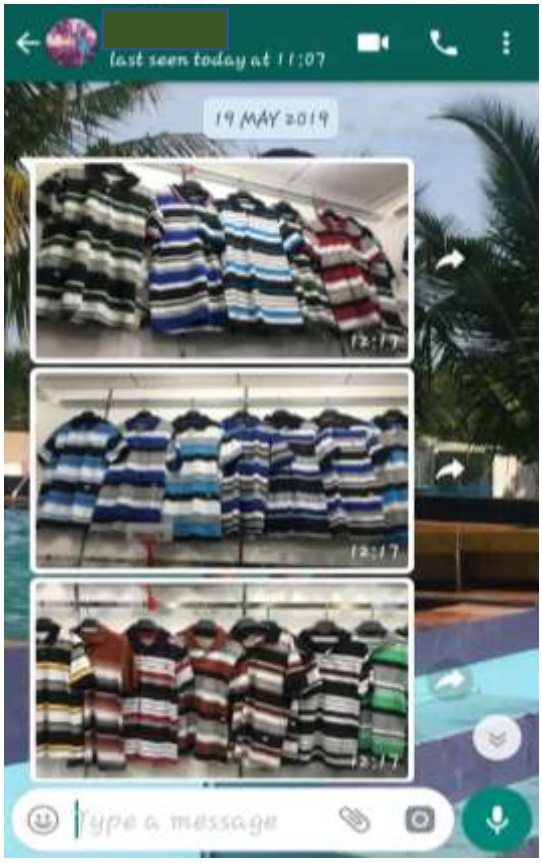


Figure 22: A screenshot communication between Grace and one of her customers, who sent her pictures of the polo shirts they wanted to purchase

Regarding selling, Grace said that her sales numbers had increased over time because previous customers had recommended her to others, enabling her to establish a reputation. Moreover,

because Grace regularly received photographs from wholesalers of many different items of clothing (Box 1), she could advertise an abundance of products on social media which also boosted her chances of generating custom. As Kalyanaraman (2016) identifies, this innovative use of digital media can advance business prospects as vendors can display many products and have a greater reach than can often be achieved through street vending. Arguably, having an online presence also makes it simple for customers to locate vendors and place orders at any time.

During my master's research in Tanzania, I also found that informal workers used social media creatively to increase their customer bases and promote business expansion. A poultry farmer in Dar used WhatsApp and Facebook to sell chickens and eggs and run weekly tutorials teaching people how to become chicken farmers (Salvidge, 2017). His strategy was to encourage more people to start farming chickens because once they decided to undertake this business, they would approach him to buy feed and rent incubation space. This example and Grace's case study illustrate how online businesses can be used strategically to promote business opportunities and increase customer numbers (Gwaka, 2017). Yet, no other youth participants in this study sold online. Most respondents identified that smartphones were too expensive to buy. Selling online also requires vendors to regularly purchase internet bundles, which for many is not possible with the incomes they generate (Komunte, 2015; Ling et al., 2019).

Although a large proportion of Grace's business was conducted digitally, physical mobility was still an integral part of her work. An interdependency between digital and physical mobility (Gwaka, 2018; Porter et al., 2017) was important to Grace's business for two main reasons. Firstly, as Box 1 details, Grace was a "Royal Customer" at many of the wholesale stores she bought clothes from meaning she could buy on credit and pay back at a later stage, as she was trusted. This trust developed over time, and face-to-face interactions with shopkeepers enabled Grace to build and maintain this trust. As Porter (2012) exclaims, phones can be used as tools to maintain existing levels of trust rather than to build or improve them. Selling clothes to customers first and then paying shopkeepers/wholesalers afterward was a way Grace could create a degree of economic security because she only paid for clothing items customers had bought. Thus, her interactions with shop workers were fundamental to the running of her business. Second, through going to Kariakoo market and purchasing clothes customers had ordered, Grace could ensure that customers received exactly what they wanted. During an observation with Grace on a day she went to Kariakoo, a pair of shoes a customer had ordered

was not available in the colour they requested. She got in contact with this customer, and I noted in my diary: 'The shoes available here are a slightly different shade of blue to what she originally posted on her social media accounts, so she is sending the customer photos of these shoes and confirming that they still want to go through with the purchase' (Research Diary, 20th May 2019). Through being able to communicate in almost real-time with this customer (Gwaka, 2018) and check that this variation to the item they had ordered was something they still wished to buy, Grace was able to secure this sale. These interactions are important, because as Rumanyika et al. (2019) state, phones and social media platforms can aid in retaining customers. Grace explained that displaying competency and showing attentiveness to customers' needs increased the likelihood of repeat custom. As discussed in Section 5.2, repeat customers can improve the sustainability of informal work.

However, although Grace's online business had significant benefits such as access to a large customer base and free advertising, her work was still susceptible to the structural challenges faced by other informal vendors. As mentioned previously, Grace's target customers were salaried workers. This often resulted in Grace making sales towards the end of each month as her customers were paid monthly. During an interview she identified this as a challenge: *'Some customers have a tendency of asking me to keep clothes which I have posted via WhatsApp for them at the beginning or middle of month until the end of the months because that is a time when they receive a salary'*. Although undertaking informal work online can increase the efficiency of selling (Schwanen, 2015), it cannot eliminate challenges such as sales inconsistencies. Corresponding with vendors' accounts detailed in Section 5.2, Grace's work was heavily influenced by customer numbers which ultimately determined the viability of her business. In Grace's case, irregular sales were manageable as she did not have any dependents, and her parents did not expect her to contribute regularly towards household expenses (see. Box 1). Yet for many urbanities, they rely on daily/regular income for survival (Simone, 2003b). This demonstrates that working online through using mobile technology cannot be viewed as a "silver bullet" for development (Aker and Mbiti, 2010).

Moreover, stock unavailability was also an issue Grace had to contend with, and although in the example above she was able to manage this with one customer, on other occasions this problem impacted the profit she made. During another observation, Grace explained that she had negotiated a deal with a customer who wanted to buy 5 pairs of trousers and 2 jumpers. As the customer was buying several items, she agreed to reduce the price of the trousers she sold by 2,000 Tsh (£0.67) each (see. Box 1). However, when she arrived at Kariakoo to purchase

this order, she found that wholesalers and retailers had sold out of jumpers. Yet, because the customer was a repeat customer, she kept to the deal mentioned above even though the jumpers were not part of the transaction. Consequently, her profits were reduced by 10,000 Tsh (£3.08) on this single sale. This was caused by a lag between when Grace advertised her products on social media, and when she travelled to Kariakoo market to buy these orders. Although mobile phones and media applications are widely praised for their abilities to promote almost real-time communication and information sharing (Gwaka, 2017), more research is needed to understand how digital and physical mobilities interact and shape informal business outcomes. Next, I explore why participants not engaged in online business wanted to switch to this mode of selling in the future.

The potential of selling via social media platforms

In this study, young people who did not use social media platforms to sell their products often spoke of their intention to engage in this type of business eventually. I wanted to understand why this was. When I asked this question to a focus group with young men in Arusha, all five participants told me that they were planning to undertake their business online, and one participant expanded on this: '*A lot of people are currently using the internet and it will be easy for us to present our products and advertise them'*. This shows that young vendors are aware that an increasing number of customers can be found online (Rumanyika et al., 2019), and again this reveals that the work of vendors is dictated by where customers can be found. Beyond this, selling through digital technology was also identified as a more effective way to undertake business. One participant, Edward, recognised the benefits selling online: *'I would be able to connect with customers easily online which would make business better'*. He explained that rather than having to walk 6-8 hours a day to sell 30+ eggs to people in the street, a smartphone would enable people to place egg orders with him online, and then he could deliver these directly to customers saving him a lot of time and energy. The above findings show how digital mobility featured in participants' plans to develop their lives and livelihoods, linked to notions of 'becoming'.

However, it is also important to consider the dangers and risks that street vendors could face (Olvera et al., 2013) through integrating digital technology in their work. Edward had previously owned a smartphone and explained that this had been stolen at a market in Temeke, Dar es Salaam. Thieves can be detrimental to a vendor's business (Porter et al., 2018b). Because Edward's phone was stolen, he was unable to develop his business online which he identified

limited his daily income opportunities. In Chapter 8, discussions will focus on other barriers many participants in this study faced in owning and regularly accessing social media platforms for their business.

Bypassing legal procedures and processes

Young people's reasons for undertaking informal work online were also related to avoiding formal procedures and processes. A young man (aged 34) who I spoke to briefly during this research, used WhatsApp to sell curry he cooked at home. People could either place orders with him and then come to his home to eat, or they could order take away and he would use a *boda boda* (motorcycle taxi) to deliver the food. He explained he was looking to register his business and obtain a licence enabling him to sell from a shop but commented that this process was bureaucratic and took a long time to process, so in the meantime, he was running his business online from his home so he could, '*hide from the government'*. These findings build on previous work, which has identified that some vendors may intentionally work informally to avoid government taxes and regulations (Chant, 2014), showing that mobile phones can offer alternative ways for vendors to circumvent authorities. Commonly, vendors use physical movements and knowledge of where and when local authorities will patrol through the city to avoid detection (Eidse et al., 2016). With online selling, vendors do not need to implement such strategies as they are practically 'invisible'. This is relevant because in March 2019, former President Magufuli announced a business card (the *Machinga ID*), which was mandatory for all vendors trading in city spaces to buy (discussed in Chapter 8). But, as Grace's case study clearly shows, a large proportion of online informal business occurs digitally, and the act of selling does not take place in physical locations in the city. Thus, these policies may be ineffective in regulating and managing informal work conducted online. Policymakers, therefore, need to consider this when creating new policies directed at the informal sector.

A reflection on online selling and future directions for research

Throughout this section, I have shown that young people's utilisation of smartphone technology and social media platforms to pursue informal livelihoods has led to changes in the ways informal work is performed. This concurs with observations by Amankwaa et al. (2020), who note that advancing mobile technology is enabling people to innovatively operate and promote their business activities. These findings contrast with longstanding perceptions of informal work as characteristically low-skilled and manual (Chen et al., 2006). Because of these digital advancements, youth selling online rely on a combination of digital and physical mobilities.

This indicates that contemporary mobile technology is creating new possibilities of encounter and connectivity for informal vendors (Amankwaa and Blay, 2018; Ling et al., 2019). Yet, the mainstream literature on informality has seldom brought accounts like those presented in this section into focus. This is surprising given that there is a burgeoning body of literature on digital technologies which has sought to understand how 'the digital' is reconfiguring urban spaces (Ash et al., 2018). I argue that these understandings enable vital insights into the contemporary evolution of informal practices within urban spaces. However, it is crucial to understand the extent to which advancements in informal work present young people with sustainable economic opportunities. Ling et al. (2019) warn that online vending may only promote a shift from physical to digital selling rather than create more jobs. As technology becomes more accessible, online selling will likely become competitive and oversaturated, much like many existing types of informal street work (Porter et al., 2018b). Therefore, there is a need to monitor the advancement of online informal work over time and understand the implications this has on young vendors' lives and livelihoods connected to 'being and becoming'. It is not simply about understanding how informal work is changing, it is also about knowing how these changes will affect youths' ability to develop their livelihoods in urban environments in line with their goals and expectations. Future research needs to capture the diversity young people's digital informal practices across urban Africa, to build insights into how these intersect with their lives and livelihoods.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter has contributed to understanding the complexity of young people's spatial and temporal livelihood mobility practices and how these performances in the present are undertaken with the future in mind, linked to notions of 'being and becoming'. It has revealed how young vendors draw on spatial and temporal mobility to manage urban challenges and pursue development within city localities. These findings contribute to understanding how spatial elements of young vendors' livelihoods shape 'being and becoming', which has predominately theorised the temporal nature of livelihoods. Other important insights relate to the emotions young vendors experienced as they undertook their livelihoods. Feelings of pain were common among participants, and this often made it difficult for young people to envisage how their livelihoods could bring about positive change. Issues of ill-heath were also reported by participants, who detailed how these issues often constrained the progress they could achieve. These insights provide understandings of the different ways young vendors' present situations are shaped, and the implications these can have for their futures.

The latter half of this chapter analysed the online informal selling practices of young people in Tanzania. This provided vital understandings of the contemporary nature and potential future dynamics of informal work in urban arenas. The potential of mobile phones to improve livelihoods has received much attention over the last decade, especially by scholars such as Gina Porter, yet there continues to be a surprising lack of knowledge on how social media platforms are being used by youth to undertake informal work. The findings addressed these deficits, by evaluating the benefits and drawbacks of selling online, and examining how changes digital informal work practices could impact young people's lives and livelihoods and their abilities to achieve their goals and expectations.

Overall, understanding vendors' heterogenous and complex everyday livelihood mobilities provided vital understandings of the opportunities and challenges young people experience in the city. It also drew attention to the importance of considering how young vendors' imagined futures (Esson, 2020) shaped their mobility practices and performances across urban environments in the present (Langevang and Gough, 2009). The next chapter focuses on young vendors' caring relationships and support networks to further understand how young people manage and negotiate their everyday lives and livelihoods in urban Tanzania.

6 The influence of caring roles, responsibilities and relations on young vendors' lives and livelihoods

This chapter explores how young informal vendors' caring roles, responsibilities and relations, shape their lives and livelihoods. The chapter begins by presenting a case study of a participant whose father died during this research. This introduces the concept of 'caringscapes' which is employed to highlight the changeability of gendered care practices and relations across time and space and how these can shape young vendors' livelihoods and pathways to adulthood. 'Caringscapes' continue to be drawn on at various points throughout the chapter to enhance analyses. Thereafter, the social networks and caring relationships young people engage in to obtain resources and manage their lives and livelihoods in the cities of Arusha and Dar will be investigated. It discusses familial relationships, peer support, and interdependence, bringing together the literature on care and support networks. The role these relations play in shaping youth 'being and becoming' will also be examined. Afterward, young people's daily caring activities are analysed, highlighting the similarities and differences between women's and men's everyday obligations and the impacts these have on their lives and livelihoods. Attention will also be drawn to any contemporary changes to these responsibilities and the impacts these have on young vendors.

The chapter aims to promote insights into young vendors' complex and diverse urban lives and livelihoods through understanding their daily roles, responsibilities, and practices as forms of care and caring. 'Care' continues to be devalued and overlooked, and to date it has received little attention in the literature on informality. This chapter attempts to address this, arguing that bringing care into focus will help to enhance understandings of how informal vendors' paid and unpaid works intersect.

6.1 Case study: Changes to roles, responsibilities and social relations following a parental death

Drawing on a case study of Collins, a participant whose father died during this research, this section introduces the literature on care to analyse how caring roles, responsibilities, and relationships within the household can alter following an event such as a parental death. This also includes examinations of how these changes can affect young people's lives and livelihoods. The understandings developed in this section will lay the foundations for further discussions throughout subsequent sections investigating other ways in which care and livelihoods entwine. Importantly, a 'caringscapes' perspective, which is concerned with

understanding gendered informal care exchanges (Bowlby, 2012), will be adopted in this section and beyond to analyse 'the multi-faceted nature of care practices and care relations' (Bowlby et al., 2010: 151). Attention will also focus on how 'caringscapes', widely acknowledged as dynamic rather than static (McKie et al., 2002), are shaped and reshaped across time-space (Bowlby et al., 2010).

I first interviewed Collins in November 2018, when he was selling charcoal informally. In February 2019, he sent me a text informing me that his father had died suddenly following a short illness. I met Collins a few weeks later (unplanned) at a youth centre he regularly attended in the Temeke region of Dar es Salaam. During an informal conversation, he briefly mentioned that following the death of his father, he was facing 'pressures' and 'challenges' as the eldest son in the family to support other members of the household, including four younger siblings, his mother, and his grandfather. To understand more about Collins' experiences of his father's death, a follow-up interview was conducted in June 2019, just under four months after his father had died. I began by asking Collins what impact his father's death had had on both him and his family, and he explained: *'You know, a father is a pillar and head of the family. Apart from relying on him for home expenses, he was also an advisor. His absence means responsibilities have increased on me'.* His father was the 'patriarch' of the household who provided financial and emotional support to Collins and other family members. Collins' use of the word 'absence' highlights the "void" that his father's death had created which led to a change in household leadership placing Collins, the eldest son, in a position of greater authority. I asked Collins more about how his responsibilities had changed since his father's death and he stated:

> *'Now, I have many responsibilities than before because although my mother is around, I am the big brother of the house so all responsibility relating to house's safety, siblings' school progress and home groceries are currently on me'.*

Drawing on the care literature, these responsibilities are understood as forms of 'care' as they entail 'practices aimed at maintaining, continuing, or repairing the world' (Tronto, 1993: 104). 'Care' is widely understood as an ongoing process rather than a single activity (Ibid), and can encompass economic and emotional support, as well as physical care (Bowlby et al., 2021; Chopra and Sweetman, 2014). Collins said that his father's death had reconfigured his caring practices and relations, resulting in him taking on responsibilities centred around meeting the multiple needs of family members in the household. This corresponds with observations by Evans (2011) and McQuaid et al. (2019), who note that young people's everyday practices are

likely to change following a parental death. The concept of 'vital conjunctures' (Johnson-Hanks, 2002) is helpful here, as it draws further attention to specific 'moments', including parental death, that cause temporary periods of change in young people's lives (Evans, 2014).

Further discussions revealed that Collins was struggling to manage the responsibilities he had taken on since his father's death: '*If he were here, it would mean that he would help me by sharing this responsibility, but the fact he is not around things are becoming too much for me'*. This illustrates an emotional and subjective response to his caring responsibilities, something a caringscapes perspective can also highlight (Evans, 2012). Collins then gave an example of the struggles he was facing, explaining that he was unable to support his young brothers and sisters in the same way his father had previously been able to: *'The challenge is on how to run family management. There is a way which he [father] used to treat my siblings so that they can do well with school but now I can't do that for them'*. As Bowlby (2012) identifies, 'caringscapes' can also be influenced by individuals' memories and reflections of past caring relationships. Collins had experienced and witnessed the types of support his father provided to the family and felt a responsibility to try and reproduce this care.

Moreover, Collins' priority was to provide financial support to his family, as this was the role his father previously undertook. Historically, notions of household headship are linked to an ability to generate income (Bell and Payne, 2009). Similarly, masculine constructions of care in many African societies (Morrell and Jewkes, 2011) involve 'taking care of' others through providing financial and material support (Evans, 2014; Hannaford and Foley, 2015). Collins then mentioned that he received little financial support from anyone outside the household which meant that it was his responsibility to provide for the household financially: '*I am an older brother here, so whenever I get something [money], I must share it with my family'*. This shows how Collins' livelihood was shaped by expectations to provide care to his family in the form of financial support. Financial support as a form of care, was also discussed in Chapter 4. Collins then said:

> *'I feel like I am not the person who should waste even one second, I always feel depended on, so whatever I do I just think of ways of getting an income which can help me to support my family […] I am thinking of how we can use our compound to get an income'*

He mentioned that he planned to build a secure *'boda boda'* (motorcycle taxi) shelter outside the front of his family home which people could pay him to use (see. Figure 23). Collins also

wanted to construct a small fruit and vegetable stall for his mother to sell produce from. As Evans (2010b) notes, financial provisioning is often an important part of young people's caring responsibilities in sub-Saharan Africa, yet it is not always acknowledged in definitions of informal care (Bowlby et al., 2021; Evans, 2014). Moreover, Collins' focus on developing his livelihood were linked to his endeavours to increase his ability to provide for his family; an important aspect of 'caringscapes' (Bowlby, 2012). These plans also demonstrate that Collins was asserting his role as head of the household, by thinking of ways he could use the resources he had to generate income. He then emphasised that these ideas were his own: *'There are things which I want to do here, but my father never thought of them'.* Although Collins attempted to replicate some of the support his father provided to the household, there were other instances where he displayed agency through taking different approaches to care for his family than had previously been undertaken. Collins was also mindful of the needs of his younger siblings, stating:

> '*My young brothers and sister are studying thus they rely on me to support them with school needs such as pens, uniform and other things. Thus, as big brother I have to be aware of their needs and cover them'.*

Collins' perception of providing 'sibling care' (Evans, 2011) was mostly focused on supporting his siblings financially in correspondence with expected gendered and cultural constructions of care (Evans, 2012; Tronto, 1993) mentioned earlier. Interestingly, Collins regularly linked his status as 'big brother' to his responsibility of providing care to his young siblings. McQuaid et al. (2019) identify that birth order is significant in shaping the care young people provide to their younger siblings. Thus, the findings here contribute to understanding the complexities of young people's livelihoods, showing that they can be shaped by caring roles, responsibilities, and relationships that are themselves influenced by factors including birth order.

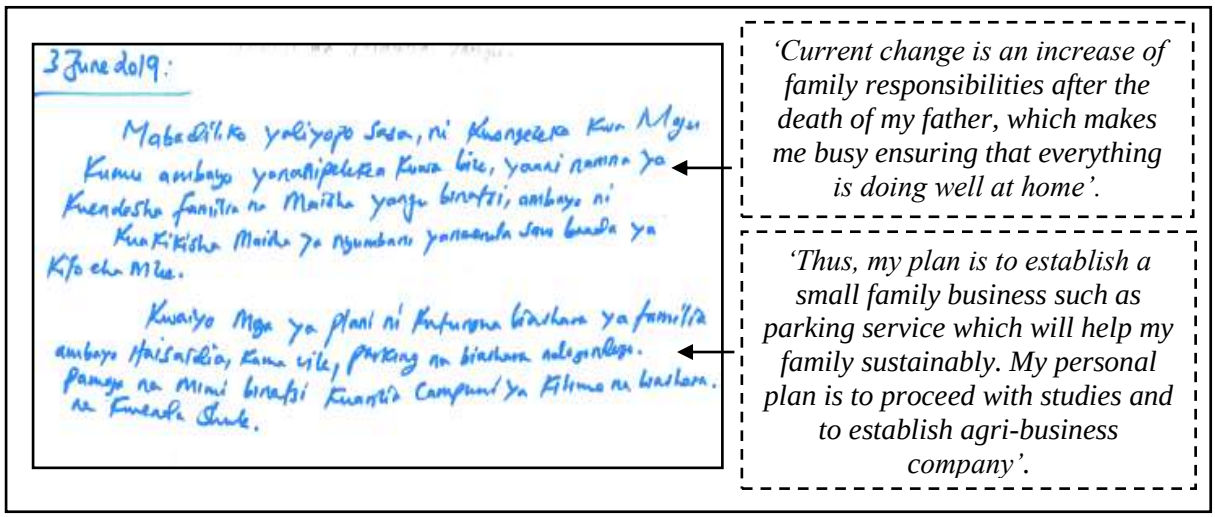


Figure 23: An extract taken from Collins' timeline diagram, wrote during a follow-up interview after the death of his father.

However, Collins also stated that he could not provide for his family on his own following his father's death. He explained that to meet the demands of the household he collaborated with his mother:

> *'I share them [household responsibilities] with my mother. There are things which I can do on my own like supervising my siblings' homework and small contribution to the house but still I can't do everything, so if there is something which needs to be done, me and my mother contribute [financially] so that we can support each other'*

The care Collins and his mother provided to the family involved pooling resources, something Collins said he and his mother had not done together before his father's death. Abebe (2012) observes that changing circumstances and factors such as the need to provide for household resource needs can influence geographies of care and relationships between youth and other household members. Collins then explained that his mother also ran a small-scale informal business which was a vital form of support to the household: *'She is also doing business and her business has been our pillar'*. Although Collins had initially stated that he was the person responsible for caring for his family, it transpired that his mother's financial contributions were also an integral part of the survival and management of the household. He also mentioned that he and his mother regularly discussed how to manage household responsibilities and plans, and that his relationship with her was very important: *'She is a person who handles our family. I cannot imagine how I will live without her. I think life would become too much for me, I need*

her'. This corresponds with the care literature, which emphasises the interdependent, interconnected, and reciprocal nature of care relations, responsibilities, and practices (Bowlby, 2012; Evans and Atim, 2015; Tronto, 1993). These understandings bring greater focus to the complex interlinked nature of young people's livelihoods, showing that they are shaped by relationships of care with others. These conversations are developed further in the next section.

Collins then explained that his share of unpaid work had increased since his father's death. He identified that the works he undertook were based at home, and included, *'animal keeping, outdoor and indoor cleanliness'.* This relates to Collins' 'caringscape' showing that his daily schedule had changed at the time-space scale, following the death of his father. Other research on care has highlighted the importance of using a time-space framework to analyse changes to young people's caring roles and activities (see. Bowlby, 2012; Evans, 2012). Collins did not give much detail on the home-based activities he undertook, however, his acknowledgment that these had increased is significant. These findings suggest that Collins undertook a substantial number of caring responsibilities in response to his father's death, indicating a transgression of culturally accepted gendered roles and boundaries (Evans, 2015). Collins' insights also reveal that birth order more than gender (Evans, 2012) determined the amount of care he provided to his family following the death of his father.

Furthermore, during the interview with Collins in June 2019, he added two paragraphs to his life-mapping diagram (see. Figure 23) which he had originally created in November 2018. These make clear distinctions between his short- and long-term plans. His short-term plans were dominated by his caring responsibilities, aimed at ensuring the wellbeing of his family. This again suggests a 'vital conjuncture', marked by a period of change following his father's death. Vitally, Collins' short-term strategies did not make any reference to personal life/livelihood progression. Other research has noted that youths' transitions can be delayed and/or restricted by their caring roles, responsibilities, and social relations (Evans, 2011; Day, 2015; McQuaid et al., 2019). Yet, in his longer-term plans, Collins did identify wanting to start an agribusiness. Thus, even though Collins was focusing on his current situation and how to manage this in the short-term, he was also considering his future. This builds on understandings of youth as social 'being and becoming' (Vigh, 2006a), as it reveals how young people's livelihood plans for the future can be shaped by their caring practices and relations in the present. The findings importantly contribute to understanding the temporally structured nature of youth livelihoods (Ansell et al., 2014), through showing how care roles and responsibilities can impact the focus of young people's livelihoods over time.

Although based on only one young person's account, the findings in this section illustrate that the concept of 'care' can help untangle informal vendors' complex and interconnected lives and livelihoods. Young people can display agency and resilience by finding ways of increasing the support they provide to their families. Collins' everyday life and livelihood changed following his father's death, which brought focus to understanding how youth 'being and becoming' can be affected by alterations to every day caring roles, responsibilities, and relations. His case study also showed how young people can be creative and innovative when faced with numerous challenges. Further, the concepts of 'caringscapes' and 'vital conjunctures' helped illuminate how parental death altered Collins' priorities, responsibilities, and relationships within his household. The findings in this section also provided insights into how young vendors' undertaking of caring activities following an 'event' such as death can cause 'disruptions' to cultural and gendered norms shaping caregiving practices (see also. Bowlby et al., 2021). Next, I draw on the literature relating to support networks and care to analyse the types of support young vendors in Arusha and Dar received from friends, family, and other vendors.

6.2 Young people's social networks and caring relationships

The literature relating to young informal workers and social networks has detailed the diverse range of support youth vendors receive from family, friends, and other vendors, in efforts to manage, sustain and/or develop their urban livelihoods (Afutu-Kotey and Gough, 2019; Langevang et al., 2016; Yeboah, 2010). This section draws on this work while also incorporating insights from the literature on care concerning caring relationships, peer support, and interdependence (McFarlane and Silver, 2017; McQuaid et al., 2019), to develop understandings of young vendors' complex and heterogeneous support relationships and needs.

For clarity, sub-sections separately detail the support youth received from family, friends, and other vendors. Yet, it is recognised that young people can receive various forms of support from multiple networks simultaneously, and this will be highlighted where relevant.

Advice from family

Across African contexts, informal family-based care systems, based heavily on reciprocal and interdependent relations (Evans and Atim, 2015; Oduaran, 2014), have been a vital source of support to younger generations (Oduaran, 2010). Advice, which is important to many young vendors (Langevang et al., 2016), was identified by most participants in this study as a vital form of support they received from family members. One participant, Doris, who sold bananas in Arusha, explained that she sought advice from her parents in relation to 'important matters':

'If it is something important, I mention it to my parents […] for instance, things that I face when I am here in town, I can tell my parents and they can tell me how I can avoid this challenge'. Doris mentioned that if she was having trouble receiving payment from a customer, or if she had been verbally harassed by someone on the street, then she would approach her parents for advice. Through seeking advice from her parents, Doris said she was able to manage the challenges she experienced. Drawing on notions of care, this advice can be understood as a form of being 'cared for' (Tronto, 1993). This type of intergenerational family support can be vital to people's everyday lives, enabling them to cope with the difficulties they face (McFarlane and Silver, 2017). Moreover, Doris' identification that she sought her parent's advice for 'something important', indicates the value Doris placed on their support, as the issues she would approach them with were of significance to her.

During an interview with another participant, Abdul, he explained that he would ask his parents for advice whenever he faced significant business challenges: *'I rely on them [parents] for advice whenever I face a big challenge [with business] […] they can advise me because they have been there [experienced challenges] before me'.* Abdul valued the advice he received from his parents, as he recognised that they had many years of business experience and knowledge that they could draw on to help him overcome the business challenges he encountered. Similarly, another participant, David, explained the advantages of asking his father for business advice:

> *'My most important advisor is my father […] when I am unsure about something [in business], or I find something that may bring certain benefit, first I think about it and then I ask for his guidance. It is him who is an elder and the one who can guide me'.*

David sought guidance from his father who he identified possessed a high level of business expertise. David's reference to his father as 'an elder' draws attention to intergenerational relations. In many African cultures, it is expected of young people to respect and follow in the footsteps of elders who are perceived to possess vital wisdom, knowledge, and advice (Darley and Blankson, 2008). Similarly, Agatha (David's wife), mentioned that she drew on advice from her family in relation to the income she generated: *'They [father and mother] give me advice. For instance, when I have money, but I don't know what to do with it, I always look to them for guidance'.* Like David, Agatha drew on advice from her parents, which shaped how she used her income. This shows how the interconnected lives and livelihoods of young vendors (Ansell et al., 2014), in part, develop through intergenerational familial relations.

Yet, as Evans (2017) notes, it is also important to pay attention to intragenerational relationships. One participant, Jackson, who had temporarily migrated to Dar from Dodoma (discussed in Chapter 4), explained that his older brother, who he lived with and worked for selling eggs in Dar, had advised him on how to spend the salary he would soon receive: *'My brother told me to wait until I get my salary so that I can start my own business'.* Jackson mentioned that he intended to act on this advice once he had received his first payment, which corresponds with comments by Langevang et al. (2016), who note that young people can start a business from the advice of others. Importantly, Jackson was advised by his brother to become self-employed, which links to participants' identifications in Chapter 4 about the greater financial and social autonomy they had been afforded through engaging in self-employment within the informal economy. Jackson's comments indicate that his brother was encouraging him to become more 'independent', which is often associated with youth transitions to adulthood (Banks, 2019). This illustrates the influence that guidance from family members can have on young people's journeys of 'becoming'. Because Joseph had recently moved to Dar, the support he received from his brother helped him to shape his plans in this new environment. Other research has highlighted the importance of bringing attention to young people's diverse experiences of sibling care relations (Evans, 2012; McQuaid et al., 2019), and the findings here build on this, contributing to understanding how sibling relationships can help shape the lives and livelihoods of youth working within the urban informal sector.

However, advice is not always the most pressing need of young people (Banks, 2019). One participant, Cynthia, explained that receiving advice from family members did not help her to overcome the difficulties she faced in her life: *'There are challenges because I just get advice. Life is hard, and what I need is financial support'*. As Simone (2004) notes, young urbanites have difficulty in obtaining financial support, especially from family members who are often financially constrained themselves (discussed later in the chapter) (Langevang et al., 2016). Cynthia's comments emphasise that the effectiveness of support varies depending on young people's circumstances and the stage they are at with their lives/businesses. Her comments also highlight the limitations of support offered through familial relationships.

This section has identified that receiving advice, conceptualised here as a form of being 'cared for' (Tronto, 1993), was a vital form of support many participants received from their familial networks. Advice helped participants consider how to develop their lives and livelihoods and navigate and manage challenging circumstances. The following section discusses the types of financial support young people obtained from their families.

Financial support from family

As detailed in Chapter 4, youth participants took care of family members, including parents and siblings, through providing financial resources. Acknowledging care as a two-way process of giving and receiving (Evans and Thomas, 2009), this section details the financial support youth participants received from family members. Research has identified that many youths across African contexts draw on financial assistance from family members to start business activities (Akintimehim et al., 2019; Kebede, 2018). Equally, participants in this study identified financial capital as a crucial form of support they received from their family networks. During an interview with Doris, she stated that she had obtained start-up capital from her mother: *'I was given 7,000 Tsh [£2.16] capital by my mother to start business'.* This money, which Doris did not have to repay, enabled her to buy her first stock of bananas. Similarly, another participant, Grace, explained that she shared a business idea with her mother who then supported her with capital: *'I was given 100,000 Tsh [£30.89] capital by my mother to start my business of selling clothes online'.* Grace started her online business by initially buying 5 pairs of men's trousers which she advertised on various social media platforms (Grace's business was discussed in Chapter 5). The money Doris and Grace received from their mothers was crucial in enabling them to establish their business activities, something that both participants said they would not have been able to do on their own. Importantly, older generations often support younger generations, including with financial resources, with the expectation that they will be supported and cared for in the future (Collard, 2000; Oduaran, 2010). Again, this highlights that family relationships are based on reciprocal responsibilities to provide support and care (Day and Evans, 2015). Crucially, through receiving this initial capital, both Doris and Grace started businesses that they built up over time, enabling them to generate sufficient incomes to support their lives and livelihoods in the city. Accessing financial resources through their intergenerational relations enabled Doris and Grace to increase their financial autonomy. As mentioned previously, this is a vital step in young people's pathways towards adulthood (Christiansen et al., 2006; Vigh, 2006b), showing that older generations can help to improve young vendors' life chances.

Another participant, David, stated that even after having established his own business of selling vegetables, he still relied on financial support from his father during times of difficulty: *'When I have run out of money [for the business], I tell my father and he has lent me some [money]'.* These comments illustrate that financial support can also enable youth to manage and sustain their business activities, not just establish them. David then explained the interdependent nature

of the relationship he had with his father, which afforded them both with increased business security: *'If you are two people, it means that if one [person] has his capital cut off, it is impossible that both of you have your capital cut off at the same time'*. Through their connection, David and his father were able to better manage business difficulties. Drawing on an intergenerational perspective (Vanderbeck, 2007), these informal exchanges of sharing and caring between generations can be a vital way people safeguard their livelihoods (Oduaran, 2014; Vanderbeck and Worth, 2015). A focus on intergenerational relations has only recently begun to receive notable attention (Evans, 2015). Thus, the findings contribute towards this growing body of work showing how young vendors in urban Tanzania can rely on these interdependent relationships to sustain their livelihoods in the city. This also brings much-needed attention to the role these intergenerational connections play in shaping youth vendors' everyday livelihood experiences.

Moreover, participants also identified having relied on financial support to overcome non-business-related challenges. Godfrey, explained during an interview that he approached his brother for help when he was unable to pay for household expenses: *'I ran to him [brother] when life went wrong. There was a time when I became broke. I didn't have a single cent for house expenditure'.* Godfrey identified that he borrowed 10,000 Tsh (£3.08) from his brother on that occasion so he could pay for outstanding bills. He also acknowledged that he had borrowed money from his father several times, for similar reasons. This recognises that young people can depend on monetary support from multiple members of their family over time, to sustain their lives. As Thieme (2013) identifies, young people are having to rely on financial support from others more often, because of increasing levels of economic insecurity. David and Godfrey were 'cared for' (Tronto, 1993) by the family members who supported them financially. This support afforded both participants degrees of economic safety and security during times of difficulty/crisis.

The above insights have highlighted the significant forms of care and support participants received from their familial networks, enabling many to manage the challenges they encountered in Arusha and Dar. However, young people seldom draw on familial relationships alone (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005). The following sections draw attention to this by understanding the support and resources participants drew from their wider networks consisting of friends and other informal vendors.

Support from friends and other vendors

Research has found that many young people's family familial networks have become resource constrained (Khavul et al., 2009; Mumba 2016). Oduaran (2010) notes that informal family-based care systems, referred to previously, are being threatened because of socioeconomic challenges. Intergenerational family ties have also become weakened due to these circumstances (Honwana, 2014) and because young people have increasingly migrated to cities in recent years, away from their families in rural localities (Oduaran, 2010). These situations have meant that youth are more often seeking support beyond their kinship networks (Acquaah, 2007).

In this study, informal skills training was an important type of support many participants identified having received from people beyond their familial support networks. While interviewing Clara, who sold groundnuts in Arusha, she commented that she had received business skills from a neighbour: *'I got the skills [of selling groundnuts] from a woman [neighbour] who also is selling peanuts. She helped me to know how to prepare peanuts, and how to move around whilst selling'*. Another participant, Emmanuel, explained he had been taught how to make handicrafts by a vendor who he had known for several years: *'He [other vendor] is the first guy who taught me the business [of making and selling handicrafts]'.* The vendor Emmanuel referred to was several years younger than him. Emmanuel's comments highlight the importance of peer support, as through this he obtained the skills necessary to carry out his own business. Again, this highlights the importance of acknowledging the significance of intragenerational relations (Evans, 2017) and the influence these can have on young vendors' business endeavours. Moreover, Clara's and Emmanuel's comments relate to other research on youth which have shown that mobility and social interactions beyond the household/family (Evans, 2012; Langevang and Gough, 2009), can enable young people to acquire the necessary business skills and guidance they need to establish an informal business (Mumba, 2016; Yeboah, 2017). Importantly, skills support provided by friends and neighbours can be understood as acts of caring that equip youth with capabilities to manage and sustain their lives in the city (McFarlane and Silver, 2017).

Moreover, while interviewing Abdul, he said he had been taught how to make crisps over a six-month period by Vicent (also a participant), who he originally met in his village before migrating to Dar:

'I was inexperienced and a newcomer [to Dar], so I decided to do what he [Vicent] was doing. He taught me free of charge because I was working for him […] I got the skills [of making crisps] from him'.

Through his connection with Vicent, Abdul's agency was strengthened, because soon after arriving in the city he was able to start learning how to make and sell crisps. Abdul received 6-months of training from Vicent for free, however during this period, he made and sold crisps on Vicent's behalf without receiving any payment. Abdul mentioned that he discussed this situation with his father: *'My father, after telling him that I was working for my friend who invited me [to Dar], told me to carefully learn how to do it and establish my own business'.* After gaining enough experience and skills training through working for Vicent, Abdul drew on his father's advice and established his own crisp business, illustrating that the types of support that were effective to Abdul differed at various stages of his business development. This also shows how young people can draw on complementary types of support from multiple sources to develop their livelihoods. Even after Abdul had created his own crisp business, he explained that he continued to receive support from Vicent: *'He is the person who supports me by even giving me his stock of crisps when I am bankrupt. I owe him a lot'*. Peer relationships can be essential to young people's everyday lives (Hunter et al., 2020), enabling them to manage and adapt to challenging urban conditions (Honwana, 2014; Theron et al., 2010).

Abdul then reflected on his relationship with Vicent, explaining: '*He [Vicent] taught me how to do business and get money, and even now he is still by my side'*. Abdul identified that he had regular contact with Vicent, and that they had both been working in the same areas of Dar since 2016. This is important because corporeal proximity and 'presence' is a vital aspect of social network formation and sustainability (Langevang and Gough, 2009; Porter et al., 2017), and an integral part of being able to access resources and develop trust (Larsen et al., 2006). Abdul's comments indicate that he and Vicent had established a lasting and productive relationship through their frequent interactions. His comments also suggest that this was a caring relationship based on characteristics of reciprocity, interdependence, and interconnectedness (see. Bowlby, 2012). To understand more about this relationship, I also interviewed Vicent during the research, who explained more about the levels of trust that he and Abdul had developed: *'We trust each other. We borrow money from each other, and we pay back on time'.* Vicent measured the trust between himself and Abdul based on experiences of money borrowing and lending. These practices require high degrees of trust in a Tanzanian context (Rusomyo et al., 2017).

Vicent also spoke of other forms of support he received from Abdul: '*Many people can advise you, but not all advice is good, but Abdul advises me wisely'.* Vicent's identification that Abdul provided 'wise' advice highlights the value he placed on receiving this support from him. These comments also reveal that the usefulness of support such as advice varies depending on who it is from. Furthermore, during a follow up interview with Vicent he spoke more about his and Abdul's relationship: *'He [Abdul] cares when I have difficulties, but also when I am fine*. *We care for each other for better or for worse'.* Vicent's comments correspond to Abdul's, further revealing that their relationship was ongoing, reliable, and reciprocal, irrespective of their circumstances. Significantly, Vicent also explicitly stated that he and Abdul 'cared for' each other. These comments suggest strong emotional ties between Abdul and Vicent, which can be developed through ongoing processes of care-giving and care-receiving (Evans and Atim, 2015). Relationships of care formed between peers in street spaces can be highly influential (Aufseeser, 2020). As Abdul's and Vicent's comments have revealed, the caring relationship they had established over time enabled them to mobilise the support needed to develop and manage their livelihoods within the city. Utilising a care lens has benefited these analyses by bringing greater attention to how young informal vendors' everyday interdependent relations and their lives and livelihoods combine and develop over time.

Other young people in this study also identified that they had developed ongoing and reliable support networks through their informal business activities. In Arusha, Cynthia, who sold maize on the side of the road near Kilombero Market, explained the benefits of a social network that she and other women who worked near her had developed:

> *'They [women working nearby] are important because when I am out [away from the business] they are helping me with my business, and when they go out I am helping them with theirs […] when they help me to sell I find my money is secure, and when I am selling for them, they will find their money secure too'*.

These reciprocal and interdependent relationships enabled Cynthia's business to continue operating while she was away from the area. Her comments regarding money security, also highlight that this group solidarity was predicated on mutual trust. Another participant, Winnie, who worked near to Cynthia, also identified the benefits of being part of this same social network: *'If I have to do my domestic work and I am late to go to my work, then I can ask someone like Cynthia to open my business'.* This support was important to Winnie, as it reduced the impact(s) that her unpaid works had on her economic activities. Moreover, these women

also supported Winnie by looking after her three-year-old daughter (whom she brought to the city with her each day) while she went to a busy local market to buy oranges. I noted in my diary one morning during an observation:

> 'Winnie has gone to buy oranges from a local market. She explained that she could not bring her daughter with her, as this area is too busy. Winnie's daughter has stayed by the stall where she sells oranges and is being looked after by the women working nearby' (Research Diary, 11th June 2019).

Providing childcare, which is often undertaken out of moral obligation and shaped by gendered social expectations and cultural constructions of care in Tanzania (Chung et al., 2019), was another vital function of this support network. In a Tanzanian context, women are expected to undertake all childcare responsibilities and often get little/no assistance with this (Badstue et al., 2020). Thus, the childcare support Winnie received from this network was vital, enabling her to carry out key business activities in areas of the city she identified would be unsuitable for her to bring her daughter to. This also contributes to understanding how informal exchanges of care (Bowlby, 2012) can help to sustain vendors' business endeavours. Insights from Cynthia and Winnie have also shown that the function that social networks serve, differ depending on the needs of an individual.

Advice between informal vendors was also an important role of participants' social networks. During an observation with Esther at an informal roadside market in Dar, I noted in my diary a conversation she and a friend (who sold onions nearby) were having while they were sat waiting for customers:

> 'Esther's friend is explaining to her the importance of keeping track of her [business] capital, so she can know if business starts to 'shake' [become unstable]. She also advised her to keep her business capital and profits separate, to avoid business troubles'. (Research Diary, 24th May 2019)

Business advice can be an important resource to young people (Langevang et al., 2016), allowing them to establish, manage and develop their business activities (Berrou and Gondard-Delcroix, 2018). During an interview, I asked Esther more about her relationship with the abovementioned friend, and she explained: *'She is quite old compared to me [10 years older], so she normally advises me about business, and about life and how I can live'*. Esther acknowledged the importance of receiving guidance from someone who was more experienced in business and life than she was, as this gave her an opportunity to learn and develop.

Moreover, Esther lived 1,445 km's away from her parents in Kigoma (west Tanzania) and did not know many people in Dar, therefore she acknowledged that receiving this business advice from her friend at the market was significant to her. Hunter et al. (2020) also found in South Africa that peer relationships can provide young people with crucial everyday emotional and physical care.

Other participants identified that drawing on makeshift, ephemeral social relationships with other urban actors (see. Simone, 2004) while undertaking their business activities. While interviewing Veva, she identified previously undertaking a small-scale business of buying and selling cosmetics in the Temeke district of Dar. She only undertook this work for several weeks but mentioned that over this period she had got to know two other vendors (one male and one female) selling similar products to her, and they decided to walk and sell together. She explained the benefits of this relationship:

> *'They [other vendors] gave me opportunities to approach and sell to customers if they realized I hadn't sold anything. For instance, if we found three houses, each one of us was supposed to approach one each. But when they found I had not earnt anything they would let me approach all three houses'.*

Similarly, while observing Nasser who sold eggs in Arusha, he explained that vendors would 'help' someone struggling to generate sales: *'Sometimes others from different parts of Bus Stand come over and say that they are having a tough time selling [eggs]. Then we can cooperate and allow him to sell where we are if we are generating income'*. These improvised informal practices (Simone, 2004) are an illustration of social cooperation in response to income insecurity among informal vendors. These examples demonstrate how vendors' mobilities across certain city spaces enabled them to engage in fleeting collaborative exchanges. The findings show that although some peer relationships are brief, they still play a significant role in shaping the daily livelihood experiences of youth working on the street. This brings attention to understanding that young vendors' livelihoods are shaped in many ways by various types of relationships.

However, although networks of support can afford young people with numerous benefits (Reza, 2017), it is also important to note that youth can become disadvantaged through the relationships they form with others (Hunter et al., 2020). While talking with Emmanuel, he explained that he had experienced issues of trust with the same vendor who taught him handicraft skills detailed previously: *'The challenge is trust because customers may come and*

buy one of my products when I am away [from the business] and my colleague may take the money without informing me'. He then explained: *'If I decide to make quarrels, it may bring problems to the business'.* Managing this issue was problematic for Emmanuel because the above-mentioned vendor had given him access to trade at a location in the city where customers regularly passed through. Consequently, he feared that if he confronted this vendor regarding issues of trust, he would be forced to leave this area of the city which would have negative repercussions on his business. This highlights that a lack of trust can result in vendors becoming trapped in uncertain situations (Mwasalwiba et al., 2012; Simone, 2003a). Importantly it also shows that interdependent relations can constrain young people's choices (Punch and Vanderbeck, 2017). As Hunter et al. (2020) state, peer relationships are not always caring and can be flawed and damaging to young people.

Summary of young people's complex and diverse relationships in the city

These sections have shown that youth participants drew on a range of interconnected, interdependent, and reciprocal relationships with family and peers, to acquire the resources necessary to maintain their lives and livelihoods in the city. Literature on care and social networks were drawn on throughout to highlight the complex and diverse nature of young people's relationships. Moreover, echoing other research, participants' accounts indicated that mobility and co-presence were an essential part of relationship creation and sustainability (Langevang, 2008a; Porter et al., 2017). Importantly, the findings showed that young people's relations with others shaped their everyday life and livelihood experiences in the city and influenced their life chances and hopes of progression. This contributes to understanding how support networks and caring relationships also shape young vendors' 'being and becoming' in the city, a recurring theme throughout the thesis. The next sections examine women's and men's domestic, household, and childcare responsibilities, further drawing on the care literature.

6.3 Young vendors' everyday caring roles

Drawing on the care literature, the following sections focus on women's and men's 'household chores' and 'child care' as forms of care (Evans, 2010a), to further understand the complexity and diversity of young vendors' everyday caring roles and responsibilities.

Women's unequal share of caring responsibilities

Cities are widely perceived as engines of social transformation (Simone and Pieterse, 2017), and as Chapter 7 will detail, women's roles and responsibilities have changed and are continuing to change in Arusha and Dar. Nevertheless, as Chant and McIlwaine (2016) state, research into these changes should not divert attention away from continuing to understand the ongoing inequalities women experience daily. The deeply gendered nature of caregiving (Gouws and van Zyl, 2014) contributes to these gender disparities, as burdens of care often fall disproportionality to women and girls (Evans, 2014; Razavi, 2007). Several participants and professionals identified that women continued to undertake unequal shares of household chore responsibilities in contemporary Tanzania. A youth leader in Dar gave their opinion on the difference between men's and women's roles:

> '*Young women are taking on more roles including household roles, than what young men are doing […] you can find that men are waking up late and women wake up early doing cleaning, fetching water, cooking and a lot of things.*

This corresponds with insights by Cynthia, who during an interview explained her daily routine: *'I have to wake up early [4am] and I have to do all the things [domestic work, fetching water and preparing the children for school], so when I go to the market, I feel tired'.* Women's abilities to fully engage in income-generating activities can be affected by the significant amounts of unpaid tasks they undertake (Akanle and Nwaobiala, 2020; Duflo, 2012). Whilst interviewing another participant, Winnie, she explained that her unpaid work sometimes delayed her from starting her business activities: '*the challenge I am getting is like when I am late to do my domestic activities, I still have to come and open up my business'.* Winnie had to travel around 45 minutes from her home to reach where she worked in the city, thus when she was delayed in completing her household chores this reduced the time she could spend performing her market activities. This constrained both her mobility and livelihood activities. As Tacoli and Satterthwaite (2013) identify, increases to women's economic activities in the city has created distinct separations between the 'home' and the 'workplace', making it challenging for women to balance their multiple responsibilities across these arenas. Because of this, women's movements must be more planned and deliberate than men's (Esson et al., 2016). Drawing again on the concept of 'caringscapes' (Bowlby, 2012; McKie et al., 2002) brings attention to the time-space patterning of women's caring practices here. Cynthia's and Winnie's accounts illustrate how they coordinated their caring activities across space and time, yet this still conflicted with their paid informal activities causing them to feel tired or delaying

when they could start their businesses each day. This contributes to understanding the overlaps between young women's paid and unpaid works showing how unpaid care work can disrupt the rhythms and routines of their paid informal work (see also. Evans, 2012).

Many female participants identified that they did not receive any support with their household chores. During an interview with Cynthia, she explained that she was the only person who could undertake domestic activities in her house: '*No one [helps me], because I cannot ask my husband, I can only do it all by myself'.* Because domestic work is still widely perceived as 'female work' women often feel unable to ask men for assistance with these activities (Akanle et al., 2016). During a focus group discussion with women in Arusha, one participant expanded on this point and explained: '*For men to support a woman inside the home is difficult […] they will see it as if they are not respected'*. This links to constructions of masculinity and femininity (Akanle, 2020; Tamale, 2004) and corresponds with research that has found that ongoing unequal power relations restrict women from receiving support with activities inside the home (Shefer et al., 2008).

Yet, female participants also vocalised their frustration towards these circumstances. During a focus group with women in Arusha, one participant commented:

> '*We [women] have to wake up early in the morning doing activities like domestic work men do not do this […] when they [men/husbands] come home, they find everything like food [on the table] and still they don't care for anything'*.

This participant was annoyed at the lack of appreciation and recognition that she and other women received from men concerning the long hours they worked within and outside the household. Another respondent, Doris, identified that domestic works could be very detrimental to women: '*You may find that a woman is working, and she is married to a man who has made her like a servant, because all the domestic works will be done by her without any help'*. The social and cultural norms determining who provides care (Abebe, 2012; Rost, 2021) can be oppressive and maintain unequal gender systems (Manji et al., 2020). Another participant, Emmanuel, identified the need to change the current 'system' which perpetuated the inequalities facing women in relation to their domestic work: *'Men and women need to discuss these [domestic works] and abandon the system that means that women are the only ones to do the domestic work*'. Emmanuel said that gender role expectations needed to change if women's and men's workloads were to become more balanced. At present, care practices mostly constrain women and favour men (Akanle and Nwaobiala, 2020).

However, some female participants perceived that it was their duty to undertake household chores. In an interview, Winnie commented: '*No one can support me, I am doing domestic work as a mother'.* Even though Winnie had previously noted that domestic activities could constrain her business activities, she believed that the completion of these activities was solely her responsibility. Another vendor, Agatha, firmly believed that only women should be undertaking domestic works: *'I think they [men] are right when they refuse to cooperate because domestic works such as cleaning dishes and clothes as well as cooking and sweeping, are women's responsibilities'.* Care and womanhood in Winnie's and Agatha's comments, are associated to dominant gender beliefs concerning women's homemaking, mothering, and nurturing roles (Evans, 2021; Jilek, 2020). This affirmation of ideals of 'femaleness' (Cornwall, 2003) is often interpreted by Western feminists as oppressive (Jagero and Kushoka, 2011; Oberhauser, 2002). However, these accounts highlight that it is important to avoid assumptions that household chores are automatically negative and a 'burden' for all women.

Concerning childcare responsibilities, many participants identified that this presented notable challenges to women. One participant, Veva explained during an interview:

> *'Women lack time to rest, relax and reflect, because of many responsibilities which surround them. For instance, women in the informal sector you can find that they have to carry her baby, and walk around selling their businesses, which is so tiring and tough'*

In many African contexts, women are expected to balance childcare responsibilities with their economic activities (Badstue et al., 2020; Carr, 2008). One participant in this study, Victoria, regularly brought her three-year-old daughter with her whilst she sold fruit and vegetables at a local market near to where she lived. She explained the challenges of caring for her daughter while working: *'The challenge is lack of freedom in my work because sometimes when you are occupied you can find the child is on another street so instead of welcoming customers, I find myself searching her whereabouts'*. Victoria then said that men did not face the same difficulties she did: *'Compared to men who just focus on business, the challenge I face is that I always have to do two things at a time; doing the business and making sure my child is safe'.* Victoria felt that men had an advantage because they could focus solely on their business activities. This again relates to the daily time-space patterning of care (Evans, 2012), highlighting how women's everyday care routines can conflict with their paid informal business activities.

Many participants in this study (both youth and professionals) emphasised that women's roles and responsibilities were focused on providing household/familial care. During a focus group with women in Dar, Cynthia commented:

> *'We [women] can do anything to make sure that our families are in safe hands and that we get basic needs, which is different compared to men […] as a woman, I can't let my family sleep without eating. Different from men who sometimes come home drunk. But us, we do care for the family'*

Again, this relates to women's traditional gendered responsibilities within households and heterosexual relationships to feed their families (Jilek, 2020). All the women in this focus group also agreed that men (including their husbands) did not always use the money they earned in ways that supported the family. Because of this, women have had to 'fill in' and generate income to ensure that the basic needs of their families are met (Akanle and Nwaobiala, 2020). Traditionally, men have cared for their families by providing financial support (Evans, 2012) however, the findings suggest that this has begun to change in some instances.

Furthermore, during an interview with Cynthia, she explained that she was motivated to work to improve her children's life*: 'I love my children and I am taking care of them and that is why I am working hard for them to get a better life'.* Similarly, another participant, Victoria, explained that she generated income to ensure that the needs of her children were met whenever they required anything: *'If I am informed that my kids have any needs, I just go to the market and generate my own income to send to them'.* These accounts demonstrate that women are increasingly caring for their children by generating income to meet their basic needs. This corresponds with the notion that mothers will prioritise caring for their children/family to ensure that they have a good quality of life (Akanle and Nwaobiala, 2020; Langevang et al., 2015). Because of contemporary socioeconomic challenges, women are providing financial support to their families, which could be regarded as a 'masculine' way of caring, while simultaneously undertaking childcare and household responsibilities in line with feminine constructions of care (Akanle et al., 2018; Gouws and Zyl, 2014). This indicates a shift in gendered caring responsibilities which has also been observed by Gouws and Zyl (2014) in South Africa.

Men's awareness of the challenges household chores pose to women

Male participants gave their perspectives on women's undertaking of household chores, and many identified that these tasks posed challenges to women. While interviewing Victor, he

noted: '*Women are the one who work much [more] than men'.* Another participant Vicent, also recognised this, but identified that men had to prioritize their income-generating activities:

> *'There are challenges, because women can perform many activities like cleaning, cooking, and shopping, alone […] the challenge for men is they cannot perform domestic activities while there is no money at home, he must go to work'*

Vicent's comments suggest that because men are expected to fulfil the role of 'breadwinner', they cannot spend time helping women reduce their workloads. The gendered expectations of heterosexual relationships (Hannaford and Foley, 2015; Stark, 2018) pressurise men to care for the family through providing financially for their households (Riley and Dodson, 2016). Thus, it is unsurprising that Vicent identified working as men's priority. However, this raises the question of whether men are unable or unwilling to offer help to women. Concerning the latter, Akanle and Nwaobiala (2020) indicate that men may be reluctant to relieve women of their workloads as they may fear that their identities and masculinity could become threatened if women then have more time to focus on economic activities.

Yet, as will be shown in Chapter 7, some men actively encourage and teach women to effectively run their own economic activities. Moreover, another participant, Benson, identified that although he was the breadwinner in his household, he was aware that his wife could not generate income because of her domestic chores: *'It poses a challenge, because if she would have money, then she could hire a housemaid so that she can spend her time doing economic activities too'*. Benson then said he was saving money to afford to pay a housemaid in the future so his wife could run her own business. This is important and demonstrates that not all men focus solely on their own situation and disregard the circumstances of women.

Men's undertaking of caring activities

Giddings and Hovorka (2010) observe that changes to men's unpaid caring activities are becoming more widespread across African cities. During focus groups with men and women in Arusha and Dar, time-use surveys were used with participants. As Table 4 illustrates, on average, it was found men spent the same amount of time undertaking 'household chores' (cleaning, washing, fetching water etc. (see. Evans, 2012 for full definition)) as women. Although time-use surveys have been widely critiqued (see. Chapter 3), they were beneficial in this study illustrating men's engagements in caring activities.

	Household Chores	Paid work	Resting (including sleeping)	Caring for family (and care for others)	Personal activities (including self-care)
Men	3	9.4	4.6	3.4	3.6
Women	3	9.5	5.5	2.3	3.7

Table 4: The average time (in hours) men (n=12) and women (n=11) from separate gender focus groups in Arusha and Dar (combined), spent doing certain activities over a 'typical' 24-hour period

Several male participants detailed the domestic activities they undertook. During an interview with Benson, he mentioned helping his wife when she had a lot of washing to undertake: '*I help her to wash the clothes when there are too many clothes to wash […] she normally becomes happy when I help her since she doesn't get tired when I assist her'*. Similarly, Godfrey commented: *'I am helping my wife by fetching water'*. Another participant, Doreen, also explained that her fiancé regularly assisted her with many household chores:

> *'He helps me to wash clothes, cook, and many other works […] on cooking, he helps me to cut all vegetables necessary for meals like carrots, tomatoes, and onions and he even helps me to cook Ugali [stiff maize porridge, a staple food in Tanzania]'*

This identification is important because traditionally in African contexts, household chores, including washing clothes and cooking, are labelled as "female work" (Akanle et al., 2016; Wangui, 2014). Married men in this study also identified that they helped their wives undertake unpaid household chores, but often noted that they chose the tasks they undertook such as fetching water, sweeping, and washing clothes. While interviewing David, he explained: *'I choose the kind of work to do. For example, if it is washing clothes, we can help each other, you see. If it is cooking, she will cook'.* Although David mentioned helping with some domestic duties, in his opinion, cooking was firmly a "woman's role". This again relates to observations that feeding is a central practice traditionally associated with motherhood (Kudo, 2015; Jilek, 2020). Although the gendering of some tasks can be altered without a substantial challenge to patriarchal relations within the household, others are more difficult to change (Akanle et al., 2018; Rost, 2021). Men's identification that they chose the tasks they performed reinforces understandings that men are "gatekeepers" of gender norms and practices whose decisions and performances often conform to social constructions of masculinity and male identity (Flood,

2015). Yet, as Doreen's comments illustrate, some men are willing to change their behaviour and subvert dominant gender norms.

Interestingly however, for men who lived alone, they had little choice but to undertake all domestic responsibilities. Emmanuel, aged 33, who lived alone in a rented room just outside Arusha city centre, commented: *'I cook, wash my clothes, and clean the environment around me. All of the domestic duties I am doing for myself'*. Unprompted, he then explained: '*For those who are already married, this domestic work is done by women, but those who are not yet married, they have to do all of their domestic work*'. Similarly, during a focus group with young unmarried men in Dar es Salaam, it was agreed that men would only undertake domestic work if they had to. One participant developed this further, explaining: *'If a woman is not there [where we live], then we have to undertake all responsibility like washing and cooking'*. These findings correspond with insights made by Porter et al. (2017), who note that if there are no girls/women present in the house, then men have no choice but to undertake domestic tasks. Another participant, Grace, agreed with this, explaining:

> *'Both [men and women] can do all domestic works equally, since if a man lives alone, he will do all domestic works such as cleanliness and cooking because he can't live in a dirty place'.*

Because of norms shaping men's performances (Wangui, 2014), married men or men who live with women widely perceive that it is not their duty to involve themselves significantly in the undertaking of household chores. This highlights the influence of marital/cohabitating status and household structure on the caring practices men undertake.

Moreover, assumptions that women are more caring than men (Kabeer, 2016), can overlook men's caring roles and their motivations for supporting their families. As shown in Table 4, male participants from focus groups in Arusha and Dar identified spending more time caring for their families than women. Several young men in this study also emphasised that their families were their main priorities and motivated them to work hard. While interviewing Godfrey, he stated: '*I have a family which I have to take care of by providing them with food, so that they cannot sleep without eating'*. Godfrey cared for his family in line with masculine constructions of care as a provider of financial support (Gouws and Zyl, 2014), discussed previously. Another participant, Benson, said his main responsibility was to ensure that his three children received a decent education: *'What I long for firstly is good life for my children, because what I want is to offer them a good education'*. Benson's remarks highlight that his

focus was on providing for his children and ensuring their success in the future. He also said his work had enabled him to send his children to a private school in Arusha. In a Tanzanian context, parents strive to provide their children with a good education so that their life chances are improved (Mwasalwiba et al., 2012). Through investigating men's diverse perspectives and motivations, the findings have illustrated that men's livelihoods are also influenced by responsibilities to provide for their families in the present whilst also ensuring they have adequate opportunities for the future, in line with social and cultural expectations.

Yet, men may be more inclined to highlight their caring responsibilities than women. As Evans (2012) identifies, men may emphasise the number of household chores they undertake because these tasks are not usually seen as men's work, whereas women may be less likely to report these tasks perceiving these as 'normal' obligations. Men may also accentuate undertaking these duties as these are increasingly associated with a modern way of living across African contexts (Rost, 2021). Further, my presence may have influenced male participants' responses, who may have wanted to come across as progressive and aware of gender equality and women's rights because I was asking them questions concerning these issues.

Challenges men face in relation to their household chores

Several male participants identified experiencing challenges related to the household chores they undertook. Abdul explained that his domestic chores sometimes delayed him from starting his market activities: *'They [domestic works] make delay to work or to go to the market to buy some stuff for crisps preparation, however in spite all of this there is no way out of doing them'*. Abdul had no choice but to undertake these works as he lived alone, therefore, there was nobody around to support him. Another participant, Edward, explained that he undertook several domestic activities each evening after work because his mother was elderly and unable to perform these works: *'I do some domestic works since my mother is a bit aged, so I do these works instead. I cook and do other works [washing, cleaning, fetching water]'.* Edward undertook these activities, a form of caregiving in the literature on care (Evans, 2010a), in response to his mother's inability to perform these tasks. He then explained the challenges of undertaking these: *'The challenge is, I come home very tired [after work] and I still need to prepare the evening meal'*. The above insights are vital, highlighting that time-space patterns of care (Bowlby, 2012; Evans, 2012) can also impact men's daily rhythms and routines. These identifications are important because the everyday realities facing young men in African contexts tend to be overlooked or treated as less important than women's (Esson et al., 2020;

Silberschmidt, 2011). Silberschmidt (2001) suggests that stereotypical notions of men as the "dominant gender" contribute to a lack of attention to men's heterogenous experiences.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed how young vendors' caring roles, responsibilities, and relations shape their everyday life and livelihood experiences and practices in Arusha and Dar es Salaam. The case study of Collins, a participant whose father died during the study, introduced the literature on care and the concept of 'caringscapes'. It analysed how Collins' everyday caring tasks, obligations and relationships within the household were temporarily reconfigured because of an event such as a parental death. Collins was relied upon by family members within his household to fill the void left by his father and provide a mix of emotional and financial support in the present. Yet, Collins also spoke of plans to develop an agribusiness sometime in the future. This contributes to the concept of 'being and becoming', which has been used explore the temporally structured nature of livelihoods (Ansell et al., 2014), through understanding how care roles, responsibilities and relationships shape young vendors' lives and livelihoods over time.

Young people's social networks, from which they obtained the necessary resources to establish and maintain their livelihoods within challenging urban contexts, were also investigated. The findings revealed that youth drew on a range of interdependent, reciprocal, and interconnected caring relationships with family and peers to increase their chances of surviving in the city. Support such as advice, skills training, and financial resources enabled young people to create, manage, and develop their livelihoods in the city, which also had implications regarding how youth engaged in processes of 'being and becoming'. However, the effectiveness of these resources differed between youth depending on multiple factors, including business experience. For many vendors in this study, these relations determined the opportunities available to them.

The final sections of the chapter explored in more depth young people's gendered everyday caring activities. This examined in greater detail how unpaid care work and paid informal work intersect. It found that women continue to undertake a disproportionate number of obligations, which presents challenges constraining women from developing their informal livelihoods. Male vendors were aware of these challenges, however, expectations placed on men to provide financial support to their households (Esson et al., 2020) restricted some male respondents from supporting women with household chores and childcare responsibilities. This provides insights

into the complexity of men's and women's gendered livelihoods which continue to be influenced by wider social and cultural norms.

This chapter underscored the importance of paying attention to young vendors' caring roles, relations, and practices, and how these shape young people's present and future circumstances. The adoption of a gendered care lens also brought greater focus to the interconnected and interdependent nature of young vendors' everyday urban informal livelihoods. Chapter 7 expands on the discussions in this chapter by analysing how changes to urban conditions have impacted the gendered norms, responsibilities, and collaborations shaping young vendors' daily lives and livelihoods.

7 The gender norms, expectations and relations shaping the lives and livelihoods of urban youth working informally

This chapter adopts a gendered lens to understand how circumstances within urban environments shape the lives and livelihoods of young men and women working informally. It begins by discussing participants' perceptions of changes in gendered norms and expectations occurring within Arusha and Dar es Salaam, followed by discussions concerning the factors influencing these alterations. It then draws on participants' experiences and comparisons of gender practices in urban and rural localities in Tanzania to emphasise contemporary changes to gender performances within Arusha and Dar. Then, the collaborative and interdependent relationships of married young men and women working informally will be explored, to understand how married youth come together to manage and sustain their livelihoods in response to contemporary urban challenges. The discussions will consider how marital relationships can influence youth 'being and becoming' and how these understandings can help develop the ability of this concept to capture more rounded insights into the complexity of youth. Thereafter, the multiple ongoing and emerging inequalities women face while undertaking informal paid work activities in the city will be examined.

By focusing on the experiences and voices of young women and men who work informally in urban Tanzania, the chapter attempts to understand gender norms, roles, and experiences within constantly evolving urban environments shape youths' complex, diverse and interconnected lives and livelihoods.

7.1 Perceptions of changes to gendered working roles within the urban informal sector in Arusha and Dar es Salaam

Research across African contexts has identified alterations in gender norms and relations (Akanle and Nwaobiala, 2020; Evans, 2018; Shefer et al., 2008). In this study, 21 out of 22 youth participants, and 9 professionals, identified that in recent years changes to gendered norms and expectations had occurred in Arusha and Dar. Due to the nature of this study, most participants' perceptions regarding changes to gendered norms were in relation to informal work, and interestingly many emphasized changes occurring to women's work roles. While interviewing a youth worker in Arusha, they explained: *'We have a big change, because now, young women they can work like a man'*. A youth participant, Emmanuel, developed this further explaining the specific types of work women were now doing: *'Nowadays it has changed [gender roles]. Even in the construction industry you can find young women, and even in the*

street you can find Machinga [street vendor] women'. Participants commonly used words including 'now' and 'nowadays', to illustrate the recent nature of these changes. Several other respondents (both youth and professionals) also gave examples of women working as construction workers and *machingas* (street vendors) in their answers about gender norm changes. This is significant because these works were widely perceived as traditionally "men's work" due to their physically demanding nature (Yeboah, 2010). Thus, women's undertaking of these activities indicated to participants that significant changes to gendered work roles, and to women's livelihoods more generally, were underway.

Participants also underscored the ongoing changes taking place by identifying the same types of work men and women could be found undertaking in the city. One participant, Godfrey, explained: *'You can find a woman is selling oranges and also men are selling oranges, and you can find men sell clothes and women sell clothes too'.* Traditionally, men and women undertook distinctly separate income-generating activities (Shefer et al., 2008), yet as Godfrey's account suggests, this situation is changing and categorisations of work as "men's" or "women's" have become blurred.

Other respondents noted that women's undertaking of informal work in city spaces, was also evidence that changes had occurred. While interviewing Vicent, he said: '*Back in the days women were only performing domestic duties but now most of them engage themselves in informal sector [work]'.* Similarly, Victoria stated:

> *'Before, women's duty was to stay home and take care of all domestic works such as taking care of children, cooking, washing, cleaning, while men were liable for generating incomes for their families but now both men and women are in markets doing paid works'*

This recognises that women's roles and responsibilities, which were previously concentrated within the "feminine" 'private sphere' of the home, were now also taking place within the 'public sphere' of the city often recognized as a "masculine" domain (Diouf, 2003; Tamale, 2004). Many participants agreed that these changes had taken place, and some even placed an expectation on women to undertake their own income-generating activities in the city. During a discussion with Edward, he explained that in the future he would marry a woman who could work in the city generating her own income: *'[I will] get a wife who is independent and understands how to effectively make use of economic opportunities'.* Another participant,

Grace, explained why expectations of women have changed in recent years: *'Recently, men want educated women who have jobs so that they can support and share responsibilities'.* These findings make an important contribution by highlighting contemporary changes to the expectations placed on women to become financially independent through undertaking income-generating activities. Research by Smith (2015) in Tanzania has also found that women are expected by household and community members to engage in market activities.

Furthermore, some participants identified changes in relation to the types of work men undertook. During an interview with a youth worker in Dar, he explained: *'You can find now the men they are even working in the [hair] salon, which tended to only be for women, and women they are working on the building sites which tended to be men only'.* Similarly, during a focus group session in Dar with young men, one participant who sold dry fish and samosas on the street, explained:

> *'Currently there is no difference between men's and women's works […] there are women who are bus conductors as well as men who are mama ntilie [traditionally a female food vendor]'*

This undertaking of work traditionally perceived as "women's work", illustrates that notable changes to men's work roles are also occurring (Chant and Gutmann, 2000). Yet, as mentioned previously, participants focused much more on describing women's rather than men's changing work roles whenever they spoke about changes in gendered norms taking place in Tanzania. The factors influencing these changes will be discussed further in Section 7.2.

Several participants also emphasised finding it encouraging whenever they saw women undertaking "men's work". Collins expressed his admiration for women who were competently undertaking work previously dominated by men:

> *'There are some works which were once categorized as for men but now I have witnessed women are doing them. Women are doing men works very good in such a way you admire to work with them'.*

Collins' comments correspond with insights by Evans (2018), who notes that once people observe growing numbers of women capably undertaking types of traditionally "masculine" work, it is likely that they will view these changes positively. During an observation with Cynthia in Arusha, I noticed a female *boda boda* (motorcycle taxi) working near to Cynthia, who had written on her petrol tank: *'Women, we can'* (see. Figure 24). This was the only female

boda boda I saw during the entirety of this research, and several participants noted during interviews and discussions that although women were starting to do this work, it was still very uncommon to see. During an informal conversation with Cynthia, I asked what her opinions were of women working as *boda boda's* and she replied: *'It is good to see women doing this work, although there are few [who do this]'.* Cynthia expressed pride in seeing a woman working as a *boda boda* driver but stressed its uncommonness. Yet, these opinions were not shared by everyone. While discussing the same female *boda boda* driver with a female research assistant I worked alongside in Arusha, she stated: *'I wouldn't trust going with her [the female boda boda driver] as she would fall or get hit by vehicles. That is firmly a man's job and I wouldn't trust her'*. As Akanle (2020) states, people may feel deeply uncomfortable when a woman is undertaking a role expected to be filled by a man, illustrating the ongoing influence of gender stereotypes and misperceptions (Guma, 2015). This may also be linked to the infrequency in which women are undertaking *boda boda* work. As Evans (2014) notes, women's sporadic encroachments into "men's domains" are unlikely to undermine gender stereotypes due to little exposure and demonstration of their competency in these roles.

Figure 24: The motorbike of a female boda boda in Arusha with the words, 'Women/ Mothers, we can' written on the petrol tank.

Moreover, there were also examples of participants disagreeing on the changes occurring to gendered roles. During a focus group with young women in Dar, one participant stated: *'Women do not do carpentry'.* This comment sparked debate within the group. All the other women disagreed with this statement, identifying that they knew women who worked as carpenters. The insights provided here indicate that certain changes to women's work roles are transgressions of culturally accepted gendered boundaries, because as Bouilly et al. (2016) state, transgressions are often marked by contestation. The following section details participants' perceptions concerning the factors that have influenced shifts to gendered work norms.

7.2 Factors influencing changes to urban gendered working roles in Tanzania

As Chapter 2 discussed, it is widely recognised that gender is a performance produced and reproduced through societal norms acting upon people. (Amankwaa, 2017; Butler, 2009; Wangui, 2014). Importantly, gender performances differ depending on cultural, economic, political, and social contexts (Amankwaa, 2017; Cresswell and Uteng, 2008). Thus, drawing on these insights was important in this study to understand the factors influencing changes in gendered norms and expectations in Tanzania. Overall, 12 of the 22 youth participants interviewed in this research attributed changes in gendered work norms to ongoing economic difficulties. Participants highlighted that in response to socioeconomic difficulties, women were engaging more in economic activities because it was no longer guaranteed that men could provide enough financial support to the household. One informant, Godfrey, stated: *'Women can't just stay and wait for [financial] support from men, because life is changing and sometimes they [women] may get the support, and sometimes they may not'.* This illustrates that men's incomes have become insecure (Schilling et al., 2019; Silberschmidt, 2001), which has impacted both men and women. During a focus group discussion with young women in Dar, one woman explained this in more detail: *'Changes in the economic situation has led to these changes because before men used to bring everything for their wives, but now, both of them have to go out to search for income'*. Changes to politico-economic environments across African contexts (Amankwaa, 2017) have placed economic pressures on households. Women have responded to this by increasing their participation in informal income-generating activities (Rutashobya, 2001). Moreover, Doreen Stated:

> '*Men are broke nowadays, they don't have money. They can live with women but are unable to take good care of them. That's why women are deciding to come by themselves and look for income generating activities to cover their needs'*.

Participants used the words ‘now’ and ‘nowadays’ to emphasise that men were no longer able to fulfil their financial responsibilities (Manji et al., 2020), resulting in women’s increased involvement in economic activities. These comments indicating changes to women’s gendered roles relate to gender as performative (Butler, 1990, 2009). ‘Slippage’, the changing of roles and responsibilities over time is an inherent part of gender performativity (Wangui, 2014: 1070). The above accounts infer that women’s informal work roles have altered in response to the instability of men’s incomes, which denotes the fluidity of gendered performances and shows that gendered ideals can never be attained. Furthermore, Doreen’s comments regarding men’s current incapacity to ‘take good care’ of women due to their ‘broke’ status, builds on insights developed in Chapter 6, further illustrating that men’s caring responsibilities in African contexts are traditionally linked with an ability to provide financial support (Evans, 2012), particularly within heterosexual/marriage relationships (Hannaford and Foley, 2015; Thomas and Cole, 2009). Yet, economic uncertainties have made it harder for men to fulfil these expectations. In turn, this has meant that women are now required and even expected to increase their financial contributions in response to this situation.

Other participants were more critical of men’s situation and did not believe that income instability/unpredictability was the main reason why men were not providing enough financial support to their households. During a focus group with young women in Arusha, all five participants stated that men had neglected their financial responsibilities. One woman summarised the sentiments of the group: *‘Men have forgotten their [financial] responsibilities. They have forgotten their families. As women we can’t just stay at home waiting for men’*. In response to these comments, another woman in the group added: ‘*A man does put their time into “unknown things*”’. This group believed women’s economic responsibilities had increased unnecessarily because of men’s lack of focus in fulfiling their traditional role as ‘breadwinners’. Men’s failure to meet normative expectations (Manji et al., 2020) was perceived among this group of women to be because men were disinclined, rather than unable, to contribute their share of the household budgets. This resulted in these women feeling deeply frustrated with men, showing that changes to women’s expected work roles cannot simply be attributed to changing economic circumstances.

Several participants then described how economic difficulties were the main cause behind changes in the types of work men and women undertook (identified in Section 7.1). During an interview with Emmanuel, he commented: ‘*The current life is so difficult. It is not easy to get money, so the situation has forced young women and young men to not be selective in a certain*

job'. As Tripp (1997) comments, people are undertaking work roles out of necessity rather than through choice. Similarly, a director of a youth-led organisation in Dar explained: *'Whatever opportunities come, people just grab them, because people don't have that much choice nowadays'.* They then stated: *'A change of perception did not change this [gendered work norms], but it is how people are doing things that has changed the perception'.* This is particularly important in relation to women, as economic challenges have resulted in their increased undertaking of socially valued "masculine" work roles in the public sphere (Evans, 2014). Because of this, women are receiving more exposure and recognition as economic earners (Evans, 2018, 2019). It is plausible that this significant change is why in Section 7.1, participants predominately focused on describing the work role changes occurring to women.

Yet, for many professionals in this study education was also a key factor behind changes to gendered work. A gender rights activist in Arusha explained: '*It is changing [gendered roles], because of knowledge, the theoretical and practical knowledge that women now get, and the exposure'*. A youth advocacy leader in Dar es Salaam also noted: *'After so many trainings from different NGO's, from different feminists and from different groups, it has raised awareness to most young women'*. This suggests that equipping women with knowledge and skills enables women to enter new domains and undertake a broader range of economic activities (Schneck et al., 2019). Other participants identified the increased education of Tanzanians as the main driver behind changes to women's work roles. During a focus group with young men in Arusha, Victor commented: *'[gender] roles have changed because in the past many people [Tanzanian's generally] did not have an education. Because now people are more educated, everything has changed'*. A grassroots activist in Arusha also mentioned the impacts of globalization on the people of Tanzanian:

> *'This globalisation, interaction with people around the world [is the main factor influencing changes in gendered roles]. Before, we have been living only as Tanzanian people. But now people [from other countries] are interacting in the community and sharing their experiences'.*

These comments imply that education and exposure to other ways of living globally have made people more open to change. Akanle et al. (2018: 100) agree with this, identifying that these factors can, 'break traditional socioeconomic and cultural traditions and barriers'.

The findings presented throughout this section have indicated that multiple factors have contributed to (re)shaping the types of work people, most notably women, undertake within the

informal sector in Tanzania. Although most participants identified changes to men's circumstances as the main reason women's gendered work role performances had changed, alternative insights indicate that this situation has greater complexity. A key contribution of this section has been to develop a more detailed understanding of why women's work roles have changed in recent years. This is important as this helps to comprehend the reasons behind increases in women's workloads. The challenges of this have been analysed in chapter 6 when discussing how women's paid and unpaid works intersect. To draw more attention to women's gendered performances within city spaces in Tanzania, the following section draws on participants' experiences and opinions of differences between urban and rural areas.

7.3 Comparisons and experiences of gender roles between urban and rural localities

Throughout this research, participants commonly made comparisons between urban and rural parts of Tanzania to illustrate the extent of changes to gender norms that had occurred within the city. Most young people in this study perceived urban areas as more progressive than village localities. During an interview with Joseph (who had lived in a village his entire life before migrating to Arusha in 2019), he observed that in the city, men's and women's roles and responsibilities were more similar than in the village he came from:

> *'In town, there is no difference between people [men and women] in doing those activities [domestic duties], but there is a difference in the village. In the village, due to our tradition, cooking and other domestic work is the role of women, so it is very hard to find a man doing these activities there'.*

Another participant, Veva, who had migrated 1,377 km's from a village just outside the city of Bukoba (north west Tanzania) to Dar, noted how men and women cooperate with one another more in the city, than they do in the village:

> *'In the villages it [gender roles and responsibilities] will not change no matter what, even if you will come home tired [after working], still you will have to do your roles by yourself. However, in town there are some differences and couples are helping each other'*

Joseph's and Veva's insights echo comments by Giddings and Hovorka (2010), who note that cities have less rigid gendered norms than rural areas. Veva then drew on her observations of her auntie, who also lived in Dar es Salaam, stating: *'She likes to hustle and do business […] she is now 31 years old and still single. She does not consider marriage to be important to her. I like her lifestyle'.* Veva was inspired by her auntie's way of living and sought to live a similar

life to her. As Evans (2018) notes, women in urban arenas can focus more on business activities and do not necessarily have to fulfil traditions that are still common in rural localities, such as getting married at an early age and becoming a mother. These findings contribute to understanding how gender norms and expectations in the city shape women's lives and livelihoods differently compared to in the village.

Another participant Doreen, drew directly on her experiences of living in a village in Manyara region (north Tanzania) with her ex-husband whom she married when she was 16 years old:

> *'Life in the village with my husband was tough, as I was the only one who grazed his cattle from morning to evening. I did not have any income generating activity. I wore torn clothes which he was throwing away, I just had one proper [set of] clothes'.*

Working long hours, unpaid, meant that Doreen was trapped in a weak socioeconomic position. This corresponds to research undertaken in Malawi and Lesotho by Ansell et al. (2017), who found that marriage can place women in poor social and material circumstances. Doreen further explained that in African contexts, '*when a lady is above 18 years old and married you must endure to live with your husband no matter what'*. Yet, Doreen aspired for greater financial autonomy and opportunities, as she wanted to support herself and her family (mother and younger brothers). She had been told by people in her village, and by family members, that she could find many income-generating opportunities in a city like Dar (see also. Chapter 4). This contrasted significantly to her life in the village, where rigid social norms and values (Tacoli et al., 2015) meant that she was confined to working long hours for her husband, unpaid. The concept of 'ideological mobility' is important here, as it is the notion that ideas can travel between places and promote changes to occur (Giddings and Hovorka, 2010). Hearing of these economic opportunities and the independent life cities can offer people prompted Doreen to seek change. In 2011, she made the decision to 'run away' from her husband in the village and migrate to Dar.

She reflected on her decision to move to the city, explaining the opportunities that this decision had afforded her:

> *'If I would have continued to live in the village, I would not have been able to take care of my younger siblings' school expenses, neither would I have a change of clothes like now […] that's the reason I came here to the city. It has given me financial opportunities'.*

As Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) note, migration to cities can strengthen women's agency, as urban arenas can offer women greater social and financial opportunities compared to rural areas (Tacoli et al., 2015). This again points to the more dynamic and flexible nature of urban-based gendered scripts (Giddings and Hovorka, 2010) made possible, Evans (2018) argues, because of urban dwellers' greater exposure to alternative gender discourses and practices. This builds on insights from Chapter 6, further illustrating the economic opportunities informal work in the city can afford women.

Yet, cities are not inevitably disruptive (Evans, 2019). Doreen said that she soon came to realise that the cost of living in Dar was very expensive compared to the village: *'The life here is tough [financially] even though outwardly it seems as if it's better compared to life in the village'*. Although certain aspects of Doreen's life had improved because of her decision to come to the city, she was facing other challenges that were specific to urban life (discussed in Chapter 4). As Tacoli et al. (2015) state, many women in urban Africa are concentrated in low-income settlements and are working in low-paid and insecure work (usually informal). Thus, although cities may present opportunities to women (Evans, 2018), the findings, in line with insights by Chant and McIlwaine (2016), show the importance of not overromanticizing these. Next, attention is drawn to the collaborative and interdependent nature of the relationships married men and women develop in the city.

7.4 Collaboration and interdependence between young married men and women

AbdouMaliq Simone (2003b, 2004) has written extensively on the need of urban African residents to form collaborative and interdependent relationships to make something of their lives in the city. This section builds on these understandings by drawing attention to the ways married men and women relied on one another to manage their lives and livelihoods in Arusha and Dar. In total, 7 youth participants (out of 22) were married; 4 were aged 25 or older, and 3 were below the age of 25.

Throughout this study, most participants identified that married couples often came together to discuss issues relating to financial decision making. During a focus group discussion with young women in Dar, one participant explained: '*If [married] couples are on good terms, they can plan together how they are going to disburse their incomes. They can plan that man's income is for children's school fees and woman's income is for food and other home incomes'*. This acknowledges that more transparent and egalitarian households can manage and allocate their incomes to fulfil obligations (Iyenda and Simon, 2006; Sen, 1999). One participant,

Cynthia, explained that she and her husband often discussed and planned how they would use the incomes they had earnt:

> *'We come together, and we are discussing what to do, like paying the children's school fees […] there is importance in helping each other because we divide the responsibility. Because like us women, we cannot do it by ourselves'*.

Cynthia's situation relates to insights by Langevang et al. (2015), who explain that women's engagements in economic activities and their contributions towards household expenses have translated to having more say in financial decision-making processes. This was echoed by a Grassroots Youth Support Worker in Dar, who said: '*today, because of the informal sector, many men are sitting down with their wife and making decisions together'.* It is important to recognise here that although men and women may come together to pay for things jointly, such as school fees, they often retain separate accounts rather than pool their earnings together (Carr, 2008). Additionally, Cynthia's comments regarding the significance of 'sharing responsibilities' with her husband, illustrates the interconnected and interdependent nature of their relationship. Research by Armchambault (2011) has highlighted that marriage can foster mutual social and economic support between men and women, and the findings presented above build on this by presenting evidence of the collaborative elements of young informal vendors' marriage relationships. These insights also contribute to moving beyond viewing gender in dualistic ways depicting 'men and women as different and opposing categories' (White, 1997: 19), through taking seriously the complex relationships men and women who work informally are involved in.

Participants also identified that advice was an important form of support they depended on from their spouses. Vicent gave an example of when he sought advice from his wife whilst she was pregnant with their first child:

> *'I had difficulties when my wife was pregnant, money was very scarce […] my wife advised me to go and live with my relatives so that we could be free from paying rent, and so that I could concentrate on finding money for other purposes'*

Vicent followed the advice of his wife, and they decided to live separately temporarily. Vicent moved in with his father while his wife lived with her parents. This enabled Vicent to concentrate on saving money rather than spending it on rent and other household expenses. Hannaford and Foley (2015) note that people within marital unions have become innovative, enabling them to improve their situations during periods of economic uncertainty. Vicent also

said that he regularly depended on his wife's advice concerning how to manage household expenditure: *'You can have a huge amount of money, but you may not know how to spend it, so I appreciate her supporting me with ideas first'.* This suggests that Vicent and his wife had developed a cooperative relationship through which they could discuss how to manage their financial situation, detailing other ways in which married young vendors may collaborate with their spouses.

Moreover, young people also recognised the importance of discussing objectives for the future with their spouse. One participant, Godfrey, explained the benefits of regularly discussing plans with his wife: '*It is easier to manage and plan together […] we discuss on how we will manage the construction [of a house] and the time it will take to implement our ideas and plans'*. Similarly, another participant, Benson, mentioned that he and his wife discuss plans concerning family progression: *'[we are] taking further steps in life so that our family can improve'*. Although much research has drawn attention to individual plans young people conceive (Afutu-Kotey and Gough, 2019; Ansell et al., 2014), comparatively little work has developed understandings into young people's collective futures (Christiansen et al., 2006). This could be because the literature on youth often assumes that many young people are unmarried. Ansell et al. (2017) state that youth geographers need to pay more attention to marriage, as this significantly influences young people's life trajectories and goals. Analysing the marital status of young people in this study revealed that married youth, more so than unmarried youth, emphasized developing their plans through collaborative processes such as advice sharing and joint planning. Thus, the findings here contribute to the literature on youth 'being and becoming', by evidencing how interconnections within marriage relationships can be an important factor shaping young people's actions in the present and their objectives for the future. This helps to develop more rounded insights into the complex and interconnected nature of youth 'being and becoming'. Previous work has brought attention to how youth development over time is shaped by wider factors, including connections to others at a range of scales (Ansell et al., 2014; Vigh, 2009), and the findings above add to this by beginning to understand the influences of marriage on these processes.

Another participant, Vicent, explained how he and his wife were currently working together to ensure the completion of a joint goal:

> '*When she [wife] gets money, we mix it with what I earn. We allocate to our house finishing the construction, because we cannot really allocate it somewhere else if our*

house is not completed yet. It still needs doors, windows and some other things finishing'.

Vicent's acknowledgment that he and his wife both contributed income towards the construction of their home is important because other research has found that house construction is often an exclusively male activity (Afutu-Kotey et al., 2017). This indicates that without his wife's financial inputs, Vicent would be unable to afford the expense of building a house on his own. Although research highlights the traditional expectations placed on men to provide material support to their wives (Boulton, 2019; Hannaford and Foley, 2015), Vicent's comments illustrate that he relied on assistance from his wife to fulfil an obligation previously performed by men alone. Again, this indicates adaptation within marriage in response to socioeconomic challenges (Hannaford and Foley, 2015). Insights throughout this section underscore the need to move beyond constructions of men and women as isolated earners (Riley and Dodson, 2016) because these interconnections, through a reliance on one another's advice and/or income, shape young people's current and future lives and livelihoods.

Collaborations to promote livelihood sustainability

As has been evident thus far, collaborations between men and women are more than just random comings together; they are often used strategically to improve the chances of achieving goals and objectives, and to manage uncertainty (Hanson, 2005; Simone, 2003a). Participants also detailed ways they drew on collaborations in attempts to manage and safeguard their livelihoods. When talking to Vicent during an informal conversation, he explained that he had provided his wife with 100,000 Tsh (£31.52) start-up capital several years ago, enabling her to start her own second-hand clothes business. He decided to invest his money this way, rather than put it into savings, because he could then borrow money from his wife should his own business begin to struggle. During an interview he stated: '*If the capital falls, she [my wife] sometimes lends me money like 20,000 or 30,000 Tsh, then I return it back to her'*. When Vicent borrowed money from his wife, he ensured that he returned it to her which illustrates that they kept separate accounts. Carr (2008) explains that separate accounts are a way in which people attempt to distribute risk. Although the businesses were separate, they were part of a complementary business diversification strategy. Vicent gave the impression that the main purpose of his wife's business was to give security to his own business should it falter. This suggests that Vicent's business was positioned as the primary source of income, and so this strategy also helped to protect his position as the 'breadwinner' in the household, safeguarding his masculine identity and gendered expectations.

Case study: Agatha and David

This study also included a married couple, Agatha and David, who ran a small-scale informal fruit and vegetable business. This provided more nuanced insights into the types of collaboration and interdependence within marriage, as the previous accounts have been from the perspective of one spouse in a marital relationship. During my initial observations with Agatha and David, it appeared that they shared the business they were both working on. However, I became aware during the first interview I undertook with David that he and Agatha each sold separate produce. He explained: *'We have our own business, as I was selling yams and big magimbis [stem of a Taro plant], and she was selling a small type of potato, and if not, she was selling machenza [oranges]*'. Although the businesses appeared to be joined, certain items of produce were Agatha's, and others were David's. Through this, they were able to generate distinctly separate incomes (Carr, 2008). David explained that having separate businesses was a strategy employed to give himself and Agatha added security during times of difficulty:

> *'Agatha's money is there to support our business, especially mine which was liable for rent and other house costs. We used Agatha's profit without touching her capital, to make my business strong whenever it shakes [is unstable]'*

Like Vicent, David identified that his wife's business acted as a safety net for his business, enabling him to pay for costs traditionally associated with male heads of households (Evans et al., 2015). I asked David why he paid for rent and other house expenses, to which he laughed and responded: *'You know a man is supposed to pay and her money should stay with her, and mine should do all the other things'*. This corresponds with traditional patriarchal norms and expectations (Amankwaa et al., 2020). Yet, David also identified that he would financially support Agatha should her business face any difficulties: '*If there is not enough [money], then you give some [money] out, and she does the same to solve the problems that confront us'*. This suggests that this collaborative strategy benefitted both David's and Agatha's livelihoods, which again provides another example of a tactic devised by married youth to overcome economic challenges in the present.

During a repeat interview with Agatha, she confirmed that her and David ran their own separate businesses: '*I have got my own business and he has his own'.* She also highlighted that her money was used to 'top up' David's income whenever it was needed, but she also stated regarding decision making: '*We [myself and David] make a decision together'*. This further illustrates the apparent egalitarian nature of this relationship (Iyenda and Simon, 2006).

Agatha also acknowledged that she started her own business after meeting David: *'I got into the business because of him […] he taught me how to run a business and earn money'*. In a separate interview, David built on Agatha's comments, and explained that he had taught her to become self-sufficient in business:

> *'I am working with her [Agatha] to build an environment for her to know the business. She should be experienced in business. That is important […] I am teaching her because we have a dream to become a successful businessman and woman'.*

This is interesting, because other studies highlight how men are often fearful of women's success as they perceive that their position and power will be undermined (Badstue et al., 2020; Shefer et al., 2008). Yet, David was actively developing Agatha's business skills by teaching her the knowledge and skills he had acquired through his own experiences of running a business. This example of collaboration and interdependence is also important, because compared to men, women often lack business experience and training which commonly impedes their business progression (Guma, 2015; Wrigley-Asante, 2018). Because of David's guidance, Agatha had the opportunity to undertake her own business and generate her own income. She reflected on this, commenting: '*He [David] advises me as well and when I work with his advice, I can see good results financially'*. Arguably, this corresponds with gendered expectations of marriage (Hannaford and Foley, 2015), as David supported Agatha with her business, which helped improve her material circumstances. This also provides evidence that collaborations within marital relationships can promote livelihood progression over time, contributing further to understanding the complex nature of the temporally structured nature of young people's livelihoods (Ansell et al., 2014).

Agatha also mentioned that her husband was patient with her and could assist her whenever she faced challenging situations:

> '*My husband [David] is very helpful, and he has empathy. He can easily support me and he doesn't get mad […] for example on buying crops, if I go there [to the market] I would get things at a higher price compared to him, so he is the one who normally goes to buy crops on my behalf*'.

David's assistance with buying products for Agatha is significant, because as Darley and Blankson (2008) note, negotiation is a vital part of informal business survival. David also added that he assisted Agatha with the more practical aspects of her work: *'If she has loads [stock] from the market and has to carry it to this space, I help her out if it is heavy and huge. I also*

help Agatha to sell her goods when she has left her station'. Research often identifies women 'cover' each other's business allowing them to be more mobile and visit other areas of the city for business, family, and/or social matters during a working day (Akurugu, 2019; Kuada, 2009). Yet as the findings here show, it is also important to develop insights into the types of support women receive from men, as this allows for a more rounded understanding of how their everyday livelihoods are shaped. In the following section, understandings will be developed in relation to the inequalities and inequities that women continue to experience in urban arenas.

7.5 Devaluation of women's economic activities

Although participants in Section 7.1 identified the changing gendered norms within informal work, it was still common in this study for distinctions to be made between the work men undertook and the work women undertook. While interviewing Clara, she noted: *'Men can't do the simple works women are doing, and women can't do hard work that men can do'*. Similarly, Joseph, who sold eggs in Dar, stated: '*A woman cannot sell eggs like me […] because a lot of walking is needed which takes a lot of courage to do this kind of business'*. Although it was more common in both Dar and Arusha to see men walking and selling wares on the street, women also relied on this approach to generate income too. One participant, Doreen, walked 14.9 km's over a 7-hour observation across parts of central Dar, selling cassava (see. Figure 15, page 121). Thus, the perception that it is the work of men to be selling on the road, and that women cannot work long distances while undertaking their businesses, is inaccurate. These distinctions in work come from social constructions of 'hard' work as masculine and 'soft' work as feminine (Adama, 2012). These gender stereotypes tend to be descriptive rather than prescriptive (Evans, 2018), yet these still present significant barriers to women entrepreneurs who may be deterred from entering certain types of work (Guma, 2015). These perceptions can also serve to overlook the long hours women can spend undertaking strenuous informal income-generating activities on top of their care and reproductive responsibilities (discussed in Chapter 6).

During an interview, Cynthia compared the work she did with the types of work men generally undertook in Tanzania: '*Us women, we are selling vegetables, but men are mostly in the garages or doing other hard works'*. Like other participants, she perceived that men undertook 'harder works' than women. However, during one observation, I accompanied Cynthia to a local market where she bought a large sack of maize. She then proceeded to carry the maize (Figure 25) over 1.4 km's (measured on Strava) back to where her business was. During this

journey, I assisted Cynthia in carrying the maize, noting in my diary: 'I have helped Cynthia to carry a sack of maize on my shoulders which I have been told weighs around 25-30kg. It is very heavy and difficult to carry due to the bulkiness of it' (Research Diary, 12th June 2019). Once we returned to where she worked, Cynthia said she needed to take a 5-minute rest as she was tired from the journey. Yet, when she spoke of her work during an interview, she did not acknowledge how physically demanding it was. Social and cultural structures often work in ways that portray women's work as 'easy' (Akanle et al., 2018; Rutashobya, 2001), which as the findings here show, impacts perceptions of women's work within the informal sector in Tanzania, often constructing it as 'lesser' compared to men's work.

Figure 25: Participant carrying a sack of maize she bought from a local market

This was also evident when participants commented on the contributions women made to the household. During a focus group interview in Dar, one female participant commented: *'Although a woman can have a job, a man's income is what is used more to take care of the family […] a woman's duty is to support partially, but men's income is what holds a family'.* Similarly, during a follow-up interview with Godfrey, he explained: *'I am the one who is providing to the family. My wife can just give the short [small] support*'. The findings show that women are often perceived to merely 'top up' the earnings men generate with their financial contributions to the household which has important implications for how women's livelihoods within the informal sector are understood. Ultimately, this contributes to the ongoing

devaluation and overlooking of the significant of women's contributions to household survival and sustainability (Guma, 2015).

7.6 Challenges facing women working in the city

Although women can experience greater independence and socio-economic progress in cities, they are also arenas where women can be susceptible to verbal and physical harassment (Tacoli and Satterthwaite, 2013; Porter and Turner, 2019). Most professionals interviewed in this study identified that harassment was one of the biggest issues affecting women who worked informally in cities. A youth leader in Dar es Salaam acknowledged: *'There are more challenges to women [compared with men] when it comes to the informal sector like harassment and bullying'.* Similarly, a grassroots youth worker, also in Dar, explained: *'The day to day challenges for young women is gender violence. Young women in the informal sector get harassed a lot'.*

Several female participants, all of whom engaged in mobile street trade, mentioned having experienced harassment while undertaking their business activities. Most of these women were unmarried and one cohabited with her fiancé. There are widespread perceptions in African contexts that a woman walking through city spaces on their own is looking for sexual encounters, even if they are undertaking business activities (Langevang and Gough, 2009; Manji et al., 2020). Thus, married women are more likely to experience restrictions to their livelihood mobility, imposed by their husbands (Porter, 2011). Doris, who sold bananas in Arusha city, explained that men frequently asked her if she was engaged in sex work: '*I meet someone and he can ask me if I am only selling bananas or if I am also selling something else. You know what he means? He means my body'.* I asked Doris how this made her feel and she replied: '*This can be a temptation if your mind is not stable, and you may find yourself agreeing with their words […] but I don't listen'.* In Dar, Doreen, who sold cassava throughout various areas of the city also experienced similar encounters. I was walking behind Doreen during an observation, when I witnessed a man reach out to grab her. In my diary I noted: 'A middle-aged man has just tried to grab Doreen, but she quickly darted away from him avoiding being grabbed'. I asked Doreen if this was a friend or anyone she knew and she said*: 'He is not a friend. He does that all the time and I do not like it. I do not know why he keeps doing it […] he wants me sexually, but I am not interested'*. As Porter (2011) identifies, men can associate women's mobility with promiscuity. Women's perceived sexual vulnerability in urban environments also influences their encounters in these spaces (Evans, 2006). These insights

explain why Doreen and Doris experienced verbal and sometimes physical harassment while attempting to generate income in the city. City spaces in African contexts are traditionally regarded as 'male spaces' (Robson, 2004) thus, as more women enter these domains to generate income (Evans, 2014), it will be vital to continue developing insights into the unequal power relations that affect women navigating these traditionally male spheres.

Another participant, Veva, said that in attempts to get her mobile number, men would often deceive her by giving the impression that they were interested in the business she was undertaking:

> *'Sometimes men in the market pretend they want eggs, but really they are just trying to court me […] some asked for my number [for 'business' purposes] and then they would call me at night for things other than business related [to ask for sexual favours]'.*

A rise in mobile phone ownership has led to an increase in the number of women being harassed through these devices (Ephraim, 2013). To stop these unwanted calls, Veva began to tell customers that she no longer had a mobile phone. She explained during an interview: '*The majority of customers were not serious [about contacting me on my mobile phone for business purposes]*'. This resulted in Veva not using her mobile phone for business purposes (Chapter 5 detailed the benefits of using mobile phones for informal work). Previous research has identified that fear of harassment can constrain women's physical mobility (Porter et al., 2018b). And, as Veva's account demonstrates, these issues can also impact women's use of mobile technology to develop their business. Porter et al. (2020) questions the extent to which mobile phones can bring about positive change to women's lives and livelihoods. And, as the findings show, even when using mobile phones, women's lives/livelihoods can be constrained by patriarchal structures.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on understanding how gender norms and expectations in Arusha and Dar es Salaam shape the lives and livelihoods of men and women undertaking small-scale informal work. Changes to women's work roles received the most attention throughout the research, most likely because of women's increasing presence within the public sphere in both cities, traditionally perceived in African contexts as a 'man's domain' (Tamale, 2004). Economic difficulties were the main factor influencing women's increased paid work activities within and across city spaces. These discussions illustrated gender as performance (Wangui 2014) because women's contemporary work roles were said to be an adjustment in response to

men's inability to provide enough financial resources to the household. The chapter brought attention to the impacts these changes had on women's lives and livelihoods in the city, highlighting both the opportunities and challenges this presented women. It also found that although urban-based gender scripts can be more flexible compared to rural localities (Giddings and Hovorka, 2010), women continue to experience numerous ongoing and emerging challenges whilst undertaking informal work in the city. Because urban conditions are constantly evolving, it was argued that ongoing analysis of women's positions is required.

The collaborative and interdependent relationships of married men and women has also been a significant contribution of this chapter. It was found that men and women often supported each other financially or through offering advice and guidance to manage difficult economic situations. It contended that these collaborations have significant implications on how we understand youth 'being and becoming', because the support married vendors received from their spouse helped shape their current lives and livelihoods as well as their plans or the future. These considerations can help enhance the ability of the concept of 'being and becoming' to gain more rounded insights into the complex and heterogenous nature of young people's circumstances. The findings also reinforce wider gender and development arguments concerning the need to bring more focus to men's and women's collaborative rather than individualistic entrepreneurial efforts (Riley and Dodson, 2016).

This chapter contributes to understanding how changing and persisting gender norms and expectations within ever-changing urban environments influence young vendors' complex, diverse, and highly interconnected informal livelihoods within urban Tanzania. The following chapter explores young people's aspirations and support needs providing additional insights into the heterogeneity and interconnectedness of their urban livelihoods.

8 Supporting young informal workers in urban Tanzania

The chapter begins by discussing the goals and ambitions of young informal vendors. This will draw attention to young people's livelihood plans and aspirations, providing insights into how these are shaped by their connections to others and to wider social and cultural influences. Thereafter, young vendors' perceptions regarding the role they believe their current informal livelihoods will play in helping them to achieve progress in the future, will be examined. The concept of 'being and becoming' will be brought into these conversations to analyse the interplay between young people's present and future. Thereafter, youths' multiple support needs in Tanzania will be investigated by drawing on young vendors' and key stakeholders' perspectives. These accounts will reveal how young people's livelihood endeavours could be supported in the present to improve their chances for the future. I then examine matters that can hinder youth development such as barriers restricting youth from receiving support and the obstacles limiting stakeholders from supporting their beneficiaries. Discussions then focus on how organisations could improve the support they offer to youth. This includes an evaluation of stakeholders' use of social media platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp to support young people.

The final section analyses a mandatory business card (the *Machinga ID*) for informal workers formally introduced in Tanzania in March 2019. It investigates whether this policy addresses young vendors' support needs, and it gains insights into the impacts this has on youth 'being and becoming'. Overall, the purpose of this chapter is to analyse young people's livelihood development plans and support needs to see whether these are considered by stakeholders and addressed in contemporary policy approaches.

8.1 Young vendors' goals and ambitions

Drawing on calls by Ayele et al. (2017) to take young people's imagined futures seriously, this study asked young vendors about their goals and ambitions for the future. Becoming a successful businessperson with their own premises was the most common answer participants in this research gave. Grace, who sold clothes via social media platforms, explained: *'I want to become a great businesswoman […] I want to own my own shop [selling clothes]'*. Similarly, Esther commented: '*I want to have a big business […] I will open a shop and sell food and groceries'.* As Barford et al. (2021) note, young people are often optimistic about their futures and have positive growth aspirations (Afutu-Kotey et al., 2017). Importantly, young people in

this research commonly identified multiple intersecting goals they wanted to achieve in the future. Victoria, who sold fruit in Dar, stated: *'I want to own a shop or business premises and prepare the future life of my children'*. Likewise, Benson explained: *'I want to be a big businessman […]to make sure my family is getting the best, so that they do not suffer'.* Both Victoria and Benson identified that becoming big businesspeople would allow them to look after their families and provide them with good futures. These insights build on discussions in chapters 4 and 6 concerning young vendors' interconnected lives and livelihoods by showing how participants' imagined futures, involving livelihood progression, are shaped through their considerations of the needs of others. For one participant, Collins, the death of his father had notably impacted his life (see. Chapter 6), and he commented that because of this he wanted to become a big businessman so that he could, *'be a person who can do anything in the family […] I will be able to cover my sibling's needs and solve other family problems'.* The death of Collins' father was an 'event' that had influenced his goals for the future (Langevang et al., 2012), which provides further understanding of the diverse circumstances that can contribute to shaping young people's anticipated lives and livelihoods. The above accounts all show how young people's plans to develop their livelihoods are related to a desire to generate income to support themselves and others. These roles and responsibilities are a socially accepted marker of adulthood across African contexts (Chigunta et al., 2005), which shows how youths' plans are also shaped by broader cultural and social influences.

Furthermore, youth respondents also detailed plans to grow their businesses so that they could employ others. While interviewing Veva, she commented: *'My plan is to save my income so that I can buy a tailoring machine and open a tailoring shop and employ others'*. Another participant, Edward, also noted: *'my goal is to have my own business […] but also to provide opportunities and support other people below me. Because culturally, in Africa once you succeed you become the light for others'.* This shows that young people's goals were not solely centred around increasing their own income. Providing opportunities for others can be a way young people can earn respect and legitimacy within their communities (Langevang et al., 2012). This is another important characteristic of adulthood in many African contexts (Honwana, 2014), and understanding how young people aspire to position themselves within society is crucial to gaining more rounded insights into young people's lives/livelihoods (Christiansen et al., 2006).

Several youths also noted other goals, not related to business expansion, that they hoped to achieve. Winnie stated: *'My goals and ambition for now, is to buy land and build my own house'.* Her comment of 'for now' suggests that these goals could change over time, which is important to recognise. Moreover, Abdul also commented: *'I will get my own place [build a house], which will help me to reduce the cost of living'*. Abdul envisaged that building his own house would allow him to have greater financial stability, enabling him to then progress with business activities. Another respondent, Clara, who sold peanuts in Arusha, wanted to go back into education: *'My ambition is to go back to school when I can get enough money'.* Obtaining a better education is increasingly perceived by youth as a way to improve their lives and become someone of value (Ansell, 2004a; Crivello, 2011). This section has been crucial in bringing attention to the heterogeneity of young people's goals and ambitions which are inextricably connected to their desired pathways to social adulthood (Cole, 2011). Importantly, young people's discussions of their plans illuminate that youth are continually engaged in a process of 'becoming' (Hörschelmann, 2011; Vigh, 2006a, b; Worth, 2009).

Plans to achieve goals

The literature on 'youth' has noted the importance of understanding and drawing links between young people's future goals and their agentive efforts in the present (Ansell et al., 2014; Hardgrove et al., 2015). As such, participants in this study were asked how they planned to achieve their goals. Many respondents answered by identifying the role their current informal businesses would play. Edward, who sold eggs, explained: *'I will keep doing the small business like the egg business and to grow it to get into bigger business'*. Similarly, Esther commented: *'I will reach my goals through developing my current business [selling fruit] and making sure that it grows'*. The findings show how participants perceived that their current informal work activities would provide them with the opportunities they needed to reach their goals for the future. This shows the interplay between young people's present and future and how young vendors' informal livelihoods were an important aspect of their 'being and becoming'. It is important to understand how youth engage in this process, and how this process is shaped by the opportunities available to youth in the contexts they are situated within.

Moreover, another participant, Joseph, explained: *'I will save [the income I am currently generating] and search for other work […] I will ask people [friends and family] to connect me to any opportunities they see'*. Like other respondents, Joseph aimed to accrue financial resources from the work he was undertaking while looking for alternative sources of income.

His comments also suggest that he planned to draw on his social networks to help him seek other work opportunities (Mumba, 2016; Punch, 2014), illustrating that he was using multiple approaches simultaneously to try and achieve his goals.

Yet, one participant, Cynthia, explained that although she had goals, she had no plan concerning how she would achieve these: *'I do not have a plan, because to have a plan I need to have something that I can do to achieve the plan'*. She identified that she would have to change her business to accomplish her goals because her current work selling maize did not generate the income necessary to pursue her objectives. This indicates a period of 'waithood' (Honwana, 2012), characterized by the suspension of specific expectations (Thieme, 2018). Although many young people may be hopeful about their futures, it is vital to acknowledge that this may not be the case for all youth. The findings contribute to understanding the importance of taking young people's outlooks on their futures seriously (Barford et al., 2021) by showing that these perspectives can help gain insights into the complex challenges and constraints young vendors experience in the present.

Difficulties in attaining goals

Further, young people identified factors making their goals hard to achieve. Most participants stressed that a lack of capital hindered their ability to achieve their ambitions. While interviewing Emmanuel, he explained that his current business capital was small, hindering his progression. He then said: *'Once you have big capital, then you can improve your business and attract customers'*. Likewise, Esther commented: *'What makes it hard to achieve my plan is capital because customers are attracted by a table which is full of fresh fruits. So, the problem is I don't have capital which can allow me to do that'*. Participants often linked this to the challenging business environments they were in. Cynthia noted the business she undertook selling maize generated little money, and because of this, she stated: *'It is not easy to save money'.* David also highlighted the unpredictability of business, commenting: *'You may find that sometimes there are plenty of customers, but other times, there are few'.*

Additionally, as noted in Chapter 5, young people can experience a range of health issues because of their informal income activities. Doreen said that the chronic chest pains she suffered meant that she was uncertain whether she could achieve her goals:

'I have a future plan, but the issue is I have a chest problem that hinders me from working harder to reach my goals […] I don't know if I am going to achieve them because I am not able to work harder than this'

This illustrates that in addition to the uncertainty of business environments (Langevang et al., 2012), health can also be a factor that can restrict vendors from reaching their goals, further highlighting the importance of bringing these issues to attention, as argued in Chapter 2 and 5. Moreover, Doreen also explained that her goals were hard to obtain because her parents relied on her financially: *'I try to save but I cannot reach my targets as they [parents] are asking for financial support frequently'*. Other studies have also found that family responsibilities and relations can make it more difficult for young people to reach targets in their lives (Khavul et al., 2009; Langevang et al., 2012). Doreen's comments also highlight that young people's ability to progress can be constrained by multiple factors concurrently.

This section has shown that young vendors face a range of uncertainties in the present that can make it difficult for them to advance their lives/livelihoods in line with their aspirations for the future. The difficult socioeconomic conditions many youths endure, is indicative of 'waithood' (Honwana, 2012, 2014). To fully understand how young people manage and respond to this, it is vital to comprehend youths' imagined futures and efforts to achieve their goals. As shown, this can illuminate the dynamism and agency of youth who attempt to navigate periods of ongoing uncertainty (Ungruhe and Esson, 2017; Vigh, 2009).

To follow, young people's and key stakeholders' insights into the needs of youth in Tanzania will be gained.

8.2 The needs of young informal workers

This section, drawing on participants' and stakeholders' perspectives, discusses the types of support young informal vendors require to improve their current situations and their prospects for the future.

Research has identified that financial capital is a resource young informal entrepreneurs often require to develop their lives and livelihoods (Banks, 2019; Thieme, 2013). Correspondingly, Table 5 shows most youth vendors cited financial capital as the support they needed. Many identified that they were constrained by a lack of consistent capital and were unable to obtain the financial support they required from the informal networks that they had established. Collins, who sold charcoal in the Temeke of Dar es Salaam, commented: '*We need to be*

continuously supported whenever we need funds for our business ideas because our networks are not equipped enough'. This builds on discussions from Chapter 6, illustrating that young people may require support beyond social networks as these are not always able to meet their financial resource needs (see also. Mumba, 2016). Other respondents explained they required more capital to improve and expand their businesses. One participant, Abdul, explained: '*I would like to get a large amount of capital or loan so that I can establish a business on a large scale, not as this [current business]'*. Similarly, Vicent noted that he wanted to scale-up his business through hiring others: '*What I need is money which can enable me to hire more people so that I can get more revenue per day compared to now'*. These needs correspond with young people's growth aspirations (Afutu-Kotey et al., 2017) detailed in Section 8.1, illustrating the need for stakeholders to also engage with young people's aspirations (Ayele et al., 2017; Barford et al., 2021).

Young Vendors' Identified Needs	**Young People in Dar (n=12)**	**Young people in Arusha (n=10)**	**Total (n=22)**
Capital for business activities	8	9	17
Entrepreneurship training and education	6	2	8
Suitable business premises, and better work environments	6	1	7
Recognition through policies	2	3	5
Employment opportunities	3	2	5
Participation in Decision-making processes	3	2	5
Networking opportunities	2	0	2
Support from relatives	2	0	2
Support with basic needs	2	0	2
Assistance to build house	1	0	1

Table 5: The identified needs of young vendors in Dar es Salaam and Arusha

However, as Table 6 shows, only four service providers identified financial capital as a need young vendors required. Most commented that giving youth capital without other forms of support was an ineffective approach. A youth-led organisation leader in Arusha commented: *'A lot of youth are complaining that they need money, they need access to funding and all this kind of thing. But when you give them this money, they will not be able to do it [use it effectively] if they lack guidance'*. Similarly, another youth worker in Arusha stated: *'If you give young people*

financial support before you train them, it is like dumping your money'. Guidance and training can be important support for young people (Sikenyi, 2017), but as Berrou and Gondard-Delcroix (2018) explain, the type(s) of support young vendors require will differ depending on factors including their experiences, skills, and the stage of their business. This is important, because during an informal conversation with Emmanuel, a handicraft seller in Arusha, he explained: *'I have the skills necessary to make shoes [Maasai sandals], but this requires a lot of capital that I don't have'.* Emmanuel identified that he was unable to use his existing skills because he was constrained by a lack of financial capital. This shows that training and guidance are not always needed by youth and that service providers may offer forms of support to young people without fully understanding the complexity and diversity of their experiences and needs (Izzi, 2013; Langevang, 2008a). Other stakeholders recognised that financial capital was a requirement for some youth but noted that obtaining this resource was incredibly difficult in characteristically resource-constrained urban environments (Langevang et al., 2016; Simone, 2004). During an interview with a stakeholder in Arusha who supported street youth, they explained: *'The big challenge is the capital, it is very difficult to get capital'.* Similarly, a grassroots organisation worker in Dar stated: *'Most people in the informal sector rely on financial resources which in the world of today, that is a challenge'*

Stakeholders' perceptions on the needs of young vendors	**Key stakeholders in Dar (n =7)**	**Key stakeholders in Arusha (n =7)**	**Total (n = 14)**
Entrepreneurship training and education	5	7	12
Participation in decision-making processes	5	4	9
Recognition through policies	6	1	7
Guidance and mentoring	1	3	4
Financial Support	3	1	4
Access to relevant information	1	2	3
Suitable business premises, and better working environments	2	1	3
Employment Opportunities	0	2	2
Support with health (sexual reproductive)	2	0	2
Formalization of informal work	1	0	1

Table 6: The needs of young people identified by key stakeholder in Dar and Arusha

The importance of training was recognised as the second most important need by young people in this study (Table 5), and in agreeance with stakeholders' views above, some young vendors acknowledged that receiving capital without any other form of support was ineffective. In Arusha, Benson identified that he required, '*funds and training, because you cannot be given money without training'*. Winnie, who sold fruits in Arusha, identified that training was the support she most required, *'because it can help me on doing my business better'.* For CBOs, NGOs, and local government officials, entrepreneurship training and education was identified as the form of support youth needed the most (see. Table 6). Related to Winnie's comments above, a project leader of a youth-led organisation in Dar explained that young people needed to be creative and understand ways of improving their businesses to create opportunities for themselves in the market:

> *'I think that there is also an issue of creativity. Because nowadays you can see if one young person or a group of young people start doing something, on the next day there will be 10 other young people doing the same thing, because they have heard that this work is really profitable'.*

Literature on informality has highlighted that as youth and urban populations continue to grow across Africa, urban localities will become more competitive, and types of informal work will become oversaturated (Banks, 2016; Thieme, 2013). Thus, training on seeking different opportunities and being creative in business (Neuwirth, 2012) may help youth navigate challenging socioeconomic environments (Gough et al., 2013). Yet, in many stakeholders' narratives concerning entrepreneurship training and education, they expressed frustration, explaining that often young people did not attend these sessions if they were not going to receive money. A youth officer in Arusha stated: *'When you call them and tell them, "I am going to train you on 1,2,3", they are not ready to participate in the training, but when you call them for something that concerns money, they come hurrying'.* Most service providers attributed this to the mentality of young people, which will be discussed further in Section 8.4. However, it is also important to acknowledge, as detailed previously, that financial capital may be the most appropriate form of support certain youth require (Berrou and Gondard-Delcroix, 2018).

Furthermore, 7 participants (Table 5) identified suitable business premises and work environments as a need they required. Agatha, who sold fruits and vegetables in Dar, explained:

> *'I think they [the government] should offer financial support and land so that we can get premises which we can turn them into markets […] because, you can't do business*

without those things. First you need funds to finance the business and you need an official and good market which will attract customers'

Agatha's emphasis on conducting business in a recognized market space that attracts customers is crucial, because often initiatives to create new spaces for vendors overlook the importance of location and customer accessibility (Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Huang et al., 2019). The success of these approaches requires dialogue and collaboration with vendors and relevant informal worker associations (Khayesi et al., 2010; Song, 2016). Importantly, Agatha's comments highlight that she required multiple forms of support to undertake business effectively. This illustrates that youth can have various needs requiring different types of support simultaneously (Banks and Sulaiman, 2012). Additionally, suitable business premises were also identified as important to enhance safety and security, issues many vendors in urban spaces experience (Schenck et al., 2019). While talking to Cynthia about her support needs, she noted:

'*The big thing is security. I think they [the government] should help us in providing storage, to keep our things, because sometimes we keep our things outside, and we find they are stolen […] sometimes I also find the things are taken by water when it has been raining'.*

After this conversation, I witnessed first-hand the poor working environments which informal workers were subjected to. Figure 26 shows a stream of dirty water that had developed following intense rainfall in Arusha. These streams often leave behind standing pools of water exposing vendors to water-borne diseases and other health risks (Tacoli, 2017). This also contributes to the negative perceptions of informal vendors as unhygienic and of a low status (van Blerk, 2013).

Figure 26: Photo of a small stream developing near where vendors worked (Arusha)

Notably, as Table 5 reveals, more vendors in Dar than in Arusha identified business premises and better work environments as their needs. This can be attributed to a higher number of street vendors in Dar selling their products in traffic jams (Malefakis, 2019), whereas in Arusha, this form of vending is uncommon due to less traffic in the city. Subsequently, vendors in Dar were often subjected to more hazardous conditions, as detailed in Chapter 5. Yet, as evidenced in Table 6, these issues seldom garnered much attention from service providers and policymakers.

Moreover, a lack of recognition is a challenge that has affected informal workers for decades (Chen and Skinner, 2014; Potts, 2008). Just under a quarter of participants in this study were aware of any policies or approaches from the government intended to recognise and improve their situations/conditions (Table 5). It is likely that more participants in Arusha than in Dar were aware of policies and practices aimed at supporting informal workers because research with young vendors in this city commenced after the release of the mandatory '*Machinga ID*' card in Tanzania (see. Section 8.5). Even for participants aware of policies, some commented not having seen any they considered 'serious' or relevant to them. Emmanuel stated: '*I have not seen any serious policies which deals and motivates us as the informal worker'.* Other participants identified that the government should create more policies specifically targeted at youth working informally. Vicent believed that the government should recognise young informal workers like himself, as this would help reduce levels of crime throughout Tanzania: *'The government should take youth as a first priority and see small business owners like me […] the government should form policies which will support youths and the informal sector. This will reduce the number of thieves within the country'.* It is often perceived that youth will become involved in crime, violence, and social unrest the more marginalised they become (Gough and Langevang, 2016; Goodfellow and Titeca, 2012). Thus, supporting youth is widely identified as a priority (Mabala, 2011; Sikenyi, 2017). Importantly, Schenck et al. (2019) further note that informal work can help young people avoid a life of crime, reinforcing Vicent's comments regarding the need to increase support to young informal vendors.

Half the service providers in this research identified greater recognition as a need of youth (Table 6). A community-based worker in Dar, explained: *'Generally, the policies here in Tanzania, I can say we have the written policies, but they are not implemented'.* Most stakeholders referred to the *National Youth Development Policy* (NYDP); a policy published in 2007 which sought to recognise the needs of youth and guide service providers on the support they should offer to young people (Government of Tanzania, 2007). A range of issues are

covered in the NYDP in Tanzania, including a segment on youth and informal work: 'Young people find it difficult to work in the informal sector because of various factors such as insecurity, lack of capital, lack of work premises, work implements and other working facilities' (Government of Tanzania, 2007: 13). Yet, even with this policy, as participants' comments above show, little has been done in practice to address the multiple challenges they face.

Further, in line with the African Youth Character, the NYDP defines 'youth' as between the ages of 15-35 (Africa Union, 2006). Consequently, many stakeholders in this research aimed their support at people between these ages. Yet, as Mabala (2011) states, age-based definitions are problematic as they tend to homogenise youth and overlook the diversity of young people's needs across this category. Most organisations ran projects offering the same support to young people regardless if they were 15 or 35 years old. Only one organisation in this research, a street children organisation in Arusha, identified running a project with young people of a more specific age. This organisation ran a livelihood project for youth aged 15-19 years old, teaching these beneficiaries livelihood skills and how to establish networks of support. This programme was specific to young people of this age because they identified that this was the most vulnerable age of youth who live and work on the street.

Other stakeholders identified that government policies should target the more specific needs of different types of vendors. While interviewing a *Machinga* leader in Dar, he stated that policies should do more to recognise and protect itinerant vendors in the city as, '*there are poor existing policies and regulations which guide and protect Machinga's'*. I also interviewed a gender rights activist in Arusha to understand whether the issues that women face in Tanzania were acknowledged in relevant policies. They explained that women generally lack equal opportunities, and very little is done to recognise and address these inequalities:

> *'They [women] should be given equal chances when they have equal qualities with men. Sometimes, there is this biasness of taking men, or boys to employment, leaving girls […] just because you're a girl, you miss out on chances'.*

Addressing the specific needs of different groups of vendors is vital in recognising the heterogeneity of informal workers (Meagher, 2010).

Moreover, it has been identified across Africa that youth, regardless of their skills and/or education levels, are turning to the informal economy to generate income (Ayele et al., 2017; Banks, 2019; Barsoum, 2016). Yet, one participant, Doreen, noted that a lack of formal employment was something that the government needed to address because it was affecting all

youth, including those who were educated: '*I think they [the government] should try to give young people [formal] employment opportunities, because as I interact with them I realize many educated young people are unemployed and they have turned to be laymen in streets'.* Increasingly, youth are struggling to find stable sources of income and/or secure employment (Honwana, 2012), which is resulting in an increased number of young people experiencing periods of unemployment (Assaad and Krafft, 2021). As van Blerk (2008) notes, failure to secure formal employment or sustain another form of work, can be perceived as a failed transition to work. Another participant, David, also identified that the government should provide employment opportunities to youth, and explained that it would help them to sustain their independence:

> *'The government should create more employment opportunities because there are many young people who are jobless and because they are termed "grown up" they cannot just go back to the parents and ask for support on covering their needs'*.

David believed that paid employment, which would provide greater income security (Ansell, 2004a), would enable young people to remain independent from their parents; a significant indicator of social adulthood (Banks, 2019; van Blerk, 2008). Interestingly, only five youth participants identified 'employment opportunities' as their need. This could be attributed to their awareness that there were limited formal employment opportunities for them to obtain (Ayele et al., 2017; Barford et al., 2021). Or it could be because of the devaluation of formal employment (Judge et al., 2020) by many African governments, who actively encourage youth to be 'job creators' rather than 'job seekers' (Langevang and Gough, 2012). Both points could also explain why only 2 stakeholders identified employment opportunities as a need of youth (Table 6).

Furthermore, five youth participants identified that they needed to be listened to and given opportunities to voice their opinions before decisions were made on their behalf. Doreen explained:

> '*They [the government] need to listen to youth before helping them. They need to understand youth challenges and needs thoroughly before creating any strategy or initiative, as you wouldn't know my challenges without talking to me […] somebody from the government should come to talk and get feedback from young people'*

Similarly, Benson identified that the government should, *'talk to youth and see what we are doing right now, so that they can understand youth needs'*. Both Doreen's and Benson's

comments highlight the need of the government to understand the specific challenges and experiences of young people working informally (Conticini, 2005; Sikenyi, 2017). Increasing young people's involvement in decision-making processes disrupts common structures prioritising 'adult voices' (Drah, 2003). This would also acknowledge youth as competent social actors whose skills, experiences, and willingness to participate in decision-making processes are vital in providing solutions to the problems they experience (Gyampo, 2012; te Lintelo, 2012). Echoing the views of youth participants, 9 stakeholders also identified the importance of including young people in decision-making processes at various scales (see. Table 6). A community-based organisation leader in Dar explained that before any decisions are made regarding youth, young people should be allowed to participate in these processes:

> '*Before going further to implement any kind of policy or anything you want, you must involve the people you want to help […] you have to increase participation and raise awareness, so that they [policy makers] can know what to do for their [young people's] future'*

These comments recognize that involving youth in decision-making processes enables policymakers to create relevant policies which consider young people's imagined futures and desired pathways to adulthood (Barford et al., 2021; Cole, 2011). Additionally, Emmanuel stated that for young people's views to be considered, *'the government need to a create a friendly environment so that we young people can go with our problems and speak out'*. Emmanuel believed that the government could understand youths' needs better if they created conducive spaces where young people could talk openly about their experiences and opinions. Other support needs identified by youth participants included networking opportunities, greater support from relatives, support with basic needs, and support in building a house (Table 5).

This section has discussed the diverse needs of young people who work within the informal sector. It has identified that capital and training were the most common types of support required by young vendors. Youth participants believed that addressing these needs would enable them to improve and/or expand the small-scale informal businesses they had already established, linking to growth aspirations discussed in Section 8.1. Other identified needs like gaining business premises and recognition in policy, were perceived by young vendors as ways they could gain greater security and stability. Additionally, increasing youth participation within decision-making spheres (Conticini, 2005) was acknowledged as a way stakeholders could gain more rounded insights into young vendors' livelihood needs and challenges,

enabling support to be more tailored to youths' imagined futures, which, as evidenced previously, often shape vendors' actions and decisions in the present. This section has illustrated that improving the types of support young vendors receive could help them develop their livelihoods, linked to the process of 'being and becoming', through increasing their abilities and conditions in the present so that they have a greater chance of achieving their imagined futures. Broadly corresponding with young people's identifications, most stakeholders also named training, greater recognition in policies, and increased participation in decision-making processes as crucial needs of youth in Tanzania. These three points are related, highlighting that youth require a combination of practical and educational support, recognition, and increased inclusion within decision-making and policy creation processes at multiple scales. This illuminates as mentioned previously, that the needs of youth can be manifold and will vary depending on their age, gender, experience, type of work they undertake, and other factors. Interestingly, financial support was not identified as a matter of priority for youth by numerous stakeholders. They perceived that other types of support were required before addressing issues of capital. As discussed, this could be because of stakeholders' awareness of resource-scarcity in urban Tanzania.

The section to follow focuses on barriers restricting youth vendors from receiving the support they need.

8.3 Barriers restricting young vendors from receiving support

In this research, 4 out of 22 participants (two in each city) had received support from an organisation or government-run initiative/programme. It has been identified that informal workers, especially those who are self-employed and/or mobile, are difficult to support because they are hard to locate and seldom belong to any formal groups or networks (Bonner and Spooner, 2011; Lindell, 2018). All participants in this study were in at least one of the two above-mentioned categorises. Yet, contrary to the above, several respondents commented that they had chosen not to seek support. In Dar, Vicent explained that he would not take a group loan from an NGO or government initiative as he believed that being in these groups would put him at risk: '*I am quite worried about behaviours of people in groups, seeing that there are others who will not be faithful thus I am afraid what will happen if they would take a loan and run away'*. Another participant, Godfrey, noted that his earnings were unpredictable, therefore, he was not interested in joining a group in case he failed to make repayments: '*I'm not motivated to join the group, because instead of gaining, I will get loss […] because if you join this group and you get loans, if you fail to pay then your properties can be sold*'. This highlights that

Godfrey was aware of the uncertainty of his work in the environment he was in (see also. Langevang et al., 2012; Thieme, 2018). Other participants vocalised similar worries and explained that they favoured borrowing money from relatives or close friends as they would be more lenient and understanding if money was not returned to them on time (see also. Chapter 6). This demonstrates how young people actively attempt to mitigate risks (Yeboah, 2017).

Other participants commented on not having the time to attend regular training sessions. During a follow-up interview with Doris, she explained that she had joined a training group, but soon after she decided to stop attending the sessions. I asked her why, and she explained: '*We had to attend the training early in the morning, which meant that I had to stop doing my work'*. The work Doris refers to, is the income-generating activities (selling bananas) she usually undertook from early afternoon each day. When Doris started to attend training sessions in the morning, she was unable to start her business until later in the afternoon as she had to go back home first and complete her domestic duties. She found that selling bananas later in the day was less profitable because people preferred to buy bananas earlier in the afternoon around lunchtime. Attending support meetings altered Doris' temporal mobility (Balarbe and Sahin, 2020; Robson, 2004), which negatively impacted her business. Because of this, she ceased joining these training sessions. Generally, women are more likely to drop out of training programmes compared to men due to a higher number of unpaid responsibilities, including domestic and care work (Cho et al., 2013). These findings show that it is necessary to consult women on when to hold support sessions to promote inclusion (Barford et al., 2021). Yet, because men's and women's informal livelihoods are heterogeneous (Carr and Chen, 2004), it is also crucial to consider barriers that may exclude men from attending support sessions. Edward, who sold eggs in Dar, mentioned: '*I do not have time to join any organisations, because my family depend on me. If I am at an organisation, I cannot earn anything'.* As detailed in Chapter 7, men's roles and responsibilities are changing, with some men now engaged in more household and care related duties activities (Akanle, 2020; Evans, 2015). Thus, there is a need to consider these contemporary changes when planning and examining support.

These insights reveal that young vendors may actively decide against seeking support as they feel that these initiatives may hinder rather than promote their progress. Other youths could not join support programmes because of their unpaid roles and responsibilities, yet this continues to go unnoticed by many stakeholders who plan and develop support sessions for youth

(Moussie and Alfers, 2018). The findings suggest that service providers could be more inclusive by better understanding the complexity and diversity of young vendors' situations and needs.

Barriers stakeholders experienced in providing support to young people

Key stakeholders also identified issues restricting the support they could provide to young people. The current political climate in Tanzania was identified as a barrier which hindered organisations from offering support to youth. The ruling party in Tanzania, *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM), faced strong opposition in the last presidential election from *Chadema*, the main opposition party. In response, former President Magufuli took a tough stance against opposition leaders, many of whom are either awaiting trial or in prison (Mtulya, 2019). Many organisations throughout this research stated that they did not affiliate with any political party. However, many were still fearful of government crackdowns and explained that they had to be very careful who they supported. Some stakeholders explained that if they offered support to a group of people who were opposition party supporters, their organisation could face negative repercussions (Morgan, 2016). A youth-led organisation leader in Dar es Salaam explained:

> *'Sometimes you go somewhere to a community and you try to do some community work and the problem sometimes comes because of the political situation in that area. Because maybe one group is affiliated to this party [CCM], one group is affiliated to an opposition party [Chadema]. So whichever group you are trying to work with, you are branded that you are supporting their cause, so that has been a challenge'*

A community-based organisation worker in Dar, further explained that political matters often dictated who the beneficiaries of support programmes were, which for him was restricting:

> '*If you go to a local government and tell them 'we want youth', and you mention the qualification, you will find out that most of the youth coming to your centre they are all coming from parents who are CCM members […] it doesn't make us feel as if we are helping the majority'*

In Arusha, political barriers were also mentioned, however stakeholders were more cautious and sometimes very reluctant to discuss politically related issues. A reason for this was because Arusha is a *Chadema* stronghold, and government crackdowns are reportedly more common throughout this city as they attempt to limit the growth of the opposition.

Poor governance was also mentioned several times in this study as a notable barrier to offering support, which has also been identified in other studies from Tanzania (Evans and Becker, 2009). A community-based worker in Dar explained that accessing youth through official

channels often required paying bribes: *'For youth beneficiaries to attend the project you might have to pay the local government officer'*. Similarly, a *Machinga* leader in Dar explained that issues of poor governance also affected the resources beneficiaries received: '*There is a tendency of corruption among government officials and preventing resources from reaching targeted beneficiaries'*.

These findings suggest that the support organisations can offer to youth is constrained by the socio-political environments they are in. As Morgan (2016) identifies, unequal power relations between organisations and governments can limit who receives support. This can hinder youth by constraining the support they receive in relation to improving their lives and livelihoods. The next section discusses stakeholders' views regarding improving the support they offered to young people.

8.4 Stakeholders' identifications on how they could improve their support to youth

The common themes emerging from how NGO, CBO, and local government workers identified they could improve the support they offered to their beneficiaries were similar in both cities, as shown in Table 7. Thirteen stakeholders identified that greater access to funding would improve the support they could offer to youth beneficiaries. A community-based worker in Arusha explained: *'We need financial support. If we get enough finance, that would be enough to reach a number of young people and provide them with good help'*. With more funding, organisations also identified they could improve the projects they already undertook. In Dar, I spoke to a *Machinga* leader regarding a project he worked on in Kariakoo market, providing tables to *Machinga's* in designated spaces that did not block access to roads, pathways, or shops. This project helped to reduce conflict between informal vendors and shopkeepers, local authorities, and pedestrians. This is important because informal workers are often blamed for impeding access in the city (Bromley, 2000) and restricting vehicle and pedestrian movement (Klaeger, 2012; Quayson, 2010). Thus, this initiative worked to address these challenges. Yet, the leader of this group explained that he wanted to expand this project but was unable to because of financial constraints:

> *'[There is a lack] of sufficient funds, to fund the table project and that's why you have seen that there are still places [in Kariakoo] which do not have tables, which are mainly designed to enable Machinga to work without complaints of blocking access'*.

These findings indicate that resource constraints affecting stakeholders impact the quality and amount of support young people receive. These insights may also explain why stakeholders,

who themselves have limited financial resources (Morgan, 2016), are hesitant to offer young people financial capital support, as discussed in Section 8.2.

How to improve support	Key stakeholders in Dar es Salaam (=7)	Key stakeholders in Arusha (n =7)	Total (n=14)
Funding to develop support with young people	7	6	13
Greater collaboration with other stakeholders (including government)	3	4	7
Raising the awareness among young people of the importance of education and skills-based training	3	3	6
Provide more practical based training to young informal workers	2	1	3
More emphasis on empowering and mentoring young people	2	1	3
Increasing the number of trainers and type of training offered within the organisation	1	1	2

Table 7: How stakeholders in Dar and Arusha identified they could improve the support they offer to youth

Organizations frequently mentioned that collaboration with other NGOs, CBOs, and/or Local Government Leaders working on similar issues, was an effective way to negotiate financial constraints. It allowed them to use their funds more sparingly by offering support in areas in which they specialized. A youth entrepreneurship trainer in Dar commented on the benefits of partnerships, explaining that if their organisation could not provide a skill or type of training to youth, they were able to contact an organisation that could:

> *'This organisation teaches entrepreneurship, the other youth organisation teaches employability skills. So, youth choose. If they want entrepreneurship, they will opt to come to this organisation. So, another youth organisation we collaborate with will contact us and say, 'hey, we have people who want to do entrepreneurship trainings''.*

All 14 professionals interviewed in this study identified that they collaborated with other stakeholders, with 7 recognising that improving their collaborations would benefit them (see. Table 7). A youth officer in Arusha commented that they could improve the work they undertook, '*by increasing the level of collaboration between me and organisations, as well as youth and youth groups. I think that would enable me to get to know many things that I can work on'*. All stakeholders in this research recognised that it was not possible to offer support to youth in isolation. As identified in Table 5, young people identified numerous forms of support they required, and another youth officer in Arusha who was aware of these diverse needs, commented: '*Youth issues are cross-cutting issues, so an individual person cannot absolve all the issues of youth'*. Partnerships were acknowledged as a feasible way organisations could come together and better address the numerous support requirements of young people. Collaborations were also used by organisations as a tactical strategy to negotiate the challenge of resource scarcity (AbouAssi et al., 2016), as discussed previously.

Beyond the financial benefits of collaborations, improved coordination of support offered to youth in urban spaces was also identified as something that could be addressed through greater collaborative approaches. In Dar, a youth officer explained that external donors funded most organisations that supported youth in Tanzania. He then said that these donors determined the support youth received (see also, Morgan, 2016), which had led to a situation whereby many organisations were offering very similar types of training and support:

> *'We need to divide these organisations, so like, 'you can go and deal with training, you can go and deal with empowering, you can go and deal with maybe agriculture', rather than having a lot of organisations focusing on just one direction'*.

Through collaboration, this youth officer suggested that the support young people received could be more varied. Addressing this is vital considering the heterogeneity of informal workers (Adama, 2020), and the diversity of their needs (as discussed in Section 8.2).

Creating partnerships was also found to be an effective way of supporting young people from different communities. A leader of a youth organisation in Dar, noted during an interview:

> *'We always identify another organisation around in that area [where young people are being supported] so that we can partner with them […] we believe in building the capacities of each organisation [we work with] and for us that works really well because after the programme, we are at least assured that there is still somebody working in that community for a long time'*

As Mabala (2011) comments, there are numerous well-intentioned programmes/projects which endeavour to support and improve the lives of young people, however the effects that these have often only last for as long as an organisation remains present within the communities they are supporting. Forming collaborations with local organisations thus increases the longevity of support youth receive.

Yet, collaborations are not always advantageous to organisations. A director of a community-based group in Arusha, explained how his organisation had previously entered into unsustainable and exploitative partnerships whereby they had invested a lot of time and money into collaborating on certain projects with other organisations, but in return, they received nothing for their efforts: '*The challenge is, while we are working with other organisations we lack the source of sustainable income because they just use us as a human resource'*. For small organisations, power disparities between themselves and larger organisations can result in negative outcomes (Morgan, 2016). In Dar, a leader from a community-based organisation explained:

> *'The biggest challenge with working with other organisations, is that we are a very small organisation and we have been in partnerships with some big organisations and the challenge is you get to the point where this organisation provides most of the resources that we needed, then they try to put what they want as a result of the project'*

O'Leary and Bingham (2007) have also found that larger organisations often wield greater power in partnerships and can control the outcomes of programmes and projects (Morgan, 2016). In turn, this can impact the beneficiaries of smaller organisations who may not receive the support they require.

Furthermore, organisations also highlighted wanting to invest more time in educating youth on the importance of various types of support. As discussed in Section 8.2, professionals identified that many young people wanted to receive money rather than other support like skills training. A youth trainer in Dar mentioned that they were working on ways to address this by trying to change the perceptions of youth they trained: *'[young people's] perception is on money rather than training. So, we are taking time to convince them that they need training so money will come after'.* Similarly, a youth worker in Dar mentioned that organisations needed to focus more on addressing the 'mindset' of young people:

> *'We need to make sure that we work on their mindset to make them believe that what we are giving them [entrepreneurship training, skills, and education], is true. Most of*

our beneficiaries are coming to our centre and once you start teaching them entrepreneurship, they understand it differently'.

Organisations also wanted to offer young people more practical skills. An entrepreneurship trainer in Dar mentioned that students often wanted to learn practical skills such as how to make soap, handicrafts, and furniture, however, their organisation did not have the necessary resources: *'We need materials and we need a professional who can help us with teaching them'*. Again, this shows restrictions on the types of support young people can receive. As Morgan (2016) notes, youth need to be equipped with knowledge and skills that can be used practically, benefiting young vendors' lives and livelihoods. Yet, this can be difficult to achieve if service providers are limited in the support they can offer youth.

Furthermore, some stakeholders suggested that in the future they also wanted to focus more on empowering youth, offering ongoing mentorship to young people, and increasing the diversity of skills/education trainers at their organisations (Table 7).

This section has further emphasised the financial constraints organisations face, but it has also identified the ways this can be managed. The findings suggest that greater collaboration between stakeholders can improve young people's access to the types of support they need to develop their lives and livelihoods in line with their expectations.

Next, I will discuss how stakeholders are using social media to enhance the support they offer to young people.

Utilising social media to support young people in Tanzania

This section discusses the diverse ways organisations use social media to support youth beneficiaries. It will analyse the benefits and challenges of these approaches. Research has identified that social media platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, and Instagram can enable organisations to reach wider audiences and disseminate information that can be received and discussed by others in almost real-time (Nchabeleng et al., 2018). This corresponds with insights from an advocacy worker in Dar, who explained: *'Social media platforms are very important because sometimes we might have an activity in Dar, but through social media, people can be engaged all over Tanzania'.* Through social media platforms, organisations can post regular updates, inform people of their work, and distribute information and training materials (Amankwaa and Blay, 2018; Guo and Saxton, 2014). The same advocacy worker also explained that their organisation used social media to bring issues to the direct attention of policymakers in Tanzania:

> *'Most of our decision-makers love social media, so information goes very fast to the decision-makers and sometimes decisions are made right on the platforms. So, for us it's very important. Sometimes we don't have to travel to go to the parliament, we just have to tweet something and then the decision makers can just pick it up and work on it straight from social media'*

Other research has also found that social media platforms are increasingly becoming the preferred medium through which organisations and policymakers can engage in dialogue about issues of economic, social, and political importance (Ephraim, 2013). As Hall et al. (2019) note, digital platforms can raise awareness of issues and can be used to demand action to be taken.

These platforms can also reduce the costs of supporting youth. As discussed previously, it is ineffective to train young people on a one-off basis (Mabala, 2011), however many organisations struggle to support their beneficiaries over the long term because of resource constraints. Arguably, the increased popularity and accessibility of mobile applications such as WhatsApp (Gwaka, 2017) has made supporting youth over longer periods easier. A youth worker in Dar es Salaam commented:

> '*Nowadays, social networks are simplifying the work. All young businesspeople who got trainings from this organisation, we have opened a group on WhatsApp with them. On this, they show their business, they show their progress […] It is hard now to visit one [beneficiary] after the other, but now they can post any issues they have [on WhatsApp] and include pictures so we can look at their progress'.*

These findings make an important contribution to the literature on informality, detailing how young informal workers' livelihoods can be supported through social media platforms and how these can help increase the longevity of the support youth receive. As shown, this contemporary mode of support can address existing and ongoing inadequacies to the assistance young vendors have been able to access.

Organizations are also teaching young people how to make the best use out of contemporary digital technology and social media platforms. A youth worker in Arusha explained the social media training his organisation offered to youth:

> '*We are training young people how to use social media to grab opportunities, and how to use social media positively. How to use social media to brand themselves, how to use*

social media to promote their business […] how to use social media to get connections, and how to use social media to get knowledge'

Social media is not only changing how organisations operate but also the types of support young people require. Young people are using social media in various ways to generate income (see. Chapter 5) and to develop online profiles (Ephraim, 2013).

One community-based worker in Arusha, identified that young vendors needed to be more involved with digital technology and social media platforms, stating: '*Some of them, especially those working in that kind of business [informal work], they are not investing their time in social media; Machinga's and other street vendors*'. Arguably, however, vendors lack access to digital technology rather than lack a commitment to its use. Not all young people have access to mobile devices that can support platforms such as WhatsApp. In 2017, it was estimated that 13% of Tanzania's population owned a smartphone (Silver and Johnson, 2018), and although not representative of the general population of Tanzania, only 1 out of 37 youth participants in this study possessed such a device. Young people could be excluded from receiving support, and experience further marginalisation (Gwaka, 2018; James and Versteeg, 2007), if organisations shift much of their work and training sessions to social media platforms. This needs careful consideration in the planning and delivery stages of support programmes (Morgan, 2016).

The following section will examine the '*Machinga ID*', a contemporary policy in Tanzania aimed at urban informal vendors, to see whether this addresses the challenges and needs mentioned throughout this chapter.

8.5 The '*Machinga ID*': a contemporary policy aimed at recognising and giving opportunities to informal workers?

In this section, young people's experiences, and opinions of the '*Machinga ID*', a contemporary policy in Tanzania directed at urban informal workers, will be discussed. An analysis of this policy will provide insights into whether it addresses the needs of young vendors, examined throughout Section 8.2. In Kiswahili, '*Machinga'* refers to an informal street vendor who is either static or itinerant, working outside formal market boundaries (Kironde, 1995). However, opinions on who is a '*Machinga'* are contested. This can complicate who requires a *Machinga ID* (Steiler and Nyirenda, 2021), discussed later in this section.

Former President Magufuli issued '*Machinga IDs*' to Local Government Authorities (LGA's) across Tanzania in December 2018. LGA's began to sell these cards to *Machinga's* in their districts from March 2019. This was halfway through the data collection period of this research. Thus, it was not possible to ask all participants for their perspectives on this government approach.

Machinga IDs cost 20,000 Tsh (£6.68) for street vendors to purchase annually (Nyirenda and Msoka, 2019), and they are targeted at informal vendors whose business capital is less than 4 million Tsh (£1,325) (Msikula, 2018). As of March 2019, these cards were made mandatory. Failure to purchase this card could reportedly result in a fine of up to 50,000 Tsh (£17.49) or imprisonment. To date, very little information can be found on the *Machinga ID*. I emailed the chairperson of a nationwide umbrella organization that supports informal workers on the 1st February 2020 regarding these cards, and he replied: *'There are no publications nor any government documents. It was a presidential decree which followed with its implementation'*. Therefore, analyses of the *Machinga ID* are needed to understand the impacts this card has on urban informal workers (Nyirenda and Msoka, 2019). This will be addressed throughout the remainder of this section.

Protection and recognition

The *Machinga ID* was promoted as a way informal workers across urban Tanzania could receive recognition and protection. Nasser, who sold hard-boiled eggs in Arusha, observed: '*The Machinga ID is good, because I will put my business anywhere and no one will ask me about this because I have the Machinga ID*'. Likewise, Godfrey commented: '*My opinion is that the Machinga ID is important […] because I cannot be disturbed'*. This indicates that these participants perceived that they were protected because they owned a *Machinga* card. Interestingly however, during my master's research in Dar, key stakeholders spoke of how former President Magufuli told authorities when he first came to power in 2015 not to disturb informal workers because they were the people who had put him in power (Salvidge, 2017). This raises questions regarding the extent to which the *Machinga ID* offers vendors more protection against authorities than they already had (Steiler and Nyirenda, 2021).

In terms of recognition, a Regional Government Officer in Arusha said: '*The ID helps us to identify our Machingas, and through those identifications we can trace them and help them'*. Yet, no participants mentioned having received support through having a *Machinga ID* over the course of this study. Arguably, this approach is just a way the Tanzanian government can

more easily define and locate informal workers (Simone, 2004) and regulate their presence and movements in public spaces (Brown et al., 2010; Lindell and Adama, 2020). This is plausible because African governments have attempted to regulate the informal sector for a long time (Bromley, 2000). However, Agatha, who sold vegetables in Buguruni, Dar es Salaam, identified that the IDs could give added security to people working in market spaces late at night: '*There are people who are doing business during the nights in the market, so the ID will help them to identify true business people and thieves'*.

Nevertheless, there was mostly scepticism towards the role of a *Machinga ID* in providing informal workers with greater recognition. A youth worker in Arusha was particularly unconvinced that an ID card would increase the recognition of street vendors and suggested that there were more effective ways of doing this:

> *'I think it is a way of generating income, it's not like it's recognition […] there are so many ways that you can recognise somebody. You can even tell them to form a group and the group will come and then you register the group, that is recognition'*

This stakeholder then continued, arguing that it was evident that this ID was a money-making scheme because it targeted everyone even people who are not considered *'Machinga'* (Steiler and Nyirenda, 2021):

> '*Anyone doing the business has to have it, for example, even a mother who is coming from the village who is bringing mboga mboga [vegetables] to town then goes back home. Can you tell me that that is a Machinga? I think for my opinion, no'*

It has been well publicised that the Tanzanian government is actively trying to widen its tax base (Semboja, 2015), through targeting the informal sector, which it identifies contributes very little to the country's total revenue (Policy Forum, 2018). It is therefore unsurprising that people question the legitimacy of the ID in providing informal workers with protection and recognition (Msikula, 2018). These findings suggest that the *Machinga ID* does not address recognition which youth participants and stakeholders in Section 8.2 identified young vendors required in Tanzania.

Evaluating the cost of the *Machinga ID*

Although there is scepticism regarding the legitimacy of the *Machinga ID* card, some benefits were recognised. Static vendors in Arusha and Dar identified paying a daily 200 Tsh (£0.06) revenue tax to local authority officers. With the introduction of the *Machinga ID*, I was

informed that vendors no longer had to pay daily revenue taxes. Cynthia, a vegetable seller in Arusha, confirmed this during an observation: 'Cynthia says she no longer pays 200 Tsh revenue tax per day, but instead the local authority's come and check her ID card every morning' (Research Diary, 12th June 2019). Cynthia then informed me that she typically took one day off each week so on average, she worked 313 days a year. This meant that when she was previously paying 200 Tsh in revenue taxes per day she would pay a total of 62,600 Tsh (£20.92) to the local authorities each year. This figure is considerably more than the once-a-year payment of 20,000 Tsh (£6.68) for a *Machinga ID* card, which equates to 55 Tsh (£0.01) per day. This is beneficial for those who regularly paid daily taxes before the introduction of the *Machinga* card.

However, for some, paying a sum of 20,000 Tsh to obtain an ID card was not possible, as this would cause their business to collapse. Godfrey, who sold eggs in Arusha, did not have a *Machinga ID* and explained: '*My business is still small, and I cannot afford to take 20,000 Tsh out of my business'*. Another participant, Doreen, noted: '*Getting food is still a problem to me, and my pans are so dark because I can't afford to buy charcoal and that why I am using firewood, so how I am going to afford an ID?*'. She then continued: '*I don't know if I will get one [a Machinga ID]. I am ready to go to jail'*. Doreen was aware of the negative consequences of not having an ID card, but she had no option but to continue working to survive. The mandatory status of the *Machinga ID* had forced some young vendors to take risks and conduct business without a card so they could continue to sustain their livelihoods. This increased the precariousness of their urban livelihoods which were already challenging before the introduction of this card (see. Gough and Langevang, 2016; Honwana and de Boeck, 2005; Thieme, 2018).

Other participants explained this situation had forced them to stop undertaking their business completely. During a focus group in Arusha, one male participant who sold second-hand shoes, explained: '*I have stopped to do business because if I am caught doing the business without the ID card then I am in danger'*. Another participant, Victor, who also sold shoes in Arusha had continued doing his business even after the ID cards had been made mandatory. On the 4th April 2019, during an observation with this participant, he explained his concerns about not having an ID: '*The authorities announced that today is the day checks [on ID's] will occur in the city […] if I will see them coming I will leave, or maybe a friend will call me if they spot the authorities nearby'*. In an informal conversation on the same day, he explained to me that he was currently in the process of looking for support from a local NGO who could assist him in

buying an ID. However, when I undertook a repeat interview with Victor months later on the 7th July 2019, he stated: '*I have stopped doing the shoe business because of the [lack of an] ID*'. As stated formerly, the *Machinga ID* targets vendors with less than 4 million Tsh in financial capital, yet those at the top end of this scale will have more of an ability than those at the bottom to pay 20,000 Tsh for this ID card (Steiler and Nyirenda, 2021). The introduction of the *Machinga ID* was repressive for some participants, destroying their livelihood.

In Arusha, I spoke to a youth officer about the inability of some vendors to pay for an ID card. They told me that the *Machinga ID* could be paid for in instalments:

> *'We have given them [informal workers] a chance. They can even pay 2,000 Tsh [£0.67] a day until it reaches 20,000 Tsh so that we can provide them with their ID. But some of them say that they cannot do that because they earn little, but we have given them a chance'.*

However, few young vendors were aware that paying for the card in instalments was an option. Moreover, although the previous 200 Tsh (£0.06) daily tax payment to LGA officers equated to a larger paid sum over the course of a year, for the poorest informal workers who earned very little a day, paying these smaller amounts was more attainable.

As shown, the introduction of the *Machinga ID* was found to increase the precariousness of some vendors' urban livelihoods. The findings throughout this section are significant and show how this policy had affected some vendors' present situations, in turn bringing uncertainty to their futures. This reveals the ways in which youth as social 'being and becoming' can interact with, and be shaped by, wider issues.

Limited access

As evidenced thus far, the *Machinga ID* has afforded informal workers very few benefits. Some participants in this research voiced their surprise at finding out that they still had to pay fees to enter certain areas of the city to sell their goods, even though they had a *Machinga ID*. During a follow-up interview, Vicent exclaimed:

> '*There are many places which we are asked to pay to sell our business, such as at beaches, and so many other places […] yesterday I went to Mbagala [bus] terminal and again they charged me 500 Tsh [£0.17] despite having an ID, so I have been surprised, like where does the money which I pay go?*'

Again, this illustrates doubt over the legitimacy and benefits of buying an ID. Other participants in Dar and Arusha also gave examples of paying extra to enter parts of the city. Joseph, who sold peanuts in Arusha, explained that he had to pay 500 Tsh (£0.17) to enter the national football stadium during matches even though he had an ID. A *Machinga* Association Leader in Arusha also gave an example of street vendors having to pay additional fees to peddle their wares near formal market areas:

> '*The Machinga got their ID and they were selling outside the [formal] markets. But after selling outside the markets, they were told because the goods are similar to those sold in the market they should pay a charge of 500 Tsh [£0.17] every day even though the president has prohibited this'*

This suggests a disconnect between the government and LGA's, perhaps caused by a lack of clear guidelines on how to implement this policy effectively.

Furthermore, owning an ID does not give protection to informal workers from private business owners. Emmanuel, a handicraft seller in Arusha who owned a *Machinga ID*, told me: '*Before working here [where the business is], I used to be by Clocktower, but an owner of a building there was not happy with me being there, so I moved here'*. Contrary to what participants said earlier in this section, other young vendors in this study reported not having 'freedom' to undertake their businesses anywhere in the city, even if they had a *Machinga ID*. Neuwirth (2012) identifies that private business owners can sometimes present a major challenge to street vendors, forcing them to move to areas unfavourable for business. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the location of informal work is vital for the success/failure of informal street trade (see also. Huang et al., 2019). Again, the data presented suggest that the *Machinga ID* does not protect young vendors' livelihoods against common challenges and insecurities.

Authenticity of the *Machinga ID*

Issues of authenticity were brought up numerous times when discussing the *Machinga ID* with key stakeholders and youth participants. Benson, who sold peanuts in Arusha, was unsure of how genuine the IDs were, commenting: '*I could afford to buy one [a Machinga ID], but it doesn't include a name on it or a photo, so I don't trust it and at the moment I don't see the point of getting it unless I am forced to'*. A *Machinga* leader in Dar also mentioned this issue and had identified improvements that they had suggested to the government: '*They [the government] should add some of the important particulars of the owners which are on other*

IDs such as name, picture and working location(s) of the owner'. Without these details, the recognition that this card supposedly affords informal workers is again brought into question.

Moreover, a lack of personal details on the card has resulted in the production and sale of fake IDs. During an observation near Kilombero Market in Arusha, my research assistant pointed out a street vendor who was walking past us with many IDs hanging around his neck. I mentioned this situation to a youth officer in Arusha and they replied: '*Only government officials are the ones allowed to sell it, and Machinga organisations'.*

The insights in this section indicate that the *Machinga ID* affords few benefits to informal workers. This policy created uncertainty and insecurity for some young vendors in this study. Rather than supporting young vendors' livelihoods, the findings suggest that the primary objective of the card was to generate revenue; an issue that is high on the agenda of many governments across Majority World contexts (Joshi, 2014). Arguably, this card addresses very few of the needs of young vendors identified in Section 8.2. Being attentive to the needs of youth is vital and requires ongoing engagements with young people directly (Ayele et al., 2017; Barford et al., 2021), yet it appears that this was lacking in the design and implementation of this policy which was found to impact young vendors' urban lives and livelihoods negatively.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter started by analysing young people's goals and aspirations. This built on discussions in chapters 4 and 6, which examined the interconnected nature of young vendors' livelihoods, by revealing how young people often planned to develop their livelihoods so they could provide for the needs of others in the future. These responsibilities, influenced by wider social and cultural expectations, shaped young people's 'being and becoming'. Connected to this, most participants identified needing more support with acquiring capital, which is unsurprising given that much of the support youth plan to provide to others requires financial resources (discussed in Chapters 4 and 6). Yet, these opinions were seldom shared by key stakeholders. Many argued that youth in Tanzania needed to receive other support such as training before they could be supported financially. Yet, as evidenced throughout the chapter and the thesis thus far, young people's abilities are diverse. Many possess the knowledge and skills to undertake their work, yet a lack of capital often limited their business activities (also shown in Chapter 4). This may indicate a disconnect between young people and those providing support, caused by a lack of understanding about the reality of young vendors' livelihoods 'on the ground' (Gyampo, 2012). These deficits can present significant challenges to youth,

restricting the support they receive which can help them develop their livelihoods in line with their imagined futures.

The chapter has also brought attention to the financial and socio-political challenges which often limit the support service providers can offer to young people. This makes an important contribution by understanding how constraints placed on stakeholders can impact youth as social 'being and becoming', as it reduces the amount of relevant support youth can obtain in the present, hindering their pathways to adulthood in the future. The findings help understand how young vendors' development over time is shaped by wider social, economic, and political circumstances. Organisations did mention adopting more low-cost approaches through using social media platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp to provide training and ongoing support to youth. In some instances, this contemporary approach enabled youth to receive the support required to improve their livelihoods. However, because access to digital technology is still uneven among youth, these approaches do not always provide the best means for young people to develop their urban lives and livelihoods.

The *Machinga ID*, a contemporary policy introduced under the guise of offering recognition and protection to informal workers, was also analysed in this chapter. It was found that this approach was another attempt by the government to regulate the informal sector and increase its revenue intake rather than address the needs of informal vendors. Many participants were unable to pay for a *Machinga ID*, forcing them to either risk working in the streets without one or quit their work completely. This brought uncertainty to young people's everyday livelihoods as well as their futures, illustrating that this policy interacted with, and shaped, vendors' 'being and becoming'. These insights provided much-needed insights into how young people's lives and livelihoods in urban Tanzania are shaped.

This chapter has provided further insights into how young vendors' present, and future interact. It has highlighted a mismatch between young people's livelihood goals, ambitions, and support needs and the assistance they receive from stakeholders and contemporary policies. It has shown how youth need to be given greater opportunities to voices their opinions as they are competent actors who can suggest effective solutions to the problems they face.

9 Conclusions

This thesis has investigated the complex spatial and temporal mobilities of young men and women undertaking small-scale informal work in Arusha and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. It has developed important insights into young people's lives and livelihoods by drawing on young vendors' insights and experiences. The study analysed/interpreted the findings in the light of key concepts in the literature discussed in Chapter 2, illuminating the heterogenous experiences of young vendors from their viewpoints.

Although studies of the informal sector are aplenty, research into the lives and livelihoods of young people who work informally has only recently begun to gain significant attention (see. Gough and Langevang, 2016). The thesis contributes to this area of study by understanding how young vendors' complex and interconnected lives and livelihoods develop over time and space as they negotiate their pathways to adulthood within challenging and continuously changing dynamic urban contexts. Drawing on conceptualisations of youth as social 'being and becoming' (Ansell et al., 2014), as a *position* and a *process* (Vigh, 2006a), the research brought focus to the interplay between young vendors' present circumstances and their imagined futures. It highlights how young vendors' efforts, decisions, and connections to others within the social, political, and economic contexts they are situated, shape their multifaceted pathways to desired adulthood.

The following sections integrate a summary of the key findings with discussions of the crucial contributions of the research. It will do this by drawing on the research questions set out in Chapter 1. Thereafter, the sections suggest recommendations for policymakers and stakeholders, identify the study limitations and propose areas of study requiring future research.

9.1 Young vendors' mobilities, livelihoods, and transitions to adulthood

The first research question asks, '*how do young people's everyday temporal and spatial mobilities shape their urban informal livelihoods and gendered transitions to adulthood in Dar es Salaam and Arusha?'*. To understand the complexity of this, the study importantly identified the motivations of 16 out of 22 vendors who migrated to Dar and Arusha from elsewhere in Tanzania. The majority of these young men and women identified that they had strategically migrated because of perceived employment opportunities in the city. Participants who had moved from rural localities or other (usually smaller) urban localities believed that Arusha and Dar had many business prospects. They perceived that these opportunities would allow them to develop their livelihoods, enabling them to accrue the resources necessary to become

financially and socially ‘independent’ linked to socio-cultural constructions of youth transitions across many African contexts (Thorsen, 2013). Notably, this demonstrated the importance of migration in participants’ livelihood trajectories. Although youth migration has gained considerable attention in recent years (Esson, 2020; Judge et al., 2020), the study builds on this work by showing how migration was a crucial part of young informal vendors' 'being and becoming'. Young people's decisions to migrate in the present were often made with their present and future livelihood situations in mind. This provides insights into the complex temporal dimensions of youth livelihoods. Further, the study highlighted how young people’s motivations to migrate were often gendered. Many female participants were motivated to move to urban areas because of perceptions of greater gender role flexibility. They believed that they had a better chance to engage in paid work activities in urban arenas, enabling them to obtain goals that relied on an ability to accrue financial and material resources. This relates to other research which has found that cities can have less rigid gender and other social norms than villages (Giddings and Hovorka, 2010; Evans, 2018), presenting greater opportunities for women to generate income (Kudo, 2015; Oduro et al., 2015). The research makes a vital contribution by bringing into focus the gendered elements of migration linked with plans concerning livelihood progression and how this interacts with the process of ‘being and becoming’.

For most participants, socioeconomic or environmental challenges in the areas they had migrated from had led them to decide to migrate in an attempt to manage and improve their circumstances. These findings strongly support studies that have increasingly analysed youth migration across Africa as a response to ‘stuckness’ or ‘waithood’ (Honwana, 2014; Judge et al., 2020; Kleist, 2017). They also add to these notions by understanding how these situations influenced young people’s decisions to migrate to the city to try and improve their spatial mobilities and access to resources. Although there were no obvious differences between the circumstances of participants who had not migrated to the city compared to those who had, 5 of the 6 participants who had not migrated planned to do so in the future, stating that they wanted to find better income opportunities.

Notably, the findings contribute to understandings of youth as social ‘being and becoming’ (Ansell et al., 2014; Vigh, 2006a) by identifying how young vendors strategically positioned themselves within city localities in the present to progress with their current lives and increase their chances of accomplishing desired pathways to adulthood in the future. Considering both

these aspects of young people's lives in combination is crucial and ensures that youths' present situations, decisions, and actions, as well as their efforts to become adults, are not overlooked. These insights provide a timely contribution to discussions regarding the need to illuminate how young people's migration mobilities and lifecourse trajectories are entangled (Bailey, 2009; Day and Evans, 2015; Judge et al., 2020). Importantly, this research also advances theoretical understandings of social 'being and becoming' by considering how this concept can develop insights into young vendors' complex temporal *and* spatial lives. To date, much writing has drawn on 'being and becoming' as a notion that can illuminate the temporality of young people's lives and livelihoods (see. Ansell et al., 2014; Vigh, 2006a). Considering the spatiality of youth 'being and becoming' helps add to understanding the complexity of their spatial lives and livelihoods in the city and how issues such as health and emotions define young people's livelihood experiences and can determine the amount of progress they can achieve over time. Through understanding the interconnected nature of young people's everyday spatial and temporal lives/livelihoods, this study has shown how these interlinked dimensions shape youths' present and future, which demands reconsideration of how youth as social 'being and becoming' is interpreted.

Developing this further, the research gained detailed insights into the complex and diverse spatial mobilities urban vendors relied on. Unsurprisingly, the location of customers dictated the movements of youth. Through their spatial mobilities, young people were able to seek out customers and employ repeat journeys to establish repeat customers, affording them with degrees of income stability and security. These findings strongly support observations that young people's movements in the city, which can be understood as spatial strategies (Adama, 2020), are crucial to vendors' survival in urban areas across African contexts (Gough et al., 2013; Langevang and Gough, 2009). Participants also highlighted the importance of temporality in their discussions regarding their everyday mobilities, an aspect of young people's daily mobilities van Blerk (2016) identifies has received little attention. Vendors were aware that city space opportunities changed over the course of a day, influencing where they undertook their business activities. The findings support other work, which has illuminated the importance of bringing attention to how vendors' time-space movements shape their everyday livelihoods (Esson et al., 2016; Malefakis, 2019; Robson, 2004). The study also demonstrated, in line with research by Langevang and Gough (2009), that young people's diverse and multifaceted livelihood mobilities are an outcome of their complex readings of where they

believe opportunities and challenges are likely to occur. These practices are part of young people's wider plans to achieve livelihood progression over time.

The research illustrated that vendors' time-space movements were vital to their attempts to accrue financial and material resources in the city. Importantly, the research recognised, building on previous studies, that young people's livelihood mobilities were intertwined with their specific needs and process of social 'becoming' (Judge et al., 2020; Langevang and Gough, 2009; Simone, 2011). The findings demonstrated that informal work enabled young people to cover basic needs such as buying food and clothes and paying for rent and bills. Significantly, it also showed the interconnectedness of young people's informal livelihoods. Through their work, young women and men could support the basic needs of their children and other members of their household. They were also able to address the needs of family members in other households through sending remittances (discussed further in Section 9.2). Bringing attention to the types of care young vendors provide others through the work they undertake was a significant finding. It developed insights into the complexity of vendors' livelihood through understanding how paid informal work and unpaid caring activities intersect. It also built on previous work by Day (2015) and Evans (2012) by examining how familial caring responsibilities shaped young vendors' efforts to pursue desired forms of adulthood.

A key finding relates to the more than survivalist incomes young people were able to generate through their informal livelihoods in the city. Vendors had been able to diversify their incomes through their informal activities, linked to their attempts to safeguard their livelihoods in the present and expand their business endeavours in the future, again related to youth as social 'being and becoming'. These insights correspond with participants' perceptions, mentioned previously, that the city held opportunities for them to accrue resources necessary to pursue pathways to adulthood. Further, some participants identified that they had been able to obtain the resources necessary to achieve markers of adulthood, such as getting married and building a house through their informal business activities. The study thus demonstrated, in line with remarks by Assaad and Krafft (2021) and van Blerk (2008), that informal work could offer young people an opportunity to achieve what are deemed 'successful' markers of adulthood.

The study also brought focus to the challenges young people experienced through undertaking their livelihood activities in and across the city. Although literature on the challenges of informal work is well established (see. Chen et al., 2006; Lloyd-Evans, 2008; Simone, 2001), this study addressed a gap in the literature through analysing the impact informal work

challenges have on young people's everyday livelihoods and their attempts to attain anticipated forms of adulthood. Customer exploitation was an issue many participants identified in the research, which previous work has attributed to young vendors' marginalised positions within society (van Blerk, 2013; Mumba, 2016). The research built on this work by gaining insights into the impact(s) customer-related challenges, including customers failing to make payments, had on young people's agency and wellbeing. Highlighting these matters was vital because, as Evans (2012) notes, these issues can constrain young people's transitions to adulthood. The study also found that vendors experienced health issues such as sore eyes, legs, and chest, which had affected their mobilities and therefore, their abilities to progress with their business activities at varying points in the lifecourse. This drew attention to the embodied effects of young vendors' everyday mobilities and how these can negatively impact 'being and becoming'. The findings are crucial and make an important contribution to the literature on youth and informality by understanding the lesser focused on health impacts that can affect youth and hinder their livelihoods and their abilities to develop these.

An important finding was also the impact that income instability had on young people's lives in Arusha and Dar. In line with research that has identified that young people's transitions to adulthood are becoming protracted (Assaad and Krafft, 2021; Honwana, 2012; Judge et al., 2020), the study found that the volatility of young people's business activities made it difficult for them to meet their daily basic needs in the city and make notable signs of progress towards desired adulthood. Importantly, some young people did identify that they employed strategies such as income diversification (mentioned prior) to manage this challenge. Yet, vendors' abilities to manage income instability was notably gendered. The research found that young women were less able to manage these challenges because of less access to financial resources, and greater caring roles and responsibilities. These issues have been observed in other studies (Khavul et al., 2009; Porter et al., 2017), and are crucial when considering young people's gendered transitions to adulthood.

The findings importantly illuminated the disproportionate amount of care work women in this research undertook. It observed, along with research by Manji et al. (2020), Rutashobya (2001) and Smith (2015), that socioeconomic challenges made it difficult for men to solely provide for their households, meaning that women were increasingly expected to undertake informal work and contribute financially to the household; traditionally a 'masculine' form of caregiving in many African contexts (Evans, 2012; Gouws and van Zyl, 2014; Morrell and Jewkes, 2011). Drawing on a 'caringscapes' perspective (Bowlby, 2012; Evans, 2012), the study was able to

focus on the time-space patterning of participants' caring practices. It found that women's unpaid domestic and childcare roles impacted their livelihood activities in several ways, including disrupting their routines, causing them to feel tired, and constraining their mobilities. Men in this study expressed an awareness of the challenges of women's multiple roles and responsibilities, but in line with work by Riley and Dodson, (2016), many identified an inability to help women with their unpaid care work because of the cultural and societal pressures they faced to provide financially to the household. Gaining these understandings was important, and links to observations by Silberschmidt, (2001) about the ongoing need to comprehend how social and cultural expectations shape men's gendered performances. Notably, several men also identified that domestic roles and responsibilities affected their income-generating activities. Although unpaid care work posed less of a challenge to men than women, the findings illustrated the need to continue gaining rounded insights into men's complex everyday realities rather than making assumptions about their circumstances and gendered roles and responsibilities. Other studies have made similar arguments (see. Esson et al., 2020; Silberschmidt, 2011).

The findings expand on insights by Evans (2012), drawing connections between young people's everyday gendered unpaid care work and how this shapes their daily informal work routines and rhythms, influenced by cultural and societal norms. The research provides insights into why women, more so than men, found it more difficult to manage the challenges of informal work and make notable advances to their livelihoods. Additionally, a crucial contribution of the research has been to illuminate the interconnectedness of young vendors' daily productive and reproductive works through employing a care lens. This has further illuminated the complexity and heterogeneity of young people's lives and livelihoods who work informally.

Contrary to widespread perspectives that cities were where youth could make notable progress, the study found that not all young people experienced beneficial economic and social outcomes through being situated in urban localities. However, although the research identified experiences of 'waithood' within participants' lifecourses (Honwana, 2012; Judge et al., 2020), it also gained insights into their agentive efforts in the present, connected to their visions for the future. As Ungruhe and Esson (2017) argue, gaining such rounded insights is crucial and moves away from perceiving youth in 'waithood' as passive and helpless.

9.2 The resources, caring relationships, and support networks young people rely on

The second research question poses, '*what kind of resources, caring relationships, and support networks do young men and women in urban Tanzania draw on to manage and develop their lives and livelihoods in the city?'.* The research found that young vendors' lives and livelihoods in Arusha and Dar es Salaam were highly interconnected and interdependent and relied on various caring relationships and support networks to manage, sustain and improve these. Significantly, the types of support young people required and from whom they could obtain it varied between participants.

Most participants identified that family networks provided vital support. A notable finding concerned the roles vendors' parents played in providing them with start-up capital and advice concerning how to use their incomes and manage difficult situations. This made an important contribution by drawing attention to the role informal family-based care systems (Oduran, 2010) played in helping young vendors establish and maintain their livelihoods within often challenging urban environments. It showed how support provided by parents shaped young people's livelihoods and decisions in the city, demonstrating that the interconnected livelihoods of young vendors developed, in part, through their intergenerational relations. This corresponds with research by McFarlane and Silver, (2017), who also found that older generations could help improve young vendors' life and livelihood chances. These insights provide timely insights into the ways young vendors' lives and livelihoods and intergenerational relations intersect, helping to understand the complexity of intergenerationality in Majority World contexts which has only recently begun to receive attention (Evans, 2015). Further still, the research brings into focus the role of these relations in shaping young vendors' 'being and becoming' as the support young people sought in the present from their parents, was one way through which they perceived they could achieve their goals in the future. This makes an important conceptual contribution by understanding how certain forms of interdependency influence 'being and becoming'. Moreover, intragenerational family relations, even less studied than intergenerational relationships (Evans, 2017), also played a notable role in helping some vendors develop their lives in this research. The insights from the study thus provided much-needed accounts of the complexity of family networks which helps to develop insights into how young people's lives and livelihoods in the present and their opportunities to progress in the future are shaped.

Drawing on understandings of caring relationships as interconnected, interdependent, and reciprocal from a feminist care ethics perspective (Bowlby, 2012; Evans and Atim, 2015; Tronto, 1993), the research also brought attention to how young vendors cared for family members in separate households through the informal work they undertook. Vendors could send remittances supporting the needs of their sick and elderly parents, in line with cultural and social expectations across many African contexts (Evans 2015). Crucially, this began to highlight how young people's livelihoods could enable them to provide care to family members. Another important finding of this study was that vendors often sent financial support to their siblings, contributing towards their education. It demonstrated, consistent with research by Evans (2014), that birth order was significant in shaping young people's caring relations, responsibilities and use of their incomes. This provided key insights into the complexity of young people's sibling care relations and further illustrated how these responsibilities influenced young people's livelihood decisions and plans. Contributing to understandings of the highly complex and interconnected nature of young people's livelihoods (Ansell et al., 2014; Day and Evans, 2015), the study, through adopting a care lens, emphasised how young vendors took care of the specific needs of others while also supporting their own lives. In some instances, vendors' responsibilities to provide financial care to others constrained their abilities to progress with their livelihoods. In part, the findings respond to calls by Day (2015) to understand how young people's caring relations, roles, and activities influence their abilities to negotiate desired transitions to adulthood through analysing how young vendors' care activities impacted their abilities to develop their lives and livelihoods.

Further, a significant contribution of the research relates to its examination of the collaborative interdependent relationships of married young men and women who worked informally. The study brought awareness to how married youth came together strategically to improve their livelihood stability through planning how to use their incomes and setting targets for the future. Echoing findings by Hannaford and Foley (2015), the research illuminated young vendors' innovative endeavours within marriage to cope with contemporary socioeconomic challenges. The research showed that these marital relationships were in some ways shaped by dominant gendered norms, as through these relations, men were able to secure their status as breadwinners. Yet, other insights revealed how gendered roles were changing within these relations through illustrating women's financial contributions to activities such as house construction, which has traditionally been the sole responsibility of men across many African contexts (Afutu-Kotey et al, 2017). Importantly, the study demonstrated, in agreement with

research by Ansell et al. (2017), that marriage also influenced young people's trajectories and aspirations. Married vendors often revealed that their livelihood goals and ambitions for the future were shared with their spouse. Considering the role of marriage in the process of young vendors' 'being and becoming' makes an important theoretical contribution as this takes into account how married youths' present actions and decisions and their plans and goals for the future may are shaped differently compared with unmarried young people. This brings focus to the heterogenous experiences and development of youth. These findings also contribute to the broader literature on gender and development, which has long argued for the need to move away from dualistic understandings of gender depicting men and women as distinctly separate (White, 1997) and focus more on their interconnected and interdependent lives (Riley and Dodson, 2016). Interestingly, the research indicated that generally, married youth had more ability to manage periods of economic difficulty than unmarried youth because they could draw directly on support and resources from their spouse.

The study also brought into focus peer relationships, which it highlighted were crucial to young people's everyday lives and livelihoods in the city. In keeping with insights by Oduran (2010), this study found that young people were turning to their peers to obtain resources, because their familial networks had become constrained by ongoing socioeconomic challenges. Peer relationships provided vendors with crucial everyday support which could involve, but was not limited to, skills training, advice, informal loans, and emotional support. It also found that female vendors would also seek assistance with their childcare responsibilities from other people (predominantly other women) working on the street. The findings highlighted the significance of care relationships between peers, as research by Aufseeser (2020) has also found. These relations enabled participants to sustain their everyday livelihoods in increasingly uncertain urban environments.

The research illustrated that vendors drew on different peer relationships, including established relations with friends and ephemeral social interactions with other vendors. The types of support vendors obtained depended on the relationships they drew on. Vendors were more likely to obtain support such as financial resources and quality guidance from peers who they had developed trust with over extended periods of time. Corresponding with insights by Punch (2014), the research demonstrated that these relationships influenced young people's life chances and had a significant impact on their process of 'becoming'. Even more fleeting 'makeshift' relations with other vendors played a notable role in shaping participants' daily attempts to secure financial and material resources, enabling them to negotiate access to

customers and viable vending spaces. This showed that even brief relationships can have an impact, shaping vendors' livelihood development over time through providing various opportunities. Yet, the study also demonstrated that vendors' peer relationships were not always caring and could result in them being 'trapped' within uncertain circumstances constraining their agency. This showed that while peer relationships could be interdependent and reciprocal, they could also be confining and abusive. The findings highlighted the need to consider how challenges arising from relationships with others can impact young vendors' 'being and becoming'. This makes an important conceptual contribution as it considers how young people's relations in the present can have implications for their futures. Overall, the study provided understandings of the complex role various peer relations can play in shaping young vendors' opportunities to transition to adulthood in urban Tanzania.

9.3 The support needs and priorities of young vendors

The final research question asks, '*what are the support needs and priorities of young informal vendors?'.* Participants' support needs and priorities varied enormously in this study, and many young people identified needing more than one type of support. Financial support was the most common type of support youth said they needed, linked to strategies to develop their informal livelihoods. Participants commonly prioritised improving their livelihoods to that they could achieve their aspirations, often connected to desires to become financially independent, build a house, and provide for family members, corresponding with socially accepted adult markers across many African contexts (Chigunta et al., 2005; Honwana, 2014). Young people believed that financial support would improve their existing informal work activities and increase their chances of attaining desired forms of adulthood. Importantly, this shows that young people's identified support needs were made in consideration of both their present and future. This again links to notions of 'being and becoming' and illuminates how this process is shaped by the socioeconomic contexts in which young people are situated. Further, vendors' perspectives arguably illustrated their awareness that the current informal work they undertook gave them the best opportunity to progress with their lives within contexts marked by high employment insecurity. This relates to other work, which has observed that the decreased availability of paid work opportunities across many African contexts has meant that young people are seeking alternative ways of generating meaningful lives and becoming adults in line with cultural and social expectations (Barford et al., 2021; Cole, 2011; Langevang et al., 2012).

Participants also expressed a need for financial support through identifying barriers that constrained them from achieving their goals. Many informal vendors identified that limited business capital hindered their ability to progress. Some youth also noted that their unpaid caring roles and responsibilities, involving providing financial and material resources to their families, stifled their attempts to improve their lives. This brings attention to the challenges young people faced in the present which they acknowledged hampered their efforts to achieve their imagined futures. These findings also relate to work that has identified that African youth are increasingly in periods of 'waithood' caused by contemporary socioeconomic conditions (Honwana, 2012). Yet, young people again showed that they were not passive, and through identifying the support they needed, illustrated that they had considered how they could manage their circumstances.

Through employing a temporal lens, this study has gained vital insights into young people's diverse efforts and experiences undertaking informal work and their complex and interconnected aspirations. This brought much-needed attention to the interplay between vendors' present and future, which was found to shape their support needs. Other research has underscored the importance of gaining such insights, as these can provide more rounded understandings of the types of support youth require (Ayele et al., 2018; Barford et al., 2021).

Yet, when talking to stakeholders from youth organisations, community-based organisations, and local government offices, many opined, contrary to most participants' perspectives, that youth needed to receive entrepreneurship training and education before being offered financial support. Most perceived that giving youth financial support was wasteful as they did not know how to use this resource effectively. Through vocational training, stakeholders argued that youth could be more creative, allowing them to manage challenging socioeconomic environments. Some youth participants did agree with these statements explaining that training would equip them with skills enabling them to make better use of any money they received. However, most youth perceived that the support being offered to them did not reflect their livelihood realities in the city, which echoes findings from numerous other studies across African contexts (Ayele et al., 2018; Barford et al., 2021; Gyampo, 2012). In part, the findings showed that this mismatch was caused because stakeholders often overlooked the diverse needs youth required based on factors such as their age, experiences, abilities, gender, education level, the work they undertook, their imagined futures, and so forth. These insights make a timely contribution by drawing attention to the need to gain more rounded insights into young people's

complex and diverse livelihoods in precarious urban environments so that support can be tailored accordingly.

The study found that financial resources were also a significant challenge for many organisations, limiting the support they could offer youth. Resource scarcity meant that most organisations in this study could only provide education and skills-based training to young people, which may explain why stakeholders often identified these types of support as the needs of youth. In line with research by Morgan (2016), the study demonstrated the importance of bringing greater focus to the challenges organisations experienced. This is important, because organisations' limited resources presented another obstacle to young people attempting to obtain types of support needed to achieve their aspirations, thus hindering their 'being and becoming'. Again, this reveals how this process can be impacted by wider issues/constraints. The study thus contributes to taking the support needs and futures of young people seriously (Ayele et al., 2017) by highlighting how a lack of relevant support available to youth in the present may delay or stop them from attaining desired forms of adulthood.

Importantly, the research also observed that young men and women working informally experienced several barriers to accessing support run by organisations. Young vendors often expressed their hesitation of involving themselves in rotating credit schemes, identifying that this was too risky because they could not guarantee that they would make repayments because of the instability of their incomes. This was revealing, illustrating vendors' awareness of the precariousness of their positions. Along with other studies, the findings showed that young people were pragmatic in their search for opportunities and employed calculated strategies to better their positions and avoid worsening them (Simone, 2011; Thieme, 2018). Although young people required financial support, they were selective from where they acquired it, again showing that the support offered to youth needs to be appropriate and attentive to their circumstances.

It was also highlighted that some vendors had to stop attending training/education support programmes because these disrupted their paid and unpaid activities. This issue was found to affect women more than men, because they had to balance their paid work with significant amount of unpaid caring roles and responsibilities. Drawing on understandings that women's daily mobilities are often more deliberate than men's (Esson et al., 2016), the findings highlighted that the timing of support programs can negatively impact women's everyday routines. The study demonstrated, in agreement with research by Moussié and Alfers (2018),

that organisations seldom consider young people's unpaid caring roles and responsibilities in the design and implementation phases of support programs. It emphasised the need for stakeholders to take more inclusive approaches when supporting young people who, as mentioned previously, have diverse support requirements and daily experiences.

Interestingly, there was consensus between participants and various stakeholders in the research that young people's inputs within decision-making processes in Tanzania needed to increase. The findings suggested that this would provide more rounded insights into youths' daily lives and their imagined futures, enabling young people to receive more effective types of support that could improve their current situations and chances for the future. The study contributes to ongoing debates concerning the need to position young people as competent actors who can suggest solutions to the livelihood challenges they experience (te Lintelo,2012), which will help to reduce assumptions made about youth (Ayele et al., 2017; Barford et al., 2021).

The research also shed light on how young vendors were engaging with, or planning to engage with, smartphone technology and social media platforms to undertake informal work. It found that vendors used digital technology to advertise their products, access large numbers of potential customers, and coordinate their businesses more efficiently. The above possibilities were also identified by participants who expressed a desire to undertake informal business online in the future. The findings contribute to understanding how vendors use mobile technology to operate and promote informal business (Amankwaa et al., 2020), creating new possibilities of encounter and connectivity for informal workers (Amankwaa and Blay, 2018). This revealed the need to understand how changes to the ways young people were undertaking informal work within urban environments impacted their 'being and becoming'. These insights are important and bring about important questions concerning the impact that increased digital mobility will have on young people's abilities achieve livelihood progression. It also highlights the potential support more young vendors will need in the future, in relation to utilising digital technologies for their informal business endeavours.

9.4 Recommendations for policymakers and stakeholders

After considering the findings, the thesis suggests several ways of enhancing policy to improve the conditions of young people undertaking small-scale informal work within the urban informal sector in Tanzania:

- Policymakers and stakeholders need to create more conducive environments for young vendors to share their experiences and perspectives. This would allow for the creation

of more effective policy and support initiatives. Increasing the involvement of youth in decision-making processes at various scales would also increase inclusivity. There is also a need to recognise gender differences and young people's unpaid caring responsibilities when involving them in decision-making processes. Addressing these issues is pertinent given the rise in the number of young men and women undertaking informal work in Tanzania.

- More attention is needed on the unpaid caring roles and responsibilities young vendors undertake each day, because these shape vendors' daily practices and support needs, as well as their desired pathways to adulthood.

- Young people need more financial support because obtaining many markers of adulthood relies on their ability to accrue material and financial resources (Barford et al., 2021). Youth are increasingly unable to obtain such resources from familial networks, thus a greater onus is on policymakers and stakeholders to provide such support.

- Developing insights into young people's multiple and diverse caring relationships would allow policymakers and stakeholders to understand deficits in the types of support young people require through these relations, which they could then address. Strengthening existing peer and familial support networks, a vital aspect of young people's lives across many African contexts (Oduran, 2010; McFarlane and Silver, 2017), would arguably be one of the most effective ways of ensuring young people receive the types of support they require over the long term.

- Policymakers and stakeholders must recognise that young people are competent social actors who can identify the support needs they require, rather than being told by others what is best for them. Of course, vendors' circumstances differ enormously, therefore, it is necessary to understand the individual needs and situations of young people.

- Vendors need continuous rather than one-off types of support. Young people are constantly encountering different opportunities and challenges, and so they need ongoing guidance regarding how to manage their evolving situations.

- It needs to be clearer to young people where they can receive support from. Many young people in this study identified not being aware of where they could go to obtain the types of support they needed, which constrained their ability to improve aspects of their livelihoods.

- Greater consideration of young people's imagined futures is paramount as these influence vendors' practices, efforts, decisions, and needs in the present. Thus, policymakers should look to support young people to improve their current and future life chances rather than support them in ways that only have an impact over the short term.

9.5 Study limitations

The study was conducted by employing an ethnographic methodology. Participant observations, informal conversations, life-mapping interviews, life-mapping diagrams, focus groups, and the use of GPS tracking with some participants were suited to this research, enabling me, the researcher, to gain detailed and complex understandings of young vendors' lives and livelihoods for over one year. Yet, there were several limitations to the research:

- The research involved 37 youth participants (including focus group participants) across two cities in Tanzania. Therefore, the findings cannot be generalised to reflect the experiences and perspectives of all young informal vendors. Moreover, related to the sample, it was difficult to recruit and develop trust with participants between the ages of 15-18, especially young women. To address this, I worked alongside youth organisations supporting young people in the abovementioned age bracket. I attended relevant training sessions with these young people to develop rapport before undertaking any research.

- My positionality as a white European middle-class researcher from the UK in a post-colonial African context characterised by significant wealth differential and global inequalities (Evans and Becker, 2009), had notable impacts. Participants often received comments from people on the street asking about the ways they had benefited from my presence. Many people assumed that I would be financially supporting youth

participants. I managed these expectations by clearly explaining to participants before involving them in the research process that I could not financially support them or their families. Yet, the impacts that these assumptions had on respondents' lives during and after fieldwork could not be fully known, which is problematic.

- Because of the cross-cultural and cross-language nature of the research coupled with my basic understanding of Kiswahili, I found that participants often developed a rapport with research assistants rather than with me directly. Where possible I made sure to use the same research assistants with participants, however sometimes assistants were unavailable, and I noticed on several occasions that participants were less open with assistants they did not know.

- My limited ability to speak Kiswahili, meant that research assistants were employed whenever research was undertaken with youth participants. Their inclusion to the research process was vital and they were gatekeepers to participants. However, the presence and positionality of assistants undoubtedly impacted the research because knowledge was produced through interactions between me, research assistants, and participants (Molony and Hammett, 2007). Caretta (2015) also notes that participants' knowledge is mediated by research assistants. To minimise this, all assistants were briefed prior to conducting research with participants, about the importance of translating everything discussed. In practice however, because I could only grasp parts of discussions, it was difficult to know exactly what was being said by participants and what was being translated by assistants. In some interview transcripts it became evident that assistants had not translated questions to participants in the same way I had asked them, which is a notable limitation. Becoming proficient in speaking Kiswahili would also reduce these drawbacks.

- Because of the Covid-19 pandemic, it has not been possible to run dissemination workshops about the findings with youth participants and professionals, as planned in the design phase of this research. Where possible, online events involving the presentation and discussions of the research findings with stakeholders will occur. A summary report will be written and sent to professionals. Small booklets of the research

findings will also be produced for youth participants and distributed by research assistants.

9.6 Further research

Expanding on the findings, the thesis proposes several areas of study that would benefit from further research:

- The study was able to provide detailed insights into young people's multifaceted temporal and spatial livelihood mobilities and how these were connected to the process of social 'being and becoming'. However, because African urban environments are continuously changing (Tacoli and Mabala, 2010; Thieme, 2018), longitudinal research which follows up on vendors' circumstances over several years would be beneficial. This would enable detailed insights into how dynamic urban contexts shape participants' lives, livelihoods, and desired pathways to adulthood over time and space.

- The research examined the multiple support networks and caring relationships vendors drew on to manage their circumstances within the city. These were often complex and detailed, making it difficult for participants to fully reflect on these matters within a study that also involved understanding various other aspects of their lives and livelihoods. Thus, future research should focus primarily on understanding vendors' multiple and complex caring relations. This would gain more insights into the role these have in shaping vendors' desired pathways to adulthood. These relationships are important and highlight the interdependent, interconnected, and reciprocal nature of young people's everyday lives. Additionally, marriage is an area of research that has received little attention in the literature on informality, yet as the study has shown, these relations are crucial ways vendors can adapt to, and manage, contemporary socioeconomic challenges. Bringing more attention to the position of married young vendors in comparison to unmarried young vendors would enable greater understandings of the heterogeneity of young vendors' lives and livelihoods to be gained.

- As this research showed, young vendors' everyday gendered caring roles and responsibilities played an important part in their daily lives. Yet, the literature on informality has seldom brought care into focus, which has contributed towards a dichotomy between productive and reproductive work. The research, therefore, calls for

more investigation into the interconnectedness of young people's paid informal work and their unpaid caring roles and responsibilities. This could also bring more focus to the significance of lifecourse 'events' such as parental bereavement and the effects this has on the everyday paid and unpaid work young women and men undertake across time and space. Additionally, there is also a need to understand more the changes occurring to the gendered roles and expectations of young men and women working informally and how this influences their everyday practices and relations. This would allow for greater insights into how young people's present circumstances, and visions for the future, are shaped.

- Lastly, joining Ayele et al. (2017) and Barford et al. (2021), the study calls for further research into the social, economic, and political factors which enable or constrain young vendors in their efforts to attain normative expectations of adulthood. Because informal work is relied upon by so many youths across African contexts, vendors' futures must be given more attention and taken seriously. As this research has shown, vendors' imagined futures play a key role in shaping their everyday efforts and objectives in challenging and unpredictable environments. Ongoing research should therefore continue to understand how young vendors are managing their situations and navigating towards their pathways to adulthood in relation to their anticipated futures. This is important to consider with increasing urbanisation and a growing youth population in Tanzania and other African countries, climate change, and migration to major and more secondary cities in response to changing urban environments.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Focus Group Interview Schedule

1) **Of your different responsibilities, which ones do you see as the most important? And why?**

2) **In your view, how does the work, roles and responsibilities young men and women undertake, differ?**
    a) How are they similar?
    b) Have there been any changes in the roles, work and responsibilities that young men and women undertake in recent years? **If yes**: Why have these occurred?

3) **How do men and women help/ support each other daily? (Refer to examples of responsibilities they have already given, e.g. with informal work, childcare, household chores etc)**
    a) In your opinions, are young men and young women expected to do particular activities? Why/why not?
    b) What are your views about how men and women help each other? Should men or young women do more of a particular task than they do currently? What are the barriers to this?

4) **Who do you see as a young person/youth in Tanzania?**
    - Is this related to life stage (completing school, marriage, having children, supporting yourself and your family etc)? Or age?
        a) What opportunities are there for young people in Arusha/Tanzania?
        b) What are the challenges young people here face?

5) **What are the benefits and opportunities of informal work?**
    a) What are the constraints/disadvantages?
    b) How could the work you undertake, be improved?
    c) How long do you see yourself working within the informal sector for?

6) **How do you use your mobile phones daily? (use it for business, social, connecting with relatives/friends, other?)**
    a) What are the benefits of using mobile phones? What are the negatives?
    b) Can you identify any other ways you would like to use your mobile phones?

7) **What type(s) of support would help to improve your position as an informal worker? (training, loans, improved working environment, etc)**
    a) Who should provide you with this type of support? (govt, NGOs, community group, friends/family etc) And why?

Appendix B – Life-mapping interview schedule

1. Background and experiences of the city

I would like to ask you about yourself and your life in the city

1. **Can you tell me a bit more about yourself and your background? (Prompt, if not already covered)**

2. **When did you first move to Dar/Arusha?**

3. **What level of education have you achieved?**

4. **Who else do you live with? How long have you lived with them?**

5. **Do you provide financial or care support to any family members or other members of the household?**

6. **How does life in the city compare to what you thought it would be like?**

7. **What opportunities has city life brought to you?**

2. Current Work

I would like to ask you about the work that you currently undertake; both paid and unpaid

8. **What paid work do you currently undertake?**

9. **How did you get into your current line of work/business?**

10. **Where in the city do you work? (set location or an area/region)**

11. **Do you work for anyone?**

12. **Who else do you work with?**

13. **What are the benefits and opportunities of your work?**

14. **What challenges/difficulties are you currently facing?**

15. **What motivates you to do the work you currently do?**

16. **What other (non-remunerated) work/activities do you do throughout your day?**

3. Relationships and support networks?

In this section, I would like to ask you about the support and networks that you rely on through your day

17. **Who has supported you/how have they supported you?**

18. **Who do look to for guidance when you face difficulties in your work?**

19. **Do you participate in the community, or in youth/women's associations/workers' rights associations, trade unions etc?**

20. **Thinking about your relationships and social networks, who is most important to you now in Dar/Arusha? Why?**

4. Previous work and experiences

I would like to know about the work that you have undertaken throughout your life.

Also, at this point we are going take the opportunity to do the timeline diagram exercise of key turning points transitions in your life

21. **How old were you when you first started working?**

22. **Which is the best/worst job that you have ever done?**

23. **What do you see as the most important moments, events or turning points in your life?**

24. **Whom have you worked with throughout your working life?**

25. **Who do you see as a key role model/most important person in your life?**

26. **How do you see your current work situation compared to previous jobs/paid work roles?**

27. **What are your goals and ambitions?**

5. Gender, Generation and informal Work

I'd like to ask your views on differences in work and caring responsibilities between men and women and different generations

28. **In your opinion, how does the work that men and women do, differ?**

29. **In your view, how do caring and domestic responsibilities differ between men and women (if at all)?**

30. **In your view, have men's and women's work and roles changes in recent years?**

31. **In what ways do men and women support each other daily?**

32. **How do you see your relationship with your parents? Older relatives, neighbours etc?**

33. **In what ways do you rely on the help/support from older generations?**

34. **In your opinion, what perceptions do you think older generations have on youth in Tanzania?**

6 Perspectives on the future

To conclude, I would like to ask you about your views on support

35. **How could you be supported better as a young informal worker?**

36. **What resources have helped you with your work throughout your life?**

37. **What do you think would be most helpful to improve the situation of youth in Tanzania/for you and other young people working in similar jobs?**

38. **Do you have a key message for those developing policy and support for informal workers and youth in Tanzania?**

Do you wish to add any other comments? Have I missed anything out?

Thanks very much for your time!

Appendix C – Outside and inside view of stakeholder leaflet

This study will make a vital contribution towards my PhD studies which I will be studying for until September 2021.

Timetable

Much of the fieldwork for this study will be undertaken between October 2018 and August 2019. However, I will return to Tanzania in November 2019 and January 2020 to complete research and to disseminate preliminary findings. Research will be based in Dar es Salaam and Arusha. I will be available to meet on a flexible basis, with a range of professionals working on issues relating to informality, as well as participants who work in the informal sector

Ethical Issues

This project has been reviewed/approved by the University of Reading Research Ethics Committee. All participants will have a right to anonymity and their rights to privacy and confidentiality will be fully adhered to and respected. The safety and security of both the researcher and the research participants are paramount. The research data will be treated as confidential, anonymized and stored securely in line with ethical protocols

I welcome any relevant information relating to informal sector work within Dar es Salaam and Arusha

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University of Reading

E·S·R·C ECONOMIC & SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

Precarious lifescapes and informality: a gendered and generational analysis of young informal workers in urban Tanzania

This study will utilize a gendered and generational approach to understand and analyze the livelihoods of young (15-35 years) informal sector workers in urban Tanzania. It seeks to gain an insight into the contemporary experiences of young women and men to understand how they are managing the pressures and challenges of growing informality. Understanding the challenges and inequalities men and women face within the informal economy, and how gendered and generational norms and negotiations shape their livelihood experiences is crucial. As Tanzania's population becomes increasingly urban and young, studies such as this will be vital to various policymakers/practitioners in Tanzania and internationally.

Student Researcher:
Nathan Salvidge – PhD Research in Human Geography at The University of Reading

Background

The informal sector has been a topic of research interest for many decades, however recent calls have identified a need for informality to be taken more seriously. Few studies have incorporated a gendered and generational analysis of the livelihoods of young informal workers in urban areas. This research hopes to address this and gain a greater understanding of youth experience of informality

Tanzania is an appropriate location for this study because it is projected that by 2030, over 60% of its population will be youth (UN, 2015). At present, 79.2% Men and 87.7% of women (ILO, 2018) rely on informal work in Tanzania. It also has one of the highest rates of urbanization in East Africa, and by 2050 it is predicted that 53% of the population will live in urban areas (UN, 2014).

Research Aims

This study aims to gain a greater understanding of the impacts of informality on the livelihoods of young informal workers. It will assess the benefits and challenges that young men and women experience through their engagements in informal work, whilst also understanding what resources, support networks and relationships young people draw on. The usefulness of alternative concepts of informality such as 'system D' and 'precarity' in conceptualizing the everyday lived experiences of young men and women engaged in the informal sector in urban Tanzania, will also be evaluated.

This study seeks to understand how norms may be changing within the context of high levels of informality, rapid urbanization and a growing youth population. Research with various government stakeholders, NGO's, community/peer support groups and informal workers will allow an understanding into the policies and practices which are in place to support young people in urban Tanzania.

This project will focus on the following questions:

1. How useful are alternative concepts of informality and precarity in understanding gendered and generational differences and inequalities in livelihood opportunities among young people?
2. What opportunities and benefits (if any) has informality brought to young men and women within the city? What are the constraints and challenges?
3. What kind of resources, relationships and networks do young men and women in urban Tanzania draw on? How do these differ according to age, gender, livelihood, place and so forth?
4. Are gender and generational relations changing in the informal economy in Dar es Salaam and Arusha? How?
5. What are the implications for development policy and practice?

Methods

An ethnographic methodology will be employed to understand the perspectives of young men and women. This methodology will allow an understanding into the daily routines and social interactions of informal workers, and it will capture the meanings and significance of these.

I will utilize a range of methods including participant observations, life-mapping interviews, semi-structured interviews, participatory diagramming/focus groups, go-along/walking interviews and video-recording. The sample size will be as follows:

- Up to 40 youth participants (10-20 in each city), of both genders, will be recruited for life mapping interviews.
- Up to 10 semi-structured interviews will be undertaken in each city with key stakeholders/professionals.
- Four to eight focus groups/participatory diagramming sessions with 4-10 participants (2-4 groups with both genders) will also be conducted across the two cities