

**STRUGGLE FOR SPACE: APPROPRIATION AND
REGULATION OF PRIME LOCATIONS IN SUSTAINING
INFORMAL LIVELIHOODS IN DAR ES SALAAM CITY,
TANZANIA**

**A Thesis Submitted to Newcastle University
In fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

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June, 2013

Abstract

This study explores the appropriation of prime locations for informal activities, and the regulation of such activities, based on the lived experiences of the stakeholders involved. Despite a vast body of research on informal practices, its main focus so far has been on eviction practices and responses to eviction, using power relations as an analytical framework. Up to the present, therefore, little has been understood about the processes of space appropriation and strategies for regulating them (other than eviction) used by municipalities in areas designated or undesignated for such activities, and the spatial ramifications of such processes. The theoretical framework which guided the examination of these issues in this study focuses on reciprocal relationships between operators and prime locations, operators and the municipality, the context of social relations and policy frameworks, which are embedded in poverty, land use, location and governance discourses. The study uses a mixed method approach to arrive at its findings, drawing from both secondary data and primary data, in the form of 200 questionnaires, 43 in-depth interviews, mapping and observations undertaken in the city of Dar es Salaam. The process of accessing and using prime locations and the operators' use of both legal and illegal means to do so, are investigated through the specific locations of Msimbazi and Uhuru Roads and the Mchikichini market, exploring the lived experience of informal livelihood operators in these locations.

The study offers insight into the socio-economic characteristics of operators and the wide-reaching changes in the economy and policies that have influenced their participation in informal activities. Through a focus on prime locations, the thesis demonstrates how the appropriation of such locations contributes to social and material transitions which impact on the operators' social, economic and environmental relationships. The municipality uses two main strategies to regulate informal activities, that is, in-space arrangements and in-time arrangements. The use and regulation of prime locations bring together stakeholders including the municipality, operators' organisations, and other non-governmental organisations. The municipal regulatory model is dominant but ineffective, owing to challenges to the municipal institutional framework (collaboration, accountability and transparency), social relations, and political interference, which together result in an inability to realise planned outcomes for operators. It is argued that a fuller understanding of the processes of appropriation

and regulation could provide a lesson for future regulatory programmes. Rather than opposing the informal operators, initiatives should take into consideration the shared experience created in the process of producing spaces and implementing policies for informal livelihood activities in Dar es Salaam.

Acknowledgement

This thesis has been a journey of inspiration. It is the product of countless hours spent talking to informal operators, municipal officials, researchers and representatives of operators' associations. I am grateful to them for all the information they gave me, which has formed the basis for this thesis. My enduring admiration goes to their efforts to make a living in prime locations or to regulate such informal activities, and the part they play in shaping the city landscape

My first expressions of appreciation must go to my supervisory team – Ali Madanipour and Graham Tipple – for their unremitting supervision and support throughout the period of this study. Their invaluable advice was critical both in enhancing my understanding of the subject and in providing me with additional perspectives on the study.

I am also grateful for financial support from The Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the UK, without which it would not have been possible to write this thesis. I am particularly thankful for the support I received from the Award Administrators at both the Commonwealth Secretariat in London and the British Council office in Manchester.

I owe a debt to my husband Julius Mwita for his endless love, patience and support. His ability and willingness to assume all family responsibilities for the duration of this study has been greatly appreciated. My sons Harrison and Jonathan came into being at the beginning and the middle of this work, and I am deeply indebted to them for enduring periods of their childhood without their mother's presence so that I could complete this study.

I owe much to Amin Kamete, Musyimi Mbathi and Victor Samwinga and many others who took time to read my work and provide suggestions on, and criticisms of, my chapters. Similarly to Elizabeth Brooks who devoted her time to proofread my work.

My heartfelt thanks go to Jonas Rioba, Rajabu Awadhi, Happiness Meremo, Frederick Chacha and Martine Babere who provided research assistance at different stages. Similarly Benjamin Chagula and Stephen Mkude were extraordinarily supportive.

I am also grateful to my sister Judith Masija, and my friends Winnie Ngwenya and Margaret Sherrat, who made my life easier throughout this study, for their support and encouragement. Above all, thanks, praise and glory be to God.

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Abbreviations

BEST	Business Environment Strengthening for Tanzania
BRELA	Business Registration and Licensing Agency
CBD	Central Business District
DCC	Dar es Salaam City Council
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EWG	Environmental Working Group
HDR	Human Development Report
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMC	Ilala Municipal Council
MDG	Millenium Development Goals
MKUKUTA (NSGRP)	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
MKURABITA (PBFP)	Mpango wa Kurasimisha Rasilimali za na Biashara za Wanyonge Tanzania The Property and Business Formalisation Program
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
REPOA	Research on Poverty Alleviation
SACCOS	Savings and Credit Co-operative Societies
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SDP	Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project
SUDPF	Strategic Urban Development Framework
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
TBS	Tanzania Bureau of Standards
TSh	Tanzania Shillings (Exchange Rate effective as of June 2010 £1=2300)
TGP	Tanzania Government Printers
UN	United Nation

UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
VIBINDO	Vikundi vya Biashara Ndogondogo (Small Industries and Petty Traders Association)
WB	World Bank
WW	World War

Chapter 1. Urban Informality: an Introduction

1.1 The place of informal livelihood activities in African cities

Rapid urbanization has occurred on a significant scale in recent years in Dar es Salaam and similar cities worldwide (Sassen, 1991; Marcuse and van-Kempen, 2000; Ghirmy, 2005). In the year 2008 for the first time in history the majority of the world population lived in cities (Watson, 2009; Gaffikin and Perry, 2012). Rapid urbanization is characterized by a high concentration of the population in cities, which creates a demand for jobs and services that the formal public and private sector cannot meet (Handerson, 2002; Lupala, 2002; Beall and Fox, 2009). The implications of this phenomenon is that cities will increasingly become centres of poverty and inequality (Watson, 2009). Unlike the urbanization trends in Western countries, African urbanization has “produced cities whose formal, physical, political and social infrastructures are largely unable to absorb, apprehend or utilize the needs, aspirations and resourcefulness of those living within them” (Simone, 2002: 294). Apparently, informality offers future prospects for the majority of the urban population in the global south, as a means of ‘survival’, ‘mobility’ and ‘accumulation’ (Roy, 2010:87).

The forces behind the urbanization process include the promises which urban living holds out to people, such as better services in terms of both physical and social infrastructures. In addition, external forces such as global restructuring policies have so far resulted in more negative than positive impacts and widened the gap between rural and urban areas (Rakodi and Nkurunziza, 2007). As suggested by Bayat (2004) these policy restructuring measures enhance integration to the global economy as well as fostering social exclusion and informality. Rakodi and Nkurunziza (2007) also ascertained that the effects of globalization vary in different regions and localities, with some experiencing benefits while others continue to be marginalized. Such variation in the results of restructuring processes is consistent with Gilbert’s (2004) observation that your location and who you are affect the impacts of the global restructuring processes that you experience. The experience of Sub-Saharan Africa, with the exception of Uganda and Mozambique, manifests the largely negative impacts of global restructuring (UNCTAD, 2001). The difference in location as noted by Gilbert (2004) entails the level of inequality produced. As suggested by Devlin (2011) where there is extreme inequality informality is inevitable.

In the past decade there has been an increase in the extent of Direct Foreign Investments (DFI), consequent upon deindustrialisation in developed countries, as well as development demand in less developed countries, Tanzania included (Msuya, 2007). This has not only increased opportunities and the availability of schools, markets, hotels and other infrastructure, but has also changed occupational patterns from agriculture and livestock-keeping to business and industrial related activities (Hasan, 2004). It is important to note that urban economies are part of wider national and international macro policies which directly impact on the urban poor, particularly on employment conditions (Farrington et al., 2002). The competition among regions in the global market place to attract resources and the rising significance of regions in Africa pose a new challenge to national and local authorities (Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2008).

African countries, especially in the Sub-Saharan region, face challenges to formal sector employment, owing to policy development towards incorporating global issues such as privatisation of government owned companies, together with an increased rural-urban migration in search of better livelihoods (Charmes, 2000; Cohen, 2004; Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2008). Rapid population growth in cities also contributes to unemployment and under-employment (Lloyd-Jones and Carmona, 2002:192). Tanzania is no exception. According to the national census report, the country had, in 2002, a total population of 34.56 million people with an annual population growth rate of 2.9% and an urban population growth rate of 4.5% per annum (URT, 2002)¹. The implications of this rapid population growth are enormous. Increased demand for jobs in a slow-growing economy are likely to lead to increased unemployment (Liviga and Makacha, 1998). It is estimated that the number of new entrants to the labour force is between 600,000 and 700,000 annually, comparing unfavourably with the number of new jobs that are created each year, which is only 300,000; furthermore, most of them are generated by the informal sector (UNDP, 2003). The current job seeker rate has risen to an annual figure of close to 850,000 people, forcing the government to embark on policy reforms to ensure creation of jobs in the country (WB, 2009; Kweka and Fox, 2011). Thus, a better understanding of how people make a living in urban areas, especially the poor, is a key development priority (DFID, 2000).

Interventions to combat the impacts of rapid urbanisation and the negative impacts of the global restructuring measures are embedded in the Millennium Development Goals

¹ The figure used here is from the 2002 census report; current figures for 2012 census are yet to be released.

and other initiatives. Roy (2010) suggested that the implementation of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) aimed at reworking neo-liberal policies to manage the social costs of neo-liberalism. Apparently reworking the neo-liberal policies facilitates the rediscovery of informal practices, which are embedded in the proposition of ‘entrepreneurial energies of the people’s economy’, ‘social capital’ and the ‘formalization’ process (Roy 2010). It is a significant change to re-thinking and coming close to accepting how informality could be integrated in day to day urban processes, as two decades ago governments around the world turned against the practices of informal operators (whether in housing, land markets or street trading), largely referring to them as ‘undesirable’ or ‘problematic’. This argument entails the importance of informality in the everyday practices of urban dwellers. Providing similar suggestions Cross and Morales (2007a:1) also ascertained that informality is a thriving phenomenon which is driven by “government policies and rooted and most fully appreciated in terms of contemporary global economic changes”. Informality has shown its potential in catering for the needs of the urban poor, and hence there has been a shift in the research agenda to focus upon considering it as a way of life (Alsayyad, 2004). Cross and Morales (2007a:9) suggested that informality should be considered as the way in which people ‘interact’. It is important to note that urban informality is embedded in processes of labour force, spatial organisation and urban governance (Büscher, 2012; McFarlane, 2012; Rasmussen, 2012). Despite the noted importance of informal processes, they are still widely considered as a problem for cities, owing to the challenges they pose to the way past and present planning approaches have been undertaken (Roy, 2005; Watson, 2009; Devlin, 2011). Lloyd-Jones and Carmona (2002:192) also observed that the importance of informal livelihood activities which mostly undertaken by the urban poor are seldom recognised within the urban economy.

1.2 The need to earn livelihood

In African cities, informal livelihood activities have grown tremendously over the past decade (Owusu, 2007). Through such activities a section of the population, notably the urban poor are absorbed into gainful employment and, provide cheap labour and low cost services to their fellow and the other residents of the city (Lloyd-Jones and Carmona, 2002). For the urban poor, informal livelihood activities – mostly in prime locations – are the only means of earning a living, as they require minor financial input and relatively low skills (Hart, 1973; Farrington *et al.*, 2002; ILO, 2002; Owusu, 2007). Bayat (2004) argues that ‘quiet encroachment’ is the mechanism through which the

urban poor access locations in an attempt to earn a living, thereby saving the government from incurring social welfare costs, in cases where such support exists. For their part, governments tend to express a contradictory position towards these activities. With regard to this, Gilbert (2004) suggests that the actions of urban dwellers towards providing for their own basic needs are a good thing, as these people reduce the burden on the formal sector, which may be required to pay the unemployed some kind of benefit allowance. In order to deal with the challenges of unemployment in the city, urban dwellers have opted to make use of available resources such as urban spaces to conduct their informal livelihood activities to provide for their basic needs. This has contributed to the development of informal employment (Riddell, 1997).

1.3 The contest for prime location

Urban spaces constitute an important element in the economies of cities in terms of sustaining their inhabitants' informal livelihoods. Informal livelihood activities have become highly visible in the urban spaces of the developing world and have become one of the options for making a living in the face of increasing poverty (Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Lyons *et al.*, 2012; Moreno-Monroy, 2012). As a result, urban dwellers are engaged in competition to access these urban spaces to undertake trading activities. Such competition has caused operational conflicts among stakeholders which, in turn, have raised different kinds of concerns for practitioners in urban planning and management, and their respective urban local authorities (Nduna, 1990; Jimu, 2005; Brown, 2006; May, 2005). This type of competition could be categorized as competition for use of urban space on the side of the operators, and competition for its development on the side of municipal governments.

Brown and Lloyd-Jones (2002) observed that prime locations for informal livelihood activities emerge in neglected urban open spaces, undeveloped road reserves and public transport terminals, market places, road junctions and other places of high interaction with pedestrian and/or other traffic activities. Given the confines of space within homes and other public premises, the need for space in prime locations by livelihood earners becomes necessary. It is important to note that informal activities within the home are also thriving; however, here there is less pressure on the space used. Contests over these prime urban locations in sustaining informal livelihood activities lead to operational conflicts involving the following segments of urban dwellers: current land users against emerging ones; livelihood earners with designated spaces, against those without; landed

against itinerant livelihood earners; livelihood earners against urban local authorities; location-specific livelihood earners and mobility-related road users, livelihood earners against each other, and private developers against livelihood earners (Bromley, 1978; Jones and Varley, 1994; Bromley and Mackie, 2009). As noted by Kamete, (2012) the excluded forms of production and consumption of space based on local knowledge have continued to be ignored as the western mode of production and consumption of space continues to be embraced.

In managing informal livelihood activities, city authorities operate under various regulations and city bylaws. They have acted through relocating and evicting informal livelihood operators from their chosen urban locations (McGee and Yeung, 1977; Smart, 1989; Brown and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Lloyd-Jones and Carmona, 2002). Yet informal livelihood operators derive their livelihood from these specific locations (Cross and Morales, 2007a). Despite government efforts to incorporate various informal livelihood activities in the city's economy, for example by enacting laws which recognize livelihood strategies, allocating special areas for various informal livelihood activities through city policy reforms and programmes, such initiatives are considered ineffective with regard to prime lands, because these are sites where informal livelihood operators continuously struggle to secure spaces for the operation of their activities (Peña and Frontera Notre, 2000; Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2008; Lyons *et al.*, 2012). This problem makes it necessary for practitioners in urban planning and management to think of how to facilitate the appropriation of such locations. Access to employment is an important means of livelihood within the urban setting because the primary source of income through legitimate means of most households is personal labour, either through wage employment or production and sale of goods and services (Moser, 1998). Evidence cites several such literatures; however, little is known of the complications and spatial implications that result from the relocation imposed on livelihood earners (Bromley and Mackie, 2009).

1.4 Statement of the problem

The contest by urban dwellers for urban spaces to sustain their informal livelihood activities is apparent in most cities in the developing world (Cross and Morales, 2007a). Accessing urban services and fulfilling basic needs has financial implications which cause many to resort to the informal occupation of prime locations as places from which to eke out a livelihood. Since the colonial period, the prime locations in Ilala

Municipality in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, were those with a relatively loose configuration of social and material elements that made them suitable for informal livelihood activities. Although they had all the characteristics which attract informal livelihood activities, prime locations were nevertheless less appropriate, owing to restrictions put forward by the urban authority, and the informal workforce had not yet strongly assembled into associations which negotiate their claim to operate within the desired locations. Regardless of their official use as pedestrian walkways, parking spaces and open spaces, as dictated by designers, planners and architects, the informal operators forcibly appropriated these spaces for economic gain. Continuing with the colonial rhetoric which has, since the 1900s, characterised activities and operators in prime locations as ‘undesirable elements’ in urban space, prime locations have continued to be areas of contestation in terms of use and development. The operators’ appropriations of prime locations for their activities radically changed the perception of these locations and contributed not only to the establishment of operators’ associations but also further advanced the continuing process of appropriation. To date, the municipality’s plans have been continually challenged and resisted by the operators. Such contestation results in conflicts of interest among stakeholders which manifests in various forms. In most cases these are institutionalized and moderated. But in some cases they are evident as contest. Owing to institutional or other difficulties Dar es Salaam city council is unable to manage these conflicts successfully. The research problem pursued by this thesis is, therefore, concerned with the ways in which informal operators appropriate space for their activities and how this influences the informal mode of production of space. Moreover, the study investigates the regulatory approaches which the municipality undertake in the process of managing the issues surrounding informal operation. There is a relation between the two and the alteration of urban spaces has precipitated a spatial reorganization of informal livelihood activities. The spatial ramifications of the appropriation of urban spaces in the city, and stakeholders’ response to these, are the subject of this thesis.

1.5 Purpose of the study

This research focuses mainly on informal operators. It draws on a holistic approach to informality which regards both urban spaces and the lived experience of informality as the core explanations of the operators’ struggle. There is an inadequate body of personal testimony on the experience of appropriating spaces for informal activities. It is vital that the analysis of informality regards the operators as active agents of change in the

production, consumption and management of urban spaces in cities. Table 1.1 outline objectives and research questions of this thesis.

Table 1.1 Objectives and research questions

The main aim of this study is to analyse the appropriation of prime locations for informal activities and examine the challenges of regulating these activities in Dar es Salaam city.

Objectives	Research questions
1. To analyse the context in which informal activities take place.	(i) What is the Dar es Salam context?
	(ii) What are the similarities and differences with international experience?
2. To analyse the appropriation of prime locations for informal activities by the informal operators.	(iii) How do informal operators appropriate prime locations for their activities?
	(iv) Why do informal operators appropriate urban prime locations?
3. To assess the ways in which informal activities in prime locations are regulated.	(v) How does the municipality regulate informal activities in prime urban locations?
	(vi) What is the role of and relationship between other stakeholders in regulating prime locations and informal livelihood activities?
	(vii) How far are the stakeholders successful in regulating informal activities?

1.6 Methodological approach

This thesis uses a case study approach because of the nature of the research, which involves questions that focus on a contemporary investigation of complex processes, relationships and human behaviour. Yin (2009) argues that a case study approach is

suitable when an issue that is being investigated is current, the actors involved are present and the events to be examined are available for observation. Thus, a case study strategy is deployed to allow a contextual examination of Ilala Municipality with regard to access to urban space in the bid to sustain livelihoods. This is accompanied by an examination of how the municipal government deals with the issues surrounding the informal operators and their activities, and how these processes shape urban space and its operators, as well as the municipal government. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania was chosen as the study area, while the units of analysis are the Mchikichini and Msimbazi/Uhuru roads, which are deemed capable of yielding rich information. Before beginning the primary data collection, secondary data was gathered, through which an understanding of the whole city context was developed. The historical accounts of the city's urban space since the British Colonial period have been analysed. This also includes the policies, programmes and projects which have been carried out in response to issues relating to urban spaces and informal livelihood activities. The focus is on access to, and regulation of, these two subject areas. The primary data were then collected at Mchikichini and Msimbazi/Uhuru roads. The questions are classified into two main themes, namely the appropriation and regulation of prime locations. In considering the subject of material appropriation, shelter, storage and transformation of space are discussed; whilst with regard to social appropriation, the study includes discussion of the operators, their access to working spaces and the associated changes to both operators and working spaces. Regulation theme provides a discussion on the role of the municipality and other stakeholders involved with the informal livelihood activities.

The data collection is based on a mixed methods approach, in which both deductive and inductive means of reasoning are used to reach inferences. Qualitative methods include in-depth interviews which are conducted with individual operators as well as representatives of relevant institutions. The quantitative method of choice is a survey of the informal operators in the study area, which consists of structured and unstructured questions. The aim of the survey is to gather information on the lived experiences of the operators in their day-to-day operations. The data were collected concurrently but analysed separately. Data from the quantitative method have been analysed first to allow themes to be developed. The themes are coordinated with those from the qualitative data to develop the discussion and findings.

1.7 Working definitions of key concepts

The key terms and concepts used in this study are '*prime location*', '*livelihoods*', '*informal sector*', '*urban space*', '*in-space arrangements*' and '*in-time arrangements*'. The definition for each term is given below: according to Abbott (1987 as cited in (Korteweg and Lie, 1992:251):

A *prime location* can be defined as the location within a city or agglomeration where a business might expect to achieve the highest profit relative to any other location and therefore is in the very best position of demand from prospective occupiers.

For informal livelihood activities, the location of a given good or service varies across sections of geographical space, which entails a significant difference of demand in Central Business District (CBD) and suburban areas (Jagannathan, 1987). According to (Jagannathan, 1987:60) Informal livelihood operators

Spring up near populated public spaces such as government offices, railway stations, major shopping areas, and industrial estates, mainly to appropriate and monopolize available location rent.

In the context of this research, the *prime location* for informal livelihood activities consists of streets, sidewalks and pavements, urban open space, road reserves and junctions, public bus terminals, and markets which are located in the central business district.

Livelihoods can be defined as the ways in which people satisfy their needs or gain a living (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Furthermore 'a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living' (Chambers and Conway, 1992) as cited in (Scoones, 1998:5). They present more than just the necessities of life since they are shaped by goals, preferences and constraints of individuals, households, communities and society. In this case, livelihoods entail all the informal activities which take place in prime locations identified above.

The Informal Sector is defined as enterprises that are neither legally regulated nor with employment relations that are legally regulated or protected (Chen, 2012:7-8). Brown (2006:5) suggests that the relationships in informal activities fall well outside the criminal economy but nevertheless lie on a continuum between illegality and legal activities.

This definition captures both the enterprise and employment relationships within these activities. In this study, the informal sector refers to the informal livelihood activities which take place in the city's prime locations. Informality is a characteristic of both the operations of these activities, as well as of the employment relations of operators working in these locations.

Urban space refers to the different forms and characters taken by space in the city as a product of the social processes which occur over continuous historical periods (Harvey, 1995). Additionally, Madanipour (1999) defines urban space as referring to all buildings, objects and spaces in an urban environment, as well as the people, events and relationships within them. In this thesis both definitions provide an insight into understanding the spaces used by informal operators, which encompass both material and social space.

The study introduces two concepts which conceptualise municipal strategies in the production of spaces for informal livelihood activities. These concepts are *in-space* and *in-time* arrangements.

In-space arrangements denote all spatial arrangements which are used to regulate informal activities, such as building markets, setting up permitted zones, and designs of the detailed planning schemes.

In-time arrangements refer to temporal arrangements which are deployed to facilitate the use of space for informal activities. The arrangements entail temporary and informal tolerance towards the after-hours use of prime locations by ignoring informal activities taking place then, or showing flexibility towards the operators during election campaign periods.

1.8 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of nine chapters (Figure 1.1). Chapters 1-4 provide an understanding of the research context and the theoretical and methodological issues embedded in this study. Chapters 5-8 provide an examination of the case study and discuss the data collected. Each of these chapters explores specific research questions as proposed by the research objectives. Chapter 9 provides conclusions and recommendations arising from the research findings.

Chapter 1: Urban informality: an introduction. This chapter provides an overview of the general research topic and what influenced the choice of this topic study. The research objectives and their significance are also provided in this chapter. In addition the chapter provides an outline of the research strategy and its methodological approach which was deployed to arrive at answers to the issues raised. **Chapter 2:** Theoretical framework – Urban space and informal livelihood activities. This is a review of theoretical issues relating to the themes of this research in terms of urban space, informality and governance. The first part provides a discourse on poverty and a historiography of informality and how it has developed over time. The second part examines the discourse of appropriation of urban spaces and how informality differs from the formal appropriation of space. Lefebvre’s conceptualisation of the production of space provides an analytical framework through which it is possible to understand how spaces for informal activities are produced. The third part explores governance discourses on how the municipality regulates the urban spaces, informal activities and also how the other regulatory models, that is, the social institution regulatory model and laissez-faire regulatory model, play their roles in governing informal livelihood activities. The aim of the chapter is to develop understanding of these aspects in order to build up an argument on how informality continues to form an urban culture.

Chapter 3: Research methodology, discusses the methodological approach of this study. It introduces the mixed methods approach and explains the reasons for selecting this approach. It also identifies the type of case study carried out in this study. It clarifies the reasons for carrying out this study in Dar es Salaam and for examining the Mchikichini and Msimbazi/Uhuru roads as the units of analysis. Additionally, this chapter describes the sets of data which were collected, the reasons for collecting them and the means which were used to collect each set of data. More details are provided on the survey, interviews and direct observation deployed and how they were used in the study. Furthermore the chapter provides explanations on the analysis methods which were used in this research and summarizes the difficulties which were experienced in the course of this research. **Chapter 4:** Dar es Salaam context: Changing configuration of informal livelihood activities, establishes the context of this research to which all the data collected and analysed in this study relates. It provides a discussion on how the current state of informal activities came into being and how the city has been shaped historically, economically, socially and environmentally. It then looks at the policy

development that has influenced the development of these activities and the city as a whole.

Chapter 5: Urban spaces and informal livelihood operators. This chapter makes a start on presenting the research findings by examining the initial research questions. It does this through using the prime locations of Ilala Municipality (Mchikichini and Msimbazi/Uhuru roads) to show the social economic characteristics and working conditions of the operators and how these attributes shape the Ilala Municipality landscape. The chapter demonstrates how, despite the limitations afforded by their socio-economic characteristics, the operators ensure their presence in the prime locations. These socio-economic limitations are discussed including the reasons why prime locations are essential and the extent to which social and material transformations are achieved. **Chapter 6:** Appropriation of prime urban locations discusses the main research question by examining the competitions for appropriating prime locations and how these competitions shape the legal aspect of the informal activities and the landscape of the city. Details are provided on the invasion, renting, purchasing and allocation of space as the main means through which the operators appropriate prime locations. Moreover an examination is made of why the informal appropriation of space should be regarded as a new way of producing space.

Chapter 7: Governance of Space: the municipality and informality, which concerns what the municipality does in relation to the state of affairs presented in chapters five and six; how they react to the social and material transformations; and how this new mode of space production is integrated into the day to day activities of the municipality. Details are provided on municipal policies, strategies and sectoral relations which conclude with an outline and analysis of the embedded challenges. **Chapter 8:** The interface: formality and informality, discusses the social regulatory model (which details the role of non-state organizations) and later analyses the linkage with the government regulatory model. Moreover, the chapter analyses the network of operators among themselves and with other stakeholders. The results stress the poor linkages between stakeholders and how these weaknesses enhance the operations of the informal operators.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and recommendation: A place for informal livelihoods. This chapter sums up the reasons for accepting informal means of space production of space

and hence work with it to improve the living conditions of the informal operators. Reflections are also made on other sections of theory, methodology and major findings.

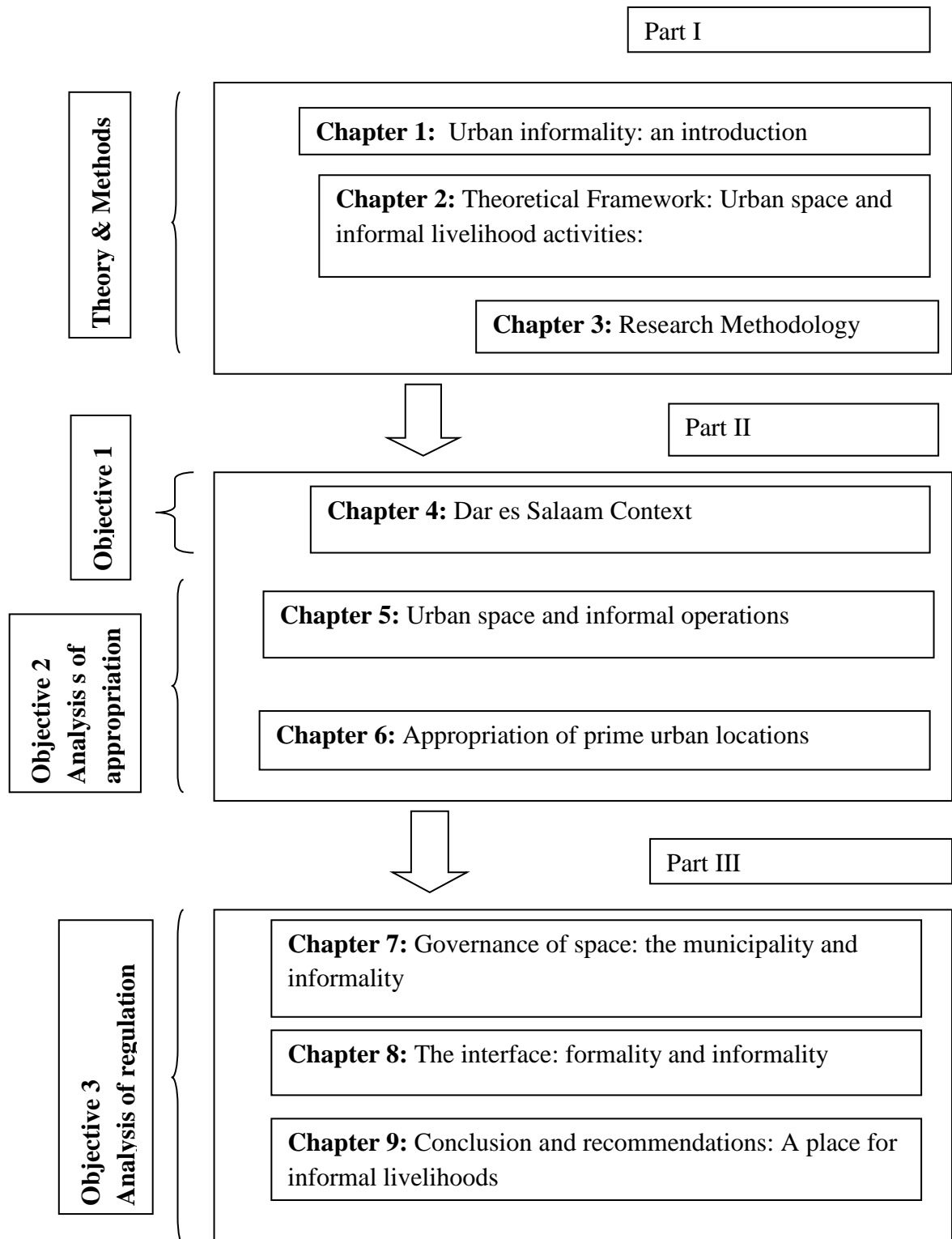


Figure 1.1 Structure of thesis

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework: Urban Spaces and Informal Livelihood Activities

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to develop a theoretical framework pertaining to two main issues for this research: appropriation of working space in prime locations of urban areas for informal livelihood activities as well as on modes of regulation in dealing with informal activities. This is in order to review the existing research findings on this subject, the methodologies that have been used to explore these subjects, and the theoretical issues identified. Despite being widely acknowledged as an important contemporary issue for urban and development studies, further research is still needed in these areas. As the research questions are fundamentally cross disciplinary, literature from a number of fields has been reviewed in an attempt to form an understanding of the concepts of urban spaces, regulation and informality. The conceptual framework arising from this review provides a theoretical interface on the issue of governance and conflicts which shape the urban landscape as well as the planning actions taken to address them.

Section one provides a background on the challenges of poverty in Africa. In addition, it offers a discourse on informality and the current development of the informal sector by conceptualising a link between urban spaces and informal livelihood activities as well as other potential measures that are essential for understanding informality. Section two focuses on the existing discourse that underlies the current understanding of the production, consumption and management of urban spaces. Section three provides a review and evaluation of the regulation, and lived experience, of contested spaces and informal livelihood activities from other countries around the world. The last section of this chapter provides a review of the limitations of current discourses, to situate the conceptual position of this research within the wider debate.

2.2 Setting the context: The challenges of poverty in Africa

Extreme poverty is more prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa than in other parts of the world (Sachs, 2005). The number of people living in poverty is predicted to increase to 39% rather than being reduced to 24% by 2015 as stated in the Millennium Development Goals (Anyanwu, 2012). The conditions surrounding extreme poverty

include: the inability of households to access health care, a lack of safe drinking water and sanitation amenities, and lack of access to education, shelter and clothing (Sachs, 2005:20). Up to 75% of people living under such conditions reside in rural areas (Ferre´ *et al.*, 2012). Economic growth and rapid urbanisation has contributed to a decrease in rural poverty and a consequent swell in the proportion of the urban poor (Beall and Fox, 2009). In common with their rural counterparts, the urban poor face challenges of sanitation and health care in slum settlements. They also experience unemployment and reliance on informal employment, social fragmentation, lack of access to basic infrastructure and affordable services and violent crime (Beall and Fox, 2009). It is important to note that the level of these conditions varies with the size and spatial location of the urban area as suggested by Ferre´ *et al.* (2012) and Beall and Fox (2009).

According to Beall and Fox (2009) the conditions of urban poverty were deemed to be temporary and expected to be resolved by the industrial development which was predicted to take place in the 1950s and the 1960s. This belief envisaged that the urban poor would be absorbed into the labour market which would eventually reduce the impact of poverty; however, this materialised to a lesser degree than expected. The impacts were seen rather in an increase in informality, both in terms of the work and settlements that developed, and hence development policies shifted towards addressing these kinds of impacts. Nevertheless this focus was disrupted by the economic crisis of the 1970s and the subsequent shift towards market-oriented policies (Beall and Fox, 2009). These ultimately resulted in Structural Adjustment Programmes and Millennium Development Goals in the quest to address the conditions surrounding poverty, as will be described in the following sections.

2.2.1 Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)

The role of structural adjustment and its associated policies deserves specific attention because their impact has been seen to include, among other things, a contribution to increased poverty in Africa (UNCTAD, 2001). In the wake of the oil-price shocks of the 1970s, several African countries faced severe economic crises (Rakodi and Nkurunziza, 2007). High public spending, a rapid drop in primary commodity prices and a tight squeeze on global lending, all led to the rapid escalation of foreign debt, leading the IMF to impose Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on the majority of African countries during the 1980s. These programmes entailed the opening up of economies to capital flows and trade, decreasing the state's role in the economy, and fiscal restraint

through elimination of government subsidies for food and other items of popular consumption (Naiman and Watkins, 1999; Abdalla, 2008). Further conditions were introduced in the 1990s, including democratisation, good governance, transparency and accountability (Willet, 2004). However, poverty continued to worsen as many African countries fell into serious debt. Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa worsened considerably and debt ballooned in a way that made it difficult for countries even to service their debts (Naiman and Watkins, 1999). Nevertheless in some countries, such as South Africa, the implementation of the SAP did produce economic growth, although the 'distribution' of this growth was 'uneven' (Simone, 2004:185). However, other African countries such as Zambia experienced negative growth rates and a reversal in development (UNCTAD, 2001; Rakodi and Nkurunziza, 2007; Mohan, 2009). UNCTAD (2002:3) also noted that in Sub-Saharan Africa growth in per capita income during structural adjustment years (1980s to 1990s) was below 2.5% and was still 10% below the growth archived in 20 years earlier by the year 2000.

Although SAP was expected to push development forward, most countries experienced retrenchment of labour and cutting of government funding, which had great impacts on the lives of the poor. As a result, people turned to informal activities to supplement their cost of living (Anderson, 1998; Ishengoma and Kappel, 2006). Cross (1998) ascertains that the new liberal reforms, which followed the logic of privatization, export orientation and the reduction of subsidies, had ramifications in terms of affecting the demand for labour in the formal sector, where jobs were in limited supply. Even though trade liberalisation increased the choice of services, it contributed to the contraction and closure of government enterprises due to their inability to compete with private firms, which offered services at a lower cost (Becker, 2004; Bairagya, 2010). According to the ILO, (2004) people turned to the informal sector for an alternative source of income, either through self-employment or as waged employees. Since then, poverty has worsened as many African countries have fallen into serious debt (Willet, 2004). Xaba *et al.* (2002) noted that there has been a substantial decrease in formal sector employment in African countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique and that informal employment has increased its share of employment and output. Apart from the Structural Adjustment Programme and IMF policies, other factors which have contributed to the growth of the informal sector include the decline in economic performance, urban in-migration from rural areas and globalisation

(Ishengoma and Kappel, 2006; Verick, 2006). The implications of these changes are that the marginalised class found themselves having to survive outside the legal systems. Since significant numbers of people were out of formal employment, they were unable to acquire plots for housing or legal spaces from which to undertake their informal livelihood activities, as evidenced through the growth in squatter and informal activities (Cross and Morales, 2007a; Beall and Fox, 2009).

The advantages of Structural Adjustment Policies were inadequately realised in developing countries. On the contrary, SAPs facilitated a growth in unemployment, inequality and deteriorating population health (Lugalla, 1995; Naiman and Watkins, 1999; UNCTAD, 2001; Simone, 2004). Rakodi and Nkurunziza (2007:12) noted that countries with unfavourable conditions for trade liberalisation experienced a 'vicious cycle of increasing trade and balance payments deficits, financial instability, debt and recession'. Consequently SAP intensified people's dependency on informal livelihood activities as an option through which to sustain their livelihoods (Simone, 2004:186). Moreover, Bayat (2004) claims that global restructuring has intensified the informal activities of the 'urban poor' who are generally known as 'urban marginal' or 'urban disfranchised'. Nevertheless, Gilbert has suggested that judgements about whether or not global restructuring is beneficial will depend upon the location and identity of the person making the judgement, given the relatively positive experiences found in Latin American cases (Gilbert, 2004:40).

2.2.2 Millennium Development Goals: Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger

The failure of African countries to moderate severe and prevalent poverty is seen as one of the biggest challenges of the 21st century (Abdalla, 2008). Africa stands out as exceptional in comparison with other regions of the world which are making progress in building their capacity to meet their people's basic material needs. Statistics and projections reveal that millions of Africans live below the poverty line (UN, 2005a). For some parts of Africa, such as sub-Saharan Africa, the number of those defined as poor (those who, according to the UN Millennium Project are living on less than \$1 a day) has risen from 164 million to 316 million between 1981 to 2001 (Chen and Ravallion, 2004:20; Sachs, 2005). For the very poor in Sub-Saharan Africa, the average income is only \$270 a year, a mere \$0.71 cents a day (UN, 2005a). The majority of the population in most African countries have to find a way of surviving in the context of exceedingly challenging constraints. Although the scale and specificity of these constraints varies

considerably from one country to another, as do the livelihood outcomes for populations, there are some important common challenges shared across the continent. These include environmental degradation, war and conflict, the AIDS pandemic, malaria and other killer diseases, the challenges of democracy, good governance, globalization, and the colonial legacy (UN, 2005a).

Tackling the challenges of poverty in Africa is a long-term project that requires sustained effort and planning among the African countries themselves and between them and the international community (Sachs, 2005; Abdalla, 2008). The Millennium Development Goals form an important development framework adopted by 191 countries which signed the UN Millennium Declaration in 2002, which set an agenda to halve the number of people living on less than \$1 a day by 2015 and to end extreme poverty by 2025 (Sachs, 2005). The Millennium Development Goals have highlighted the importance of countries' efforts to improve their policies, domestic resource mobilization, governance and accountability (HDR, 2003:76). Although many African countries have made significant progress on these fronts, this improvement may not be sufficient to halve poverty over the specified period. Evidence from the United Nations (UN, 2005b) indicates that most African countries will not achieve this objective by the target year and that, based on present trends, the situation is likely to deteriorate. The key challenges are related not only to conditions within the countries themselves but also to external forces.

Although the majority of Africans still live in rural areas, Africa currently has the world's fastest urbanization rate, similar to that occurring in Asian countries (Satterthwaite, 2007). While natural population growth has contributed to large cities, the main factor driving urbanization has been rural-urban migration that is being fuelled by a lack of job opportunities and services, such as health care and education, in rural areas (Satterthwaite, 2007). Increased urbanization poses challenges for city management, urban development and the provision of services. The concurrent challenges of rapid urbanization are the escalating demands for resources, shelter, and employment, in response to which urban authorities in Africa find themselves hard pressed to provide opportunities, infrastructure, services and housing. Cities have limited resources to cope with such pressures and often 'fail to create the jobs necessary for growth' (UN, 2005a). African urban poverty is clearly manifested in the large number of poor people living in slums and slum-like conditions in cities across the

continent. As noted in section 2.2 they lack access to secure shelter, basic services and to the political system. The UN Millennium Project (2005) indicates that, except for North Africa, the slum-dwelling population increased in every region between 1990 and 2001. In Sub-Saharan Africa more than 70% of the urban population is now estimated to be living in slums (Sachs, 2005).

2.2.3 The challenges of urban livelihood

Relating to the above discussion, unemployment as part of the poverty conditions characterising the current global crisis, is widely spread across sub-Saharan Africa. The rate of unemployment of people of working age varies across the continent – for instance in South Africa, 23% of the economically active population is unemployed (Fatoki and Patswawairi, 2012). The implications of this include the inability of urban dwellers to cater for their daily needs and hence worsening poverty conditions. As suggested by the ECA (2010) for African countries to reduce poverty, gainful employment must be created for those in vulnerable situations. However, until recently, these countries have continued to face difficulties in producing sufficient job opportunities for their people. Nevertheless, cities are working hard to ensure that these conditions are resolved. Among other strategies used include a turn to entrepreneurial urban governance policies where the focus is on attracting investment (Harvey, 1989; Beall and Fox, 2009). The forces which influence this transformation include increased internationalisation, growth of quality-based competition and flexibility (Buck and Gordon, 2005). The political realm within cities is defined by neoliberal policies applied by national governments and operating at a global scale, as discussed above; however local authorities remain the main actors in the political arena.

Urban governance is required in order to secure both competitiveness and cohesion and to manage tensions between the immediate requirements of each in the interests of sustainability (Harding, 2005). It is important to note that governance interventions by local authorities in regulating informal livelihood activities is also influenced by all these forces, however the intervention is not successful with all groups of people in the city (Lyons *et al.*, 2012; Steel, 2012b). The implementation of these policies provides a new look at agencies involved and the outcome of the involvement. The move from the government to the governance of urban issues has facilitated the implementation of various projects, such as redevelopment projects which would otherwise be impossible to achieve, especially in third world cities where resources are constrained; however,

this was made possible through collective actions and grassroots mobilisation (Robinson and Dobson, 2008). Beall and Fox (2009:149) also noted that a turn to privatisation opened up possibilities for ‘urban service delivery and affordability of services for the urban poor’. Nevertheless, increased competitive pressure and the pursuit of competitive advantage have implications for social inequality, particularly for those people affected by on-going redevelopment plans such as the privatisation of public space and the emergence of gated communities (Harvey, 1989; Buck, 2005). Indeed the most populous group affected in this instance is the low income individuals whose livelihoods are threatened (Crossa, 2009). It is evident that resistance arises from this group as they experience the negation of their presences in these new arrangements (Steel, 2012b). It is important to note that the persistence of groups affected by these new arrangements, in this case, groups of operators of informal activities, is influenced by the growing demand for the goods and services they produce and distribute. Since the level of poverty is increasing, the expansion of the low income population, with its limit purchasing power, is inevitable. These factors impact trends in consumption, which in turn reshapes the organisation of work and space to meet the new consumption demands.

2.2.4 The informal economy

The study of informal activities has been undertaken within different schools of thought. To start with, the pioneering dualist scholar Hart (1973) ascertained that less-developed countries are faced by problems of the working poor living in precarious conditions. This understanding has been expanded by those who looked at survival strategies which involve any kind of selling or involvement in low productivity activities that generate a living for un-absorbed surplus labour (Tokman, 2007). This contention emphasises the failure of the formal sector to create enough employment opportunities. However, this view has been widely criticised by those who focus on the interaction between these sectors (Becker, 2004). Other scholars have established the role of globalisation and changes in the international division of labour in the development of the informal sector (Sassen, 2000; Tokman, 2007). The practices of formal firms that sub-contract the production of goods to small firms or through hiring informal workers is believed to have increased these activities through mutual relations which play the role of reducing firms’ production costs (Portes *et al.*, 1989). This phenomenon is more prevalent in developed countries than in developing countries, owing to the smaller industrial base, thus necessitating more subcontracting (Sassen, 2000). Other research on informal

activities follows the ideas of de Soto (1989) which emphasise the legal aspect of these activities. The main focus of this discussion is based on the inability of these activities to operate under the existing legal and institutional framework. The argument is based on the cumbersome bureaucratic procedures around access to working spaces and registration of activity which makes increases to the costs of transactions that the informal operators are unwilling to incur (Quijano, 2000). Centeno and Portes (2006) extended the argument that the poor enforcement of regulations will continue to allow the development of informal activities whether in developing or developed countries.

2.2.5 Development of the informal sector

The concept of the informal sector was introduced in the early 1970s (Hart, 1973). According to Tanaka (2010) it had considerable appeal because it questioned the success of transplanting modernisation as experienced in the developed countries to the very different context of developing countries. The initial conceptualisations of the informal sector described it as marginal, peripheral and lacking linkage with the formal sector (Quijano, 2000; Becker, 2004; Beall and Fox, 2009). The ILO study conducted in Kenya in 1972 also recognised that in the informal sector, activities are characterised as unrecognised, unregistered, unprotected or unregulated by public authority. Economists like Lewis in the 1950s predicted the failure of the informal sector, arguing that unabsorbed labour will disappear as developing countries become involved in industrial activities (Lewis, 1954). By contrast, the study conducted in Kenya two decades later, revealed controversially that the informal sector was growing and expanding and that surplus labour had created its own source of livelihoods in order to survive (ILO, 1972; Becker, 2004). Verick (2006) also claims that the growth of the informal sector is evident in its contribution to the gross national incomes of developing countries, which further highlights its importance in economic development. The growth of informal activities has also been acknowledged by the study carried out by (Bhowmik and More, 2001) in Mumbai. Tipple (2005) noted that the contribution of the informal sector, in providing jobs for urban dwellers who cannot be absorbed by the formal sector, is highly appreciated in developing countries. Sparks (2010) even suggests that the phenomenon of the informal sector should be regarded as more permanent than temporary, and therefore as requiring more focused policies to influence its continued growth.

The prevalence and persistence of the informal sector has prompted the rethinking of the informal sector concept itself. Currently the informal sector definition not only focuses on enterprises which are not legally regulated but also employment relationships that are not legally regulated or protected (Chen, 2005). Owing to its growing importance and acceptance as a permanent phenomenon, the informal sector should not be understood as ‘marginal’ or ‘on the periphery’ but as a basic component of the total economy (Chen, 2005). According to Chen (2005) based on figures reported in ILO (2002) the informal sector constitutes one-half to three quarters of non-agricultural employment in developing countries, making up 48% of non-agricultural employment in North Africa; 51% in Latin America; 65% in Asia; and 72% in sub-Saharan Africa. If South Africa is excluded, the proportion of informal employment in sub-Saharan Africa increases to 78% (Becker, 2004). The composition of the informal sector can be categorised into two main groups: the first group being self-employment in informal enterprises which are small and unregulated, while the second group is for wage employment in informal jobs without secured contacts, worker benefits or social protection (Chen 2007: 6).

2.2.6 The composition of the informal sector

Djankov *et al.* (2002) state that informal activities include street trading, micro enterprises and subsistence farming. According to the UN (1996) as cited in Verick (2006:6) the informal sector in Africa is dominated by trade-related activities while services and manufacturing share a small percentage of this sector. Cross (2000) adds that informal activities involve the production and exchange of legal goods and services. Similarly, Castells and Portes (1989) define an informal activity as any activity that produces or distributes legal goods while avoiding regulatory control. For the purpose of this thesis, the main argument is based around informal activities taking place in urban areas. The process of production and exchange is characterised by a lack of appropriate business permits, violation of zoning codes, failure to pay and report tax returns, noncompliance with labour regulations governing contracts and work conditions, and the lack of legal guarantees in relation to supply and clients (Becker, 2004; Chen, 2005; Ishengoma and Kappel, 2006; Verick, 2006). Like formal sector activities, the activities in the informal sector are being carried out in urban spaces. As discussed early in this chapter, urban spaces play a vital role in the informal sector (Dewar and Watson, 1990).

2.3 Social significance of space

Madanipour, (2006:157) observed that

Space has diverse meaning which reflects the multiplicity of agencies that are engaged in development, exchange and use of spaces, thus the meanings of spaces are socially constructed as these agencies have diverse roles and interests. Spaces can have multiple and at times conflicting meanings even for single agencies, meanings that are assigned to places through social processes.

An urban space is an inclusive term that describes the stage on which the activities of citizens are set, which results from the prevailing social and cultural orders. In its broadest interpretation, urban spaces include all the collective spaces in cities, including exterior spaces in the public realm where strangers may freely enter and private interior space for domestic, economic or ritual use, defined by physical or social barriers (Madanipour, 1999, cited in (Brown, 2006:18).

According to Madanipour (2006) studies of urban space may be classified into two different categories of approach, namely material and social orientations. The first group of researchers focus on the physical attributes of spaces between buildings in towns and other localities geometrically bounded by building elevations. This orientation can collectively be described as material space. The second group of researchers approaches the subject from its social dimension, contending that urban spaces encompass all buildings, objects and spaces in an urban environment as well as the people, events and relationships within them. They further emphasize that urban spaces are multipurpose, distinguishable and mediate between household territories. Other authors refer to these orientations as material and social space approaches, respectively (de Hann, 2005). Access to urban space can be public or private; as a result, the physical space and social life of citizens in a given city can be shaped by the private-ness and/or public-ness of the urban space (Madanipour, 2003; Madanipour, 2010). The relationship between public and private space has overlapping economic, social cultural and political dimensions and has a clearly visible physical manifestation, perhaps more than any other form of structuring of the city. In economic terms, the relationship between private and public ownership of land and property determines the overall shape of the city. According to Kidder (2009), space is shaped by those who use it, and also shapes the actions of those within it.

Based on the approaches used for studies of the developing world, which place informality at the centre of the discussion, urban spaces could also be understood in terms of urban informality and hence contribute an emerging paradigm of understanding urban space where informality exists (Simone, 2002; Alsayyad, 2004). In the developing world informality is embedded in the process of accessing, developing and managing space. This provides a basis for understanding informal processes and their role in the production of space and its meaning.

Significance of urban spaces

Space, whether in urban or rural areas, carries significance. As noted above space and agencies shape each other (Kidder, 2009). Lefebvre (1976) has identified three dimensions of space as conceived, perceived and lived, but further argues that to understand the meaning of space requires lived experiences. According to Kidder (2009) space as it is lived can be appropriated by the user against the intended conception for it.

The significance of space can therefore be cultural, social, economic or environmental. From a cultural perspective, people give meaning to space when trying to find their identity within it. According to Madanipour (2006) globalization has enabled people to move to different places other than their home countries and settle there, meaning that they are consequently trying to find their identity in their current space. This movement has influenced the issue of identity, in terms of who belongs where. Hence, place becomes an important factor in defining the identity of people in the area concerned (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). The social perspective postulates that 'there are indeed multiple meanings of places, held by different social groups, and the question of which identity is dominant will be the result of social negotiation and conflict' (Massey, 1991:278). The social significance of space is evident in almost all the cities of the world; this is clearly manifested through the gentrification process, particularly with regard to commercial gentrification, which results in the poor being affected most by the associated exclusion.

Environmentally, the sustainability of spaces is being emphasised by various policies to ensure sustainable use of resources for future and present generations. Economically, increased globalization further highlights the significance of spaces, with nearly every nation in the North and South investing significant effort in regenerating and redeveloping their spaces so as to attract the global market. This emphasis has increased

the significance of spaces economically through increased specialization of activities. People are attracted to move to places from where they can make a profit and accrue benefits (Madanipour, 2006).

According to Madanipour (2006) urban space can be understood from three different perspectives, namely through the collection of artefacts, agglomeration of people or an emphasis on objectivity, geometry, structure and order used by the other two perspectives. For the purposes of this study, the second perspective of urban spaces, which gives emphasis to space and livelihood, will be adopted. The study of urban space in relation to the agglomeration of people entails the geometry of social relations, of which the first aspect concerns why people move into cities, the processes of these patterns, the issue of urban rural migration, labour and production processes and their impact on cities. In addition, this perspective goes further to consider what role urban spaces play in the global economy. All in all this perspective focuses on people and how their activities determine their livelihoods.

2.3.1 Social production of space

In this study the production of space takes place through a combination of the process of appropriation and regulations. I will start by drawing from Lefebvre's argument about how spaces are produced. Lefebvre rejects the dominant philosophical and scientific conception of space in order to develop a critical knowledge of space, which, overcoming the separation of concepts and reality, is instead based on the joint concept and reality of the production of space (Kerr, 1994:23-24). According to UnWin (2000:14) Lefebvre's new conceptualisation is aimed at challenging previous ways of understanding how spaces are produced. Furthermore, Lefebvre argues that social relations are spatial and connected to social space; and the science of space has failed to incorporate social relations. Within the social world, of which physical space is a part, socio-economic characteristics of human agency illuminate the physical place and show how it is lived (Kerr, 1994). As cited in Kidder (2009:311), Soja (1989) provides an overall insight into the social relevance of spaces as socio-spatial dialectic: 'social relations of production are both space forming and space contingent'. Lefebvre argues that a conceptual triad is vitally important in understanding the process of producing spaces (Lefebvre, 1991). The production of space therefore underlines the duality of space as on the one hand, the space of philosophy and on the other, and the space of those who confront and constitute the spatiality of everyday life. However, it goes beyond this dichotomy of conceived and lived space by introducing a third concept, that

of perceived space. Lefebvre treats space as a product of social relations as well as a social political product (Lefebvre, 1991:287). He brings together objective and subjective understandings of space by referring back to the processes through which space is produced. The following section provides an overview of the conceptual triad of space as summarised by Kerr:

1 ***Spatial practice:*** The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. Spatial practice embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion.

2 ***Representations of space:*** This is conceptualised space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers - all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. This is the dominant space in any society and is tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations. Particularly important is the spatial ordering of towns and cities, as well as the individual buildings.

3 ***Representational spaces:*** This is space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'. This is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate; it overlays space, making symbolic use of its objects. Representational spaces need obey no rules of consistency or cohesiveness. Redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they have their source in history - in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to the people. Representational spaces thus may be said to tend towards more or less coherent systems of symbols and signs, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (Kerr, 1994:26).

According to Kerr (ibid.) for Lefebvre, then, spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces contribute in different ways to the production of space according to their qualities and attributes, according to the society or mode of production in question and according to the historical period. Kidder (2009) in his

analysis followed this framework for his work on appropriation of space by bike messengers in New York City. He argues that spaces can be appropriated by users against their intended conception, which emphasises how space is better understood as it is lived. As cited in Kidder (2009:309) Gieryn (2002) suggests that space is shaped by those who use it but also, that space shapes the actions of those within it. Following Lefebvre's conceptualisation of the social production of space, emphasis is directed towards the material dimension as useful in defining the historical emergence and political/ economic function of urban space. Space is not only determining but also can be determined.

As noted above, production of space allows three different worlds of discourse and knowledge systems to simultaneously claim the future of a piece of land. For informal operators this space is of vital importance for their economic life whilst for the municipality the same space is a planning area, an abstract space, as Lefebvre referred to it, which is ready to be transformed in order to accomplish political goals. Both operators and the municipality look upon the same space, albeit in different ways, and hence create conflicting rationalities in terms of the logic of survival on the side of informal operators and the logic of governance on the side of the municipality (Watson 2009). The operators' representational space is based on everyday experience and practices, which provide a different meaning from the representation of space as dictated by the municipalities. For the operators, the experience of losing such space becomes a matter of contestation with the municipality. Beyond this tension, there are other stakeholders involved, including the local shopkeepers and the shoppers themselves, all of whom contribute to the production of space in prime locations.

The municipal representation of the lived space of the operators is usually framed against the political reality of aesthetic issues, public health concerns, land values, competitiveness and congestion. The municipal plans unveil a political, economic and legal construction of space, regardless of the involvement of different actors in creating its meaning. In order to transform the space used by informal operators, the municipality is obliged to abstract it from the operators' domain of experience and represent it in terms of pedestrian walkways, road reserves or isolated locations in the peripheral area, perceived as alternative locations for informal activities. This approach underlies spatial practice on the issues pertaining to informal livelihood activities, and hence becomes a form of knowledge understood by practitioners and other people

within society who lack any personal experience of informal practices. The following section provides the history of the perceived space, the space of planners, in relation to informal activities.

2.3.2 Production of space for informal sector activities

The history of planning practices as observed by Cross and Morale (2007a) pinpoints a key text by Le Corbusier (1923) which expressed the modernist vision aiming at the creation of an ideal society through planned structures, in which issues of plot division, individual ownership and regulation were addressed to tackle shapeless communities, poverty and disorder, problems which were exacerbated during the industrial revolution in Europe. From that time onwards, planners were those endowed with the necessary scientific and technological skills to produce master plans and detailed plans for city management (Hirt, 2009). Modernist land use planning practices have been influenced not only by Le Corbusier but also by other influential figures in the history of urban planning, such as Ebenezer Howard, who emphasised areas which required specific attention such as housing, infrastructure development, public transport and regulation of the built environment (Beall and Fox, 2009). The main aim has been that of addressing public health problems and bringing aesthetic improvements to the cities through urban design (Talvitie, 2009). Following the colonial period, the master planning approach was not only implemented in developed countries, but also in developing countries (Beall and Fox, 2009). Colonial governments also prepared master plans in their respective countries to manage city growth (Mabogunje, 1990); for instance the first master plan for Dar es Salaam City was prepared in 1949 (Šliužas, 2004). Despite their undeniable presence, informal activities were left out of the formal processes of architecture and urban planning in the modern world. From this omission, it is clear that informal livelihood activities were given little or no room in that period, as everything was to be planned, efficient and structured.

Although informal activities were given little or no attention in the modern era, they continued to grow (Verick, 2006; Sparks, 2010). When incorporating the idea of modernization as prevalent in the western world, developing countries faced direct challenges in terms of their informal livelihood operators. City managers saw them as clear signs of disorder and unruliness, as noted by Cross and Morales (Cross and Morales, 2007a). In African countries, modernist planning was dominated by top-down, comprehensive and rigid planning practices (Kamete, 2008). According to Perry (2003)

in the process of producing spaces, planners in African countries also ensured that 'modern urban life is carried out in planned society'. In the development vision of the modern world, informal livelihood activities were seen as backward, inefficient and detrimental to national development schemes, as planning aimed at pursuing the overall objective of shaping, guiding and governing the behaviour of others in urban spaces (Kamete, 2008; Kamete, 2012). Colonial practices regarding the production of spaces continued in almost all colonies and continued to be manifested once colonised countries had gained independence. As noted by Roy (2010) informality in African cities has influenced the production of spaces outside the norms of planning and architecture and hence plays a fundamental role in shaping the city image. However the informal livelihood operators seem to have succeeded, against competition with both modern retail outlets and the local authorities, to find and maintain a position for themselves in urban spaces. As argued by Gans (2002), the use of space is socially determined but not the shape of space. This argument is built upon the fact that what affects people is not the how the physical environment is used, but the social and economic environment in which the physical environment is used.

Excluding the operators' experience in the production of space indicates the exclusion of the operators themselves from that process and emphasises what the planners and policy makers perceive to be appropriate. Following this exclusion, the informal livelihood operators become involved in the process of negotiating, especially the ones who contest and appropriate their claim to use particular places, and this is the process which underlines their struggle. The operators' loss of such space is seen as a threat to their livelihood. Similar arguments can be found in Lefebvre's ideas about space becoming the principal stake of goal-directed actions and struggle (Lefebvre, 1991).

This study is therefore informed by the production of space as conceptualised by Lefebvre. The study looks at spatial practice: space as it is organised and used by different agencies that intervene in the process of creating a material entity. The representation of space as considered by Lefebvre is the space created by planners. However since informality is gaining ground as the 'mode of production' in terms of housing and land markets, it is logical to conclude that informal ways of spatial production are replacing the role of planners/ architects. Politicians as independent agents facilitate or prevent the way informal operators produce their own space. Therefore it is important to note that in the global south the representation of space could be created by both planners and inhabitants, as suggested by Roy (2010). It is

therefore useful to use the social production of space as a theoretical framework that provides a better analysis of how the appropriation of space by informal operators is undertaken, in terms of the generative process that results from the relations of those involved in the production of that space. This can allow an exploration of the process of producing space and the role of the various agencies involved. Looking at those agencies, it is interesting to consider what they do and how they do it. The social production of logical spaces for informal operators entails the ways in which the spaces are planned, materially and socially appropriated, designed and regulated by various actors involved in the process. In this process, the relationships between operators and urban spaces are redefined, resulting in a strong network. This not only redefines space in an abstract way, it also puts the space in question into a transitional state by imposing informal zoning principles, design and placements of objects. Another emphasis is placed on the representational space, which is focused on the actual use of space, or in Lefebvre's terms the lived space. This space is often referred to as the space of everyday life, which in the context of informal operators entails their use of road reserves, markets, pavements and pedestrian walkways for their livelihood activities. As I shall show in the analysis chapters, it is only by appropriating spaces that the operators' world is possible. Operators become tied to the prime locations in the city. In this sense the prime locations make the operators, just as the operators make the prime locations.

2.3.3 Why not the 'right to the city' approach?

The right to the city approach provides a framework which helps in analysing the different types of rights an individual or a group of people can claim. The right to the city is a notion from Lefebvre (1968/1996) which claims prevailing of use value over exchange value of urban spaces. Rights can be categorised as legal rights, generational human rights and moral rights (Attoh, 2011). There is as yet no agreement as to which heading the right to the city falls under. As cited in Attoh (2011:2) Honfeld (2000) provides an explanation of legal rights, which includes four different aspects: the right to claim, liberty, power and immunities. Waldron (1993) has analysed the three generations of human rights as follows. The first generation right includes the traditional liberties and privileges of citizenship. The second generation of human rights entails rights to socio economic entitlements such as the right to housing and a fair wage, whilst the third generation of human rights is associated with the rights attached to communities, people and groups. As cited in Attoh (2011: 4) for Dworkin (1977) rights are best understood as trumps against democratic tyranny. In his analysis Dworkin

(1977) discusses the relationship between moral rights and constitutional law. Understanding the complex relationship between these categories of right is critical to framing them within an analytical framework (Brown, 2010; Attoh, 2011).

Purcell (2002:100-101) noted that the dilemma of using the right to the city lies in defining 'what the right to the city entails and how it would challenge, complement or replace current rights'. However, Harvey (2008:23) claims that the 'right to the city' is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources, it is the right to change ourselves by changing the city.' He further suggests that the right to the city is a new human right. Scholars have given various interpretations to the right to the city concept, making arguments to suit their particular claim. UN-HABITAT, for instance, uses the right to the city as an analytical framework to advocate governance practices within the city. Other scholars use the right to the city to explain resistance to large scale programmes by analysing the disfranchisement of some groups within the city. For example, Mitchel (2003) uses the right to the city concept to analyse the occupancy of urban public space by the homeless. Lefebvre (1996/1968) conceptualisation entails the right to inhabit the city, which calls for the radical restructuring of social, political and economic relations both in the city and beyond, whilst others frame it in the sense of the right to housing (Marcuse (2008), infrastructure (Bickl, 2005) and natural resources (Phillips and Gilbert, 2005).

Considering human rights, specifically the second generation right to socio-economic entitlement, the idea of the right to the city can be used to support the claims of individuals and groups facing inequality within a society. It helps to highlight the right to housing, the right not to be subjected to police abuse, the right to public participation in urban design and others (Harvey, 2008; Attoh, 2011). The concept itself is useful in reframing urban policies and in counteracting such policies. Purcell (2002) suggests that it 'offers a radical alternative that directly challenges and rethinks the current structure of both capitalism and liberal democratic citizenship'. I have nevertheless chosen not to use right to the city as an analytical framework in this study, because my interest was more in the mechanisms and processes around the production of space, rather than in the arguments around the implications in terms of human rights and social justice. The practical applications of research exploring justice issues might be somewhat limited in a developing country context where human rights are less entrenched in law than in Europe.

Furthermore, as noted by Harvey (2008:33) the right to the city is useful in challenging displacement processes, which he refers to as 'accumulation by dispossession'. The emphasis on legal decisions which assist in understanding the discourse privileging public order over the right to the city, as detailed in Mitchel's work, would be beneficial for analysing contestation over the use of prime locations, rather than the process of production of space. Therefore, the right to the city approach can be useful in some cases, but could also raise as many questions as it answers. For example, if each citizen claims the right to the city, how can contest claims be judged in relation to one another? Competing rationalities would prove hard to adjudicate in addressing issues such as the claim to urban public space by informal operators for their livelihoods, against the claims by the formal operators and the municipality which represents those who voted for its elected council. This position is also taken by Purcell (2002:106) who argues that the 'right to the city would make urban politics possible but it is the undetermined outcomes of these politics that will result in either greater urban democracy or new forms of political domination'.

2.4 Urban spaces and informal livelihood operators

Urban spaces provide important markets for city dwellers where they can make their living on a day to day basis. According to Berry (1967), the exchange of goods takes place through markets, where sellers and buyers communicate together and the decisions they make affect the price to be paid for a given product. There are various market places for specific products locally and globally, ranging from periodic markets, villages, towns, central business districts and dramatic new shopping malls. Market places are sites with social, economic, cultural and other referents where there are a number of buyers and sellers and where prices offered and paid by each participant are affected by the decisions of the others (Belshaw, 1965). Gilbert (2003:180) also states that the market area is a geographic area that will include the potential customers of a specific retailer within the shopping area. Consumers will normally travel from different parts of the city to complete the exchange process in market places. Price mechanisms strike a balance between demand and supply, where producers and consumers come face to face in retail stores. Markets are classified as formal or informal market places. Formal markets are designated places which are recognised by laws and bodies of regulations for their governance. By contrast, informal markets are those places which are not recognised by law as trading spaces, although sometimes a business concern can be given a right to use the space for a specified period of time (Jagannathan, 1987). In

analysing the appropriation of prime locations, there are several factors which will be discussed in order to gain a better understanding of the matter. These factors include accessibility, range of goods, location and safety and security.

2.4.1 Spatial organisation

The spatial organisation of informal activities varies across cities. Baroni (2007) categorised informal activities as those located in places that are more or less accessible, whose operators confront the different advantages and disadvantages of locating their activities in such places. For example activities in less accessible places enjoy enough space while those in more accessible areas face municipal restrictions (Baroni, 2007). There are activities which utilise the home environment and are referred to in the literature as home-based activities (Strassmann, 1987; Gilbert, 1988; Tipple, 1993). Spaces used in this case include rooms within the house, backyards and front verandas. The size of the space required by these activities varies with regard to the type of activity, which can be either production or retailing. Other informal activities concentrate along the main streets within a neighbourhood where there are more potential customers. The majority of activities seek out the more central locations, which can include market, shopping area or central business districts. For instance, according to King and Dinye (2004) informal livelihood activities in Kumasi City, Ghana extensively occupy large unorganized areas. Informal operators' access to these prime locations depends on their potential for agglomeration of either small-scale commodity production or small-scale trading. Livelihood operators scramble to access these prime areas despite the adverse effects they face. They argue that they would lose their customers if they were relocated. In the city centre, small-scale trading activities accumulate along the streets, including the central market (Clark, 1994; King, 2000). Those street vendors who operate these activities use display materials such as blankets, plastic sheets, verandas and shop frontages, table tops, stalls, walls, wooden racks and body parts including the head, shoulders and hands. In the process, these vendors come to occupy space that was originally intended for pedestrians. The kinds of goods sold along these streets include fabric, food items, footwear and bags. Gerards *et al.* (1998) also observed that informal livelihood operators utilize trading space in the following ways: sedentary hawking using fixtures such as stalls, tables and the floor; and mobile hawking without fixtures.

Generally, urban space is the most important prerequisite for city dwellers carrying out their daily activities. Most of them engage in business-oriented activities as a result of changes in occupation patterns owing to the increase in Direct Foreign Investment (Hasan, 2004). Livelihood earners tend to occupy both private and public spaces to carry out their businesses. However, those who occupy private spaces such as shops and stalls are often seen to be relatively formal compared with those who occupy public spaces such as open spaces, streets, verandas, and road junctions. One of the most important aspects which livelihood operators take into consideration before embarking on any livelihood activity is the issue of the location for their operation. It has been observed that choosing an inappropriate location for any business will lead to the total failure of that business (Richardson, 1984; Trager and Dannhaeuser, 1985; Dewar and Watson, 1990; Hays-Mitchell, 1994; Mitullah, 2003). Savas (1978) also acknowledged that mistakes in selecting the site or location of facilities results in a loss of the maximum potential, effectiveness or equity of services. In many cases, expensive shelters and infrastructure have simply been abandoned as vendors take matters into their own hands to find more suitable locations (Dewar and Watson, 1990). According to Garcia-Rincon (2007) access to urban spaces is important because livelihood activities depend on location. Competition for the best location of both formal and informal activities will result in a land use pattern which will form the spatial pattern most capable of supporting the urban environment. The bidding process for formal activities has the impact of relocating informal activities to peripheral areas, as small activities can barely afford space in prime locations, thus taking the informal route is the only option. Going informal entails the use of space not zoned for commercial and manufacturing purposes (Sassen, 2000).

2.4.2 The concepts of Central Place and Location

The central place theory is described by using two concepts of threshold population² and range of goods³ which were first developed by Christaller (Evans, 1987; Wood and Roberts, 2011). A central place which is accessible by transport facilities reduces transport costs and travel time which results in congestion of goods, services and people. According to Christaller central places are retail centres where selling and buying activities are taking place (Wood and Roberts, 2011). Parr (2002) observed that central

² The threshold is the minimum population that is required to bring about the offering of a certain good for sale or to sustain any service (Wood and Roberts, 2011)

³ The range of a good or service is the maximum distance over which people are willing to travel to purchase a good or derive a service offered at a central place (Wood and Roberts, 2011)

place theory, built by early location theorists like Weber, Christaller, and Lösch, carries the assumption that population and resources are uniformly distributed over a homogeneous plane, firms have free entry into the market, all firms have constant returns to scale, and that perfect competition exists. In this model, production factors, namely labour, capital and transportation costs represent the keys to understanding firms' location: firms locate in such a way as to maximize profits. Like many other geographers, Parr argues that central place theory does not fit in any other geographical settings other than southern Germany. This has prompted other theorists to develop alternative location theories which give emphasis to structural diffusion and add the aspect of politics and social interactions. For instance, Storper and Walker (1989) argue that firms can create economic space, which contradicts the neoclassical theorists who argue that firms' location occurs more or less as a response to the economic conditions in a region. The decentralisation of firms' idea, as put forward by Storper and Walker, postulates that firms may relocate and decentralize in order to separate from the "dwindling profits" of an over-invested core and to "extend into new growth peripheries".

It seems that geographers are mainly concerned with either adding to central place theory or testing it. Based on the planning literature reviewed, it seems that planners frequently employ ideas from central place theory, although for one reason or another, they may not acknowledge the source. The piecemeal application of central place theory seems to indicate that the theory is not recognized as an important planning element. This can be summed up in Brian Berry's statement that: 'The central place concept has yet to be systematically incorporated into planning models' (Berry, 1967:136). It must be recognized that central place theory, like most theories, has practical limitations but does provide an organized framework. It seems that central place theory will continue to form the basis for understanding the location of firms and retail stores. As noted by Acho-Chi (2002), population thresholds and the number of clients in a location can be used to explain the location of informal activities in developing countries. Locations are sited within municipalities in places where operators are willing to scramble for them, at the same time that customers are attracted to them, and reject the idea of travelling to other places for the same service. Acho-Chi claims that this behaviour supports the "marketing principle of spatial competition and central place theory" (Acho-Chi, 2002:34). In this study central place theory helps us to understand the location of informal activities in central business districts, the presence of the threshold population

which demands goods and services provided by informal operators, and the minimum travel distance the customers have to travel to meet their needs. Informal operators are attracted to central places, which may be explained by the central place theory. More importantly, they are attracted to places where there are potential customers, which may or may not be in central places. So the locations that have historically been the hubs of activity may become attractive to them for their trade, locations are also shaped by other logics, such as the concentrations of offices, educational establishments, government departments, or transport nodes.

The key ideas of location theory were introduced by von Thünen (1783-1850) (Aoyam *et al.*, 2011; Wood and Roberts, 2011). Von Thünen's ideas were extended by Alonso (1964), who suggested that the land is occupied by the highest bidder willing to pay for accessibility, which is highest in the centre (Aoyam *et al.*, 2011). Following Alonso's concept of land use, O' Sullivan (2012) suggested that the occupier of a particular piece of land is the one who can offer the highest rent. Following the bid rent curve, the land use pattern is determined by the bid rent curve for manufacturing, housing and office location. As analysed by O' Sullivan (2012) the cost of land decreases with increasing distance from the city centre. Considering the needs of each kind of land user, offices are likely to be attracted to the central location while manufacturing activities will be attracted to the transport nodes (O' Sullivan, 2012). The reason for offices to locate within the city centre includes the need to keep in contact with other services (Evans, 1987; O' Sullivan, 2012). Commercial activities tend to choose the same locations to take advantage of potential customers and vehicle traffic (Gilbert, 2003; Wood and Roberts, 2011). These commercial activities includes both formal and informal, however a key difference between the formal and informal traders is the issue of paying or not paying for the use of land. The former will compete in the market to access desirable locations whilst the later will use other means to use the same locations.

O' Sullivan (2012) also noted that office workers would be attracted to find accommodation in areas immediately accessible from their working locations with the aim of reducing travel distance. The area just outside the CBD attracts manufacturing activities, whose workers are likely to locate on either side of it, as the manufacturing plant is considered as a median point. The outer part will attract agricultural activities and their associated labour force. The need for individuals to locate within reasonable distance of their working space increases the central business district population density, and concurrently increases the rent and cost of these locations. According to

Jagannathan (1987), population density attracts potential markets in various activities. The more attractions the central places promises, the more competition it creates among its potential activities (Gilbert, 2003). Gilbert (2003) suggested that the result of competitive bidding is a land use pattern which will form the spatial patterns most capable of supporting the urban environment.

It is important to note that to further an effective pattern of land use, the regulatory authority imposes zoning regulations to ensure the land is used appropriately independent of the market (Evans, 1987; O' Sullivan, 2012). Based on zoning, unauthorised activities will have limited access to the desired locations. For countries with strong enforcement mechanisms for their zoning regulations, it is possible to maintain order by issuing a permit to trade in a particular location; however in areas with regulatory mechanisms that are not adequately enforced, activities seek to find other means to locate within the desired locations. The responsible authority imposes zoning regulations to separate the incompatible land uses. Since informal activities would have limited access to these locations, in order to utilise the available markets for their products, in the absence of control, informal arrangements would be utilised to appropriate these locations, such as using other operators to limit access to working space (Jagannathan, 1987).

2.4.3 Market retailing

As discussed in section 2.4.2 above, central place theory and the idea of the bid rent curve provide an explanation on the hierarchy of centres and the location of various land uses within a given area. This discussion is extended in this section to build up arguments about the criteria used by operators for locating their activities in a particular location. Formal retailing factors affecting the site location for a firm vary according to the set of investments that are required to take place. Gilbert (2003) suggested that consideration should be given to consumer choice, the need for competitive advantage, trends, high investment, property assets, declining number of sites and the requirements laid down by the responsible authority on land use development. Berman and Evans (2010) also suggested that retail location should consider pedestrian traffic, vehicular traffic, parking areas, public transportation, store composition and specific site. Informal retailing would normally ignore some of the considerations its formal counterpart adheres to.

Markets for a particular product, whether formal or informal, are affected by three factors: namely locations that generate population, product supply and location of consumers (Huff, 1962; Belshaw, 1965; Berry, 1967; Dewar and Watson, 1990). Starting with locations which generate population movement, where there is a concentration of pedestrian and traffic movement, there is a high chance for markets to be successful. As noted by Gilbert (2003) the successfulness of locations depends on consumers making the decision that there are benefits in utilising them. In addition, Gilbert (2003) noted that the retailers' ability to satisfy consumers' needs sometimes overrules the power of government pressure to control development in certain locations. In this case, markets therefore operate more in the central business districts and other formal agglomerations, public transport terminals and central location in high density areas. As suggested by Berman and Evans (2010) prime locations, in this case the CBD, have the strength to draw a large number of shoppers based on its excellent goods and services, access to public transport, variety of stalls and positioning type within the area, wide range of customers, high level of pedestrian traffic, and nearness to commercial and social facilities. Therefore location with commercial possibilities is being determined by the capacity of the particular location to attract population. As a result, informal livelihood operators will always concentrate in these particular locations, where population movement is greatest. It is important to note that operators are interested in taking advantage of the number of customers readily present in these formal shopping areas. A strategic point for them will include the site, which is chosen to ensure maximum visibility and accessibility. However, these factors have not been taken into consideration by most planners, who designate places for livelihood operators in their designs. For example the on-going re-location of livelihood operators in most cities worldwide has not been successful, owing to a failure to consider these factors.

Another important factor relates to the issue of supply. Livelihood operators seek places for business where there is a good supply of products which they sell (Dewar and Watson, 1990). The products range from fresh produce such as fruits and vegetables to manufactured goods such as luggage and radios. The availability of wholesale suppliers for a given product enables livelihood operators to trade without difficulties in terms of transport and customers. They can easily purchase goods from wholesalers and then sell them on to their customers. A range of goods in a particular location attracts both livelihood operators to locate their business there, as well as consumers who aim to accomplish their purchases with a minimum of effort. According to Berry (1967) and

Berman and Evans (2010), consumers are likely to postpone more frequent purchases so as to make a single long trip which accomplishes several things including socialisation, entertainment, politics and so on. In addition to the location of consumers, it is also very important when designating spaces for markets to take into consideration the need to serve all city dweller as equally as possible. The largest market place tends to be the one which combines all three factors, that is, population generator, supply and multi-functions. Through their cumulative advantages, such markets provide the greatest variety of large scale retail and service activities and hence attract more consumers compared to other relatively smaller market places. The success of livelihood operators is based on satisfying the rules of consumer orientation by occupying locations of maximum accessibility.

2.4.4 Appropriation of prime locations for informal activities

The appropriation of space entails individual and group creation, choice, possession, modification, enhancement of care for, or simply intentional use of space to make it one's own (Feldman and Stall, 2004:184). Through the influence of market forces, access to working space will be determined by the highest bidder. The government intervention aims to assist in regulating access by setting zoning regulations and providing building permits. Access to prime locations for informal activities under government regulation is mainly through allocation. As discussed above, individual operators involved in these activities are assumed to have limited resources for competing in the market. Governments have taken sole responsibility for providing access to working spaces (Dewar and Watson, 1990). As noted by Garcia-Rincon (2007) in Caracas the municipality is responsible to providing access to informal operators. However operators tend to use means other than allocation to gain access to the desired working area. These other means include purchase, renting and invasion.

2.4.5 Contested spaces: forces in urban spaces

Operators' involvement in the appropriation of prime locations contradicts the intended allocation of its use; as a result these areas become spaces of contestation. Based on the work of social theorists, understanding of struggles among street vendors, merchants (established business people) and the state is well developed. As argued by Staudt (2007), street vendors' conflicts and their outcomes symbolize a changing economic order, one that privileges regulation and capital. In their struggle for identity and livelihood, street vendors use opposing languages and graphic images to make political

cases to fit their own interests. Bureaucracy theory as explained by Max Weber presents a phenomenon where street vendors find themselves in what he refers to as an iron cage, where strict rules and regulations are imposed upon their activities. This consequently increases the cost of doing business. An urban space consists of a fluctuating population, imposed on a spatially finite form; it raises questions of control, regulation and the projection of future development (Rafferty, 2004:1). Fluctuations in the population throw up different pressures on the use of urban spaces, as a result of instability of our global society. These instabilities are related to difference: not just the differences, divisions and misunderstandings manifested by varying cultures and countries at the global scale, but also those at the metropolitan city-region scale. These differences and divisions among urbanites may be rooted in various attributes, as “cities are frequently divided geographically and politically by income, race or ethnicity” (Bollens, 1999). Consequently, some cities have problems and divisions along racial lines, according to inequality of income distribution or to the ethnic makeup of the urban population, creating social tensions and leading to the imposition of socio spatial divisions. In certain circumstances they manifest in such a way as to produce violent episodes and contestation.

Urban spaces become contested when users are excluded because of group domination arising out of scarcity, economic access or political policy. The resulting tension is either exacerbated or moderated by the extent to which the regulation of spaces by the appropriate authorities succeeds in allocating space among competing users, ensures their safety and, where possible, facilitates access to all users. It appears that contests over space are related to the cultural or economic group domination of scarce spaces. Sensitivity towards the requirements of social transformation, awareness of the economic benefits that derive from these spaces and the provision of order and safety characterize the regulation of contested spaces by various authorities. Research shows that the concept of contested and regulated space reinforces conceptions of how urban space is represented and contributes to the overall notion of spatiality (Preston-Whyte, 1999). Contestation as far as urban spaces and livelihood is concerned has been well explained by Brown (2006) in cases where livelihood operators contest their rights to trade on the street.

2.5 Governance: Regulation and organization of working spaces

As noted in the above discussion, livelihood operators prefer urban spaces which have considerable pedestrian traffic because they provide a large pool of customers and potential profits. This raises the question of how such spaces are produced and regulated. Urban governance is central in shaping the character of places and good governance can improve the prospects of cities and their ability to create jobs and investment. In this study governance is used as a general term to represent a wider understanding of the appropriation and regulation of space in the study area. Its use stresses the multiplicity of concerned agencies and their roles, as well as the relevant processes, rules and policies they apply, in order to understand how space is appropriated and how informal activities are regulated. The organisational focus is on the role of the municipality – and its relationship with the operators, the operators' associations and other non-governmental organisations – in the production of space. In this sense therefore the definition provided by Bevir (2011:1) is most useful, stating that governance refers to theories and issues of social coordination and the nature of all patterns of rules. Furthermore, Bevir (2011:2) has affirmed that governance arrangements 'draw attention to the complex processes and interactions that constitute patterns of rule'. Governance processes constitute a combination, or separate practices, of administrative systems, market mechanisms and non-profit organisations. Kooiman (2000) states that to understand governance processes, issues of social diversity, dynamics and complexity are central in the decision making process, which can create opportunities or solve problems. Diversity constitutes different agencies and their goals or intentions; dynamics entails conflicting rationalities of different actors, and complexity entails the relationship and interactions of structures of a system. Considering governance from this perspective, it provides an understanding on what rules and regulations are devised and applied, how the various individuals and agencies involved with the informal activity act, and how their actions might be made more effective and just.

In relation to this study therefore, governance identifies patterns of actions and regulations which operate in and through the informal means of producing spaces. It is about how the municipality works together with the other stakeholders of prime locations in managing informal livelihood activities in the process of producing space and implementing regulatory strategies toward such activities. Kjaer (2009) elaborates that the concern is about how rules through which public policies are pursued are

actually handled. This understanding helps to provide a way of looking at governance as dependent on networking, although it may also be viewed as relying on hierarchy or on market mechanisms. In addition, Kooiman (2000) claimed that there are different modes of governance, such as self-governing, 'co-' governing and hierarchical governing. Furthermore, he stated that governance is a mix of all kinds of governing levels, modes and orders (Kooiman, 2000). This categorisation can be linked to different modes of governance of informal activities as elaborated in the following section.

According to Levy (1995) some economists argue on the basis of the laissez-faire approach of Adam Smith, that the market is effectively self-regulated by individuals and firms in the course of the selfish pursuit of gain. Other economists argue that the occurrence of market failures provides a justification for the intervention of the state in regulating market activities. Levacic (1991:36) suggested that market failures arise as a result of the inability of the market to achieve an efficient allocation of resources such as land. As pointed out by Peña and Frontera Notre (2000) the above argument recognises two models of regulation in which the first is based on pure market forces, while the second gives emphasis to intervention and regulation by the state. However, de Soto (1989), one of the main figures in a school of thought known as 'legalism', acknowledges another model which is called extra-legal. This model provides an explanation of the state when it is considered weak or at a point when it presents low levels of integration with other stakeholders (Quijano, 2000). In the literature on urban studies, livelihoods and migration, some authors emphasise the role of social ties in market activities (Jagannathan, 1987; Coleman, 1988; Lyons and Snoxell, 2005b; Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah, 2008). They argue that social capital plays a vital role in assisting city dwellers to engage in trading activities by providing services such as finance and networks. Therefore the above discussion provides the basis for three basic regulatory models associated with informality: namely, the laissez-faire, government regulation and social institutions models, each of which is explained in detail below.

2.5.1 The Laissez-faire regulatory model

In this model, market forces regulate access to and distribution of urban space. Therefore informal livelihood operators will compete for the opportunity to locate their businesses in places where they can make the highest returns. In the absence of any regulation other than the market, livelihood operators will move to the best possible

location with a view to maximizing their profit. As discussed in section 2.4.2, land rent theory states that, in a world of free market competition, land is allocated to the highest bidder and assigned to the highest and best use (O' Sullivan, 2012). Under this theory, livelihood operators with the highest ability to make profits and protect their working spaces will be the ones who control the best locations. As illustrated by Jagannathan (1987) through the case of a peanut seller, operators utilise informal contracts to maintain territorial control. This practice is governed by spatial practice as conceptualised by Lefebvre see section 2.3.1 for details. Controlling territory can be seen in historic city area of Mexico City where cooperation between operators' associations in designated spaces and undesignated spaces allows the operators to continue with businesses even in the event of eviction and harassment (Crossa, 2009). In the absence of strong social controls of this kind, according to Peña and Frontera Notre (2000), protecting the territory can also entail bribing government officials, shop owners or the police, hiring a bodyguard or purchasing some other kind of protection such as guns. The result of such protection measures is generalised chaos or a corrupt form of order. As cited in Peña and Frontera Notre (2000:45), Jagannathan (1987) argues that such chaos can be avoided by employing stakeholders such as informal operators' organisations or sometimes respected individuals within the working space who are able to play a part in regulating these activities.

2.5.2 Government regulatory model

The government regulatory model is a phenomenon whereby the government is the sole agent in the regulation of space, whether 'abstract' or 'lived' (Peña and Frontera Notre, 2000). According to Centeno and Portes (2006:29), the state is responsible for three main tasks: the elaboration of laws, the enforcement of those laws and collection of taxes for their enforcement (the regulator, the policeman and the tax collector). In the case of the study topic, the state's main function is to control market entry and the location of informal livelihood operators. The competition for prime locations by formal enterprise rules out the possibility of informal operators having the same access to an abstract space, due to the inability of the market to accommodate informal operators capable of only the lowest, sometimes non-bidding, prices, and hence justifies government intervention. As suggested by O' Sullivan (2012) a responsible authority will impose zoning regulations to the abstract space to separate incompatible land uses. Empirically this has been done through issuing licenses and permits, and introducing

product regulation by establishing standards (Garcia-Rincon, 2007). This means that government effectively controls informal livelihood operators' entry into the market and location, in order to deal with the political issues of pollution, congestion, public health, and unfair competition. The foregoing list encompasses the main reasons typically advanced against informal livelihood operators (Cross and Karides, 2007). Government intervention has been mainly through policy implementation, ranging across the areas of safety, traffic congestion, public health, trademarks and sanitation (Cross and Karides, 2007; Yatmo, 2008). This model is much used in developing countries, where it has been implemented at both national and local level. Policies under a government regulatory model include decentralisation and formalisation of informal livelihood activities (Ishengoma and Kappel, 2006).

Nevertheless the nature of informal activities entails operating against state controls, where operators ensure an absence of contact with the agents enforcing these or else co-opt such agents as a means to sustaining their operations. Despite efforts by the government to intervene in resource allocation, it has been subjected to challenges as a result of information problems, imperfect competition, bureaucratic self-interest and political interest (Levacic, 1991). Market failure, due to inadequate information regarding cost-benefit analysis of resource allocation, should be the starting point for government intervention; however, information inadequacy extends to the government regulatory model, whereby a lack of transparency in the allocation process exacerbates the problem. Furthermore, political interests underlie the failure of the government regulatory model, as the influence of political interest in resource allocation hinders the government regulatory model from achieving its goal. For instance, operators' needs for prime locations, and politicians' needs to stay in office mean that in order for politicians to receive political support from operators, they need to help operators in the process of producing their own spaces, or in Lefebvre's terms, their lived space (Goodfellow and Titeca, 2012). Levacic (1991:47) emphasizes that 'political decision emerges from interaction of groups who have conflicting objectives as well as a mutually advantageous bargain to make with each other'. Bureaucratic self-interest also limits the success of the government regulatory model, as it puts stress on protecting those who are eligible to be protected. For example in the allocation of working spaces, only those with an affiliation to the operators' organization are supposed to be allocated spaces.

2.5.3 *The socio-institutional regulatory model*

According to Peña and Frontera Notre (2000), the socio-institutional model aims at regulating informal livelihood operators through existing rules and regulation. As cited in Peña and Frontera Notre, (2000:49) Assaad (1993) states that the study of social institutions is based on ‘transaction costs, agency theory, property rights and collective action’. This model addresses the transaction costs arising within a particular group by utilizing agency theory principles. It also assists in understanding the regulation of property rights and collective actions (Williamson, 1981; Ben-Ner *et al.*, 1993), as cited in Peña and Frontera Notre 2000:49). Government inefficiency in regulating informal livelihood activities results in the formation of social institutions which regulate themselves, minimizing the prevailing chaos in the process. This takes place, for example in South Africa (ILO, 2003b). Social institutions are highly organized and capable of challenging the authority when dealing with the problems related to appropriation and distribution of spaces where their operations take place. There are numerous socio-institutional organizations in areas where informal livelihood activities are taking place, including countries such as Kenya, Mexico, Tanzania, South Africa and India (Cross, 1998; ILO, 2003a; Mitullah, 2003; Anjaria, 2006; Msoka, 2007).

The regulatory models discussed above include a multiplicity of agencies involved in the regulation of informal activities: the market, the municipality and non-government organisations. In the market system, actors such as land owners/shop owners interact with the informal operators and market rules regulate their interactions. The municipality contributes actors from different departments whose interactions with the operators are regulated by municipal rules and policies. The social institutional regulatory model also includes non-government organisations, such as operators’ associations and financial institutions. Each regulatory model is exposed to failure because, as noted by Kooiman (2000), no single actor has the knowledge to solve the complex, dynamic and diversified problems that relate to a particular issue. For example, when the market is left to regulate informal activities, only those with assets such as networks and financial and human capital are able to appropriate prime locations for undertaking their commercial activities and hence the outcome of the process is to produce inequality (Sidney, 2009). On the basis of Lefebvre’s conceptualisation of the production of space, market practice is influenced by spatial practice, as elaborated in section 2.3.1. When the market fails to allow access to working space for all, the government intervenes to ensure the equitable distribution of these spaces. The

government, represented by the planners, intentionally produces representations of space which largely ignore the social reality of the use of particular spaces. The government regulatory model regulates access to abstract space for informal activities by issuing permits and licences. In such a situation, the equitable distribution of working space is facilitated through the negotiating role played by non-government organisations, which play the role of representing informal operators in order to negotiate the process of accessing working spaces in prime locations. These three models of urban governance therefore help in understanding the regulatory forces that shape informal activities and enable the identification of governance networks and the inclusion of actors beyond just local state officials, in pursuit of the production of space and the regulation of informal activities. The production and regulation of space has changed: whereas at one point the government regulatory model carried almost of the responsibility, now a multiplication of non-state actors is involved in the political economy of place.

2.5.4 Why different governing systems?

Considering the historical situation, prior to the inclusion of multiple agencies in the processes of regulation and provision of working spaces, the government regulatory model performed to ensure the provision of services under its respective jurisdiction. Focusing on urban planning activity, the government's responsibility was to produce spaces and control the development of such places. A lack of funds and inadequate manpower within the municipality meant that the production of such spaces and development control was difficult. In most of the countries of the global south, planning was declared a failure, as suggestions relating to representations of space were not realised on the ground (Beall and Fox, 2009). International pressure to reduce the role of the state in service delivery, the need to facilitate coordination with other actors as an IMF policy prescription to access loans, as well as the growing importance of transnational political institutions, together acted as forces behind adopting network governance as a framework (Chhotray and Stoker, 2009; Bevir, 2011). It is in this context that the idea of collaborative actions was promoted. As elaborated in section 2.2.3, governance as a tool is widely used in the process of creating competitive cities, whereby the participation of non-state agencies is promoted to facilitate service delivery and assist in reducing the level of inequality in the distribution of planning outcomes for the wider society (Beall and Fox, 2009). It is through this process that a number of

tendencies have fostered this shift of attention towards recognising the integration of informal activities in the city economy and its manifestation in all kinds of governance relations.

Focusing on the production of space for informal activities in prime locations leads to scrutiny of the interface of relationships in the production process, the linkages of each relationship, the extent to which agencies interact with each other, the significance of such relations and how they relate to the processes involved in the production of space. This examination highlights the degree of intersection between the principles and values that are invested in the use of prime locations by the various agencies. The assumptions underlying governance today are that it facilitates the coordination, cooperation and implementation of solutions to the cross-sectoral challenges that are at stake. Governance is dependent upon, and supported by, claims to enhance democracy, diversity and dynamism in the problem solving environment (Pierre, 2000). Thus governance discussions assume that some level of inequality exists amongst the agencies involved in urban issues.

The theoretical affirmation of inequality with regard to the representation of space, as elaborated by Fainstein (2000) in her theorisation of the just city, calls for planning activities towards achieving an equitable distribution of outcomes. Both just city theory and collaborative planning theory advocate for the involvement of agencies such as informal operators and other civil society actors in the production of space (Watson, 2002). The following section provides an overview of just city and collaborative planning theories and shows how they provide useful insights into the production of space for informal livelihood activities:

2.5.5 Theoretical catalysts: Collaborative Planning and Just City theory

The collaborative planning approach has been worthy of note from the time when it was first introduced into planning activities. It has been considered as a new planning paradigm (Innes, 1995; Kamete, 2008). It is useful for ‘understand[ing] and evaluating governance processes especially those which focus on developing qualities of places and territory’ (Healey, 2003:107). Collaborative planning entails a democratic management process in controlling urban spaces (Agger and Löfgren, 2008). It also emphasises the importance of communication between actors, having local knowledge, and expert knowledge as well as seeking consensus (Watson, 2002). According to Talvities, (2009:172) ‘a planner is a facilitator and negotiator in the process and

attempts to find a technically sound consensus among the stakeholders'. The importance of collaborative planning, therefore, is its ability to facilitate dialogue in the creation of better places and 'shaping the built environment' (Huxley and Yiftachel, 2000:333). It is evident in Europe (United Kingdom) and North America that collaborative planning has played a significant role in regeneration projects (de Magalhaes *et al.*, 2002; Owens, 2010). Other countries in the global south have also put the collaborative planning approach into practice and employed the concepts of participation and identification of strategic issues within urban areas, which has facilitated implementation of projects on the ground. For instance, in Tanzania, the approach has had a continuous influence on planning practice since 1992 (Nnkya, 2004).

The concept of the 'just city' was developed to address the issues of democracy, equity, diversity and growth. Fainstein (2005) noted that the above-mentioned issues are appropriate measures of urban development when treated together in extensive analysis. In addition, she states that cities do not work in isolation, that the realisation of democracy requires diversity and that growth occurs through the collaboration of government institutions. The theory of the just city emphasises the issue of democracy, which insists on going beyond participation to include civil governance and the acceptance of different views of society. It also emphasises the involvement of groups of people who were previously excluded from power by realising group needs in order to achieve the ultimate goal of the distribution of social benefits (Fainstein, 2000).

The concepts within just city theory provide a good basis for addressing the issues surrounding the governance of informal activities. Fainstein's proposition in this theory is to emphasise the involvement of different groups in society regarding planning actions and outcomes. For instance, claims raised by different social groups are to be heard in the process of the production of space. As noted by Watson (2002:42) "...the question of the distributive effects of planning decisions and of particular planned spatial forms is crucial". If thoughtfully applied, collaborative planning theory and just city theory could help to address the issue of inequality in less-developed countries too. The basic concepts within these theories are evident in the process of competing for space, as the informal operators are constantly lobbying for inclusion in prime locations and in the decision-making process. According to Watson (2002) both theories advocates for civil society involvement in planning issues a move beyond technocratic to cooperation.

The current application of collaborative ideas in the planning process is evident in most cities (Beall and Fox 2009). However, it is not without critique. Lord (2012:26) provides an overview of the main arguments against collaborative planning theory, which include the following: it does not mirror reality; it under-theorises the power relation within collaborative relationships; places emphasis on the process rather than the outcomes; and, finally, it is ill-equipped to explain the impacts of globalisation on planning practices. Each of these aspects could be more relevant in one given context than in another. In the context of this study, the main limitations of collaborative planning theory could be its emphasis on the planning process rather than its outcomes, and its under-theorising of power relations. Collaborative planning has shaped the planning process; however the distributive impacts of this process are limited (Fainstein, 2000). It is the strengths and weaknesses of this process when combined together with just city theory, that can provide a better basis for understanding how the issues of inequality in urban spaces could be addressed (Watson, 2002). The emphasis on the distribution of planning outcome as propounded in just city theory would allow marginalised groups to benefit from the application of these ideas. The focus is on 'socio-spatial and politico-economic equity with concerns for diversity, participation and sustainability to improve urban life for all within the context of a global capitalist economy'(Irazábal, 2009:559)

Governance provides a useful framework for analysing the outcomes of the implementation of collaborative and just city theories, when a set of institutions and actors are drawn from and beyond government to participate in planning processes and the distribution of planning outcomes. Sharing responsibilities in the production of space between private and public actors can facilitate the provision of working space for informal livelihood activities. Governance is a useful framework for identifying agencies and their roles, and for understanding how negotiations and reaching common goals is achieved amongst the committed agencies involved. This process is governed by the rules and regulations that foster cooperation. In this study governance in relation to informal activities looks at the market, networking and municipal system of governance. Governance as an analytical framework provides a useful understanding of the dynamics of the system whereby informal livelihood activities are governed. Moreover, the relationships between other involved agencies are also looked at in this framework to understand the relationship and linkage with government institutions. This

framework assists in analysing the complex reality of decision-making amongst agencies in Chapters 7 and 8, by examining the challenges of governance arrangements which include accountability, lack of collaboration and transparency (Stoker, 1998; Kjaer, 2009; Sidney, 2009).

2.6 Regulatory approaches

According to Tokman (2007) the existence of informal activities is linked to their operation which goes beyond the existing regulatory systems. Apparently these informal livelihood activities can be observed in almost every city in the world, although the most alarming degree of such activities is in the less developed world (Bromley, 1998). Urban spaces play a major role as physical capital in the livelihood strategies of the poor, as a place for trade and communal activities or as a channel for movement (Brown and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Brown, 2006). City managers have made some progress in addressing the issue of livelihood operators working on prime locations. The reasons behind engaging with the informal activities are to deal with issues of cleanness, safety, unfair competition and tourism promotion. (Ooi, 1991; Cross, 1998; Morales, 2000; Centeno and Portes, 2003; Middleton, 2003). Furthermore, city managers are increasingly motivated towards marketing new images of their cities, and encouraging new economies which focus on wealthier clientele and city aspirations to attain world class recognition (Anjaria, 2006). This has significant implications for livelihood activities, which by nature tend to be conducted in prime spaces in the city centre (Bromley and Mackie, 2009). Despite the efforts of city managers to address the issue of urban spaces and livelihoods, the approaches used have been largely unsuccessful (Lyons et al., 2001).

Regulatory approaches have taken three main turns across all regions, with a focus of integrating informal activities into the mainstream economy (Tokman, 2007). Considering activities as the main focus, initiatives include the development of micro enterprise policies which have so far facilitated access to markets and productive resources. Where workers are the main focus, initiatives have included the improvement of capital goods such as transport facilities. The most common initiative which has taken place so far focuses on the regulatory framework for working spaces and institutions framework. Until recently the regulatory framework which addresses spatial issues concerning the production, consumption and management of space was widely operational in most cities. Regulatory frameworks for working spaces can be divided

into regulations concerning spatial arrangements and regulations concerning temporal arrangements. I will now go on to discuss each in turn.

2.6.1 Spatial arrangements

Policy reforms across cities in the developing world have facilitated regulatory approaches for informal livelihood activities. Global programmes and projects as identified earlier in this chapter have since played a great role in addressing these issues. The competitiveness, social cohesion and urban governance agenda are part of these global restructuring processes. Although some critics of these policies would argue that the policies have largely influenced the social exclusion of these marginalized groups, it is also important to acknowledge that initiatives resulting from these processes have facilitated the provision of working spaces for informal operators. For example, through partnership with other stakeholders the municipalities have been able to construct modern markets to accommodate these activities as well as issuing permits which allow their operators to use prime locations. The following section provides an overview of these spatial arrangements.

Market Construction

In this approach, municipal authorities in various cities have carried out market place construction projects as part of their long term strategy to address the problem of informal livelihood activities. Dewar and Watson (1990) argued that market construction in cities has great potential to benefit a large number of informal operators. Since most cities under planning regulations did not provide locations for informal retail, when the importance of these activities gained acknowledgement, cities like Lagos, Mexico, Durban, Johannesburg, Nairobi and Accra were all involved in market construction as a means of providing working spaces for these activities. The construction of markets has been achieved through partnerships between municipalities and other stakeholders in cities. In terms of cost recovery, such partnerships anticipate that operators will pay for construction costs through their monthly rental payments once allocated spaces. Unfortunately, in almost all cases, the markets constructed tend to have insufficient capacity to accommodate all livelihood operators, have rental costs which are beyond the means of operators, as well as poor design. Nevertheless market construction success stories have also been documented – for example in Mexico City’s ‘Pino Suarez’ and ‘Meaves’ and the Warwick Junction Project in Durban, South Africa (Cross, 1995; Robinson and Dobson, 2008). This success is attributed to the active

involvement of the operators in these projects (Cross, 1995; Robinson and Dobson, 2008). Ofori (2007:73) states that:

in discussing market construction as a policy device, it is important to stress that very successful policies tended to be those where location, design and management of markets involved the active participation of livelihood operators.

As observed in retail sector literature, the construction of market structures is not the main factor affecting the success of informal retail. Instead, other factors also need to be considered such as: location, availability of customers, pedestrian movement, accessibility, range of goods and supply.

According to Bromley and Mackie (2009) Cusco, Peru is one of the Latin American cities where people depend on city spaces for their livelihood. It is noted that in the city of Cusco, formalisation programmes have been in operation since the 1990s. The city authorities have taken various steps to incorporate and regulate trading activities, but the main strategy is to relocate traders to constructed markets in places other than the city centre. This has generated conflicts among stakeholders interested in urban spaces. Nevertheless these obstacles have not succeeded in discouraging informal operators from the city's prime locations (Steel, 2012b). An emerging phenomenon in this city is the new spatial re-organisation of informal livelihood activities, which primarily involves the use of courtyards for trading activities (Bromley and Mackie, 2009). As suggested by Steel (2012) informal livelihood operators develop their own systems of regulation that compete with or challenge the efforts of local government. Operators in both designated and undesignated locations have developed 'alternative' and 'fragmented' practices which enable them to continue utilising prime locations for their livelihoods.

Cross (1998) states that informal livelihood operators are extremely visible in Mexico City and there has been a significant increase in their number. Pena and Frontera (2000) also state that Mexico City is among those cities which have implemented formalisation policies to address the issue of livelihood activities. This process dates back to 1993 when the city assembly enacted an ordinance which resulted into a programme known as The Street Vending Reorganisation Programme for the Federal District. As noted by Cross (2009) markets were constructed and operators were allowed to occupy space; however, among the conditions imposed was that they must join operators' organisations which were given a mandate to supervise the allocation process. In

addition Crossa (2009) reported a recent programme in 2001 which aimed at reorganising informal operators in the historic centre. The reorganisation process resulted in conflicts while its success was said to be very minimal (Crossa, 2009). As noted by Dewar and Watson (1990) in South African cases, the plazas and stalls which are normally constructed as part of the process of relocation of informal activities are left empty, just as in the case of Mexico City. As noted by Cross (1998) despite the efforts of municipal authorities to regulate livelihood activities using both approaches discussed above, to their disappointment, livelihood operators usually re-emerge even stronger by operating collectively and negotiating their claim to prime locations with the political leaders and municipal officials. In addition, Crossa (2009) reported that informal operators used strategies of manipulation, association and mobility to claim their right to prime locations.

Permit systems

Apart from market construction, this approach also stresses the use of permits. Brown (2006) discusses the use of permits as a means of allowing livelihood operators to occupy urban spaces, to combat the problem of exclusion from these areas. This approach entails strategic shifts in city policies which include the identification of permitted trading zones and new system-managed markets. This approach mainly focuses on incorporating livelihood activities as part of the city landscape. With the great attention which has been given to the informal economy, livelihood activities in particular, city authorities are evolving new programmes and policies to incorporate livelihood activities into urban policy and planning. Good examples can be found in South African cities such as Durban and Johannesburg. Using the permitted trading zone strategy, officials negotiate the use of urban spaces (usually streets, pavements, precincts and other public circulation areas) where there is a prevailing scarcity of commercial spaces for livelihood activities.

South Africa is presented as a case where the emerging innovation approach has been implemented in cities like Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg (ILO, 2003b; Ofori, 2007). Starting with Durban, the city authority has put in place a legislative framework to address the issue of livelihood activities. Permitted zones include areas within the central business district, on the beachfront and other sites. Access to these places is through a purchased permit which normally varies according to the location and facilities in place. The city has a separate framework which regulates informal activities

undertaken by itinerant livelihood operators. With regard to street traders, itinerant traders also have demarcated zones and applicable fees. All these policies provide for education on waste management options and make it a mandatory obligation for all livelihood operators who hold trading permits, to sign declaration forms on their accountability for waste management, disposal and control. Renewal of trading permits is subject to the livelihood operators' good performance on litter control. The same applies to Cape Town: the city is demarcated and permits are used for trading spaces.

However, Johannesburg presents a slightly different case where both legislative frameworks for informal activities management are in place, as well as the idea of public private partnership in the management and allocation of spaces. After the city authority have demarcated trading zones, a private company known as the Municipal Trading Company allocates trading spaces to livelihood operators and executes management duties. The issue of waste management, control and disposal is emphasized as much as in the previously-discussed cities. Additionally Johannesburg also has so-called spatial lease/ Business Improvement Districts. This strategy works by allowing property owners or private companies to apply for a pavement lease and construct suitable structures and assume the responsibility for the management of informal activities outside their buildings. These private companies play the role of the municipal authorities by supplementing services required such as pavement cleaning and waste management and therefore help in the city management process. This way of incorporating the private sector into city management has yielded some improvement in terms of the order and enforcement of registrations. According to Webster (2007) the supply of urban spaces can be balanced with demand by transferring property rights from public to private. He argues that this transformation can play a role in reducing congestion in urban spaces by restricting property rights by institutional and physical design.

The permit system is applicable in other countries too, such as India. However, in other cities the termination of permits has occurred, as a result of them failing to solve the problems in particular locations. For instance, in the case of Bombay when the city authority terminated the permits for these activities, it did not solve the problem of the illegal occupation of space. It was also suggested by Centeno and Portes (2006) and Ofori (2007) that a lack of effective mechanisms with which to enforce permits is always a problem, especially when demand exceeds supply.

Informal livelihood operators not only operate in less developed countries, but also exist in developed countries. For instance, the United States, which is the richest country in the world, has an immigrant population who entirely depend on working on the streets for their livelihoods (Stoller, 2002). Estrada and Handagneu-Sotelo (2011) observed that at least 10,000 Latino immigrants work every day in the streets of Los Angeles as informal livelihood operators. A report by the Urban Justice Centre (2003) estimates that over 10,000 people struggle to access to prime locations in New York City alone and make their living selling goods in the city's neighbourhoods. They perform an important service by providing convenient and affordable goods to New Yorkers and visitors. Informal livelihood operators sell merchandise such as affordable watches and photographs along the sidewalks of famous streets like Times Square, Sunset Park and Brooklyn (Gendar, 2003). They are entrepreneurs who ask for nothing more than the opportunity to sustain their livelihoods. Informal livelihood operators in New York City have developed what Austin (Austin, 1994) calls a vendor-created "commercial culture or a set of business practices" to inspire consumer confidence. However, it should be noted that these operators are not licensed.

In the Los Angeles example, as stated by Kettles (2007) informal livelihood operators operate on unauthorised sidewalks. Surprisingly, the authorised sidewalks are sometimes just adjacent to the unauthorised ones. Los Angeles has only two zones in which informal livelihood operators are permitted to trade on the sidewalk; in the rest of the city space, it is strictly illegal to carry out trading activities. But street vendors still trade on sidewalks which are not authorised. Kettle argues that although informal livelihood operators raise a lot of complaints from other business people, the city authority and neighbours, there is a need to make room for informal livelihood operators, as their operations cannot be said to impose any harm. Sahagun (1992) and Sanchez (1987) also acknowledged that informal livelihood operators are just trying to make a living in the only way they know how. In addition Devlin (2011) suggested that ambiguity in the laws regulating informal livelihood operators in New York create a challenge and hence, called for urban managers to understand the embedded political and economic realities which contribute in the production of informality

Despite the fact that the areas used by informal operators may be unauthorised, informal livelihood operators are attracted to them because they meet their location criteria and thereby suit their livelihood activities. An increase in population as a result of immigration, which made Los Angeles host to about 62% of the Latino population, is

one of the reasons leading to an increase in informal operations and hence is a source of concern (Berestein *et al.*, 1995). The number of informal livelihood operators has continued to rise. Due to the continuing competition by informal livelihood operators for spaces which are suitable for their activities, the Los Angeles City authority established regulations for vendors to follow so that their trading activities can be considered as legal. But the legal procedure developed is cumbersome which means informal livelihood operators are unable to adhere to it. Formalisation procedures for informal livelihood operators have not succeeded in most cities. The key lesson from the Los Angeles example is that despite the imposition of regulations to restrict street trading, informal livelihood operators are still trading in spaces where they are not authorised to do so.

2.6.2 *In-time arrangements*

The first wave of studies about informal operators concentrated on documenting the municipal officials' zero tolerance movement, which mainly concerned their eviction and harassment. It is important to link this movement with the revanchist ideology. The origin of revanchist ideology can be traced back to the city of Paris in the 1890s, when the bourgeois nationalists took control after Napoleon III's government had been defeated (Slater, 2009). The main aim was to restore public order and achieve a new vision of French society. The same ideology was subsequently linked to the policies pioneered by the New York mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani in the 1990s, with the same purpose of reclaiming the city's public spaces from the homeless, beggars, prostitutes, squeegee cleaners, squatters and others (Smith, 1999). In order to remove this group of people who were accused of destroying the image of New York City, the authorities were urged to employ 'zero tolerance'. The movement has made its way into the municipal policies of various cities across the globe (Smith, 1999). Turning attention to cities in the global South, urban managers were until recently continuing to apply the same policy in an attempt to remove poverty conditions in urban areas (Swanson, 2007; Musoni, 2010). For example Len (1991) reported that livelihood activities dramatically increased in Nairobi City (Kenya) and Kampala (Uganda) where urban dwellers scramble to access working spaces. In these cities livelihood operators sell untreated and manufactured goods, as well as services (Muinde and Kuria, 2005). Livelihood operators prefer operating in the central business district where they have more access to customers. However, in their scramble for such spaces, livelihood operators do sometimes conflict with municipal authorities since the spaces tend to be prime

locations which are meant for other uses. Such conflict has sometimes resulted in the eviction and harassment of informal livelihood operators by municipal authorities.

The aim of such measures is to restore the city image through removing unwanted elements and placing them in spaces which city managers consider appropriate for such activities. Recently the municipal response to these operators has taken a new turn towards tolerance, which this study refers as in-time arrangement. In-time arrangements take three different forms: when the municipality ignores the operators as they decide to alter working hours; when politicians decide on behalf of the municipality to allow the operators to work in prime locations; and when the operators show resistance to being moved out of prime locations.

In-time arrangement can therefore be understood as tolerance exercised by the local authority and considered to be short-term, as operators will return to the same areas within a short period of time, and sometimes choose to trade their businesses in a different time other than expected (Garcia-Rincon, 2007; Hansen, 2010). For example, in the 1990s using in-time arrangement approach operators in Lusaka Zambia were left to occupy prime locations within the city centre. Nevertheless, government interventions in the 2000s, through the renovation and construction of market-places forced them into these new premises (Hansen, 2010). Limited transparency in the allocation of working spaces led to a vast number of operators being unable to access a space in the new markets, forcing them to re-occupy the streets they had previously vacated (Hansen, 2010). In other cases operators have invaded new locations in order to carry out their operations (Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Crossa, 2009). Sometimes pressure from the politicians influences this kind of arrangement; and resistance from the operators themselves also provides other approaches to this kind of arrangement. This resistance occurs when relations developed with other agencies, which are politicians, police and operator organisations, allow the operators to work, even when it is against municipal regulations. As noted by Crossa (2009) in Mexico City, for example, operator organisations fought the municipality's arrangement to have them removed from their desired location, as a result of which the municipality ended up tolerating their continued presence. In Harare for example, the resistance from the margin, as analysed by Kamete (2010) as well as by Dube and Chirisa (2012), was exercised when the operators developed friendships with politicians and politics that supported them to continue with their operations. Another case is from Uganda where

the President's need for political power in Kampala city has influenced him to play a part in municipal decision-making by giving permission for the operators to continue working in prime locations (Goodfellow and Titeca, 2012).

As noted by Shresha (2006) the livelihood operators of Kathmandu City in Nepal can be broadly classified into two categories: static and mobile. The former are called the *Phanja* and the latter the *Banja*. They have now extended over many prime spaces such as streets and major footpaths. Attempts from the municipality to evict and relocate them have remained ineffective. The scramble and multiple agglomerations of livelihood operators along busy commercial areas have continued unabated. The commercial vendors display their merchandise goods on small and handy plastic or cotton sheets in such areas because doing so means that they can pack or wrap up quickly and get away before the municipality authorities arrive threatening to evict them. Shresha (2006) argues that the municipality, civil society and local inhabitants should recognize the contributions of the vendors and treat them as a reality of the city economy.

The kinds of regulatory arrangements discussed above have been implemented concurrently in different cities. Table 2.1 provides a summary of empirical cases where the integration of informal activities has taken place and presents its implications for the informal operators' day to day operations.

Table 2.1 Summary of the international, Latin American and African experience

	City	Initiatives	Strategies	Responsible Persons	Results
North America	Los Angeles & New York	Formalization Providing less attractive working spaces	Permit system	City Council	Returned to preferred space
Latin America	Cusco	Formalization	Market construction	City Council	Courtyard markets
	Mexico	Street Traders Reorganization strategy	Market construction	City Council	Returned to preferred space
Africa	Nairobi	Formalization	Market construction	City Council	Returned to preferred space
	Durban and Cape Town	Legislative Framework. Declaration Renewal	Permitted Zones Licensing Waste management	City Council	Improvement
	Johannesburg	Legislative Framework	Permitted Zones Licensing Waste management	City Council Municipal Trading Company Business Improvement Districts Property Owners	Order Law enforcement

2.7 A Framework for investigation

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this study focuses on informal livelihood activities and prime urban spaces in Dar es Salaam city. It is a detailed discussion on the appropriation and regulation of informal livelihood activities in prime locations. Therefore bodies of literature from various disciplines which address such issues are applied as background knowledge and guidance for fieldwork investigation. These theories can be divided into four groups as summarised below.

First, the range of literature drawn from the field of poverty studies shows us important elements in terms of the challenges which face individuals involved in informal activities. Conditions of unemployment and the nature of the living environment not only provide the motive for becoming involved in informal activities but also show how developed programmes and projects have been constructed and implemented internationally and nationally, as well as locally, to combat poverty conditions. Although the challenges of poverty provide the setting for informal activities, the relationship with urban space is vital for understanding the consumption, production and management of urban space.

Second, the outcomes of living in precarious conditions have directed studies that seek to understand the groups affected, where various foci have been established, such as the relationship with working conditions of a group collectively understood as the working poor, as well as what have been termed ‘survivalists’ and activities classed as illegal. It is acknowledged that these kinds of relationship have been categorised under the heading of the ‘informal economy’ as opposed to the ‘formal economy’, which focuses on capital accumulation and is hence recognised as the mainstream economy. These relationships have been linked to social, economic, cultural and environmental aspects. The significance of the built environment and social relationships in facilitating the development of the informal sector has also been documented. Since these activities are referred to as ‘informal’, policies have been developed to integrate them into the mainstream economy. The first kinds of policies focused on the development of micro-economics, for example, facilitating access to finance; the second has focused on the improvement of the working environment, such as through capital development; while the third has focused on the regulatory framework.

Third, the work of scholars within the fields of employment and built environment studies presents the interrelationships between private and public spaces and economic

activities. A variety of aspects of social issues and their dynamics which are directly or indirectly involved with built forms and spatial organisation can usefully establish practical analytical tools for enhancing our understanding of the ways people interact, perceive and interpret their built environment.

We have seen numerous interpretations both internationally and in a specific Tanzanian context which reveal the different regulatory mechanisms and the ways in which the appropriation of space for informal activities is important for operators. Using the background provided by such theories and concepts, this study also examines the process of appropriation of prime locations and the way the regulatory framework assists in integration to the mainstream economy, drawing together several actors. In this connection, collaborative planning theory and just city theory are explored. This body of literature offers us directions for investigating the regulatory framework's challenges for informal activities as they arise in the course of incorporating the activities into the mainstream economy. The entire review provides an understanding of the relationship between informal activities and urban space and helps to construct the conceptual framework for this study. This framework is divided into two themes as presented in Figure 2.1.

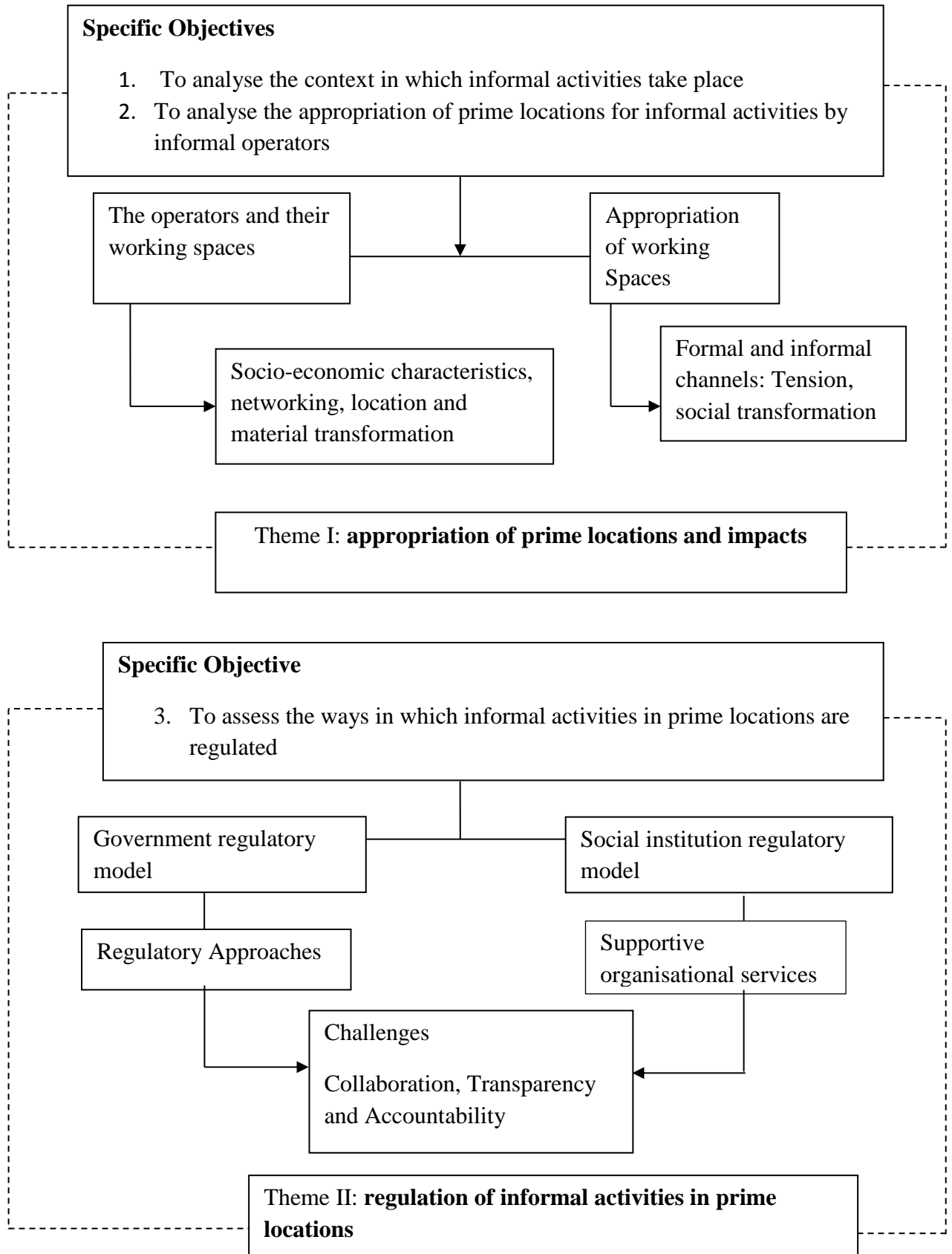


Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework for investigation

2.8 Conclusion

This review indicates that informal livelihood activities are prevalent in cities and their existence has been triggered by both internal and social economic changes which have a major impact on the landscape of the city. The main issues identified relate to the production, consumption and regulation of urban spaces (Figure 2.1). These processes have diverse consequences for informal livelihood activities within cities. Because the analysis of informality has usually focused on politics in power relations while giving little attention to processes of accessing space, it may be difficult for urban managers to acquire and gain adequate knowledge of managing these processes of access. Although there is growing awareness and application of inclusive processes in producing space for informal activities, there still are limitations in the way produced spaces are accessed, which has spatial ramifications that are visible on the ground (Bromley and Mackie, 2009).

Recent studies tend to focus on the relevance of studying informality as a way of life, with emphasis on how informal settlements are produced. The lack of attention given to the subject of informal livelihood activities as a means of producing space is still insufficiently studied. This study was therefore designed with the intention of contributing to this debate. Furthermore the pressure to meet the Millennium Development Goal of halving the number of poor people across the globe by 2015 also underscores the importance of taking immediate actions to address the issue of informality. Scholars have tended to hold certain assumptions about the capacity of informality, believing their models to be representative of the reality in all countries. However, this study considers that despite the broad understanding of informality that has been developed, different countries and cities face distinct challenges. This reality should be reflected in most of the conclusions and recommendations made about informality.

The final shortcoming relates to the excessive emphasis placed on power relations in addressing informality. In accentuating power relations there is a tendency to ignore the means of accessing working spaces and other contextual experiences which are a valuable information source with regard to municipal decision-making processes. The next chapter explores the methodological aspects which are going to assist in the process of providing answers to the questions raised in order to meet the aim of this study.

Chapter 3. Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the assumptions of the theoretical framework that underpins this thesis. This chapter presents the philosophical and practical elements behind the research design of this study. The discussion explores the ontological and epistemological foundations to specific issues that relate to the choice of research methodology. The discussion is extended to the mixed method approach used in this study to illuminate the study's central questions about appropriation and regulation of informal livelihood activities in prime urban locations. This approach has enabled the description and exploration of the socio-economic characteristics of urban dwellers, their need for, and access to, space and how the local authority ensures that working spaces are provided; and that the process of managing urban spaces and regulating informal livelihood activities is effectively carried out.

3.2 Philosophical positioning

This research is informed by a philosophical foundation in critical realism. As a way of understanding reality, this study builds on the assumption that reality exists regardless of whether we know about it or not; furthermore, it assumes that reality is not transparent and this provides us with a reason for wanting to find out about it (Bhaskar, 1998; Danermark *et al.*, 2005; Harre and Bhaskar, 2005). In addition Danermark *et al.* (2005) state that “to acquire usable knowledge it is essential that we know the mechanisms that produce empirical events and they are seldom directly visible”. However it is not the intention of this research to provide a comprehensive review about critical realism; for further reading reference should be made to Bhaskar (1998), Danermark *et al.* (2005), Harré and Bhaskar (2005) and others. This approach, when applied to the study of informal operations, frames informality as part of the wider social structure, wherein the appropriation of prime locations is a part of socio-economic and political processes. This approach assists us in understanding informal processes in ways that include the following: the attitudes underlying structural mechanisms towards informality, their characteristics, sets of relations and powers and their position in the wider social system. Within this approach, understanding is sought of the forces which facilitate informality, of the perception of informality and the needs and operations of individual or groups practicing informality. As discussed in Chapter 1,

informality is an approach which influences the day to day activities of people in developing countries and other parts of the world. Understanding the informal means of production, consumption and management of urban spaces could be useful to a wider constituency, as well as empowering the individuals involved in these processes. Additionally, as indicated in Chapters 1 and 2, contingent conditions influence the response to informality within policy. To integrate informal operators into city processes socially, economically and environmentally, the focus has been on implementing rules, regulations and guidelines to control the appropriation of prime locations. The main agencies in this process are seen to be policy makers and municipal officials, often with little or no personal experience of informality. The lived experience of informal operators has until recently merely influenced the changes advocated by other agencies, and in supplied a source of information for solution strategies or research projects, despite the informal operators' willingness to participate in research. How we understand this lived experience will now be considered.

To understand epistemology as propounded from the standpoint of critical realism, knowledge of how it understands transitive and intransitive objects is necessary (Bhaskar, 1998; Bricmont, 2005; Ayers, 2011). A transitive object entails theories, concepts, metaphors and explanations of 'semiotic resources' constructed by researchers about events and processes. Transitive objects within this research include concepts about poverty, urban spaces, the informal sector and governance, which, as detailed in Chapter 2, provide us with an understanding of what explanations other researchers have put forward, which contribute to our understanding of such concepts and theories and their application to the current research. Intransitive objects are real objects which exist irrespective of our knowledge of them. This is the empirical understanding of the study area, that is to say, the interaction between informal operators and urban spaces, which is independent of our beliefs, perceptions or alleged knowledge; and it is what will be drawn upon to generate new understandings – in other words it could be used to validate or falsify existing understandings. Critical realism does not consider that all knowledge is valid, it involves seeking/asking if some kinds of knowledge are better than others. For instance, power increasingly contributes to people's involvement with informal activities. We can only gain partial knowledge of the extent of their involvement and the impacts on their urban spaces. However this understanding would not necessarily be regarded as the only truth, and hence provides grounds for a representation that constitutes better knowledge of the informality processes than this

one. As stated by Danermark et al. (2005:15), ‘knowledge is fallible and open to adjustment’ owing to limitations in terms of time and culture; and yet, at the same time, not all knowledge is ‘equally fallible’.

3.3 Why mixed method

The role of mixed method research is not to invalidate qualitative and quantitative research but rather to utilize the strength of the two methods whilst minimizing their individual weaknesses. Elaborating on this, Abowitz and Toole, (2010:113) noted that using multiple methods on a single study enhances the “recurrence and consistency relationship between variables”. As stated by Cresswell (2003, 2008) and Feilzer, (2010) both approaches have limitations; therefore, using mixed methods allows minimization of the disadvantages of any individual method. Although there are epistemological and ontological differences between the qualitative and quantitative methods, that does not prevent a researcher combining different data collection techniques in a single study. Elaborating on this issue, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, (2004) argue that the difference in epistemological belief should not restrict the methods of data collection which are associated with either qualitative or quantitative research. These research approaches should be mixed whenever it is desirable, to offer the best way of addressing research issues and questions. The insights and procedures from both approaches could be merged to produce greater understanding of research arguments. As pointed out by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, (2004) the main strength of a mixed method approach is to allow the researcher to employ multiple strategies, approaches and methods to achieve complementary strength while minimizing any overlapping weaknesses. Furthermore combined methods lead to confidence in the research results, innovation in methods, better understanding of emerging explanations, claims for new theories and challenging existing claims (Jick, 1979; Jick, 2008).

It is important to note that both qualitative and quantitative research use empirical observation to answer their research questions or hypotheses (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Researchers use the findings arising from both approaches to illuminate and support explanations of the phenomena they are investigating. Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998, 2008:16) summarize the similarities of qualitative and quantitative research to include the “value-ladenness of enquiry, belief in the theory ladenness of facts, belief that reality is multiple and constructed, belief in the fallibility

of knowledge and belief in the under determination of theory by fact.” These underlying beliefs provide a justification for researchers to use both methods in enquiry.

Owing to the nature of this research, which involves a contemporary phenomenon, with objectives and questions that focus on complex processes, relationships and human behaviour, a mixed method research approach was adopted. Relying on a single method would have hindered the achievement of comprehensive results, as it would not have been possible to capture data related to the issue under investigation by only one method. The data collection process involved both primary and secondary data. The conceptualisation of the study necessitated exploration of theories and concepts from the existing literature. By contrast the empirical aspects of the study were mainly concerned with analysing the competition for space in order to develop an approach which will mediate the resultant conflicts and play a part in managing contested spaces. Hence a coherent and systematic approach that could yield appropriate data collection processes, analysis and interpretation was required as indicated before. Research tools used for this study included key informants, unstructured and structured interviews, observations, documents and mapping. Since the aim of this study was to find an alternative approach rather than to test a hypothesis, the concept of critical realism was used to determine the extent to which collaborative planning and just city theories explain the need for democracy and equity in the production of space and their specific application to the informal livelihood activities and urban spaces which form the subject matter of this study.

It is important to note that the author has had personal experience with informal activity, which came to an end after her stall was demolished. Drawing from that experience it was important for her to use mixed methods to ensure the breadth of the information collected, so that it was not overshadowed with her own experience of engagement with informal activity. In-depth interviews and observations were used to gain access to informal operators in the study area. In this sense, the information collected was based on a current group of operators, rather than on the researchers’ experience and knowledge. Furthermore questionnaires were administered which allowed inclusion of a wider range of informal operators’ experiences. In the whole process, the researcher’s position was that of an observer.

Reflexive conscious approach

According to Nightingale and Cromby (1999:228) “reflexivity requires an awareness of the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process, and an acknowledgment of the impossibility of remaining 'outside of' one's subject matter while conducting research”. Throughout this study the researcher has maintained reflexivity by including relevant autobiographical information, to give the reader an understanding of her professional background (see Preface), ontological and epistemological standpoint (see sections 3.1-3.3 and 9.2). Reference to existing theories has guided the questions which provide the focus of this study (see Chapter 2). In addition, the researcher has employed an auto-critique approach, by going back into work undertaken in search of errors and mistakes. It is a self-questioning process, where data generated from the field work and analysis is returned to with a critical eye at a later date. Finally, the researcher has also used peer-to-peer exchange, seminars and presentations to critique this research.

3.4 Selection and delineation of study area

According to Patton (1987) the decisive factor in the selection of a case study is its richness of information. A case study approach allows the researcher to study issues relevant to their study in details. As argued by Wiesma, (2000), the selection of the study area should consider which characteristics are appropriate to the subject under investigation. Such a case study should also be applicable to other contexts. Building on that aspect the study also considers other factors which limited the scope of the study. The first limiting factor was the time and resources available to the researcher. This study needed to be completed within three years, to a limited budget. It was therefore essential to focus on a specific area to allow detailed study which would provide useful findings and potential inferences. This study aimed to establish an understanding of the process of appropriation of prime locations and regulation of these processes by the municipality. It was also aimed at analysing the impacts of and trends in urban policies which regulate these activities. The analysis consisted of an exploration of the spatial ramifications of these processes. Therefore it was essential to undertake this study in a suitable urban area. This led to the consideration of Dar es Salaam city, Tanzania as a possible appropriate study area; the reasons that led to its selection are outlined below (Figure 3.1).

Dar es Salaam is the primary city in Tanzania. It is the business capital and so constitutes the main centre for economic, social and cultural activities. For these reasons, it was therefore selected as an appropriate setting for this study. Further characteristics which influenced its selection included: firstly its representation in terms of socio-economic changes, population size, growth in economic, social, built environment and cultural aspects and the dependency of the inhabitants on informal livelihood activities, the latter having increased tremendously over the past decade. The fact that the key investigator is a resident also influenced selection. The significance of the researcher's familiarity with the location was considered to be a great advantage, as it provided easy access to data by means of an established network. Thirdly, although studies on informal livelihood activities have already taken place in the same city, the focus has mainly been on documenting the eviction and harassment of informal livelihood activities, and the preferred location for these activities, whilst the tension and spatial ramifications of informal livelihood activities have not been studied heretofore. Furthermore, the planning aspect of informal livelihood activities has prompted this research, with a view to using the greater understanding gained to better address the issue. Dar es Salaam city was therefore deemed to provide a rich case, which would allow for inferences to be made which will be applicable to other urban settings of its kind.

It was neither practical nor desirable to study an entire city as large as Dar es Salaam. As the city is divided into three municipalities, the researcher decided to focus on one of these, namely, Ilala. In order to further narrow down the areas for detailed data collection, the researcher identified the locations which are considered as the prime ones for informal livelihood activities (see section 1.7 for detail on prime locations). Therefore the researcher divided the chosen municipality into three parts with respect to the issues under investigation. The focal point was considered to be the Uhuru/Msimbazi roundabout, which unites district roads from all parts of the city (Figure 3.2). This focal point was decided on by the research owing to its importance as a transport node and commercial point in the area. From that focal point, the first of the three parts selected included an area within 1 kilometre of the roundabout; the second part is a concentric ring within the next kilometre while the third part consists of all the peripheral areas beyond this ring. This subdivision considered the intensity of informal livelihood activities. These activities decrease with increasing distance from the focal

point, which is also accompanied by an increase in activity specialization; for this reason, the selected study area was an area radiating around the focal point.

Description of the case-study area

The case study area is located within Ilala municipality, which is one of the busiest areas in Dar es Salaam city (Figures 3.1 and 3.2). These areas are Mchikichini and Msimbazi and Uhuru roads which fall within a one kilometre radius from Uhuru/Msimbazi roundabout. The area has a concentration of high rise buildings which accommodate large businesses including shops and offices; this could be described as an area of commercial gentrification. It is lively during the daytime as livelihood operators scramble for space to carry out numerous income-generating activities.

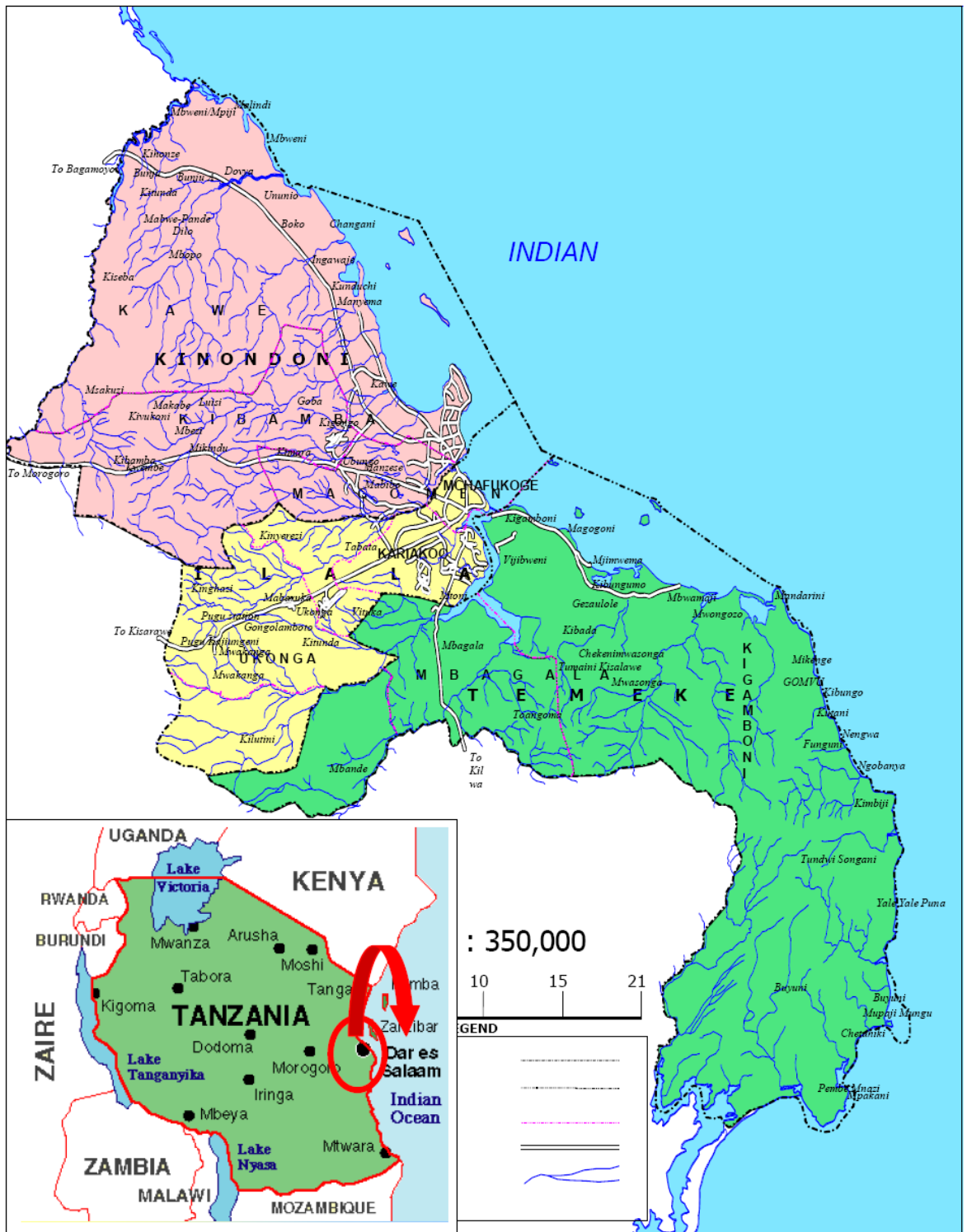


Figure 3.1 Dar es Salaam City: Municipal Boundaries

Source: Dar es Salaam City Council

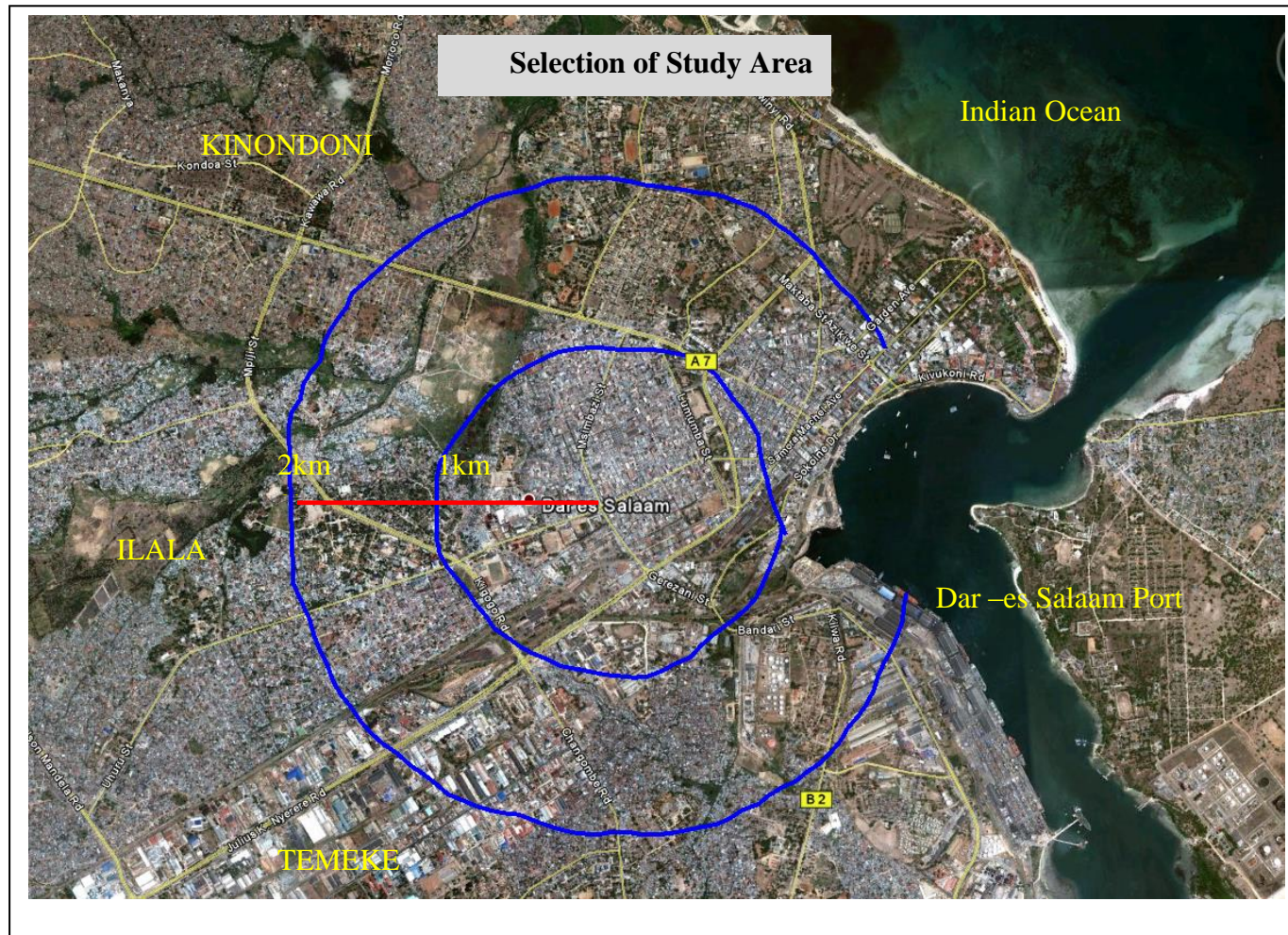


Figure 3.2 Case study Area

Source: Google Earth 2012

3.5 Research design

Yin (2009:24) defines research design as the logic that links the data to be collected and the conclusions to be drawn with regard to the initial questions of a study. For their part, Cresswell *et al.* (2008:163) define it as a process for collecting, analysing and reporting the findings in either qualitative or quantitative enquiry. Moreover, research design provides the researcher with the process to be followed so as to answer the desired research question. It involves a set of decisions regarding the topic, sample, data collection methods, analysis and interpretation of the results (Babbie, 2008). Research design for mixed methods can be explained in three ways. Cresswell *et al.* (2008; 2003) categorized mixed method design as visual models, notation systems and the specification of type of design. Drawing from Stecler *et al.* (1992), Cresswell *et al.* (2008:166) describe the visual model as being qualitative methods used to help develop quantitative measures, quantitative methods used to strengthen qualitative study, or qualitative methods used to help explain quantitative findings or when qualitative and quantitative methods are used equally and in parallel. Visual models are usually represented diagrammatically. Furthermore as cited in Cresswell (2009) Morse (1991) categorized mixed methods design by using plus and arrow signs to denote simultaneous and sequential relationships respectively. The mixed methods approach is still developing in terms of the use of appropriate terminologies. Current developments include the use of complementary, initiation and development designs, although consensus is yet to be reached (Creswell *et al.*, 2008). This research therefore adopted the visual model which utilized quantitative and qualitative methods equally. Other authors refer to this type of research design as a concurrent triangulation design. The following section discusses what the chosen visual model entails.

Drawing from Creswell (2009) concurrent triangulation is one of the most commonly used mixed methods research designs. It entails the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods to confirm, cross validate and corroborate research findings. Both methods are used at the same time to collect data so as to minimize or reduce the weakness of another method. The idea is to give each method an equal chance during the enquiry and to integrate the research findings at the interpretation stage. The inferences drawn from the findings are meant to strengthen the knowledge claims of the study when the methods converge; conversely, when there is no convergence, the results should help to explain the situation. Therefore in this study, quantitative methods

were used to collect the socio economic characteristics of the respondents as well as the attitudes of the respondents towards policies used to regulate informal livelihood activities and manage urban space. This provided clear analysis of what it entails to be an informal livelihood operator. The main tool which was used for data collection was the questionnaire. To answer the question of why these people engage in these kinds of activities, the qualitative method of in-depth interviews was used to understand the existing relationship between the operators, shop owners, municipality, landlords, and customers. Observations were made to gain understanding of the use of spaces over a particular period of time. The details of these tools are explained in the following sections.

Key issues of appropriating prime locations and regulating informal livelihood activities

The explanation made in Chapter 2 provides a background for this section. Urban spaces suitable for informal livelihood activities are characterized by easy accessibility in terms of transport, large flow of pedestrians (consumers) and a range of goods and services. The presence of these characteristics contributes to the success of informal livelihood activities. Despite the locational advantages of these spaces, the optimum success for informal livelihood operators as discussed in the preceding chapters depends on their ability to act upon or against the rules and regulations imposed by the local authority. A study on the appropriation of prime locations and the regulation of informal activities requires an examination of operators' socio economic characteristics, the characteristics of urban spaces and the process of appropriation. Furthermore, the assessment includes the role of the municipality in the appropriation process and how other stakeholders are integrated in the regulation process. Therefore the investigation was guided by the following research objectives and research questions (Table 3.1):

Table 3.1 Research questions

The main aim of this study is to analyse the appropriation of prime locations for informal activities and examine the challenges of regulating these activities in Dar es Salaam city.

Objectives	Research questions
1. To analyse the context in which informal activities take place.	(i) What is Dar es Salam context?
	(ii) What are the similarities and differences with international experience?
2. To analyse the appropriation of prime locations for informal activities by informal operators.	(iii) How do informal operators appropriate prime locations for their activities?
	(iv) Why do informal operators appropriate prime locations?
3. To assess the ways in which informal activities in prime locations are regulated.	(v) How does the municipality regulate informal activities in prime locations?
	(vi) What is the role of and relationship between other stakeholders in regulating prime locations and informal livelihood activities?
	(vii) How far are the stakeholders successful in regulating informal activities?

In order to answer the foregoing questions and sub questions, it was important to identify the main variables and indicators that need to be investigated. The variables were derived from a comprehensive literature review (Chapter 2). From the conceptual framework three main aspects were identified (local authorities, urban spaces and informal livelihood activities) which assisted in developing the variables as represented in Figure 3.3 and Table 3.2 below. The identified variables assisted in preparing questions which were administered in the study area.

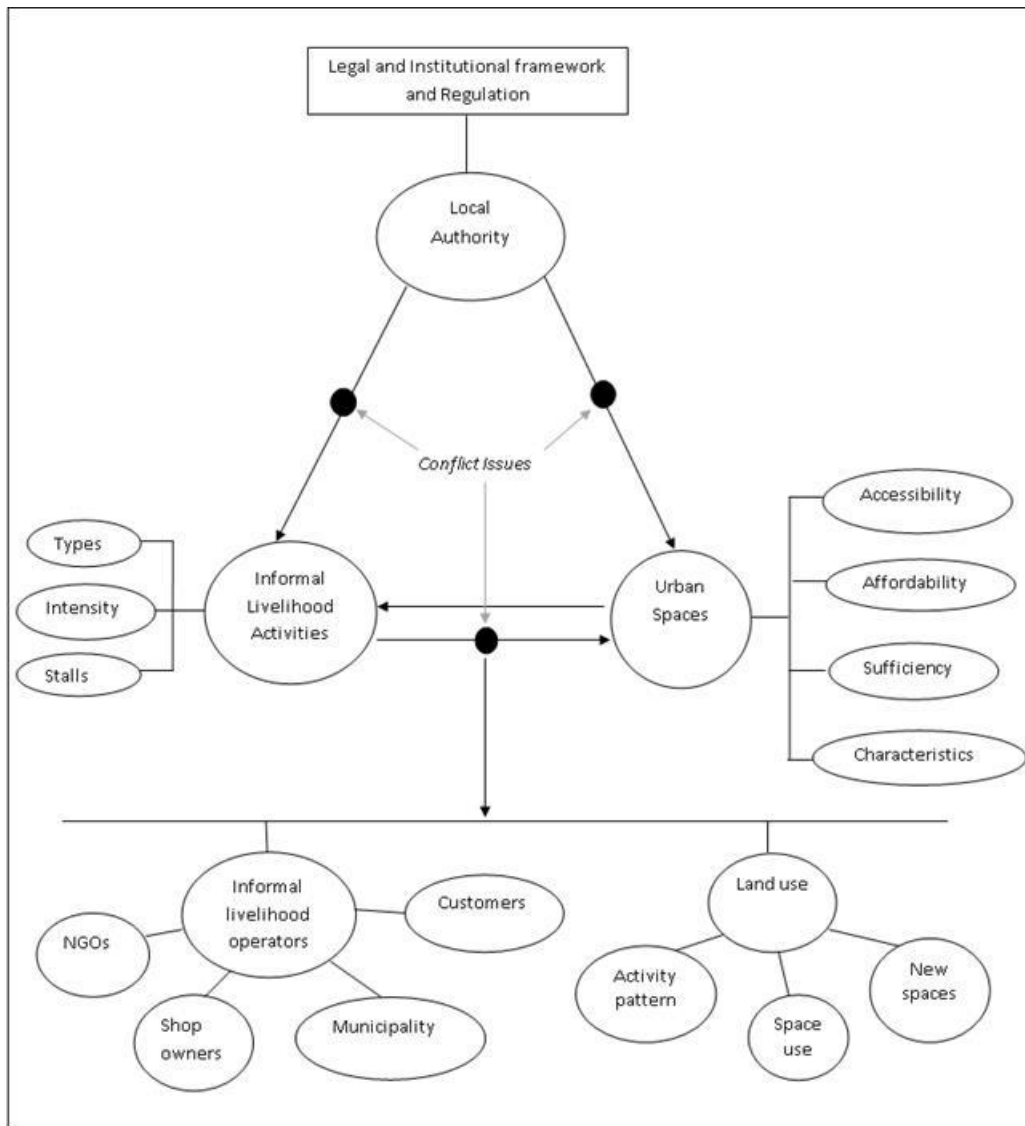


Figure 3.3 Key aspects of urban spaces and informal livelihood activities in Dar es Salaam

Table 3.2 Variables and indicators for the appropriation of prime location and regulation of informal activities

Main issue	Variables and indicators to be investigated
Socio economic characteristics of informal livelihood operators	Age, sex, income, education, activity, employment status, type of structure for informal business, place of origin and income
Access to space	Motive for accessing the space Access to space (who owns the space, how much does the operator pay for the space, how did the operator access the space, relationship with the owner/landlord/shop owner/) Who provides type of structure for informal business sources of capital/reason for getting loan/repayment status/
Management and regulations	Arrangement with landlord/shop owners/municipality/operators' associations, other non-government organizations Service providers/toilet/solid waste management/storage/ Regular supervision: eviction/harassment/ Factor influencing supervision/
Tension	Conflict with landlord/shop owners/municipality/fellow traders Individual problems
Policy	Regulation changes over time/advantages and disadvantages, motivation for changes, success and failure
Spatial Changes	Existing spaces/ new spaces/ Movements (advantages and disadvantages)

Selecting the sample for quantitative data

Quantitative data is generally collected from probabilistic or non-probability sampling. The case study area under this investigation has a high population during the day which reduces at night time. This implies that individuals who are involved in informal livelihood operations who comprise the unit of analysis in this case do not live where

they work. There was no sampling frame to help in identifying the individual respondent in the study area. Using the criteria used in delineating the study area, it was treated as a part of multi stage sampling to overcome the limitation posed by the lack of sampling frame. The researcher decided to employ a sample of two hundred informal livelihood operators within the study area. The individual respondents were identified using the convenient sample technique.

Selecting the sample for the qualitative data

Data for the qualitative approach was obtained from individual respondents and key informants. Individual informal livelihood operators were chosen for interview during the administration of questionnaires. This was done so as to secure appointments for the interviews. A total of 16 respondents were selected purposively so as to provide in-depth interview data to answer the research questions. The respondents were selected based on the researcher's judgment of their willingness to participate and ability to provide rich information on the issue under investigation. The qualitative data also included interviews with 10 municipal officials, 5 operators' association leaders and 10 customers and 2 experienced researchers. Key informants included people who have knowledge and influence about the study issues, such as municipal officials, informal livelihood organization leaders and private developers. Although purposive sampling was primarily used to select them for interview, where necessary the snowball sampling technique was employed to allow the capture of other sources of information, up to the point where the information become saturated.

3.5.1 Selecting research assistants

This research involved administering questionnaires, in-depth interviews, participant observation, direct observation and document review. The amount of work required was beyond the capacity of a single investigator, and therefore there was a need for research assistants to help with the data collection. The main criterion which was employed to select the research assistants included their willingness to participate, their ability and their understanding of the use of the research tools. A total of five research assistants were involved in this research. The composition of the research assistants' team was: one from the Planning school where the key investigator is employed; two university graduates and two 'A' Level school leavers. The rationale behind having people with different kinds of background in this group was to distribute the amount of work among

the group according to their capacities. For example, the research assistant from the Planning school has greater understanding of how to code spatial information using GPS, while the others were trained to administer questionnaires. Prior to the commencement of data collection the key investigator provided training and guidelines which the research assistants were supposed to follow in the process of data collection. Regular meetings during the collection process were necessary in order to allow feedback as well as to address issues of concern.

3.6 Formal steps to meet the informal

As discussed in Chapter 2, the literature review provided the theoretical and conceptual framework for this study, allowing the identification of key issues and variables for data collection. The key aspects were the local authority, informal livelihood operators and urban spaces (Figure 3.2). After completing a substantial review of the domain, the researcher undertook the fieldwork in Dar es Salaam Tanzania from June to September 2010.

Fieldwork activities

Upon arrival in the study area, for a period from 14th-27th June 2010, the researcher initiated the data collection by conducting a reconnaissance tour of the city. The aim of the reconnaissance was to become familiarized with the city environment and to note down any changes which had taken place during the past year when the researcher was last familiar with the study area as the place of habitation. Data on the use of space and any changes occurring between the two time points was obtained by the observation method. The main tool for gathering this data was through checklist questions. Checklist questions allowed a detailed audit of the visible environment, which at this stage, meant that the concern was to note changes in space. For example, it was observed that close to the study area the Machinga Complex project had been completed, including a market where some of the operators were due to be relocated. Thus, it was important to consider these changes and collect as much information as possible with regard to that development. Another issue which emerged in this process was change which had taken place within the Land Department within the municipality. The municipal officials had been transferred from one municipality to another, and as a result some of the networks which the researcher had previously established were disrupted and this delayed the commencement of data collection – although ultimately

the quality of data was not affected. This reconnaissance phase was completed within the first two weeks of arriving for the fieldwork.

Over the period from 30th June to 4th July 2010, the researcher carried out an induction for the research assistants. The aim was to equip them with basic knowledge about data collection and to train them to follow the set guidelines whilst undertaking the survey (Appendix A). The training included best practice guidance, such as stressing the optional and voluntary nature of participation with operators, and avoiding saying or doing anything that might make them feel compelled to participate in the survey. This also included an initial explanation of the purpose of the study, issues relating to specific questions and guidance on how to fill in the questionnaires. The questions were clarified for the research assistants, and they were introduced to the study area. In addition, the researcher also printed up a set of questionnaires ready for the interviews to take place the following week. Gathering data through questionnaires was considered efficient in terms of the cost and time taken, as well as enabling the researcher to generate a large quantity of data. The questionnaires for this research were administered face-to-face. This was considered the most suitable method, given the nature of the activities in which the respondents were engaged. Their schedule tended to be complicated, so that the researchers could not be sure if the operators would return the questionnaires or even return to the same location the next day. These operators would normally be focused on ensuring that their merchandise was accessible to their consumers all day long. Thus, it would have been unreasonable to distribute the questionnaires and expect the operators to return them. The decision was made that face-to-face interviews were necessary to secure a high response rate. The following section gives a detailed explanation of the contents of the questionnaires which were administered to the informal livelihood operators.

The questionnaire structure was organized to funnel down from more general questions to more specific ones. This design was intended to encourage and prompt the respondent to develop an interest in responding to questions. As Gillham (2008) claims, respondents' desire and interest to take part can be influenced by how the questions are structured. In addition, Gillham, (2008) and Zeisel (1984) state that arranging questions in categories can minimize the fatigue which the process might cause to the respondent. As a result, the questionnaire for this study was designed to progress from general to

specific issues in order to maintain clarity, precision, simplicity and comprehensiveness throughout. The structure of the questionnaire was therefore as follows:

- Part 1: Socio-economic characteristics of the informal livelihood operators
- Part 2: Space characteristics, access to, and contests over, space; and
- Part 3: Access to finance, awareness and adherence to policies, rules and regulations.

3.6.1 Meeting the operators

The researcher and her assistants administered the study questionnaires in the period from 7th July to 15th August 2010. Semi-Structured interviews consist of a set of closed questions for which respondents are given fixed answers to choose from as well as open questions which they are required to respond to. The respondents are not supposed to discuss why they have chosen a particular answer. The questions are usually administered to a group of individuals under investigation who are selected mostly at random. The advantage of structured interviews is their ability to be administered to large groups of respondents at a minimal cost per interview (Gillham, 2008). Hence the enquirer is provided with large amounts of data by the respondents. However the technique is quite limited, in the sense that the enquirer is unable to explore the issues as they arise in the course of the process. Information generated through a structured interview yields quantitative data (Yin, 2009). This study administered 200 structured interviews to individual informal livelihood operators within the study area. They were administered face-to-face, which facilitated a 100% response rate by those who agreed to participate.

Owing to the pattern of activity in the study area, the timing of questionnaire administration was divided into two temporal categories: day and night. The day category mainly took place in Mchikichini market and Uhuru Road, whilst the night category was along Msimbazi and Uhuru Roads. Since the day category included operators in both designated locations and undesignated locations, it was useful to administer more questionnaires in that category, so a total of 150 questionnaires were administered. The night category was restricted to 50 questionnaires only, as these interviewees were considered to work only in undesignated locations. The aim was to ensure that the operators interviewed represented the range of activities that took place. The operators were selected through convenience sampling, and if they accepted participation in the survey, they were then taken through the whole process. In the first

two weeks the questionnaires were carried out by the principal researcher and the two research assistants (recent graduates). From the start, operators showed willingness to participate and that eased the researcher's tension over whether this part of the fieldwork would succeed. On the first day, 15 questionnaires were completed. After the first two weeks of administering the questionnaires, the principal researcher decided to leave questionnaire administration to the research assistants, while she turned her attention to the observation strand of the data-gathering, as well as on mapping the concentration of activities so as to be able to identify patterns within this. Observation was often carried out with the purpose of providing useful additional evidence about the particular aspect being studied. Elaborating on the significance of observation, Yin (2009) states that observation adds a new dimension of understanding to the phenomenon under investigation. Observation ranges between more formal and more casual styles of data gathering. In this study, both were used. In a formal way, events were recorded in the field at certain time-points. To address the research questions, observations were recorded on the use of streets for trading activity, which included the relationship between operators and customers. Additionally, casual observations were recorded on the condition of the spaces used by informal livelihood operators. This was carried out with the help of one of the research assistants from the Planning School who was familiar with the use of GPS and mapping techniques. There were regular meetings with the research assistants to collect their feedback. As data collection progressed, the researcher started to enter the data on SPSS software (version 19). At the end of the first month of fieldwork, questionnaire administration and mapping were well underway.

By the end of the first month of questionnaire administration, the first two research assistants had completed 180 questionnaires. From 11th to 20th July 2010, the second set of research assistants (the two high school leavers) took over the administration of the remaining 20 questionnaires. They administered the questionnaires in the same manner as the first set of assistants, that is, in response to the temporal nature of the operators' working environment. By the end of the second month in the field, questionnaire administration was completed and the coding continued. In the course of entering the data in the SPSS the researcher became aware of the issues in detail, which provided background preparation for the in-depth interviews. The data cleaning process from the administered questionnaires revealed no discrepancy between the questionnaires administered by the first and second set of research assistants. One of the indicators was based on the response to each question, whereas there was a common feature in section

V of the questionnaire which has questions about access to loans. Both sets of questionnaires showed fewer responses to that question, which indicated that operators had little access to loans. The two set of questionnaires were not compared statistically because the purpose of the survey was to provide support for the in-depth interview not to provide valid and reliable data source in its own right. As the interviewers used a convenience sample rather than a more systematic kind of sample, it is to be assumed that the two sets of survey data will not be comparable so there is no point in making any more formal statistical comparison of them.

From 28th July 2010 onwards, the researcher met up with the operators to carry out the in-depth interviews; some of those participating in this phase had already responded to the structured questionnaire. The detailed interview was carried out according to the same two temporal categories (of day and night). The in-depth interviews were conducted solely by the researcher, as there was no need to use the research assistants for this part of the data-collection. Table 3.3 summarises the data collected and methods used.

3.6.2 Meeting professionals/council employees/academics/informal operators

In the second month, the researcher started carrying out in-depth interviews with professionals; city council officials; and academics. From the professional side, the researcher interviewed a number of town planners and a business officer. On the academic side the researcher interviewed researchers experienced in urban management and development studies. The interviews were also conducted with the operators' association leaders. The type of interview used, the open-ended interview, was designed to allow discussion between the enquirer and respondents. Open-ended interviews can be carried out either through in-depth interviews or using key informants (Yin, 2009). The enquirer is there to prompt respondents, using questions that will attract their attention and generate discussion. According to Yin (2003), respondents are encouraged to elaborate within the framework of the subject under study. Yin (2009) states that the enquirer has two main tasks during the interview: the first task is to ask questions which focus on the researcher's line of enquiry, while the second is to ask questions focused on the line of enquiry in an unbiased manner. The enquirer is required to offer additional questions to keep the conversation flowing while maintaining a low profile. Unlike structured interviews, open ended interviews allow the respondent to pose additional questions and explanations throughout the process. The inquirer is

required to take responsibility for the field notes and records which will be used at later stages of the investigation. It is advisable for the enquirer to check accuracy in recording and reporting data with the respondents. During the course of the interviews answers to research questions and some new insights were provided.

A document review provided a useful source of information for this enquiry. As stated by Yin, (2003) the significance of documents is to strengthen claims from other data sources. Cresswell (1994) concurs and states that documents provide more insights into the issue under investigation as well as intensifying the capacity to interpret study results. This study therefore utilized documentary sources including newspapers, street organizations and research reports, and policies addressing the issue of informal livelihood activities. All these documents assisted in discourse analysis about how informal livelihood activities are portrayed in policies and by the public. Other documents included maps of the case study area at a city, neighbourhood and street scale. This assisted in analysing changes in the use of space and ownership over time and its implications for the informal livelihood activities and prime locations.

By the end of the second month in the field, questionnaire administration was completed and the coding continued. In the course of coding the data the researcher became aware of the issues in detail, which provided background preparation for the in-depth interviews. The researcher had to meet the operators again, and some of them were the same people who had already responded to the questionnaires. The detailed interview was carried out according to the same two temporal categories (of day and night). The in-depth interviews were conducted solely by the researcher, as there was no need to use the research assistants for this part of the data-collection. Table 3.3 summarise the data collected and methods used.

Table 3.3 Data collected and methods

Objective	Data collected	Methods	Source of data
1. To analyse the context in which informal activities take place.	Experience from other countries Dar es Salaam context	Literature review	Documents
2. To analyse the appropriation of prime locations for informal activities by informal operators.	Socio-economic characteristics of informal Livelihood Operators Spatial location of informal livelihood operators Impacts of contest	Questionnaires	Informal operators
		Observation Mapping	Informal operators Prime location Maps
		Secondary sources	Official documents, news papers
		Interviews Key informants	Informal operators, Town planners, business officers, researchers Operators' association officials Customers
3. To assess the ways in which informal activities in prime locations are regulated	Initiatives taken Policy options	Interviews Key Informants	Informal operators, town planners, business officers, researchers Operators' association officials, Customers
		Secondary sources	
			Official documents, news papers

3.6.3 Putting things together

At the end of the third month, the time which was scheduled for the fieldwork to be over was completed and the researcher returned to the UK. Upon return, the analysis of the data collection began. First the quantitative data were analysed, and from this analysis, themes were developed, findings identified and discussed. Qualitative data were analysed and provided explanations that helped in the process of discussion. The

study data was in the form of written field notes, completed questionnaires, photographs and checklists, Maps and documents (newspapers, policies, rules and regulations, minutes, reports). Thus the analysis phase was important as it allowed interpretation of the collected data. Analysis was done both qualitatively and quantitatively with respect to the tool used during the data collection process. The next section provides details on how this information was analysed.

Analysing quantitative data

The analysis of the quantitative data gathered through the questionnaires was carried out using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The data were coded so as to reduce the amount of data collected to a manageable size. Then the bivariate statistical measure was used to establish relationships between the variables and hence make interpretations pertaining to the research questions. Specifically, the Chi-Square test, the Mann Whitney U test and the Measure of Central Tendency were applicable and were used to analyse the data collected. This statistical measure was used because it provides a powerful measure of the variables under study. For instance, the chi-square test of independence was used to allow the researcher to better interpret the results and provide support for inferences regarding the association of variables (Abowitz and Toole, 2010). The analysis took into consideration that the data were not distributed along a normal curve, and hence the use of a non-parametric measure was necessary. The analysis mainly focused on the accessibility, affordability, and sufficiency of urban space, in relation to the socio-economic characteristics of the informal livelihood operators, as well as the latter's attitudes towards and awareness of policies, rules and regulations. Further quantitative data which had been gathered from statistical analysis were input to Microsoft Excel software where they were submitted to graphic presentation. The themes were developed during this process and hence divided into chapters.

Analysing qualitative data

Data which were obtained through in depth interviews, documents, and photographs were analysed through a themes developed in quantitative data. The analyses were carried out by grouping responses with respect to questions and emerging themes already developed in the quantitative data. This process involved scrutinization of interview data, by re-reading the field notes to identify clear narratives used by informal livelihood operators, shop owners, land owners, municipal officials, senior researchers,

NGOs and land developers. The main issues which were investigated through these data included the reasons why informal operators access a particular space, relationships between stakeholders, conflicts among them and the ramifications of these conflicts on spaces and stakeholders. Therefore, the analysis looked at the clarity, order and reappearance of the interview data to make an interpretation of the findings. In sum, this research gathered data from questionnaires, in-depth interviews, observation and documents, all of which facilitated the interpretation of each data set. The interpretation brought data sets together from a multidimensional perspective and hence produced the conclusions of this thesis.

As the analysis progressed, the need for a second visit to the study area became necessary to fill in the identified gaps. Therefore, in December 2011 the researcher returned to the study area and conducted comprehensive interviews with city managers on their response to the issue of the day-to-day operation of informal activities; among the supplementary information which was gathered was that concerning city bylaws.

3.7 Quality of data

According to Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006; 2008), it is difficult to ascertain validity in mixed methods research. They suggest that when using the mixed methods approach, it is important to refer to this aspect as legitimation, and to incorporate strategies to address this. As defined in Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2008:271), legitimation implies that the “researcher draws inference in mixed method that is credible, trustworthy, dependable, transferrable, and/or confirmable”. Legitimation in the mixed method approach involves nine aspects, namely: sample integration, Inside-Out legitimation, weakness minimization, sequential, conversion, paradigmatic mixing, commensurability, multiple validity and political legitimation (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson, 2008).. The following section describes how some of legitimation for this study was ensured.

Sample integration

As discussed earlier, this study drew both qualitative and quantitative samples. In order to address concerns about drawing weak inferences, data was gathered from the qualitative sample until it reached saturation point. Saturation point in this case was determined by the repetition of data from the respondents. The researcher decided that when the repetition occurred with more than five respondents, then the in-depth interviews would be complete. Some of the sample used to collect information

quantitatively was used as a subset while collecting qualitative data. Data collected from these two samples were used to draw inferences about the issues under investigation.

Inside-Outside legitimation

Anwuegbuzie and Johnson, (2008:290) state that inside-outside refers to the “degree to which the researcher accurately presents and utilizes the insider’s view and observer view”. Quantitative approaches focus on ensuring the objective outsider view, while qualitative approaches ensure that the insider’s view is maintained. Mixed methods therefore seek a balance between these two perspectives. With regard to this study, the researcher used the peer review process to assess the interpretations made, as well as the conceptualization and inferences drawn from these (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson, 2008).

Weakness minimization legitimation

One of the strengths of using a mixed methods approach is the ability to combine different sources of data in a single study. The use of mixed methods requires the researcher to carefully design how to assess the weaknesses of one method and how to address those weaknesses using another method. This process should be applied to all stages of the research. The minimization of weaknesses is likely to yield high quality meta-inference (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson, 2008). This study used quantitative data to achieve a statistical description of the phenomenon under investigation; and qualitative data to provide an in-depth explanation of why things happen the way they do.

3.8 Challenges to the study

The challenges with regard to meeting the informal operators were mostly faced when undertaking the in-depth interviews. The respondents were willing to share their lived experience; however the noise levels in their environments provided a hindrance to recording details of the discussion using a tape recorder. The researcher therefore had to take notes and it was necessary, as the interviews continued, to write down all the issues discussed with the respondents. The interviews took place in the context of their working environment, and the atmosphere was one where other operators would shout out to attract customers’ attention; at the same time, it was not realistic to arrange meetings outside of their working space. Owing to the operators’ busy time schedules, it was also difficult to arrange formal group discussion hence there was only one informal discussion group with operators who were interested in discussing their frustration with

regard to forthcoming relocation to a new market. In addition, there was no time available to carry out a comparative study in other cities such as Arusha and Mwanza.

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, methodologies were explored that were relevant to helping to find answers to the research questions and to developing a framework for understanding the appropriation of prime locations and the regulation of informal activities, as elaborated in Chapter 2. A mixed methods design was adopted with regard to the methodological approach: quantitative methods included the administration of questionnaires; qualitative methods included in-depth interviews, observations and documentations. The Mchikichini, Msimbazi and Uhuru roads were used as study areas for this investigation. The process was not a straightforward approach as the research went back and forth and sometimes involved making decisions which were not foreseen at the initial stage.

The next chapter analyses the evolution and development of informal activities in Dar es Salaam city. The intention is to examine the development of policies that address the issues of informality, in order to enable the subsequent analysis of the case study data in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Chapter 4. Dar es Salaam Context: Changing Configuration of Informal Livelihood Activities

4.1 Introduction

For a long time, Dar es Salaam city has been engaged in the process of improving its economic, social and political environment. It has seen success in terms of increased revenue collection, provision of social services such as schools and ensuring the collaboration of local authorities (DCC, 2004; URT, 2010; Wangwe and Charle, 2010). However there evidently remain challenges in the provision of employment opportunities, as more than half of city households depend entirely on informal livelihood activities to generate income (URT, 2006). A bid to escape poverty and the belief that they can alter their socio economic characteristics has created a scramble for prime urban spaces, so that, wherever possible, they may remain in the town or in the city, as the case may be (Mfaume and Leonard, 2004). Despite the significant role played by informality in addressing the issue of unemployment, the operators and their activities continue to be viewed as undesirable elements in urban spaces. Naturally, this perception is not without resistance on the part of the operators, who are simply embracing the opportunity to earn an income from services for which there is a demand (Tripp, 1997; Kamete, 2010). This kind of resistance has kept them going and allowed them to strengthen their areas of operation, consequently effecting social, cultural and environmental change.

This chapter examines informal livelihood activities in detail through a historical analysis of how operators negotiate to remain in prime urban spaces, and how the city authority and the country as a whole have responded to the needs of the poor. The chapter begins by giving the background of Dar es Salaam city and how it has developed over time to provide a basis for the development of informal livelihood activities. It then analyses trends in these activities since the colonial period, in order to establish how this evolution informs the current scramble for prime urban space. It then identifies the milestones in the development of informal practice and the challenges which it has posed to policy development, in order to set the stage to examine the question of whether the changes that have occurred can provide a basis for the inclusion of informal practice in prime spaces.

4.2 Dar es Salaam context: The background

The name of Dar es Salaam city is famously believed to mean 'Haven of Peace'. The city was founded in 1862 by Seyyid Majid, Sultan of Zanzibar. In 1920, under British imperial rule, it was declared a township, and gained the status of a municipality in 1949. Soon after independence in 1961, Dar es Salaam was declared a city and became the administrative and commercial capital for independent Tanganyika, and later held this role for the United Republic of Tanzania. However, in 1973, it lost its capital city status, but even so, it has remained the main centre for all administrative and bureaucratic functions of central government, playing a major role as the commercial capital, as well as acting as the country's major international and local transport gateway (Burton, 2005; UN-HABITAT, 2009).

4.2.1 Population growth

The estimated 3 million population of Dar es Salaam comprises a mixture of tribal groups as a result of rural-urban migration (DCC, 2004). Half of the population in the Dar es Salaam region were born in the city, while 48.9% were born outside the region. The remaining 1.1% of the population is made up of non-nationals (URT, 2002). The city experienced an increase in population over the period from 1967 to 2002 (Table 4.1), when residents almost tripled as a result of a swelling of the natural birth rate, in combination with rural-urban migration. However population census reports for 1978, 1988 and 2002 indicate that rural-urban migration accounts for a bigger share of the population increase in urban areas than new birth. Generally the Dar es Salaam urbanisation process is one of the fastest in sub-Saharan Africa, with a population density of 1,786 people per square kilometre (URT, 2002; Satterthwaite, 2007).

Table 4.1 Population size and growth rate for Dar es Salaam city (1948-2002)

Year	Population	Growth rate (%)
1948	69,227	8.6
1957	128,742	11.2
1967	272,821	11.8
1978	757,546	17.8
1988	1,360,850	4.8
2002	2,495,000	4.3

Source: National population census 1948, 1957, 1978, 1988, 2002

The 2002 national population census report indicates an increase in Dar es Salaam's population at the rate of 4.3% per year (Table 4.1). This population increase is attributed to the role played by the city as national administrative and commercial centre, which is a big population draw. This rapid urbanisation has inevitably increased pressure on land and an already overstrained urban infrastructure and services, many of which have not been maintained or expanded to cope with the rapid urban growth. Dar es Salaam city region has the highest proportion of the resident population residing in its urban areas (i.e. in Dar es Salaam city) (Table 4.2) in comparison to other regions in the country (URT, 2002). There was a significant increase in population up to 1978, which could be attributed to the lifting of colonial restrictions on rural migrants coming into the city. The annual growth rate peaked at 17.8% in 1978, thereafter reducing to 4.8% and 4.3% in 1988 and 2002 respectively. This reduction in population growth could be attributed to the development of other cities such as Mwanza, Mbeya and Arusha, which have acted as rival poles of attraction for new residents. Notwithstanding the need for land to accommodate housing development, infrastructure, and other major formal land uses, there has been an increased demand for prime spaces to accommodate ever-increasing informal livelihood activities, which were overlooked while preparing the city's physical development plans. The increase in informal livelihood activities is the result of the failure of the city to provide formal employment opportunities for its residents, alongside the increase in population as a result of inter-regional migration to the city (URT, 2002). It is also acknowledged that the need to increase household income as a result of low wages as well as job cuts has contributed to an increase in informal

livelihood activities (Tripp, 1997). It is worth noting that economic turmoil and recession increase the number of people involved with informal livelihood activities, despite the challenges faced by those already in operation (Horn, 2010).

Table 4.2 Dar es Salaam city region: percentage of population residing in the urban area 1978, 1988, 2002

Year	Urban Population %
1978	91.3
1988	88.6
2002	93.2

Source: Census Report Volume x, 2006

The population distribution in Dar es Salaam city varies across its three districts, with Kinondoni recording the highest number of people living in its boundaries, whilst the total recorded by Ilala was the lowest (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Dar es Salaam City: Population distribution in 2002

District	Population in 2002
Ilala	634,924
Temeke	768,451
Kinondoni	1,083,913
Total	2,487,288

Source: Census Report Volume x, 2006

Although Ilala recorded the lowest population in its jurisdiction, it is nevertheless claimed that it has the highest day time population compared to other districts, because it accommodates the highest percentage of public and private administrative buildings, industries and other businesses, including informal activities (IMC, 2007).

4.2.2 Settlement development

Dar es Salaam city comprises three municipalities namely Ilala, Temeke, and Kinondoni with a total area of 1,800 kilometres square, and a land mass covering 1,393 kilometres square. There is uneven share of the total area between the three municipalities, with Temeke's coverage being the largest, followed by Kinondoni and Ilala (Table 4.4).

Even though Ilala is the smallest municipality, it hosts the most important developments in terms of administrative buildings, the international airport and industries. It is the place where the colonial government established its main settlements, while Kinondoni and Temeke were suburban areas. The development of the settlements follows a radial road structure, which influences the concentration of activities in the Central Business District. Consequently the majority of the population live within 10 kilometres from the city centre (Figure 4-1) (Burton, 2005). However urban sprawl is prevalent and has resulted in a spread of settlements that extends 53km from North to South and 30 kilometres from East to West, as noted by Diaz *et al.* (2003); see also Figure 4.1.

Table 4.4 Dar es Salaam City: Land mass distribution

Municipality	Total Land Mass (km ²)
Temeke	652
Kinondoni	531
Ilala	210
Total	1,393

Source: Dar es Salaam city profile (2004)

During colonialism, settlements were distinguished according to race. The most affluent among the white population occupied the areas along the Indian ocean shore, including Oyster Bay, Masaki and Posta; Asians resided in the Upanga area; while native Africans settled in Kariakoo, Ilala and Buguruni (Kironde, 1995; Burton, 2005). The city continued to grow in line with transport routes and other developments. This led to the establishment of other centres in the Temeke and Kinondoni municipalities. The development of the settlements is characterised by people constructing their own homes, with services provided to those who can afford them (Kombe and Kreibich, 2002). As a result, 70 per cent of the city is made up of informal settlements (Lupala, 2002). The urban poor who have managed to establish themselves in the city mainly live in these informal settlements.

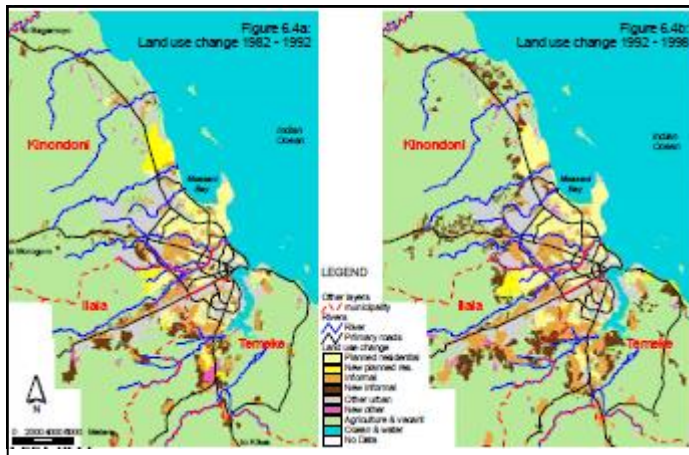
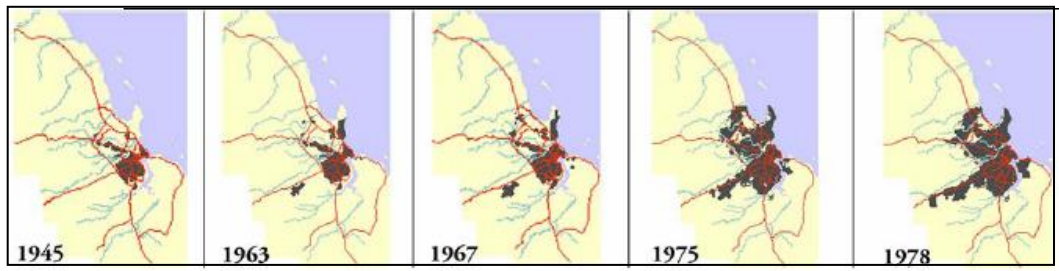


Figure 4.1 Dar es Salaam City: Settlement Development 1945-1998

Source: Sliuzas, 2004

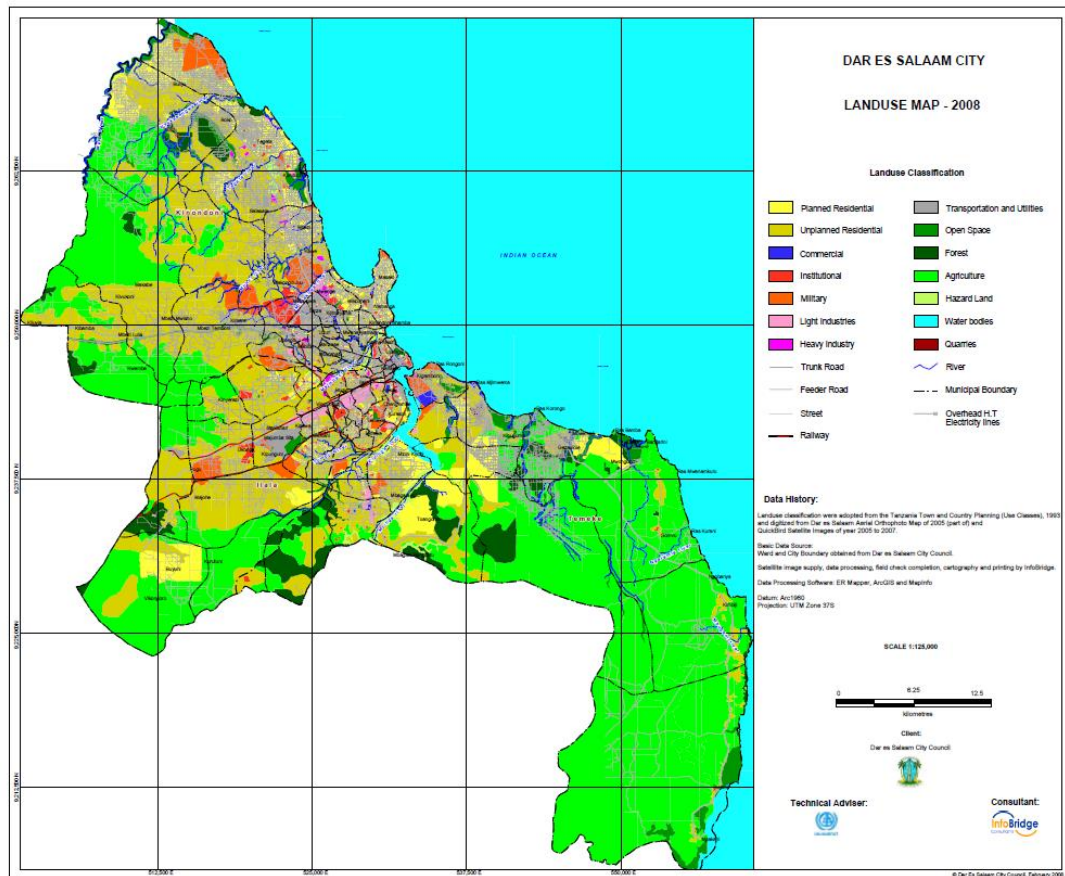


Figure 4.2 Dar es Salaam City: Land Use Classification

Source: Dar es Salaam City Council, 2008

The first master plan was prepared in 1948 by a private firm and was meant to guide the development of the city; however, the city has continued to develop without reference to the plan (Mtani, 2004; Šliužas, 2004). It is widely recognised that the failure of Dar es Salaam’s master plan was due to a lack of funds by the government to facilitate service provision as well as limited institutional capacity to enforce the plan. The inflexible nature of the master planning approach also facilitated the growth of informal settlements. Settlement development also had an impact on the development of informal activities. Centres within new and existing settlements influence the viability of informal activities by offering customer and accessibility bases; however the existing centre continues to attract a greater number of operators, owing to other economies of scale.

4.2.3 Employment

Tanzania’s economy depends on the agricultural sector, which employs 75.1% of all employed persons; however this sector is in rural areas (89%), rather than in urban areas (44.7%) (URT, 2006). The informal sector is the second largest sector, providing over 10% of all employment (Table 4.5.). There has been an increase in informal activities

for households on the mainland Tanzania, rising from 35% in 2001 to 40% in 2006 (URT, 2006). Of those working in the urban informal sector, 66% depend entirely on these activities for a livelihood, while 16% use informal activities as a secondary activity. According to Schneider (2002), the informal economy contributed 58.3% of Tanzania's GDP in the year 1999/2000 which was more than half of the total GDP.

Table 4.5 Tanzania Mainland: Employed persons by sector and gender 2006 in (%)

Sector	Male	Female	Total
Central/Local Government	3.6	1.7	2.6
Parastatal ⁴ Organisation	0.6	0.2	0.4
Agriculture	70.5	79.4	75.1
Informal	11.5	8.8	10.1
Other Private	12.6	4.8	8.6
Household economic activity	1.1	5.1	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Integrated Labour Force Survey, 2006

According to the ILFS (2006) the main reasons which induce people to work in the informal sector include: the inability to find other work (36.6%); the need for additional income (31.0%) and the ability of informal activities to provide good income opportunities. Other reasons are as indicated in table 4.6.

⁴ Non-departmental public body (public-sector bodies with their own governing bodies)

Table 4.6 Tanzania Mainland: Reasons for engaging with the informal sector

Reason for Engaging with Informal Sector	Percentage (%)
Can't find other work	35.6
Released from other employment/working time reduced	1.6
Family needed additional income	31.0
Business does not require much per capita	6.9
Business provides good income opportunity	14.1
Wants to be Independent	1.8
Can choose hours and place of work	1.6
Can combine business and household responsibilities	3.4
Traditional lines of business and family/Tribe	1.6
Others	2.4

Source: Integrated Labour Force Survey, 2006

The informal sector has now become the leading sector in employment creation in the country. According to the government monitoring report min goal report, out of 437,205 jobs created in by 2008, 195 017 were created within the Informal sector while 58,399 were in the public sector and 183,789 in the formal private sector (URT, 2008). With this evidence it is important to emphasise the importance of the informal sector in tackling the problems of unemployment and specific attention should be given to Dar es Salaam as the primary city in the country, which attracts the highest percentage of the population. The economically active population in Dar es Salaam is fairly evenly split between male (50.7%) and female (49.3%) residents (URT, 2006). The distribution of the current active population varies within age groups; however the majority are those aged between 34 and 65 (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7 Dar es Salaam City: Percentage distribution of currently economically active population by age and gender, 2006

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
15-24	16.0	12.4	28.4
25-34	16.3	16.1	32.4
35-64	16.0	20.7	36.7
65+	1.0	1.5	2.5
Total	49.3	50.7	

Source: Integrated Labour Force Survey, 2006

Employment ratio of Dar es Salaam City

According to the 2006 Integrated Labour Force Survey, Dar es Salaam city's total employment ratio using a standard⁵ definition is 67.67% (Table 4.8). Compared to other urban areas in mainland Tanzania, the employment ratio in the city is relatively low owing to a high rate of unemployment, recorded at 31.5% in 2006; and to the limited involvement of women in economic activities (URT, 2006). It is worth noting that female unemployment rate in Dar es Salaam is almost double that of male at 40.3% and 23% respectively.

⁵ Standard definition: the employed population includes all persons above a specified age who did some work in the reference period either for pay in cash or in kind (paid employees) or who were in self-employment for profit or family gain, plus persons temporarily absent from these activities but definitely going to return to them, for example those on leave or sick. Self-employment includes persons working on their own farms or *shambas* or doing any other income generating activities. Unpaid family workers in family businesses are included in the category of employed persons (ILFS, 2006:5).

Table 4.8 Dar es Salaam City: The current employment ratio for those aged 15 and over, by age and gender 2006

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
15-24	45.1	43.5	44.2
25-34	90.6	67.8	79.0
35-64	93.9	70.3	83.2
65+	58.3	38.2	48.5
Total	76.7	58.6	67.6

Source: Integrated Labour Force Survey, 2006

The main occupations in Dar es Salaam city include: legislators and administrators; professionals, associate professionals, and technicians; office clerks, service workers and shop sales workers; agricultural and fishery workers; craft and related workers, plant machine operators and assemblers and those in elementary occupations⁶ (URT, 2006). The dominant occupation for both males and females is services and retail sales work, which accounts for 34% of jobs (URT, 2006).

While the public sector was dominant from independence in 1961 up to the 1980s, since then, Dar es Salaam city has experienced a shift in employment opportunities to the private, informal sector. Table 4.9 indicates that both informal livelihood activities and the private sector now constitute the two main employment areas, providing employment to nearly 75% of the city's population. The 2001 labour force survey also indicates that informal livelihood activities play a major role in providing employment opportunities by accommodating 34% and 30% of employed men and women respectively (Lerise and Kyessi, 2002; URT, 2002). It is generally acknowledged, among both genders on the Tanzania mainland, that there are only limited options to find employment opportunities in the formal sector (URT, 2001a). In Dar es Salaam city, 62% of households are engaged in informal sector activities (URT, 2001a). However, in the period between 2001 and 2006, there has been a slight decrease in households involved with the informal sector: it has gone down from 62% to 57%, as noted in the integrated labour survey of 2006 (URT, 2006).

⁶ Elementary occupations consist of simple and routine tasks which mainly require the use of hand-held tools and often some physical effort

Table 4.9 Dar es Salaam City: Proportion of employment by sector occupation

Activity	% of City Population
Urban Agriculture	8.7
Government	5.0
Parastatal	6.6
Informal sector (Informal Livelihood Activities activities)	45.0
Private Companies	29.8
House work	4.9
Total	100.0

Source: Nnkya, (2004)

4.2.4 Typology of informal livelihood activities

Informal livelihood activities can be categorised into three main groups, namely: the production of informal products; retail of informal products; and employment through informal arrangements, whether in the formal or informal sectors (Davies and Thurlow, 2010). I will now go on to describe each of these categories in more detail.

Informal production

This involves operators who work in the production section of the informal sector. Basically they are involved in the manufacturing of various products which end up in informal as well as formal markets. It was initially believed that manufacturing in the informal sector would mainly employ traditional techniques; however with the continuing growth of the sector itself, developments have occurred as operators come to adopt more modern technologies in the production process. The manufacturing activities which prevail include the manufacture of furniture, carvings, fabrics and clothes, soft drinks, jams and other products. The operators often deploy entrepreneurial skills to facilitate their production. In Dar es Salaam, for example, these types of manufacturing activities are located outside the city centre (Nnkya, 2006). The obvious reason for this is that the amount of space required to undertake these kinds of activities is greater than for other informal activities. The ideal space required is one that not only provides room for the manufacturing process but also storage facilities, as well as show rooms.

Informal retailing

Informal retailing accounts for the highest percentage of informal sector activities. This activity involves selling products in market places or on the streets. The products which are sold are generally produced legally, although they can be sold either formally or informally. It is evident that with continuing trade liberalisation there are more imported goods on the market, meaning more opportunities for informal operators to distribute such products to consumers. The products sold by informal operators tend to include shoes, second hand and new clothes, luggage, stationery, food, and agricultural produce. The most favourable location for selling such goods has continued to be within the city centre, in the market places as well as in public spaces. These types of locations attract informal sellers due to their ability to offer a good customer base for these products. Informal retailing is provided together with immediate services needed by both customers and the operators. These essential services include food and shoe-shining.

Informal employment

The informal sector offers a variety of employment options, including occupations such as technical and associate professional, service workers and shop sales workers, craft and related workers, plant and machine operators, assemblers, elementary occupations and others (URT, 2006). The informal sector tends to include the following kinds of employment status: paid employee, self-employed with employees, self-employed without employees and unpaid family helpers (URT, 2006).

4.3 The context: Historical analysis of informal activities

It is evident that informal activities have undergone an immense increase across the city. The following section provides a historic account of informal activities in the urban spaces of Dar es Salaam city and the changes which have taken place overtime.

4.3.1 During colonialism

Over time, Africans have associated themselves with the development of informal livelihood activities and hence with the informal economy (Hart, 1970). Burton (2005) noted that in urban Dar es Salaam, for instance, the residents' main employers were government departments and private companies, with only a handful mainly employed by petty trading and selling food stuffs, operating in all parts of the town from street to street. According to Kironde (1995) over the colonial period, Africans, who were commonly referred to as 'natives', were the poorest group in Tanzania, mainly living in

rural areas while only small numbers lived in urban areas. Of those who did live in urban areas, many were unemployed and considered to be 'undesirable' (Burton, 2005). Colonial government restricted the migration of natives from rural to urban areas (Burton, 2005; Lewinson, 2007). The natives who managed to live in urban areas had restrictions placed on them, to the effect that they could stay in the city for only a short period of time. They lived in separate settlements, segregated on racial grounds, which were mostly in the outskirts of the city, away from the more affluent urban population who occupied the city centre (Kironde, 1995; Tripp, 1997; Burton, 2005). As noted in section 4.2.2, there was clear segregation between White, Asian and African populations. The colonial government enacted various laws which empowered them to move the natives from urban to rural areas. The concern of the colonial government was based on the inability of migrants to cope with city life, considering the low wages which they were paid. The only solution considered reasonable was therefore not to increase wages but to place limits on rural-urban migration (Burton, 2005). The threats which the natives were thought to pose in the territorial capital included gambling, unemployment, underemployment, prostitution and other undesirable habits. Therefore the move towards enforcing spatial organization led to the enactment of Township Regulations in 1909. These regulations were published along with other laws which prohibited hawking and public entertainment (Burton, 2005).

In 1923, the Destitution Ordinance was published, empowering police officers to remove anyone without formal employment, a move which subsequently led to the new Penal Code of 1930, which could be interpreted as targeting those who depended on informal employment. The colonial government was limited in terms of its ability to implement all these regulations due to insufficient funds and staff. Kironde (1995) noted that the regulations also included a labour policy which provided conditions for the temporary employment of natives in urban areas; these prescribed that natives were required to return to their rural dwellings once the period of employment was over. The policy also set out a strict requirement that those who were successful in obtaining urban jobs must come to the city alone, leaving their families behind. The wages were very low which meant that they would largely be consigned to miserable living conditions in poor accommodation (Kironde, 1995).

According to Burton (2005) what exists now as the informal sector was the result of a shift in colonial governance after WWII, which resulted in colonialists acting only as facilitators, meaning a shift from zero tolerance to almost complete tolerance. As

informal livelihood operators were fairly thinly spread in prime locations, they did not draw attention to the regulations. However, from 1940 onwards, urbanisation escalated, ultimately resulting in a surplus of labour. For this excess of labour to survive, it was inevitable that they would become involved with informal livelihood activities. In the township, complaints about the informal operators were mainly raised by the township authority, together with the established Asian business owners. The complaints were mainly in relation to issues of public health and unfair competition (Burton, 2005:159). It is important to note that between 1938 and 1946, Dar es Salaam experienced rapid urbanization which made the colonial government rethink their strategies of addressing rural-urban migration. The focus turned towards improving the social and physical infrastructure, including housing. There was increased awareness of the permanent presence of the natives in the capital. However the deficiencies of the city for its new residents made little improvement, owing to insufficient funds and few staff to implement new projects. Life became even more difficult to the employed few, whose wages were insufficient to tackle the increased cost of urban life. Despite all these issues, at that period rural-urban migration was unstoppable. As a result, besides the regulations already in place, the colonial government introduced identity cards, which allowed the policemen in charge of each ward to guide and monitor new comers. The township regulations were declared ‘*atra vire*⁷’ after McRobert’s ruling, and were replaced by the ‘Removal of Undesirable Natives’ regulations, together with the introduction of travel permits for those coming from the rural areas, as well as on-going propaganda about lack of employment in the township on the radio. Entry to the township was restricted to those with offers of employment (Burton, 2005)

In addition to the laws described above, the colonial government introduced the Townships Ordinance in 1944 (CAP 104) which mandated them to remove all persons who were deemed to be undesirable from settlement in urban areas which replaced the ordinance ruled as ‘*ultra vire*’. These ordinances empowered the district commissioner to pass removal orders for those who had no regular employment, meaning that they would be repatriated to the rural areas. The current government still enforces the removal of undesirable persons however the targeted persons are street beggars (Tripp, 1997; Burton, 2005; Nnkya, 2006). The main reason for these repatriation practices was to help the colonial government to maintain the labour force in the rural areas where

⁷ ‘Beyond legal authority’ On his ruling Justice McRobert concluded that The Township Ordinance was partial unequal in its operations between the different classes of the community. Burton (2005:103)

their agricultural estates were located. In contemporary times, this kind of removal tends to target beggars along the streets who are occasionally sent back to their place of origins, only to return to the city within a short period of time.

Nevertheless, Nnkya (2006) noted that the old tradition of small-scale trading between city dwellers and people in other urban centres continued to take place. As they were restricted from establishing themselves in urban areas, it is evident that the extent of their operations was correspondingly limited. The most popular informal livelihood activities at the time mainly involved selling coffee and accompanying snacks, as well as charcoal, and firewood (Tripp, 1997; Burton, 2005). In 1940 there were some changes in colonial policies, which include a provision to allow some natives to stay in urban areas as permanent residents, especially those who were employed. As noted by Mfaume and Leonard (2004) a growing number of migrants in the city were involved in informal livelihood activities within the town and yet only a few of them were licensed. The authorities regulated the operators by issuing them with trading licenses. However after the Second World War, the dependency on informal livelihood activities increased, forcing the township authorities to restrict the number of licenses issued. The restriction was not without resistance from the operators. Repatriation policies continued to affect only those who were unemployed. Despite these changes, those in formal employment continued to be paid low wages which could not sustain their costs of living, while the informal operators' licenses were restricted to keep them off the street. The then-town council also undertook a clean-up operation which aimed at removing the informal operators from the street in 1955 (Mfaume and Leonard, 2004)

As noted by Tripp (1997) Leslie (1963) reported an increase in informal livelihood activities, including shops, transport and vendors of fruits, fish, charcoal, milk, tin cans for roofing and others. The increase was due to a new order from newly elected mayor Amri Abeid, to allow sellers of coffee, tea and food to be issued with licenses, a decision of which operators of other kinds of activities took advantage (Mfaume and Leonard, 2004). The operators displayed their products in front of their houses or walked with their merchandise along the streets. Therefore it is noted that during the colonial period, informal livelihood activities were not as prevalent as in the post-colonial era, primarily due to the limited number of people living in urban areas, which might also be associated with the restrictive migration policies. Nevertheless, informal activities continued to grow, despite the various mechanisms employed by the authorities, which disadvantaged the urban poor who were trying to provide themselves

with a livelihood. The decision made to single them out as a problem in modern cities meant that they were entirely excluded from urban space.

4.3.2 Dar es Salaam after independence

After independence, low wages continued to pose challenges to urban residents. The independent government increased wages to allow for the increased costs of living, which had the effect of widening the gap between those in urban areas and their rural counterparts (Burton, 2005). Rural-urban migration was at its peak after independence as the independent government lifted the ban on people settling in urban areas (Kironde, 1995). The migrants flocked into urban areas from the rural areas, anticipating the opportunity to change their way of living. It is evident that the main employment opportunities these rural-urban migrants had, given their level of education and skills, would be in terms of informal livelihood activities, while others managed to be employed in industry as casual labourers. The movement was so extensive that the independent government became concerned about the rate of urbanization (Kironde, 1995; Burton, 2005). As a result, colonial government policies were re-introduced to manage the rate of migration and its consequences, including the development of informal livelihood activities. Among other interventions, a repatriation policy, which was used to send the urban poor back to rural areas – including informal livelihood operators and beggars – was established. Dar es Salaam city, being the capital and business centre, had experienced a greater influx of people compared to other urban centres in the country. Most migrants were able to secure employment in the formal sector, as the government still had the capacity to provide extensive employment, while others were absorbed into the informal sector (Tripp 1997). The prevalence of unemployed people (who were commonly referred to as undesirable persons), led the city to exercise these repatriation policies as early as 1962 and 1964. The practice continued in the form of operations against the poor, renowned as operation Rwegasira in 1975 (Kironde 1995).

Early studies of migration to Dar es Salaam city suggest that throughout the 1960s and 1970s, migrants were mostly employed in the formal sector (Sabot in Tripp 1997). The 1988 census reported a decrease in migration in between 1968 and 1977, which might be attributed to the enforcement of repatriation policies, among other reasons. Population increase during these years was associated with natural growth. However, there was a dramatic change in the 1980s, when the urban population increased as the result of a fresh wave of migrants, who were forced to leave rural areas in response to

the economic crisis and the policies of the time. The response by the government was another operation known as '*Nguvu Kazi*' which was put into effect in 1983. Operation '*Nguvu Kazi*' was undertaken with respect to the Human Deployment Act of 1983. Similar to the colonial government, the independent government seemed to believe that if the unemployed would only continue to reside in rural areas and engage themselves in agricultural activities, the issue of poverty would be obviated. Despite the implementation of such measures, poverty escalated in both urban and rural areas. Notwithstanding the struggle by the urban poor to improve their way of living, the independent government, just like the colonial government before it, did nothing to assist low income people and the unemployed, who wished to establish themselves in urban areas in a bid to escape poverty. Although they were unwanted in urban space, the urban poor maintained their resistance and continued to scramble for a space within which to achieve their dreams.

According to Tripp (1997) informal livelihood activities increased as people realised greater profit in their businesses than those who were formally employed. This attracted even those who were in formal employment to leave their jobs and start small businesses instead. The increase was also influenced by the introduction of Structural Adjustment Policies which made people lose their jobs as a result of retrenchment and reduced real wages, which failed to cover the cost of living. Hence, informal livelihood activities continued to grow and demanded attention in policy provision, in terms of both capital and the legal framework, in order to guide their development. Therefore the city experienced a growth in informal livelihood activities, which was partly influenced and partly hindered by the Human Deployment Act of 1983. The Human Deployment Act influenced informal livelihood activities by including a provision for all able persons to be able to engage in economic activity. The urban authorities used this provision as a basis for allowing informal livelihood operators to work in urban spaces, regulating this by issuing them with identity cards. On the other hand the Act also hindered the development of informal livelihood activities, because all those who did not possess a valid identity card were immediately resettled back into the rural areas.

4.3.3 Policy environment in post-independence Dar es Salaam

Policies against the poor and informal livelihood operators continued to develop in the 1990s. In 1991, Dar es Salaam City Council introduced bylaws which were meant to control street trading activities. Informal livelihood operators were allowed to conduct their businesses in designated areas but they were required by these bylaws to possess

valid licenses in order to do so. In late 1993, the city witnessed concerted resistance from the informal livelihood operators in the form of riots that took place when they were threatened with eviction from the streets. Factors behind the authorities' intervention against the illegal operators included public health hazards, illegality, immorality, eyesore, anti-social behaviour and theft. There was also the underlying issue that because the informal livelihood operators and other urban poor use spaces within the city, the underlying poverty of many city residents becomes visible. It is alleged that, in some cases, city authorities were opposed to the activities of informal livelihood operators in order to protect the business interests of established shop owners from competition. A new repatriation exercise was announced and carried out in December 1994, with the aim of removing beggars from the streets of Dar es Salaam. This operation was famously known as '*Ondoa Ombaomba*' Dar es Salaam, which is the Swahili phrase for 'remove beggars'. The city deployed Tsh.4million⁸ as well as 40 policemen and 15 social workers to implement this repatriation project (Kironde 1995).

4.4 The formal and informal: Towards harmonious relations

Informal livelihood activities' with all their ambiguities, connotations and perceptions, have come to constitute a major structural feature in non-industrialized countries (Portes *et al.*, 1989:1). The ideological controversy and political debate that surrounds the sector's development have continued to grow and clouded better understanding of its character. This consequently poses a challenge to the capacity of the social sciences to provide a reliable analysis that can enable the sector to be integrated into urban planning, environmental design and management (Portes *et al.* 1989). As discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, informal livelihood operators are known by various names depending on the context and location. Reports have referred to the sector as the informal economy, unregulated economy, unrecognized sector or unobserved employment. According to Williams and Windebank (1998) this sector typically refers to both units and workers involved in a variety of commercial activities, services and occupations that operate beyond the public realm of formal employment. The following sections therefore describe the policy changes and programmes which have been made to accommodate informal activities in urban spaces of Dar es Salaam city.

⁸ Tshs 4,000,000 in 1994 was equivalent to £5,467

4.4.1 Planning framework: production of working space

Town and Country Planning Ordinance (CAP 378)

During the colonial period and later when the country gained independence from Britain, informal livelihood activities were not recognized as activities which would require accommodation in the policies and regulations governing land use. This was in line with Lewis, who in the 1970s noted the belief that the growing labour force would be absorbed once industrialization had developed in developing countries, although they have not in fact experienced such industrialisation to their full capacity. This is evident in the Town and Country Planning Act of 1956, later revised in 1961, which is the major guidance document for urban planning, design and management in Tanzania. Although there was a provision in the Town and Country Planning Ordinance which empowers the Minister to authorize change of use, pursuant to clause 1(b) and 5(2) of part III, which is concerned with the use of land in specific urban areas, up to the 2000s, there were no changes made on the ground to accommodate informal activities. Hence, as these activities continued to grow, city managers considered their development to be illegal, linking their operation to conflicts over hygiene, crime and land use. Generally, the informal sector was restricted and disregarded by urban local authorities across the country.

Amendment of Town and Country Planning Ordinance (CAP 378) 1993

Following the rapid increase of informal livelihood activities and a lack of guidelines to steer their development, the Town and Country Planning Ordinance, Cap 378 (use classes) group E (d), was amended in 1993 to accommodate informal livelihood activities. According to this amendment informal livelihood activities were officially allowed in urban areas use group E, use class (d) under special retail services – informal trade activities which are allowed under this provision. However the National Land Policy of 1995, which is the overall National guideline for land allocation (sec.4.2.3), did not include a provision for space allocation for informal livelihood activities.

National Human Settlement Development Policy 2000

Furthermore, in the year 2000, the reviewed National Human Settlement Development Policy made a provision for informal livelihood activities. It stipulates the provision of special areas within neighbourhoods to accommodate these activities, in a bid to address the issue of poverty which has engulfed rural-urban migrants. The policy facilitates the recognition of informal livelihood operators' contribution by the urban authorities. As a

result there is a provision, which is fostered by the ruling government, to provide a supportive environment for these individuals. These provisions are a step forward in addressing issues surrounding informal livelihood activities, although the main concerns of the informal livelihood operators remain largely unaddressed. As discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, the spaces preferred by informal livelihood operators lie within the city or town centre, as the case may be, which makes it necessary to consider the need for space within these areas.

The Urban Planning Act 2007

Planning activity has continued to embrace changes in the development of human settlements. The Town and Country Planning ordinance was repealed in 2007 to make room for the Urban Planning Act (2007). The policy framework, which takes account of informal activities, entails the facilitation of employment and the eradication of poverty and provision for the promotion of participation by the private and public sectors in the preparation and implementation of plans. Kironde (2009) suggests that there is more provision for stakeholder participation in the preparation of land use schemes and public access to such schemes by comparison with the previous Town and Country Ordinance CAP 378 (1956).

Programmes and Projects: Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project (SDP) 1992

In 1992, following the adoption of the sustainability agenda, Dar es Salaam city introduced the Sustainable Dar es Salaam project (SDP), with the aim of shaping the city's economic, social and environmental development. The SDP, using processes which involved city consultation workshops, identified nine issues needing attention if sustainable development were to be achieved. According to UN Habitat (2004) the issues identified were: solid waste, liquid waste, un-serviced settlements, open spaces, petty trading, air quality and urban transport, coastal areas, sand mining, environmental hazards and urban agriculture. The issue of informal livelihood activities was considered with a view to accommodating them in the city's economy and land use plans. The main concern was to limit informal livelihood operators to non-designated areas, which this study referred to as prime spaces. It was noted that an increase in informal livelihood activities was accompanied by an increase in land use conflicts and conflicts between operators and other prime space stakeholders, mainly shop owners, pedestrians, traffic and local authority.

The output of the SDP was the Strategic Urban Development Planning Framework (SUDPF). This framework identified the three main factors which contribute to the mismanagement of informal livelihood activities as being: the lack of a clear framework and strategies, ‘insecurity of land tenure and use rights and lack of skills among the operators’ (Nnkya, 2006:84). As a result, a city-wide working group on informal livelihood activities was established to address these issues. The working group identified strategies for addressing the problems faced by informal livelihood operators. Among other measures, the working group proposed new spaces in markets at Makumbusho and Temeke Stereo for the relocation of informal livelihood activities, as well as allowing the operators to work in specific locations if they displayed their merchandise on agreed structures (Nnkya, 2004). The city authority constructed markets which informal livelihood operators were subsequently relocated to, although the likelihood of resistance to the imposed relocation to new spaces was overlooked. Both new markets had 1,000 spaces, but only 400 and 40 respectively were occupied by April 2003 (Mafuru, 2003). The main reasons for the failure of these markets to attract informal livelihood operators were insufficient customers and lack of accessibility to the main transport routes (Mafuru, 2003). Hence the operators continued to use their usual unauthorised spaces within the city centre.

The working group also prepared a policy framework for petty trading, which was adopted by the Technical Coordinating Committee of the SDP project. In line with this development, informal activities were given recognition and the City Council prepared guidelines for the oversight of these activities.

4.4.2 Institutional framework: Human resource

Human Resources Deployment Act 1983

The 1980s witnessed the official recognition of informal livelihood activities in Tanzania, with Dar es Salaam city recognising them as legitimate activities which needed attention, in common with other activities in the city. This recognition followed the enactment of the Human Resource Deployment Act of 1983, which made provision for the establishment of mechanisms designed to regulate and facilitate the engagement of all able-bodied persons in productive work towards the eradication of poverty. The activities which those able-bodied persons should undertake were only clarified in the amended second schedule in 1984. Ironically, soon after the 1983 enactment of the Human Resources Deployment Act, the city initiated an operation to crack down on

‘undesirable persons’, including informal livelihood operators working in the city without identity cards. Even though they were sent back to rural areas, they returned to the city within a few weeks. In 1985 there was another repatriation operation in which Dar es Salaam City Council argued against the legitimacy of informal livelihood operations in unauthorized spaces. Once again, the operators were evicted from prime spots, which included major routes attracting a through-flow of customers. The city relocated them to emerging centres including Mburahati, Ilala and Temeke (Nnkya 2004). At the time research on informal livelihood activities was limited, so city managers had limited understanding of the significance of the preferred areas for the informal livelihood operators, and as a result, the operation was unsuccessful. The volume and extent of livelihood activities continued to increase towards the end of the 1980s and to a remarkable extent in the 1990s. The focus on managing informal livelihood activities shifted to how and where the activities were supposed to be undertaken, rather than whether or not they should be permitted.

4.4.3 Financial framework: Access to finance

National Microfinance Policy 2001

The government of Tanzania facilitated financial sector reform which resulted in the development of National Microfinance Policy of 2001. The policy aimed to mainstream financial services and make micro-finance available to the low income segment of the population, including households, small-holders and small and micro enterprises in rural and urban areas. Existing and new financial institutions were to provide services including credits, savings and deposit accounts, as well as payment services (URT, 2001b). Before this restructuring, financial services were mainly available through the banks, to which the majority of the poor had difficulty in gaining access. It is argued that the availability of financial services for the poor contributes to poverty reduction, resulting in an improvement in quality of life for the poor (Kessy and Urrio, 2006). However these services still continue to be available to only a few individuals (Lyons and Msoka, 2010).

The institutions which provide these services range from commercial banks to lending groups. The reform not only facilitated the development of formal lending groups but also influenced the development of the informal lending groups in both rural and urban areas. It is important to note that informal operators, who are the focus of this thesis, access loans from NGOs and Savings and Credit Cooperatives (SACCOs). The method

which is used by these microfinance institutions to reach the targeted group with loan services ranges from individual to group lending approaches.

4.4.4 Legal framework: Management

Guidelines for Informal Livelihood Activities 1997

In 1997 Dar es Salaam experienced a major shift in policies reflecting its commitment to addressing the problem of informal livelihood activities. The formulation of guidelines for petty traders was put into place by the Dar es Salaam City Commission which took over the responsibility of managing the city from the City Council in 1996. Dar es Salaam City Commission acknowledged the contribution of informal livelihood activities to its residents' income as well as to the city economy and hence provided guidelines so that these activities could develop in a sustainable manner.

Small and Medium Enterprises Development Policy 2003

In 2003 there was another milestone in the process of addressing the issues of informal livelihood activities as the government introduced the Small and Medium Enterprises Development Policy. This policy includes relevant guidelines for the management of informal livelihood activities in urban areas. It has also made a provision for allocating spaces for informal activities so as to meet its overall objective of creating jobs and generating income in a bid to boost Tanzania's economy through small and medium enterprises.

Position of Informal Livelihood activities in Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs)

According to Mnenwa and Maliti (2009) the institutional framework which deals with the issues of the informal livelihood activities is placed within that of the Small Scale and Medium Enterprises (SME). This also includes the legal and policy framework which address the issues of informality (Lyons and Msoka, 2010). It is debatable as to whether or not an ordinary informal operator should be classified under the SME definition. The term SME is mainly associated with the capital investment of an entrepreneur. However, the majority of ordinary informal operators do not have any capital investment of any significance invested in their businesses, to be categorised under the SME umbrella. As has been noted Lyons and Msoka (2010) these ordinary informal operators have limited access to the benefits from services provided by organizations involved with the development of SMEs. For instance, access to loans and full representations at either local authority or central government level are not

generally available to informal operators. The hostility of institutional frameworks to informal livelihood operators has also been noted by Mitullah (2005) in relation to other African countries, including Kenya, Cote D'Ivoire, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Uganda and South Africa.

Business Registration Act 2007

The on-going call for simplifying bureaucracy involved in the process of obtaining a business license in Tanzania has led to the enactment of the new Business Registration Act of 2007. The Act stipulates that the license application process is simplified and empowers a new entity the Business Registration Centre within the local authority with the responsibility for issuing certificates of registration to all business operators in Mainland Tanzania, irrespective of the status of their business (regulated or unregulated). The centre is responsible for collecting relevant information regarding the businesses under its jurisdiction and sharing it appropriately, either publicly or privately. The centre is also responsible for providing quarterly reports on business activities to the Business Registration and Licencing Agency (BRELA). The main criticism of this new development has been the abolition of the licence to run an informal business. Lyons *et al.* (2009) argue that the simplification of the bureaucracy involved in the issuing of licenses has ended up removing the acceptance of informal activities in Tanzania and making them illegal.

The scale of the reforms which have so far been undertaken to ensure the inclusiveness of informal activities in urban space is substantial. The shift from zero tolerance to tolerance of informal activities has continued to thrive in all urban centres in Tanzania. The policy reforms which have taken place so far are expected to ensure the sustainability of these activities in urban areas. However the reforms generally seem to address only one set of operators such as those in fixed locations with large capital investment, while there is still a gap between the policy reforms and the needs of the operators (Lyons *et al.*, 2009).

4.4.5 Millennium Development Goals

The Millennium Development Goals, set by the World Summit of United Nations in 2000 following the adoption of United Nations Millennium Declaration, require governments to focus on making development progress on the following key issues:

1. Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger

2. Achieve Universal Primary Education
3. Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women
4. Reduce Child Mortality
5. Improve Maternal Health
6. Combat all forms of diseases (including HIV/AIDS, Malaria and TB)
7. Ensure Environmental Sustainability
8. Develop Global Partnership for Development.

Tanzania, as a member state of the United Nations, is also committed to implementing the above Millennium Development Goals. In addition, even before these goals were set, Tanzania already had a development vision, the Tanzania Development Vision (2005), which cut across all the issues identified in the Millennium Development Goals. The country decided to merge the Development Vision with the Millennium Development Goals and hence embark on implementation of the Vision. Although the Vision was supposed to commence implementation as early as the year 2000, this was not possible owing to the lack of a specific implementation framework (Wangwe and Charle, 2010). In 2003, a medium term implementation scheme for the Development Vision was developed, which was included in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). The PRSP, which was revised to the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty in 2004, aimed to facilitate the implementation of the identified goals in the Tanzania Development Vision of 2005, as well as to be a vehicle for realizing the Millennium Development Goals in the five-year period from 2005-2010 (URT, 2010). The issues were clustered into three groups, namely:

- cluster i – growth and reduction of poverty
- cluster ii – improvement in quality of life and social well-being
- cluster iii – governance and accountability.

However, up to the end of 2010, reports suggest that Tanzania is still a long way behind in achieving Millennium Development Goal number 1, which is the main concern of this thesis (URT, 2010; Wangwe and Charle, 2010). In spite of the fact that there has been some improvement in GDP, poverty has only been slightly reduced. According to the National Bureau of Statistics (2001, 2007) the anticipated improvements to poverty reduction in Tanzania have not been realised. The reports acknowledge that the number of poor people who live below the poverty line increased by 1.3 million between 2001 and 2007. This implies that there is much to be done if the Tanzanian government is to

achieve the first Millennium Development Goal. According to the Development Partner Group (2008) Tanzania has been off track by 5.6% in achieving the Millennium Development Goals since 2001. The target set by the MDGs for Tanzania was a 50% reduction in poverty levels by 2015. In 1990, the poverty level was at 38%, which meant that the challenge was to reduce poverty by 19%. In spite of some progress, the country had fallen behind in achieving its target by a margin of 7.6% as of 2007. Nevertheless, through its poverty alleviation strategy the government has established a programme of Property and Business Formalization to assist in the process of creating an environment that is supportive of business. This programme falls under the umbrella of an initiative for Business Environment Strengthening in Tanzania (BEST) which has so far facilitated the reform and amendment of the Land Act and Urban Planning Act (URT 2007). These reforms facilitate the formalization of informal properties and businesses (Wangwe and Charle, 2010). The next section therefore provides details of this programme.

Property and Business Formalization Program (PBFP) 2005

A significant milestone for those involved in informal livelihood activities is the Property and Business Formalization Programme (PBFP). This programme aims to formalize all informal activities as well as property and land so that operators and land holders can use the value inherent in them to secure loans from financial institutions. In addition, the PBFP is geared at fostering national integration by enabling the government to bring informal activities and property into the legal system in order to improve the efficacy of governing the nation's market economy. The programme has so far been implemented across the country, although its primary focus has been on land, property and businesses which have fixed locations (Lyons and Msoka, 2010). In order to accomplish the formalization of properties and businesses, the municipalities are involved in the implementation process in their localities through the formalisation of informal activities in terms of both urban spaces and informal activities. Notwithstanding the argument raised that formalization of informal activities has excluded those activities conducted in public spaces, the municipalities claim to have included all activities, in the process of achieving the ultimate aim of legalizing informal activities across the country (Lyons *et al.*, 2009; Lyons and Msoka, 2010).

4.5 Institutional framework of the informal livelihood activities

North (1998) defines organizations as a group of people working together to achieve certain goals. An organization implies actors who are involved directly or indirectly with the activity in question. The institutional framework for informal livelihood activities includes both public and private organisations (Mnenwa and Maliti, 2009). The framework provided by Mnewa and Maliti has been developed in this study in accordance with the study objective and goals. However, the framework in Figure 4.3 provides no direct link between private and public organisations. It therefore suggests that their objectives are implemented independently, even though they are providing services to the same target group. This raises the question as to whether links forged between the two sectors could facilitate the process of addressing the issues facing the informal operators in the Ilala Municipality or any other urban centre in Tanzania.

4.5.1 Private organisations

Private organisations include financial institutions such as Banks, NGOs and SACCOS, which provide access to financial services such as loans, bank accounts and training. Other private organisations include Business Development Service (BDS) providers such as operators' associations, charities, CBOs, and commercial associations. The following section provides an overview of the role of operators' associations.

Nationally recognised operators association

Traders associations such as VIBINDO⁹ are widely recognised for their role in bringing together informal livelihood operators (Brown *et al.*, 2010). According to the VIBINDO profile of 2010, the main roles played by this association include lobbying and advocacy, training and research, financial services, a Micro Insurance Health Scheme, procurement of markets, and procurement of business working premises. Following their participation in addressing issues of informal activities, VIBINDO has played an important role in blocking the implementation of an enacted bill, intended to become the Business Activities Registration Act of 2007, having recognised that the bill would hinder the development of the informal sector. The procurement of business premises is another important role in which VIBINDO is involved. For example the association was instrumental in the *Machinga* Complex project as well as in the development of shops surrounding the Benjamini Mkapa secondary school. Their participation in these projects has enabled members to access working space in these locations. Furthermore,

⁹ Is an umbrella organisation of economic groups operation in the informal sector in Tanzania

in terms of training and research, VIBINDO has also provided its members with options for training and conducted research on the constraints faced by the sector as a whole. However, the organisation's funds are sourced entirely from contributions made by its members and it is reported to be unable to maintain training and research activities owing to insufficient funds. The financial services provided by VIBINDO include the establishment of VIBINDO SACCOS in the Dar es Salaam region, which have provided loans to members since 2007.

Regionally recognised traders association

The regionally recognised informal traders associations operate within municipal boundaries. The main functions of these associations are broadly similar to those of organisations such as VIBINDO and they generally involve voicing traders' needs within the municipality by making sure that informal operators can access spaces for their activities. They also facilitate access to loans which are made available by the municipality and other private organisations. The associations receive proper recognition from the municipal administration, which prefers to deal with them rather than addressing the concerns of informal operators individually. Within Ilala Municipality these associations include WAMBOMA, which represents operators working along Zanaki street (Nnkya, 2006). Other associations such as WAMADA, TABOA and TAMADA, also have active members within Ilala municipality. Besides these, there are specialised associations dedicated to representing people with disabilities and women.

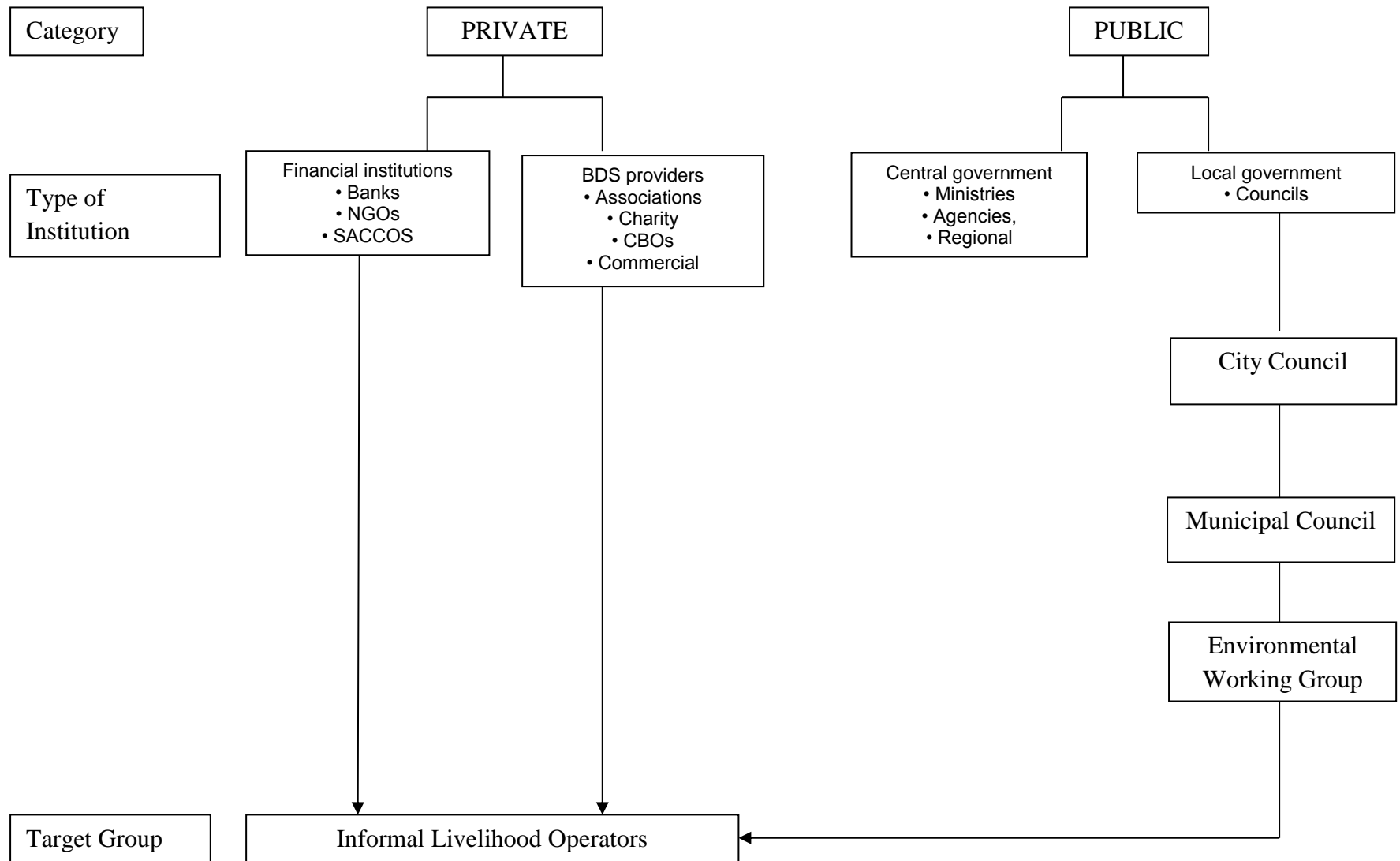


Figure 4.3 Institutional Framework for Informal Livelihood Activities

4.5.2 Public institutions: the central government

The kinds of public organisations which are involved in informal livelihood activities in Tanzania range from ministerial to the street level. Mnenwa and Maliti (2009) divided organisations dealing with informal activities in the public and private categories. Organizations which address public arrangements include the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Marketing; the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children; the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Youth Development; and the Ministry of Planning Economy and Empowerment. Other ministries which also provide support to informal livelihood activities include the Ministry of Livestock and Development; the Ministry of Mineral Resources; and the Ministry of Lands and Human Settlement Development. Although all of these ministries provide support to the development of informal activities, the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Marketing takes a more direct role in all processes by comparison with other ministries. The major role played by these ministries is in establishing institutions (i.e. rules, registrations, policies and laws) governing informal operators' daily activities, and ensuring the provision of incentives that will facilitate their operations. They also intervene to improve access, competence and capability for the operators and their activities (Mnenwa and Maliti, 2009). Furthermore, regulatory agencies such as the Tanzania Bureau of Standards (TBS) enforce these rules.

4.5.3 The local authority

The Dar es Salaam City Council

Soon after independence in 1961, the Dar es Salaam Municipality was upgraded to city status. Following the decentralization policies of 1972, three districts were formed under the names of Ilala, Kinondoni and Temeke. Administrative functions were performed by district councils, ward development committees, and councillors, sub ward development committees, village governments and Members of Parliament. This system existed until 1996, when Dar es Salaam City Council was dissolved owing to underperformance and the Dar es Salaam Commission was formed as its replacement body. The Dar es Salaam City Commission was responsible for executing all the duties of the then Dar es Salaam City Council. However, the Dar es Salaam City Commission did not last long. In 2000 the Commission underwent restructuring, through which the Dar es Salaam City Council and three other municipalities were formed and named Ilala,

Kinondoni and Temeke. These new municipalities effectively assumed responsibility from 2001 (Tripp, 1997; Nnkya, 2006; Brown *et al.*, 2010). The City Council oversees the activities performed by the three municipalities to ensure that the city as a whole meets its main objective, which is the sustainable development of Dar es Salaam city.

The role of the City Council

The functions of the City Council as stipulated in the Local Government Act (No.8 of 1982 Section 69 [A]) are:

- To coordinate the powers and functions of the three Municipal Authorities regarding infrastructure
- To prepare a coherent city-wide framework for the purpose of enhancing sustainable development
- To promote cooperation between the City Council and local government authorities within the city
- To deal with all matters for which there is interdependence between the municipalities
- To support and facilitate the overall performance of the authorities
- To provide peace and security; and emergency services such as fire prevention, and to control ambulance and auxiliary police
- To perform major functions relating to protocol at ceremonies.

Each municipality is responsible for issues pertaining to its boundaries. The municipality works with other development agencies to ensure that its residents' needs are met. In this respect, the issue of space for informal livelihood activities within the respective municipalities is addressed within each particular municipality. Municipal functions within their respective boundaries, as far as informal activities are concerned, include issuing business licenses through trade and licencing department, allocating space through the Town Planning department and ensuring health and quality control through the health and environmental sector. This also includes enforcing rules, regulations, policies and laws laid down by the central government. However, there are some instances where the City Council plays a direct role in addressing these issues, especially when all three municipalities are involved, as when it handled the Machinga

Complex project. Because this project was pioneered by the city as a whole, informal operators from Kinondoni and Temeke municipality were also accommodated in the mall.

With respect to these informal activities, Dar es Salaam City Council has so far participated in their integration into the city-wide economy through the Sustainable Dar es Salaam City Project. Other developments pioneered by the City Council include the implementation of projects identified in the Strategic Urban Development Plan Framework (SUDPF), including the relocation of informal operators to the new markets of Makumbusho, Temeke Stereo, Kibasila, Kigogo Sambusa, Mchikichini, Gerezani and others. The current development involves the construction of the Machinga complex mall, which is located within Ilala Municipality. The city is also planning to continue the construction of these malls in other areas. The proposition is supported in the 2010 election manifesto of the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi party. It is important to note that these new developments are taking place alongside the City Council's continued efforts to address the issue of informal activities. The project was initiated at the end of 2006 and completed in early 2010.

The Ilala Municipality

As noted above, Ilala Municipality was established in 2001 with the aim of improving and facilitating service delivery within its jurisdiction. The Vision of the Municipality is to create 'A Community with improved standards of living by the year 2025' (*Ilala Municipal Profile, 2010*).

Its mission statement is: 'To use the available resources in a sustainable manner in order to provide efficient basic services to its community' (*Ilala Municipal Profile, 2010*).

The overall objective of the municipality as far as informal activities are concerned is to mainstream these activities into the formal sector. Ultimately the municipality anticipates that the outcome of this objective will be an increase in decent employment opportunities and enhanced entrepreneurship skills, resulting in improved living conditions for poorer marginalized residents. The implementation of these objectives is to be achieved through the joint efforts of all municipal departments.

4.5.4 Ilala Municipality Bylaws

The Ilala municipality is responsible for implementing national policies, rules, laws programmes and projects within its boundaries. This responsibility applies across all sectors. To carry out these responsibilities, the municipality performs its duties under the framework of a set of municipal policies. These municipal policies are the municipal bylaws, which provide guidelines and directives for specific sectors. Informal livelihood activities fall under the aegis of three main municipal departments and therefore it is important to note that the bylaws which relate to these activities are found in all three areas. The next section describes the municipal bylaws which affect the operation of informal activities.

Ilala Municipality Market License Bylaws (2011)

Market License Bylaws of (2011) provide guidelines for all markets within the Ilala Municipality. The provision requires all traders within the Municipality to operate in the areas designated for this activity, where each is required to register with the market chairman in collaboration with the market stakeholders committee. It is deemed illegal for anyone to undertake any commercial activity in the respective market unless they are registered to do so (Ilala Municipal bylaws, 2011). For registered operators it is their duty to pay license fees or tax as required, otherwise the market chairman can revoke the license of the trader if they fail to adhere to this provision. The revocation of the registration can also happen when the trader fails to operate for a year without any information. Other fees payable to the municipality include rent, storage, cleaning, security, electricity and loading and unloading products.

Environmental Cleanliness Bylaws (2011)

The Environmental Cleanliness Bylaw provides regulations to ensure that the municipal environment is kept clean at all times. It is also understood that for any person to undertake activities in an unauthorized area is against this bylaw. The bylaw also prohibits the selling of food without an authorized permit.

Town Planning and Usage of Road Bylaws (2011)

The Town Planning and Road Usage Bylaws, like others, emphasize the illegal nature of operating these activities in unauthorized areas, as detailed in the Market License and Environmental Cleanliness Bylaws. For example the road usage by-law states that 'it is

illegal to use the road for any other purpose other than the intended use' (Ilala Municipality Road usage bylaw, 2011).

The Ilala bylaws have limited provision for informal operators in the Municipality's jurisdiction. It is important to note that informal operators operate in undesignated areas such as parking spaces and road reserves, as well as walking back and forth within the prime spaces in the CBD. The 2011 bylaws clearly prohibit the use of these spaces and hence the informal activity within the municipality is deemed illegal. The illegality of the informal activities is not only emphasized in these bylaws but also in the new Business Registration Act of 2008. Up until 2000 it was legal to operate as an informal operator by paying nuisance tax; however, this has now been abolished. Although these activities are illegal they nevertheless continue to provide an economic base for 62% of households in Dar es Salaam city (ILFS, 2001). The following section provides more detail on politics of these operations.

4.6 The politics of informal livelihood activities

Local authority intervention against the activities of operators ceased in 2005 when the country was about to elect a new government. In the year of the election, in a bid to secure positions in the new government, politicians tampered with local authority orders on the use of space by informal livelihood operators. They used the opportunity as a platform to win the confidence of the electorate, the majority of whom are disadvantaged, by promising them better working spaces and urging them to resist forced removal from their current operating spaces. Their intervention became a way of challenging the local authority to lift its imposition of orders on informal livelihood operators to compel them to relocate to new spaces. This resulted in an influx of informal livelihood operators into the city centre (Figure 4.4). Their trading in the city centre did not last long: as soon as the election was over, a repatriation operation to clean up the image of the city was undertaken by the Local Authority, which forced all the informal livelihood operators out of the city centre. The city demolished all illegal structures and the streets remained empty of informal operators, albeit for a few months (Figure 4.5). Some of the operators returned to spaces that had been previously rejected in Temeke stereo and Makumbusho. As the Kinondoni municipality was in the process of rehabilitating the Mwenge bus stand, in a bid to make this work, all traffic was diverted to Makumbusho. During this period the operators who moved into these markets enjoyed a short-term boost to their business, due to the presence of customers

who were using that bus stand. As soon as the refurbishment of the Mwenge bus stop resumed normal operations, there was a noticeable reduction in customers for the informal livelihood operators trading in the Makumbusho market. Although the market is still in operation today, the main concern remains that there are insufficient customers visiting the market, which is a major factor, considered by informal livelihood operators when deciding to establish their business in an area.



Vibrant Congo Street, Dar es Salaam with informal operators and customers prior to eviction in 2004.

Figure 4.4 Informal Livelihood Activities along Congo Street, 2004



Congo Street, without informal livelihood operators after the City Council cleared their stalls. Pedestrians and vehicles enjoyed the street space, while the operators lost their livelihoods.

Figure 4.5 Informal Livelihood Activities along Congo Street, 2006

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a detailed explanation of the configuration of informal livelihood activities in Dar es Salaam city since the British colonial period. Dar es Salaam city is the main centre for all administrative and bureaucratic functions of

central government, as well as playing a major role as Tanzania's commercial capital. The city's population is estimated to be about 3 million people. It is one of the fastest growing cities in sub-Saharan Africa. The rapid urbanisation has increased pressure on land and already overstrained urban infrastructures. During the colonial period, the development of the informal sector was controlled through methods ranging from restricted rural-urban migration, racial segregation and permits to reside in the city. However, after independence these measures were lifted, leading to the escalation of urbanisation, which had an impact on the employment opportunities for the increased population. Since there are insufficient job opportunities to cater for the increased population, 57% of the city's households depend on informal livelihood activities to generate income. 70% of the city's population live in informal settlements, constituting the main body of the urban poor. Settlement development has an impact on the development of informal activities, in that centres within new and existing settlements influence the viability of informal activities by offering customers and access to bases; however, the existing centres continue to attract a greater number of informal operators owing to economies of scale. The informal sector embraces production, retail and employment. It is the second largest sector in the country, providing over 10% of all employment nationally. Dar es Salaam city has the lowest employment ratio of about 67.7% compared to other cities in the country, with higher levels of female than male unemployed than male.

It is evident that informal livelihood activities have continued to grow across the city; a development which has triggered policy reforms across several sectors, which in one way or another play a part in fostering the number of people involved. The ultimate aim of such reforms is to help those who depend on such activities to reduce poverty. Policies and programmes are a means of implementing objectives towards addressing issues within a specified sector. In the process of addressing the issue of informal livelihood activities in Tanzania, the policies and programmes which manage, control and support the development of informal livelihood activities can be categorised into three parts: those which address the issue of production of space, those which deal with the operation of these activities and those which ensure the provision of finance.

First, the production of space: initiatives towards development have included the enforcement of the Town and Country Planning Ordinance (CAP 378) which was amended in 1993, 2004, 2007 and the introduction of the National Human Settlement Development Policy (2000) to suit the contemporary production of spaces and to

accommodate informal livelihood activities. The amendment of these policies has allowed the planning department to provide working spaces for informal activities, of which provision was absent during the colonial period and soon after independence. Furthermore, initiatives of space production were also part of city-wide programmes such as the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project (SDP), 1992; this project introduced elements that focus on prioritised issues and the participation of stakeholders through dialogue in planning for these activities, as well as other issues facing the city as a whole. The outcome of the project included guidelines for Informal Livelihood Activities (1997) and the Strategic Urban Development Planning Framework (SUDPF).

Second, the operation of activities: The Human Deployment Act (1983) allowed the redefinition of work and people involved in different kinds of work. It was a turning point in acknowledging those involved in informal livelihood activities and its impact is still felt today. Third, policy development included the Small and Medium Enterprises Development Policy (2003), and national microfinance policies, which fostered the extension of financial services to small and medium enterprises. Apparently these policies suggest the existence of different classes of informality, as informal ‘operators who are better off’ will mostly benefit directly from the reform of these policies, while for those whose condition is worse, the policies provide little room for development. The Property and Business Formalization Programme (PBF) 2005 is being implemented to foster formalization processes for informal activities and properties; this is in conjunction with the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper which incorporates Millennium Development Goals. To date these programmes have mainly addressed issues about land and property ownership and activities which qualify for legal status, mostly for *‘operators who are better off’*; their impacts are yet to be felt by others who operate in worse conditions. Nevertheless, all these rules, policies and programmes provide for the management and development of informal livelihood activities; and it is worth noting that despite the policy reforms which the country has undertaken, specific attention is required to ensure their implementation addresses the interests of those who are most affected.

The analysis provided in this chapter provides background information for chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8, where primary data will be discussed with respect to the research objectives of this study and in which reflection will be made on how these reforms inform the practice of appropriation of prime locations and regulation of informal activities. Specific attention should be drawn to chapter 7, where an assessment will be made of

the role and activities of the municipality. The next chapter investigates the nature of the informal operators and the prime locations for their activities, with the intention of showing how informal activities shape the landscape of the Ilala municipality.

Chapter 5. Urban Spaces and Informal Livelihood Operators

5.1 Introduction

Understanding the socio-economic characteristics of informal livelihood operators is of vital importance for identifying their unique needs and enhancing the identification of the informal livelihood operator population (Swaminathan, 1991; Schneider, 2002). Informal livelihood operators have been keen to identify spaces which are suitable for their operations. Urban spaces which attract informal livelihood activities include those with the highest pedestrian movement and the presence of wholesale shops which make it easy for operators to purchase supplies of merchandise. They also recognize the importance of security and accessibility. It is generally accepted that informal operators are likely to be attracted to areas where the maximum amount of income can be generated per hectare.

This study's survey of informal livelihood operators noted the gender of the respondents and they were also asked about their age, marital status, employment status, and income, the structure of their informal business, their previous working space, storage facilities and the factors which attract them to a particular location. Although this information is quite basic, it is important in the process of understanding informal operators and their operations. The discussion of the findings will provide an understanding of why people chose to operate informal businesses in prime locations and what factors contribute to the best locations. Furthermore, issues on experience of working in urban areas and the type of vending structures are explored to show how they affect the informal operators. The aim is to show how operators' socio-economic characteristics shape, and are shaped by, the city landscape. The analysis, therefore, responds to the first part of the second specific objective of the study, which is to analyse the appropriation of prime locations for informal activities by informal operators in relation to the following research question:

- (i) Why do informal operators appropriate urban prime locations?

5.2 Urban dwellers working in the informal sector

The characteristics of urban dwellers involved with informal activities can be explained in terms of gender, age, social responsibilities, income and type of working space. The following sections provide a detailed analysis of these characteristics in the study area.

5.2.1 *Extension of masculine space*

The study indicates that there were more male (80.5%) than female operators involved in informal livelihood activities. This is not the first study of informal activities, including those using Dar es Salaam as a case study, to have reported similar results. Informal economy studies carried out in 1991, 1995 and 2008 also indicated comparable findings (URT, 1991; URT, 1995; Madihi and Mushi, 2008). The national URT (1991 and 1995) and Dar es Salaam informal sector survey reports found that men dominated the informal sector. Madihi and Mushi's (2008) study on the constraints affecting informal livelihood operators also reported a similar finding of male dominance in the informal sector. It was also acknowledged by the integrated labour force survey of 2001 and 2006 that male operators were dominant in the informal sector in urban Dar es Salaam (URT, 2001a; URT, 2006). The difference between this study and previous ones is the scale of urban space in question. Whilst other studies generated information on urban spaces in general, this study focused only on prime locations within urban areas. With respect to this study, results have shown the same trend, with a slightly lower proportion of female operators, especially in prime urban spaces compared to other peripheral areas. This difference with regard to the gender of the respondents involved in informal activities reaches a high degree of statistical significance (Chi-Square with one degree of freedom = 1.000, P = 0.000).

In Tanzania female representation in the labour force is generally still very low (Ellis *et al.*, 2007). A 2006 study of gender and economic growth indicated that women are more active in agricultural activities, taking a share of 82% of the agricultural labour force, whilst in the formal sector men dominate the labour force by 71% (Ellis *et al.*, 2007). Furthermore the report noted that the female population accounts for only 4.0% of those employed in paid jobs in either the formal or informal sectors, while the male population are at 9.8%¹⁰. It was also observed in the current Integrated Labour Force Survey (2006) that unemployment is more prevalent for females than for males in either formal or informal activities. The previous explanation for these differences has been the traditional division of labour whereby women are considered responsible for household activities (Ellis *et al.*, 2007; VIBINDO, 2010), while males tended to

¹⁰ Other current employment status: self-employed (8.9%) and (7.8%), unpaid helper (3.0%) and (4.6%); agricultural (78.2%) and (83.6%) for male and female respectively (Ellis *et al.* 2007:27)

participate more in outdoor activities. Another explanation put forward is that cultural practices in which women are regarded as dependent upon their male counterparts contribute to these differences (VIBINDO, 2010). Studies of the informal sector in other developing countries have indicated that women dominate this type of employment, for example in countries such as Benin, Chad and Mali where over 95% of women are engaged in informal livelihood activities (Charmes 2000). The informal sector is a large source of employment for women and in many countries their participation outweighs that of men (Sethuraman, 1998; Chen, 2001).

This study suggests that fewer women are involved in informal activities in prime urban spaces in Dar es Salaam city because of the types of activities in which women are involved. The women who were found in these spaces are mainly engaged in selling cooked food, ornaments and '*khanga*' and '*vitenge*' which are traditional clothing materials for women in the country. When these women were asked why their numbers are so low compared with male operators, they responded that most women in Dar es Salaam are involved in door-to-door selling. They only come to shopping areas to purchase their merchandise, as one of the respondents explained:

'Wenzetu wengi wanafanya biashara ya nyumba kwa nyumba na mara nyingi hukopesha bidhaa zao na malipo huwa mwisho wa mwezi'. The majority of us are engaged in selling merchandise from house to house and most of the time the products are given on credit and the payment collected at the end of the month. (Interview 1, with Amina (operator), 2010).

They sell their products not only to households but also to offices, which means that female operators are effectively absent from prime spaces. Therefore, it is not accurate to suggest that women are still under-represented in economic activities. They are actively involved, although they use different methods. This can also be explained by the nature of activities on the street. The continual harassment and change in working hours in these prime locations might be some of the reasons why fewer women are willing to work directly in prime locations. In Nigeria for example, a study suggests that women are less present in the informal sector as some of the activities they partake in are not included in the national census of production (Soetan, 1995). Charmes (2000) also suggest that informal livelihood activities which women undertake in African countries were not counted in the national surveys.

5.2.2 Representation of young people in informal livelihood activities

Informal livelihood activities in prime spaces are dominated by individuals aged 20 to 30 years. Young people comprise the highest percentage of all age groups, as more than half of all respondents fall in this category (Figure 5.1). One of the explanations for this could be that this is the age when most individuals are detaching themselves from their families and taking responsibility for providing for their parents and younger siblings, while at the same time establishing their own households. Therefore their participation in economic activities is inevitably higher than that of other age groups, given that the majority of city residents' life expectancy rate is 48 years of age (DCC, 2004). The mean age of the participants in this study was 30.8 years and the low standard deviation of 1.569 shows that this measure of central tendency is reliable. This concurs with earlier findings in other studies which established that age relates to personal involvement in informal livelihood activities although there is no definite pattern (Clotfelter, 1983; Anderson, 1998; Gerxhani, 2002).

The difference with regard to age in the study area reaches a high level of statistical significance (Chi-square with degree of freedom = 7.000, $P = 0.000$). This study suggests that the age of the respondents engaged in informal livelihood activities within prime spaces is of vital importance, as it indicates their ability to respond to harassment and eviction when it occurs; in other words, they are still energetic compared to their older counterparts, especially those who opt to work in unauthorized urban spaces. Kamete (2010) also demonstrated the ability of youth to respond to eviction and harassment in Harare, Zimbabwe. Elsewhere, Hansen (2010) acknowledged the dominance of youth in informal activities in prime locations in Lusaka, Zambia.

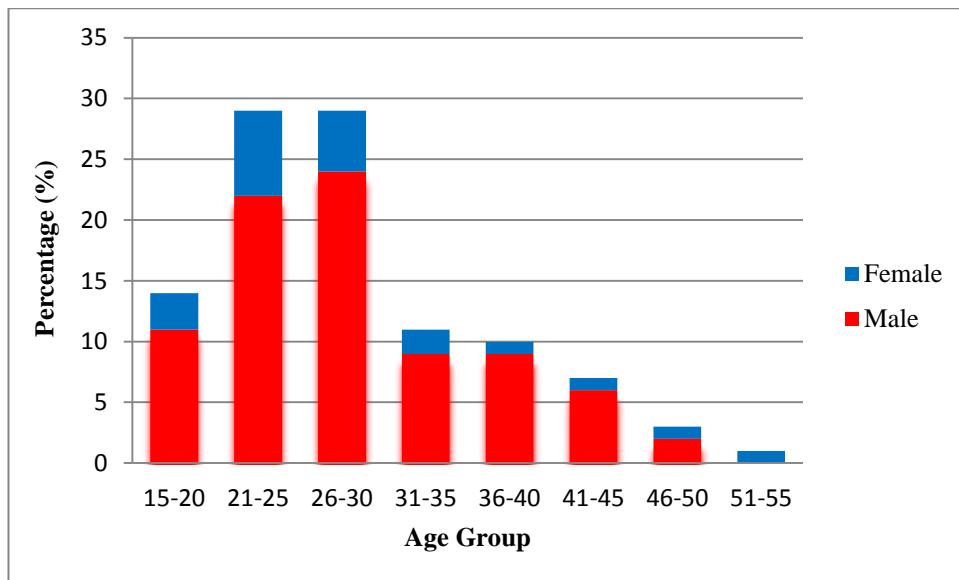


Figure 5.1 Comparison of Age and Gender of the Respondents (N=200)

Source: Fieldwork June –September 2010

5.2.3 Towards attending to social responsibility

The majority of informal livelihood operators are married (Figure 5.2). This supports the suggestion that the operators tend to have responsibility for dependants, in terms of either immediate or extended family. There was a high proportion of male respondents in the married category compared to women; while in the divorced and separated category, women were dominant. The findings suggest that both male and female operators take the role of providing for their household as the circumstances require, and that makes them find any means possible for meeting their family daily needs.

‘Mimi ni mjane na nina watoto watano wote wako shuleni, nauza bidhaaa zangu hapa ili niweze kupata pesa za kuwalipia ada, chakula mavazi na malazi’. I am a widow with 5 children who are at school; I sell my merchandise so that I can earn some money to pay for school fees, food, and clothing and rent. (Interview 15, with Mimi (operator), 2010).

It is important to note that informal livelihood activities are an important source of livelihood for the households. This was also noted by a study done in Nairobi where the operators involved in these activities had from three to six dependants each (Musyoka *et al.*, 2010). Previous studies also affirm that the responsibilities of the individual affect

their decision to be involved in informal livelihood activities (Smith, 1987; Schneider *et al.*, 2001; Gerxhani, 2002).

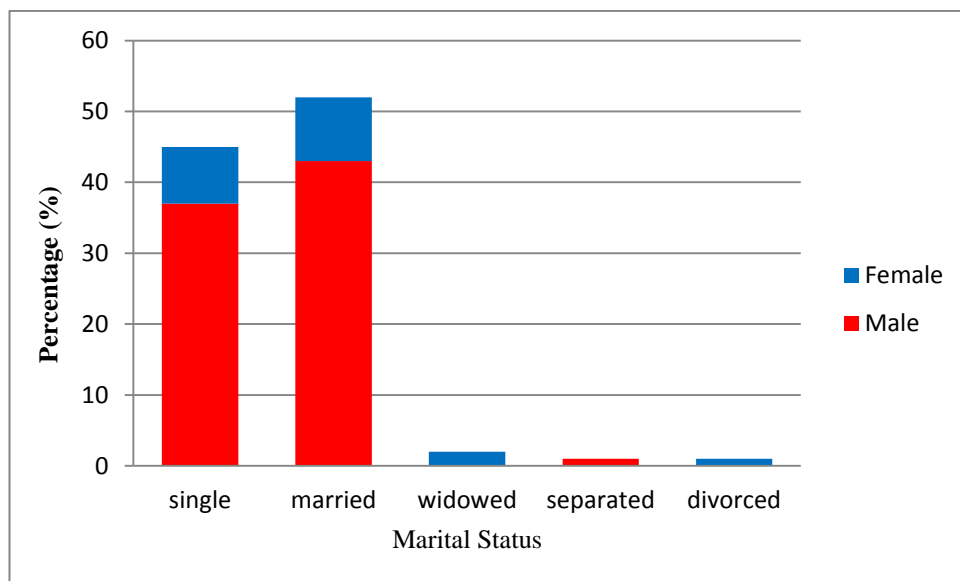


Figure 5.2 Comparison of Gender and Marital Status of Respondents (N=200)

Source: Fieldwork June –September 2010

5.2.4 *Change of unemployment status*

Informal livelihood activities provide those involved not only with income but also with employment status. It is considered better to work in the informal sector than being referred to as unemployed, one respondent explained:

‘Niafadhali nibangaize hapa kariakoo nipate hata shilingi ya kununulia chumvi kuliko kusubiri kuletewa au kuomba omba kwa majirani’. It is better to come and sell my merchandise here and earn some money to buy at least salt instead of waiting for someone to provide or ask for it from my neighbours. (Interview 12, with Kalumba (operator), 2010).

Informal livelihood operators tend to be self-employed (93% of respondents). The ability of informal livelihood activities to yield income for the poor attracts individuals from various backgrounds such as the unskilled, skilled, young and old, in significant numbers. It provides an entry into entrepreneurial activities for ambitious young and old people, who are ready to build up capital and a business without the need for bank loans, which are generally not accessible to them (Figure 5.3). According to the Dar es Salaam city profile of 2004, 95% of residents are employed in the informal sector whilst the rest

are in the formal sector and public corporations (DCC, 2004). The 2002 census statistics indicated that the unemployment rate in Dar es Salaam was 46.5%, which was higher than other urban and rural areas in the country, where it was 25.5% and 18% respectively. However, according to the ILFS (2006) the level of unemployment has reduced to 32% but still the highest compared with other urban areas. Informal livelihood activities assist in reducing the problem of unemployment in urban areas. Musyoka *et al.*, (2010) noted that informal livelihood activities provide employment opportunities to people in the Kenyan city of Nairobi. Since governments have consistently failed to provide people with employment opportunities, while those in employment constantly look for opportunities to increase their household income, as well as in response towards neo-liberal policies, informal activities become the only available solution to them. This is evident in both developed and developing countries (Cross and Morales, 2007b; Devlin, 2011). ECA (2010) also noted that unemployment is a challenge which threatens the development of Sub-Saharan Africa, especially when it comes to combating the impacts of poverty.

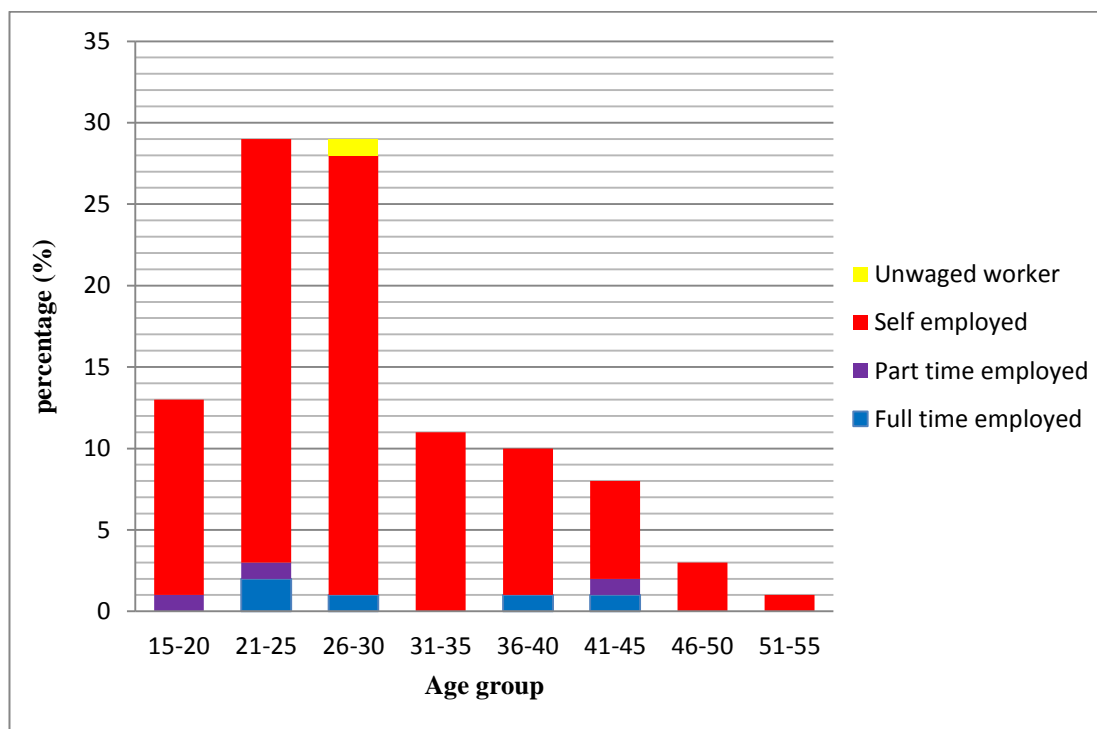


Figure 5.3 Employment Status and Age Group of Respondents (N=200)

Source: Fieldwork June –September 2010

A minority of informal livelihood operators are employed by stall owners (15% of the respondents), from whom they receive a monthly payment. One of the respondents explained:

'Mimi nimeajiliwa na mwenye kibanda hivyo huwa napewa mshahara kila mwez.i' I am employed by the stall owner who pays me a monthly salary. (Interview 16, with John (operator), 2010).

Some operators are employed on a full time basis whilst others are only employed part time (Figure 5.3). There are informal livelihood operators reported to be unwaged or commission-only workers who receive products from shop owners and sell them at a premium. They then take the price difference as their commission. Although only 5% of respondents are involved in unwaged work of this kind, the practice was noticed as far back as the year 2000, when the Dar es Salaam Regional Commissioner of the time told shop owners to end this practice, owing to its negative implications for tax returns. The argument was that the shop owners embraced this practice because the products which were to be sold on their behalf, by the informal operators, were not reported in their accounts books and were consequently subject to low taxes (Nnkya, 2006).

5.2.5 Making an honest living

Owing to the heterogeneity of groups involved in these activities, it would not be appropriate to assume similarity in income from informal livelihood activities. Some of the operators reported that they earn more than formal employees in management posts. However, others claimed to be earning nearly as much as the government employees with minimum wages and those with lower than the minimum wage were also reported. The income of informal livelihood operators mainly depends on the type of merchandise they sell daily and the type of stall from which they operate. It is usually the case that informal operators with permanent stalls have higher incomes than those operating from temporary stalls. This study found that 46.3% of informal livelihood operators earn between Tshs. 0 and 100,000 a month, which is more or less the same as formal employees of the lowest rank (whose income is between Tsh 65,000 and 350,000), whilst a few of them reported earning between Tshs. 500,000 and 900,000, which is more than some employees in better posts within the formal sector (Figure 5.4).

The median income of the respondents was TSh. 150,000 (Table 5-1).¹¹ However, a difference arises in terms of the benefits which formal employees receive, such as health insurance, pensions and bonuses, job security and a guaranteed income. Informal operators consider the ability to generate income the most important aspect of their involvement with these activities, regardless of how little the income actually is. One respondent explained:

‘Hivi ni kuulize swali dada yangu, nikikaa nyumbani hii pesa nayo pata hapa japo kidogo ningeitoa wapi? Nani atakupa shilling elfu kumi bure bure?’ Can I ask you a question my sister? If I decided to stay at home where would I get the amount of money I am earning here? Who would give you Tsh 10,000 just for free? (Interview 13, with Antony (operator), 2010).

This influences their decision about whether or not to be involved in these activities, considering that there is no welfare provision for the unemployed in Tanzania. Income generated from their activities enables them to send their children to school and to pay for rent and household utilities, as well as medical services.

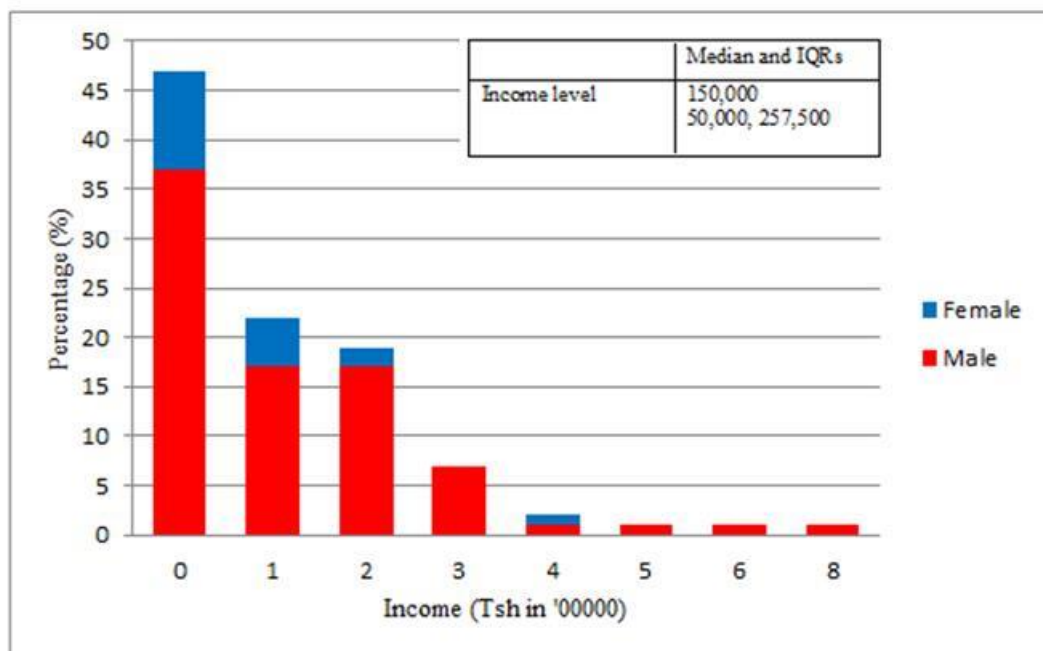


Figure 5.4 Income Distribution of the Respondents (N=200)

Source: Fieldwork June –September 2010

¹¹ The exchange rate at the time of this study was £ 1 to Tshs 2,300.

5.2.6 *Previous working space: does it matter?*

'Mimi nilikuwa nafanya biashara zangu mtaa wa Congo mpaka tulipofukuzwa mwaka 2000. Tulipo enda kulalamika kwa mkuu wa mkoa, tukaambiwa tuje kuuzia bidhaa zetu hapa.' I used to work in Kariakoo "Congo Street" until 2000 when we were evicted. After appealing our eviction to the Regional Commission, we were directed to come to this area'. (Interview 2, with Joseph (operator), 2010).

Early studies about informal activities and migration suggested that informal livelihood operators were migrants from rural areas seeking to improve their lives. Migration studies have previously established that rural-urban migration is the main provider of the labour force in the informal economy in developing countries. Todaro, (1976) suggested that migration has contributed to the surplus of urban labour, which continues to exacerbate the existing unemployment problem. These migrants are characterized by low skills, which make them ineligible for absorption into the formal economy. Cornwell and Inder (2004) suggest that migrants create their own employment through participation in informal activities, both in the services and production sub-sectors, to cater for their daily needs. The Dar es Salaam city population is also influenced by migration as noted in the census reports of 1978, 1988 and 2000, and correspondingly, most employment opportunities are within the informal sector. However, there have been some changes in recent years in that participants of informal livelihood activities also include non-migrants. As this study suggests, informal livelihood operators are no longer necessarily recent rural urban migrants: 58.5% of the survey respondents reported themselves to have been working in Dar es Salaam previously, although in a different working space, or in a job other than informal trading. They also happened to have lived in the city for more than five years as they reported having moved from one space to another since the year 2000, albeit within Dar es Salaam city.

Interviewees related their trajectories, whereby some had moved from Lumumba Street and Congo Street, which are within the Kariakoo area, and others from Manzese and Urafiki, which are within Ubungo (Figure 5.6),¹² or from other places within Dar es Salaam city, before settling at Mchikichini market; whilst others had decided

¹² From Figure 5-6: 1 represents Kariakoo, 2 represents Ubungo

themselves to relocate or had been forced to. Their movements were largely in response to harassment and eviction from those spaces by the municipal authorities. Although the new migrants arriving in Dar es Salaam number about 10% of its population annually, a great number of those who have already settled in the city and established a network are involved in informal activities. This is to emphasize that both migrant and non-migrant urban dwellers are involved in these kinds of activities in a bid to cater for their daily expenses. The analysis shows that of those who reported having moved from other places, 8% came from other cities, such as Mwanza, Mbeya, Tanga and Arusha, while others came from towns. Only 2% reported that they came from the rural areas. It is plausible to expect the age group which is most attracted to these activities to confirm early assumptions that they came to the city from places other than Dar es Salaam. Their previous working locations, which cut across all age groups, suggest that there are currently more people who are urban-based operating in this sector (Figure 5.5). Figure 5.5 also shows that the location of previous working space for operators aged between 31 and 35 indicates that there has been no movement to the city from other places, meaning that this age group is composed of non-migrants. It was also acknowledged in the integrated labour force survey in 2001 that the working experience of informal operators in Dar es Salaam is between 1 and 5 years, due to the hurdles involved in accessing working spaces and initial capital, as well as the lack of entrepreneurial skills (URT, 2001a). Therefore operators in the case study area are more experienced with urban life, suggesting that individuals' experience of the city environment might be one of the factors which lead to their ability to access prime locations for informal livelihood activities.

It is important to note that operators within prime locations prefer to hold onto their spaces, in spite of the fact that there are new entrants to these locations on a daily basis. The new entrants target the same locations, as the informal sector continues to provide jobs for these people (URT, 2006). The changing composition of operators within prime locations may or may not have a direct impact on their activities.

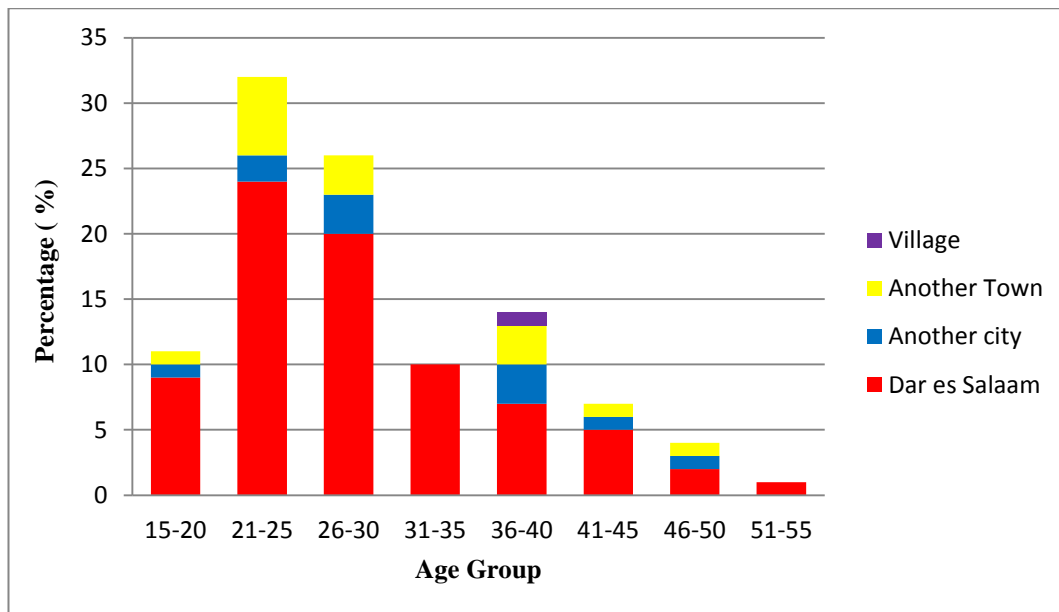


Figure 5.5 Location of previous working space and age of the respondents (N=200)

Source: Source: Fieldwork June –September 2010

Extended networking: access to finance:

Informal livelihood operators finance their businesses through personal savings or assistance from friends and family. Seventy eight per cent of the operators received financial assistance from their friends and relatives while others received it from informal financial groups with which they kept their savings. This practice emphasizes the significant role played by an operator’s network in their involvement in these informal activities. Although there were some operators who reported having accessed loans from SACCOS and banking institutions, their number was very small (2.5% of respondents) compared to those who did not. The analysis shows that operators who had access to funding from financial institutions have higher investment capital, judging from the expensive merchandise they sell. The high capital provides them with the opportunity to rent spaces in these prime areas. Other studies have found that informal livelihood operators face difficulties in accessing loans from formal financial institutions because of the nature of their activities (Lyons and Msoka, 2010). During the interviews, traders reported their concerns about the difficult process of accessing loans. They are required to form groups and apply for a loan in which all group members are expected to know the whereabouts of other members. If one group member defaults on a loan, the rest of the group will become responsible for the defaulting member’s repayment. As highlighted during the interview 16, with John (August 2010), his group became responsible for a loan which a fellow operator had

failed to repay; this inevitably affected their personal finances. The conditions imposed by financial institutions on informal operators seeking access to loans are difficult to meet and hence they continue to depend on their friends and relatives for such services, which as a result hinder the development of their activities.

5.2.7 Working in prime locations

The basic features of informal livelihood activities include the flexibility of the sector, which allows operators to enter and exit easily, and plays a major role in the operator's decision to become involved in these activities. As indicated in section 5.2.6, informal livelihood operators reported having worked in a different job before selling merchandise in urban spaces. Nearly 70% of respondents in the case study area reported having previously worked doing manual labour such as carpentry, welding, building, domestic work, and road cleaning, while others reported having been previously employed in industries and other organizations. For those who moved into informal activities from domestic work or road cleaning, the idea of operating their own business, no matter how small, was a very appealing proposition, in contrast to working in other people's homes or cleaning the roads. One respondent explained:

'Unaniona mimi hapa sasa hivi nina biashara yangu mwenyewe. Mwanzoni nilikuwa nafagia barabara, unaelewa jinsi gani hiyo kazi ilivyo. Unavuta vumbi hatimaye unaishia hospitali.' Look at me, now I have my own business; initially I used to sweep the road, you can imagine how hectic that job is. You will always inhale a lot of dust and end up in the hospital'. (Interview 3, with Aden (operator), 2010).

Others reported having left their jobs in anticipation of making a profit from informal activities. The majority (63%) of respondents are willing to exit from the informal sector, but only if they were able to acquire better jobs, which paid them more than they are currently earning. However, 35% of respondents indicated that they are willing to continue working as informal operators, because they claim in doing so to make a profit which sustains their daily needs.

Competition for spaces by informal operators has been linked to the notion of citizenship rights and the right to the city (Hunt, 2009). Informal operators in Hunt's study presented their needs as those of citizens who have the right to use urban spaces

for their activities. Although some operators within the study area in this research shared similar sentiments, this study suggests that they thought more in terms of the value derived from their efforts than citizen rights. Sixty eight per cent of the respondents considered the ability to generate income to be worth the effort and competition for these prime spaces. For them, it is not a question of the right to public spaces, but rather of the right to locations which attract customers and are also easily accessible, since there are many public spaces which do not attract passing trade within the city. The observations of Dar es Salaam city revealed that not all locations attract informal operators (Figure 5.6 and 5.7). For example while the roundabout is used as a focal point, the streets which are further away from it are less appropriated, despite being in the central business districts. Even working spaces which are in the middle of Mchikichini market are less appropriated and sometimes abandoned. Another observation was made at Mlimani city shopping centre in Kindondoni District; the operators have gradually started appropriating the surrounding areas, in response to the routes of potential customers. This is where the ideas of land use and location theory provide useful insights to planners and designers. As detailed in section 2.5.2, formal businesses and offices are attracted to central locations and since they are able to bring in the highest rents, access to such locations is possible. Similar considerations are made by the informal livelihood operators; locations which yield the highest rents attract appropriation. Since economies of agglomeration are ensured by the presence of formal businesses, such locations correspondingly become the best choice for the operators.

5.3 Urban spaces attracting informal livelihood activities

The following section discusses the kinds of working spaces to which informal operators are attracted. Issues of location, accessibility, safety and security, and range of goods are detailed to illuminate their impacts on these activities in urban spaces.

5.3.1 Location: Does it make a difference?

The location of urban spaces plays a major role in informal livelihood activities (Savas, 1978; Richardson, 1984; Dewar and Watson, 1990; Hays-Mitchell, 1994; Mitullah, 2003). The location of spaces which informal livelihood operators are attracted to are generally those with a good flow of customers, accessibility, range of goods, and safety and security (Figure 5.8). Ninety four per cent of the respondents revealed that the availability of customers is the main factor which they consider when selecting a given location for their operations. This study has also found that informal operators are

interested in how much they sell per day. They are willing to use restricted spaces without fear, provided they can sell their merchandise. The best spaces for their activities are usually along busy streets and by parking spaces where the loading and unloading of passengers takes place. Within the study area, Msimbazi Street and Uhuru Street, in both directions, were particularly attractive to both operators and customers. One customer explained:

'Hawa watu wanatafuta riziki yao, na kwa sababu manispaa imeshindwa kuwapatia maeno, wanahaki ya kufanya biashara zao kama watu wengine, na mimi binafsi napendelea kununua kwao sababu bidhaa zao wanauza kwa bei nafuu' These people are trying to earn a living and, because the municipality has failed to allocate space for them they should be left to do their business just like other people, personally I like buying from them as they sell their products at a cheaper price. (Interview 4, with Hashim (customer), 2010).

The dependence of informal operators on passing trade leads to the uneven distribution of their activities, not only within the city but also within the municipalities. This tendency affects the pattern of informal activities as they continue to concentrate in prime locations, mainly in the Central Business District (CBD) (Figure 5.6 and 5.7). The informal operators' ability to persuade customers and provide cheaper products than shop owners has ensured availability of a market for their products and, hence, the sustainability of their activities. One customer explained:

'Siunaona, yaani nilikuwa sijapanga kabisa kununua hii shati lakini huyu machinga kanilazimisha kunuua'. You see, I did not plan to buy this shirt but this operator has persuaded me to buy it. (Interview 3, with Ann (customer), 2010).

Besides products being sold at reasonable prices, customers also explained that buying from the operators is a way of assisting them to cater for their daily needs. One customer explained:

'Nanunua bidhaa toka kwa wamaching kwa sababu bei zao ni nafuu na huduma yao ni ya haraka, vilevile kuwasaidia kuendesha maisha yao'. I buy merchandise from the informal operators because they are cheap, their service is quick and also partly to help them to cater for their daily needs. (Interview 1, with Asha, (customer), 2010).

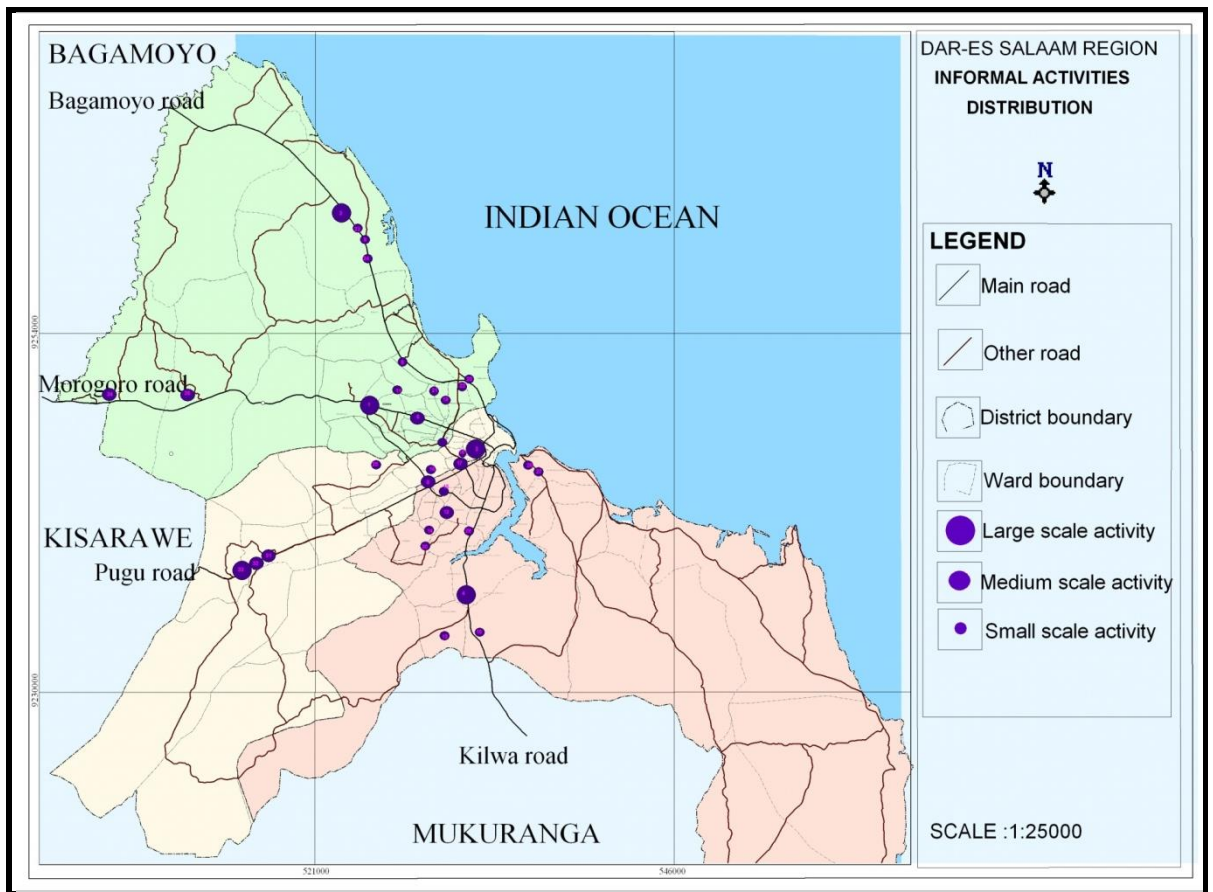


Figure 5.6 Dar es Salaam Region: Distribution of Informal Activities

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

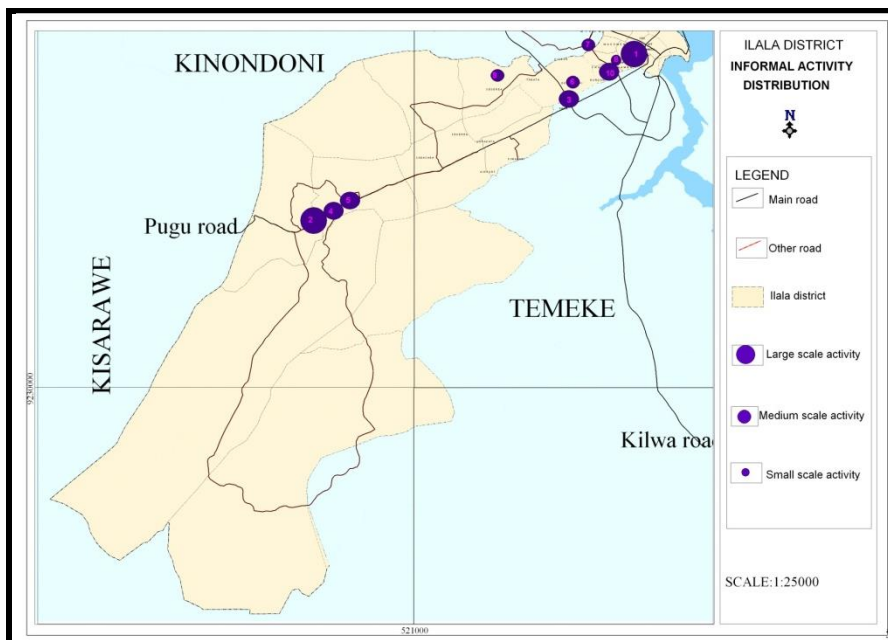


Figure 5.7 Ilala Municipality: Distribution of Informal Activities

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010

Change of current location

Informal operators are willing to relocate to other working spaces which are within the prime area. The most popular spaces included Kariakoo, Karume and the Machinga complex (17); however the preference seemed to be affected by the current location of the respondent's working space (Figure 5.7)¹³. For example, operators along the Msimbazi and Uhuru roads suggested that they would prefer to move to Karume, whilst those at Karume would prefer to move to Kariakoo and the Machinga Complex. Twenty four per cent of those who preferred to stay in their current locations had permission to work there and take advantage of the constant flow of customers through the area.

Not only are operators willing to relocate to new locations, but also the locations which they prefer tend to be the spaces they have been using for a while, in spite of any eviction and harassment they have previously encountered. The willingness to relocate is mainly influenced by the idea that, once they relocate, their everyday challenges will also be minimized. After relocation to these new spaces, it does not normally take long before they reoccupy their former locations (Yatmo, 2008; Bromley and Mackie, 2009). Hence these operators continue to concentrate in the preferred locations. The prime locations remain the same while the people who work in them keep changing.

5.3.2 Safety and security

Safety and security are also important considerations for informal operators. This refers to both the security of their products and their own personal safety while in their working spaces. Since they often operate on almost zero distance from passing vehicles, it is important for them to ensure that they are safe while conducting their business. Their products also need to be secure and hence many prefer to operate in open environments, where it is relatively difficult for their merchandise to be stolen. The operators who work from designated places appear to be safer than those with temporary spaces and they usually maintain the security of their products by paying a fee to access the security services provided by market management.

¹³ 2 represent Kariakoo, 17 represent Machinga Complex, and 18 represent Mchikichini

5.3.3 Range of goods and services

The presence of wholesale shops is another important factor which attracts informal operators to a specific location as it makes it easier for them to access supplies for their merchandise. Although the municipality ignores this factor, it is important to emphasize its influence in attracting the presence of informal operators to an area. The convenience of accessing merchandises and other services, such as storage spaces, plays an important role in keeping the operators in prime areas. For example, over time, the newly established markets have been unable to attract operators, partly because of the absence of nearby wholesalers. Informal operators usually make comparisons between locations which have a range of goods and services available, and they inevitably prefer locations where services are readily available to minimize their costs. It is obvious that prime spaces in the CBD satisfy this criterion and hence will continue to attract them.

5.3.4 Accessibility

Accessibility for operators in terms of getting to and from the work place was the least consideration of all the factors considered when deciding on a location for informal activities (Figure 5.8). This is also reflected in the places where the operators live, which tend to be informal settlements outside the city centre. Living a good distance away from their working spaces, even as far as 30 kilometres, does not bother them as long as they are operating in places which have a good flow of customers.

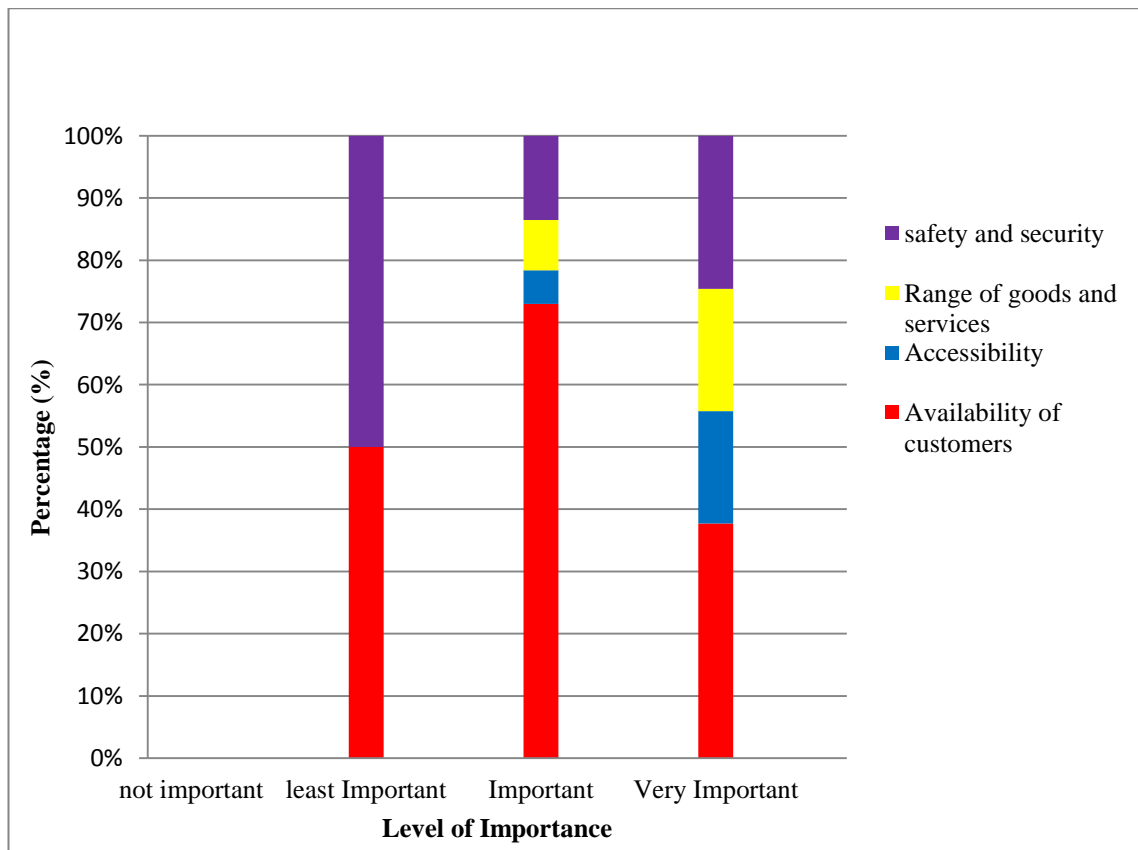


Figure 5.8 The level of importance of factors affecting location of informal activities

Source: Fieldwork June –September 2010

The operators use the pavements, the top of the closed storm water drainage system, road reserves and empty parts of shops to display their merchandise (Figure 5.11). They generally adopt a system, albeit an informal one, in which operators’ merchandise is arranged according to type. For example, fruits and vegetables maybe displayed on one side of Msimbazi Road, going towards Muhimbili hospital, while other kinds of manufactured goods are sold on the other side of Msimbazi Road, going towards Kilwa Road. With this arrangement, operators made sure that they allow sufficient space for pedestrian movement. Other designated spaces also adhere to a particular arrangement which ensures that each type of product sold within the market has a separate space in keeping with the adjacent products. This kind of arrangement makes it easy for customers to find merchandise, as they can go straight to a specific area where particular products are normally displayed and sold. Figure 5.15 shows how the spaces look after the operators have displayed their merchandise. When ranking the importance of each criterion in the choice of location, informal livelihood operators considered the

availability of customers to be the most important factor, followed by safety and security, the range of goods and services in the area and, lastly, accessibility (Figure 5.9).

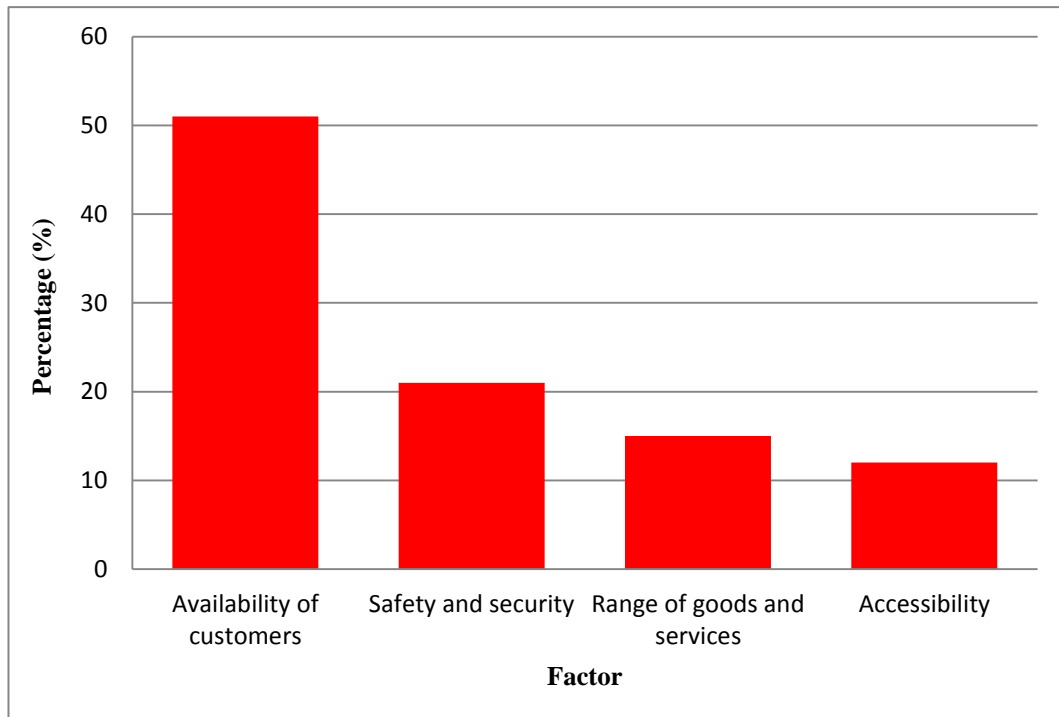


Figure 5.9 Factors Affecting Location of Informal Livelihood Activities

Source: Source: Fieldwork June –September 2010



Figure 5.10 Dar es Salaam City: Case study Area-Msimbazi and Uhuru Street

Source: Google Maps

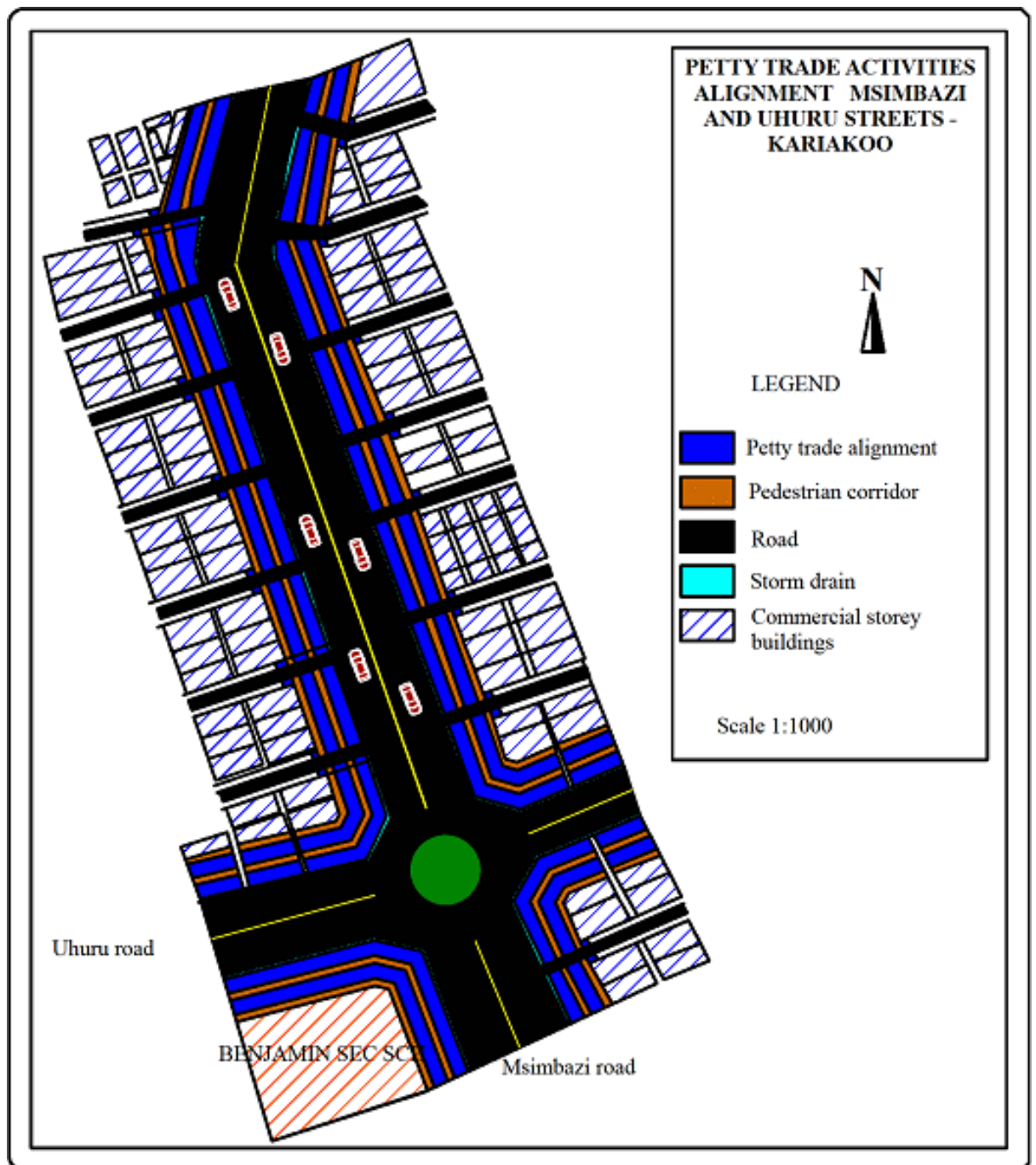


Figure 5.11 Ilala Municipality: Kariakoo; Msimbazi and Uhuru Streets

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010

Pedestrian Corridor: Allows pedestrian movement

Informal activities alignment: Arrangement of merchandise on sack cloth or push cart

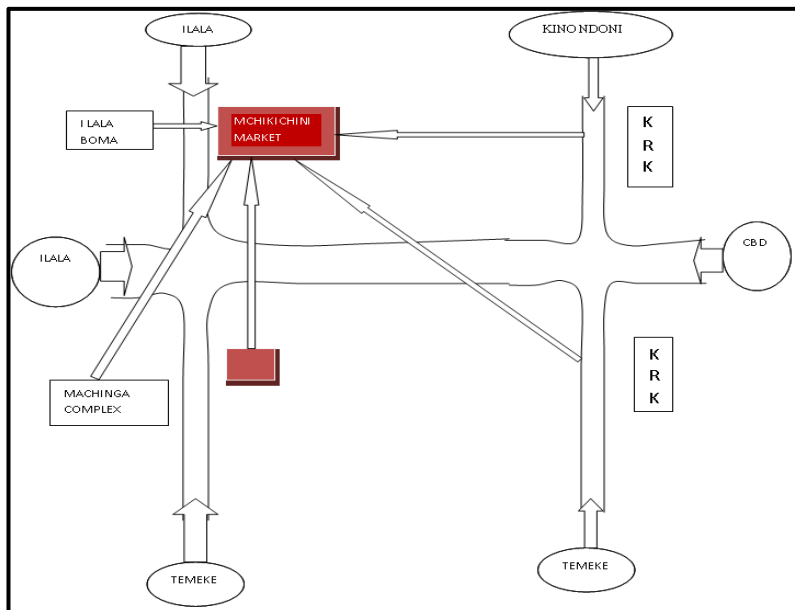
This arrangement is predominant at night time when the ‘new city emerges’

5.4 Space transition

The ability of the operators to possess the streets, parking spaces, and bus stops lead to the transformation of such locations. The following sections detail the changes which occur in spaces used by the informal livelihood operators.

5.4.1 Flow of customers and operators to Mchikichini market 6am-4pm

The discussion on the characteristics of urban spaces which attract informal operators, as presented in the previous section alludes to the transformations which take place in urban spaces as a result of those spaces being occupied by informal livelihood activities. This type of transformation is referred to as space transformation. There is a neat temporal transformation from one form to another which occurs in accordance with the time of day. The time specified in this study was from 6am to 6pm, when operators in designated areas are very active owing to the continuous movement of potential customers from other parts of the city. On each side of Mchikichini market, there are buses from all destinations which drop passengers who have come specifically to shop in this area (Figure 5.12). The close proximity with other shopping areas such as Kariakoo and Ilala Boma, encourages pedestrians to move through this area – at least those who are willing to walk to Mchikichini market to avoid extra transport costs (Figure 5.12). The spaces are fully occupied with both authorized and non-authorized operators, who take advantage of potential sales. The authorized space attracts customers at specific times, while the unauthorized spaces are kept under surveillance by the municipal police until around 4:30 pm every weekday.



During working hours Mchikichini market is more appropriated by operators; whereas in other parts of the city, police guard the areas to prevent the operators from using them.

Legend

KRK- Kariakoo

Figure 5.12 Sketch of Flow of customers and operators to Mchikichini Market

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010

5.4.2 Flow of customers and operators to authorized areas 4 pm – 12 am

The placement of operators changes from 4 pm to around 12 am, when operators start to relocate to unauthorized areas following customers’ movements as they travel back to their places of residence (Figure 5.13). These changes determine the meaning of these prime locations. As noted by Kidder (Kidder, 2009:310) ‘space is an experienced set of material practices’, from which meanings are assigned, for instance those operating the streets’ informal livelihood activities are generally perceived to be undesirable in prime locations, while pedestrian movements is perceived to be an appropriate and desirable use; this has consequently become the way space is perceived. Nevertheless space is not only ‘determining but also can be determined; space as it is lived can be appropriated by the user against intended conceptions’ (Kidder, 2009:310). While the municipality

appropriates space for pedestrian movement and parking, the operators react with counter-appropriation, altering the timeframe for their appropriating activities. By doing so they not only redefine space, but also transform material space by imposing their own zoning principles (the same kinds of products are gathered alongside one another in the space, for example, agricultural produce, second hand clothes and other manufactured merchandise), and positioning temporary objects such as push carts and sack cloths. Informal operators, therefore, transform prime locations from highly restricted spaces to areas where they can sell their merchandise and hence make a living.

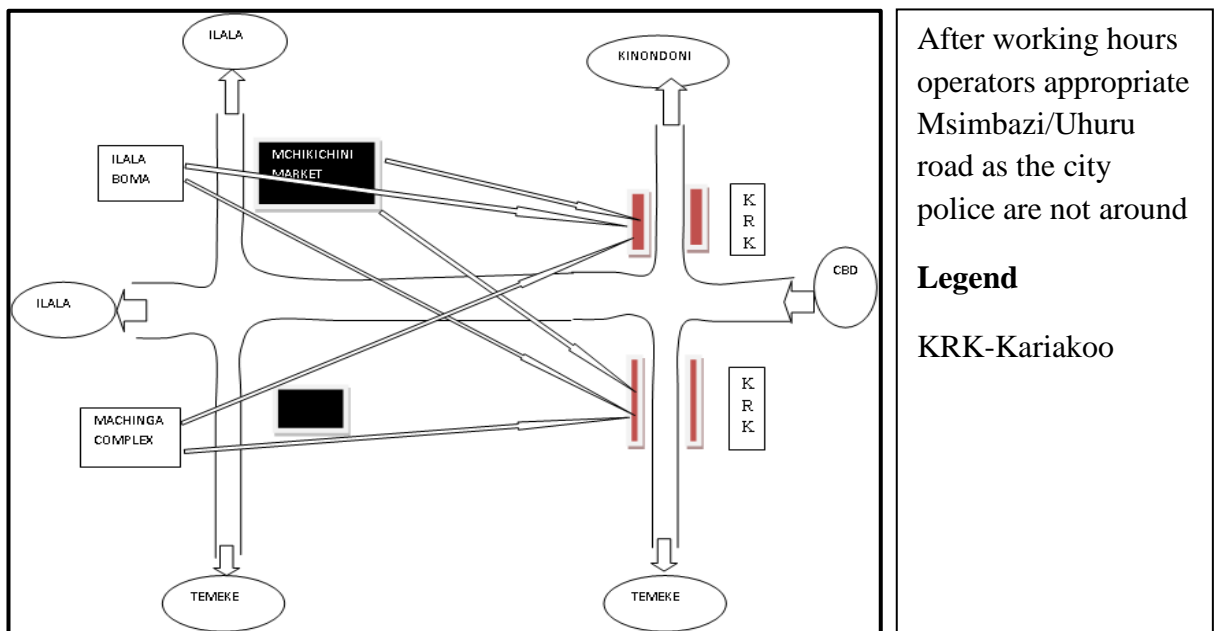


Figure 5.13 Sketch of Flow of operators to Msimbazi/Uhuru Roads

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010

5.4.3 Emerging 'New City'

The appropriation of prime locations for informal activities has formed a 'new city'. Night markets are an emerging phenomenon across Dar es Salaam city. Their origin can be traced to the year 2006 when informal operators experienced major eviction following the 2005 general election. By mid-2005, a massive invasion of prime space by informal livelihood operators had taken place. Operators took advantage of the mass presence and where possible erected structures, conducting their business wherever they chose to undertake it. In early 2006 after the new government took office, the Prime Minister issued a statement ordering informal operators to vacate the premises which they had invaded over the last year. The municipal authority undertook a massive overnight clean-up programme, during which they cleared all the structures away and moved all the operators on to other places, albeit not of the operators' choice. In this way, the municipality managed to drive the informal livelihood operators out of prime spaces.

However, it was not long before the informal operators came up with their own innovation on how to continue operating in these prime spaces. They gradually returned to occupy these spaces in the evenings, mainly from 4:00 pm onwards. The strategy was twofold: to target their merchandise at potential customers who were coming home from work, as well as targeting prime spaces around established shops once these had closed for the day. This phenomenon started along Msimbazi Road, which is famous for agricultural produce such as fruits and vegetables as well as a variety of other manufactured goods. Although the street would be empty in the morning and throughout the afternoon, from 4pm onwards, it would be teeming with informal operators as well as potential customers (Figure 5.14). Figures 5.12 and 5.13 also illustrate how operators have transformed space in the study area. This observation goes beyond the study area for instance, in places such as Ubungo bus terminal, and on both sides of Mandela Road, Morogoro Road and Sam Nujoma Road, traders appropriate the space for their activities. Some operators conduct their business up to 10:00pm, while others continue up to midnight. Operators who continue to work until midnight tend to be those selling coffee and groundnuts. The municipality, as well as the city authority, seems reluctant or unwilling to address this phenomenon.

The shift to the night market is the result of competition for the same space by various stakeholders. Some shop owners demand that the municipality should drive away informal operators to avoid unfair competition as well as to ensure that the space is left

empty to allow both shop owners and their customers to park their cars as well as allow pedestrian movement and reduce congestion. The municipality is also keen to keep the environment clean by ensuring that operators do not block the drainage systems with solid waste (interview with a member of the environmental working group, Ilala Municipality, 2011). They are also interested in making sure that there is no congestion around these areas. All this is part of the municipality's agenda to keep the city clean and to make it competitive in the global market for attracting investment and tourism activities. The question that arises is whether or not these endeavours are valid only during the day. The concerns that motivate the formal and public sectors have all contributed to the informal operators' strategy of developing night markets so that they can continue to sell their merchandise and generate income for their daily livelihood in the city.



Figure 5.14 Occupation of streets during the night, Msimbazi/Uhuru Road

Whilst conducting a general overview of the city and its informal operators, it became clear that time factors influence operators with regard to what merchandise they sell and which approach to take to selling it. Operators have developed a tendency to alter the type of products they are selling in accordance with the time of the day. For example, during the morning rush hour when urban dwellers are on their way to work, informal operators tend to sell merchandise which their potential buyers may require at the workplace, whilst the evening stock of merchandise tends to comprise products that would be more useful for domestic use. Hence access to space in the right strategic direction as well as having the right merchandise at a particular time of day is essential for informal operators. The concentration of operators along the streets also varies with respect to what they sell. In the morning they concentrate on streets leading to workplaces while in the evening the operators tend to concentrate on routes leading to

residential areas. This is a strategic way of doing business to ensure that they can maximise sales of their merchandise and thus make a livelihood.

The recent response towards the relocation, eviction and harassment of informal livelihood operators has included the alteration of working hours and, as elaborated above, the formation of a 'new city'. In Latin America, a study of the case of Cusco, Peru showed how informal livelihood operators have responded to eviction by inventing new markets in their backyards (Bromley and Mackie, 2009). All this demonstrates how innovative informal operators can be in accessing strategic spaces to ensure that their livelihood is sustained.

5.5 Can the operator cope with the weather conditions?

There are three main types of vending apparatus used for informal activities in Dar es Salaam city. These are small ordinary kiosks, push carts, and displays on sacking (Figures 5.14 to 5.18). The operators who use ordinary kiosks/stalls mainly conduct their activities in the designated areas. The kiosks/stalls are made of different materials including wood, iron sheets, sack cloths and concrete blocks. The main provider of these materials is either the individual or the market authority. The stalls in the Mchikichini market are categorized into two groups. The first group of stalls are those which have been renovated by the market authority following payment of a fee by the stall owners. These are stalls which are constructed using permanent building materials. The second category of stalls is those which have not been renovated. The main materials used to make these kinds of stalls are wood and sacking. This category of stall has not undergone renovation, since the owners refused to pay the required fee.

Operators who work in unauthorized areas mainly use push carts and sacking to display their merchandise. They typically display their merchandise along streets and in car parks. The displays also often take place on top of the closed storm water drainage systems and on street pavements. Informal livelihood operators also tend to take advantage of the times when established stores are closed and they display their merchandise wherever they can access their customers (Table 5.1), an approach which determines the vending apparatus available within the study area. The vending apparatus in the study area are similar to other places as noted by Mitullah (2005) and Kamete (2010). Where the municipality provides market facilities, shelters tend to be

permanent, while in non-designated areas with no market facilities, shelters are inevitably temporary by nature.

On the move or here to stay?

Although operators use temporary structures and temporary locations, there is no indication that they would consider using the peripheral locations provided by the municipality. However interviewees revealed that they would consider relocating to other preferred locations such as Mwenge and Ubungo, which are located in Kinondoni municipality, as one of the respondents explained during the interview:

‘Mimi niko radhi kuhama mahali hapa endapo ntapata eneo la kufanyia kazi Mwenge au Ubungo’. I am willing to relocate to either Mwenge or Ubungo if I get access to working space. (Interview 4, with Herry (operator), 2010).

It is important to note that the competitive advantages offered by prime locations would nevertheless continue to drive them to seek access to these areas. In addition, changes to the provision of shelters and structures would not necessarily meet with the operators’ satisfaction. As noted above in section 5.5, the renovation of stalls has resulted in a reduction of working space available, which had been previously considered sufficient by the operators. Operators perceive themselves to be capable of doing the right thing when given the right direction. This is why some of them preferred the option of being allowed to undertake the renovations themselves which they believe would cost them less than the market administration wished to charge them. This argument is also reflected in some of the operators’ criticisms with regard to the design of the newly constructed Machinga Complex.

Table 5.1 Ladder of vending structures and access to services

Vending structures	Visible to customers	Safety of the merchandize	Protection from weather conditions	Access to services
Stalls/Kiosks: Has a roof and strong walls	Some, yes Some limited visibility for operators in the middle of the working space	Yes	Yes	Yes: electricity, solid waste collection Could access the services through either formal or informal arrangements
Stalls/Kiosks: Has a roof and opaque walls	Some, yes Some limited visibility for operators at the middle of the working space	Yes	Shelter from the sun and regular level of rainfall	Yes: electricity, solid waste collection Could access the services through either formal or informal arrangements
Stalls/Kiosks Reasonably sun and water proof	Some, yes Some limited visibility for operators in the middle of the working space	Little security for goods and operators	Shelter from the sun and a regular level of rainfall	Informal arrangement to access services
Utilizes public roofed spaces e.g bus stops	Yes	None	Shelter from the sun and regular level of rainfall	No services
No Structure	Yes	None	Only what can be arranged to protect operators and merchandise	No services

Matrix categories after Tipple and Speak (2009)



The self-constructed ordinary stalls/kiosks used by informal livelihood operators at Mchikichini informal market.

When the Regional Commission allowed them to move to this location, the operators were shown the location where they were supposed to relocate. They made their own stalls by putting up structures which allowed them to display their merchandise

Figure 5.15 Material Appropriation at Mchikichini

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010



- a. The far end presents stores renovated through a collaboration between operators and market management
- b. The display of merchandise on a parking space at Mchikichini market

Figure 5.16 Appropriation of parking space at Mchikichini

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010



The display of merchandise at a roadside and pedestrian walkway. The operators display their merchandise in a way which provides a space to allow pedestrians movement.



Stalls made of old iron sheets and cheap timber '*mabanzi*' and sacking

Figure 5.17 Appropriation of Pedestrian Walkways at Mchikichini

Source: Fieldwork June –September 2010



Some display merchandise on top of storm water drainage on pedestrian walkways, whilst others uses part of the carriage way.

Informal livelihood operators found here start working from around 3:30 pm to 12:00 midnight. Some have been working in these streets for more than ten years, whilst others started working here as a response to eviction during daytime (office hours).

Figure 5.18 Reoccupation of Space after Working Hours on Msimbasi/Uhuru Road

Source: Fieldwork June –September 2010

5.5.1 Storage of merchandise

Storage facilities are well organized between the formal business operators and the informal ones. Considering the way the informal livelihood operators’ work, one would not expect them to have easy access to facilities for storing their merchandise at the end of each working day or during incidents when they face harassment and eviction by the local authority. This study found that there are two different arrangements used by

informal operators to store their merchandise. The first storage arrangement is related to informal operators who work in designated premises. Their merchandise is left within the designated premises and looked after by the security service provided by the market management. This arrangement is made available on the basis of operators paying a fee of Tshs 100¹⁴ per day. Under this system, operators are guaranteed that their merchandise will be kept secure after working hours. The second storage arrangement is used by operators who work in unauthorised areas. The arrangement is usually between the informal operator and the owners of storage facilities in the vicinity of their area of operation. Under such arrangements, operators are required to pay a storage fee of between Tshs 200¹⁵ and Tshs 2000¹⁶, depending on the weight of the merchandise. Under these arrangements, they can store their merchandise after working hours as well as whenever harassment and eviction is carried out by the local authority.

5.6 A discussion of the key findings and their implications

The following section provides a cross examination of the findings and their relationship to the wider debate on similar issues.

5.6.1 The operators in perspective

The aim of this chapter was to explore the characteristics of informal livelihood activities. It sought to demonstrate how the socio-economic characteristics of individual operators contribute to their participation in this sector and specifically, to their operations in prime urban spaces. This study confirms that the socio-economic characteristics of individuals involved in informal livelihood activities are important for understanding their operations, as well as influencing their involvement in informal activities. Informal livelihood operators are understood in terms of their gender, age, and place of origin. Male operators dominate the informal sector in urban prime spaces. It is interesting to note that age plays a vital role in the operators' ability to occupy prime locations. This result corroborates other findings in previous studies which concentrate on youth in urban spaces, showing that the main age of the operators tends to range between 20 and 40. Being young, energetic and ambitious makes them willing to take steps to tackle the challenges brought about by unemployment, motivating their involvement in these activities. Studies carried out in Zambia and Zimbabwe, for instance, were specifically devoted to the youth who occupy the urban spaces of Lusaka

¹⁴ The exchange rate used is £1 to Tsh 2,300. Tshs 100 is equivalent to 4 pence

¹⁵ Tshs 200 is equivalent to 8 pence.

¹⁶ Tshs 2,000 is equivalent to 86 pence.

and Harare respectively and explored their risk of eviction and continuous harassment (Hansen, 2010; Kamete, 2010). Other authors have also established the relationship between age and participation in the informal sector; however there are still no clear patterns established (Gerxhani, 2002).

Nevertheless the findings from this study indicate that socio-economic characteristics of informal livelihood operators are unique with respect to context. Studies in other countries such as Trinidad and Tobago, Mongolia Benin, and Chad, have indicated that the number of women outweighs that of men and vice versa in the informal economy (Bikales *et al.*, 2000; Charmes, 2000). Studies on the informal sector in urban mainland Tanzania, on the other hand, reveal that men dominate the sector (URT, 2006). This also corroborates the studies carried out in Zambia and Thailand, where the involvement of women in economic activities lies to a large extent within home boundaries, while men are more likely to be working away from home (ILO, 2004). This study suggests that women play a major role in the informal economy in Dar es Salaam and their number is increasing, although not within urban prime spaces. As suggested by Charmes, (2000) and Sethuraman, (1998) increased economic hardship has enhanced women's participation in economic activities and the informal sector provides easily available opportunities for them. The challenges of evictions and harassment might be the main factors which discourage the majority of women from operating in prime locations, leading to the extension of masculine dominance in these spaces.

The preceding analysis has suggested that male operators are more dominant in prime spaces than females, in terms of numbers of participants. It also appears that the experience of individual operators acts as an enabling factor in the decision to access prime locations. Through the experience operators acquire over time, they are able to establish a social network which is essential if they are to gain knowledge of the available working spaces in a particular location. Experience within the city environment and the establishment of contacts are important considerations when informal operators are looking for a working space. This finding corroborates the work of Companion (2007) which showed that experienced informal operators in Ethiopia enjoy distinctive advantages in gaining access to merchandise for sale. Similar to these findings, a study in Mexico City demonstrated the importance of networking, which was found to provide added value to the operator (Peña and Frontera Notre, 2000). A similar account of the value of networking was highlighted by Lyons (2005), who

referred to the concept of social capital as evident in Kenya. The experience gained through these networks provides avenues for traders to increase their advantages, either in terms of access to space, merchandise or in other issues related to their operations. The place of origin of informal livelihood operators has dominated studies of the informal economy since the 1980s, with scholars arguing that informal operators tend to be migrants from rural areas (Todaro, 1976). Operators are still likely to be from rural areas and the informal sector remains their main mode of employment (Cornwell and Inder, 2004). However recent migrants face limitations in accessing the prime locations as detailed in this study. This study has found that informal livelihood operators working at the heart of the city seem to have lived in Dar es Salaam for more than five years and to have previously experienced eviction or relocation from a workplace. This study suggests that experience within the city environment is a vital factor in the process of accessing prime urban spaces for informal livelihood activities and this experience is established through networking ranging from family members, relatives, friends and others, an aspect which was also noted in the ILO study of Zambia and Thailand (ILO, 2004).

5.6.2 The operators and their working conditions

Another major finding of this study relates to the networking which exists between informal and formal business operators. Formal business operators are willing to cooperate with informal operators, especially with regard to the storage of their merchandise. If informal operators were not receiving this kind of assistance, it would be incredibly difficult for them to travel with their merchandise for more than 10km from the trading place when eviction and harassment occur. This type of relationship boosts the work of the informal operators in urban areas; and this study suggests that as long as this type of relationship exists, it will be difficult to eliminate the work of informal livelihood operators. The cooperation they receive from established business operators makes it easier for them to return to the same spaces soon after being evicted.

Prime spaces attracting informal operators are endowed with a flow of potential customers, accessibility, a range of goods, safety and security. Operators take these criteria into consideration when selecting a location for their businesses, in order to maximise their income-generating activities. The location does not necessarily have to include a shelter. It is common practice for informal operators to operate in parking spaces, bus stops, pavements and along the streets, even though sheltered market buildings are made available to them. For instance in Peru, Zambia, Kenya, and Mexico,

operators have rejected the market buildings made available to them, preferring to operate in alternative spaces of their own choice (Peña and Frontera Notre, 2000; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Hansen, 2010). The main interest of the operators centres on pedestrian ‘footfall’ and how much they can sell per day; hence they are willing to act against the wishes of the authorities by appropriating space for their operations. Similarly, a study by Kidder (2009) found that bike messengers’ appropriation of space went as far as violating traffic regulations in order to archive the ultimate goal of making their deliveries on time.

5.6.3 The spaces and what shapes them

The presence of operators in prime locations redefines the landscape of the city and that is why the local authority sees operators as a source of “uncleanliness of the municipal environment”. Kamete (2010) also found that informal operators tend to be labelled as “filth” and, hence, they are unwanted in urban space. The presence of informal operators presents a landscape which is not supported by planning regulations or the municipality’s vision of the city. This study suggests that despite being unwanted in urban spaces, operators do everything in their power to stay in the urban areas of their choice. A location which attracts passing trade is useful for informal activities. The importance of location is propounded in central place, location and land use theory. However in their occupation of central spaces, operators add the aspect of illegal appropriation, as they are unable to pay the highest rents. This lived experience provides the meaning of space, as Lefebvre argues: ‘space can only be understood as something that is lived’ (1976:362; Lefebvre, 1991). Space as it is lived can be appropriated against the intended conceptions (Kidder 2009). Operators in these urban spaces seem to be there to stay. They are fighting unfair distribution resulting from the production of space (Watson, 2002). The phenomenon of operators along the streets who have been ignored by municipality systems suggests the need to address their concerns using core arguments from Just City theory, which is about ensuring the distribution of planning outcomes to other urban space stakeholders. If applied appropriately in the process of producing urban spaces, this can make it more likely that inclusiveness will be achieved in the distribution of planning outcomes, with the result that the city landscape will be produced in a way that takes into account the needs of all stakeholders in the prime urban realm.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter the reasons for appropriating prime locations were investigated. From this investigation it became clear that the socio-economic characteristics of informal livelihood operators underline their motivations for pursuing these activities. Nevertheless the characteristics themselves are not sufficient to furnish a more concrete explanation of their involvement in the informal sector, and hence any explanation must have recourse to the wider contextual issues surrounding them, such as conditions of poverty, global challenges including redundancy, economic crisis, free market policies and many others. Involvement in informal livelihood activities provides operators with the ability to generate income, change their employment status, and create networks which contribute to their well-being. The discussion in this chapter revealed that the challenges posed by the inadequate provision of working spaces which attract passing trade, are accessible, have access to a range of goods, as well as safety and security; force operators to run their activities in both designated and undesignated locations. Networks established among other informal operators, and factors including experience within the city environment, provide them with a competitive advantage in terms of access to knowledge about availability of working spaces with adequate passing trade. The ability to appropriate such locations allows for the material transformation of a particular locations' landscape, which engenders conflict with both the local authority and other stakeholders of urban space. Their profound interest in prime locations of which the bid rent is beyond their means has made the process of appropriation more difficult and hence requires an innovative approach with regard to how to gain access to such locations. Understanding these lived experiences with regard to why the appropriation of prime locations is necessary for these operators can equip planners and designers with a framework which allows for a more equitable distribution of the benefits of urban space in their plans and policies.

Their need for prime locations, however, sets the next stage of this research with the task of revealing how that need is met. The next chapter therefore provides a detailed examination of how operators appropriate such locations and assesses the tensions which are produced by those processes. The intention is to provide an insight into the legality of the means of appropriation and their role in the operator's transition between spaces.

Chapter 6. Appropriation of Prime Urban Locations

6.1 Introduction

‘When I heard that people were allowed to occupy this space for their businesses, me and my brother rushed to the area and occupied this area and erected the stall. It was up to one’s capability to occupy the space and erect the shelter and start operations.’ (Interview 5, with Masumbuko (operator), 2010)

The competition for space for informal livelihood activities is evident in most rapidly developing cities worldwide (Cross and Morales, 2007b). The involvement of Dar es Salaam city residents in informal livelihood activities is a result of the limited employment opportunities in the city and the country as a whole (Tripp, 1997). Access to prime space is important for the amount of income the informal operator can generate. Prime spaces provide opportunities for informal operators to meet potential customers for their merchandise. However access to these spaces is always accompanied by resistance, which either comes from the group of individuals who are authorized to use the space; from those unauthorized but still requiring use of the same space; or from the authorities responsible for the management of the urban space in question. As discussed in Chapter 5, certain characteristics of the informal operators influence their involvement in the whole process. Moreover, through creating strong networks among themselves, they are able to more successfully engage in their daily operations to make a living. In particular, these networks provide them with information on where spaces are available and keep them aware of the authorities’ plans for harassment and eviction. Notwithstanding the authorities’ constant harassment and eviction, their livelihood is sustained through their access to these prime locations.

This chapter therefore provides a detailed analysis of how informal livelihood operators scramble for space in the prime locations of Dar es Salaam city. The analysis is based on how the operators access space and examines the challenges which they face over the whole process. Moreover, issues on the temporary and permanent setting of the working spaces boundary and tensions therein are explored. The aim of the chapter is to present the evidence gathered in an attempt to provide answers to the second part of the study’s second specific objective, focusing on the research question: ‘How do informal operators appropriate prime locations for their activities?’ The intention is to provide

insights into how the means of access redefine the operators and their activities and subject them to a series of tensions with other stakeholders and the built environment.

6.2 Spatial division of labour

As noted in Chapter 4, informal livelihood activities can be grouped into three categories: the first category involves retailing both agricultural produce and manufactured goods; the second category is what is involved with the production of goods such as furniture and urban agriculture; whilst the third category involves those who provide services such as mechanical services, food, solid waste collection, and shoe shining. This study is limited to retailing and some service activities owing to their presence in the study area. The goods sold by the informal operators in the case study area include shoes, new and used clothes, luggage, fruit and vegetables and handbags, while the informal services offered include food sales, shoe shining among others. It was observed that those operators in permanent spaces tended to have bulk merchandise, as opposed to those in temporary spaces. In Dar es Salaam city the categorization of informal activities is well defined in terms of the location of the spaces which the operators occupy (Nnkya, 2006).

It is important to note that in the early development of the informal sector, it was believed that products sold were locally produced and producers were limited to local knowledge in terms of production techniques. However products sold in the study areas do not conform to this characterization, while those operators who sell traditional products tend to have special locations within the city, such as Makumbusho and Mwenge. The products available are imported manufactured goods which have been influenced by trade liberalization policies in less-developed countries. The availability of these imported goods provide the linkage between global capitalists who, either knowingly or unknowingly, take advantage of an opened-up market to supply goods to these countries which end up being distributed to consumers by informal livelihood operators on the streets, such as those in Ilala Municipality. Davies and Thurlow (2010) also established this kind of linkage in the South African case where trade liberalization is closely linked to the informal sector in terms of distribution of goods to the consumers. Roy (2010) also noted how global capitalists have played a part in expanding their services to the poor through informal sector distribution. She suggested that the more formal markets seek to tap the informal markets as distributors and consumers; and the poor become the beneficiaries of these economies of scale. In a

wider perspective this informs the integration of informal into formal systems of capitalism (Roy, 2010:91). The next sections, therefore, provide an in-depth analysis of how the informal operators access space for their operations.

6.3 Access to space for informal livelihood activities

Access to prime space is of vital importance for an informal livelihood operator who wishes to undertake trading activities. The prime spaces which attract informal operators may be either authorized or unauthorized for their use. As discussed in the previous chapter, the characteristics of the required spaces include the ability to attract customers, the availability of security and ease of access to a range of goods (Figure 5.8 and 5.9). It is not easy for an operator to gain access to an ideal space, as the demand for this type of space exceeds its supply (Lyons and Msoka, 2010). Therefore informal operators have to embark on a struggle to gain access to space for trading activities.

In this study, the manner of accessing space for informal livelihood activities can be grouped into four main categories, namely: access through an allocation authority responsible for informal activities, invasion, and purchase from the owner of the space, and renting from or by permission of the space owner (Figure 6.2). Generally access to space is reported to be a difficult issue as there are many challenges encountered in the process: 62% regard access to space as difficult while 33% reported that it is easy and the remaining 5% reported that it depends on the timing, arguing that, during peak season, it will be more difficult than at off-peak seasons. For informal operators, the peak season includes January, when students begin the new academic year, as well as July after the midterm school holiday. Furthermore the peak seasons also include religious holidays such as Christmas, Easter and Islamic holidays, during which the operators would mostly sell merchandise related to each occasion. The municipality would allow them to work in these spaces during these seasons.

The challenges which informal operators face while competing for space do not only affect the operators who access space through invasion but also those who access space through the responsible authority. The challenges include the network which operators establish over time while working in urban spaces. The analysis shows that knowledge about the availability of space is acquired through friends and relatives or through advertisement by the authority responsible for the allocation of trading spaces and other means. Furthermore 51% of the respondents reported that they knew about their current working space through their friends and relatives, whilst 27% reported having known

about the working space through an advertisement by the municipality, and the remaining 32.5% reported having known about the spaces through other means. Those who selected the response of ‘other means’ often referred to individual discovery as another way of finding out about the availability of spaces (Figure 6.1). According to Lyons and Snoxell (2005a) similar findings were made in a study conducted in Accra and Dakar, which indicated that networks established by traders are essential in accessing working spaces. Furthermore, social networks are considered to be essential to a number of market activities in an analysis by Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah (2008).

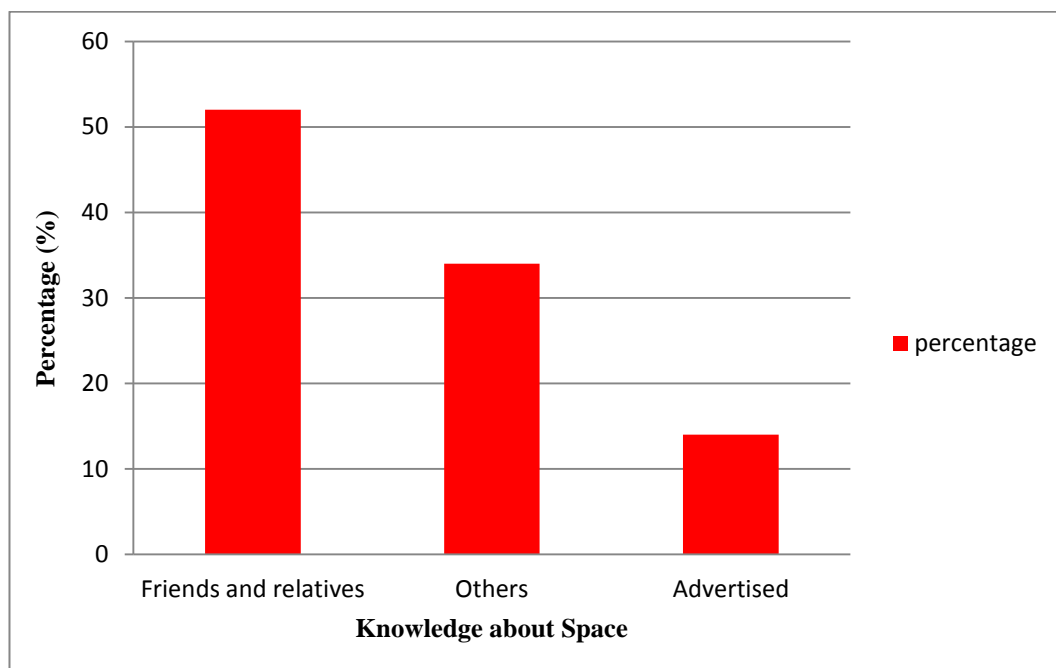


Figure 6.1 Knowledge about space (N=200)

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010

It is evident that the case study area comprises both authorized and unauthorized spaces. It is difficult to create a boundary between the two, because even areas which are unauthorized for certain trading activities may be authorized for other trading activities. For example, the pavements which are primarily intended for pedestrian circulation are unauthorized for any commercial activity, except for that of newspaper sellers, fruit vendors and shoe shiners, who still require permits to conduct their businesses in these spaces. Access to space in unauthorized areas is purely through invasion for all informal trading activities. By contrast; access to trading space in authorized areas is through the formal application process as well as through invasion. Moreover access to working space involves renting or other types of agreement between the informal operator and

the shop owners. Drawing from the discussion in section 2.5.2, in most cases, formal operators adhere to bid rent theory, whereby the highest bidder accesses the optimal location for their activities. Conversely, due to the same mechanism, informal operators are unable to afford such locations and as a result, the municipality provides working spaces in such locations wherever possible. Mchikichini market and Machinga complex are examples of such provision. Access to these locations is expected to be entirely by allocation; however, the failure of the government regulatory model leads to other means of access (Figure 6.2). The following sections therefore provide a detailed explanation of these processes.

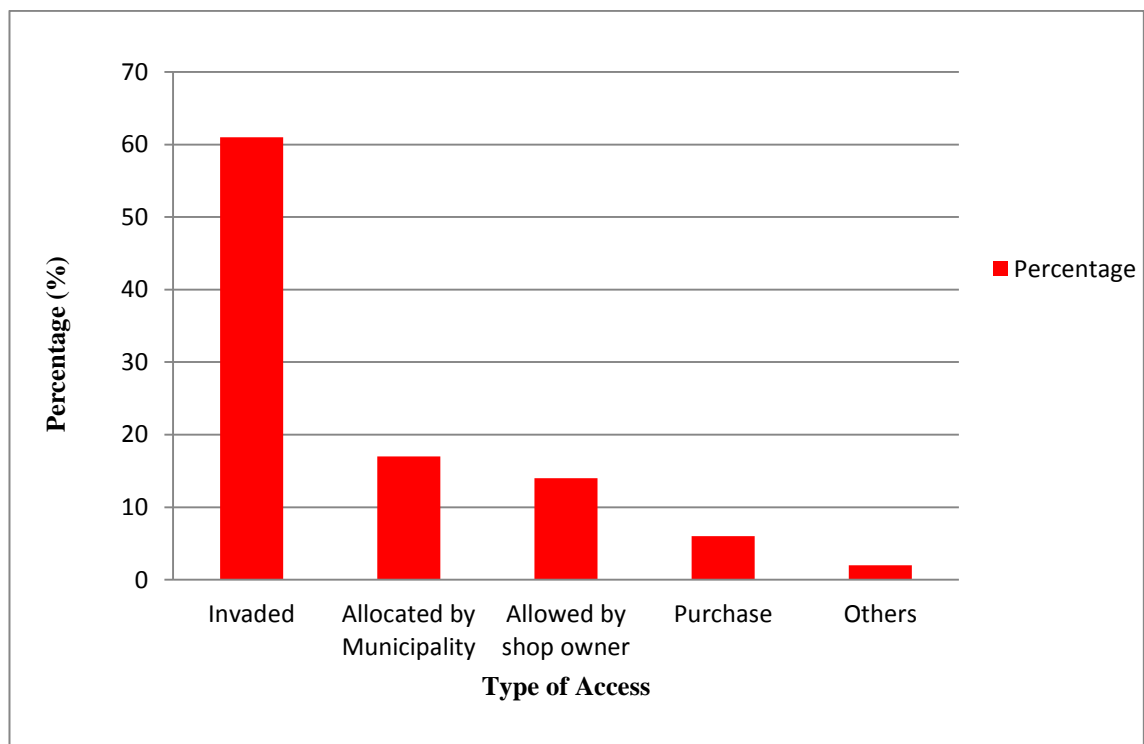


Figure 6.2 Access to working space (N=200)

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010

6.3.1 Informal approaches to accessing trading spaces

Invasion of space in unauthorized areas

‘I come here every day to trade. I have been doing that for the past ten years. Eviction is part of our everyday practice and we take it as a challenge which so far has not made us stop anyway.’ (Interview 6, with Ammy (operator), 2010).

Informal livelihood operators compete for space in their everyday undertakings. Invasion of space for their activities is inevitable, especially when there is a conflict of

interest between the operators and the responsible authority, as well as other stakeholders including shop owners and pedestrians. In this study, 60% of informal operators accessed their current working space through gradual invasion (Figure 6.2 and 6.3).



Figure 6.3 Invasion of space in unauthorised area for informal activities

Despite the municipality's regular involvement in the harassment and eviction of informal operators, they have continued working in the same prime areas within the city. At times, the operators have been left for longer periods without eviction and harassment, such that they have erected structures which provide shade whilst trading. No matter how limited the time is, the informal operators tend to maximise the given opportunity to trade in these spaces. However whenever the municipality initiates city cleaning campaigns, the informal operators are forced to vacate these spaces as their activities are considered incompatible with other activities within the area. In addition to the issue of perceived incompatibility, informal operators have been evicted from trading spaces due to pressure from the owners of established stores, who continuously raise complaints regarding unfair competition against the informal operators, who do not generally pay the taxes or levies required by law. This practice of eviction and harassment defines the level of vulnerability of the informal operators as analysed by

Msoka (2007). Owing to this type of operation by the municipality, informal operators are compelled to acquire their spaces through invasion. In the case study area, ten of those working within the invaded spaces who participated in in-depth interviews for the study reported having worked in these spaces for over ten years, despite the repeated forced eviction which they face. This is an on-going experience for nearly all the informal operators, some of whom reported losing their merchandise in the process. The city militia police tend to pounce on informal operators unannounced, confiscating any merchandise in the process, and sometimes arresting the operators and taking them to the police station for questioning (Figure 6.4).



Figure 6.4 City police confiscating operators' merchandise

The process through which operators invade spaces for their activities is explained in the following section. One respondent explained:

‘If you need a space you will have to see elder Hamis, he is the one who knows if spaces are available.’ (Interview 6, with Ammy (operator), 2010).

Most operators within the prime space in the case study area have some sort of experience of the city and the working environment. Among themselves, operators can identify who has worked in a specific area the longest. This experienced operator then plays a leadership role which involves meeting new operators, who have shown an interest in gaining access to their space, and providing them with further information on any available spaces to be considered. Apparently the leader also oversees the availability of spaces within the area and is knowledgeable of the whereabouts of any missing individuals on a particular day. When operators are absent on a given day, their

spaces would nevertheless not be occupied or used by any other person, as their colleagues normally provide security to ensure that no one can use the empty space for selling their own merchandise. In addition to the leader being a long-term occupant of his selling space, other respondents had also been trading in the area for a long period. One lady who sells tomatoes and onions reported having worked on the same street for over 10 years, which meant that she had experienced several evictions and harassments. When asked why she kept on working there in spite of the threat of eviction, she replied that she had no option but to continue working there, so that she could sell her products and meet her daily expenses such as food, clothes and shelter, and also pay for her children's education. This concurs with the findings of other studies about the motivation behind working as an informal livelihood operator (Brown, 2006; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Kamete, 2010). This is also demonstrated by the level of resistance operators raise when faced with harassment and eviction, as well as their willingness to endure repeated incidents of this kind over a long period of time.

At the same time, there are new operators coming to these spaces every day, hoping to gain access to the space for their informal operations. The network which exists amongst the operators plays a vital role in gaining access to these prime spaces. Otherwise, it would not be easy to know if a specific space was empty and for what reason. As the operators get to know each other, they are willing to provide security and watch over their colleagues' spaces for as long as a month of absence, provided that their fellow operator has not decided to permanently vacate that space for another area. Although these kinds of arrangements are informal, they are useful for the operators in enabling them to keep track of who works where and why and also to provide some kind of assurance to informal operators in their activities. Similar findings were reported in a study carried out in Caracas, which found that informal operators have informal arrangements among themselves, which provide permits for new operators in trading spaces (Garcia-Rincon, 2007). Furthermore in another study conducted in Ethiopia, the findings showed that the longer an operator has stayed in a particular space, the greater their ability to establish networks and hence to access space, as well as sourcing items for sale (Companion, 2007).

Invasion in authorized areas

The invasion of space took place not only in unauthorized spaces but also in authorized spaces. Assessing invasion in the study area, especially at Mchikichini market which is

now regulated, the operators who arrived first after the space was designated by the municipality and city officials were asked about their experience; they noted that there had been no designation of specific spaces for specific individual operators. Operators scrambled to get a good space in the first place, as they were left to decide for themselves before the market was fully institutionalized. Asked about how he accessed his space Mr. Abdul responded that:

'Mimi na mdogo wangu tulikuwa tukifanya shughuli zetu mtaa wa Congo, tulipofukuzwa mwaka 2000, tulielekezwa tuje hapa mchikichinni , tukaja na kuwahi hili eneo ambalo mpaka sasa tunafanyia biashara. Mwanzoni wakati sisi tunakuja hapa kulikuwa hakuana mpangilio maalumu nani akae wapi, kadiri muda ulivyoenda uongozi wa soko ukaanza kusimamia shughuli zote ndani ya soko.' My brother and I were working along Congo Street; when we were evicted we were told to come to this space. In the beginning when we first came, there was no arrangement about who has to occupy what space, but as time went on the market management team assumed full responsibilities of the activities within the market, including allocating spaces for operators who continued coming. (Interview 7, with Abdul (operator), 2010).

Those operators who came to the area first managed to occupy larger spaces than those who came later. The space measures an average of six square metres. It was easy for the first-comers to get this space in the beginning as no one put a limit on how much space they should occupy. Later on when the market authority assumed full responsibility for market activities, they started regulating the occupancy and operators who came later had to undergo an application process to secure a space; hence this group automatically falls into the category of those who got access to their space through the authority responsible for regulation.

In addition, the empty spaces surrounding the market, especially those close to the road as well as its parking spaces, have attracted invasion by operators who use them to display their merchandise (Figure 6.5). The use of parking spaces is not only evident in the case study area, but it is also widespread across the city, especially where office buildings are located, which seems to be another option for operators seeking access to potential customers (Kironde, 2010). The following observation was reported in the Daily News:

I have been observing the behaviour of street traders near my office at NIC Investment House. In 2006 there were only two or three traders peddling shoes. When the clean-up took place they disappeared, but soon, they started coming back tactically. Since there were city *askaris* patrolling the street during work hours, NIC *machingas* took over the NIC parking and nearby areas from around 5pm. Today, they come at around 10 o'clock in the morning. Their number has grown from 3 to about 10. The area taken over has grown exponentially taking over some parts that are meant for car parking. It is shoes, shoes everywhere. The road to the car park has narrowed to the bare minimum to allow one car and even then drivers have to be extremely careful not to drive over shoes. If you come in early and park where the *machingas* have declared their empire for shoe peddling, then you will find your car surrounded by shoes. It could even be used as a platform for shoe display. Besides shoe sellers, the area now has a number of fruit sellers, and a number of traders who peddle shirts, trousers, watches, telephone vouchers, roast ground nuts, bags, and waist belts and so on. The area is becoming congested even for pedestrians. Yet it is these same pedestrians who are providing the (potential) market for the *machingas*. Many parts of the city have now been taken over, and these include bus stops. The sheds promised for bus commuters are routinely taken over by traders and travellers are 'evicted' (Lusuga Kironde, *Daily News*, 27th November 2010)

The operators also face continuous forced eviction in these types of spaces, because they are not authorized to operate there. Some of these operators who turn to appropriating parking spaces for their business are believed to be operators who occupy 'undesirable' spaces at the middle or far end of the established market, who feel disadvantaged by their location within the market, arguing that the majority of customers do not get as far as their stalls due to their location within the market (Figure 6.6). However, other operators who access spaces near the vicinity of office buildings generally come from other places in the city.



Figure 6.5 Unauthorized use of space within designated area for informal activities

On the left: the displays of merchandise on the pedestrian walkway and road verge
 On the right: the display of merchandise on parking spaces



Figure 6.6 Un-used spaces in an authorised area

Is there a clear boundary between authorised and unauthorised operators?

The boundary between authorised and unauthorised spaces can be clearly established. However the observation within the study area revealed that there is a grey boundary between informal operators who operate in authorized spaces and those who do not. The study found that some of the operators tend to operate in authorized spaces during normal working hours before switching to unauthorized spaces later in the day, in a bid to track the flow of potential customers. It is also evident that there is continuous shifting of operators between the Kariakoo and Mchikichini areas, in quest of customers

on the move to whom they might sell their merchandise. Another strategy is where an operator in an authorised area hires another operator to sell their merchandise in unauthorised locations.

Generally, access to trading spaces through invasion presents two different phenomena: first, the invasion of authorized spaces and second, the invasion of unauthorized spaces. The first phenomenon is where operators have been allowed to move into authorized spaces but are left alone to decide where to locate their businesses within the space. The second phenomenon is where a newcomer in need of space identifies and meets an experienced operator in a specific unauthorized area, who will facilitate the new operator's entry into the area as soon as a vacant space becomes available for their operations. Similar findings were made in the city of Caracas, Venezuela where it was found that informal operators use nonviolent means to access both authorised and unauthorised trading spaces as well as obtaining informal permits to use the spaces (Garcia-Rincon, 2007).

6.3.2 Formal approaches to accessing trading spaces

Access through a responsible authority for informal activities

'I used to work in Kariakoo along Congo Street, after eviction we were directed to come here; fortunately I was allocated this space by the municipality.'
(Interview 8, with Majura (operator), 2010).

Ilala Municipality is the sole authority responsible for allocating working spaces to informal operators. However it is possible for this responsibility to be shared with the operators' association, as specified by the municipal officer. Accessing spaces for informal livelihood activities through the authorized authority is not as easy as it should be. The operators struggle to secure spaces for their operations through the municipality. Only 16% of the respondents were able to access their working spaces through the municipality or responsible authority. The process involves sending an application form to the market authority or municipality to request allocation of a space. The operators reported that this process took as long as six weeks. This time frame applies in particular to relocation area where the authorities are already working to fill any vacant spaces to make sure the space operates as normally as other established spaces. Therefore it could take even longer for an operator to secure a working space in established trading areas due to the slow workings of bureaucracy. In addition, a positive outcome of applications is not guaranteed and some operators may not be

allocated a space. The criteria used to allocate space to the operators is primarily the applicant's position on the waiting list, where working spaces in relocated areas which have been previously allocated and yet are not being utilized can also be re-allocated. Furthermore other respondents reported that they had to bribe officials on the allocation committee to ensure that they would be allocated spaces. This practice became more common as informal activities became more viable as a means of gaining a livelihood, owing to an increase in the number of customers, which in turn has led to a higher concentration of informal livelihood activities in particular locations. Using the criteria noted above, 43 out of 200 operators reported having applied for a space from the municipality. Whereas 47% of the applicants were allocated spaces based on their position on the list, 23% were allocated spaces after bribing allocation committee members. Other criteria applied to the remaining 30%.

In the case study area at least 50 operators without disabilities were reported to have rented dedicated stalls from disabled people who were initially allocated those spaces by the municipality. After the on-going formalization of the informal business operators businesses, the city authority constructed the shopping mall commonly known as Machinga Complex to be used for informal activities. The shopping mall is located within 500 metres of the existing stalls. On August 2010 the municipality issued an ultimatum demanding that operators relocate to this new mall (Saiboko, 2010).

Small scale traders who have erected makeshift stalls at Karume Stadium in Dar es Salaam have been ordered to leave the area by Thursday next week. The Dar es Salaam Regional Commissioner, Mr William Lukuvi, told reporters in Dar es Salaam on Friday that the city wants to use the area to construct extra car parking for customers who will be shopping at the Machinga Complex. In a speech read on his behalf by the Ilala District Commissioner, Mr Leonidas Gama, the RC ordered Ilala municipal leaders to make a follow up on the order and make sure that it is adhered to.

'This ultimatum goes mainly to bag traders opposite the TFF. We want them to take their right space at the newly constructed Machinga Complex and vacate the area, to give room to a car parking project,' he said. In another development, Mr Lukuvi gave August 10 as the deadline for machingas who have been allocated space at the Machinga Complex to move into their units or else they would be thrown out in favour of others. (Abdulwakil Saiboko, *Daily News*, 30th July 2010)

Prior to this, the associations for informal activities were responsible for allocating spaces to the operators, a claim which was made during the interview by the secretary of the VIBINDO Association:

'Tumeshirikishwa katika mradi Machinga Complex na kazi yetu kubwa ni kugawa vizimba kwa wafanya biashara wadogo wadogo.' We were involved in the Machinga Complex project and our role was to allocate spaces within the mall to the informal operators. (Interview 1, association leader, August, 2010)

The kinds of informal operators who benefited from the allocation process were those who were registered and were considered to be active members of informal operators' associations. The main indicator of being an active member of a particular association was paying a monthly subscription to that organization. Respondent operators reported different subscription fees being charged by various organizations. For instance, members of WAMADA were to pay up to TSH 200,000 a year while those affiliated to VIBINDO only pay TSH 50,000 annually. Two disabled people who were supposed to relocate and other applicants reported having benefited from the project. Although they were happy to be allocated spaces in the mall, they were not ready to leave their current spaces, fearing a lack of customers in the proposed new working spaces. Another complaint was regarding the size of the stalls (Figure 6.7 and 6.8) which some considered too small for the type of merchandise they sell. Other respondents complained that they were not being allocated spaces because other people who were not informal operators were allocated the space instead. Double allocation was common and usually manifested by the operator who claims to be the rightful owner of the space destroying the stall of the alleged intruder. During the interviews with those operators within the case study area who were meant to relocate to the new mall, one operator reported that his existing stall had been unlocked and new locks were fitted to the door without his prior knowledge or consent.



Sample of Machinga complex store allocated to two different informal operators. One respondent suggested that: *'It is better if they gave us the opportunity to arrange ourselves other than designing stalls like this.'* (Interview 11, with Zuberi, (operator) 2010) The same argument as noted in Chapter 5 on renovation of stalls at Mchikichini Market.

Figure 6.7 Sample design of Machinga complex stalls

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010

The Machinga Complex (Figures 6.7 and 6.8) is another project which the government started in 2006, shortly after the major eviction of informal operators from unauthorised areas in municipalities across the city. The current president promised the informal operators that the government would construct a mall for their activities as part of Chama cha Mapinduzi's (CCM) election manifesto. The completed facility was therefore supposed to be operational from August 2010. The main impact of this implementation is not yet clear, although it is highly unlikely to work as efficiently as intended. This is certainly the view of experienced urban managers and researchers; for example, when interviewed, one practitioner expressed concern that, based on the experience of Makumbusho market there is little chance that customers would go all the way to Machinga Complex to buy merchandise, such as a handkerchief or a top up voucher for a pay-as-you go mobile phone, which are examples of what the informal operators tend to sell. The same observation was made by a columnist in the Daily newspaper:

The Complex now is a focus of controversy, with those who have been allocated stalls not taking them up. The Complex is not attracting traders, or trade and this is a major setback at least in the short term since potential traders claim that if they moved into this Complex, they would be bankrupt in no time. (Lusuga Kironde, Daily News, 16th July 2011).



Figure 6.8 Spaces allocated to disabled operators

The ground floor of Machinga Complex was allocated to disabled operators who had once occupied sites in the case study area. They were relocated here to clear their current space for use as a parking area. Although some of them have moved to this mall, they find there to be insufficient customers for their merchandise. This was also noted in Chapter 5 with regard to space transition, where their former space is intended for use as a parking space for expected shoppers at the Machinga Complex.

Another burden placed on the informal operators is the cost incurred consequent on being allocated a space. In order for an operator to work in this mall he/she is supposed to pay Tshs 2,000¹⁷ a day, which amounts to Tshs 60,000¹⁸ per month. In comparison with the fees paid by informal operators in Mchikichini, those levied for the *Machinga* Complex are about six times larger. It becomes more complicated when considering the case of disabled persons who are not able to work and hence rent out their stores to others. In order for a disabled operator to keep the stall they will have to ask for higher rent, so they can meet the fees and also make a profit. It appears, therefore, that these arrangements will end up serving ‘the haves’ and disadvantage ‘the have nots’, as operators might not be able to afford to pay the required amount. This brings us back to the earlier discussion on bid rent in formal land markets, whereby the highest bidder gains access to the most desired space. This is the context in which informal operators looking after their livelihood prospects will continue to use invasion as the means of access to desired locations.

¹⁷ Tshs 2000 is equivalent to 86 pence

¹⁸ Tshs 60,000 is equivalent to £26.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the allocation of spaces by the municipality or another responsible body is expected to streamline the whole process, so that informal operators can work in places where they are allowed to. However there is a lack of transparency and coordination in this process which make it even more complicated.

6.3.3 Other means of access to trading space

Purchase

Some informal livelihood operators (5.5% of respondents) claimed to have purchased the spaces which they are currently occupying. The main factor which influenced their decision to purchase was the size and location of the space. Out of 11 respondents who purchased their working spaces, only six themselves provided the approximate amount of money they paid for the spaces. On average working spaces cost Tshs 1,117,000¹⁹ to purchase, which is a considerable sum of money for the average informal livelihood operator. Despite the fact that operators have bought their working spaces, they are still not guaranteed their occupancy when a new round of eviction orders is executed by the authorities. This is also evident among informal operators in other cities; for instance, the findings in Caracas showed that space for informal activities is becoming a commodity in the market, which any interested person can purchase as long as they can afford it (Garcia-Rincon, 2007). The market is left to determine the value of each space on offer.

Shop owner permissions

Shop owners also contribute to the provision of spaces for informal livelihood operators. Some shop owners make an agreement with informal operators that allows them to operate from their premises. Such arrangements clearly often include informal operators being given the responsibility for managing the shop front, which covers the veranda and sometimes extends to the pavement areas. The operators regularly maintain the pavements and keep the premises clean so they have a deciding say in who displays their merchandise at the front of their shops. Of those who reported having been allowed by shop owners to trade from their premises, the arrangements were based on operators using the space for a monthly rental fee, sometimes in exchange for acting as a security guard and sometimes with no particular conditions attached. Over 21% of operators reported having been given this kind of permission by shop owners, of whom two thirds were paying a monthly rent, while one third reported having had no particular

¹⁹ Tshs 1,117,000 is equivalent to £486.

conditions attached. In the course of the interviews, the shop owners indicated that they welcomed informal operators to work from their premises so that they could also make a living and support their families. These shop owners' understanding of the informal operators' need to occupy prime spaces contradicts the behaviour of other shop owners who regularly complain to the urban authority about the presence of these operators and the perceived them as a source of unfair competition. Although it is widely acknowledged that shop owners complain about unfair competition from informal livelihood operators (Berestein et al., 1995), this study suggests that nevertheless, in some cases, there is a close relationship between shop owners and informal operators. The informal operators tend to purchase their merchandise from the shop owners either in kind or in cash. As discussed in Chapter 5, there are informal operators, categorised as unwaged workers, who take merchandise from shop owners under an agreement to sell it on at premium prices, while taking their commission from the price difference. This was also ascertained by Mfaume and Leonard (2004), who reported a tendency by shop owners to collaborate with informal operators by providing them with merchandise to sell on commission. Informal operators normally display their merchandise at the shop front, or walk around with it, looking for potential customers. This should be considered in the context of a study in Los Angeles, which has reported that the claim of unfair competition by shop owners is unsubstantiated (Kettles, 2007). Informal operators usually sell different types of merchandise and are hence not in direct competition with shop owners. Here, by contrast, the operators are selling the same merchandise but in a different way, so might be seen as enhancing and extending the service the shop is able to offer to its customers.

As noted in Chapter 4 and in the above explanations, the collaboration between the shop owners and informal operators in the case of Dar es Salaam is complicated. While there is clear evidence of some linkage and collaboration between the formal and informal vendors on the one hand, on the other hand, there remain concerns about unfair competition and associated tax evasion accusations (see details on collaboration in Chapter 8)

Renting

Access to trading spaces through paying rent for them is a common practice for formal businesses; however it is also evident for informal livelihood activities. Paradoxically, operators who have been allocated their own spaces seem to rent them out to other operators. For example, the majority of disabled people who were allocated spaces in

the study area did not use the spaces but opted to rent them out. The study found that rent amounting to an average of Tshs 60,000 per month was paid by those renting from disabled space holders. Furthermore, another group of operators reported renting spaces from other stall owners, who charged them rent on either a monthly or daily basis. For those who paid a daily rate for the use of space, rents were reported to be around Tshs 5000²⁰. Operators who pay rent for stalls are considered to have more capital when establishing their businesses. In this study these operators were earning more than Tshs 100,000²¹ a month, mainly through selling merchandise such as suitcases, backpacks, handbags, second hand clothes or shoes, all in large quantities. The cost of a single suitcase, for example, can be as much as Tshs 80,000,²² which is an indication of the amount of capital they possess. Operators who prefer to pay daily rent consider themselves as having limited capital and as such they only rent space when they have merchandise to sell. However, if one calculates the amount which they pay in rentals for operating for 12 days in a month, it exceeds the cost of renting space on a monthly basis. It is, therefore, more economical to rent space on a monthly than a daily basis.

Apart from disabled operators, who face limitations in their ability to utilise the spaces they have been allocated, it may raise concern that some spaces are being sublet by informal operators, because the municipal bylaws do not permit subletting or selling of the spaces. It is evident that some of those who were originally allocated spaces ultimately opted to rent out their spaces rather than operating from the premises, as intended. This implies that apart from disabled individuals, there might be cases where spaces were allocated to people who are not actually operators. Furthermore the ability of space owners to rent out their working spaces provides a new way of looking at the space speculation which happens in land markets generally. Operators may seek out and occupy spaces in these informal markets even though they do not intend to use the spaces. This is one of the obstacles which both existing and new spaces users' experience. For example, in the allocation process for spaces in the *Machinga Complex*, operators complained that spaces were allocated to people who are not supposed to be allocated any, such as employees in the formal sector. The motive behind such inappropriate acquisition of spaces by formal operators or employees seems to be the desire to rent out the space once the mall is in full operation, as part of their rent seeking

²⁰ Tshs 5,000 is equivalent to £2.

²¹ Tshs 100,000 is equivalent to £44

²² Tshs 80,000 is equivalent to £35

activities. Consequently, this practice affects those operators who most need these spaces by denying them spaces from which to undertake activities for sustaining their livelihoods. Considering that most operators have limited capital for their business start-ups, if the spaces that were intended to be allocated to them end up in the rental market, the issue of access to space will not be fully met.

Although informal operators claimed to have accessed space through renting or purchase, the Ilala Municipal bylaws stipulate that it is illegal to sublet an allocated space to another person, which makes it illegal for anyone who has accessed space through this means to operate in these designated areas.

6.4 Informal livelihood operators transitions

The means of accessing working space in either authorized or unauthorized areas provide us with an indication of the transitions which an operator has to undergo (Figure 6.9). A typical operator undergoes transitions in different ways. First an operator may start off by invading a space, before transitioning to the use of an allocated space. The space they use can therefore be either regulated or unregulated. Secondly, once an operator has a space, they may choose to rent it out, and then seek allocation of another space. This is effectively an income-generating activity that consequently transforms the operator into a speculator. If the operator chooses to operate a business which subsequently thrives, then he effectively becomes an entrepreneur. The entrepreneur is not guaranteed success throughout his business life: changes could occur where the business may decline/ be replaced, a new business created, or the business may cease to be informal. Equally, if the operator opts to pass over space to an heir, then he can cease to be an operator. This kind of transition defines the operator's level of legality, what the operator can choose to become, and potential future states of transition. The operator can be legally recognised if he/she ends up as an entrepreneur (Table 6.1). And if their space is sold, rented or passed to an heir, according to the Ilala Municipality Environmental Bylaws, 2011, the heir is considered an illegal operator. Nevertheless the municipality's response towards this type of illegality is different from its treatment of those who access space by gradual invasion.

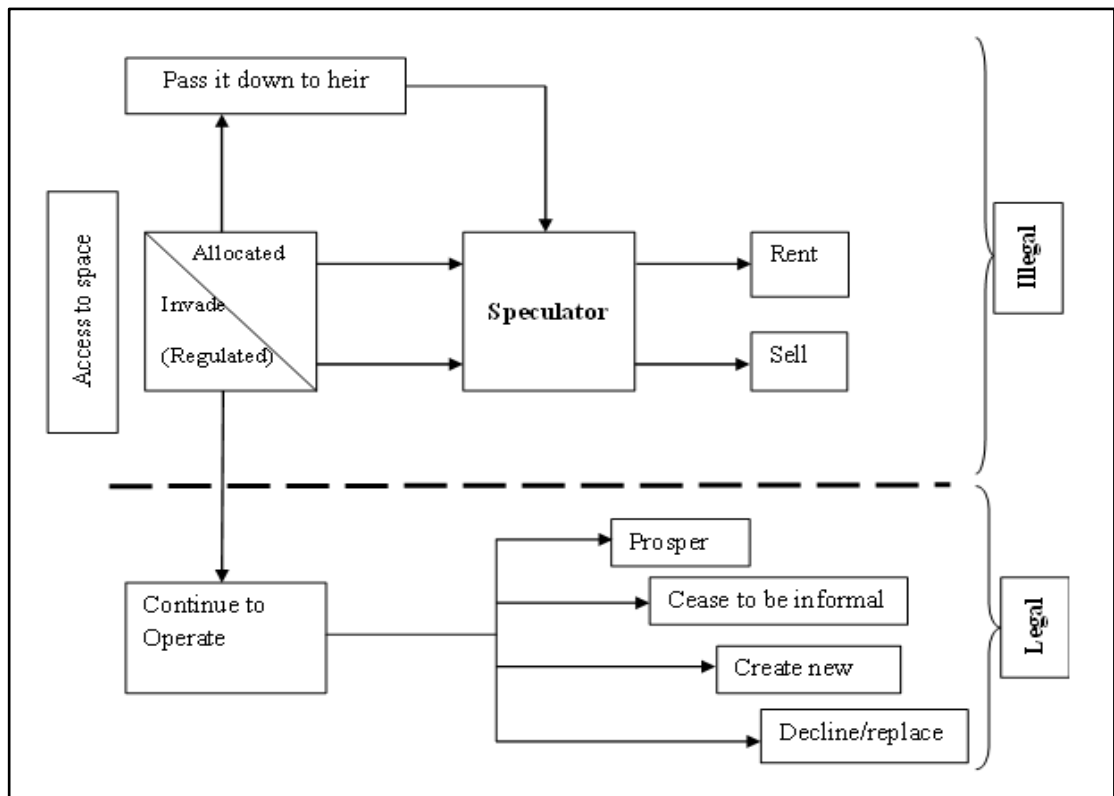


Figure 6.9 Informal livelihood operator transition

6.4.1 Level of security of tenure of working space

Tenure security is important to informal operators because it ensures that they trade without fear of being evicted or harassed. The need for tenure security often leads individual operators to adopt working spaces which are more expensive to rent. As discussed in the sections above, each mode of accessing working space has its implications in terms of the operators' legal rights, rights to stay in the working space, ability to keep the space, ability to store merchandise safely, as well as the standard of the shelter. Table 6-1 summarizes the implications of each means of access to space.

Table 6.1 Level of Security of Tenure of an Informal Operator

Means of Access to Space	Legal Right		Right to Stay on Working space	Ability to store Merchandise safely	Standard of business structure
	Perma nent	Tempo rary			
Invasion of unauthorized space	None	None	Have to find a new place everyday Constant fear of eviction Some may have been there for a long time	None	Mainly push carts, sack cloth 'can be improved'
Invasion of authorized space	None	None	Some are recognized by the authorities	Store merchandise safely	Stalls made of iron sheets, cheap timber 'can be improved'
Allocated by Responsible Authority	Yes	Yes	Yes. No ability to sell or let	Store merchandise safely	Stalls made of iron sheets, cheap timber 'can be improved'
Purchase	None	None	Not allowed	Store merchandise safely	Stalls made of iron sheets, cheap timber 'can be improved'
Rent	None	None	Not allowed	Store merchandise safely	Stalls made of iron sheets, cheap timber 'can be improved'
Allowed by shop owner	None	None	Depend on the relationship with the shop owner	Store merchandise safely	Table, sack cloth

Source: Fieldwork June-September, 2010

6.4.2 Space ownership in perspective

The analysis shows that 65% of respondents reported that they were squatting in the space which they currently occupy, whilst 19% reported owning the space and 16 % reported that they were renting (Figure 6.10). The meaning of “ownership” to the operators, however, does not imply having title to the land by virtue of having bought it on the market, nor does it necessarily imply that they have been allocated it by the responsible authorities.

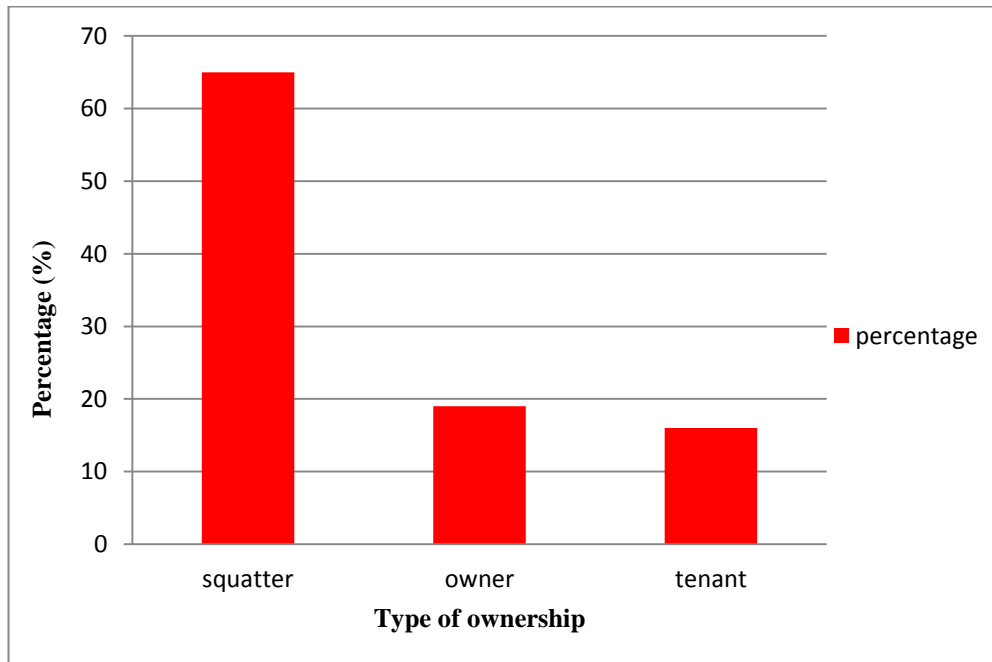


Figure 6.10 Ownership of working space (N=200)

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010

Although some operators reported that they own their spaces, it is evident that their definition of ownership of a trading space is at variance with the one enshrined in the Land Law and the Town and Country Planning Ordinance. Apparently the municipality uses the concept of temporary use of space, which nullifies the ownership claims made by the respondents. For example, in the Mchikichini market, where a number of disabled operators were initially allocated spaces, these have now been converted into car parking spaces which are intended to serve prospective customers at *Machinga* Complex. The operators who traded from these spaces were supposed to vacate them by August 2010. This resulted in unaffected operators on the other side of the market questioning whether the space they were occupying was temporarily or permanently allocated for their activities. As a result, a number of meetings have been held between

the informal operators, the municipal administrators and the politicians, to attempt to resolve the operators' concerns. However, there is still no guarantee that the space is permanent. During an interview with the Town Planning officer, he revealed that the space is temporary as there were plans to use it for other purposes which he did not specify. The market administrator said that he did not know if there would be any changes as he had not been informed of any.

The spaces which the informal livelihood operators squatted are reported as being used by other operators at different times. However, this is not uniform: of 200 respondents, only 133(67%) agreed that their spaces are being used by other operators in their absence. Furthermore when asked about the kind of activities the spaces may be used for in their absence 30% thought they were used for a similar purpose, while 43% thought the space was used for a different purpose and the remaining 27% did not know how their space was being used in their absence (Figure 6.11). These findings suggest there is a degree of space-sharing taking place. Apparently this phenomenon is quite common in the study area. The same space can be used by different people at different times. It is important to bear in mind that, as noted in section 6.3.1, the operators' network is said to ensure that no interlopers use their spaces in their absence. The absence discussed here refers to their particular working hours, which can either be during the day or at night. The tendency of operators to utilise spaces at different times of day indicate the experience of space-sharing. Space-sharing is used by the operators as a response to eviction and harassment by the municipality.

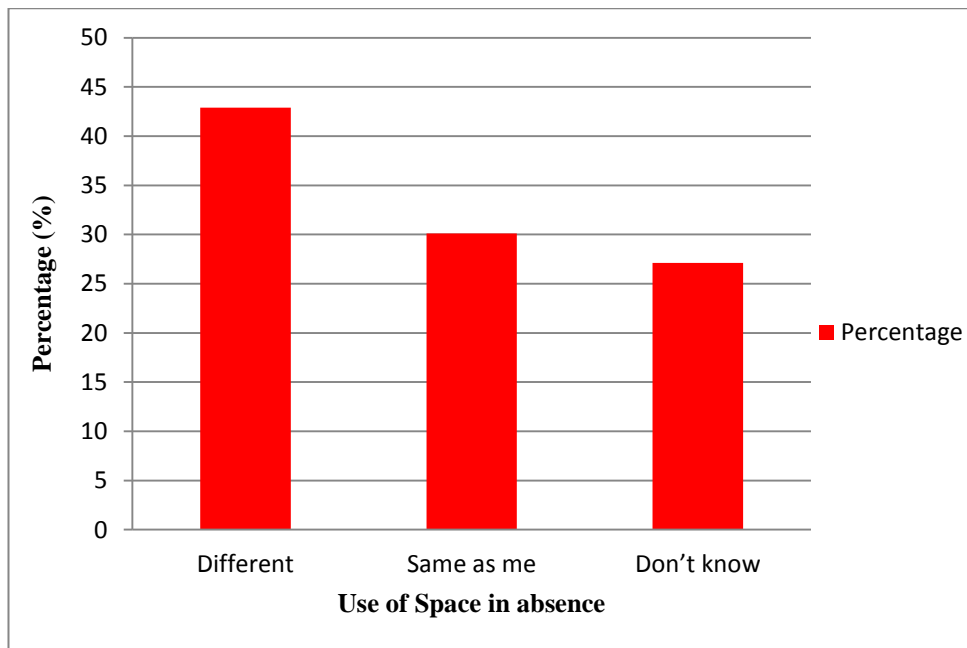


Figure 6.11 Sharing of space (N=133)

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010

6.4.3 The changed space configuration

The impacts of the scramble for prime space can be assembled into two categories: those related to the environment and others which relate to the relationship between operators and other prime location stakeholders. The parties involved in the competition for space reported that the main reasons for conflict include the need to use the same space, city cleaning, late rental payment and imposing unwanted noise on the surrounding residential areas. The following sections therefore provide a detailed discussion of these impacts.

Conflicting land uses

Conflicting land use is often reported as one of the negative impacts of informal livelihood operations in urban areas (Tripp, 1997; Iyenda, 2005; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Kamete, 2010). This was also one of the findings in the case study area, as demonstrated by the activities of informal operators in unauthorized spaces. Apart from those who operate in authorized areas, the spaces used by informal operators can be said to have been intended for other uses. For example, the car parking space provided in the Mchikichini area has been turned by informal operators away from its intended use as a vehicle parking space to a venue where informal operators can display and sell their products. This particular parking space has been co-opted by informal operators because

only a limited number of cars make use of it most of the time. The use of car parking space for informal activities is widespread across the city. While conducting general observations across the city it was observed that, in areas where there are new developments for offices and shopping malls, informal operators make use of car parking spaces for their trading activities. Kironde (2011) (a columnist), reported (in section 6.3.1) in the Daily newspaper, also observed the same phenomenon in his work place. He reported that informal operators would display their merchandise in the parking spaces, and in cases where the space was occupied, they would simply use the car's flat surfaces to display their merchandise. This raises the issue of incompatible uses of spaces to the municipality and consequently prompts them to take action. In addition, the operators also make use of the closed drainage system, pedestrian walkways and pavements in unauthorized areas - unauthorized in the sense that their presence expropriates the intended uses. As result, the authorities tend to consider informal operators as a public health hazard and thus as an unwanted presence in prime spaces (Kironde, 2011)

However it is logical for informal operators to use such spaces for their operations, as there is no provision for their activities in prime areas. Although the Dar es Salaam Strategic Urban Development Planning Framework recommended that some operators could use spaces in these areas, this was restricted to newspaper sellers, fruit vendors and shoe shiners. Nevertheless, informal operators in these prime spaces sell a whole range of products including agricultural produce and manufactured goods.

6.5 Patterns of tension in prime locations

Tensions among stakeholders in prime locations are clearly evident in the study area. The main stakeholders include informal operators, shop owners, municipalities and politicians. The following sections examine patterns of tension and the role played in these by each stakeholder.

6.5.1 Conflict with formal actors

The shop owners

Prime locations give operators an opportunity to prove their capacity to earn a living. However, over time, shop owners have been reported to be uncomfortable with the presence of informal livelihood operators near their place of business. As indicated earlier, this stems from the claim of unfair competition from informal operators in terms

of their avoidance of tax payment. Since their product range can be similar, with the difference being the (generally) lower prices charged by informal operators²³, some of the shop owners constantly request their removal from prime spaces. In addressing this issue, the municipality has repeatedly launched operations in the city and case study area specifically directed at removing the informal operators (see Chapter 4 for details). Following the removal of the operators in 2006, informal operator respondents in the case study area reported that there was only minimal conflict of interest between themselves and the shop owners (Figure 6.12). The difference in working hours may have played a major role in the reduction of conflict between them. The analysis shows that 76% reported that they had no conflict with the shop owners, while the remaining 24% reported occasional conflict with the shop owners. The majority of those who reported occasional conflict were those operators who work alongside the shop owners. Furthermore the analysis shows for the variable 'dispute with the shop owner', there is no statistical significance for those who reported to have had conflict (Chi-Square degree of freedom = 8, P = 0.146. Kettles (2007) analysed the claims of the established shop owners in terms of unfair competition in Los Angeles, and found that these claims are not always true in that 'sidewalk' operators sold different products from those retailed by the established merchants, and in some cases they sold products that were not even stocked by the established shops. With the on-going implementation of neo-liberal policies, there tend to be more positive interactions between formal and informal operators (Davies and Thurlow, 2010).

The practice of space-sharing has also contributed to the minimization of previously reported conflicts between operators and shop owners. Since a significant number of operators use vending spaces after working hours when the shop owners are not trading there is generally no one to contend with.

²³ In section 5.2.4 and 6.3.3: it was noted that some operators work as unwaged workers by selling shop owners' merchandise which apparently they receive at a whole sale price and sell the products at a retail price; which allows them to get their commission from price difference. It is also important to note that the practice of operators in is based on bargaining with the customers, sometimes in such circumstances, the additional price does not make a significance difference. For example if a shirt is sold at Tshs 2000, the operators may add Tshs 100 or Tshs 200.

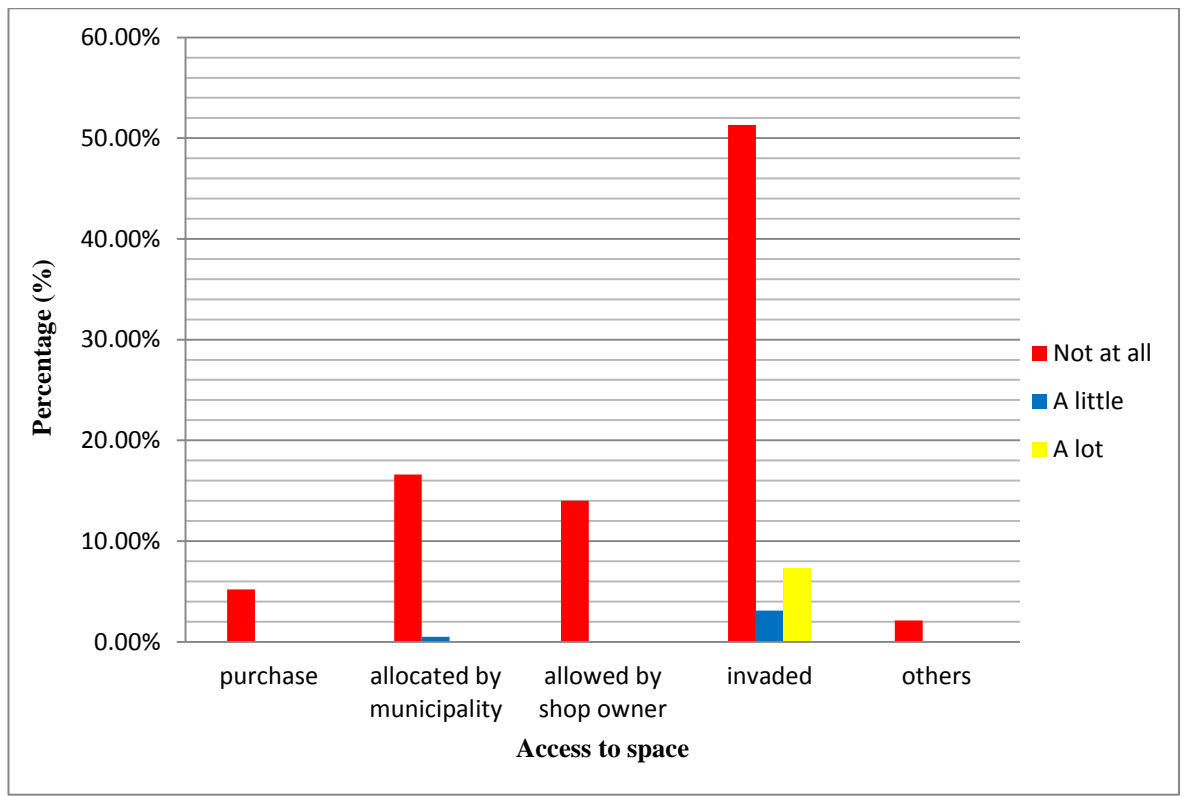


Figure 6.12 Conflict between operators and space owners

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010

The municipality

For urban managers, prime locations are arenas where they can deploy skills in the management of urban spaces towards the protection of ‘the public interest’. Nevertheless, the informal livelihood operators’ resistance to pressure to vacate prime spaces has continually generated tension with the municipality. Although they continue to work in these spaces, they are always ready to abandon them temporarily, when orders for eviction or harassment are implemented. The trend in these tensions has continued to change over time. As documented by Nnkya (2006) and Mfaume and Leonard (2004), informal operators’ reactions towards the evictions in 1993, 1994, 1995, 2000, 2002 and 2003 have been like adding fire to fire, a phrase used by Kamete (2010) in reference to the Zimbabwean experience. The operators fought back to regain their access to the spaces. While the police used fire arms and teargas to disperse them, they defended themselves with stones, knives and any other weapons they had at hand to keep the police out of the streets. The author witnessed the 2006 riots in the case study area; they included scenes of informal operators running with their merchandise while at the same time pelting with stones the city militias who were undertaking the eviction operation. Such experiences have also been reported in Latin American cities, such as

Mexico City (Cross, 1998). There have even been cases of fatalities, injuries and confiscation of goods during these resistance struggles (Msoka, 2007). Notwithstanding any deaths, injuries or forfeited goods, informal operators have always returned to the same spaces and continued with business as usual. Since the major eviction which took place in 2006, just after the elections, informal operators have come up with an alternative approach towards asserting their presence in prime urban spaces.

The conflicts between the municipality and informal operators differ depending on the way in which the operator originally accessed the space (Figure 6.13). The analysis shows that operators who accessed space through invasion are most likely to get into conflict with the municipality, followed by those who have been given permission to use their space by shop owners (Chi-Square with degree of freedom = 8, P = 0.000)

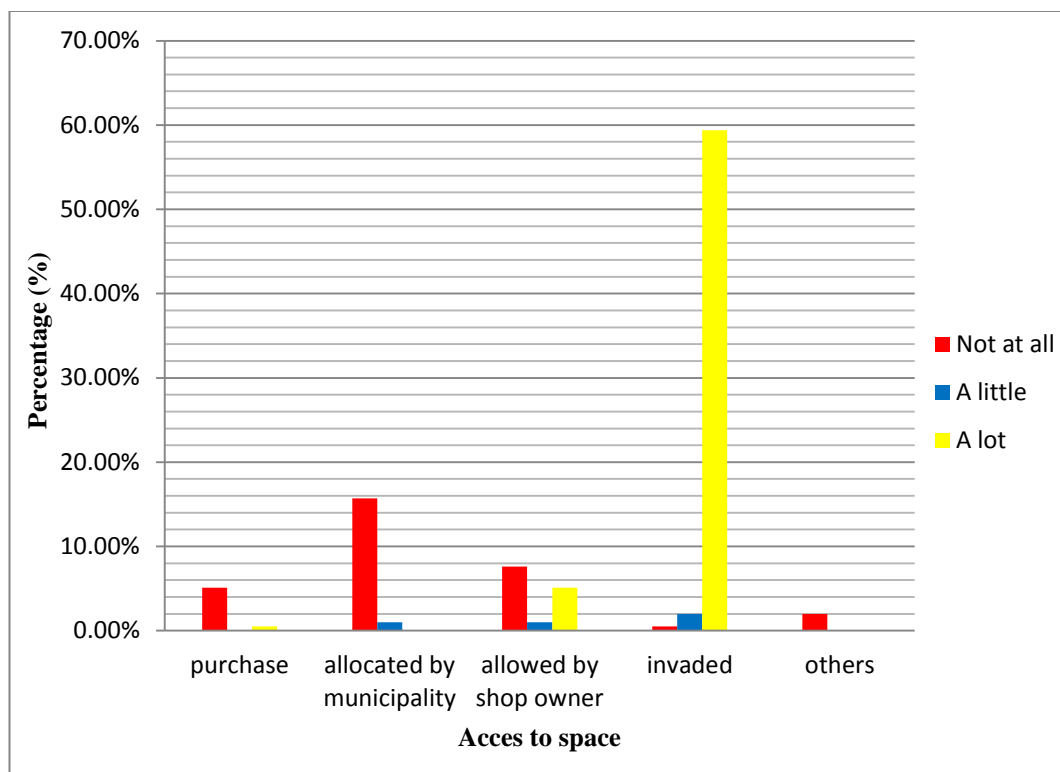


Figure 6.13 Conflict between operators and the municipality

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010

6.5.2 Conflict with informal actors

Following competition for space, one would expect the most conflict to be between individual operators who are in competition with one another. However, the operators did not self-report any conflict amongst themselves (Figure 6.14). They appear to respect some level of informal management among themselves, and thus conduct their activities

in harmony. In the study area, 80% of respondents reported that they had had no conflict with their fellow operators, regardless of the way these latter accessed their working space. An analysis of those who reported having a little, or much conflict with respect to the way they accessed their spaces, indicated no association between having conflict and the way an operator accessed their working space (with Chi-Square = 8 degree of freedom P = 0.150)

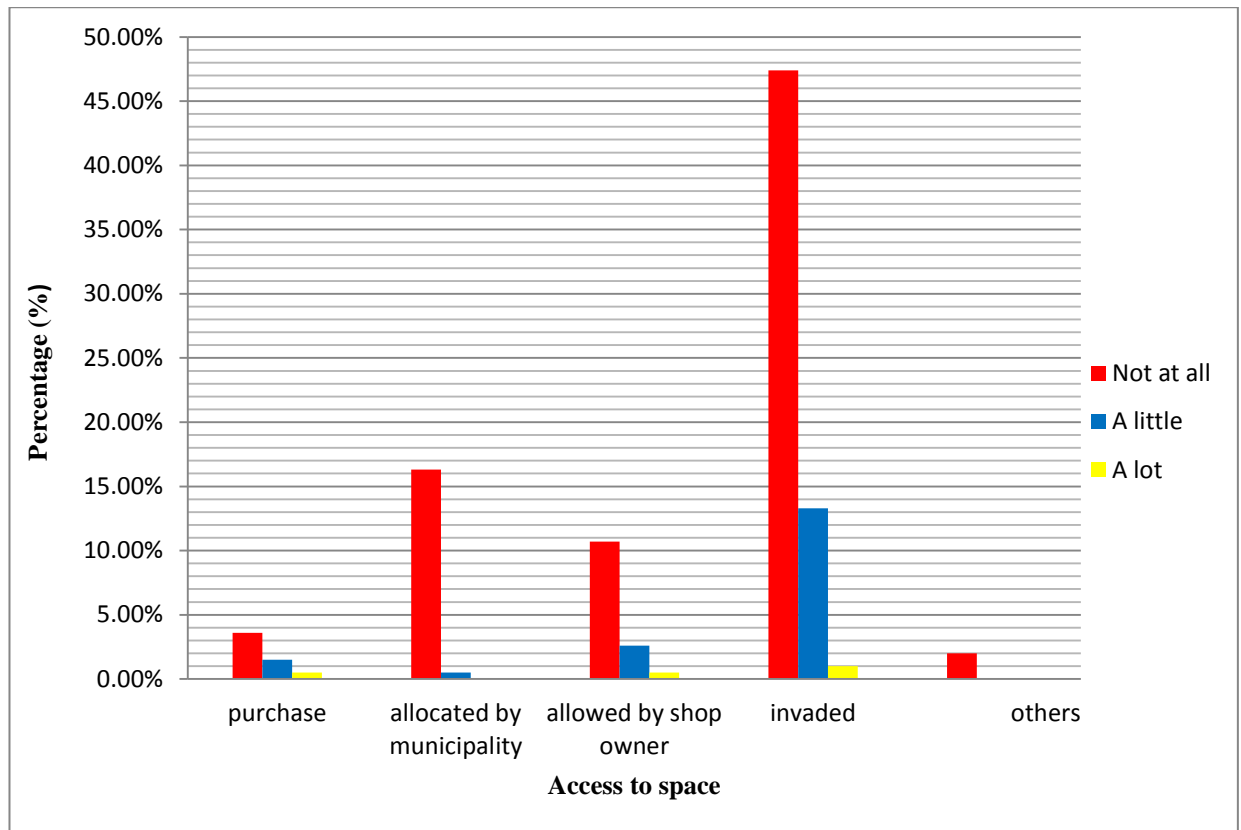


Figure 6.14 Conflict between operators and fellow operator

Source: Fieldwork June-September 2010

6.5.3 Tension between the informal operators, the municipality and politicians

For politicians, the control of prime locations is a power that helps them to maintain their position in office. Consequently, this causes on-going tensions between politicians, the municipality and informal operators which become particularly marked in election years. To minimize the fear of losing votes from informal operators, the politicians take advantage of the election year to pressurize the municipal authority to allow the informal livelihood operators to continue working in these spaces until the election is over. The municipality will also halt any kind of operation against the informal operators during an election period in compliance with orders given by the politicians. For this reason, operators usually vote in support of these politicians, forgetting what

will happen when the elections are over. Operators become vulnerable soon after the election is over, when municipalities begin issuing threats of eviction from the streets. This happened in 2005, and again in 2010. In the course of the interview one respondent explained that:

'Sasa hivi manispaa wametulia sababu ya uchaguzi, uchaguzi ukiisha tu utaona vurugu zinaanza tena.' The municipality is calm at the moment because of the forthcoming election, but as soon as it is over you will see harassment starting again. (Interview 9, with Hamidu (operator), August 2010)

This practice raises the question of who is ultimately responsible for the management of informal livelihood activities and how these managers cooperate with those who operate the process. Political interference can also be seen in other formal sectors, with reference to which politicians tend to issue contradictory statements on matters that affect the performance of a specific sector.

Operators have continued to appropriate prime locations in a bid to sustain their livelihoods. As a result, prime locations become the sphere of contestation among stakeholders associated with informal activities (informal operators, municipalities, private business and the general public). Each stakeholder attempts to put forward conditions which favour their own interests. Private businesses, for instance, focus on the need for fair competition, while the municipality tends to focus on a desire to clear out the streets. The general public, who constitute the informal operators' potential customers, are mostly interested in accessing a variety of merchandise at their convenience, without compromising the flow of pedestrians or vehicles. These prime locations therefore become areas of tension for these actors and provide an arena for negotiation, appropriation and conflict. As noted in Chapter 4, throughout the history of Dar es Salaam city, the issue of informal livelihood activities has dominated urban life. Despite acknowledging the importance of informal livelihood activities, they have not yet met with even 'grudging acceptance', and regulatory officials and other stakeholders are continuing with a policy of non-acceptance.

6.5.4 Does the setting matter?

As noted in the discussion about the pattern of tension in prime locations, the study revealed that there was a greater chance of tension arising in the case of a temporary space than in a permanent space. Those operating in a temporary space were likely to encounter conflict with shop owners, the municipality and fellow operators. For the

variables ‘dispute with the municipality’, ‘dispute with space owners’ and ‘dispute with fellow operators’, there is a statistically significant difference between the mean ranks for those working in temporary spaces and permanent spaces (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Tension in temporary and permanent space

Group	Dispute with the municipality	Dispute with the space owner	Dispute with the Fellow operator
	Mean Rank	Mean Rank	Mean Rank
Permanent (28%)	34.22	104.75	88.08
Temporary (72%)	124.09	90.99	103.56
Mann-Whitney U	342.000	3868.000	3304.500
Wilcoxon W	1882.000	12738.000	4844.500
Z	-11.941	-2.062	-2.317
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	0.039	0.020

Source: Fieldwork June-September, 2010

From this data, it can be concluded that there is a statistically significant difference between permanent and temporary group's median dispute with the municipality, dispute with space owner, dispute with fellow operators ($U = 342.000, 3868.000, 3304.500, p = 0.000, 0.039, 0.020$) respectively. It can be further concluded that temporary spaces elicited statistically significant more disputes than the permanent group ($p = 0.000, 0.039, 0.020$).

6.6 Key findings: access, allocation and sharing

The process of accessing space involves a struggle by informal operators to either invade or purchase, or make other arrangements with space owners, such as shop owners, to allow them to work from their premises, owing to the limited designated spaces provided by the municipality. However, when the municipality is able to provide spaces for informal livelihood operators, the spaces sometimes seem to lack the essential factors which have attracted the operators to particular spaces. It is evident that

the networks established by informal operators are of vital importance, as also noted in Chapter 5. These networks facilitate operators' access to working spaces in prime areas. Furthermore, networks provide opportunities for operators to gain knowledge of events related to their operations. This includes an update on the available spaces, plans for eviction and harassment by the local authority, as well as the provision of financial support. Furthermore, the network of contacts the operator has managed to build up around their working space has been known to provide security over periods of time when colleagues are not able to be present in person to protect their space. It takes time for an operator to establish such a network which can facilitate access to prime spaces. This shows how an operator needs to build up experience of their working environment. As reported earlier, the analysis has revealed that those operators working in prime spaces in the study area generally have built up considerable experience with their working environment. The findings indicate that the appropriation of prime locations entails invading, purchasing, receiving through allocation by a responsible authority and renting. The means used to secure space determines the operator's level of security of tenure. The transitions made by the operator during the whole process redefine both the operator and the urban space where their activities are located.

Another major finding is about the advantages of space-sharing. Space-sharing provides an opportunity for a great number of city residents to be able to work and earn a living in the same spaces across different time periods. It is evident that when shop owners close their businesses at the end of each working day, informal operators take the opportunity to appropriate their unused spaces, such as shop verandas, for their activities. In addition, the practice of some shop owners in allowing operators to work from their spaces even during normal working hours provides informal operators with another opportunity to eke out a living. Space-sharing also takes place in other forms: whereas shop owners tend to use the spaces in front of their shops as parking spaces during working hours, the same spaces can be used by informal operators to display their merchandise in the evening. Social innovation is evident in the whole process by which informal operators gain access to working space. The night market phenomenon has provided informal operators with an opportunity to work late in the day and hence minimize conflict with the space owners.

Access to space through allocation by the municipality or through associations of informal operators is not without its challenges. Because informal activities yield income, space speculation arises, as reported in this study. Some of the spaces in the

Machinga Complex are reported to be allocated to people who may not be informal operators at all. This seems to be a form of speculation, with the view that when the shopping mall has built up an adequate customer-base, the space owners will either be able to rent out the spaces or open up businesses themselves. Similarly, the study identified a number of spaces at Mchikichini market which were allocated to people who do not use them but have instead rented them out to others.

6.6.1 A discussion of the key findings and their implications

The aim of this chapter was to extend discussion from the previous chapter and provide an analysis of how operators scramble for working spaces in urban areas. This study's findings confirm that accessing working space for informal activities involves a struggle and the challenges force operators to gain access by various means, including illegal ones, to ensure that their livelihood can be sustained.

The production of urban spaces has been left entirely to the municipal planners, either through top-down or bottom-up approaches. This is also acknowledged by Roy (2010) and Watson (2002) who both emphasise the nature of planning approaches in developing countries. It is important therefore to note that the production of urban spaces is governed by the rule of law and, therefore, anything outside of the law is considered to have no place in the urban realm (Yatmo, 2008; Kamete, 2012). Nevertheless this official process gives little attention to other consumers of urban spaces, specifically those who access space through informal means (Roy, 2010). The findings of this study show that the consumption of urban space by informal operators involves a struggle with each other, with formal operators and with the municipality. The struggle is clearly demonstrated in the processes whereby access to the prime location is achieved. Allocation is the only legitimate means of accessing working space for informal activities, since working spaces are controlled and regulated by the municipality. Similar findings from Maseru in Lesotho, and Caracas, Venezuela corroborate this finding (Setšabi, 2006; Garcia-Rincon, 2007). However, the informal operators have continuously used other means of accessing prime locations which makes them an integral part of the city landscape. The means commonly used by informal operators include renting, purchase and invasion of spaces. Invasion is the most popular illegal way of accessing working spaces and has been condemned by municipal officials. Invasion of the relocation spaces or through reoccupation of a former prime location involves a process of building up experience over time which

equips the operator with knowledge and a network of other informal operators. There was no evidence in this study area of the existence of groups of individuals who control access to urban spaces in the style of a mafia, as exhibited in Latin American cases (Cross, 1998). Instead, networking in the study area of this research takes place on an individual basis through developing friendships with other individuals who operate in specific locations. Bayat (2004) refers to these kinds of networks as passive networks where strangers may sometimes have to unite in a joint cause, provided this will enhance their chances of sustaining their informal livelihood activities. Such groups are visible in the designated areas, although they play their role through negotiating their presence in the areas rather than through direct control. The rent and purchase of working space are also common, although subletting and sales of spaces allocated by the municipality are both in breach of Municipal bylaws. The illegality of renting and purchasing spaces has also been noted in the cases of Caracas and Maseru (Setšabi, 2006; Garcia-Rincon, 2007).

Despite drives towards formalization initiated by municipal officials, it also appears that a minority of operators' access space through formal means. Invasion remains a popular way used by informal operators to gain access to working spaces, despite being deemed illegal. Nevertheless, the rent and purchase of municipally-allocated spaces are also becoming popular and are classified as illegal. Despite this, operators themselves consider renting and purchase to be safe ways of gaining access to spaces because of the relative security they provide. However the real level of security provided by these means of access to space is as good as non-existent, because neither the seller nor the buyer has any legal control of the working space in question. Evidently, operators use both illegal and legal means to ensure their presence in the urban landscape. Despite the challenge of evictions and relocations, they have shown the ability to develop innovative ways to keep themselves on the streets. The operators have created a 'new city' which utilizes the period after normal working hours to generate economic gains, as well as contributing to the vibrancy of the city. The innovation not only favours the operators but also helps to keep the city alive after normal working hours. 'The new city' probably comprises a model from which the municipality could borrow ideas for providing workable strategies towards accommodating the operators in prime locations, as opposed to simply relegating them to the category of 'out of place' elements, as elaborated by Yatmo (2008) in the case of Indonesia. The re-occupation of prime locations is not only carried out by operators without permanent stalls but also attracts

permanent stall-holders, who join the other group as soon as their designated area is closed for the day. A study in Peru also demonstrated that even though municipal officials tried to keep the operators off the streets, they nevertheless developed ways of re-occupying private spaces and developing courtyard markets, which are now a popular way of accommodating their activities. Operators elsewhere, such as those in Cusco, re-occupy city centre streets after closing their stalls in the designated market buildings (Bromley and Mackie, 2009).

The informal operators' general idea of re-occupying prime locations or creating a new city indicates their ability to produce the type of spaces which fit well with their day-to-day lives and business activities. This phenomenon is supported by the argument put forward by Roy (2010), to the effect that informality provides new modes of space production, especially in third world cities. Such production extends beyond spaces for informal livelihood activities to informal settlements and general land claims.

The scramble for prime locations provides operators with the opportunity to utilize urban spaces, similarly to their formal counterparts. Nevertheless, the impacts of the scramble are also evident, including the well-documented one of the 'unwanted landscape' (Donovan, 2008; Yatmo, 2008; Kamete, 2010). Informal activities are viewed as being the unwanted landscape of the city, contradicting the municipal vision of the city they wish to create. Bromley and Mackie (2009) also found that the municipal authorities' ambition to attract tourism has influenced the displacement of operators in Cusco, Peru.

The mode of accessing space for informal activities is guided by the allocation process used by the municipality. However as noted earlier, both purchase and rental of spaces are also common in the case study area. People who buy or rent their working spaces from others who were previously allocated them by the municipality act against the law in the same way as the operators who invade the space in undesignated locations. However the approach towards these two illegal forms of occupations is different. Those who 'invade' spaces are normally forcefully removed from the space, while those who rent or purchase spaces are generally left to continue their operations without being questioned or even identified. Although both groups violate the regulations, they are nevertheless treated differently. In the analysis of urban planning practice in Harare, Zimbabwe, Kamete (2012) labelled this kind of treatment as 'pastoral', 'disciplinary' and 'sovereign' powers over the offenders against the rules and regulations of urban

spaces, where the class of individuals involved determines their treatment by the municipality. The favoured class is that which contributes towards the idea of the city as envisioned by urban managers. The mixed treatment of the violators of urban regulations erodes confidence in the municipality and their ability to integrate the marginalized poor into mainstream urban spaces (Kamete, 2012:81). As in Zimbabwe, when informality is performed outside prime locations, it is accepted and formalized.

The impact of the scramble for prime locations extends to the fragile relationship between operators and shop owners. This study's findings indicate that there is a strong relationship between these two kinds of stakeholder: the shop owners often allow the operators to use their spaces, which may be based on a specific arrangement or without any formal arrangement. Although the response from the municipal authority partly addresses the complaints from shop owners regarding unfair competition by informal operators, there is still only limited literature on those sentiments. Kettle (2007) analysed these claims for Los Angeles and found that the claims are not always well-founded, as the operators sold different items from those purveyed by the established retailers, and sometimes the products sold by operators could not be found in the established retailers' shops.

Politicizing the issue of informal operators has created a 'seasonal relationship' which is advantageous to the operators, at least during the period of time when they are permitted to work, which tends to be prior to elections and during the holiday season. This kind of relationship is particularly unique to the Tanzanian context, where politicians use urban space to manipulate the electorate for their own political gain. This study suggests that if this kind of relationship is possible, why not extend it permanently, so that all parties can benefit from it.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter set out to discuss the appropriation of prime locations by informal operators. The investigation has shown that appropriation involves a struggle to gain access, which may entail invasion, allocation by a responsible authority, rental and purchase. The study shows that allocation by the municipality or responsible authority is the only legal means of acquiring space. Other means, such as purchase, have altered the process of access so that it comes to resemble any other transaction in the market, as working space becomes a commodity. The commodification of working space has brought the process of access to space in line with other means of access to land markets

where speculators operate. A similar analysis can be applied to rental activity, as operators assume the role of property owner and participate in rent seeking behaviours. Moreover the shop owner's generosity in allowing the operators to work from their spaces also has its price tag, as the operator is regarded in the light of security personnel. Invasion, however, remains a popular means of access, although a degree of informal bureaucracy is also involved. Appropriation therefore cannot be construed as just a straightforward activity through which the poor come to access their favoured locations. The challenges they face mirror those found in formal systems, including the mechanism whereby the highest rent offered by the operator in terms of cash or networking plays a role in gaining access.

Access to working spaces by informal operators is nevertheless important because it allows them to perform their daily income generating activities; however, progress towards achieving this goal involves a struggle between themselves, the municipality, financial institutions, their potential customers and other formal business operators. The tensions are greater in temporary spaces than in permanent ones, as the municipality fights against the illegal occupation of space. This act overshadows other types of illegality in the whole process; while for shop owners the main issue is unfair competition. The effort put forward by operators allows them to access working spaces either legally or illegally, although it is unlikely that they are always aware of the illegality of some of their actions. The motive of generating income for themselves and their dependants seems to help them to come up with innovative approaches such as night markets, in which the same space is shared between formal and informal operators. Various difficulties surrounding the whole process such as bribery, evictions, and a lack of transparency continue to challenge the operators. However, these challenges have not put them out of business. Their need to conduct their activities in prime urban spaces raises the need for the municipality to revisit their goals, objectives and approaches towards addressing the activities of informal operators, rather than ignoring them or addressing them only partially.

In this chapter we have shown that in Ilala Municipality, informal operators have appropriated prime locations in an attempt to sustain their livelihoods. This has turned such locations into spheres of contest among stakeholders associated with informal activities (operators, private businesses, the general public, and municipality) because they provide an arena for negotiation, appropriation and conflict. The next chapter presents an examination of the government regulatory model with regard to how it

produces working spaces for informal activities as well as how it appropriates those spaces preferred by operators for other developments. The intention is to analyse the strategies used and the involvement of the municipality in integrating informality into wider municipal processes.

Chapter 7. Governance of Space: The Municipality and Informality

7.1 Introduction

‘Oh....the operators consider us their enemy.’ (Interview 2, municipal official, 2011).

Informal livelihood activities are among of the responsibilities of Dar es Salaam city council and Ilala Municipality as they attempt to respond to the issue of unemployment among their residents. Ilala Municipal council is the main actor for the management and control of informal activities within the municipality and collaborates with the city council on issues which require city-wide attention. The main departments providing technical advice to the municipal director with respect to informal livelihood activities include the Departments of Land and Town Planning, Finance and Trade, Hygiene and Environment, and Health. Their responsibilities entail implementing the national and municipal policies that pertain to informal activities and all other policies which have an impact on these activities. However, there are challenges which affect the implementation of these policies and hence hinder the management and control of activities. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, informal livelihood activities have proved to be an alternative means of income for unemployed urban residents. Operators do everything within their power to maintain themselves in prime locations, while sometimes they are forced to operate contrary to municipal directives.

This chapter provides a detailed analysis and assessment of the role of the municipality in addressing issues that relate to informal livelihood activities. It also provides an assessment of the main challenges for integrating informal livelihood activities into prime spaces within Ilala municipality, an area which is at the heart of Dar es Salaam city. Issues on who make decision on production of space for informal activities are also explored. The aim of the chapter is to present the evidence gathered in an attempt to provide answers to the third specific research objective: to assess the ways in which informal activities in prime locations are regulated. Specific attention is drawn to the first part of the research question which is: how does the municipality regulate informal activities in prime urban locations?

In order to answer this question, there is a need to develop an understanding of how informal activities are currently managed, prior to examining the challenges which the municipality encounters in their operations with regard to informal activities.

7.2 Institutional framework for informal activities

The background to the institutional framework for informal livelihood activities is detailed in Chapter 4. This section draws specific attention to specific issues in Ilala municipality in relation to how the legal and policy framework is operationalized.

7.2.1 The role of the municipality

Generally Ilala Municipality exercises its responsibility for facilitating informal livelihood activities in the following ways: by issuing licenses, allocating working spaces, health and quality control, as well as setting and enforcing rules, regulations and policies. These roles are divided between three main departments, with other departments providing support when needed. On this basis, therefore, at the municipal level issues around informal livelihood activities can be grouped into two categories, namely operational and control levels (Figure 7.1). At the operational level informal activities are monitored by three main municipal departments namely, the Finance and Trade Department, the Land and Town Planning Department, Hygiene and Environmental Department. The former department is responsible for making sure that all businesses run smoothly and issues licences to operators. The Land and Town Planning Department ensures that working spaces for informal activities are available and are compatible with other surrounding uses. The Hygiene and Environmental Department is responsible for solid and liquid waste management by making sure that the city environment is clean and does not endanger public health. At this stage policy, regulations and law provide guidance for all the departments involved, so that they can achieve their objectives, which are to mainstream informal operations across the city's economy. At the control level, the Environmental Working Group is responsible to undertake cleaning campaigns, while the city police guard the street to prevent them from utilising unauthorised locations.

The Environment Working Group is not an independent department; it was formed owing to the underperformance of the departments outlined above. The municipal director established the Environment Working Group (EWG) in the year 2010 to

oversee these departments' activities with regard to informal activities. One member of the Working Group explained:

'Tatizo la wamachinga liko chini ya idara ya makazi na mazingira, lakini mkurugenzi wa manispaa aliamua kuanziza kikundi cha mazingira ili kiweze kusimamia shughuli za wamachinga ipasavyo baada ya kuona mapungufu kwa idara husika.' The issue of informal operators is under the Department of Human Settlements, Lands and Environment Conservation²⁴, but the municipal director has decided to establish an Environmental Working Group to address their issues after the underperformance of the responsible department. (Interview 3, municipal official, 2010).

The Working Group is comprised of the urban planning officer, environment officer, information officer, transport officer and health officer. Each representative is obliged to provide technical advice so that the working group can meet its objectives. The transport officer coordinates all the activities performed by this Working Group, which is mainly intended to make sure that the cleanliness of the municipality is maintained at all times. As noted in the literature, one of the main concerns regarding the activities of informal operators is that their presence in urban spaces make cities unclean (Mitullah, 2005). Addressing this concern is a direct responsibility of this Working Group. Therefore, whenever this Working Group implements municipal cleaning campaigns, informal activities are also affected.

Municipal engagement with informal activities is a complex business, requiring coordination at a number of levels, from the highest level of policy, regulations and legislation, to the basic level of day-to-day control of operations. Policies, regulations and laws are the key instruments at the level of municipal operations. As identified in Chapter 4, these include the Urban Planning Act (2007) which governs the production of space; the Business Registration Act (2007) which governs the formalisation of informal activities; and the municipal bylaws and city regulations which govern the control of these and other activities. Objectives, methods and strategies are laid down at this level and it is important that these aspects are coordinated with the other levels,

²⁴ By the time of data collection there was one department for Human Settlements, Lands and Environmental Conservation whilst solid and liquid waste management was a section under the department of Transportation. Currently the new formed department of Hygiene and Environment perform the duties of then Solid Waste Management and Environmental Conservation sections.

although it is difficult to achieve. The operational level is central to the municipality's engagement with informality. At this level, the sequence of actions which produce operational conditions (allocating spaces, issuing licences and collecting user fees) to realise policy objectives and conform to rules and regulations requires constant liaison between departments. The success of the operational level means that there is less need for intervention at the control level. Nevertheless, problems arising at the operational level, such as inadequate provision of desired locations, generate work to be performed at the control level, such as cleaning campaigns and guarding working spaces. The following sections examine the roles of the Departments involved in addressing the issues of informal operations.

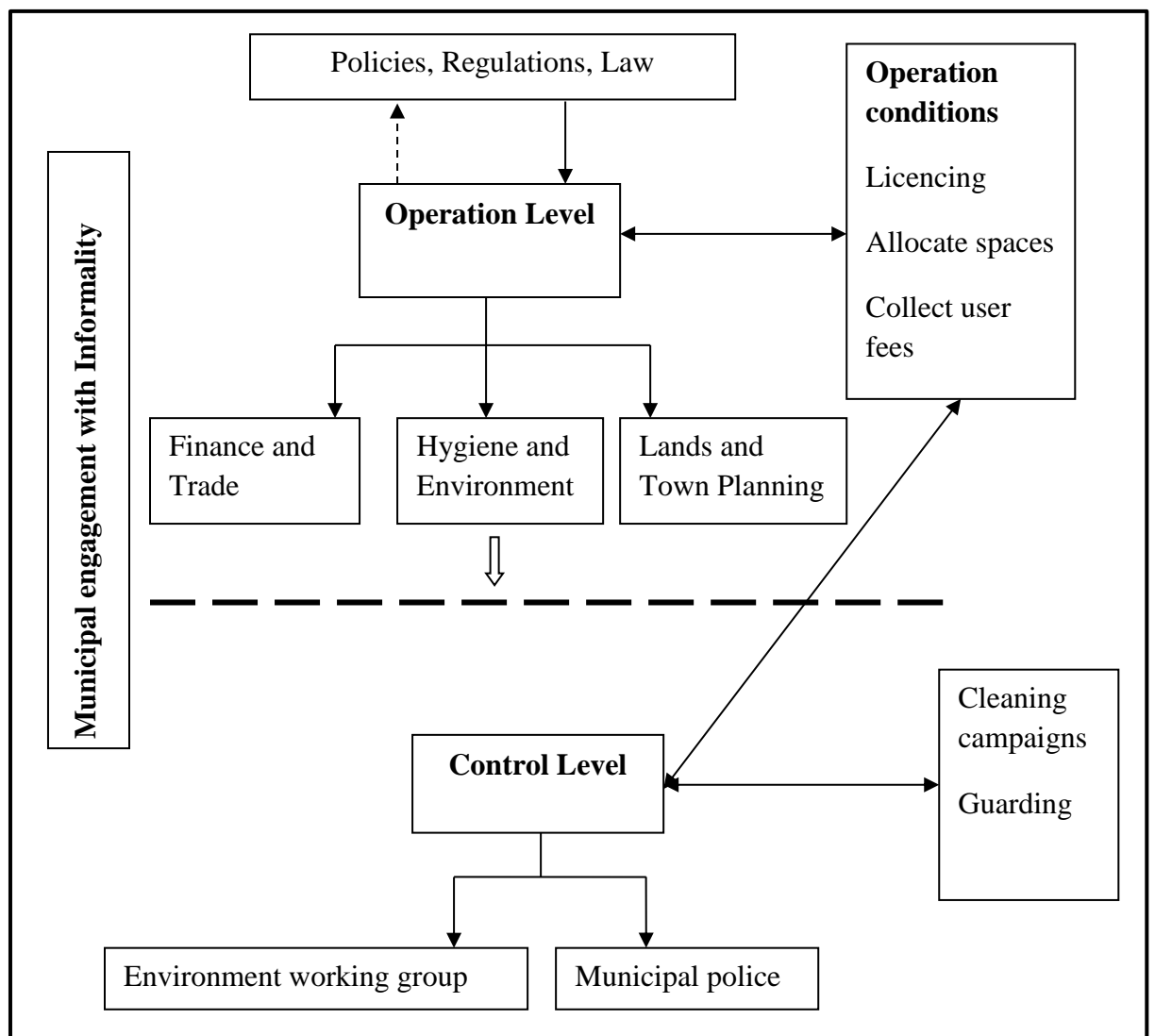


Figure 7.1 Municipal engagement with informal livelihood activities

Source: Author

7.2.2 The role of Land and Town Planning Department

The main duties of town planners with regard to informal livelihood activities are divided into three phases. The first phase involves the production of spaces, which comes about through the planners' direct involvement in the preparation of Town Planning layouts, where the spaces required for informal livelihood activities are also included in the design. The second phase involves dealing with the formalisation of informal livelihood activities, specifically by identifying new spaces and processing their change of use. The third phase involves the control of informal activities by playing a part in decision-making about the relocation of informal livelihood operators. The Town Planning Act 2007, which governs the conduct of town planning officers, determines the extent of their participation in the entire process. However, the town planning officers interviewed for this study were clearly dissatisfied with their involvement in the phases as set out above. They felt left out from much of the process and that their contribution was not considered when the issues around informal activities were being dealt with. The main challenge faced by the Town Planning Department is the way that their role is constantly undermined. Currently their role in the process of issuing business licenses has also been abolished as part of the process of reducing the bureaucracy around establishing new businesses. Prior to that, the Planning Department was engaged in licensing functions that related to approving the location of the new business. But with the change of responsibilities, they are no longer able to do this, because the activity will be solely the domain of the Business Registry Office. One respondent explained:

'Kutokana na maagizo ya waziri mkuu, kuanzia tarehe 1/1/2011 maombi yote ya leseni za biashara hayatapitishwa katika kitengo cha mipango miji. Huduma hiyo itashughulikiwa na kitengo cha Fedha na Biashara pekee.' Owing to the new Prime Ministerial Directive, with effect on 1/1/2011, licence applications will not pass through the Department of Land and Town Planning. This service will be provided instead by the Department of Finance and Trade only. (Interview 4, municipal official, 2010).

However, abolishing the role of town planning in issuing business licenses looks like an awkward move, as no office other than the Land and Town Planning Department has the mandate to approve the appropriate use of space. As suggested by one respondent, the new arrangements have made it possible that businesses will be established in places

which are not suitable for such activities, which will result in a return to the previous situation. A good example of such non-compliance with land use can be seen in the current trend by house developers to establish shops in almost every house that faces a street. This practice can be observed not only in Ilala municipality but also in Temeke and Kinondoni. In the mid-nineties, North (1995) noted that institutional change can lead to change in the entire management process and hence affects the control of a particular activity.

Another challenge faced by the planners is the limited contribution they are allowed to make to control the process of informal activities. According to an interview with a planning official, there is no provision in the existing laws and policies which recognizes planners' current role in controlling informal activities, or provides them with a mandate to be involved in the control process. As a result, this activity is mostly carried out through political means, rather than through technical ones. These findings are summarised in the town planning official's statement in the course of the research interview as follows:

'Sisi ni kama hatupo kabisa katika kuthibiti biashara zisizo rasmi, hakuna sheria inayo mtaja afisa mipango miji moja kwa moja kuhusika, japo kiutendaji tuna haki ya kuhusika.' It is like we town planners do not exist in the control process of informal activities, as there is no law which provides for a town planner to be directly involved, although technically we have the right to be involved. (Interview 8, municipal official, 2011).

Notwithstanding the involvement of town planners in the physical development of the municipality, their decisions are constantly undermined by the political leaders, who are normally more interested in implementing their own ideas, albeit at inappropriate times, in a bid to safeguard their own interests. This usually happens when political leaders have not been given commission; hence they are willing to do anything possible to reject technical advice from the planning department. Planning in developing countries is challenging because most layout plans are unimplemented due to the scarcity of resources. The role that could be played by planning is clearly unrealised, because what the planners recommend has no counterpart on the ground.

7.2.3 The role of the Finance and Trade Department

The Finance and Trade Department within the municipality is responsible for providing technical advice in terms of the management of informal activities, as well as acting as the main agent responsible for issuing business licenses within its boundaries. Its role is to ensure that the revenue collection process for the municipal budget receives a contribution from the informal operators through collecting licensing fees from them. According to the new directives issued by the Prime Minister's office, the issuing of licences is the responsibility of the business sector through the special Business Registry Office, as stipulated in the Business Registration Act (2007). The Business Registration Act (2007) suggests less collaboration between the departments involved with informal livelihood activities by its empowerment of the Registry Office in the local authority to undertake the responsibility for registration and issuing licences. Although health and planning are among the conditions which an applicant is supposed to adhere to, there is no clear suggestion as to how other departments are supposed to collaborate with this Office, as already noted in the interviews with the Planning Department.

Each market has a designated business officer to act as the head of the market, who is responsible for all management activities. One respondent explained:

'Mimi ni mwenyekiti wa soko majukumu yangu ni kuhakikisha shughuli ndani ya soko zinafanyika kwa utaratibu, kwa kushirikiana na kamati ya uendeshaji ya soko.' I am a market officer. My responsibility is to make sure all activities within the market are run smoothly, in collaboration with the market management committee. (Interview 5, municipal official, 2010).

The Ilala municipal bylaws (2011) empower the appointed market officer to coordinate all activities within the market area. This work is performed in collaboration with the chairperson and secretary of the local traders' associations, which are part of the management committee.

7.2.4 The role of the Environmental Working Group

The Environmental Working Group is responsible for implementing municipal cleaning campaigns. Since the city implemented the Sustainable Dar es Salaam project, as

discussed in detail in Chapter 4, the issues around informal activity were made the responsibility of the Working Group responsible for overseeing this sector and ensuring the implementation of strategies identified by that project. At the municipal level, another Working Group is responsible for maintaining a clean environment in the municipality. Since informal activities are considered to result in a dirty environment in the municipality and the city, the environment falls directly under their jurisdiction. One respondent explained:

'Kazi yetu ni kuhakikisha mazingira ya manispaa yanawekwa katika hali ya usafi muda wote.' Our main responsibility is to make sure the municipal environment is clean at all times. (Interview 3, municipal official, 2011).

The decision as to whether municipal or city cleaning need to be undertaken is normally authorised by the city Mayor, who is one of the city's political leaders. However, before implementing the cleaning campaign, the Mayor seeks advice from the municipal director who is responsible for providing technical advice through the municipality personnel. The technical advice provided by the experts may or may not be taken into consideration in the operation, as the decision is mainly influenced by political leaders. One respondent explained:

'Uamuzi wa kuwafukuza wamachinga huwa unamwelekeo wa kisiasa zaidi na mara nyingi mchango wetu kama wataalamu haufuatiliwi.' The eviction of informal operators is more political and most of the time our contribution is not taken into consideration. (Interview 3, municipal official, 2011).

The discussion at the operational level of Ilala municipality indicates that there is limited collaboration between the departments responsible for informal activities. In an ideal situation the activity of each department would be seen as important and requiring the coordination of objectives, strategies and means to achieve targeted operational conditions. The unsatisfactory nature of the Planning Department's role in the law indicates that the necessary actors do not work together on a day-to-day basis. Although policies, regulations and laws specify the objectives of each Department there is limited provision in the law about how collaboration amongst actors should be undertaken to achieve the ultimate policy goal. There is no indication of regular meetings with regard

to their day-to-day operations, except for those of the Environmental Working Group, which only focus on the control of activities.

7.3 Regulatory approaches for policy implementation

As noted above, the municipality is involved in the process of producing and governing spaces for informal livelihood activities. The strategies used are conceptualised into two main groups which are referred to as in-space arrangements and in-time arrangements. All strategies which relate to space production fall into the in-space arrangement category. They include the formalisation of identified spaces and subsequent relocation projects, designing new layouts which provide for informal activities and the construction of new market places. In-time arrangements entail cleaning projects and tolerance. These strategies also extend to other services such as provision of finance and the institutional framework. The following section sets out to begin examining in-space arrangements.

7.3.1 In space arrangements

Production of spaces

The municipality has embarked on the process of formalizing spaces in specific locations used by informal livelihood operators since 1992 under the Sustainable Dar es Salaam project. Under the new Urban Planning Act (2007) section (30) subsection (1), the municipality can opt to alter the use of a particular location for other activities such as informal activities. The process involves the identification of spaces within the municipality, which is supposed to be participatory, as stipulated in the Urban Planning Act (2007) section (19). Then the municipality, under the Urban Planning Section, is involved in the change of use by presenting the intention to change the use of a certain area to the full council. At this meeting they have to agree to the change, and consequent upon this, a planner prepares a notice to the public which describes that intention, and clearly specifies the change. The notice remains open to the public for 30 days, providing an opportunity for people to become aware of the changes and present their observations, if any, to the municipal director. After 30 days, the comments will be collected and analysed and then presented to the Urban Planning Committee (UPC) for discussion. If the application is successful the planner will present the application to the Minister responsible for Lands, Human and Settlement Development via the regional planner; the regional planning officer will need to authorize it and forward it to the minister who has the legal mandate to authorize the changes. Throughout this process,

the planner has to make sure that all the minutes and the analysis for each meeting are attached to the application. When the space which is undergoing this process is in the unplanned settlements, the application has to be authorized by the Municipal Council. (The foregoing explanation is based on information given in one of the study interviews with municipal official 2010).

About eight markets have been partially established within the municipality through this process; however, the process of establishment has not been completed to the point of being included in official detailed planning schemes. This is owing to official uses for spaces which could not be altered on the plans, such as road and railway reserves. The markets which have been established through this process include: Kigogo Sambusa, Kibasila, Tabata Tenge, Mchikichini, Gerezani, Ilala Boma and the use of pavements along the Uhuru and Msimbazi roads. However, these markets are not functioning at full capacity and others have closed. One respondent explained the underperformance as follows:

‘We are engaged with the process of establishing formal working spaces for these activities but some authorized areas are not working to their full capacity whilst other markets, for example, Kibasila are closed. The main reason for the failure of these markets is the issue of insufficient customers going to these locations, as well as poor accessibility. And also it is difficult to make total change of use of these areas owing to their locations.’ (Interview 1, municipal official, 2010)

The failure or underperformance of some of these markets is mainly due to being sited in locations which do not attract passing trade. As noted in Chapter 5, informal livelihood operators are attracted to locations within the CBD because of the high flow of potential customers; thus decentralising their activities continues to pose a challenge to both the operators and the municipality. The more the municipality creates a boundary which forces these activities out of prime locations, the more the operators respond with innovative ways to stay within such locations.

The production of working spaces sometimes depends upon political influence, whereby people in power make decisions about the presence of informal operators in a particular working space. This is the case in the market facility which is the subject of this thesis.

Following the city clean-up campaigns in the year 2000, politicians decided to allow the operators to move to the Mchikichini area. Although the area was being used as a botanic garden at the time, it was designated to be a bus stand according to the Dar es Salaam city master plan. On complaining to the Regional Commission Officer, informal operators who had been evicted from the central business district and other parts of the city were advised to relocate to the Mchikichini area. Since then, tensions over the future use of that space have occasionally led to the involvement of the Mayor, Municipal Councillors and Prime Minister in the process of officiating over the use of space for operators. One respondent explained their understanding of the market's future as follows:

‘This market was initially set up temporarily for informal activities because by then operators had nowhere to conduct their business, since then, the market has been well established and we have been guaranteed by the Mayor and the Prime Minister that we are not going to be moved elsewhere.’(Interview 5, municipal official, 2010).

The informal operators have continued to use this market and to undertake renovations to their working spaces; however, the Town Planning Department is still unsure if these activities will continue, since they have not officially changed the intended use of the facility to the current use. One respondent explained:

‘We have not officially changed the use of Mchikichini area to market space. Its current use was politically influenced’ (Interview 1, municipal official, 2011)

The process of change of use, however, allowed the municipality to facilitate the space formalisation process, whereby new areas are identified and allocated to these activities. In the case of the current example, according to the interview with the Town Planning Officer, the municipality is now working at the request of the residents of Tabata Kimanga, which is within Ilala Municipality, to change the football ground into a market place.

Temporary use of space approach

Municipal engagement with the formalisation of spaces for informal activities entails the concept of the temporary use of space. Road and railway reserves are currently used

as temporary locations for informal activities. Other markets fall in the ‘temporary space’ category because the process of making them official on land use plans remains uncompleted, for example, the official use of the Mchikichini space was zoned as for a bus stand, but the municipality nevertheless allowed operators to use the space for their activities. Owing to political intervention and influence, informal operators have been able to continue to use the space for their activities, although the Planning Office has not officially sanctioned a change of use for the space.

Construction of market buildings

Formalisation also involves a market construction strategy. The municipality is currently involved in constructing modern markets to accommodate informal activities. Notwithstanding the failure of the market construction approach, the municipality/city continues to use this approach with the aim of providing more working spaces for these activities in urban areas. Through the market construction approach, the recent project completed by the city as a whole was the construction of the Machinga Complex Mall in Ilala Municipality. This mall was intended to accommodate 10,000 informal operators; however, to date the numbers of operators who will actually be accommodated are only 4,000, a shortfall of more than half the numbers expected. Although this project is complete and some operators have started operating in the mall, the process for gaining access to mall spaces was not seen to have been implemented in a transparent way, with allegations that some people who are not informal livelihood operators were the ultimate beneficiaries (see details in Chapter 6). The completion of this market project does not necessarily allow the conclusion that the project was a success, especially in the light of continuing complaints about the insufficient daily tally of customers visiting the mall. It is not the first time a newly constructed market for informal activities has failed to meet the basic criteria for success (as discussed in Chapter 2). Notwithstanding these complaints, the city has plans to construct more malls within the city to accommodate informal activities. These plans were confirmed by the Director of Ilala Municipality Council through a local newspaper article as follows:

Construction of markets to accommodate informal activities

Mr. Fuime said long term plans focus on developing and erecting new markets in the Dar es Salaam city's exterior parts in order to prevent vendors from

trading in the city centre. He mentioned areas like Segerea and Pugu as the top priorities in the plan.

Mr Fuime noted further that the city authority has initiated talks with domestic investors to pump in funds for the erection of new and modern markets which would help in accommodating a large number of petty traders. 'The Machinga complex is just an example of such projects to be developed in collaboration with the local investors', he observed. He said talks with commercial banks, pension funds and individual investors have reached an advanced stage (Sebastian Mrindoko, *Daily News*, 26th July 2011).

Although the municipal agenda of formalising informal activity is beneficial to both parties involved, the focus on decentralising the activity to peripheral locations is unrealistic. Based on the experience of operators as provided in the discussion in Chapters 5 and 6, the operators' choice of location for these activities differs from that proposed by the municipal director in the above quote. As the criteria for choosing a location are dominated by the availability of passing trade and accessibility of a range of goods, as well as safety concerns, the provision of locations which do not meet these criteria might constitute a waste of municipal resources on constructing or designating locations in the peripheral area. Machinga Complex has at least up to now managed to attract its own customer base, due to having some limited elements that attract customers.

The idea of formalizing urban spaces for informal activities was borrowed from the ideas of de Soto, who argued that extra-legal activities consist of dead capital, which if transformed into liquid capital could enhance the participation of the informal economy in the capitalist economy (Roy, 2010). These ideas are well articulated in the MUKURABITA²⁵ programme in Tanzania which operates in collaboration with MKUKUTA²⁶ (implementation of Millennium Development Goals) (Wangwe and Charle, 2010). The programme influenced the enactment of the Business Registration Act (2007) which addressed the problem of the over-lengthy process for business registration in the country. The programme has so far implemented projects in different

²⁵ MUKURABITA: Tanzania's Property and Business Formalisation Programme

²⁶ MKUKUTA: Tanzania's poverty reduction strategy

locations; with reference to informal properties, this is particularly land in the villages and informal settlements. For informal activities the ideas are articulated through the registration of micro enterprises which have higher capital investment than the kinds of operators found in the study area. Nelson and De Bruijn's (2005) study of the voluntary formalisation of informal activities reports on activities which have undergone the process. This could be used to provide a clear distinction from the kinds of activities studied in this thesis.

Detailed planning schemes

Through formalization the Municipality is also engaged in providing spaces in new neighbourhoods through detailed planning schemes. One respondent explained:

‘One of the municipal strategies is to prepare town planning drawings which allocate spaces for informal activities in order to reduce some of issues related to informality in newly developing areas.’ (Interview 6, municipal official, 2011).

The detailed planning schemes for new neighbourhoods incorporate spaces for informal livelihood activities. So far the municipality has had success in preparing a number of detailed schemes, namely: Kizinga Part II, Chanika, Mvuti, Gongo la Mboto Squatter Corporation, Gongo la Mboto Ulongoni and Buyuni layout plan part VII. However, the implementation of these schemes has not yet taken place. With the preparation of these detailed schemes, attention is on new neighbourhoods where there is less development and hence they are less attractive to informal livelihood operators. By contrast, the redevelopment plans for the CBD concentrate on changing building heights but do not provide for informal operators. The municipal approach of relocating these activities to peripheral areas has not played a positive role in addressing the pressure from these activities to be integrated in prime spaces.

Permit system

The municipality has initiated the provision of working spaces by allowing operators to work in particular locations and issuing them with permits. Through this system, the municipality is able to collect user fees. In this study the permitted zones are along Msimbazi/Uhuru Road, where operators mostly sell newspapers and provide shoeshine services. All informal products and services require such permits; however, priority is

given to these two activities. When asked why other activities were not considered in such locations one respondent explained:

'Huduma zao zinahitajika humohumo mitaani, huwezi mtu kutoka ofisini kiatu chako kimechanika ukaenda mbali, au kununua gazeti.' Their service is required in such streets; you cannot leave the office with a broken shoe and walk a long distance to find such service, the same as newspapers. (Interview 1, municipal official, 2012).

It was noted in Chapter 6 that there is a grey area in distinguishing between permitted zones and unpermitted zones; nevertheless the municipality uses the issuing of permits as a strategy to accommodate informal activities in prime locations.

Who decides on the best location for informal livelihood operators in prime areas?

The answer to the above question furnishes a clearer understanding of the basis for the formalization of spaces for informal livelihood activities. Formalization is the municipality's strategy for facilitating informal operators' access to working space. However the decision about where to locate such spaces within the prime area has not been the responsibility of the municipality. Since the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project when stakeholders were involved, the decision was made to relocate the operators to peripheral markets. To ensure the operators moved, the decision was followed by municipal clean-up campaigns in 2000 and 2003, with the latest taking place in 2006. Operators were directed to the markets at Makumbusho and Kigogo Sambusa which were known to have failed to attract sufficient customers as well as informal operators. It was clear to the operators that they were unwanted in prime locations. However since the operators were not attracted to these alternative markets offered to them, they appealed to the Regional Commission who, after negotiating with them gave directives to allow them to operate in the then 'botanical garden' which subsequently became the Mchikichini informal market. The municipal departments, as analysed in earlier sections in this chapter, were not part of that decision. Nevertheless they participated in the implementation. The question remains on what the role of the municipality is with regard to the decision on where to locate informal operators in the prime locations. Despite the collaborative approach adopted by the city and respective municipalities on pressing issues in the SDP or in administrative terms, 'good governance', decisions relating to the precise location of informal operators are being made by political leaders.

In addition, it seems that the political decision in most cases favours the presence of operators in prime locations, by contrast with the decisions made by municipal departments. Politicians seem to be dictating the decisions concerning informality in prime locations and playing a part in space transitions. Their influence also seems to extend to the location and construction of markets within the city, without fully considering the reasons for their failure up to now.

The discussion provided in Chapters 5 and 6 show that political decisions are influenced mainly by the need for political support from the working poor. Operators make use of the desperation existing in the political sphere to advance their claim on prime locations. Ultimately the business location is decided by its operators; but their decision will be deemed either legal or illegal, depending upon how the municipality ascribes their choice.

Activity transition: formalization of informal activities

The process by which operators formalize their informal activities requires that they make an application to the Tanzania Revenue Authority Income Tax department. The operator pays an application fee based on the type of business involved. The applicant is then issued with a tax number. The operator is then required to present the tax number to the Registry Office where additional forms will be completed and if successful, they will be issued with the Certificate of Registration. It is important to note that in each office the applicant is required to pay specified fees, which vary according to the type of business for which the operator is making an application. Once the certificate is issued, the applicant is required to register their company name at BRELLA. However in the study area there was no case reported to have undergone such process. It was also confirmed by the BRELLA officials that they do not deal with the kinds of informal livelihood operators referred as *wamachinga*²⁷. One respondent explained:

'Hapa BRELLA hatuandikishi biashara za wamachinga.' BRELLA is not registering the informal livelihood activities. (Interview 1, BRELLA official, 2011).

²⁷ Informal livelihood operators

The above process involves activities as specified in the SME policy as those with substantial capital investment, up to 5 million TShs. The capital for ordinary operators is nowhere to that amount. Nevertheless, for those entrepreneurs with such capital investment, as noted by Nelson and De Bruijn (2005) in their analysis of the voluntary formalization of small scale enterprises, this policy has provided semi-formal status.

In this study, however, the manifestation of formalisation can be viewed in a different way, from the perspective of Mchikichini market, Machinga complex and Msimbazi/Uhuru Road. One respondent explained:

‘We have done a great job in Ilala, we have formalised informal activities, look at Mchikichini market.’ (Interview 9, municipal official, 2010).

Municipal officials are proud of their involvement in the integration of informal activities in city-wide processes and the progress they have achieved so far. Mchikichini market is authorized for informal operators to undertake their activities. To do so they are supposed to pay a daily space user fee together with security and cleaning fees. Although there are no official licenses provided to them, the local authority regulates all activities in this location. One respondent explained:

‘In order for an operator to conduct their business on these premises they are required to pay a total of TSh. 300 per day which per calendar month equals TSh. 9,000.’ (Interview 5, municipal official, 2010).

The operators are considered formally regulated through their payment of a daily user fee for the spaces they occupy. The payment made to the municipality does not change the status of the operators to a formal one, because their activities remain unregistered and unmonitored for tax returns. Thus, their actual status could be called semi-formal, because while, as regulated activities they are not subjected to regular cleaning campaigns, they can still face relocation. The user fee payable to the municipality as laid out in the excerpt above is a reasonable amount for an operator, to the extent that it is possible to suggest that in a way the local authority still subsidizes the informal livelihood operators to continue working in these locations so that they can continue to earn a living. The difference is noted in projects where the municipality is not

collaborating with private investors, for instance the Machinga Complex. It was noted in Chapter 6 that the fees required from operators who have accessed space in this project are high, with a difference of TSh 51,000 per month more to pay than the municipal-only projects. The reasons could be to cover construction costs, and the fact that these premises are equipped with permanent vending structures, while for municipal-only projects, spaces without structures are allocated.

The formalisation of informal activities is the ultimate goal of municipality initiatives to integrate them into the city-wide economy. However the process and requirements demanded for formalisation could not be met by most informal operators. Since the operations of informal operators occur in undesignated areas, whether invaded or sanctioned by the municipality, they still infringe the planning regulations, as they are yet to be recognised in official land use plans. Such activities also lack a determined physical address. This shows that initiatives effecting formalisation through registration are less likely to impact on micro businesses than on medium and macro informal businesses. Nevertheless the municipality's disposition to recognise informal operations in places such as Mchikichini mandates them to collect user fees which make a contribution to the municipal budget.

Projects and campaigns: relocation

The municipality is involved in the implementation of relocation policies for informal operators. As previously discussed in this thesis, the formalization process is deemed complete when operators are relocated to these new designated spaces. To implement relocation policies, the municipality notifies the operators of its intentions, so that those who are willing to move to these newly designated spaces can do so. The operators are then given an ultimatum (as noted in section 6.3.2) to relocate. Once the deadline elapses, the municipality uses all means possible to forcibly remove all non-compliant operators from the undesignated areas in question. Ilala municipality has so far relocated operators to new markets which were first pioneered by the city council. The most recent action involved relocating operators from one part of the case study area to the Machinga complex. Enforcing relocation policies has not been entirely successful for the municipality as the new locations have failed to attract customers and hence the markets there have closed. However, the municipality is keen to continue implementing this policy in order to attain its ultimate goal of formalizing informal activities through relocation policy.

7.3.2 In-time arrangements

Tolerance

The municipality also exercises a degree of tolerance towards informal operators. It is important to note that in-time arrangements can also be a key part of space production for informal activities, however before the arrangement is made the initiatives are developed by the operators in most cases. For example, notwithstanding the major clean-up operation which took place in the year 2006, the informal operators are currently back in their hot spots and it is business as usual. In returning to those spaces, they took a strategic approach, opting to work during off peak hours (see Section 5.4). So far the municipality is tolerant of the operators. One respondent explained:

‘The municipality is aware of the presence of the informal operators in undesignated areas after working hours. We have allowed them to work in these areas for the time being.’ (Interview 3, municipal official, 2011).

According to the interview carried out with the Town Planning Officers (Ilala Municipality, August 2010) the municipality is aware of this phenomenon and they have allowed operators to work in these places from around 5 p.m. in the evening. The operators are evident across the city as they are constantly developing mechanisms to protect their informal tenure and their presence in urban prime spaces. The tolerance which is being shown by the municipality has also been reported in the local newspapers:

Tolerance for informal livelihood activities in Ilala Municipality

The Dar es Salaam city authority has warned of individuals impersonating as taxman, levying hawkers who trade during evening hours in some parts of the city without issuing receipts, saying the misconduct amounts to theft.

"No one has been seized in connection with the malpractice but legal measures will be imposed against such an offence," said the Ilala City Director Mr Gabriel Fuime, in an interview with the 'Daily News' in Dar es Salaam on Tuesday.

He said plans were on board to devise strategies which would facilitate the accommodation of the petty traders spread in various parts of the city in a harmonious and authentic manner, without interfering with other systems. For the time being, he said local government authorities have been directed to manage and arrange ways to accommodate the increasing number of hawkers in

different parts of the city to prevent possible breaches of peace. (Sebastian Mrindoko, *Daily News*, 26th July 2011).

So far the municipality initiatives to integrate the informal livelihood activities in the municipal economy and institutional framework have had limited success. The informal livelihood activities still appear to be only semi-formal, for example, the operators located in the formalized spaces still do not pay tax on their activities, just like those who have received permission to trade after peak hours but are operating from undesignated spaces.

City cleaning campaigns

The municipality is regularly involved in city cleaning campaigns. The campaigns target unauthorized use of urban spaces, garbage collection and other issues. These campaigns are executed by the Environmental Working Group which works through the department of Human Settlements, Lands and Environmental Conservation. The environmental working group works with city municipal militia to evict informal operators who are considered to be ‘polluting the city environment’. The latest big city cleaning campaign, which took place in 2006, had a significant negative impact on the informal operators, their merchandise and their livelihoods (Lyons and Msoka, 2010). City cleaning campaigns have so far provided only a temporary solution to the problem of informality in urban spaces, as the operators always return to their places of choice after an interval, which in some cases can be a matter of a few minutes. The operations have almost become a game of cat and mouse between city police and informal operators. The cleaning campaigns aroused mixed views among customers, with some reporting themselves as tolerant about the presence of the operators while others regard them as a waste of resources during and after operations. One respondent explained:

‘Informal operators are mixture of people who failed to continue with education and decided to generate their own income. I think they should be allowed to conduct their activities and pay user fee, the municipality will benefit from that. When the municipality evicts them, it is their loss because it will have to pay for the city policy, buy diesel, and take them to the jail house where they will feed them for free, which is a loss for the nation’ (Interview 2, with Mariam (customer), 2010).

As noted in Chapter 4, throughout the history of Dar es Salaam, the city has been faced with the challenge of dealing with informal operators. Steps in the area of policy reform have been taken towards acknowledging the importance of informal livelihood activities. Despite this acknowledgement, it has still not been possible to achieve ‘grudging acceptance’ as noted by Cross and Karides (2007) because of the non-acceptance by regulatory officials. This non-acceptance is evidently perceived publicly as a hindrance to achieving ultimate goals in the vision for the city. Paradoxically, non-acceptance also contributes to the municipal revenue through confiscated goods and fines levied on operators, a practice which was also reported in Ankara by Varcin (2007). However, this interpretation fails to take into account the cost of human resources employed in the streets, fuel and fire arms and tear gas when city clean-ups take place.

7.3.3 Other arrangements

Provision of capital

The municipality plays a role in the implementation of national policies on microfinance. This has facilitated the availability of capital which was once inaccessible to informal livelihood operators. Although most are still facing limited access to finances, the reform has provided a chance for them to access other services such as opening a savings account (Kessy and Urio, 2006). In the study area, fewer than 5% of respondents reported having access to loans from either microfinance banks or SACCOS.

Institutional Framework: formation of informal operators’ organizations

Since the city commenced the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project, it has recommended the establishment of an informal economic working group which would oversee the formation of an informal operators’ organisation. One respondent explained:

‘Informal operators are supposed to form groups in order to get representatives who are supposed to contact the municipality on their behalf.’ (Interview 1, association leader, 2010).

As a result organisations have been formed which range from the national to local level. The main role of these organisations is to mediate between the needs of informal

operators and those of central government and local authorities as well as other institutions interested in informal sector issues (see Chapter 8 for details).

Institutionalising Planning Approach – Environmental Planning and Management Process (EPM)

Since Dar es Salaam city embarked on the Sustainable Dar es Salaam Project in 1992 it has continued to use the processes in its municipalities as a means of addressing issues identified therein. The environmental planning process entails identifying and prioritizing environmental issues in a collaborative and participatory manner, by mobilizing resources from various partners and donors to support implementation of identified projects. The Ilala Municipality has, alongside two other municipalities, established a Planning and Co-ordination Department (PCD) which is led by the Head of the Urban Planning Department and includes a coordinator of the Sustainable Cities programmes. Furthermore, the Ministry responsible for Lands, Housing and Human Settlement Development supported the development of the course curriculum on the Environmental Planning and Management approach (EPM) at Ardhi University so that it can be taught to all planning students (Nnkya, 2004). Notwithstanding this initiative of institutionalising a new planning approach, it still has no legal backing as a standalone initiative. The approach continues to be used as the means of developing the city's environmental profile but does not go so far as to produce a Strategic Urban Development Planning Framework. Planners in Dar es Salaam are still embracing the traditions of master planning approaches in preparing general and detailed planning schemes; however the new Urban Planning Act made provision for stakeholder participation which is yet to be embedded fully in everyday practices. One respondent explained:

Kwa sasa wananchi wanahusishwa katika kuainisha eneo la mradi wa makazi mapya, ili kutafutaa ushirikiano wao. Wananchi sasa wapo makini kwa mfano kumetokea na mgongano kati ya wakazi wa Kinyerezi ambao wamekataa maeneo yao yasichukuliwe kwa sababu ya kutoshirikishwa. Hata hivyo wananchi wanashirikiswa sana katika miradi ya urban renewal.' For now residents are involved in the initial stages of identifying planning areas in order to ensure their cooperation. Residents are now alert, for example there is ongoing conflict between the municipality and Kinyerezi residents who felt they were not involved in the Kinyerezi project, they have taken the matter to the

court of Law. Nevertheless residents are more involved in the urban renewal projects. (Interview 3, municipal official, 2011)

Although the municipal officials are reluctant to employ stakeholders participation, forces from the stakeholders may eventual make them embed them in the planning process.

7.4 Major challenges for managing urban spaces and informal activities

Managing informal livelihood activities encounters many challenges at various levels, from the individual to the municipal. The following section outlines the challenges which the municipality encounters as it engages in integrating informal activities into municipal processes. This discussion incorporates some of the issues discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

7.4.1 Limited collaboration

Analysis at the municipal operation level shows that there is limited collaboration between the departments involved. Each department works separately to implement policies, regulations and laws. It is important to note that despite the formation of the Environmental Working Group, the departments hardly collaborate at all on issues related to locations and licences/permits. The Working Group meets to discuss strategies to ensure that environmental cleanliness is maintained. With little coordination between the business sector, the town planning sector and the Environmental Working Group as well as the traders association, as will be further discussed in Chapter 8, it is rather unlikely that the objectives set with each group will be effectively implemented. The more each section works hard to implement its objectives independently, the more the issue of the informal sector will be neglected. For example, the business sector will concentrate more on collecting revenues from fees paid for permits and the town planners will focus on suggesting new areas for relocation, while the Environmental Working Group will continue to enforce evictions to maintain cleanliness. As Mitullah (2005) noted, informal activities will continue to be viewed as a problem that has to be controlled rather than activities that contribute to the urban economy.

Municipal operations with regard to informal livelihood activities are influenced by politicians, the legal framework and the institutional framework. Political interference is the main factor altering the implementation of strategies identified by the municipality. Political intervention inevitably favours informal operators by allowing them to continue working in their preferred spaces. This understanding is particularly prevalent during periods close to elections, as politicians attempt any possible means of winning the informal livelihood operators' votes. This practice therefore does not ultimately serve the needs of informal operators who work in unauthorised areas, as experience has shown that soon after the elections, operators will face fresh evictions. Political decisions pose another challenge to the coordination between political leaders and the municipality.

Legal framework: another challenge is the way the issue of informal activities is dealt with by the law. The policies designed to address informal livelihood activities do not provide clear distinctions between the various kinds of informal activity. Starting with SME policy, the focus targets those operators with higher capital investment, who can afford the transition from informal status to a formal or semi-formal one. Such activities are ones which will be able to provide a physical address, and cover the cost of registering a business as stipulated in the Business Registration Act (2007). In spite of the fact that the issues which are daily raised with regard to informal operators mostly concern those with low capital, benefits arising from mitigation measures mainly accrue to the better-off businesses.

Furthermore, challenges also lie in the issue of informal operators being placed within the municipality administration. As discussed above the municipal operations that address the concerns of informal operators are influenced by the three main dimensions. First the politicians, who occasionally exempt operators from eviction and regulate the flow of information to informal operators, suggest that the municipality will face barriers when communicating their strategies. Secondly, the legal framework which provides directives to the municipality and operators, and thirdly the institutional framework, which shapes how the state and non-state organisations are, involved with informal livelihood operators concerns such as finances and representation. Similarly the operators will have to pass the same barriers to communicate their needs to the municipality. This situation is summarised in the Figure 7.2.

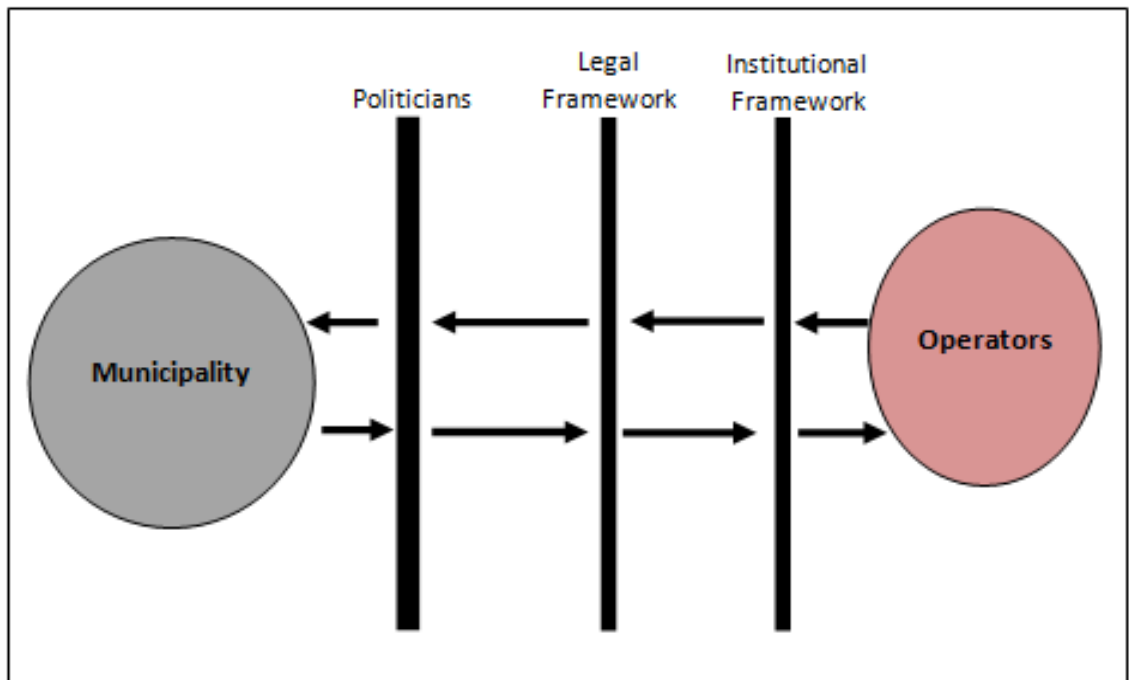


Figure 7.2 Operational framework for the municipality and informal operators

Source: Author

The municipal regulatory framework does not provide for direct transmission of information between sectors and actors, implying that decisions may not reach the municipality or its operators. For example the decision to allow operators to work in Mchikichini market was taken by the Regional Commission, in disregard of the legal framework which requires a proper change of use process to be followed in such cases. Consequently the role of the Land and Town Planning Department was also overlooked. The current regulatory framework which involves limited collaboration in decision-making means that issue can be decided without seeking consensus among stakeholders. On the management side the municipality has limited sectoral collaboration which has been illuminated in discussion with the Land and Town Planning Department. If there was collaboration there would be no such complaints on one side. Even good ideas are difficult to implement simply due to this lack of collaboration. This discussion is developed further in Chapter 8.

7.4.2 Accountability and transparency

The above discussion highlights the issue of the accountability and transparency of the space allocation process. The focus of this subsection however is drawn from the

discussion in Chapter 6, about who should be held accountable for informal activities in prime locations. It has emerged that there is no single department which can be held accountable, outside of specific issues such as licences/permits. For instance, with regard to the way working spaces within the mall were allocated to informal operators, for which the trader association VIBINDO was responsible. One respondent explained:

‘We were involved in the Machinga Complex Project and our main role was to allocate the spaces to the informal operators.’ (Interview 1, association leader, 2010).

Although the allocation mandate was given to the VIBINDO there is a sense of a lack of transparency in the allocation process, as the intended users claim not to have been given spaces. Although the VIBINDO believes that they allocated spaces to the intended users, the media has tirelessly speculated that informal operators were not allocated spaces because other people within the council and their friends and family have been allocated spaces instead. This complaint was also noted by the city council official interviewed for this study. As she explained:

‘The project manager passed through the offices asking who was interested in having a space in the Machinga complex.’ (Interview 10, municipal official, 2011).

And that is how the spaces in the mall ended up being given to unintended users. Despite the efforts the city council devoted to constructing the Machinga Complex, the municipality and the informal operators’ associations have failed in the space allocation process, since the informal operators have been left out and instead the spaces have been allocated to people who are said not to be operators, but who have taken the spaces for their own personal gain. Complaints from the operators’ side were also noted, regarding some instances of double allocation of stalls.

7.4.3 Social relations

Social relations are important in everyday life; however it is important to separate them from municipal undertakings. In this study the discussion in Chapters 5 and 6 on operators’ networking strategies and the process of appropriating spaces has revealed

existing social relations between operators and other stakeholders. Another set of relations was discussed between the municipality and their relatives and friends. These relations are a challenge to the municipality because they are linked to misallocation of working spaces in Machinga Complex project. Starting with the process of appropriating space at the time of allocation by the municipality or responsible authority (see details on section 6.3.2) it has been shown that the transparent allocation of spaces in the Machinga Complex projects was jeopardised as spaces came to be allocated to friends and relatives of officials of the municipality and city officials, instead of to the informal operators for whom the project was meant. Some of the people thus allocated spaces are interested in rent-seeking activities which ultimately limits the opportunities for the targeted individual operators. The municipality is unlikely to achieve its objectives with regard to the informal sector by taking this approach, since operators desperate to make a living will continue to seek spaces for their activities using other means, such as invasion.

The networking strategies the operators use to cultivate their consumers show their ability to attract customers for their merchandise by means of persuasion. Sympathetic consumers of informal operators' products pose a major challenge, which has had considerable influence on the development of the activity (see details on section 5.3.1). Their tendency to buy merchandise from these operators has maintained the operators in the spaces which they are allowed to operate in, as well as those where they are not allowed. The municipal challenge is how to stop people from buying informal operators' merchandise even though the same products are found in the established shops within the same area. Although some customers interviewed did not like the idea of having informal traders in the case study area, others would like them to continue to work in these spaces because they consider the services provided more affordable.

7.4.4 Activity, location and design

The municipality faces a challenge in prioritising either the location or the activity. In chapter 6 it was shown that products sold in the study area were produced legally, although most were sold in illegal locations. It is thus implied that the problem which the municipality is dealing with is not rooting out counterfeit products but regulating selling activity and controlling the invasion of space. The assumption that the issue is the activity itself rather than the activity and space combined is problematic. That is

why the MKURABITA project is misunderstood. This project addresses the issues of properties and business formalisation. The end product is supposed to be legal properties and legal businesses. As noted above, informal livelihood activities do not meet formalisation requirements so it becomes questionable that informal livelihood operators can be targeted through such projects. Thus it is suggested that the municipality are more likely to be dealing with location issues. However, the prioritisation of the activity over the location brings about a misunderstanding of the department's role as noted above. Because of prioritising the activity over the location, unrealistic solutions are pursued, such as the creation of more malls across the city (see details in section 7.3.1). This perception can even be found in experienced researchers as revealed in an interview on the urban management issue with a senior researcher who explained that issues surrounding informal activities are generally 'based on the activity rather than on the land or space' (interview 1, researcher, 2010). The operators' ability to cross boundaries of space and alter the landscape of the city as detailed in Chapter 5 is supposed to be an issue for the municipality.

As noted in the discussion about the role of the Environmental Working Group, their main task is to keep the environment clean, and when they pursue their cleansing operations sometimes even those with permit are affected. The location is what the operators are looking for and as far as the operators are concerned, the most prominent challenge posed to the municipality is the ability to create innovative ways to keep them operating in the locations of their choice. Currently, innovation is implemented by the municipality allowing operators to work during off-peak hours. This shows that if the municipality were to maximize the level of informal operators' participation, they would be likely to provide more effective management options with regard to their activities. The traders' own informal arrangements could provide better guidelines for the formalisation process. It is important to acknowledge that the traders who come up with such innovative ideas are those who are not involved with the informal operators associations, which poses the question as to how those traders who operate in undesignated areas can also be organised into such associations.

The Machinga Complex is the first market building for informal livelihood activities to be constructed in Dar es Salaam. The location of this mall is considered to be unstrategic. The mall is within a low income neighbourhood, and abuts open space and a cemetery. There is not enough passing trade to attract operators, and no access to a

range of goods, despite there being bus stops in both directions (Figure 7.3). Another challenge which the municipality has faced with Machinga Complex up to this point is the interior subdivision of working spaces and the vending structures. The design of these has been challenged by the operators, who have intimated their own superior interior design skills in this regard and wished for the opportunity to design their own spaces. The issue of design is also noted in Mchikitichini market, where one group resisted the renovation of their vending structures, a process which is alleged to have reduced the size of their spaces. Moreover, the design of the mall also provides a challenge to operators who accessed working spaces with regard to the arrangement of their merchandise. Experience from other countries has shown that market buildings have been rejected as operators return to locations they consider more strategic. The municipality and the city will disburse millions of shillings to no good effect.

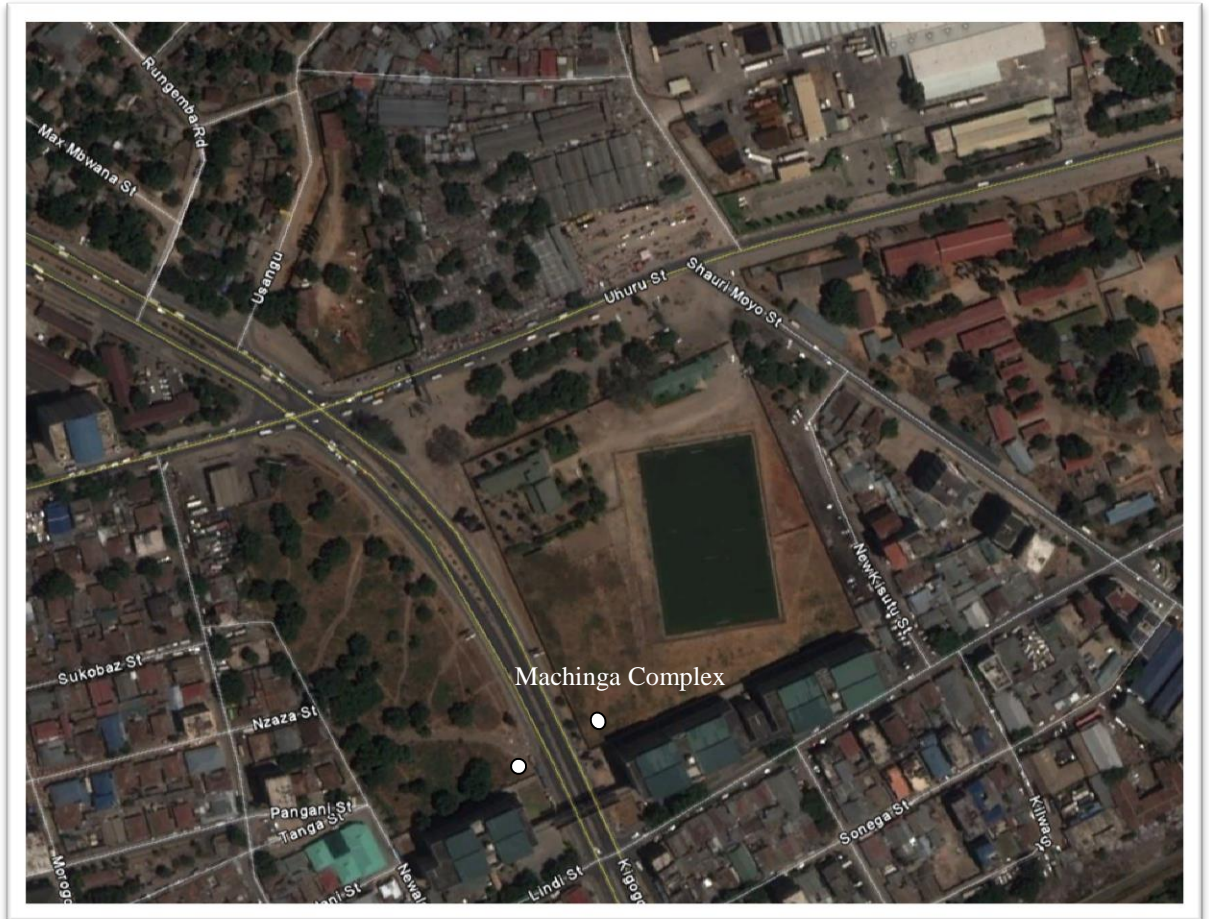


Figure 7.3 Location of Machinga complex

Source: Google Earth, 2012



Figure 7.4 Machinga complex Buildings

Source: Fieldwork, 2010

Machinga complex buildings connected by the bridge

7.5 A Discussion of key findings

The discussions on the role of the municipality indicate that there is a commitment to address the issue of informal activities in Dar es Salaam city. When compared with the situation in other countries as discussed in Chapter 2, it emerges that there are more strategies in this case than in any other. For instance the analysis of strategies for in-space arrangements in other cases have shown that market construction is the leading strategy in Latin American cases whilst some cases in Africa and USA have shown the permit system is the main strategy (see details in Chapter 2). The discussion which has mostly dominated the literature on the governance of informal activities has centred on relocation projects, as found in the market construction of countries such as Zambia, Peru, Malawi, Mexico and South Africa (Cross, 1998; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Kayuni and Tambulasi, 2009; Hansen, 2010). Countries such as India, USA and South Africa have used the permit system extensively and South Africa is considered an exemplary case, where permitted zones and markets have played a great role in making informal activities part of city processes (Bhowmik, 2007; Kettles, 2007; Ofori, 2007; Robinson and Dobson, 2008).

This study has revealed that there are other strategies besides the construction of markets and the permits system, such as the formalisation of particular locations under change-of-use initiatives, despite the challenges identified. In addition, there is the option of providing space for informal activities in new detailed planning schemes. Another unique strategy is the formalisation of informal activity, although to date this has only provided entry to the best-capitalized informal activities. Turning to in-time arrangements, these are common to all cases reviewed; however they are more pronounced in African countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Ghana and Zimbabwe. For example tolerance as observed in Zimbabwe, is referred to by Kamete (2010) as resistance from the margin. In his analysis, the operators established friendships with a municipal official who traded information about eviction with them; they consequently carried little merchandise, and used collapsible shelters and hence fewer goods ended up being confiscated. The operators' friendship networks extended to politicians and the media, who were eventually able to articulate the operators' needs and hence the municipality accommodated their occupation of the streets (Kamete, 2010). In the context of cleaning projects municipal authorities have used particular arguments against the operation of informal activities, as analysed in other cities such as Harare, Jakarta and Zomba (Yatmo, 2008; Kayuni and Tambulasi, 2009; Kamete, 2010). For

instance, Kamete (2010), analysed the Harare case with regard to how the municipality labelled the informal operators as ‘filth’ elements which pollute the environment; whilst in the case of Jakarta, Yatmo (2008) showed how operators were labelled as unwanted elements in urban spaces, accusations which strengthen the pressure to engage in clean-up campaigns

Some of the challenges identified in this study are unique to this study, such as the influence of social relations. Other studies have indicated that the market construction strategy has not been a success because of particular limitations such as failing to attract customers, increased running costs for the operators, and limited access to working spaces. As noted by Cross and Karides (2007) in Mexico City and Port of Spain, the success of the market construction strategy is limited due to the increase in running costs for the operators. These issues were also noted in this case; however specific attention has been drawn to the social relations among officials responsible for space allocation which has meant that the intended users are not able to access spaces as required, as it was claimed that rent-seeking activity by officials was involved. Social relations have also been identified in terms of customers, which has not been raised as an issue in other cases. It is important to emphasise the role of customers in maintaining operators in an unauthorised area.

Limited collaborations which are featured in the transmission of information effected by the politicians in this case have been identified in other cases such as Kampala Uganda where the relationship forged between operators and the president contributed to space transition in the city (Goodfellow and Titeca, 2012). However limited collaboration between the various municipal departments concerned with informal activities at the operational level has not been discussed in the literature, with the exception of Mitullah’s (2005) discussion of the misplaced position of informal operation issues within municipalities. Issues relating to policies, rules and regulations are context specific. In terms of reform of pro-poor policies, Tanzania has made some progress in this area, which has been extensively explained by Lyons *et al* (2012). However there is a need to seek redefinition of these policies so that the targeted group benefit from them, as noted throughout the discussion in this thesis.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter set out to investigate the role of the municipality and the challenges it faces in engaging with informal livelihood activities in prime locations. It has been shown that the municipality is continuing to put some effort into addressing the issue of informal operators and their activities. There are policies and bylaws in place through which the control and management of informal activities is undertaken. The legal framework sets the objectives, ways and means of achieving the aim of integrating informal activities in city-wide processes. The investigation shows that the municipal operation has two main levels, namely the operational and control level. At the operational level, the municipal departments aim at issuing licences/permits and allocating space for these activities. Collaboration between departments is essential to achieve these operation conditions; however there is poor coordination between departments. Strategies set to achieve the integration of informal activities in the city process are categorised into two main groups, namely in-space arrangements and in-time arrangements. It was revealed that in-space arrangements entail processes of change of use, market construction and the preparation of detailed planning schemes. The municipality use these arrangements to produce spaces for informal activities; nevertheless this is not without its challenges. The in-time arrangements are short term arrangements which include tolerance and cleanliness campaigns.

Nonetheless, these efforts are not very effective in the context of the escalating magnitude of the informal activities issue. Poor coordination between key actors within the municipality in addressing the issue of these activities contributes to the weak enforcement of regulations and ineffective implementation of identified strategies. The municipality's desire to transform all informal activities to formal ones also provides an impediment to addressing the issues surrounding these activities, as there is unclear differentiation between different levels of informality, specifically in terms of capital investment. The challenge of social relations within the municipality has generated claims of rent-seeking behaviour. In addition, social relations between customers and operators challenge municipal approaches to regulating informal activity. Location continues to be the priority issue for informal undertakings; however a lack of clarity over prioritising either location or the act of selling poses another challenge to the municipality. For the municipality to develop their overall objectives for their role in these activities, they must deliver successful policies and strategies which address the

issue of location. As shown throughout the chapter, the culture of informality is not easily absorbed into formal arrangements; indeed, it is important for the municipality to learn how to accommodate these practices and support them with their policies, rules and regulations.

The following chapter sets out to examine the interface between informal and formal practices. The intention is to show how the municipality, operators and non-governmental organisations relate with each other. Specific attention is drawn to knowledge exchange and to relationships of cooperation and regulation.

Chapter 8. The Interface: Formality and Informality

8.1 Introduction

'In principal every modern organisation is in favour of cooperation; in practice the structure of modern organisations inhibit it.' (Sennet, 2012:7).

The municipal government encourages the participation of non-governmental organisations in engagement with informal livelihood activities. The kinds of non-governmental organisations that have a cooperative relationship with informal livelihood operators include operators' associations and financial institutions. Peña and Frontera Notre (2000) classify operators' associations within the category of 'socio-institutional' organisations. Using the institutional approach, Lyon (2007) also identified informal operators' associations as among the social institutions which shape informal livelihood operations. Summarising the role of such institutions through a New Institutional Economics (NIE) approach, Assaad (1993) suggested that the roles of social institutions are embedded in aspects of transaction costs, decision making, property rights and collective action. Linking them to informal operations, Peña and Frontera Notre (2000) suggested that informal operators associations play the role of reducing transaction costs in negotiating, coordinating and enforcing contracts between the operators and the municipality. In addition, operators associations are also involved in resolving problems and with decision making processes in assigning property rights. Moreover Assaad (1993) has ascertained that operators associations are also involved in collective action to overcome 'free riders', through excluding members and non-members who are not contributing their share or complying with group operation regulations. However not all such social institutions are efficient, because some of them are formed with the aim of protecting the interests of a dominant group or their formation may be based on 'path dependency' as argued by Bardhan (1989) and cited in Assaad (1993:928). It is therefore recommended that the reason for the existence of such socio-institutional organisations should be critically analysed to identify their aims and goals, which should focus on ensuring efficiency in the interaction processes (Assaad, 1993).

This chapter aims to present the findings relating to the third specific objective of this research, by responding to the second research question: what is the role of and relationship between other stakeholders in regulating prime locations and informal

livelihood activities? The chapter begins by examining the role of operators' associations and other non-governmental organizations. The discussion is extended to their interaction with informal livelihood operators and the municipality. The discussion is further developed to explore three types of interface: knowledge exchange, cooperation and regulation. The following section presents the role of informal livelihood operators' associations in the regulation of informal livelihood activities.

8.2 Operators' associations as a site of governance

The discussion in Chapter 4 about the associations involved with informal livelihood operators at national and regional level provides the background for this section. This discussion identified that many informal associations are assembled under the umbrella association VIBINDO, which links with other associations in different regions. Fourteen per cent of the respondents reported that they were members of a VIBINDO association, either at regional or local level. This section will provide details of the associations in the study area and their involvement with the informal livelihood operators and the municipality.

8.2.1 Locally recognised operators associations

Locally recognised operators' associations are a category of operators' association that is found in specific locations. In most cases these associations are formed with respect to the type of merchandise an individual operator is selling, such as second hand clothes and food. For example, the association for operators selling second hand clothes is called MIMCO, whilst LIMCO and KAVIMCO represent operators selling food and traditional attire (*khanga* and *vitenge*), respectively. The association relating to tailors is called MCHMCO and the grocers' association is called VIMCO; finally, for traders who sell kitchen utensils, the association is called VYOMCO.²⁸ Each association has a steering leadership which is accountable to its members. Each association concentrates on representing its members in the management teams who run the markets and other organisations. As one respondent explained:

'Tuna wawakilisha wanachama wetu katika uongozi wa soko pamoja na mashirika mengine. Kwa mfano kuwasilisha mawazo kuhusu uboreshaji wa maeneo tunayo fanyia kazi, mfumo wa biashara vilevile kuwahasisha kufanya usafi wa maeneo wanayofanyia biashara.' We represent our members on the market management board and other organisations in issues concerning our

²⁸ The abbreviations used are based on a translation from the Swahili name of the association.

working environment and the way we do our business in general, as well as encouraging them to clean their working space (Interview 2, association leader 2012).

The formation of operators' associations according to the type of merchandise they sell gives them the opportunity to identify issues which are familiar to them all and hence an avenue for a better understanding of how to raise such issues to other levels, such as the market management board or the municipality. Similar findings in Ghana and the Philippines indicated that operators there also organise themselves into associations that relate to the type of merchandise they sell (Lyon, 2007; Milgram, 2011). In Ilala Municipality all these associations are recognised by the market management board, which is responsible for representing them at the municipal level. The market authority has a traders' management board at which its members are represented by the association leaders. The position of the association leaders is legally recognised by the Ilala Municipality Market Licensing Bylaws (2011). Their main responsibilities include strengthening the development of traders' associations, ensuring good conduct within working areas, ensuring the development of their businesses and performing any other duty as directed by the market management.

Each market within the municipality is likely to include this kind of representation on its management board as far as informal activities are concerned and hence operators' representation in the market management team as well as the municipality is maintained. One respondent explained:

'Uongozi wa soko unatokana na wanachama wa vikundi mbalimbali vya wafanya biashara. Kila kitu kinachotoka manispaa kinafikia kwenye uongozi halafu uongozi unafikisha kwa wanachama kwa utekelezaji' The market management team consists of informal operators' organisations. Directives from the municipality reach the market management team, and then the leadership of the operators' associations communicate the directives to their members for implementation. (Interview 3, association leader, 2010).

It is widely recognised that informal operators are likely to be involved in these associations because the associations play a significant role in advocating for policy changes and other services (Cross, 1998; Milgram, 2011). The formation of operators' associations follows a directive from the municipality which has ceased to engage in any communication with the operators unless the operators are organised in groups. On

the face of it, this would seem likely to result in a high involvement of informal livelihood operators with the operators' organisations. However, only 4.2% of the respondents reported themselves to be extremely involved with the operators' associations, whilst 67.9% reported themselves as not at all involved. The low level of involvement of informal livelihood operators with their own associations suggests either that most of them are not operating in officially designated places, or that they simply do not see the difference that being involved in the association would make, or find the high monthly fees too high. One of the respondents explained:

'No. I am not a member of any association because I do not see any benefit of being involved; at the same time I cannot afford the monthly fees, which are almost equal to my daily earnings.' (Interview 10, with George (operator), 2011).

It is also important to note that operators who reported involvement with traders' associations were those in permanent or semi-permanent working spaces (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1 Involvement with operators' association by those in permanent and temporary spaces

Group	Involvement with Operators' Association
	Mean Rank
Permanent (28%)	108.19
Temporary (72%)	88.24
Mann-Whitney U	2,824.500
Wilcoxon W	11,735.500
Z	-2.763
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	0.006

Source: Fieldwork June-September, 2010

For the variable 'involvement with operators' associations', the operators in permanent spaces show a high mean rank of 108.19, while those in temporary spaces show a mean rank of 88.24. The higher the mean rank, the higher the involvement with the municipality; from this data it can be concluded that there is a statistically significant

difference in the median involvement with the operators' association between operators working in permanent spaces and the temporary spaces group ($U=2824.500$ $P=0.006$).

The assessment of the businesses of operators in permanent spaces showed that they are probably better off than those in temporary working spaces, who mainly display their merchandise on the ground (author's observation, 2010). In addition, operators with an income of less than or equal to TSh. 100,000 were less involved with the associations, while operators with an income of greater than or equal to TSh. 100, 001 were more involved with the associations (Table 8.2). For the variables 'involvement with operators' association', there is statistically significant difference in the median for those in income group 1 (Tsh.< or =100,000) and 2 (Tsh >or = 100,001) ($U= 2952.500$ $P=0.00$). These results suggest a significant difference between these operators and hence continues to pose questions about the reality of their position, whether they should form their own associations, and how they can come together to find representation in both public and private organisations. It is important to note that the fee demanded by the operators' associations is high for operators with income less than or equal to Tshs. 100,000 a month. An operator who can afford a payment of about Tshs. 200,000 a year to be a member has a high sum available to invest hence those with less income find it challenging to deduct such amounts from their earnings.

Table 8.2 Participation of informal operators in the operators' associations

Group	Involvement with the Operator's Association
	Mean Rank
Income Group 1 (47%)	77.65
Income Group 2 (53%)	100.92
Mann-Whitney U	2,952.500
Wilcoxon W	6,522.500
Z	-3.596
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000

Source: Fieldwork June-September, 2010

8.2.2 Operators' association services in perspective

The representation provided by operators' organizations is mainly for those who are members. As discussed in more detail earlier, the associations negotiate the allocation of spaces to their members and all other services. In some cases, the allocation of space is strictly for members of the operators' association, as has occurred in the Machinga Complex project. Since operators in unauthorized areas are not affiliated to any association, there is no such representation for them. This is in contrast to the cases in urban India, as presented by Bhowmik (2007), where despite the low unionization of operators in undesignated areas, the operators' associations play the role of negotiating their presence in such spaces, a representation which could go as far as organizing protests meetings and demonstrations in response to threats and evictions.

As noted in Chapters 4 and 7, the idea of forming informal operators' organizations came from the SDP project, which formed a 'petty trading' Working Group (Brown, 2006; UN-HABITAT, 2009). The working group worked together with the organization leaders in implementing solutions to the problems facing the informal economy within the city. VIBINDO and VIWAKU were the main operators' associations formed at that time, and have since continued to influence informal operations up to the present day. Other associations have continued to be formed regionally and locally, as discussed earlier. The process was inspired by the idea of participation and strategic solutions, as advocated by the planning paradigm of collaborative planning. The rationale for adopting this new approach was to ensure the successful resolution of pressing issues; nonetheless, none of the issues has so far been addressed successfully. The continuation of this collaboration has been adopted by other projects, such as UDEM (a project which was nevertheless discontinued); and has continued to be applied in the process of preparing the environmental profiles of specific municipalities across the country. Nevertheless, as elaborated in Chapter 7, municipal activities at operational and control level are not influenced by established collaborations amongst the responsible departments. Each department has so far presented their own agenda as far as informal activities are concerned a practice which also reflects how operators' associations and other non-governmental organisations relate with the municipality. This mode of decision making would take a long time to be realized within the study areas if the existing situation continues to exclude the operators' organizations, private businesses and customers from the process, for example of deciding on the locations and design of the markets. Although the involvement of the operators' association in the allocation of

spaces has been noted in this chapter, it only occurred in the new Machinga Complex, as a result of the organisation successfully negotiating their participation. Nevertheless their involvement focused on helping their members who pay monthly fees, consequently excluding all non-members. As argued early on, the split between the 'better off' and 'ordinary' informal operators continued to be manifested. Unless the affected stakeholders' inclusion converged via negotiation and deliberation towards integrative problem-solving processes, good governance would not be manifested (Gualini, 2010).

When the operators who were reported to be involved with the informal operators' associations were asked if they were satisfied with the service provided to them, the analysis shows that they were satisfied with their involvement, as the association had played a part in the allocation of spaces in the new mall. Responding on their involvement with the associations, one of the respondents explained:

'I am a member of TABOA; our fee is Tsh. 200,000 per year and I am proud of being a member of this association. It has helped me to secure a working space in Machinga Complex.' (Interview 11, with Zuberi (operator), 2010).

However, when the respondents were asked about whether they were well represented by the association, only 14% replied positively, while the rest were dissatisfied about how well they were represented within their associations. This was not only due to the limited involvement of the informal operators with their traders' associations, but also due to the reported lack of coordination between some operators' associations and the municipal departments directly responsible for addressing their concerns. Despite this, the literature shows how traders' associations in Tanzania, and Dar es Salaam specifically, have made progress in representing the informal operators; however, as indicated by Brown (2006) and Brown *et al.* (2010) all this effort is without coordination with the respective municipality. One respondent explained:

'There is no cooperation between us and the Department of Finance and Trade.' (Interview 1, association leader, 2010).

The Finance and Trade Department deals with licensing and fee collection (see details in Chapter 7). The limited coordination, or total lack of it, is also well depicted in the institutional framework for informal activities (Figures 4.3), which directly affects policy development and implementation. Similar findings were noted in Kenya by

Mitullah (2003), whereby limited participation by the associations and other stakeholders impacts on the management of informal activities. Limited involvement of operators in organizations presenting them was also noted in India, where low unionization was noted in Mumbai, Delhi and Ahmedabad (Bhowmik, 2007). Since the local authority sets the conditions under which the informal operators can form organisations to represent them, there is a danger of continuing under-representation, particularly for operators in undesignated spaces. It is difficult for informal operators to relate to the municipality because of the way the municipality operates. For example, Chapter 7 presented the role of the departments which participate in the management and control of informal operators: while the Urban Planning section dictates the use of a particular space and their role ends there, the Finance and Trade department concentrates on the issuing of licenses and the collection of license fees or user fees. The Environmental Working Group operationalizes cleaning campaigns. Politicians are another group of stakeholders who are not part of the operational framework of municipal engagement with the informal sector, but nonetheless appear to be the main decision makers. In most cases, they defend operators working at particular times, and their decisions usually overrule the views of other actors. Eventually, this culminates in the formation of different classes of informal operators, and indeed this seems to be slowly occurring within urban centres. This lack of collaboration shows how difficult it is to establish any type of relationship, hence the operators are forced to relate with these actors separately depending on their needs. However, Brown (2006) argues that the coordination between these actors, as documented in academic papers, does exist in practice.

The impact of SDP with regard to informal livelihood activities can be seen in the way that the municipality has allowed the temporary use of space as a strategy to allow operators to work in the city. However, sectoral coordination and a wide range of stakeholder participation have not been given priority after this programme. The research could neither locate any relevant documentation nor establish any influence it had played in connecting the municipality and the operators, apart from the loose link with operators' organisations, as elaborated in the previous sections. Although the municipality was expected to maintain the objectives and outcomes of the SDP, which was the backbone for accepting informal livelihood activities in the city-wide economy, there was a lack of any concrete framework to deal with the issues that extended to non-governmental organizations, a shortcoming which has so far limited stakeholders'

interdependence and, hence, avoided the responsabilization of any parties. As suggested by Gualini (2010), in addressing issues facing cities, new modes of governance have extended the participation of non-government organisations without unveiling the concrete framework of these relationships. However, notwithstanding the challenges facing the informal operators' organisations, there have been some notable successes, as summarized in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3 Summary of the successes for the informal operators' associations

Association	Activity	Achievement
Nationally Recognized Associations	Advocating for policy, law and regulation changes	Delayed the implementation of Business Registration Act 2007
	Training and Research	VIBINDO Profile Report on constraints facing the informal operators/activities
	Facilitate access to finance	Establishment of VIBINDO SACCOS
	Advocating Micro Finance Schemes	Provide loans to members
	Facilitate establishment of Micro Health Insurance Scheme	Establishment of VIBINDO Micro Health Insurance Scheme
	Representation of Informal Livelihood operators	Member of Machinga Project Board Voice for informal operators
	Procurement of markets	Participation in Trade Fair (<i>Jua Kali, Nguvu Kazi</i> Exhibition)
	Procurement of working spaces	Members allocated working spaces
Regionally Recognized Associations	Representation in National Associations Facilitating access to Loans	Member of VIBINDO
Locally Recognized Associations	Representation on market management committee	Member of market management committee
	Provide reference to other organisations, such as financial institutions	Access to loans
	Provide security for members merchandise	Safe working environment

The main limitation of these informal operators' associations is their failure to attract operators from the un-designated spaces to join the associations, which apparently face most problems in this sector. As a consequence of this, informal operators are increasingly fragmented, which could lead to the formation of subclasses or classes within a class, if the issue is not addressed.

8.2.3 The involvement of informal livelihood operators with the municipality

The municipality is the main actor in the management and control of informal livelihood activities. Although the final decision is made by the city mayor on whether or not to leave the informal operators in a given location, the management committees in the municipality facilitate that decision by advising the municipal director and ultimately, the mayor, on the best way to manage informal activities. The municipal management committee is comprised of representatives from all departments and is responsible for providing technical advice on all issues at stake. The interface is formed when the municipality interacts with the operator in undertaking their operational and control level activities. The interactions at the operational level relating to the enforcement of municipal by-laws involve accessing spaces, issuing licenses and paying license fees and other levies as required. Ironically the interaction relating to the control level relates to clean-up campaigns, which enable the municipality to keep operators away from undesignated areas. In fact, whether they are based in designated or undesignated locations, informal operators experience this interaction. All of the operators have reported experiencing the 'clean-up campaigns', during which they were forced to leave their work spaces. Even those now in designated spaces usually started out in undesignated ones and so have experienced eviction.

Notwithstanding that informal livelihood operators need to be involved with the municipality in order to address the issues facing their operations, through their participation in operators' associations, the findings indicate that the stakeholders have little involvement in the whole process. The data shows that 54% of the respondents were not at all involved with the municipality and only 3.6% showed that they were extremely involved with the municipality. The involvement with the municipality was mainly with those who operated in permanent space as opposed to those in temporary space (Table 8.4).

Table 8.4 Involvement of the informal livelihood operators with the municipality

Type of space	Involvement with the municipality
	Mean Rank
Permanent (28%)	108.45
Temporary (72%)	91.94
Mann-Whitney U	3,050.000
Wilcoxon W	12,780.000
Z	-2.049
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.040

Source: Fieldwork June-September, 2010

For the variable ‘involvement of informal livelihood operators with the municipality’, those in permanent spaces had a higher mean rank (108.19) than those in temporary spaces, who have a mean rank of 91.94. The higher the mean rank, the higher the involvement of informal livelihood operators with the municipality; it can further be concluded that for the variables ‘involvement of informal operators with the municipality’, there is a statistically significant difference between the mean ranks for those in permanent spaces and temporary spaces ($U=3050.00$, $P = 0.04$).

As noted early in the discussion, operators are not very involved with their own associations, and since to be involved with the municipality requires representation from the associations, it is suggested that their interaction is more at the control level. This practice has created an unfriendly relationship between the operators and the municipality. One respondent explained:

‘We are great enemies as we keep them off the street.’ (Interview 1, municipal official, 2010)

The limited involvement of the informal operators with the municipality poses a challenge for the management and control of these activities. This might be the reason why the strategies and sites allocated for relocation of these activities have so far failed

to meet the operators' expectations and, hence, led to an increased discontentment regarding why, to date, the municipality has yet to address their concerns.

Nevertheless, operators who are involved with the associations have some representation within the municipality. The association leaders link the operators with the municipality as one respondent explained:

'Tunawaunganisha wanachama wetu na manispaa ya Ilala, kwa kuchukua kero za wanachama na kuzipeleka kwa manispaa ya Ilala kwa utekelezaji, pia kupokea maagizo kutoka kwa uongozi wa Manispaa ya Ilala na kupeleka kwa wafanyabiashara.' We do connect our members with the municipality, by taking the concerns of our members and presenting them to Ilala Municipality to act on the issues raised; we also receive directives from the municipality and present them to the operators. (Interview 3, association leader, 2012).

However, the level of satisfaction of those who felt represented within the municipality was significantly lower than those unsatisfied. The analysis shows that only 17.7% felt satisfied with their representation in the municipality. The limited involvement of the informal operators with their association and the municipality has an impact on their representation not only in the areas of management and control, but also in the formulation of policy.

8.2.4 Involvement of informal livelihood operators with financial institutions

The role of financial institutions

The services available to operators from financial institutions are credit, deposits, loans, payment services, insurance and money transfer services. The financial institutions involved in the provision of these services are both formal and informal. The formal institutions include banks, SACCOs and NGOs, while informal institutions include informal saving and money lending groups. Although such services are available from these formal financial institutions, the informal operators have limited access to them owing to the imposed conditions which the applicants have to fulfil. The main services used by the informal operators are savings and loans. In order to access these services from formal financial institutions, an operator must fulfil conditions such as the provision of collateral, forming a cooperative group and also being able to pay the interest rate, which is high compared to the amount of income they generate. One respondent explained:

'Kipato cha wamachinga ni kidogo. Na watoaji wa mikopo hawaangalii hilo. Maadam umechukua mkopo, mwezi huu, mwezi ujao unatakiwa kuanza kulipa deni.' Informal livelihood operators' income is not much. And those who issue loans do not look at that. As long as you have taken the loan this month, you are supposed to start repaying the loan next month.' (Interview 1, association leader, 2010).

According to Piprek (2007), the interest rate charged by the SACCOs varies greatly between individual borrowers. The difference is judged according to the type of activity and duration of the loan payment, collateral, competition from other lenders and administrative costs (Piprek (2007)).

Formal lending institutions

Informal operators are hardly able to fulfil the conditions imposed by the formal lending institutions which inhibit them from accessing loans and other financial services. The analysis shows that the informal operators within the case study did not have access to any loans from the formal financial institutions (refer to details in Chapter 5). Owing to their inability to access credit directly from the banking sector, other small scale financial institutions such as SACCOS and NGOs (e.g. FINCA and PRIDE) have emerged to provide such services to informal livelihood operators. The main condition for these institutions to lend to informal operators is for them to form a group of at least five people, who simultaneously apply for individual loans. One respondent explained:

'Before we were given a loan, we were informed that we had to form a group. After forming a group a first person received a loan, but he failed to repay his loan; as a result we were told to repay on his behalf. This has caused me problems in my business as all my saving ended up repaying someone else's loan.' (Interview 10, with George (operator), 2010).

After forming a group, the operators are required to attend workshops on how to manage their finances in order to ensure regular repayment of their loans. At the completion of these workshops, the first loan is given to the first member of the group. The loan to the rest of the group members depends on the successful repayment of the loan by the first group member. This process is then repeated from one group member to the next. The amount of the first loan to each individual is usually between Tshs.

50,000 and 500,000²⁹, and the group may progress to a higher level of loan after each round is completed. These organisations also accept individuals who can prove that they are capable of repaying their loans as required. In relation to this, the local organisation has explained that they do provide references for the informal operators. One respondent explained:

‘As leaders, one of our responsibilities is to provide references for our members to other organisations, such as financial institutions, as requested, because we are the ones who know our members in that they work with us.’(Interview 2, association leader, 2012).

The group loan is the model used by several micro-financial institutions across the country which aim at providing capital to small and medium businesses without physical assets; a notable example is that of Grameen Bank in Bangladesh (Tipple and Coulson, 2007). Social collateral is used by these financial institutions to support low income people to become borrowers and strengthen community cohesion (Tipple and Coulson, 2007). However, it poses great burdens to members in cases where the loan unexpectedly turns bad, as expressed in the interview with *George* (operator) above.

Informal lending groups

Informal lenders include individuals who have cash assets or who access credit from banks and SACCOS and then lend the money to informal operators. Informal lenders also include individuals within the network of the informal operators who have developed savings schemes. In these schemes, members of a group agree on the amount of money to be contributed by each individual on either a weekly or a monthly basis. A leader is appointed who is responsible for collecting each member’s regular contribution and during their weekly meetings the money is handed to the person who is supposed to collect it. Any member who requires financial assistance can request a loan from the group, which would normally be granted. These groups are popularly referred as *upatu*. One respondent explained:

‘Sisi tunakikundi chetu cha kuweka na kukopa, tunakutana mara moja kwa wiki kufanya tathmini ya michango yetu na kumpa mhusika ambaye ni zamu yake kuchukua mkopo.’ We have our own savings and lending group, we do meet

²⁹ Tsh 50,000 is equivalent to £22, and Tsh 500,000 is equivalent to £217, based on exchange rates in 2010: £ 1=Tshs 2300.

once a week to assess our contributions and handle the loan to the next person. (Interview 9, with Hamidu (operators), 2010).

Rotating savings and credit associations are common amongst informal operators, for example a study by Tipple and Coulson (2007) observed similar arrangements in Delhi, India, Surabaya, Indonesia and Pretoria, South Africa. As observed in the case of a group loan arrangements with formal micro finance institutions, such groups are a main source of regular contacts, which offers a positive potential; but at the same time, the possibility of conflict is also there in cases where things do not turn out as required.

As noted earlier in Chapter 5, the main source of finance for informal livelihood operators is provided by friends and relatives when required. It is important to note that using family and friends, as well as a rotating saving credit association, provides the operators with interest-free credit, contrary to what is available from other micro-finance institutions.

8.2.5 Understanding the informal rules

Unlike formal institutions, informal ones have no written regulations and are not legally recognised. Although their rules are not written down, they nevertheless regulate the operators' behaviour within their working spaces. They provide directives which informal operators adhere to in their day to day activities. As reported earlier, informal operators ignore formal rules and invade spaces within the case study area to eke out a living (see chapter 5 for details). The informal rules which they follow while operating in these areas include contacting the existing operators in the specific area regarding the availability of space, and waiting until permission has been granted before operating in a particular area. They also include respecting each other's working space to the extent of taking on a security guard role. These rules are simple and straightforward; hence the operators are easily able to follow them, as observed in my field work at the time. One space was empty and when asked why it had not been occupied one respondent explained:

'Mwenye nafasi hii hajafika leo. Ila hakuna mtu atakaye kuja kuweka bidhaa zake hapa, kwa sababu tunamlindia hadi hapo atakapokuja mwenyewe. Tuatamlindia kwa muda wa mwezi mzima hivi, asipoonekana mtu mwingine anaweza kuweka bidhaa zake.' The person who uses this space is not around today. However no one can come and display his/her merchandise here because we are guarding his space until he comes back. We are willing to guard the

space up to one month, and then if he does not come back, another person can take his space.’ (Interview 14, with Hussein (operator), 2010).

This experience revealed how serious these informal arrangements were and the extent to which informal operators respected or relied upon them. If formal institutions could work in harmony with these informal arrangements, their collaboration could lead to strategies which are both easy to follow and to implement. The informal operators may well be more aware of the informal arrangements than the formal arrangements, as revealed in the discussion in Chapters 5 and 6. As noted by North (1998), informal institutions are also powerful in shaping the way things are done in a society and useful in providing information even when formal institutions change.

8.2.6 Understanding the formal rules

Tanzania has taken major steps in developing and implementing policies and regulation to address the issue of informal livelihood activities (Tripp, 1997; Brown *et al.*, 2010; Lyons and Msoka, 2010). As discussed in Chapter 4, these changes range from local government reforms to programmes and projects aiming to assist the development of the informal sector as a whole. However, informal livelihood operators, who are among the stakeholders in this process, have shown less understanding of these developments. Only 27% of the respondents stated that they had an idea of the regulations which they were supposed to follow while undertaking their activities. When asked further about what sorts of regulations these were, these respondents mentioned several regulations such as: being forbidden to trade without a license and making sure that occupied spaces were kept clean at all times.

However, 71% of the respondents showed no understanding of the regulations. The issue of the lack of understanding of formal rules was been raised by leaders of the operators’ association, as one respondent explained.

‘Uelewa wa wanachama kuhusu sheria ndogondogo za manispaa ni mdogo.’

The understanding of municipal bylaws amongst association members is meagre. (Interview 5, association leader, 2012).

The leaders of the operators’ association also acknowledged that they also have a limited understanding of the formal rules. One respondent explained:

‘Viongozi hatuna elimu ya kutosha kuhusu sheria ndogo ndogo kuhusu ujasiliamali na jinsi ya kuzitekeleza’ We leaders do not have enough

understanding about several bylaws for our operations and how to apply them. (Interview 4, association leader, 2012).

This has also been revealed by studies in other countries such as Kenya, Zimbabwe, Uganda, and others, where the majority of informal traders also have a limited understanding of the rules and regulations guiding their operations (Mitullah, 2005). Part of the explanation is that there are new entrants to these activities every day; another is that some traders ignore the existence of these rules and regulations. This indicates that there is a need to inform informal traders about the rules and regulations which govern their operations. If the operators are informed, they are less likely to be affected by adverse consequences of disregarding regulations.

It must be carefully considered, however, whether or not the role played by the traders associations does in fact deliver the objectives of equipping informal traders with the required knowledge. The interaction between formal and informal rules is more indirect, as operators tend to ignore one set of rules in order to operate according to another set. The direct interaction of formal and informal rules can only be observed in the accomplishment of the aim of either allowing access to working spaces or regulating the activities in a particular space. However, informal rules tend to dominate in undesignated spaces while the formal rules apply more in designated spaces.

8.3 The Interface: a discussion of the key findings

This chapter has examined the range of interactions between institutions involved in informal livelihood activities. Such interactions and relationships help informal operators to survive and sustain their livelihoods. It is important to note that despite their limited opportunities, they are able to shape their working environment (Lyon, 2007). Nevertheless their operations are also continuously shaped by overall structural factors that limit their opportunities. This understanding helps to demonstrate how the operators continue to access prime locations, despite the constraints, as they take part in elevating themselves out of poverty. Institutions range from operators' organizations, PRIDE, FINCA, and the banks, to informal networks (such as those of friends, families and relatives) who participate in the daily operation of the informal operators' businesses. Apart from informal institutions, operators are also guided by formal rules and regulations. From the discussion provided in this thesis, there are three types of interface between the formal and informal sector which can be conceptualised as:

knowledge exchange, cooperation and regulation relationships (Figure 8.1). The following sections provide a discussion of this typology.

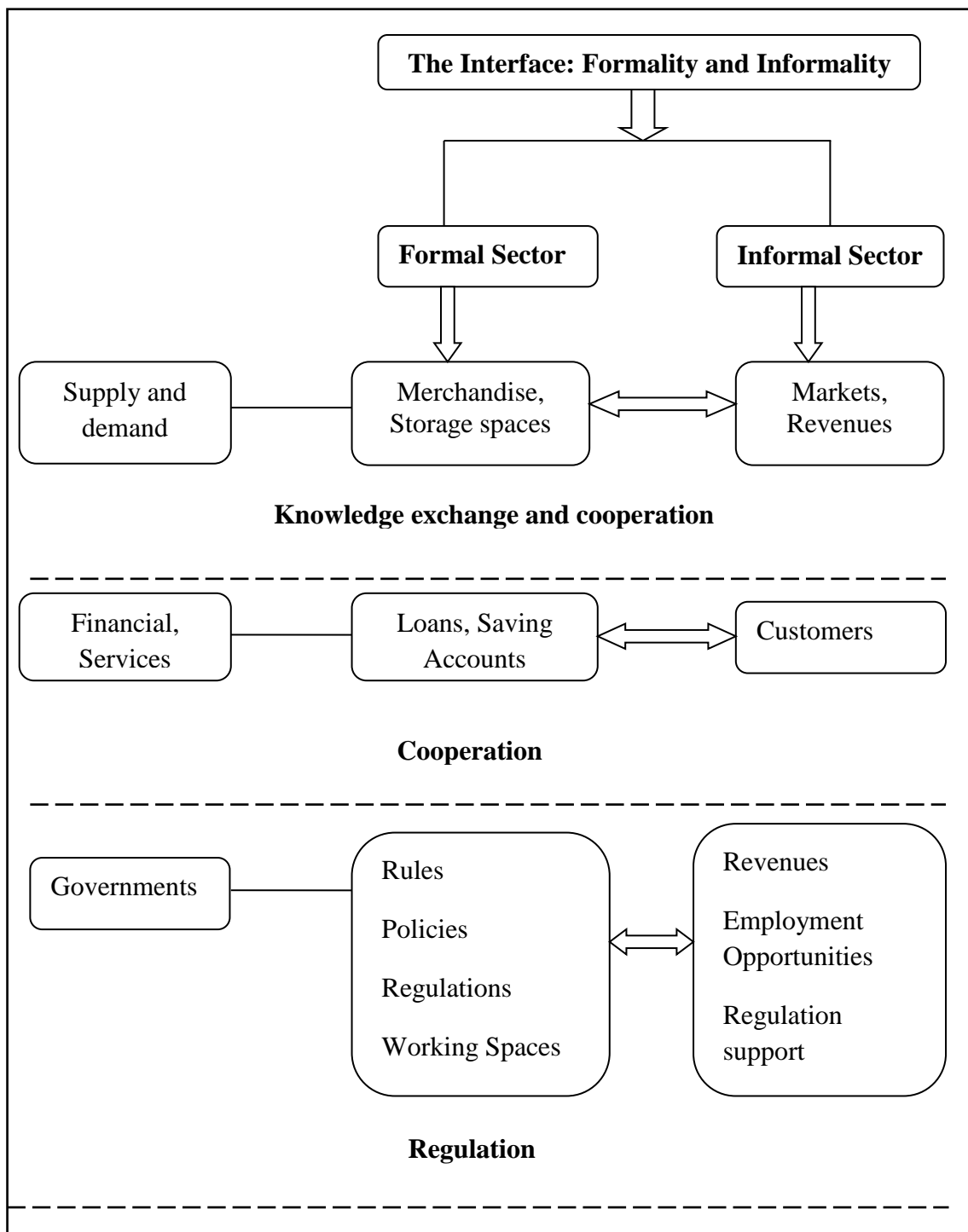


Figure 8.1 The Interaction between formal and informal sector

8.3.1 Knowledge exchange and cooperation relationship

A knowledge exchange relationship has been demonstrated, whereby operators gain experience from their networks over a number of years (see details in Chapter 5), which includes knowledge on how to access prime locations. Operators take time in learning from their friends and families before they can access these spaces. Knowledge about demand and supply of merchandise circulates among informal and formal operators. However in this study the knowledge exchange relationship was mainly through friendships developed over time between informal operators' and other operators, which then extend to the formal operators within the area. It was not directly linked to the family, as was the case in Mexico City or Kumasi. Nevertheless, knowledge exchange among informal operators is commonly linked to family ties which extend across the working space. As noted by Crossa (2009) Mexico City shows that there is high relatedness among operators, which has made them feel 'at home' where they work. The knowledge exchange also provides them with links to formal operators. Similar relationships were noted in Ghana, where Lyon (2007) stated that a learning relationship exists amongst informal operators in Kumasi, a relationship which is passed on from parents to their children. Assaad (1993) also observed knowledge exchange relationships in the construction sector in Egypt. The observation was of a system of informal apprenticeship which was achieved through personal ties. He also acknowledged that personal ties are necessary to allow the sharing of information, where it is not accessible to wide audience. In the process the information acquired becomes a function of one's stock of connections and access to networks (Assaad, 1993:929). Whether through family or friends, knowledge exchange is vital to formal and informal operations and further develops into a series of related cooperation, as discussed below.

The understanding between formal and informal operators extends to cooperation among themselves. One kind of cooperation shown in this study is that taking place between formal and informal operators which can be observed when formal operators use informal operators to sell their products. Informal operators receive merchandise from formal operators and some of them sell the products on at a price which includes the commission they will take from the sale. This type of cooperation is similar to that observed in Ghana, where informal operators gain access to merchandise on credit from formal operators (Lyon, 2007). The same observation was made in Mexico City's historic centre where operators sold shop owners' products in the street (Crossa, 2009).

With on-going trade liberalisation, capitalists have found markets for their products in the developing world where informal activities are prevalent (Roy 2010). It is evident that these manufactured products are being distributed locally by both formal and informal operators. In most cases, informal operators sell products which are legal and hence the informal sector aids in the distribution of formally produced products to consumers. In the case study informal operators sold a variety of products which they sourced from wholesalers who are grouped in the formal private sector. The cooperation benefits informal operators by allowing access to standard merchandise, and the formal operators also benefit by expanding the market for their products, which consequently increases their revenues.

Another form of cooperation is when formal operators have a formal agreement with informal operators to use the space outside their shops (see details in Chapter 6). Sometimes these arrangements are based upon a formal agreement. The types of arrangement vary greatly. However they include agreements based on an informal operator using the shop front at no fee, at an agreed monthly fee or in exchange for a service such as acting as a security guard for the formal shop owner. Other forms of interaction may be observed when informal operators use formal services to facilitate their daily operation. For example, services available to informal operators include storage services, for which a charge may be made, depending on the quantity of merchandise. The availability of this service has made things easier for the informal operators, especially when there is an eviction order from undesignated areas. They tend to hide their merchandise and as soon as the enforcement authorities withdraw, the informal operators return to the streets and it is business as usual. Formal operators also gain their income through this arrangement. It is two-way traffic, with all the operators benefiting from the arrangement. Similar arrangements were observed in Mexico City's historic centre, where formal operators allowed informal operators to use their amenities, while for their part, the operators played a security guard role when the shop owners were not around (Crossa, 2009). This arrangement can extend to the provision of refuge in cases of eviction and harassment.

Cooperation extends to access to financial services which are provided by formal institutions. The informal operators benefit by gaining access to bank services such as savings accounts and loans. The organisations which provide financial services to formal and informal operators provide the main linkage between these sectors. It is important to note that formal and informal financial providers such as banks, SACCOS,

NGOs and private money lenders interact with each other. Indeed, formal financial institutions provide loans to money lending institutions, particularly SACCOS and NGOs in this case, who then lend money out to individuals, as well as groups of informal operators. The informal money lenders who have access to formal financial institutions provide these services to informal operators in return for additional interest charges. Furthermore, the individual informal operators also keep their savings in the banks and hence contribute to the development of these financial institutions in one way or another. The government has influenced financial institutions to provide loans to informal operators through enforcing its microfinance policies (URT, 2000).

There is direct interaction between financial institutions and informal operators who borrow money from the banks or SACCOS. This direct link can be observed from operators who have small enterprises, most of which are not located in the case study area. The operators in the case study area were indirectly involved with financial institutions, as most of them reported having access to financial help from friends and relatives, who most likely had access to either formal or informal money lending organisations. However, the interaction was more visible in the form of savings, as operators kept their savings in the banks or used it as a rotating capital which they kept in informal savings schemes. These direct and indirect methods are the kinds of interactions that take place between informal operators and formal financial institutions. The limited cooperation between informal operators and financial institutions such as banks and SACCOS and was due to their inability to fulfil conditions for access to their services.

8.3.2 Regulation relationship

The regulation relationship occurs in two different ways. First, the regulation provided by the municipality sets rules, regulations and policies for informal operators, which facilitate the provision of working spaces and the regulation of their activities. From the informal sector the government gains in terms of employment opportunities and revenues from the collection of user fees/licences. This is true of almost all cities which face the informal sector problem. The formal sector was once believed to be the main source of employment, and it originally provided more employment. However, the development of the informal sector has shown its contribution in providing employment in urban and rural areas. As discussed in Chapter 2, following the years of adjustment, there has been a substantial reduction in government spending as a result of the closure of government-owned companies. This has led to a reduction of employment

opportunities as well as redundancy. In addition, reduced wages have made people take up work in the informal sector to gain additional household income. Moreover formal sector subcontracting has also influenced the development of the informal sector, and has assisted in reducing the costs of formal sector operations. Developing countries experience continuous development of the informal sector, which can be seen in the increasing numbers of people involved in these activities. Instead of viewing the formal and informal sectors as clearly separated, it is important to understand that there is a grey area between the formal and informal sectors, not only in types of employment but also in other aspects, as discussed in this chapter.

Secondly, the municipal authority receives regulatory support from informal operators' associations in terms of the allocation of spaces and provision of loans. Despite this, operators in this study are not very involved with operators associations; although the associations are actively involved in various activities to represent their members. Nevertheless, addressing issues concerning their members only is part of their role of participating in collective actions, which usually concentrate on the needs of their members but exclude 'free riders'. The regulation support identified in this study has been observed in other cities too. For instance, in Mexico City's historic centre, Crossa (2009) elaborated that operators' associations performed duties such as the allocation of working spaces. By contrast with the operators in this study, operators in Mexico City are highly organised into associations. This was initially influenced by the city authority, which urged operators to join their associations as a condition for gaining access to working spaces. Associations in Mexico City have close relationships with political parties, from which they gain political acceptance and the ability to negotiate with formal institutions. The operators' associations use these footholds to exploit cooperation with the political party by providing 'association power' which allows actions to be successfully implemented (Crossa, 2009). Operators' associations also exploit judicial power as a medium with which to gain access to working spaces in the relocation programmes. The political parties also maintain cooperation with the associations in return for their votes. The city of Cusco, Peru presents a case with similarities to this study (Steel 2012). In Cusco also, operators in permanent and semi-permanent spaces are more involved with their operators' associations than those working in temporary spaces. The disorganisation of operators in temporary spaces is influenced by the municipal authority; however the operators have made collective efforts, such as organised marches, to chant their demands. Al Alto City, Bolivia

provides a case similar to Mexico City where operators are highly organised, and fines are applied to those who do not belong to associations. A similar aspect in all these cases is that the operators' associations have been formed through pressure from the municipality. This calls attention to the argument raised by Bardhan (1989) that in some cases institutions are formed as a result of pressure from the dominant group, which sometimes aims at protecting its own interests and hence limits the organisations' efficiency. Although the operators' associations in this study were also formed on the basis of directives from the municipality, there is no indication that their operations are influenced by either the municipality or the politicians, by contrast with the cases from Latin America, which have shown an affiliation between political parties and operators' associations.

Figure 8.1 illustrates the cooperative, regulation and knowledge creation and exchange relationships which exist among stakeholders associated with the informal sector. However what is missing is the interconnection between these relationships. As noted in Chapter 4, the policy frameworks which govern public actors' operations and the results of this enabling environment end up creating the need to improve governance relations among them. Connecting up these relationships would strengthen the inclusion of all actors in decision making towards solving the problems of informal operators with respect to suitable locations, and rules and regulations which support these operations. As argued by Feinstein (2002), bringing actors together should aim to achieve the distribution of outcomes (in this case, the desired locations) to the groups involved.

The cooperation identified among stakeholders involved with informal livelihood activities is not dominated by a coordinating municipal structure. Operators' associations play roles such as representation, negotiation, providing loans and facilitating access to working space, in which they substitute for a number of municipal functions.

8.3.3 Regulation of informal activities revisited

The last two analysis chapters aimed to assess the ways in which informal activities in prime locations are regulated. The discussion has assisted in establishing the challenges which the municipality faces in the process of managing informal operators. The findings of this research indicate that municipal authorities employ a government regulatory model to provide working space for informal operators. The state intervention provides alternative forms of regulation in which the implementation is

carried out via strategies ranging from zero tolerance, to formalization, to tolerance. The government regulatory model entails that the Ilala Municipality is responsible for providing spaces for these activities, providing permits and collecting fees in the various locations. These findings are backed up by similar findings in Kenya, Ghana and Uganda, as elaborated by Mitullah (2005). However other institutions such as the financial sector, operators' organizations, friends and families, all contribute to the operational factor by providing services such as financial, information and moral support (Lyons, 2005; Mitullah, 2005). This kind of support is also evident in other countries such as South Africa, Kenya and Mexico (Peña and Frontera Notre, 2000; Mitullah, 2005; Davies and Thurlow, 2010). Unlike the case of Mexico city, where there are defined social institutions and groups which act as independent socio-institutional regulatory models, as proposed by Peña and Frontera Notre (2000), in the study area as these institutions' role is limited to playing a supportive role in facilitating access to spaces, capital and others. The operators' associations are yet to convince all informal livelihood operators to join the organisation, as occurs in other Latin American countries. At the same time, the operator organisations see a part of their role as being to exclude 'free riders'. The majority of informal operators, who face day-to-day challenges in their operations, still show no interest in such organisations. Nonetheless the interactions which exist within these socio-institutional groups suggest the interdependent nature of the formal and informal sectors.

Although the operators who adhere to the government regulatory model are more assured of their day-to-day operations than those who do not, the model has not been able to attract the majority of operators. The main challenge is the limited collaboration between the municipal authority and the operators or other institutions involved in these operations. A lack of collaboration limits the ability of the municipality to implement the strategies laid down. The failure to implement municipal policies, such as the relocation and city cleansing campaigns, is not only vivid in the study area but also in other cities such as Cusco, Mexico and Lusaka (Peña and Frontera Notre, 2000; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Hansen, 2010). Limited collaboration poses the risk of a continued failure of municipal policies. Such limitations are not only with respect to recognised institutions but also affect informal institutions which tend to be relatively small, such as the network of family, friends and relatives. The ILO (2004) also noted the strength of these informal institutions in Zambia and Thailand where informal means of collaboration were more acceptable to the operators. Limited collaboration

appears when each institution concentrates largely on how to further its own goals. For instance, an institution may be so focused in the provision of financial services or in allocating access to space that it overlooks how these goals relate to other institutions. There is a lack of collaboration in as far as the production of space is concerned. Limited participation exists in areas such as identifying issues and decision-making on the best locations for these activities. Despite the use of ideas provided by a collaborative planning approach in planning activities, the ideas are less reflected in the integration of informal livelihood activities in prime locations process. South African institutions, however, went far beyond institutional collaboration to the introduction of an independent management body for informal activities and the results were positive as they contributed to the integration of informal activities in Durban (Mitullah, 2005).

Another finding of this study concerns the setting of unworkable strategies. For over two decades now municipal authorities have been implementing relocation policies without any success stories, with the exception of a relocation reported in a recent study in the city of Zomba in Malawi (Kayuni and Tambulasi, 2009). In Latin America, Asia and Africa, relocation policies are paramount (Yatmo, 2008; Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Kamete, 2010). However, the markets constructed remain closed, which makes one wonder why the municipalities choose to pursue such policies when they know from experience that they will not work. This obsession with creating world class cities or attracting tourism, as the case may be, should be dealt with in a way that is in keeping with the operators' continued presence right in the heart of the cities, because they are there to stay.

The policies and regulations that are being developed go counter to the operation of informal activities in the prime locations, as the findings of this study and similar studies have revealed. The tendency of these policies to continue to frame the continued operation of these activities in city landscapes as unwanted renders their integration in prime locations far from likely. The barriers to this which local authorities confront include the use of unrealistic strategies, such as a relocation strategy, to tackle the issue of informal operators. Another challenge includes the lack of transparency in the allocation of working spaces in market buildings. The same issue was identified by findings from Lusaka, Zambia as demonstrated by the ILO (2004) and Hansen (2010), where municipal officials allocated unwanted spaces to users, which led the operators to go back to their old locations within the city centre.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the role of other stakeholders in regulating informal livelihood activities, which was eventually discussed in terms of the interactions between formal and informal institutions. The interactions have been discussed in detail in terms of institutional interactions, products, rules and policy. The findings acknowledge that the municipality plays a major role in all these aspects. However, the informal livelihood operators' associations, NGOs, and financial institutions also contribute to the shaping and control of these activities and also of their operators. The role of informal livelihood operators' associations was discussed, which included their facilitation of access to working spaces; however their focus is shown to be on their members only. In addition the associations have also secured a role representing their members on market boards and in municipalities. Furthermore the associations provide references for operators in their relationship with other organisations. The representation however is not well received by most of the operators involved with such associations. It is only a minority of operators who actually belong to such associations. Ironically non-members are the ones facing the most day to day challenges in their operations. Although the formation of operators' associations was pioneered by the municipality, some of the associations do not collaborate with the municipality as might be expected. It has also been shown that ignorance of the current informal rules among the networks of operators poses a challenge in the process of supporting the growth of their activities. The strategy for cooperation between formal and informal operators allows them to work in prime locations with or without the support of the municipality. It is important to coordinate these actors in the policy making process, by clearly defining their roles, and providing plans which are more relevant to the situation surrounding the informal sector, and hence providing a greater chance for success in the regulation and control of these activities. Lloyd-Jones (2004:49) suggested that for sustainable urban forms of cities in developing countries the established networking of people and their diverse economic activities should be 'recognised rather than being swept away, they should undergo environmental improvement.'

Key issues which surround these informal livelihood activities relate mainly to institutions and working spaces. The organizations involved in implementing these issues are less coordinated with, and less informed about, informal institutions, that they otherwise might use in the management and control process of informal activities. Ignoring these kinds of institutions has contributed to the failure to implement

progressive objectives which aim at fostering the development of the informal sector and spatial aspects related to their operations. In addition, limited involvement by informal traders in the relevant associations has affected the identification and implementation of effective strategies concerning the informal sector as a whole. Although formal policies are considered to be the main instruments in the management of informal activities, it is important to consider the relevance of informal arrangements in these processes, as most activities are undertaken in unauthorized areas outside of the influence of formal policies. Although informal arrangements are not written down, they play a major role in the process of accessing spaces and the management of informal activities. In particular, they provide directives on how these activities are carried out.

The following chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations of this thesis. The intention is to provide an overview of the findings identified in the foregoing chapters and to outline the way forward to key agents involved with informal livelihood activities.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and Recommendation: A Place for Informal Livelihoods

9.1 Introduction

'Informal livelihood operators not only participate in commercial exchange and urban politics but also shape the spatial organisation of cities. Instead of fighting that process urban planning should learn to take advantage of it.' (Cross and Karides, 2007:32).

For the past two decades urban managers have focused on relocation policies as an approach to clearing informal activities from urban prime locations. Numerous underlying factors can explain why urban managers continue to implement these policies, despite the existing literature which shows how they have failed in various contexts. This study therefore aimed to contribute to the debate from the perspective of the city of Dar es Salaam by going beyond dominant discourses of relocation to engage in a discussion on the struggle for urban space, in spite of the implementation of relocation policies. Much of the academic literature has conceptualized informal livelihood activities in relation to political transition, power relations and to a lesser extent, the impact of relocation policies. It is not the intention of this study to dispute previous accounts, but rather to strengthen the existing arguments by providing a detailed analysis of operators' scramble to access space in both designated and undesignated areas, where operators reoccupy previously occupied space. It also aims to re-examine government regulatory practices with a view to understanding how they enable and disenable informal livelihood operators in cities.

Extensive analysis of the appropriation and regulation of informal activities is done by looking at how such processes challenge municipal responses and consequently shape the city landscape. This work has confirmed that there is a lack of collaboration between the municipality and other stakeholders, especially when trying to integrate informal activities in prime locations. The study has emphasized that informal operators seem to be here to stay and continue to be part of the city landscape, as they are willing to use both legal and illegal means to ensure their presence in the urban realm. Thus, the municipality should try to better understand their persistence in order to integrate them effectively into municipal strategies and policies. This also calls for the municipality to

extend management and control of urban space and hence to collaborate with other stakeholders in the process.

9.2 Research question revisited

This study concentrated on analysing the appropriation of prime locations and the regulation of informal activities using the lived experience of those involved in the process. The analysis was based on the nature and extent of the struggle, the ways that operators negotiate access to prime locations, and the way the municipality regulates the production of space and manages the produced spaces. The discussion extended to the roles of, and relationships between, the operators and other non-governmental organisations. This final chapter aims to conclude by reflecting on the findings and their implications, as well as discussing how the knowledge produced can be applied and suggesting possible areas for further research. It seeks to show the relationship between the study's research objectives and its findings. The chapter is divided into five main sections: reflection on the research findings, discussion of the study's contribution to knowledge, reflection on theory, some suggestions for key agents and concluding thoughts.

In the past decade or so, literature on informal activities has concentrated on political, conceptual and theoretical underpinnings (in terms of power, policies and development of the sector). It highlights evictions and harassment and emphasizes the vulnerability of the operators, who are considered powerless. This study extended the debate by highlighting the means of accessing working space in designated locations, as well as the reoccupation of spaces in the aftermath of eviction and harassment (Chapter 2, 4). A key step in providing this explanation was the development of a conceptual framework and an empirical overview which showed how the scramble for space manifests itself, and how the municipality is involved in the process of producing spaces, and the various locations where operators make contact with the general urban residents who are interested in accessing them. The various bodies of literature reviewed included that on urban space, the informal economy and the relationship between urban spaces and informal activities. The focus was primarily on cities which have experienced relocation policies, in order to understand how access to space is either simplified or complicated after relocation. It was also important to develop an understanding of how the regulation of informal activities is achieved. Issues related to the government regulatory model, the

laissez-faire model and the socio-institutional regulatory model all formed part of the discussion.

The claims raised through this research were validated by triangulating the data obtained against information from other sources. To understand the struggle faced by informal operators, it was important to understand who they are and their main needs. Such knowledge can enable the researcher to go further in exploring how the operators go about getting their needs met and how far they are prepared to go to do so. This proposition could be better understood by using a critical realist approach to providing insights in a realistic context. The analysis of three ontological domains, namely empirical, actual and real, was important. The methodological flexibility of this approach allowed the use of both qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques in providing an empirical basis from which the researcher could draw conclusions about the issues around operators' socio-economic characteristics, desirable spaces, access to desirable spaces, and management and control of both activities and operators. Therefore, mixed methods were employed as a research strategy which furnished rich data for analysis (Chapter 3). One main tranche of participants were selected at local level, an involvement with informal livelihood activities being a prerequisite for their selection. The main data source was intended to be the testimony of the operators, who were urged to relate their day to day experience as informal operators and the successes and failures of relocation operations. The data obtained from the operators generated information on their socio-economic characteristics, access to desirable spaces, and relationships with the municipality, operators' organizations, shop owners and financial institutions.

The municipality was also a key participant in the research; the focus was on understanding their role in the management and control of informal activities and prime locations: the production of working spaces, access to space and service provision, and the policies which govern their operations. Other respondents, such as informal livelihood operators' associations both at national and local levels, were also key participants in this research based on their role in the management of informal livelihood activities. The data obtained from the leaders of operators' associations generated information on their role in the operation and management of informal livelihood activities; and the extent of their involvement with informal livelihood operators and the municipality. Data for this study was also collected from others who had conducted research into informal activities, which included investigating the

efficacy of strategies for managing informal activities applied by the municipality. The survey (face to face) and in-depth interviews (face to face, telephone and email) were used to collect information from the operators, municipal officials and experts in the field. Documentary reviews were also conducted, focusing on the municipal profile and policies, and the local newspapers were examined to understand how they portray the issues of informal livelihood activities, and to keep up with the on-going public debate. Observations of day-to-day operations contributed to a mapping exercise that was able to present the concentration of activities in different parts of the city. These techniques were used concurrently to confirm, cross-validate and corroborate findings.

It was important to employ mixed method techniques to overcome the limitations of using any single technique. The data gathered from respondents assisted in the analysis of the domain of human experience. Analysing the actual domain required understanding the discourse on issues related to the social relations of stakeholders concerned with urban spaces. The real domain was therefore produced and analysed to help generate casual mechanisms which created the factual basis for the findings and hence contributed to knowledge on the struggle for urban spaces.

9.3 Learning from informal practices

The findings of this study were divided into five parts. In the first part, the focus was on the context in which informal livelihood activities take place. The second part focused on the operators and their working space, the third part on the struggle to access working space, the fourth part on the role of the municipality, and the fifth part on the interface between formal and informal, covering the wide range of stakeholders involved with informal activities. The following sections provide a reflection on the major findings of each part.

9.3.1 The context in which informal activities take place

The findings of this section were guided by the first specific objective of the research: to analyse the context in which informal activities takes place. The aim was to provide insights drawn from the different experiences in other countries. The review of discourse on the context in which informal livelihood activities takes place indicated that informal livelihood activities are present in both developed and less developed countries. In developed countries this is influenced by the level of inequality among urban dwellers (Devlin, 2011). In addition, the increased production costs in these countries have prompted companies to subcontract their production to informal

companies, which explains the increase in these activities (Sassen, 2000). In these countries, such activities are more prevalent in migrant communities such as those of migrant Africans and Latinos. Where informal activities are carried out in prime locations, migrant communities are similarly more likely to be involved. The appropriation of working spaces is either by invasion or through a permit provided by the local authority (Chapter 2).

In less developed countries, informal livelihood activities are also more predominant in urban areas. The factors which contribute to people's involvement in such activities include: increasing unemployment in cities as a result of government failure to provide employment opportunities. This was partly influenced by the failure of less developed countries to undergo industrial development, which had been predicted to absorb surplus labour. The informality increased when neo-liberal policies were adopted in these countries, a course of action which resulted in the redundancy of many of those in employment, and a reduction in employment opportunities for the increased labour force. In addition, informal activities can provide extra income for households that are newly necessary, due to the reduced wage of the employed. Moreover globalisation has an impact on the increase of informal activities in the cities of the global south. Cities around the world are working hard to increase their competitive advantage so that they can attract investments. This need to create competitive cities has caused city authorities to take actions against informal activities, which are seen as an eyesore, creating public health problems and other forms of nuisance. The turn from government to governance in the bid to create first class cities has made city authorities join in partnership with private stakeholders to achieve their goal (Chapter 2).

Access to working space for informal livelihood activities is governed by three basic regulatory models: in places where operators are able to participate in land markets, and offer the bid rent, the model referred to is the market regulatory model. However this model is less often realised in most cities, because the operators cannot offer a bid rent that is acceptable in the market. Nevertheless, even where the model is applicable, non-bid rent activities also apply, such as bribing city officials or using guns to protect their territories. The use of bribes is common in both Latin American and African cases, while the use of guns is more common in Latin American cases. Using such measures will result in corrupt and unstable conditions. In cases of market failure, however, room is cleared for government intervention and hence working spaces are made available. The government regulatory model is applicable across cities in Africa. Owing to

challenges for the government regulatory model, the socio-institutional regulatory model has emerged whereby non-governmental organisations are created to address issues facing the informal operators. The socio-institutional regulatory model is predominant in Latin American countries, where operators' associations regulate informal operations within the established territories. A good example can be found in Mexico. In African countries operators' associations do exist, but they do not have a mandate to regulate informal activities as in the Latin American cases. Their role is more in terms of supportive activities towards their members, such as negotiation with the municipality (Chapter 2).

Both developed and less developed countries use specific regulatory approaches to address the issues of the informal livelihood activities. Such regulatory approaches are divided into two main parts, that is, in-space arrangements and in time arrangements. The most common in-space arrangement is the construction of markets. This strategy is used by most Latin American cases, such as Mexico City, the city of Cusco, Peru, in El Alto city, Bolivia and some African countries such as Zambia, Ghana and Kenya. The market construction strategy has been possible because of an established relationship of collaboration between city authorities and private investors. The result of such partnerships has influenced relocation policies across the cities; whereby operators are evicted from the prime locations within the city. The permit system is another strategy of in-space arrangement which the city authority uses to regulate informal activities. This strategy is common across all cities of developed and less developed nations. In Los Angeles and New York, for example, a permit system is widely used to allow informal operators to use spaces within the city. South Africa also uses a permit system to regulate informal activities in the cities of Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town.

In-time arrangements cut across all cities because these are the kinds of measures which city authorities use to keep informal operators either in or away from the prime locations. Clean-up campaigns and tolerance are commonly used in-time arrangement approaches (Chapter 2). Clean-up has its roots in the revanchist ideas pioneered long ago by New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani in the 1990s (Smith, 1999; Swanson, 2007; Slater, 2009).

The second part of this section is on the Dar es Salaam context. The study shows that informal activities in Dar es Salaam city existed before colonialism. During colonialism, along with the development of the city, the activities increased tremendously. However

the colonial government restricted the spread of informal activities across the city by enacting rules which prevented them. Despite the existence of such rules, which restricted operations and operators, informal activities continue to grow. After independence the government lifted some of the rules, such as those forbidding people from rural areas to settle in the city. Although some of the immigrants found jobs in the formal sector, others depended entirely on informal activities. The independent government controlled informal activities by using an in-time arrangement strategy, specifically clean-up campaigns, but the city authority did not, nevertheless, manage to achieve its goal. Informal activities spread across the city; however, the main attention was given to those activities taking place in prime locations. The situation worsened in the 1980s, and hence the government introduced initiatives to address these activities. This was done by enacting rules and regulations which specified how such activities should be undertaken. The in-space arrangement used at the time was the permit system. In the 1990s the city initiated the SDP, which worked on informal activities and other issues. Through the SDP, project markets were established and relocation policies were enforced, although without success. Nevertheless, the acceptance of these activities brought in policy reforms which have played a part in regulating informal activities. The policy framework is based on three main aspects: production of space, formalisation and provision of capital (Chapter 4). The policy reform has been partly influenced by changes which have occurred globally, such as the implementation of MDG. The regulation of informal activities is influenced partly by the government regulatory model, and partly by the socio-institutional regulatory model (Chapter 4).

9.3.2 Urban spaces and informal operators

This section's presentation of the findings was guided by the second research objective, on the analysis of the appropriation of prime locations for informal activities by informal operators in relation to the following research question: why do informal operators appropriate urban prime locations? Information was obtained on the operators' socio-economic characteristics and how they shape their understanding of the struggle to access prime locations. This was the focus of Chapter 5, where the age, marital status, gender and previous working location of the operators were established. In addition, the current location of their activities was examined, as well as the factors influencing their relocation to these spaces. The study found that the dominant age of operators ranges between 20 and 40 years, and they are mainly male in gender. These characteristics influence their involvement in informal activities in prime locations and hence show the

representation of youth and the extension of masculine space. Half of the respondents were married. The marital status of the operators was considered as an indicator of the responsibilities they have and their need for a working space as a result. The ability to generate income, however meagre, that allows them to attend to their social responsibilities, motivates them to carry on selling merchandise in prime locations.

The findings also indicated that the key criteria in informal operators' selection of locations for their spaces are the following: customers, accessibility, range of goods and safety and security. Informal livelihood operators are attracted to central places, which may be explained by central place theory. So locations that have historically been the hubs of activity may become attractive to them as places to trade. Locations are also shaped by other logics, such as concentrations of offices, educational establishments, government departments, or transport nodes. Prime locations attract mainly young people who are energetic and ambitious in tackling the problems of unemployment (Chapters 2, 4 and 5). The pressure from international policies (SAP) followed by the UN's Millennium Development Goals, which are applied to remedy the negative impacts of SAP, have together contributed positive and negative pressures. Responding to these pressures, young people have found prime locations in urban areas to be suitable places for them to eke out a living. The immediate economies of scale provided by these locations facilitate their ability to generate income, and thus render meaningful their involvement in the struggle. As a consequence, the struggle provides us with a new mode of producing spaces, other than the dominant formal mode.

The operators' ability to access prime locations has shown that they are able to reshape the city landscape. Space transitions occur between 6 am and 12 pm in terms of breaking the boundaries created by the municipality, as operators show material appropriation in terms of taking possession of vending structures, and consequently create the 'new city'. In this way, it can be said that operators have created a new city after working hours as they materially appropriate the street in prime locations (Chapter 5). This creation of the new city occurs when operators reoccupy the spaces they had previously occupied prior to the implementation of relocation policies. The vitality of informal operators is shaped by the networks established over time (friends, relatives, family and fellow operators). The experience gained through these networks is useful for knowledge about spaces, planned eviction and other aspects essential for their operations. These networks allow them to operate 'resourcefully' in a 'low-resource' environment. A combination of these characteristics and the need for a prime location

necessitates the struggle for access (Chapter 6). This struggle has kept a proportion of potential beneficiaries away from informal livelihood activities in prime locations. For instance, women are less likely to participate in activities within prime locations owing to the everyday challenges of eviction, harassment and relocation. Despite the undesirable working conditions, which make operators vulnerable to bad weather conditions such as high temperatures and rain, operators' activities in these prime locations do not appear to be abating. Their presence in prime locations has continued to redefine the city landscape (Chapter 5).

9.3.3 Appropriation of prime locations

This section of the research was guided by the study's second objective, with specific attention to the following research question: how do informal operators appropriate prime locations for their activities? It sought to investigate the means of accessing working spaces and its impacts on the operators and their relationship with other stakeholders. Despite the general understanding that unemployment triggers the individual's desire to be involved in the struggle for prime locations, there is more to it than that, and this study has uncovered other associated factors. The Ilala case presents a phenomenon in which there are two sets of locations for informal activities (designated and un-designated). It is important to note that the informal operators' failure to access working space is partly due to the failure of the market regulatory model. Informal livelihood operators are unable to offer bid rent to access the desired location for their activities. This market failure has justified intervention by the government. The municipality employs the government regulatory model to ensure access to the designated spaces. The main means of allocating working spaces is either through the municipality or through operators' organizations. However, the operators are not limited to this mode of accessing working spaces. The findings show that operators are better at deciding the location of their activities than is the municipality. The Mchikichini market provides such evidence, as it was identified by the informal livelihood operators themselves. After gaining political back-up from the Regional Commission Officer, the market started operation and ever since it has thrived by comparison with the municipally-led markets. The locational advantage of this market, which is at the border of the busy shopping centre of Kariakoo and Buguruni, has attracted operators and customers to it (Chapter 6). In addition, the operators' practice of subdividing spaces amongst themselves in the initial appropriation of Mchikichini market has shown their ability to understand their needs in terms of space and design. However, they face

challenges in providing a permanent vending structure for their spaces. The initial access to Mchikichini market was by invasion. This occurred after the operators' gained permission to use the space, and since there was no management team involved in the allocation process, early comers invaded spaces of their choice. Invasion is a prevalent mode of access to space in both designated and un-designated areas. It is up to the operators, depending on their abilities and established networks, to make a move in finding useable spaces (Chapters 5 and 6). In designated areas, where invasion has been observed, the municipality may or may not apply regulations and accept those who accessed the spaces through this approach. Nevertheless, such acceptance is only granted where the working spaces do not conflict with other uses, such as car parking spaces or other functions laid out in the municipal plans. In cases where invasion involves car parking spaces, operators are subject to evictions and harassment (Chapters 6 and 7). Other common means of access to space were by purchase and renting.

Purchase and renting provided the operators with security of tenure, although they are considered unlawful in municipality bylaws; the right to occupy would nevertheless be respected if the occupied spaces were previously obtained from the municipality or responsible allocation organisation (Chapters 6 and 7). In addition, access to working space is gained through permission given by individual shop owners to use the space at the front of their shop. In such cases operators would have to agree with the shop owner's conditions, which might be paying rent, acting as a security guard, paying no rent, and sometimes with no other requirements.

Access to undesignated areas operates through strictly informal means. There is no security of tenure in undesignated areas, in common with fellow invaders in designated areas, as both groups are subject to evictions and harassments by the municipal authority. The struggle to use either legal or illegal means of accessing space is a choice made by individuals in a bid to sustain their livelihoods and those of the number of dependants who usually rely on them (Chapters 2 and 5). The means of access to prime locations allows for operators to make a transition, which is in general differentiated according to whether it is by legal or illegal means. The operators, who decide to pass their space to an heir, or to dispose of it by sale or rental, engineer their own transition to the status of speculator, which is deemed illegal. When operators decide to continue with their operation to become an entrepreneur, however, the activity may prosper, decline or cease to be informal and this transition is deemed legal. The means of access defines the treatment the operator is likely to receive from the municipality. Despite the

fact that the only legal means is access through a responsible authority, the municipality imposes different treatment on illegal occupants. Harsh treatment has focused on operators who invade working spaces in both designated and un-designated areas, where their invasion contradicts municipal plans. Those who purchase or rent but have nevertheless accessed the space illegally; nevertheless receive no regulatory measures at any point of their operations (Chapter 6).

The means of access to working space is linked to the tension between operators and stakeholders, such as shop owners and the municipality. The tension is more likely to occur with regard to temporary spaces than permanent spaces. More than two thirds of the operators reported no conflicts with other space owners and fellow operators. Operators have attributed the reduction of conflict between them and shop owners and fellow operators to the change in working hours (Chapter 5). Since some of them use spaces after the shop owners have left the premises, there is no one to contest with. The tolerant approach exercised by the municipality towards the use of spaces after working hours also plays a part in reducing the degree of contestation between the operators and the municipality. The space sharing concept is at work in this process (Chapter 5). However, there were cases of tension between operators and the municipality which showed that those who accessed their working space by invading in either permanent or temporary locations were most affected.

The failure of the government regulatory model in incorporating the shared experience of the operators on what type of spaces they require, has contributed to this scramble for prime spaces (Chapter 5). Although the government regulatory model has incorporated the informal operators in some on-going policy reforms (Chapter 4), the reforms have solely focused on relocation as a means of integrating them into the city-wide economy (Chapters 4 and 7). The culture of informality is not only visible in income generating activities, but is widespread in housing, settlement development and land markets, as recently emphasized by Roy (2010) who highlighted the need to incorporate this culture in planning theory. It is important to stress that the ways which operators use to appropriate space contribute to their transformation (into entrepreneurs and space speculators), and the consequent change to the way their activities are labelled, from illegal to semi legal and sometimes to legal (Chapter 6).

9.3.4 Governance of space: the municipality and informality

This section of the research was guided by specific objective number three, which is focused on the following research question: how does the municipality regulate informal activities in prime locations? It analyses the strategies used by urban local authorities to produce space for informal activities and other means of fostering the informal economy. The municipal involvement with targets relating to informal activities corresponds to the implementation of the policy agenda of various sectors (Chapter 4). Although the country as a whole has made progress in policy reforms concerning informal livelihood activities, there are challenges which result from such policies which, consequently, limit the work of responsible implementation organs such as the municipality (Chapter 4). Having set the municipality's overall objectives on informal operation so as to formalise all activities and create decent work for municipal residents, the policies are unlikely to address the specific issues at stake rather than utopian aspirations. The setting within the municipality shows that activities concerning informal livelihood operators are divided into two parts, that is the operational and control levels (Chapter 7).

At the operational level, the departments involved include the Land and Town Planning Department, Hygiene and Environmental Department and the Finance and Trade Department. The findings indicated that each department performs its duty separately and without any direct interactions with each other. At the control level, the Environmental Working Group and the city police are together responsible for undertaking clean-up campaigns at street level to safeguard the streets and ensure environmental cleanliness. The ignorance of informality culture by the municipality has resulted in policies which class these activities as more informal than before. Through such processes, practising informal activities in un-designated prime locations is strictly illegal, as stipulated by municipal terms and conditions. The on-going policy reforms have consequently led to the abolition of the nuisance tax, which once permitted informal livelihood activities in the urban spaces of Dar es Salaam city on the condition of paying a fee (Chapter 4). The municipality employs two main strategies in dealing with the informal livelihood operators, that is, in-space arrangements and in-time arrangements. In-space arrangements are used as a means of producing spaces for informal livelihood activities. The arrangements include change of use, market construction, incorporating spaces in detailed planning schemes and relocation projects (Chapter 7). Limitations in the process of change of use, whereby spaces identified

contradict with other uses, for instance road and railway reserves, have made it difficult for such strategies to be implemented. A lack of communication between the departments responsible for change of use and the politicians who normally make decisions about locations on behalf of the operators continue to be a challenge in accomplishing this strategy (Chapters 6 and 7). The municipal attempt to implement a market construction strategy is not without challenges, which has so far hindered the full operation of the Machinga complex. Location and design issues continue to pose challenges in this strategy (Chapters 6 and 7). Social relations pose a challenge to the municipal strategies too. First, social relations within the municipality which enhanced rent seeking activity have posed threats to the operators who are supposed to benefit from the municipal market construction strategy. Secondly, the cooperation existing between the operators and their customers is yet another threat to municipal strategies, as customers continue to empathize with operators by buying their merchandise.

Unrealistic policies (relocation and clean-up campaigns) have not been implemented without resistance from the operators (Chapters 6 and 7). In addition, a lack of transparency continues to haunt the implementation of the government regulatory model. Contrary to the belief created by the SDP programme on participation of stakeholders interested in urban issues, a lack of collaboration between the municipality and the 'created stakeholder participation environment' has continued to limit the implementation of municipal policies and widened the gap between the various categories of informal operator (creation of sub classes) (Chapter 7).

Operators' organizations have provided services to their members, who are considered 'better off' than others; financial institutions have served those who pay back their loans, while the municipality continually concentrates on serving those who are served by the operators' organizations and financial institutions (Chapters 6, 7 and 8). The other category of informal operators remains marginalized in these processes, only to find relief when the politicians use their plight for their own political gain. The latter types of relationship exist primarily during the election period. All this challenges the government regulatory model. The interrelations which exist among these other stakeholders (financial institutions, formal operators and operators' associations) and the informal operators do not threaten their capability but, on the contrary, enhance their capabilities mutually (Chapter 8).

9.3.5 The interface: formality and informality

The findings on this section were also guided by the third specific objective, with specific attention to the research question: what is the role of and relationship between other stakeholders in regulating prime locations and informal livelihood activities? It also sought to analyse the success of these stakeholders in helping the informal livelihood operators. The findings show that non-governmental organisations are welcomed by the municipality in the regulation of informal livelihood activities. However there is no framework outlining the level of their involvement with the municipality. The operators' associations being the main stakeholder, they are involved in negotiating claims to space on behalf of their members. In addition, operators' associations provide loans and references to financial institutions for their members. It was also observed that locally recognised operators' associations are part of the market management board and hence represent their members in that team as well as linking them with the municipality. Ironically, there is little involvement of informal livelihood operators in these operators' associations. Those who reported their involvement were those operating in permanent spaces and having income of more than Tshs 100,000 per month (Chapter 8). Moreover, other operators' organisations indicated that they do not engage in any collaboration with the municipality. Their efforts to represent their membership receive no contribution from the municipality. There was no suggestion of operators' associations having an affiliation with the political parties, despite the fact that politicians sometimes take advantage of the operators' need for space to gain political power. The socio-institutional model identified in this study does not exercise total control or regulation of space. The informal livelihood operators' associations play a supportive, and sometimes independent, role in the regulation of these activities (Chapters 6, 7 and 8).

The findings also show that the understanding of rules and regulations does not only affect informal livelihood operators but also the leadership of their associations. Informal rules where applicable are well respected. Informal livelihood operators are less involved with formal financial institutions, as the finding shows less than five per cent of operators' accessed loans through such institutions. Friends and family are the main source of finance for informal activities, when required. Rotating saving and credit associations also play a role in finance assistance. These kinds of groups assist in strengthening community cohesion; however they pose challenges in terms of conflict when things go awry (Chapter 8).

The interface between the formal and informal sectors is largely based on the linkage between government and non-government institutions, formal businesses and informal operators (Chapter 8). There are three typologies of interface identified in this study. First, knowledge exchange and cooperative relationships; in this interface supply and demand of services was explored. Informal operators provide markets and revenues for formal operators, who in return provide merchandise and storage facilities for informal operators. This relationship does not conform to any neat stereotype, but rather involved a wide range of interactions. Operators share knowledge about business undertakings, for example when informal operators work as unwaged workers (Chapters 5 and 8). Consequently, these relationships foster the development of both sectors. A cooperative relationship occurs between the financial institutions and informal operators. For example, informal operators receive financial services such as loans and bank accounts, while financial institutions receive customers for their services. Another set of interfaces is the regulation relationship. This relationship focuses on the advantages provided by the municipality to informal operators which include rules, regulations and policy. Another dimension of the regulation relationship occurs in terms of the support received by the municipality from informal livelihood operators. The regulation relationship links operators, non-governmental organisations and the municipality. For example the municipality produces spaces for informal activities, and enforces rules and regulations about how to operate, whilst in return it receives revenues, and increases employment opportunities for informal operations.

Compared with operators working in temporary spaces, operators working within fixed working spaces have more interactions with both the municipality and non-government organisations. Those operating from fixed working spaces are advantaged in terms of access to finance from the organisation they are affiliated to. The operators' organisations play a role in representing their members to the municipality on various issues. One of the benefits of being involved with the operators' organisations is that through them, it is easier to access newly allocated spaces, as shown in Machinga Complex project (Chapter 6). Furthermore, involvement with the operators associations provides operators with opportunities to participate in an insurance scheme. In addition, their interaction with the municipality is generally positive. Informal operators who use temporary spaces largely depend on their own internal networks and on other wealthier individuals, primarily shop owners, for access to working space and finances (Chapters 5, 6 and 8). As indicated earlier, there is limited collaboration between the municipality

and other actors with respect to these responsibilities, which hence poses a challenge to the whole process of accessing prime locations and informal operations in these locations (Chapter 7). It is important to note that the relationships discussed above are not directly influenced or regulated by the municipality.

9.4 Discussion of contribution to knowledge

The aim of this study was to analyse the appropriation of prime locations and the regulation of informal livelihood activities. Moreover the nature and extent of the scramble for space, as well as its causes and effects were illustrated throughout. The research has applied a critical realist research approach, with elements of land use and location theory, Just City theory and collaborative planning theory, for the analysis. The following subsections discuss those concepts which have been developed within the Tanzanian context.

9.4.1 Production of space

Previous work reviewed in this study has contributed to knowledge developed on the subject of urban space, with the long-established land use, central place and location theories providing a basis for understanding spatial organisation of activities and people. Although on-going technological developments in terms of transportation and communication put into question the relevance of these theories, this basic understanding is still appropriate in cases such as identifying the location for informal livelihood activities. Through this lens, this study has expanded understanding of the informal mode of production of space by identifying the factors which attract operators to a particular location. However, the meaning of the informal mode of production of space is also produced and reproduced through the formal system. The Mchikichini market case shows operators' ability to identify such a location and negotiate its occupancy as a powerful alternative way of producing space for informal activities. The locational advantages of this market lie in its being in close proximity to the Kariakoo shopping area and the Ilala and Buguruni areas, which are densely residential areas; in there being two markets in close range to this market; and in its accessibility from all parts of the city – together these factors have made it a perfect location for informal livelihood activity. The operators managed to subdivide working space in that area and to materially appropriate it by constructing their own vending structures, up to the point where the municipality intervened in the operation. The municipal intervention has, however, been criticised by operators when it questioned the subdivision which had

already taken place. This has shown that operators know what they need and how to achieve it. The Mchikichini market is one of the successful markets to be established in a prime location since the municipality started working on informal economy issues. The production of space for informal livelihood activities is part of social, social-political and socio-economic processes which allow informal operators to sustain their livelihoods.

Production of space extends to the creation of a new city which occurs after normal business hours. The informal operators materially appropriated space by providing their own vending structures and, through informal management arrangements, protected the location and hence considered it their own. Municipal officials have so far appreciated the initiative of these innovations and have applied in-time arrangements with the operators for them to continue working in these locations. This study suggests that decisions about where to locate informal activities reached by the operators themselves, based on their lived experience, should be given priority in this process of space production, to reduce cases of harassment and a waste of the resources involved in the whole process. Despite the historical rhetoric framing these activities as ‘undesirable elements’ in Dar es Salaam city, as noted by Burton (2005), the space occupied by informal operators continues to shape the city landscape. Roy (2010) highlights the informal production of space which is evident in less-developed countries. Although Roy’s focus was on informal settlement development, her claims could be extended to informal livelihood activities, using the examples of the two cases presented above. The material appropriation and social appropriation of prime locations by operators provides the basis for extending this claim. The formal mode of space production has shaped the way society understands informal activities and operators. The socio-economic characteristics of an individual play an important role in the way production and consumption of urban space is perceived. Cross and Karides (2007) also agree that informal activities help to shape spatial organization.

In Dar es Salaam, the production of space and who should have access to space is controlled by the Urban Planning Act (2007) and the authority responsible for this production is the municipal authority under the Land and Town Planning Department. Section 19 of the Urban Planning Act (2007), advocates for stakeholder participation in the production of space. This could be strengthened by considering the lived experience of the operators, and in particular considering the informal mode of production of space, as until recently the implications of this Act on informal livelihood activities have

remained largely unconsidered by the planning and design discipline. This thesis suggests exploring the spatial organisation of informal activities from an informality perspective. The basic principles of location and central place theory can continue to be used and to shed light on the actions of municipal personnel responsible for planning issues. This approach provides some remedies to the problem of inaccessible spaces which do not necessarily conflict with the legislative system, economic development opportunities and design techniques. The production of space through informal mode processes occurs every day at different scales, be it in housing markets, settlement development or market transactions. Therefore integrating these activities into the city-wide economy requires an enabling environment which does not necessarily have to decentralise the activities to peripheral areas but rather depends upon critically interpreting the existing everyday practice of informal operators, such as cooperation with other individuals, family, friends, customers and established shop owners who assist them in establishing the material and social appropriation of space.

Access to space

This study has expanded understanding of the changes which informal livelihood operators undergo in the process of accessing space for informal livelihood activities. The market regulatory model, whereby bid rents regulate access to aspired-to locations, has failed the informal operators, because they cannot offer competitive rents or sometimes because they only offer non-bid rent. Under this model, the kinds of operators who have the ability to make a profit and control their space are the ones who are able to protect their working spaces. For example, persistently following up the issue of the temporariness or permanent-ness of Mchikichini market, and lobbying the municipal mayor and the prime minister, who later granted the required assurances, was one way used by the operators to protect their working space.

Where operators fail to fit into the market regulatory model, invasion becomes inevitable. Because the market failed to distribute resources efficiently, the government regulatory model intervened in such processes by issuing licences/permits, allocating space and establishing standards of operation, such as acceptable vending structures. The regulation failed due to imperfect information, bureaucratic procedures and political interference. Nevertheless, the government regulatory model outlines rules and regulations which govern space distribution. The Ilala case showed that few individual operators were allocated spaces through this model. Accessing to working spaces either

by invasion or allocation by a responsible authority has some implications for the operators and the government regulatory model. Operators who accessed spaces in the locations allowed by the municipality have shown the desire to advance their informal operations, for instance by becoming involved in selling, renting, and passing their space on to their heirs, a practice which is illegal according to Ilala Municipal Bylaw (2011). For those allocated spaces, the act of transferring them to a third party, through whatever method, makes them on a par with other speculators in land market practices. Operators who gain access to working space through speculators are not as much scrutinised as those who access space through invasion. The study shows that access to space demands fair treatment for operators accessing space via both kinds of illegal means. The municipality is required to use the rules and regulations it has developed by enforcing them fairly to both kinds of illegal occupants. The Ilala Municipal Bylaws (2011) provide directives on this kind of illegality, and therefore enforcement would allow them to achieve the goals set through such regulations. Spaces allocated to informal operators are free and they are only required to pay a user fee in cases of municipality-led projects. Markets resulting from Public Private Partnerships (PPP) with the municipality make operators pay rent for using the space. But none is charged the lump-sum payment to those stalls. In addition it is shown that accessing municipality-led projects is less costly compared with PPP led projects. This has become up to five times more expensive than municipal-led projects, because there is an expectation of recouping the money used for the construction of the market, as shown in other cities, such as Cusco, Peru. In contrast, the municipality-led project only requires informal livelihood operators to pay a daily user fee.

Garcia-Rincon (2007) observed operators in Caracas, where spaces allocated to operators were sold as products in markets. She argued that the right to work could be acquired through informal market transactions. As raised in this section, failure to enforce the rules and regulations effectively gives rise to a situation which Garcia-Rincon (2007:53) refers to as 'de facto market rent'.

9.4.2 Regulation of prime locations

This study has shown three regulatory models for the regulation of informal livelihood activities. The market regulatory model can benefit only those few operators who are able to offer bid rent to access working spaces. This model is reproduced when the government regulatory model fails to regulate access to space as required. The reproduction of the market regulatory mode occurs as operators undergo the transition

to become speculators who later perform informal space/land transactions, which ultimately end up benefiting those operators who can offer the highest rent. The government regulatory model was revealed to face challenges which limit its performance in producing space as well as in regulating informal activities. These challenges included limited collaboration and a lack of transparency in the allocation of spaces. The limitations were provided by policies and regulations. Despite the fact that Tanzania is among those countries recognised for undergoing reform towards pro-poor policies, the ambiguity resulting from the dynamics of informal livelihood operators poses a challenge in achieving the set goals and objectives for such policies. Social relationships limit the performance of the municipality as they encourage rent seeking activity among the municipal personnel responsible for the allocation of working spaces. Social relationships extending to those between the operators and the customers also threaten the municipal strategies to relocate the operators to peripheral areas.

The study emphasises the innovative ideas which should be incorporated in the management of urban space. The concepts of Just City theory can be used to explore the options beyond the municipality as the sole regulatory model. This involves creating urban spaces where all entities are incorporated, including extending access to prime locations to informal livelihood operators. The process should include the collaboration of a wide range of actors as follows: operators' associations, financial institutions, municipalities and operators' informal networks (friends, families, relatives), from which a framework would be developed specifying the role of each stakeholder in the process of regulating the production and consumption of urban space.

This study has extended the concepts by looking at the role of the municipality as the main government regulatory model and examines the challenges which the municipality encounters in confronting operators' lived experience. This suggests that management challenges experienced by the municipality must be voiced in the management and control process. Furthermore, this approach identified the stakeholders who play different roles in facilitating the operations of the informal operators. The ability to play these roles entails the possible formulation of an independent body for the management and control of urban space. This strategy provides the regulatory model with knowledge that can complement specific challenges in the respective study area. In part the municipality should play an intermediary role, rather than the main regulatory role. Recently Mitullah (2005) praised the management operations of South African cities, which employ a different regulatory model than the government one for their approach

to managing informal activities and urban spaces. If this challenge is taken on board, the suggestion put forward by this thesis and by Roy (2010) emphasise the need to allow the informal mode of space production to focus on the specific issues of people and places in a specified context. According to Roy (2010) more attention is placed on the creation of formal spaces by converging the top-down and bottom-up approaches, with the municipality carrying the role of creating spaces and managing them. This thesis has sought to develop an alternative approach to the government regulatory model. In addition, since informal livelihood activities are perceived by the municipality as an 'unwanted landscape', causing them to operate vigorous clearing strategies against them, it is important to start from this point to understand the struggle involved in being part of the city landscape. This understanding could be established from an individual point of view and extended to the wider city scale.

Other stakeholders have been able to justify their existence in the management of informal livelihood activities, demonstrating the wider impact of the services they offer: including operators' organizations (challenging the rules and regulations, providing loans, assistance with accessing spaces); informal networks (creating a new city image, providing capital, regulating the un-designated spaces); and other financial institutions. The services provided by these organizations have so far had a significant impact on informal operators and have been recognized by the municipality. These achievements need to be set beside those of the municipality. Simply recognizing the ambition of informal operators in terms of the need to cope with urban unemployment is not enough; their integration in prime, rather than peripheral, locations is therefore paramount. Prime locations for informal livelihood activities are limited, and as shown, if left to the market regulatory model; disadvantaged operators are likely to be permanently excluded from such spaces. It is also important to take advantage of the availability of other stakeholders who have come forward to assist in the process. Although they are yet to mobilise all operators through membership of the associations, the latter have a recognisable role to current members. Ultimately this study's findings agree with the position taken in the work of Madanipour (2004:282), which suggests the need for a different approach to manage the way people use space within a specific context: 'Public space by its nature is neutral, which is useful in allowing different activities to take place there. However its neutrality also means it may need extra frameworks to allow for a shared use of its space when conflict of interest arises'. Although his focus was the use of public space, the idea can be developed into understanding the use of

prime locations for informal livelihood activities. Bringing together the stakeholders involved with informal operators by outlining the extent of their involvement and a framework to guide their involvement would provide additional support for the appropriate integration of these activities in prime locations.

9.5 Reflection on theory

This work has drawn from a number of discourses to discuss the theoretical perspective used in this study. First, the literature on urban spaces in terms of production and consumption (Chapter 2), and secondly, the informal sector literature (Chapters 2 and 4). The latter body of literature mainly explores the conflict between informal livelihood activities and the municipality while documenting the incidence of evictions and harassment (relocation projects) as the main focus of the studies. Section 2.6 of this thesis has shown the sort of documentation scholars have provided on the failure of relocation policies, which have been linked to political transition, tourism, gentrification and other factors. Section 2.5 drew on the propositions of the regulatory models which the respective municipalities employ in the process of addressing the issues around informal activities. As its main area, this study has aimed to contribute to understanding the operators' struggle to access working spaces in either designated or undesignated areas, so as to show the ramifications of these struggles and how they inform a call for a new management approach. For this reason, Just City theory and the collaborative planning approach were used to bring about relevant ideas and concepts in the discussion of the socio-institutional regulatory model.

Using Just City theory, this thesis has argued that the scramble for prime locations, in a bid to sustain informal livelihoods, results in the production of new spaces which challenge the existing government regulatory model. The production of new spaces to accommodate unwanted landscapes has intensified because of the continuing pressure of unemployment among urban residents, largely due to the inability of the municipality to provide enough employment opportunities. This has been exacerbated by the differential provision of working space in prime locations, as exemplified by the clean-up campaigns (relocation policies) used by municipalities. The municipality produces urban spaces which have manifested inequality and created classes of informal operators. In this regard, Bromley (2009) argues that, because the municipality concentrates on pushing informal operators towards peripheral locations which of course do not match the factors that would naturally influence their choice of working

space – factors which can easily be understood from the perspective of central place theory and land use theory – certain ramifications are evident. It is this policy which continues to influence the negative way the municipality relates to informal operators. These views have been largely confirmed by this study, since the same policies have influenced the way Ilala municipality has responded to the occupation of prime locations by informal operators. As a result, the challenges faced by the operators in accessing space in designated areas have given them no option other than the rebellion they continue to manifest.

The collaborative planning approach offered a breakthrough in allowing appreciation of the contribution made by informal livelihood activities and therefore influencing views about how their integration into urban space should be undertaken. The participants in the SDP project developed plans for informal activities and identified markets for operators which were put forward after relocation took place. However the locations selected were unfavourable and thus some markets ultimately closed down. This questions the suitability for the task of those taking part in that process, raising the possibility that they were not the “affected people” (operators), who would undoubtedly have understood the locational issues and put forward appropriate proposals. The strategies agreed by the participants did not guarantee good-enough plans that would be widely accepted. It could be suggested that the collaborative planning approach has impacted on the role of planner as facilitator, and the formation of operators’ organizations also corresponds, although to a lesser extent, by incorporating the lived experience of operators, especially in the prime locations. However, the participation of other key stakeholders was limited. The emphasis on the role of planning in the collaborative approach has to some extent limited the participation of other stakeholders (the operators’ organisations, financial institutions, informal networks, politicians, private businesses), who concentrate on working separately and not as a single entity as revealed in this study. This limitation confirms the criticism put forward by Feinstein (2000), regarding the level of democracy advocated by collaborative theorists. The evidence analysed in this thesis has suggested that a gap exists at the level of collaboration in regulating urban spaces in cities which host informal livelihood activities where the government regulatory model is dominant. This gap centres on the managerial and control context which drives and conditions the struggle for prime locations and its impact on urban spaces and individuals and how the municipality and other stakeholders respond to rectify the situation.

9.6 Some ideas for key agents

This section suggests an approach to how the appropriation and regulation of informal livelihood activities should be carried out. Consideration is also given to the policy rules and regulations which currently shape these processes. This approach incorporates potential reform to the government regulatory model that could steer the production and allocation of space, as well as regulation of informal livelihood activities.

9.6.1 Design and academic professional

There has been increasing research on informal activities and operators' day-to-day struggles for access to prime locations. The operators have shared their lived experience, which has informed us of their need to access prime locations. However, the increasing body of knowledge generated through these testimonies has subsequently been ignored or under-articulated by planners and other decision makers (Chapters 2 and 7). In the process of production and consumption of space, the professionals manifest a lack of familiarity with the knowledge the operators have shared. The design professionals (planners/architects) are urged to take this experience to the next level into their day-to-day operations. It should rank high on the research agenda. In the development of course syllabi and pedagogy for urban design and planning students, curriculum developers should take into consideration the importance of informal livelihood activities. This knowledge having been incorporated by urban design students, it is likely to be reflected in municipal redevelopment schemes and new detailed schemes, once these trained personnel are employed by the municipality. Reference should be made to how the curriculum has integrated the regularisation of informal settlements, to see how the experience can inform design principles. Moving towards this stage would provide students with an understanding of the operators' need to access prime locations.

Incorporating the needs of informal operators into urban design would contribute to solving the problem of accessibility to these locations, without considering informal activities as a separate entity or 'undesirable landscape' which requires separate policies. Having the needs of operators included as part of cities' urban design would minimize the extra resources that need to be set aside to deal with their impacts. The understanding gained by listening to the operators included their clear intention to make themselves part of the city landscape. However, they perceive the municipal strategy of considering them to be part of the city landscape only in non-strategic locations as down-playing their shared knowledge. They would greatly appreciate it if this shared

experience were incorporated into urban design studies and practices. As suggested by Cross and Karides (2007:29), urban design professionals "...must look at ways in which space can be redefined and localized, not to eliminate the notion of 'appropriate' behaviour but to recognise that each area requires its own notion of appropriateness".

9.6.2 Operators and organisations

The implications of the findings of this thesis provide a direct challenge regarding the role and operations of operators' associations (Chapter 8). While the Ilala case shows a wide gap between operators' organizations and operators in undesignated areas, this understanding highlights the need for organisations to extend their services to be more inclusive. The associations are, therefore, urged to extend their services to those operating in undesignated spaces so that they too can be attracted to join these associations and benefit from their representation. One of the strategies which could be used is to reduce the monthly membership fees, because as the income of those in undesignated spaces, as shown in Chapter 5, is too low to pay as much as those in designated spaces. This would be the most logical step for these operators, because most of the conflicts tend to occur in undesignated areas. Extending their operations to this 'marginalised group' would result in mutual benefits for both parties and elicit more support in both designated and undesignated areas. It would also be important to refer to solid waste management projects and upgrading projects to learn how those affected got involved. Both formal and informal groups participate in the collection and disposal of waste across the city. As the services offered by the formal waste collection groups are of higher quality than those available from informal groups, lessons on how to achieve this will be useful for the operators' associations. Community-based organizations have facilitated the implementation of solid waste management projects within these areas (Kassim, 2009). The organisations which manage to bring the affected individuals under their aegis would therefore provide room for a proxy involvement by such individuals in the kinds of management issues which have so far been extended to these organisations, and hence towards forming a concrete framework for interdependence which is currently missing.

9.6.3 The Municipality

As an alternative to the government regulatory model, the municipality should devolve some of its management and control activities to the operators' organizations and to other concerned institutions (financial institutions, informal networks) involved with informal activities. The sharing of its responsibilities would provide room for

collaboration with these stakeholders. Accommodating the shared experiences of informal operators and their networks would be vital to increasing the inclusiveness of the whole process. The findings from Ilala revealed the existence of separate working environments, where each department operates on the basis of its own objectives. This ability to provide services could be extended to management and control issues. Empowering informal operators' organisations and informal networks would mean a shift to a management framework which allows these stakeholders to collaborate together in the management and control of these activities. Collaboration among these stakeholders will enhance transparency in issues such as the allocation of spaces to operators and ultimately implement a framework which addresses equity, growth and sustainability while maintaining participatory systems of governance. Just as the municipal director established the Environmental Working Group in 2010, the same approach can be used to establish a Steering Committee exclusive to informal livelihood activities within the municipality. Suitable personnel should be drawn from the Land and Town Planning Department and Finance and Trade Department, and their remit should be centred on informal livelihood activities and to addressing issues of production and access to working spaces.

The personnel from the Finance and Trade Department would be responsible for dealing with issues of permits and licences, and the translation of policies, rules and regulations in that area. Meanwhile those from the Land and Town Planning Department would be responsible for the production of space, and the translation of policies, rules and regulation in that area. This Steering Committee should also include informal livelihood operators' representatives at each stage of its operations, and as suggested in section 9.6.2, each stakeholder should be provided with terms of reference to guide their collaboration as they address the issue of informal livelihood activities. This concurs with Lloyd-Jones and Carmona (2002:208) suggestions for an 'action planning' approach to core areas (with an outside organization as an intermediary), whilst enabling the community to take an active role in managing the development process and negotiating to defend its best interests.'

Because the operators' associations already exist, it would be useful to empower them with the skills to participate in Steering Committee activities. Although in some Latin American countries, operators' organisations have sole control of particular locations,

where they manage access to space and regulate activities, the study is not advocating this kind of control, but rather insists on the participation of the operators' associations in the Steering Committee, as well as occasional representations from finance sector organisations. In addition, it would be useful to involve representation from undesignated locations, in the form of individuals whose fellow informal operators view them in the role of leader, so that they can share their experiences in the management of these activities.

This Steering Committee should have regular meetings to evaluate the operation of the informal activities, as well as discussing ideas on how to solve any problems that arise. The existence of such a Committee, which will be focused exclusively on informal activities, will be beneficial because it is likely to reduce the misunderstandings that arise from a lack of coordination between different undertakings at the municipal operational level, as well as at the level of operators' associations' involvement with the municipality. This would also allow the incorporation of useful ideas from non-state actors. It will legitimate the Committee if it is set up as part of the municipality, and hence render the participating stakeholders accountable to the decision making process.

9.7 Areas for further research

The focus for this study was on informal operators' competition to access prime locations. This line of enquiry has various aspects which could not possibly be exhausted by this study alone. This opens the way for further research activities to expand knowledge in this area as required. In this regard, therefore, a number of areas for further study have been identified and outlined which could provide further understanding to enlighten policy decisions towards addressing the issues surrounding urban space and informal livelihood activities as outlined below.

- Space-sharing Concept: the sustainability of the 'new city' night markets

To incorporate ideas for social innovations in the planning, management and control of urban spaces and informal activities, a more detailed study of night markets in the urban spaces of Dar es Salaam city would be necessary. Studying the sustainability of night markets would be useful in providing information on how to manage and control the issues resulting from this new landscape in the city.

- Implications of integrating other stakeholders in the management of working spaces for informal activities

This study proposed new management and control frameworks over working spaces for informal activities. It is important to undertake a detailed study of the implications of such frameworks on the whole process. The findings could be useful for informing sectoral policies and practices.

- Links between tourism and informal livelihood activities

This study emphasised the need for informal operators to continue working in prime locations in Dar es Salaam city. It would be helpful therefore to provide links between informal livelihood operators and the tourism industry to provide a common ground where these sectors could complement each other, as these sectors continue to provide a source of livelihood to city residents, as demonstrated in the findings from the literature on the city of Cusco, Peru and in Singapore (Henderson *et al.*, 2012; Steel, 2012a).

9.8 Concluding thoughts

This thesis began with a rather mystifying question. Despite the on-going relocation programmes, why was it that operators continued in their struggle to access prime locations? It was therefore interesting to explore how the competition for prime locations takes place, including analysing other supporting information on the socio-economic characteristics of the operators and the qualities of the prime locations selected. The analysis also led to a consideration of how the municipality regulatory model is practiced and to what extent the interaction between the municipality and social institutions affects how the scramble for prime locations is managed and controlled. Throughout this thesis it has been argued that the struggle for prime locations is highly embedded in all aspects of society, including economic, social, environmental and political dimensions, and that the informal operators' conditions of existence compel them to seek an informal way of life. The struggle therefore shapes their opportunities in all these processes, as the processes also are shaped by transactions and relationships with the broader environment. The struggle for prime spaces is shaped by both formal and informal social structures. In addition, operators' occupation of prime locations continues to redefine the city landscape for as long as such operations continue to be the only mechanisms through which the urban poor can provide for themselves. The political changes which result from municipal involvement

in the mode of production of working spaces have limitations which facilitate other 'informal modes of space production'. Although the government expresses contradictory positions towards the appropriation of space in prime locations, the cooperation between informal and formal operators provides more room for the growth of these activities, and can go as far as policy reform responses. However the current gaps in understanding of the use of appropriated space continues to limit political responses in terms of policies towards the regulation of formal and informal activities.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Survey Questionnaire

CONFIDENTIAL SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE
FOR ACADEMIC RESEARCH USE ONLY



UNITED KINGDOM

This survey is part of a research on **Struggle for Space: Appropriation and Regulation of Prime Locations in Sustaining Informal Livelihoods in Dar es Salaam City, Tanzania**. Please fill in this questionnaire and answer the questions as accurately as possible. All information provided will be treated in strict confidence for academic purpose only.

Thank you

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Section I: Personal profile

Gender of the respondent

1.

1	Male
2	Female

Marital Status of the respondent

2.

1	single
2	married
3	widowed
4	Separated
5	divorced

Please tick the box against your Age

3.

1	15-20
2	21-25
3	26-30
4	31-35
5	36-40
6	41-45
7	46-50
8	51-55
9	56-60
10	Above 60

Occupation Status of the respondent

4.

1	Full- time employed
2	Part-time employed
3	Self- employed
4	Unwaged worker

Have you worked before in different job?

5.

1	Yes (specify)
2	No (specify)

Section II: Previous and current working condition

Where did you work before moving to your present space

6.

1	Other places in Dar es salaam (specify)
2	Another city (specify)
3	Another town(specify)
4	Village(specify)

In what type of stall did you work before moving here?

7.

1	Big shop
2	ordinary stall
3	Pushcart
4	Sackcloth
5	Hawking

Did you own previous stall?

8.

1	Yes
2	No

If Yes

Did you own your previous stall?

9.

1	Owned through purchase
2	Owned by parents/relatives
3	Privately rented
4	Publicly rented
5	Owned through social capital
6	Others (Specify)

How much space did you occupy at the previous store?

10.

How important are the following factors in your decision as to work where you work?

Availability of customers

Accessibility

Range of goods/services

Safety and security

11.	1	2	3	4
	Not important	Least important	important	very important

How much space are you currently occupying?

12.

Do you own the space?

- 13.
- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1 | Owner |
| 2 | Tenant |
| 3 | squatter |

Are there other people who use the space in your absence?

- 14.
- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1 | Yes |
| 2 | No |

If Yes

Who are they? What do they do with it?

- 15.
- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| 1 | Same as me |
| 2 | Different (specify) |
| 3 | Don't know |

Section III: Access to space

How did you know about this space?

- 16.
- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1 | Friends and relatives |
| 2 | advertised |
| 3 | others-specify |

How did you acquire this space?

- 17.
- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 1 | Purchased from original owner |
| 2 | Allocated by the municipality |
| 3 | Allowed by the shop owner |
| 4 | Invaded |
| 5 | others-specify |

If you purchased from the original owner what were your criteria for purchase?

- 18.
- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1 | Price |
| 2 | Proximity to services |
| 3 | Size and location |
| 4 | others |

How much did it cost?

19.

If the space was allocated to you how long did you wait to get it? 20.

What was the criterion by which the land was allocated to you? 21.

1	According to my position on the list
2	Bribing the allocating committee
3	Others-specify

If allowed by land owner/shop owner what type of arrangement do you have with him/her 22.

1	To act as a security guard									
2	To pay rent	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: top;"> <tr><td style="width: 30px; text-align: center;">1</td><td>Every 6month</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td>monthly</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: center;">3</td><td>weekly</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: center;">4</td><td>daily</td></tr> </table>	1	Every 6month	2	monthly	3	weekly	4	daily
1	Every 6month									
2	monthly									
3	weekly									
4	daily									
3	No particular arrangements									
4	Others									

Do you have a contract with the owner? 23.

1	Written contract
2	Verbal agreement
3	Both verbal and written contract
4	others-specify
5	No contract

For how long are you allowed to use this space? 24.

1	0-6 month
2	7-12 month
3	13-18 month
4	Above 18 month

Have you had any dispute with the current land owner? 25.

1	Yes
2	No

Have you had the following problems in your current working space? 26.

1	2	3
Not at all	A little	A lot
Dispute between fellow operators		
Dispute with space owner/shop owners		
Dispute with the municipality		
Dispute with service providers		

What was the main reason/s for dispute?

- 27.
- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 | The need for the same space |
| 2 | Late payment |
| 3 | City cleaning |
| 4 | Competition with shop owner |
| 5 | Waste disposal |
| 6 | noise |
| 7 | Others (specify) |

How often do disputes occur?

- 28.
- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| 1 | Once a year |
| 2 | Once in six month |
| 3 | Once in three month |
| 4 | Once a month |
| 5 | Once a week |
| 6 | Once a day |
| 7 | others-specify |

What do you do when dispute occurs

- 29.
- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1 | Fight |
| 2 | Report to shop owner |
| 3 | Report to the organisation |
| 4 | Report to the municipality |
| 5 | nothing |

If dispute occurs, at what point do you go to the police?

- 30.
- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1 | Straight away |
| 2 | When fail to reach agreement |
| 3 | never |

If you would not go to the police, what is the reason?

- 31.
- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Not sure where to go |
| 2 | Cannot afford the cost |
| 3 | Do not trust police |
| 4 | Do not like attitude of police |
| 5 | Do not want to get involved with the police |
| 6 | Cannot leave work |
| 7 | others-specify |

Would you regard the space acquisition easy?

- 32.
- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 1 | easy |
| 2 | difficult |
| 3 | others-specify |

Section IV: Change of Space

Would you be willing to move to another place in the future? 33.

1	Yes
2	No

If NO go to question 35

What sort of space would you prefer to move into? 34.

What are the main reasons for not moving? 35.

1	I have permission to work here
2	There are no customers in other places
3	It is easy to get merchandize here
	security
	I have the loan to pay
	Others-specify

Is your working space 36.

1	Permanent
2	temporary

If temporary

How often do you work here? 37.

1	During holiday season
2	Once in a while
3	After every eviction

Section V: Access to Funds

What was the main source of fund for your business 38.

1	Personal and family savings
2	Loan(bank/SACCOS)
3	Friends
4	Traders network
5	Others-specify

If you applied for the loan from the bank/SACCOS, how long did it take? 39.

What was the amount of loan you received? 40.

Are you still repaying your loan 41.

1	Yes
2	No

Who is responsible to pay your loan 42.

1	yourself
2	Jointly with wife/husband
3	Others-specify

What is the total period of loan repayment? 43.

Do you repay regularly?

44.	1	Yes
	2	No

If not

What is the reason you do not pay?

45.	1	The monthly instalment is unaffordable
	2	Need to spend money on other things
	3	There is no profit from the business
	4	It does not matter repaying regularly
	5	Others-specify

Section VI: Management

If the authority inspects this space, what do they take?

46.	1	Merchandise
	2	Shelter
	3	Yourself
	4	nothing

Do they give you notice before inspection?

47.	1	Yes
	2	No

If you bribe the inspector, can you continue with business?

48.	1	Yes
	2	No

If yes

How much do you pay?

49.

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

50.	1	2	3	4
	Strongly agree	neutral	disagree	Strongly disagree

You have as much right to use the space as any other citizen

This is what you are capable of doing, so you should be respected

It is worth competing for space

Do you have any idea of the regulations which governs your activity?

51.	1	Yes
	2	No

If yes what are they?

52.

Are you satisfied with the regulations?

53.

1	Very satisfied
2	Satisfied
3	neutral
4	Dissatisfied
5	Very dissatisfied

If you are dissatisfied with these regulations, what is the reason for your dissatisfaction

54.

1	They don't address our concern
2	It is hard to understand them
3	We were not involved

Do you think that the authority concerned should allow traders to work anywhere freely

55.

1	Yes
2	No

Where did you first learn about regulation for informal activities?

56.

1	Newspapers and magazines
2	Radio
3	TV
4	Brochures, posters, printed materials
5	police
6	Family, friends, fellow traders
7	Ward/Religious leaders

In your opinion who is supposed to obey regulations for informal livelihood activities

57.

1	Anybody
2	Only poor people
3	Only informal operators
4	others

What is your reaction towards eviction?

58.

1	Fear
2	Surprise
3	Shame
4	Embarrassment
5	Sadness or hopelessness
6	Fight back

Do you feel well informed about regulations 59.

1	Yes
2	No

Do you wish you could get more information about regulations for informal livelihood activities? 60.

1	Yes
2	No

What are the sources of information that you think can most effectively reach people like you with information on regulations for informal livelihood activities? 61.

1	Newspapers and magazines
2	Radio
3	TV
4	Brochures, posters and other printed materials
5	police
6	Family, friends
7	Religious leaders, ward leaders
8	Municipality/street traders organisation

Are you a member of a street traders' organisation? 62.

1	Yes
2	No

On a scale of 1(not involved at all) to 5 (extremely involved) how involved do you feel with street trader's organisation? 63.

1 (not at all involved)	2	3	4	5 (extremely Involved)

On a scale of 1(not involved at all) to 5 (extremely involved) how involved do you feel with the municipality? 64.

1 (not at all involved)	2	3	4	5 (extremely Involved)

Do you think informal livelihood operators are adequately represented within the municipality? 65.

1	Yes(specify)
2	No(specify)

Do you think informal livelihood operators' are adequately represented within the street traders' organisation? 66.

1	Yes(specify)
2	No(specify)

If you were given an alternative job would you still opt for street trading activity? 67.

1	Yes(specify)
2	No(specify)

What is your monthly income? 68.

Please write down any other comment(s) towards a better management of the Informal livelihood activities in Tanzania.

Appendix B: Interview Schedule

Questions for Informal Livelihood Operators

Why did you decide to work in this space?

Where were you working before coming here?

How did you access the current space?

How big is your working space?

Would you tell us about the process of getting permit for this space?

Can you explain the relationship between you, fellow traders, shop/land owners, municipality, street organisation

Have you ever had disputes among yourselves?

How do you solve disputes?

Are you aware of any regulations for informal livelihood activities?

Can you explain how good/bad regulations are?

Where did you get funds to start your business?

Are you aware of the problems which results from you conducting business here?

What/why do you do when the municipality evicts you?

Do you think you have the right to work in the streets?

Where do you go when evicted by the municipality?

Does the municipality explain to you why you are not supposed to use certain spaces?

Has the municipality asked for your involvement/opinion on what you what and where to do regarding your activities?

What other challenges do you face while working here?

Questions for Land/shop owners

What is the relationship between you and Informal Livelihood Operators?

Do you think it is good for them to use these spaces?

If you were asked to permanently allow them to conduct their businesses in front of your shop/building what will be your reaction?

Can you explain the type of disputes which occurs between you and the Informal Livelihood Operators, and how do you often solve these disputes?

When the municipality evict Informal Livelihood Operators, do you feel their absence?

How does it affect your business?

When making agreement with the Informal Livelihood Operators, which regulations protect your agreement?

Questions for Urban Planning Authority

What are the main criteria used to approve space to be used for informal Livelihood activities?

Is it possible to meet the demand for space?

What actions are in place to address the issue of impacts of informal livelihood activities?

How are spaces for informal livelihood activities controlled? And is it effective?

How are the permits for space issued and what criteria are used to consider an application for space?

How long is the permit valid and how many times can it be renewed?

What are the main considerations for rejecting a permit?

To what extent do you think that the present regulations and standards for informal livelihood activities are appropriate, given the social economic characteristics of the people living in Dar es Salaam?

Which regulations do you think are unsuitable and need to be reconsidered?

Why do spaces allocated for informal livelihood activities lack basic infrastructure?

What are the main reasons behind competition for space in city centre?

Based on your experience what areas are more suitable for informal livelihood activities?

What is your position to new spaces invaded by the informal livelihood operators? and how do you deal with such people. And why?

Based on your experience what do you think is the best way to address the issues concerning informal livelihood activities?

Which markets are the results of formalisation process Formalised spaces

Which new neighbourhoods have you designed that includes provisions for informal operators?

Questions for business officer/licence Registry

How many licences do you offer to the informal trading operators within a month?

Which type of licence do you offer and which policy offers support to this provision?

What is your role in the control and management of Machingas

How have you facilitated loan provision to the informal traders?

Do you still offer peddling licence? Under what provision

How do you relate with the informal operators organisations?

Questions for city council

What is your role in managing informal activities?

How many markets are you planning to build to accommodate the informal activities?

How do you relate with the informal operators organisations?

Questions for operators association

How many members are there in your association?

What services do you provide to your members?

How are you involved in the market management team?

How are you involved with Ilala Municipality?

What problems do you face in your day- to-day operations?

Do you have any members outside Mchikichini market?

Appendix C: List of Interview Respondents

code	Social group	Pseudo Name	Gender	Location	Date
1	Operator	Amina	F	Mchikichini	August 2010
2	Operator	Joseph	M	Mchikichini	August 2010
3	Operator	Aden	M	Mchikichini	August 2010
4	Operator	Herry	M	Msimbazi	August 2010
5	Operator	Masumbuko	M	Mchikichini	August 2010
6	Operator	Ammy	F	Msimbazi	August 2010
7	Operator	Abdul	M	Chikichini	August 2010
8	Operator	Majura	M	Mchikichinii	August 2010
9	Operator	Hamidu	M	Msimbazi	August 2010
10	Operator	George	M	mchikichini	August 2010
11	Operator	Zuberi	M	mchikichini	August 2010
12	Operator	Kalumba	F	Mchikichini	August 2010
13	Operator	Antony	M	Msimbazi	August

					2010
14	Operator	HUSEIN	M	Mchikichini	August 2010
15	Operator	Mimi	F	Uhuru	August 2010
16	Operator	John	M	Uhuru	August 2010
Operators associations					
1	National operators association	Association leader	M	Bibititi Road	August 2010
2	Local operators association	Association leader	M	Mchikichini	July 2012
3	Local operators association	Association leader	M	Mchikichini	July 2012
4	Local operators association	Association leader	M	Mchikichini	July 2012
5	Local operators association	Association leader	M	Mchikichini	July 2012
Ilala Municipal official					
1		Municipal official	M	Ilala municipality	July 2010
2		Municipal official	M	Ilala municipality	August 2010

3		Municipal official	M	Ilala municipality	August 2010
4		Municipal official	M	City council	August 2010
5		Municipal official		City council	August 2010
6		Municipal official	M	Anatoglo	August 2010
7		Municipal official	M	Ilala	August 2010
8		Municipal official	M	Ilala Municipality	August 2010 & December 2012
9		Municipal official	M	Ilala Municipality	August 2010
10		Municipal official		Ilala municipality	December 2010
Experience Researchers					
1	Researcher	Prof Kaunda	M	Ardhi University	August 2010
2	Researcher	Dr Masawa	M	Dar es salaam Univerity	August 2010
Customers					
1	Customer	Asha	F	Mchikichini	September 2010

2	Customer	Mariam	F	Mchikichini	September 2010
3	Customer	Anna	F	Mchikichini	September 2010
4	Customer	Hashim	M	Msimbazi/Uhuru street	September 2010
5	Customer	June		Mchikichini	September 2010
6	Customer	Masaki		Mchikichini	September 2010
7	Customer	Tobi		Mchikichini	September 2010
8	Customer	Ester		Msimbazi/Uhuru street	September 2010
9	Customer	Angelo		Msimbazi/Uhuru street	September 2010
10	Customer	Rukia		Msimbazi/Uhuru street	September 2010