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Street Vendors Evictions and Relocations in Dar Es Salaam: Coping Strategies and Resilience Implications

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Abstract

The existing literature on urban governance regards street vendors as passive victims of evictions and re-allocations threats, focusing largely on their inability to cope. Using the case study of the urban street vendors in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, this paper suggests that urban street vendors are not just passive victims of evictions and re-allocations but also utilize various capabilities to cope with this threat. The paper examines evictions and re-allocations threat among urban street vendors in Dar es Salaam Tanzania, to determine the vendors' capability to cope with the threat and recommend factors for supporting the vendors to cope more competently. Based on the multilayered social resilience framework, a qualitative approach was utilized and drew data on a sample of 50 respondents through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), observations, and a review of secondary data. Findings indicated that on the one hand, the vendors managed to develop reactive and less proactive capacities of coping with the evictions and re-allocations threat mainly based on the individual, household, community level, and to a lesser degree, national and international levels. On the other hand, vendors' coping capacities were impeded by their lack of financial ability, less supportive government structures and politics, lack of union among the vendors, and business skills. These factors should be considered in supporting the vendors to more competently cope with the threat. These findings provide insights on alternative ways of understanding and alleviating the negative consequences of evictions and re-allocations of the urban street vendors in Dar es Salaam and other cities in Tanzania.

Keywords

case study, evictions, re-allocation, street vendors, coping strategies, resilience, Dar es Salaam

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Street Vendors Evictions and Relocations in Dar Es Salaam: Coping Strategies and Resilience Implications

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The existing literature on urban governance regards street vendors as passive victims of evictions and re-allocations threats, focusing largely on their inability to cope. Using the case study of the urban street vendors in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, this paper suggests that urban street vendors are not just passive victims of evictions and re-allocations but also utilize various capabilities to cope with this threat. The paper examines evictions and re-allocations threat among urban street vendors in Dar es Salaam Tanzania, to determine the vendors' capability to cope with the threat and recommend factors for supporting the vendors to cope more competently. Based on the multilayered social resilience framework, a qualitative approach was utilized and drew data on a sample of 50 respondents through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), observations, and a review of secondary data. Findings indicated that on the one hand, the vendors managed to develop reactive and less proactive capacities of coping with the evictions and re-allocations threat mainly based on the individual, household, community level, and to a lesser degree, national and international levels. On the other hand, vendors' coping capacities were impeded by their lack of financial ability, less supportive government structures and politics, lack of union among the vendors, and business skills. These factors should be considered in supporting the vendors to more competently cope with the threat. These findings provide insights on alternative ways of understanding and alleviating the negative consequences of evictions and re-allocations of the urban street vendors in Dar es Salaam and other cities in Tanzania.

Keywords: case study, evictions, re-allocation, street vendors, coping strategies, resilience, Dar es Salaam

Introduction and Background

The informal sector is recognized globally for creation of employment and generation of income considering that it employs around 2 billion people (equivalent to more than 61% of the world's workforce) and contributes to around 52%-61% of the GDP in Africa (Brown et al., 2015; ILO, 2015). In Tanzania, the informal sector and street vending in particular contributes up to 35% of GDP and accounts for 90% of informal employment opportunities (Brown et al., 2015; Munishi & Casmir, 2019). It also provides up to 70% of the services consumed by the poor (Brown et al., 2015). Despite the importance attributed to the urban informal sector and street vending in particular, vendors in urban areas have been experiencing massive evictions and reallocations worldwide and more especially in Asian, Latin America, and Africa, even though India stands out as one of the few countries that has embraced an inclusive approach to vendors through adoption of a National Policy on Street Vending in 2004 (revised in 2009) (Sankaran et al., 2014).

The most recent sweeping vendors' evictions and reallocations in Tanzania were witnessed in 2005 to 2007 in Dar es Salaam that saw thousands of the vendors vacating their business premises to pave way for the construction of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) (Brown et al., 2015). Moreover, in 2016 and 2017 vendors in Dar es Salaam experienced another wave of evictions and reallocations that resulted from the expansion of the Morogoro to Dar es Salaam road to realise the construction of Morogoro Road to eight lanes. The situation led to massive property demolitions including houses, exhuming and shifting of graves in most many outskirts of Dar es Salaam city such as Ubungo, Kimara Stop-over, and Mbezi (Kamagi, 2017; Mugarula, 2015, May 14). This was fueled by yet another wave of evictions that resulted from the construction of the Standard Gauge Railway line (SGR) of around 1,216 km to link Dar es Salaam with the rest of the country and other neighboring countries of Rwanda and Burundi. This as well led to demolitions of many structures along the central railway line in Dar es Salaam including around 300 houses, most of which were kiosks [for street vendors] (Daily News, 2017).

During this same period, the country witnessed massive evictions of urban residents from flood prone areas such as Mkwajuni and Msimbazi Valleys that involved demolitions of around 700 houses across the sprawling Msimbazi river flood plain and around 8,000 households were planned to be demolished by January 2016 (Daily News, 2017; Kamagi, 2017). As pointed out earlier, street vendors depend significantly on street vending activities for their daily livelihoods, which include paying for their basic needs such as food, shelter and health, as well as paying for education for their children (Munishi & Casmir, 2019). Indeed, existing evidence suggests that lack of, or inadequate, conducive business locations and spaces resulting from evictions and reallocations may deny the vendors an opportunity to increase sales volume and maintain their livelihoods (Munishi & Casmir, 2019). This thus raises a dire need to investigate how the street vendors cope with the eviction- and reallocation-related threats as well as their capacities to cope. Accordingly, answers to these questions will most likely facilitate the generation of viable strategies for improving the vendors' resilience to the challenges. However, some existing works have looked into the impact of evictions and reallocations of the urban street vendors with less focus on how the vendors cope with the threat and their capacities to cope. For example, Spire and Choplin (2018) investigated the consequences of relocation processes among the street in Accra Ghana, noting that vendors coped with evictions through rebuilding for themselves new structures in the formal marketplaces. Steel et al. (2014) inquired on how evictions affect vendors' choice of location, livelihoods, and willingness to invest in fixed locations, and noted that many vendors would return to the congested areas because business in such areas would attract higher sales and profits (Linares, 2018; Steel et al., 2014).

In Ghana, static vendors were found to cope with the evictions through renting spaces inside the market stall or kiosk where they would lock in their merchandise and pay rent or daily fees (Steel et al., 2014). In South Africa it has been learned that Street Vendors' Associations played the critical role of advocating for the rights of the vendors in urban areas as well as fight for the inclusion of the vendors in the urban plans (Brown et al., 2015). Governments are also seen as being supportive to the vendors during evictions and reallocations as witnessed in Tanzania, where the government provided business spaces to the vendors and allowed them to conduct businesses in some streets only for certain days or parts of the day (Munishi & Casmiri, 2019). Still in Tanzania, Municipal authorities created business parks for vendors in Dar es Salaam and Morogoro City cities.

Following the preceding background, the main objective of this paper is to determine the urban vendors' capacities to cope with the evictions and re-allocations threat and recommend factors for helping the vendors to more effectively cope with the threat focusing on the city of Dar es Salaam. The paper informs researchers and policymakers on the effective

ways of strengthening coping capacities of the urban marginalized groups and provides fresh insights into the debate on street vending and evictions among the urban street vendors. This understanding would further facilitate improvement of the existing interventions as well as formulate more context-specific interventions to strengthen the vendors' capacities in coping with evictions and re-allocations.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

This paper is guided by the multi-layered social resilience framework (Obrist et al., 2010) which regards resilience as social actors' capacities to draw capitals from different social layers to cope with and adjust to threats' "reactive capacities" and to search for and create options as "proactive capacities" in order to develop competencies of coping with the threats. The framework has its origin in ecology (Carpenter & Walker, 2001; Holling, 1973), psychology (Luthar, 2003; Masten, 2001) and socio-anthropology (Bourdieu, 1984), as well as from the sustainable livelihood framework of the UK Department for International Development (DfID, 2000). The framework suggests that resilience building must be examined in relation to a threat and competencies that should be developed to deal with it. Depending on the threat under examination, different social fields emerge, each of them consisting of a network of actors across various layers of society. These individual, social, and societal actors can build resilience by strengthening reactive and proactive capacities to deal more competently with the threat. To strengthen their capacities, actors can draw on and transform economic, social, and cultural capital(s) and thus increase symbolic capital (i.e., power) to cope with the threat. The ability to mobilise different forms of capital varies according to actors' position [power] in the social field (Obrist et al., 2010).

It is important to note that "reactive" capacities are direct reactions towards a threat that is taking place or just took place, while "proactive" capacities are understood as abilities/initiatives such as anticipating threats, changing rules and regulations, creating new options, planning ahead, and recognizing danger (Obrist et al., 2010). Capacities enable social actors to cope with and adjust to adverse conditions ("reactive"), and subsequently create options and responses ("proactive") necessary to increase competence and thus create pathways for mitigating adversity or threat(s) (Obrist et al., 2010). In contexts of adversity, positive adjustment based on a learning process is an essential dimension of resilience and leads to increased competence in dealing with challenging livelihood conditions such as evictions and reallocation threat. This framework is useful in several ways. Firstly, like the sustainable livelihood framework of the (DfID, 2000), it also recognises capitals, notably social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capitals, as prerequisites for resilience-building processes. Secondly, the framework recognises threats or barriers to resilience building by drawing researchers' attention to question "resilience to what threat" and "what particular threat or risk being examined," thus redirecting researchers to be explicit about whether they study resilience to a single hazard or to multiple hazards, to recurring, chronic or seasonal threats, etc. It also assesses whether the affected individuals, groups, or organisations are aware of a threat. Indeed, if the actors are unaware of the threat to be tackled, the situation is considered as not just a danger but also a risk (DfID, 2000). Thirdly, the framework views resilience building as a multi-layered process involving social networks ranging from individual, household, community, meso, national and international levels. This is to say that exchanges between the different layers can improve actors' capacities to cope with threat through accessing resources, learning from experience, and developing constructive ways of dealing with problems (Obrist et al., 2010). Fourthly, the framework is strengths-oriented, meaning that it takes into account support emanating from institutions. Most works that have examined threat (Turner et al., 2003) have been guided by a deficit approach, which emphasises risk and inability to cope

(Obrist et al., 2010). The strength aspect of this framework is considered useful in the context of this paper because it raises a positive perspective that draws attention to the ability of the street vendors to positively adjust to eviction and reallocations threats they encounter (Dongus et al., 2010). Lastly, resilience thinking can provide researchers and policymakers with solution-oriented ways of thinking about populations at risk, qualifying it to be a mitigation-oriented framework (Dongus et al., 2010). This aspect is useful in this paper as it facilitates suggestions for remedial measures for enhancing street vendors' resilience to eviction and reallocation threats.

Researchers' Context

Prior to 2016, street vendors' operations were regarded a nuisance in the urban settings and street vendors witnessed continuous battles with city military troops. This situation changed in 2016 when street vendors were authorized by the then-president of the United Republic of Tanzania to operate everywhere they wanted. However, when another president came to power, the situation changed again. Several city and municipal authorities embarked on "cleaning the city" campaigns which involved chasing all vendors operating in these urban centres. Serious raids were witnessed in Dar es Salaam and Mwanza Cities where a number of people were injured, their property destroyed, and means of their livelihood shuttered. While in Dar es Salaam, the campaign involved relocating vendors and it was characterized with demolition of properties and businesses. Based on reports from media, researchers were interested in the issue, followed up the story, made serious talks with the victims, and noted everything meaningful.

All researchers participated fully in the study. The first researcher drew preliminary insights about the incidence from newspapers, visited the demolished areas, and designed the study. All researchers participated fully in the data collection and held extended discussion with vendors and all concerned individuals. All researchers participated in the initial data analysis. This was done independently by every researcher and later they discussed before they agreed on the actual findings they had obtained. The first researcher developed the manuscript while the second researcher critically reviewed and revised the manuscript. After a joint discussion, the researchers agreed that the manuscript be submitted for publication. The study aimed at investigating how street vendors cope and continue to become resilient after being evicted and relocated to new areas. The researchers in this study have been actively working and researching with street vendors, so are aware and have built strong relationships with street vendors in different parts of urban centres in the country. Thus, they are aware of different issues regarding politics and dynamics in this group.

Methods

The study adopted qualitative methods in obtaining data.

Design

The study is designed as a case study (Yin, 2018) focusing on a number of street vendors in different areas of Dar es Salaam. Due to the fact that the study wanted to capture how vendors cope and become resilient, researcher used an explanatory case study to explain the entire process of coping and becoming resilient (Yin, 2018). The design helped researchers to gain in-depth understanding of the situation in the real study settings. This design, in which researchers actively participated in this study, enabled them to obtain vendors' views, experiences, and perceptions regarding how vendors cope and remain resilient after being

evicted or relocated from their original areas of operations. It was through this design that it was possible for researchers to easily be involved in the study, create rapport with respondents, and obtain the entire information regarding the entire process of coping after eviction.

Participants

In this study, researchers used a total of 50 street vendors who participated in in-depth interviews (IDIs). These respondents were sampled from the four municipalities of Dar es Salaam. They included both males and females and were distributed in all different age groups from 18-58 years. Moreover, five focus group discussions (FGDs) of between five and ten street vendors were conducted. To validate data obtained from street vendors, researchers included interviews with ten key informants from private and public sectors with first-hand information about street vending operations in Dar es Salaam.

Purposive sampling was utilized to get key informants with first-hand information and willing to share the information concerning the research subject matter. Snowball sampling was specifically utilized to get hold of street vendors. This was applied because after eviction, all street vendors dispersed and were not easily available during the day unless directed to by someone. Researchers ensured that there was a set of questions for street vendors and another one for key informants. While vendors were asked on the nature of strategies they deployed to cope with evictions, key informants, who happened to be officials, were asked how they have assisted street vendors in coping with life after eviction.

Because the study involved human subjects, a research clearance permit was issued by the College of Business Education on behalf of the Commission for Science and Technology (Research Permit granting Commission). The permit was then submitted to the Dar es Salaam Regional Administrative Secretary who later, through letters, introduced researchers to authorities of the sampled municipalities clarifying that the study to be conducted was safe to human subjects, meaningful, and has to abide with research ethics. For safety, researchers submitted the letters to the grassroots authorities, who provided them with escorts during data collection. Before participating in the interviews, research ethical considerations were made clear to the interviewees based on the qualitative research ethical guidelines. It was stipulated that participants were free to engage and withdraw from the research at any time and that every kind of information they shared would be treated as confidential as per qualitative research ethics. Researchers ensured that names, identity, and information provided by respondents remained confidential. To protect respondents, no name of any respondent was revealed anywhere in this study.

Researchers transcribed all data collected through interviews. We translated all Swahili transcriptions into English, typed all handwritten transcripts and saved them as documents in rich text format. We conducted content analysis of the transcriptions in MAXQDA 10 [VERBI Software, Marburg, Germany]. In order to obtain meaningful contents, researchers read through the interview transcriptions several times to familiarize with the data. Researchers identified and coded central contents in the text transcriptions. It was pertinent for researchers to discuss the weight of the content and its relevance to the multi-layered social resilience framework before including it in the codes. Using a separate sheet, we created a matrix with a summary of important contents and themes and aligned to the study-guiding framework as presented in the subsequent part of the study.

Rigor and Trustworthiness

Researchers tried to maintain rigorousness and trustworthiness of findings. In the first step, before conducting the content analysis, researchers sent back transcriptions to their

respondents. This was done to ensure that respondents confirm that what was transcribed is what they meant. In instances where respondents found differences, changes were made accordingly. Moreover, as a means of triangulation, we used different methods of data collection and collected data from different individuals. This was intended to make sure that weaknesses of one group are bridged by the other. Moreover, researchers held discussions during coding and identifying important contents to be considered a content of interest in the study.

Results

In this section, we present major findings obtained from interviews conducted with different street vendors, key informants, and FGDs conducted in the process of obtaining the required data. In presenting these findings, reactive coping strategies are presented first, followed by proactive coping strategies undertaken by street vendors who were evicted from the city centre and relocated to different locations.

Reactive Coping Strategies Undertaken by Evicted Street Vendors

Street vending is not only a viable economic activity, but also a serious means of livelihood to many people living in the urban settings of Tanzania. Continuous disruption through eviction and relocation is a threat to many people whose lives depend on it. In this situation, vendors end up coming up with strategies to continue existing amid government restrictions, evictions, and relocations. In this section, we present reactive strategies used by vendors in coping with evictions and relocations.

Selling their Merchandise at Night

It has been established that, after eviction, a reasonable number of street vendors have resorted to selling their products at night. At this particular moment, they assume that there are no police nor paramilitary troops that can arrest them. To them, from 18:00 onwards, there are a reasonable number of customers who buy their merchandise. One of them said, "*We display our business in the evening or at night where no security force is at work.*" During a data collection exercise, researchers observed a reasonable number of street vendors who were evicted at Bibi Titi Mohammed Road, Zanaki Street, and Morogoro Road (Magomeni), among other areas, displaying their business in the evening and at night. Most of these vendors had clothes, watches, shoes, and fruits.

Returning to Areas they were Evicted from by Force

Although vendors have been evicted several times from their working places, they have after a few days been returning to these places by force. In fact, upon their return, they have been building more structures than those demolished at first. It has been recorded several times that street vendors have been complaining about evictions and re-allocations. Complaints have been that areas where they have been relocated are far and have no customers. Thus, in order to save their businesses and family livelihoods, they decide to return to their former areas by force even if it means confronting municipal and city military troops. Even if the situation of building more structures had not been witnessed after the recent evictions, vendors have returned to their former areas, and it is from such areas that they are operating amid police and paramilitary troop patrols. A female food vendor assured, "*The situation will never come to the end so long as they (government) do not give us the right of working around the city. Look*

here! we have families to feed and bills to meet. We shall always come back (to evicted streets) by force." The quotation reveals that vendors are not ready to leave. Such findings are in line with those of Steel et al. (2014) and Nayam (2021), who report that after eviction in Ghana, street vendors return to streets they were evicted because it is where customers are in plenty with attractive profits.

Getting Employment in the Manufacturing Industries and Other Sectors

It was revealed by vendors that in the period where evictions and relocations happened, street vendors would change to other available jobs, including working in the manufacturing industries or other open occupations. In this regard, vendors, more especially men, change to working in the manufacturing industries, while women work in cleaning firms or tailoring, among others. One of them said, *"I was forced to find a new opportunity in the textile industry. We sow curtains and bed sheets. The young man with whom we were working is in the manufacturing industry."* However, a number of such people who have switched to other jobs are mistreated and paid a very little amount of money, as most of them are casual workers. Such an instance was reported in an earlier study by Nayam (2021), which reported that street vendors normally switch to other jobs in moments when they are evicted from their "natural markets." Even though some of those who switched to other openings reported to have received more than they used to receive, it has not been well proved with scientific evidence.

Becoming Mobile Street Vendors

Due to the fact that street vending is a very complex phenomena to phase out in the current social economic settings of Tanzania, the more the government invests efforts in phasing them out, the more they come up with new mechanism of ensuring that they survive amid great government antagonism. After the recent eviction, a reasonable number of stationed vendors have resorted to being mobile vendors. However, in the real sense, they do business around the same streets they were evicted from. Most of these are selling shoes and women's clothes. Those items are normally put in backpacks and a few hanged on shoulders and arms. On the other side, cold drinks and fruits are sold by the means of carts. The situation is not different from the one reported by Nayam (2021) and Steel et al. (2014) in Bangladesh and Ghana, respectively. Such findings are in line with the prepositions of the multi-layered social resilience framework (Obrist et al., 2010), which contend that in situations where a threat arises, resilience strategies start from the individual to the upper levels of the society. Most of the coping strategies depict personal efforts to adjust him/herself after periodic evictions (or threats).

Proactive Coping Strategies Undertaken by Evicted Street Vendors

It has been realised that during unpleasant conditions people create short- and long-term solutions, and the same was observed among street vendors. After evictions and relocation campaigns by the government, street vendors, along with devising short-term solutions, also developed long-term coping strategies that would keep them more resilient. These include renting spaces in markets, using vendors' allocated places, renting shops, and lobbying politicians to be on their side. These strategies are provided in the following section.

Renting Spaces in the New Markets

Of recent, the government of Tanzania, in collaboration with the World Bank, initiated the Dar es Salaam Metropolitan Development projects, in which a number of roads and new markets were instructed. The newly constructed markets include Kisutu, Magomeni, Kijichi, and Makangarawe, among others. In the event when evictions were executed, a reasonable number of vendors sought new spaces in these markets. Municipal authorities, in order to ensure that vendors do not go back to streets, placed vendors at the first priority. Even those evicted were given stalls in these markets. While others had foreseen evictions coming and decided to shift to these markets before, others waited until they were evicted. However, congestion in these markets has been reported, and this is due to the fact that the number of evicted vendors is greater than the available spaces in the newly built markets. Such findings are in line with those given by Steel et al. (2014) and Nayam (2021), which provide that vendors after eviction have been seeking refuge in different markets by either renting stalls or open spaces in which they build their stalls. Findings further support the contention in the multi-layered resilience framework in which the society concerned in this case that municipal authorities help vendors to come out of the threat and shock by placing them among priority groups that need to occupy the newly built markets after being evicted from their streets.

Using Vendors' Allocated Places

There has been great pressure from politicians, street vendors, and the general public requesting that the government allocate specific places for street vendors. In Dar es Salaam, every municipal council has allocated special places for street vendors. While some vendors went straight to these places as a proactive strategy, others waited until their evictions. In their own attestations they said, *"...even if we are not getting a lot of customers, I am not ready to go back to streets; I cannot afford more clashes with municipal authorities."* In this aspect, many women decided to voluntarily go to the designated areas because they are more prone to clashes when they happen and they normally incur a lot of losses as compared to men who can sometimes run or fight back. A study by Steel et al. (2014) revealed that in Accra, more women vendors were vulnerable to losses resulting from eviction operations as compared to men.

Renting Shops

It has been discovered that some street vendors who were running bigger kiosks decided to rent shops when they heard rumours about evictions. This differs from the previous operations, in which municipal authorities announced the operation two to three weeks before it took place. As a preventive and proactive strategy, some street vendors decided to rent shops in areas near the areas they were operating from. While some report this to be an expensive strategy that requires them to incur more costs on rent, licence, and other charges, others consider it to be a means of formalization. As indicated during the interview, *"I had a lot in the kiosk and never wanted to incur losses during evictions. I decided to rent a shop. I know it is expensive but, it ensures my business safety and opens new opportunities for me."*

Lobbying Politicians

In Tanzania, every politician wants to associate with street vendors in moments when they are evicted. In this regard, street vendors tend to lobby them and request them to speak for them. This is because politicians are seen to be more influential. In the previous evictions, street vendors, through their leaders, managed to secure the president's audience. Among other

things, they wanted the president to ensure that no more evictions should take place, and that specific places for street vendors should be located in areas with social amenities and reachable to people. This was done to ensure that clashes would cease and an amicable solution between vendors and local authorities would be achieved.

Discussion

Eviction of street vendors from their “natural markets” has been a recurring phenomenon in the country. In all instances, vendors have been the victims and have been registering losses during such clashes. They have normally lost their products, money, and are even sometimes injured. Despite all these facts, while a number of street vendors take proactive coping strategies after evictions and consider these strategies safe for them and their businesses, other vendors take strategies that expose them and their businesses to more danger. For instance, findings reveal that street vendors work at night. Although it has been known that some street vendors, especially those operating near residential areas, work at night, in this case it was different. Street vendors from different locations decided to work at night because it is the time police and city military troops are not at work. Considering the increased level of unemployment and the reality that street vending is the sole means of livelihood as reported by scholars (Hussain, 2019; Munishi & Kirumirah, 2020), working at night is the only means through which they can get some money to support their families. However, selling their products at night is among dangerous strategies that erode street vendors’ resilience. In this way, vendors expose themselves to more dangers of clashes between them and regulatory authorities which at the end may damage their entire health.

It was further revealed in the findings that some street vendors return to streets by force, irrespective of the consequences. This was earlier reported by Steel et al. (2014) who observed the same trend in Ghana. It was further reported by Nayam (2021) that after eviction some vendors return to streets from which they were ejected by authorities. However, although street vendors have been forcing their continued operation in urban settings, their courage to return to city streets after being forcefully evicted by authorities is not normal. It might tell how desperate street vendors are regarding uncertainties of vendors’ family livelihoods because their hopes of survival depend on street vending.

Findings further indicate that vendors have decided to change their operations. While some have completely abandoned street vending, others have changed into mobile vendors. Such findings are in line with those by Nayam (2021) and Steel et al. (2014) in Bangladeshi and Ghanaian contexts. Although researchers had not thought that it would be possible for one to obtain a job in manufacturing industries, some vendors reported to have obtained casual employment characterised by low payments and insecurity of tenure. As for those who decided to join the manufacturing sector as a means of survival, mistreatment and assaults have been the order of the day. The more they experience these, the more they and their families become less resilient. Furthermore, it was difficult for those that became mobile vendors to get customers because they were restricted to work from areas with high concentrations of people which are regarded as street vendors’ “natural markets.” This situation exposes them and makes them less resilient financially.

Eviction and relocation have not been a new phenomenon; they have been reported by different scholars in different times. In the Tanzanian context, studies (Horn, 2018; Munishi & Kirumirah, 2020; Lyons et al., 2016) report that evictions have been carried out at different times. Thus, some street vendors have decided to take proactive strategies to ensure that such vices do not hurt them once again. It has been reported that some vendors rented stalls in the newly built markets, while others decided to rent shops. These findings are in line with Nayam (2021) and Steel et al. (2014). Moreover, with relation to the multi-layered social resilience

framework, findings indicate that even though the local government is not pleased with the presence of street vendors in the urban streets, it has been among the layers that have sought lasting solutions to continuous eviction of street vendors. Putting vendors at the top priority in the distribution of stalls in the newly built markets shows promising solutions to vendor-related overarching problems. However, we are not sure whether the strategy will be effective, or it is just a matter of time before vendors go back to streets. This is because markets to which vendors have been accepted are more than ten kilometres away. Reference is also drawn from the Machinga complex in Ilala when vendors were encouraged to rent stalls but then went back to streets due to conflicts with authorities and exorbitant rent charges as reported by Munishi and Kirumirah (2020).

It was further provided that vendors use politicians as their protection against eviction and returning to streets. It was reported in the previous studies by Etzold (2015) and Steiler (2018) that politicians normally used vendors as their political capital; thus, they were ready to react if anything was done against street vendors. Politicians sometimes issued political pronouncements that were aimed at protecting vendors. Although it was expected that the pattern of communication was one-sided, it was surprising to note that the street vendors' social network was strong enough to influence politicians. By doing so, vendors were in a safer position and expected to be allowed to go back to their previous streets and be more resilient.

The study has provided us with comprehensive knowledge regarding how street vendors exist in periods when they have been evicted from their operations. Considering the reality that to them vending is the sole economic activity and a means of their livelihood they have, they have been able to devise means of operating and living during such a precarious period. Although some of their strategies are short-lived and focus at taking them back to streets, others are aimed at taking them away from street vending and becoming other forms of business persons.

In the general context, one needs to understand that in developing economies as well as developed ones, street vending is a means of survival to a reasonable number of people (Hussain, 2019). Despite the reality that authorities need to create smart cities as determined by Xue and Huang, (2015), they need to understand that cities contain people with heterogenous economic abilities. Thus, banning them to use the city for the purpose of city beautification leads to taking away their right to the city. Moreover, with the closure of different businesses in the country as a result of the aftermaths of COVID-19, street vendors have been a cushion against the swelling unemployment rates. Thus, it was not the right time for evictions to take place. Evictions have led street vendors to use different strategies that expose them to more dangers than becoming resilient.

This study was not safe from limitations. It was conducted during the period when street vendors were dispersed after being evicted from their normal areas of operations. This implies that it was difficult to obtain the required number of respondents for this study. The situation forced researchers to use snowball sampling and collect data at night because it is the moment that vendors could be obtained. Moreover, some respondents were too emotional and exaggerated some information, including the losses they incurred in the process of eviction and how cruel authorities were. We used different groups of respondents, and their data helped us to validate data obtained from vendors. Thus, other researchers need to be mindful about when they set their study and need to undertake a study to find out how long such strategies last. Moreover, the study was only focused to 50 street vendors in Dar es Salaam, so it is difficult for such findings to be generalized to the entire Tanzanian context. However, findings can be transferred to areas with similar context like the one in this study.

The study implies that the government, through urban authorities, needs to start thinking of co-existence between the formal and informal business ventures. This can be through creating friendly policies and regulatory framework that will allow them to operate in

the main areas in urban places including bus stands, near hospitals, along streets with reasonable populace, and other areas regarded as “natural markets.” Such policies will minimise clashes between vendors and authorities, increase vendors’ safety and urban authorities’ income, and dictate how operations should be done.

The study further recommends that the government, through municipal authority and the planning section, include provisions that accommodate street vendors in the new plans of the new towns and municipals. This is because street vending is here to stay and is not going to phase out. Therefore, while planning, street vendors should be included among beneficiaries of the new plans. Moreover, urban authorities in collaboration with vendors’ representatives are encouraged to allocate street vendors in areas with all available social amenities, and above all, areas that people can easily go to in order to obtain their needs. By so doing, vendors will be assured of customers and will not be attracted to go to streets because they chose the area themselves and the area has a reasonable number of customers.

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