

VENDORS' LICENSING AND PERMIT ISSUING IN URBAN SETTING: CONSTRAINTS & IMPLICATIONS FOR VENDING OPERATIONS IN DAR ES SALAAM –TANZANIA

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ABSTRACT

Vendors licencing and permit issuing is among the critical policy issues in the urban settings. It has attracted different actor's initiatives including the President himself. Such initiatives include the introduction of vending zones as well issuing of IDs for the vendors. Despite these initiatives, street vendors continue to experience problems related to licence and permit acquisition. This study aimed at investigating barriers to the licensing and permit issuing, implications of unpredictable licensing and vending process on vendor's livelihood and vendors' perceived solutions to unpredictability of the legalization process. The study was qualitative in nature, conducted in Dar es Salaam with a sample of 79 respondents who were selected both randomly and purposively. The findings indicate that the exercise is constrained with inadequate and ineffective urban institution, vendors' attitude and understanding, urban politics and dynamics and the influence of social groups. Further the study revealed that unpredictability of the vendors' licensing and permit giving exercise have negative implication on human, physical, social, financial and environmental assets. It is suggested from the study that formulation and proper implementation of national policy for vendors as well as improving inclusive decision making will help to improve and resolve unpredictability in the vendors licencing and legalization process in Tanzania.

Keywords: *Street vendors, Licensing, permit, sustainable livelihood strategy, Tanzania.*

1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), around 2 billion people which is equivalent to more than 61% of the world's employed population, work in the informal sector (ILO, 2015). Tanzania is considered among the countries with the biggest number of informal workers in Africa whereby the size of its informal economy has grown from 10% of GDP in 1960s, to 20% after the mid-1980s, 58.3% in 1999 and 2000, and around 52%-61% of GDP in 2013-2015 (Dell'Anno, AnaMaria & Balele, 2018). This suggests that looking into the epistemologies of urban informal activities such as vending in the 'Third World' cities are useful for informing better policies and urban planning in general (Roy, 2007, 2011). Licencing and permits issuing are considered among the key aspects for regulating informal trade in urban setting, given the sensitivity of operating business in urban areas as well as the limited number of business spaces available in cities (Horn, 2018; Steiler, 2018).

Licensing and permit issuing to vendors refers to initiatives of allowing vendors to conduct their vending activities based on the existing urban laws and policies (Horn, 2018). In this case it takes into account who is permitted to do business, what kind of a business and where (part of the city) (Horn, 2018; Steiler, 2018; Skinner, 2013), thus guaranteeing vendors' wellbeing and livelihoods. Literature suggests two basic types of licensing and permit issuing practises in informal trade. These include licencing as a means of regulating the right to trade and another one regulating trading space (Horn, 2018). This suggests that vendors who trade without permits or licences are breaking the law and that vendors are principally free to trade, but not in some particular areas without a permit or licence (Horn, 2018; Roy, 2011). Based on the foregoing arguments, it can be affirmed that, licensing and permit issuing for street vendors in particular is a sensitive task that needs to be carried out with the highest degrees of care and fairness.

Literature suggests that street vending legalization in Tanzania has passed through a long evolutionary process. It started by a few licences being given to Asians during the colonial era. This was aimed at protecting the colonial businesses. Such a state lasted till 1980s (Lyon & Msoka, 2007; Steiler, 2018) and during that time vendors were illegal and regarded as loiterer (Shaidi, 1984). The situation changed during the economic crisis in the early 1980s when vendors' activities were allowed and were licensed with *Nguvu Kazi* licenses. However, the enactment of Business Licensing Act of 2003 and Finance Act, of 2004 changed the situation. After then, street vending was marked illegal and all businesses were required to be registered an activity that vendors could not afford (Mramba, 2015). Different policies, laws and by-laws created by different authorities have created a sense of instability in the vendors licensing process (McFarlane & Silver, 2017).

Recently, the government has made several initiatives to enhance the provision of licenses and permits to vendors. These include setting aside some designated places and constructing relevant infrastructures and market places for these vendors. Further, special vending zones in Karume and Ilala markets were put in place (Munishi & Casmir, 2019). Such arrangements allowed vendors to access some vending places on some specific days and time. Further, in 2016 the President issued a decree against the eviction of street vendors in urban settings, insisting urban authorities to allow vendors find different business sites in the urban open spaces. This was followed by the legalisation of the street vendors' operations through business registration and provision of special IDs. Such IDs are provided by the Presidents' office to all street vendors all over the country through local administrative authorities.

Despite the above efforts, issues of street vendors licensing and permits issuing which guarantee their legitimacy and access to space have been bitterly contested by stakeholders (Kisembo, 2017). This has led vendors to continue missing reliable business places and infrastructure. Most of them still depend on unauthorised government free spaces including road reserves, streets, bridges and fences around government premises. Subsequently, this situation subjects vendors to frequent and at times serious conflicts with the urban municipal authorities (Munishi & Casmir, 2019). Vendors still experience conflicts with municipal authorities especially when they undertake their businesses in unauthorised places around urban places.

Interestingly, alternative business infrastructure created in urban areas and locations provided for the vendors are not conducive enough for vendors. On top of that, in some locations, vendors are still required to pay different kinds of unbearable fees for them to be legalized given that their business is small and unpredictable (Munishi & Casmir, 2019). All these raise some questions on how effective has the vendors' licencing been? Why is the process unpredictable? What implications does the unpredictability of the vendors' licencing process have on vendors' activities and livelihood in urban settings? Such questions prompt the need for a study aimed at investigating realities about the vendors' licencing and permit issuing in the urban settings of Dar es Salaam because previous studies in Tanzania (Mramba, 2015; Msoka, 2007; Munishi & Casmir, 2019; Steiler, 2018) concentrated much on other issues related to vendor's business capital, mobile phone technology and street vending, training needs and some general challenges facing the street vendors in urban areas. These studies did not pay specific attention to the aspect of vendors' licensing and permit issuing and their implications on street vendors' livelihood. The continuous nature of unpredictability in the vendors license and permit issuing calls for a study to reveal empirical reasons as to why the process has been unpredictable and what effect does such unpredictability cause to vendors livelihood.

1.1 Rationale of the Research

This research is of great importance for policy and knowledge enhancement in the area of urban informal sector as well as licensing and permits issuing of this sector in the global south and Tanzania in particular. The research community and policy makers in the Global South and particularly in Tanzania will benefit from the useful knowledge and policy resources related to urban informal sector. Researchers, teaching staff and students in higher learning institutions are expected to learn from findings of this study most especially those interested in issues of research in Urbanisation and Development in Africa.

1.2 Research Aim and Objectives

Based on the foregoing background, the overall aim of study was to assess the vendors' licensing and permit issuing initiatives in Dar es salaam, Tanzania. Specifically, it intends;

- To examine constraints associated with licensing and permit practices for street vendors.
- To investigate implications of unpredictable vendors' licensing and permit practices on urban street vendors' livelihoods.
- To explore vendors' recommended solutions for improving licensing and permit practices for the vendors.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review section attempts to answer two key questions emanating from the research objectives notably; what are constraints to introduction and implementation of vendor licensing and permit issuing to urban street vendors? Secondly, what are the implications for the introduction and implementation of the vendor licensing and permit on vendors' livelihood in Dar es Salaam?

In response to the first question literature puts forward a number of constraints associated with the introduction and enforcement of licensing and permit issuing. Accordingly, one of the constraints is poor enforcement of the policies related to street vending licensing and permits issuing (Horn, 2018; ILO, 2006, 2015). Experience shows that street vendors face a number of challenges even when already permitted and licensed to trade (Roever. & Skinner, 2016). This is coupled with

the fact that the process of allocating licences and permits is mired with inconsistency, a situation that leads to dissatisfactions and conflicts among the vendors (Horn, 2018; ILO, 2015).

Another constraint is lack of enough business spaces as evidenced in West African countries where local licensing is based on allocation of business spaces. However, due to high demand for space there are still many street vendors all around the markets (Horn, 2018). Another constraint concerns the introduction of licensing and permits regulations that specify pre-conditions, such as entrepreneurial registration requirements, or restrictions on the goods or services that may be sold as evidenced in countries such as Azerbaijan, Belarus, Brazil, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan and Moldova (Horn, 2018; ILO, 2006). Such kind of pre-conditions can be difficult to comply with (Horn, 2018).

Closely related to the above stated constraint is inadequate number of license and permits in comparison with the number of vendors as evidenced in Nairobi, Kenya and Sao Pulo, Brazil where the number of vendors in cities considerably exceeds the number of available licences (Roever & Skinner, 2016). For example, in Nairobi, Kenya, there were only 7,000 licences against the estimated number of 500,000 street traders while in São Paulo, Brazil in 2009 there were only 2,200 licences against an estimated number of 100,000 vendors (Roever & Skinner, 2016).

Another constraint for introducing and enforcing the vendor licensing and permit issuing widely captured by literature is lack of, or poor involvement of the vendors in policy making process especially those ones related to licensing and permit issuing. The participation of street vendors and informal traders in preparation of the licensing and permit programmes and laws is not encouraged and is mostly ignored (Horn, 2018; ILO, 2006). This leads to creation of policies which are top down. In most cases vendors do not feel as part of such policies rather imposed regulations unto them.

Moreover, it has also been noted that the existing urban policies act as an embargo to vendors' licensing and permit issuing expounding that, the majority of the laws and policies prevent vending and regard it punishable before the law, without considering its economic importance. Vendors have been seen by policymakers as the cause of many problems such as pedestrian and traffic obstruction, and making the city dirty (ILO, 2006). Moreover, hostile legislations, plus inadequate licensing systems, create an environment in which predatory state and non-state actors extract rents from vendors who lack legal standing. This further leads to ineffective and unfair enforcement of licensing and permits procedures.

Lack of supportive vending environment even when the vendors are already licensed and permitted to trade in urban areas is yet another constraint. Indeed, street vendors work under inhospitable conditions, with no basic facilities, and under constant fear of harassment and damage to their goods even where they have been allowed to practise their trade whether legitimately or not (ILO, 2006). This is coupled with lack of clarity in laws and policies as yet another constraint towards implementing vendor licensing and permit. In Cambodia for example, the national development policy and urban development policy are not explicit in their policy direction about street vending (ILO, 2006). This means contradicting laws and policies in place. For example, in some countries street vendors are defined as illegal but still pay taxes legally. On the other hand, tax rates are specified in policies. However, since vendors are defined as illegal, they have to pay fines and other amounts to the police (ILO, 2006).

Another constraint is pressure and influence from the urban affluent class such as big retail store owners as well as property developers (ILO, 2006). They influence the authorities not to licence and permit the vendors in urban areas as they fear competition from informal traders as well as driven by rising real estate prices in the city, where "land has simply become too precious a commodity to be left to the street vendors (ILO, 2006; Roever & Skinner, 2016). In this case they may lobby for the latter's suppression (Roever & Skinner, 2016).

Subjecting vendors to unnecessary complex licensing procedures is yet another constraint to enforcement and implementation of the vendors' licensing and permit issuing. The evidence from literature suggests that food vendors are subject to particularly complex licensing regimes that can create openings for street-level bureaucrats to extract side payments. (Mahadevia, Brown, Lyons, Vyas, & Mishra, 2013) for example, it was found that a licence for a vegetable vendor in Ahmedabad, India specifies 21 restrictions on when, where and how one can sell the intended commodities.

Related to constraint of licensing and permit among the street vendors is the urban dynamics and politics. Existence and survival of street vendors is affected by and depends on the politics of the day. It, thus, all depends on who is in political power when and where! For example, in Tanzania recently street vendors have become innocent victims of somewhat contradicting political orders and directives. Initially, they were evicted from the city centres by local authorities a situation that caused considerable loss to the street vendors, and later on ordered by the President to operate freely in urban spaces and streets available. This kind of situation normally puts street vendors at crossroads with respect to their social, psychological, economic and political wellbeing (Munishi & Casmir 2018).

Licensing and permit issuing leads to several implications on the vendors and vending business. It activates restrictions on products sold by the vendors. In some countries vendors are restricted to selling items such as cooked foods, or highly-regulated products, such as medicines, cigarettes or alcohol. Such prohibition limits businesses, income as well as the livelihoods of the street vendors (Horn, 2018; ILO, 2006).

Another impact is that through licensing and permit issuing practices, street vendors are subjected to various taxes and charges as evidenced in West African countries, where informal traders are subjected to the daily, monthly or annual payments (Horn, 2018; ILO, 2006). Restrictions on access to and occupation of public space without introducing alternative trading places is yet another impinging effect. Such implications limit incomes and livelihoods of the vendors too (Horn, 2018; ILO, 2015).

2.1 Theoretical Stance of the Study

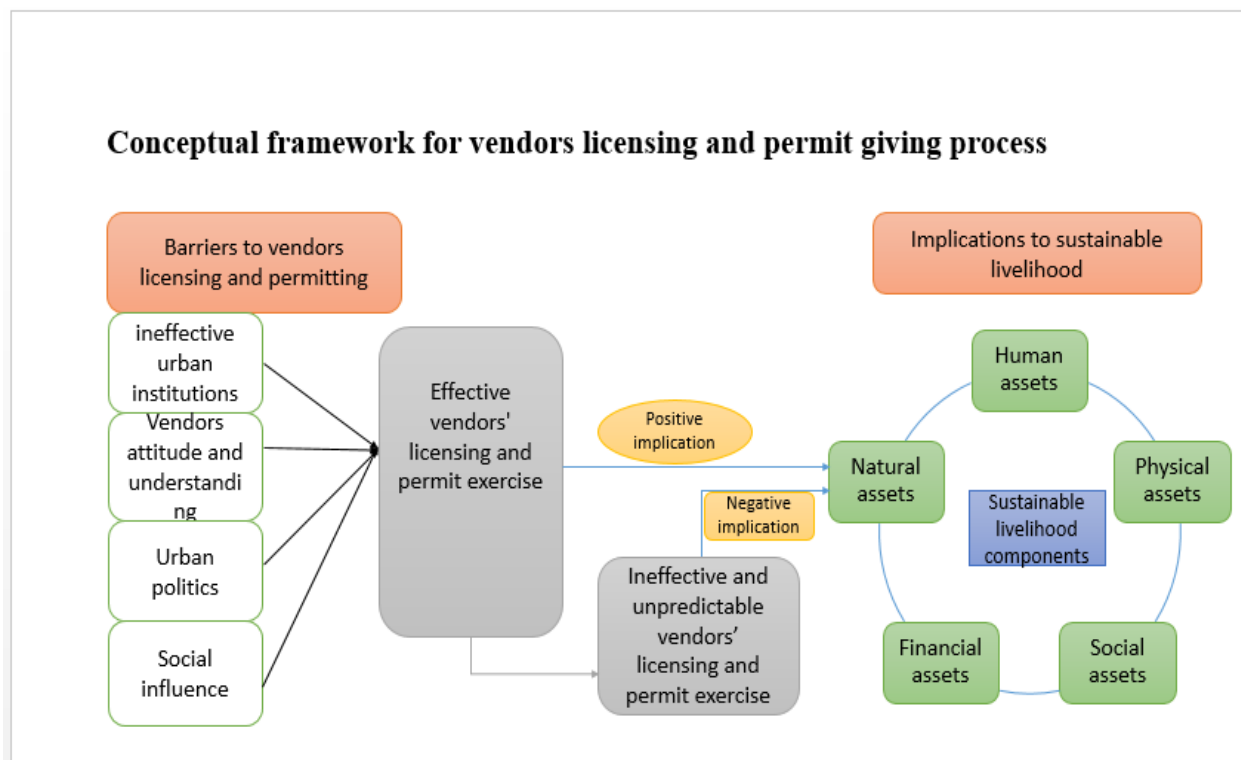
The Street vending phenomena has been difficult to theorize as an independent theme. Thus being a form of informal economic activity, has attracted many scholars to employ theories of the informal economy to study the phenomena. A number of scholars have suggested various theories and approaches to study the street vending phenomenon in the urban settings (Mazhambe, 2017). The Reformist, Marxist, Structuralist, Neo liberalist, Dualist, and romantic and Right to the city theories pose an example of such theories (Williams & Gurtoo, 2012). The multiplicity of such theories have made it difficult to categorize street vending studies (Skinner, 2008; Ndhlovu, 2011). All these have conflicting contestations with regards to street vendors' legality. Such contradicting argumentation accelerate the need for more studies in the area of street vending legalization. However, in line to this study, the sustainable livelihood framework will be used as a base of this study linking street vendors' licensing and street vendors' livelihood.

Based on the foregoing analysis it can then be argued that there is a considerable literature on vendors' licensing. However, the literature does not focus on Tanzania and Dar es Salaam in particular. Also no specific study had set its focus on this particular matter and the available literature is scanty and less systematic. Hence creating a gap in literature that this study intends to bridge.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

The analytical approach for the first and third objective is proposed based on the reviewed literature. Accordingly, the foregoing literature has demonstrated that licensing and permit for street vending is constrained by a number of factors notably factors related to government institutions, factors related to the vendors, factors related to other actors and those related to urban politics and dynamics. Institutions related factors include existence of ineffective policies, lack of participation in formulating policies, existence of contradicting policies about vending practices, as well as poor enforcement of policies. On the other hand, vendors' oriented constraints include, lack of awareness of licensing and permit related policies and procedures by the vendors, and vendors' negative attitude towards vending licensing and permits. Another cluster of constraints is related to the urban politics and dynamics such as conflicting political ideologies, taking political advance of vendors especially during election campaigns. Last but not the list, vendors' licensing is constrained by various social groups including various business groups and customers.

The second objective seeks to investigate implications for vendors' unpredictable licensing and permit practices for urban street vendors. The Sustainable Livelihood framework (SLF), was the base used to investigate these implications. According to the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, sustainable livelihoods refers to an individual or household's capacity to maintain its wellbeing [overcome the vulnerability context] without eroding the resources base (DfID, 2000). Such capacity is determined by the access to and ownership of assets, notably natural, physical, human, financial and social capitals. Human assets encompass skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health, while physical assets include basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water and energy) and communication facilities. Social assets entail social resources (networks, membership of formal and informal groups, relationships of trust, and access to wider institutions of society) that people draw upon in pursuit of livelihoods. Financial assets include cash money, savings, supplies of credit or regular remittances and pensions, while natural assets include aspects such as land, water, wildlife, biodiversity and other environmental resources (DfID, 2000). As applied to this paper, the researcher examined the extent to which unpredictability of vending licensing and permit [negatively impacts on] erodes the vendor's livelihood or the assets [natural, physical, human, financial and social capitals].



Source: Modified from Sustainable Livelihood framework (DfID, 2000).

3.0 METHODOLOGY

The study opted the qualitative approach, due to the nature of the study. The study intended to get respondents' inner views, opinions and perceptions on the topic under the study (Bryman, 2003). Further, considering that most of the work in street vending have utilised conventional quantitative approaches that tend to leave behind a lot of useful information; thus, the use of qualitative approach to bridge this gap was considered. This work was carried out in Dar es Salaam owing to a big number of street vendors in the city. The Study involved 79 street vendors with an addition of 30 key informants. Street vendors were purposefully selected from ten selected wards. Wards were purposefully selected basing on the concentration of street vendors. In each ward, 8 respondents were selected with an exception of one ward in which only 7 street vendors were sampled. Street vendors were selected based on the criteria that they had at least been street vendors for not less than a year. The study also gathered information from key informants who included 10 Ward Executive Officers on the visited wards, 10 Ward Community Development Officers of the same selected wards and 5 Municipal Trade Officers from the five municipals in Dar es Salaam. These informants were considered due to their vast knowledge on the topic under the study. Individual in-depth interviews (IDI) of up to 30 minutes were conducted with both street vendors and key informants and 5 Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) of between 5 to 7 street vendors.

Data collected through interviews and FDG were transcribed. The Swahili transcriptions were translated into English and handwritten transcripts were typed and saved as documents in rich text format. Data was read and re read by the researchers. This was intended to familiarize with data. The coding exercise followed in which the first five sets of responses gave codes that were used for the entire data. Important units were identified and categorised according to the needs of the study. These were compared to differentiate a main unit from a subsidiary. Some units with similar meaning were merged. This entire process was performed with the help of MAXQDA 10 [VERBI Software, Marburg, Germany].

Ethical considerations were adhered to. Research access permits were sought, and respondents were informed of the nature, aims and objectives of the study and were free to participate or withdraw from the study if they wished to. Respondents were assured of the confidentiality of the information they shared with researchers during the entire data collection exercise. They were further assured that information they shared was only to be used for the purpose of this study and not otherwise.

To ensure trustworthiness of the findings, triangulation of methods in the sense that the use of both interviews and FGD helped to validate responses. Similarly, the involvement of street vendors, community leaders, and municipal officers was another means of triangulation in which responses from one group were validated by other groups' responses. Members checking, analysis of negative cases, peer debriefing as well as daily discussion and reflection on data were conducted.

4.0 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Constraints Restraining the Licensing and Permitting Practices for Street Vendors

In this objective, the researchers intended to unveil issues that restrain the entire process of giving permits and licenses to street vendors. The idea behind this comes as a result of unpredictability of the whole process since the previous years to present. Results indicate that there have been a number of hindrances ranging from policy matters, street vendors themselves, urban politics and dynamic as well as the influence from other social groups. These are expounded as follows;

4.1.1 Inadequate and Ineffective Urban Institutions

Policy matters

The source of any actions taken by the government or government officials comes from policy, regulations, circulars, laws, by-laws and other official directives. Such laws and officially recognized policies direct what should be done where, by whom, in which manner and for what purpose. In the case of street vendors permit and license issuing exercise, policies have been inadequate and ineffective. With the fact that there exist no specific policy, law or circular for street vending business, thus the process of granting permits and licenses to street vendors has been at the discretion of the local authority leaders or the prevailing President.

Further, the available policies laws and by-laws are mostly a photocopy of those available during the colonial times which prohibited the establishment of small businesses as a protection of the then available colonial companies and businesses (Shaidi, 1984). In the same vein, colonial policies and laws were aimed at suppressing people from working in the available urban streets as this would disturb the tranquility of the “city lords”. Such colonial policies gave a framework to the currently available policies which do not take in consideration the existing pool of unemployed youths who need to support their life and have found street vending as the relatively cheapest opportunity from which they get their livelihood. The existence of such policies do not see any need of giving permits and licenses to street vendors rather than seeing them as a problem to be reckoned with. This hinders the entire process of giving licenses and permits to street vendors. Supporting this view one responded was quoted to saying; “*The prevailing policies are outdated, irrelevant and do not depict the current situation*” (Street vendor, Ubungo).

Inadequacies in policy formulation process

Policy formulation process regarding street vending is yet another challenge. Most of the policies and by-laws formulated in the country about street vendors were mostly top-down. No participatory approach was used in the formulation of such policies. None of the street vendor has ever been consulted on views pertaining the whole process of licensing and permitting street vendors, neither have they consulted any of the street vendor about how best to improve or regulate the operations of this kind of a business. This brings a notion of force and imposition. When a new policy, law or by-law about street vendors is enacted, street vendors do not feel attached to the policy because it is imposed on them, they were not part of its formulation. Thus, they lack that sense of ownership. In such a situation, it is obvious that as long the entire process of licensing and permit issuing to street vendors was top-down in nature, it will not be fully supported thus hindering the entire process. Supporting this, a respondent said;

“The reality is that policies are imposed on us, we don’t own them. To most of us, they are just like forced on us. Do you think vendors will smoothly abide to them? That is why they face numerous challenges” (S.V, Makumbusho).

Another statement made by one of the informants cemented this fact by saying;

Considering the nature of these people, we find it difficult to include them in the policy formulation exercise. They, in most cases, do not have any pronounced leadership, they have low level of education and are sometimes unconfident. In such a situation we do not even invite them nor take their opinions when making policies. Our greatest consideration is safeguarding public interests of majority groups (Official, Temeke).

This implies that street vendors are not in support of the exercise just because they feel like it was only imposed on them and not their own making.

Contradicting policies

Another aspect under policy issues is contradicting policies, laws and bi-laws and their implementation. Of recent, the Tanzanian government has been promoting the growth of industrial sector and small business. It has put forward a number of policies that are intended to enhance this development. The Tanzanian Constitution gives people the right to take any kind of a job that will sustain their livelihood provided it is legal. The Tanzania SME development policy encourages the development of small industries and business but on the other hand, local authorities create by-laws that inhibit people’s

initiatives to create new small businesses in form of street vending. But still, while the President's decree allows vendors to operate in urban settings, some para-military troops arrest them and request them to pay some fines for vending in "unauthorized areas". To this end, street vendors do not know to which policy, law, and by-law are they required to be submissive to. The act of arresting them for vending in unauthorized areas even with vending IDs shows that those permits are undermined by some government executive officers, hence raising questions among vendors on the usefulness of the vendors' IDs. These acts inhibit others from securing these permits rendering a failure of the entire process. Expounding this, one street vendor said;

"Available policies, and implementers of these policies are contradicting. While some policies allow our activities, others are against them. While some officials are considerate and allow us to vend others brand us as criminals and responsible for city's filthy environment and they are against the entire process of giving us permits and licenses. In such a conflicting situation, I don't think if the licensing and permit giving exercise will be successful" (S.V, CBE).

Such findings are similar to those of (Roever, 2014; Racaud, Kago, Awuor, 2018) who cited that conflicting policies and contestations have been a challenge to the legalization of street vending business and the entire working conditions.

4.1.2 Vendors' Related Challenges

Vendors' attitude and understanding

This was another constraint hampering the licensing and permit giving exercise of street vendors in Dar es Salaam. This is mainly resulting from street vendors themselves. Findings indicate that street vendors are also a hindrance to the exercise due to their low level of awareness of the entire process of licensing and permit giving exercise, negative perception, and low level of education.

It can be expounded that the entire process of giving street vendors licenses and permits is not clearly known to street vendors themselves. It comes just as an order. For instance, street vendors do not understand what the current ID is all about. Is it only aimed at making them pay 20,000/= per annum to the government or a permit for them to vend. It rises questions. Why don't they have vendors particulars? What if it gets lost why shouldn't the person pay a little token to get a new one rather than paying the whole 20,000/= ? Further, findings show that it came to a certain stage when local authorities decided to use force to make vendors get the currently issued vendors' ID because vendors themselves were unaware and were not interested in taking those IDs. Supporting this, a vendor revealed that;

"Let me be honest, had it not been by force, I would not have gone to buy the ID. I don't know what is it for? And there are many out there who are just like me. When they were forced, they bought one ID and are using it in turns because it does not show any vendors' particulars" (S.V, Kibamba)

Supplementing this, one of the interviewed officials said;

"It came a moment when we did not have a choice rather than using force to make vendors respond to getting the currently issued vendors' IDs as vendors were unaware of the entire process, its importance and what they would benefit from the process. In such a situation it is very difficult to have everything done in perfection. But still all along there have been a number of such exercises in the previous years, but we used to fail achieving it because of vendors low level of understanding." (Official, Ilala).

Such statements reveal that the low level of awareness and understanding on the entire process of vendors' licensing and permit giving, gives local authorities and other implementers hard time to achieve the exercise.

Vendor's negative attitude

Vendors' negative attitude on the entire licensing and permit giving exercise is another constraint resulting from vendors themselves. Data indicated that some vendors, due to the reciprocity of the process have developed a negative attitude to the ongoing exercise of granting permits and licenses in form of IDs. They claim that the process has never been successful as it changes every time and again just because of the needs of the prevailing president or any other leader concerned. Expounding this, a vendor made the following statement;

"If you ask me about this, I would tell you that I already have a negative attitude towards this entire exercise. This is not the first nor the second time. But funny enough, every time they come with the same project, they do not want to recognize the previous permits they issued earlier to us. The whole thing is tiresome. I don't want to hear about it and I am not in support of it at all" (S.V Kigmboni).

Another one simply said;

"I hate the exercise because I know just in the near future the situation is not going to be like it is. But I have nothing to do".

Referring to a machete, he said;

“While they are holding the handle I am holding the blade. Once they pull I will be the one to get hurt”
(S.V, Mbagala).

Meaning he cannot oppose the government as it has all the authority to do what pleases it.

Such statements indicate that negativities developed as a result of continuous changes in the behaviour of the exercise, pose a great barrier to the entire process of vendors’ licensing and permit giving exercise in Dar es Salaam.

Low level of education of street vendors

The low level of education of street vendors was also given as a barrier to the exercise. Results reveal that, most street vendors are primary and secondary school leavers, who in most cases failed their final examinations and while looking for livelihood strategies, they found street vending is an opportunity to them. This group knows little of what is going on in the country and are less inquisitive. As a result, they know little of the exercise, its importance and how they should go about it. During the interview one respondent narrated;

“...the level of education among street vendors is low. For instance I am a primary school leaver. I discovered that there is an opportunity in doing such kind of a business. I don’t know much about the licensing exercise, all I know is tapping something out of my customers so that I support my family” (S.V, Tandika).

This situation implies that as long as street vendors have low level of awareness, negative attitude towards the exercise as well as having low level of education, it means that they will not respond positively to the entire exercise. Such a situation will pose a barrier to the entire process of vendors’ license and permit giving exercise.

Findings are in line with those of different scholars (Mubarack, 2018; Munishi and Casmir 2019; Saha, 2017; Roever, 2014) who all agree that street vendors have very low level of education which always influences their practices and actions hence leading to low participation in the entire process of licensing and permit issuing.

4.1.3 Urban Politics and Dynamics

It is widely known that as towns grow, they tend to have a number of changes ranging from political and social in nature. Urban politics have influence in almost everything that takes place in the urban settings including the question in the current discussion of vendors licensing and permit giving exercise. Results indicate that urban politics have also been responsible in hindering the success of the process. Its effects are visible in two aspects discussed below.

Conflicting political ideologies

The health and wealth of different political parties lie in urban settings where the population is big compared to the rural ones. These people dwelling in cities, towns and other trading centres belong to political parties with political ideologies that are similar to theirs- so are street vendors. A considerable number of street vendors do not belong to any party but are swayed with youth movements most of which are from opposition groups whose dominating followers are youths found in urban areas. This being the case, they are not easily supporting initiatives established by the government claiming that they are short termed and have no legal roots, thus can be changed by anyone so easily. In this case, the vendors licensing and permit giving exercise is also seen by vendors belonging to opposition parties as a political move by the ruling party and thus are not willing to support such an initiative. Commenting about this one of the vendors said;

“Honestly, this a short term initiative for winning a political capital? I do not support it. They should come with an issue that is recognized by the law. What if another President comes in? Do you think he/she will recognize these permits?” (S.V Manzeshe).

Such a statement reveals that some vendors are not ready to support the exercise just because it has been initiated by the ruling party to which they do not belong. This becomes a barrier that hinders the process from realizing its goal.

Taking political advance of the vendors especially during election

This was also another fact that was revealed by the collected data. In this, most of the street vendors were concerned with a number of politicians taking them as political capital especially during elections. It was revealed that the exercise of giving licenses and permits has been carried in different times. However, in most of the times, the exercise was carried at times nearby elections. In some instances some vendors disclosed that the presidents’ decree to allow vendors had an intention of winning support from the great pool of street vendors across the country. Hence, among other things, it had political intentions. It was also revealed that politicians tend to be vocal about the rights of street vendors only when it is time for

elections. Some vendors disclosed that the vendors' licensing and permit giving exercise is just a political game and that vendors are not ready to be fooled time and again. Such statements indicate that vendors who have that ideology are not in support of the exercise which is among the hindrances for the success of the exercise. Commenting about this, one vendor said; *"I think that the current licensing and permit giving exercise is just a political trap. Because this has been a practice since then. Thus we don't find it important to comply with the exercise"* (S.V Mtongani). This expresses how people feel about the exercise and how they are not ready to support it.

Despite such statements, a number of officials contested to this by saying that barriers hindering the process are there but are not connected to political ideologies and that the government is committed to serving its citizens especially those doing small business in a bid to fight poverty and increase people's standards of living. Such contestation depict the fault existing between vendors and local authorities as the latter set policies laws and by-laws alone without including street vendors and other affected groups. Such findings in general support those by a number of scholars (Roevers, 2014; Etzold, 2014; Saha,2017) who clearly indicate that urban politics and dynamics have greater influence in any initiatives for or against street vendors such that the status of street vendors changes according to the political season the country is in.

4.1.4 The Influence of Other Social Groups

This was revealed to be one among the constraints hampering the vendors licensing and permit giving exercise in Dar es Salaam. It is widely accepted that social influence has an effect on the actions of an individual. With a similar understanding thus, street vendors' response to the licensing and permit giving exercise is influenced negatively by social groups of big retail stock owners and residents in the urban setting and to a smaller extent customers served by the street vendors. Their influence is discussed as follows;

Lobbying from big retail owners

Data revealed that big business owners by using their financial status, used to influence local authority officials to suppress street vendors and mismanage the licensing and permit giving exercise to street vendors as the latter were considered serious competitors to retail store owners. A case in point was the Lumumba street vendors' market initiated by the Municipal council. It was shortly closed up by the influence of big retail store owners. In such a way, the exercise was not successful. In the same vein, the current exercise is as well hindered by big retail store owners who have bought a number of IDs and have supplied them to their vendors to increase their sales volume. This was confirmed by a vendor who said;

"...big business owners bought these IDs and supplied them to their "special vendors". When we went to buy the same in different local authority offices they were over, we had to wait for a reasonable amount of time to get them. Even currently there some of us who do not have these IDs" (S.V Mtongani).

Such a statement confirms that big shop and retail store owners have also been a constraint to the entire vendors' legalization through licensing and permit giving in Dar es Salaam.

Contestation from urban residents and customers

Street vending business is at times conducted next to residential apartments in Dar es Salaam. This action causes contestations from those residents. Data indicate that some residents (with Asian origin) have actively been using their influence to disband the entire process of granting street vendors permits to operate in areas next to those apartments. In most cases, these residents argue that street vendors are noisy, violent and sometimes vulgar. On the side of customers some perceive street vendors as criminals who rob them of their possessions. One of the respondent reported that at Kisutu vegetable and fruits market, a number of residents have for a long been trying to influence local authorities to evict them and at different moments they were evicted. With such contestations, it becomes difficult for the entire legalization through giving licenses and permits to street vendors. Such findings are in congruence with those of Saha (2017) who argue that residents have both positive and negative influence in the legalization of street vendors.

4.2 Implications of Unpredictable Vendors' Licensing and Permit Practices for Urban Street Vendors Livelihoods

In this objective, we wanted to explore implications resulting from the unpredictable exercise of vendors licensing and permit provision to vendors' livelihood. In this regard, we built on the existing fact that the legalization process for street vending business through issuing of licenses and permits has had a number of unofficial phases right from the early 1980s. The process has been *"off and on"* characterized by moments of joy and sorrows that is moments when vending activities have been authorized and then declared illegal. Thus, the entire process of legalizing vending activities through giving licenses and permits to vendors has not been predictable since then. It lies in the mercy or strictness of the local authority leader in a respective area. Findings show that, the unpredictable nature of this exercise has some implications to the street vendors' livelihood on their human, physical, social financial and natural assets as will be discussed.

Human assets

These are assets owned by an individual or organization. They include ones skills, knowledge and experiences a person has (Mishra, Maheshwari & Meena, 2014). These define what one is capable of and the way one uses education, skills, knowledge, experiences and capacity to work to make a difference in one's life. It is one of the aspect in the Sustainable Livelihood framework developed by DfID (2000). In this study, data revealed that the unpredictable nature of the vendors' licensing and permit giving practices have an implication on human assets. During moments when the street business is declared illegal, a great number of vendors remain idle, this weakens their ability, skills as well as ability to work. It was reported that those in the art and craft industry tend to lose their skills as a result of being out of work for a reasonable number of days. This was supported by both street vendors and interviewed officials. One of the vendor lamented;

"When I got chased out of my working station, due to changing directive regarding our business, my skills got redundant and were prone to being lost, I failed to support my family financially and at times I lost my friends with whom we were working" (S.V, Kibamba).

On the same note, one official said;

"The unpredictable nature of the exercise affect street vendors' ability to work and causes them serious stress as a result of their merchandise being confiscated. This leads them into cardiac problems. With such problems they lose their ability to work as they used to" (Official, Kibamba).

Such statements indicate that, unpredictability of the exercise implicate people's ability to work, redundancy of their skills, and unexpected health problems. These are similar results with those given by different researchers (Roovers 2014; Saha, 2017; Bhowmik, 2010) who highlighted on the problems vendors encounter due to unpredictable behavior of the vendors licensing and permit issuing exercise including losing their skills, as well as getting health related problem that reduces their ability to work.

Physical assets

These include properties and ability to acquire services. They are real items with values and tangible in nature (Hastings, 2015). In the case of street vendors, they include their merchandise, personal belongings like phones, and bags among others as well as temporary structures in which they shade their merchandise. We, after interviewing our respondents, realized that the unpredictable nature of the exercise affects vendors' physical assets. Vendors revealed that in those moments when their business is proclaimed illegal, they clash with local authorities leading to loss of their merchandise, personal belongings and destruction of their temporary erected shades. This, cripples their economy as they go back to the ground intensifying poverty among vendors and their families. A street vendor at Temeke disappointingly commented;

"I don't want to recall what happened the last time we clashed with paramilitary troops. They took everything belonging to me including my phone. I lost almost two million Tanzanian shillings (approximately 500\$). I had no any other source of income, my family starved for a reasonable period of time till I secured a casual job in an industry. I was totally grounded financially" (S.V Temeke).

Such a statement clearly indicate that the unpredictability nature of the process leads to loss to various physical assets owned by vendors and renders them poverty and poor and unpleasant standard of life.

Social assets

These are networks that a person creates with others as a result of getting used to them. Patronage, neighbourhoods, kinship, relations of trust and mutual understanding and support, formal and informal groups, shared values and behaviours, common rules and sanctions, collective representation, mechanisms for participation in decision-making, leadership (Serrat, 2017). Data indicate that, there is a great implication of unpredictable exercise of street vendors' licensing and permit issuing. It was revealed that as a result of unpredictability of the exercise, social relations are affected the most in the sense that people lose their long term created friends, warmth and neighbourhood as well as a sense of belonging to the people they are used to. As people stay and work together, they formulate formal and informal groups which help them to run their entire day to day life. In situations where vendors are evicted or shifted to another location, all these are negatively affected and a person will start to create new social groups to get comfort. A vendor on this said;

"We normally find it difficult to create firm social relations as we do not know our tomorrow. We sometimes create social groups however, they break as soon as we are evicted or ordered to vacate in certain areas. We do not fit anywhere even our neighbours and financial institutions mistrust us" (S.V, Makumbusho).

On the same issue one official informed that;

"Vendors are vulnerable to mistrust among people they live with as they are considered to be dealing with business that is vulnerable to risks and sometimes considered hooligans. At times they fail even to

be trusted by social groups that support other small business persons due to unpredictable nature of their business and its regulatory powers” (Official, Mtongani).

Such congruency between vendors and officials clearly depict the existing situation that vendors during such hard times of eviction lose their social capital on a larger extent.

Financial assets

These include all financial related assets belonging to an individual. They include savings, credit and debt (formal, informal), remittances, pensions, wages. The unpredictability of the vendors licensing and permit giving exercise affects vendors’ household cash remittance, saving ability debt servicing and much more. It should be understood that most of street vendors are subsistence in nature. They just work for survival and if they save, they just save a little token. One vendor said;

“Most of us use money lenders to get capital, we need to service our loans on daily, weekly or monthly basis. Failure to do so our items get confiscated. The problem becomes more serious when you have a loan to service and the business gets to be declared illegal” (S.V, CBE).

In moments when the business is declared illegal, vendors lose even the ability of maintaining their families. Such findings concur with those of Roeffers (2014) which among others argue that the unpredictability of the legalization process causes financial risks to street vendors as well as their families.

Natural assets

These include land and produce, water and aquatic resources, trees and forest products, wildlife, wild foods and fibres, biodiversity, environmental services. These are also affected by unpredictability of the vendors licensing and permit issuing. Data indicate that site changing and migration of vendors from one place to the other as a result of being shifted damage the environment especially trees. On this one of the official interviewed disclosed that;

“This activity is always unpredictable, it depends on who holds power. Its unpredictability causes clashes, shifting of vendors from a place to the other which affect the environment and especially trees and flowers planted as well as the general environmental cleanliness”(Official, Ilala MC)

Such a statement imply that the unpredictability of the vendors licensing and permit giving exercise is not only a problem but a paralysing agent to street vendors human, physical, social, financial and environmental assets which are sustainable livelihood supporters. Findings indicate that the implication is always negative and precarious during moments when street vendors are banned to operate in the urban settings.

4.3 Vendors Recommended Solutions for Improving Licensing and Permit Practices for the Vendors.

In this objective, we intended to engage vendors to suggest ways in which the entire practice of licensing and permit giving to vendors can be improved. Vendors suggested different measures in which the practice will have its improvements. Such ways are presented in Figure 1.

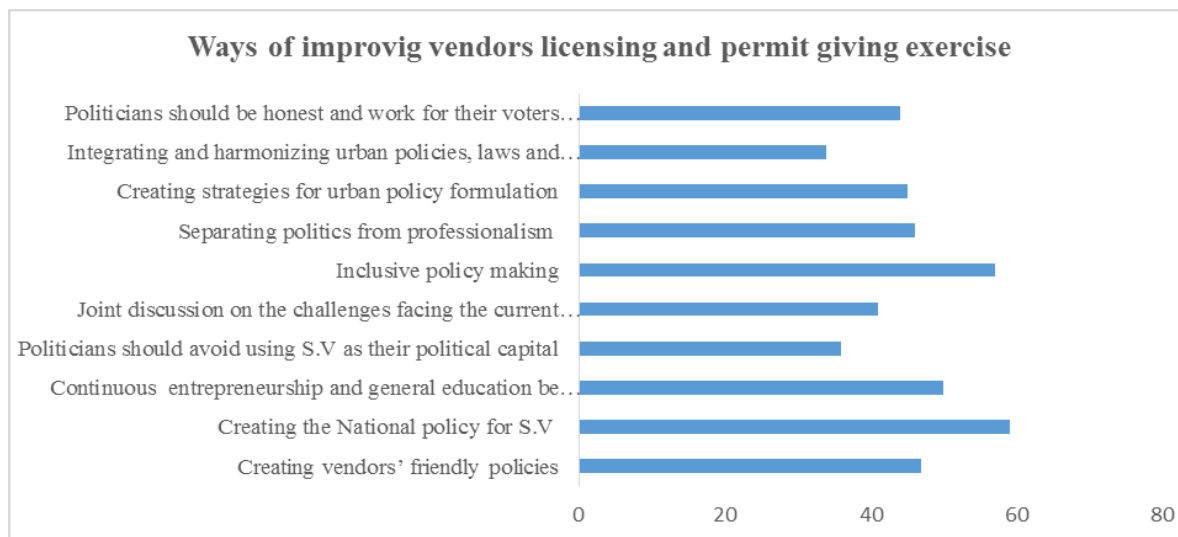


Figure 1: Ways of improving vendors’ licensing and permit giving exercise

Figure 1 above indicate vendors suggested ways of improving the unpredictable exercise of licensing and permitting street vendors in the country. Most of the respondents (60) agitated for the establishment of the national street vendors' policy which will be used as a framework regarding the permits of vendors across the country. Vendors also suggested inclusivity in policy formulation (59) as a bid to raise a sense of belonging. Friendly policies were suggested as well as continuous education to street vendors (more than 50 respondents). Such findings with such suggestions are in line with those of different scholars (Bhowmik, 2010; Mubarack, 2018; Roever, 2014; Kumar, 2012) who have continuously been putting forward a number of suggestions on how best to deal with legalization of street vending business across the globe. They have suggested a number of strategies including training of vendors, inclusive policy making as well as creating a national wide policy and laws governing the street vending business.

5.0 CONCLUSION

The current study aimed at assessing challenges facing street vendors licensing and permit issuing exercise in Dar es Salaam. The study has found that the exercise is hindered by inadequate and ineffective urban institutions, Vendors' attitude and understanding, urban politics and dynamics and the influence of social groups including other business persons, customers and family members (at a very less extent). In the same vein, unpredictable licensing and permit giving exercise have affected vendors' human, physical, social, financial and natural assets. Street vendors identified several ways of improving vendors' licensing and permit issuing exercise. Such ways include inclusive policy making, creating vendors' friendly policies, establishment of the national policy for street vending activities and creating better strategies for establishing vendors' related policies among others.

Such findings imply that, the process of vendors' licensing needs to be a collective one in the sense that for it to be successful, it should be inclusive in the sense that all important stakeholders have to be consulted and allowed a chance of giving their views and prototype of how the policy should be like. Similarly, findings imply that street vending is a livelihood strategy of many in urban settings. Thus unpredictability in the licensing and permit giving exercise has greater effects to vendors' livelihood in general.

6.0 IMPLICATIONS

It is recommended that it is high time for the government and other institutions to consider inclusive policy making approach rather than imposing policies, laws and by-laws to people who were not part of its formulation.

A national policy for street vending business should be formulated to safeguard the interests of the majority street vendors across the country as the business has been a shock absorber to the increasing level of unemployed youth in both urban and rural setting.

7.0 RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER STUDIES

There is paucity of studies related to street vendors and policy issues in Tanzania. Thus more studies should direct their focus on policies regarding street vending business in general.

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