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# Negotiating work and masculinities through care and development in community groups in Dar es Salaam.

Sabina Louise Lawrie

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy (PhD)

School of Geographical and Earth Sciences  
College of Science and Engineering  
University of Glasgow

January 2018

# Abstract

Work is a privileged activity, often considered central to a meaningful life and sustainable development. However, the ways in which different types of work such as volunteering, domestic labour and paid work intersect, as well as their impacts on people's lives are not well understood. This thesis aims to better understand the work that people do, the value attached to work, the gendered nature of work, and the relationship between work, decision making, and development narratives. I draw upon the research I conducted with four different community groups in Dar es Salaam, which used a mixture of interviews, focus groups and participant observation. I reflect upon the use of translation in research, in particular questioning the impact upon research of linguistically hybrid interviews. Participants engaged in many different and intersecting types of work, which fulfilled different needs, and in which wage earning is not always prioritised. Young men in particular used their work as volunteers, through which they engage in labours of care, to negotiate their own masculinities in a context of severe un(der)employment in Dar es Salaam. By identifying their work as volunteering, participants benefit from an increased sense of self-worth and use this identity as a primary way to define themselves. For many of the young men, it is in part through this volunteer work that they achieve markers of masculinity such as leadership and status. The spaces of the community groups are continually being negotiated through work done, and values assigned to different work. I suggest ways in which a greater understanding of work and masculinity within these contexts could influence development interventions in a bid to make interventions both more equitable and more relevant to those they are intended to help.

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## List of Acronyms

AVC - Afri-Tanzania Volunteers for Change

CCT - Cash Conditional Transfer

ESL - English as a Second Language

GAD - Gender And Development

GDI - Gender Development Index

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

HDI - Human Development Index

ILFS - Integrated Labour Force Survey

KCC - Kigamboni Community Centre

LGBY - Let God Be You

MDG - Millennium Development Goals

NBS - National Bureau of Statistics

OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

SAP - Structural Adjustment Programme

SIGI - Social Institutions Gender Index

SNA - System of National Accounts

TINA - There Is No Alternative

UN - United Nations

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

WEF - World Economic Forum

WID - Women In Development



## Acknowledgements

Firstly, this PHD would not have been possible without the funding from the Economic and Social Research Council (Award Number ES/J500136/1) which allowed me the opportunity to conduct this research. In particular I am grateful for the contribution to overseas fieldwork which enabled a rich and rewarding research experience in Dar es Salaam.

I am indebted to my supervisors, Jo Sharp and Ozan Karaman for their guidance, comments and patience. Thanks to Jo especially for putting up with me since my days as an undergraduate. I particularly appreciate the support you have both shown as I have had a crisis of confidence during the final stages leading up to submission. Thanks are also due to Herbert Hambati at the University of Dar es Salaam for his role as my in-country supervisor.

To my peers and other staff members within the School of Geographical and Earth Sciences at Glasgow, thank you for all your input. I appreciate every journal article recommendation, word of encouragement, and comment on my work. Thank you to my cohort of PhD students for checking in on me, even when I was working from home and a little bit AWOL.

To all members of KCC, LGBY, AVC and Corona Society, in particular to David, Nas, and Osman who went above and beyond, thank you for welcoming me into your groups. Thank you for giving up your time, for talking with me, and for answering my questions. Without your communication, openness, and willingness to help me this research would have been impossible.

To January, for translating, for introducing me to LGBY, for travelling around Dar es Salaam with me, and for your patience when I asked stupid questions, thank you. You have a remarkable ability to make people feel at ease, and you played an essential part in this research, and I hope that in my discussions of translation issues within the research I have done your contribution justice.

A heartfelt thank you also goes to all those who I met at the Fathers in Dar es Salaam. Your chats over breakfast and dinner made fieldwork a more rewarding and enjoyable experience. Thank you for your interesting stories, your information about Dar es Salaam, and your friendship. A special thanks to Anna who accompanied me throughout my hospitalisation in Dar es Salaam, and was my

translator, my advocate, and my friend. You made a scary situation a lot less scary and I don't know what I'd have done without you.

To all my friends and family for your ongoing support and belief, thank you. A big thank you to all of those who met up and worked in companionable silence with me in coffee shops across Glasgow, when I needed someone else to help me to focus. I couldn't have done it without you as my temporary co-workers. I am especially indebted to my friends within the communities I dance with, particularly the blues dance community for keeping me sane and recharging me with music and connection. Thank you for the much-needed hugs and giggles. Dancing with you all soothes my soul and fills me up to the top with love.

Finally, to my partner Alan, for unwavering support and an unshakable belief in my abilities, and for bringing me tea, surprise board games, and the occasional gin when the going got tough. Thank you for visiting me halfway through my fieldwork, and for enduring the absolute comedy of errors that your trip to Tanzania turned out to be. Maybe one day we can return without the theft, head injuries, scams, and stomach bugs! I love you and I'm so glad that we will be facing all of our future adventures and challenges together.

## Authors Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Sabina', with a stylized, flowing script.

Sabina Louise Lawrie

## Chapter One: Introduction

When first meeting people, “So, what do you do?” is frequently an opening conversational gambit. The question is so common that the correct response has been the subject of numerous advice columns and lifestyle blogs. Suggestions range from advice designed to promote your job, such as demonstrating how you help people or telling an anecdote about your job, to advice which aims to circumnavigate or reject the question entirely, such as talking about your passion instead (Berlin, n.d.; Millburn, n.d.). However, I was unprepared when in a hotel café in Dar es Salaam, Sylvia, a British ex-pat<sup>1</sup> leaned towards me and asked “So, what does your husband do?”

The ubiquity of the ‘what do you do’ question demonstrates the privileged status of work in society. It is assumed to be a defining feature of a person, and as well as a social question it is information deemed important enough to collect on censuses and birth certificates. Meanwhile job creation or retention hold such status that they are used as justifications for issues as varied as giving tax breaks to large corporations (Ljungqvist and Smolyansky, 2014) and maintaining nuclear armaments (Watson, 2016). Work therefore is a powerful concept within popular and political imaginations. Work is important as a means of earning money and ensuring survival, but Berkman (2014) suggests that work does so much more, such as providing people with a primary role for society, shaping identity in core ways, and providing opportunities for important social engagement and social interaction.

The high levels of importance that are attached to work make it easy to see why we are asked about what we do so often. However, returning to that café in Dar es Salaam, I was surprised to be asked about someone else’s work, rather than my own. Many of the ex-patriot women living in Dar es Salaam do so because their husband’s jobs have brought them to the city, so Sylvia’s question was based upon a certain set of reasonable assumptions. However, the question is indicative of the status of work as an identity marker. When it was assumed that I did not work, I was not asked about my own hobbies or interests, but about the job of my (non-

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<sup>1</sup> Although the term ex-pat is problematic as it is almost exclusively a term reserved for white immigrants (Koutonin, 2015), I use this term for two reasons. Firstly, it is how people self-identify, and so reflects participants framing of themselves. Secondly, it is useful precisely because the term reflects the privilege of the group it refers to.

existent) husband. Putting aside for a moment the gendered assumptions of work inherent in the question, the remainder of the conversation also reveals the reified status of paid work. I told Sylvia that I wasn't married, and that I was in Tanzania conducting PhD research. "Oh how interesting" she smiled, "so what will you be able to do with that?"

This is another all-to-familiar question which frames work as the end-goal of education. Education is often represented as an undertaking which, when successful, will lead to paid work. This can be seen in the measurement of graduate employment rates in university league tables (Complete University Guide, 2018). Waged work therefore has privileged status and work and wages are frequently seen as the primary way to distribute wealth in society (MéDa, 1996). In development contexts, work is represented as a way to pull people out of poverty, with a focus on helping those who help themselves (Wilson, 2010). The World Bank state that good and inclusive jobs are the surest way out of poverty (World Bank, 2017a), and the creation and sustenance of productive and decent employment is a goal of Tanzania's national strategy for growth and reduction of poverty (Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs, 2010). The strategy also suggests that the principle route out of poverty is productive and decent employment.

As well as a route out of poverty, work has also been represented as a vehicle for gender equality. Attempts to achieve gender equality have often focussed on women's role in work, and in particular encouraging women's participation in waged work whilst overlooking inequalities in divisions of unpaid labour (Loutfi, 2001). Women have therefore been encouraged to participate in paid labour to lean in, and break the glass ceiling. Meanwhile men have not been encouraged to take on the unpaid labour traditionally assigned to women. As Sylvia's question highlighted, work is a highly gendered social sphere. Masculine identity has been shaped by men's role as providers for the family, and where men struggle to find appropriately masculine work they may also struggle to define themselves as men (McDowell, 2003). Meanwhile, women have often been excluded from certain worlds of work, whilst shouldering burdens of unpaid domestic and community labours (Moser, 1978). However, this has not had anywhere near as much attention paid to it.

Types of work which do not fit a neat and tidy definition of work as formal and well paid have their own literature and theories. For example, alternative economies approaches highlight work beyond wage labour in order to better understand the value of this work (Cameron and Gibson, 2005). Those who concern themselves with volunteering or informal work also examine work which is unpaid or often excluded from national statistics respectively. Informal work is viewed in many different ways, but generally discussions of informal work have only included paid labours. Meanwhile feminists, as well as trying to increase women's participation in wage labour, have aimed to attach value to traditionally unpaid and feminised work such as domestic labour and community management (Weeks, 2011).

When discussing work beyond the economic, attempts are often made to bring more types of work into the economic sphere, such as counting informal work in economic statistics by assigning estimated economic value (Castells and Portes, 1989), or considering domestic labour as part of the economic lives of cities (Sassen, 2010). However, by focussing on the economic as the best unit of measurement and analysis, these approaches simplify the role which work plays in people's everyday lives.

Different types of work may fulfil different roles such as survival or identity creation. Existing approaches often look at specific types of work in isolation, or in relation to paid labours, rather than as part of an intersecting whole. By looking simply at volunteering, or waged labour, or domestic labour, or only looking at these types of work in relation to the economic, the ways in which these types of work support each other are overlooked. It is therefore important to understand the nature of work, how different types of work intersect, and the contribution different types of work make to people's lives. When work is a goal of development interventions which explicitly aim to improve people's lives, it is important to understand the multiple roles work actually has.

### ***Work in Dar es Salaam***

This research is focussed on Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where a myriad of working practices intersect, forming the social and economic life of the city. Work is often a very visible endeavour with busy streets full of street traders and *machinga*<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Those who walk around selling goods.

Taxi drivers pick up and drop off passengers from cars, *bajaji*<sup>3</sup>, and motorbikes. In down town Dar es Salaam business-suited people can be seen heading to offices. Uniformed guards, hotel staff, and restaurant workers travel to work, displaying their job on their uniforms. A short distance from the city centre plots of all sizes are the site of peri-urban agriculture, and people engage in small-scale agricultural labour. Meanwhile inside homes, people make goods for sale, braid hair, and brew beer to sell. In the homes of the richer members of society, housemaids and gardeners work for wages. In other homes, the work of child care, cooking and cleaning is an unpaid pursuit. Unpaid labours of care occur in private spaces of the home, but also in public spaces. This includes emotional labour inherent in supporting friends and family. This is of course not entirely specific to Dar es Salaam, and these types of work and activities may intersect in similar ways in other cities. All of this work co-exists and interacts within the same system, but these mutual interactions and intersections are not well understood as different types of work are often considered separately, and through lenses which privilege paid work and the economic contributions paid work makes.

As well as paid and unpaid work on the street, in private businesses, and within homes there are a myriad of other organisations which also provide spaces of work. In this thesis, I focus on community groups. Community groups are interesting and important for a number of reasons. Work within community groups blurs lines between paid and unpaid work, volunteering and obligation. Community organisations often fill gaps in social care left by governments (Kaiser, 1996). The community groups in Dar es Salaam involve participants who engage in a myriad of different types of work which fulfil roles of both survivalist necessity and identity creation. Many people within these groups identify their own work as volunteering, and yet volunteering literatures generally analyse volunteering within the global north, venturing to the global south seemingly only to examine voluntourism. Young men within the community groups in Dar es Salaam are utilising volunteer work and caring roles to negotiate their masculinities. The community groups are therefore a perfect context in which to examine the complex intersections of work.

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<sup>3</sup> Bajaji are three wheeled passenger vehicles, also known as tuk tuks.

## *Thesis Structure*

To address the scholarship so far, in Chapter Two I will review the disparate literatures of work, volunteering, informality, gender and development, masculinities, and alternative economies. The chapter will begin by addressing issues of work, looking at the role work plays in society, and considering discourses which centre the morality of work and a plurality of values attached to work. I then move from general moralities of work to the specifics of moralities of volunteering, before giving an overview of literatures on the motivations and rewards of volunteering. These debates are focussed in the global north, and so are somewhat limited, but provide a useful analysis of the values of a form of work which goes beyond the economic. Continuing to discuss the ways in which certain types of work are privileged over others, I look at the distinctions made between formal and informal work, and the problems of binaries which prioritise certain types of work over others.

Next I turn to questions of gender and development, addressing gendered inequalities, particularly in relation to work. I then review gendered development interventions. Next, challenging the notion that gender equals women, I engage with the literatures on masculinity which again are often considered in the context of the global north. I then turn to approaches which decentre the prioritisation of paid work, such as alternative economies and approaches focussed on ethics of care and love. I move from the general to the specifics of Tanzanian context, discussing the impact of Tanzanian socialism under Nyerere after independence, and the more recent political campaigning of President Magufuli who has included work in his political slogans. I give a brief overview of the results of the last Tanzanian Labour Force Survey. Finally, aiming to flesh out understanding of work in situations of poverty and move beyond instrumentalist notions of work in development contexts, and paying attention to the relational nature of gender, I introduce my research aims and objectives.

In Chapter Three I address the research methodologies. I begin with issues of ethics, which should underpin all research, before using ethical considerations as a stepping stone to discuss translation. I then turn to the practicalities of conducting the research, starting with finding participants before discussing the relative merits of using interviews, focus groups, and participant observation. I



consider the ways in which research does not always go to plan, paying particular attention to the unexpectedly hybrid nature of language in the interviews and focus groups. I reflect upon the effect of my positionality in conducting the research, before addressing the ways in which my own work as researcher entered the very circuits of informal work, exchange, and reciprocity that make up the topic of this thesis. I finish the chapter by discussing how I coded and analysed the data.

In Chapter Four, I focus on work and volunteering. I first discuss the work which is done within and by members of the community groups. I address what they do, how different types of work intersect, and the motivations and values behind their decision making. This enables a broad understanding of the work which makes up people's everyday lives. I then focus on volunteering within the groups, looking at the ways in which volunteering is conceptualised by the participants. I argue that the volunteers show many varied and sometimes contradictory reasons for choosing the work that they do, and often these show a commitment to care and feelings of responsibility for others.

In Chapter Five I bring together themes of masculinity and care in the work of the community groups. I discuss the gender divisions in the work patterns exhibited by participants. I focus on the way in which young men are navigating care roles within the communities. I suggest that as traditional routes to masculine status may be difficult to achieve, so young men are creating conditions under which they can experiment with their own masculinities, particularly in regard to status. In this chapter then, the role of volunteering work, and the way in which negotiation work can be gendered are discussed.

In Chapter Six, the conclusion, I consider the main themes of the research. I highlight the ways in which volunteering in Dar es Salaam both supports and challenges representations of volunteering from current volunteering literatures. I note the ways in which different types of work intersect and are valued, and the impact this has on understanding both obligation and reward. I ask if caring practices within the community groups can be considered as starting points for working from a stand point of care and potentially even love. I finally reflect upon the gaps within this research, and areas for future study, before reiterating the contributions of this thesis.

But first, I begin by reviewing the existing literature, looking at literatures which have not often been brought together.

## Chapter Two: Work, Gender and Development

Work is often privileged as an activity which is central to a meaningful life, but why is this? This chapter reviews the literature on different types of work, aiming to connect different conceptual approaches to work in order to better understand the role of work in people's lives.

I focus first on a selection of cultural meanings and moralities which are attached to the concept of work. Following on from this I discuss the way volunteering is conceptualised and how representations of volunteering differ from representations of other types of work. I then discuss the distinctions made between formal and informal work. This is particularly relevant in the Tanzanian context because of the high proportion of informal work in Tanzania. The discussion will move on to the ways in which work is gendered, as well as gendered inequalities and how development approaches have tried to include gender. I look at alternative approaches to development and work, before giving a brief overview of work in a specifically Tanzanian context. Finally, I introduce the aims and objectives of the research.

### **Work**

Work comes in many forms and is engaged in for many different reasons. Work often plays a central role in the lives of individuals and communities and more broadly in the functioning of nations and economies.

Due to the privileged position of work in popular imaginaries, what is counted as work and which types of work are valued matters. For example, it is not incidental that much unpaid and undervalued productive work is done by women (Loutfi, 2001), and women are disproportionately held responsible for care, whether paid or unpaid (Badgett and Folbre, 1999). Even in situations in which unpaid work is valued, there are still attempts to assign value in financial terms. For example, time spent on unpaid work may be measured using a 'replacement value' (how much it would cost to replace unpaid workers with paid workers) or an 'opportunity value' (how much the unpaid worker would be earning if they were in the paid labour market) (Hoskyns and Rai, 2007). As well as a way of earning money, work is often assumed to be a moral endeavour and this framing is rarely challenged (Weeks, 2011). Asking 'what is work' in order to divide activities into

a work/non-work binary is difficult when one starts looking at the nature of work and the multitude of roles work plays at a variety of scales.

### *Meanings and moralities of work*

MéDa (1996) provides a useful history of the meaning of work, suggesting that work as a conceptual category has passed through three main stages. Firstly, in the eighteenth-century work appears framed as a means of increasing wealth and as a mechanism for individual emancipation. In the nineteenth-century work was seen as having the ability to transform, civilise and humanize the world, allowing individuals to develop their potential. This can be seen in colonial framings of 'natives' as in need of a work ethic and education. The third stage, emerging in the twentieth-century, combines three main ideas. Firstly, socialist beliefs in the fulfilling nature of work; secondly, the necessity of the pursuit of abundance; and thirdly, the idea that wages are the main vehicle for wealth to be distributed. MéDa (ibid: 24) refers to this third and most dominant stage as social democracy, and states that it is based on a "profound contradiction, in that it approaches work as the principal path to human fulfilment, both personal and collective, but without providing the means of producing a work of creation (in which work is undertaken for a purpose extraneous to itself) let alone a collective work of creation achieved through authentic cooperation." Therefore, a tension occurs between two contrasting ideas of the purpose of work. Firstly, work is viewed as a factor in production creating ever more work, in which work is represented as an activity inherent to the human condition allowing humans to gain mutual recognition and engage together in creative effort. Secondly work is viewed as employment, and therefore the system by which income, status and security are distributed. This latter representation is highly utilitarian, as it values outcomes of work rather than processes of work. However, work as necessary for the human condition is represented in concepts of the value of hard work and the idea of a work ethic, and these concepts are incredibly influential when it comes to imagining what work is.

Framing of work as a moral activity and a moral choice is a narrative that is both geographically and historically pervasive. Colonial narratives of native people as lazy and not knowing the value of hard work were criticisms utilised to justify unjust practices in the mobilisation of labour in the colonies (Alatas, 1977). More

recently narratives in the politics of the United Kingdom which set lazy ‘scroungers’ against hard working ‘strivers’ (Gentleman, 2015) have equated work with morality in order to justify harsh cuts to benefits and the reduction in help offered by the state. Often narratives of success, in scales ranging from the personal to the national, are predicated on the idea of needing people who are willing to work, and have the skills to work. As McDowell (2004:152) states: “at its crudest, in this scenario, the unemployed are characterized as workshy layabouts rather than, for example, the victims of poor schooling, of regional inequality or at the mercy of its vagaries of a labour market increasingly dominated by low pay and casualized work in its lowest ranks”. The Department for Social Security refer to their interventions as “promoting opportunity instead of dependence” (DSS, 1998:19), placing the blame on individuals rather than on the structural inequalities identified by McDowell. Although the Department of Social Security (DSS) and McDowell are within a UK context, these attitudes have historically shaped development narratives. Alatas (1977:8) argued that “the image of the indolent, dull, backward and treacherous native has changed into that of a dependent native requiring assistance to climb the ladder of progress”. Valorising work and focussing on those who are deemed willing to help themselves can be seen in a shift in the focus of fundraising campaigns. Fundraising campaigns have gone from highlighting vulnerable children in poverty as passive victims, to showing women enjoying their hard work, thus serving to emphasise narratives of the ‘deserving’ (read hard-working) poor (Wilson, 2010). These narratives of work therefore impact development narratives and interventions. The idea that we must ‘earn a living’ is taken as part of the natural order, rather than as a social convention.

Although working practices, working conditions, and the types of work which receive valorisation have often been critiqued by Marxist and feminist theorists, the valorisation of work as a positive and moral activity has rarely been challenged (Weeks, 2011). Even Lafargue (1883:17) who equates work with pain, misery and corruption does not argue for the abolishment of work. When putting forward arguments for the right to be lazy, Lafargue simply argues for less work, and suggests that work should only take a few hours each day, providing the means and leaving the rest of the day free for leisure. Lafargue (1883) is therefore suggesting that work should facilitate enjoyable leisure time for workers, which puts work at the service of people, rather than people at the service of production

and growth. However, this view is unusual in that it rejects ideas of work as the primary aspect of lives. Weeks (2011) discusses how even Marxist and feminist perspectives have failed to challenge the primacy of paid work, feminists instead seeking access to waged labour or seeking to valorise unwaged household labour. To take C. Wright Mills, quoted in Weeks (2011:1):

“One type of work, or one particular job is contrasted with another type, experienced or imagined, within the present world of work, judgements are rarely made about the world of work as presently organized as against some other way or organizing it.”

Weeks (2011) reviews demands for different ways of organising work, particularly focussing on demands for basic income and shorter hours. She emphasises that socially necessary unwaged labour should be taken into accounts of work, and especially by any feminist interventions. Rather than consider basic income as reward for the common production of value, Weeks (ibid. p. 230) suggests that it could be considered as a reward for the common reproduction of life. Weeks also suggests that life and work are intertwined, suggesting that “life is not an authentic experience in opposition to work” (ibid. p. 23). Weeks argues for a post-work politics which prioritises collective action through utopian demands, taking the form of reformist projects with revolutionary aspirations. However, these debates are very much situated in the global north, and do not yet seem to have touched on global south contexts or development narratives.

Work is often constructed as hierarchical as certain types of work are privileged over other types. This can be seen in the distinction between manual and intellectual labour, where intellectual labour is generally privileged and generally gains higher financial reward than manual labour (Sohn-Rethel, 1978). However, some work is assigned a higher moral value than other work. For example, volunteering is assigned a moral value because of the societal obligation to work, as well as a specific morality of volunteering in working for the greater good.

### ***Volunteering***

During the preliminary research trip, participants identified the work they did within community groups as volunteering, thus introducing volunteering as a theme of the research. Volunteering does not have a singular or simple definition,

but is associated with several competing conceptualisations which debate whether volunteering is work or leisure, as well as how volunteering should be defined. Definitions of volunteering can be broadly divided into those which focus on inherent characteristics of the activity, and those which focus on motivations to engage in the activity.

Definitions of volunteering which focus on characteristics tend to focus on free choice, production of benefits for others, and lack of remuneration. It is generally agreed that volunteering is a “freely chosen activity” (Geiser et al, 2014:6), a view emphasised by Pilkington’s (2012:249) definition of formal volunteering as “*willingly* giving unpaid help, in the form of time, service or skills, through an organisation or group” (italicisation my own). However, the extent to which volunteering is freely chosen is questioned by Stebbins (2015) who points out that people may volunteer due to a sense of obligation or because they have been somewhat coerced by others. The question then becomes one of increments, at what point does coercion or a sense of obligation cancel out the freely chosen nature of a volunteer activity?

Many definitions of volunteering state that volunteering must be unpaid (Bruno and Fiorillo, 2012; Geiser et al, 2014; Pilkington et al, 2012). Some question whether work can be counted as volunteering if volunteers receive benefits of any kind, and particularly if volunteers receive benefit in the form of remuneration (Wilson, 2000). However, Stebbins (2013) suggests that if work is compensated in kind, or at far below market rate then work can still count as volunteering, but only if it is still voluntary. If at any point a person becomes dependent on volunteering work, either economically or psychologically then the voluntary nature of their participation is called into question (ibid). Definitions which focus on *what* is done may also focus on outcomes as well as characteristics of the work. A behavioural approach also makes no reference to motive and says that volunteering means acting to produce a “public” good and assumes rationality and a weighing of costs and benefits of volunteering (Wilson, 2000). This approach is focussed on the nature of the outcome of the work.

Contrary to a behaviourist approach, a subjectivist approach is dominated by the search for motives (Wilson, 2000). A focus on motivations can include a feeling that volunteering is the ‘right’ thing to do, as well as looking at rewards that one

might gain from volunteering. Stebbins (2013:342) plumps for the matter-of-fact response to the question of why people might work for nothing, noting simply that in general, “people want to do such activity”. However, many different positives are attributed to volunteering including the ability of volunteering to boost self-esteem, self-confidence, life satisfaction, and even health (Onyx and Warburton, 2003; Wilson, 2000).

Freeman (1997:141) refers to voluntary and other charitable activities as ‘conscience goods’ which are activities which people give time or money to, due to recognising the moral case to do so. Volunteering often has a moral value attached to it (van Goethem et al, 2012) and Smith (1983:25) suggests that people who work poorly paid jobs to do good could perhaps be considered “quasi-volunteers”. Therefore, in many cases the idea of doing good or providing a public good (Wilson, 2000) is essential to ideas of what constitutes volunteering, suggesting again that motivations are central to definitions of volunteering.

Parker (1997) identified four types of volunteering: altruistic <sup>4</sup>, market volunteering (giving and expecting something in return), cause-serving volunteering (seen in promoting a cause in which one believes), and leisure volunteering (as in seeking a leisure experience). These types all focus on motivation, rather than characteristics of the activity themselves. The final type identified by Parker (1997) connects volunteering to leisure, and identifies volunteering as a space in which the boundaries between work and leisure are blurred. Volunteering as unpaid work is a definition stretching back into the history of economics, while the concept of leisure as an element of volunteering can be traced back to 1972 (Stebbins, 2013).

Stebbins (2015) conceptualised volunteering as *both* unpaid work and attractive leisure. This provides another way of looking at volunteer work, where leisure and an unpaid productive labour are combined to create serious leisure (Stebbins, 1996). The main characteristics of serious leisure identified by Stebbins are:

1. A need to persevere at the activity
2. Availability of a leisure career

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<sup>4</sup> Altruistic volunteering also fit a definition of volunteering which focusses on motives, obviously requiring a desire to help others. This does not require perfect altruism as entirely selfless, which is deemed to be impossible, but simply to be strongly motivated by helping others.



3. Need to put in effort to gain skills and knowledge
4. Realisation of various special benefits
5. Unique ethos and social world
6. An attractive personal and social identity

(Serious Leisure Perspective, n.d.)

The requirements of perseverance and effort shadow ideas of work as valuable, desirable and moral, and thus Stebbins' requirements for serious leisure reflect framings of work as a moral endeavour. This is emphasised by the idea of an available leisure career suggesting that even in our leisure time, a commitment to work is frequently desirable. Because volunteering is not required for survival, Stebbins represents volunteer work as a form of leisure fed by the *need* to work as demonstrated by his use of the words 'persevere' and 'effort'. The serious leisure perspective acknowledges that people's free time or leisure time is not always spent engaged in casual leisure, with little effort and fast rewards. In this perspective, leisure can include work and time being put into gain skills and knowledge and a need to persevere, potentially even when activities may become temporarily burdensome. In essence, Stebbins' view is that because volunteering is taken on willingly, and encompasses a myriad of rewards, it can be seen as a form of serious leisure. Volunteering therefore occupies an in-between space of work and leisure. However, in this perspective the reasons for participating ignore outward effects on others, and instead focus on the internal motivations of the volunteer, and so overlooks any ideas of a moral imperative to volunteer or help others.

These distinctions make a difference to which elements of work are highlighted. Stebbins (2013:340-341) gives an example of where the serious leisure perspective highlights gendered differences within work where the unpaid work narrative does not:

"...take for instance, some of the core activities associated with childcare. The report maintains that childcare is unpaid work, wherein women devote most of their time with children to their physical care, especially cooking and cleaning up after meals. By contrast, men performing childcare do so by teaching, reading and playing with their young ones. Viewed from the serious leisure perspective women are caught in a daily grind of non-work

obligation (this assumes they dislike routine family cooking and dishwashing), whereas their husbands or partners enjoy serious leisure hobbyist time with their children.”

A certain enjoyment is therefore assumed to be a part of a serious leisure perspective. Again, this blurs the boundaries between work and leisure. Stebbins suggests that serious leisure may take the form of career volunteering and states that “it is likely that the motive of personal interest often drives the pursuit of such a career more than the motive of altruism, even where a person’s altruism prompted him or her to enter the field in the first place” (Stebbins, 2015: e-book). Career volunteering is volunteering over a longer period where commitment is required and in which skills and knowledge must be achieved to be successful. For example, the successful running of a social enterprise would require career volunteering (ibid). Stebbins (ibid) provides a list of ten rewards of voluntarism and citizen participation, which he sees as part of career volunteering, and these are:

1. Personal enrichment
2. Self-actualization
3. Self-expression
4. Self-image
5. Self-gratification
6. Re-creation of oneself through volunteer activity after a day’s work
7. Financial return
8. Social attraction
9. Group accomplishment
10. Contribution to the maintenance and development of the group.

I would argue that these ten rewards actually consist of three main categories. Firstly, personal development which encompasses personal enrichment and financial return. I would argue that this category combines the two aspects of volunteering which could be considered gateways to other opportunities and external measures of success. Secondly internal rewards which help to build up confidence, a positive view of themselves and self-image. The category of internal rewards combines self-actualization, self-image, self-gratification and re-creation of oneself through volunteer activity after a day’s work. However, re-creation of

self after a day's work frames volunteering again as something extra to wage labour or work, ignoring those who may only engage or primarily engage in volunteering work. These rewards may have a long-term impact on success as increased confidence could lead to the pursuing of other opportunities. However, essentially this is a category of intrinsic reward. Thirdly, social and group achievement, which encompasses social attraction, group accomplishment and contribution to the maintenance and development of the group. Communal achievements through working together may also contribute to internal rewards, as a person gains support and validation from those around them.

Meier and Stutzer (2008) also identify three categories of intrinsic motivation to volunteer:

1. Intrinsic enjoyment - because an activity is interesting and enjoyable
2. Impure altruism - also known as the warm glow, and can be associated with social objectives such as respect, friendship and prestige.
3. Social preferences - in which people care about other's welfare.

These three categories have slightly different foci to Stebbins' ten rewards. Stebbins does not discuss care for the welfare of others within his rewards. However Meier and Stutzer's (2008) categories of intrinsic enjoyment and impure altruism could be seen to fit into my category of internal rewards, as enjoyment and the 'warm glow' may serve to improve someone's self-image. As Smith (1983) notes, people like to think of themselves as altruistic. I suggest that caring about the welfare of others, or the cause of the group, should be added in as a fourth category to my reduction of Stebbins' categories. Therefore, I suggest that rewards of volunteering are broadly fourfold, consisting of personal development, internal rewards, social and group achievement, and care for others.

Moral framings of volunteering are a large part of what makes volunteering attractive. Mindry (2001:1189) discusses a politics of feminine virtue in which care, selflessness, and benevolence are valued as virtuous female traits. Mercer and Green (2013) apply this politics of virtue to volunteering, suggesting that in their Tanzanian study, despite receiving some remuneration, workers self-identified as volunteers due to a moral commitment and a lack of consistent wages. As workers juggle various means of getting an income, they align their work to the virtuous labour of helping others, rather than to the motivation of remuneration (ibid,

2013:111). Here, the moral motivation to engage in the work is held as more important than any characteristic related to payment, even where volunteers may be reliant on wages when they get them. If work is generally insecure, or market rates for work are not equal to a living wage, then Stebbins' distinction between remuneration that is relied on, or not means little in this context. If we accept that volunteering can involve remuneration, so long as it does not constitute a market-rate wage, then a definition of volunteering based on motivations rather than characteristics of the work is more appropriate. However, if work provides a true living wage and is a primary source of income then it is probably not volunteering.

The wide range of benefits which can be gained from volunteering serves to highlight values of work beyond a utilitarian survivalist perspective of waged labour as required for the meeting of basic needs. As Loutfi (2001:8) states: "myths that serve to undervalue certain activities do untold damage: society as a whole loses out when only market valuation matters." It is telling that the motivations discussed here in relation to volunteering are considered when financial reward is not there to explain away motivations. However, the rewards identified here could also play a part in work beyond volunteering, and help to decentre a prioritisation of paid work.

Volunteering as a type of unpaid work seems to have a privileged position. For example, volunteering is a positive addition to a Curriculum Vitae when applying for a job (Inside Careers, 2017), and is built into high school courses in the USA where students are required to volunteer (Ain, 2013). When compared to other unpaid labour such as domestic chores or parenting, volunteering therefore seems to be held in higher regard. This may be because work inside the home, and the daily labour of care work is often taken for granted. Women especially are subject to societal norms in which they are expected to take care of their children and to engage in household labour as extra to their paid work (Lister, 2010). This work is then not valorised in the same way as volunteering, which is seen somehow as a noble endeavour outside of one's normal duties, with some commentators worrying that the noble element is lost if volunteering is a requirement (Ain, 2017). Participating in a moral and worthwhile endeavour may be one reason that people are willing to work for nothing or for a below market rate. However, if a well-paid job is inaccessible, then framing of work as volunteering may be a way in which

an ideological and moral value can be added to what can be part time and insecure work. Therefore, it is important to look at who volunteers and why.

### *Who volunteers?*

Despite all the stated rewards of volunteering, there are two main categories of people who are less likely to volunteer: those without the time to volunteer, and those without a social network which encourages them to volunteer. Bruno and Fiorillo (2012) suggest that people without children volunteer more frequently than those with children, due to the need of parents to accomplish care tasks. As Paxton et al (2014:600) state: “Age has a curvilinear relationship with volunteering, teenagers and younger adults have more free time and volunteer to fill their short resumes, while older adults may volunteer more to keep busy after retirement.” This kind of framing of volunteering assumes that volunteering is a substitute for paid work. It is assumed that for teenagers and young adults volunteering serves as a replacement for experience of paid work, while for older adults volunteering replaces paid work after retirement. The years between being a teenager and young adult and retirement years are also the years in which people are most likely to have caring responsibilities within their families, firstly for young children and secondly for aging parents (ibid.). However, certain types of volunteer work disrupt these patterns. For example, Stebbins identifies that parents, usually mothers, often increase their volunteering when they have children as they become involved in the worlds of Parent Teacher Associations, or running club activities for their children and children’s peers (Stebbins, 2015). Stebbins’ analysis assumes heteronormative relationships in which fathers are more likely to work full time, leaving the work of raising children to mothers. Although this assumes normative gendered constructions, it is inescapable that women are often disproportionately responsible for children (Wilson,2010).

The way in which Paxton et al (2014) frame volunteering as a replacement for paid work emphasises the primacy of paid work in discussions of work. Paxton et al (2014:600) state that in the US women volunteer more than men, and again may see volunteering as a substitute for a career. Yet again, this emphasis on paid work, and by implication a job or a career that one retires from represents other work as alternative or extra to the dominance of paid work.

Like volunteering, another category of work which sits outside of the realm of paid formal jobs is informal work, a category which is particularly relevant in Tanzania due to dominant nature of informal work. The literature on informality is vast, it is now to this that I turn.

### *Informality*

Informality has been a much-contested concept in the fields of geography and development. Types of informality and the actions and processes encompassed by the term are multiple and varied. I begin this section by addressing the concept of informality, and then giving a brief history of economic informality from pre-conceptualisations through to the 2000s. Next, I discuss the informal/formal binary and its connection to other common binary representations, before challenging the notions of a binary. In the subsequent section I build on this to examine the ways in which different actors use formality and informality, and the ways in which certain representations can be used tactically.

### *Defining Informality*

Informality encompasses a myriad of behaviours, built structures, interactions and forms of organisation and knowing (McFarlane and Waibel, 2012) and is therefore tricky to define. Watson (2009:157) adds to this list stating that informality comprises of “forms of income generation, forms of settlement and housing, and forms of negotiating life in the city”. My goal here is to address this complex web of action and interaction.

There is no singular definition of informality. However, many theorists have utilised similar if not identical criteria. Recurring criteria for defining informality include activities which are unregistered, characterised by low set up costs, have low entry requirements, lack accounts, and are small scale (Devey et al, 2006; Gerxhani, 2004; Heintz, 2012; Webster, 2005). These do not form one singular definition and Gerxhani (2004) suggests that when it comes to conceptualising informal work, different definitions for different activities should be adequate, as the sum of these definitions will provide a picture of the informal sector as a whole. However, this could be seen as abdicating from the challenge of definition.

A definition is required and in the broadest sense informality is that which is not legally regulated or socially protected (Chen, 2012). This is important because it

is unregulated activities which are often overlooked, despite often making up very significant parts of people's lives. Initial definitions of informality were limited to marginal street hawking activities, and although the debate has shifted it is important to understand its historical context. Although this section traces the genealogy of the term 'informality'<sup>5</sup> in relation to work and the economy, it is important to state that this does not mean that later conceptualisations replaced the earlier concepts, but instead concepts continued to change and exist in tandem. I begin by discussing conceptualisations of informality up to the 1990s.

### *A History of Economic Informality*

In the 1950s and 1960s, prior to the emergence of a theory of informality, theorists discussed ideas of a low-income traditional sector. It was assumed over time that the sector would become part of a dynamic and modern economy as surplus labour was absorbed into the formal economy (Chen, 2012). This idea of a static and outmoded economy becoming modern would come to influence conceptualisations of the informal sector. This is exemplified by the "Lewis Turning Point", the idea that when modern jobs have absorbed enough surplus labour from the traditional economy, wages will begin to rise above the subsistence level (Lewis, 1954). However, as time went on and the 'traditional sector' failed to disappear, researchers became increasingly concerned with reasons for its continued existence and with what happened within it (Chen, 2012).

### *Dualist Conceptualisations*

Keith Hart is generally credited with coining the term informal sector in 1973. Hart saw the informal sector in Accra, Ghana as characterised by an exploited majority of unskilled migrants, who nevertheless had autonomous capacity for generating (low) incomes (Hart, 1973). At this point the term informal encompassed only the self-employed engaged in street hawking and similar small scale and insecure work. In some ways, the informal sector was seen positively due to its ability to create employment and reduce poverty. However, it was also considered marginal, separate from the formal, and only used by the poor as a

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<sup>5</sup> The informal economy has been known by many names including the second economy (Maliyamkono and Bagachwa, 1990), the grey economy, the parallel economy, the unrecorded economy and the hidden economy (Feige, 1990). However, the vocabulary of the informal dominates and to enable consistency that is what shall be used throughout this thesis.

safety net in times of crisis. These initial conceptualisations are known as the dualist school of thought, in which the informal is entirely distinct from the formal. The dualist school draws upon survivalist notions of eking out a living in which people are viewed as victims of circumstance or victims of poverty as well as lacking in choice and agency to change their situations. As with the traditional economy, it was assumed that as economies developed the informal sector would naturally disappear. Needless to say, this has not happened (Becker, 2004). Even given the many problems of measuring activities defined by lack of registration, the informal sector is consistently estimated to be growing rather than shrinking (Carr and Chen, 2001).

### *Structuralist and Legalist Conceptualisations*

Informal sector and dualist views on informality were challenged in the late 1980s, when Castells and Portes (1989) rejected the idea of an informal *sector*, and instead focussed on an informal *economy*. With this, employment relationships, rather than a self-contained sector of self-employed workers, began to be analysed. With the focus shifting to informal employment, two main schools of thought emerged, seemingly in tandem. Firstly, a structural school of thought saw informal employment relationships as caused by competitive and international firms who benefit in a neoliberal system from outsourcing, subcontracting, and home working (Stark, 1989). Secondly, a legalist school of thought, dominated by Hernando De Soto (1989) saw informal employment as made up of plucky micro-entrepreneurs, operating informally due to over bureaucratic and unnecessary formal regulations. However, both show theorists beginning to see links between informal work, formal business and government.

Unlike the legalist school which considers informal workers as benefiting from working informally, the structural school of thought views the relationship between formality and informality as one of negative exploitation, in which formal firms utilise informal employment relationships to keep their costs down (Castells and Portes, 1989). This view emerged from a context in which mass production was increasingly becoming the norm and was organised into increasingly decentralised and flexible economic units. These changes, such as flexible specialisation and sweatshop production are associated with the informalization of employment relations (Chen, 2012). This is a negative view of informality in



which informal workers suffer from having insecure and low paid jobs with no benefits. The structuralist school of thought therefore calls for greater regulation to protect workers. An example of this is the construction sector in Tanzania. Mlinga and Wells (2002) highlight the symbiotic relationship between formal and informal construction work contractors, in which formal contractors supply work and income, while informal contractors provide a crucial supply of labour. They critique how the informal workers are generally overlooked and receive little help from the government, despite their importance to the industry.

On the other hand, the legalist school of thought rejects structuralist calls for greater regulation, and instead preaches deregulation. De Soto (1989, 2000) is the foremost proponent of the legalist school of thought, where the choice of informality is assumed to be a logical one due to an excessively hostile bureaucratic and legal system, and informal actors are viewed as constrained entrepreneurs. The accusations of excessive bureaucracy are, in some cases, justified. For example, in Tanzania registering a business has an average cost of US\$2250, with a minimum of sixty-eight bureaucratic steps (Briggs, 2011). The legalist account of informality is the basis of Hernando De Soto's extremely influential idea of 'dead capital' (De Soto, 2000). De Soto theorises that if the poor were to gain legal property rights the rights would serve as collateral for loans and therefore allow for investment in business (ibid.). These entrepreneurial conceptualisations can also be seductive (Briggs, 2011) because if De Soto's theory is true the poorest already have the means to help themselves in the form of property, as well as having the capacity to be good capitalist entrepreneurs. It is therefore a positive and hopeful conceptualisation of informality, turning informality from something largely seen as negative and as something to get rid of, into a simple way to achieve development. This has been a popular conceptualisation, and De Soto has been praised by numerous world leaders, and has influenced policy, particularly in developing countries (Cato Institute, n.d.). This seems largely to be because this conceptualisation reframes informality as containing the answer to development problems through the release of capital from property which the poor already own which requires little structural change from governments or companies, rather than informality as a problem to be dealt with. The concept therefore leaves power relations and privilege unexamined.

However, despite its popularity, not everyone has been convinced by the legalist conceptualisation. It assumes that the poor have unlimited entrepreneurial capacities and for this De Soto's theory has been widely challenged. He has been challenged for being over-optimistic, and naïve, as well as putting the burden of change on the shoulders of the poorest and absolving others of responsibility (Bromley, 2004; Davis, 2006). It also rests on the assumption that those working informally are self-employed entrepreneurs. This assumption ignores those employed by others or the problems inherent in the reality that not everyone can be an entrepreneur. Roy (2004b) suggests De Soto's policy recommendations devolve responsibility for helping the poor from governments to the poor themselves. Therefore, structural inequalities remain unexamined. De Soto has also been criticised for failing to consider very real problems that property formalisation can create. For example, formalisation of property rights may increase the insecurity of the poorest, as they may be priced out of areas and become vulnerable to market distortions (McFarlane, 2012; Payne, 2000). If land has formal titling, it becomes more desirable, and so for some people it makes more sense to sell the land once it is formalised than to stay put. Briggs (2011) suggests that formalisation could force people to sign up to regular formal payments, which require steady income which may be difficult for people to achieve. Therefore, formalising property may make people vulnerable to losing their land or businesses altogether. Despite this, the legalist school of thought remains popular.

### *Voluntarist Conceptualisations*

Like the legalist school of thought the voluntarist school of thought sees informality as a choice. However, unlike the legalist school of thought, a voluntarist conceptualisation does not see this choice as the fault of unreasonable bureaucracy but instead as a deliberate and subversive avoidance of regulation and tax (Maloney, 2004). Chen (2009:203) states that this view has been "popularized by neoclassical and neoliberal economists across the decades". This school of thought views the problem with the informal economy as one of unfair competition and tax avoidance, and argues for increased regulation and enforcement to increase the tax base and level the playing field. It is therefore a negative and unsympathetic view of the informal, conceptualising the informal as almost, but not quite, illegal. In tackling the question of the difference between

the illegal and the informal, Bromley (2004) suggests a definition of the informal which separates means and ends. He defines situations in which means are illegal, but ends are legal as informal. For example, building a house is legal, and having a home is legal, but if the land has not been approved for building, or regulations are not followed, then the building is informal. I find this distinction convincing. However, the voluntarist school continues to see informality as deliberate subversion and law breaking.

Unfortunately views which see informality as deliberately subversive, law breaking and tax evading, have led to some brutal clearance policies impacting street traders. Roy (2004a) describes how stalls that had lined the streets of Calcutta for decades were destroyed overnight in an operation designed to neaten the streets, aiming to simultaneously modernise and return to an idealised past. In 2006 workers were evicted from trading sites in Dar es Salaam, with devastating impact as traders lost physical and operating capital, supply lines, customers, and trading time (Lyons and Msoka, 2010). As well as the physical losses, the clearances also had a strong emotional impact upon traders. One of the traders recalled:

“I won’t forget.... 2006 June it’s when I officially became a refugee in my home country. I had to lose the hope ... my own country, my country where our ancestors and forefathers loved each other - why?” (Food Seller, Arusha, Quoted in Lyons and Msoka (2010:1092)

In both instances of clearances, the physical work of building trading space, the emotional work of building a customer base, and the day to day work of trading, buying and selling are considered to count for nothing because of their informal status, and perceived illegitimacy. Actions such as clearances also have an impact on the way people view their businesses and lives as it is possible for everything to literally come crashing down in bouts of state sponsored violence.

The conceptualisations discussed so far continue to influence debate, however links between the formal and informal are increasingly acknowledged. I shall now discuss relationships between the urban and the informal, links between the formal and informal and then a brief discussion of the impact of binary conceptualisations and discussions of informal settlements and housing.

### *Links between Informality and the Urban*

Notions of informality have often related to urban spaces. The Chicago School “represented the first systematic effort to theorise the study of community and urbanism”, and focussed on migration as urbanisation’s driving force. Early urban theory grew from the Chicago school, such as Wirth’s ideas of “density, heterogeneity and anonymity” (Wirth, 1938:10). Later theories such as Simmel’s (1971) segmented “blasé” urbanites portrayed the urban as a segregated and isolated way of life in which people struggled to cope with the density of population. These theories, much like Hart’s conceptualisation of informality as linked to migration practices, were based on the idea of high levels of rural to urban migration, and of the struggle to adapt to a modern way of living. Agricultural activities have also generally been excluded from discussions of the informal further connecting informality and the urban (NBS, 2014). Park, who was also part of the Chicago school saw immigrants as marginal, caught between two cultures without being a full part of either (Park, in AlSayyad, 2004). Simmel and Wirth’s urban theories mirror Hart’s idea of informal work being the realm of migrants who have not yet merged fully into the economy. Informality is also nearly always conceptualised in urban areas. It is likely that notions of being out of place, and failing to fit in or adapt to the mould have influenced ideas of informality as negative, a sign of poverty, a failure, and out of time. Informal and urban theories both seem to have been born in periods of intense change.

Informal settlements and informal economic activities are, of course, not separate parts of people’s lives or the lives of cities. De Soto (2000) suggests that homes can be used as collateral for the releasing of capital for economic investment. As well as this, structural schools of thought acknowledge the role of home working practices and subcontracting, which cause the home to be a site of work (Ghafur, 2002). Therefore, informal economic activities and informal settlements and housings are best thought of as all part of the same system, tied together as sites of work, sites of livelihoods, and sites of interaction and everyday lives. However, there is a tendency in many areas to over simplify categories into binaries, with an impact on power relations and privilege between one category and another.

### *Binary conceptualisations*

Binary conceptualisations and representations have long been a concern of geographers, particularly those geographers who identify as feminist or post-colonialist (Johnston, 2005; Painter, 2005; Rose, 1993). Common binaries are:

Global North	Global South
Developed	Undeveloped/Developing
Culture	Nature
Male	Female
Modern	Traditional
Rational	Emotional
Active	Passive
Mind	Body
Production	Reproduction

This is important because formality/informality fits into these binary conceptualisations, as do concepts related to gender and work. Early conceptualisations of informality were clearly binary in two ways. Firstly, in the dualist school of thought which separates a positive formal and a negative informal. Secondly, informality has been considered an urban issue within the global south placing it within post-colonial us/them binary discussions, despite informality being found in many different contexts (Solimen, 2004). Informal activities in the global north exist but are often overlooked or called something else such as casualization (McFarlane, 2012). Binaries tend to privilege one side; the formal is privileged over the informal and large-scale interactions over small scale domestic ones. It often leads to the overlooking of the informal and of anything that does not fit the discourse of a 'proper' 'modern' society and economy. Oversimplified binary conceptualisations persist because they benefit those who already hold power. They also simplify complex situations, and make them easier to understand. Binaries serve to attribute wealth and formality to cities in the global north, while cities in the global south continue to be associated with poverty and informality.

However, Solimen (2004) argues quite strongly that informality is not just the domain of the poor and McFarlane (2012) rejects the idea that informality equals poverty. Mewanwhile Ward (2004) provides a convincing example of pervasive informality in Texas while Fairbanks (2011) does the same for Philadelphia, unsettling the idea that informality is a global south condition (although it

continues to be linked to relatively poor actors). Recognising informality as a global, not just a global south phenomenon in terms of informal employment relationships and relationships which happen all over the world (Gibson-Graham, 2006) is one way of challenging conceptualisations of informality as other, representative of failure, and poverty stricken.

### *Links between the informal and formal*

In the 2000s, integral links between the informal and the formal began to be recognised, challenging binary representations of the two areas. In 2003 the International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) began to refer to informal employment, defined as employment without legal and social protection (Husmanns, 2004). For Guha-Kjasnobis et al (2006), formality and informality exist on a continuum with no clear boundaries. Chen (2007:2) provides a convincing example of the way in which workers may move along the continuum or exist at two points on it simultaneously. She says:

“Consider, for example, the self-employed garment maker who supplements her earnings by stitching clothes under a sub-contract, or shifts to working on a sub-contract for a firm when her customers decide they prefer ready-made garments rather than tailor-made ones.”

It is complex and everyday encounters which truly destroy any notion of formality and informality as limited to separate sectors or types of transactions. There are many difficulties in attempting to categorise people or businesses as formal or informal (Gilbert, 2004). McFarlane (2012) represents informality as a form of practice, rather than as a territorial construct, aiming to deconstruct binary notions and emphasise fluidity. This allows informality and formality to be conceptualised as overlapping states, attributed to certain actions at certain times but enmeshed together. There are different ways that this plays out.

### *Tactical Uses of Formality/Informality*

It can seem as though informality is only for those people who fall on the negative side of the binary: the poor and the marginal. Only the structural school of thought notes that international firms can benefit from informal work done by outsourced, subcontracted or home working labour (Stark, 1989). However, elites can utilise

and/or benefit from informality. These uses can be best seen when acknowledging the connections between formal and informal practices.

Governments can and do use informality tactically, despite seemingly being the most 'formal' institution of them all. Roy and AlSayyad (2004) identify that neoliberal states have the power to foster some forms of informality whilst annihilating others. For example, to facilitate flexible governance, formalisation which brings security of tenure may be resisted. Yitfachel and Yacobi (2004:218) suggest that urban informality "allows the urban elites to represent urban government as open, civil, and democratic, while at the same time denying great numbers of urban residents and workers basic right and services". Governmental actors may also need to negotiate with informal actors, and vice versa. For example, Keyder (2005) discusses an example of Istanbul in which politicians use informal settlements as vote banks. In return for guaranteed votes, the candidates make sure that the community always benefit enough to keep them loyal. Keyder (2005) suggests that these arrangements can turn squatter neighbourhoods into multi-story apartment buildings after a few elections.

In the case of street vending in Guangzhou a geographically ambivalent approach to regulating street vending allows governments to alleviate the tension of an exclusionary framework (Desheng and Gengzhi, 2015). Rather than banning all street vending, the government ensures that street vending does not find its way into specific areas where it may endanger the city's image. This tactical approach which allows informal vending to continue means that the government benefits from the social stability created from allowing people to make their livelihoods, as well as having the power to exclude street vending from areas of the city deemed important. In these examples, government, democracy and local needs and desires of those living informally are intertwined. Chatterjee (2004) strongly suggests that people are learning both how they would like to be governed, and forcing governors to learn as well.

As well as governments, companies and businesses can utilise informality in ways which go beyond using informal labour arrangements to keep costs down. Hasan (2004) identifies practices of developers in building informal settlements, and then attempting to formalise and gain legal rights to the area post development. Hasan suggests that informal settlements in Karachi have:

“been developed on government land, illegally occupied by developers with the support of government servants, and protected through bribes given to the police. Almost all these settlements have residents’ organizations (created by the developers), which constantly lobby government agencies for infrastructure and security of tenure. The developers also hire journalists to write about the “terrible conditions” in their settlements, and engage lawyers to help regularize tenure” (Hasan, 2004:69)

The developers therefore benefit from both the low costs of building on informal land, and then the protection of formalisation. Here, informality and formality are used in multiple tactical and overlapping ways to gain cheap or free access to land in a complex network involving a myriad of actors.

Not all are equally placed to operate these strategies, and so far I have not addressed the issue of structural inequalities. I begin by turning to gendered divisions of labour, and the impact this has on participation in certain types of work.

### ***Gendered divisions of labour***

Work is often gendered and women are disproportionately seen as being responsible for domestic, parenting, and caring labours. Gendered divisions of labour are not only evident in unpaid work in the home and local areas, but are also a “fundamental feature of the organization of production, albeit taking different forms at different prices and in different places” (McDowell, 2004: 148). However, work is changing, and traditional gendered divisions and associations between forms of paid and unpaid work, and associations of masculinity and femininity are being challenged and disrupted. This is due to an increasing service sector, decreasing manufacturing sectors, and a widening gap between skilled and generic labour (McDowell, 2004). However, changes in gendered roles are still very uneven, and men are more likely to be rewarded for performing acts associated with femininity within certain contexts, for example, progressing fast within female dominated careers, whereas women may be subject to ridicule for performing acts associated with masculinity and may struggle to advance in male dominated workplaces (McDowell, 2004:150).



Texts which pay attention to the work that women do, and the ways in which women's work has been overlooked are now numerous, Beneria (1999) identifies three pioneering texts of early feminist contributions. Firstly, "Economics of Household Production" (Reid, 1934) which drew attention to the contribution of household labour called for recognition of unpaid work. Secondly, Boserup's (1970) "Women's Role in Economic Development" which identified women's contribution to agricultural and industrial development, but also highlighted the way in which development processes were biased against women. Finally, Waring's (1988) "If women counted" which also focussed on assessing the contribution of women, arguing that in the past women have been overlooked and remained uncounted. These texts started efforts to account for the work women do which eventually evolved to include all unpaid work (Beneria, 1999:288). However, these attempts have also been criticised for attempting to valorise unwaged household labour and the work of women, rather than challenge imbalances of power which hold women disproportionately responsible for this work (Weeks, 2011).

Beneria identified four main sectors in which unpaid work predominates: subsistence production, the household economy, the informal sector, and volunteer work. These sectors do not exist independently of each other, and may be difficult to disentangle. Despite naming the informal sector as an area of unpaid labour, Beneria states that the informal sector "largely involves paid activities which fall within conventional definitions of work" and states that the main problem with the informal sector is obtaining reliable statistics (Beneria, 1999:291). However, Beneria's identification of these four areas of unpaid work ignores any connections or overlaps. Therefore, requiring further consideration are the links between and roles played by paid and unpaid labour, as well as different forms of unpaid labour, such as household work, informal work, and volunteer work.

### *Inequalities at all scales*

Women have long been held responsible for care work, much of which is unpaid. Much of this is made up of women's reproductive 'duties', in which women are "not only constructed as the biological and cultural reproducers of the nation, but are also the men's 'helpmates' (Yuval-Davis, 2016:374). Yuval-Davis (ibid.) expands, arguing that women's roles in formal and informal labour markets are

usually defined according to the range of duties demanded from men: either in reproductive duties or in completing the tasks men leave when called to fulfil national duties in times of crisis. This idea is connected to the representation of women as “shock absorbers” within the household, and relies on women’s work as supplementary to the work of men. This may mean that women may either take on more paid work, or find different ways to use their unpaid labour to compensate for lack in financial income. For example, seeking out cheaper places to shop which may be further away, therefore requiring more travel time, or taking on a greater burden of work themselves, or eating least and last when food is served (Women Thrive, 2014).

Traditional views of relationships, and how households should be run subtly, or not so subtly, underpin development discourses. Men’s role in the household economy is not often discussed. The household is often assumed to be made up of a naturalised heterosexual and nuclear family (Moore, 2010). This assumption is evident in the output of international institutions. For example, Chant (2012:208) critiques the World Development Report 2012 for its “glaring heteronormativity”. The normative representation of households as made up as a male breadwinner and female caregiver is one which is pervasive. This can be seen in the oft repeated idea that female headed households are the poorest of the poor which assumes that women are marginalised (Davids and von Driel, 2010), and has often assumed that female income is secondary or supplementary to that of the man of the household (Grimshaw and Rubery, 2007).

Sen (2010) suggests that when poorer female-headed households are focussed upon, gender inequalities within other household structures are ignored. Women within male-headed households and childless or unmarried women are often overlooked, and older women who are no longer responsible for children or able to work often remain out of the picture (Sen, 2010). It is often the case that equitable division of resources within households is assumed by development discourses which use households as a unit of measurement. However, Sen (2010) points out, the concept of divergence within the household is one of the main contributions of feminist economic research, and this research has led to the recognition that “the causes of women’s poverty are to be found in the private domestic sphere of the family as well as the public sphere of the labour market and welfare state” (Lister, 2010:168). Households then can be as much a space of

poverty and gendered inequality than spaces at other scales. Within wealthy households there can be, often gendered, pockets of poverty (Chant, 2010). This is because women are more likely to be self-sacrificing or lower status, fulfilling roles as low-paid domestic workers, or choosing to spend money on other members of the household whilst making personal sacrifices. McDowell (2004) identifies a glaring paradox between neoliberal values of independence and individualism, and the dependence of this on a particular version of selfless parenting.

Differences in gendered poverty can be seen utilising Sen's capability approach (2006). Sen makes a very important distinction between opportunity and process, suggesting that desiring to do something but being forced to do it is in violation of the process aspect, which must include meaningful choice (*ibid.*). This means that, for example, although it is not necessarily the case that working inside the home is against a woman's wishes, if it is the only option open to her then the choice cannot be said to be a meaningful one. As Jackson (2010) paraphrases, within Sen's approach what a commodity or resource allows a person to do, rather than the commodity itself is important. Utilising Sen's capability approach to look at freedoms such as education, employment, healthcare and democratic freedoms shows that women are in greater poverty across all possible indicators (Swindle, 2011:347).

Even where income pooling at a household level allows women to escape poverty, this may leave them in a "situation of dependence on male breadwinners, stifling their 'voice' in domestic relations and closing their 'exit options'" (Razavi and Staab, 2010:428). Here the process aspect of Sen's (2006) capabilities approach may be violated: even if a woman wishes to stay in a relationship, and is happy, if she does not have the choice to leave then she does not have choice or capability. In the emotionally charged discussions surrounding domestic violence it can often be the case that people overlook the stigma and disadvantage which a woman may encounter if she leaves a marriage. As Sweetman (2013:7) suggests, "options to leave abusive men are not easy in societies in which lone women with children face deepening poverty or violence from men beyond the family". This disadvantage is often likely to be both financial and social, as women do not earn as much as men, have less access to property, and are more likely to be socially stigmatised by divorce or a failed relationship. Inequalities within households are

therefore reinforced by unequal social norms for many women, severely limiting their options.

Gendered inequalities continue when people move outside of the domestic sphere. The focus on gaining equal participation of women in a public economic sphere is well documented (Meagher, 2010). From a global north perspective women working outside of the home is often seen as indicative of empowerment. However, as Sharp et al. (2003) highlight in their example of Bedouin women, women may work outside of the home only when they have no other options open to them. Therefore, participation is not proof of empowerment<sup>6</sup>. Sharp et al's (ibid.) discussion provides a good example of the ways in which female behaviour is constrained in the public sphere by culture. In this example, when Bedouin women work by taking livestock to market (an activity widely considered by the community to be inappropriate for women), they had only transcended some of the gendered barriers to full participation. At the market, behaviour continued to be highly gendered. Rather than joining in with the shouting and joking of the male traders at the market, women tended to sit quietly in a group and wait for customers to come to them, sometimes in informal spaces, which were more easily accessible to them than the formal space of the main market. These socially gendered constraints on behaviour surely have economic consequences as well. Because women sit quietly, and often in more marginal areas of the market, and often at quieter times, such as early in the morning (ibid.), the women earn less at the market than men. This example clearly demonstrates that participating does not break down the barriers to gender inequality, and that gendered inequalities are socially constructed and incredibly pervasive<sup>7</sup>. It is also the case that, in this example at least, the women themselves considered trading at the market as a last resort, and would rather be at home in their 'proper place' (ibid. p. 291). Therefore, once again, Sen's (2006) process aspect is violated in this

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<sup>6</sup> 'Participation' as a goal has been associated with social movements, and has been used in contrary ways: to enable the gain of political agency and the struggle for citizenship, rights and voice, as well as being used to maintain rule, neutralise political opposition and for taxing the poorest. Unfortunately, early ideas of participation as able to challenge power relations have been damaged by interventions which merely seek to utilise participants to further agendas of the most powerful, thereby robbing 'participation' of its power. For more on this see Cornwall and Brock (2005).

<sup>7</sup> Again, I wish to highlight that this is not simply a global south problem, and that there is no country in the world where there is no gender wage gap.

example, where engaging in work cannot be emancipatory as the women lack choice.

Sassen (2010) uses the term 'strategic gendering' to emphasise that the way in which labour is gendered is not neutral, rather she argues that within the current division of labour, women subsidise the waged labour of men at the level of the global corporate economy. For example, a businessman's work may be facilitated by domestic labour which may include washing and ironing clothes to wear to work, shopping and cooking to provide food and sustenance, and cleaning to ensure a safe and healthy place to stay. Therefore, it is not that women are less likely to work, but rather that women may participate in different and undervalued ways, which men often benefit from. Sassen (ibid.) suggests that households, and the domestic work within them (both paid and unpaid) which is usually female, are part of the strategic infrastructure of cities and thus a part of the global corporate economy. Lind (2010:650) makes a similar argument, suggesting that "neoliberal development (and capitalist development in general) relies on women's 'elastic' or volunteer labour to 'absorb' the costs of broader economic changes, their struggles for survival have become institutionalised and serve as replacements for state support". It is not that women have failed to integrate into the labour market and therefore should make efforts to work more, but rather that women's contributions are often undervalued or overlooked, and therefore calls for women to participate more are flawed. Moreover, as Lind (2010) also references, women are often those who take on increased burdens of care and responsibility in situations where states roll back social care (Hassim, 2008). Therefore, women's inequality both facilitates and is built into economic structures.

Challenging such pervasive and culturally gendered inequality is not easy. It is time to engage with the way that concepts of gender have informed development narratives and interventions.

### ***Gender in Development Discourse***

Development is an uneven and gendered arena replete with power relations, and a Gender and Development (GAD) approach aims to address these issues. GAD is an area of research and practice which promotes development founded upon gender equality (Gender and Development, 2015). It is an area of study which has

emerged out of increased understandings that current development trajectories do not benefit men and women equally, and that women are often disproportionately affected by poverty. Gender and Development is based on an understanding of gender as socially constructed, in opposition to an understanding of gendered roles as part of the natural order of things.

The World Health Organisation defines gender as referring to “the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women”. Gender is distinguished from sex, which is simply defined as the biological and physiological characteristics that define men and women (WHO, n.d.). Therefore, gender requires a nuanced understanding of the socially constructed nature of gendered difference and experience.

In this section, I will discuss gendered poverty, before looking back at the history of Women in Development and GAD approaches. This will lead on to a discussion of GAD in practice, before a look at how structural inequalities persist on a multi-scalar level. Finally, I will consider the role of men and masculinity, before contemplating the ways in which development initiatives could promote and encourage greater gender equality.

### *Gendered Poverty*

Data collection is not neutral. As Coates (2010:66) suggests: “What is included and what is not in any measurement involves a choice and reflects a partial and therefore subjective representation of a truth that itself implies particular political processes and goals”. What is measured may highlight the priorities and conceptual backgrounds of these setting development agendas. Working to current development indices has meant that money and human effort often go to waste as the focus has been on effecting the largest achievable reduction in the poverty index without considering the actual effects of these policies (Pogge, 2010). When analysis of poverty goes beyond that of income, gender inequalities become even more visible and it is shown that women are often more disadvantaged than men across a myriad of different categories and poverty indices.

What is meant by ‘development’ is often dependent on what measures are used to track development. Generally, development requires an improvement in

certain measures and standards. What these measures and standards are depends on the priorities of the actors involved. Development is often measured using economic indices, such as growth, but can also be measured by health, education and standard of living indices (UNDP, n.d.a) as well as other measures of poverty and inequality.

Historically, development discourses have frequently overlooked gender. When inadequate statistics are used, deliberately or not, they can serve to make gender inequalities invisible. Prior to the 1970 the role of women in social and economic development was almost entirely invisible (Moser, 1993) as data was predicated upon sexless averages (Chant, 2010). Country-level measures of poverty often employed similar methodologies and, when not based on sexless averages, were based on household survey data (Coates, 2010). Coates (ibid.) suggests that this focus on households creates a blank box in which any differences within households are obscured in terms of both income and work load. These statistics can hide gendered difference within poverty, as resources are often not shared equally within households (Lister, 2010). It is difficult to say whether these statistics and omissions were deliberately exclusionary or genuine oversight but contextually these development discourses emerged in a world in which second-wave feminism had not yet gathered momentum. Whatever the reason, gender remained largely hidden in development discourses until the 1970s.

The Human Development Index (HDI) was created by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and is an alternative measure of development, and considers the key dimensions of human development to be a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable, and having a decent standard of living (UNDP, n.d.a). It measures life expectancy, mean and expected years of schooling, and gross national income, combining these to create a Human Development Index Value (UNDP, n.d.b). The Gender Development Index, also created by the UNDP, uses the same methodology as the HDI, and is used in combination with the HDI, as the countries are ranked based on deviation from gender parity in HDI (UNDP, n.d.c.). On average the GDI shows that female HDI value is 8% lower than male HDI value, and gaps widen in countries in the Low Human Development Index Group (ibid.) This research does not aim to measure poverty but I include this discussion to highlight that women are generally worse off than men, even when different measures are used. However, these dimensions provide a limited picture of gender

equality. For example, despite female dominance in educational achievement in the Caribbean, difficulties of employment and job security have not been overcome (Parpet, 2014). This is a difference which the HDI or GDI would not capture as it does not analyse employment.

The HDI and GDI represent a shift to more multi-dimensional measures of poverty but Bessell (2010) suggests that gender sensitive measures such as time burdens, labour inputs, responsibility for household survival and maintenance, personal security and gender-based violence are conspicuously absent. For example, on the topic of time burdens and labour inputs, women often have a double or triple burden of paid work, domestic labour and community management (Moser, 1978). In terms of paid work, women are also more likely to work informally than men (Meagher, 2010). This is largely because the other burdens of domestic labour and community management limit an ability to commit, for example, to a nine to five job. Informal work may therefore offer more flexibility (CAWN, 2013). Women continue to be considered largely responsible for children and care within households (Lister, 2010) and this feeds into responsibility for household survival and maintenance. Managing poverty can be difficult, time-consuming and tiring and for women, children's needs can permeate all experiences, as women may act as the shock absorbers of poverty, negatively affecting themselves (ibid.). Informal work may offer women more flexible ways to fulfil a responsibility for earning income, but informal work also tends to be marginal and lacking in social protection and job security (Meagher, 2010). Therefore, women working informally gain less from their paid work than they might in formal employment while continuing to labour under a triple burden of responsibility. Gammage (2010) suggests that there can be a trade-off between different types of poverty - for example, a choice between time poverty and monetary poverty, and the problem of intersectional poverty is also considered by Pogge (2010) who suggests that most indices and directions which development takes are insensitive to correlated aspects of disadvantage.

What the GDI lacks in acknowledgement of underlying reasons of persisting gender inequalities, the Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) tries to rectify (Drechsler and Jitting, 2010). The OECD created SIGI in 2009, and it measures social institutions using indicators related to household behaviour and social norms, such as family code, civil liberties, physical integrity, son preference and



ownership rights (ibid.). By focussing on social inequalities, SIGI analysis highlights why progress in gender equality has been so slow. Unfortunately, SIGI seems to have had little influence outside of a small group of academics, and is not a frequently used measure (Branisa et al, 2014).

Inequality is not just produced or sustained in situations of poverty. Johnsson-Latham (2010) suggest that gender discourses recognise that problems are more or less the same the world over, as discrimination occurs in all countries. Globally, there is not a single country which has achieved full gender equality according to the World gender gap index (WEF, 2013) but although it is true that gender bias does not only occur in situations of poverty, it is simply not true that problems are more or less the same the world over, or even within different socio-economic strata within countries. In situations of poverty, gender discrimination can be more keenly felt. Gendered disadvantage intersects with other aspects of disadvantage, such as race ethnicity and sexuality, and so experiences of disadvantage are not universal (McCall, 2005). However, the fact that gender inequality persists the world over is pertinent because it means that social and gender justice must be objectives from the very beginning of development processes, “as inequalities cannot be fixed when things get ‘sticky’” (Harcourt, 2012). Gender sensitive development is needed to prevent continuing inequalities. Both cultural and financial inequalities must be addressed, as gender bias cannot be assumed to be rooted in poverty (Jackson, 2010).

Whichever way poverty and development are measured, women tend to be worse off than men, and women are more likely to live below the poverty line than men, even in developed countries (Swindle, 2011:348). Although this research makes no attempt to measure poverty, understanding different measure of poverty and going beyond income measures is important, as what is required for a good life goes beyond the financial.

Developmental approaches to helping women have been through several different stages. Although none of these approaches have achieved equality, it is useful to look at the development of gendered approaches over time. The first of these was a Women in Development approach.

## *Women in Development*

In the 1970s differences between male and female experience in the sphere of development emerged as a new concern. Esther Boserup's 1970 book 'Women's Role in Economic Development' signalled an acknowledgement of men and women's different experiences of the development processes by emphasising gender as key to divisions of labour (Beneria and Sen, 1981). However, Beneria and Sen (ibid.) critique Boserup for relying too heavily on empirics and not enough on theory, taking a capitalist model of development as given, and having a limited focus on the sphere of production outside of the household. Despite these limitations, the term Women in Development (WID) was coined in the early 1970s by the Women's Committee of the Washington DC Chapter of the Society for International Development, inspired by Boserup and others (Moser, 1993). 1976 to 1985 was also named the UN Decade for Women, aiming to highlight the role of women and the 'plight' of low-income women (ibid, p. 2). This WID approach involved focussing on supporting women as producers, giving them loans and training, but did not consider unpaid workload, rigid gender divisions of labour or structural inequalities (Sweetman, 2013). Therefore, work was encouraged but only in situations in which women could earn money, while their other responsibilities were ignored.

Collier (1988) in a working paper for the World Bank provides a good example of the disregard for structural inequalities. Collier noted women's low status when compared to men but he considered material disadvantage as cause and low status as effect, rather than the other way around (ibid.). His working paper is also characterised by constant references to 'women's issues', and although men's advantage is not entirely ignored, there is not any suggestion that men need to change. For example, Collier (ibid.) noted that because men rather than women are household heads, women do not have access to credit markets due to lack of collateral. Rather than challenging this household structure, Collier's (ibid. p. 5) suggestion was for women to rely upon the savings market, which "suffers none of the problems intrinsic to the credit market". This exemplifies the lack of challenge to structural inequalities that a WID focus had. It also rests the burden for change squarely on the shoulders of women, which could also impact upon other types of poverty, such as time poverty. A WID approach focusses on women stepping up, leaning in, and becoming more involved in development, but ignores

the privileges of men. It was about increasing women's participation in specific areas of paid work and credit markets, rather than considering gendered relations and experiences, and therefore limited itself, only considering one half of the story.

### *Gender and Development*

In 1995 the UN held the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (UN, n.d.). This event signalled a shift from merely including women *in* development, to reforming development itself to be more gender equitable (Sweetman, 2013). This marked the beginning of a Gender *and* Development (GAD) approach. Many governments signed the Beijing Platform for Action, pledging a commitment to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of women (Moser and Moser, 2005). Sweetman (2013:2) states that a GAD approach “starts from a gender analysis of power relations shaping the lives of poor women and men in different contexts in the global South and North”. GAD also acknowledges that inequality creates and perpetuates a global system, reliant on the labour of women, the poor, and populations in the global south (ibid.) GAD approaches therefore started to acknowledge the structural nature of gendered relationships.

The Beijing conference also established the concept of gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming means assessing gendered implications of planned actions, and considering those implications as an integral dimension of the design (UN, 1997). However, there is concern that mainstreaming has led to tick box requirements and gender disaggregated data but very little meaningful change (Wendoh and Wallace, 2008). It has even been suggested that aiming to integrate gender at all stages of development practice has led to organisations feeling that they don't have to do anything specific to tackle gender inequalities and has turned solutions to what is a deep social injustice into a technical activity limited to filling in forms and checklists (Mannell, 2012). For example, in Yemen, a gender policy was created which aimed to support the invisible and overlooked women and girl farmers of Yemen (Mukhopadhyay, 2004). Rural women's sections were strengthened, but then the focus of the project shifted from women to gender. The outcome of this, when faced with budget cuts, was to axe the project entirely on the basis that ‘gender had been mainstreamed’. By this they meant that gender was supposed to run through all policies and so a specific focus on gendered policy

to raise up women was unnecessary even in the face of continuing and extreme gender segregation (ibid.). In situations such as this, mainstreaming has sometimes allowed gender to be ‘streamed’ away (ibid.).

### *GAD in Practice*

Although GAD literature has taken a more nuanced and subject specific approach to development, policy seems to have remained stuck in an efficiency approach, rooted in WID approaches (Chant and Sweetman, 2012). GAD approaches are still often focussed directly on working with women, and radical action is needed to advance gender justice (Sweetman, 2013). Therefore, it is useful to look at GAD in practice. Smart economics, Cash Conditional Transfers (CCTs), and attitudes towards women’s legal property rights exemplify a continuing focus on women, despite acknowledgements of structural inequality on paper.

An argument which became a fashionable justification for GAD approaches in the 2000s was that of ‘smart economics’. Development organisations and governments’ strategies aimed to achieve equality through increasing women’s economic participation in arenas of paid work and entrepreneurship. Smart economics represents the argument that investing in and including women in development interventions makes good financial sense. For example, it is suggested that greater gender equality would increase overall productivity as women’s skills could be utilised more fully, that greater control over household resources by women benefits children, and that empowering women as social actors can change policy (Revengea and Shetty, 2012). Drechsleter and Jitting (2010:77) suggest that “gender equality is now widely perceived as being a key instrument to stimulate and promote sustainable development”. However Chant and Sweetman (2012) are concerned that rather than helping women, smart economics utilises women and girls to fix the world.

This smart economics discourse utilises representations and ideas of women as self-sacrificing and altruistic (Chant, 2012; Sen, 2010). Therefore, the discourse perpetuates gender stereotypes, by adding another responsibility to already overburdened women and furthering a feminisation of responsibility and obligation (Chant and Sweetman, 2012). Wilson (2010) suggests that it is gendered inequalities themselves which make women ‘efficient’ neoliberal subjects, as women are expected to make personal sacrifices to achieve what is expected of

them. Therefore, these policies aimed at creating equality are designed within an unequal framework which ignore unpaid work, and aim to increase the burden of paid work which women do, without acknowledging or tackling the burden of unpaid work.

CCTs are often praised interventions in which (usually) women are given cash with the caveat that they meet certain conditions, such as ensuring children's school attendance (Molyneux, 2007). However, the logic of CCTs assumes that women are more trustworthy than men in controlling where extra income may go and are more likely to spend income on their children. This both naturalises and reinforces the idea that women are better at caring for children than men, and should be responsible for unpaid care labour which validates negative male behaviours whilst adding to women's burdens of responsibility. Theoretical models and empirical findings do show that "payments received by women are more likely to be spent on improving the welfare of children" (Gitter and Barham, 2008:271). However, this fact is used as a reason to include women without considering the burdens women already face, while men's lack of responsibility for children's welfare is not questioned. In a notable example of CCTs in South Africa, in 30% of households where women received a cash transfer aimed at helping their children, they reported that the men stopped giving them money when they saw that they were receiving the transfer (Patel and Hochfeld, 2011). Because of this, the income of women and children did not increase overall. Traditional roles and responsibilities may be reinforced to by interventions which 'empower' women to participate within structures which reproduce power asymmetries (Molyneux, 2007). Power relations and expectations of responsibility must always be considered.

Rakodi (2010) points out that in the cities of the south women's rights have often been and continue to be linked to familial relationships, particularly with husbands, fathers and sons. A reliance on secondary rights, which are only secure if their marriage or relationships are intact, reduces bargaining power. Where women hold rights, such as joint property titling, Kumar (2010) suggest that securing gender neutral decision making within the household is challenging as male voices continue to dominate. However, other studies have concluded that joint titling does make a difference as it provides women with the insurance that their partner cannot sell the house without consulting them (Datta, 2006). Datta

(2006) suggests that women become more attached to homes once they have legal rights to the property. This helps to tackle the problem of property alienation - in which people sell the properties they have gained rights to, and then move to squat somewhere else (ibid.). However, women are more attached because they have limited choices, as women may not be able to gain rights over another property if the scheme by which they have gained rights has only been rolled out in one particular area. Therefore, women's lack of status elsewhere is instrumentalised to tackle the problem of property alienation. Problematic and gendered power relations will not disappear simply because of legal rights.

Despite a theoretical shift to a more holistic GAD approach, many GAD policies have continued to largely utilise women for development, and have failed to address the socially constructed and structural nature of gendered disadvantage. Smart economics and other policies which push women to participate can assume that participation equals empowerment, but ignore economic and social dynamics of constraints (Meagher, 2010). Johnsson-Latham (2010) suggests that an emphasis on what women and girls lack, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) focus on gaining girls education, ignore structural reasons for inequality. Dreschler and Jitting (2010) state that "in many countries traditions and social norms are the decisive factors restraining progress in women's empowerment". For example, in Tanzania while girl's primary school attendance increased to over 83% between 2000/2001 and 2010/2011, only 3% complete secondary school, women are on average paid 63% lower than men, and in 2010 33% of Tanzanian women reported they had been subject to physical domestic violence in the previous 12 months (Wane, 2012). However, a MDG focus on education would suggest that Tanzania was making progress in gender equality.

A major problem with GAD approaches and gendered interventions is the continued focus on women which ignores the privileged male side of the binary.

### ***Masculinity***

Gender is relational and entangled with issues of power and control, and it is therefore necessary to look at male privilege as well as female disadvantage. Kloosterman et al (2012) recognise that real cultural change is a collective process. Cornwall (1997:8) argues strongly that "by disregarding the complexities of male experience, by characterising men as 'the problem', and by continuing to focus

on women-in-general as ‘the oppressed’, development initiatives that aim to be ‘gender-aware’ can fail to address effectively the issues of equity and empowerment that are crucial in bringing about positive change”. However, Bhatta (2001:30), points out that “processes continue to be dominated by agendas set by men, conditioned by men’s experiences and, by and large, implemented by men”. It is therefore potentially a delicate balance between involving men as an important part of gender relations, whilst ensuring that men do not simply dominate gender discussions and continue to override the voices, experiences, needs and desires of women.

At their root, discussions of masculinities took as their most basic sources feminist theories of patriarchy, and debates over the role of men in transforming patriarchy (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 831). In the 1970’s academic discussions of the male role emerged, criticising role norms as the source of oppressive behaviour by men (ibid.). Connell (1982, 1983) gained prominence during this period due to their theory of hegemonic masculinity, and the idea that masculinities and power relations are multiple (Carrigan et al. 1985). Hegemonic masculinity was understood not as a singular identity or set of expectations, but rather identified as a pattern of practice which perpetuated men’s dominance of women in the context of patriarchal systems (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). This was not understood as the norm, in that only a minority of men may enact hegemonic masculinity, but rather as normative in that it “embodied the most honoured way of being a man” (ibid:832). However, receiving the benefits of patriarchy without enacting male dominance may be considered a form of “complicit masculinity” (ibid:832) or even a form of dominance by perpetuating and benefiting from the dominance.

Hegemonic masculinity has largely been represented negatively and seen as responsible for increasingly problematic versions of masculinity in the US military, reliant on the subordination of women, and creating patterns of validating the self by negating others (Barrett, 1996). Other negative associations include Messerschmidt’s (1997) work which frames crime as one way in which masculinity is made, most obviously in, but not limited to, homophobic crimes. Meanwhile in the context of sport Messner (1992) emphasises the weaponisation of the male body, and how, in some instances, performative masculinity led to serious injury or death. Silberschmidt (2001) also argues convincingly that socioeconomic

change which disempowers men has resulted in men's lack of social value and self-esteem, which has led men to express their masculinity through multi-partnered and casual sexual relations, often acted out in sexual aggressiveness in order to restore male self-esteem.

However, the plurality of masculinities, as well as a fluidity and potential for struggles for hegemony were also key to the theory of hegemonic masculinity. As Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 833) state: "This was the element of optimism in an otherwise bleak theory. It was perhaps possible that a more humane, less oppressive, means of being a man might become hegemonic, as part of a process leading toward an abolition of gender hierarchies". Attempts to reach gender equality require the involvement of men. Friedman (2015) suggested that redefining hegemonic masculinity is a necessary step in attempts to unseat the gender revolution.

Connell and Messerschmidt's 2005 paper reviewed the earlier theory of hegemonic masculinity, and suggested elements for rejection and reformulation. In terms of what should be rejected, Connell and Messerschmidt accept that not all masculinities and femininities can be seen in the single pattern of men's power over women. They also suggest that a trait approach to gender leads to hegemonic masculinity being seen as a fixed type and so this is to be rejected. There are four areas in which they suggest reformulating hegemonic masculinity. Firstly, that gender hierarchies need to be understood more holistically, considering agency of subordinated groups as well as power of dominant groups in the context of conditioning of gender dynamics and other social dynamics, because gender is always relational. Patterns of masculinity are often defined in relation to (real or imagined) patterns of femininity. Secondly, that the geographies matter, and that hegemonic masculinities can be analysed at local, regional and global levels whilst accounting for links between these different scales. This is particularly relevant here as "the turbulence of "development agendas have the power to reshape local patterns of masculinity and femininity" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005:850). Thirdly, that embodiment within masculine hegemony has not yet been convincingly theorised and needs more sophisticated treatment. Finally, that the dynamics of masculinity means that the layers, internal contradictions and practices that construct masculinities are important to consider, as well as the construction of masculinities as changing over time and through the life course.



The most important thing to take from this review of hegemonic masculinities is the fluidity and possibility for change of hegemonic masculinities. These changes may not always be positive, as new patterns of hegemony are constantly forged and contested and “processes of globalisation have opened regional and local gender orders to new pressures for transformation and have also opened the way to new coalitions among groups of powerful men” (ibid. p. 842).

It is important to understand the factors which influence masculinity, beginning with a consideration of work. McDowell (2003) suggests that finding work in the move from education to waged labour, and being able to independently provide for oneself and one’s family is a key marker and constructor of adult masculinity. McDowell discusses the crisis of masculinity which may occur when waged labour is not available (2003). Agadjanian (2002:330) relates that younger men are “more likely to move into female-dominated occupations because they face less prestige penalty and are less concerned about the income penalty associated with such occupations” and have not yet established their social manhood. Williams (1992) shows that women entering traditionally male occupations are often marginalised, while men entering traditional female occupations often enter more prestigious specialities within those occupations. She calls this a glass escalator. In occupational niches “gender hierarchy and inequality are inevitably recreated in the new settings through a restructuring and reconceptualization of these occupational niches” (Agadjanian, 2002:331). Agadjanian (ibid. p. 334) suggests that the formal sector is more often seen as a place for men and formal sector jobs may constitute the most appropriate and desirable type of work which may also be part of their masculine identities.

Men may be penalised within communities if they are seen to lose some of the trappings of masculinity. For example, men who engaged with a gender-transformative programme in South Africa (Berg et al. 2013) were ridiculed for “taking on more gender-equitable beliefs or practices in households and relationships” (p. 122). Masculinities are performative in relations with other men, as well as in relations with women (Berg et al. 2013). Men who do not conform to a hegemonic version of masculinity may find themselves disadvantaged, discriminated against or marginalised (Cornwall, 1997). This is not to argue that men and women are equally disadvantaged, but that men benefit unevenly from

the status quo, and that gender is both performative and relational, even amongst those of the same sex.

Male privilege is not evenly spread across males (Chant and Gutmann, 2002) and so men who do not meet masculine ideals may be damaged by male privilege, or feel that they must cling to it. Therefore, it is not necessarily illogical for men to feel threatened by programmes which encourage women to take on traditionally masculine roles such as breadwinner. In terms of taking on each other's roles, Agadjanian (2002) suggests that taking on women's work deprives men of economic and social leverage in household relationships, but may mean that they try to hold onto pre-eminence in household decisions to regain territory lost at work. In examples from the same paper men describe their own working practices as reasonable, calm, and conciliating and stating that female vendors are often loud, emotional, and verbally offensive (ibid.). This indicates an attempt to place themselves above the female vendors in terms of practice, even when engaging in the same work. There may be a lack of support from or loss of status within the community if a man is seen to be overshadowed by a woman. It is important to recognise fears of men as real and long lasting change will be impossible without the involvement of both men and women. Excluding men can increase hostilities as men may feel that women are encroaching on parts of life which have traditionally been male, such as breadwinning. For men, a partner taking on this traditionally masculine role may mean that a feeling of failure, or being perceived to fail to meet these needs could feel threatening (Chant and Gutmann, 2002). In one particularly notable example of male reaction to increased female income, a woman's husband accused her of engaging in sex work. She had taken part in a CCT programme and, as far as her husband could see, sex work was the only possible explanation for his wife's increased income (Patel and Hochfeld, 2011).

It is often the case that male gender identity concerns the ability to lead and dominate: to be breadwinners, family heads, and leaders (Patel and Hochfeld, 2011; Sweetman, 2013). Therefore, for women within male headed households to gain independence can be seen as a subtle threat, or a failure of masculinity. It is necessary and important to challenge these perceptions and to involve men so as they do not prevent female empowerment.

Certain issues may continue to be marginalised as women's issues and remain unaddressed without the support of men. For example, Kabeer (2012) notes that the question of sexual violence will remain ghettoized as a woman's issue unless men support efforts to eliminate it. In a case study in South Africa, men who worked with an organisation to reduce violence, and had non-violent and different types of male role model not only became less violent at home, but also helped with chores and raising children more than they had previously (Berg et al. 2013). In this way, through a programme designed to challenge the gendered problem of domestic violence, the norms changed, and households began to be run very differently. It is difficult to challenge entrenched power relations, but a challenge that must be met and is entirely necessary if real change is to occur.

Although male privilege is uneven, it is important to remember that "the fact that gender analysis can also reveal certain situations in which men experience oppression by virtue of race, class and other aspects of their identity interacting with elements of sexism does not detract from the overall story being one in which women lose out through gender power relations" (Mannell, 2012:428). Despite these unequal power relations, it is also important to note that love, respect and mutual reliance are often ignored when discussing gendered relations (Sharp et al, 2003). People are constituted through their relationships, which may be constituted through power and inequality, but are also important for acquiring material, intangible and symbolic benefits (Moore, 2010). Whilst acknowledging these complexities, male advantage is also summed up nicely by Sweetman (2013:9) saying: "Individual men can choose to press this advantage (of patriarchal dividend), or opt, whenever possible, not to. Women have no such advantage, which means a very different position in relation to feminist struggle".

#### *Where do we go from here?*

Despite all that has been written and all the attempts which have been made to reduce gender inequalities, inequalities remain. Chen (2010) suggests that what is needed is voice, visibility and validity. Voice requires women to be represented in processes and institutions, and visibility means representation in statistics (ibid.). The idea of validity is particularly important, as demonstrated by de Wall's (2006) differentiation between gender equality and gender parity. Gender equality needs to be about men and women having the same opportunities and

the same capabilities, as opposed to being about having the exact same number of men and women in every single situation. If what has traditionally been seen as women's work and women's responsibilities gained validity, instead of consistently being overlooked, then the balance of power may shift, and men could potentially take their share of the work, and rather than being burdened by doing something 'unmasculine', they too could gain satisfaction and respect. Male privilege as well as female deprivation must be looked at (Johnsson-Latham, 2010). Challenging the existing order may be difficult and uncomfortable, but as Moore (2010:35) suggests, recent ideas on changing masculinity and femininity result in a "potentially productive shift in theoretical perspectives and conceptual frameworks relating to wellbeing, power and gender".

It is not always the case that women and those most affected by poverty are inspired by pushes for gender equality. Dominant discourses are also by their nature pervasive and can be difficult to challenge. It may be the case that many women are making a patriarchal bargain, where working within existing structures is easier than subverting them (Sharp et al. 2003). This can explain a certain lack of engagement with gender discourses: it may seem irrelevant in situations where there is not enough food or water to be discussing gendered rights and inequalities. Women may also be uncertain and confused by discussions of equality in situations where concepts are far removed from problems they are grappling with (Wendoh and Wallace, 2005). However, it is difficult to 'introduce' equality as a fix at the end, and instead should be integral to development practices.

People's attitudes are also difficult and problematic as "men and women are likely to hold both progressive and contradictory views about gender relations at the same time" (Patel and Hochfeld, 2011:238). It can be particularly difficult to challenge these norms, especially within top down development programmes, where attempts to change cultural norms can be met with suspicion. In a discussion on gendered parenting beliefs and practices in South Africa, one participant informed researchers (Berg et al, 2013:118): "we are not raised like white people". This highlights the problems with colonial approaches to development. Wendoh and Wallace (ibid.: 79) propose finding "ways to support and encourage positive change in favour of women, rather than bringing in blueprint ideas and concepts that have no meaning for local actors". There is a broad societal pressure to maintain the gendered status quo, and this can

“undermine efforts to transform gender relations and gendered structural inequalities” (Parpet, 2014:390). Bessell (2010) suggests a need to pay greater heed to the lived experiences and priorities of individuals, bridge disconnect between literature on poverty measurement and feminist analyses of poverty, have a greater emphasis on sex disaggregation and utilise more responsive and participatory forms of data collection, including qualitative techniques.

Poverty and development continue to be highly gendered issues, and attempts to integrate gender into the development process have not been successful, and in some cases, attempts to fully mainstream gender have led to gender issues disappearing from agendas altogether, despite the move from WID to GAD. Women, however it is measured, experience poverty more often and more severely than men and this is largely due to structural inequalities. Gendered relationships continue to disadvantage women, at scales ranging from the domestic to the macro-economic, even in instances where practical barriers have been removed. Gender does not equal women, and poverty does not equal income (Chant, 2010) and so a more holistic approach to gender, poverty and development is needed. It is essential that structural inequalities are addressed. This is not easy, but as gender is relational, both males and females need to be involved in the process. Finding ways to engage with people and their own personal priorities is necessary if development interventions are going to be successful, inclusive and equitable.

### ***Development and its Alternatives***

Challenging structures of inequality, and challenging the privilege of certain work, societal roles, and actors is important for those who desire more equitable development interventions. Currently, paid work is prioritised, women and work associated with women are often overlooked, and gendered inequalities and unpaid work may be utilised to facilitate neoliberal development interventions. It is not enough to simply state that underappreciated and overlooked forms of work are valuable. Valorisation may ignore underlying structural inequalities in which people have little choice of what work they do. Valorisation of domestic labour may ignore the unfair burden placed on women, by praising it but doing little to actually reduce the burden of the work (Weeks, 2011). Valorisation of unpaid work may absolve governments of responsibility. For example, in the UK David Cameron’s Big Society was widely criticised for valorising volunteering and unpaid

work within communities while removing and reducing funding for structures of state support. In a similar vein SAPs were supposed to encourage free market reforms and make developing countries more self-reliant. However, they led to the dismantling of state structures of support and required unpaid labour from families, churches and community groups to fill the gaps (Kaiser, 1996).

In part, it is difficult to conceptualise alternatives due to the dominance of certain ideas of what development should look like.

### *Visions of modernity*

An idea which frequently emerges from, or at least lurks in the background of discussions of the work and development discourses more generally, is an ideal 'holy grail' of development which is mostly a neoliberal growth driven model. Currently, as Gibson-Graham (2006) highlight, neoliberal economic success in terms of the production of surplus and profit is frequently deemed the pinnacle of successful economics and development. Gibson-Graham (ibid.) critique the tendency to see the economy as both a singular capitalist system and an ultimate arbiter of possibility. Visions of successful and positive urban spaces, and what constitutes valid interactions within them, are nearly always modelled upon European and North American cities and their past trajectories (Kamete, 2013) which Roy (2004a) describes as a constructed ideal normative model. Representations of European and North American cities and their trajectories as the normative model are aided by temporal discourses which mark certain cities as improper or out of time (Chatterjee, 2004).

Partha Chatterjee (2004) introduces the concept of heterogeneous time, placed in direct opposition to homogenous time. Chatterjee suggests that the modern and the 'now' is represented as a very particular way of being, so that anything which falls outside these ideals is considered to be of another time. It is through temporal discourse that only one type of modernity is validated, and other forms of modernity are dismissed as traditional or backwards. This idea is used by Keyder (2005) when he suggests that informal mechanisms have prevailed during the transition from the traditional world. This implies that informality belongs in the traditional world of the past, but has unexpectedly failed to disappear and so is seen as a relic of the past (Chatterjee, 2004). Temporal vocabulary therefore

serves to 'other' that which does not fit into the accepted model of successful development.

Robinson (2006) describes modernity as the West's self-characterisation which means that if cities do not fit the model of Western development they are often seen to be marred by a sort of incomplete modernity (Gandy, 2006). This exemplifies Chatterjee's idea of heterogeneous time, challenging a modern traditional binary. However, Chatterjee (2004:7) suggests that other ways of being are not survivors from a pre-modern past but are "new products of the encounter with modernity itself" and the idea of heterogeneous time aims to consider places as different but modern and existing within the same time. Robinson (2006) also suggests a need to dislocate modernity from its privileged relationship with the West, in order to acknowledge diverse and different forms of modernity across the world.

By prioritising one specific pathway of modernity and development, other ways of being are rendered invisible. Places which are taken as the models of modernity promote neoliberal agendas through interventions in other places, such as the implementation of SAPs (Kaiser, 1996). Like limited views of what constitutes the modern which ignore a diversity of modernities, Gilbert (2004) suggests that the neoliberal orthodoxy is kept alive by myopia and amnesia, which is established because voices hostile to it lack a feasible voiced alternative. It is therefore imperative that taken-for-granted are questioned to see what alternatives already exist and how they can be built upon. To do this I suggest that research should look at what work people do within communities, structures of inequalities, and people's motivations, values and priorities.

### *Conceptualising alternatives*

It is in the everyday worlds of work in which people choose what types of work to engage in, and which make up the minutiae of people's lives. These micro and everyday work-worlds are important, and are part of global economies and development. Currently development narratives still prioritise growth and profit making. As recently as October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2016, Jim Yong Kim, president of the World Bank Group stated: "we know that stimulating growth in our client countries has to be our top priority" (Kim, 2016). However, there are a number of competing

narratives, which reject the importance placed upon growth and the market and emphasise the need for love, care and communal working.

The goal of development in the global south and of successful economies in the global north has increasingly been to get as many people into waged work as possible, and work is therefore seen as a vehicle for development. To an extent this has destabilised traditional gender roles which consider a woman's place to be in the home. With more women entering the workforce, Badgett and Folbre (1999:341) suggest that "global capitalist development may help destabilize traditional forms of patriarchal power, but it also promotes an individualist war of all against all." This war of all against all refers to the primacy of the narrative of competition over social cohesion and working together, and the critique put forward by Badgett and Folbre (1999) challenged the dominance of this narrative. They question the wisdom of individualist politics, using the image of war to emphasise the conflict that is inherent in competition.

However, bringing hope to the discussion Cameron and Gibson make the argument that not only are alternatives to individualist neoliberal economies possible, they already exist in the overlooked, undervalued activities of people's everyday lives (Cameron and Gibson, 2005). In their work in the Latrobe valley, they document how asking a group of people about the other forms of work that they do, as opposed to simply their wage-earning labour, enabled people to view their own contributions differently. Instead of seeing their community as one which scholars studied due to its failure, residents began to identify and value their 'alternative' activities as valued work and a valuable part of their own identities and their identities as a community (Cameron and Gibson, 2005).

The use of the word 'alternative' is problematic, as it still places for-profit neoliberalism as the mainstream, and other frameworks for action as marginal or future occurrence, even when multiple forms of economics, interactions and work co-exist and intersect at a variety of scales. However, it also serves to enter the conversation in challenging the neoliberal Thatcherite declaration of 'There is no alternative', so well-known and discussed that it received its own acronym: TINA (Sparke, 2009). Not only is this false, but there is a plurality of alternatives, and many of these already exist. The world we live in is constantly made and re-made. Despite this, the idea that neoliberalism is hegemonic, and that capitalist values



have been naturalised continues (Mohanty, 2003:508). Neoliberalism certainly provides the dominant narrative alongside the vocabulary to talk about it, enshrining “economic rationalism, competition, entrepreneurialism, individualism and independence, values that are represented as the antithesis of state responsibilities for living standards and care of the individual, the household or social groups” and leaving “mutual dependence, self-sacrifice and care for others” unmentioned and unvalued (McDowell, 2004:146). Neoliberalism focusses on market resources, and makes invisible these goods, services and labour which are exchanged voluntarily for love or within the household or the local area (ibid.). However, the market and the household are not separate sectors but “deeply interconnected sites in a single process that is simultaneously transforming both jobs and families” (Ferree et al., 1999:xxv).

As Gibson-Graham (2006) point out, any activity which is not part of the capitalist hegemony is generally considered to be inferior or extra, but activities of



Figure 2.1 - Iceberg Image (Byrne, no date)

cooperation, personal relationships and mutual reliance make up a large proportion of economic and social activities. Gibson-Graham (2006) discuss the myriad of alternative ways of being (such as gift giving, household flows, cooperative exchange, family care, reciprocal labour and non-profit to name but a few) which are not really considered as part of the economy. This is demonstrated by the iceberg image (Figure 2.1), which theorises that wage labour is the most visible and dominant form of work, and other work is

consigned to under-the-surface spaces in which they are hidden (Community Economies Collective, n.d.).

The Community Economies Collective do not intend their categorisations to be comprehensive or fixed, and instead consider the theorisation to be in process (Community Economies Collective, n.d.). By highlighting the existence of these diverse economies, the alternative economies perspective challenges value systems which venerate waged labour for capitalist firms as the most important type of work. An unsettling of assumed forms of knowledge, and a need for flexibility and listening (McFarlane, 2002) are relevant here when tasked with looking at the world of work, and highlighting the unknowns and the overlooked.

Gibson-Graham (2016) argued at a symposium on the shrinking commons that commons are the product of communing *practices* (Italicism my own), that is “of organizing access to something (whether physical, social or intangible) that supports the life of a community, of caring and taking responsibility for it, of benefiting from it but not necessarily owning it.” Practices of work and care and volunteering make up our everyday lives and the actions we take. Whether these practices take the form of tending a community garden, giving spare produce to friends and neighbours or organising activities and gatherings run to bring people together, what they all have in common is a support for and a taking responsibility for people other than oneself, generally outside the family.

Work, even undervalued and invisible work is not the only aspect of lives which matter, although it is a dominant one, and one in which we are expected to spend large proportions of our time (Weeks, 2011). In *All About Love* (2000) bell hooks argues that love should take a prominent role in our everyday lives, even in the workplace. Rather than working in competition towards an ethic of individual success against a background of economic growth, hooks suggests a value system based on love. hooks (2000) argues that loving means honestly and openly expressing care, affection, responsibility, respect, commitment, and trust, and although care is a part of love, it does not equal love. hooks conceptualises love as practice, not just in romantic relationships, but in all meaningful relationships. She acknowledges that this may seem radical, even a little strange. She knows that other people look at her strangely when she talks of bringing love into the workplace. However, she argues that her notion of being able to work in a loving

environment is due to her conviction that she would work better in a work environment “shaped by an ethic of love” (hooks, 2000:63). For hooks, the link between work and love is self-evident. An ethics of love should permeate all aspects of life and provide an alternative value system to rally around. She is arguing in opposition to a materialistic, money centric value system that she identifies as increasing in the United States, after the Vietnam War:

“Confronted with a seemingly unmanageable emotional universe, some people embraced a new Protestant work ethic, convinced that a successful life would be measured by how much money one made and the goods one could buy with this money. The good life was no longer to be found in community and connection, it was to be found in accumulation and the fulfilment of hedonistic, materialistic desire... it was no longer important to bring an ethical dimension to the work life.”

(hooks, 2000:108-109)

Similarly, Linda McDowell (2004) argues for an ethic of care within work, looking for a system that can encourage mutual support and an ethic of caring. McDowell (2004:156) suggests that the neoliberal and normative commitment to independence prevents the promotion of greater equality, as equality requires social support and interaction which is not based on competition. Likewise, Tripp (2016:382) argues for an ethics of care, saying that it should be based on power and shared values (as opposed to an economy of care which simply makes it easier for women to be exploited). Although Tripp does not discuss these ethics of care in relation to work, an ethics of care potentially helps to underpin alternative economies of the type of which Gibson-Graham (2006) discuss, as well as linking to bell hooks’ ideas of love as a basis for action and life (hooks, 2000). I would add to this that an ethics of care would disrupt hierarchies inherent in the way that we conceptualise and value different types of work. An ethics of care can reject the notion that work is status lifting or status destroying, and instead position all work as part of the same system.

For Yuval-Davis (2016) a feminist ethics of care is related to similar moral philosophies that put ‘love’ at the basis of a good society. She describes an ethics of care as a feminist project of belonging, relating to the way in which people relate and belong to each other. She places this ethics of care in opposition to

neo-liberal ethics which do not recognize notions such as ‘public good’ or ‘public interest’ (ibid. p. 8). It is not shared values that Yuval-Davis embrace in order to form the basis of solidarity and cooperation, but instead she suggests that love and need would be more appropriate bases within an ethics of care. This is an asymmetrical politics of solidarity in which “the ethics of care feminists and others might share the value of helping the needy, but there is no such a demand for the needy to necessarily hold such values” (ibid. p. 120).

Lawson (2007:3) suggests that “care ethics also demands attention to emotions and affective relations (of love, concern, and connection) because of the complex ways in which power is embedded in them”. Geographies of care and love are connected here, and Morrison et al (2012) suggest that a concern for the spatiality of love can be combined with thinking relationally. This means looking at “relations and spaces between and among individuals, groups, and objects” (Morrison et al, 2012: 513). Morrison et al (ibid.) argue that love should be understood as spatial, relational, and political. Unlike hooks who is arguing that people should enact love, Morrison et al (2012) are suggesting that love should be considered as part of critical geographical studies. This means exploring where and how love is enacted, relationships of love, and politics of love in which love influences narratives of insiders and outsiders, or sentiment connects to politics.

Tripp (2016) is concerned that an ethics of care cannot avoid dependence, suggesting that children, the ill, the disabled and the elderly have periods of dependency. However, Tripp suggests that “dependence does not mean inequality” and care giving does not necessarily imply exploitation (Tripp 2016:383). It is important to acknowledge when discussing work, that there may be people, such as those listed above, who may not be able to work, and a focus on economically productive work above all other activities may result in a devaluing of those who cannot work for wages. An ethics of care is concerned with whether one’s needs are being met, and that includes everyone, whether or not they can make a measurable contribution to ‘work’ as measured by wages and ‘productive’ output. In relation to work, this means accepting and acknowledging that work is not the only area that matters, decentring work from its role as the creator of value, identity and social roles. It is a strange call for a writer concerned with work to make: to decentre and to challenge its dominance, but accepting a state of being

in flux, where values are not fixed, but instead can be challenged and rewritten may highlight possibilities of change (Gibson-Graham, 2016).

The most common critique of Gibson-Graham's attempts to highlight a politics of possibility is the accusation of unrealistic optimism, and here I will allow Gibson-Graham (2016:360) to rebut it in their own words saying:

“To me the label ‘optimist’ denotes someone who is willing to engage in the work of theorising contingency, of taking situations that are ‘not fully yoked into a system of meaning’ and finding the dislocation, the wiggle room, the moment of rupture, the empirical richness of excess and working with it to fashion a politics. It’s not just about looking on the bright side of things, of only accentuating the glass half full, it’s about refusing to line things up, to make strong connections that discourage thinking and close off options for transformative action.”

To include this rebuttal is important, and the central threads of the counter argument are important: that optimism means finding space for possibilities and fighting against attempts to close off possibilities for transformation. Revaluing and reassessing our taken-for-granted particularly in relation to work as an activity which takes up much of our time means that the dominance and privileged position of waged labour can be challenged. Work that has been made invisible and undervalued can be reassessed as part of a whole, and success as defined by neoliberal growth and increased levels of consumption can be looked at through a lens which shows it to be only one way of understanding value. These revaluing's mean accepting weak theory in order to engage in spaces of possibility (Gibson-Graham, 2014), and foregrounding care (McDowell, 2004; Tripp, 2016, Yuval-Davis, 2016) and love (hooks, 2000).

McFarlane (2012) conceptualised informality as having a negotiability of value whilst formality is the (legal) fixing of value (AlSayyad and Roy, 2004). Informality enables flexibility, as demonstrated by the tactical uses of informality by varying actors from street hawkers to governments. Informal interactions are therefore spaces in which there is potential for value to be negotiated and renegotiated.

The way successful economies, cities, communities and practices are measured and perceived needs to be reconsidered. For example, economic growth does not provide an answer to many problems of development. As Ayres (1996) states,

economic growth can increase trade, but reflects little or no progress in terms of welfare, measured by health, diet, housing or education. The focus on economic growth encourages constant growth, which can lead to more competitiveness (ibid.), and potentially a decline in work and living standards, as discussed by the structural approach to informality. Gilbert (2004) suggests that the neoliberal orthodoxy suppresses alternatives. In a climate of neoliberal competition, solidarity is difficult to achieve when people are watching each other nervously (Gilbert and Gugler, 1992). In order to find and use real alternatives to dominant neoliberalism, I return to Gibson-Graham's (2006) call for 'weak theory'. They acknowledge that there is no one simple answer to all problems across numerous contexts, and that certainty should be treated as a falsehood whilst deexoticising ideas of power. Gibson-Graham (ibid) therefore state that uncertainty should be embraced and the fluid nature of debate and problem solving acknowledged, because it is through these processes that potential futures can be found.

Simone (2004) sees cities as spaces of possibility and convertibility, which is hopeful by virtue of believing in the possibility of change in the urban context. Informality, due to its lack of constraints could also be seen to equal a space of possibility and alternatives. Uncertainty seems to be key here, but it is a difficult concept because it is uncomfortable. It requires McFarlane's (2012) call to unsettle traditionally privileged forms of knowledge as well as unsettling of the locations of those knowledges. Challenging taken-for-granted and erasing the boundaries of what is deemed possible is an uncomfortable but necessary exercise if the status quo is to be challenged. This is in essence a methodological question as in a target driven world, it is difficult to sell the concept of uncertainty. However, it may be possible to engage with uncertainty by using genuinely participatory methodologies and imaginative thinking to work together within a flat hierarchy to find alternative ways of looking at situations. For example, Cameron and Gibson's (2005) Latrobe Valley project used participatory and alternate methodologies to draw out the positives which already existed in the community, rather than the usual strategy of identifying problems. This approach focussed on the positive activities and relationships, often informal, which were already taking place within the community. Beginning at every-day scales of people's lives seems to be a good place to start, enabling listening to occur.

I shall now briefly address the Tanzanian context of work, drawing connections between Tanzanian Socialism and the recent electoral victory of the now-president Magufuli who made work a central element of his campaign.

### ***Work in Tanzania: From Socialism to Hapa Kazi Tu***

In this short section I give a brief history of Tanzanian politics and attitudes to work and volunteering, as well as reviewing the most recent Tanzanian Labour Force Survey.

During colonial times two frequently occurring framings of volunteering were held in tension, firstly, that volunteering was a moral activity, and secondly that volunteering was a necessity in order to fill gaps left by the state (Hunter, 2015). This has been seen as a convergence of Christian moralities of charity with state concerns of welfare (Prince and Brown, 2015). Associational life flourished during this period through dance societies, home associations and mutual aid societies to name but a few (Dill, 2009). The British government explicitly promoted the use of volunteers, but worried that welfare societies might be spaces of political agitation and thus tried to control the types of volunteering that occurred by trying to formalise organisations to prevent nationalist movements emerging (ibid.) This led to a kind of institutionalised and compulsory ‘volunteer’ labour, in which labour could be required in lieu of taxes (Brown and Green, 2015). Despite the turn to socialism after independence, these colonial attitudes continued to influence volunteering in Tanzania.

The post-colonial Tanzanian state was initially led by Julius Nyerere. Nyerere was a proponent of an African form of socialism rooted in “African values” with an emphasis on family hood and communalism, which formed the basis of his philosophy of *Ujamaa* (Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003). Tanzanian and African socialism differs from Marxism and has its own character. For Marx, class struggle and the relationship of men to the means of production is the essence of human survival, but African socialism rejects a deterministic approach of social order and is instead based on the extended family (Arikawei, 2015). Here, society is seen as an extension of the basic family unity to include “community, tribe, nation and indeed the entire human race” (ibid.:541). Nyerere stated “we will build on the past African tradition in which every family was responsible for all its members, and every member responsible for the family... We believe this can be done

through the development of cooperative enterprises in every field of economic and social activity” (1961:5).

The socialist project in Tanzania therefore had a political philosophy that Otunnu (2015) argues was rooted in the African experience and political soil. Marx and Engels had a specific understanding of the Western European experience, and inflexible reading of their accounts “excluded the possibility of constructing a socialist project based on the revival and modernization of African traditional values” (Otunnu, 2015:22). Nyerere therefore rejected this narrow reading, and stated that Africans had no need of being ‘converted’ to socialism, as it was already rooted in the African past (Nyerere, n.d.). By suggesting that socialist projects could occur in societies without necessarily requiring proletarian revolution within a developed capitalist society, he challenged the dominant Marxist interpretation of the time. He noted that African Socialism emerged without the agrarian or industrial revolutions, and rejected the idea that struggles in Africa were class based (Arikawei, 2015:541; Otunnu, 2015:31).

This history also contributed to Tanzanian narratives of work. Nyerere emphasised the value of hard work for the common good. In the Arusha Declaration of 1967, after rejecting money and industry as the basis for development Nyerere states “The biggest requirement is hard work. Let us go to the villages and talk to our people and see whether or not it is possible for them to work harder”, and goes on to declare “Between money and people it is obvious that the people and their hard work are the foundation of development, and money is one of the fruits of that hard work” (Nyerere, 1967). He also stated: “an individual who can work-and is provided by society with the means to work-but does not do so, is equally wrong. He has no right to expect anything from society because he contributes nothing to society” (Nyerere, 1962:7). He therefore represented work for the common good as both a moral imperative and necessary for the development of the nation, echoing similar colonial framings.

Against these narratives of work the notion of volunteer work, or *kazi ya kujitolea*, became attached to an idea of being a good citizen (Hunter, 2015). Prior to the Arusha Declaration Nyerere had attempted to move towards a flat power hierarchy in order to move away from the forced labour which had characterised elements of ‘volunteering’ during colonial times. During this time, “self-help” was utilised



as both self-help but also a way in which to negotiate access to political power and resources. This was achieved through taking control of projects in local places and leveraging volunteer effort in order to receive state support (Jennings, 2003). However, attempts to create a flat hierarchy failed as unequal power relations between those who volunteered and those who could or would not flourish (ibid.). The statism which followed the Arusha Declaration built upon notions of power and participation as unpaid labour, rather than as enabling agency and control (Dill, 2009). This can be seen in the forced villagization policies, leading to accusations that colonial approaches of compulsory volunteering and forced labour persisted and had merely been reframed (Brown and Green, 2015).

Nyerere was also a strong believer in education, and worked as a high school teacher in the 1950's, believing it an essential condition for self-reliance and liberation of the entire society. He was known as *Mwalimu*<sup>8</sup> and once said that he was a schoolmaster by choice and a politician by accident (Madyibi, n.d.), and considered education a key element of successful development.

However, Tanzanian socialism was not successful and Nyerere noted that the socialist project was wrecked by poor economic conditions and crisis in the 1970s and 1980s, droughts and famine, and poor leadership (1977). Following this collapse Tanzania experienced deindustrialisation under the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the 1980's (Wangwe et al., 2014). These economic reforms had an impact, reducing quality of life and expecting people to share costs of health and education when their incomes did not even meet food needs (Kaiser, 1996). Kaiser (ibid.) argues that the severe economic shocks resulting from SAPs resulted in a demise of social unity in Tanzania as the Tanzanian Asian community was perceived to be gaining wealth, as well as an increase in tensions between Muslims and Christians, and increase in political violence.

Poor conditions, lack of development, and high levels of corruption has also increased mistrust in the government and politicians and sown seeds of discontent (McNeish, 2015). However, in 2015, Tanzania elected a new president, President Magufuli, who campaigned under the slogan of '*Hapa Kazi Tu*', which translates

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<sup>8</sup> *Mwalimu* means teacher in Swahili, Nyerere's profession before he was a politician, and he is reported as saying he was a teacher by choice and a politician by accident (Madyibi, n.d.)

to ‘just work’ or ‘only work’. During the election campaign there were many doubts voiced as to whether Magufuli would follow through on his slogan and campaign, promising to cut back unnecessary government spending, and to get things done. Soon after being elected, Magufuli cancelled Tanzania’s usually government-funded Independence Day celebrations, and instead asked citizens to join him on the streets for a clean-up campaign aimed at helping to stem the spread of cholera. He has also been seen to help those in his area, helping flood victims, carrying medicines and helping village family members chase chickens for slaughter (BBC, 2015). It is telling that Magufuli’s campaign was predicated on the idea of work being the priority for Tanzania, at all levels of society, both for the government and for the people. This echoes messages of Nyerere’s African Socialism, which emphasised community and hard work, as well as utilising a morality of work to signify his worth as a leader.

It is useful to turn to Tanzania’s most recently published labour statistics, for a broad-brush overview of work and the way it is categorised. The latest Integrated Labour Force Survey (ILFS) utilises a System of National Accounts (SNA), which divides human activities into three categories: “(i) activities which are included

SNA activities	1	Work for corporations, quasi-corporations, non-profit institution and government
	2	Work for household in primary production activities
	3	Work for household in non-primary production activities
	4	Work for household in construction activities
	5	Work for household in providing services for income
Extended SNA	6	Providing unpaid domestic services for one final use within household
	7	Providing unpaid care giving services to household members
	8	Providing community services and help to other households
Non-work	9	Learning
	10	Socializing and community participation
	11	Attending, visiting cultural, entertainment and sports event
	12	Hobbies, games and other pastime activities
	13	Indoor and outdoor sports participation and related courses
	14	Mass media
	15	Personal care and maintenance

Table 2.1 Activity Classification System, Reproduced from NBS (2014:123) Table 13.1

in the production boundary of the SNA; (ii) those which are recognised as work, but fall outside the SNA production boundary (extended SNA, or unpaid care work) and (iii) non-productive or nonwork activities” (NBS, 2014:xxvii). Examples of these classifications can be seen in Table 2.1 above.

The division of this work is highly gendered and the ILFS shows that on average men over 15 years spend 416 minutes per day on SNA production, and 63 minutes per day on extended SNA. Meanwhile, women spend 234 minutes per day on SNA production activities and 272 minutes per day on extended SNA (NBS, 2014:128). The survey also shows that 64.6% of households in Dar es Salaam have at least one member engaged in informal business. Definitions of the informal sector include enterprises not constituted as separate legal entities independent of their owners, without complete accounts, which produce goods for sale, and have an employment size below five. However, agricultural work is not included in this definition. Despite the statistics which show gender disparities between work, as well as acknowledging work and activities which exist out with the SNA, this information does not seem to have found its way to inform policies or development interventions.

It is unclear where volunteering fits within this activity classification system. However, contemporary volunteering in Tanzania has its own particular character and has been identified as fulfilling a different role to volunteering in the global north. In Tanzania volunteers may act as brokers between communities and NGOs (Brown and Green, 2015), and as a way into or to secure an attachment to certain institutions (Prince, 2015). This sometimes enables community organisations to be rehabilitated as development tools (Dill, 2009). Volunteers may benefit by gaining a sense of recognition and connection to important organisations and networks (Prince, 2015). Becker (2015) suggests that volunteering sits between idealism and professionalism, in which donors hold influence and power. For example, Muslim organisations often do not fit the template expected by NGOs and so can struggle to win partnerships with NGOs (ibid.). In the Tanzanian context volunteering is often aspirational, but opportunities for paid professional work rarely emerge (Swidler and Watkins, 2009). However, volunteering continues to be an engagement with self-development, identity building and agency as well as filling in for the state (Brown and Prince, 2017; Yarrow, 2008). Volunteering in the

Tanzanian context is also an arena in which professionalism and power are negotiated as volunteers try to gain power or access to powerful actors (Brown and Prince, 2017).

Work is an inevitable element of plans for development and Tanzania's national Strategy for growth and reduction of poverty includes the creation and sustenance of productive and decent employment as a goal (Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs, 2010). The strategy also suggests that productive and decent employment is the principal route out of poverty. This reflects Nyerere's focus on work. Tanzania's 2025 Development Plan also states that "a positive community spirit well balances with individual initiative.... (and) should be developed... as one way of pooling resources for the good of all." The plan refers to this as "developmental community spirit" (Planning Commission, 1999). Therefore, both work and community, as well as individual effort, have roles to play in government plans for development.

### ***Conclusion and Aims and Objectives***

People's everyday lives, work and relationships are multiple and complex. For example domestic labour and time spent maintaining social networks should be highlighted and understood as important elements of everyday life. Paid work continues to dominate conceptualisations of work, and attempts to valorise unpaid work such as household work have often tried to conceptualise this work as part of the economy (Sassen, 2010) or have assigned this work a sort of monetary value (De Vaus et al, 2003). This reduces the complexity of people's relationships with the work that they engage in, and ignores other benefits that work may bring such as the elements discussed by the volunteering literature. Volunteering literatures highlight the value beyond the economic which people can find in work, but have paid little attention to volunteering in spaces of poverty, and have generally theorised from a global north perspective. Alternative economies approaches identify the value in types of work beyond waged labour, but little has been done to consider the connections between different types of work. A holistic picture of how types of work connect to each other, and the roles they play is missing. Understanding these connections is important in order to ensure that interventions do not overburden those they are intended to help. A holistic approach will also

help to highlight people's priorities when it comes to work, potentially enabling a move away from mostly growth-focussed interventions.

The overall aim of this work is to investigate how different types of work are understood, valued, and interconnected within community groups in Dar es Salaam. This can be broken down into four objectives.

My first objective is to assess the different types of work which make up the the lives of community group members. There are two main elements of work to consider, firstly, what work is being done, and secondly, how the work is connected. Different types of work such as paid and unpaid and formal and informal are often defined in opposition, and this overlooks how types of work may intersect and come together in people's everyday lives. Looking at work and how it is connected will show the different roles that work fulfils.

The second objective of this research is to examine the ways in which different types of work are valued by members of community groups. How work is valued by those who participate in it is important. Despite attempts to assess the value of work by estimating a monetary value for it, or looking at economic contributions, work fulfils roles beyond simply the economic. Other values attached to work can be found in ideas of work as constitutive of identity and the numerous benefits which people may gain from volunteering. These are generally ignored by development interventions which often aim for measurable improvement in economic outcomes.

The third objective is to assess how work is gendered, and the impact that this has on the experiences of individuals and groups. The gendered nature of work has often been acknowledged and yet work continues to be gendered often in uneven and unequal ways. It is therefore necessary to continually pay attention to gender and the impact it has on people's lived realities and experiences.

The final objective is to assess the ways in which the work done within the community groups challenges and/or reproduces development narratives. It is necessary to look at the context in which work is occurring. Work is central to many development narratives, often seen as a vehicle for development and growth. Work is also seen as central to self-reliance, as well as necessary within communities.

Before looking at the results of this research it is first necessary to look at how the research was conducted. It is to the methodology that I now turn.

## Chapter Three: Methodology

This research is concerned with people and their actions and, as Gillham (2000) writes, human phenomena cannot be examined in pure laboratory conditions, but are complex and plural. I would add that human phenomena are context dependent. Therefore in-depth and sensitive methodologies are needed in order to capture the inevitable heterogeneity of people's lives, priorities and opinions. It is important to use methods which allow meaningful communication while also giving research participants space for freedom of expression. For this reason, qualitative methodologies are essential. This research was conducted using three main research methods: interviews, focus groups and participant observation. Here, I discuss the reasoning behind my methodological choices, then reflect on how these worked in practice, and the effect these choices had on data collection and the experiences of participants. A core aim of my methodology was to conduct research ethically, taking into account respectful feminist methodologies, and trying to avoid neo-colonial approaches to research. I therefore start by considering the ethical issues inherent in research. I then focus on translation, beginning with the ethical issues surrounding it before discussing translation practices within this research. Next I discuss the process of choosing and finding research participants, before introducing the community groups with whom I worked. I then turn to the methods of data collection, namely interviews, focus groups, and participant observation before offering reflections upon the actual practice of research and the many ways in which it does not always go to plan! It is here I assess the unexpected and linguistically hybrid nature of my interviews. I then reflect upon the way in which my research and work created and influenced work for my participants. I finish the chapter by discussing the coding of the research data.

### *Ethics*

Ethics may seem a strange place to begin methodological discussion, but I do not believe that ethics can be added in afterwards. Any research involving people is fraught with ethical concerns. Academic research requires formal ethical review which is necessary prior to its commencement. To a certain extent this requirement mainstreams consideration of ethics, but certainly does not solve all ethical concerns. Both my university, the University of Glasgow (University of

Glasgow, 2011) and the funders of my research, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, 2012) have their own ethical standards for researchers. Similar lists of principles are found in ethical guides, and include but are not limited to, informed consent, avoidance of harm to researcher or participants, risk mitigation, transparency, guarantees of anonymity, and respect for participants (ESRC, 2012; University of Glasgow, 2011; Haggerty, 2004; Helgeland, 2005). However, the practice of actually conducting research can challenge the certainty of these ethical guidelines. For example, Bondi (2005) suggests that a balanced exchange between researcher and participants is needed in order to reduce power inequalities which is a concern not mentioned by any of the official guidelines.

### *Researcher Bias and Power Relationships*

Post-colonial geography has been particularly concerned with the ethical implications of uneven power relationships between participants and researcher. Fears of conducting inequitable and exploitative research have even led some researchers to step away from primary data collection altogether (Spivak, 1990). Concerns relating to power and positionality are common. Interviews are described by Hoggart et al, (2002:212) as “social interactions replete with power relations” and I would argue that this applies to any research methods involving people. Asymmetric power relationships are an ethical concern in research, and the process of research has the potential to be “depersonalising, exploitative and patronizing” (ibid, p. 449).

Of course, it is not necessarily the case that participants will feel powerless, or be powerless. Smithson (2000) uses an example of a focus group with young British Asian women, who she positions as “collectively ‘powerful’ in that they have access to shared knowledge of which the moderator is ignorant”. This was the case with participants of my own research, who also had the advantage of a shared language with which I was not familiar. Smithson (2000) suggests that moderating groups who are unlike ourselves makes us more comfortable with performing the role of researcher, whereas it can be uncomfortable to speak with those we expect to be like us, only to discover large differences in outlook. However, uncomfortable or unruly outbursts or moments are not necessarily obstructive or irrelevant to the collection of data (Kitzinger, 1994).



It is no more possible to remove bias and power from research than it is possible to remove bias and power from any of our everyday interactions. Conversations, interactions and research methodologies are “affected by the social character of participants” (Connell, 1983:215). Issues of power cannot be removed from research, and so they must not be ignored. To minimise problems of power and inequality, I try to acknowledge them and the effect that they have had on my own behaviour, the behaviour of participants, and the results of the research. My position as an educated, native English speaking, white, cis-gendered woman from the global north affords me certain privileges and impacts power and positionality within my research.

Presser (2005:2086) argues that “missing from qualitative studies of men by women is a systematic investigation of how relations of power between interviewer and participant become part of interview data”. Again, as with Hoggart et al’s (2002) power relations, I would argue that this applies not only to the specific context of the example, but to all research. As Janes (2015:11) points out, the academic subject tends to remain “monolithic and monochromatic, except perhaps in her femininity”. Talking about community-based participatory action research, Janes (2015:12) suggests that trying to fully close the gap between researcher and communities of interest is an unobtainable goal of full integration, and that instead the in-between spaces and circuits of power that sustain them should be visible and open to scrutiny. Therefore, power relations and interview context should be considered alongside participant responses. For example, Presser (2005) details how she utilised gendered representations of herself to ease tension within an interview, by talking about a cute cat outside the window. McDowell (1992) highlights that female researchers often act as surrogate men, adopting an unmarked and disembodied ideal socially valued within academia. Value free research is unachievable and research aiming to be impartial also constructs power (Harding and Norberg, 2005). It is therefore necessary to acknowledge the power and bias in research, and to make it as visible as possible in order to make the subjectivity within the research process clear, and to communicate the full range of findings to readers.

Not doing research is the easy option. To refuse to engage in difficult issues of research and translation may shift the burden of research and responsibility on the shoulders of those already overburdened. For example, through expecting

insiders within communities to do more work while absolving outsiders of responsibility (Murray and Wyne, 2011). Instead, power relations need to be continually considered and addressed when conducting any research (Spivak, 1990). Therefore it is my aim here to acknowledge and make visible power relations and Janes' (2015) in-between spaces between researcher and participants.

### ***Translation***

The issue of translation is often left unidentified and undiscussed in research, despite the immeasurable impact it necessarily has. Therefore, I shall address the issue of translation, before describing methods, as the latter was reliant on the former. Translation is an exercise bound up in power relations and ethical concerns as there are "issues around naming and speaking for people seen as 'other'" (Temple and Young, 2004: 162). As well as the ethical question of who can speak for whom, related to Spivak's (1990) question of 'can the subaltern speak?' there is also the problem of language hierarchies. English is frequently seen as the international language, and so is viewed as having practical rather than epistemological significance (Temple and Young, 2004). However, concepts, meanings, and feelings are not always easily translated across language, and so those who do not speak the relevant language can become dependent upon others to speak for them. Temple and Young (2004:164) state that "the relationships between languages and researchers, translators and the people they seek to represent are as crucial as issues of which word is best in a sentence in a language".

That is not to say that research using translators should be avoided, but that the implications of translation must be considered. Translation is not a neutral task as "the translator always makes her mark on the research, whether this is acknowledged or not, and in effect some kind of 'hybrid' role emerges in that, at the very least, the translator makes assumptions about meaning equivalence that make her an analyst and cultural broker as much as a translator" (Temple and Young, 2004:171). As Smith (1996:161) writes, translation often "does not quite convey 'original' meanings and associations". This role of cultural broker in particular strikes a chord with me. By the end of my research I had spent a total of six months in Tanzania, including my undergraduate research, and it would be

spectacularly arrogant to even consider that I might understand Tanzanian culture as well as January, the Tanzanian translator of this research.

Murray and Wynne (2001) suggest that interpreters from particular communities can work as gatekeepers and cultural guides, but at the same time may also wish to control the image of the communities that is presented to the researcher. They relate an example where when discussing elderly care within a community, the elderly respondent became agitated and seemed distressed, but the translator reported only positive opinions and feelings. Due to exchanges such as this, they began to realise that they were not necessarily being told everything the respondents were saying, and they suspected that the translator who was from the same community was curating responses in order to show the community in a more positive light (ibid.).

It is therefore necessary to acknowledge the slippages in meaning that can occur when working with a translator, both intentional and unintentional. In one of the few Geographic papers related to translation, Smith (1996) suggests that the hybrid space between home and foreign languages can potentially elicit new representations and spaces of challenge and possibility. However, it is unclear how this might be achieved, and the impact it could have on disrupting power relations. Therefore, it is important to be attentive to problems inherent in interpretation. Edwards (1998) encourages translation into the third person, in order to make the act of translation visible and mark the speech as partially constructed by the translator. Translation was indeed done in third person throughout this research, and it will be made clear when quoting or paraphrasing, whether the information has come directly from an English language interview, or indirectly, through a translator. In order to do this I will use the following codes at the end of my interview references.

Language	Code
Swahili	S
English as a second language	ESL
A combination of English and Swahili	S/ESL
English as a first language	E

Table 3.1 Language Codes

Both Murray and Wynne (2001) and Temple and Young (2004) encourage strong levels of communication between researcher and translator, prior to the start of the research. Murray and Wayne (2001) suggest that a familiarity with qualitative research and topic, proficiency in both languages, ability to express oneself in similar terms to the interviewer as well as degrees of commonality such as age, gender, religion and class are desirable traits in a translator. I would also argue that from this research, a commonality with the communities in which you are researching is also preferable.

### *Finding a translator*

The process of finding a translator was not straightforward as professional translator fees are prohibitively high for a PhD student. Initially I looked for a translator through personal connections I had with Tanzanian friends. In the past PhD researchers from my own department have informally employed geography students from the University of Dar es Salaam as translators and research assistants. A Tanzanian friend, who I know from my first trip to Dar es Salaam as an undergraduate, put me in touch with his cousin, who fitted this description. However, unfortunately when we met she was so shy that she didn't even talk to me, which made it impossible for her to be a translator, where much of the time she would have been carrying the burden of making connections with potential research participants due to my poor Swahili.

Therefore, my next stop was a Facebook group called "Team Tanzania", which is a platform for people to share information in English about what is happening in Tanzania, how to get things done, where to find the best hospital or restaurant, where to find a guard, where to find jobs and it can even be used simply as a place to complain about the (terrible) traffic in Dar es Salaam. Team Tanzania is an informal, unofficial platform which I used to advertise that I needed a translator and was contacted by five different people. Based on their individual responses and written English levels, I arranged to meet two of them, and after conversing with both of them, decided to work with January. When we met he engaged with the topic of the research, had good English, and conversation was easy and flowed well. The terms on which January and I worked together were informal, and I paid him in cash with no contract or written agreement. As this is how most business is conducted in Tanzania it is the easiest way to proceed, but it does mean that

whilst researching work and informality, I actively participated in the ‘informal economy’. I shall reflect more on this later.

Although January was a very capable translator, and understood the research, I also wished to work with a female translator in order to encourage female participation and enable my female research participants to relax. However, finding a female translator proved difficult. I had no responses from women when I advertised on Team Tanzania, nor any response from my Dar es Salaam-based supervisor when I asked him if he knew any female students who might be interested. Roughly a third of the way into the field-work I was put in touch with a friend of a friend, who despite having a degree in law was not working full time, and so was interested in doing some work to top up her income. In order to see how we would work together during research, I employed her for a trial day of interviews. She was very proficient in English, but very softly spoken, and unfortunately could not always hide her frustration with some of the young male participants who had dreams to be entrepreneurs and business people, but little concept of how they might arrive at these dreams. This is not a problem I had encountered with January, who has a very gentle manner and always seemed to put participants at ease as well as treating their responses with respect. Because of this, I decided that at this stage in the research that January’s strengths and increasing familiarity with the research, outweighed potential benefits of women being more comfortable in an all-female situation. It is also the case that even on the day when I had a female translator, female participants were still less expansive than male participants, and so I felt that this decision did not significantly impact the research.

January was from (what he referred to as) the “back streets” himself and so shared a similar background with many of the participants. A translator ideally bridges the gap between interviewer and interviewees through having commonalities with both parties. As one of January’s other jobs was conducting bird watching tours with tourists he was used to spending time with, and interacting with Europeans.

Due to financial constraints, like other PhD candidates before me, I was working with someone who was translating for research for the first time. I used Murray and Wayne’s (2001) procedural suggestions as a guide, in terms of encouraging the

use of follow-up questions and expanded responses from participants to enable clarification and understandings, as well as emphasising the need to translate everything, not just what is deemed relevant by the interpreter. We decided that January would give me broad brush strokes on everything that was said, paying particular attention to anything that dealt with themes of the research in order to keep the interview moving at a pace that was not frustrating for the interviewee, but that I may ask for more detail on anything that caught my attention. We discussed the research prior to starting the interviews so that January understood the topics and where my interests lay, and he quickly became very proficient in introducing me and my research to participants. During or after interviews I could speak with January to fill in some more of the details where necessary. This enabled clarification and understanding and was particularly useful in focus groups where I could ask what was really being said in the heated sections of discussion! I made notes during interviews, as well as during discussions with January afterwards. In instances where interviews were recorded, I transcribed the English language parts of the interviews, as well as Swahili where possible. In a few limited instances I paid a translator to transcribe and translate small sections of interviews in order to better understand the role of translation and language in the research.

### ***Finding participants***

Initially I wanted this research to be based on people's everyday lives. Therefore my preferred method would have been to randomly sample people within a number of different areas, to get an overview of the character and everyday realities of people living in these particular urban areas of Dar es Salaam. However, this was not possible due to the lack of data available for many informally built areas of the city, the difficulties in contacting people in advance from outside of Tanzania, and the tendency in Tanzania for trustworthiness to be determined through mutual contacts. Turning up at people's doors unannounced or contacting people by phone or letter is not the easiest way to conduct research. Informal chains of connection are essential for finding research participants, particularly in Dar es Salaam. Therefore my planned sampling method was snowball sampling, using community groups as a starting point. However, after the preliminary research, the focus moved to the community groups themselves.

Using community groups as a starting point was my initial plan for two main reasons. Firstly, they are embedded in the wider community, through their work and activities as well as having a visible presence. This means not only do their members have connections to other people within the community, but a researcher's involvement with a community group gives potential participants a point of contact and trust in the researcher, particularly for those who may not be literate enough to contact the researcher themselves. Secondly, connections with these groups can give access to an environment in which focus groups and workshop based sessions can be run.

In the summer of 2015 I made a preliminary trip to Dar es Salaam. The purpose of the trip was to make connections with community groups potentially willing to participate in my research, as well as introducing me to other members of the community. However, during this preliminary research I learnt more about the community groups themselves. The actions of the community groups and the work going on within them caught my attention, in particular the number of people who seemed to do no paid work at all, even in the poorest areas, and a young and male-dominated self-identified volunteer work force. The enthusiasm of the groups for the work they were doing, and a framing of their own work as helping their own communities led to a shift in the focus of the research, away from the community as a whole, and towards the groups themselves.

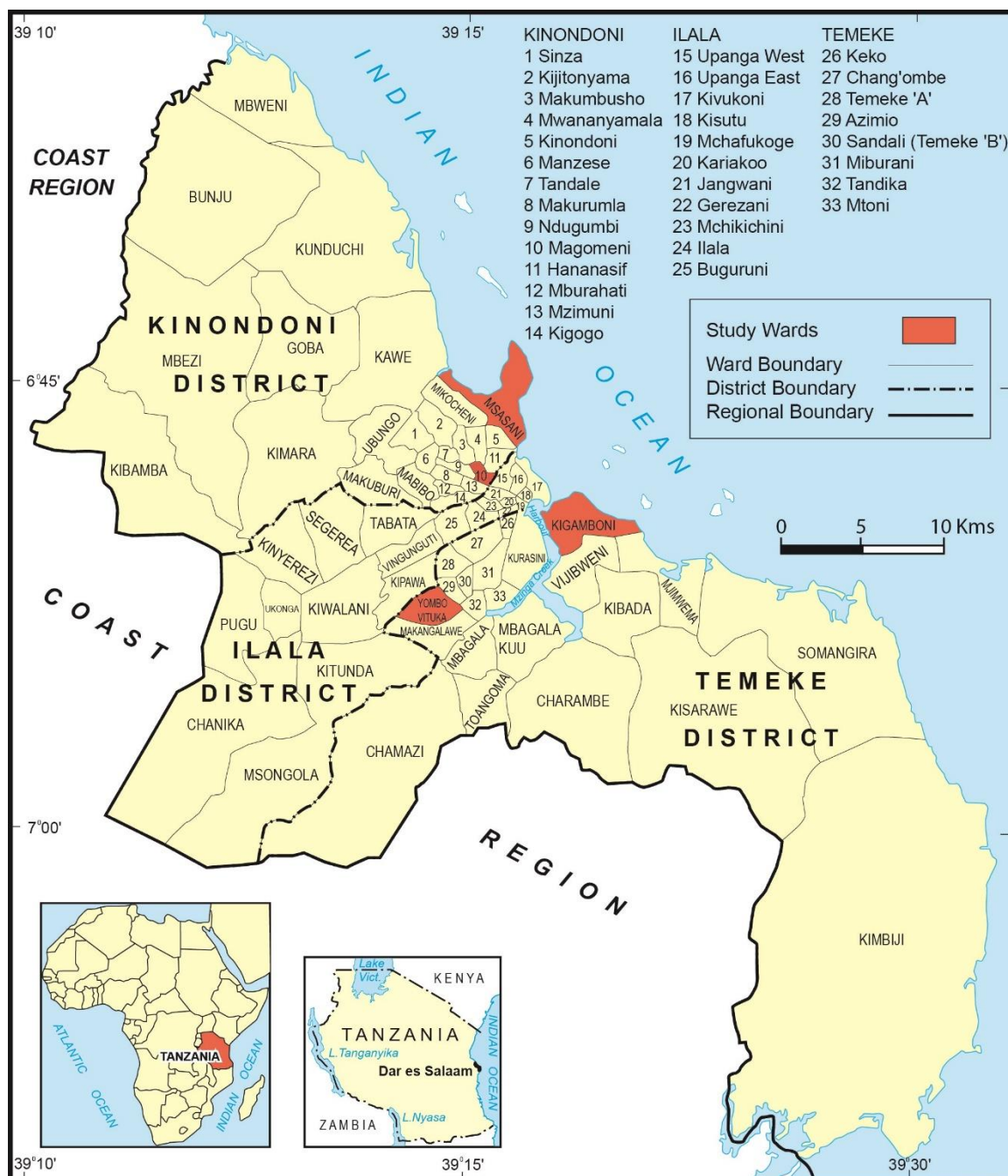
Here I introduce the four community groups who participated in the research. Each group is located in an area with its own particular character, and although there are some similarities in the work that they do, each group has a different focus.

### *Selection Criteria*

Once I had decided to take community groups as the focus of my research I had to decide upon criteria for the groups' inclusion in the research. Inspired by the work of Cameron and Gibson (2005) who write about many different kinds of positive work that members of a particular community do for each other, I wanted to capture community support that was not solely financial. Therefore groups which were primarily savings co-operatives or micro-loan groups were not included. I wanted to hear from people about their own activities within their own communities, as people living and working in those areas are the real experts.

Therefore, any group run by people who did not live in the area or count themselves as a part of the group they worked with and for would not be included. This meant that my groups were embedded in the communities.

Map 3.1 shows the locations of the four community groups in Dar es Salaam.



Map 3.1 Community group locations.

Base map reproduced with kind permission of Alex Ngowi, University of Dar es Salaam



### *Kigamboni Community Centre (KCC)*

KCC are the only group I made contact with before going to Tanzania, having found their website through an internet search for community groups. I e-mailed them, and received a response from one of the founding members, inviting me to meet them once I arrived in Tanzania on my preliminary research trip.

KCC is situated in Kigamboni ward, within the wider district of Kigamboni, an area in Dar es Salaam across the bay from the city centre. During my research it was a long way round to get to Kigamboni by road, as there was no bridge over the bay. There is now a bridge, under construction during my research, which has since opened, but at the time Kigamboni was an area mainly served by a regular ferry service. In terms of the character of the area, the coastal location is utilised by many beach resorts along the coastal road. These are particularly popular for day trips from other parts of Dar es Salaam. There is also a military area, and an adult learning academy close to the ferry terminal. Without the problem of crossing the water, Kigamboni would be considered central Dar es Salaam, but as it was, residents considered themselves somewhat separate, and often talked about going 'to' Dar es Salaam.

Around the ferry terminal Kigamboni is bustling with shops and food sellers, as well as motorbike taxi drivers, *bajaji*, and a bus terminal. Further away from the ferry terminal, buildings become more spread out and the area is largely residential with some small shops and bars mixed in, particularly along the main road. The area is mixed income, with larger houses nearer the beach and along the coast, and in places stone built houses side by side with smaller houses built from repurposed materials. Due to Kigamboni's proximity to the central business district of Dar es Salaam people can travel to services relatively easily.

KCC itself was set up by four friends. Two of them, Nas and Sayid had met at a community drop in centre, had grown up together, and had entertained themselves and made a little money by doing acrobatics and so wanted to do something similar. Nas told me that they held a community meeting in which they asked people to join them in their endeavours, but because they were young and poor many people were doubtful about their ability to succeed (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL). The next meeting they held only four of them attended: Nas, Rashidi, Fest, and George. These four men became the founders of KCC. The men

are in their thirties. They do not pay wages, but volunteers get small allowances. Initially the founders put their own money into KCC from work they were doing, such as working at the beach resort. Now KCC relies on a patchwork of funds, some of which come from high profile international donors, and some which are from local donors or even members' own families. They have strong links with Germany, where Nas's German wife now organises fundraising for KCC. They are registered as a community group.

KCC aims for "respect, equality, creativity, trust, peace and safety, uniqueness" (KCC, 2015). They are now a well-established community group, running many free activities for children and youth in the area as well as taking on adult volunteers from Tanzania and abroad to teach particular skills. KCC has an arts focus, and has an adult acrobat team who sometimes travel abroad. They teach youth acrobatics, dance, fine art and drama as well as other school subjects such as English, mathematics and ICT. They also run a home for street boys, and participate in a community rehabilitation programme funded by UNICEF, in which police refer young offenders to KCC rather than giving them a prison sentence or other punishment. They have a wide and varied programme of events, and give a well-attended free public show every Saturday afternoon of what participants have learnt throughout the week. Many of their volunteers began as students at KCC.

#### *Let God Be You (LGBY)*

Let God Be You was set up by David, who was frustrated by the lack of action and practical help given by members of his church to the wider community, and so envisaged a group who lived the values of God rather than simply talking about them. This is where the name, Let God Be You, comes from. I was introduced to LGBY by my translator January, who lives in the area in which they operate, and is friends with David. When I first explained the nature of my research to January he immediately suggested that I speak to David about LGBY.

LGBY are a community organisation based in Yombo in Temeke. Yombo is around two hours by bus from central Dar es Salaam and is characterised by unplanned informal housing and businesses. Businesses tend to line the busiest streets

although *mama lishe*<sup>9</sup> can be found on smaller streets selling chapatis and other small food items, for immediate consumption as well as selling fresh vegetables from a *genge*, which is a small wooden table ranging in size from that of a school desk to that of a dining table. There is little in the way of services, and residents find it difficult to access hospitals and reputable pharmacies. Members of LGBY and those who live in Yombo often refer to the area as the “underground” or “back streets” (Field notes, 2016).

The local Church has a Dutch pastor who was and continues to be supportive of LGBY’s work, and initially allowed David to use space in the church. However, other church elders did not like the work David was doing because people of all religions were welcome at LGBY. David therefore moved away from the church and found his own premises, paying the rent with prize money from the Anzishen prize for African Entrepreneurs for which he was a finalist in 2012. Those involved in LGBY are mostly in their twenties.

The stated aim of LGBY is to empower youth and children with education and skills training. LGBY run three main programmes. Firstly, “*Sauti ya Mama na Mtoto*”<sup>10</sup> which is entrepreneurship training and a micro-loan system for mothers, with the specific aim of helping children. Secondly, they run “Bridge Programme”, supporting children and youth who are out of education until they manage to get back to school. Their third programme is called “*Watoto kucheza*”<sup>11</sup> and provides some classes for younger children as well as toys and books to play with. They have also advocated for children in the past, attempting to get fathers to pay for their children to go to school and for parents to understand the importance of school. They also run one-off events such as community health check sessions. The focus is on entrepreneurship with a lot of talk of being able to follow one’s dreams in a supportive environment. Currently everyone works as a volunteer but the ultimate aim is for staff to be paid within a non-profit but self-sustaining model. Currently they receive some funding through personal friends of David, as well as from the pastor of the local church.

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<sup>9</sup> Mama-lishe literally translates to women or mothers who feed, and is used to refer to women who run small businesses, cooking food.

<sup>10</sup> Voices of mothers and children

<sup>11</sup> Children Play

When LGBY first started they didn't consider registering as either a social enterprise or non-profit organisation, but people kept asking to see their registration. Initially they registered as a social enterprise which was easy but in 2014 they started the process of registering as a non-profit which took a long time, but did happen shortly before I began my work in 2016. This gives the group a certificate to state that they are a non-profit organisation, but does not mean that they are audited in any way, and so this status has little impact on the actual running of the group.

#### *Afri-Tanzania Volunteers for Change (AVC)*

I found out about AVC through my Swahili teacher (Interview 46, Recording 25, ESL), who is the operations manager of AVC. It took some time for me to be able to talk about my research (badly) in Swahili, but when I did, he said that his organisation sounded like it fitted in with my research!

Like LGBY, AVC is run by volunteers who do not get paid for their work. They also report that they have a focus on helping the most vulnerable, and work with women and children, advocate for albinos, as well as working with prostitutes to teach them skills in order for them to support themselves in ways other than prostitution. They raise money and collect donations to support orphanages, and are in the process of starting a sewing class for mothers within the community. They have a number of donated sewing machines from the UK. However, at the time of the research they did not have a location for classes, nor tables and chairs to sit at to sew. They had not yet contacted potential beneficiaries of the sewing programme as they did not want to be asked when the programme would start until they were ready.

AVC is only a small component of this research as due to difficulties in communicating with members of the group, I only interviewed one member face to face, and asked one other member questions by e-mail. However, as the group fitted the requirements for participation, I have included these interviews in the broader analysis.

#### *The Corona Society*

I found the Corona Society on a website called [zoomtanzania.com](http://zoomtanzania.com), which is a directory of businesses in Tanzania and also has a community organisation section.

I then contacted them through their Facebook page, and was invited to one of their coffee mornings by a member of their committee.

The Corona Society is a society for welcoming new people to Dar es Salaam and helping them to integrate into life. It has roots in British colonial communities, and has organisations across the globe. The Dar es Salaam branch has no specific centre or location to call their own and therefore is less geographically concentrated than the other community groups of this research. It is a group made up of wealthy migrants or expats who commonly live in Mikocheni which is also where they hold their meetings, or in large houses spread out along the coast, generally heading north away from Dar es Salaam. In order to help people with the information they need when moving to Dar es Salaam they publish a book, called *The Newcomer's Guide to Dar es Salaam*, which is on its fifth edition (Corona Tanzania, 2014). The book has advice on what to do and where to go in Dar es Salaam, as well as a section on hiring domestic staff and another on security amongst other sections. They have a weekly coffee morning and hold other events such as dinners and fundraisers, as well as periodically writing a newsletter. Corona Society is the only group which do not refer to itself using an acronym, and so I also refer to Corona Society by their full name, rather than the acronyms of the other groups.

The Corona Society might seem like a choice of community group out of place with the other three in that it is not run by or really attended by Tanzanians, although they state they are for everyone. However, they are representative of a different type of community that lives in Dar es Salaam, and provide an interesting comparison to the other groups. I decided to include this group in the research in order to assess what effect wealth and power have on the ways in which the groups are run, as well as how this very different group navigates work and life in Dar es Salaam.

Having introduced the 'who' of the research, it is now important to look at the question of how the research was conducted, beginning with a discussion of interviews.

### ***Interviews***

Interviews are one of the most widely used, recognised and understood research methods. Brenner et al (1985:7) frame the use of interviews as common sense,

stating “if you want to know something about people’s activities, the best way of finding out is to ask them... through the everyday activity of talk”. One-on-one interviews allow the researcher to push for depth, detail, and subtleties in attitude, can afford the opportunity to build a close rapport and degree of trust, and may create an environment in which participants find it easier to express non-conformity than in group methodologies (Stokes and Bergin, 2006). Limerick et al (1996) suggest that in interview contexts personal connections can be established which create spaces in which participants can be open and truthful. However, it is also possible that personal connections may lead research participants to feel the need to give researchers the “right answers” or the answers which they are looking for (Fielding and Thomas, 2008).

During this research I chose to conduct semi structured interviews with members of the community groups, both volunteers and attendees, and on one occasion local government officers to whom I was introduced. Semi-structured interviews allow both predetermined and new issues to be addressed (Andrews, 2011). I did not want to be prescriptive in my methodology, as my participants are far more knowledgeable about their work and lives than me, and I wanted to get a sense of what was important to them. I therefore went into interviews with a list of topics to cover, rather than specific questions. Limerick et al. (1996) warn that interviewees may spend time going “off topic” which may need to be negotiated, but this is a risk with all research methods, and potentially off topic contributions can introduce interesting lines of inquiry, not yet considered by the researcher.

These topics were related to the research objectives, which are as follows:

1. *To assess the role of formal and informal and paid and unpaid labour within community groups.*

In order to fulfil this research objective I asked broadly about

- Work - Intending to capture the work participants do, and how they perceive and value it.
- A typical day’s timetable - Intending to capture the time spent on different activities.
- Involvement in the organisation - In order to get an idea of all the work that went on in the community groups, how it fitted together, and the role of the organisation in people’s lives.

- Household work and support - This often had to be asked about separately from “work”, as many people did not consider it to be of importance or to be work at all.

*2. To examine the ways in which different types of work are valued by members of community groups.*

In order to fulfil this research objective I made sure that we covered

- Motivations - Why participants did each kind of work and whether they enjoyed it.
- The importance participants attached to their work.

*3. To assess the role of gender in participation in different types of work*

Unlike objectives one and two which had set topics to cover in interviews, in order to fulfil objective three I did not ask directly about gender, but instead focussed on the difference between male and female responses, and also the gendered divisions of labour which emerged through answers. However, I did ask directly about gender in focus groups because I wanted to see what discussions would emerge from this.

*4. To assess the ways in which the work done within the community groups challenges or reproduces development narratives.*

As with objective three, this did not lend itself to direct questions focussed on development narratives. Instead I addressed this objective in the analysis stage of research, looking at the work and attitudes of research participants and comparing these to development narratives.

During the preliminary research it became clear that many of the participants did not do paid work, or did paid work only infrequently, which is not what I expected to find. I began to ask about how they survived, to make clear what support the participants were receiving from others. In this way issues raised by participants were incorporated into the methodology and became topics in later interviews as Limerick et al. advise (Limerick et al. 1996). In cases where I was interviewing attendees who did not yet participate in work, I asked them about their plans for the future in order to see what kind of work they considered desirable.

I tended to start by asking about a participant's involvement with the organisation, encouraging them to tell the story of when they first attended, and how their role had developed so far. This often started us upon the topic of work, and the conversation could flow into talking about the work, how they felt and any work they did outside of the organisation. Asking about the timing of a typical day was a strategy which sometimes highlighted work that had not previously been mentioned, especially housework. Initially I intended that it would also give me a clear idea of how much time people spent on each activity. However, many people did not have a fixed schedule, nor did they think of their work as divided into specific time slots, and so did not divide the day up in the way that I was expecting. Different attitudes to time are illustrated by the slightly tongue in cheek saying that the father who ran my accommodation delighted in repeating: "You Europeans have watches, but we Africans have time".

Over the course of the research I conducted 49 interviews with members of the community groups, defined as either volunteers who work within the group, or attendees who come to the group. Volunteers may also be attendees, but attendees are not volunteers. The breakdown of characteristics of community group interviewees can be seen in the table below, and for a break down including age see Appendix 2.

Community Group	Men		Women		Total
	Volunteers	Attendees	Volunteers	Attendees	
AVC	2	0	0	0	2
Corona Society	0	0	4	0	4
KCC	13	3	4	3	23
LGBY	6	2	1	11	20
	An interview with two male government officials who are neither volunteers nor attendees but who work with the group.				1
					50

Table 3.2 Interview Characteristics

With every interview I was intending to keep interviewees anonymous. However, when I first met the groups during the preliminary research, group leaders told me that they did not wish to be anonymous. I therefore gave each participant the



choice of anonymity, and where they desired it I have used pseudonyms or simply not named them at all. I have also used pseudonyms in situations where participants told me about illegal activities, or in which I was asked not to attribute a particular opinion to a participant.

I also supplemented interviews with focus groups in order to look at the interactions between participants.

### ***Focus groups***

Focus groups, like interviews, involve talk and asking people directly for their opinions and information on their activities. However, what focus groups provide but which interviews cannot is insight into the negotiation of ideas, and potentially a breadth of ideas to complement the depth of ideas drawn out in individual responses. It is also possible that interviewer bias can be minimised through the use of focus groups, as focus groups may minimise researcher input and create more spaces for the voices of participants. As researcher I tried to maximise interaction between participants to “encourage people to engage with one another, verbally formulate their ideas and draw out the cognitive structures” (Kitzinger, 1994:106).

Zikmund (1997) puts forward 10 advantages of focus groups, the three most convincing of which are snowballing, stimulation and structure. During focus groups the direction of conversation can depend on issues brought up by the group (Smithson, 2000). This is the snowballing benefit mentioned by Zikmund (1997), defined as interaction creating a chain of thoughts and ideas. Therefore focus groups can bring new ideas and topics to the research through discussion and debate. Stimulation is when respondents’ views are brought out by the group process (ibid.). It has been suggested that focus groups may encourage more honesty than one-on-one interviews if respondents’ views are supported by others, rather than being constrained by feelings of holding sole responsibility for representing their communities (Kitzinger, 1994). Finally, structure: if a researcher feels that a topic has not been adequately covered, it is easier to reintroduce within a group situation than in an in-depth interview (Zikmund, 1997). In an interview situation the participant may resent a revisiting of a question which they feel they have already answered, but within a group it is likely that not everyone will have responded fully to a particular prompt, and even those

who feel they did respond fully may be stimulated by the new discussion of other group members. I ran focus groups at the end of the research period, using them to revisit topics and check understandings of issues, not just from within the focus group but from across the research.

The research was conducted with members of community groups who already knew each other. When research participants already know each other focus groups may involve people's self-representations being challenged by other members of the group (Kitzinger, 1994) and it was the case that there was a certain amount of contradiction through largely good natured teasing during the focus group sessions. For example, one of the men at KCC had much more traditional views on gender than the rest of the group, and the others were teasing him for being a 'grandfather' (KCC Focus Group, S/ESL). It is possible that focus groups conducted with pre-existing groups can mimic natural interactions, although it is important to remember that a focus group is always an artificial situation (Kitzinger, 1994)

However, there are a number of potential problems with focus groups. It is possible that a false consensus could be created, where some respondents publicly agree with the views of others, whilst privately disagreeing. Resolutions of tension between members of the group may mean that some people take passivity as a way out of the argument, perhaps silencing or minimising their own opinions (Stokes and Bergin, 2006). If people feel that their views will be considered incorrect then it is likely that they will keep quiet (Smithson, 2000). For example, although the man mentioned in the previous example endured friendly teasing for his views, he did not 'out' himself to me, but instead was 'outed' through the teasing of his friends, who knew his real views. It is therefore entirely possible that there were other situations where I was not told participants true feelings. Related to this is the problem of having one or more dominant individuals within a group or group dynamic, obscuring more controversial perspectives and reproducing normative discourses (ibid.).

Particular group compositions may lead certain information to be censored, "'Minority' (female/black/gay) voices are muted within 'majority'/'general population' groups" (Kitzinger, 1994:110). Certainly the women were always quieter in my groups, and less likely to have the confidence to speak to me. At

the end of the focus group at KCC, when I had given participants time to ask me any questions, one woman sent a text containing the question she wanted to ask me to a male member of the group who asked it for her (KCC focus group, S/ESL). Body language during focus groups can also speak volumes, watching who is engaged, who is embarrassed and who wants to say something but keeps getting talked over. Paying close attention to these interactions can also aid with moderating focus groups.

Rather than generalising about ‘groups’, the composition of particular groups and characteristics must be considered as part of the data. Many of Stokes and Bergin’s (2006) criticisms of focus groups are due to considering the group as a single unit of analysis, and only taking into account what people say, rather than looking at group interactions and individuals within groups. Smithson (2000) even reminds us that it is not necessarily a problem if some members remain silent sometimes, and that this is part of natural group interaction, although of course moderators can try to encourage individuals to speak within the group. Group interactions during focus groups should be explicitly considered as part of the data (Kitzinger, 1994) and because of this focus groups should be considered as more than simply group interviews (Smithson, 2000). Focus groups should not be analysed as “naturally occurring discussions, but as discussions occurring in a specific, controlled setting” (ibid.:105). In this way, it may be possible to avoid taking the ideas of one or two strong members of the group as representative of the whole (ibid.). For example, interactions between men and women highlighted male dominance, despite participants stating that they had and believed in equality.

PAR methodologies heavily influenced the approach I took to this research. Cameron and Gibson (2005:320) state that through participatory action research they are “interested in harnessing the creativity of more everyday events that might inspire previously unknown possibilities and increase a willingness to explore different ways of being in the world”. Instead of their research focussing on the problems in communities, their research shifted from the things that people could not do, to the things that they were already doing. Shifting the focus onto positives, such as fixing broken bicycles, driving elderly neighbours to the shops and helping out around their children’s schools “provided tangible “proof” that the Latrobe Valley was replete with peoples assets and an already active diverse economy” (ibid.:325). This informed my desire in my own research to consider the

actions and the work that is being done in a positive manner. Cameron and Gibson (ibid.:328) state that there is a value in “introducing new languages and representations to shift entrenched understandings and open up new and previously unthinkable possibilities”. This methodology informed my focus on people’s everyday lives, and a rejection of the notion that problems are all that exist in situations of poverty.

PAR practice “starts with personal concerns as a basis for social theorising” (Cahill, 2007:268). Gibson-Graham (2002:36) explain that PAR is “about creating new discourses that subject in different ways, thus enabling subjects to assume power in new forms”. This openness to new discourses and willingness to listen and give power to participants in the research was an ethic I tried to enact through the research. Cahill (2007) emphasises that subject positions are not fixed and singular and PAR approaches are continually in process, focussing on process rather than outcome (Mrs Kinpaisby, 2008).

In taking a participatory approach Wynne-Jones et al. (2015) emphasise that working through tensions inherent in research is part of a participatory approach. In doing so they advocate “acknowledging and sometimes confronting ourselves in the research we do” (ibid.:219). These approaches trouble the idea of neutral distanced researchers (Diprose, 2015). Diprose (ibid.) emphasises that even when subjectivity and power are engaged with in a way which is temporal in nature, working in a participatory and ethical way within research has value. He suggests that a measurable outcome is not necessary for an approach to be PAR.

Using workshop style methods influenced by participatory methodologies and listening to participants I hope I gave more power and freedom to participants and turned down the volume of my own involvement. I also hope that in these reflections I have done justice to my own positionality, recognising the messiness of research and confronting myself and my own role during the research.

A specific participatory tool which influenced the research was the Gender Action Learning System (GALS), which uses methods such as ‘Diamonds’ to understand the priorities of communities. In this methodology, detailed by Linda Mayoux (2010) participants are split by gender, and put answers to the questions of, for example, problems faced by men and women, on pieces of paper. They then place these on a compass, where the vertical axis is most important at the top and least

important at the bottom, and the horizontal axis is whether the problem affects men or women more, or both equally. The groups then come together, and renegotiate where on the compass they feel all of the problems fall. I modified this methodology for my focus groups in order to capture the work that made up the lives of participants as well as attitudes towards it.

These ideas inspired a participatory, and workshop style methodology which I used with my focus groups. I was also inspired by Cameron and Gibson (2005) to try to enquire more positively about what work people did and the changes they would like to see. Therefore, I tried to frame the research in positive terms about the positive actions which were being taken, rather than the focus primarily being on the problems. Through this approach I hoped to enable the “temporary glimpses of other selves” identified as a positive outcome of participatory research by Diprose (2015).

Influenced by Mayoux’s (2010) ‘Diamonds’ methodology, I documented the different types of work that people and community groups do, by having focus

group participants write on post-it notes each type of work that they did, then place it on a grid where the vertical axis was Important - Not important, to capture the value attached to different types of work, and the horizontal axis was Like-Dislike in order to capture part of the motivations for doing the different types of work as shown in Figure 3.1.

I conducted focus groups with two groups: KCC and LGBY. Unfortunately, due to reluctance on the part of members of The Corona Society, and lack of time on the part of members of AVC it was not possible to conduct focus groups with them. By giving participants a task, rather than a question and answer session, it minimised the impact of me as researcher on the

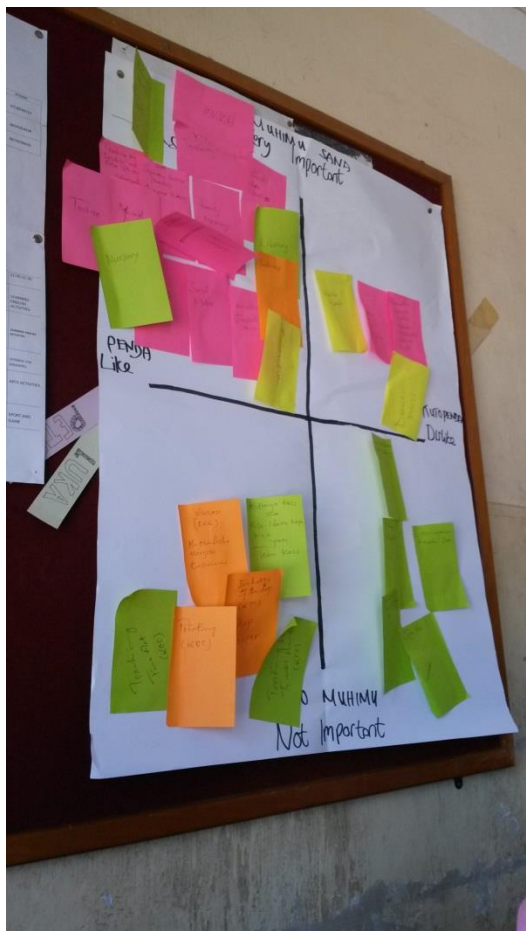


Figure 3.1 Modified Diamonds Methodology at KCC

responses gathered by encouraging more discussion between research participants, and reducing incidences of looking to me for approval. This aimed to work in a participatory way, prioritising facilitation over control (Garrett and Brickell, 2015). The process of negotiation between participants is an interesting one to capture, and therefore this GALS and PAR inspired methodology encouraged research participants to consider the questions in a different way to simply verbally articulating a response.

### *Participant Observation*

One of the main problems with research can be “assuming correspondence between verbal response and behaviour” (Fielding and Thomas, 2008:262). Therefore, while spending time within community groups and wider communities I supplemented the interviews and focus groups with participant observation. Participant observation occurs fairly naturally in the context of researching community groups in Tanzania. Even when making initial contacts in the summer of 2015, I would arrive for an arranged meeting and be invited to come along to another meeting, or for lunch, or to stay on for an event planned the following afternoon. There was often more time than initially planned between arriving to conduct an interview and actually conducting an interview. This time was then spent observing the comings and goings and activities within the area, being co-opted to help in English classes, casually chatting with whoever happened to be around, being taken to see certain parts of the area, or being introduced to certain important people amongst other things. Participant observation is by its very nature a participatory methodology, and one which minimises the voice of the researcher.

### *The best laid plans*

It is always the case, if not always acknowledged, that research can be messy and does not always go to plan.

### *Place matters*

One of the elements of the research which I had little control over included the location of interviews and focus groups. I was reliant on using the spaces available to me at each community group or visiting people at their homes or places of work as I had no office or controlled space while I was in Dar es Salaam. This was

particularly noticeable during the two (planned) focus groups. I had little choice of where to conduct my focus groups, as the community groups themselves controlled the spaces that we had to use. Although potentially positive in engaging in participatory research aiming for facilitation over control (Garrett and Brickell, 2015), this lack of control allowed other power relations to come to the fore.

At KCC I utilised a very small classroom space for the focus group so not everyone could sit around the same table and the same piece of paper. Therefore, one of the participants took it upon himself to pin the paper up on the wall so that everyone could see it. Although this was one solution, it meant that he then became essentially the gate keeper of ideas, standing as if he were the teacher in a classroom, soliciting ideas from the rest of the group and placing the post-its on the paper and so had final veto! Also, due to his English capabilities and the mix of language ability in the room (a few of the men fluent or passable in English, but most of the women not, or too shy to speak it) he took on some of the role of translator. At this point, January would have been stepping on toes to try to translate, as it was already being done, although he was immeasurably helpful when translating for me, at the end, all the things I had missed during the activity!

The effect that this had on the research is well illustrated by a specific example related to gender which I have already mentioned briefly. Once all the types of work were up on the paper for my modified Diamonds methodology, I asked the group to discuss whether the work was men's work, women's work or both. They discussed my question in Swahili, then reported back to me, in English, that they are modern people who know that everyone can do all work. However, when I spoke to January afterwards, he said that after that there had been a discussion in which the women said that women's work is harder than men's, because women must carry things on their heads and walk distances. However, the men disagreed. Notably what got reported to me by the self-appointed male leader and translator was that men usually do fewer types of work, but the things that they do are harder and much more difficult.

This illustrates that when working through translation, and especially when the person doing the translation is a member of the community which is being investigated, that information is kept back from researchers. However, in this situation, I suspect that the location of the focus group, which had been chosen

by the members themselves, exacerbated these problems by encouraging a situation in which a single member acted as gatekeeper. However, this was an interesting interaction and clash of ideas, as well as an insight into the (gendered) power dynamics of the group. This would not have been highlighted had I only conducted individual interviews, so the points of tension served to be illustrative. Here, in an effort to engage in participatory methodologies I encountered an issue identified by Garrett and Brickell (2015) who suggest that minimal researcher involvement can sometimes enable other power relations to continue unchecked. In this context this was exacerbated by the location of the focus group and my poor Swahili, but highlights the complicated power relationships which inevitably complicate efforts to conduct ethical and participatory research (ibid.).

The setting for the focus group with LGBY was entirely different. The day I had a focus group scheduled with them was my last day at LGBY. I arrived, expecting to find the seven volunteers ready to talk, after which I had said I would take everyone for food and drinks as a small token of appreciation for all of their help with my research and kindness towards me. However, when I arrived it emerged that we had misunderstood each other and David had invited thirty of their students to talk to me. With so many people having shown up especially to talk to me, I found myself running an impromptu focus group which I will discuss later! However, this meant that we were significantly behind schedule for actually doing the focus group I had intended to do that day. Combined with the need to hang around and have casual conversation, have my photo taken with students, and the usual comings and goings, it was around 4pm before people were even ready to consider the intended focus group. As it became increasingly clear that the focus group would be conducted late, I suggested that we hold it while we had food and drinks, in order to not keep people too late and to prevent myself and participants from having to travel back at a dangerous time of night. As it was, it was dark when I left and all seven men insisted on accompanying me to the bus stop, and two accompanied me all the way home in a *bajaji*.

Therefore, instead of in an indoor, classroom environment, the focus group was held outside in the seating area of a local bar. More than half of my participants had beers in hand, and we had ordered food from a local *mama lishe*. We were sat around a squat table, on plastic garden furniture. Although power relationships within the group still existed, this setting tempered them somewhat, with David,



the leader of the group, willing to sit back and relax a little more than usual. This setting enabled a participatory approach, achieving the challenge of both reducing my own involvement as well as disrupting the power relationships within the group. This focus group was characterised by a lot more laughter and good-natured disagreement than the one at KCC. Being able to sit around the table meant that different people could place post-its on the grid, as well as move them from where others had placed them as we progressed! Unfortunately we had to end the activity before we were truly finished with the methodology because it got dark, and the bar only had one light in the small storage room where the drinks were kept.

### *Recording*

My plan was to record all interviews using a Dictaphone, apart from those in which a research participant was unwilling to be recorded. However, this assumed that interviews could be conducted in a relatively quiet location with minimal interruptions. The first interview I conducted and recorded took place in a private office at KCC. This should have been an ideal location for an interview, but I had reckoned without the effect of a ceiling fan. The noise of the fan, minimal to the naked ear, rendered almost the entire recording incomprehensibly unclear. I conducted my fieldwork between January and April, when Tanzania is at its warmest, particularly in Dar es Salaam where the sea breeze does not penetrate far into the city. April is also the beginning of the rainy season, and so the heat is made worse by the building humidity. Conducting interviews without the fan on would have been unjustifiably uncomfortable for all involved (although power-cuts sometimes unfortunately necessitated this). Therefore, due to the time of year, and the rooms available, I did not record all of the interviews I had planned to record. Other noises which made recordings impossible in public spaces at community groups included: the noise of other people coming and going, doors opening and closing, music (sometimes more than one kind of music being played at once), children playing, and other people's conversations. In these areas I eventually decided that using the recording device was pointless, and so between these situations and those participants who did not want to be recorded, only around 50% of my interviews were recorded. Other recordings, which were conducted in private rooms, in quieter public rooms, or outside were more successful, but that doesn't stop some data being lost as children play (or cry)

loudly nearby, a plane passes low overhead, birds flirt with each other just outside the window, heavy rain starts to beat on a metal roof, or someone enters the room to pick up a book or ask a question and the door slams behind them. I include this discussion not to complain, or to make excuses, but to highlight how the research process can be modified and plans can be upset by the context and micro-geographies of places in which research is conducted. Therefore it is necessary to be flexible and adaptive.

### ***Swahinglish***

One aspect of the research in practice, which I had not considered as a possibility when planning my methodology, were instances of hybrid English-Swahili interviews. These did not occur with AVC or Corona, who were either native speakers or had on average a higher level of education than some of the members of KCC and LGBY, and were therefore proficient in English. However, both KCC and LGBY run English classes, and so many of their members speak some English. I always gave participants the choice of English or Swahili interviews where English was a possibility for them. I was careful to emphasise that the choice of language was theirs, and kept a translator with us, in order to support participants if they encountered difficulties or desired support. However, whatever their preferred language, the interviews often ended up being linguistically hybrid and utilised both languages.

Of the fifty interviews I conducted, 13 were conducted in a mixture of Swahili and English. The three focus groups were also conducted in a mixture of Swahili and English. Of the other interviews, 14 were conducted with ESL speakers, 11 of whom were Tanzanian participants with Swahili as their first language, 18 entirely in Swahili, and four with native English speakers.

In a few instances the interview began in English, but switched to Swahili when the topics and the questions became more difficult and answers became more complex. With other participants, interviews were conducted largely in English, with the occasional help from January who might translate a question that was not understood by the participant, or offer up help on a particular phrase or word during an answer. In other instances, the participant themselves spoke a mixture of English and Swahili, sometimes changing in the middle of sentences, to deliver a particular phrase. For example, when one participant was asked how he survives

without pay the interview went as follows. Where the participant has used Swahili the English translation follows in brackets.

G: Ahh, this is a problem with my family, ah, the essentials, the, ah, you know *nina shea kidogo na familia yangu, kwanini nafanya hii kitu hapa, lakini kwanini najitolea, kwa sababu silipwi fedha, ila nalipwa knowledge za hapa na palel ambazo naamini ndio zitakuja kunifikisha kuwa (missing word), na hicho ndio kinanisumbua zaid na hata David director anaelewa kuwa huo ndo mtihani ambao ninao sasa hivi, kwamba familia yangu....*

(I share little with my family, but as to why I am doing this, why am I volunteering. I am not paid money but I am paid different knowledges which I believe they will lead me to be a...(missing word). And that's what disturbs me much and David, director knows it. It is that my family.....)

My family are not supporting what I do, because I am not paying money for spending needs or to help mother. Ah, ah, but I provide small support... *ndicho kitu ambacho huwa nakifanya, natumia (missing word) kidogo ambayo nakuwa ninayo na... so, yeah*

(that is what I normally do. I use (missing word) small what I have and then...)

*Unaishije sasa, unadhani wanakuwa wanatoa msaada? Lakini aah, kwasababu kuna nyumba ya familia kwahyo kwamba, kwasababu ukishakuwa...aaam ile Fulani nenda wanashindwa laikini msaaada wao kadri siku zinavyozidi kwenda unapungua kulingana na kitu ambacho mimi nakiamini hawana (missing word) na imani ambayo mimi nishike lakini nimeamua kuishikilia, Kwahyo msaada wanautoa lakini hasa ni kwenye(missing word). Walikuwa wanasema tutakusaidia hiki tutakusaidia kile, kwahyo kama kula ni nyumbani lakini hapa ni shindano, kwahyo hata kule kula sio sana labda kulala. Siku hizi nimejikuta nalala hapa kwasababu inabd kulearn more more kwahyo familia inasaporti lakini...*

(How do you live then, do you think they are giving any support? But aaaah, since it is a family house they can't tell you to leave<sup>12</sup> but their support is declining daily. But what I believe is they don't want (missing word)...they don't agree with what I believe. So they do give support but only (missing word). They promised to help in different ways, so as for food I get it from home but here is only competition, so I can't even eat much, maybe sleeping. Nowadays I sleep here because I need to learn more, so the family do support but...)

J: He says he's been survives the times because his family don't support what he is doing because, ah, erm, of the mission, the focus of the family and his focus himself are different. There's suffering. He has to be here all the time, sometimes he sleeps here, because of the work and all the strategy that he has to do, but it has been hard because the family is not supporting him.

(Interview 6, Recording 6, S/ESL)

This linguistic hybridity brought its own challenges. It was necessary to accommodate participants who were not fluent in English to answer in English, even when perhaps communication would have been clearer through a translator. Many participants wanted to speak English, and had a desire to practice. As a student of foreign languages myself I know all too well the frustration when trying hard to speak a foreign language, and having someone switch the conversation to my native language. It would have been damaging to research relationships, as well as unethical, to make participants unhappy by insisting that we communicate through a translator, thereby insulting their English level. Enabling participants to make this choice for themselves was part of negotiating an ethical and participatory research project. It was part of an ethics of reciprocity as identified by Taylor (2014), and a way of being useful in providing a context for some participants to practice English in. However, it is the case that sometimes this had a negative impact on our communication abilities, and I got shorter and more simplistic answers to questions that were potentially more of a reflection of the English level of participants than their feelings on a question.

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<sup>12</sup> Ask you to leave here is used in the context of to kick you out

This example also demonstrates the difference between a direct word-for-word translation and the on the spot interpretative translation which January provided. Although both translations discuss the tensions with the family, January's translation does not address the idea of being paid in knowledge, nor the promise of help from the family. This emphasises the significant gatekeeper role of a translator, who must make quick decisions and keep the interview flowing while trying to convey as much information as possible. It would be beneficial to directly transcribe and translate all data after the interviews in order to further assess how much detail is lost through the choice of translation technique. This, combined with analysis of the particular nature of linguistically hybrid interviews, would be useful to inform future methodological decisions. A perfect translation is an impossibility, but further research on the process of linguistic choices would enable a greater understanding of the ways in which translation changes and shifts meanings.

Another element which impacts the ways in which research is conducted is the identity and positionality of both researcher and participants.

### ***Assumptions and Expectations***

My own positionality impacted the research in a number of ways. Sometimes those who were not participating in research assumed that I, as a white foreigner, was bringing money and other resources to the group. Nas from KCC had already told me that this had been a problem in the past, with people in the community assuming that those who are involved with KCC have personal wealth. This is also the case at LGBY, and my presence caused problems for their leader, as when I visited the community group, I did not take the local *boda-boda*<sup>13</sup> because of my own fears about safety, but instead took buses and walked. The *boda-boda* drivers were angry with David because they thought he had told me not to ride their bikes. This was absolutely not the case, and generally my Tanzanian participants thought it was funny that I was too scared to ride a *boda-boda*. However, the drivers were angry because they were not getting a cut of the money they assumed I was bringing to the area. I had to work hard, and emphasise in Swahili each time we saw them that I was too afraid to ride the motorbikes, emphasising perhaps my femininity and performing the role of clueless foreigner to temper their anger.

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<sup>13</sup> Motorbike taxis.

Eventually they began to tease me, rather than to berate David when we walked past. I had consciously put a lot of effort into changing their opinions.

There was also a problem of expectations of participants. During my preliminary research trip, I had made connections with four groups who said that they would work with me: KCC, LGBY, Corona Society and one other. The other group, who I will not name, was an older group of people mostly in their 50s, and the founding members met when caring for a sick member of the community. They ran nursery classes for children in the community. They had many and varied plans for expansion but seemed to have real funding difficulties and to struggle to bring their plans to fruition. Their plans were as varied as a computer classroom based in the back of a van in order to travel around to different schools and an arts centre for the community, including a gallery where local artists can represent themselves.

Unfortunately, even at our first meeting, it was suggested that perhaps I could help them with funding. As with all of the groups and participants I worked with, I was very clear that that would not be possible. I suggested that although I could not offer financial help, I could offer reciprocal labour, such as help with English and funding applications. Face to face, this seemed acceptable and agreed upon, and I intended to return with a translator before the end of the preliminary research trip, in order to make the nature of the research clear. Unfortunately that was not possible, as I became very ill and was hospitalised, so was unable to meet the group again on the preliminary trip.

After I had returned home the group contacted me, asking if I would send them money, or ask my friends if they would be able to send them money. I once again reiterated that I could not offer financial help, and got a reply saying that they understood. A month or so later I received another e-mail, with a vague list of goods ranging from “desks and chairs” to “sports equipment”, each with a seemingly randomly assigned price, which added up to over £4000. I replied, asking if this was part of their plan, and received in reply the bank details of the group leader. For me, this finally made it clear that it would not be possible to research ethically with this group, as clearly my messages as to what I could and could not offer the group were not being heard. To work with this group, when they clearly had such high expectations about what I could do for them financially

would not have been ethical. I replied stating this, and apologising for wasting their time. As this group was different in character from the others, with an older membership they would have been a positive addition to the research, but unfortunately I did not think that this was possible. However, these uncomfortable moments are inevitable when research involves navigating complex power relationships.

### *Misunderstandings and impromptu methodologies*

As already mentioned in passing, a misunderstanding with LGBY put me in a situation where 30 students rather than volunteers had been invited to speak with me. Because it would have been rude and ungracious not to do something with these willing participants, I encountered a situation in which I ran an essentially unplanned focus group. This serves to highlight the messiness and unpredictable nature of research as well as the necessity of considering participatory approaches as always in practice rather than as a fixed outcome (mrs kinpaisby, 2008). The methodology I had planned for the much smaller group of volunteers was not suitable for this much larger group. Instead, in order to keep the session to a manageable time frame, and keep everyone engaged and included I decided to split the students into five groups of six and I asked them to talk about and make a list of the work they do outside of LGBY, and the work they do within LGBY. I then asked them to discuss and mark on the paper whether they thought the work was important or not, and whether they liked it or not. In this way, it was essentially a modification of the focus group methodology I had already designed. I made sure to visit each group and discuss with them their lists. Clearly this methodology was impromptu and a little bit haphazard. Had I had time to prepare I would have designed much more interactive and discursive tasks for the students to do, in order to encourage more discussion. However, for an impromptu session I did get a sense of everyday life for the students, and the work which they did day to day and how they felt about it - a breadth if not a depth of information. I took the lists of work and cross referenced them, to identify themes and work which all five groups had discussed.

### *Feeling powerless*

In my concern to be ethical, and to be aware of my privileged positionality, during planning I spent time trying to mitigate the potential of being perceived as more

powerful than the participants. It had not occurred to me that there were situations where I would feel powerless. During research, not being fluent in Swahili often made me feel useless and a little helpless. Not being able to fully communicate with people made me feel vulnerable, especially when frequently I would know that people were talking about me, as I understood some Swahili. Travelling around the city also became an increasingly uncomfortable experience for me. As a young white woman I received a lot of male attention, from day to day greetings, to being followed, to marriage proposals. This had a detrimental effect on my willingness and my desire to be in public space. Overall, I don't think that this had a discernible effect on research, as I still conducted interviews and visited community groups - however, it may have closed me off to other interactions, and on a couple of occasions I put off visiting KCC until I knew January could accompany me - not just because it was preferable to have his translating skills but I wanted his company on the journey there because then generally men would not approach me.

### **Circuits of work and Researching Work**

#### *Participants as facilitators*

Qualitative research relies on relationships between people, and people always introduce many variables! My relationship with each group was different and in many ways the initial contact I made with the group impacted this, as well as the way in which each group was organised.

My initial contact with Corona Society was through their Facebook page, and through their secretary, Alison. She was very responsive, and invited me along to one of the coffee mornings during my preliminary research trip. Here, I was introduced to other members and got to know a little about the group. Although people were friendly, even up to the point of inviting me to lunch and to go shopping with them, the idea that I might want to interview them was met with some confusion. When returning for my main research trip, the secretary of the club told me that on the first Tuesday of every month, instead of having casual coffee, they had a larger event in which people were invited to speak. At the first of these at the beginning of February, Alison introduced me to the group, and I briefly introduced my research to members who were there, giving my contact



details, and handing out my card at the end while talking to and networking with members.

The uptake from this was fairly low, and I suspect that some of the issue was that members of Corona did not consider themselves the *subjects* of research. This image was complicated by the fact that I was also working with Tanzanian-run groups. One member of Corona, despite having listened to me introduce my research and invite people to speak with me and be interviewed, asked “but it is *Africans* you’re interviewing, right?” This perception that research was something done with (or perhaps to) Tanzanians, but not the ex-pat community may have been responsible for the lower participation rates for this group. This is potentially reflective of binary conceptualisations, in which those in the global south are seen as the ‘other’, and therefore the subjects of study.

Another possible reason for lower numbers of interviews conducted with members of Corona compared to other groups could be the much more loose knit nature of the group itself. For members of KCC and LGBY, the community groups quite often were the focus of their day to day lives. Most members attended every day Monday to Friday and often at weekends. However, for Corona Society members, Corona was often simply one of many clubs and activities which they attended. This meant that when Corona Society introduced me to the group, the introduction did not hold the same weight as with the other groups, as a number of people introduce other clubs or activities or events at each meeting. For example, when I introduced myself I was one of two extra speakers, with the other speaker advertising a charity ball coming up on the ex-pat social calendar. This meant that gaining participants relied on me making personal and individual connections with each participant, many of whom were suspicious of being interviewed. This proved to be very difficult, and so much of my research with Corona Society was based on participant observation. However, because all Corona Society activities are conducted in English, and they allowed me to sit in on a committee meeting, this actually gave me a lot of insight into the group, and allowed me to observe rather than ask what was happening to a greater extent than with my Swahili run groups.

In contrast, with both KCC and LGBY my first point of contact was a director of the group. These two groups took much more responsibility for finding research participants, and would invite people to come and talk to me. Nas at KCC actually

assigned someone to be my point of contact, as he himself was very busy. I only managed to interview him at all because I happened to be there when he happened to have a spare hour. Up to that point I had been asking when he had free time, and he had no space in his schedule. Having an assigned point of contact meant that my contact, Osman, took a lot of the responsibility for scheduling interviews. This made my life easier, but I was conscious that this gave some control over who I interviewed to a single member of the group, although when I asked to speak to certain people Osman usually managed to facilitate this for me. I was also aware that I was adding to his workload as he suddenly had responsibility for forging contacts for me.

Early on in the research I had conducted three interviews, with people he had invited to speak to me, and was hanging around talking to other members of the group. Mbwana, a loud and confident member demanded that I interview him. I was of course, happy to do so, especially as he had a different story to many of the volunteers in that he had not started as a student at KCC. Halfway through the interview Osman returned from whatever he had been doing, and seemed a little put out but also bemused that I was conducting an interview that he had not helped me to set up. I did not think that Osman felt that there was a problem with me interviewing Mbwana as he made no move to try to wrap up the conversation and he did not seem angry. However, I do think that by bypassing the system which had been set up, I had inadvertently made Osman feel as though the responsibility he had been given for looking after me was somewhat diminished. Following that I was careful to make sure that he felt valued. However, towards the end of the research I feel that Osman became distracted by other responsibilities, as on at least three occasions I had interviews scheduled which were cancelled last minute, or only cancelled once I arrived at the centre which is not an inconsiderable inconvenience after a two-and-a-half-hour journey, mostly spent stuck in traffic. Once an interview had been cancelled Osman wanted a few days before getting back to me for possibilities for rescheduling, which meant that there could be as much as a week between cancelled interviews. Here, my reliance on one person was troublesome, and caused a lot of wasted time and frustration. However, despite these frustrations, towards the end of the research period, having had one particular member of the community group facilitate my interactions was helpful.

With all groups, I explained that I would just like to be introduced and could organise my own schedule directly with research participants, but this was rejected, as both groups said they were happy to help and facilitate. With Corona Society I did not have a specific person who helped me to facilitate interviews and despite being introduced at large meetings, and mostly having a common language of English, it was difficult to find participants. I am therefore very grateful for the unpaid labour put in on my behalf by members of the community groups, and it would be remiss not to mention this given the nature of the research.

As with KCC, LGBY took on responsibility for organising the interview schedule for me, but David, the leader of the group took on much of the responsibility, and was my point of contact. This was great for participation rates, as David is well respected and his involvement gave me a certain kind of legitimacy and the trust of other participants.

AVC proved to be the most troublesome group to interview, as they seemed to be a loose network of very busy people. Like Corona Society, initial contact was facilitated through one of the founding members of the group, but this took a long time to come. Roughly six weeks before the end of the research period I asked for the contact details of the other members of AVC, but because Easter was coming up, partly because of their usual schedules, and partly because AVC was just one of many activities that members were involved in, people were very busy. In the end I received the phone numbers of members two days before I left Tanzania. In this case, because the members were largely young professionals with other work, there was no opportunity for me to attend a meeting or go to the offices of AVC. I therefore only have information on AVC from one long and detailed face to face interview, and some information another member sent to me by e-mail once I returned home. However, as I have already stated the group meet the criteria I set for inclusion in the research and so I include their interviews as part of the whole.

### ***Creating work while researching work***

Although I was researching work in Dar es Salaam, I was also creating and participating in work in the city through the research. There were formal and informal threads to the research I did, as well as reciprocity.

For example, even the formal arrangement to have a supervisor at the University of Dar es Salaam was initiated by an informal arrangement with my University of Glasgow supervisor Jo Sharp. The choice of supervisor was almost based on Jo calling in a favour with Herbert, with whom she had previously worked. This arrangement was then formalised through the inclusion of Herbert Hambatti's name on my research proposals.

Essentially when contacting people, the process is informal. The process of making contact includes cold phone calling, or cold Facebook messaging if there is no personal or snowballed connection. The job of keeping up connections in between the initial connection-building trip and later trips is one of casual conversations, and asking after people's families and wellbeing.

Despite all of the formal administration put in place when it comes to conducting research in terms of risk assessments, ethics applications, funding applications, research permits and research visas, much of the research process is unpredictable. There are decisions to be made off the cuff when researching, and much research is based on informal arrangements and agreements with participants. As Hoggart et al (2002:212) point out, "interviews require interviewees to have confidence in the interviewers". Because of the voluntary nature of participation in research, it is necessary for participants to want to participate, and a connection with the researcher or other people involved in the research helps to facilitate this.

My very presence and desire to conduct research had a ripple effect through the communities. In the process of researching work, my research both created and altered the work that people were doing. I created emotional labour for people, in that they were encouraged to welcome me into their community group, and teach me how things worked. This was often conducted in English, a language choice of my participants, sometimes working to make me comfortable and welcome me or desiring language practice for themselves, but inevitably making some of my participants and other members of community groups less comfortable.

At KCC, Osman was assigned a role as my liaison. This was the arrangement that they felt was best for my research, and I did not want to contradict, despite my worries about a potential burden that this put upon one particular member of the community group, as well as the potential of giving one person control over who I talked to. In order to try to mitigate the gatekeeper effect I tried to speak with

and connect with as many people as possible during participant observation time at KCC, thereby integrating myself and hoping to form connections so that members would wish to talk to me. However, I do not know if this affected the people I spoke to. This work was informal, in that it was assigned verbally, and conducted casually between myself and Osman. At LGBY, David took on responsibility for organising my interviews and introducing me to people. Again, this added to his burden of work. However, gaining introductions through David was particularly helpful to the research, as he was well liked and known within the community, and introduced me to a wide range of people.

In the course of doing the research, I also entered into informal circuits of reciprocal labour. Taylor (2014) identifies an ethics of reciprocity as one way in which researchers can 'be useful'. As Taylor notes, an ethics of reciprocity does not have to be immediate or direct, and is always a negotiation. When I first made contact with the groups, I stated that I did not want to just take time from them, and emphasised how valuable I found their help and participation in research. I said if there was anything that I could do for them, we should negotiate and see what I could give in return. I did this in order to approach the ethics of research practice in a way in which I aimed to do good on participants' terms (PyGyRG, 2009). The Corona Society essentially told me not to worry about it, although I did write a restaurant review for their newsletter and ended up running the Scottish Country Dancing for the Caledonia Society for around five weeks, which had a large number of members in common with Corona Society and increased my visibility within the group. KCC and LGBY each asked for a report, specifically for them. However, LGBY also requested that I help with teaching, by agreement as well as spontaneously. For example, one day I arrived early to find English class running. There was a power cut and so the video on which the students were supposed to be watching an English conversation did not work. David, who was teaching, immediately pulled me in to read the conversation with him from the teacher's version of the text book. Almost every visit to LGBY, David would introduce me to a student or a group of students, and suggest that they practised their English with me. Often this meant that I was utilising skills I learnt as an ESL teacher in Japan to hold the conversation at a level which matched their English skills, as well as facilitating the flow to give them confidence. 'Giving back' is a

central part of PAR approaches, but this is continually negotiated and does not require a solid definitive outcome (Diprose, 2015).

I also undertook a more formally agreed upon teaching role with the volunteer teachers at LGBY. David had initially discussed the possibility of me taking on English classes with the students during my time at LGBY. However, after some discussion we agreed that would not have an impact beyond the classes themselves. I suggested that rather than teach the students, I could run some sessions on teaching with the volunteers, as no-one had any teacher training, formal or otherwise. As someone with a broad range of teaching experience and training through teaching English in Japan for two years, teaching Scottish Country Dancing, and demonstrating and tutoring first and second year university labs and tutorials, I felt that by doing this I could potentially help with a longer lasting impact. Although I was a little uncomfortable with setting myself up to do teacher training, I did have more teaching experience than that group. I made it very clear that I wasn't an expert, and taught in a workshop-style in order to make the learning participatory, and to make it clear that there are no hard and fast rules when teaching. By doing this, I myself entered an informal knowledge exchange, and thus became part of the work and exchanges which are the subject of my research. This style of teaching where the teacher is only one or two steps ahead of the students seems to be fairly reflective of how both KCC and LGBY organise their teaching. This idea of not being an expert is an element of PAR, in which outsiders should expect to be taught rather than to teach (Winton, 2007:499). Although here I explicitly taught, I hope it was balanced by the ways in which I considered participants' experts in the other elements of my research.

It was also the case that through participant observation, and simply by virtue of 'being there' and through participants perceptions of me I engaged in work that was both casual and informal. For example, working as a teacher through being asked questions, being used as an example, or being asked to judge students or mark their work. At the end of every interview I gave participants the space to say anything more about things we had talked about, and also to ask me questions. A number of times, I was asked for advice on subjects ranging from applying to under-graduate programmes outside of Tanzania, to how best to grow a business, to how to get a school space for a child who was out of school, to the answer to

poverty in Tanzania. In these cases I was always careful to be humble, and to emphasise that I was not an expert, clearly stating that I didn't know the answers.

I also tried to unsettle the idea that problems were limited to the global south, as many Tanzanians had never considered that poverty could exist in the global north. I felt that this information was important to share, as it became clear that many people felt that they could be successful by following the path of the global north: a pathway that has many problems - not least in relation to increasing inequalities. However, responding to these questions required emotional labour, so that the participants felt that their questions were valuable, while gently informing them that I had no power, or in many cases knowledge. In one notable case I was asked for advice on UK university courses. Although I did not have this information off the top of my head, I sat with the participant and together we looked up courses, and in particular the overseas student fees required by UK universities. Although this essentially amounted to help which ultimately showed him that fees were prohibitively high, I took the time to take his request seriously, and share with him my knowledge of the UK higher education system and where to find further information. These informal connections and networks can be considered a central part of PAR methodologies. They reflect the way in which participatory research is in process (Diprose, 2014), and require an engagement in reciprocal relationships rather than a fly-in, fly-out approach to research.

Much of the practical knowledge needed for traversing Dar es Salaam is gained through informal channels. There is no up-to-date map of Dar es Salaam and no accessible bus timetable. My accommodation did not have a website and nearly all of its custom comes through word of mouth, informal recommendations and the passing on of the accommodation's phone number from person to person. The accommodation itself is a mine of informal recommendations and knowledge about Dar es Salaam. The communal dining at breakfast, lunch and dinner (if desired) was a perfect forum for sharing information about the city. Much of the knowledge I had about what buses to take where, places to eat, places to get a quiet coffee and study, as well as useful Swahili phrases for day to day life, I gained in informal conversations around the table at my accommodation. As I progressed through my time in Dar es Salaam I became one of the people asked for advice rather than doing the asking, again finding myself in a network of informal information sharing. The research itself is embedded in circuits of

informal information and therefore occupies a strange middle ground, where my labour is neither formal nor informal, and I am implicated in the very circuits I am writing about.

### *Coding*

With a large amount of qualitative data, coding is the logical choice to help to draw out patterns and theory from the data. Saldaña (2013:4) puts it nicely, saying “Just as a title represents and captures a book, film, or poem’s primary content and essence, so does a code represent and capture a datum’s primary content and essence”.

The linguistic nature of the data, in mixed Swahili and English, sometimes conducted through a translator, sometimes with native English speakers and sometimes with ESL speakers, meant that participants did not always use the same vocabulary to describe similar feelings or experiences. This meant that in vivo coding, in which phrases or words are pulled from the interview data was not the most appropriate for this research. Coding is essentially a judgement call (Sipe and Ghiso, 2004:482), what Saldaña, 2013:4 refers to as an interpretive act, and not a precise science. I manually coded the data as I felt that this would increase familiarity with the data, and make it easier to code thematically.

As I conducted the transcribing myself it was the perfect opportunity to pre-code, which means highlighting rich or significant quotes or passages (Saldaña, 2013). I also noted down emergent themes, which at this stage were largely descriptive or topic based, such as work, education, and knowledge sharing. Transcribing gave me a good overview and knowledge of the data, but coding is and should be cyclical, as cycles manage, filter and highlight data (ibid:8). Therefore I took my initial starting point from the literature and preliminary readings of the data.

From the preliminary readings and the foci of my research questions I started with descriptive codes of gender, formal work, informal work, paid/unpaid work, motivations and success. These codes were then further split into categories and subcategories. I took time to follow Charmaz’s (2008) advice to do line by line coding, as it promotes a trust-worthy analysis, minimising the inputting of motives, fears or unresolved person issues. In this way I feel that I really combed through my data, ensuring that I was not reliant on just the data which jumped out at me during my pre-coding. However, cycles of coding shifted these categories, as each

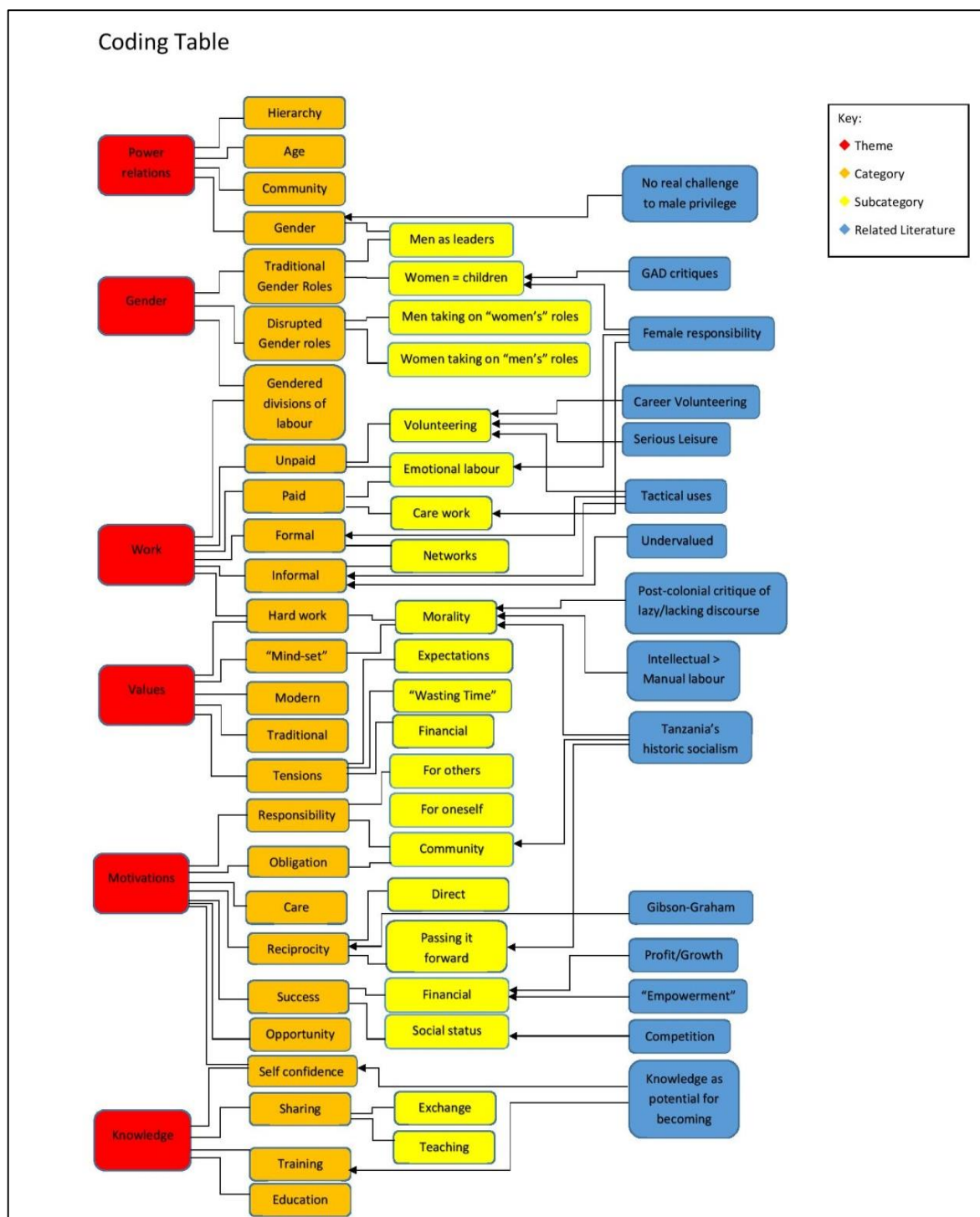


cycle reassessed the coding, combining some codes and splitting other codes. I found it particularly useful to consider Sunstein and Chiseri-Strater's (2007:106) recommended questions to ask at all stages: What surprised me? What intrigued me? What disturbed me? These questions helped to highlight what was of interest, and what was new. Through these coding cycles the aim was to marry the empirics and the theory, to link the two in order to draw out the new and interesting elements of this particular research and find where it can make a contribution to knowledge. Coding went through different stages too numerous to document here but the final coding table with its codes and how they relate to the literature can be seen in Figure 3.1 overleaf, and an overview of the codes and the frequency of their occurrences can be found in Figure 7.1 in Appendix 2.

### ***Conclusion***

I hope this chapter has served to illustrate how unexpected aspects of conducting the research both affected and contributed to the data.

I have already detailed some of the work which I engaged in here, and the next section will detail the work that the participants of the research were engaging in, as well as their motivations for doing so.



## Chapter Four: Work and Volunteering in Community Groups in Dar es Salaam

The work done by members of community groups who participated in this research was incredibly varied. Work plays many roles in people's lives and some types of work are more respected and valued than others. Work can provide people with a means of survival across a range of different contexts, whether they are engaged in subsistence farming, or formal waged labour. Work is also an important aspect of people's identities. The identity-impacting side of work is not often discussed in development narratives in which work as contributing to survival or the completion of development goals are common narratives. However, some of the volunteers in this research were living in poverty, sometimes with not enough to eat, but chose to engage in unpaid work such as volunteering work due to the meaning and value attached to this work.

The role and framing of work as both a moral obligation and a survivalist necessity can be seen in the weight given to work and jobs as a political issue in countries across the globe. Meanwhile, Tanzania's National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty has the creation and sustenance of productive and decent employment as a stated goal (Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs, 2010). The strategy also states that "linking individuals, men and women, to productive and decent employment is the principal route out of poverty". Job creation is therefore a goal in many different contexts worldwide, and teaching skills for work is a goal of KCC, LGBY, and AVC. However, these are not the types of work which all members of the community groups are engaging in.

The goal of this chapter is to demonstrate the multiplicity and interconnectivity of types of work engaged in by research participants. For KCC and LGBY members in particular a patchwork of different techniques and activities make up strategies of survival. I also argue that work is often assigned a moral value, and people are motivated to work for a myriad of reasons. I connect the paid and unpaid and formal and informal work that people engage in with theories of alternate economies.

I firstly discuss examples of the work engaged in by individuals within community groups. I then discuss the ideas of morality surrounding work, and how participants

frame their work as morally good. I look at how this ties into narratives of hard work and helps to assign value to both the work and the workers themselves. I discuss how these ideas link into neoliberal narratives of individual success, as well as narratives stemming from historic Tanzanian socialism. Following this, I analyse the weight that many participants assign to mind-set and thinking positive as essential to success, as well as the tensions which can occur when contrasting visions of work and success clash. This leads onto discussions of volunteering, and the role that volunteering plays in the lives of participants. Next, I examine the thorny issue of payment, addressing different types of unpaid work, in particular volunteering. I follow this with a discussion of the paid work which participants engage in or benefit from, before analysing the types of unpaid work which people engage in. I look at the roles of formal and informal networks in facilitating the activities of the community groups, both in terms of finding work, but also in terms of funding and shaping the direction of the community groups. Finally I discuss the relationship between the narratives of research participants and narratives of alternative economies.

### ***Work Stories***

I begin with a series of stories about the work and lives of participants. These stories are designed to show the complexities and details of the everyday lives of a number of the research participants. These stories are not designed to be representative of all that is happening, but simply to give some detailed background to the types of work which member of the communities engage in. All stories here are based on interviews with the participants themselves, and their reports and representations of their own work.

### ***Shafi***

Shafi is a volunteer at KCC (Interview 26, ESL). He came to KCC in order to learn and meet people through the network which KCC provide. He continues to study at KCC, and also teaches English and French within KCC when the regular teacher is absent as well as assisting beginners in other classes. Outside KCC and within his local community he teaches maths, English, and Islamic religious studies informally to anyone in his neighbourhood who is interested. All of this teaching work is voluntary and without pay. He relies on his brother and sister for food but lives alone and pays rent with money he makes from renting out mats and dishes

to people for parties. This happens once or twice a week, and he makes posters in order to advertise this service.

### *Habiba*

Habiba was the chair of the Corona Society at the time of my research. She was in a slightly unusual position of being an ex-pat but with a Tanzanian husband and some Tanzanian family from the Gujarati community. She came to Corona society as an ordinary member when she was new to Dar es Salaam. After a few months they were looking for new committee members. So she joined as assistant secretary, before working her way up through the secretaries' position and eventually becoming the chair. Before she moved to Tanzania she worked for local government, but once she moved to Dar es Salaam she found it difficult to find paid work, as she told me that the priority for NGO's is to hire Tanzanian Swahili speakers wherever possible. She had managed to get a part time and temporary position for a while, but there had been no chance of it becoming full time because she was not Tanzanian. So she got more involved in Corona as a way to gain some "purpose.... Some little thing to put my energies in to". She also worked part time at her uncle's shop in down town Dar es Salaam. She said: "My uncle, yeah, he's just an old man in a shop, he needed help with admin and accounts, just a bit of pocket money but it keeps my brain ticking over, it's something different." (Interview 44, Recording 24, E). She explained that she did not have the correct visa, but that because she was working for family, people just assumed that he was her father, and so no-one questioned her right to work, or whether she had the correct visa.

### *Frank*

Frank is an attendee of LGBY, and had been going to LGBY for three months at the time of our interview (Interview 10, Recording 10, S/ESL). He is a mechanic, and through this he earns enough money to support himself, but he cannot contribute anything to his family's household income. Sometimes where he works as a mechanic doesn't have much business, and so in that time he likes to learn new things, and to teach others at his work the things he has learnt at LGBY. He came to LGBY because he was friends with some of the other young men through the church. Frank sometimes helped his parents at home. His work as a mechanic had

no real schedule. If it was busy he might work until 10pm, but he would often finish early and use his free time to attend classes at LGBY.

### *Maria*

Maria is a beneficiary of LGBY's *Sauti Ya Mama Na Mtoto* programme (Interview 23, S). Her business is a *genge*<sup>14</sup>, selling fruit and vegetables from outside of her house. She said that having a *genge* means that she is there for her children. In the morning she attends the market, and at home she does the work for the household and works at the *genge*. Her dream is to have a *duka*<sup>15</sup> business, with soft drinks and other goods, which she says would change her life. Her husband works as a gardener in the wealthy area of Masaki, but he has no contract and therefore no job security. This means he is often travelling to and from work, and so the domestic responsibilities are all Maria's. They have two children, a 16 year old and an eight year old.

I hope these stories have enabled an understanding of the types of work people engage in within the communities and the sort of shapes that this work may take. I shall now move on to discussing the morality which is assigned to certain types of work.

### ***Moralities of Work***

Work is often viewed as a moral endeavour. From narratives of the deserving and hard-working poor found in debates on welfare provision (Bullock et al, 2001) and fundraising initiatives which focus ideas of helping those who help themselves (Wilson, 2010), to narratives of the value and character building nature of hard work and representations of work as civic duty (Oosterhoff et al. 2015), work is generally regarded as an unequivocally good thing. Where change is desired it is pay and working conditions which people work to change (Weeks, 2001). This is important to the research as just over one third of the volunteers referred to the moral status of work, and two thirds mentioned hard work as something positive. The idea that hard work is the way to success was repeated in almost one third of the interviews across all participants. Grace, one of the mothers from LGBY's *Sauti Ya Mama na Mtoto* programme, who was held up as an example of an exceptionally

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<sup>14</sup> A *genge* is a small stall, ranging from the size of an individual school desk to a medium sized dining table.

<sup>15</sup> A *Duka* is a small shop, differentiated from street stalls by virtue of being within a building, even if it is just a hole-in-the-wall style.

successful person, stated that there was no time for resting, "you can rest when you're dead" (Interview 25, Recording 17, S). Sayi also stated explicitly: "we need to work hard if we want to achieve our dreams" (Interview 46, Recording 25, ESL). These attitudes were expressed without prompt, and occurred in a high proportion of the interviews, showing that the framing of hard work as a moral endeavour is common amongst research participants.

This valuing of hard work may come from the portrayal of hard work and success as directly connected. This can be found in neoliberal narratives of individual responsibility and success, in which people are told that anything is possible if only they work hard enough (Mendick et al, 2015). Also, Nyerere's discourses of Tanzanian socialism portrayed hard work as a moral responsibility and part of a need to contribute to community and country (Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003). Both of these attitudes can be found within the community groups. Many of the volunteers demonstrated both a belief in responsibility for oneself, as well as a responsibility for others or for the community. 25% of all interviewees expressed a belief in individual responsibility. Almost 80% of all interviewees demonstrated a belief in a responsibility for others or for the community, and 22% of the interviewees demonstrated a belief in both. Non-volunteering research participants were more likely to talk about individual responsibility than volunteers: around half of the coding occurrences for individual responsibility came from interviews with non-volunteers who only made up one third of interviewees. 85% of volunteers demonstrated a belief in a responsibility for others or responsibility for the community compared to around half of those who did not volunteer. Although the numbers are small it could be suggested that these who feel responsible for others are more likely to take on volunteering work because of a need to help others or vice versa.

A less positive side of the hard work narrative is found in characterisations of poor people as workshy layabouts rather than victims of structural inequalities (McDowell, 2004). These ideas can also be found within members of the community groups. Shafi, a volunteer at KCC, complained that "We Africans or Tanzanians, we are so lazy... (we) don't want to struggle" (Interview 26, ESL). Meanwhile, Daniel, the American photographer at KCC expressed a desire to "help those who help themselves", but was disparaging about being asked to help a young man whom he saw as just sitting around watching videos all day (Interview

43, Recording 23, E). The characterisation of Africans or Tanzanians as lazy is problematic, as it echoes colonial narratives of the lazy native (Alatas, 1977). These narratives also echo more recent narratives of the deserving and undeserving poor without considering structural inequalities or disadvantages. In a situation of poverty, to believe that people are poor due to their own failing of laziness is potentially damaging. I will come back to the lack of engagement with structural inequalities later in this chapter.

Jeremiah, a volunteer at LGBY, referred to hard work as necessary both in the context of communities working together and in the context of individual stardom when talking about what his community needs. He said:

"Firstly for us, for youth, we have to work together to bring power together because if we unite we can do things more effectively and positive things. For example, a famous guy, Diamond Platnumz, he's very famous now. He grew up in a poor family, but then he worked really hard and now he's achieved things, so now everybody wants to be like Diamond. People have to learn ethics of hard work, and how to achieve things, and things will change if they are hard-working and we can change ideas, and this is how life should change" (Interview 8, Recording 8, S).

Jeremiah's example of Diamond Platnumz is an interesting one in the framing, as Diamond is held up as an example of a self-made man, in which he came from poverty, and has become one of the biggest and most famous musicians in Tanzania (The Citizen, 2017)<sup>16</sup>. Although Diamond Platnumz achieved individual success, Jeremiah begins by suggesting that working together is the way to achieve effective and positive change. On one hand, the individual stardom of Diamond is admired, and considered proof that an ethics of hard work can change things, but this is Jeremiah connects this to a narrative in which power and strength can be found in working together. Jeremiah therefore believes both in working together, but also in individual hard work leading to personal success or even stardom. 22% of participants expressed a belief in both responsibility for others and community as well as responsibility for oneself. Obviously these beliefs are not mutually exclusive.

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<sup>16</sup> Diamond Platinumz is a Tanzanian bongo flava artist. He is said to be the highest paid Tanzanian musician of the moment (Bongo 5, 2013). When I was in Dar es Salaam, his music was everywhere.



Responsibility for oneself could be seen as aligning slightly more with the neoliberal narrative of being able to pull oneself out of poverty (Mendick et al, 2015), whereas responsibility for others may align more with a Tanzanian version of socialism in which the moral imperative is to engage in actions which will benefit others (Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003). Of course, neoliberal narratives may also rely on communities taking responsibility for each other as social provision by the state is rolled back. However, a willingness to help others and work for others is shown by almost 80% of the participants who show feelings of responsibilities for others. During the research, Magufuli had just come to power in Tanzania. As previously mentioned, Magufuli was elected after standing on a platform of *Hapa Kazi Tu*, putting the issue of work front and centre to his campaign. This was not a vision of work as a path to individual success, but rather an assurance that he, and his government, would also work alongside Tanzanians to build a better Tanzania for everyone, embracing Nyerere's ideas of work as something to be undertaken for the sake of the country or the community. Mbwana stated:

"As you know now, we have been change in a new era of Magufuli, "*Hapa kazi tu*" Ah, so we trust him, we trusting his footsteps, we follow his footsteps, he live what he say, yeah, and sometimes he doesn't say, he keeps on working, so the actions that he made, we have seen the changes. But ah, in the levels of municipals, levels of districts there are so many changes that should be done to see that workers, ah public servants, people working in humble way and the way that is needed to serve the community." (Interview 4, Recording 4, ESL)

This idea of working for the community is connected to hard work, and is visible within the work that participants engaged in within the groups. The frequency of the coding for responsibility for others shows that this is still an ideal which people reference and align with. As will become clear as the discussion moves onto volunteering, participants also value care and working to help others, which also ties into ideas of communality.

In some cases there is a discrepancy between the way that some people frame their attitudes and the work that they actually do. The ways in which work is discussed, and participation in volunteering is justified, show a connection to ideas of communalism. However, much of what is aimed for through the work of

community groups is financial and individual success, which is at odds with the work which is actually being engaged in by volunteers. For example, LGBY runs entrepreneurship courses, aiming to help mothers become financially successful. Conversely, members who run the training volunteer for free, or for very small allowances, in an environment where they work together for the community. At KCC courses are run which aim at equipping members with skills for payment such as art and handicrafts, and yet only one member makes his living this way. In some ways it seems as though the vocabulary of entrepreneurship and business success is used but not always acted upon by members themselves. Although a narrative of individual success is put forwards, through their actions the groups show that they wish to work together to achieve positive changes in their community. I will question whether these volunteers and group members have meaningful choices when it comes to their work, but first I continue to examine the ways in which participants frame their work.

### ***Mind-set and determination***

The idea that a particular mind-set is important, either in order to engage in volunteer work, or in order to succeed, was an opinion which appeared in half of the interviews, an average of three times per interview. It seems as though a lot of weight is attached to people having the right attitudes in terms of people's individual success, as well as understanding and supporting the work of community groups.

I wonder whether this belief in the importance of one's own mental attitude is tied into a hopeful belief that things can get better, and a reluctance to see oneself as poor. Potentially these beliefs are fed by narratives of hard work being the undisputed and eventual road to success. For the participants in impoverished areas, there may be hope to be found in big dreams, and a belief that things can and will get better. Even if it seems as though things are going badly, people seem to believe that the ability to be successful is something that already exists inside them. This is illustrated well by James, an LGBY volunteer who has his own organisation called the Mind-set Foundation. James explains:

J: Ah, I need to have an organisation called mind-set foundation, from now it's started but not really, not really, maybe a specific area. Like if you say I have office? No. But I build online, so I post a thing, which can, can, maybe

say what can convince or inspire someone by posting. So I post it, if someone read it on Facebook, so I have... (here James tailed off)

S: So the Mind-set foundation, what is the goal?

J: The goal is to help youngs, and children and single mothers to think about, to be a part of their own solution. Because of what? If you have negative attitude in to your life it's not easy to achieve success, because you need a positive mind to achieve success. For example, there are so many youth, for example, when I was form 4<sup>17</sup>, I asked my friend, "if you finish form 4, what do you want, ah, what will you do?" He say "I don't know". So there are so many people, like my friend who think like that. So this mind-set foundation, it help them to think about the future, because we are in that future, so you need to think today about your future, if tomorrow you do this, do this, if you, you you you, think about tomorrow it's easier than yesterday to do this and this and this.

(Interview 7, Recording 7, ESL)

James explicitly says that you need a positive mind to achieve success. Although this idea seems to put people's success in their own hands, James also believes that it is possible for his foundation to help other people to gain the self-confidence to help themselves. Here feelings of responsibility for others feed actions which aim to help others, even if the form this help takes is simply posting messages of encouragement and support on social media. Beyond words of encouragement however, there is little plan as to how to achieve change. Although this may seem naïve, James has very few resources at his disposal and this may well be the only way he feels he is able to make a difference, as he does not have concrete resources with which to help people. In this situation an emphasis on mind-set increases the importance and status of what James is able to offer to others.

James is not alone in his emphasis on having the right mind set. David suggests that poverty is more of a problem of the mind, rather than something else:

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<sup>17</sup> Form 4 is the final year of ordinary level secondary education in Tanzania, equivalent to British year 11 or a US high school diploma. In the UK or USA this would mean students between the ages of 15 and 16. However, in Tanzania, due to the often inconsistent nature of schooling, the pupils may sometimes be much older than this.

"like poverty is not a problem because someone doesn't have something to eat or someone doesn't have clothes to wear. So we believe that poverty has to do much with the mind, we, we have so many people here and especially young people who will say, you know what? I cannot be someone, because my whole family is, I cannot go to university, because in my family no-one goes to university. So we believe that if the mind-set is set as well and we give them the power to believe and show them what we can achieve." (Interview 21, Recording 16, ESL).

The words of James and David really emphasise their belief in the necessity of having the right mind set, and believing in oneself. Mbwana at KCC also talks about the need to help community group attendees not to lose hope (Interview 4, Recording 4, ESL). The mental health effects of poverty can be severe and debilitating (Murali and Oyeboade (2004) and so hopeful attitudes may help to negate some of these effects. However, all of this focus on attitude and mind-set can ignore the fact that people have very real difficulties, and may not always have enough to eat. In many ways this focus on mind-set seems hopelessly naïve and does nothing to challenge structural inequalities and causes of poverty. There is an absence of anger, and instead a focus on hope. Potentially this emphasis on belief and mind-set stems from a desire to feel in control. Through utilising this narrative, otherwise powerless people may feel that they have some control over their lives. A lack of choice therefore potentially plays a role in this framing. For example, many of the volunteers and participants in the community groups do not have the skills or certificates required for or access to well-paid work, and so it is possible that these framings enable them to feel valued and in control in situations where they are relatively powerless. It is unlikely that they would be considered to have choice under Sen's capability approach (Sen, 2006). However, even if the availability of choice for participants can be called into question, the value that the participants attach to their work is still valid.

Lack of the 'correct' mind-set also seems to be blamed when work of the community groups is criticised. In the seven cases where family or friends are unsupportive of someone volunteering at or attending a community group the family are said to not understand the "mission" of the group (Interview 6, ESL/S). In cases where family are supportive, it is deemed to be because they do understand. For example, one volunteer was asked how their parents feel about

them working for free, they state that they are supportive because they understand what the groups are working for. For example: "I am at home with my parents and they do appreciate what I do so they help me" (Interview 39, conducted in English with an ESL speaker), while another interviewee said that at first her parents thought she was wasting her time, and their disapproval was a challenge, but that they realised she was getting an education and learning so they are now supportive as they were convinced by the benefit of free education which she received (Interview 27, S). One participant told me that her parents' objections were so strong that they didn't want her to go to KCC at all, but they saw the changes in their daughter as she gained more skills and confidence and so changed their minds (Interview 1, Recording 1, S). Their families are convinced when they see the tangible benefits which their children are gaining from the community group. This is very different to the narratives of morality which participants themselves attach to their work. However, from the perspective of the volunteers, the need for the correct attitude and understanding extends to their families.

This focus on mind set and attitude emphasises that work contributes more than simply a mode of survival. Work influences how people perceive themselves and how they perceive others. The more we understand about people's desires and motivations, the more relevant any interventions designed to aid development could be.

### ***Volunteering***

Volunteering was not a named topic of this research before I began fieldwork. However those working within KCC, LGBY and AVC described their own work as volunteering. The framing of work as volunteering seemed to imbue it with a certain value for participants, which translated into feelings of self-confidence or self-worth. For the members of these community groups, work and the value of their work was frequently emphasized in their accounts of themselves, and half of the volunteers coded self-confidence compared to just one non-volunteer. One volunteer emphasised the importance of her teaching, saying it was the best work she did (Interview 1, Recording 1, E/S), while another stated confidently "I am a social worker, I am a strong person in the community, that I can make the changes for someone else" (Interview 4, Recording 4, ESL). This framing of the work as

volunteering seems to give many of the participants' feelings of worth and self confidence. They use volunteering to show that they are good people, and it is a short hand reference to the worth of the work, and therefore the worth of their efforts. James had the utmost faith in his mind-set organisation, speaking openly and confidently about his own talent (Interview 7, Recording 7, ESL), while Frank (Interview 16, Recording 12, E/S) told me clearly about how he would be able to help people when he becomes a "star". In 14 of the interviews, volunteering was linked to feelings of self-worth and one participant specifically expressed a desire to feel useful (Interview 29, E). Volunteering here is connected to a desire to do meaningful work, as well as a desire to do good (Wilson, 2010).

One volunteer at KCC stated "If you volunteer it has to come from your heart" (Interview 32, S) and many of the volunteers frame their work in similar ways, placing their work within a narrative of care and desire to help other people. 70% of volunteers mentioned care when talking about their motivations. They talk about a desire to help others (Interview 7, Recording 7, ESL/S), how they left non-volunteering work in order to return to volunteering and helping the community (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL), the importance of touching people's hearts (Interview 39, Recording 20, ESL), and as work being motivated by one's caring spirit (interview 4, Recording 4, ESL). These framings of work emphasise the roles of love and care as motivation to perform certain volunteer and care roles. In this way, care influences people's initial engagement in the community groups and the work they do when they get there. Moralities here are attached to the nature of the work, as well as the morality of hard work itself.

Volunteering does not fulfil the same role for everyone. Members of Corona society were often outliers in the research due to their relatively financially secure situations and status as globally mobile ex-pats. They discussed at an informal coffee morning the difficulties of not having a job, and struggling to find a purpose as well as ways to fill their time. This fits with Paxton et al's (2014) concept that volunteering can be used to fill time after retirement. Erika, a member of Corona Society, told me that she misses work, but that she was "not the depression type" and so got on with things (Interview 49, ESL). In the example of Habiba given at the beginning of this chapter, she refers to the need to find some purpose, as well as referring to the wages she received as "pocket money" (Interview 29, E). This example illustrates informal discussions around work, or the lack of work, within

Corona Society. What Habiba refers to as “pocket money” may well have been above the average income in Dar es Salaam. The work therefore fulfils a different purpose than work and volunteering in situations of poverty. I use this example from Corona Society to illustrate that although the society’s members are not in need of work in order to survive, they still feel as though work is a core part of life, and volunteering allows an engagement in work, when paid work may be impossible due to visa restrictions. These discussions illustrate the value of work beyond survival. For those who volunteer their time, this work may indeed be seen as a replacement for work as in Paxton et al’s (2014) discussions of volunteering. Corona Society members are motivated by a feeling of being useful and having something worthwhile to do. However, this could also be seen as bringing intrinsic enjoyment (Meier and Stutzer, 2008) as well as internal rewards and social achievement, which are two out of three categories from my paring down of Stebbins’ (2013) ten rewards.

For the other community groups who have members struggling to survive the application of this type of volunteer theory is more complex, as generally the volunteering literature assumes a relatively wealthy global north context. However, Meier and Stutzer (2008) also refer to impure altruism, or what they call the ‘warm glow’, which can be associated with social objectives such as respect, friendship, and prestige. These did seem to be objectives achieved by many of the volunteers. In the time I spent at the community groups, there was a high level of banter and back and forth between volunteers and students. The leaders of LGBY and KCC, David and Nas, greeted everyone by name, and were never too busy to give attention to people. Equally, David and Nas seemed well liked and respected by others, and there seemed to be a genuine warmth in the social relations within the groups. I base this judgement on observations, where I saw people joke, interact, smile, and spend time with each other on a daily basis. Members played, chatted and teased each other, and people hung around long after their classes were finished. LGBY’s *Watoto kucheza* programme (children play) shows recognition of a need for space for enjoyment, play and forming bonds.

Many of the volunteers also frame their work in ways which marry up to career or serious leisure definitions of volunteering, in which an interest in the activities is a dominant motivation for engaging in volunteering (Stebbins, 2015). One third of volunteers, have work outside of the community groups. Seven of the volunteers

expressed a wish to continue working for either that specific community group (six of whom expressed a wish to do so alongside other paid work). Four wished to continue in community or volunteering work themselves, while another four wanted a job related to the work of the community groups such as teaching or social work. Nine, just under one third, wished to enter into some other, paid work, compared to 100% of attendees or beneficiaries who did not volunteer who wished to enter into some type of paid business. Nas himself, the leader of KCC, wanted KCC to become successful enough to expand to other areas, and for himself to work within the same sector travelling and giving other people advice on how to create a community centre and group as successful as KCC.

The leaders of both groups speak of the volunteering work which they choose to do as more than just a job, but as a calling. David and Nas both speak of the way they could not leave their work with the community groups behind. David gave an example of when he did not have enough to eat, eating only one meal a day, but was still spending money on LGBY (Interview 21, Recording 16, ESL), and Nas talked about the opportunities he had with acrobatics in which he was paid well to tour overseas but that he left in order to work for the community through KCC (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL). The framing of volunteering is important, because it places a certain type of unpaid work into a category which can be framed as moral, worthy, and something to be proud of. The vocabulary of volunteering, has positive associations for those engaging in volunteer works, giving them pride as they care for others and have feelings of self-worth. However, volunteering may also represent opportunity.

### ***Opportunity***

Opportunity was the fourth most commonly occurring code across all the interviews. It was mentioned in just under 80% of interviews, a total of 112 times - almost an average of three times per interview. This is indicative of how people also see volunteering or simply attending the community groups as providing potential opportunities or, in the case of Nas and David, who talk about the bigger picture with community groups, that they aim to provide opportunities for other people (Interview 48, Recording 28, ESL; Interview 21, Recording 16, ESL). In some ways this ties into development narratives which "promote opportunity instead of dependence" (DSS, 1998: 19).



Volunteers and other attendees of community groups may be motivated by the possibility of learning skills which could lead onto a career or job with future success. There is also the potential for future success of the community group itself, leading to an ability to pay volunteers which is a dream shared by Nas and David, the leaders of KCC and LGBY respectively (Interview 48, Recording 28, ESL; Interview 21, Recording 16, ESL). 80% of volunteers mentioned opportunities for themselves, while only 65% of non-volunteers did likewise. One third of volunteers who mentioned opportunities for themselves also mentioned opportunities for others, compared to just under a quarter of non-volunteers. No respondents talked about opportunity for others without talking about opportunity for themselves, showing that individual desires for opportunity were an important motivating factor. For some members of community groups, both volunteers and other attendees, there is the potential for involvement with a community group to lead to personal gains in the form of sponsorship for education or opportunities gained through the networks of community group leaders. For example, LGBY had links to a local business woman, who took on three of their female attendees to do a health and beauty internship with her company, with the possibility of a job afterwards (Interview 9, Recording 9, S). This opportunity meant that the women were also able to meet people famous in Tanzania such as actors who were having their make-up done and through these informal connections the women hoped to gain future opportunities.

Opportunities at the groups are different for different people. For Mbwana, who is the most formally educated Tanzanian volunteer as he has a university degree, and who supplements his small allowance from KCC with consultancy work, working with KCC is an opportunity to expand his CV. He says it allows him “a wider room to grow upwards career wise” (Interview 4, Recording 4, ESL). Other participants, both volunteers and non-volunteers, talk about being told about the opportunity to come to KCC from others in their social network, using that vocabulary, seeing the community groups as something which can offer them something. A volunteer at LGBY said that the free time in between helping with the family business, and helping with his younger brother is a *chance* for him to come to LGBY, indicating that he considers the work at LGBY to be an opportunity (Interview 8, ESL/S). It is clear that the opportunities which come from community

group attendance, although not the only reason for people's involvement and work, are strong motivational factors.

For a number of the volunteers, the promise of future successes gave them hope that their time volunteering would give them a measurable reward in the future. Realistically not all volunteers can afford to wait, and Nas lamented that KCC had lost volunteers who simply could not wait for money and funds to be available (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL). Working for free, or volunteering for a small stipend is therefore clearly not a path that everyone can take. However, having to wait is a common experience in the areas around the community group. A number of different young people told of how they were having to wait to attend school or university, because their parents needed to get the money together. This waiting is not uncommon in the Tanzanian context. This is exemplified by the ages of many of the attendees of LGBY and KCC, who were mostly over eighteen and therefore of an age at which I had assumed they would have completed school level education. In fact, it is common to have gaps of a year or more, particularly at secondary levels, as families struggle to pay school fees, and so age is not correlated to level of schooling in way one might expect. In this context, volunteering or working with a community group can fill a gap between educational opportunities or between jobs, providing an opportunity with purpose, and perhaps with a glimpse of future chances for a paid role, or sponsorship. Although in a very different context to college students or retirees in America, the notion from volunteering literatures that volunteering may be a stand in for paid work could be applied (Paxton et al. 2004). There may also be an element of gaining skills, as Paxton et al. (2014) suggests that young people may volunteer in order to fill their short resumes. However, rather than being attached to life stages before paid work, this volunteering work is being engaged in by people in their late twenties, older than the college students of Paxton's examples. The motivation is therefore very different, and the amount of choice volunteers have must be questioned. However, for those who can afford not to engage in paid labour, the education the groups offer is valued.

Education is highly valued in the groups. Education was the second most commonly occurring code, mentioned in 90% of the interviews. The community groups were seen to offer skills, training, and education, which for some people were not available through any other means. The groups were unusual in that they charged

no fees at all. LGBY, through their Bridge Programme, specifically aimed to help student back to education at school or college. Their classes were very well attended, with around 40 students attending, some sitting on the stairs due to lack of space. Half of participants saw education in general as a pathway to success, with Zubili stating that "education is the key of life" (Interview 33, ESL), while 17 of the participants saw education with the community group specifically as the route to success. Therefore over 80% of all research participants saw education as a route to success. Many volunteers at KCC also attended classes, and at both LGBY and KCC many participants had started as students and developed into volunteers. It could be that the opportunities of education offered by the groups turn volunteering into what Parker (1997) refers to as market volunteering - in which volunteers give, but expect something in return. At KCC, volunteers rather than attendees are more likely to receive benefits such as sponsorship, and are also motivated by the potential of being paid in the future (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL). Stebbins' (2015) ten rewards of volunteering include personal enrichment and financial return which I have argued can be combined under the heading of personal development. This personal development can be part, although not necessarily all, of a motivation to volunteer or to attend a community group. For both volunteers and non-volunteers, a chance to learn skills and gain education is a major motivator to attend activities at the groups.

However, the limits of this informal education were mentioned in two interviews, where people lamented the need for a certificate to prove that they could do jobs they already thought they were capable of. Steve said that the ideology of certificates needed to change (Interview 5, Recording 5, E/S), while Jeremiah wished to go to college only in order to get a certificate. He did not think that the college would teach him anything beyond what he had learnt at LGBY, and so considered attending college simply an exercise to get the proof of what he already knew, as opposed to an opportunity to learn more (Interview 8, Recording 8, S/E). The idea that the only extra value was the paper at the end was deemed to be such self-evident knowledge that January, my translator joined in with the participant, saying "See, I told you!" The attitude here was that the formal qualification was not much more than a bureaucratic exercise, and was only worth undertaking to gain a certificate. Teresia said it would be easier to survive once she had a certificate (Interview 37, Recording 18, S/E), while Nas explained that

his job opportunities were limited by not having a certificate (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL). However, this attitude was not necessarily shared by others. 14 participants expressed a desire to go back to school, and education was generally discussed favourably and the code for education was the second most occurring code, appearing in all but 5 of the interviews. In part this is because the community groups, LGBY and KCC run classes for children and youth and so education is integral to their organisations. However, Farida said that she felt that KCC teachers were "not professional" because they had not been to college or university (Interview 27, S). For at least one of the participants then, formal education was valued more highly than the informal training in the community groups, which again calls into question the level of choice which participants have when deciding what work to engage in. For Farida, her preference would be to gain a formal education, and yet Steve just wished his informal education to be valued. Potentially then, those who attend the community groups are doing so because other more formal education is unavailable to them.

In the same vein it is important to ask whether those who choose to volunteer have the realistic option of making money in some other way, as Stebbins (2015) questions whether work can truly be considered volunteering if someone is reliant on the money it provides. Also addressing the question of options, Sen's (2006) capability approach requires people to have meaningful choices in order to be considered free from poverty. Just eight of the volunteers also make money outside of the community groups, through means as varied as selling clothes and video production. There is clearly a shortage of formal jobs, and a shortage of jobs with good levels of social protection in Dar es Salaam, and high levels of underemployment (Nangdale, 2012). In Dar es Salaam those aged 14-25 are more than six times more likely to be unemployed than youth living in rural areas (Morrisset et al, 2013). The competition is strong for work, with many people selling the same products in the same spaces. For example, in Dar es Salaam people selling the same types of food can often be found selling next to each other, or in the same areas, such as those selling peanuts or drinks at traffic lights. A beneficiary of LGBY's *Sauti ya Mama na Mtoto* programme complained that her neighbours always copied her business, for example, she reported that when she sold bananas her neighbours also started selling bananas and her business became impossible (Interview, 36, S). In this context volunteering provides a purpose and

a sense of worth, as well as with the opportunity to learn skills which may prove useful in the future. However, although financial gain is not the sum of what work offers, it is clearly important for survival.

### ***Where's the money?***

Money matters. It is used to measure development and poverty, as with the \$1.25 a day poverty line (World Bank, 2015), and is assumed to be a primary factor in people's decision making. Helping participants learn skills which will enable them to make money is a goal within the three Tanzanian led groups in this research: AVC, KCC and LGBY. As has already been discussed, some of the volunteers are paid for their work within the community groups. Of the fifty respondents to the research, thirty of them were volunteers themselves, while the other twenty attended community centres either to learn, or to take part in the *Sauti Ya Mama Na Mtoto* programme at LGBY.

Work is something by which people are judged by others, but more so when money is involved. For some of the men and women, the decision to engage in unpaid or underpaid volunteer work caused tensions within their families as already mentioned in the context of mind-set. Generally this was due to differences in expectations, where families expected men to help to provide for the family - as one participant put it: "because I am not paying money for needs or to help mother" (Interview 6, ESL/S). This lack of income or small scale of income earning caused tensions for 20 of the volunteers, four of the beneficiaries from the *Sauti Ya Mama Na Mtoto* programme, and four students of the community groups. Financial tensions were coded in 28 of 50 interviews, a total of 68 times. A further 20 of the participants, 16 volunteers, two students and two participants from the mothers programme had had difficulties in the past with their families not believing in what they were doing, and spoke of these tensions an average of 2.5 times per interview. In seven interviews participants communicated that others thought they were wasting time. Abdul who volunteers at KCC even said that some people tell him that he's wasting his time to his face, while others say it behind his back (Interview 18, Recording 14, S). However, this also potentially shows that the value which people find in this work must outweigh the negatives, as they continue to choose a path which is not supported by their families. Despite this, these

tensions should not be overlooked as they highlight the difficulties in survival and the limitations of work based on emotional labour, mind-set and encouragement.

Only eight of the volunteers had paid work outside of their volunteering work, none of whom got any kind of financial reward from volunteering. 10 of the volunteers got some sort of remuneration for their work. However, of these, six were in receipt of KCC's allowance for volunteers, ostensibly to cover transport and communication costs, and only amounting to 10,000Tsh a week. Two of the KCC volunteers drew a small wage: Nas, the leader, and Mbwana, a university educated social worker. Of the other two: David, the leader of LGBY gained some money for survival through an American friend who wanted him to be able to continue his work with LGBY, who also contributed to the funding of LGBY as an organisation. Also without a consistent supply of income was Emmanuel from KCC who was the handicrafts teacher and received a sales cut whenever a handicrafts item sold. Therefore it is one third of volunteers who make some sort of financial gain from their volunteering, and a little under one third who make money outside of their volunteering work.

Of those who make money outside of their involvements with the community groups, one is a member of Corona Society, Erika (Interview 49, E), who would not tell me the work she was involved in because her visa would not permit it. One of the KCC volunteers was an American man named Daniel, who was volunteering his photography and videography skills to the group, but made a living from those skills the rest of the time. The other five had varied jobs with Habiba of Corona Society member doing office work for her uncle (Interview 44, Recording 24, E), Sayi, the leader of AVC, teaching Swahili (Interview 46, Recording 26, ESL), Mbwana doing social work consultancy (Interview 4, Recording 4, ESL), Steve engaged in video production (Interview 5, Recording 5, ESL/S), and Hospic doing computer repair (Interview 12, ESL).

Of the five KCC volunteers who receive the stipend, four explicitly admitted using the allowance for things other than transport and communication. Veronica stated that: "this transportation allowance, this 40, it is nothing" (Interview 1, Recording 1, S), before confiding that she was concerned that she would not have money for medical treatment if she became ill. The way she links the allowance to her concerns over hospital fees implies that she does not consider it merely help with

transport. After telling me that sometimes he helped his parents with money, Frank stated clearly: "let me say something, we get money for the transport and communication, but to be honest, I'm not, I don't use that money for that. You see I'm using it for, something else. But I get money for transport and communication" (Interview 16, Recording 12, ESL).

It is clear therefore that despite the small amount of money that makes up the allowance, for some it is a welcome contribution to not only their personal finances, but also their family finances. Abdul reported that he "runs his life through the allowance" (Interview 2, Recording 3, ESL), and Jacqueline loans this money to her mother when the family finances are running short (Interview 32, S). In the context of chronic un(der)employment in Dar es Salaam, the money received from this volunteering has to be considered to be a wage. Meanwhile, other families are trying to get their children to take on other, paid work, but they do not always wish to. There is therefore a social cost on one hand within the family, whereby not fulfilling the family's expectations leads to difficulties at home; but a social benefit from being more involved in the community groups. It is possible that benefits and rewards from involvement are being prioritised over responsibilities within the family. This will be examined further in the context of masculinity and care in the next chapter. Firstly though, in the context of payment, can the work still be considered to be volunteering?

Although some volunteers are paid a small amount, I believe that they still count as volunteers. As Stebbins (2013) argues, choosing a job that pays less than market value could be considered a form of volunteering if it is chosen due to feelings of moral duty. However, Stebbins also states that work cannot be considered volunteering if people become reliant on the resources gained through volunteering. However, much of the literature on volunteering seems to assume financial stability of volunteers reflecting the global north location of this scholarship. Many of the participants have very limited options, but could pursue options more motivated by financial gain, as other members who have left the community groups have done (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL). As opportunity is the most frequently recurring code with mentions, it could be argued that no-one is volunteering because of purely altruistic motives, which as discussed in the literature review is not possible anyway. This connects to Mercer and Green's (2003) findings in their research with Civil Society Organisations in Tanzania, in

which workers self-identify as volunteers due to a moral commitment and lack of consistent wages, but may be dependent on wages from volunteering work when they get them. Volunteers at KCC and LGBY also identified as volunteers, even when gaining wages or other benefits, as they too seemed to express a moralistic definition of volunteering based on motives. Wages may play an important role in the survival strategies of volunteers.

It is interviewees themselves who define the work that they do as volunteering, and this self-definition should be taken seriously. The primary defining characteristic of volunteering for people seems to be the moral aspect of the work, in which people have chosen to undertake work which helps others, and comes from the heart. Just under half of the volunteers mentioned that they volunteer because they care, five mentioned that they do it because they themselves were helped by volunteers or by the community groups, and three talked about both care and reciprocity. Only eight of 27 volunteers equated volunteering with being unpaid. Therefore payment, or lack of it, was generally not seen as a defining feature of volunteering.

However, the leaders of both KCC and LGBY, Nas and David, stated how they lost volunteers because they wanted or needed to get paid and earn more money, and some of them had expected pay when they began volunteering (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL, Interview 21, Recording 16, ESL). My sample is therefore skewed because it does not include those who began volunteering and then left in order to pursue other work. The viewpoints of the volunteers who remain at the community group are representative of particular groups with particular attitudes.

Who works at and attends community groups, as well as the work which is done is heavily impacted by the networks of already existing members. It is to the impact of these largely informal networks that I now turn.

### ***Networks***

In Tanzania, where 90% of the population work and live informally and 98% of businesses are extra-legal (MKURABITA, 2013), personal networks and connections play a significant role in people's choices and activities. Informal networks and who you know is hugely impactful on the work that people choose to do and have the opportunity to do. People may do work because it is the family business, because a friend has asked them to help, or because a friend or relative suggested



to an outsider that they might be a good fit for a certain job, or that they should be given a chance. Dar es Salaam has relatively reliable mobile data and mobile phone ownership and access to the internet is on the increase<sup>18</sup> and with this increased potential for connection, the possibility of forming broader and wide ranging networks is growing. Corona Society is a group with many connections outside of Dar es Salaam, due to their international membership and aim of helping newcomers to Dar es Salaam. KCC, LGBY and AVC are made up of mostly Tanzanian members and their work is very much situated in the areas in which the members and volunteers live. However, all groups have international connections and networks which are largely informal, although these have been primarily established in different ways: KCC through their proximity to beach resorts, LGBY and AVC through personal connections, and Corona society through the international character of their attendees. These networks are absolutely central to the work that the groups do, the way that groups find and keep volunteers, and the ways that groups receive funding and other support. Networks is the most commonly occurring code in the research, occurring in all but one of the interviews. Networks were coded when people talked about their personal connections which led to volunteering, work, or jobs, such as hearing about the community groups from a friend or inviting them to a meeting.

Many of the members of community groups, both attendees and volunteers, had first attended because they had been told about the groups by friends. Through word of mouth people had heard what the community groups had to offer - through friends, family, siblings, neighbours, and in LGBY's case the local church. Only those who found groups online such as some of KCC's international volunteers and Mbwana found the groups through anything other than networks of friends and family.

At KCC, Nas expressed a desire to expand to 100 volunteers, and for 60% of their expenditure to come from their own work, as well as establishing KCC in other places, potentially starting in Germany to raise money to fund the rest (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL). KCC's location lends itself to forging networks with those who are not from Kigamboni. Because Kigamboni is located close to the centre of Dar es Salaam, but is separated by the mouth of a river, it is a popular day trip

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<sup>18</sup> In Tanzania mobile phone ownership increased from 10% to 73% between 2002 and 2014 (Pew Research Centre, 2015)

destination for locals and tourists alike. All along the coast are beach resorts, and Rashidi, a founding member of KCC used to work at one of these resorts. KCC's origins are entwined in the informal connections that members made working at the beach resort. Through work at the beach resort, Rashidi invited tourists to come and visit KCC when they were just a fledgling organisation (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL). Nas told me that this led to the involvement of foreign volunteers who shaped the direction in which KCC developed. The first, John Green, helped with ICT and writing reports and proposals, and making organisational structures, and connecting with different donors, as well as training for leadership. These connections made at the beach resort have continued to shape the running of KCC. For example, of four German women who came to KCC to volunteer after meeting Rashidi at the beach resort, one is now Nas' wife. These four German women have continued to raise funds for KCC after returning to Germany. This has created a strong connection between KCC and German volunteers. Indeed, interviewees Jacob and Suzi were volunteers from Germany. Suzi had heard of KCC through a website for overseas volunteering (Interview 47, Recording 26, ESL), but Jacob had heard of KCC through a friend of his mothers whose daughter had volunteered at KCC (Interview 45, ESL). These connections have created opportunities for KCC, such as the acrobatics tour running in Germany, and have meant that German is now almost as widely spoken as English among the management at KCC. In this way, informal networks have really influenced the direction KCC has taken. It is clear therefore that these word-of-mouth informal connections have been incredibly important to KCC - bringing in volunteers, funding, new perspectives, and knowledge.

KCC also advertise for international volunteers online and have the most visible online presence of any of the four groups. Indeed, I found KCC online prior to arriving in Dar es Salaam by searching for community groups in Dar es Salaam. Their website and Facebook pages are kept relatively up to date and they advertise on a number of different 'volunteer abroad' websites. They also use the desire of foreign people to volunteer at KCC as leverage to gain what they need for the community group. For example, for volunteers with few skills who are only going to stay for a short time, KCC charge a fee for volunteering, providing them with income. However, for others such as Suzi who was older than many of the volunteers and had a lot of applicable professional experience, they did not charge

as they valued her skills. Nor did they charge Daniel, a photographer who was putting together a video to advertise the work of KCC and taking photos for use on the website. They therefore have been tactical in the way that they have leveraged networks to their advantage.

Nas described to me how much of his work is concentrated on creating and maintaining networks, in particular through the use of social media:

B: So when you're doing the work for KCC... erm, what are you actually doing each day?

N: Yeah, mostly it's networking. That's mostly what I'm doing. To find opportunities for KCC. That's why I'm, because you know sometimes I'm on Facebook and I say hi, and maybe you have something, maybe I say can you do something, and I connect and maybe keep on finding things and go to different websites and seek out opportunities.

B: So most of the things that happen with the volunteers and the funding has come from just you reaching out to friends, friends of friends?

N: Yeah.

(Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL)

Nas went on to describe how KCC came to be involved with UNICEF, and this is an example of how even the big, formal partnerships can come from informal networking. UNICEF and KCC worked together on a community rehabilitation scheme. The scheme meant that the local police, instead of incarcerating young first time offenders, would refer the offenders to KCC who would work with them on reintegrating into community life. Nas told me the partnership came about because he was invited to a meeting on child protection by a friend, who thought it might be relevant to the work at KCC. At this meeting Nas met a woman who said she worked for UNICEF, and that KCC sounded exactly like the sort of organisation they were looking to partner with for their community rehabilitation scheme. Therefore, stemming from an informal invitation to a meeting from a friend, Nas and KCC gained a funded partnership with UNICEF.

LGBY are in a difficult geographic location for making wider connections, particularly when compared to KCC. LGBY are located in what the members themselves affectionately call the "back streets". Yombo does not get many

international visitors due to the difficulty in getting there. However, there are a few ways in which LGBY have connections to those outside of their area. Firstly, their founder, David, is highly personable, and makes the most of any opportunities to meet new people and to forge (generally informal) connections. For example, he lived for a while in an orphanage, and American friends who he met when they volunteered at the orphanage continue to help him financially, and in one notable case one sent him money monthly in order to allow him to continue his work with LGBY. (Interview 21, Recording 16, ESL). David's ability to make connections was praised by my translator January, who told me that he was amazed at the collection of phone numbers of important local people that David had stored in his phone. LGBY also had connections with people in the Netherlands, through the Dutch pastor of the local church. During my period of fieldwork friends of the pastor had just visited, and had promised a large donation to the *Sauti ya Mamma na Mtoto* programme. Despite not having the same density of connections at KCC, LGBY seemed to leverage their informal networks in similar ways.

AVC also utilise personal networks to get their work done. Sayi told me that they send letters and pleas to friends asking for money in order to raise money to send to local orphanages, as well as to raise money for other projects that they have in the pipeline (Interview 46, Recording 25, ESL). It is currently solely through personal connections that AVC raise funds. However, they also formally applied to the company who sent them sewing machines, and had to write a proposal in order to get the machines. However, the majority of their fundraising utilises informal connections of friendship.

Informal networks as key to getting things done are not just utilised within communities where informality is the norm. Corona Society, and indeed other ex-patriot societies, such as the Caledonia society run by Pat, also rely heavily on networks in order to organise functions, gain sponsorship, and judge where their fundraising money should go (Interview 38, Recording 19, E). The networks look very different to those of KCC, LGBY and AVC, but they perform the same job. The connections which can be leveraged by these groups link to workers at embassies or large formal businesses, and as Dar es Salaam's ex-patriot area is rather small there are few degrees of separation. People are therefore quite densely connected and it is impressive what the group has gained through personal connections of its committee and members. For example, a member of Corona

Society is married to the manager of the Hilton Hotel in Dar es Salaam. Therefore, they have free use of one of the rooms when they hold their big monthly events where they only pay for the hot drinks provided, and the hotel even allow them to bring in their own food (Interview 44, Recording 24, E). Habiba describes how this came about:

"We've had, been refused, had trouble finding a venue. So just by chance we advertised that we were looking for venues, if you know anyone who has a big venue. One of our ladies, she said, well my husband is the manager at (Hilton) Doubletree, I can ask him if he, if he is able to give Corona a room. So I met with him, we talked, and he said, yes, please, you're welcome to come, we just charge for the teas and coffees but not the hire of the hall. So that's good"

(Interview 44, Recording 24, E).

When organising large events, it is common for these ex-pat groups to be given space rent free, but also to have sponsorship from beer or wine or spirits companies, as well as food companies, and even airlines. At a Burns Supper I attended during my time in Tanzania, which was run by the Caledonian Society, the wine and spirits on the table, as well as casks of beer were all provided by sponsorship. Potentially even more impressively, one of the committee members who was a fan and relatively longstanding customer of a particular jewellers in Dar es Salaam had managed to get a number of Tanzanite bracelets donated to the event as raffle prizes. Informal networks and connections are therefore also central to the running of Corona Society.

Therefore it is clear that this leverage of informal networks spans divides of geography and wealth and is not simply the domain of the poor (Solimen, 2004). In fact potential rewards from these informal connections are much higher for those who already have wealth and privilege. I shall now turn to an analysis of work which utilises a division of formality and informality in combination with alternative economies perspectives at a micro level of work and interactions.

### ***Informality and alternative economies***

In the methodology chapter I discussed the ways in which I participated in informal networks of knowledge exchange and volunteer work during my fieldwork in order

to emphasise the ubiquity of informal networks of exchange and work. To take Erika's spider-web analogy (Interview 49, ESL), these connections are created, and lives are intertwined in complex and multiple ways. To map all of these connections would be entirely impossible. However, to acknowledge the roles of these networks and blurred boundaries between formal and informal work is important as it can aid an understanding of what work people do, and how these types of work intersect.

Both formal and informal work are mentioned in around 70% of the interviews, a roughly equal number of times. However, despite making reference to formal work, most participants did not engage in formal work. I am still taking Chen's definition of informality as that which is not legally regulated or socially protected (2012). Of all participants, only Daniel, the American photographer could be said to work formally, although not through his work with KCC. However, the groups themselves had formal links to governments, international aid agencies, and funding earned through formal work. Informal work was not just limited to those with no other options. Members of the wealthy ex-pat group Corona Society also worked informally, cash in hand and under the radar, with one member suggesting that people could do this as long as "no-one rats on them" (Interview 29, E).

Informality and formality can then be used as lenses to view work and the connections between them. This means counting unregistered and unprotected work, including domestic labour, as informal. In essence this is a broadening of the category of informality and may be critiqued for becoming unwieldy. However, this is not intended to be a bounded category, but instead to be utilised as a lens through which complex intersections of work and activities can be viewed. Utilising the concept of informality in this way is beneficial because it enables the scale of informal work and activities to be seen. By including domestic labour and other work generally overlooked, informality may be used to show the importance of these activities. At this scale, work which is often ignored such as women's triple burden of responsibility (Moser, 1978) is highlighted, and so should allow any development interventions to acknowledge already existing workloads. I shall further discuss the way in which my participants minimised the role of domestic labour in Chapter Five.

Community and alternative economies perspectives can also be used as a lens through which to view work which is engaged in. The iceberg image (Figure 2.1, p. 64) can provide categories of work beyond wage labour for a firm with which to analyse the work of others. Gibson-Graham (2006) suggest doing this in order to make already existing alternatives and ways of organising economies visible. Of the women who take part in LGBY's *Sauti Ya Mama Na Mtoto* programme, six of the nine women I interviewed worked in petty trading, travelling house to house to sell goods ranging from fabric and clothing to fruit and fish. Meanwhile, the other three had *genge* - small tables outside of their homes from which they sold foodstuffs. They mostly sold fruit and vegetables, although one woman also had a relatively lucrative home brew business (Interview 27, Recording 17, S). These women therefore were self-employed, doing their own small businesses, on the street and in their neighbourhoods. The majority of the work done in these areas is part of the below the surface part of the iceberg, and these categories of work can be useful in identifying what work is happening, while disrupting the ideological dominance of waged capitalist labour. Although these women are aiming to earn money, their work cannot be considered waged labour in the form of waged labour for a capitalist firm and so is part of the below the surface part of the iceberg (Figure 2.1, p. 64). However, it is within the normal definitions of what is considered to be informal work.

Expectations of work and the form it will take are different in Dar es Salaam, as there are so few formal jobs. However, within Tanzania the creation of jobs is still a central goal to facilitating development (Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs, 2010). The use of the iceberg image or indeed Gibson-Graham's (2006) alternative economy perspectives can be questioned in this context, as so little work in Dar es Salaam applies to the above the surface part of the iceberg. However, the alternative economy perspective is designed to show the complexity of already existing economies (Gibson-Graham, 2006), and so still holds value as an analytical tool, even within a context where waged labour for a capitalist firm is not the norm, nor the expectation of participants.

At a community group level, connections between formal and informal work can be seen, as well as alternative economies forms of work as identified by the community economies collective in their iceberg image (Figure 2.1, page 64). For example, some KCC members earn a small allowance for their volunteering which

sometimes then forms part of the household income. This is both volunteering as well as a form of work within families. However, the money to do this may well have been earned formally in Germany, and then donated to the organisation, or received through a formal agreement with donors or funders directly. Donations are not part of wage labour, and could be considered a gift. Once money is part of the household, informal, unpaid domestic work must be done in the form of buying food at the market, preparing food, cooking and cleaning. Some of this may be done by children, and this work is not monetised. These unpaid domestic tasks must be performed in all households, and remain part of the informal and unpaid economy unless a housemaid is employed. This supports Sassen's (2010) theory that with current divisions of labour, domestic labour subsidises wage labour, and that work within the household is part of the strategic infrastructure of cities. These distinctions can be used to assess work that individuals engage in.

The combination of alternative economies and categorisations of informality can be used in tandem to look at work which Farida at KCC does (Interview 27, S). Farida went to KCC as a student, and once she had been there a year a teacher asked if she would like to join the nursery school as staff. She speaks of how her mum values what she does at KCC because she realises the education Farida is getting from it. This work is therefore both a form of reciprocal labour as it is engaged in because she herself benefits from education at KCC, as well as a form of volunteering. Farida had an interview for this role to assess her suitability, and she got the job which is a verbal agreement only. The arrangements are therefore entirely informal, despite KCC as an organisation having formal connections with government and sources of funding. She gets the small transport allowance from KCC, but this is not equal to a wage. There is a monetary incentive to her volunteering as she uses money for business capital. She uses this money to buy clothes with her sister, who then goes house to house in the neighbourhood to sell clothes, and to collect money for those clothes she has already sold on credit. The work she and her sister do is therefore facilitated by non-market household sharing and family lending. It is part of an informal market, where the business is not registered or controlled, although it is an attempt at self-employed profit making labour. She dreams of being a professional teacher, and hopes to receive a scholarship from KCC to go to college. Her mother is sick, and so Farida does many of the household chores before she goes to KCC, and she says she would like to



spend more time at KCC but she has responsibility for the family. She says her sister is the most helpful, while her brother is a student and her parents are divorced so the family get no help from their father. This shows elements of work within the family, and domestic labour, which is entirely informal. None of the work that Farida does can be considered formal, despite formal elements in the running of KCC. The informal work Farida engaged in with her sister is the only work she engages in which would be considered as informal labour by classic definitions of informality which emphasise work and profit making. Farida even has informal working relationships within KCC who are registered as a non-profit organisation, and have formal links with the government.

The work of Frank at KCC provides another example. Frank joined KCC three years ago, and began volunteering almost straight away. He had been learning drama at college, and so he was doing well in drama class. Once the leaders found out that he had been learning in college, they asked if he wanted to teach. Now he is the office manager at KCC, describing his work as to “manage the office. Make sure everything is fine and work with different departments” (Interview 16, Recording 12, ESL). This is organised informally. He also continues to teach drama in the evening. Sometimes Frank does some acting work outside of KCC, but this is very irregular and very rarely paid. However, he says “It’s not a job, just supporting each other... I’m going there to give them company... I’m supporting them”. Frank also states that he is dependent on the small allowance from KCC. However, he also described how Team Kazi help each other by pooling money for food, saying “we are depending on each other, as friends, as groups”. This sharing could be considered as non-market sharing or informal lending. He told me that he gets no money from his family, although sometimes he gives money to his mother. He says his father also asks him for money if he has a problem, and so sometimes he gives him money from his allowance. This is a part of household sharing. In the mornings Frank says that he washes dishes, cleans the ground outside of the house, and fetches water. This is unpaid domestic labour or housework. He is part of Team Kazi and so also takes responsibility for cleaning the community centre, which is unpaid domestic labour but outside of the home. He meets with Team Kazi at weekends, meeting to share and make plans. They also shoot short films on Sundays, and are going to start showing them to the community. He told me that they plan to shoot films with a message, to educate the community, such as one

about HIV and AIDS. He tells me that drama is his favourite type of work, stating “I feel good and excited when I am doing drama because it’s a talent of mine from my heart... acting is just like, able to teach the community maybe this is good, this is bad. So it’s good for the community.” He does not wish to get a waged job, but to invest in motorcycles or a shop or something. He plans to make money in the film industry, and then use it to invest. He says if he does this he can keep working at KCC because he will be able to set his own schedule. Frank therefore desires some form of financial success, but has no desire to work for other people. This may show a rejection of market waged labour, but it also may indicate recognition of the difficulties faces trying to find a well-paid job in Dar es Salaam.

Examining work through informal and alternative economy lenses helps to look at what work is being engaged in, and highlights the richness and variety of people’s work, and how some of these forms of work intersect. However, what these perspectives do not analyse are the choices which people are making. For example, Farida’s work as a volunteer provides her family with small capital in which to invest in a small business. This volunteer work and her sister’s subsequent work are indeed alternatives to wage labour for a capitalist firm. However, the work they are engaging in is precarious, with low financial return and no security. Were employment in Dar es Salaam better, it may well be that Farida would choose wage labour if it had better returns than the alternatives she currently engages in. Indeed, she dreams of being a professional teacher, indicating a desire for waged labour. Utilising Sen’s (2006) capability approach here would suggest that many of those who participated in this research had few meaningful options, and Farida and her sister seem to be working within a precarious and marginal situation. Gibson-Grahams (2006) conceptualisations of possible alternatives find their strength in being hopeful. However, it is not merely enough for alternatives to exist. If alternatives are survivalist, unequal, and un(der)paid then the value they bring should be questioned. Participants in this research clearly attach value to the work that they do. However, their ability to choose as well as power relationships within communities and alternatives also need to be examined, and gendered power relationships will be examined in the next chapter.

## *Conclusion*

This chapter has largely addressed the first research objective of assessing the different types of work within the lives of community group members. Within the community groups there is a wide variety of interconnected work. The majority of work and interactions in the area are informal, and exist outside of systems of waged labour for capitalist firms. Types of work intersect and may be part of survival strategies, or engaged in with the hope of opportunities or payment in the future. Opportunities for the future as well as immediate rewards motivated people to engage in volunteer labour and unpaid work. Informal connections facilitate much of the work done by the community groups, and looking at these connections enables a holistic understanding of how different types of work intersect.

Throughout the groups, work was often considered a moral endeavour, with participants framing work within the context of individual success, as well as within a more socialist conceptualisation of working together and responsibility for others and the community at large. As participants may have few choices in terms of the work that they engage in, moral value may be attached to work that participants are already doing in order to increase its importance and status. For volunteers at KCC and LGBY, in situations of poverty, volunteering is deemed more important than Corona Society volunteers who consider their volunteering as a way to fill free time. However, despite the very different situations of poverty and wealth, volunteers across the groups discuss benefits of volunteering such as internal and external rewards. Therefore, even within contexts of poverty, conceptualisations of volunteering from literatures based on the global north are still applicable.

A lack of choice or other options necessarily changes the role of volunteering within these communities. Volunteering literatures often refer to volunteering as extra to, or a replacement for paid work for the very young or very old. However, the volunteers in this research are of working age, and in some cases chose unpaid or underpaid work over paid work. The tangible benefits of volunteering may be fragile, but internal rewards are important as demonstrated by the emphasis on mind-set. A desire for control and status may also be behind the way in which volunteers represent their work as moral and right.

The work of participants fits into alternative economies conceptualisations of work beyond wage labour. However, a lack of choice means that alternative economies perspectives are different in the context of Dar es Salaam. Community work and working together are types of work which Gibson-Graham (2006) wish to be hopeful about, but choice as well as power relationships within these groups must also be considered. I now consider the role of gender within the work within the community groups, looking at the ways in which gender norms are both subverted and reproduced.

## Chapter Five: Care and Masculinity

Discussions of work have often identified the role of work in identity creation. This is particularly the case when it comes to masculine identities as getting a job and providing for oneself and one's family is generally considered a marker of adult masculinity (McDowell, 2004). When men struggle economically, they may suffer from feelings of inferiority, and Silberschmidt (2005) suggests that men may use sexually promiscuous behaviour to cope with these feelings. However, Silberschmidt also suggests that there is "always potentiality for innovation or creative action: masculinities are dynamic and gendered processes" (Silberschmidt, 2005: 199). In the context of labour surplus in Dar es Salaam in which Silberschmidt (2005) suggests that men may struggle to meet expectations, young men of KCC and LGBY often engaged in care work and emotional labour. In the spaces of the community groups, I argue that young men are carving out new spaces for themselves within the community and rewriting their own performances of masculinity.

Within community groups, expectations of gendered divisions of labour and socially constructed roles are being quietly subverted. It is surprising that increasingly within the community groups emotional labour, parental roles, and care work is being taken on by young men. Much has been written of the gendered expectation that children, parenting, community work, and care work are generally understood to be the responsibility of women (Chant and Sweetman, 2012). Gendered roles and divisions persist within the groups, and the groups are still a long way from gender equality. However, there is a diversity of gender politics within masculinity (McDowell, 2004:11) and the possibility of more humane and less oppressive ways of being a man becoming hegemonic is a ray of hope in theories of hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Theories of masculinity often refer to employment as key to constructing masculinities (McDowell, 2004), and so the work being done and the actions being taken by young men who are choosing this community is likely to impact upon their identities as men. McDowell (ibid.) suggests that there is evidence that men can take on female roles where there is something to be gained from this, but that women do not have the same freedom to take on traditionally masculine roles. This seems to be the case with participants in the research.

In terms of gender roles, Corona Society represent the most traditional divisions of labour. Participants are mostly women with limited options for work, often due to visa restrictions. Generally members have husbands who provide for the family while the women engage in unpaid and volunteer work. I only met one male member of Corona society during my research. It was common when attending events for women who had not met me before to ask “so, what does your husband do?” indicating just how common it was for the women in the group and the area to be trailing spouses. This fits into a conceptualisation of volunteering as an alternative or a replacement to paid work (Paxton et al, 2014) in which the very young, the retired or the stay-at-home partners engage in volunteer work to fill their time. It is also the case that this type of volunteer work is gendered, as it is seen as more likely for women to volunteer as career substitute (ibid.).

During participant observation with Corona Society at their weekly coffee mornings, there was often conversation about what women could do to fill their time - with some of the women saying they enjoyed it when they had laundry to do because it took up some time in the day. I would suggest that this is partly a generational difference but facilitated by wealth. Corona Society has a much higher average age than the other groups, and were always more likely to show more traditional gender roles, despite the fact that many of the women also had high education levels. They therefore provide contrast with the groups run by young Tanzanians. Also the partners of these women are a group of men who successfully embody a version of masculinity as the breadwinners of the household, which is a role that the young men in the Tanzanian groups would struggle to fulfil. AVC are also in a more privileged position than KCC and LGBY, as both men I interviewed had high levels of education, and Sayi ran a successful Swahili language school (Interview 46, Recording 25, ESL), while Mauka’s family were wealthy enough to support him while he searched for a degree-level job (Interview 50, ESL). Therefore this chapter will largely focus on the young Tanzanian men of KCC and LGBY.

Firstly I will talk about community groups as spaces of care, and how this informs men’s portrayals of their masculinities. I will then discuss the role of leadership and status in masculine identities. Following on from this I will examine potential expectations of financial success and the pressures to provide for the household,

before turning to issues of unpaid and domestic labour and continuing inequalities within the groups.

### *Spaces of Care*

As shown in the previous chapter, a desire to help or care for others is part of the nature of community groups. All four of the community groups with whom I worked were motivated by a desire to help others. For example, the leader and founder of LGBY, David, describes their mission as to empower the underprivileged to escape poverty (Interview 21, Recording 16, ESL). On their website, KCC describe their mission, stating: “We strive to eliminate poverty through community-led social and economic development. We bring people together to support each other by sharing of their knowledge, passion, creativity and skills.” (KCC, 2016). AVC’s goal is to work towards eradicating poverty in Dar es Salaam (Interview 46, Recording 25, ESL). Despite seemingly huge goals of poverty eradication, the daily running of the groups shows that much of the work they do is based upon small everyday acts of care, and feelings of responsibility for other people within the community. However, Corona Society explicitly reference the everyday nature of the care they do, their chairwoman Jumana stating that they were set up for “befriending, helping and supporting newcomers to their new environment, helping them make the transition, integrating to the local community, (and) erm, educating them about the area, about the culture” (Interview 44, Recording 24, E). As KCC, LGBY and AVC have similar aims based on reducing poverty and improving conditions in the community, Corona Society are a little different. However, Corona Society make more explicit their role in providing emotional support and care to newcomers to Dar es Salaam. They also do practical things to help, such as publishing the newcomers guide book and holding events in which people can meet each other. However, through participant observation at their weekly coffee mornings, I noted that much of the conversation is about life in Dar es Salaam and the difficulties they face. This seems to provide a sense of comradeship, thereby providing emotional support. Therefore, all four groups aim to help other people within their own communities, whether that be within the area where they live, as with KCC, LGBY and AVC, or within an ex-patriot community as with Corona Society. However, the groups have very different gender profiles.

KCC and LGBY are community groups which were created by young men. Examples of care as motivating factor for engaging in work or care work were coded in 70% of the interviews. 'Care' was the 7<sup>th</sup> most common coding category when results were filtered for volunteers only. Responsibility for others was expressed by 80% of the participants, and 60% of these occurrences were in interviews with volunteers. Care was the second most commonly occurring category of motivation (opportunity was the first). It is clear therefore that care and responsibility for others feature heavily in the logic and values of those working at and attending the community groups. The community groups are spaces where people care and are cared for. In many different ways the community groups can be considered spaces of "mutual dependence, self-sacrifice and care for others" McDowell (2004: 146). Rather than find status and ego in paid work or sexual promiscuity (Silberschmidt, 2005), there seems to be a version of masculinity specific to the work at these community groups which values leadership and status, but is expressed through care and work for the community.

As discussed in the previous chapter the teaching and education programmes of both KCC and LGBY put members in positions where they interact with children and young people from the community and these interactions frequently exemplify care. This can take the form of emotional labour, demonstrated by acts of encouragement and listening: interactions which essentially value the task of making other people feel valued. For example, Mbwana, a volunteer at KCC, described how part of his job is to listen to people's problems and give them encouragement, for example, giving them the hope of being able to return to school (Interview 4, Recording 4, ESL). He describes his work at KCC as follows:

"My strong strong working: I have to create, like, room for everyone at KCC to get along, for everyone to tell me the problems he or she has, so it will be easy for them to tell me, to keep on looking for what I have to tell him or her, what further steps he has to take with a certain problem he has, generally it is like, social support"

This attitude, that his primary job, his "strong strong working" is to create space for people to get along, to be a sympathetic ear for those who wish to talk about their problems, and to provide support, illustrates that KCC is a group which recognises and prioritises the need for emotional care. Mbwana paints himself as



a patriarchal figure who is knowledgeable, dispenses advice, and is responsible for others. However, Mbwana frames this role in a way which emphasises care, rather than control.

At LGBY volunteers also spend time helping children and young people who attend the centre feel worthy and self-confident. In my time at both centres I saw how the leaders and dominant members of groups found time to talk to everyone, and knew all of the people who attended by name and would ask them about family members or school. Children and young people seemed to treat both LGBY and KCC as social spaces. For example, whenever I visited LGBY a group of children would arrive shortly after they finished school, and come and play, even when there were no classes being run. At KCC volunteers and students could often be found playing football in the compound or talking with friends, and Frank told me that even at the weekends he and his friends met to plan their futures together (Interview 16, Recording 12, ESL/S). During an informal conversation in a scoping visit to KCC, members told me that at KCC people respected each other's dreams, whereas family members did not believe that their dreams to become acrobats, actors, and dancers were realistic (Field Notes, August 2015). Therefore for some of the members, KCC was a place in which their dreams and ambitions were taken seriously and they felt listened to in a way that they did not experience from their families. Creating a space in which members can connect and talk about their plans and gain confidence is deemed important by the groups. David, the head of LGBY suggests that one of their main goals is giving children and youth "the power to believe and show them what we can achieve" (Interview 21, ESL). In these relationships the young male leaders are framing themselves as knowledge bringers, and reproducing unequal power relations in which knowledge flows in one direction, from volunteers to students.

Through *Sauti Ya Mama Na Mtoto*, LGBY aim to support women to believe in themselves, their potential for success in business, and the possibility of change. Therefore, as well as the financial support of micro-loans, LGBY are also offering women emotional support. Listening to the stories of the women and giving them hope, as well as choosing who is helped by the *Sauti Ya Mama na Mtoto* programme, was the subject of much discussion when the young men had to place the task of "visiting mothers" on the compass of important/not important and like/dislike. Although it was generally agreed that the mothers were at the core of the work

they were doing, and so visiting was important, a number of the men expressed discomfort with the idea that this was an enjoyable task that they might like. They said that the women's stories were difficult to hear, because they were often sad, and often tales of a very hard life (LGBY Focus Group, S/E). This shows that the work done at the community groups had elements of emotional labour in it, even as the young men aimed to support women to believe in themselves.

In setting themselves up as teachers, young men are taking on a certain authority and status. Julius Nyerere the first president of Tanzania was and is still known by the honorific *mwali*mu, or teacher. However, the act of teaching is also often framed as help and a type of care for others: passing on your knowledge in order to help others. 'Passing it forwards' was mentioned as motivation for engaging in work by just over 50% of respondents. Michael, a volunteer at KCC, (interview 39, Recording 25, ESL) criticises those who "do not give what they have to help others. For instance, many people they are staying with their knowledge by their own. They don't want to share to others", going on to say "when you are sharing with others it gives you an opportunity to learn more, and also you are helping others because we are, we are Tanzanians and other citizens of other nations." Here, not only is helping others framed as the right thing to do, but it is done because of membership of a certain group in the context of membership of KCC, and commonalities which are created by sharing with others.

This vision of reciprocal loyalty is found often in people's attitudes to volunteering and learning. For example, Frank at LGBY, who works as a mechanic uses the times when there is no work at his mechanics job to teach others things that he has learnt at LGBY (Interview 10, S/ESL). Frank is not the only person to take what he has learnt at the community group back to others in the community who cannot attend the group themselves. A female KCC attendee, after returning home from KCC reported that she always shared what she had learnt with friends who could not attend KCC and other friends in the street (Interview 31, S). KCC volunteer Michael describes this sharing as an extension of his volunteering, stating: "when I go back home, I give around two hours or three hours, helping also these students who are, who are not, they are not coming to KCC but somehow are needing some help in volunteering activities, everywhere that my heart will fit" (Interview 39, Recording 20, ESL). Again, here these practices of sharing show a care for others

in which the knowledge gained in the community group attendance is not used to get ahead, but is used to help others.

However, being the knowledge giver also brings a certain status but also demonstrates a rejection of working in competition in order to achieve individual success which hooks (2000) suggests could be considered part of an ethics of love. Although there are women who are engaged in this knowledge sharing, generally it is men who are taking on teaching roles within the community groups, particularly when it comes to teaching older students.

Care is generally constructed as more connected to a feminine side of the binary than the masculine. However, the value of care and feeling cared for cannot be underestimated, and in some instances volunteering was chosen over paid work. In a notable example one male interviewee at KCC had made the transition from paid work to volunteering, even against the wishes of his family who believed he should be making money to help the family. However, because of how he was treated by his boss he rejected paid work, stating that the ethics of the work was upsetting, because “if you are the boss normally you look down on the people working for you” (Interview 6, S/ESL). This example illustrates the importance of feeling respected and cared for by the people around you. This volunteer was getting little family support because of the disparity between their expectations that he should be bringing money into the household, and his decision to engage in unpaid volunteering work. Sometimes the tensions meant that he slept at the community centre as opposed to at home, which sometimes meant going hungry. His parents were therefore providing some basic needs, such as food if he was at home, but sometimes the family tensions were so bad that he felt he could not always return home. In some ways therefore the community group were supporting him emotionally - support that potentially one would expect to come from within the family. However, the lack of respect and care he had experienced within his job led him to reject paid work, potentially rejecting the notion that success is measured in money (hooks, 2000), although he did not seem to have the option of paid work in which he could work with dignity. His choice to work within the group shows that he chose status within the community group over domination in his previous job and over meeting the expectations placed upon him by his family.

At KCC, “Team Kazi” (discussed in the previous chapter) was formed by a group of young male volunteers. Although there were no women in Team Kazi, this did not seem to be a deliberate exclusion. Team Kazi have taken it upon themselves to take responsibility for the cleaning of the compound, and making sure that everything at KCC is going well and running smoothly. However, their camaraderie as a group and the support they offer each other goes beyond a commitment to practical work within the group. They have a rule that no-one eats until they are all together. Working together in this way seems to have cemented the camaraderie within their group, the feeling that someone had their back, and that they can rely on each other. One Team Kazi member explained that if he had no money for food, or another member of the group had no money for food, it was okay, because each day they would pool their resources to buy food which they would then split evenly within the group, stating “we are depending each other, as friends, as groups. Sometimes we can tell even “bwana, I am not good today” sometimes even they support us like this.” (Interview 16, S/ESL) Acts of care and reciprocity such as this emphasise the importance placed upon these acts of kindness which can cement a friendship network, but that are often overlooked by NGOs and governments aiming for development through growth and measurable outcomes. This, alongside other practices, could be identified as what Gibson-Graham (2006) identify as communing practices which support, care, and take responsibility for the community. I consider it of great importance to mention here that many of the contributions that these community groups make to the community are not measurable. The emotional support within groups as exemplified by the members of Team Kazi cannot be measured, but holds value and meaning for these young men.

As many of the volunteers are young men, this emphasis on care is encouraging, indicating that men are taking on some of the care and community reproduction labour traditionally assigned to women (Patel and Hochfield, 2011; Sweetman, 2013). The men do not wish to work in spaces in which they are not respected or in which they are treated badly. In some ways then, the young men are creating spaces in which they can build the kind of environment which they would like to work in. These spaces are spaces of care and community, and within them men are negotiating their masculinity. Of course, it is not all about care and community. It may be that the men are too proud and independent to work

under a mean boss, McDowell (2004) suggests that men find it difficult to work in situations where they feel disrespected or are required to be subservient, as this kind of work can challenge their masculine pride. Contrary to when they work for others men can create leadership roles for themselves within their own organisations which benefit them in ways which are not financial. It is to some of these benefits that I now turn.

### ***Leadership and Status***

Passing knowledge on and caring within the groups seem to have created spaces in which to demonstrate leadership and status. However, within KCC and LGBY, women do not hold positions of leadership and so this leadership and status seems to be largely available to men. If work is key to the construction of identities, particularly masculinities (McDowell, 2003), the motivations for work discussed in the previous chapter are important. Many of the young men are motivated by work which brings them status or something like it within their community, some of them caring types of work, which connect to the motivations of respect and prestige. For example, in terms of motivation, many of the interviewees talked about status, with “social status” coded in 48% of interviews and “self-confidence” coded in 35% of the interviews, with 80% of social status codes and 95% of self-confidence codes occurring within interviews with volunteers. Nas, the leader of KCC described how being known and valued by others is more important to him than making lots of money:

“I push other people instead of making money myself. Because what I believe, what I know, is that I’m going to die one day in the world, and I’m not going to die with my car, I’m not going to take my money, I’m not going to take my house, I will die in the world. I want people to remember that he was something. I want to be like in the mind of people until they die.”  
(Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL)

It is interesting that he himself conceptualises making money and being known and helping others as opposing goals. This reads as a rejection of the more accepted visions of success which involve financial success and growth as pushed by organisations such as the World Bank (Kim, 2016), although it may be a way of justifying his work to himself. Here status is gained through working with and for

others, as opposed to more traditional visions of status as gained through success in business or government, local or otherwise. However, the work of community groups is not in total opposition to financial successes and growth, as community groups and churches and other organisations often fill the gaps left when states roll back support in order to pursue free market policies (Kaiser, 1996). Governments may represent this work as a matter of national pride, and therefore the work of community groups is part of these circuits which promote growth, even when individuals seem to be rejecting that narrative. Michael who also works at KCC also described his desire for “people feel that you are helping... they say that even if they see you they say that ‘that guy!’ (said in an admiring tone)” (Interview 39, ESL). It is clear therefore that, for some of these men, status and the feeling of importance gained from being known by others can trump the money they could have earned in other jobs.

However, there is a gendered difference here. Only four of 23 women coded ‘social status’ mentions in interviews, compared to 20 of 27 men. One of the women who mentioned social status was Pat, a member of Corona Society, but also a lynch pin of the Caledonia Society. When talking about her motivations to continue working and organising events for the society she stated: “I guess when you see people enjoying themselves - people come up to you after and say you know, what fun it was and so on.” (Interview 38, Recording 19, E). Although not as explicit as the desires to be known and have status within the community as the examples from Nas and Michael, this recognition from other people is important to her sense of worth and reason to engage in the work. Here, positive feedback from others is indicative of success. However, in other groups generally the desire for status is coming from young men rather than young women. Status and feelings of worth are important parts of masculine identities and these ideals are often demonstrated by the ability to lead and dominate (Sweetman, 2013; Patel and Hochfeld, 2011).

As discussed in the context of volunteering and in the previous chapter, Meier and Stutzer (2008) cite three categories of intrinsic motivation, one of which is “impure altruism”, also known as the ‘warm glow’, which may serve to improve a person’s internal self-image. For the participants of this research, this impure altruism or ‘warm glow’ was certainly one of their motivations for engaging in the work they did, as shown through care work and their feelings of responsibility for

others. However, there are also other motivations to engage in the work that they do, and as Meier and Stutzer (2008) point out, impure altruism can be associated with social objectives such as respect, friendship and prestige, which clearly play a role in motivations and the creation of masculine identities. As some of the traditional markers of adult masculinity such as providing for the household or entering into waged labour are difficult to achieve, through volunteering and unpaid work the young men are gaining some of the respect and prestige that others gain from working well regarded jobs. However, there is a tension here between a failure of masculinity through being unable to provide for the family, and the positive interpretations changing masculinities in the context of care within the community groups. Potentially young men are absolving themselves of responsibilities within the household in order to gain respect and prestige elsewhere.

However, I would argue that these other motivations do not take away from the ways in which it is through caring work practices that status is being achieved. Half of the young volunteers and attendees of KCC and LGBY wish to build upon success or learn skills in order to better help people in the context of community groups or to continue in professions which are predicated on care, such as teaching or social workers. Although there are numerous motivations for volunteering and working with the community groups, care is still central to the ethos and running of the groups, and is an important motivator for people.

Through teaching and care roles the men are putting themselves in positions of leadership. Men have traditionally taken on leadership roles within communities which have not always been paid and so men taking on unpaid work is not necessarily new. I interviewed two local government representatives, who reported that they did not receive a wage, nor expenses for the government work that they did. They were members of the *mtaa*, or 'street', which is a small urban area or a geographical division of a ward. It is the smallest unit within an urban authority, and *mtaa* have an elected membership comprising of a chairperson, six members, and an executive officer (CLGF, 2015). In some ways these government workers are elected and formal representatives. However, in practice they are unpaid volunteers, with weak ties to higher levels of government. They are meant to pass on recommendations for the local area and to collect information from their area for higher levels of government. They get so little support that they

asked me for money to be able to install electricity in their office. However, although these men were engaged in unpaid volunteering, their roles as government representatives are indicative of the traditionally masculine roles of leadership and public status. I would suggest that the young men who are volunteering have similar motivations to the older men in their community, particularly in relation to leadership and status, but they have carved out a new space for themselves, making a generational distinction between themselves and the “old timers” (LGBY Focus Group, S/ESL). The younger men’s work is predicated on care and knowledge and they take on responsibility for others in the community, mostly children and young adults. They use new technology to communicate and build networks, and this shapes their identity and their narrative in new ways. They place importance on being bringers of knowledge and working directly to help others in the community. In contrast the older men identified as entrepreneurs, and placed much importance on being big business men as well as their status as government representatives and community leaders (Interview 35, S).

There have been some tensions in communities between the young men and leaders within their communities. At LGBY, the local Dutch pastor has been supportive of the group, but when he leaves the area to visit other places, the other church elders do not continue to give this support in his absence. For example, David was organising a large fundraising event, but told me that he had to announce the event in church prior to the pastor’s trip away. He said this was because the church elders would not allow him to make announcements if the pastor was away as they did not really like the work of LGBY (Interview 21, ESL). Here we see a tension between David’s placing of himself as a leader and an organiser in the community and the leadership of the church elders. The first time I met David he told me that the name, LGBY: Let God Be You, came from his desire to see Christian values of care practiced through actions rather than words. He described many of those who attend church as walking by those in need and therefore not walking the walk of Christianity. Therefore in some ways David overtly set himself up against the traditional leadership in the community, although there is no suggestion that he told people how he felt about their behaviour. David has not tried to gain status within existing organisations, and instead has used a morality of care and community to carve out his own leadership



role in the context of his own community group. Creating his own organisation based on a moral rationale has allowed him to define his own role and his own work, rather than having to negotiate with elders who already hold power. Because the work has a morality attached to it, David feels it has value and has confidence in his work as the right thing to do.

At KCC, there are also stories of tensions between the older, traditionally powerful members of the community, such as members of the local government who for a long time had refused to work with KCC. For example, as previously mentioned, the local government officials in Kigamboni used to think badly of KCC because they were certain that all of the foreigners who visited the centre were bringing donations each time they visited (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL). When telling me about the partnership with UNICEF Nas stated that:

“they went to the police and they went to the local government office and they were asking about the reputation of KCC. And the local leader was saying really bad things. Yeah, because what’s happening, most of Africans they think that if *mzungu*<sup>19</sup> come, they always give money to us. So they think I talk to them and then after the meeting they will give me maybe 100,000<sup>20</sup>... So the local government leaders they were really disappointed and angry with us because they thought we were getting money”.

This anecdote shows not just a lack of understanding of the relationship between KCC and their foreign volunteers, but also a sense that the young men were creating relationships that the older, powerful men in the community did not understand because the relationships did not immediately come with a tangible financial reward. For what my translator, and other members of community groups semi-affectionately dubbed as “old timers”, these new networks may feel exclusionary. These networks may be facilitating new framings of masculinity by bringing in outside perspectives and changing the contexts in which the men work. For example, KCC gained outside validation for the work they were doing, even when those within the community doubted their abilities to achieve anything. Nas explicitly said that the foreign visitors who praised the work of KCC during its early

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<sup>19</sup> ‘Mzungu’ is Swahili for white foreigner.

<sup>20</sup> 100,000 Tanzanian Shillings is equal to around US\$45.

development gave them the strength to keep going with their work (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL).

Through the networks they create for themselves the young men could be said to be circumnavigating structures of power within the community in which they do not have status due to their age, and creating their own networks in which they can set themselves up as leaders. In this context, the young men are creating versions of masculinity based on care and responsibility for others, through which they also gain benefits of leadership and status. They do not consciously set themselves up against versions of masculinity performed by older men, but none the less may be seen as challenging these structures of power. It is not necessarily the care and responsibility for others that these young men take on that is the threat, but the status and respect which their care work brings to them. In both Kigamboni and Yombo there appears to be a generational divide where young men are choosing different paths to their elders and are not always understood. Although performing masculinity through leadership in public spaces could be considered a relatively standard marker of masculinity, the status is gained in different ways and through traditionally un-masculine work such as caring for children. However, there remain gendered divisions of labour.

At both KCC and LGBY women participate in volunteering, but are concentrated in certain roles. One of the most visible gaps is that women do not hold positions of leadership. For example, all of the founding members of KCC are male, as are the heads of different sections. For LGBY, although one woman said she was going to start volunteering with the nursery students, the core of volunteers at the time of my research were all men. If asked, members of both groups were very clear that they believe in gender equality. For example, as mentioned in the methodology the KCC focus group told me that they were “modern people” who knew that men and women could do the same types of work (KCC focus group, S/ESL). The focus group at LGBY said similar things, stating that men and women could do all jobs (LGBY volunteer focus group, S/ESL). However, this does not always translate in practice.

If the women are not in leadership roles, what roles are they taking? Often female volunteers are those who work with the younger children. All three of the female volunteers I spoke to were engaged in work with the younger children of the

community groups. At LGBY this meant working with the younger children as part of the *Watoto kucheza* programme. At KCC this also involved working with the younger, nursery age children. At KCC, there was a clear example of attitudes towards gender roles, in particular in relation to responsibility for parenting. KCC have a boy's shelter for homeless boys, and one of the recent improvements they had made to conditions at the shelter had been to employ a "Mama" for the boys (Interview 4, ESL). This assumption that the boys needed a mother figure, and that the male leadership within the community group did not provide enough of a parental or father figure, yet again shows the underlying assumption that women continue to be primarily responsible for children (Lister, 2010). The opportunities that women are put forward for are also gendered. For example, at LGBY, connections to a female entrepreneur have led to opportunities in jobs in hair and make-up as already mentioned (Interview 9, S; Interview 11, S) so there is an expectation that women engage in certain types of feminised labour, while the men gain management opportunities within the group.

However, gendered expectations do not just affect women, and financial success and the ability to provide are expectations of adult masculinity (McDowell, 2003).

### ***Financial Success and the Ability to Provide***

There is some evidence within the community groups that young men have rejected the primacy and prioritisation of economic success through profit-enhancing entrepreneurship. David, the leader and founder of LGBY was nominated for an entrepreneurship award because of his work with LGBY. The prize, the Anzisha Prize, meant a trip to South Africa, to meet with other award nominees. However, although David was proud to be nominated, the experience itself proved to be frustrating. He was told by other nominees and by business people (who were invited to see if they would like to sponsor or mentor some of the young entrepreneurs) that they did not feel that he was an entrepreneur because he made no profit. He told me about this, and his rebuke to that challenge:

"The problem there came that the other four young entrepreneurs, didn't see me, ah, making good during the panel because they were like, how do they call you an entrepreneur? So what about money? Do you make money? So it got the point where they were like, I think you need to change, you

need to change your business. So I looked at them, I was like, no. I am an entrepreneur and erm, the problem is that they said you are very young, and you are entrepreneurs, you design products, you are making money, but you are a part of the poverty problem. Because you guys are designing things that the poor cannot afford, you are not designing things that the poor can afford. So it is part of the problem. So I am an entrepreneur.”

(Interview 21, Recording 16, ESL)

He also suggested that the other panellists were part of the problem because they were not working to help the poor, or even to design things that the poor could afford. In response to this, David redefined entrepreneurship for himself, telling me at another point during the fieldwork that entrepreneurship is not about making money, but is about having ideas and abilities to achieve things (Field Notes, February 2016). David, within this story, therefore represents entrepreneurship as defined by ideas and abilities rather than profit making. He also uses the morality of helping the poor inherent in his work to place it above the work of the other entrepreneurs on the panel who he frames as part of the problem.

For some of the young men, work with the community groups has involved a rejection of more lucrative opportunities. For example, Mbwana who had much higher earning potential than the work at KCC can offer, but desired the opportunity to work with the community (Interview 4, Recording 4, ESL); Nas, who had other work elsewhere and the opportunity of paid work (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL), Godwin from LGBY who did not care for the attitude of his employer when he worked as a driver (Interview 6, Recording 6, S/ESL), and Mohammed from KCC who rejected his father’s attempts to get him a paid job at the port because the conditions were poor (Interview 17, Recording 13, S). It is important to remember the hope for future opportunities, payment and successes discussed in the previous chapter which see unpaid work within the community groups as temporary. However, not all unpaid labour is valued equally and there are certain types of unpaid labour which men seem willing to engage in, while other types of unpaid labour remain the domain of women.

## *Domestic and Unpaid Labour*

Unpaid work is often invisible or overlooked in development narratives, and it is generally only writers specifically concerned with women's work who point out that women often have a triple burden of paid work, domestic labour, and community management (Moser, 1978). Certain versions of unpaid work seem to be more valued than others. Work which mimics paid work is more highly valued - such as the volunteering of professional services such as teaching. It can also be argued that paid work which mimics often unpaid work such as care work and domestic work is less valued. Generally the male participants in the research didn't mention domestic work unless directly prompted: 50% of men only talked about domestic work in response to a direct prompt, 20% volunteered information on it related to another question, and the other 30% didn't mention it at all. In comparison 75% of women volunteered information on their household chores without any prompt. Only one of the female respondents didn't mention domestic work at all. Of the five women who required a direct prompt before they mentioned household chores, four were members of Corona Society who employed housemaids. Further to that, a quarter of the men framed their domestic tasks as "helping" their mothers or the family, compared to just three of the women who used similar language. It seems therefore that the women take more responsibility for this work than the men. This reflects binary conceptualisations of gender, which link men to public spaces and women to private spaces.

Within the groups there was evidence of task sharing of jobs traditionally taken on by women. For example, when LGBY held a fundraising event, the men of the community group did the cooking, and on a number of occasions I witnessed the young men cooking *ugali*<sup>21</sup>, even when there were women present. I also saw women cooking for the group, but as this was a task also undertaken by men I do not consider this to be indicative of a gendered division of labour in which men expect women to do the cooking within the group. At KCC there was a local *mamalishe* who people bought food from, rather than members cooking their own food. However, at both groups, generally cleaning chores seemed to be divided relatively equally. At KCC, the group Team Kazi often voluntarily took responsibility for the sweeping of the compound and the mopping inside,

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<sup>21</sup> Ugali is a maize based carbohydrate dough-like food. It is relatively inexpensive and very filling.

illustrating disruption of traditional gender roles as Team Kazi were entirely made up of men, and took responsibility for keeping the office clean. However, on an occasion where a child dropped a full bottle of juice on the floor, I witnessed men who were engaged in their own work ask some of the female students to clean it up. It is unclear if this is a sign that cleaning up after children is considered a women's job, but it does show that the men of the community group can give direction to students who don't actually work for KCC, and illustrates the hierarchy of leadership, which is itself gendered.

As discussed in the methodology, the focus group with LGBY was held at a local bar, on my final visit to LGBY, and I ordered food from a *mamalishe* for us to all eat. Some of the participants were drinking beer, and they were fairly relaxed and in good humour. When we were using the compass method to place the different types of work on a compass of important/not important and enjoyable/not enjoyable, the activity that came bottom of both categories for the male volunteers was mopping. I asked why they had rated cleaning as important, but mopping as unimportant and unenjoyable. There was much agreement that mopping was bad for one's back, and an agreement that men were ill-placed to do mopping, because to mop well required a certain hip action, difficult for men to achieve. As mentioned in the methodology, despite the hip action being apparently troublesome for men, David managed to demonstrate it rather vigorously. Although David had been insistent that men and women can do the same work, this moment of comedy did highlight a certain level of double think going on, where certain work continued to be deemed women's work. However, two members of the group, in particular James and Nelson argued that there was work for men and women, because the bible said so. David challenged them strongly on this, eventually eliciting reluctant (and I suspect only temporary) agreement from them (LGBY Volunteers Focus Group, ESL/S).

This attitude was also expressed at the KCC focus group, with one participant stating that men are not allowed to pursue women's work such as cooking and cleaning. The rest of the group, however, disagreed, saying that he had a father who was an 'old timer', and that they were all modern, and did not hold such traditional values (KCC Volunteers Focus Group, ESL/S). The negotiation of gender roles therefore is still ongoing and not all men within the groups perform masculinity in the same way. However, men did engage in cleaning work at KCC,

as shown through the work of team Kazi. Members of team Kazi were present at this focus group, and yet none of them reflected on their own cleaning work being represented as 'women's work'.

However, not all domestic work was undervalued, the compass method for both focus groups saw cooking placed highly in terms of importance. With the KCC group, "cooking" was deemed to come under "basic needs" and put in a place of high importance, largely because the young men in particular, as well as the young women within the group, stated that they enjoyed eating. Although this work is important - and the participants recognise the importance of labour which goes into making food - this does not seem to register with participants (male participants in particular) as an important part of their daily lives, and is therefore overlooked.

### ***Parenting***

Women tend to be considered responsible for children and care within households (Lister, 2010), and more responsible for physical care where as when men perform childcare they are more likely to engage in the form of teaching, reading, or playing with their children (Stebbins, 2013). Within the communities it appears to be expected that mothers are more responsible for children than fathers, and yet there are ways in which young men are attempting to influence the roles of parents. An LGBY volunteer stated that this is because "parents don't have enough education to care for children properly" (Interview 12, ESL), which was an opinion also stated during the KCC focus group (KCC Focus Group, April 2016). LGBY engage with the issue of parenting more explicitly through their work with mothers than KCC who only work with children and young people.

In situations where children are not attending school LGBY have advocated for children's right to an education, with one member sometimes going so far as to bribe local police officers to visit the parents, in order to scare them into sending their children back to school. Although not necessarily a conventional approach to getting children back to school, this action shows that members of these community groups are in some cases taking on what they perceive as a parental responsibility of ensuring that children attend school. This is almost a direct challenge to parental authority and responsibility, as in the group have identified a situation in which they feel that parents are failing their children, and have

taken actions in order to counter this. David, the leader of LGBY, also told a story of how they tried to take a father to court in order to make him take on his parental responsibilities after he abandoned his wife and child after the child was born with a disability (Interview 21, Recording 16, ESL).

LGBY's *Sauti Ya Mama Na Mtoto* programme began as a way to help mothers to help children. David explained that it:

“is a programme especially for women, mostly single mothers who are living in extreme poverty with their children so what we do we train these mothers in the business and we give them important skills like saving, financial literacy, and marketing skills, that will help them develop their product and we give them capital to start their business” (Interview 21, Recording 16, ESL).

In some ways this reinforces the belief that women should be responsible for care within households (Lister, 2010). Godwin at LGBY had told me that fathers are the ones who cause misery within families, but that their focus was on changing women's mind-sets (Interview 6, Recording 6, S). When I asked why the focus on the mothers, if it was the fathers who were causing problems, he replied saying that at LGBY they believe that the women would be the one to convert the husband to a better situation. He also said that if husbands run away, or die, it is the mother who is stuck with the family, and so by helping mothers they are helping families, even if the fathers are not there.

This view, that women can be trusted to deliver benefits to children and men cannot is found in much development industry logic and leads to an institutionalisation of women in terms of smart economics and CCTs (Chant, 2012, Sen, 2010). This in turn contributing to the feminisation of responsibility and obligation (Chant and Sweetman, 2012), and although young men at LGBY are taking some responsibility for community development, they are then passing this on to mothers and not fathers. This is regardless of masculinities which portray providing for the family as central to being a man (McDowell, 2003). Despite the views that women are responsible and trustworthy members of the family, the work of the groups assumes that they need help from the groups in order to do their jobs as mothers better. This contributes to a continued feminisation of responsibility.



For one of the female German volunteers at KCC the gap between her vision of child care, and a local parent's idea of child care, meant that she had taken responsibility for a local child to the point of almost quasi-adoption (Interview 47, Recording 26, ESL). A young boy of around two years old had parents who did not give him much attention, and he often walked around the streets by himself, even in the early hours of the morning. This worried the German volunteer, as the boy was a neighbour of hers, and she began to bring him with her to KCC. She also advocated for the teachers to give him more time, as he was non-verbal, and did not necessarily understand what people were asking of him. She also bought him food, and was very patient despite his behavioural difficulties which extended to destroying her belongings. The situation was clearly emotionally draining for her, and she could not find anywhere to get him help and assessment to see if his slow development was down to lack of parental engagement or a deeper underlying problem. Her interest in him meant that his mother would ask her for financial help for the household, and had even asked if she wanted to adopt the child permanently. This is an example of a child who was not being fully cared for, and although others in the community group were aware of it, they had not intervened, and so the volunteer had felt she had no choice but to take on responsibility for the child. Potentially this demonstrates a reluctance on the part of KCC to intervene in private spheres of parenting of others, as well as a point at which the care they offer was not enough for one child.

However, spending time supporting the community group can also have a negative impact upon care for one's own children. Nas (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL) admitted that although he knew it was bad, he didn't spend much time with his own children, and they were looked after by his brothers and by one of the female volunteers who was lodging in his house. Potentially then Nas prioritises the running of his community group over his own family responsibilities. Generally engagement in care work in public at the community group may be at the cost of care work and responsibility in the private spaces of the family as demonstrated by the tensions within the family discussed in the previous chapter. Yet again the distinction between public and private matters here. It could be argued therefore that when parental or domestic roles of care are taken into the public domain that they are given a higher status than the everyday and mundane domestic work which goes on behind closed doors. Being in the public sphere also potentially

makes men more likely to engage in these types of work, as the work is more highly rewarded socially because it is more visible. Performances of masculinity such as leadership which may increase status have the potential for much more social reward if they are done in public. The work done in private and behind closed doors continues to be under appreciated, and seemingly continues to be done by women. Potentially men are more able to engage in this precarious and unpaid labour, precisely because women are taking on responsibilities for the household. Women may not have the same flexibility as men to move between the public and private spheres, and to construct their own contexts in the way that the young men have done within their community groups.

### ***Continuing structural inequalities***

Within the community groups a shift in the types of work which young men are engaging in can be seen. Also possibilities for care and systems of decision making which reject a primary focus on profit are also visible. However, it is important to be clear that that structural and gendered inequalities persist and remain. Kumar (2010) suggests that it is very difficult to secure gender neutral decision making within households because men continue to dominate, even when belief in equality is stated. This seems to be similar in the community groups in which stated beliefs in equality did not seem to translate into an understanding of the structural barriers which women face. It is clear from interviews, but particularly from the focus group with KCC volunteers and my own observations that male voices dominate within these community groups. I have already detailed in my methodology chapter an occurrence within the focus group, where in Swahili the men and women in the group disagreed when talking about whether men or women worked the hardest, and the male view was the only one that they then reported to me in English.

It was also clear that generally across all interviews, men were much more likely to talk at length during an interview than women, although older women who were participants in the *Sauti Ya Mama Na Mtoto* programme and members of Corona Society tended to elaborate much more on their answers to questions. Some of the women were incredibly shy, and on one occasion I felt the need to

reiterate half way through the interview that the interviewee had complete control over whether or not she talked to me. In two interviews with women, the women spoke so quietly that the Dictaphone did not pick up their voices at all, and I struggled to hear what they were saying. As Sharp et al (2013) illustrated in their work with Bedouin women - participation is not enough to bypass gendered constraints. A confidence in public speaking, and a certain level of self-confidence and willingness to put oneself forwards are traits associated with traditional leadership.

Within the communities gendered expectations impact how the groups are viewed. In Yombo, members of LGBY told me that they had received gendered criticism from older members of the community who believe that some of the young women who attended LGBY wore inappropriate clothes. They had suggested that LGBY should enforce a dress code, or even a uniform on the teen girls and young women (Field Notes, 2016). Although LGBY had rejected this criticism, and said that LGBY was for everyone, these kind of attitudes persist within the wider community. It is reasonable to suggest that these attitudes and views of community groups may prevent young women attending or volunteering, if the group is not seen as respectable. Men may be more able to move through public spaces without damage to their reputations.

McDowell (2003) describes a successful heterosexual relationship as a key marker of adult masculinity. Some of the male respondents worried that engaging in unpaid volunteer work means they will not be able to enter a relationship as financial success is necessary to attract women. One respondent at KCC suggest that women expect gifts of T-shirts and *kanga*<sup>22</sup>, and that if he was in a relationship it would be a problem because: “people need help but I would not think about them, I would think about getting money for my girlfriend. It is very crazy” (Interview 3, Conducted in English with an ESL speaker). The men at LGBY during the focus group also explained that they felt that women still expected men to provide for them, and all bar David stated that they were uncomfortable with the idea of dating a woman more successful than them (LGBY Focus Group, S/ESL). They referenced success in terms of both educational level, as well as the ability to provide for the household. David had joked that if he had a more

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<sup>22</sup> *Kanga* is a traditional East African form of dress, and is a large colourful rectangle of fabric, often with a border on all four sides around a central design.

successful girlfriend then he could have the pork and beer (which I had bought for the focus group) every day. Although the men state that men and women are equal, there are still areas in which a suggestion of equality makes men feel uncomfortable. It is also notable that in this conversation success was defined much more traditionally through education and financial status rather than leadership and social status which is where the young men currently find their versions of success.

When interviewing Nas I asked about the gender balance of KCC, and he stated that women continue to believe that their place is in the home, and so don't necessarily come along to KCC because that is not what they envisage for their own lives (Interview 48, ESL). However, Nas estimated that one third of volunteers at KCC are women, which is encouraging, although it would be more meaningful if these women were evenly spread throughout departments as opposed to in areas focussed on care of young children. Also the provision of free education and opportunities for work may enable young women to attend the community groups in situations in which they might not otherwise engage in activities outside of the home. One volunteer at KCC told how she would probably be sitting at home doing nothing if she did not come to learn and teach at the centre (Interview 1, Recording 1, S/ESL). Potentially this means that the community centre work is enabling this female participant to work outside of the home, as opposed to staying at home engaging in domestic labour. However, women continue to be underrepresented within KCC.

Similarly, in the focus group with the LGBY volunteers, I asked about the lack of female volunteers within the community group. I was informed that the problem was a mind-set one, in which women thought that their place was in the home, and that they didn't know or didn't believe that they could do anything else. As Collier (1988) and others have argued there is often a lack of understanding that male privilege is a problem. This echoes the Women In Development approach whereby women are expected to make up for their own inequalities without any changes to the structural barriers which women face (Sweetman, 2013). For example, there both KCC and LGBY explain their gendered gaps in participation in numbers, attendance, and type of work that people undertake by suggesting that it is simply 'personal choice' in which men and women enjoy different work (KCC Focus group, S/ESL).

Therefore, when it comes to gender, although men are taking on some caring and community management roles which are often assigned to women, this does not seem to have led to changes in gendered power relations. However, as Connell and Messerschmidt (2006) state, masculinities are multiple and less oppressive and kinder ways of being a man have the potential to become hegemonic. The starting point for this is changes in masculinity.

### ***Conclusion***

A desire to help others and an everyday form of care contributes to the work done within the community groups. Care is produced through everyday labours of talk and interactions as well as teaching, and a focus of the groups on facilitating self-belief. Although care work and work within the community are often assumed to be feminised, young men have gained status through engaging in this work. Through creating their own community groups they have set themselves up as leaders, and looked to new and international networks for status and approval.

A narrative in which financial success is deliberately ignored in favour of helping others ignores the difficulty members of the groups may have in actually achieving financial success. By framing their work as a moral success, bolstered by opportunities to learn and hope for future wages, any suggestion of financial failure is brushed aside.

The location of work matters, and any work done in public seems to have a higher social return than work done in private. Therefore, although young men are engaging in care work, this doesn't necessarily extend to private spaces of the home in which women continue to burden more than their fair share of domestic and parenting responsibilities. Women also do not share the same roles and responsibilities as men within the community groups, and do not hold positions of leadership, and instead contribute to the education or care of younger children. Therefore, gendered power relations continue to be weighted in the favour of men, and structural inequalities remain intact.

However, masculinities performed by young men within the community groups are based on moralities of care and responsibilities for others. The men claim to believe in gender equality, and that men and women can do the same work. Although this is not happening, this behaviour creates spaces of possibility, in

which masculinities are being renegotiated, and may represent the beginning of change in which work predicated on care can be centred.

## Chapter Six: Conclusion

The goals of AVC, LGBY, and KCC emphasise poverty reduction and improving the lives of people within the community. Poverty reduction is a common goal of development interventions. However, these interventions often highlight the importance of growth through increasing both the volume and productivity of income generating activities which is not always the goal of the community groups. Returning to the introduction we know that Tanzania's Five Year Plan is based on efforts to create employment and ensure growth (Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2016). Meanwhile, the World Bank state that "economic growth is central to economic development" (World Bank, 2017b), and assert that "good, inclusive jobs are the surest pathway out of poverty." (World Bank, 2017a). Work here is conceptualised as a means of survival and as a way out of poverty. The World Bank also emphasise earnings and productivity stating: "Just having a job is also not enough. What makes a difference in sustaining the escape from poverty is increasing the earnings from work; that is, having a more productive job." (World Bank, 2017c). Within the community groups certain types of work reflect ideas of work as a means or survival such as teaching skills for paid work at LGBY and KCC, encouraging entrepreneurship in mothers at LGBY, and aiming to begin a sewing programme for women at AVC to teach an income generating activity. However, as the previous chapters have shown this is only one part of the story.

People's work may indeed be part of coping and survival strategies and emphasising earnings focusses on this. However, the ability to survive is not the total of what work brings to people's lives. The ways in which participants in my research frame their own work shows a desire for something that offers more than survival and increased productivity. In Chapters Four and Five I have shown that work brings purpose and increases people's feelings of self-confidence and self-worth within the community groups. In particular, volunteering is work which can be imbued with meaning and value, drawing from moralistic framings of work and helping others. The work within the community groups is complex and interconnected and the motivations of people and the values they attach to their own work are also multiple and intersecting. A greater consideration of masculinities facilitates an understanding of the ways in which work reinforces and/or challenges gendered power relations, sometimes both at the same time. Better understandings of the role of work can perhaps be used to encourage more

equitable and caring development interventions, building upon already existing good practice, whilst challenging that which is unequal.

In this chapter I shall summarise the work of the thesis, and suggest areas in which the context of community groups in Dar es Salaam can contribute to wider discussions on the topic of work, volunteering, masculinity, and development. I begin by revising the topics of work and volunteering. I then discuss changes in the way that masculinity and care can be framed, before contemplating the ways in which these discussions could impact development interventions. I then identify gaps within this research as well as suggesting areas for further study before finally summarising the key contributions of this thesis.

### ***Work and volunteering***

Despite work's status as moral imperative, social duty, and survivalist necessity different types of work have rarely been examined together. Instead literatures on informal work, alternative economies, and volunteering have generally been considered in isolation. I began by bringing these disparate literatures together in Chapter Two. To investigate how these types of work intersect and are understood and valued within community groups in Tanzania, I talked to members of community groups about their work, and what they deemed important. Drawing upon categories of reward from theories of volunteering it was clear that people gained internal and external rewards from their work, predominantly in the form of self-confidence and social status. Reflecting the small selection of volunteering literatures located in Tanzania and East Africa participants saw volunteering as opportunity, both to gain skills and to tap into networks which may yield future opportunity. They also gained tangible benefits in the form of education, food, or small payments. However, this sometimes caused tensions within households where families expected their adult children to participate fully in income generating forms of work. In this context then there are definite benefits of work which exist in parallel with and beyond productivity, earnings, and economic contributions. This is the case even in situations of poverty where a focus on survival may be expected.

The majority of work in Dar es Salaam is informal. Very little work is legally regulated or socially protected (Chen, 2012), and participants from across wealth divides participated in informal work or utilised informal connections to gain



benefits. Definitions of informal activities have tended to focus purely on the economic, and in Tanzania informal activities are defined as enterprises not separate from their owners, which produce goods for sale (NBS, 2014). This has meant that despite attempts by those concerned with informality to draw attention to often overlooked types of work, accounts have continued to exclude certain types of work and activity. I have argued in Chapter Four for a broadening of the definition of informality to include all interactions which are not legally regulated or socially protected and the utilisation of informality as a lens to assess connections between work, people, and other activities. This enabled me to highlight the way in which informal webs of connection facilitate work and interactions of participants, and in the methodology I drew attention to how my own work as a PhD researcher was included in these connections. Informal connections make it impossible to entirely separate formal and informal work at a sector level. This is because even formal work may rely on informal connections to facilitate the work in the first place as demonstrated by the way in which KCC's work with UNICEF and the local police was facilitated by a friend issuing an informal invitation to a meeting.

The informal connections KCC have built through relationships created at the beach resort have shaped the development of the community group. The code for networks was the most commonly occurring code of the research and the complexities of these links demonstrates that it is essential to consider different types of work as constitutive of a singular and complex system. Utilising a distinction between formality and informality is useful as a conceptual tool, rather than as a bounded category, and enables overlooked work engagements and the connections between them to be brought into the discussion. This moves beyond binary distinctions between formality and informality, and builds upon the work of Guha-Kjarnois et al (2006) who identify that formality and informality exist on a continuum and cannot be fully separated, as well as McFarlane (2012) who conceptualise informality as form of practice. The role of informal networks in facilitating the work of the community groups serves to highlight the impossibility of true formalisation by highlighting the vast scale of activities which will always remain outside of regulations and protections. Full regulation is impossible as well as potentially undesirable, as informal networks are made up of personal relations, friendships, and connections.

Rather than simply looking at all activities and the connections between them, a distinction between formality and informality also serves to highlight the privilege of regulated, protected and paid activities. My analysis utilises the concept of informality as form of practice to highlight all interactions, not just those of political negotiation as McFarlane (2012) emphasises in his work. My analysis, like McFarlane's work, disrupts the notion that informality is the domain of the poor, but places informality firmly in people's everyday interactions. Members of Corona Society are generally secure through the formal work of their partners, and their legal and formal status as spouses. The informal networks which facilitate the running of Corona society gain benefits such as the use of a room at hotels; raffle prizes of Tanzanite bracelets, and the donation of flight tickets (Interview 38, Recording 19, E; Interview 44, Recording 24, E). Their informal connections reap greater rewards because they are connected to those with formal jobs, protections and powers such as hotel managers, and husbands with well-paid and secure formal jobs. These benefits even extended so far as having haggis for a Burns nights supper shipped to the British ambassador in order to circumnavigate the lengthy customs process required for ports.

Power is unevenly distributed and although informality is known to aid politicians, governments and businesses, my analysis of the community groups within Dar es Salaam has also shown that informal connections are an inescapable part of everyday life. However, analysing these connections is important as the power and privilege of a group enable the utilisation of informal networks to maintain and increase power and privilege. In contrast, members of KCC and LGBY may struggle to survive and are very removed from these networks in which precious stones can be given so freely and treated so trivially. Members of KCC and LGBY do not necessarily eat regularly (Interview 21, Recording 16, ESL), they do not have access to medical care (Interview 1, Recording 1, S), and may not be able to afford school fees (Interview 23, S). This research supports what has already been documented: that people may volunteer in the hope that the networks they gain access to will lead to future opportunities and improved survival strategies (Swidler and Watkins, 2009). However, utilising informal networks for perks is a very different situation to utilising informal networks to aid survival.

Regulation and protection of personal relationships and informal connections which often facilitate work is an impossibility precisely because of the ubiquity of

these forms of relationships. The lens of informality then makes it clear that formalisation would only effect paid labour. It is the protections which formality brings which could benefit workers, such as fair pay, job security, the right to be treated well, and the financial security and choices which come with these benefits. To call for formality in order to increase protections would benefit those who work paid jobs, but would continue to exclude those who work for the community or within the home.

Utilising a lens of informality to look at connections between work, can be combined with alternative economies approaches to look at the character of that work. In Chapter Four I illustrated how alternative economies forms of work beyond waged labour for capitalist firms are the norm for members of the community groups. Cameron and Gibson (2005) suggest that by drawing attention to activities beyond the neoliberal, this shows not only that alternatives already exist, but can help to attach value to the alternatives. However, although my work therefore provides a challenge to TINA narratives, those alternatives to neoliberal waged labour are not necessarily all positive.

Firstly, informal work which makes up a lot of community based labour is considered by proponents of the legalist school of thought to be representative of perfect, unregulated neoliberalism, and the lack of protections are a concern rather than a plus. For example, all the mothers I interviewed from the Sauti Ya Mama Na Mtoto programme at LGBY were engaged in petty informal trade. This work often relied on networks of trust, with women engaging in informal systems of selling on credit and collecting the money over a set period. For example, Mary told me that if her clients couldn't meet the payments for the fabric she had sold them one day, she would just come back the next day because that's just how it is (Interview 24, S). These examples fit under-the-surface examples given in the iceberg image such as self-employment, on the street, and in neighbourhoods (Figure 2.1, p. 64). However, the women in the *Sauti ya Mama na Mtoto* programme all expressed a desire for more financially rewarding work, dreaming of opening shops (Interview 14, S), to have a proper business in formal premises (Interview 15, Recording 11, S), and all wanted to grow their businesses. Therefore, there was dissatisfaction almost across the board with the work the mothers engaged in. 'There is no alternative' here takes on a different meaning, in which

for those who engage in small scale, community, informal ways of working, there really is no alternative.

Secondly, volunteering work is sometimes part of coping and survival strategies and is not necessarily engaged in through choice as understood in the volunteering literatures of the global north. Volunteering as a way to access resources or gain benefits is documented in other studies of volunteering based in East Africa (Becker, 2015; Prince, 2015; Swidler and Watkins, 2009). Utilising volunteering in this way is therefore well documented and, as I have already discussed, participants in this research utilised volunteering in similar ways. Members of LGBY were sometimes able to eat because they attended the centre, or slept at the centre, utilising it as shelter. A lack of choice does not mean there are no positives in alternatives. Simply that these alternatives must be treated with caution. Mary's willingness to simply come back the following day if a client could not meet repayments could be framed as compassionate and caring, as there seemed to be no consequence for failing to repay on time. However, this may also be a pragmatic response to a situation in which demanding payment from someone who cannot repay would be futile. It is also unclear whether this understanding would continue if a person could not repay for a week, or a month, or more. Gibson-Graham (2016) suggest that optimism is about finding the spaces of possibility and moments of rupture. There is much to be optimistic about in the work of the groups, but optimism does not preclude criticality, particularly in asking what choice members have, and in looking at uneven power relations both between and within groups. This is particularly pertinent when it comes to gendered power relations as I shall return to shortly.

Power and choice may have been overlooked by some alternative economies approaches but alternatives contain positive relations of care and reciprocity which can be built upon, and so may have potential as the building blocks of more equitable and caring alternatives. These relations of care and reciprocity are most visible in the volunteering work of the community groups and volunteering, a type of work mostly engaged in without remuneration. The highlighting of alternatives beyond profit making shows that alternatives are possible and exist, in the same way as Cameron and Gibson's (2005) work in the Latrobe Valley. Highlighting the work which goes beyond individualist and competitive labour is a large part of

alternative economies. I have added to this analysis by looking at alternative economies within a Tanzanian context, something which is new as previously empirical material has largely been based in the global north. However, it is important to remember that Tanzania has a history of reciprocal labour going back to pre-colonial times, as well as a more problematic history of forced volunteering (Brown and Green, 2015). It is possible to utilise alternative economies approaches without praising alternatives which are problematic and part of systems of obligation and unequal power relations. This is only possible if obligation and power are also considered in analysis.

To begin with I was surprised that so many people at the community groups engaged in volunteer work as their primary form of work. I had wrongly assumed that all of the volunteer work was unpaid, and had not accounted for the small monetary allowances which sometimes formed part of survival strategies of volunteers. This is well represented in the small body of literature which considers volunteering in Tanzania. However, Volunteers were also motivated by other rewards, identified by those volunteering literatures generally established in the global north (Stebbins, 2015). At first glance rewards identified by the volunteering literature seem applicable to volunteering whether volunteering takes place within the poorer Tanzanian-led groups of the research, or the wealthier context of Corona Society. Although the rewards are similar, the impacts of the rewards are dependent on context. Whether people have meaningful choices when it comes to engaging in this volunteering work must also be considered.

As volunteering within the Tanzanian groups seems more influential in shaping people's identities than volunteering within Corona Society I have suggested that volunteering fulfils a different role in these contexts of poverty. Although volunteering has generally been framed as extra to paid work (Stebbins, 2015) volunteering is the primary form of work volunteers at KCC and LGBY. I suggest that this is because volunteering is the aspect of their lives which grants volunteers the most benefits in terms of rewards and status. As Swidler and Watkins (2009) discuss, volunteering work can be aspirational in the way in which it sets volunteers apart from other members of their communities and enables them to become part of networks which seem to hold more possibilities than other activities. For example, I was told that people in the community do not expect

young people to be able to achieve much (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL), well paid work is difficult to find (Interview 21, Recording 16, ESL), work in which employees are treated with respect is difficult to find (Interview 10, Recording 10, S/ESL), people lack a formal education limiting their options (Interview 8, Recording 8, S/ESL), and without the community groups young women may be limited to domestic labour within the household (Interview 1, Recording 1, S/ESL). Volunteering is imbued with a sort of professionalism as named by Becker (2015) and this is indicated by the use of professionalised vocabulary as used by KCC and LGBY. In contrast, volunteering for Corona Society members is framed as a way to fill time (Interview 44, Recording 24, E). Therefore, for members of KCC and LGBY, volunteering work has an exalted role as a primary defining feature of identity. Volunteering seems to give volunteers at KCC and LGBY a positive and moral framework in which they are able to control and define narratives of self, identity, and self-worth. The small amounts of money, food, and the opportunity to use the centres as shelter also contributes to household safety nets.

These rewards, much like the positives of alternatives economies, must be questioned in relation to the ability of volunteers to choose their own paths. Members of KCC and LGBY may struggle to find dignified paid work and although volunteers may not have many opportunities or choices when it comes to paid work, volunteering emerges as an arena of choice. The lack of choice volunteers may have elsewhere in the community is not reflected within the community groups as volunteering seems to increase the ability of members to control their own stories and identities. Volunteering intersects with power relations in unpredictable ways, and although groups are beginning to have the support of local government officials, status within groups does not always extend beyond the confines of the group to the wider community as demonstrated by the problems experienced by LGBY.

Although understanding what work is happening and how it connects is important, it is not enough to merely identify the work that members are engaged in. I propose two main distinctions when it comes to analysing work. The first is the choice a person has in engaging in their work, linking to Sen's (2006) capability approach but considered in terms of obligation. Sen's capability approach, while focussing on whether or not a person has freedom of choice as a poverty indicator, seems to underestimate the inevitability of obligation. Obligation could include

paid work, as well as unpaid domestic labour, both of which are necessary for survival. The work of caring for children and of putting food on the table is work which is obligation, whether in situations of poverty or wealth. Wealth may enable more choice, such as the ability to pay for a maid or for childcare, but the work of ensuring children are cared for continues to be obligation. Stebbins (2015) distinction between non-work obligation of practicalities of childcare, and the serious leisure time of playing with children is useful here. However, I differ from Stebbins in that I consider the former to be a work obligation, rather than non-work obligation. This is important because it decentres the notion that paid work is the primary form of work. Those who choose to engage in volunteering within the community groups, although they are taking on responsibility for others, seem to be largely free from obligation, which gives them more choice and freedom in their choice of work to engage in.

Levels of obligation are an input for engaging in work. However, the second area of importance I have identified is in the output of work, in the form of rewards people gain from work. The prioritisation of internal rewards of self-worth and external rewards of social-status by volunteers show that understandings of work which prioritise only the ability to survive and contribute economically are lacking the bigger picture of people's needs and desires. Drawing upon the work of community groups and existing literatures I suggest that the modified versions of rewards can be considered as personal development, internal rewards, external rewards, financial rewards, and benefits to others.

Utilising Sen's capability approach in combination with Stebbins' distinction between obligation and reward ties into but also moves beyond the existing discussions of volunteering in Tanzania. These literatures have often focussed on the ways in which volunteering does not provide the opportunities or benefits hoped for by those who volunteer (Prince, 2015; Swidler and Watkins, 2009). However, although KCC and LGBY volunteers express hope for future opportunities and the possibility of eventually drawing a real wage, looking at rewards enables the ongoing rewards to be acknowledged. This is true even if rewards fall short of the benefits hoped for by those who volunteer. Meanwhile, assessing obligation highlights whether or not volunteers have meaningful choices. Making this distinction also enables a closer look at power relations within groups, particularly when it comes to gender. Rewards of volunteering have played a large role in the

renegotiation of masculinities within the groups, and gender impacts the opportunities available for people.

### ***Masculinities and Care***

Gender has often been absent from discussions of volunteering in Tanzania and East Africa. However, gender roles have a clear impact on the way in which volunteering is engaged with. I have shown that young men utilise their work as volunteers and the narrative control and rewards which this work brings to renegotiate their masculinities. Masculinity is often expected to be performed through work which fulfils men's expected roles as breadwinners or providers for the family. The tensions between some of the young men and their families over a lack of financial contributions shows that these expectations were placed on at least some of the men who volunteered. When men fail to do meet expectations, negative responses are well documented (McDowell, 2004; Silberschmidt, 2001). However, the young men who volunteer within the community groups appear to have taken more positive pathways, and instead are enacting care and responsibility for others. Empirically this showcases potentially positive aspects of masculinity. These caring actions are rewarded with desirable aspects of masculinity such as status and leadership roles. However, choices to engage in care work and to help others are also positive in that they are constructive rather than destructive responses to difficulties in meeting expectations of masculinities.

Although this constructive work is more positive than destructive versions of masculinity, the renegotiation of masculinities within the community groups has done little to challenge gendered and structural inequalities. Although men are taking on caring labours and community work which may have traditionally been assigned to women, men continue to disproportionately hold power and positions of status. Women within the Tanzanian run community groups tend to take on roles caring for or working with the youngest children, and do not hold positions of leadership. Although the negotiation of masculinities in spaces of care may open up possibilities for more inclusive and kinder versions of masculinity to become hegemonic as suggested by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), this continues to be flawed if it does not challenge the uneven balance of power between men and women.



Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) argue that geographies at a local, regional, and global scale should be considered when analysing masculinity. However, this call ignored micro-geographies in which a distinction between public and private spaces can be made. This distinction is important as within the public spaces of community groups men are taking on caring responsibilities, but as has been discussed men are also potentially negating their responsibilities within their own households as demonstrated by financial tensions. Discussions of masculinities must consider the ways in which men have greater freedom in public spaces and the unequal divisions of labour in spaces of the home. By engaging in caring labours in public spaces of the groups, men gain status and praise for work which women often take responsibility for in private.

I return again to the question of obligation which is useful when looking at gendered power relations and inequalities. For example, domestic labour which is a form of obligatory work is was often overlooked by my participants who gave this work little attention unless directly asked about it. As I have previously revealed, only 20% of the men volunteered information on domestic labour compared to 75% of women. The young male volunteers engage in work within the spaces of community groups which mirrors domestic work within the home, such as mopping. As discussed in Chapter Five men are therefore able to gain rewards which enable them to gain privileged benefits of masculinity by virtue of the public arena of their care work. The differentiation between private and public, obligation and choice is one which is highly gendered. However, the very specific public location of the community groups seem to encourage certain types of masculinity which take on work and feelings of obligation for the wider communities, but may enable a shirking of household obligations.

Although it is undeniable that the women of Corona Society are in many ways privileged, it is also the case that they too lack choice and capability. This was demonstrated by the boredom, and frustration with a bureaucratic system which made working difficult, which were expressed during Corona Society meetings (Field Notes, 2016). As trailing spouses I suggest that the women of Corona Society often did not meet the capabilities aspect of Sen's capability approach and were limited by visa restrictions. The obligation for these often highly educated women then was to take on a primary role as spouse, despite often having held high level professional jobs before moving to Tanzania (Interview 44, Recording 24, E and

Interview 49, ESL) Privilege is intersectional, but it is worth noting that having fewer choices than their male counterparts, and bearing more of the burden of the household, is something which female members of all groups have in common.

Although young men and their masculinities are foregrounded by this research, I have also drawn out the ways in which masculinities and male privilege exclude women. I suggest that an analysis of masculinities within development contexts has two key benefits. Firstly, an analysis of masculinities troubles notion of male as neutral, rational, and default. Rather than focus on what women lack, analysing masculinities instead highlight male privilege. The focus on women's lack is also reflected in the group narratives, in the way in which women are blamed for believing they should stay at home, or not having self-belief (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL; LGBY Focus Group, S/ESL). Secondly, an analysis of masculinities is a way in which the choices and motivations of men can be illuminated to enable an understanding of men's motivations and the ways in which men can be included in efforts to achieve gender equality. For example, by considering masculinities, the role of status in motivations to volunteer emerge. Rather than a focus on Women in Development, or Gender and Development which did little to shift the focus from men, I suggest a focus on the ways in which masculinities shape and are shaped by development. Understanding the motivations of men may help to design ways to involve men in interventions without risking women being side-lined yet again. A focus on masculinities rather than men means that relations of power and inequality, and the structures which negatively impact women can be highlighted. However, I have shown that not all aspects of masculinity are negative, and the volunteering work within the groups has enabled the creation of more positive and constructive masculinities.

### ***The role of care (and love?)***

Volunteering work is considered valuable in part because it involves taking on responsibility for others, and care, as demonstrated in Chapter Five. The work of the community groups could therefore be said to come from an ethic of care. McDowell (2004) argues that an ethic of care encourages mutual support, requiring social support and interaction not based on competition. This can certainly be identified within the work of the community groups, in which members support each other such as pooling resources to buy food as witnessed at LGBY (Field Notes,

2016), or share their knowledge with others in the community (Interview 31, S; Interview 39, Recording 20, ESL). However, the work of the community groups aims to give people the skills for paid work, in terms of LGBY's entrepreneurship training, or KCC's skills teaching for arts and handicrafts. Volunteering at the groups may also provide skills and a way for volunteers to gain opportunities for future employment. Meanwhile for Tripp (2016) an ethics of care is concerned with whether needs are being met. This is more difficult, as groups and individuals do not always have the capacity or resources to meet everyone's needs. Other members had to leave the group in order to pursue other work, and so although there were elements of care and ethics of care within the groups, by both McDowell's (2004) and Tripp's (2016) definitions, the work of care was incomplete. Work of care is arguably always incomplete and imperfect, and what is important is that care is present within these groups.

Care is an important part of the way that hooks' (2000) conceptualises love. She argues that care is a part of love, but not its totality. As with an ethics of care an ethics of love provides alternatives to interactions based on competition. A rejection of competition is called for by both McDowell (2004) as part of an ethics of care, and hooks (2000) as part of an ethic of love. In order to look at whether the work of the groups contains this ethic of love I firstly look at the elements hooks identifies as necessary for love and the ways in which these elements exist or not within the community groups. I then look at whether the work of participants represents a rejection of narratives of competition. hooks (ibid.) conceptualises love as practice, and argues that loving means honestly and openly expressing care, affection, responsibility, respect, commitment, and trust. These elements can all be seen within the work of community groups, and I shall address each of these elements in turn. Identifying elements of love, although the community group members did not speak explicitly of love, will show both the positives and difficulties in heeding hooks' call to work from a place of love. I bring ethics of love and care into the equation, to attempt to decentre the focus on neoliberal competition which alternative economies approaches are pitted against. Alternatives do not have to be singular or all encompassing, but they should be more than just oppositional.

I begin with care. 60% of the volunteers mentioned care as part of the reason that they volunteer. As discussed previously, KCC and LGBY both created spaces for

gathering people together for free. Both groups had created spaces where children and young people in the community were always welcome. Within both community groups children and young people gathered in both their indoor and outdoor spaces, and were greeted by leaders of the groups. Participants also reported that they spent time with other members of the groups, and their friends, listening to each other and discussing their dreams. Mbwana considered this a part of his job (Interview 4, Recording 4, ESL) but other members just saw this as a part of connecting with their friends (Interview 33, ESL). However, these conversations are indicative of care and respect. I suggest that these participants take each other's dreams seriously due to the conversations with an informal focus group in my preliminary research with members of KCC. The members lamented the attitudes of their families and communities towards what they framed as their talents. These were arts activities which they engaged in at KCC such as drama, dance and acrobatics. They openly expressed desires to pursue these talents, and said they wanted more support. Potentially the groups then bring the acceptance that they desire, but do not receive from their families due to tensions of expectations. There are therefore elements of care and mutual support within the groups, which could be considered a part of an ethics of love. However, this analysis must be treated cautiously, as this care may be motivated by other factors, and as previously discussed some volunteers may be choosing care within the community groups at the expense of care within the home.

A second element of hooks' taxonomy of love is responsibility, a key theme of responses. Responsibility was a recurring theme in the research, but volunteers were more likely to express responsibility for others, while non-volunteers were more likely to express responsibility for themselves. Responsibility for oneself is a pragmatic attitude to have when there is no reliable source of support. However, as volunteers took on responsibility for others, again the issue of whether their parents were supporting them arises. Although responsibility is an element of love, responsibility may not always be positive such as instances where responsibility becomes a burdensome obligation. The problem with many development narratives and solutions is that they place responsibility on the poorest and this attitude is reflected by the focus on mind-set and attitude within the groups themselves. Within the community groups those who already have very little are

talking on responsibility for others, while suggesting that the responsibility for change lies with the poorest.

Other elements that hooks' considers essential to love (affection, respect, trust, and commitment) are not as prominent within the work of the community groups as care and responsibility. However, they can be seen. Affection is potentially hard to identify, but through participant observation and during focus groups affection between friends was clear. For example, there was gentle teasing, and much laughter in both groups (KCC focus group, S/ESL; LGBY focus group, S/ESL). Respect has up to now been discussed as a reward for leadership and volunteering. However, at both KCC and LGBY, the interactions between leaders and members, and between the members themselves are indicative of mutual respect. For example, I did not hear leaders of either group express anything other than positive opinions of those who came to the community groups. Trust is exemplified by the way in which LGBY and KCC also lend books out within the community, volunteers can take documents home to work on them, and the accessibility of both buildings which allowed members to come and go as they pleased. The final element of love in hooks list is commitment, which is exemplified by the leaders of the community groups. David tells of how he could have gone to do something else, but felt that he could not leave the community group (Interview 21, Recording 16). Nas tells a similar story of how he could not leave Kigamboni, and the people as it is his home, and the place he feels he needs to help (Interview 47, Recording 28). As well as the leaders, when visiting the community groups, I saw the same faces volunteering and attending every time I was there, indicating that people were making a regular time commitment to their work.

There is often a reluctance to talk about love, as it not always considered a serious topic (hooks, *ibid*; Lynch, 2007). Therefore, although participants did not use the vocabulary of love, I suggest that they enact some if not all elements of love. I have identified ways in which different elements of love are enacted within the groups. However, again, obligation and reward must be considered.

Although the work of the groups does not all fit neatly within hooks ideas of love or ethics of care, elements of care and love are clearly visible within the community groups. Ethics of love and care are optimistic formulations of what could be possible. The work examined here shows that it is possible for those

elements to be found in work which is already happening, and this therefore puts hooks' theories, based solely on her own experiences into context. However, there are also clearly problematic relations of power and uneven division of responsibility in spaces of care and responsibility in particular. It is therefore necessary to consider working from an ethics of love and care as possible and building upon those actions which already do this, whilst in parallel challenging uneven power relations and responsibilities.

### ***Implications for Development Interventions***

Despite complexities of entangled work, lack of choice, and male privilege within the community groups, the groups are also spaces in which hope for alternatives can be found alongside some activities which reflect more mainstream development discourses. A focus of development on growth and jobs as vehicles for wealth distribution is reflected by KCC and LGBY's aims to enable their members to gain skills for work. This is shown through LGBY's focus on entrepreneurship (Interview 21, Recording 16, ESL) and KCC's skills teaching aimed at providing income, such as arts and crafts classes (Interview 48, Recording 27, ESL) as identified at the beginning of this chapter. Development programmes have also increasingly tried to consider gender, but with little success, and have often reinforced gendered burdens of responsibility. Work within the groups reflects this as despite stated beliefs in gender equality male privilege or uneven and gendered power relations remain unacknowledged and unchallenged.

In Tanzania volunteering has often been represented as key to development interventions, either in providing free (or forced) labour under both colonial and independence era governments (Brown and Green, 2015), or more recently in creating connections between NGOs and communities (ibid., Prince, 2015). However, within KCC and LGBY it is clear that volunteers want agency and status within their communities, and do not want to be utilised as what Dill calls "development tools" (2009).

The work of this thesis has shown that multiple types of work intersect and are valued in various ways. Understanding these connections is important, and the connections can be made visible through considering both informal and alternative economies perspectives. However, it is not enough to simply name or draw attention to alternatives. Types of work outside of the paid formal are already

accounted for by Tanzanian statistics (NBS, 2014), and yet this is not reflected in policy. Instead it is necessary to ask how the positives of these alternatives can be built upon, whilst challenging negatives based on inequalities.

The two elements I have identified as important when analysing work: level of obligation and rewards, can be utilised to form a better way of analysing work. For example, Christina who took care of her grandchildren, and participated in the *Sauti ya Mama na Mtoto* programme had an obligation to care for the children (Interview 20, S). This meant that she was required to work to financially support the household, as well as being obliged to engage in domestic labour in order to keep everyone in the household fed and clean. In contrast, young male volunteers may have utilised work at the community groups as part of survival strategies, but most had a home provided by their families, and no dependents. Therefore, their work as volunteers was not obligation. In terms of rewards, Christina received very few rewards, in that her work did not bring status, sometimes she did not earn enough capital, and she struggled particularly during the rainy season to make enough money. In contrast, the young men gained both internal and external rewards through their volunteer work; in a way closed off to women who were more likely to be caught up in a cycle of obligation work.

Historically Tanzanian development discourses have implied a certain level of obligation in the framing of self-help as obligation or as a requirement of citizenship (Hunter, 2015). However, this served to put the burden of change on those already overburdened. This research has moved beyond the idea that volunteering is an obligation, and shown that in some ways it may contribute to an unequal division of obligation in other spaces, for example, at a household level. It may therefore represent a rejection of certain types of obligation. Development interventions should therefore be designed to ensure equitable division of both obligation and reward. The first step is to analyse the work which is already being done within communities. The second is to disrupt the ways in which obligation and reward are divided. This would require a concerted effort across a range of scales from the individual household level up to group leaders, NGOs and governments. For example, although young men who volunteer are engaging in caring labours within the community groups, there is little evidence that they are taking responsibility for caring labours within households as demonstrated by the fact that only women mentioned caring and domestic labour within the home

without a prompt. This is despite an understanding and valuing of the work which women do within the household. For example, LGBY members praised women as trustworthy and hardworking, and best placed to deliver benefits to children (LGBY Focus Group S/ESL). Building upon this recognition of the importance and role of women, the groups could aim to have equal representation of men and women in leadership roles within the groups. However, this would have to be supported by policies or programmes which also ensured a more equitable division of obligation. This could take the form, for example, of a work swap in which young men took on child care, or food preparation tasks for women in order to enable women to take on roles within the community groups without adding to their work load or obligation. In the long term, the reduction of obligation work of all kinds to a minimum would be a positive goal.

For more relevant and equitable development interventions there are three steps to the process. Firstly, an understanding of people's work obligations and intersections is necessary in order to base interventions on knowledge. These understandings can be gained by utilising informality and alternative economies approaches as lenses to view the roles of work holistically. Secondly, by paying attention to whether or not work is obligation, a more equitable division of labour can be encouraged. By highlighting obligation, rather than pay, domestic labour is valued alongside paid labour as necessary for survival. Work could be divided in order to ensure an equitable division of obligation, as well as an equitable division of rewards. Thirdly, by analysing masculinity as a starting point for the consideration of gender, gendered development practices which continue to engage only with women can be subverted. There is a culture within the community groups in which masculinity is formed through an engagement with care work, but also one in which masculinity continues to be based on status and power. The men of the community groups are motivated by gaining social status, and in the context of these community groups status can be gained through caring interventions. An understanding of this motivation could enable the engagement of men in sacrificing some of the space they take up as leaders within groups in order to enable women to take on leadership roles. By utilising hooks' ideas of what constitutes love, an ideas way of working which embodies those characteristics could be aimed for.



For development interventions on a larger scale these distinctions between obligation and reward, and an understanding of masculinities could also change the ways in which these interventions are designed. This would require a cultural shift from focussing on increasing the number of people in paid work, to disconnecting rewards from paid work, and providing protections which are not attached to work status. The work of the community groups shows that there are many positive types of work occurring. Universal protections would allow people engaged in volunteer or community labour, as well as reproductive household labour to continue doing their work of care and obligation. Reducing the amount of obligation labour, and dividing it more equitably is something which is necessary in more developed nations and organisations too. The groups, despite the caring work and best intentions recreate unequal power relations through their leadership structures, and their interventions which focus on women and children. A one size fits all approach is not adequate, and not taking into account context and power relations is clearly problematic.

### ***Gaps and future research***

There are elements of this research which require further explanation. In the methodology I discussed the way in which the linguistically hybrid nature of many of the interviews was an unexpected challenge. By paying attention to the spaces in-between languages, the differences in meaning, and the topics discussed in each language, the impact of linguistically hybrid interviews on data collection could be better understood. However, without a full and detailed bi-lingual analysis of interview transcripts it is impossible to fully analyse the impact of these linguistic changes on the data collected. I recommend a detailed analysis of the information contributed in both languages.

Within the community groups, the work which participants engaged in were varied, intersected in a variety of ways, and participants often placed importance on the morality of work as well as having a responsibility for others. As discussed this may be impacted by Tanzania's socialist history, and a rejection of narratives of individual competition. However, community groups are a very specific context, with stated aims of working to help other people. Therefore, it is likely that they contain higher proportions of those who value care and responsibility for others. Further research could examine the ways in which the work of community groups connects with work occurring within the wider community. For example, does the

child care and education offered by the community groups relieve parental burdens, potentially freeing up time to engage in other work or leisure? I have discussed the tensions between some volunteers and their families who would rather their children were engaging in paid work. However, the extent to which domestic responsibilities are ignored by participants is unknown unless contributions of other household members are looked at in more detail. Looking at work within households alongside the work of community groups would also enable an analysis of how households support volunteers, potentially enabling them to work for free.

Moving away from the community groups altogether and looking at the work done by others within the geographic areas of the community group would also enable a more holistic understanding of work in the area, and how interventions may impact those beyond the confines of the community group. It would also then be possible to assess how much changing masculinities are impacted by the context of the community groups and how much changes are impacted by the context of the community as a whole. Widening the scope of analysis to include those beyond the community groups would therefore enable an increased understanding of whether the findings of this research have a wider applicability.

The specific context of the community groups has also impacted the way in which I have considered masculinity. I have suggested that young men are utilising the context of the community groups to renegotiate their masculinities. However, masculinities are multiple and context dependent. The broader character of Tanzanian masculinities has not been explored, and neither has the impact of colonial, socialist, and post-colonial contexts. It would be interesting to look more deeply at the ways in which men negotiate their masculinities in Tanzania specifically, and whether this has impacted the work of the young men in the community groups. For example, potentially there is more status to be found in teaching within Tanzania than in other places due to Nyerere's status as *mwalmu*.

This thesis was not focussed on households, family, or romantic relations. However, where it has touched upon these topics it has only referred to heteronormative relationships. This is representative of the way in which my participants talked about their relationships. Where I have discussed gender I have only referred to men and women despite the fact that gender is not binary. Although the

discussions here are to a certain extent both hetero-normative and cis-normative, this is reflective of how gender is viewed by my participants. Homosexual acts are illegal in Tanzania (BBC, 2017), and so relationships outside of a heterosexual norm are not openly discussed. The only reference to other relationships was made by a participant who told me that gay men were one of the biggest problems in his community, and that homosexuality was not appropriate for Africans. Therefore, further research may look beyond cis-normative ideas of gender, and heteronormative ideas of sexuality. It may be that this provides new perspectives on the creation of masculinities and femininities and the relationships between them.

I suggest that paying attention to the issues within the methodology, and looking at the applicability of these research themes to contexts beyond the confines of the community groups would enable greater understandings of work, volunteering, masculinity, care, and possibilities for alternative forms of development.

### ***Conclusion***

In the webs of connection which facilitate work for members of community groups, multiple types of work intersect, forming strategies of survival as well as a multitude of other rewards. Instead of looking at types of work separately, I have shown that for my participants work is entangled. Rejecting distinctions of work between paid and unpaid, or formal and informal, I instead suggest that work should be assessed in terms of obligation and reward. This is an analysis which should enable more equitable divisions of labour.

Discussions of informality have, up to now, excluded many types of informal interaction. I have utilised informality as a lens to view different actions and the connections between them. In doing so I have shown that in the lives of my research participants there are many valuable forms of work such as domestic labour, volunteering, and community care which it is not possible to formalise. This lens therefore illustrates how much is outside of the boundaries of regulation. Aiming for formalisation of work in order to create social protections limits who receives these protections. Decoupling protections and benefits from paid and formal work is necessary if all members of society are to gain equal protections.

Although volunteering in many ways is the same whether in the global north in which a majority of the literature is situated, or in the community groups of my

research, volunteering in contexts of poverty fulfils a slightly different purpose. Volunteering emphasises the need for choice, and self-determination, and provides a space in which volunteers can control their own narratives. The choices made by volunteers have shown the types of value which work brings, and have formed the basis of a way of considering rewards as personal development, internal, external, financial, and benefits to others. Much of this is documented in the small literature of volunteering in East Africa, but this work moves beyond this by emphasising the rewards inherent in volunteering, highlighting the sometimes competing obligations which influence whether or not a person volunteers, and highlighting gendered power relations within groups.

This freedom of narrative which comes with volunteering has also enabled young men to negotiate their masculinities. Rather than a destructive or negative expression of masculinities, the young men have engaged in productive and caring labours. However, gendered inequalities persist, and so this is not a cause for celebration just yet. It is possible to gain rewards from caring roles, but the relative freedom of men in public spaces enables them greater freedoms of negotiations of role and status.

Development interventions must be relevant to those they are designed to help, and should take their cue from what is already happening within communities. By beginning from an understanding of work and its connections, by analysing the distribution of obligation and reward, and by analysing masculinities in order to challenge male privilege as well as female disadvantage, interventions could be more equitable and relevant. There is a potential to build upon care and positive aspects of alternative economies, only if the relational nature of work and embedded systems of power are acknowledged and challenged by any interventions. The variety of work, and the rewards gained from the work by participants in my research show a desire for meaning and value as well as a need for survival. New goals, based on equitable obligation and reward, has the potential to create new ways of valuing work. Grounded in work in community groups in Dar es Salaam, these goals could influence more equitable divisions of labour in other contexts, building on elements of love and care, sharing the burden of work of obligation, and enabling contexts in which a more equitable division of reward is possible.

## Appendix 1: Research Permit

### TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (COSTECH)



Telephones: (255 - 022) 2775155 - 6, 2700745/6  
Director General: (255 - 022) 2700750&2775315  
Fax: (255 - 022) 2775313  
Email: [relatrance@costech.or.tz](mailto:relatrance@costech.or.tz)  
*In reply please quote: CST/RCA 2015/206*

Ali Hassan Mwinyi Road  
P.O. Box 4302  
Dar es Salaam  
Tanzania

11<sup>th</sup> January 2016

Director of Immigration Services  
Ministry of Home Affairs  
P.O. Box 512

DAR ES SALAAM

Dear Sir/Madam,

#### RESEARCH PERMIT

We wish to introduce **Sabina L. Lawrie** from UK who has been granted Research Permit No. 2016-08-NA-2015-206 dated 11<sup>th</sup> January 2016

The permit allows him/her to do research in the country "Community Support Networks in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania"

We would like to support the application of the researcher(s) for the appropriate immigration status to enable the scholar(s) begin research as soon as possible.

By copy of this letter, we are requesting regional authorities and other relevant institutions to accord the researcher(s) all the necessary assistance. Similarly the designated local contact is requested to assist the researcher(s).

Yours faithfully

M. Mushi

for: DIRECTOR GENERAL

CC:

1. Regional Administrative Secretary: Dar es Salaam
2. Local contact: Dr. Herbert Hambati, College of Social Sciences, University of Dar es Salaam, P.O. Box 35049, Dar es Salaam
3. Co-Researcher: None

**TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY  
(COSTECH)**



Telephones: (255 - 022) 2775155 - 6, 2700745/6  
Director General: (255 - 022) 2700750&2775315  
Fax: (255 - 022) 2775313  
Email: [rclearance@costech.or.tz](mailto:rclearance@costech.or.tz)

Ali Hassan Mwinyi Road  
P.O. Box 4302  
Dar es Salaam  
Tanzania

**RESEARCH PERMIT**

No. 2016-08-NA-2015-206

11<sup>th</sup> January 2016

1. Name : Sabina L. Lawrie
2. Nationality : British
3. Title : Community Support Networks in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
4. Research shall be confined to the following region(s): Dar es Salaam
5. Permit validity from: 11<sup>th</sup> January 2016 to 10<sup>th</sup> January 2017
6. Contact/Collaborator: Dr. Herbert Hambati, College of Social Sciences, University of Dar es Salaam, P.O. Box 35049, Dar es Salaam
7. Researcher is required to submit progress report on quarterly basis and submit all Publications made after research.



M. Mushi

for: DIRECTOR GENERAL

## Appendix 2: Data Tables

Code	Total occurrences of code	Number of interviews containing code
Networks	230	49
Education	158	45
Tensions	142	39
Knowledge	142	45
Paid	122	42
Opportunity	112	40
Responsibility for others	88	37
Success	85	36
Formal	83	36
Care	83	38
Unpaid	75	31
Informal	74	33
Volunteering	72	26
Mind set	71	26
Financial	68	28
Teaching	58	25
Passing it forward	56	32
Traditional Gender Roles	55	34
Expectations	52	20
Training	51	21
Gendered divisions of labour	42	29
Self confidence	42	17
Financial	40	25
Social Status	38	24
Hierarchy	33	14
Care work	33	21
Entrepreneurship	30	17
Women = Children	28	17
Sharing	28	16
Hard Work	24	19
Reciprocity	24	17
Morality	23	12
Obligation	21	14
Responsibility for the community	20	12
Emotional Labour	19	10
Responsibility for oneself	17	13
Gender	16	11
Community	15	7
Age	12	10
Wasting time	12	7
Exchange	11	6
Men taking on women's roles	9	7
Modern	9	6
Traditional	6	3
Direct	5	3
Men as leaders	4	4
Empower	3	2
Women taking on men's roles	0	0

Table 7.1 - Frequency of codes

	Community Group							
	AVC		Corona Society		KCC		LGBY	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Volunteers	0	2	2	0	4	13	1	6
Attendees	0	0	2	0	5	3	11	2
Under 20	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1
20 - 30	0	1	0	0	7	13	3	7
31 - 40	0	1	0	0	0	1	5	0
41+	0	0	4	0	1	0	4	0
Total	0	2	4	0	7	16	12	8

Table 7.2 - Interviewee Characteristics



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