The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

The Department of Learning and Performance Systems

"JUA KALI" YOUTHS AND HOW THEY NEGOTIATE WORK IN THE

INFORMAL ECONOMIC SECTOR IN KENYA AND UGANDA

A Dissertation in

Adult Education and Comparative and International Education

by

Jerome Agelu

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

August 2014

The dissertation of Jerome Agelu was reviewed and approved* by the following:

Ladislaus M. Semali
Professor of Education
Dissertation Advisor
Chair of Committee

Davin J. Carr-Chellman
Assistant Professor of Education
Learning and Performance systems

Jamie M. Myers
Professor of Education
Curriculum and Instruction

Kidane Mengisteab
Professor of African Studies and Political Science

Kyle Peck
Director of Graduate Studies
Learning and Performance Systems

*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School

ABSTRACT

This is a comparative study, conducted in the capital cities, Nairobi, Kenya and Kampala, Uganda, and focusing on youths' informal learning, transiting to adulthood, and seeking employment. The research explores Jua Kali youths with informal skills accessing employment opportunities in the informal economic sector. In the conceptual framework, youths exit school early before acquiring skills, and consequently become involved in informal work or in activities that are not official or regulated by government. While engaging in these activities, youth attain life skills. The adopted thematic analysis serves as the analytic and interpretive lens for informants' experiences and for focusing on events influencing the search for work, the impact of negotiating work in Jua Kali, and youths' attitudes toward second-chance education.

The study notes: First, results produced are closely similar for the context countries (e.g., informants responses reveal existing disenchantment in formal educational practices as cause for a lack of skills for those exiting school early. Second, fundamental factors, organizational intricacies in Jua Kali, lack of guiding rules, inadequate experience prior to employment, roles of social networks, formal educational attainments; and personal qualities influence access to employment by youths. Third, accessing employment in Jua Kali by the youthful population reveals desired impact on their wellbeing: Youths feel fulfilled, happy and economically empowered. Contrarily, undesirable economic consequences persist; disillusionment due to income instability, and displacement from work or aggravated poverty, rendering youths vulnerable to socio-economic hardships. In response to the challenges of Jua Kali youths, time is propitious for second-chance education that is; workplace, and occupational based toward improvement of current youths' skills. Finally, this study contributes to the ongoing research in adult education, particularly in the nuanced concept of second-chance education as a compensatory educational strategy for those who do not complete the formal educational cycle.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As a Christian and servant of God, first, I praise Him who in His divine plan inspired and enabled me to take up this program. I have always said; if God is on our side, who will be against us?

I owe enormous gratitude, first, to Bishop Emmanuel Obbo who permitted me to enroll for this program. Next, to my dissertation committee: Dr. Ladislaus Semali, Dr. Davin J. Carr-Chellman, Dr. Jamie M. Myers, and Dr. Kidane Mengisteab. I have renewed appreciation for their guidance, support, and encouragement that propelled me to delve into the world of gainful employment. Similarly, I am indebted to my Pennsylvania State University Advisors, Dr. Fred and once more, Dr. Ladi, whose mentorship inspired the adopted direction for research.

For his informative comments, I owe gratitude to Professor Ikoja-Odongo from Makerere University and leader of the Task Force, Soroti University. He provided the much appreciated initial briefing during the initial stages of research that dispelled anxiety at that time. Importantly, I thank Atim Magdalene for selflessly donated time to transcribe recorded data.

I am so grateful to my family who bestowed encouragement and support in many ways. In particular, I thank my parents, Oluka Aloysius (RIP) and Aguti Mary Lucy, for the strong background they imparted enabling me accomplish this project.

Finally, sentiments of appreciation to Africaner Research Center (ARC) for the initial grant towards feasibility study, then to my friends, the Jeffs in Australia, Barbara Rao, Katherine Wilson, Elizabeth Kirchner, for additional financial support. Next, I am grateful to Anne Christine and Joseph Asutai, Agnes and Henry Onaba, Gabriel Arumet, Catherine Ariokot, Fr. Richard P. Okiria, Fr. Simon Elweu, Fr. Simon Wankya, Fr. Samuel Okiria, Fr. Silver Opio, Fr. Francis Iroot (AJ), Fr. Peter Mushi (AJ), Silvester Ocaatum, entire staff and Students of Teso College Aloet, whose inspiration and support encouraged the writing of this dissertation.

Chapter 1

Introduction

"Jua Kali" is youths who have left formal schooling early to roam the streets of East Africa for employment. In Kenya and Uganda these youths are 15 to 24 years old, an age group identified by the World Bank as the most dominant group in Sub-Saharan Africa and also as the group most vulnerable for engaging in criminal behavior and incurring significant health problems (Garcia and Fares, 2007). In the same report, this youthful cohort are in a period of transition into adulthood, with concomitant marriage, heading households, and actively participating in the responsibilities of communities' growth. These conditions form a basis for the selection of this cohort for investigation in this research.

This chapter essentially defines the problem and purpose of study, the major key terms and concepts, and the conceptual framework, contained in the background. However, in the succeeding sections, explanation of the study's evolution and the strategies adopted to minimize bias to elicit objective findings is necessary.

Study's Evolution

The topic of this research is the result of experience in the clergy, and work and practice as a teacher in secondary schools, involving the most vulnerable groups, who, due to poverty in northern Uganda, are often marginalized or exploited. The story of Isaac (pseudonym) arose in one conversation with workers in informal economic sector. Isaac was a hard-working but poor youth who spent several hours every day in the city but continued to live for many years in miserable conditions that did not

adequately provide the basic necessities of life: sufficient food, descent accommodations, and adequate health care, among other needs.

 Perhaps, hoping to find a solution, he quickly related leaving the educational system after Senior Three (S.3) or (Grade 9) level. He recalled when the Head-teacher requested all defaulters of fees leave school with stern instructions to meet the outstanding bills. That day was his last in school, and the painful departure shattered his dream of becoming a pilot. In Isaacs' words, "it is bad to be poor…my poor parents could not support my education; …It is frustrating…"

Following the influences of stories of peers who had migrated to the city seeking work, Isaac did likewise. In the city, he worked for more than five years, but without much change in his socio-economic status. Life conditions continue to be challenging; dreams remain unfulfilled, and due to his job he remains a pauper unable to fulfill his responsibilities for his family or save for the future. The conditions Isaac described provided a new impression of the informal economic sector's activities that occur in city streets in Kenya and Uganda. Isaac cast light on the challenges facing numerous youths languishing in profitless informal ventures, and trapping them in poverty (ILO, 2012). Several scholars whose studies centered in countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, including Kenya and Uganda, confirm that a majority of youths live in economic crisis (Chigunta, 2002; Oluranti, 2007; Zeleen, Linden, Nampota and Ngabirano, 2010; Semali and Mehta, 2012).

The disturbing experiences of Isaac created an evolved perspective toward urban informal economic activities in East Africa. Clearly, these informal activities are inadequate in responding to adults' needs and family life. Isaac's reactions created an awareness of several unexplained problems facing the youths in the informal economic sector. On the basis of circumstances of several youths who share Isaac's story, undoubtedly if authorities do not address the challenges faced by contemporary African youths for employment, education, and health, then the unemployment crisis, the high school dropout rates and other difficulties, will remain unresolved, and might even advance to alarming proportions. Accordingly, failure to aggressively address challenges facing the youths makes the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) impossible. To deepen the theoretical

understanding of the problem, graduate studies were a solution. Influenced by a strong feeling that a rapid solution to Africa's problems lies among adult people, who currently manage, and control resources, enrolling in Adult Education in Pennsylvania State University, positively rated for excellent programs, became necessary to gain a deeper understanding of adult learning practices. To enrich this study, multi-site studies, offered through the Comparative and International Educational Program at the university were pursued. The purpose of these studies is to redirect previously haphazard interventions conducted among youths and adults and to contribute to development of a comprehensive strategy to alleviate youths' problems.

The long term objective has been to support the socio-economic initiatives that transform the efforts of local peoples' achieving decent lives, especially those living in villages or in rural areas, and unable to escape poverty, at a time when the world searches for solutions to curb unemployment in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the summer of 2012, an initiated project examined the urban, learning practices of those adults engaging in the informal economic sector in the Jua Kali context within the urban areas in East Africa. This study reveals important insight regarding the informal sector activities, which absorb those deserting formal education prior to skills training.

The study, therefore, challenges policy-makers and educators to know and respond to the problems facing the informal economic sector's youths. Without doubt, ignoring the problems of a growing population of youths, engulfed in challenges is a clear sign of scholarly neglect. Thus, this comparative study of Kenya and Uganda attempts to investigate the issues or factors which shape the phenomenon uncovered and to outline the impact and challenges currently experienced by this particular age group.

Maintaining Professional Objectivity

For this particular study, dealing with idiosyncratic aspects of professional objectivity is of critical importance. The circumstances of this study create the potential for bias which can mislead

interpretation of the findings and conclusions. To maintain professional objectivity and to proceed with the research, a feasibility study directed toward gaining dynamic insight into the problem and to guide preparation of a proposal was inevitable. These exercises identified the appropriate role for conducting investigation; circumventing personal bias, avoiding distorted validity and reliability (Glesne, 1999).

Gathering data required learning from people through first-hand association and aural attention, following the advice of Glesne (1999): One "must learn to sit with people…must learn to sit and listen…" (p. 32). Guided by the ethnographic approach, submersion among the cultural group of the study is imperative, and led to joining both idle and busy Jua Kali youths to "understand the research setting, its participants and their behavior" (Glesne, 1999, p. 45). The important roles became observer, notary, and guide for informants, and prompter for elicitation of views for recording.

Several strategies mediated personal humility: Resolution to be an accurate listener overcame, for instance, misconceptions involving prior knowledge of the topic. The presumption had been previous familiarity with the problem; the predisposition, if unchecked would likely jeopardize objective research. Instrumental to ethnographic study is listening to participants who have knowledge of the subject being studied (Glesne, 1999).

Difficultly arose in overcoming personal biases due to presumed familiarity existing for years from close association with or among the study's population. Nonetheless, ensuring that subjectivity did not overshadow interpretations and findings required continual reflecting. Furthermore, guided by Glesne (1999), the practice of sharing thoughts, transcripts, and drafts with participants, peers, and other scholars supported accurate representation of ideas.

Background to the Study

Statement of Problem and Context

A study to explain the factors influencing the methods youths use to negotiate employment is vital. The feasibility study of East Africa during the summer of 2012 showed that a majority of youths engaging in the informal economic sector remain without permanent jobs, are underemployed or merely remain in casual engagements, taking temporary jobs along the streets (e.g., offering portage for travelers' luggage or working for many years as helper workers in building sites or auto repair garages, among others, as reported to the ILO by Gough, Langevang, and Owusu (2013), Garcia and Fares (2008) or as cited by Oluranti (2007). The employment circumstances among many youths engaging in informal economic activities in Kenya and Uganda leave a majority of them in low paying jobs that do not allow meeting aspirations, and consequently remain trapped in poverty. In the course of conversations with youths involved in informal activities during the feasibility study, several admitted to inadequate and unstable incomes. Overall, many problems affect youths in East Africa and unemployment is "only a partial indicator of employment problems" (Ryan, 2001, p. 37). Simultaneously, the available programs targeting youths in the region do not seem to reach the foundations of the problems. During preliminary summer studies, there were a number of notable interventions including governmental and agencies' programs in Kenya and Uganda, like Undugu Society (Kenya), Child Restoration Outreach (Uganda), UNICEF, World Vision, religious organizations, and individuals, all of which focus on uplifting the impoverished youths on the streets, particularly in the capital cities of Nairobi and Kampala. The efforts of most organizations concentrate on youths' training with technical skills, or providing some education (e.g., a program of the Undugu Society, that seeks to remove children from streets and equip them with basic skills by "increasing the educability of children)" (Oumo, 2004, p. 7).

In both Kenya and Uganda, the emphasis of interventions is programs for developing skills through Technical and Vocational Educational Training (TVET) or Business and Technical Vocational

Educational Training (BTVET), implemented in collaboration with other NGOs (Alila and Penderson, 2001). Other efforts, among NGOs, focus on providing food, shelter, and arranging a return of some youths to formal schooling (Jacob, Smith, Hite, and Yao Cheng, 2004). However, arguably, these efforts remain temporary, inadequate, and incomprehensive in addressing the core needs of the youths. In retrospect, governments' and some NGOs' initiatives within the context of this study sometimes offer empty promises to youths. As this study suggests, youths who learn skills as Jua Kali become trapped in poverty or in conditions similar or even worse than those which caused them to flee their villages. In general, several programs focus on alleviating poverty, and yet apparently with no accomplishment; lending truth to the perspective: "not every change, even important change, constitutes transformation" (Mezirow, 2000, p. 59). This study argues for the necessity of critical research into youths' struggling to construct a fruitful future and to expose the factors which hinder development. Certainly, studies should encompass all groups of youths whether employed in the formal or informal economic sectors. This study argues that all sectors in the national economy should strive towards greater "accountability, standards, and increased performance" (Shinn, 2012, p. 613). The matters described are indeed issues requiring urgent attention, especially as markets experience stiff competition resulting from the current impact of globalizing economies that in turn shape relationships (Jarvis, 2011; Shinn, 2012).

Furthermore, a report of Jua Kali youths in the summer of 2012 affirmed that some of the most immediate current socio-economic considerations regarding youths, in the 21st century, include education, development of skills, employment, eradication of poverty, among others (World Bank, 2012). The study by the World Bank identified the unemployment problem among youths to be alarming and requiring address; otherwise, the problem will fester and perhaps explode beyond measurable proportions. This study focuses on youths, informal learning and work. Specifically, the study focuses on youths' methods for negotiating employment in the informal economic sector is an attempt to deepen understanding of hidden issues necessary for appropriate solutions. This study argues that unless authorities address the problems of unemployment and of formal education "the 'crisis' facing contemporary African youths will remain unresolved and possibly worsen" (Locke and Lintelo, 2012, p.1).

This study seeks to probe and explicate three essential issues: The effectiveness of informal skills in enhancing youths' access to employment in the informal economic labor market, the consequences from unfavorable negotiations for employment for the Jua Kali youths, the existent second chance education or life-opportunities for these youths. As shown by several studies, formal education in the East African region tends to disenchant many youths and encourages early exit from formal schooling, with youths' resorting to engagement in petty economic activities (e.g., street vending or engaging in casual and temporary, low paying work). Ultimately, these informal economic activities are a concern of the study because they maintain "a poverty trap" (Semali and Mehta, 2012, p.225).

In general, available data affirms the argument for exploring the situation in these two countries. Table: 1 is a sample estimate of populations' statistics which reflect symptomatic challenges, generally affecting all youths, including those negotiating employment in Jua Kali space, in Kenya and Uganda.

Table 1: Sample of population statistics and rates of some youths' challenges

	National Youth population %	Urban Informal youth %	Youths' access to business capital %	Average urban unemployment %	Youths urban Poverty rate %
Kenya	36	27.3	17	36.9	15.9
Uganda	19.9	37.8	12	8	4.6

Source: World Bank (2012, UN (2012), UNESCO (2010), & ILO (2012).

In table 1 above, the youths' populations of Kenya and Uganda represent 36 percent and 19.9 percent respectively, of the total national populations. The statistics further reveal that several youths join the urban informal economic sector (Kenya (27.3), and Uganda (37.8) percent. In general, significant numbers of youths, in both Kenya and Uganda, are faced with immense challenges, including; limited access to business capital, unemployment that persistently hinder their socio-economic development (World Bank, 2012; UN, 2012; UNESCO, 2010; ILO 2012). The estimated population for the current

study is approximately 4 million from Kenya and 2.5 million from Uganda, totaling 6.5 million youths in these countries.

The following can be said about the applicability of this study; first, studies on Jua Kali youths coincides with current studies, including those of Adult Education, which focus on adult learning systems among all those who, by age bracket or role, classify as adults (Knowles, 1984; Merriam and Caffarella, 2007). Second, it is part of the efforts to uncover conundrums and hidden truths that account for tensions in social relations, and in turn, reveal methods "to empower people to change society radically" (Fossey, 2002, p. 719). Third, the current study is a component of the effort to explain the challenges requiring resolution to enhance the adult population's active and profitable participation in national economic development. As noted in the World Bank Report (2008), adults, as a human capital, can change their conditions when they have the means. With particular reference to the East African region, the overarching message in the UNESCO (2012) and ILO (2012) reports are the necessity for investment in human capital, particularly in youth in Sub-Saharan Africa. Lastly, this research adds to educational and developmental discourses, generally dealing with human emancipation (UNESCO, 2012; ILO, 2012).

Definitions of key terms and concepts

Jua Kali Youths

The study notes that there is no commonly accepted definition of the term "Jua Kali" in the East African Region. However, for purposes of this study, the Jua Kali youths refers to creative, self-employed people commonly found on city streets of East Africa, and who, earn livings by street enterprises and fabrications of metal products into valuable-useable items from used or scrap materials. In this context, these are youths who exited formal schooling before achieving skills, and seek to fulfill the needs of survival by working in the urban informal economic sector. In general usage, the term "Jua Kali" is a Swahili word, which means "hot sun" (Neizert, 1998, p. 263; Ikoja-Odongo and Ocholla, 2004, p, 55). In

Kenya and Uganda, similar to the rest of East Africa, the term Jua Kali refers to men and women working in the open air, and often under the hot sun. This study specifically denotes the term Jua Kali as space or environment of informal economic workers.

Jua Kali is, therefore, considered a cultural space constituting a number of unique features that make it distinct: First, it is real space occupying slots or spots situated in the open sections of the city grounds or streets, (e.g., road junctions, verandahs of shops, including the backyards of shops or sometimes shades trees on the open grounds). A Jua Kali space is dotted in several parts of the cities of East Africa, although it is typically a temporary location. It is space that is not formally designated by the authorities, but merely tolerated. Second, within Jua Kali environment, several different informal economic activities occur. The stated activities combine all casual engagements along the streets or verandahs of shops in cities or by road junctions, and includes activities such as: mechanical work, car painting or spraying, panel beating, metal fabrication, sale of used vehicle parts, tailoring, shoe repair, salon services or carpentry work. The activities of Jua Kali youths reveal an occurrence of an interesting phenomenon, which Quinton, like Daniels (2010), depicts as Jua Kali space as an avenue for a new form of industrialization, majorly because of the characteristic element of improvisation, and the will "to do" or create, characterizing the activities of its workforce. For example, Jua Kali workers are willing to try other alternatives or new ways of solving their clients' problems, (For example; the Jua Kali youths always promise their clients with complaints that they will do "something" or find a solution, depicting Jua Kali space as an avenue for creativity). Third, Jua Kali is a dynamic arena that occasions meetings of peoples who seek employment or those looking for services. Therefore, Jua Kali is space receiving youths who are not formally employed, but seek outside jobs and are willing to do any available work along streets in Kenya and Uganda. Jua Kali space is the host of negotiations and interactions of members, as well as members and the public. The members of Jua Kali sometimes conduct their activities or business, while roaming the city or with their articles strapped round their bodies or balancing on their heads, to take advantage of peopled places, e.g., in taxi or bus stops or in public parks.

As a space, Jua Kali has opportunities for work, and therefore, capital accumulation, particularly to the smartest artisans (skilled or experienced, and active members who can win the attention of the public or clients). The successful members of the space, become prosperous over the years, and in turn dominate the scene (control a lot of resources). On the contrary, this study noted that some of the workers who do not own or control resources become victims of exploitation, and marginalization, as this study noted for cases of youthful workforce.

The youths absorbed into Jua Kali space, like any other participants of the informal economy in East Africa popularly represent Jua Kali workforce also referred to as "artisans," a term locally used to refer to Jua Kali youths, who engage in unregulated or unofficial craft becoming self-styled workers in the above mentioned activities. While engaging in Jua Kali space these practitioners prefer calling themselves "engineers" or "mechanics" because they act as tradesmen who also maintain vehicles and other engine powered machines.

In recent years, "the term Jua Kali has increasingly been applied generally to mean informal economy [sic] sector, and not only by ordinary East Africans, but also by scholars and government administrators" (Neizert, 1998, p. 263). For this study, Jua Kali as an environment or space located in urban areas offers numerous economic opportunities for jobless youths on the streets seeking work to meet the needs of survival. Within this space, several enterprises exist, such as auto repairs, car panel straightening and painting, motor-bike repair, tire mending, metal fabrication into household items, shoe repair, tailoring, among others. The positioning of youths in Jua Kali space is the central concern of this study, which focuses on diagnosing the economic problems facing the youths in the informal economic sector to guide policy development to direct activities of the informal employees.

Informal Economic Sector

The term informal economic sector, as the name suggests, encompasses all jobs, including even those not recognized as normal sources of income, and on which taxes are not paid such as selling waste

plastic bottles, mending and retreading used tires. In Kenya and Uganda the urban back streets thrive on informal economic activities conducted by a variety of "artisans," including barbers, domestic cleaners, food-vendors, bicycle repairers, carpenters, and auto mechanics, among others. In most cases these activities operate in places not properly designated, and as such, appear disorganized as indicated by the ILO report (Bangasser, 2000) or the UNESCO report (Sparks and Barnett, 2010), and Neizert (1998). Furthermore, the distinguishing characteristic of the informal economy is operating activities outside the institutions of the state, and therefore, without control or regulation by any authority.

The term informal economic sector, therefore, refers to illegal or unofficial economic activities, such as work done by individuals who earn wages but do not claim the income for taxing purposes or the economic activities conducted by people who hide from the authorities, evade taxation, and ignore any form of control. This is common in Kenya and Uganda, in which, the informal sector's groups change modalities of operation (e.g., change locations or resort to walking from place to place with merchandise). However, some formal urban shop owners send young people to market merchandise on the streets to passers-by and motorists or to sell items (e.g. manufactured goods, like perfumes, necklaces, toys, hair dressing kits, torches, batteries, or clothes) at bus or taxi stops. Girls carry such goods on their heads and boys strap large boards to their backs to displays wares for sale. In recent years, youths have adopted bicycles, turning them into carriages to be pushed along roads and through residential areas. These activities are for the most part illegal but often tolerated by the officials.

Traditionally, bartering or trading are the basis for informal economic activities with services performed in exchange for something other than money, although with modern and monetized economies, barter and trade are no longer a common practices, because, today, people prefer money as payment for services rendered.

A distinction is necessary between the rural informal economic sector and the urban informal economic sector as occurring in East Africa. The rural informal economy, as indicated by Ikoja-Odongo and Ocholla (2004), is actually synonymous with the so-called subsistence economy, typically inconsistent activities in which individuals engage in all sorts of occupations to earn a living and are often

of smaller scale than those in the urban informal economy. The rural informal economic sector may involve activities like cultivation of food eaten by families, or doing menial work in exchange for items like food, or for other services. Contrastingly, the urban informal economic sector, the focus of this research, is the opposite: highly commercial, profit-motivated, more diverse, and career oriented (treated as an occupation).

On the whole, the informal economic sector's employment is characteristically based on kinship or blood relationship or influenced by personal and social relations: The youths get work through their family ties or connections. During the feasibility study, apparently, the informal economic sector's practices include no contractual arrangements, and unlike the formal sector, the informal sector has no formal regulations. In the informal sector, individuals create business alliances on the basis of trust, or social relations, and histories of a previous cooperation. The arising persistent issues are the Jua Kali youths' negotiating employment in very complex circumstances, with no availability of training involved, and relying on the role of informal learning.

Commonly accepted in East Africa, the entrants into the informal economic sector constitute mostly youths who have left formal education early before attaining skills or training of any kind. These youths return to their villages or rural communities and eventually, forced by circumstances, migrate to large urban centers in search of avenues for survival (Droz, 2006). After sometime dwelling in the city, often the harsh conditions of life force youths to seek survival in the informal economy.

The problem as pointed out above suggests that, informal economic sector is an alternative venue for youths leaving school early before skills training. For this reason, this study argues for meaningful informal economic practices that are productive and profitable to enable its participants respond to life needs or meet life aspirations.

School Dropouts

"School dropouts" are those young people who abandon the formal education system before completing at least a high school diploma or a college certificate. In the literature review, several arguments advanced the notion that the causes for young people's abandoning formal education are financial conditions forcing them out of school, personal decisions to leave school, failure to achieve educational standards, or inability to cope up with school routines and requirements (Cardoso and Verner, 2006; Burkham, 2003).

In context of research, the UN report (2005) stated that, in Kenya and Uganda, 36.8 percent and 48.6 percent, respectively, did not complete primary education. In reference to causes for such alarming findings, determining the underpinning specific factors for youths abandoning school is difficult because influences overlap. The feasibility study reported factors that included: unfriendly educational practices and the environmental circumstances (socio-cultural, economic, political, and policies of given countries). This study terms factors responsible for the learners' early departure from the formal school system as "ousters," as opposed to those factors that encourage participation in school, known as "attractors." The causes of failure to complete formal educational cycle are discussed below to guide governments and all educational stakeholders who need to address them than just blame the learners.

The first category of school drop outs are those "forced out or pushed out of school" (Burkham, 2003. p. 354). This is a nuanced notion gaining popular acceptance in explaining the early departure of youths from school. In this case, learners have no control over their stay or departure from school, and therefore, cannot be blamed for leaving school before gaining skills. Arguably this notion of Burkham is acceptable and apportions blame to schools' conditions, characteristics over which the school or members of the educational community have some control.

Considering the "push out factors," produces a justifiable argument that action's being the sum of major causes for early departure from school. Experiences as a high school teacher reveal social factors traceable to parenting such as lack of discipline, control of hooliganism, discouragement of violence,

monitoring for early pregnancy, or support for adherence to school routines. The findings of Parrillo (2008) showed that, students who do not comply with school routines are often expelled or excluded from school and directed to other life-styles. In addition, factors responsible for high dropout rates are excessive poverty hindering families from meeting school requirements (e.g., tuition, uniforms, meals, and sanitary provisions for females) (G. Bishops, 1983). Politically, as in the case of Uganda, the long years of dictatorships and political upheavals have led to destruction of the educational infrastructure, displacement of families due to insecurity, including the burning of schools or repurposed as refugee centers, and children living in fear of abduction by combatants. Eventually, learners abandon education early.

In the review of literature, the second reason for exiting the educational system is attributable to personal decisions (Burkham, 2003; Cardoso and Verner, 2006; Parillo, 2008). Inarguably, for Kenya and Uganda, a number of learners leave school for various reasons including, the demise of parents, and thereby exposing youths to the responsibilities of heads of households, early parenthood, or economic problems in families, (e.g., famine or shortfalls for financing education). Sometimes, dropping out is due to harshness of teachers, causing learners' to lose interest in schooling. Considering these issues closely, all are external causes, for which young people are not responsible.

The third category of school dropouts represents a category of "failures" including all those who leave school because they are unsuccessful, failing to perform well in promotional examinations (Finn, 1989). Moreover, attributing dropping out to broad failure must of necessity include all learners who are maladjusted or have disabilities that interfere with coping with formal education.

For this study, when youths drop out of school, they eventually migrate to cities and seek work in informal economic activities. Auto mechanics are the target for this study because that activity is one of the most well-established informal economic activities or trades attracting significant numbers of youths. Using an explanatory approach, a focus on this sample population is useful for understanding the visible social factors, and the hidden issues affecting youths employed in the informal economic sector.

Negotiating Work

Negotiating work simply deals with the methods individuals use to access employment, and explains the complexities individuals' confront. The phenomenon of negotiation consists of a set of conditions or activities individuals use. The process is much more than stages leading to placement; therefore, the center of the discussion is finding an actual assignment and the details of wages received. In simple terms, the investigation deals with the occupational arrangements within Jua Kali environment or culture (Salazar, 2001).

The justification for the study population depends on the assertion that adults depend on work for survival, fulfillment and happiness. Unemployed adults are therefore, always searching and negotiating work (Freire, 1970). So, negotiations represent an element of the dynamism of human beings actively responding to the quest for fulfillment through work. Negotiating work is important for the influences on the individual's growth toward a career and life, accumulation of capital, and satisfaction with the workplace (Garcia and Fares, 2008). In fact, negotiating work provides an opening for individuals to participate and contribute to the development of communities, locales and nations. A successful negotiation for work supports the creation of a healthy population and a reliable, stable work force, simply because employment provides opportunities for productivity and satisfaction.

Research Purpose and Significance

The study adopts an explanatory approach: 1. Explanation of the factors shaping youths' negotiating work in the informal economic sector in Kenya and Uganda; 2. Examination of the impact of negotiating work to youths in Jua Kali space in Kenya and Uganda; 3. Investigation of the meaning of second-chance learning to Jua Kali youths in Kenya and Uganda; 4. Identification of the similarities and differences occurring in the negotiations for work among the youths of Jua Kali space in Kenya and Uganda.

Kenya and Uganda are countries of the Great Lakes Region in Africa, characterized as socio-economically and politically unstable regions, a condition affecting many youths (Ryan, 2001). The youthful population bound in these conditions becomes vulnerable and therefore susceptible to a challenging and hostile environment. Consequently, a specific study is necessary to investigate the issues affecting this forgotten segment of the population, whose vulnerability promotes participation in violent demonstrations, theft, burglary, highway robberies, pick pocketing, all of which create fear among city dwellers, and foreign visitors. Similarly, Awogbenle and Iwuamadi (2010) in their report to the ILO argue for deepening of understanding of youths' challenges so as to generate appropriate strategies to mitigate poverty and its consequences.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework shows that the children (eventually becoming the youths of this study) leave their families for school, but abandon education before development of skills. These youths eventually return to their villages to rejoin families and communities, before exploring other options in the urban informal sector. Figure 1 represents the conceptual framework of the study and clarifies the study's design:

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

Leaving formal schooling without high school or university diplomas relegates youths to inactive and unproductive lifestyles. The youths face pressures of family survival, such as the requirement for any mature person to provide for the wellbeing of the other family members, the burdens of early marriages and parenthood, which demand responsibility for dowries, and other family responsibilities, including leadership. In the context of African traditions and culture, notably, the wellbeing of African, extended families relies on the support and contributions of every individual family member.

These challenges in part, coerce rural youths, who lack skills, to migrate to urban centers in search of better livelihoods, only to confront new challenges, new street rules, and new prevailing norms (e.g., globalized technologies create globalized communities and dictate competences: mastery of international languages and digital forms of communication). Even assignments completed despite lacking a diploma or other credentials require networking among influential people from the formal economic sector, something the migratory youths cannot do.

Arising from the Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) and Experiential Learning Theory (ELT), selected as foundational for this study, where informal learning occurs from day-to-day experiences of individuals in communities or cultural groups. First, CHAT, as advanced by Engeström (1999), provides a valuable link to the idea of participation in activity as a rich source of learning, admittedly central in informal learning. Second, both CHAT and ELT situate learning in the activities of communities. In fact CHAT vividly depicts and recognizes the concept of the community as a classroom (Semali, 1999). Accordingly, experience is a recognized source of learning (Kolb, 1984; Dewey, 1938; Fenwick, 2000, and Michelson, 1996). Similarly, ELT emphasizes the day-to-day interactions between the subjects of learning and the environment. The description in the preceding sentence serves to explain informal learning as occurring in Jua Kali context, where youths join and engage in informal activities, and by repetitive performance, memorization and reflection, gain abilities to accomplish tasks similar to expert artisans.

Furthermore, this study adopts CHAT to explain that outcomes from any activity depend on several factors or components within the environment where activity occurs. In CHAT, relationships among factors are the results of changes in the individuals who in this case are subjects reacting to the object, the instruments, the rules, the community of practice, the division of labor, and the outcomes. In the conceptual framework, such a relationship occurs similarly among youths' negotiating work in Jua Kali environment comprising of people, work, rules of work and environment. Several factors impact youths in Jua Kali environment. The ELT equally places the individual at the center of learning, an idea at the core of informal learning. Fenwick (2000) revealed the individual as "a central actor in a drama of personal meaning making" (p. 248).

As the conceptual framework indicates, the informal economic sector is the only available option for youths who exit formal schooling early before attaining skills, and is, at the same time, the period for transitioning to adulthood (Garcia & Fares, 2008). This is an occasion for youths to meet life needs by copying activities on the streets. With the informally acquired skills, youths seek work in the informal economic sector, and indeed, this sector's activities attract numerous youths. Consequently, informal

learning is an avenue for transferring knowledge and skills to adults through everyday experiences (Knowles, 1984; Merriam and Caffarella, 2007).

However, informal learning unlike formal education occurs anywhere and at any time including, in contexts of formal institutions (i.e., classrooms or professional organizations) (Giancarlo, 2008). According to CHAT and ELT, these theories have provided a trajectory for social and educational transformation. In this trajectory, persons must maintain involvement in activities to resolve socio-economic problems. The focus in the current research is to expose the divide between mere activity and practice without results versus meaningful activity and practice that meets the goals of work. This study like Ezewu (2000) questions work, which does not lead to its goals, because it is "insufficient in a functional view of a social action" (p. 122).

Similar to Horton and Freire (1990), this study maintains that "real liberation is achieved through popular participation" (p. xxx). At the same time, the matter is not merely participation in activity, but productive participation, which leads to transformed lives. The study ultimately promotes creation of meaningful engagements, which reflect justice, fairness, descent living for even those youths who do not succeed in the formal education. The significant role played by informal learning in the informal labor market is core to this study. In the countries cited for this study, the informal sector is increasingly the province of young people, who lack completed education and skills.

The proposed study, "how youths negotiate work in the urban informal economic sector in Kenya and Uganda" is complex and dynamic because it considers multiple identities and interests. The study's design reveals the issues that shape youths' participation in Jua Kali, and explores them supported by various scholars' research and international reports, such as The World Development Report (WDR) (2007), ILO (2012), and UNESCO (2012). As depicted in the conceptual framework, several variables influence youths while negotiating work in Jua Kali context. The assumption is that these continually shape the methods youths use to negotiate work, and this study seeks to investigate these factors. The study's basis is individual reflections of youths on the several problems affecting them while engaging in the Jua Kali environment. These studies examined a wide range of aspects such as youths' participation in

development, education, gender disparity, quality education, conflict, and matters of health. Thus, this study seeks to contribute to exposing the most pertinent issues relating to youths, informal learning, and work.

This study aligns with research and reports, which urgently advocate broadening opportunities for young individuals to develop their capabilities. To do so, requires urgent underwritings of second chances to those whose choices lead to failure from initial attempts at learning in the formal sector. However, since basic research and baseline data on the dynamics of negotiating work are minimal, the governments of Kenya and Uganda may not possess sufficient data to guide policy-makers and parliamentarians toward action. The ongoing study promotes technical education for youths who exit formal education. If resolved the benefit is plausible solutions to concerns regarding youths, poverty, unemployment, crime, and other social ills.

Comparison of two Cities: Kampala and Nairobi

As indicated in the introductory paragraphs, this is a comparative study of Kenya and Uganda. The study's limitation to only the capital cities, Nairobi, Kenya and Kampala, Uganda is due to their positions as large domiciles of migrants from rural areas. Complexities render research of entire cities impossible; therefore, a further limitation reduces the study's scope to one major Jua Kali market in each city. Selection of markets, beyond minimizing field research costs, is due to similar characteristics: dominated by Jua Kali youths, presence of enterprises that attract youths, centralization, and accessibility.

While similarities in the above paragraph account for the choice and the delimitation of the study to a single market site in each city, it is important to note that Nairobi and Kampala have divergences, which partly shape the activities therein: First, in terms of population, Nairobi is more peopled than Kampala, i.e., 3. 1 million and 1.6 million people respectively. Second, although Nairobi had one of the worst political violence following elections in 2007 - 2008, Kampala has experienced several waves of

political turbulence since independence (Linard, Gilbert, Snow, Noor, and Tatem, 2012; De Smedt 2009; Tripp, 2010).

The meaning of comparative studies varies among scholars. However, in based on Lijphart (1971); the adopted perspective is; comparative studies are a flexible method "of discovering empirical relationships among variables" (p. 683). Therefore, using a comparison as a method or a basic research strategy, this study seeks to clarify descriptions and explanations specific to different contexts of the phenomenon of "how youths negotiate work in Jua Kali in Kenya and Uganda. In accord to Lijphart, comparative studies are the analysis of one issue in the same study, occurring in several locations. In the use of comparative studies, analysis of the subject seeks to establish general empirical notions (Lijphart, 1971).

Several reasons exist conducting comparative studies for each individual, group of persons, or nations. In Raivola (1985) comparative studies deal with social phenomena or issues that are contextually or ecologically bound, to understand, in depth their cultural dependency. Comparativists seek to verify or disprove generalizations applicable to Kenya and Uganda concerning the phenomenon (Sartori, 1995). This methodological approach may help determine the extent and gravity of the stated problem in the different contexts. The comparativist approach is vital for understanding, interpreting, and explaining a phenomenon occurring in each country. Ultimately, the approach avails opportunities for individuals to learn from the experiences of other people. In the context of study, comparisons expose researchers, educators, and policy-makers to new models of negotiations for work for application elsewhere and upon which recommendations for or against those models rest. Comparative studies, therefore, provide a useful guide toward the development of appropriate and specific strategies to mitigate problems associated with the phenomenon, based on contextual knowledge. In so doing, the studies reveal to educators, policy-makers, and all stakeholders the degree of benefit to society, short- and long-term from the policies instituted or devised for the future (Bray, 2007; Sartori, 1991).

To conduct meaningful research, the current focuses are: First, identifying the "comparable" or the "equivalence" determined by the commonness of properties, to be described using powerful variables

(Raivola, 1985). With respect to studies in the contexts of Kenya and Uganda, this research compares the occurrence of negotiating work among youths in Jua Kali environment, the impact the negotiations have on youths, and how the experiences of negotiations influence youths' perception on second chance education.

Limitations of the Study

This study recognizes the sample size and research site to be a limitation. A relatively small sample population and a restricted research site narrow the participation of the target demography. Consequently, a small sample size may also narrow the interpretations and conclusions concerning informal learning in everyday activities, and how these skills enhance youths' negotiating work in Jua Kali result from experiences of a small sample. In ethnographic texts, such a limited study sample population privileges the voice of a few, sometimes focusing mainly on accounts and experiences, may supersede that of the wider cultural group members. The practice may give visibility (and in-depth view) to dominating groups in a particular cultural setting, but recognizably, urgency accrues to more extensive research of the informal economic sector in the region to expose, in-depth its dynamics for imparting life skills.

The study is not generalizable as is the case of quantitative methods. The present study is focus-specific, and therefore, attributing findings to other groups, to other phenomenon, and other targeted demographics is not appropriate (Hanson, Creswell, Clark, Petska and Creswell, 2005). A condition of this kind suggests that the role and contributions of the informal sector's economic activities remain a fertile area for multi-disciplinary studies and diverse approaches to reveal the underlining issues.

However, despite the identified limitations, the typically dominant characteristic of the informal economic sector's activities in East African regions remains a valid discovery. However, arguably the views of this study's population sufficiently relay the phenomenon as occurring throughout East African of which Kenya and Uganda are parts.

Summary

This comparative study investigates the methods youths use to negotiate work in Jua Kali space. The chapter contains an in-depth explanation of the problem under study, definitions of key concepts and phenomenon, and the purpose and significance of the study. The study's premise arise from findings that youths in Kenya and Uganda, as in many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, are not successful in informal labor markets and face numerous crises. The youths remain unemployed for several years or spend many years in unprofitable, temporary, and casual contracts. As identified in the problem statement, a majority of youths remain poor and unable to meet the needs of real life for long periods.

The study's foundations are the Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) and the Experiential Learning Perspective (ELP), which provide a suitable lens for explaining learning mechanisms systems of the informal economic sector, including providing a chance to critique it, which represents an alternative source of livelihood. This chapter provides the basis for the next chapter, the literature review, which highlights the theoretical and methodological issues of the phenomenon of negotiating work. Chapter 2 also presents an exploration of past studies and lessons learned from those studies and theories that guide the current research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

Chapter 2 is a review of the literature outlining the theoretical framework of the study. The chapter consists of four major sections: Discussion of key concepts and terms, exposition of the role and significance of informal learning from a global perspective, presentation of views of previous studies on informal learning, highlighting strengths and weaknesses of these studies, and consideration of the key theories or perspectives for guiding analysis and interpretations of key concepts, including identification of the major weaknesses of these theories. Specifically, examination considers the Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) and the Experiential Learning Theory (ELT) as guides for constructing a background for investigating the phenomenon.

The chapter briefly critiques past methods and approaches used in studies of informal learning with a limit to literature of the last 20 years, and for guiding adoption of in-depth qualitative research. Finally, this chapter concludes with a summary of relevant topics.

Negotiating Work

This section's discussions illustrates the concept of negotiating work as a sum of the activities, processes, and conditions youths meet when attempting to access employment. Generally speaking, several scholars defined "to negotiate" or "negotiating" in a rather broad sense, referring to dialogue or a consensus between parties on "anything" (Acuff, 2008). Kremenyuk (1991), Graham, Mintu and Rogers (1994), Acuff (2008), and Rossman (1990) described "negotiating" as it occurs among agencies, business partners or networks. According to Acuff (2008) the term "to negotiate" implies a back and forth

communication between two parties for the purpose of reaching an agreement about differing views on a given subject. In this study, the parties involved in negotiation are youths seeking work and entrepreneurs or auto garage owners who are employers. As in economic circles, every negotiation implies a relationship between customer and supplier for some sort of goods or services (Kajula, et al., 2007).

A review of literature suggests nine areas requiring negotiation (Acuff 2008; Kremenyuk, 1991). In practice, negotiations involve: a "price (how much and when payment is due), delivery, quality, service, training, resources (people, money and materials), and scope (who is going to do what?)" (p. 7). Similarly, Salazar (2001) maintained that the emerging categories in the concept of negotiation for work are: "space, time, roles, working tasks, [and] psychological boundaries" (p. 165). In accord with Barneveld (1999), a negotiation really deals with the internal and external politics dominating a workplace. Similarly, the current study seeks to understand the "politics" of work in the informal economic sector, and for the context of the current study, examining the negotiation for work is from a "service" perspective.

The negotiation really focuses on agreeing to terms and references for any available work. Thus, negotiating work is actually a problem solving event between two or more parties in order to achieve some common agreement, in this case between the worker and the employer. This study equates negotiation to drawing a memorandum of understanding enabling the parties involved to agree to a common position for a given subject through "joint decision making" (Kujala, 2007, p. 34).

Negotiating among parties implies existence of some sort of relationship or commonness of interests: A negotiation based on dialogue, in an equitable relationship or a partnership with similar interests. Practices of dialogue, common decision-making, and perhaps agreements are typical in relationship characterized by individuals enjoying equal status. The understanding of these factors improves connections between negotiating parties.

This type of study leads to the discerning of realities surrounding youths, rather than simply blaming them. Similar to Ashforth (2007), this study seeks to understand the methods individuals use to

assert themselves in the workplace. The study recognizes the view of Garcia and Fares (2008), that

"decisions made during this period affect young people's acquisition of human capital" (p. xxiv).

Arguably, the success or failure of the process of negotiation has an enormous consequence on

the future prospects for youths and their communities (Garcia and Fares, 2008). In reality, work

negotiation determines abilities to achieve payment or profit from work, the prime target of all workers

engaging in a negotiation, as explained by Kujala, Murtaoro and Artto (2007).

Successful negotiation, built on fairness is a significant factor motivating workers, and

influencing positive attitudes, and actually enhancing relationships and responsiveness to work.

Furthermore, successful negotiation at work is, arguably, a major determinant of subsequent employment

and increased income for those seeking placement in the labor market (Acuff, 2008).

According to several scholars a negotiation process occurs in a cycle (Acuff, 2008; Kremeyuk,

1991; Salazar, 2001). Actually, Acuff (2008) and Kujala (2007) argued that negotiations occur at all times

and in all domains of life, but always with the same structure and pattern. These scholars asserted a need

for systematic negotiations. The current study seeks to establish whether or not such systematic

negotiations ensue, if well defined in the informal economic sector, and whether negotiations operate

within any entrenched guidelines. During the feasibility study, the methods youths in Jua Kali use to gain

employment varied from those in the formal labor market exposing the variance on which this study

focuses.

According to Acuff (2008) negotiating, per se, is a systematic process with a definite cycle

composed of six steps, but at the current stage of this study, certainty does not exist that following the

formulated path, is applicable in all situations or that awareness may affect negotiators for different

conditions in various locations. This study seeks to actuate if the pattern is applicable among the Jua Kali

youths. The stages Acuff identified are: The first stage determines issues for negotiation. The second

stage may involve resistance because the other party in a negotiation, identified as The Other Side (TOS),

remains uncommitted to compromising in a negotiation without profit, (Kujala et al., 2007). The third

stage is the reformulation of strategies based on the gains from previous stages, reassessing earlier

strategies. The fourth stage is the moment of hard bargaining and decision-making, while concentrating on the real needs of self-interest and that of TOS. The fifth stage is establishing agreement, which ensures true understanding between the parties. The sixth stage is evaluation to appraise the whole process for future recommendations.

Similar to the perspective of Kajula et.al (2007), negotiations, in general, are complex courses which require substantial amounts of time and sometimes involve a number of people, who are intermediaries. In modern approaches, negotiations may be costly, especially when requiring traveling long distances, logistics for registration, and communication. In some cases, negotiations are on-going, with individuals involved in decision-making repeatedly, until reaching the final goal. In formal practices of work, negotiations climax with agreement among parties after reaching consensus (Acuff, 2008). Figure 2 is an illustration of the directions of negotiation:

*Figure 2.*Diagrammatic representation of negotiation

In Figure 2, the parties in negotiation have something in common bringing them together, as in a relationship between a supplier and customer. The arrows show that each party in a negotiation begins by presenting the aspects that contribute to each party's advantage; such as maximizing profit. This factor may be responsible for determining length of time, and the point of reaching an agreeable negotiation. However, of note are other aspects: When both negotiators are equally competent, or have something valuable to offer, then, reaching some sort of agreement at the point of perfection (perfect negotiation) is possible. This aspect, considered by Kujala, et al., 2007 represents a win-win situation in which each party benefits fairly.

However, depending on several factors, such as good negotiating skills, skillfulness and competence, a negotiator may draw the other party into the first party's zone of advantage, and this may lead to an imbalance of benefits and an unfair negotiation, in which the one who overpowers enjoys more benefits than the underpowered. This study's argument is that when the one who has been overpowered is drawn into the zone of advantage of the other, and then the overpowered becomes the exploited. The overpowered party tends to succumb to the dictates of the strong party. This study discusses, the direction youths adopt while negotiating work and considers youths' finding work, based on fair negotiations.

In Figure 2, the implication is that, for instance, if the point of agreement shifts to the extreme right, then the supplier has an advantage over the customer, who could be youths seeking jobs. The obvious connotation is that, the supplier or proprietor in this case, will gain greater benefit than the youths. The study of how youths negotiate work, seeks to establish the relationships among youths negotiating work and entrepreneurs. Applied to this study, understanding the factors influencing negotiations for work arise, as well as establishing benefits available from the informal economic sector.

Urban Informal Economic Sector in East Africa

Before operationalizing negotiation for work in the urban informal economy, an important

consideration is that this sector embodies all unauthorized enterprises along the streets in cities in East

Africa. The term "urban informal sector" originates in academic literature with Keith Hart, a social

anthropologist, whose studies focused on recent form of industrialization in East Africa, that evolved in

the 1970s (Gerxhani, 2004). Apparently Hart coined this term for the context of third World colonial

economies, which restrict local people who were not allowed to do business on a large scale. Scholars like

Neizert (1998) and King (1996), blamed the rise of the informal economic sector to the collapsing

economies and marginalizing colonial practices between the 1960s and 1970s, in East Africa. These

practices coerced local businesses and entrepreneurs into improvisation in order to meet life's needs and

initiated petty enterprises, business, which characteristically feature informal economic activities.

To date, and based on the feasibility study conducted to guide this research, several

corresponding, fundamental realities characterize the informal economic sector in Kenya and Uganda:

Many small scale businesses exist along roads and verandahs in cities and represent "the balazaar-

economy" [verandah economy] (Gerxhani, 2004, p, 270). Numerous auto mechanics, blacksmith, tailors,

carpenters, shoe makers, and purveyors of imported merchandise, all operate without any formal

arrangements. After legal authorities find and sanction Jua Kali workers the common practice is to change

tactics, change locations, to avoid governmental authorities. For this reason in Kenya and Uganda, like in

all Sub-Saharan Africa, informal sector is a constituent of the illegal mushrooming economies (Neitzert,

1998). According to Neitzert, this kind of evolution contributes to the negative perspective toward this

sector.

These notions demonstrate that the "informal economic sector," as widely understood in Sub-

Saharan Africa, has several definitions (Mead, 1996; Daniels, 2010; Neitzert 1998; and Xaba, Horn,

Mutala and Sigh, 2002) and involve characteristics identified by scholars: size of the enterprise, details of

registration or conformity to fiscal and other regulations, and degrees of modernization (Mead, 1996). In

accord to the ILO report by Lewin and Sabates (2012), the basis of the informal economic sector is the specific engagements of its members. In addition, the definition by Lewin and Sabates revealed the existence of the self-employed members of the formal sector who also live double lives. That is, they participate in the formal sector, and yet are prominent as members of the informal sector. In summary and according to Lewin and Sabates the informal sector's workers include:

> (i) own-account workers employed in their own informal sector enterprises; (ii) employers employed in their own informal sector enterprises; (iii) contributing family workers, irrespective of whether they work in formal or informal sector enterprises; (iv) members of informal producers' cooperatives; (v) employees holding informal jobs in formal sector enterprises, informal sector enterprises, or as paid domestic workers employed by households; (vi) own-account workers engaged in the production of goods exclusively for own final use by their household (p. 12) (sic).

The practices of the informal economic sector in East Africa have been a concern of several scholars and international bodies, whose findings support this study, such as research by; The International Labor Organization (ILO), The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and The World Bank Reports (WBR). There are several other resources within the region exposing issues of the growing youthful population involved in the informal economic sector, with noticeable contribution to development, although several of them widely survive in conditions of lingering poverty levels (Meagher, 1994; Mead, 1996; ILO, 2000; King, 1996; Neitzert, 1998; Daniels, 2010).

In Kenya and Uganda, previous attempts to disband the informal economic sector's workers is due to their activities operating without regulation, causing disorder on the streets, and detrimental to nations' formal economies (King, 1996). Similarly, this study confirms that the informal economic sector's activities lack basic standards, such as minimum wages, provisions for social insurance and retirement benefits; consequently do not guarantee genuine paths of developmental (Mead, 1996; King 1996, ILO 2002, 2010, 2012).

At the same time, the informal economic sector remains an alternative source for survival for many youths with recognition as the most significant source of employment and capital accumulation, particularly for those who exit formal education before skills' training (Daniels, 2010; King, 1996). This

sector also supplies affordable services and solutions for maintaining daily activities, particularly because their products are sub-standard, therefore, are low priced, and target merely the local markets.

Other studies by the World Bank showed that the population engaging in the informal economic sector remains impoverished, and therefore, marginalized and are without a voice for policy-making (Garcia and Fares, 2008; ILO 2012). The implication, as identified in this study is that youths' occupations in the informal economic sector do not improve their wellbeing; they remain vulnerable due to impoverishment. Numerous sources in the literature apportion the causes of poverty to a crisis of unemployment, lack of access to business capital, and lack of technical skills (World Bank Report, 2012; ILO 2002, 2010, 2012). The McKinsey Global Institute (2012) argued that the lack of experience or job readiness or lack of education and technical skills are contributing factors to unemployment.

In the literature review, estimates according to the UN (2005) show that the population of youths who drop out of school with the option to join the informal economic sector to be 36. 8 percent in Kenya, and 48.6 percent for Uganda. During the feasibility study, findings indicated, youths who drop out of school early, are devoid of skills to seek jobs in the formal systems of governments. The informal economy becomes the only available option, in which they attain skills through informal learning.

Informal Learning Occurring Among the Jua Kali of Kenya and Uganda

The youths who exit school before attaining skills join the informal economic sector. Longer periods of participation therein allow attaining skills, values, and knowledge through informal learning. Informal learning is identifiable with daily practices, and participation in community activities. The practices for motor or auto repairs in Kenya and Uganda include maintaining a clean work environment, washing car parts, disassembly, repairing fasteners, straightening panels, overhauling engines, painting, and general vehicle maintenance. Similar to formal learning, youths slowly gain introduction to activities advancing through simple tasks to the more complex. Informal learning, often involves repetitive

performance of activities, and sometimes involves acquisition of knowledge by trial and error until gaining skill and confidence to accomplish any task.

Initially, youths enter enterprises as Jua Kali "helpers," whose role is merely to remain nearby to "move things," or "serve" the more expert adult workers. As helpers, for the young workers delegated tasks may include errands for needed parts or supplies, assistance for heavy lifting of components undergoing repair. The expectation is that the younger workers imitate experts: "Do like expert adults do in the site." This process leads to the transfer of learning, ideas, and inspirations, which, according to Marsick and Watkins (1992), become components of learned behavior.

The act of duplicating, imitating tasks, helps youths memorize or reflect on past experiences in order to recover the thoughts and activities observed, when needed, as explained by Giancarlo (2008). In informal learning, therefore, experience is a rich source of knowledge, values, and skills, capable of causing change in attitudes and practices. Informal learning becomes rich experience when recollected through reflection, affording its candidates abilities to accomplish tasks in new ways, and so generate new and better products. Such understanding from informal learning draws from the philosophy of John Dewey (1938), "[a]ccording to which knowledge comes from experience and takes shape through the intervention of reflective reason and thought" (Giancarlo, 2008, p. 334).

Distinction between Informal, Non-formal and Formal Learning

Informal and Formal Learning Approaches

A clear distinction of informal learning from formal learning is fundamental: Informal learning unlike formal learning really occurs in any context (non-contextualized), occurs anywhere, at any time in life, and even occurs in institutions, at home, or in workplaces. Formal learning on the other hand, is solely institutional, occurring through professional organizations (Giancarlo, 2008). Typically, informal learning individualizes, and therefore, individually managed whether consciously or unconsciously.

On the contrary, Merriam et al., (2007) revealed formal learning as largely institutional, within classroom settings, is highly bureaucratic, curriculum based, and leads grades, certificates or diplomas.

From these views, the most crucial difference between formal and informal learning lies in the organizational aspects. Majorly, formal learning is characteristically grounded on systematic institutional programs, while informal learning occurs everywhere; in unplanned, non-programmed or non-timetabled setting. Furthermore, informal learning, as Marsick and Watkins (1992) described, is not empirically tested, but partly empirically derived.

Despite the differences between the two forms of learning, their identifiable similarities are a reliance on experience, guiding action from critical reflection, leading to production of knowledge.

By illustration, formal learning among adults and according to contemporary pedagogy occurs through programs of distance learning or on-site adult educational programs at universities. From the universal or the global perspective, formal learning unlike informal learning is vital for facilitating adults' acquiring or upgrading skills for the competitive global job market. In addition, formal learning leads to improved quality of work, a higher level of output, increased monetary benefits for workers and the nation (Minnis, 2006). Actually, these premised benefits of education propose urgency for investigating benefits from informal learning. Thus, a study's focus on the effectiveness of informally acquired skills in influencing youths' employment is vital. A study of youths negotiating work in Jua Kali sheds light on the intricacies involved in informal economic sector employments.

Informal Learning Perspective in a Global Context

In the literature, informal learning has had wide debate since the 1970s, and is recognized to be a constituent or a portion or an essential space or region of possible learning, similarly understood in the concept of lifelong learning as possible form of learning also referred to as "learning regions or societies" (Jarvis, 2010, p. 163). By referring to it as learning regions, informal learning is obviously a recognized resource for acquiring knowledge. In East Africa, youths exiting school early before attaining a high

school certificate or diploma view informal learning as an alternative to formal school or training, where they acquire skills for life. Evidence exists that a majority of young drop outs have amassed skills, values, and knowledge for survival from the informal economy.

Initially, the application of the term "learning societies" by the West has political origins, mere oratory; because the contributions of informal learning to development of nations remain uncertain. However, the reference of informal learning as part of learning regions has been relevant within the context of knowledge-based responses acknowledging it as a good fit for the transformation of societies (Jarvis, 2010). The numerous youths surviving as Jua Kali in Kenya and Uganda affirm the implication of lifelong learning by all peoples, located everywhere, at all times. Logically, the World Bank and other agencies, such as the European Union and UNESCO, embraced this perspective of lifelong learning as a necessary component for alleviating poverty (World Bank, 2003; Jarvis, 2010).

According to Jarvis (2011), the adoption of the concept of lifelong learning promotes "strengthening of social capital in communities, families and work places for the building of capacity among citizenry broadly to engage in governance at all levels" (p 164). Lifelong learning represents a pillar and fundamental requirement for the sustainability of learning to enhance "social, economic, cultural and environmental conditions" (p. 164). Additionally, lifelong learning is necessary to engender change among individuals and communities. In the context of lifelong learning, all forms of learning have high value including "non-formal and informal learning throughout life" (p. 165). So, the argument involving informal learning as part of the 'knowledge societies' is vital. However, concerns remain: First; what informal learning practices lead to the desired goals of education? Second; what opening does the formal economic sector have for candidates with informal learning?

Non-formal Learning

Furthermore, a review of literature displayed that non-formal learning bridges gaps and limitations of the formal educational system. According to LaBelle (1986), Latin America in the early

1920s widely adopted the strategy of non-formal learning for socio-economic transformation. In its traditional practice, non-formal learning was supplied by libraries, service clubs, churches, NGOs, and healthcare workers for communities, or youths who leave formal systems (Jarvis, 2010; Merriam and Caffarella, 2007).

In this study, non-formal learning represents learning dictated by pressures of shifting skills and knowledge requirements among communities or organizations. The world's conditions are dynamic, so that the use of existing knowledge in a new context may necessitate some learning, arising from non-formal education (Eraut, 2000; Jarvis, 2010). Traditionally, non-formal learning was commonly organized as packages using workshops, or community- and interest-based courses. Sometimes, offerings of non-formal learning are short courses at conference or seminar in hotels, community halls, or village meeting places (Eraut, 2000). Borrowing from Eraut, this learning form is indeed an integral part of deliberative activities, such as community planning, decision-making, and problem solving. However, non-formal learning is limited because of its reactive characteristic. It is noted that "some deliberative learning is unlikely to be consciously recalled unless there was an unusually dramatic outcome" (p. 119).

Contemporarily, non-formal learning fits into the lifelong learning concept. To-date, lifelong learning has become a popular fad that overshadows non-formal learning. The concept of lifelong learning, developed in the Faure Report of UNESCO in 1972 and UNESCO Delors Committee (1976) coincides with the perspectives of lifelong learning as advanced in this study. The analysis of the conceptual relationship between the non-formal and informal learning involves current attempts of policy makers and educators to widen participation in education. Similarly, the same ideal is applicable for youths in informal work.

To echo Jarvis (2010), lifelong learning is necessary to compensate for the impact of technological advancements exerting pressure on the skills of the labor force. This argument acknowledges the fact that, technologies are fast approaching and changing due to globalization, so that a demand for continuous learning among the populations exists to maintain relevancy for production

(Jarvis, 2010). Lifelong learning is an essential element of both formal and informal learning approaches, often adopted as a strategy for creating a productive labor force.

However, in attempting to distinguish between the various forms of learning, the effort remains complex and in dispute. The literature reviewed provided distinction between formal, informal and non-formal learning, but distinguishing the content of knowledge among forms of learning and distinguishing boundaries among "formal," "non-formal" and "informal learning" is absolutely difficult, rendering technical discussion of this form of learning indistinct.

This study advances that, while various forms of learning exist, learning does not represent isolated occurrences. As argued by Mezirow (2000), learning experiences really overlap in time. This study, designed to investigate how youths negotiate work in Jua Kali, argues that learning experiences are not explosive occurrences that begin and end quickly; these experiences are not units that begin today and end tomorrow. Therefore, the study continues to contend that learning is really a continuum because experiences are progressive, each experience expanding and extending the previous. Like in the human cycle of life, development of life from conception is uncontrollable, and likewise, in the course of learning an individual accumulates insightful ideas and activities that change his or her life from the past to the present but within the environment (Eraut, 2000).

Past Studies' Methods for Informal Learning Research

Several studies focused on informal learning as occurring in socio-cultural contexts, and this learning is either attained through, un-intended activities (Giancarlo, 2009; Eraut, 2010; Golding, 2009; Livingstone, 2001; Merriam, Courtenay and Baumgartner, 2003; Watkins and Marsick, 1992). In most past studies, surveys were the dominant method of data collection, although other scholars used more methods such as interviews to explain the occurrence of informal learning. Some studies linked informal learning to the notions of communities of practice (Jarvis, 2010; Watkins and Marsick, 1992).

For purposes of this research, only two studies are methodologically relevant: In the studies of informal learning by Giancarlo (2009), conducted among social workers, a narrative method of inquiry provided the direction for collection and analysis of data. The major aim Giancarlo's work was to understand and identify empirically the meanings subjects' attribute to their experiences and actions, and to determine if these meanings represented learning already acquired by the subjects. The scholar used stories to re-establish a sense of order and meaning in the human experiences. That study acknowledged that stories are a way of organizing experience, interpreting the events, and creating meaning, while maintaining a sense of continuity.

The research by Giancarlo, involved 30 in service social workers from different public organizations working among adults groups. Using a narrative approach, the study elicited personal reflections of participants on the transforming role of informal learning and identifying their motivations among as in-service social workers. This exposition of informal learning disclosed the reasons and motivations for social workers' choosing this profession. Giancarlo explained how social workers learned their skills, while revealing stories, situations, or incidents that influenced attitudes, and personal and professional values (Giancarlo, 2009). The study identified the contexts for informal learning, and gained identity as "experiential learning, which occurs in a particular context… [It is learning which is] self-determined, planned, deliberate or conversely unconscious, emotional, [and] random [based]" (p. 334).

Another study by Golding (2011) focused on the effectiveness of informal learning among older men (+50) in community settings in Australia. The purpose of the study was to examine when older men learn in contexts beyond paid work and formal education, rather than to assume and older men as non-learners. This study used mixed methods of guided interviews and surveys for data collection, among communities of adult employees at multiple sites, such as fire brigades, community based organizations, and groups providing adult education.

The research of Golding had several contributions: helped identify some of the factors that influenced older men, typically with limited formal or recent education and training backgrounds, and encouraged them to leave home to learn informally with mentorship from other men in a community's

facilities provided by the government. Furthermore, this research by Golding prompted educators and policy makers to create spaces in Australian communities for gendered learning programs for older men (Golding, 2011).

These past studies revealed that much informal learning occurs in and through social-cultural practices or activities. Similarly, past studies considered in this work showed that informal learning is a vital form of adult learning. However, the studies also revealed several gaps in the understanding of informal learning: It was vital for conceptualizing informal learning, although it persists as a dilemma. Similarly, Livingston (2001) observed that informal knowledge, referred to as practical knowledge, frequently remains tacit, but various studies were unable to describe it symbolically, as it occurs. Even to describe informal learning as occurring through experience is oversimplification, and yet learning is complex, nondeterministic and unpredictable (Roth and Lee, 2007).

Therefore, from past studies, informal learning remains contentious (Giancarlo, 2008; Mezirow, 2000; Jarvis, 2010). Like other scholars, Giancarlo, Mezirow and Jarvis conclude that informal learning remains disputed. The scholars above argued that all experiences for instance, may or may not lead to learning, the effectiveness of learning is not easy to ascertain, and explaining the kind of skills attainable from a given experience is difficult. These reasons are central for the need for further investigation of informal learning's mechanisms.

Accordingly, the current study investigates several issues, which have not had adequate attention: Previous studies have in-sufficiently revealed the relevance of informal skills, values, and knowledge in enhancing youths' transitions to adulthood to compete for jobs in the labor market. Based on this study, focusing on outcomes of informal skills in accessing work in Jua Kali space, it's still onerous to affirm whether the informally attained skills are adequate for competing for work in the labor market, since several challenges of incompetence persist. Furthermore, and in view of specialized and complex skills often demanded for corresponding tasks, it is likely that informal learning cannot stand separately, without any backing from formal educational practices. In this study, the matter of operationalizing informal learning remains a concern, as its boundaries and links with, (e.g., the formal or non-formal

learning are not clear). Based on the preceding argument, questions persist: What is the divide between the various types of learning? Where does informal learning start or end?

Lastly, in the context of study, identifying any study conducted in East Africa addressing informal learning is difficult, and yet participation in the informal sector's economy is vibrant, more than in any other continent (ILO, 2012).

In the reviewed studies, including those of international agencies such as the World Bank, UN, the ILO, the UNESCO, and UNICEF, the commonly used research approaches have been surveys or data from national statistics. The analysis of the literature shows that these data sources and approaches do not adequately reveal the experiences of youths engaging in the informal economic sector. Additionally, previous methods used during the last decade, do not elaborate, in depth, the factors that affect youths operating in the informal economic sector.

This research adopts an in-depth qualitative methodology, guided by a critical ethnographic approach, to determine how Jua Kali youths negotiate work in the informal economic sector, in Kenya and Uganda. This methodology is suitable because, it critically investigates power relations, issues of under-privilege, and the impact on Jua Kali youths. Using this methodology and approach, the aim is to determine variables affecting informally educated participants' access in the informal labor market.

However, despite the criticism, this study argues that the past studies formed a foundation for investigating learning occurring through daily practices of communities. Therefore, this study examines the situation of numerous youths participating in the informal economic sector, trapped in poverty. Moreover, the study of Jua Kali youths in Sub-Saharan Africa is vital, since significant numbers of youths live in that environment, as affirmed by Minnis' (2006). Minnis determined that the informal economic sector absorbs 60 to 70 percent of the labor force in Sub-Saharan Africa, of which Kenya and Uganda are members.

Key Theories

To gain a deeper understanding of how the youths become more "intelligent," this study adopts social transformation theories that guide adults' informal learning. Several of these perspectives deal with adult learning, but this study, cites the Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT), popularly known for broadly responding to several salient questions of learning, and the Experiential Learning Theory (ELT). These theories' perspectives are adopted only in part, focusing on those ideas that are relevant for a study centered on informal learning. It is explained that two theories have been adopted to enlighten this study on the ground that no one theory is sufficient to explain any phenomenon (Creswell, 2007).

Cultural- Historical Activity Theory

Youn-Chang Gook (2007) observed that those dealing with learning adopt a position of traditional duality considering the relationship between the individual and society, subject and object, or perhaps agent and structure. In an attempt to explain this concern, recent educational debates, beginning with the western scholars, identified The Cultural- Historical Activity Theory (CHAT), advanced by Vygostky, as the most holistic theory that can adequately explain learning systems everywhere (Engestrom, 1999).

In their studies on CHAT, Roth and Lee (2007), adults are "continually shaping and being shaped by their social contexts that immediately problematize knowledge as something discrete or acquired by individuals" p. 189). CHAT, as a theory, illustrates the role of experience and participation in community activities as a rich source of influence on individuals' attitudes and practices. In CHAT, Roth and Lee argued that meaning is derived in the mind, but by the interaction of the material world, stretching across social and material environment. The statement recognizes the vital role of reflection and memory on the past activity or environments. The theory advances that through activity and reflection on experiences

discrete knowledge arises (Roth and Lee, 2007). Jua Kali youths are, therefore, subject to change or learn via the influences of the social contexts that contribute to derivation of new ways to act.

Because CHAT denotes the occurrence of meaning making or learning by reflection on communal activities, and day-to-day life experiences of the individual, it has been chosen to illumine this study seeking to understand learning processes and outcomes, integrated in the informal economic activities involving youths engaging in communal activities in Jua Kali space in Kenya and Uganda.

A brief historical account of the theory of CHAT, traces the work of Engestrom (1999), originating with classical German philosophy and specifically to the work of Vygotsky. The theory, as developed by north European scholars, combined both Marxism and cultural historical psychology. According to Engestrom, Vygotsky created the "first generation activity theory" (p. 189). Vygotsky's theory focused on practical human labor or activity as explanatory of psychology, and really without explicating it (Roth and Lee, 2007). Due to a lack of clarity, his pupils, A. N. Leontev and Aleksandr Luria extended the theory, linking practical activity to cognition (the second generation activity theory), which made the theory become a cornerstone for learning.

In the evolution of CHAT, the followers of Leontev emphasized cultural-historical activity, incorporated into human mental functioning rather than socio-cultural aspects as maintained by Vygotsky's disciples (the third generation activity theory). Considering Leontev's line of thought, as embraced in the Soviet Union, emphasis lies in personality development with the use of activities as opposed to intervention or interdisciplinary investigation. CHAT, therefore, attracted recognition, became a widely accepted theory vital for probing activities, interactions, engagements of subjects of learning in an environment. Consequently, CHAT transcends mere praxis, "moments of human activity that occur only once" (p. 190). Instead, cultural-historical activity includes all activities and interactions that have consequences for learning.

This study acknowledges that CHAT is a product of several philosophical traditions; semiotic, symbolic interactionism, and Marxism (Engeström, 1987). According to Engeström the semiotic philosophy contends that meaning rests in signs, and can become expressible in words and deeds. In the

theory, action and interaction are identifiable with the nature of human existence, in which the definition of the self is according to the level of socialization or social interaction, believed to shape individuals. Accordingly, this philosophical thought places emphasis on the ideas of inter-subjectivity and symbol-mediated-interaction as opposed to individualism, proposed by Engeström.

The influence of the philosophy of symbolic interactionism, which considers human existence as social interaction, closely relates with a study of informal learning. Therefore, the perspective of CHAT provides a clearer lens for understanding and explaining informal learning occurring in day-to-day human activity and experiences, and within social networks. In a critical analysis, CHAT as a theory, is beneficial for informing educational practice and enables educators to explain how learning occurs in cultural-historical contexts, and reveals how individuals mediate meaning through the social-cultural contexts (Merriam and Caffarella, 2007). Using this theory, the current study investigates if informal skills are sufficiently meaningful to cause change in individuals' lives.

To illustrate the occurrence of activity such as informal learning within the frameworks of CHAT, a diagrammatic representation, for the current research depicts a triangular form for all the components and relationships embedded in the theory's structure. The triangular diagram contains three sub-triangles representing the components: subject, instrument, and object. Figure 3, explains the relationships of different variables. In the map, the subject refers to an individual or aggregate of individuals involved in some activity in order to attain some goals or motives.

Figure 3. Map of Cultural Historical Activity Theory

Considering Engeström's diagrammatic definitions, CHAT recommends that activity or learning occurs in an activity system, not in isolation. This expression is appropriate for understanding and explaining how informal learning occurs in the daily activities of social networks that constituted Jua Kali context, and clearly recognizes the idea of the community as a classroom (Semali, 1999). CHAT presents seven significant components in the activity system including the subject, the object, instruments, rules, community of practice, division of labor, and outcomes. Also, by recognizing the various components, as part of the activity system, CHAT shows that in any activity, the analyst must look beyond the individual referred to as subject. The rules essentially offer guidance to the community for the performance of an activity. Based on Brown (2007), the study agrees that the community is an interdependent aggregate of individuals who have or share a social setting, and who may also have a common interest in the object under consideration. Similarly, Brown explained division of labor as the specific tasks performed by

individual members or groups within a community. The outcomes are the actual results and products of human activity, which in this study are, partially, knowledge or skills.

The diagrammatic representation suggests that activity systems require collective efforts, usually involving many different persons and actors. However, in conducting research, as suggested by Youn-Chang Gook (2007), involving every member of the community or actor in a given activity due to lack of time and resources is not always possible. In that case, obviously, the analyst limits the sample population to only a few and purposely selected actors.

In relation to learning, the proponents of CHAT held that learning, knowing, or meaning-making is, therefore, possible through mediation (Roth and Lee, 2007). In simple terms, an individual cannot know or derive meaning in isolation; interaction with the community's knowledge and understanding is necessary. For instance, the sense of "profitable" is only meaningful according to what Jua Kali youths know about successful business. According to the perspective of mediation, knowing occurs when an individual interacts within the community's context. In other words, the subject of learning can derive meaning of something only on the basis of what the sources of learning (objects) know.

Criticisms of CHAT

First, even if CHAT does enlighten this study, it has some deficits that deserve mention. Understanding these criticisms allows clarification of the challenges of adopting and applying CHAT. Actually, the theory suitably applies to this study, but a number of issues remain: First, the theory's reference to activity as problematic, amorphous. Activity is everywhere, and in everything at all times, and by implication, encompasses limitless concepts, creating difficulty for research.

While CHAT is relevant for understanding and explaining how learning occurs among adults, it insufficient in explaining all the issues related with when and how much learning occurs (Roth and Lee, 2007). In reference to the focus of this study, and like Roth and Lee, CHAT emphasizes activity in everyday life as a source of learning, but does not adequately explain in details quality aspects of learning

through community activity (e.g., does not ascertain if the skills attained are for quality work as demanded by labor markets today).

The mode of learning arising from human activity and mediated through social-cultural and historical dimensions, as advanced by the theory, neither guarantees nor encourages higher order thinking and the attainment of knowledge suitable for complex and specialized tasks (Roth and Lee, 2007). Despite learning occurring, the theory provides no methodology for testing and ascertaining if knowledge acquired by participating in socio-cultural activity, and mediated through the community is sufficient for global in contemporary times (Jarvis, 2010).

Furthermore, the theory explains that activity occurs through socio-cultural context, but does not consider the impact of subjective differences such as emotions, interests, levels of motivation, notions of selfhood, or historical differences among individual learners. To ignore these differences, while maintaining the assumption that all individuals interact through human activity in the same way, oversimplifies activity systems that contribute to new knowledge/learning (Roth & Lee, 2007).

According to Engeström (1987), CHAT does not reconcile conflicts arising in learning processes due to individual differences, enumerated as primary contradictions, which Engeström classified as Level 1 contradictions (dealing with inner contradiction within each constituent component of the central activity system). Second, the secondary contradictions, Level 2 emerge from inter-relationships among components of the central activity system. Third, the tertiary contradictions, Level 3 include new and emerging cultural practices that oppose existent cultural practices. Finally, Level 4 contradictions, classified by Engeström, arise between the central activity and its neighbor activity. The implication is that, future adult learning theory should recognize the individual differences that influence learning.

Experiential Learning Theory

To further guide this study recognizes experience as a source of learning, rooted in the studies by several scholars (Kolb, 1984; Dewey, 1938; Fenwick, 2000; and Michelson, 1996). Accordingly, the

proponents of experiential learning emphasize day-to-day interactions between the subjects of learning, and the environment. Such a description suitably explains informal learning as occurring in Jua Kali context where youths join and engage in informal activities, and by observation, repetitive activity, memorization, and reflection they gain abilities to do the same things done by the expert artisans.

In Kolb's (1984) view, the experiential theory offers a fundamentally different mode of learning compared to behavioral theories that "tend to deny the role of subjective experience in a learning process" (Kolb, Boyatziz and Mainemelis, 2001). Kolb et al., maintains experiential learning theory is different from the cognitive theory that overemphasizes cognition. The theory is "experiential," because, unlike behaviorists, the primary emphasis is to integrate factors such as cognition, manipulation, and recall of abstract symbols.

Historical origins show that experiential learning theory arises from the work of Dewey who focused on pragmatism, Lewin's social psychology, and Piaget's cognitive developmental psychology (Kolb, 1984). Following Kolb's view, ELT contains three models: First, the Lewinian Model of Action Research and Laboratory Training, which asserts here-and-now experience, followed by reflection of data and observations of past experience facilitates learning, change, and growth. The emphasis in the Lewinian model is immediate and personal experiences transforming feelings and desires from some concrete experience to higher-order and intended actions. Second, Dewey's model of learning is helpful in describing the occurrences of the informal economic sector leading to learning, which according to Kolb (1984), entailed complex interaction of observations of the environment, the recall of past knowledge that occurred in similar conditions, recaptured through reflection or memorization. And, like Lewin, Dewey, too, showed that experiential learning is a dialectical process, involving experience and concepts, or observations and actions. This model, too, is suitable for explaining the learning mechanisms of Jua Kali youths, also found to be partly based on observations, imitations, and repeated activity. Third, Piaget's model of learning and cognition development maintains that learning is a combination of experience, concept, reflection, and action. These processes form a basis for development of thought

among adults and focuses on a cycle of interaction between the individual and environment. Learning occurs in the interaction of the processes of accommodation and assimilation of concepts (schemas).

However, according to Kolb (1984), unlike Lewin and Dewey, Piaget's model contains four different stage: the first stage (0 -2 years), also called the sensor motor stage, because learning occurs through senses. The second stage (2 - 6 years) occurs when children begin to develop reflection. Learning at this stage is by manipulation of observations. Development of abstracts is characteristic of the third stage is (7 - 8 years), and development of logic and relations govern learning. The fourth stage of (12 - 15 years) is one of formal operations, or concrete operations, often accompanied by development of abstract power.

In experiential learning, therefore, the individual is the center. Similarly, Fenwick (2000) explained that the individual is "a central actor in a drama of personal meaning making" (p. 248). The individual lives the experience through participation in family or community activities. This is quite close to the informal learning in Jua Kali, where youths immerse themselves in activity before attaining skills for life. Other than participation, individuals have the power to combine the mind and the material world in a thought process, reflection, and memorization (Merriam and Caffarella, 2007; Mezirow, 2000). This combination of a learning process is indeed complex, and difficult to explain. Thus, the experiential model suggests, arguably, one of the most vital aspects for research and practice in adult education.

Characteristics of Experiential Learning

In the experiential models, Kolb (1984) identified basically two major characteristics of learning: First, learning is best perceived and explained as a process, and not in terms of outcomes. At the same time, within the process, Kolbs argues that ideas emanating in the process of learning are not fixed, but immutable elements of thought are only formed and transformed through experiences. However, in this study, this characteristic is ambiguous or puzzling, because explaining learning in terms of a process is difficult. An example is the difficulty explaining what occurred, step-by-step in transferring knowledge.

The second characteristic is that, learning is a continuous process grounded in individuals' experiences. In other words, experiences are the only source for gaining, testing and observing that lead to knowledge, because experience will either narrow or expand the world of the subject. This is a plausible statement, relevant for understanding how the accumulation of experience impacts on its subject. The preceding statement is confirmed by Lzquierdo, Inman and Randall (2008), whose study findings pointed out that "synaptic plasticity is conventionally thought to be both necessary and sufficient to account for learning" (p. 361).

Criticisms of Experiential Learning Theory

Experiential Learning Theory does not clarify learning occurrences adequately, nor does the theory outline those activities and experiences that contribute to learning because in many forms of socialization, members' involvement in diverse and simultaneous activities adds difficulty to recognizing which activities contribute to learning within any given socio-cultural group (Livingstone, 2001). The questions that arise include: Do all the experiences contribute to learning? If not so, which ones do or do not?

Furthermore, and in the light of development of skills for professional and competitive labor markets, the theory does adequately show how to determine if experiential learners attain the required level of expertise for competitive global labor markets. In connection with this idea, linking ELT to the object of learning involving abstract and complex concepts that do not begin with practice or experience is difficult. This study maintains that ELT, like CHAT, do not establish how and when learning "requires a specialized adaptive orientation" (Kolb, Boyatziz, Mainemelis, 2001, p.9).

Summary

Chapter 2 outlines and elaborates the theoretical framework, key concepts and terms for the study. The key concepts and terms focus on the subject of research and provide a clear understanding of the conceptual flow. The study explores previous studies of informal learning, while identifying the lessons learned and the persistent gaps. Subsequent discussion explains informal learning and other modes of adult learning. Last, this chapter provides a firm theoretical foundation of CHAT and ELT which guide this study. Chapter 2, therefore, provides background for the research's design, the subject of the next chapter. The focal point for this chapter therefore, provides a basis for understanding the central question asked in this study.

Chapter 3

Research Design

Introduction

To explain the vital influence of informal learning in enhancing candidates' access to opportunities for employment in the informal economic sector in the East Africa region, this study investigates methods Kenyan and Ugandan youths negotiate work in Jua Kali context after attaining informal skills. The study focuses on the experiences of Jua Kali youths, to understand challenges faced while in the informal economic sector, and the value of these experiences in terms of second chance education.

First, to investigate the phenomenon, the study adopts comparative methodology for the two sites. Second, to broaden understanding and to derive significance, thematic analysis forms the basis for a straight forward approach as a guide, particularly when investigating a less explored area (Braun, Clarke, 2006).

Thematic analysis relies on narrative tradition to obtain qualitative data. In the approach, for instance, aspects of bracketing and reduction are essential in qualitative data analysis (Charmaz, 2006). This methodology requires, interpretation beginning with exploration of the narrative and environmental context, to identify "underlying propositions that make narrative sensible, including what is taken for granted by listener and speaker" (Riessman, 2008, p. 61). Therefore, based on Riessman, in narrative tradition, the lives of individuals in groups provide significant milestones perceived as external and internal forces that enable and constrain realization of the personal identities.

As guided by Riessman (2008), thematic analysis alone is insufficient for a complex study. Therefore, for this in-depth qualitative research to be successful using a combination of approaches that auger well with narrative tradition is vital, and the adopted critical ethnographic approach bridges the

insufficiency. Critical ethnographic approach enhances "rigor and sophistication of the research design" (Creswell, 2007, p. 45). Ethnography, an approach originally developed in anthropology, investigates the social structure or culture of a group that shapes and sustains particular, or currently occurring, social phenomenon so as to produce an interpretation explaining it. These social structures may involve social statuses, events, or processes, which this study seeks to understand (Baptiste, 2001).

Thematic analysis is a component of qualitative data analysis, used to understand participants' narrated experiences, often identified to containing "a breach between ideal and real, self and society" (Riessman, 1993, p. 3). Using thematic analysis, interpreted within the narrative analytical lenses, this study searches discrete segments of discourses from lengthy portion accounts derived from interviews or a life stories (Riessman and Speedy, 2007). Based on Williams (1983), critical ethnography and thematic analysis approaches are adopted in this study for understanding the behaviors, beliefs, characteristics, and objects common to Jua Kali youths seeking work. The combination of these strategies leads to construction of meaning of individual experiences, including a person's sense of self and identity, in order to produce an organized description of human action (Smith, 2000, p. 328).

However, to distinguish ethnography from critical ethnography, this study explains ethnography per se, as a methodological approach striving to "describe 'ways of living' of a social group" (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 576). Ethnography seeks to study people's behavior as it naturally occurs in particular settings, "with a focus on the cultural interpretation of behavior… [to] provide a description and an interpretive-explanatory account of what people do [, in order to know] the meaning [these] interactions have for them" (p.576). Therefore, ethnography is identifiable with the following principles: First, "focuses on people's behavior in groups and on cultural patterns." (p. 577). In so doing, ethnographic study is concerned with group rather than individual characteristics because cultural behavior is group or shared behavior. Second, "ethnography is holistic; that is, any aspect of a culture or a behavior has to be described and explained in relation to the whole system of which it is a part" (p. 577). Third, "ethnographic data collection begins with a theoretical framework directing the researcher's attention to certain aspects of situations and certain kinds of research questions (p. 577).

Critical ethnography responds to current society, in which systems of power, prestige, or privilege serve to marginalize members from other classes. Critical ethnographic approach, questions the status-quo to redress inequity and poverty for the targeted cultural group (Erickson, 1984; Watson-Gegeo, 1988; Creswell, 2007). In this study, critical ethnography is likewise, selected due to these countries' youths' experiences of poverty, marginalization, and powerlessness. In the studies, it is noted that adults or the elderly population in Jua Kali, control and distribute resources with little or no say from youthful participants. The detrimental conditions that accrue and are implied in this paragraph, purportedly hinder youths' development, and consequently perpetuate their lack of a voice for decisions and control of resources.

In addition, critical ethnography offers a specific lens to uncover the myths and hidden truths that account for tensions in social relations in a radically changing society (Erickson, 1984; Watson-Gegeo, 1988; Creswell, 2007; Fossey, Harvey, Mcdermott and Davidson 2002). Furthermore, critical ethnography enables familiarity with the issues and dynamics of life, the existent complexities, dilemmas, and frustrations, including relationships and risks involved in the practices of a given society. Using critical ethnography submerges the research in the culture of the group, usually for a long period, to create competency when expressing the circumstances of the researched subjects (Creswell, 2007).

The two major forms of ethnography are: (1). Realist Ethnography; a more traditional form used by cultural anthropologists, typically less biased or subjective, and reports more objectively the information gained from interviewees. This form of ethnography, in its style, commonly reports as a third person narrative (e.g., making reference to them, him/her, or it). (2) Critical ethnography, "advocates for the emancipation of groups that are marginalized in society" (Creswell, 2007, p. 70). From the point of emancipation, the decision for selecting critical ethnography is due to its inclination towards empowerment and challenge to the status quo, as opposed to the hegemony of victimization, exploitation, and domination.

However, despite the divide between the two major forms, notably, all "critical ethnographers regardless of their specific critical orientation employ the traditional ethnographic techniques embodied in

prolonged, systematic fieldwork with key participants" (Schram, 2003, p. 97). The implication is that, all ethnographers use a common style, attending to human behavior as indicative of people's constructing and understanding their lives, in which social behavior reflects what occurred, occurs, or will occur.

Conducting a critical ethnographic study effectively relies on the anthropological principles guiding this methodology, identified by Masemann (1982): First focusing on a small scale population for investigation/observation. This is the reason for limiting the sample population to 12 informants for the current study; second, centering on meanings participants perceive from experiences in order "to demonstrate the fragility of tacit understandings underlying daily social interactions, as these are negotiated in by people in their daily lives" (p. 5); third, methodological vigor must exist in the process of data collection and analysis.

Using a combination of the ethnographic and thematic approaches, this study addresses:

1. What are the events influencing how youths negotiate work in Jua Kali in Kenya and Uganda?

2. What is the impact of work negotiation process on youths involved in Jua Kali in Kenya and Uganda?

3. What is the meaning of second chance education to Jua Kali youths in Kenya and Uganda?

4. How do the dynamics of youths' negotiating work in Jua Kali, compare or contrast in Kenya and Uganda?

Research Site

The research sites for this study are Nairobi, Kenya and Kampala, Uganda, purposely selected because they have large numbers of youths engaging in Jua Kali economic sector, and also a long history of an informal economy (Neitzert, 1998). Since Nairobi and Kampala are vast cities for a realistic research, the study's limits are small sections, Shauri Moyo market in Nairobi and Kisseka market in Kampala, each with, a central Jua Kali market but closely related to allow comparison.

The widely adopted participation of youths in the informal economic activities in Kisseka or Shauri Moyo is due to proximity of auto repair garages or workshops. The enterprises attracting youths, operate as groups (social networks), although some are individual. The activities conducted in these sites suit the definition of informal economic sector, as previously defined, and can therefore appropriate for the research's goals. Numerous participants engage in design and manufacture of domestic products, like jars, basins, stoves, or cutlery among others. A number of retailers sell used and locally fabricated car parts. The vibrant participation in auto repair creates a valuable context for the current study.

Within the identified locales, commonly several youths move aimlessly, sometimes clustering, idling on pavements, lying in the sun near business activities. Obviously these youths are desperate for work to earn a living, stationing themselves just in case a call through the social network or from customers, offers an opportunity to do some tasks, like lifting heavy machinery, or errands like portage for merchants.

The current study centers on only one urban informal economic activity in both cities, auto repair, selected for its solid position as established trade and populated by numerous youths, rendering the context appropriate to convey issues of this study. Concentrations of informal economic activities exist on, without travelling long distances, an issue to consider when conducting research, i.e., the matter of cost effectiveness, as explained by (Creswell, 2007; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Recruitment and Sampling Strategy

Prior to recruiting subjects, meeting research standards required by the Pennsylvania State University necessitated an on-line course for Responsible Conduct of Research (RCR) according to the Office for Research Protections (ORP), and receipt of a formal permission from the Independent Review Board (IRB), to proceed with field research. Upon authorization to conduct research by the Pennsylvania State University initial stages of entry in the research site followed. Before the sampling procedures, clearance was sought with the office of the Resident District Commissioner, in Uganda. Next was

registering with the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation, a body that permits research in Kenya.

Purposeful sampling techniques commonly used in qualitative research selected the population (Creswell, 2008). In this study, the unit of analysis is Jua Kali participants, who could provide the required data. Purposeful sampling, applied to potential candidates selected a widely representative sample (i.e., contains members who are youthful, as well as those advanced in years, but with long experience, and are entrepreneurs in Jua Kali context), for richer data central to "understanding of the research and the central phenomenon of the study" (p. 125). Participants are within the "emic" perspective or the insider perspective for the ethnographers who strive to describe a particular culture in its own terms (Morris, et.al, 1999). This perspective carries the assumption that the insider shares in the experience and understanding of a given culture, and therefore, provides useful information that brings balance to misinterpretations from outsiders (Bruno, 1990).

While conducting the feasibility study in the summer 2012, the process of sampling began by identifying one person at each site to act as contacts, identified by inquiry among the structures of the informal economic sector and by visiting the office of Jua Kali Associations in Nairobi and Kampala with details of the research project investigating informal learning. Requests for the identities of appropriate individuals, those influential in the networks to guide the research, particularly emphasized the necessity for gaining entry into the cultural structure (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). The Chairpersons of the Associations suggested three entrepreneurs, individually contacted, and after appraising their abilities for communication and leadership, those entrepreneurs became possibilities for further evaluation. The best of those individuals, after inquiry, became the primary contacts.

Sampling potential informants relied on the contact persons who received criteria for selecting informants based on the definition of youths in transition to adulthood: The person must be a Jua Kali, left formal school early, acquired skills informally, had at least five years' experience in auto mechanics as Jua Kali, ranged in age from 15 to 24. Lastly, to avoid costs for translations, the youths must

communicate acceptably in English. Each site produced ten youths, and thereafter, graded on the basis of the criteria only 6 were selected and contacted for consent.

Similarly, six informants with advanced years and experience became another category, purposely selected, to gain richer data. Similar to the previous selection process, the contact persons' guides for identifying individuals included those of advanced of age, were auto repairers, had more than ten years of experience as Jua Kali, and were fluent in English. Actually, the second category of informants possessed richer data than the youthful informants.

Recruitment was open on an equal basis to both male and female participants, although, finding females directly engaging in auto-repair, the selected trade of this study was difficult. However, upon consultation with the contact persons, and in order to purposely include a female voice in this study, at least one female youth in each site from among shops, selling spare parts used for auto repair received a request to participate according to the criteria for selecting males.

The study's sample population was 12 informants, five males and one female from each city. The reason for restricting the sample population was to meet the requirement of a manageable, but representative population appropriate for vigorous ethnographic data collection (Creswell, 2008). Only eleven informants participated since one became unavailable.

In the process of entry to the culture and for interviews, being a university student from the United States, a Ugandan, and a priest enhanced development of trust and rapport with participants. The introduction stated:

> "I am a student from Uganda, studying in the Pennsylvania State University, in the United States. People who know you have directed me, to ask if you would like to be part of my research informants on Jua Kali youths….upon your acceptance, then I shall send you a letter to appoint you."

Rarely did prospects reject the offer, except in a few cases, when some claimed to be too busy. Otherwise, a majority of those consulted willingly accepted participation in the research.

Participants

Table 2 presents the details and categories of participants as follows: First, the youthful category ranged in age from 19 to 24 years, despite the original range being open to those 15 to 24. The requirement of at least 5 years' experience contributed to this composition, because, by average, if one left school at age 15, the requirement of 5 years' experience created an average age of 20 years old. Second, is the category of informants whose ages ranged from 37 to 50 years old, selected for their long experience as Jua Kali participants, for a richer data elicitation. Nevertheless, besides being a rich data source, the latter age bracket is deductively considered in this study, because, as it often occurs in the context, Jua Kali participants are indiscriminately described as youths, in spite of their divergent ages. Quinton affirmed this fact in words: "most people refer to Jua Kali participants as youths regardless of how old they may be."

Table 2: List of informants

No	Pseudo names	Sex	Age	Country	Category	Date
001	Quinton	M	37	Kenya	Advanced age	10.21.2013
002	Musa	M	39	Kenya	Advanced age	10.22.2013
003	Dan	M	50	Kenya	Advanced age	10.23.2013
004	Vincent	M	19	Kenya	Youthful	11.25.2013
005	Mutigga	F	24	Kenya	Youthful	11.28.2013
006	Alex	M	42	Uganda	Advanced age	08.10.2013
007	Medi	M	40	Uganda	Advanced age	08.15.2013
008	Kakooza	M	44	Uganda	Advanced age	08.10.2013
009	Katende	M	19	Uganda	Youthful	08.21.2013
010	Rachael	F	22	Uganda	Youthful	09.07.2013

011	Sowe	M	23	Uganda	Youthful	10.10.2013

Quinton

Quinton (about 37), contacted on the basis of his experience, revealed 13 years' experience in the Jua Kali economic sector. He attended formal education up to senior six, but was not able to join University because his parents could not afford to pay tuition. According to Quinton, he joined the sector on the invitation of his uncle when he was only 24 years old. In his training to acquire skills, he moved from one trade to another, all as Jua Kali. Eventually, he began practice with motor vehicle mechanics, where he learned panel straightening, and mechanics, before settling on metal fabrication, where manufactures domestic products and construction materials.

Quinton is the Chairperson for Jua Kali youths' Association, in Nairobi. He describes himself as a link between all the youths of different trades scattered in Nairobi. As coordinator, he connects Jua Kali with the government of Kenya, participating as their representative in different fora. He has also trained many successful youths in metal fabrication, who according to him, work independently all over Nairobi.

Dan

Dan is an external informant of advanced age, about 50 years old and has worked in Jua Kali for over 22 years. When interviewed, he described himself as someone of immense experience in motor vehicle mechanics, specializing in brake systems of heavy vehicles. Among many Jua Kali proprietors, Dan holds a position of consultant for car brake systems, and many mechanics seek his technical advice, causing him to move from workshop to workshop. The nature of his occupation leads to a self-description as engineer, technician, and consultant. Dan also owns a garage in the Shauri Moyo area, and he employs several youths as auto mechanics. In his description, he said that some of the youths recruited in his workshop gained initial skill in the garage and then retained permanent positions.

Musa

Musa, of an estimated age of 38 had little to say about himself, only that he was a street child. He does not know how he came to the streets, but believes he was abandoned as a child by his parents. During his childhood, he remembers that some NGO took him to school, but he found it less attractive. Formal education was boring, long, and painful, and consequently opted to return home to earn a living in agriculture. Musa narrated the many years the family could not find enough food, because agriculture is a gamble. This desire introduced him to Jua Kali, where he worked for several proprietors. However, now he owns his own garage. He has also allowed many young people to work with him so that they can acquire skills for survival on the streets. Musa believes that Jua Kali can keep changing shape, but only if the members can change attitudes; they should believe in themselves and should improve on their skills. His responses admit that more change could occur if NGOs and the government of Kenya commit resources to Jua Kali workforce.

Vincent

Vincent is 22 years old and has worked in Jua Kali economic sector for 5 years. Vincent attended school up to senior four. His poor performance did not allow him to join senior five. According to Vincent, he performed poorly in class and did not think that his performance would improve. He refused to honor his admission to Advanced Secondary Level, because according to him, he would not do well. So, he decided to join Jua Kali economic sector to learn skills to earn a future. He was not sure of the idea of an institution that would accept him for training. He lived in the village for some time but failed to meet life's needs through subsistence agriculture. He decided to join his brother who was Jua Kali, and similarly, trained as a motor vehicle mechanic. His brother encouraged Vincent to remain in the city, because, that appeared to be the only option. He served as a helper and for about two years in his brother's garage. After attaining skills, he joined the same garage, and is now paid for his work. Vincent knows his earning is too little to satisfy his future.

Mutigga

Mutigga is a woman, originally from Naivasha in the western part of Kenya. She is 24 years old, and works with a Jua Kali garage in Shauri Moyo, Nairobi. According to Mutigga, she left school in the second term of primary seven because her parents were very poor. No one in her family had succeeded in formal education in their family because the parents cannot afford the school's fees. Mutigga joined her relatives in the rural to earn a living by helping her parents to cultivate crops, but agriculture was not meeting her needs. According to her, crops fail due to prolonged droughts or floods. Mutigga decided to find life in the city and now works in the garage where she is responsible for the sale of spare parts, and she is responsible for maintaining order in the small office. Mutigga is motivated, and she has a desire to gain proficiency in mechanics especially for maintenance of heavy machinery. Mutigga has dreams that she believes are attainable. Based on her experiences, as Jua Kali, individuals can achieve aspirations after gaining sufficient experience.

Alex

Alex (42 years old), is another person of advanced age. He describes himself as having a vast experience as proprietor of the auto mechanics garage located in Jua Kali context in the heart of the Kampala. He gained training in stages, beginning a course in motor vehicle mechanics. Part I (certificate), and proceeded with an ordinary diploma from a technical institute before entering a public university. However, upon finishing his course in the university, he established an auto repair garage where he employs both skilled Jua Kali youths and formally trained youths.

He has over 10 years' experience of among Jua Kali workforce both within his own enterprise and without. Actually he is enthusiastic about Jua Kali economic sector and affirms that the sector has higher percentage of absorbing youths searching for work in East Africa.

Medi

Medi (40 years) is also one of the senior members of Jua Kali entrepreneurs. He joined it early in 2004 and describes his background as associated with turbulence, because his parents never lived a settled marriage. Eventually, his parents died, and left him as an orphan. The conditions of life that followed intolerable and could not support his education. His guardian was hostile and irresponsible and did not pay Medi's tuition in time. Medi confronted numerous difficulties meeting the basic requirements of school, such as uniform, lunch, and transport. Due to these hardships, he left formal education while in senior five. Influenced by his friends, he migrated from the rural area to the city to seek a survival. He trained with his father's neighbor who owned a garage in Jua Kali, Wandegeya, until becoming a mechanic. He worked in the same garage for several years, eventually establishing a business along the Kisseka market street. He admits that he has been moving from place to place to find opportunities for wealth.

Kakooza

Kakooza (44 years old) is originally from one of the suburbs of Kampala, called Najas (pseudo name). He is an informant who has spent over 20 years working in Jua Kali economic sector after gaining skills in Najas from a year's training. He works in one of the most popular Jua Kali markets in the heart of Kampala and calls himself a specialist in maintaining auto air conditioning systems. He remembers leaving school in Primary 7 due to the failure of his parents to have the tuition. He was brought to the Jua Kali by his father at the age of 18 and acquired the skills by functioning as a supporting worker in his father's shop, eventually leaving his father's shop and to work independently. He now works as an "open air" specialist for automobile air conditioning along the roadside of Kisseka market. He owns a small shop constructed of sheet metal, installed next to a big tree shade. In his little shop, he has a stock of electrical components for cars, such as; used radio systems, speakers, woofers, wiring materials, and other electronics.

Katende

Katende is 19 years old, and describes himself as an engineer for wiring motor vehicles, in Kampala's Kisseka market. He proudly describes his career, by admitting his skills did not from school or technical college, but from a relative who owned a garage in Kisseka's market area. His parents could no longer pay for his education forcing him to leave school in senior three. Katende further described his career as a result of dire conditions which forced him to the streets, where he did not know anyone. Without protection from the older boys the situation was always dangerous and he was subject to arrest or to be killed. According to Katende, he first joined other boys who lived in the streets, and he recalls how hard it was to survive. Later, his relative who is a mechanic looked for him and incorporated him into a business in Jua Kali, where he worked for two years. After acquiring skills, and in order to be a "boss," he established a business, now for five years.

Accordingly Katende, all along wished to find work and earn money to return to school. He is convinced that if he completed his studies he would be able to meet his life's needs.

Rachael

Rachael (now, 24 years) left school while in senior one, seemingly due to both poor financial support and lack of interest. Rachael perceived education as a long process for attaining her desired lifestyle. After leaving school, she joined her mother operate a vehicle spare parts shop located within Jua Kali. In her description, her mother particularly wanted to support her with a livelihood. They started small, and now the business has grown shop along the road in the Kisseka market grew to a larger enterprise, and she accepted employment in Jua Kali to earn enough to become independent.

Sowe

Sowe is 23 years old and describes himself as a mechanic who trained in the Ndeba suburb of Kampala. Later, he transferred to the Kisseka market where he has been working for the last 5 years. He was in a rural school when he left in senior one due to lack of money to pay his fees and inability to meet

the requirements of the school. His uncle asked him to join a Jua Kali garage to acquire skills. Because his uncle had little space to employ several workers, he released me to another garage. Sowe has bitter experiences of his first days of work in a new garage. The boss was oppressive, never appreciated his workers, causing Sowe to relocate to the Kisseka market, where he now works on his own in the open spaces along the streets, and this is why he describes himself as a boss of "his own." Working on his own is good because he earns more money than when he was an employee; however, he recognizes that he has to work hard to find assignments due to competition. He must pursue cars all day, and sometimes, he does not find work for several days.

Relationship between Researcher and Informant, and the Role of Ethnographer

Before delving into other research procedures, clarification of roles is necessary for the project's design. The investigator; guided by the ethnographic approach, submerge into the study's cultural group. In this case joining idle groups, or those busy working within Jua Kali became, of necessity, habit to "understand the research setting, its participants and their behavior" (Glesne, 1999, p. 45).

In moments when members of Jua Kali were suspicious and unwelcoming, made identification imperative, and caused displaying official documents, with the intent of establishing trust. Sometimes attempting to help with repairs, offering assistance as a "spanner boy," moving or lifting things, allowed extensive dialogue for questioning the points of interest involving Jua Kali youths and work. So doing produced closer relationships and clarified meanings, patterns, norms and lifestyles (Glesne, 1999).

On a number of occasions, adopting the role of customer seeking service among the Jua Kali mechanics (e.g., changing engine oil) allowed gaining a strong rapport, acceptance, and as a customer and accorded special treatment. That role created the occasion to return favors. As a customer, or a "boss," the owner of a vehicle needing service, the role provided directly insight into the business or the youth. Those servicing the vehicle more readily provided information.

Becoming a close member of the group allowed development of the position of insider, and opened opportunities to reflect deeply or ask questions on issues such as experiences or observations (Glesne, 1999). Since commonly among Jua Kali, participants exchanged telephone contacts with clients, telephone contacts became available in case of mechanical problem with the car. This exchange opened networks with participants beneficial to research.

Furthermore, the identity as a priest became a point of interest to a number of the participants. For instance, Medi and Kakooza, during interviews, explained that they, too, as Muslims are believers and this identity led to rapport, trust and association. In addition, awareness of the significant role Christian Churches in Africa for health, education, human rights and justice, most respondents regarded the study as timely.

To maintain balance and avoid bias identity of priest was deemphasized, and greater emphasis accrued to the earlier identity despite common acceptance for more than one identity (Riessman, 2008; Glesne, 1999). To seek clarity in the course of the study required questioning: "Can you explain to how you joined Jua Kali? How do you share the resources and earnings in Jua Kali? Who controls resources in Jua Kali?" The questions were vital for understanding pertinent issues and challenges facing youth in the region, the informal economic sector, and matters regarding formal education.

Data Collection Procedures

The data collection procedures began with the design of the tools including interviews, whose formulation focused on examination of the unit of analysis: those participating in Jua Kali, those members of culture sharing groups (Creswell, 2008). In the interviews, the focus was to understand the culture of this group, while considering their beliefs, characteristics, expressions, and practices in the informal economic sector. Thus, the unit of analysis served to reveal those issues being investigated through relating narratives of experiences, and cultural and historical aspects that have a direct or indirect influence to the problems investigated (Marshall and Rossman, 1995).

Interviews, adopted as an appropriate primary source of data, are rich sources for meaning-making (Creswell, 2007; Miles and Huberman, 1994). The interviews encompassed two intervals: Interviews in Uganda during July and October, 2013. From October, 2013 to February, 2014, interviews occurred in Nairobi; however, in the interim a preliminary visit to Nairobi initiated the entry process. While conducting the interviews, the informants had full freedom of expression, and the questions guided and encouraged narration of experiences related to the study.

All the interviews occurred at the workplaces of the informants, following requests to be able to meet customers that visited, since most customers do not arrange reservations for services. Commonly informants accepted interviews, inside or round vehicles undergoing repair, or in little offices, of established workshop space. During the interviews, some respondents accepted telephone calls from customers, or met clients, interrupting interviews for some time. Interviewing this way was challenging, due to frequent loss of focus. Even recoding data in the workplace environment did not always provide satisfactory results due to overwhelming noise.

The interviews were "one-on-one" (Creswell, 2008, p. 132), and were unstructured, used open-ended questions, and conducted in a therapeutic way, as suggested by Glesne (1999). This style allows learning from respondent and does not argue alternative beliefs. During the interviews, prompts were common: What do you feel about that? Can you say more about this? These prompts encouraged respondents to freely relate narratives from experiences (Creswell, 2008; Riessman, 2008). While the informants responded, monitoring body language often communicated rich meaning. However, the challenge of some participants' hesitating to provide information remained. In some cases, some of the interviewees felt that responses were unsophisticated, causing increased encouragement to continue to speak, followed by expression of appreciation contributions. Sometimes, reframing the interview's questions helped.

The interviews focused on three themes of the research and its objectives: factors influencing how youth negotiate work; the impact of the current negotiation of work on youth; what the youth think about

second chance education. No questions directly, focused on the objective of comparison, an issue for consideration when analyzing the narratives.

Eliciting the required data required questions: How do youth find work in Jua Kali? How do they determine payment? What are the benefits and disadvantages of working in Jua Kali? Do youth in Jua Kali think about getting education? What kind of education is suitable for them?

Subsequent transcription into text captured the informants' audio-taped responses. Audio recording the participants is an appropriate strategy, supported by other studies, "[t]he process of preserving the data and meanings on tape and the combined transcription and preliminary analysis greatly [increases] the efficiency of data analysis" (Marshall and Rossman, 1995, p. 110). A simple M2 micro-SD recorder's appearance, in the first instance, caused no anxiety among the respondents; many of them thought the device was a cell phone. The request to record was not denied because the gadget did not attract public attention.

After an interview with the informants, a small sum, U SH.10.000, or K SH. 400 (4.00 USD) represented an offered token of appreciation, perhaps enough for a small meal. However, the coordinators received U.SH. 25.000 or K Sh. 1000 (10.00 USD). Undoubtedly, some informants complained of the small remuneration, although, most understood the explanation.

The other secondary data collection approaches employed included; observations of participants, maintaining a journal and note book, photographs, and video recording:

Prior to further explanations, notably, these approaches to data collection centered on the units of observations, identified as "anything" eliciting information related to the unit of analysis. In conducting observation the focus was on the activities in Jua Kali environment, individuals in Jua Kali arena, the behavior of idle youths, the products of artisans, and the overall environment. For a better understanding of the entirety of practices, repeated detailed observations concentrated on culture's group's origins and its operation through the day.

Observations followed the study's protocol, which clearly identified the areas of interest. Based on Marshall and Rossman (1995), the process of observation ended with "observational notes" (p, 149).

The study's design dictated observing for 200 hours, but financial constraints adjusted the requirement to only 100 hours: 50 hours in each country. One hundred hours is a sufficient duration to effectively and extensively collect data, which allowed "seeing," "hearing," and "experience" the reality of the problem and its influencing factors as suggested by Marshall and Rossman.

A journal of observations, events, and from throughout the field research created notes of the most importance: Notes were helpful throughout the field work, especially for subsequent analysis and written records of experiences, insights, and other valuable information arising from casual discussions.

Still photography and video, adopted within a framework of the "predetermined plan" (Marshall,and Rossman, 1994, p. 91) provided pictorial coverage of targeted activities, youths' behavior, Jua Kali environment, and individuals in the informal economic sector. The use of film and video emerged as powerful and objective approaches, useful in capturing data of particular issues; validate information collected in other forms (e.g., narrative form or interview sources) by documenting nonverbal behaviors. Due to security concerns following terrorists' threats in the region, most participants resisted photographic and video recording, consequently limiting the number of images, particularly video.

Data Analytical Procedures

Thematic Analysis and its Initial Stages

As Talburt (2004) explained, thematic analysis is a process of elucidating data by reviewing, synthesizing, and interpreting to describe a phenomenon. Guided by Creswell (2008), the process of data analysis actually began with the "initial step of qualitative analysis" (p. 105). Actually, in this study analysis began with reflection on the research strategies (e.g., approaches for data collection, development of interview questions, and transcription of the collected data). Analysis continued through a process of familiarization by reading and re-reading the transcripts (Creswell, 2008, Miles and Huberman, 1994). Analysis of multiple data sources included recorded field interviews, field observations notes, journals

entries, and photographs, the vital sources of data (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Nvivo, a qualitative research tool that assigns codes to meaningful themes, generated repetitive topics (Boyatzis, 1998).

The actual analysis adopted was the thematic analysis approach, a "process of encoding qualitative information" (Boyatzis, 1998, p. vi). To clarify, the suggestion of Gregorio (2001) served as guide to thematic analysis as a process of assembling and reducing words into meaningful themes from reading, reflecting and interacting with the narrative. Boyatzis outlines important features of thematic analysis:

> Extracting from the codes "gold dust" quotes to be used when writing up; linking similar ideas from different articles/transcripts; identifying contradictions in arguments; comparing dissimilarities in articles/transcripts; building one's own argument/analysis with links to supporting evidence in the data/literature (p.2).

Analysis Guidelines

Systematic thematic analysis, adopted the steps suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006), depicted in Table 3:

Table 3: Analytical Steps

Adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006)

In this study, the decision to follow these stages was due to their ease of use, and often facilitates an efficient completion.

Strategy of Analysis

After multiple reviews of the data to ensure accurate response to the research questions, the process of coding, based on the established guidelines began. The selected themes identified responses to research questions or described the study's population, the study's contexts, and the phenomenon. Using the analytical guide, (Riessman, 2008), creating open codes revealed specific attributes and properties of the phenomenon being studied. Creating such open codes avoided burying attributes and properties in large, general categories. Next, specificity was vital to reduce fragmentation of data and ensure maintaining specific attributes or properties. Taking such steps in the preliminary analytical stages enriched the process of developing categories, served to increase the relevance of stories generated from participants, minimized reductionism, and avoided sweeping generalizations. However, as noted, codes are not absolute, and consequently re-wording statements, from applying readings in conjunction with interviews and research questions was necessary.

After the interviews, immediate transcriptions without modification created records of audio information that became the initial raw or primary data. Sections of excerpts of raw data from two different informants, one from Kenya and the other from Uganda are:

Sample 1: Raw Data from Kenyan Participant

Can you introduce yourself?

My name are Quinton and this is the second time am taking this interviews. I work, I have been in the industry for like 12 years now and what happens (paused) Ok aaa—ya , it means that when I joined here I was like 12 years and I have learn a lot as in I have moved from different stages from the production level to and now doing the marketing part of it but I have the information about Jua Kali industry. Ok. What happens is that aah… in 2001 when I finished form four I was not able to join the University so I I joined the institution Jua Kali Association because my uncle used to work there so he is the one who brought me to the Organization. And when I joined in 2001, I stared by I mean learning small jobs as in I mean cutting the products in different sizes. What happens is that we have moved from one point to another, expanding skills we have things just like that.

How do youth find work?

Ok going specifically to the question of the day. I think for the young people after joining the institution they are always aa…aa…aa…take through some skills training practical training which they alter use to after the practical training. They now start working for the guys that appraise this people because they cannot find money to buy the local materials to make these products.

So they tend to do small jobs for wages per day or they are paid for as the products they make. So when they start working like that is when they are acquire more skills and they can now shift from one department to another. Let's say from painting to actual fabrication because they need some time to get right to make this products so that they get taken into and get different some different stages and what also happens is that the skills they acquire its locally acquired they are not taken to school and there is nothing to do with theory just locally acquired skills that they use to make these products.

Do they write application letters, do they do interviews? I think at the moment there is nothing. They don't do applications like under what happens is that this is more of a central place where all this work is under one roof. This is an organization. So what happens is that, after getting skills the moment this person is being trained to make this products already he is working for this person meaning that after getting to know the actual skill and finding it easy to now to make products you can still be employed by this person or any theory person that is they are not paid salary. They are paid per the piece of work they have done so like a piece work pay. So anyone can employ them according to the demand type of products that work requires, for example somebody wants to 10-20 and the work force the employer, thus can only make 5-10 so you find that he will need more guys out side there to come and do the work so that he can service them take the products at the right time to the customer so it's like there is nothing like aa…aa…

(Interviewer)Then how does he choose those he is going to incorporate? I think what happens is that; by the time this person works in this place aa—the employer or this person that he is working for is able to sell the products this person can make that the employer or this person is working for that tells him that this person is qualified to make a specific product so what happens is that after some time because it is he doesn't happen for overnight cannot start today and make the product tomorrow you have to take like between 2-3 months. By the time you are doing this, I think guys who are working but with poor skills or they can there is nothing like or what you can do at a certain time. So I think what is how

They watch you…ya… they watch you…. Now there is nothing like providing terms or something like that. They see what you are doing then they make the product…What factors are they looking for someone to be taken as a worker in that enterprise? Just the ability… The ability to make the products that's one. In general... That's if you have that skill to make the product because there are so many products in Jua kali not all are artisans can make all these products at the same time so there are guys there who are specified in making the "mugikos," there are guys who are doing the "Sufurias" only so cannot find that a guy can make who are making "sufurias" only so you cannot make the sufurias or can make the wheel barrow. That is how they are clustered. They are

We have clusters, we have areas of how these products are made so you find that somebody is having a kill of making the Sufuria, he is only specified in making the sufurias and the guys who want their sufuria made will now be looking for such guys.

If a motor mechanic is able to offer that service, it could be like wheel alignment or any part of the vehicle.

Ya - That is what happens in a motor mechanic because you find that not all the artisans that work there make the entire vehicle or can prepare them the whole vehicle. Can only do a certain point then you can take the other person. But you can also find that they are more experienced in this areas where you find that now if it is a now if it's matter of graduation, we call them engineers in this areas because you find that they make very technical products   I mean very nice products thus only a few guys can afford to make so they have that extra skill to make extra – I mean very nice things that only a few guys can…

Are you sure that it's only the skill that proprietors consider?

If you have a skill or capacity we call it capacity…aa… I don't think if there are other factor that is why we call it Jua Kali. Jua kali means informal. So everything that happens is based on what you can do the ability how you can it right so if you have the ability to make it or you have the skill to make it then I think that qualifies you to be taken or to be considered as a worker there..

So – how about those who fail to become capable as you have put it? What happens to them?

Aa…not all people who come to train or be trained in Jua Kali always end up working in Jua Kali …ya. It's like yah…a place where somebody come to tries himself out so if you are defeated in that area then you can shift to other areas. You see, there are guys who have always come here and they find the job very hard to learn and then they quit and they go and become Bus Conductors in other areas they go to become other people in other places and others go and make the beads and other African products, you see. So not all people who come to Jua Kali and end up in the institution.

Do you negotiate payment?

What happens is that when it comes to payments, they have no standardized kind of rate where for a specific product…It also depends on the availability of raw materials for instance if the prices of raw materials go up then the payments sometimes they drop but if they find that the raw material at a cheap price they take more of them and then the prices of making the products tend to rise. So that's what happens.

It also depends on availability of the raw materials in the market …ya… but what happens is that they are paid per the work they have done e.g. if you have not come today you don't have anything so that how Jua Kali operates. If basis and ensure that I do something and also... It I don't do some job today then I have no money. If I don't do tomorrow then I don't have money. I have to come there on a day to day basis and ensure that I do something and then also…

It also depends on availability of work because you cannot come daily sometimes you come and you find that there is no job… ya … even in motor mechanics. You find that there is no work there is no job so just relax but then you find that there is no work there is no job so that is how it happens. You pay one who has worked for long in…. (Interview with Quinton)

Are you telling me that the amount you pay out say to the new recruit somebody you have just recruited today you know for doing any service is the same as the amount for skilled youths?

Sample 2: Raw Data from Ugandan Participant

Can you talk about yourself?

I am a proprietor of the workshop…Actually I am Alex and when I was in the University they used to nickname. So when I started work, I stared a company in Jua Kali I tried to put together a proposal with my friend and the boy said call it Alex. Actually they are interested, I think Jua Kali sector has the bigger percentage of… the demand is high for people who work. The only problem is; they have no experience…. (Pause). Because for me I first went to do motor – part one – technical education then I went for ordinary diploma then I jumped to university for a degree… but although we used to over look the Jua Kali… But honestly speaking Jua Kali who have learnt on job were better than us. The further educated they were hands on – practical. But they don't have the theory.

How do youth access work? Can you explain to me how youth find work in Jua Kali?

In most cases what happens- they come here for a job you know…. (Pause) Ask him what he knows, and he tells you what he knows- I am a mechanic. But when you ask for papers – he doesn't have. He only has a letter from the LC. Before I employ anyone I get a vehicle that needs overhaul, I examine him. I ask him to give the procedure to do the work, to find out if he has the clue. Actually a majority do not know. I also have the trainees. In fact I have three trainees. The only problem is getting trainees who have not had technical education. They don't have a clue at all it is actually from being from Zero. So you show him how a nut is turned he will not do it well and then he breaks it, so it is expensive to train them.

What happens is like now the trainees; when you come, you supposed to pay light training fee. They are supposed to start with light jobs; to start washing cars the cars then they learn how to remove car tires. When they realize that on that someone can actually do jobs, and then you realize that someone can actually profit the Organization then you can begin to pay someone. Then that is when he can negotiate. One should be able to contribute to the enterprise

Do you negotiate payment?

Aa..aa…aa about payment agreement; In some cases, I would say – Jua Kali sector has a problem in one way. They do not have bargaining power. We do not have the preset rates. Then they end up being oppressed. Those who accept with that they accept. Those

who feel they are oppressed they leave. A majority of them have always wanted to get their own money and start their own enterprise. That's why you see find there are excessive inexperienced mechanics in the field.

Regarding terms and conditions of work; those who are very experienced and all rounds can deliver without supervision – they usually refuse monthly salary – that when we negotiate. When cars come in and I have got like the cars to want to fix clutch plates. The inexperienced want get a monthly wage like U. SH. 300,000 per month. We decide whether to pay at the end the month or we pay daily basis e.g., 10,000 per day. The experienced, we if are charge for labor e.g for U. SH.60,000, he knows he can earn say half of that money. Half remains in the garage.

There is no standard payment because everyone or owner and proprietors of garage has his style of doing it. Like me I was employed before the first job I got from the foreman Jua Kali but had a very big workshop and it was well established though it had a lot of managerial difficulties due to lack of education. The majority of those garages have their own managerial.

In the city in Kampala the proprietors are in oppressive side. Along this street we have six garages. The condition is to get a job you must come with your own tools. You are given work without pay for three months. You are exploited for three months without pay. A majority of these garages are not like those corporate garages. When you come you are not allowed to go to the seeing site. You sit in the waiting room. What happens – when you impress many customers when they come and they look for you – that is when the proprietor realizes that you are an asset. So you are paid according to how good you are. How impressive you are.

That is what the majority of the proprietors consider. Actually if they find that they have nothing to lose whether you are around or not then—for these who are not experienced. In most cases we pay 25% of the total interest earnings. Imagine they are flat rates, for instance. SH. 2,000 for each car washed and if 10 cars have been washed, then he gets U. SH.20,000 per day…aa..aa..In fact in the mechanical sector, we do not even have labor laws protecting us like me, I have standard rates it is cheaper for the enterprise to pay standard rates than daily rates then, I would be saving money.

With me here I have four (4) technicians, two (2) advanced, 1 graduate level and one certificate level. We have trainees to work with each one of them. The best thing we do – we put / attach every unskilled person to a skilled person. They act as helpers / supporters. Whenever the skilled person is working, he is helping. The skilled ones get the unskilled trained when they are working together.

The biggest issue of the sector is copying. In most cases, for reasons a trainee … asks for training on his own. A person can just walk in… I have my money… in most cases, they have to be seconded. Jua Kali are always unlucky- that is why they prefer to be independent. You must be known to get work you must be brought by so and so your background must be…In fact the majority of them cannot be trusted. Some of them have disappeared with people vehicles and so they must be recommended or introduce by relatives.

What do youth think about second chance education?

In 2000 I had one Jua Kali boy who had never stepped in a class. He knew what he was doing. However, I realized one thing. The character of the Jua Kali who has never been to school are completely very different ever from one who has been to primary level. He doesn't even understand what is called time management. He does not respect everyone. He has only respect for his parents. He has never known to respect / recognize the people for example; those who go to school do to teachers / prefects. So when you are assigning him something its possible for him you lie you that it's okay, am almost there and it takes him long to reach there and I think the best education for them is to make them do some management course- basics of management, give them a clear of management, structures of origination, divisions roles, reporting system.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of work in Jua Kali?

I would say one in save in so much in development and there have been scandals. A majority has the skills but do not have the compatibility of handling people and that's why a majority think that Jua Kali are thieves because Jua Kali do not have respect. They need public relations training – thus to sustain the clients and to sell the sector. The biggest number of people doing practical/hands on work is Jua Kali. If the policy makers would impose that every person has to go for a four (4) months period or a certain period. Testing of Jua Kali skills trade tests certificates can also be introduced.

Practically speaking, the best metal work practitioners have never been to school. Am proposing the testing of the skills of Jua Kali to accredit them and enable them compete in the labor market whether in the informal or formal sector. Jua Kali work hard but are not doing well in the work…cannot manage their finances/resources. For example, a majority of those who come to look for jobs come from poor family settings where they have not learnt any managerial skills. They live only on hand to mouth "whatever he earns is his gold." There can be two students….

It improves your working skills; motivates you because you can see the benefits of one's work. They lack negotiation skills. For example, when I over hauled the engine Jua Kali quickly accept any pay without considering the value of time, the physical input, experience etc. they just look at money. They are not able to see the expectation that goes in with work and so do not demand for it. Somehow at a certain level they have out-competed the trained engineers. A majority of people in this country like cheap labour.

The process of coding involves cleansing the primary data by removing words and expressions that would not meaningfully respond to the interview questions or the research objectives. The development of secondary data compared the responses to the interview questions, research questions, and objectives of the study for generation of codes and themes. However, secondary data remained faithful to responses to maintain original meanings and perceptions.

In accordance with Gregorio (2001), assembling words into meaningful themes requires organized data. Table 4 a sample of secondary data, based on Quinton's responses:

Table 4: Sample of Secondary Data

Source	Data
Interview	How do youth find work in Jua Kali? They don't do applications like the formal sector…So what happens is that, after getting skills the moment this person is being trained to make this products already he is working for this person… meaning that after getting to know the actual skill and finding it easy to make products you can still be employed by this person [who trained him]…that is they are not paid salary. They are paid per the piece of work they have done so like a piece work pay. So anyone can employ them according to the demand of products. *Then how does he choose those he is going to incorporate?* I think what happens is that; by the time this person works in this place…ah…ah…the employer or this person that he is working for is able to sell the products this person can make that the employer in Jua Kali there is nothing like providing terms or something like that. They see what you are doing [whether you can] make the product they are looking for … Just the ability… The ability to make the products that's one… In general…that's if you have that skill to make the product because there are so many products in Jua Kali… not all are artisans can make all these products at the same time so there are guys there who are specified in making Ya… That is what happens in a motor mechanic…because you find that not all the artisans that work there make the entire vehicle or can prepare them the whole vehicle. Can only do a certain point then you can take the other person. But you can also find that they are more experienced in this area… we call them engineers in these areas because you find that they are technical… I mean they make very nice products thus only a few guys can afford to make so they have that extra skill to make extra – I mean very nice things that only a few guys can…So everything that happens is based on what you can do the ability how you can it right so if you have the ability to make it or you have the skill to make it then I think that qualifies you to be taken or to be considered as a worker there.. *What happens to the incapable?* Aa…not all people who

| | come to train or be trained in Jua Kali always end up working in Jua Kali …ya. It's like a place where somebody comes to try himself out so if you are defeated in that area then you can shift to other areas. You see, there are guys who have always come here and they find the job very hard to learn and then they quit and they go and become conductors in other areas they go to become other people in other places and others go and make the beads and other African products, you see. So not all people who come to Jua kali and end up in the institution.

Do you negotiate payment?

What happens is that when it comes to payments, they have no standardized kind of rate where for a specific product…wages depends on the availability of raw materials, for example, if the prices of raw materials go up then the payments sometimes they drop but if they find that the raw material at a cheap price they take more of them and then the prices of making the products tend to rise. So that's what happens. It also depends on availability of the raw materials in the market …ya… but what happens is that they are paid per the work they have done for example, if you have not come today you don't have anything so that is how Jua Kali operates. If basis and ensure that I do something and also... It I don't do some job today then I have no money. If I don't do tomorrow then I don't have money. I have to come there on a day to day basis and ensure that I do something and then also

 It also depends on availability of work because you cannot come daily sometimes you come and you find that there is no job – ya – even in motor mechanics. You find that there is no work there is no job so just relax but then you find that there is no work there is no job so that is how it happens. |

Using the secondary data generated codes and themes, and as far as possible, formulated data-driven-codes as appropriate in an ethnographic approach to remain closely faithful to participants' information (Boyatzis, 1998). The formulated codes represent direct responses to particular research questions to maintain the direction of the analytical process and guided by the research objectives. Likewise, all responses that did not respond directly to the research questions, were not coded, however

valuable they were. Table 5 is an example of the initial coding process with a higher level of thematic

analysis in which codes and themes appear in association with part of the collected data:

Table 5: Example of Initial Coding Process

Data source	Data extract	Themes and codes
Interview	…"So what happens is that, after getting skills the moment this person… can still be employed by this person or any theory person…" "…Now there is nothing like providing terms or something like that…" work access is influenced by abilities…. "they see what you are doing [whether you can] make the product they are looking for … Just the ability… The ability to make the products that's one… In general…that's if you have that skill to make the product…" "But you can also find that they are more experienced in this areas where you find that now if it is a now if it's matter of graduation, we call them engineers…" "Aa…not all people who come to train or be trained in Jua kali always end up working in Jua kali –ya…" What happens is that when it comes to payments, they have no standardized kind of rate where for a specific product…wages depends on the availability of raw materials e.g. if the prices of raw materials	Events influencing work access: Can be employed by members of the network. Recruitment has no terms. Ability to make a product. Work is on the basis of experience. Youth who fail to cope up shift to other areas Wage determination: No standards payments Wages not standardized Wages based on prices of raw materials used Wages depend on availability of work
Field/observation notes	As the day begins majority of workers slowly walk in, or come on *boda boda* bikes. The morning opens with cleaning of the workplace. The Jua Kali are seen setting their tools in the right places. The little shops are opened. Some youth are seen gathering together; they chat and laugh as their share lot memories. There are several groups of this kind, and they gather at entrances to the work site. Some artisans are having breakfast, while others stand on their own, like having	The search for work: There is movement among youth Youth gather round people driving into the work arena. Youth approach passersby, ask if they need services. Impact: Some people work while others have no work.

	deep thought. There are some people who continue with the tasks left over yesterday. Youth are seen talking to anyone who appears to be customer – they ask if the strangers need help; want their services	
Photographs and video		The pictures show the crowded sites, movement on streets, working youth, idle youth

The process of familiarization with the data continued, to allow extracting critical ideas and comparisons, necessary for development and refinement of themes, codes and categories. At these initial stages of analysis, constantly comparing codes and themes is important to minimize unnecessary duplication of attributes. However, sometimes, uncertainty arose if a given code contained exactly the same idea or relationship conveyed in different statements. In situations of doubt, the codes gained separation, as guided by the analytical concepts of Glesne (1999). This problem's resolution occurs by carefully comparing codes with themes, according to the research questions.

In the process, remaining open to the emergent data relevant to the study is vital, and in such cases formulating new research questions accommodated emergent themes. This consideration is necessary since possible scenario might arise when responses from informants introduced vital ideas, outside direct questioning.

The process of searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining, and naming themes continued until generation of final and refined themes emerged. Subsequently these themes became the basis for writing the report. Notably, following these stages absolutely is not practical, because, no borders exist for the prescribed procedures and some overlap. In that case, sometimes, re-searching, refining, and renaming codes and themes became necessary. For clarity, asking searching questions of applicability of themes was helpful based on the argument of Straus (1987): "coding follows upon, and leads to generative questions" (p. 55). At this stage of the analysis, extracted themes and codes, of necessity, were

only those relevant the research questions. Reviewing initial codes continued during comparison with the transcripts.

Figure 4, is an example of refined themes (thematic map) responding to the question of events influencing work access or wage payments, leading to identifying of several factors or elements from both primary and secondary data.

```
                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │   NEGOTIATING   │
                    │      WORK       │
                    └─────────────────┘

  ┌────────────────┐                    ┌──────────────┐
  │ Social networks│                    │    Petty     │
  └────────────────┘                    │  activities  │
                                        └──────────────┘
                        Events                        ┌──────────────┐
  ┌────────────┐     influencing                      │   Lack of    │
  │ Experience │        work                          │  procedures  │
  └────────────┘    access/wages                      └──────────────┘

                                            ┌──────────────┐
  ┌────────────┐                            │    Formal    │
  │ Continuous │                            │  education   │
  │   search   │                            └──────────────┘
  └────────────┘
                                        ┌──────────────┐
       ┌──────────┐                     │   Personal   │
       │ Trickery │                     │  qualities   │
       └──────────┘                     └──────────────┘

             ┌────────────────┐
             │ Self-marketing │
             └────────────────┘
```

Figure 4. Refined Thematic Map

The thematic map explains the process of searching, defining, and naming themes. In the process of arriving at refined themes, the important questions included: What story is being told with this data? In the process of doing so, personal knowledge, experience, ethics, and epistemological orientation often guide the whole process of analysis and reporting (Baptiste, 2001). Similarly, the entire process, using the theoretical framework, illumines the path of argumentation and peer reviews, a strategy throughout the

analysis, was indeed useful. Ultimately, earlier segments of the data may have had different codes than the later ones (Strauss, 1987), revealing a painstaking and lengthy process for establishing codes.

Narrative Structure

The narrative structure is important for a presentation of findings. The review of literature reveals that many scholars do not suggest any definitive narrative structure. The assertion, is, that a narrative structure does not have an ideal rhetorical and chronological order; in fact, most scholars merely caution on use of flexible writing styles without a consistent direction (Creswell, 2007: Ely, 2006). Ethnographic studies, according to Creswell (2007), can adopt narrative reporting, similar to a confessional tale, as described by Van Maanen (2011). As a writing style, it focuses on private subjects (issues of personal life that are never public) and has a format that develops on personal accounts. On the other hand, ethnographic writers can adopt the Impressionistic tales, distinguished by Van Maanen as, one which develops personal perspective of a significant moment or single factor associated with the phenomenon. Its employment focuses on collecting private experiences and feelings, often disturbing and traumatizing.

In this study, the overall rhetorical structure of the confessional tale whose report is beyond just a personal account or just a single perspective of a significant moment in the life of an individual. Using this approach provides direct factual appearances and portraits of the studied culture, and focuses reporting while maintaining impersonal perspective of scientific and objective research (Creswell, 2007). In the process constant referral to the views of informants is vital and these views form the basis for the study's' arguments. The reason is that meaning resides in the dialogue between the interviewer and the respondent, investigator and informant, or reader and transcript (Riessman, 2008).

In the analysis, excerpts of informants' responses appear when applicable and link the interpretation with the informant's original idea. The excerpts report the words of the informant that are judged to be closest to answering the interview's questions. The excerpts, faithfully captured, include important pauses, perhaps pointing to some hidden reality: "… or ah… ah," or if the informant laughed,

"…ha ha ha…." The approach considers with the format and the writing style suggested by Creswell (2007) and uses three writing steps:

> First, an ethnographer provides a description of the culture that answers the question (what is going on here?) Second; analysis includes highlighting findings, displaying findings, reporting fieldwork procedures, identifying patterned regularities in the data, comparing the case with a known case, evaluating the information, contextualizing the information within the broader analytical framework, critiquing the research process, and proposing a redesign of the study. Third; interpretation should be involved with a rhetorical structure [making references from the information in the data, using personal experience] (p. 192 - 193).

Selecting the three steps lead to an exhaustive analysis. Again, despite these guidelines, to perfectly follow all these steps, word per word, for every statement is not possible; some degree of flexibility in writing is required, so that the story evolves naturally. In addition, similar to ethnographers, citing metaphors (images of social action), thick descriptions (detailed presentation of context, emotions, actions, meanings of participants), and storytelling in the narrative structure encourages the audience's attention, (Creswell, 2007). Indeed, the interpretive, qualitative inquiry, which has two general purposes: to describe the lived experiences and or to provide accounts of social processes as suited to ethnographic research were all maintained (Creswell, 2007).

The analytical process considers the elements of social structure, and the process consists of three analytic components: The behavioral components, the activities and interactions of participants from Jua Kali culture; the normative component, which ideally refers to norms, values, and roles that prescribe the behavior of members of the study's population; and the cultural-cognitive components that refer to the shared and taken-for-granted understandings that guide the behavior of participants (Creswell, 2007).

In the analytical and narrative structure, the problem of this research transcends the mere presentation of a process of how youths access work, but rather incorporates the activities, the behavior, and the characteristics of the groups during negotiation for work. Consequently, searching, in-depth, how the different variables influenced or shaped each other becomes significant. Overall, constant questioning, for instance; how do relationships of varying variables support or shape access to work and wellbeing of youth engaging in Jua Kali economic sector, was essential.

Once again, the goal of this research is to compare and contrast on how youths negotiate work in the two countries, Kenya and Uganda. The basis of the presentation of the comparisons and contrasts is the unfolding of the informants' narratives. Throughout the discussion of findings, references indicate areas of difference or contrast, noted from informants' narratives or as identified by informants' voices. In other words, the issues of comparison were simultaneously identified in the discussion of each research question. This strategy minimized repetitive presentation of the same data in different ways.

Strategies for Validating and Verifying Findings

According to Talburt (2004), reference to data's' truthfulness leads to that known as "real" (p. 81). Data verification is paramount in research because data's' truthfulness renders research valid and reliable. In that sense, explaining a knowable world and the truth entailed is essential. The major question addressed in this section, as a guide is: How credible data can be obtained? By credibility of data, two major aspects are essential: validity and reliability of data and accuracy and consistency of data.

Regarding validity requires vigor for ethnographic research (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Creswell, 2007). It requires gathering sufficient and rich data for basing interpretations and conclusions. To decide if the data is sufficient requires continuous engagement with informants until reaching saturation, when no new data was forthcoming during the interview (Creswell, 2007). Ensuring rich data focuses on the choice of the sample population, which targeted members of the studied cultural group, their experiences and ages.

Data verification was conducted to ascertain validity and reliability: First, member checking (Creswell, 2007a, 2008b; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Using member checking approach, it was imperative returning to participants to review reports and to seek clarification or corrections. Second, the practice of continuously discussing with persons knowledgeable in the field of informal learning and Jua Kali groups the analytical thoughts, transcripts, and interpretations, as guided by Glesne (1999). So doing, ensured that the interpretations as captured in the corpus of research closely represent participants' data

from an awareness that meaning derives from dialogue between interviewer and informant (Riessman, 2008).

Third, peers' reviews checked data accuracy and consistency, by contacts with those familiar with the context and phenomenon of study, read drafts and made comments. For instance, during initial stages of the project, discussion with members of academia elicited advice. As the research progressed, discussions with scholars continued to ensure that the interpretations conformed to existing understanding of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Other members of academia at the University in Makerere, Kampala (MUK), Catholic University of East Africa (CUEA), and Uganda Martyrs University in Kampala (UMU), contributed useful expertise.

Last, triangulation verified data's' validity and reliability through a process of comparing different interpretations from various data sources, while attending to relationships, similarity of terms, and thematic meanings as applicable to the overall research questions guiding the interpretations. To do this competently required extensive reading of previous research and literature relating to the phenomenon of the study. This practice confirmed many interpretations and conclusions including from personal experiences and interests accumulated during many years of participating in the interventions among the vulnerable members of the society

Summary

Chapter 3 focuses on research design, which considers the methodological aspects employed. A multi-site, critical ethnographic approach, appropriately responds to conditions in current societies, in which systems of power, prestige, and privilege serve to marginalize members of other classes. The chronology of sections highlight; the introduction, recruitment and sampling strategies, relationship between the researcher and informants, and role of the ethnographer, data collection procedures, data analytical procedures, narrative structure, and strategies for validating and verifying data reliability. Thus, chapter 3 provides a direction for conducting and implementing the field study prior to reporting results.

As such, critical comprehension of cited systematic guidelines for the research's design influences the

discussion of the findings in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

Presentation of Research Findings

Introduction

Chapter 4 contains findings of a study of *how youths negotiate work in the informal economic sector space known as Jua Kali, in Kenya and Uganda*. The findings directly address the research questions in the study's design. The narrative presents events influencing negotiations for work, the impact of the current mode of negotiating work on youths, and what the youths' perceptions of second-chance education. This chapter is a report based on primary and secondary data sources and draws upon the life experiences of informants, audio recorded, transcribed, analyzed, and interpreted, as they pursue employment. Field notes, journal recordings, and photographs are all resources, for the findings.

This chapter begins with statements explaining the comparison between Kenya and Uganda. Next is the summary of demographic data, followed by general background of the findings, and then an allocation of findings to each research question.

Comparing Kenya and Uganda

Arguments for Similarity

While the study endeavors to compare and contrast the data from the two different sites, Kenya and Uganda, largely, the responses, and therefore, the findings sharply show close similarity. Consequently, presentation of the findings indicates no peculiar differences. However, to account for the close similarities of the narratives, the study postulates: First, concurring with previous studies, Kenya and Uganda are neighboring countries with common socio-economic, political and historical backgrounds

(Mustapha, 1992; Mkandawire, 1996; Pederson and McCormick, 1999). Second, inevitably, factors arising from globalization tend to narrow "the territorial and social divisions between cities and rural areas" (Hambleton, Hank, Savitch and Stewart, 2002, p. 58). The East African peoples have a close cross-border interaction, for social, economic, or other reasons, which allow mimicking, borrowing and learning.

In spite of this study's results tending to be approximately similar, a few divergences arise given the varying environmental factors; political, economic and educational aspects in the respective countries. For example, this study notes, the historical backgrounds of countries investigated account and define some of the differences occurring in Jua Kali.

Basis for Divergence

Political: While conducting observations in Jua Kali space, one respondent explained that, "informal economic activities in Uganda, are born in times of political chaos during the dictatorial regime of President Idi Amin Dada." This study, therefore, confirms Uganda for instance, as a country that underwent waves of political turbulence over the years,' right from independence in 1962 (Brett, 1994). Accordingly, Brett described that Uganda experienced several years of hardships dictatorship, corruption, civil war, and acute economic decline till 1990s. Thus, this study concludes, the socio-economic efforts associated to this era, including the informal economies have ultimately been marred by the prevailing political turbulence over the years.

After independence, Kenya on the other hand was an apparent paradise, which enjoyed socio-economic and political stability (Bates, 2005). In most scholars' view, Kenya was able to stagger quietly over the years with historical, land, tribal and power conflicts till the recent explosion of tensions between conflicting tribes, and triggered by power struggle (Cheeseman, 2008; Braton and Kimenyi, 2008). Accordingly, Ajulu (2002) confirmed that Kenya, for instance, has had less competitive politics since

independence, contributing to her exceptional socio-economic and political stability as compared to Uganda.

Economic: According to Middleton (2002), the economy of Kenya has largely been dependent on agriculture, since independence, with about three quarters of Kenya's people engaged in it. The major export crops are coffee and tea, although the country is involved in diverse production of other crops like; sugarcane, flowers, fruit, vegetables, and sisal, used as a fiber to make ropes, mats, and baskets. In retrospect; during the colonial era, the white landowners and farmers employed African laborers to produce coffee and tea on large plantations, but today almost half of Kenya's coffee is grown by local people on small farms. Due to stability, Kenya became one of the most industrialized countries in East Africa, and to-date, its manufacturing industries produce a wide range of products, including textiles, clothing, vehicles, tires, chemicals, steel, minerals, and books. However, the largest portion of Kenya's country's economy is dependent on the service industry, which includes trade and tourism.

In accord to Bates, Kenya's exceptionalism largely contributed to her balance in nurturing the country's rural and urban economic performance. Kenya's economic stability, particularly in the first three decades following independence created a benign environment for development. This study argues that such stability led to the populations' conditional compliance with standard packages and national policies for desired structural changes, including micro-economic management.

Like Kenya, Uganda is dominantly an agricultural country, over half of its population is involved in the cultivation of mainly food crops, such as maize, bananas, cassava, potatoes, simsim, beans, groundnuts, yams and peas, on subsistence level. The major cash crops include coffee, tea, sugarcane, and tobacco. The country is endowed with three major National parks, which attract tourists. Over the years, Uganda experienced several economic, social, political, and cultural hardships during Amin's political reign characterized by tyranny (Stewart, 2010). This era of chaos led to the collapse of the young industries in Uganda, including commercial agriculture, tourism, and socio-economic infrastructure as a whole.

However, from 1990s the ruling National Resistance Movement Government in Uganda, guided by its ideology of a popular movement "set up participatory political structures at national and local levels…[or has] taken many of the unpopular decisions… [leading to] a dramatic growth in private economic activity…[really], induced by the elimination of state monopolies…(Brett, 1994, p. 53). The regime's dominant ideologies and structures in Brett's view have created relative freedom influencing the trend of socio-economic life of the nation. Apparently, and in reference to Jua Kali activities, this freedom is either for good or worse. Evidently, the study concurs with Brett who remarked: "unanticipated outcomes and uncontrollable environments have dominated the process of change in Uganda since I962" (p. 55).

Among others, the National Resistance Movement government in Uganda came up with several strategies to re-build the economy through the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) (Kuteesa, Tumusiime-Mutebile and Williamson (2009). Recently, Uganda developed a comprehensive road-map to rejuvenate and modernize the entire economic system of the country in the Uganda Vision 2040. Similarly, the Kenya government has done tremendous work through policy frameworks, partnership with Associations and NGOs to address the issue of poverty. And Like Uganda, Kenya envisages a modernized economy in Kenya Vision 2030, spelling out the target economic areas for reform.

Education: Kenya has experienced immense burdens of population explosion so that the government is challenged with issues of quality educational standards as well as expansion of access. In accord to Eshiwani (1993), the aforementioned failures of Kenyan government led to birth of regional secondary schools known as Harambe schools. The Harambe schools were built by the local people themselves, to provide youths with opportunities to attain knowledge and skills. With the shift of the Kenya National policy to TVET in the 1970s, then several other communities responded by opening Harambe vocational institutes and village polytechnics to confer technical skills for self-help formation, e.g., vocational institutions located in the following regions were designated to serve this purpose: Kiambu, Kirinyaga, Murang'a, Nyeri, Embu, Meru, Yatta, Mombasa, Nakuru, Kericho, Kihancha, Kisii, Kisumu, Kaimosi, Kakamega, Sang'alo and Kajiado. From the 1980s to date, and because, the Kenyan

government could not employ all the graduates its educational system, it re-focused its educational efforts towards education for self-reliance.

In Uganda, the Kajubi Commission report (1989) shows that Uganda, after independence, went through major educational reforms in 1963, which recommended the merger of primary and junior secondary schools at the time. During these reforms, the expansion of secondary education, teacher training, and the abolition of the junior education in preference and the adoption the primary school education, which run for six to eight years and later to seven years, was recommended. The inevitable impact of the recommendation was the strengthening of the educational practice in the country.

The Kajubi Commission in 1989 came up with several educational recommendations for reform. The report of this commission recommended, among others, the widening of access to education, and adoption of the UPE, which was implemented by the Uganda government in 1997. However, the implementation of the recommendations of The Kajubi Commission has been with little success, due to the persisting irrelevancy in the curricula, lack of enough qualified teachers, poor motivation of teachers, and poor financing of education. According to Nishimura and Sasaoka (2008), the challenge that faces the Uganda, is the implementation of quality basic education to marginalized communities, as well as the sustenance of those enrolled till completion of the formal educational cycle.

In the recent years, and in response to the problem of unemployment, and poverty among youths, Uganda, under the new educational strategy of the Ministry of Education and Sports (2011), adopted Business, Technical and Vocational Education and Training (BTVET) Strategic Plan 2011 – 2020, which builds on considerable progress in the reform of BTVET system achieved during the last decade focusing on skilling youths (Skilling Uganda) for employment and enhanced economic development. Evidently, both countries have adopted different strategies to resolve problems of out-of-school youths, through existing organizations: In Kenya, this study cites both private and national like Kenya Private sector Alliance (KEPSA), Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in Kenya. In the case of Uganda, one of the most promising efforts to empower youths in the recent years is strategy adopted through the Directorate of Industrial Training (DIT),

working in close partnership with the Uganda Association of Private Vocational Institutions (UGAPRIVI), countrywide.

However, this study notes that in both countries, the issues at stake are the minimal financial support, lack of will, irrelevant curriculum, poor attitudes, and inadequate professional and self-motivated tutors to usher these technical colleges or institutions into advancement (Eshiwani, 1993; Nishimura and Sasaoka, 2008); Kajubi, 1989). In both countries, the associated educational challenges remain contribute to lingering poor performance of learners. Additionally, this study responds to the current practice of schooling in the region, in both Kenya and Uganda, which puts emphasis merely to passing promotional examination. The study notes that education is getting highly commercialized, with passes of the national examinations determining attraction and bargaining power for schools. Several scholars have criticized schooling in these countries, which is geared entirely to excelling in formal examination without forming learners in critical thinking and problems solving skills (Eshiwani, 1993; Kelleghan and Greaney, 1992; Magara and Nyumba, 2004).

Demographic Data

Prior to the discussion of findings applicable to the problem of this study, a summary participant's demographic data appears in Table 6. The table displays the distribution of the study's sample population, based on nationality, origin, ethnicity, age, language and gender. In the table, several issues debut, including: both countries evidence rural to urban migrations of youths in search of opportunities. The demographics of participants reveal that all those sampled attempted formal education but left it before completing the normal cycle. Last, male participants' dominate the auto repair as a trade, and therefore, participation of females in auto repair in Jua Kali is insignificant.

Table 6: Demographic Data Summary

No	Names	Nationality	Location	Ethnicity	Language/spoken	Age	Gender
01	Quinton	Kenyan	Western	Luo	Swahili/English	37	Male
02	Musa	Kenyan	Central	Kikuyu	Swahili/English	39	Male
03	Dan	Kenyan	Eastern	unknown	Swahili/English	50	Male
04	Vincent	Kenyan	Western	Luo	Swahili/English	19	Male
05	Mutigga	Kenyan	Central	Kikuyu	Swahili/English	24	Female
06	Alex	Ugandan	Central	Baganda	Luganda/English	42	Male
07	Medi	Ugandan	Western	Bachiga	Lukiga/English	40	Male
08	Kakooza	Ugandan	Central	Baganda	Luganda/English	44	Male
09	Katende	Ugandan	Western	Batooro	Lutooro/English	19	Male
10	Rachael	Ugandan	Central	Baganda	Luganda/English	22	Female
11	Sowe	Ugandan	Northern	Lugbara	Lugbara/English	23	Male

Emerging Background Findings

In the informants' antecedent responses, a number of issues arose: First, results from inquiry into formal educational practices in both Kenya and Uganda show disenchantment with implementation of formal education, similar to Sub-Saharan African countries, despite several decades (G. Bishop, 1989). According to Vincent, interviewed on November 25th 2013, "the education in the country has a problem….most youths dropouts leave school devoid of any skills to earn a living." Vincent's view closely confirms with findings of G. Bishop which asserts that the formal education of many years, "have not matched the high expectations" (p. 14).

Participants' experiences in both countries reveal a dominant obstacle to attaining formal education which provides the training that Vincent describes as, "full of theory…an educational practice that is theoretical and not practical." The participants' responses are align with study findings of G.

Bishop (1989) and Semali (2008), revealing that the educational practices in most African countries, are characterized by use of a curriculum centered on abstract learning with less emphasis on practical skills. In fact, the educational practices Kenya and Uganda, like most Sub-Saharan African countries are responsible for graduating candidates who seek professional positions' jobs rather than entrepreneurs who create employment opportunities.

Second, in Kenya and Uganda, informants' responses expose several socio-economic and political conditions that account for hindrances confronting formal educational practices, especially in rural areas. Kakooza in Uganda like most of the participants confirmed this by saying. "I left school because my parents were not able to pay my school fees… my studies were often disrupted,…you go to class and you are sent away… and so I abandoned the whole affair." The issues of poverty, child labor, cultural practices are central to impacts on learners, ultimately leading to complete failure in the formal educational cycle. For instance, one of the socio-economic obstacles to attaining formal educational is absenteeism when family responsibilities demand children do menial work. Musa explains that, "some children drop out because their parents have died (e.g., due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic). Besides, the conditions of schooling are unbearable for many children who walk long distances to reach schools, have no lunch, are in poor health, and become discouraged for attending school." In addition to the limitations, informants relate a long history of civil strife, particularly in many regions in Uganda, that left several areas plundered, displaced families, forced refuge in cities, and vandalized educational infrastructures.

Third, the informants cited unprofitable agricultural practices and other economic factors responsible for rural to urban migrations. Poor agricultural practices in the region impede realization of personal aspirations; several respondents revealed that upon dropping out of school, youths return to their families, and join in subsistence agriculture typical of rural life but for little gain. One informant in Kenya said that he abandoned rural life, because, "agriculture was difficult, but kept us poor… whatever we produced got spoilt by sunshine. Sometimes no one bought our products." Fields' (1990) findings confirm this response, in a report highlighting that agricultural practice in both Kenya and Uganda to be unreliable due to frequent crop failures arising from climate conditions; poor markets for the local produce, and low

prices or profit benefits, and consequently, undependable for economic wellbeing. This view by informants may also reflect the long standing negative attitude among African youths with an "elitist tendency to believe that education was all that mattered" (Bennaars, Otiende and Boisvert, 1994, p. 300). When Medi was asked if he would like to return to the village to cultivate crops, his reaction was; "agriculture is difficult, boring, not profitable, and therefore, not my preference." Youths' negative feeling towards agricultural practices was observed by Fields (1990) who asserted that instead, they keep asking: "If it is possible to earn a wage in the urban informal sector and have a non-zero chance of obtaining a modern sector job, why stay in agriculture, where the chance of getting a modem sector job is small if not zero?" (p. 58). This attitude in the report of the UN (2005) reveals that only 37 percent and 47 percent of youths in Kenya and Uganda, respectively, joined agricultural pursuits.

Other than poor agricultural performance, numerous socio-economic issues are responsible for rural to urban migrations. Clearly from this study, the causes of rural to urban migrations or the plight of most youths in Africa, like in Kenya and Uganda among persistent chronic poverty, inappropriate formal educational practices, enormous unemployment and underemployment, and increasing numbers young people without schooling (G. Bishop, 1989).

In this study, the role of peers cannot be ignored in rural to urban migrations. Most informants affirm that peers, dwelling in cities sway others to migrate. Medi explains,

> I was attracted to the city by stories of my friends, showing street life as thrilling …life here is better than the boring rural life." Medi continued, "My friends told me that all city dwelling youths have opportunities to earn a living." In Medi's view, cities always offer something to do: working as *boda boda* (*bike and motor bike*) cyclists, mechanics, hawkers, food sellers, porters of traveler's luggage, and other casual labor, also referred to as vendors (From interview with Medi).

Besides the need for work, city life allows youths independence and autonomy. Medi, similar to others, found the city attractive: "I ran away from home to seek my own independence… and because city life is interesting." For Rachael, city was the place to go and change life because of opportunities. She said, "I was so determined to change my own condition…" Actually the motivation for many youths to try a new life in the city is, "We can," and "if others can, why not us?"

Question: 1. What are the Events Influencing How Youths Negotiate Work in Jua Kali in Kenya and Uganda?

This section's discussion centers on events: occurrences, episodes, or facts shaping how youths negotiate work in Kenya and Uganda. Wage determination is a component of negotiating for work. To solicit informants' responses regarding determining factors that influence wages, questions were: How do you determine payment after attaining a job? Do you discuss the matter of payment with employers? When necessary, asking the same question in other words elicited clarification. In informants' responses, generally, events influencing access to work equally influenced wages or the cost of services.

The findings, presents in two sub-titles are: The fundamental influences to work, which according to this study, really accrue from the core characteristics originally dominating informal economic sector setting, including lack of formal procedures and standardized systems, the roles of social networks in influencing access to work, continuous search for work, experience, formal education, personal qualities, and petty activities understood as frivolous, small, and minor businesses, such as conducted youths carrying straps of things round their arms, e.g., selling screen wipers, recordings of music or cigarette lighters to vehicle owners. The next section, are secondary influences for accessing work including; self-marketing; tricking clients, and work via alliances. These factors do not typically depict the informal economic sector, but are necessary due to the conditions surrounding job seekers.

Events Influencing Work Access

Fundamental Influences on Accessing Work

Lack of Formal Procedures or Standardized Systems

The interview with Quinton on October 21st, 2013 identified a number of pertinent issues emerging from occurrences in Jua Kali, and affecting how youths access work: "First, work opportunities,

and availability are usually not publicized in the informal economic sector... Second, the individuals seeking work do not even have to write an application… third, there are no interviews … Fourth, and there is no specific time to recruit or appoint…seeking work can occur at any time." Quinton's reactions show a lack of regulations or common guidelines to direct work or employment in Jua Kali.

According to informants, the lack of guidelines leave youths helpless and floundering. Quinton explains, "Youths take longer periods before getting any work to do…it is difficult for youths to know where workers are needed and what kind of skills are required…accessing work here, is really a blind search and full of gambling."The views of Quinton and Alex depict that the lacking guidelines in the informal economic practices in Kenya and Uganda, is a deviation from formal economic approaches accepted in Human Resource Management, which publicizes jobs or vacancies and interested persons apply, analyzes applications, and conducts interviews before appointments before the applicant assumes responsibility for work (Guest, 1997; Schuler and Jackson, 1987). Conversely, work in the informal economic sector is unsystematic, uncoordinated, and unregulated.

On the other hand, as observed by Kakooza in August 21st 2013, the lack of regulations paradoxically allows easy access to work. In his narrative, in Jua Kali, Kakooza said, "There are no rigorous procedures or formal procedures requiring presentation of testimonials or credentials, and as you can see, one can even join with poor skills' foundation." He illustrates how he effortlessly gained employment: "I am here because of my Dad who absorbed me, even before I mastered any skills." In the view of Kakooza, "finding work was automatic because my Dad just invited me, and as a Dad he cannot abandon his own son without a livelihood." Kakooza notes that the relationships too, between worker and employer remain ordinary and informal, for instance: "There is even no drawing of terms of reference…work relationships are not legally binding." However, notably, such practices, not governed by regulations, are often problematic, because no mechanisms exist to safeguard workers. Actually a condition in Jua Kali, where employment occurs through family connections confirms Fields' (1990) findings, suggesting that accessing work in the informal sector is easy, because informal groups reliably

depend on indigenous resources: local resources, family ownership, trusting relationships, and mostly employ labor intensive practices with less emphasis to capital accumulation.

Consequently, in the informants' responses the idea of "easy access" to work, goes beyond mere explanation of how individuals gain placements, to include the evolving informal economic enterprises that occasion work or employment. According to Kakooza, "one can start with little resources and simple technology, just with a harmer and scrap metal with open air atmosphere to make simple items like domestic knives or spoons." In the UNESCO Report (2012), informal economies often use low level technologies and reflect low prices because production costs are also low, and often, the producers target poor local populations who cannot afford imported products. Individuals sometimes join the informal economic sector, without savings, only relying on waste materials to fabricate things on a small scale. In fact, several members of the informal economic sector who found work by copying and imitating what others do and reusing materials or waste products.

In reference to determining wages, informants noted that lack of standardized systems guidelines, influences wage payments. All informants, of this study (100 percent) said that, in Jua Kali, wages vary from place to place, and from individual to individual, because no standardized or minimum wages exists. In their responses wages' determinations and payments' arrangements are dependent on each individual garage owner or entrepreneur. In most cases, youths have no say when determining wages. The garage entrepreneurs may design their own standards for payment, based on length of time youths have worked with the proprietor and others, on evidence of experience and skillfulness. Like Alex, Quinton, an experienced Jua Kali worker and entrepreneur reveals that discrimination in wage payments is common among all informal economic sector worker. In Quinton's narrative, sometimes "entrepreneurs discriminate among youths, giving special offers to those with unique gifts, or with blood relationships are partially responsible for economic disparity among youths in the sector." However, a difference exists for those freestyle youths who negotiate work on the streets directly with customers or consumers and who receive payment directly for work. Otherwise, wages may depend on the conduct of the youths or from relationships between youths and employers or perhaps, from individuals' power to bargain.

Lacking guidelines to determine wages complicates the situation; consequently, in Kampala, almost half of all youths involved in the urban informal economic sector negotiate work along streets, receiving payments through direct bargains with customers.

As explained by Sowe on the October 10th 2013, because of a lack of directives to govern wage payments or costs for items, bargaining best determines payments: "The pay for labor is negotiable…we just keep on arguing [bargaining] till we agree. There is no fixed price…." The informal economic sector, unlike the formal sector system has no set minimum wages, and is non-compliant with minimum wage legislation (Freeman, 1996; Fajnzylber, 2001). Occasionally, garage owners use the cost of items to determine wages: if the cost of repair for an automobile is U sh.100.000 =, then the wage for the worker may be 20 percent = U Sh. 20.000=. Sowe's response to the question of determining wages is:

> The labor is negotiable. It's not a fixed price. There are no fixed rates but what I know labor cannot exceed the price of the commodity or spare parts you have fixed. It has always to be low if you have fixed spare part…aah, actually sometimes is it was for how long you have been working with him. Some pay U sh. 50,000= ($ 20.00), or others U sh.100, 000= ($40.00) per month (From interview with Sowe).

Both Kenyan and Ugandan participants revealed that, obviously, a lack of negotiating skills among youths in Jua Kali inhibits economic growth. Alex, like other informants affirmed that youths have no knowledge and power to negotiate better pay, since youths lack knowledge of commodity pricing strategies in business. In Alex's experience, "Jua Kali youths accept any pay without considering the value of time, the physical input, experience etc…they just look for money... that is it." The youths work hard, and for long hours but do not earn what is proportional to their work and time, and remain poor for many years. Alex, an entrepreneur, explained exploitation of youths by Jua Kali employers:

> We do not have the preset rates….ah…ah… then they end up being oppressed… They lack negotiation skills. For example, when they overhaul the engine Jua Kali quickly accept any pay without considering the value of time, the physical input, experience etc. they just look at money. They are not able to see the expectation that goes in with work and so do not demand for it (From interview with Alex).

Overall, the study's findings show that every employer or garage manager has his own mode of management. For this reason, Sowe affirms the absence of standard rates, lack of uniform wages for

youths with the same competence, experience, and doing the same task. Sowe, Musa, Dan and Vincent recognize this condition as responsible for perpetuating economic discrepancies among youths and a source of exploitation by the garage owners or proprietors who maximize profits by offering low payments to their employees. In some cases, some employers in Jua Kali offer wages based on availability of work. According to Vincent, "If there is no work today, then, there is no money or wages [and vice versa]." The condition means that, reporting to workplace does not guarantee earnings. A successful day is one with work to do.

The Role of Social Networks

Based on the African setting, socialization creates support and dependency on others, and within extended families (Riesman, 1986). According to most participants' experiences, parents, brothers and sisters, neighbors, and family friends play a major role in the employment of children. More than half of the informants in Kenya, and Uganda agreed that obtaining work in Jua Kali sometimes occurs through the influence of members of social networks in East Africa. Quinton, who is the chairman of Jua Kali Youth Association in Nairobi, and other respondents, said: "The social networks are instrumental in bringing many youths aboard Jua Kali economy sector enterprises."

For Quinton, social networks not only serve to "attract youths for training in Jua Kali space, but also absorb them into the networks as workers." Similar to Ezewu (2000), informants agree that the family is central in networks for socializing and introducing youths to the culture of society. The current study exposes the issue of "the vitality of cultural identity in a time of economic and educational globalization" (Semali, 2008, p. 305). Kakooza's and Rachael's statements confirm this view in interviews of September 5th and 7th 2013, respectively, by admitting employment in Jua Kali is due to parents or guardians or neighbors providing jobs. Kakooza and Rachael maintain that they acquired skills by working in parents' enterprises.

Kakooza, in particular, affirms the vital role of the social networks, "I am here because of my dad. He is also working in vehicle air conditioning. He invited me to work with him, saying we could work together in the family business." Similarly, Rachael explains obtaining employment in Jua Kali:

> …My names are Rachael… I came here in 2008, I came my mum called me to start this job so we started like my dad (who was here long ago), my dad has already been here and he called my mum…and … and, aah… mum calls me to start this job (From interview with Rachael).

Furthermore, while considering youths' access to work, the informants reveal that, besides directly employing them, social networks introduce youths to enterprises among members through introductions to extended family members (parents, uncles, neighbors and friends). The practice is similar to the formal economic sector, for Rachael, "the social networks act as referees." However, unlike the formal economic practices, the social networks introduce youths verbally, without documentation, "There are no applications." Alex reveals how family members move round the social networks, "with the youths seeking work, and literally requesting for a placement among the owners of garages." The adults' contribution to jobs' placement for youths confirms the role of social networks' in promoting the young in the world of work.

In dialogue with Alex, on August 10th 2013, his view prominently revealed, social networks as responsible guarantors of security in Jua Kali: They "ensure that entrepreneurs get suitable members who are well-behaved and enterprising." In big cities like Kampala and Nairobi, the role of networks in ensuring that youths of good conduct join the sector is necessary, because, it is difficult identifying good individuals in huge crowds. Similarly, in Dan's explanation, entrepreneurs require responsible youths for profitable and secure businesses. Pederson and McCormick (1999) present the idea of social networks guaranteeing Jua Kali employers with suitable candidates and suggested that entrepreneurs desire youths who "will not cheat or act opportunistically" (Pederson and McCormick, 1999, p. 121 – 122). Figure 5 below shows youths at work in a social network.

Figure 5: Youth absorbed to work in the social networks

However, even while the social networks serve as trainers and employers of youths, a number of

factors accelerate youths' employment: possession of personal tools and personal characteristics.

However, Jua Kali has a number of challenges: access to capital, tools for work, and appropriate

technologies. As denoted by Kakooza,

> There are more challenges - How to get tools? To get a job to do, you need tools… yet I can only buy tools or gadgets when I get some money. Because I get little money…I can buy one by one to make a bundle. So you buy one thing next time you buy another one. Meanwhile I need tools to get work, even if I get to work on the streets I can do nothing unless, I have tools (From an interview with Kakooza).

Likewise, social networks have an influence in wage determination. In the informants' views,

decision-making rests on adult mechanics, whose presence and function in Jua Kali represents the roles

played by youths' parents. To emphasize the fact that roles of parents, adults and members of social

networks overlap in Jua Kali practices, Rachael, working with her parents, on September 7th 2013 said,

"My parents who invited me to work with them are at the same time responsible for determining the wage

amounts paid to me… the parents treat me as their child, and they know what is good for me." In another

reaction, Rachael said, "We do not discuss modes of payments because I am their daughter." The study

conducted an interview with Mutigga on November 28th 2013 in Nairobi. Mutigga underscored on how

social relationships between youths and employers matter. In traditional African societies, this

relationship influences the wellbeing and livelihood of its members. Mutigga admits that in African

traditional practices, adults are the controllers of the all resources, and this practice influences

relationships of working youths' and garage owners. Mutigga who calls her own employer, "Dad," views

him as "a provider," and as child "I help Dad work in [our] shop." Generally, Mutigga's revelations

exposed the determination of about wages:

> No we do not negotiate… my boss…I call him Mutwa (Dad). He is my boss……Eeh …
> mutwa means he is my dad….(Somebody was whispering to her in the background)…He
> just give (any amount of money) and I take - she laughed…He pays me daily...according
> to his decision. I do not ask him either (laughs) (From interview with Mutigga).

The Influence of Experience

The informants' responses are revelatory for the crucial role of experience in Jua Kali. In An

interpretation of the informants' perspectives for experience is in accord with the philosophy of Dewey

(1920): Experience is acquired knowledge, skills, judgment, and abilities to "do," to "change," and to

"act." All the informants in Kenya and Uganda identified that experience contributes a vital influence on

accessing work, including payment of better wages. Based on the experiences drawn from his own garage

in Jua Kali, Alex explains the procedures he uses to accept youths into the business. He says, "I test them

to prove what they know…we always carry out tests and trials on youths who come claiming to be

skillful… to determine if they are an asset to enterprise." The youths must have a "wide experience, [to

compensate] for their limited education" (Ikoja-Odongo and Ocholla, 2004, p. 55).

Perhaps, the difference between the formal and informal economic sectors lies in the modality of

testing. But, the informants' views suggest that experience transcends attainment of skills. Professor

Ikoja-Odongo, in a peer discussion about Jua Kali entrepreneurship elaborated: "Any proprietor will love

to recruit only those youths with reasonable experience of work, and, therefore, possessing problem solving techniques."

Similarly, Alex in his reactions said, "Youths with sound experience stand more chances of easily getting work…for they are considered as an 'asset' because they have something valuable to offer. On the contrary, youths with little experience may be treated as amateurs, even when they have attained some level of training and skills." Actually, the matter of overemphasis of experience, as Quinton remarked, is disadvantageous to youths with limited experience and denies a chance to practice, through which they gain mastery of skills. On the other hand, the normal redistributive mechanisms of labor markets relocate the inexperienced youths and all those who fail to find work; they leave Jua Kali auto repair trades, to join easier tasks, which do not require complex skills: becoming bus conductors, taxi drivers, artisans of arts and crafts, making ornamentals, clay pots, bracelets, bead rings, or plant flowers along the city's streets.

Alex reveals mechanisms used by garage owners to determine experience before employment:

> In most cases, what happens… they come here for a job, you know, and for mechanics… (Pauses) we ask him what he knows… and he tells you what he knows… But when you ask for papers – he doesn't have… (So), before I employ anyone I get a vehicle that needs overhaul, and I examine him. I ask him to give the procedure to do the work, to find out if he has the clue… (Proprietors are happy with those with a record of work)…when you impress many customers, (and next time) they come and they look for you – that is when the proprietor realizes that you are an asset. So you are paid according to how good you are, or how impressive you are….(from interview with Alex).

Experience, too, impacts significantly on wages' determination, specifically for job–seekers at established workshops or garages. According to Quinton:

> Everything that happens, including wage payments is based on what you can do or on [the individuals'] abilities…If one has experience, then he is considered as an advantage to the enterprise. He or she will attract many clients, and is bound to win the attention of proprietors and networks... he is an 'asset' and therefore, bound to be paid higher wages." There is no doubt; experience influences ones' status and income decisions in Jua Kali workspace.

Quinton admits that in practices of Jua Kali garage owners or proprietors offer wages with special consideration to youths' abilities. Possession of competences places youths in advantageous positions; for instance Alex believes that youths rely on:

 ". . . their experience. They are special in the enterprise…they attract customers due to their good work… they are consulted [in intricate details] of work… are treated as co-workers with the proprietors… unlike the less experienced, who can be dismissed without any regret of loss."

From the point of value-for-money, Alex strongly asserts, "It is better to spend money on people

of quality who benefit the business." Alex summarizes the role of experience in determining wages:

…those who are very experienced and all rounds can deliver without supervision – they usually refuse monthly salary – that when we negotiate. When cars come in and I have got like the cars to want to fix clutch plates, the customer may pay about 300.000 = ($120), and I will pay the experienced youth about half the amount for the work of that day. The inexperienced want get a monthly wage like 300,000 ($120) per month. We decide whether to pay at the end the month or we pay daily basis, for example 10,000($ 4) per day. The experienced, we if are charge for labor for instance, for 60,000, he knows he can earn say half of that money. Half remains in the garage…lastly it is good to have experienced youth… they are helpful… (From an interview with Alex).

Figure 6 depicts youths with some experience working on their own, without any close supervision by

more experienced adult mechanics:

Figure 6: Experienced Youths at work

Related comments on the vital role played by experience in determining employment of youths in Jua Kali, suggest, as Alex stated, "that youths with well-grounded experience have a high negotiation power, and can ask for better terms of payments for the word they do." According to Alex: "They refuse monthly wages, which in Kampala was calculated in a rate of U sh. 10.000= per day (average of $ 4 USD), and so ask for payments on the basis of piece of work."

Continuous Search for Work

The phenomenon of youths roaming the city streets in Kenya and Uganda is endless. In the informal economic sector, finding work or a satisfactory job is laborious, and sometimes the wages earned do not allow youths meet their aspirations. Youths who fail to access or find satisfactory livelihoods are continually roaming the city streets searching for better opportunities Quinton on the 21st of October 2013 explained this phenomenon:

> …because the money they get as assistant cannot…. I mean cannot help the guys feed their families… so they tend to change. When this person now has the skills, he has now the skills to do his own work, so then quits to an assistant of someone else he can start engaging at his own level now then starts his own work now open his own workshop so things like that why people start petty activities. I think some are driven by that factor that they want to make changes in life they want to make their lives much better than when they were learning…(From interview with Quinton).

So, the lack of jobs or satisfying employment, characterizes youths as vagabonds or wanderers in the city, as Quinton said: "They roam from place to place, or from business to business." As already eluded, sometimes youths abandon their old tasks because they have become bankrupt, and unable to keep business… or just lack enough capital to pay their bills." For whatever circumstance, Quinton like Mincer and Jovanovic (1982) explain that youths roaming the city are seeking opportunities, better earnings, and independence. Below, is figure 7, showing sections of Kampala and Nairobi along which youths are roaming to find work.

Figure 7: An example of a typical street in Nairobi (left) and Kampala (right)

Influence of Attaining Formal Education

Reactions in both countries denote formal education as a central contributor to job access, even in the realm of the informal economic sector. An interview with Alex, on October 21st 2013, affirmed "higher formal attainments give advantage to jobs' seeking youths." Vincent in an interview in Nairobi also recognized that some basic formal education, besides accelerating access to jobs, also links to better performance and higher incomes. In his view, "When you are highly educated, it is more likely that you get a job easily and are paid well." The general view of informants is that, youths with advanced formal education have an advantage over their counter parts with no or low formal education. In Vincent view, "Many entrepreneurs give jobs to mostly youths, who dropped out of school after attaining high levels of formal education, for example, preference is given to those who attended some secondary education, because such a level enhances adaptability of the workforce to grasp skills. A close consideration of the informants' responses suggests that attainment of knowledge and sound skills in the auto-repair industry is enhanced by acquisition of some basic formal education (UNESCO, (2012) and studies by Fields (1990).

Personal Qualities

Personal qualities, for most informants like, Rachael, Mutigga, Alex, Quinton and others accelerate access to work and are a source of success. Rachael, while relating her own performance and accomplishments in Jua Kali, states, "possessions of admirable individual qualities greatly contribute to work access, and fair wage pay." Employers of small businesses consider personality characteristics, such as honesty, integrity, and interest on the available job-site results in awarding benefits (Bartram, Lindley, Marshall, & Foster, 1995). Rachael like other respondents in the interviews, express that there is demand for a labor force with demonstrated abilities to learn new skills and so upgrade their competences (Hambleton, Hank, Savitch & Stewart, 2002).

In Dan's experience, commitment as a quality and attitude at work provided a good record, and caused his father to persuade Dan to remain working with their enterprise. According to participants, good behavior and being people of *"Nguvu Kazi,"* which means, persons of "hard work," attracts favor and preferential treatment from the entrepreneurs. In a peer interview with Professor Ikoja-Odongo, possessing vast experience in the informal economic sector often implied leniency and preferential treatment to youths whether during recruitment, or when paying wages.

Rachael, when asked to delineate the qualities that influence negotiation for work spontaneously and expeditiously recaptured varying aspects that she believes led to her success. As she narrates her story, the aspects that contributed to her accomplishment are being "sociable or outgoing, calm, hardworking, creative, well behaved, respectful, peaceful, and patient with my employers." In her story, this must occur between youths, parents, and close relatives. Vincent similarly, explains the same thing in these words: "One has to be interested, and it is the reason I was taken up to my brother's garage…just because I am respectful to him." Vincent, on 07 September 2013 summarized:

> …I think being good to people… ah…am good to people… I have friends (who keep coming to the shop). You know, I am talkative – I chart with people. (Customers) do not want person who is quiet. I am a talkative person. I talk to people that: guys come here I have this, don't buy from there come here I give you at discount. They keep coming here asking mummy that where is Rachael, and customers demand, saying for me I want to

talk to Rachael. Today I don't have money I will give you tomorrow. In a short time the shop is big and now they see I am hard working…ah…ah… they added me money from U.sh. 5.000= ($2) to U sh.10.000= ($4) per day. It is because of hard work, commitment and being available. Like today they are not around, am here alone here with my brother (From an interview with Rachael).

According to Kakooza, good personal qualities are comparable to being out-going, so that, in his view, youths who are outgoing "are able to attract a lot of friends around themselves, a thing which will sell their skills, work or business." Alex, whose garage employs a considerable number of youths, says, "social qualities are themselves sources of wealth, because, they enable a worker sustain the already existing networks, and consequently stabilize earnings." Contrarily, "The lazy, unsocial, and less creative, complaining and agitating youths," according to Rachael, are detested and considered arrogant.

In fact, Rachael and Alex explained further that good personal qualities indisputably go beyond the social characteristic to include special gifts: Youths must be innovative and creative, and must strive to take their work and products to higher levels through value addition. Professor Ikoja-Odongo confirmed: "Youths with a quality of creativity, and innovation are able to take their products to a higher stage, by making additional modifications, e.g., artistically applying paint on their products attracts more customers, and wins the attention of employers."

Relating personal attributes to wage determination is reciprocal; Alex affirms that the youths' contribution to entrepreneurial profit margins in any enterprise influences levels of wages. The reality is, "youths must be profitable, and contribute to the profit pool, to attract higher wage payments, and vice versa." Alex and all other garage owners interviewed agreed that the purpose of probationary periods establish entering individuals' qualities and capacities. In Alex's words, as soon as youths' contributions gain recognition, then such individuals may begin earning wages:

> …when they [proprietors] realize that on that someone can actually do jobs, and then you realize that someone can actually profit the Organization then you can begin to pay someone. Then that is when he can negotiate. One should be able to contribute to the enterprise… lest there will be no pay for his work. He is considered as an armature in the trade … you know proprietors set up business on personal savings. In that case, proprietors hold onto their earnings as they crave to maximize profits so as to replace the startup capital. The Jua Kali entrepreneurs are often not willing to pay new entrants

before they contribute to the profit pool…Consequently; the youth remain exploited, or oppressed and poor for many years (From an interview with Alex).

Access to Work through Petty Activities

Informants show that youths never cease trying despite failing in one activity or another. Quinton is sure that the numerous petty activities starting along the streets are a result of unsuccessful previous effort or failure in previous assignments; consequently youths "resort to opening self-run often petty businesses along the streets, or verandahs of shops, at road junctions, and open street-businesses alongside auto-mechanical work, e.g., polishing or painting car wheels, mending tires, selling car mats or mudguards, mirrors and car wheels' polishing, and cleaning cars, selling cell-phone airtime, re-shining car wheels or selling car logos." Other youths opt to new and totally different tasks from auto-repair; To-date, numerous youths join trades such as *Boda Boda* (motor-bike riders), taxi operation (taking up roles of drivers or conductors), or push wheel carts to transport goods, farm products, selling shop merchandise along roads, and in public places.

Indulging in petty activity created the slogan adopted by most youths; "Start small, you get far." This philosophy suggests an imperfect beginning leads to a triumphant end. This is the hope participants in petty activities entertain; they always hope that someday, the petty activities will upgrade into big-profitable enterprises, with self-employment as the ultimate goal. Occasionally, petty activities involve turning waste products into useful products such cutting out mudguards from old tires or inscribing numbers on side mirrors so as to stop persons who often vandalize vehicles from doing so, with a purpose of re-selling these parts. Slowly, such businesses may grow through capital accumulation, and sometimes by investing any savings.

Medi, in the Kisseka market in Kampala began employment with petty work: "I started my business, by selling car music woofers (car speakers), used car torch-bulbs for car lighting, and car plastic mudguards…for I did not have enough capital." At the time of this study, Medi owned a shop selling car electrical parts, and gained employment as an installer of these parts. When Medi recalled his humble

beginnings, he showed that a little savings could lead to car repair front of his little shop. He said, "I now specialize in fixing electrical problems in automobiles."

The study noted that danger exists for those engaging in petty activities; participants often remain in these temporary activities long periods with little or no success. However, Quinton recalled the "basis of small and petty activities," is the historic origin of Jua Kali informal economic sector. Participation in petty activities gives Jua Kali its true characteristic. Norwood (1975) advanced that most informal economic sector enterprises are "set up on an ad hoc basis by individuals based in small workshops" (p. 83). Kakooza in Kisseka agreed that part of the youthful populations roaming the streets in Kampala consist of those involved in petty or casual activities.

In terms of wages and incomes, a relationship exists between individual earnings and sizes of the businesses. Like most informants, Alex agrees various factors impact profits and earnings including; "size, capital investment, and expertise." Schmidt and Zimmerman (1989), who pointed out that the size of a firm or level of organization influenced the amounts paid out to workers confirmed Alex's perception. The participants' responses show that Jua Kali enterprises have varying sizes; therefore, as argued by Schmidt and Zimmerman, the size-wage effect in businesses is quite obvious; "larger firms' exhibit higher profits and organized labor obtains a large share" (p. 1). Medi in his response explains that many youths operating petty businesses "have very low incomes."

Secondary Influences on Accessibility to Work

Self-marketing and Competition

The prevailing conditions of high competition for work, low earnings, the immense difficulty of obtaining permanent jobs, and rewarding payments, in Jua Kali coarsen youths who adopt aggressive and cunning behavior. Alex, on October 10th 2013, responded, "Youths seeking work along the streets approach unsuspecting customers aggressively, to convince them to their services while speaking about

their own abilities to do good work." While conducting the studies, several youths offered to shine wheels, and others sought to apply decorations on the vehicle. Negotiating work on the streets is a more common practice in Uganda than Kenya. In this study, and as observed by Brett (1994), the description above of how youths negotiate work is one of the visible unanticipated outcomes, and apparently uncontrollable practices dominating the process of socio-economic changes in Uganda since independence. An estimate of youths negotiating work through in this form shows that, for Uganda approximately 50 percent of youths, and in Kenya approximately 10 percent of youths negotiate for work in open streets. Consequently approximately 90 percent in Kenya and 50 percent in Uganda negotiate work on the perimeters of the enclosed garages.

Katende, on September 5th and Rachael on September 7th 2013 revealed the behavior of several youths who negotiate work in open streets. In Kampala they gather at the entrances and junctions of roads where auto repair occurs. The youths rush to any potential customer explaining that they are experts who can do good jobs. In Rachael said, "it is about waiting and struggling to win customers in strategic locations." Similarly, Katende explained "accessing work is a struggle…we all struggle for work…many people approach customers who drive along the road, and that is it." And as a participant observed, due to high competition for clients, some of them spend days without any work.

During the study, notably, several youths often surround vehicle owners as soon as they slow down, and youths begin asking for repair work, "Do you need anything to buy? Do you need some repair?" Youths approach, and talk to customers to convince them to take their services by use of sweet language, such as calling the customer "boss" or "Muzee (a Swahili title of honor for adults). In Kenya, this was not easily noticed, and, perhaps because only a small number as noted in the above paragraph negotiated work in open streets.

As Fred said, several youth upon attaining skills, just "go to the streets' sites and establish [themselves]…often start in the streets and later, may expand the business." Rachael reveals her experience:

> …Young people… they get jobs… you see many young people here on the streets, they come from the morning they stay here… on the roads so when… and gets money they start job/shops. Here in the market you have to be patient (for you have) start from the street (before) you can and get a shop (settled work) (From an interview with Rachael).

Evidently, differences in terms of location for negotiating work accounts for dramatic differences in ways youths operate in Nairobi and Kampala. In Nairobi where most youths sought work in enclosed workshops, the atmosphere remained calm, orderly, systematic, and less competitive because negotiations occur coinciding with structures that govern the daily operation of workshops. In enclosed garages, administrative structures handling visitors and inquiries, including job seekers. The "Boss" or the proprietor of the workshop handles requests for work from outsiders, who may be youths seeking work or relatives seeking to introduce youths to proprietors. Some businesses have gate-keepers who merely direct anyone looking for work to the proprietor of the business. However, as Alex said, sometimes "youths seeking work are brought by the relatives, or members of the network, who may speak on their behalf to the proprietor, "say…this is one of our sons, currently having nothing to do, and is seeking work to do to get some soap?" Alex continued, "the introducer in a calm manner speaks about the goodness of the candidate, pointing out the good personal qualities of the candidate, and then it is upon the owner of the garage to make a decision."

Contrarily, Kampala streets had both environments: the calm and orderly negotiations occurring in enclosed workshops, and then, chaotic negotiations occurring on open streets creating a dramatic atmosphere. In fact, during the study, aspects of disorder were notable: quarrels and even physical fights for work. Furthermore, the activities of Jua Kali youths along roads, obstructed the flow of traffic, with vehicles parked, on pavements, walkways, as work continued in places undesignated for Jua Kali activities. Medi describes his experience of working on the streets of Kampala:

> …I have ever tried …there about five hundred people (working here, and as you can see) only ten are working in groups that is why I saying it's a chance for someone to call you that come and do this work…sometimes youth spend long periods standing on the streets without work …and they will be idle, eating away the little savings if, any… (From an interview with Medi).

Figure 8 represents Kisseka Market Street, a busy street where youths seek work by the roadside.

Figure 8: Kisseka Market Street where Youth Negotiate Work along the Street

Trickery on Clients

The dialogue with informants revealed that the numerous difficulties faced by youths for obtaining work may lead to undesirable behaviors, such as trickery, understood in the study as the use of deception or dishonest tactics, and manipulation of clients into a relationship. According to Kakooza, trickery is a strategy for manipulating clients into accepting services and products. In the informants' reactions, several approved the use of deceit, which in reality contravenes work etiquette, besides hurting working relationships, and the quality of products and services. The common view is that, survival is the essential motivation and practicing deceit may involve the double standards to determine payments for work or services. Kakooza explained that "youths apply varying standards or different judgments over a similar issue." This standard, as noted by Fosci (2000) violates the maxim "justice or fair treatment to all persons."

Youths commonly apply this mode of negotiating based on judgments of clients' class, ethnicity, gender, or appearance. For example, persons presumed to be very rich and ignorant of the conditions of

the market, receive high quotations, even if the real prices are lower. Usually, regular customers receive real prices for quotes because they understand the mechanisms of the market. Kakooza, while explaining what youths do in trickery said; "we tell [them] lies so that [they] can accept our services." Similar responses came from Mutigga in Kenya, when on the 28th of November 2013 she said, "It is upon the client to be careful when dealing with us… if a customer does not know, we fix or sell them what they did not expect…or we can inflate the prices…." According to Kakooza, in trickery, youths make clients pay for "air" – for no genuine goods or services, for instance, they can sell re-used but only polished car parts that appear new.

Kakooza and Sowe respectively, confirm:

You talk to him… (Laughs)… aah…, actually some of the costumers are coming here not for those things but we deceive them so that we can get some money. You ask him a job to work so when he accepts you can do. That is it… You convince him until it's not easy to convince someone; you just convince someone when someone doesn't like it, you leave...

…in trickery we manipulate and convince or win customers to give us work or to book services with us. For instance, we tell them that we use new genuine parts to maintain you vehicle…in East Africa, where a large percentage of vehicles are of Japanese origin… we have original parts from Japan, even if these low quality products from Asian countries, or even when they are offering already used parts, perhaps only refurbished. In Jua Kali a number of youths [involved in fabrication of vehicle parts from scrap metal as well as refurbishment of used parts [, which are later disguised as imported products].

A majority of respondents reported prevalence of trickery among youths operating in the open streets, where no structures of leadership exist, and therefore, no accountability. By comparison, this study concludes that more unethical practices occur more among street youths in Kampala where almost half of youthful population conducts work in Jua Kali along streets, than in Nairobi. Medi in an interview, on 08 15th 2013, discusses that among open streets' workers, "everything is open as the name suggests…they have no leadership…decisions are based on the individual... most often they are not accountable as it happens in established garage sites." In his view, even if the customers come back to complain about poor service, usually they may not be able to locate those who offered the service along

crowded streets. It is evident; there is more accountability among youthful workers in establishments, like perimeter workshops, than those who keep moving from spot to spot along the streets.

Medi while sharing his experiences said that deception results into unsatisfactory work, and becomes a cause of mistrust between workers and clients. Medi suggested that the reason for lack of success in entrepreneurial business is a lack of ethical conduct, which is tantamount to theft of customers' property, which also affects youths' economic growth.

> Well you know with our people, we Africans people don't trust us….aah…aah… because people don't trust us but some of them can trust you ….it's not (even) easy to get work or a loan because people…they are scared sometimes but that is because they don't trust us…sometimes we cannot even gather money from friends.… (From an interview with Medi)

Work via Temporary Alliances

In the informants' reactions in both Kenya and Uganda, some youths find work by building temporary alliances. The study noted that 40 percent of the respondents in Uganda, and only 20 percent in Kenya, attributed youths' success in employment to some sort of networking among the youths and between youths and members of the public. Medi's narrative affirmed this, when he said, "I have been getting some work through my networks." He recalls how he has continued to network with people he met:

> … a customer gets your number and calls you later like Medi come and do for me this work… Can you come and help me and I will be paid according… sometimes, when I am away… or they look for me. Some (people) call me using the contacts I wrote on the wall… or they ask people for my whereabouts…Often I respond to the call immediately…it is good because I get work (From interview with Medi).

According to the informants, this practice of using cell phones has enhanced opportunities among Jua Kali workforce, encouraging individuals to contact each other inquiring availability of work to do together. Sometimes, youths in an alliance, if overbooked may refer their clients to others in the network. Elweu (2013), in a formal peer discussion, uncovered that youths are able to sustain alliances with the members of the public or clients by commonly leaving behind, inscriptions of their cell-phones contacts

on any surface: strategically on walls, trunks of trees, or door posts. Mutigga in Kenya acknowledges the value of keeping "personal relationships or friendships, and constant conversations, because, it is supportive to work." This view is in accord to A Resource-Based Theory of Strategic Alliances advanced by Bing-Sheng Teng (2000) , which states; "a firm's competitive position is defined by a bundle of unique resources and relationships" (p. 32). Thus, in the informants view, the system of alliances remedies high competition or competences, because of accessibility to knowledgeable members of the alliance to support work, as argued by Bing-Sheng Teng (2000).

Question 2: What is the Impact of Work Negotiation Process to Youths Involved in Jua Kali in Kenya and Uganda?

This section discusses the impact of the current mode of negotiating work in Jua Kali environment on youth who join it. Revelations from interviews lead to a deeper understanding of the effectiveness of informal skills to aid access to work in urban informal economic activities. To guide the informants, the common question asked was: What are the benefits of working in Jua Kali?

The informants' responses point to two categories of impact: those encouraging and those disappointing. However, Determining the depth of the impact at this stage is difficult, and perhaps an area for future studies. This study argues, in spite of disappointing findings, the benefits of negotiating work in terms of human values are overwhelming, because several youths have found a source of survival and have accumulated wealth. Actually, from the informants' perspective Jua Kali economic sector is worth considering as an alternative for livelihood for those who failed in formal education.

Encouraging Findings

Improved Wellbeing of Youths' Living Conditions

Quinton from Nairobi emphasized that employment in Jua Kali has challenges, but is good, because, youths feel encouraged, fulfilled and therefore, happy. Manifestations of life of some youths working in Jua Kali are revelatory of improved living conditions. Similar responses from Ugandans reveal Jua Kali youths who have accumulated wealth and therefore, live descent lives with access to social amenities personally and with family. Rachael is one of the informants who identified herself as a successful informal worker in Jua Kali. In her response, she reveals her success: "I am successful, and have also bought a plot and a car. I am going to start to build my house. I spend in hair, cosmetics because I am a lady, clothes…ha…ha…ha…" (Rachael). Kakooza recognizes the contributions of Jua Kali employment for youths and their families. Kakooza's descriptions reveal that some youths are even living flamboyant and cozy lifestyles typical of the affluent western societies; have decent housing, effective transportation, and with their family members accessing adequate social amenities. Kakooza explains the positive gains from Jua Kali employment:

> I have a job, I mean a good job whereby I can satisfy my people who are at home and so we have fun with my family – yah – that is it… (I can also attain my dreams if I work hard) to be in good life, (and be able to have basic needs in the family); to ride bicycles, drive cars, expensive car; maybe they can build houses; just like that. Yah - it is improving me because I can look for myself…; even I have some kid I look after so there is some improvement since I came here. As per now I have my home. Even I want to look for future. Just like that… I know I can be a better person (From interview with Kakooza).

Work opportunities perfect attained skills

This study notes that the gains accruing from his personal work along the open streets of Kampala. Many youths, whose participation has helped them perfect their skills can engage in

productive work to earn descent lives. This is applicable to those who joined the sector with weak

skills and competences. The next figure, 9 below shows youths employed in Jua Kali:

Figure 9: A youth working by himself

Empowers Youths to Invest

Several informants gave evidence that some youths working in Jua Kali have accumulated

earnings, which enabled investments. Rachael, in a dialogue, pointed to changes in her life, and she shows

the great strides made in Jua Kali: "I made savings, which I have invested… have opened a shop of my

own…" Rachael in recognition of her transformation says, "youths like me who had no future... But are

now resourceful persons, even creating jobs for other youths." This description tallies with the findings of

Pederson and McCormick (1999), whose study revealed that in micro-enterprises, investments depend on

personal savings.

The narratives of Rachael are also revealing a feeling of satisfaction due to working in Jua Kali.

According to her, ownership of an enterprise gives her independence, and control of economic resources.

A similar view appears from Kenyans, like Quinton, who described independence gained by youths as becoming "your own boss." To the youths, it's a great attainment, which contributes to happiness and individual fulfillment.

This study notes that informal economic sector has tremendously transformed in the recent years with a substantial infrastructure. A sizeable number of youths have constructed beautiful permanent shops, garages and offices, replacing the make-shift type of shelters, which characterized the initial stages of the Jua Kali in the early 1970s. A great number of youths discuss their dreams for similar developments. Figure 10 shows a youthful proprietor of a kiosk of vehicle parts.

Figure 10: A Youth in his kiosk selling auto-spare parts

Discouraging Findings

Youths are Economically Unstable for Long Periods

However, employment without adequate skills, does not guarantee success and better earnings, disillusioning many working youths who cannot meet expectations. Such youth get frustrated and even

abandon the auto-repair sector. The concern of most informants is the absence of restrictive modalities to ensure standard qualifications. So, as Alex observed, "There are excessive inexperienced mechanics in the field." In Medi's experiences inefficient youths in Jua Kali, "lacking both theoretical mastery and experience prior to employment fail to sustain profitable work and cannot accumulate capital." As a result, several youths "resort to engaging in casual and temporal jobs with little earnings that keep them economically unstable," as noted by ILO (2012).

Consequent Impoverishment of Youths

In the Informants' revelations, in both countries, numerous cases of impoverished working youths exist. The informants refer to the perplexing condition of those who work, but remain poor. Due to difficulties of finding work, a number of youths remain in unproductive engagements for long periods. Another challenge, as Alex and Quinton explained, is that youths face significant competition in the market, and do not have access to adequate capital to start and sustain individual enterprises. Thus, extended years of unproductive employment coupled with high competition, may contribute to a minimal reduction in poverty, in most cases, leave a majority perpetually impoverished (ILO, 2012).

The informants portrayed examples of youths, employed, but not earning incomes appropriate to the amount of work they do; such youths are exploited through unclear systems, characteristic of the informal economic sector. Adult employers, proprietors of the garages and not youths, are solely responsible for decision making in Jua Kali. The lack of decision-making in the affairs of Jua Kali depicts youths' lack of control and access to resources. The participants' views, confirmed by studies identify a lack of control of resources by youths, reducing their share of well-paid work (ILO, 2012). Mutigga and Vincent provide further proof and the findings of the ILO, in the assertion that youths do not have enough money due to unfair wages. Vincent describes how such conditions leave youths with un-fulfilled aspirations:

The problems I get… we find…ah… you spend, you cannot find the money you spend daily. We earn little compared to the expenditure. It's like a big problem. We don't have enough money to spend, to satisfy our things (needs.) We have…. e.g. ah… I pay my home where I stay like U. SH. 200,000. But transport…you know…needs like …….ya… I have a plan to be rich person so that I build a home, a get transport like a car when am driving just like that when I have my own like a company because even me I want to be like….(From interview with Vincent).

The description by Vincent reveals that "low earnings contribute to poor living conditions…deny youths' real life needs, and the attainment of aspirations. Accordingly, such youths remain unfulfilled as human beings." Mutigga, a female working in Jua Kali in Nairobi, thinks the situation is more detrimental to female youths, who "suffer more than men because they are less involved in more paying jobs in the Jua Kali, and besides that, they have more family responsibilities, the care of children, and the sick."

Vulnerability among Youths

The interview with Medi, on August 15th 2013 was expository, because he distinctly showed the undesirable socio-economic results of negotiating work contribute to the vulnerability of youths. Responses from the two countries proved that poverty is a created condition making youths susceptible to unbearable socio-economic conditions. The ILO (2012) confirmed the experiences revealed by informants from Kenya and Uganda. The report advanced the notion that poverty leaves youths unequipped economically to handle any emerging future demands. Moreover, as Medi and Alex explained, "idleness and poverty among youths make them easily lured into alcoholism, prostitution, and drug use." Medi laments that youths are in danger of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, such as the HIV/AIDS:

With the HIV/AIDS I know it's the problem with the youths … that rate is now high as you see now they are idle when they get money they just do with women. Some youths just become frustrated and take beer to nurse themselves and get happy…they see no future and also do not know what to do... that is why I am saying HIV/AIDs education is also necessary. It's the best needed in our station … we have no security and that opens us to any problem. We sell all our things and we get more problems e.g., Sickness we just die (From an interview with Medi).

 In the wake of terrorism in the region, informants worry that the situation of youths caught in the poverty-trap and idleness may easily lead to most of them being lured into terrorist acts for economic

reasons. Moreover, as Medi insists "unemployment and poverty among youths hurts happiness, self-realization, and socio-economic wellbeing in general."

Invisible Female Participation

The table 6 containing summary of demographic data of the sample population of this study shows that female participation in auto repair in Jua Kali is insignificant. During the recruitment of participants for this study among Jua Kali, despite recruitment being open to all genders, finding females directly engaged in the focus area was difficult. Notably, a sharp divide exists for roles of females and males in the informal economic sector with female roles limited to domestic-related services, such as serving food and drinks, keeping shops, or plating hair. The traditional social construction, explained by Merriam and Caffarella (2010), viewing women as weak and therefore, unable to fulfill laborious tasks appears to be persistent in Jua Kali space. Accordingly, Mutigga says that such a divide against women, "is a limiting factor hindering female youths from achieving productive lives." As Mutigga explains male domination in the auto repair trade limits female participation in better paying jobs, affecting capital accumulation among females.

This study highlights the apparent under representation of females in Jua Kali as a contradiction, because studies of the Kenya and Uganda showed high dropout rates for girls during the early years of schooling, before attaining skills (UNESCO, 2000).

Question 3: What is the Meaning of Second-chance Education to Jua Kali Youths in Kenya and Uganda?

Informants' Perceptions of Second-chance Education

This section contains findings responding to Question 3 in the research's design and explains the perceptions of youths for second-chance education, whose basis is on youths' experiences negotiating work in the urban informal economic sector. The chapter literally contains what Bennaars (1998) calls the thinking of youths about second-chance education or what youths consider as the dynamic aspects of education that respond to their current situations.

The views of youths arise from the questions: Do youths in Jua Kali need another educational intervention? What do youths think about education? What kind of education is suitable for Jua Kali youth? The responses of the participants focus on reasons for needing education and the kind of education relevant to their conditions. Prior to a discussion of the findings, and aware of the conditions that often guide the thinking of people about education, the study notes that even in the case of Jua Kali youths, "thinking about education does not happen automatically…crisis is needed" (Bennaars, 1998, p. 120). Also, the different crises facing different individuals contribute to varying opinions.

To begin with, informants depict the issue of second-chance education as urgent. In their views, some sort of education is necessary to bridge the gap between youths in the informal economic sector and their customers, who are mostly elite. Next, informants indicate, second-chance education is necessary to leverage youths into competent skills before practitioners in the same field, i.e., technicians trained in formal colleges, viewed with respect by members of society because of their diploma and certificate awards. This perception is in accord with the view of education to give opportunities to those previously considered failures in the main stream education (McFadden, 1996; UNESCO, 2012). Like Kakooza agrees, some sort of education is necessary, because "lacking education is really intimidating…it is a disadvantage, and indeed one of the causes limiting employment access." Kakooza and others recognize that low formal education or its total lack "is a cause for a negative public perception against Jua Kali

workforce." He retorts, "We are known to be spoilers of people's cars…that we cannot do a genuine job." This attitude, according to him continues to affect the process of negotiating for work, where garage owners continue to doubt youths seeking work in the informal economic sector.

Therefore, the premised role of education as a tool of empowerment persists in the informants' responses. According to Quinton, "when you go to school, you get skills and knowledge to change yourself." Second-chance education should be a requirement in both countries as a strategy to transform the attitudes of youths, and equip them with productive skills for self-reliance, in line with Nyerere's philosophy of education for self-reliance (Bennaars, 1998). In their reaction, informants believe education is a means to a better livelihood (Ezewu, 2000).To confirm this, Mutigga responds; "When I get more education, I can know what to do." As Mutigga and others maintained, education makes "an individual become fully aware of his/her potential as a human being" (Bennaars, 1998, p. 94). In the informants view, education is vital and required by everyone to learn values, behaviors, and lifestyles that can lead to a sustainable future and positive social development (UN global vision, 2002).

Aware that second-chance education cannot be successful if solely left in the hands of Jua Kali youths, informants, argue for governments and civil society groups to spearhead educational intervention among youths, to enhance the development of their capacities for productive engagement. Like Kakooza, "We urge government, NGOs and people of good will to come and educate us." In this regard, informants are aware of the centers with a capacity to provide this desired education.

In the view of Alex, Quinton and Rachael second-chance education, first and foremost, should "form youths in basic knowledge…youths need education on how to read and write (literacy), count figures (numeracy) perform well in their work….basic education is needed so that they can express themselves before clients…and to understand procedures of work…" Vincent proposed basic education as important for enhanced decision-making and progress. In Vincent's view, "It is good for all who dropped out of school to enroll to learn basic courses given in formal institutions that youths missed because they exited before attainment of 'O' level certificate." Most informants concurred that second-chance

education include teaching of basics of official language, literacy, and numeracy for effective

communication, as Medi articulated:

> …basic education is required…you know… for the youths who did not go to school. May
> be you can teach them some basics in mechanics, teach them English, and teach them
> how to read and write, teach them how to communicate well. This is important for
> mechanics because it helps them to communicate to clients in case of language barrier I
> can't use gestures to make understand or explain the spares I have put in your
> car….(From an interview with Medi).

Accordingly, most informants like Medi, cite another often neglected part of basic learning that

is; learning other tribal languages of surrounding cities where work is available to increase the potential of

youths. In Uganda, for instance, local languages of Ateso, Luganda, Lunyoro-Lutooro, Lukiga and Luo

are possible subjects. Similarly, in Kenya, Luo, Kikuyu, Akamba, Masaai, among others would be of

value.

Similar to all adults, according to age or roles, informants know the kind of education suitable for

youths. That the study's population knows what is fitting for their own conditions to initiate socio-

economic transformation to the population is significant. Likewise, Apps (2001), from a study among

entrepreneurs, discovered that the ability of entrepreneurs or any specific community to know its needs is

affirmative for proactive learning. Although with contentions, Malcolm Knowles, in his theoretical

principles of adult learning, advanced the notion that adults learn best when they know the reason for

learning, are in control of their learning, and are have awareness of their own experiences (Merriam &

Caffarella, 2010). In accordance to that background, informants in this study proposed several key or

focal areas for consideration in the design of second-chance learning:

Focal Areas for Second-chance Education

Management and Business Administration Courses

Informants' reactions show poor management and waste of resources are hindrances to development of youths in Jua Kali. Notably, many youths lacked professional business skills, for instance in most enterprises, proper and consistent record-keeping. Additional highlights by several informants reveal that success in work and entrepreneurship require knowledge of management. Similar to the study of Chung, Firth and Kim (2002), Rachael reveals that her success while working with her parents was due to "practices of good administration, such as, frequent maintenance good organization of a work place, record-keeping and report-making." Second-chance education should focus on business management courses for Jua Kali youths to effectively manage work to profitability and overcome poverty. Consequently, participants view management and business courses as partial requirements to develop youths' capacities for meaningful work. In the discussion, Alex, on the September 10th 2013, insisted that "there is need to help youths manage themselves as resources…their prime time and business enterprises." Similarly, Alex and Rachael explain how these courses can enhance capacities of youths engaging in Jua Kali:

> …I think the best education for them (youths) is to make them do some management course- basics of management, give them a clear of management, structures of organization, divisions roles, reporting system… (From interview with Alex)

> The reasons why I love business administration…you know (sighs)… is to learn more about business…. (to know how to) organize the shop well. Have a proper structure… After selling, we have a book. Every day I report. We balance the book, although I do not do it well (From an interview with Rachael).

Partly, within effective business management, productive and meaningful work entails ability to save earnings to allow individuals to realize their economic potential (Bell, 1989). As an experienced Jua Kali worker, Alex observed that "most youths are wasteful, and it is such a great challenge. …they earn money from their employment, but engage in unproductive lifestyles, alcohol consumption, drug use, and

prostitution….these youths need to learn how to save." In his elaboration of the benefits of "saving," Alex realized that financial education will be a motivating strategy for the workforces, because individuals involved in the practice of savings "come to know that through savings, a lot of resources can be accumulated for investment," and can help individuals realize the benefits accruing from work.

Education for Marketing

In the two countries, informants' reactions acknowledge that in world of globalizing economies, competition is stiff, and creates an imperative to develop knowledge of marketing to operate successfully in the competitive market (Kotler, 2001). As emphasis, one informant vehemently asserts that "second-chance education is needed because, today is not like yesterday." Similarly, Quinton, when contacted on October 21st 2013 indicates the necessity to develop marketing skills among Jua Kali youths, because youths make very nice products and provide skillful services but do not have an adequate market. Quinton affirms that marketing is key strategy to be adopted by Jua Kali youths in a bid to strengthen the informal economic sector.

Accordingly, informants recognize the vitality of "persuading the population to join Jua Kali activities." As developed by Kotler (2001), second-chance education should adopt a marketing strategy to help youths appropriately refocus on all aspects of entrepreneurial market research and adopt marketing tools, such as advertising. Informants such as Vincent believe youths need skills to "convince people that they can do it… that they have something to offer."

Public Relations Training

The informants' reactions reveal the need for training in public relations, considered a "management function that establishes and maintains mutually beneficial relationships between an organization and the public" (Lendingham, 2003, p. 181). Medi, enumerates what he believes constitutes

public relations; youths need "happy relationship between themselves and their customers, if they are to

be successful in work." Next, like Alex, public relations are a source of attraction; "youths need to be

attractive to clients." Medi also uses other expressions such as: "Youths have to make happy

relationships," or make "friends" in business. In Medi's view, friendliness influenced his employment and

as long as youths have good relationships with the public, "clients will give us more jobs." Rachael

confirms the same idea by calling upon Jua Kali youths to learn "how to relate to people well." For

Mutigga, "It is important that youths should conduct themselves freely, but must be respectful to others to

win clients."

These views relate to the vitality of attractive personal qualities validated as supportive for

entrepreneurial pursuits. Therefore, Medi, while discussing public relationships introduces more aspects

of "trustworthiness" and "faithfulness" between parties:

> …The only solution with that thing I just ask my colleagues that lets just be trust worthy
> to our customers and faithful to our customers. We do right things, good jobs and that the
> customer can gain the good thing in his money. We must be client centered – focusing in
> the clients' attractive to clients, and make happy relations…aah…you know… my
> comment that if we can be trust worthy, and we can do good jobs and we can do all jobs
> in time, clients' will become our friends and we will become trust worthy; they will give
> us more jobs that we think (From an interview with Medi).

Additionally, Rachael persuasively says, "we can create good public relationships if we are

'kind,' 'approachable' or 'respectful' to the employers," also summarized as being "smart" in the market.

According to Rachael, success in business requires something more than just skills to do work:

> …for other skills people just need to learn to be kind and to be good to their boss. (It is a
> question of) public relations; how to relate to people because sometimes some people
> come that they want them then they don't pay you so the need to be smart, to be kind
> because this is… you see… (From an interview with Rachael)

This excerpt reveals some favorable outcomes from good public relations, leading to peaceful co-

existence among members or parties engaging in the social networks. In plain terms, public relations spur

success of Jua Kali work. This perception is consistent with "the relational perspective and notion that

public relations initiatives generate understanding and benefit both for organizations and publics"

(Lendingham, 2003, p. 182). In the analysis, informants' views center on re-conceptualizing public

relations "as a management function, dealing with organization issues in terms of public relationships, their linkages to public attitudes, perceptions, knowledge and behavior, and relationship measurement strategies" (p. 182).

Education for New Technologies

Both in Kenya and Uganda, informants admit that modern times encompass brisk technological changes in the world. In a dialogue with Mutigga on November 28th 2013, she asserts that "new technologies are coming up… we as youths need to be trained on current technology to productively work." As technology advances rapidly, Mutigga argues for appropriate technological know-how to match skills to suit the changes (Jarvis, 2010). This demand, as narrated by the participants, is also a component of the UNESCO World report (2000), which argued for continuously updating knowledge to allow productive engagements. In the dialogue with most informants, argue like Dan; "the lack of technological know-how retards workmanship of artisans…this gap in the workers, contributes to unsatisfactory work by Jua Kali for clients." Evidence from Alex and others, indicates that in Jua Kali, youths' lack of adequate know-how for applying recent technologies makes them known as "spoilers instead of repairers."

Acquisition of sufficient knowledge of technologies is advantages in the world of work, helping workers qualify to compete in global markets. In this study, a few artisans use computers connected with the Internet to aid work in Jua Kali, such as determining color painting a car or diagnostic devices for vehicles' maintenance. The practices of informants are concomitant with Delors (2000), whose views advocated for the use of modern technology to process knowledge for tomorrow's world. Kakooza adds a voice to this statement;

> I need to know some technology so that I can master my occupation. I need computer skills, and am happy to be like having computer in Kampala. I can use computer because I know how to read, I know some English, I can understand, I can speak... I wish to go to Japan (to learn new technology) to improve on my work… Yah…and… just like that. Exactly – I like it, whether the opportunity is there and learn. Yah…that is it… (Second;

we need to focus on the common technology common in Africa, like the Japanese car systems) to improve on my job because I know Japanese car system... (From an interview with Kakooza)

Delivering Quality Service

One of the most obvious reactions of informants to the question of constituents of second-chance education relates to information and delivering of quality service matching value for money. Quinton reiterates that "the informal economy sector's products have attractive prices and appearances, but are mostly poor quality products." The implication is designing some sort of education to help artisans' take their products to a higher level. At the same time, the matter of quality service and production is a real challenge because, as Quinton notes: "There is lack of systems to ensure quality control in the entire sector." Similarly, Alex retorts that in Jua Kali, "We do not have departments, laboratories, or service engineers to ensure quality in production and service delivery." Typically, "youths in Jua Kali are good in convincing clients into their services, yet they give poor and temporary solutions." The consequences have negative impact on the workforce. Alex argues for delivery of quality services if the youths' workforce is "make profitable gains." Shostack (1984) debated the matter of quality work or service saying that, they essentially boost work and business. Therefore, the nuanced practice of second-chance education should address quality issues for profitable or meaningful work.

Innovation and Creativity

Innovation and creativity, understood in this study as the application of better or new solutions to meet current conditions of the market, and society. Duplication in Jua Kali economic activities is the order of the day, says Vincent and other informants: "Everybody is doing the same thing within the same location." The study conducted by Shauri Moyo and Kisseka, confirmed this reality of duplication of activities/business among the artisans with evidence that the activities; several youths do similar activities

within the same space. Therefore, as Quinton reacts, "doing the same business opens up for more competition among entrepreneurs…it also affects earnings of youths in such a market." Quinton advances: "Second-chance education should instill innovation and creativity among Jua Kali youths." In the studies by Amabile (1996), operating business in a competitive world needs the wisdom of "creative people" (p. 1).

In order to encourage innovativeness among youths; Quinton argues that second-chance education should inspire creativity, novelty, and originality among youthful artisans, without, of course, violating standards or quality of production or service delivery. The goal of second-chance education should be to encourage aspects of research, which will eventually lead to the creation of new knowledge in Jua Kali. The challenge for individuals is what they can do themselves, without relying on other people. According to Rachael, being innovative and creative will open "youths to be wise and creative….to know how to manipulate things…to learn to make new and attractive thing in the market…"

Summary

Chapter 4 records of findings from narratives of the respondents from Kenya and Uganda. The discussion begins with the presentation of findings from the general background, followed by findings with respect to the research questions. The first question is: *What are the events influencing how youths negotiate work in Jua Kali in Kenya and Uganda?* In this section, the informants identified several events including absence of formal procedures, role of social networks, influence of experience, personal qualities, self-marketing, trickery and manipulation, personal qualities, and forming temporal alliances. The second, question is: W*hat is the impact of work negotiation to youths involved in Jua Kali in Kenya and Uganda?* The reactions revealed that employment in Jua Kali is either desirable or disappointing. For the desirable, the study found that informal economic sector imbues a sense of success and self-fulfillment through improved livelihoods of youths and empowered youth to invest. The undesirable findings revealed disappointing and frustrating results among youths; employment in Jua Kali that leaves

youths frustrated and disillusioned, because they live in economic instability for long, leading to impoverishment, and therefore, vulnerability o the socio-economic ills. Question 3 is: W*hat is the meaning of second-chance education to youths in Jua Kali in Kenya and Uganda?* The informants' reactions reveal that second-chance education is propitious for addressing gaps in competences. Informants identified areas requiring urgent attention to include: business management, delivering quality service, education in new technologies, and an education that enhances innovation and creativity.

Overall, the findings are a basis for discussion, recommendations, and implications outlined in Chapter 5, which seeks response from scholars, educators, and policy makers, and the study population. Chapter 4 also forms the basis for cited limitations justifying future studies.

Chapter 5

Summary of findings, Discussions and Recommendations

Introduction

Chapter 5 begins with a presentation of a table summarizing findings, based on Chapter 4. A discussion of the findings, categorized in four areas: (1) background issues in formal education in Kenya and Uganda (Table 7), (2) factors influencing access to work in Jua Kali (3), the impact of the current trend of employment among youths engaging in Jua Kali, and (4), youths' perception of second-chance education, follows. In the discussion, meanings and implications of findings are directed toward various stakeholders: scholars and international funding agencies like the World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF, UN, WHO, policy-makers and educators, and targeted workers of the study. The study limits discussions and recommendations to only pertinent issues deemed significant to this study. Lastly, the study reviews the theoretical implications and limitations in view of future studies.

Table 7: A Summary of Findings

Equivalence	Kenya	Uganda
Background issues to Jua Kali	• Formal educational practices reveal disenchantment (Vincent) • Several socio-economic conditions hinder formal educational completion (Quinton) • Thrilling stories of youths already in cities influence others to migrate to cities • Poor agricultural practices contribute to rural-to-urban migration (Mutigga)	• Formal educational practices reveal disenchantment (Alex) • Several socio-economic conditions hinder formal educational completion (Alex) • Thrilling stories told by youths already in cities influence others to migrate • Poor agricultural practices contribute to rural-to-urban migration (Medi)
Q.1: Events influencing how youth access work	• The lack of formal procedures or standardized systems to direct employment in Jua Kali (Quinton)	• The lack of formal procedures or standardized systems to direct employment in Jua Kali (Alex)

	- The role of social networks (Mutigga, Quinton) - The influence of experience (Quinton) - Continuous search for work (Quinton) - Influence of formal educational attainments (Vincent, Quinton) - Personal qualities (Mutigga, Quinton) - Access to work through petty activities (Quinton) - Work by self-marketing (Quinton, Vincent) In Nairobi negotiations dominantly occur within the perimeter workshops Trickery of clients not observed in Nairobi (Mutigga - Work via temporary alliances (Mutigga)	- The role of social networks (Rachael, Alex, Kakooza) - The influence of experience (Alex) - Continuous search for work (Medi) - Influence of formal educational attainments (Alex) - Personal qualities (Rachael, Kakooza) - Access to work through petty activities (Medi, Kakooza) - Work by self-marketing (Katende, Medi, Kakooza) In Kampala, negotiations occur within enclosed garages or workshops, and along open streets - Trickery of clients, a common practice along streets of Kampala (Kakooza) - Work via temporary alliances (Medi)
Q.2: Impact of the current negotiations for work to youth in Jua Kali?	- Improved conditions of life (Quinton) - Increases youths' investment capacity (Quinton) - Youth remain inefficient and unstable economically for long periods (Quinton) - Consequent impoverishment of youths (Quinton) - Vulnerability of youths (Vincent, Quinton) - Invisible female participation (Mutigga)	- Improved conditions of life (Kakooza - Increases youths' investment capacity (Rachael, Kakooza) - Youth remain inefficient and unstable economically for long periods (Alex, Medi) - Consequent impoverishment of youths (Alex) - Vulnerability of youths (Medi, Alex) - Invisible female participation
Q. 3: Meaning of Second-chance Education?	- Urgently required to boost skills capacity of youths, bridge gaps between youths and clients, and for image/status - Areas targeted for inclusion in the educational package are: Management and Business Administration courses, Education of marketing,	- Urgently required to boost skills capacity of youths, bridge gaps between youths and clients, and for image/status - Areas targeted for inclusion in the educational package are: Management and Business Administration courses, Education of marketing, Education of public Relations, Education of New Technologies,

	Education of public Relations, Education of New Technologies, Education for Delivery of Quality Service , and Education to boost innovation and creativity in Jua Kali (Mutigga, Quinton, Vincent)	Education for Delivery of Quality Service and Education to boost innovation and creativity in Jua Kali (Alex, Rachael, Kakooza, Medi)

Discussion of Findings

Background Issues boosting the Informal Economic Sector in Kenya and Uganda

In this study, a number of issues arise, attributable by informants, to be responsible for increasing participation in the informal economic sector in Kenya and Uganda. For instance, the study's results identify disenchantment with formal educational practices from the colonial era to today. Educational practices, in general, assuredly associate with ensuing limitations of youths' employability and wellbeing, particularly upon dropping out of school early, before attaining a college certificate or diploma. As G. Bishop (1989) stated, the matter of concern in many African countries, including Kenya and Uganda is the problematic educational practices that limit socio-economic transformation (G. Bishop, 1989; Semali, 2008; Semali and Mehta, 2012).

To illustrate the reality of disenchantment, this study noted that a majority of youths dropping out of school, even after 7 or more years of formal education are devoid of any skills for life, and consequently, cannot compete for jobs. A study by G. Bishop (1989) similarly concluded that the educational practices in the Sub-Saharan region have "not matched the high expectations [of education]" (p. 14). As a result of such ineffective educational practices, youths' preparation for life is inadequate, and due to lack of skills, wonder about helplessly in the cities. Lately, youths targeted by this study resort to informal activities to earn a living. The youths' long engagement in informal economic activities provides some skills. Quinton from Jua Kali, Kenya, reports: "The youths who join the sector do not know

anything…we train them… later, if they prove they know we give them jobs." Similarly, Alex confirms the youths' lack of skills: "Many youths who drop out of school have no skills…finally; they resort to life in the streets." Unmistakably, views of informants affirm failure of formal educational systems in Kenya and Uganda to deliver promised educational gains, such as, increased capacity for productive work, and therefore, self-reliance. Instead, the current educational practices are apparently responsible for passing out job seekers rather than job creators (G. Bishop, 1989; Semali, 2008; Njoroge and Bennaars, 1998).

However, reference to learners' non- completion of the formal educational cycle reveals significant factors in Kenya and Uganda. As noted in the studies by UNESCO (2012), ILO (2002) and Oluranti (2007), socio-economic, political and environmental factors are responsible for youths' early exit from school, before gaining skill. Katende's account, like most informants, presents the reality surrounding most out-of-school youths: "I left schooling because my parents could not pay [school] fees." Sometimes social circumstances like the demise of parents expose learners to family responsibilities, early, before getting fully prepared. As elaborated by Medi, "My parents died…I was an orphan looking after my younger brothers and sisters, and it was difficult to get food, clothing, medication and transport to school, and so I left it." As noted in the study, the environment of many attending is so harsh that they lose interest in education, hence reducing chances of completing formal education.

The revelations of the prevailing conditions causing high school dropout rate is relevant in this study, and for policy-makers to understand the reality surrounding high dropout rates in the East Africa. This study highlights the fact that, for a majority of youths dropping out of school is not a matter of free choice but circumstantial from factors beyond their control. This study challenges scholars who tend to attribute blame to learners exiting school early without completing the educational cycle (Parrillo, 2008).

The study notes that there are several causing learners to drop out of school before skills' training. Similarly, the exposition of several links, the socio-economic and political factors hindering successful completion of formal education is vital for decisions of policy-makers and educators. Actually, the exposure of these factors limiting school completion is a clue to ushering scholars' commitments to the search for solutions to improve children's attendance and achievements, and for understanding the

situations connecting youths' education and dilemmas. To all the stakeholders of formal education, the most urgent question becomes how to avail an enabling environment to learners. Indeed, the significant numbers of youths seeking work in Jua Kali correspondingly confirm high dropout rates, and these numbers are increasing year after year (UNESCO, 2012, UN, 2005).

Events Influencing Access to Work Access in the Jua Kali

Lack of Common Guidelines or Standardized Systems

In the data analysis, responses from Kenya and Uganda reveal that numerous events influence access to work or employment in Jua Kali, but with no common format or guidelines. Quinton's narrative exposed several issues:

> …accessing work is really a blind search and full of gambling…youths spend a lot of time searching for work because they do not know where workers are needed…Look at the way I was originally hired; I was admitted to work and I worked for a long time without knowing how much money I was going to earn. I did not even know if I was entitled to get food everyday while at work…so many things were not clear in the workshop…sometimes I did not know who to turn to …I suffered for so long, sometimes not able to pay rent for accommodation…in fact, that is why some youths turn to doing criminal activities or bad things (From an interview with Quinton).

Similarly, Dan reveals the hardships youths face working under the control of most proprietors in Jua Kali space. Dan affirms: "youths are exploited by entrepreneurs…they work for so many hours but earn little tokens for their work…it is really a big problem to work under adults who are oppressive and take most resources for themselves."

The disturbing issue in a labor market is that youths negotiate and work in unclear circumstances. Lack of clear guiding systems or proper channels of information denies youths' workers the knowledge of conditions and opportunities, rendering most of them jobless for longer periods. Furthermore, absence of formal structure in Jua Kali leaves youths working without protective mechanisms or norms: there is no guarantee for fair wages, good working conditions, and retirement

benefits. In some cases, several youths lose the most productive stages of life in profitless ventures, remaining in economically unstable and vulnerable socio-economic conditions. Conditions such as lack of informational systems, guidelines to follow, certainty, and hope, are responsible for the unsustainable ways youths adopt to earn a living, such as creating temporal alliances, engaging in profitless petty activities in extreme conditions, adoption of unethical approaches, such as use of trickery or deceit, and manipulation regardless of the implications for future work negotiations.

In addition, lack of guidelines denies the informal economic sector's groups strong internal structures of governance and resource distribution. Agreeably, absence of common norms to follow impedes even efforts of government through policy-makers to appropriately handle challenges facing this sector. For instance, lack of guidelines in Jua Kali inevitably jeopardizes creation of an equitable society, where every individual has access to work and earn sufficient incomes for a descent living. This revelation is in accord to Heckman's (2000) findings suggesting that insiders or entrenched workers governed by regulations have a gain to make in the labor market, but those who are not governed by any guidelines suffer.

The study notes the absence of guidelines in Jua Kali as partially responsible for haphazard manner by which youths conduct their activities. For instance, due to a lack of properly designated places for youths to conduct activities, they resort to working along the roadside, as observed, particularly in the center-city-streets of Kampala, and to a lesser degree in the center of Nairobi. Disorganized economic operations in cities are a matter of concern to policy-makers and educators, because, such uncontrolled activity in public spaces disrupts formal requirements; public order, and urban planning. Additionally, disorganized activity on the streets of Kampala and Nairobi enhances an atmosphere of anarchy, a fertile ground for criminal or even terrorist acts, jeopardizing the security of the cities and nations. In truth, a condition of unrest does not guarantee economic growth for youths engaging in the informal economic sector.

The matter of ethics in work, challenging labor laws on fair and healthy work environments are important for educators and policy-makers, because trickery, manipulation or deceit, adopted by youths

seeking work, contravene ethical conduct, healthy etiquette, and relationships during work. Exploitative practices of these kinds question the roles of scholars, policy-makers, and educators, especially on the protective role of governments for the rights of all individuals.

Vitality of Experience Prior to Work and Personal Qualities

This study affirms the positive influence of experience prior to work, in influencing positioning in Jua Kali. In fact, participants like Racheal, Mutigga, Dan, Musa and Kakooza, attributed their success in Jua Kali to experience. Kakooza, in particular, admits that "…youths with sound experience stand more chances of easily getting work…, and so it is important to open avenues where youths can practice before they are recruited as regular workers" This quote suggests that, like in the formal sector, experience prior to work positively influences work access or employment adjustment in the informal economic labor market, and vice versa. Similarly, Dreher and Ryan (2004) in their studies advanced; work experience requirement is an admission criterion that either narrows or opens work opportunities for its applicants. It is, therefore, upon scholars, educators, and policy-makers to determine and disseminate methods for youths' attaining competences and confidence prior to work in the informal economic sector.

In addition, the study findings raise a crucial matter, often neglected or assumed in training institutions or among parents: possessing good personal qualities enhances work accessing and better wages. From Rachael and Mutigga, themes like "friendliness" or "hardworking" or "being social" or "joyful" or "trustworthiness," and "commitment" were coded as desired qualities enabling Jua Kali youths succeed in work. Similar to the study of Bartram, Lindley, Marshall and Foster (1995), discovery of the current study demonstrates that employers in small businesses, when recruiting, value personal characteristics, such as honesty, integrity, and interest in the available job.

Formal Educational Attainments

Important to consider is an assertion that formal educational attainments influence employment. Alex like other participants states:

> …higher formal educational attainments give advantage to job's seeking youths. In most cases, youths who dropped out of school, for instance, after attaining some educational level in a secondary school, are preferred to those who dropped early, say while still in primary school level...many entrepreneurs know that youths with a higher education learn easily…Actually, I wish all youths could read up to senior school level before dropping out… (from interview with Alex).

The studies of the UNESCO (2012), similarly pointed out a close relationship between quality of education and learning outcomes. In fact, the assertion that educational attainments positively influence work recognizes Ezewu (2000) and Jarvis (2010), whose studies highlighted that education is a tool to empower individuals to better livelihoods. However, this conclusion has to be taken carefully, because the study, contrarily, notes that most youths who abandon schooling, even after seven years or more, are devoid of life skills. Therefore, this study similarly concludes that findings over-estimating literacy before testing it in terms of practical attainments is misleading (UNESCO, 2012). Nonetheless, in view of gains due to schooling, the matter of deeply understanding and proposing an attainable minimum educational standard relevant to enhance effective skills required in the world of work, becomes a concern to scholars. Similarly, to policy makers, rethinking and determining guidelines that will guarantee that all school going youths complete some minimum education before exiting, becomes inevitable.

Impact of Work Negotiations

In informants' responses, negotiating work in the informal economic sector has both desirous and undesired consequences. From this study, evidentially, the fruits of successful negotiation for work in Jua Kali are overwhelmingly positive. Some respondents like; Rachael, Kakooza, Mutigga, Quinton, Vincent, narrate their experiences and signal positive change in their living conditions, accruing from

their participation in Jua Kali space. This study notes that in spite of numerous challenges, Jua Kali space is a source of livelihood for several youths. Several respondents acknowledged that youths are transformed, socially and economically. Revelations contained in individual profiles of several participants showed that youths were socio-economically miserable prior to joining Jua Kali. Quinton confirms this fact in his response says: "Jua Kali work is good, because it has uplifted youths economically, and so, it should be recognized and developed." Rachael depicts the importance of Jua Kali space activities: "I had no hope for good life before joining [to Jua Kali], but am now happy, and by investing of savings, am employing several other youths…although I know the situation is still bad for some unlucky youths without strong skills' mastery as well as lazy and wasteful youths."

As reflected by studies of UNESCO (2012), the informal economy is an alternative pathway to prosperity for youths with formal skills, choosing informal entrepreneurship rather than seeking scarce formal employment. Evidence shows youths have achieved success, happiness, and personal fulfillment. Youth are obtaining resources for improved living conditions through work in Jua Kali. Actually, among some youths, employment in the informal economic sector contributes higher levels of savings, freeing them from poverty, and allowing them to enlarge their businesses from investments. Pederson and McCormick (1999) confirmed a trend of investment in informal sector enterprises, with growth dependent on savings. The current study reaffirms the position of UNESCO's (2012) that the informal sector provides uneducated youths with space for work to earn a living.

Upon examining strengths and gains of the informal economic sector, this study recognizes Jua Kali as a model for offering employment opportunities for youths stranded on the streets, unable to integrate into formal work. Furthermore, this study notes that infrastructural development in Jua Kali has dramatically grown in the recent years, transforming Jua Kali as a work space. With recent developments, several attractive, permanent shops, garages, and offices replace the make-shift shelters, which characterized the initial stages of Jua Kali in the early 1970s.

Contrarily, persistent undesirable consequences pose great challenges to youths in the informal economic sector. As identified, sometimes the challenges emanate from the youths lack of adequate

preparation for work. Actually, youths' limitations, coupled with challenges in the informal economic sector, are responsible for crises of unemployment, low incomes, and persistent poverty (ILO, 2012). This study reveals contributing factors to youths' vulnerability or inability to resist any socio-economic challenges.

Youths' Perceptions of Second-chance Education

When analyzing the informants' responses on what they think about second-chance education, a dominant theme emerging and coded was; education is necessary "to gain capacity for profitable work." For instance, Mutigga in Kenya explains: "to be effective, youths need to be trained in the most recent tools or equipment…technology is changing everyday…there are new machines coming up, which youths should learn to operate…" Similarly, Alex in Uganda states:

> The character of the Kali youths who has never been to school are completely very different from one who has been to primary school level, for instance... He [or she] doesn't even understand what is called time management... He does not respect everyone… He has only respect for his parents… He has never known to respect or recognize the people e.g. like those who go to school do to teachers or prefects (From an interview with Alex).

Under the second-chance education, another theme that emerged was inadequate mastery of skills, and need for another chance in education:

> …the youths have so many problems of work…some have not mastered their skills…it is trial and error for most youths. Therefore, another chance of education should to be given to youths while at workplace to perfect the current skills." The account of Vincent demonstrated this: "It is good if we can get experts to come here to Jua Kali, see what we do…work with us here to know our mistakes and teach us… and help us to become perfect by demonstrating to us better ways of doing our work…we also want to get skills to compete for jobs.

In the study, the requirement for second chance education is in accord with the UNESCO report by Karmel (2008), proposing another second-chance opportunity for youths as well as all persons above the youthful age, who did not follow the conventional pathway of formal education. The World Bank (2012), UNESCO (2012), ILO (2010) and UN in view of second-chance education, emphasize its purpose

within the global agenda for educational reform, geared toward granting an opportunity to every child

(and in this case, Jua Kali youths engaging in informal economy) to education, in order to reduce poverty

and increasing the chances of prosperity or accelerate socio-economic transformation, and lead to

adoption of necessary values, behaviors or lifestyles leading to positive social development of society.

The concept of second-chance education doubtlessly coincides with lifelong learning ideal,

recommending everybody to learn every day and everywhere for an enhanced capacity, and productive

existence (Jarvis, 2010). In this case, participation in informal economic activities can occasion learning.

Based on Jarvis, the concept of second-chance education, within lifelong learning is for achieving better

workmanship and positive public image. In accord with the Dakar goals, second chance education is part

of the global effort to:

> …ensure that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programs… [it is part of the drive to] achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015,… and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults (UNESCO, 2000a, p. 8).

In this study, the emphasis on appropriateness of learning is vital. Appropriateness of learning is

interpreted as contextual learning, which is related to individual needs, informed by environment of the

learners themselves. In the context of Uganda and Kenya, second-chance education should be

implemented within African traditional educational ideals, which aimed at training "individuals to fit into

their societies as useful members…[or] provided skills, knowledge and values relevant to the [specific]

society…[and was an educational practice] socializing individuals to fit and participate adequately into

the development of society" (Eshiwani, 1993, p.15).

Like in the UNESCO report (2000a, 2012) or World Bank (2012) or UNICEF (2012), this study

proposes second-chance education as remedial education strategy or catch-up program based on BETVET

model, to transfer or perfect knowledge, skills, and values among informal economy workers, through

practical adult activities occurring in Jua Kali space, for its participants who did not succeed in formal

education.

Therefore, this study argues the following for Kenya and Uganda: First, educators and policy makers should conduct further investigation to indentify needs of youths engaging in informal economic activities, to inform the development of an appropriate educational package geared to responding to skills' gaps of those in practice. Second, the proposed educational intervention should consider appropriateness of skills for immediate use, language adopted in the second-chance education, the modality of packaging these skills, i.e., consider utilizing or exploiting experiences, and values of these adult learners, which according to andragogy, stimulates adult learning (Knowles, 1984; Merriam and Caffarella, 2010). Third, as argued above scholars, the adoption of second-chance education should be supported by closer collaboration by all nations, mandated to generate practical, appropriate and contextual policies to guide its implementation and success (UNESCO, 2000).

Other than competence training in respective occupational areas, a number of aspects are sighted as desirable components of second chance education. In fact, the study coded the following areas for urgent and profitable engagements for Jua Kali youths: "basic education" (essentially, focusing on literacy and numeracy for effective communication and responsible work) or "business managerial skills," "production and marketing," "public relations" training, updated "technological familiarity", "quality production skills," and "innovation and creative skills." In the study, the additional enumerated skills will enhance youths' capacities in work.

Recommendations

Disenchantment with Formal Educational Practices

Discussing the matter of Jua Kali youths unquestionably leads to a discussion on dropouts from school being absorbed into informal economic sector. One of the major arguments in this study asserts that formal educational practices in the region are partially responsible for early exit of learners before attaining skills. In responding to the educational challenges, scholars, educators, and policy-makers need

to examine, broadly, the links between formal educational completion and early exit. However, efforts to find solutions to educational problems should include the considerations of the socio-economic, environmental, and political conditions of youths. Such an informed approach deepens the understanding of core issues limiting completion of formal education.

Besides deepening the understanding of educational gaps in Kenya and Uganda, this study recommends that Kenya and Uganda ought to implement some of the recommendations in their national development strategies, which in this study are part of the solution to the desired practical education. For instance, Kenya should rapidly review and implement an educational practice geared toward self-reliance, on the basis of 1980s national policy reforms (Eshiwani, 1993) and all the targets contained in the Kenya Education Reforms of 2012, emphasizing the formation of skilled manpower (Muricho and Chang'ach, 2013). In the meantime, Uganda, too, ought to aggressively undertake the implementation of, for instance, the 1998 – 2003 Educational Reforms (Strategic Investment Plan) (ESIP), and the Education Sector Strategic Plan 2004 - 2015 (ESSP), proposed by the Ministry of Education and Sports for quality education, responding to the developmental needs of the country, e.g., by enhancement of science education or entrepreneurial skills via a curriculum that is practical and equips learners with basic skills, right from the very beginning of their primary education, so that if they do not attend college, students will exit with some useful life skills (UNESCO, 2012; Ward, Penny and Read, 2006).

In realty, practical based education is mandatory for the attainment of skills leading to the self-reliance recommended in the Nyerere philosophy of good educational practice for African people (Njoroge, Bennaars, 1998). Therefore, and based on studies of Njoroge and Bennaars, there is need to provide the definition of a strong practical-based education. It is time for those educators in both countries to make "education more relevant to the world of work" (UNESCO, 2012, p. 23). To achieve this, educators need to identify facilities and more spaces at all levels of formal education to allow practice, and be enforced by policy-makers, so that once candidates in this new education system leave school, they can focus on practical work, which leads to jobs, earning a living, and create employment opportunities.

Uganda, unlike Kenya, and based on the UNESCO (2012) report, has designed practice-based curricula, including learning materials. Therefore, to some degree, effort to address the matter of disenchanted education is evident. This study, therefore, argues for a speedy implementation of this curriculum in Uganda, while recommending that Kenya should mimic Uganda and adopt some of the contextually applicable guidelines outlining for instance, the need to; (progressively equip students with productive and modern marketable skills, produce socially responsible citizens, review and reformulate the general objectives of the school as a whole as well as at each level, integrating academic with commercial and technical subjects in school curricula). In this study, the priority for schooling should be promoting acquired skills that are applicable to real life situations.

Imperatively, Kenya and Uganda should commit themselves into prioritizing in national plans, the matter of financing formal education, to reach the goals of Education For All (EFA), something already upheld in their national plans. The purpose of adequate financing of education is to enhance expanded access and quality basic education, which improve the capabilities, despite dropping out before completing the educational cycle. This study recognizes that financing is not a final solution for the myriad educational problems in Africa; however, "less money will certainly be harmful" (UNESCO, 2012, p. 9). Given the overwhelming educational problems, this study recommends donor communities, governments, families, and most especially the wealthy individuals of society (the business communities, politicians, and other philanthropies) to subsidize education and skills development for young people. In accord with the UNESCO report (2012) efforts should be made to explore other possible potential sources for financing education, such as the implementation of the educational loan schemes and expansion of scholarships to cover primary education of poor, rural children (Uganda Vision, 2040; Kenya Vision 2030).

This study notes that indeed, governments of Kenya and Uganda already have some plans and actions for practical education of youths targeted in this study: in Uganda, the Directorate of Industrial Training (DIT), and in Kenya, the Kenya Youth Empowerment Project (KYEP). Therefore, stakeholders such as the NGOs and communities should join efforts and strengthen the already existing national

programs geared toward socio-economic transformation and skills development of youths. In both countries, support is necessary to "accelerate government reforms in the education systems and curriculum [reform] to obtain a globally competitive human resource with skills relevant to the development paradigm" (Uganda Vision 2040, 2013, p. xv) (sic).

Deliberate Recognition of Informal Economic Sector

Regarding the status of the informal economic sector, this study recommends the official recognition of the sector as alternative source of livelihood. The recommendation desires, governments of Kenya and Uganda to transcend mere toleration of the informal economic sector and accord it official or formal recognition. The UNESCO report (2012), like this study suggests; "informal sector work is a necessity for survival" (p. 260). Further implications suggest that the governments of Kenya and Uganda, including other formal systems ought to desist from negative representation of the Jua Kali informal economic sector, such as depiction as a center for fraudulent activities, as a threat to the formal economy, or as a hub for thieves and failures of society, without recognizing its desirable contributions in national growth (Meagher, 1994; ILO, 2000; King, 1996; Neitzert, 1998). This recognition, if granted, should lead to development of partnerships between informal and formal economic sectors, to enhance achievement of common programs and goals, focusing on improved performance in the national laborforce for development, with avenues for experience or internship within partnerships (UNESCO (2012).

The study notes the need to finance, so as to strengthen the informal economic activities. Granting Jua Kali recognition alone is not sufficient; policy-makers in the region should stabilize and create viability and functionality for the informal labor market, to enable participants to meet life aspirations. It would be reasonable to examine the issue more closely by educators, policy-makers and advocates of youth development. In addition, international agencies, governments, and communities, especially the wealthy, should be mobilized to inject resources to boost the informal economy. Definitely, for policy-makers, awareness of high numbers of youths joining Jua Kali is a reawakening that leads to

questioning and seeking ways to enhance productive engagements, for example, by enforcing youths' completion of some minimum formal education to enhance their skills' capacities. Benefits would accrue to national economies if governments of Kenya and Uganda include the informal economic sector in national economic planning, and above all, consider giving youths in the informal economic sector, access to soft credit facilities or loans or offer advisory services, and further training to boost the sector's competitiveness.

However, any attempts to improve or regulate the urban informal economic sector, imperatively necessitate dealing with the influx of rural migrants to cities because, they are intertwined. Participants' responses show that youths who drop out of school join their families in villages or rural areas, but living conditions force them to migrate seeking alternative means of survival in cities. Therefore, scholars, educators, and policy-makers must inevitably spread efforts to check rural-to-urban migrations, because as Byerlee (1974) argued, "high rates of urbanization pose strong social and political reasons for reducing the flow of migrants to the city" (p. 544). Definitely, the action to impose limitations on rural-to-urban migrations entails further studies by scholars to determine the contextual causes motivating rural youths to migrate to cities. The proposed study should also consider assessing possible alternatives for descent livelihoods in rural areas by reviewing the matter of expansion of social amenities, as well as rural investments to improve quality of life, and employment opportunities (Harris and Todaro, 1983).

Deductively, this study notes that addressing rural agricultural practices, in-turn addresses the matter of rural-to-urban migrations. In Kenya and Uganda, agriculture is the backbone of national economies. The Uganda Vision 2040 and the Kenya Visio 2030 have identified solutions to boost agricultural practices in the economy. This study recommends an accelerated implementation of these proposals to resolve poor performance of agriculture in rural areas, due to factors that include; lack of markets for agricultural products, adverse weather, and lack of capital for commercial production. The view of Musa represents the thinking of most youths about agriculture:

> "agriculture was difficult, and kept us poor… whatever we produce gets spoilt by drought or too much water, and above all, no one buys our produce or it just earns us little…it is full of losses. I wish we had other things to do to earn us a living…"

Other issues cited for reaction in the study are: value for agro-products in the region to enhance competitiveness in world markets, boosting foreign exchange and employment, ensuring food security, and adopting modern methods of faming to improve livelihoods, improving transportation or communication in rural areas, creating disaster management structures and mechanisms to remedy farmers' losses when incurred, and empowering disadvantaged groups, like women and youths (The UNDP, 2006; The Uganda Vision 2040 and the Kenya Vision, 2030.

In general, issues arising in the study call for broader policies with wider spectra as advanced by Delors (1998). Economic needs of the time and for effective participation by all in the growth of the national economies in Kenya and Uganda, policy-makers should examine closely all the aspects influencing quality of life in both urban and rural areas, rural-to-urban migration, and work access in the informal economy sector among others.

Need for Guidelines Lacking in Jua Kali

Work in Jua Kali operates without guides or standardized systems. Accordingly, the time is propitious for policy-makers to design principles to govern Jua Kali's employment, development of human capacity, job training, and ensuring the skills and qualifications required for efficiency and self-reliance. Wide consensus exists in contemporary thought among African scholars of developing nations, like Kenya and Uganda, to aggressively venture into "broadening the fundamentals of economic development" (Mkandawire & Soludo, 2003, p. 5). Policies that deal with and improve local dynamics of work, including the practices in the informal economic sector are vital (Bass, 2005).

Jua Kali informal economic sector should be aided by policy-makers to establish organizational structures for effective leadership. Currently, this study notes that power in the informal economic sector remains in the hands of a few members of social networks, (e.g., among the adult participants, proprietors, parents, and guardians), which hinders growth of youthful artisans. This study recommends that policy-

makers consider socio-economic restructuring of Jua Kali, "otherwise the huge social and environmental challenges cannot be met" (Bass, 2005, p. 41).

The objective of restructuring the informal economic sector is to allowing youths participate so as to realize potentials for maximizing meaningful productivity in Jua Kali. The challenge for scholars and educators is designing paths that address issues of the dominant few in Jua Kali, creating shared control and management of resources by adopting programs of "effective leadership development" (Bass, 2005, p. 41).

Influence of Formal Educational Proficiency Levels

Since higher proficiency levels or higher formal educational attainment accelerate employment in the informal economic sector, policies should ensure minimum levels and standards in formal education, made mandatory for all school going children who attend primary school educational levels. Scholars should conduct further studies, to determine which levels of education are basic and adequate for life skills' attainment. This study recommends a mandatory minimum level of at least senior two (Grade 8) for all children. The proposal to attain secondary level up to senior two has support from studies showing that reasonably more years in formal education enhances an individual's development of foundational skills and adequate preparation for a world of work (UNESCO, 2012). Incumbent on policy-makers of Kenya and Uganda is enforcing minimum education through legislation. The recommendation for a mandatory minimum level has two implications: access and finance, which the governments of East Africa must address by eliminating school fees, which are "barriers that limit access to lower secondary school" (UNESCO, 2012, p. 31).

In the study, personal qualities positively influence employment in Jua Kali. Of consequence, this study challenges educators and policy-makers to reconsider content of the curricula, as opposed to assuming that individuals develop suitable characteristics or interpersonal qualities, such as; honesty, creativity, humility, or sociability, responsible conduct during work without supervision.

Second-chance Education

To overcome some of challenges facing youths in the informal economic sector: incompetence in areas like business management, marketing, quality service delivery, and often low technological know-how, it is imperative that some sort of education be provided to boost youths' productivity. Based on discussion of findings, Adult educators should establish educational practices that are site-based centers convenient for Jua Kali youths, including considerations of language, location, and work friendly. Furthermore, the second-chance education advocated ought to focus on occupational training rather than course training to improve workmanship in the specific areas of current employment, such as perfecting auto body work, electrical and electronic installation, and mechanics. However, focusing on occupational training should not minimize other aspects that encourage entrepreneurship such as, training in business management or marketing skills among others.

In this study, it is argued that international agencies, educators, policy-makers, and communities should support training opportunities already offered to school dropouts through existing organizations, both private and national like Kenya Private sector Alliance (KEPSA), YMCA, YWCA in Kenya or by the Directorate of Industrial Training (DIT) or through the Uganda Association of Private Vocational Institutions (UGAPRIVI). This is one of the strongest positions of Uganda's government as expounded in the BTVET Act 2008. Educators should guide all informal or experiential learners to link learning with work-based programs to enhance acquisition of practical problem-solving skills useful in workplace. Similarly, the findings challenge communities, including Jua Kali to re-think a commitment for educational practices by participating in programs geared towards that population's development.

Drawing from the goals of Uganda's government, the Directorate of Industrial Training (DIT), recommendations, second-chance educational practices should establish well-defined frameworks and guidelines ensuring skills' efficiency for productive practices. The interventions should include educational interventions for youths in the informal sector which clearly delineate steps for attaining skills. Aligned with the DIT mandate and the BTVET Act (2008), this study proposes implementation of

Practical or Performance Based Assessment to determine the practical abilities of youths to ensure that all have attained a certain minimum training for productive work. This recommendation requires acceleration to respond to the immense competence problems limiting youths' productivity. The practice will help implementers ensure that youths can perform well in their chosen fields.

Accordingly, to enable Jua Kali youths compete for jobs anywhere, those who satisfy the practical abilities as stipulated by the DIT should receive Workers' PAS (Practically Acquired Skills) certificate to allow competing for jobs in any sector. This also implies reaching agreements and memoranda of understanding with the formal sector's systems to recognize the workers' PAS certificates and to allow its graduates compete with others in the formal labor force.

In Kenya and Uganda, adult education should be an adopted strategy by governments to empower communities in various ways (Oketch, 2004; Bhola, 1983). In studies conducted in Africa, especially Sub-Saharan Africa, adult educational programs focus broadly on improving competences of adults, and adult education should transcend basic literacy and numeracy programs, as has been the practice (Oketch, 2004). The CONFITEA V 1997 submissions on adult education argued for an adult educational intervention that is functional, enabling adults' active participation in personal and community development, and enhance mastery of skills and competencies for productive work (Tagoa, 2008).

However, before the design and implementation of any educational intervention among the Jua Kali, scholars and educators should conduct appraisal of the labor skills needed by the targeted groups in both Kenya and Uganda. This evaluation clarifies for specific needs of the national labor market, and consequently, development of appropriate educational practices (Habermas, 1972; Oketch, 2004). In other words, evaluation should enhance Habermas' (1972) notion of the constitutive interests of education enabling individuals to control the physical world, interact and relate with it, as well as gain autonomy over individual affairs; something this study anticipates for Jua Kali youths in Kenya and Uganda.

The implementation of second-chance education requires that scholars and educators identify and promote programs for second-chance education that appeal to all youths in Jua Kali. The implementation of second-chance educational programs, demands that educators develop links between objectives of

second-chance education and the informal economy to support productivity and socio-economic transformation among Jua Kali youths. Therefore, more investigation is needed to guide educators of adults to encourage embracing and supporting the varied purposes, which encourage Jua Kali youths to opt for second-chance education.

Theoretical Implications, Limitations and Future Research

A study on informal learning bolsters research of adult education, which targets formation of skills among these cohorts, within the nuanced concept of second-chance education. This study focuses on out-of-school youths in transition to adulthood and working in the informal economic sector. This study investigates the effectiveness of informal skills as an influence on access to work. In so doing, the study seeks to explain and appraise informal skills in regards to access, wages, and stability in Jua Kali in East Africa. This study continues to affirm the persistent contentions regarding understanding and transfer of skills via informal learning, and confirms the necessity for further investigation.

This study of how youths negotiate work in informal economic sector provides a background explaining why most youths, especially in developing economies, fail to complete the formal educational cycle. This clarification is relevant for guiding scholars and policy-makers in addressing the issues of marginalization of populations. The results of this study unearth urgency for revitalizing commitments to uplifting poor and disadvantaged communities by increased monitoring and financing of EFA goals (UNESCO, 2012). The study in particular highlights and recommends remedial educational practices that are individual and location specific for dealing with local challenges in education. This remedial education, urged for consideration is new, and therefore, requires further exploration for better understanding of its applicability in transforming societies.

Furthermore, a study of how Jua Kali youths negotiate work explores the events influencing access to work in the informal economic sector and considers the associated implications for policies. Kenya and Uganda have almost attained universal primary education, although the benefits of this

educational practice need further exploration. This study argues that implementation of educational programs do not guarantee fundamental skills for life (Okumu, Nakajjo and Isoke, 2008). Therefore, this study justifies the need to conduct investigations of several educational options in the region, such as the Universal Primary Education (UPE) or the Universal Secondary Education (USE), dealing with youthful groups in East Africa to validate assertions regarding attainment of meaningful skills.

As observed earlier, this study has a limited sample, restricted to only 12 informants, and as such is bound to narrow the interpretations and conclusions regarding youths in the informal economic sector who negotiate for work in Jua Kali space in East Africa. The obvious implication of the ethnographic approach is voicing the perspectives of a few over the perspectives of a wider cultural group. But this approach provides visibility and an in-depth view in a particular cultural setting. In reference to future research, this study proposes adoption of diverse methodologies and approaches to exhaustively gain deeper understanding of the issues and relationships linking informal learning to work access in Jua Kali space. Nonetheless, this study exposes complexities facing informally skilled workforce in Kenya and Uganda.

Finally, in this research, two issues related to gender are noted: First, besides few studies focusing on women's participation in the informal economic sector, this particular study, like many others, does not do justice to women. Moreover, the issue of disparity among gender is evident in Jua Kali auto repair trade, which is male, dominated, and nearly no women engage in it. Second, female participation is high in domestic related activities, such as food serving and housekeeping; in reality, females participate in activities giving support to auto mechanics, often low income types of work, a limiting factor in the realization of the United Nations MDGs on equity and women's empowerment. Contrarily, several past studies in East Africa reveal that girls leave school at higher rates than boys. Therefore, future studies focusing on the role of women in the informal economic sector are imperative to reveal hidden issues contributing to disparities among genders.

References

Acuff, F. L. (2008). *How to negotiate anything with anyone anywhere around the world*. Amacom Books.

Ajulu, R. (2002). Politicised ethnicity, competitive politics and conflict in Kenya: A historical perspective. *African Studies*, *61*(2), 251-268.

Amabile, T. M. (1996). *Creativity and innovation in organizations* (pp. 1-15). Harvard Business School.

Arthur, C. J. (2002). *The new dialectic and Marx's Capital* (Vol. 1). Brill Academic Publications.

Attewell, P. (1992). Technology diffusion and Organizational learning: The case of Business Computing. *Organization Science, 3, 1, pp. 1 -19*

Awogbenle, A. C., & Iwuamadi, K. C. (2010). Youth unemployment: Entrepreneurship development programme as an intervention mechanism. *African Journal of Business Management*, *4*(6), 831-835.

Bangasser, P. E. (2000). *The ILO and the informal sector: an institutional history*. Geneva,, Switzerland: International Labour Organization.

Baptiste, I. (2001, September). Qualitative Data Analysis: Common Phases, Strategic Differences. In *Forum: Qualitative social research* (Vol. 2, No. 3).

Bass, S. (2005). *Reducing Poverty and Sustaining the Environment: The politics of local engagement*. Earthscan.

Bartram, D., Lindley, P. A., Marshall, L., & Foster, J. (1995). The recruitment and selection of young people by small businesses. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *68*(4), 339-358.

Bates, R. H. (2005). *Beyond the miracle of the market: The political economy of agrarian development in Kenya*. Cambridge University Press.

Bearden, J. N. (2001). Ultimatum bargaining experiments: The state of the art. *Available at SSRN 626183*.

Bell, C. (1989). *Economic Development*. J. Eatwell, M. Milgate, & P. Newman (Eds.). Macmillan.

Bennaars, G., Otiende, J. E., & Boisvert, R. (Eds.). (1994). *Theory and practice of education: edited by GA Bennaars, JE Otiende, R. Boisvert*. East African educational publishers.

Bhattacherjee, A. (2002). Individual trust in online firms: Scale development and initial test. *Journal of management information systems*, *19*(1), 211-242.

Bhola, H. S. (1983). *The Promise of Literacy. Campaigns, Programs and Projects. Report of the International Seminar on Campaigning for Literacy (Udaipur, India, January 4-11, 1982)*.

Bishop, G. D., & Bishop, G. D. (1989). *Alternative strategies for education*. London: MacMillan.

Blustein, D. L., Prezioso, M. S., & Schultheiss, D. P. (1995). Attachment Theory and Career Development Current Status and Future Directions. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *23*(3), 416-432.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Sage Publications, Incorporated.

Bratton, M., & Kimenyi, M. S. (2008). Voting in Kenya: Putting ethnicity in perspective. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, *2*(2), 272-289.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101.

Bray, M. (2007). Actors and purposes in comparative education. *Comparative Education Research*, 15-38.

Brett, E. A. (1994). Rebuilding organisation capacity in Uganda under the National Resistance Movement. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, *32*, 53-53.

Bruns, B., & Rakotomalala, R. (2003). *Achieving universal primary education by 2015: A chance for every child* (Vol. 1). World Bank Publications.

Byerlee, D. (1974). Rural-urban migration in Africa: theory, policy and research implications. *International Migration Review*, 543-566.

Cardoso, A. R., & Verner, D. (2006). School drop-out and push-out factors in Brazil: The role of early parenthood, child labor, and poverty.

Chang-Gook, Y. (2007). learning to live and work together: Coalition building among Korean Merchants groups, communities and residents, and community organizers, (*The Pennsylvania State University, unpublished dissertation*)

Cheeseman, N. (2008). The Kenyan elections of 2007: An introduction. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, *2*(2), 166-184.

Chung, R., Firth, M., & Kim, J. B. (2002). Institutional monitoring and opportunistic earnings management. *Journal of Corporate Finance*, *8*(1), 29-48.

Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. L. P. (2007). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. (2008). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage Publications, Incorporated

Daniels, S. (2010). *Making Do: Innovation in Kenya's Informal Economy*. Analogue Digital.

Das, T. K., & Teng, B. S. (2000). A resource-based theory of strategic alliances. *Journal of management*, *26*(1), 31-61.

De Smedt, J. (2009). 'No Raila, No Peace!'Big Man Politics and Election Violence at the Kibera Grassroots. *African Affairs*, *108*(433), 581-598.

Delors, J. (1998). *Learning: The Treasure Within-Report to UNESCO of the International Commission*. Unesco.

Dewey, J. (1998). *Experience and education*. Kappa Delta Pi.

Di Gregorio, S. (2000, September). Using Nvivo for your literature review.

Dreher, G. F., & Ryan, K. C. (2004). A suspect MBA selection model: The case against the standard work experience requirement. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, *3*(1), 87-91.

Droz, Y. (2006). Street Children and the Work Ethic New policy for an old moral, Nairobi *Education*, *75*(1), 80-103.

Engeström, Y. (1999). Activity theory and individual and social transformation. *Perspectives on activity theory*, 19-38.

Eraut, M. (2004). Informal learning in the workplace. *Studies in continuing education*, *26*(2), 247-273.

Erickson, F. (1984). What makes school ethnography 'ethnographic'?. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *15*(1), 51-66.

Eshiwani, G. S. (1993). *Education in Kenya since independence*. East African Publishers.

Ezewu, E. (1983). *Sociology of education*. London: Longman.

Fajnzylber, P. (2001). Minimum wage effects throughout the wage distribution: Evidence from Brazil's formal and informal sectors.

Fenwick, T. J. (2000). Expanding conceptions of experiential learning: A review of the five contemporary perspectives on cognition. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *50*(4), 243-272.

Fields, G. S. (1990). Labour market modeling and the urban informal sector: theory and evidence.

Fields, G. S. (2004). A guide to multisector labor market models. *Working Papers*, 86. Finding the right match. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *56*(2), 119-133.

Finn, J. D. (1989). Withdrawing from school. *Review of educational research*, *59*(2), 117-142.for the critical review of qualitative studies. *McMaster University Occupational Therapy*

Foschi, M. (2000). Double standards for competence: Theory and research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 21-42.

Freire & Horton, M. (1990). *We make the road by walking: Conversations on education and social change*. Temple University Press.

Freire, P. (1993). Pedagogy of the Oppressed. 1970. *Reprint, New York: Continuum*.

Gadsden, V., Wortham, S., & Turner III, H. M. (2003). Situated identities of young, African American fathers in low-income urban settings [Electronic Version]. *Family Court Review*, 41, 381-399. Garcia, M., & Farès, J. (Eds.). (2008). *Youth in Africa's labor market*. World Bank Publications.

Gakuru, W. (2007). The Making of Kenya Vision 2030: Transforming National Development. *Media Release*.

Glesne, C., & Peshkin, A. (1992). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* (p. 6).

Gola, G. (2009). Informal learning of social workers: a method of narrative inquiry. *Journal of Workplace Learning*, *21*(4), 334-346.

Golding, B. (2009). Older men's lifelong learning. *Researching transitions in lifelong learning*, *Group Work* (pp. 162-170).

Gough, K. V., Langevang, T., & Owusu, G. (2013). Youth employment in a globalizing world. *International Development Planning Review*, *35*(2), 91-102.

Guest, D. E. (1987). HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS [1]. *Journal of management Studies*, *24*(5), 503-521.

Hambleton, R., Savitch, H. V., & Stewart, M. (2002). *Globalism and local democracy*. Palgrave.

Hanson, W. E., Creswell, J. W., Clark, V. L. P., Petska, K. S., & Creswell, J. D. (2005). Mixed Heartland. *Environment and Urbanization*, *8*(1), 167-179.

Harris, J. R., & Todaro, M. P. (1983). 18. Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis. *The Struggle for Economic Development: Readings in Problems and Policies*, 199.

Hartung, P. J. (2002). Cultural context in career theory and practice: Role salience and values. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *51*(1), 12-25.

Heckman, J. J. (2000). *The cost of job security regulation: evidence from Latin American labor markets* (No. w7773). National bureau of economic research.

Ikoja-Odongo, R., & Ocholla, D. N. (2004). Information seeking behavior of the informal sector entrepreneurs: the Uganda experience. *Libri*, *54*(1), 54-66.

Illeris K. (2003). Workplace learning and learning theory: *Journal of workplace learning, 15, 4,. P. 167 - 174*

Illeris, K. (2004). *Adult Education and adult learning*. Florida: Krieger Publishing Company

Izquierdo, E., Harvey, I., & Beer, R. D. (2008). Associative learning on a continuum in evolved dynamical neural networks. *Adaptive Behavior*, *16*(6), 361-384.

Jarvis, P. (2010). *The Routledge International Handbook of Lifelong Learning*. Routledge, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *15*(6), 438-454.

Karmel, T., & Woods, D. (2008). Second-chance vocational education and training.

Kellaghan, T., & Greaney, V. (1992). *Using Examinations To Improve Education: A Study in Fourteen African Countries. World Bank Technical Paper Number 165. Africa Technical Department Series*. Distribution Unit, Office of the Publisher, Department F, The World Bank, 1818 H Street, NW, Washington, DC 20433 (free).

Khavul, S. (2009). Informal family business in Africa. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice,33, 6, pp. 493 - 1219.*

King, K. (1996), *Jua Kali: Change and development in an Economy, East African Studies*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.

Knowles, M. S. (1984). Andragogy in action.

Kolb, D. A. (1984). Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development.

Kolb, D. A., Boyatzis, R. E., & Mainemelis, C. (2001). Experiential learning theory: Previous research and new directions. *Perspectives on thinking, learning, and cognitive styles*, *1*, 227-247.

Kremenyuk, V. A. (1991). International Negotiation: Analysis, Approaches. *Issues*.

Kubow, P., K. (2003) *Comparative Education: Exploring Issues in International Educational Context.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Kujala, J., Murtoaro, J., & Artto, K. (2007). A negotiation approach to project sales and implementation. *Project Management Journal*, *38*(4), 33-44.

Kuteesa, F., Tumusiime-Mutebile, E., Whitworth, A., & Williamson, T. (2009). *Uganda's economic reforms: insider accounts*. Oxford University Press.

LaBelle, T. J. (1986). Nonformal education in Latin America and the Caribbean: stability, reform or revolution. *Nonformal education in Latin America and the Caribbean: stability, reform or revolution.*

Lather, P. A. (1995). The validity of angels: Interpretive and textual strategies in researching the lives of women with HIV/AIDS. *Qualitative inquiry*, *1*(1), 41-68.

Law, M., Stewart, D., Letts, L., Pollock, N., Bosch, J., & Westmorland, M. (1998). Guidelines for the critical review of qualitative studies. *McMaster University Occupational Therapy Evidence-Based Practice Research Group*.

Lechner, F., J; Boli, J (2008). *The Globalization reader*. New York: Blackwell Publishing

Ledingham, J. A. (2003). Explicating relationship management as a general theory of public relations. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, *15*(2), 181-198.

Lee, V. E., &Burkam, D. T. (2003).Dropping out of high school: The role of school organization and structure. *American Educational Research Journal*, *40*(2), 353-393.

Lewick, R. J., & Bunker, B. B. (1996). Developing and maintaining trust in work relationships. *Trust in Organizations: Frontiers of Theory and Reach*, 114-39.

Lewin, K. M., & Sabates, R. (2012). Who gets what? Is improved access to basic education pro-poor in Sub-Saharan Africa?. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *32*(4), 517-528.

Lijphart, A. (1971). Comparative politics and the comparative method. *The American Political Science Review*, 682-693.

Linard, C., Gilbert, M., Snow, R. W., Noor, A. M., & Tatem, A. J. (2012). Population distribution, settlement patterns and accessibility across Africa in 2010. *PLoS One*, *7*(2), e31743.

Livingstone, D. W. (2001). Adults' informal learning: Definitions, findings, gaps and future, 65.

Locke, C., &Lintelo, D. J. (2012). YOUNG ZAMBIANS 'WAITING'FOR OPPORTUNITIES AND 'WORKING TOWARDS'LIVING WELL: LIFECOURSE AND ASPIRATION IN YOUTH TRANSITIONS. *Journal of International Development*, *24*(6), 777-794.

Magara, E., & Nyumba, J. B. (2004). Towards a school library development policy for Uganda. *Library review*, *53*(6), 313-322.

Marshall, C. "Rossman.(1995). Designing qualitative research."

Marsick, J., V. (2009). Towards a unified framework to support informal learning theory, research and practice. *Journal of workplace learning, 21, 4, pp. 265 -275*

McFadden, M. G. (1996). 'Second Chance'Education: accessing opportunity or recycling disadvantage? *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, *6*(1), 87-111.

Mead, D. C., & Morrisson, C. (1996). The informal sector elephant. *World development Economics*, *24*(10).

Meagher, K. (1990). The hidden economy: informal and parallel trade in Northwestern Uganda. *Review of African Political Economy*, *17*(47), 64-83.

Merriam, C., & Caffarella, R. S. Baumgartner (2007). *Learning in adulthood:-A comprehensive guide (3rd ed).*

Mezirow, J. (2000). *Learning as Transformation: Critical Perspectives on a Theory in Progress. The Jossey-Bass Higher and Adult Education Series*. Jossey-Bass Publishers, an Francisco.

Michelson, E. (1996). Usual suspects: Experience, reflection and the (en) gendering of knowledge. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *15*(6), 438-454.

Middleton, J. (2002). Africa: *An encyclopedia for students. Charles Scribner's sons: New York, p. 178 – 184.*

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods.

Mincer, J., & Jovanovic, B. (1982). Labor mobility and wages.

Minnis, J. R. (2006). Nonformal education and informal economies in sub-Saharan Africa: Finding the right match. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *56*(2), 119-133.

Morris, M. W., Leung, K., Ames, D., & Lickel, B. (1999). Views from inside and outside: Integrating emic and etic insights about culture and justice judgment. *Academy of Management Review*, *24*(4), 781-796.

Mkandawire, P. T., & Soludo, C. C. (Eds.). (2003). *African Voices on Structural Adjustment: A Companion to Our Continent, Our Future*. Africa World Press.

Muricho, W. P., & Chang'ach, J. K. Education Reforms in Kenya for Innovation.

Neitzert, M. (1998). Kenneth King-Jua Kali Kenya 1970-95: Change and Development in an *of Community Psychology*, *31*(5), 489-512.

Nishimura, M., Yamano, T., & Sasaoka, Y. (2008). Impacts of the universal primary education policy on educational attainment and private costs in rural Uganda. *international Journal of Educational development*, *28*(2), 161-175.

Norwood, H. C. (1975). Informal industry in developing countries. *Town planning review*, *46*(1), 83.

Oketch, A., & Carr-Hill, R. R. A. (Eds.). (2001). *Adult literacy programs in Uganda: An evaluation*. World Bank-free PDF.

Okumu, I. M., Nakajjo, A., & Isoke, D. (2008). Socioeconomic determinants of primary school dropout: the logistic model analysis.

Oluranti I, O (2011). Informal self-employment and poverty alleviation: Empirical evidence from motorcycle taxi riders in Nigeria. *International journal of economics and finance, 3, 2, pp. 176 - 185*

Omolo, J. (2012). Youth Employment in Kenya.

Palacios, M. (2003). *Options for financing lifelong learning* (Vol. 2994). World Bank Publications.

Parrillo, A. L. (2008). *Parental Attachment and Involvement as Predictors of High School Students' Career Thoughts*. ProQuest.

Pedersen, P. O., & McCormick, D. (1999). African business systems in a globalizing world. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *37*(1), 109-135.

Polloway, E. A., Patton, J. R., Serna, L., & Bailey, J. W. (1997). *Strategies for teaching learners with special needs*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: prentice Hall.

Portes, A., & Sassen-Koob, S. (1987). Making it underground: Comparative material on the informal sector in western market economies. *American Journal of Sociology*, 30-61.

Raiffa, H. (1982). *The art and science of negotiation*. Belknap Press.

Riesman, P. (1986). The person and the life cycle in African social life and thought. *African Studies Review*, 71-138.

Rogerson, C. M. (1996). Urban poverty and the informal economy in South Africa's economic heartland. *Environment and Urbanization*, *8*(1), 167-179.

Rosario, M., Salzinger, S., Feldman, R. S., & Ng-Mak, D. S. (2003). Community violence exposure and delinquent behaviors among youth: The moderating role of coping. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *31*(5), 489-512.

Rossman, E. (1997). On-the-job performance of home health aides: A structural interpretation. *Human organization*, *56*(4), 393-399.

Roth, W. M., & Lee, Y. J. (2007). "Vygotsky's Neglected Legacy": Cultural-Historical Activity Theory. *Review of Educational Research*, *77*(2), 186-232.

Sabates, R., Akyeampong, K., Westbrook, J., & Hunt, F. (2011). School Dropout: Patterns, Causes, Changes and Policies. *Education for All Global Monitoring Report*.

Salazar, C. (2001, September). Building boundaries and negotiating work at home. In San Francisco.

Sanday, P. R. (1979). The ethnographic paradigm (s). *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *24*(4),

Sartori, G. (1991). Comparing and miscomparing. *Journal of theoretical politics*, *3*(3), 243-257.

Schram, T. H. (2003). *Conceptualizing qualitative inquiry: Mindwork for fieldwork in education Science Review*, 682-693.

Schmidt, C. M., & Zimmermann, K. F. (1991). Work characteristics, firm size and wages. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 705-710.

Semali, L. (1999). Community as classroom: Dilemmas of valuing African indigenous literacy in education. *International Review of Education*, *45*(3-4), 305-319.

Shostack, G. L. (1984). Designing services that deliver. *Harvard business review*, *62*(1), 133-139.

Schuler, R. S., & Jackson, S. E. (1987). Linking competitive strategies with human resource management practices. *The Academy of Management Executive*, *1*(3), 207-219.

Sluss, D. M., & Ashforth, B. E. (2007). Relational Identity and Identification: Defining *Students' Career Thoughts*.ProQuest.

Smith, V. L. (1962). An experimental study of competitive market behavior. *The Journal of Political Economy*, *70*(2), 111-137.

Sparks, D. L., & Barnett, S. T. (2010). The informal sector in Sub-Saharan Africa: out of the shadows to foster sustainable employment and equity?. *International Business & Economics Research Journal*, *9*(5).

Steward, G. (2010). Uganda: *The Green Wood Encyclopedia of LGBT issues worldwide. Green Wood Press: Santa Barbara, p. 135 - 145*

Tagoe, M. (2008). Challenging the orthodoxy of literacy: realities of moving from personal to community empowerment through Reflect in Ghana. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *27*(6), 707-728.

Talburt, S. (2004). Ethnographic responsibility without the" real". *The Journal of Higher Education*, *75*(1), 80-103

Tripp, A. M. (2010). *Museveni's Uganda: paradoxes of power in a hybrid regime*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Uganda Ministry of Education and Sport (2011). Skilling Uganda: BETVET Strategic Plan 2011 -2020

Uganda Ministry of Education and Sport (2001). Education Sector Strategic Plan 2004 – 2015. Education Planning Unit

Uganda Vision 2040 (2013).*The Republic of Uganda, April, p. 1- 120.*

Van Barneveld, K. (1999). Under the covers: Negotiating Australian workplace agreements: Two cases. In *Proceedings of the 13th AIRAANZ Conference, February* (Vol. 4, No. 6, pp. 287-96).

Van Maanen, J. (2011). *Tales of the field: On writing ethnography*. University of
        Chicago Press.

Vermeiren, K., Van Rompaey, A., Loopmans, M., Serwajja, E., & Mukwaya, P. (2012). Urban growth of
        Kampala, Uganda: Pattern analysis and scenario development. *Landscape and Urban Planning*,
        106(2), 199-206.

Ward, M., Penny, A., & Read, T. (2006). *Education Reform in Uganda-1997 to 2004:
        Reflections on Policy, Partnership, Strategy and Implementation*. Department for international
        development (DFID).

WATSON-GEGEO, K. A. (1988). Ethnography in ESL: Defining the essentials. *Tesol Quarterly*, *22*(4),
        575-592.

Williams, C. C. (2004). *Cash-in-hand work: The underground sector and the hidden
        economy of Workplace Learning*, *21*(4), 334-346.

Williams, R. (1983). *Culture and society: 1780-1950*. Columbia University Press.

Zeleen, J., Linden J. Van der, Nampota, D., Ngabirano, M. (2010). *The Burden of educational exclusion:
        Understanding and challenging early school leaving in Africa*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Appendix

PENNSTATE

	Vice President for Research	The Pennsylvania State University	Phone : (814) 865-1775
	Office for Research Protections	The 330 Building, Suite 205	Fax: (814) 863-8699
			Email : orprotections@psu.edu
			Web : www.research.psu.edu/orp

Date:	April 20, 2012
From:	The Office for Research Protections - FWA#: FWA00001534
	Stephanie L. Krout, Compliance Coordinator
To:	Jerome Agelu
Re:	Determination of Exemption

IRB Protocol ID:	39488
Follow-up Date:	March 12, 2017
Title of Protocol:	A Comparative Study of informal learning in the 'Jua Kali' workforce of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania

The Office for Research Protections (ORP) has received and reviewed the above referenced eSubmission application. It has been determined that your research is exempt from IRB initial and ongoing review, as currently described in the application. You may begin your research. The category within the federal regulations under which your research is exempt is:

45 CFR 46.101(b)(2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

Given that the IRB is not involved in the initial and ongoing review of this research, it is the investigator's responsibility to review IRB Policy III "Exempt Review Process and Determination" which outlines:
- What it means to be exempt and how determinations are made
- What changes to the research protocol are and are not required to be reported to the ORP
- Ongoing actions post-exemption determination including addressing problems and complaints, reporting closed research to the ORP and research audits
- What occurs at the time of follow-up

Please do not hesitate to contact the Office for Research Protections (ORP) if you have any questions or concerns. Thank you for your continued efforts in protecting human participants in research.

This correspondence should be maintained with your research records.

Adult Education Program

The Pennsylvania State University

315 Keller Building

University Park, PA 16802 – 1303

July 15th, 2013

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Re: **CONDUCT RESEARCH AMONG JUA KALI INFORMAL ECONOMY SECTOR YOUTH IN KAMPALA AND NAIROBI CITIES**

I am Fr. Jerome Agelu, a student conducting a field study for my dissertation leading to the award of PH.D degree in Philosophy of Pennsylvania State University in the USA.

This is a research project in which, I carryout interviews, observations, video and photographic coverage among the urban informal economy youths in Kenya and Uganda, popularly known as the Jua Kali. Briefly, I focus investigating on "How the Jua Kali youth negotiate work in the informal economy sector" in order to appraise the informally acquired skills. In conducting this research, I promise to be respectful and responsible before all those I shall interact with.

By this letter, I am request you to introduce and permit me proceed with the stated research.

Sincerely,

Fr. Jerome Agelu

Cell phone no: +1 814 7530 814 or +254 772 491570

(Researcher)

DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENT

INTERVIEW QUESTIONARE

Instructions
The interview questions are for purposes of research, to explain how the youth in the Jua Kali economy sector negotiate work in Kenya and Uganda. This interview guide is distributed to only those who have shown consent to be part of the respondents of this research.
The respondent is free to answer all, or part of the questions. The respondent is also free to ask questions from the researcher seeking clarity on some questions that he or she may not understand, or may be a threat to his or her work, life or wellbeing in general. The interview shall only be conducted in an open public place, such as in a café, hotel or restaurant. The respondent is also free to withdraw his or her participation in the course of the research, and there shall be no penalties. I shall audio record voices of the respondents during the interview, but with the consent from the respondent. However, the respondent is free to stop the researcher from recording part of his responses, for any reason, and this does not stop him/ her from participating in the interview
.

Questions:
Personal information
1. Can you feel free to introduce yourself
2. Tell me your names, origin, location, age, educational background, and any other things you want to explain about yourself

Probing Negotiating Work
3. Can you describe to me the work you do to earn a living?
4. Explain to me how you find or access work?
5. Do you discuss the matter of payment?
6. Can you talk about (people, issues or things) that helped you find this job?

Probing impact
7. What are the benefits of working at Jua Kali?

Probing what the youth think about second chance education
8. What do you think about youth getting education?
9. What kind of education is suitable?

DATA OBSERVATION PROTOCAL

1. Observation Checklist

Observing the events or occurrences influencing negotiating work "Jua Kali"

Participants/People

- Informal sector workplace
- Population, characteristics (age, size, tribal groupings, gender aspects)
- Activities/roles

Activities

- How activities start and end
- Look out for moments learning or instruction
- The environment around the workplace
- The challenges/difficulties faced

Social interaction

- Interactions between Jua Kali participants
- The morale (attitude aspects)
- The relationships while at work (whether relations are cordial, networking, or hostile)
- The networking between groups

Things/artifacts

- The tools
- The products of their work
- Observable quality/artistic aspects of work

Observational form

Venue_____

Code No:_____ number of hours observed:_____

Date	Item observed	Observation	Researcher's remarks

Timeline

Research Timeline table

N0	Activity	Time
01	Entry procedures, sampling of key participants and scheduling	July
02	Data Collection, transcription, analysis & writing	July – February
03	Writing continues and filling up gaps	February
04	Write up continues and member checking	February
05	Reporting	March

Proposed Budget

Budget item and cost estimates

No	Item	Cost	Total Cost
01	Round Air Ticket to Uganda/Kenya and back to USA		$ 2,300.00
02	Rent fee for accommodation (12 months)	$250 x12	$3,000.00
03	Utilities (water and electricity) (10 months)	$70x10	$700.00
04	Feeding for 10 months @ $15 per day = ($450/month)	$450x10	$4,500.00
05	Internet connectivity/Broadband @ $100 for 12months	$100x12	$1,200.00
06	Return Visa fee (American Embassy)	$150	$150.00
07	Facilitating 4 informants and 8 key participants		$480.00
08	Telephone communication in field (12 months x $60)	$60x12	$720.00
09	Transcription of data and editing		$1,000.00
10	Data analysis (Vivo, scholastics, member checking)		$600.00
11	2 Cross boarder travels Kenya/Uganda@ $300/ round trip	$600x2	$600.00
12	Boarding for 10 days in Kenya @$50 per day	$50x10	$500.00
13	Internal travels in Kenya and Uganda		$1200.00
14	Backup power source (fueling generator)		$1,000.00
15	Report Printing and binding (10 pcs) @ $70	$70x10	$700.00
16	Distribution (postage)		$200.00
	Total cost		$18,850.00

Adult Education Program
The Pennsylvania State University
315 Keller Building
University Park, PA 16802 – 1303

July 15th, 2013

To whom it may Concern

RE: **CONDUCT RESEARCH AMONG JUA KALI INFORMAL ECONOMY SECTOR
YOUTH IN KAMPALA AND NAIROBI CITIES**

I am Fr. Jerome Agelu, a student conducting a field study for my dissertation leading to the award

of PH.D degree in Philosophy of Pennsylvania State University in the USA.

This is a research project in which, I carryout interviews, observations, video and photographic

coverage among the urban informal economic sector participants in Kenya and Uganda, popularly known

as the Jua Kali. Briefly, I focus investigating on *"How the Jua Kali youths negotiate work in the informal*

economy sector in Kenya and Uganda" in order to assess the effectiveness of informal skills in

influencing work access in the informal economic sector. In conducting this research, I promise to

conduct the research ethically; I shall be respectful and responsible before all those I shall interact with.

By this letter, I request you to introduce and permit me proceed with the stated research.

Sincerely,

Fr. Jerome Agelu

Cell phone no: +256 772 491570

(Researcher)

Adult Education Program
The Pennsylvania State University
315 Keller Building
University Park, PA 16802 – 1303

July 15th, 2013

Dear …………………………………………………..

RE: REQUEST TO PARTICIPATE AS PARTICIPANT IN A FIELD STUDY

I am Fr. Jerome Agelu, a student conducting a field study for my dissertation leading to the award of Ph.D degree in Philosophy of Pennsylvania State University in the USA.

This is a research project in which, I carryout interviews, observations, video and photographic coverage among the urban informal economic sector participants in Kenya and Uganda, popularly known as the Jua Kali participants. Briefly, I focus investigating on *"How Jua Kali youths negotiate work in Jua Kali in Kenya and Uganda"* in order to appraise the informally acquired skills. In conducting this research, I promise to be responsible; shall conduct the research ethically, respectful and be confidential before all those I shall interact with. By this letter, I am requesting you to participate as a respondent in this research project. In case you freely consent, I ask you to sign below this letter and return a copy to the researcher, within two weeks from the date of receipt. As respondent, you make a free decision to participate in this research, and are free withdraw at any time, and will not be subject to any conditions.

As researcher, I strive to treat your identity and the information acquired through this research as confidential. Thus, I shall only openly use your names in the body of the research if you expressly indicate in writing.

Rev. Fr. Jerome Agelu (Researcher)   Sign ……………………..........

Cell phone: +256 772 491570   Respondent

VITA

Jerome Agelu

Education

Enrolled in Ph.D., Dual Title degree in Adult Education, and Comparative and International Education (August, 2011 – August 2014), Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA.

Research Experience

Served as Research Assistant in Graduate Research in Education Program, Pennsylvania State University, University Park (August 2011 – May 2012). Furthermore, conducted Library Research, literature reviews, and provided Annotated Research Bibliography for Research Projects in Adult Education/Literacy Programs for Uganda.

Research work

During the doctoral program, the scholar conducted an exploratory field study on informal learning by Jua Kali youths in East Africa, funded by Africaner Research Center (ARC), in Pennsylvania University in the summer, 2012.

Conferences

Participated in a regional conference, in University of Pittsburg School of Education (USA), organized by Institute of International Studies in Education (IISE) & Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) 2011 Eastern Regional Conference focusing on: the Transformative Role of Education, for a more inclusive World. Then, participated in the 56th and 57th Annual Conferences of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES, 2012) held in San Juan, Puerto Rico (April 22nd - 27th 2012), and in Louisiana, (March 10 – 15th 2013), on the following respective themes; "*World Wide Education Revolution*," and "*Education Quality, Global Imperatives and Contested Visions.*"