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MOTIVATIONS AND
CHALLENGES OF
YOUTH ENTREPRENEURS
IN MAPUTO'S
FOOD MARKETS

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Abstract

Amidst a growing youth unemployment crisis spreading across Sub-Saharan Africa, there is a pressing need for effective policy intervention, based on sound research, to support young people's entry into labour markets. As urban labour markets continue to catalyze the growth of national economies in the Global South, the inclusion of youth entrepreneurs in the food retail sector in Maputo has become an important but largely unstudied phenomenon. This paper assesses the demographic and entrepreneurial characteristics of this population through a vendor survey of 504 youth entrepreneurs (those aged 35 years and younger) operating small-scale food enterprises in the Mozambican capital. The findings indicate that most vendors are female, born locally, and have limited formal education. The youth food vendors identified survival, family financial security, personal desire, learning, and self-determination as the most common reasons for starting their businesses. They also identified competition, insufficient sales and customers, and unaffordable suppliers as the most common business challenges. This paper highlights the aspirations of this population and the formidable economic challenges in their path to business success.

Keywords

youth employment, economic inclusion, food vendors, Maputo

This is the 31st discussion paper in a series published by the Hungry Cities Partnership (HCP), an international research project examining food security and inclusive growth in cities in the Global South. The five-year collaborative project aims to understand how cities in the Global South will manage the food security challenges arising from rapid urbanization and the transformation of urban food systems. The Partnership is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) through the International Partnerships for Sustainable Societies (IPaSS) Program.

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Introduction

Sub-Saharan Africa is facing a youth unemployment crisis that has been quietly building over decades. In a study of panel data from 41 African nations, Baah-Boateng (2016) identified both a growing representation of youth in the demographics of these nations and higher rates of unemployment among young women than young men. Within this context, Ackah-Baidoo (2016) observes an irony of the youth unemployment crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa, noting the continual investment in resource extraction and the limited youth employment that has resulted from these activities. Anyanwu (2014) found that intra-regional African trade (along with urbanization, post-secondary education, and domestic investment) was associated with reduced aggregate and gender-based youth unemployment in Africa. The gendered experience of this unemployment crisis has also been noted by others. Blum (2007), for example, notes that young women across Sub-Saharan Africa face a combination of limited vocational opportunities and educational attainment. In a case study of Mozambique, Van de boom (2011) found a similar situation. Sommers (2010) highlights the pressing need for policy that engages with the challenges of youth in urban Africa stemming from multidimensional marginalization.

Researchers have suggested various explanations for this crisis in particular countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. In a case study of young female entrepreneurs in Ghana, Langevang and Gough (2012) argue that differing outcomes associated with informal entrepreneurship may be explained by a combination of globalization pressures and cultural factors like the prestige of the occupation. In a survey of youth in the South African labour force, Yu (2013) found high rates of discouraged workseekers. The study highlighted that discouraged young workseekers tended to have less education and resided in poorer areas of the country. Rankin and Roberts (2011) indicate that the high unemployment rate observed among South African youth may be due to the mismatch between the expected and realized salaries experienced by youth attempting to enter

the labour market (even though salary offerings differ significantly according to the size of firms). In longitudinal surveys of South African youths, Lam, et al (2008) highlight the influence of both race and education in predicting their employment outcomes.

Many aspects of Mozambique make it very suitable for a case study of youth unemployment. Young people in Mozambique experienced an unemployment rate of 41% in 2014 (Ministry of Youth and Sports 2012, INE 2007, 2015). In addition, illiteracy stands at about 30% among individuals between 15 and 24 years old, with the rate worse among females (MINED 2013). With rising unemployment, the entry of youth into small-scale food retailing has risen. In total, around 300,000 youth enter the work force annually, but the majority enter the informal economy (DTCIDC 2015). Due to limited access to formal employment, the informal economy tends to be dominated by female workers (Morna et al 2014). The sector has also become a stage for gender struggles as increasing numbers of young and unemployed males join the sector (Agadjanian 2005, INE 2015, Monteiro 2002).

Cohen and Garrett (2010) note the important role that small-scale vendors, including street-sellers, play in supporting food access in cities around the world. Battersby and Crush (2014) highlight the importance of accounting for informal and non-market food sources when assessing the concept of urban food deserts in the African context. The informal food economy plays an important role in Mozambique, including in its capital city, Maputo. Around 50% of all informal activity in the city is focused on transportation and commerce, with food retail as the most common form of informal retail (Jenkins 2013, Chikanda and Raimundo 2016). Within Maputo, small shops and markets (which are predominantly informal) are the most commonly accessed food sources (Raimundo et al 2018). These sources represent a vibrant economic hub for the city. As a result, the informal economy in Maputo is a major contributor to resolving the often-unseen urban food insecurity policy challenges of the city (Crush and Frayne 2011). Street vending, for example, has become a significant

livelihood and food source within the city (Agadjanian 2002). In 2009, the seven largest markets comprised almost 9,000 recognized traders (Ulset 2010).

Pothukuchi and Kaufman (1999) and Morgan (2009) have argued for the necessity of solid municipal policy interventions in planning efficient food systems. Despite the importance of the informal sector in Maputo's food system, good governance of the system has been a challenge. Yet informality has often resulted from misaligned or poorly implemented policy instruments. The rise of the informal economy in Mozambique and many other countries has been commonly linked to structural adjustment policies and the associated job losses in the formal economy (Ahlers et al 2013, Maxwell 1999, Rogerson 2017). Despite a tenuous relationship between local government actors and vendor associations, Maputo is generally tolerant of the informal economy and attempts to register and formalize informal vendors (Kamate and Lindell 2010). The government has upgraded informal markets and created formal market spaces where rent can be collected from vendors (Ulset 2010). These efforts have often been linked to efforts to maximize government revenue. In 2009, the Simplified Tax for Small Contributors (ISPC) came into effect in the city, requiring tax payments from traders alongside national advertisement campaigns to encourage taxpayer registration among traders (Dibben et al 2015).

Youth engaged in small-scale food vending in Mozambique face significant challenges in operating their businesses. In a study of street food vendors in northern Mozambique, Companion (2010) found that many had few employment options due to limited educational attainment. Her study also highlighted the important role of social capital and networks in determining vendor entry into the informal market. Interestingly, Companion (2010) suggested that female vendors tended to enter street food vending out of financial necessity, while the entrance of male vendors was driven by future business and occupational opportunities. McCordic et

al (2018) found that gendered access to education and employment in Maputo was linked to profound differences in food insecurity.

Methodology

Despite the importance of small-scale food vending in Maputo, there have been few studies of the role of youth in the informal food sector. This paper uses HCP survey data to better understand the role and challenges facing youth in the city's food system. The paper addresses three basic questions: (a) what are the demographic characteristics of young small-scale food vendors in Maputo? (b) what reasons are identified by young food vendors in Maputo for starting a small-scale food vending business? and (c) what are the business challenges facing young small-scale food vendors operating in Maputo? The data included is drawn from a survey of 1,022 small-scale food vendors in Maputo completed in 2017 by the Hungry Cities Partnership in collaboration with the Centre for Policy Analysis at Eduardo Mondlane University. The survey was administered to food vendors with five employees or fewer in and around seven markets in Maputo. The sample size was approximately stratified proportionately across the markets based on market size (as estimated by local experts on the Maputo food system at Eduardo Mondlane University). Within each food market, enumerators initiated a systematic sampling strategy to select vendors for the survey. The survey instrument collected detailed information on the demographics, structure, and challenges faced by these businesses as well as the strategies used to overcome those challenges. The survey instrument also collected information on the demographics of the employees working at these food vending businesses. From the larger sample of food vendors in Maputo, this paper drew a sub-sample of 504 vendors aged 35 years or younger (Table 1). This age threshold was based on the official definition of "youth" (individuals aged 15–35 years) recognized by government policies in Mozambique (Ministry of Youth and Sports 2012).

TABLE 1: Distribution of Sample in Maputo Markets

Market	No.	%
Zimpeto	224	44.4
Xiquelene	106	21.0
Xipamanine	66	13.1
Malanga	39	7.7
Museu	26	5.2
Estrela Vermelha	22	4.4
Mandela	21	4.2
Total	504	100.0

Although the lack of an area or list frame compromises the generalizability of the findings, there is reason to conclude that this survey may be representative of the vendor population in Maputo. In 2014, the Hungry Cities Partnership administered a city-wide household survey of Maputo. The survey identified 935 household members who worked as vendors in Maputo. The vendors had an average age of 38.9 with a standard deviation of 12.94 and a gender breakdown of 27% male and 73% female. In this 2017 survey of food vendors in Maputo, the average age was 37.0 with a standard deviation of 11.86 and a gender breakdown of 24% male and 76% female. The comparability of these two samples suggests that the findings reported here may indicate broader trends, although additional empirical evidence is obviously necessary given the sampling challenges inherent to research fieldwork with informal vendors.

The data set provides information on the demographic characteristics of the youth vendors, including their sex, previous occupation, migrant status (birth location) and the highest level of education achieved. Together these characteristics provide insights into the origin, education, and economic background of the vendors. The analysis also utilizes a number of variables measuring entrepreneurial motivation. Respondents were asked to rank the importance of various motivations for starting their business on a five-point Likert scale ranging from no importance to extremely important. For the purposes of this paper, the five point scale was combined into three categories: (a) extremely/very important, (b) moderately important, and (c) of

little/no importance. The survey also collected data on the business challenges faced by the youth food vendors. Respondents were asked the frequency with which they experienced these challenges in the previous year. The ranked Likert scale associated with each challenge included often, sometimes or never.

Assessment of the primary motivations and challenges of the youth food vendors is conducted using frequency distributions and web graphs. The frequency distributions detect those motivations and challenges most frequently identified by the entire sample of youth food vendors. The web graphs provide insights into the co-occurrence of these motivations and challenges. The web graphs map the network of co-occurrence among the variables and assign heavier lines to those relationships that co-occur more frequently. In these web graphs, the business motivations and business challenges variables are transformed so that each variable only represents two states. The business motivations variables represent whether any amount of importance was given to each motivation or not. The business challenges variables represent whether a particular challenge occurred at all in the previous year.

Youth Vendor Profile

The youth food vendors in Maputo were almost two-thirds female (64% female, 36% male). Almost half (45%) of the vendors were born in the city of Maputo. The rest were born outside Maputo and had emigrated there at some stage, 28% from the countryside and 26% from another city in Mozambique (Table 2). Only 1% of the vendors were foreign-born.

TABLE 2: Birth Location of Youth Vendors

	%
Maputo	45
A rural area in Mozambique	28
Another city in Mozambique	26
Another country	1

As a group, the youth vendors were not particularly well-educated. Less than 15% had completed high school and only 1% had any form of post-secondary education. Almost 75% had completed primary school and 6% did not have any formal education (Table 3). The table also compares the educational profile of the vendors with that of the adult population (over 18) in the 2014 HCP city-wide household survey. Three things stand out: (a) the population as a whole has a greater proportion of better-educated people; (b) the proportion of poorly educated is relatively similar in both samples (47% of vendors with primary school or less compared with 42% of the general sample); and (c) the proportion of youth vendors with some high school

education was significantly higher (40% versus 27%). This seems to suggest that the informal food sector attracts two kinds of youth vendor: those with very little formal education and those with exposure to high school education.

Fifty-six percent of the youth vendors had another occupation before starting their informal business. The most common occupations were domestic work (22%), operating another informal business (15%), and employment in another informal business (12%). Very few of the youth vendors had experience working in the formal sector. As many as 17% had been at school before starting their business (Table 4).

TABLE 3: Highest Level of Education Achieved

Level of education	Youth vendors (%)	General adult population (%)
No formal education	6	11
Some primary school	21	20
Primary school completed	20	11
Some high school	40	27
High school completed	12	18
Some university/college	1	10
University/college completed	0	4
N	500	5,598

TABLE 4: Previous Main Occupation of Youth Vendors

	No.	%
Domestic worker	62	22.4
Scholar/student	46	16.6
Employed in informal sector	32	11.6
Operated own informal sector business (doing different activity)	29	10.5
Manual worker (unskilled)	17	6.1
Operated own informal sector business (doing the same activity)	12	4.3
Employer/manager	8	2.9
Hotel/restaurant worker	8	2.9
Agricultural worker	7	2.5
Office worker	3	1.1
Police/military/security	3	1.1
Manual worker (skilled)	2	0.7
Mine worker	2	0.7
Other	46	16.6
Total	277	100

Youth Vendor Motivations

Most of the youth vendors identified survivalist motivations for entering the informal food sector (Table 5). For example, over 80% said the need for money to survive was a critical motivation. Other important survivalist motives included giving their family greater financial security (67% extremely/very important) and being unemployed and unable to find a job (56% extremely/very important). However, many vendors also cited personal entrepreneurial orientation characteristics as important motivators. For example, nearly 60% claimed that having the right personality to run a business was an extremely/very important motivation for starting the business. Other traits of significance included always wanting to run their own business and self-determination (both over 55% extremely/very important), keenness to learn new skills (55% extremely/very important), wanting to do something new and challenging (52% extremely/very important), a desire to challenge themselves (51% extremely/very important) and enjoying taking risks (47% extremely/very important).

Over 60% of the sample said that the following factors played little or no role in their decision to start the business: providing employment for others, the existence of business partnerships, and having a job

that did not pay enough. The provision of employment was rare among the sample, with only 6% of the youth vendors having any employees. Similarly, only 1% had any partnerships or co-ownership arrangements. However, one-quarter said their family had always been in the informal business sector, suggesting some inter-generational continuity.

For the analysis on the co-occurrence of motivational variables, each motivator was assigned a variable name (Table 6). Many of the strongest motivating factors tended to co-occur. In Figure 1, heavier lines represent greater co-occurrence among the motivational factors. To make interpretation easier, only those motivations that co-occurred for at least 50% of the sample were included in the analysis. Eighty-five percent of the youth vendors identified both the need for survival and family security as important motivations for starting their business. However, the idea that some vendors are survivalists and some are more entrepreneurial is not supported by the evidence. For example, over 80% of the youth vendors identified both the need for survival and the desire to learn new skills as important motivations for starting a business. Similarly, 80% identified the desire to learn new skills and family security as important factors. Similar rates were observed between the need for survival/family security and the desire to run their own business.

TABLE 5: Reasons for Starting Food Vending Business

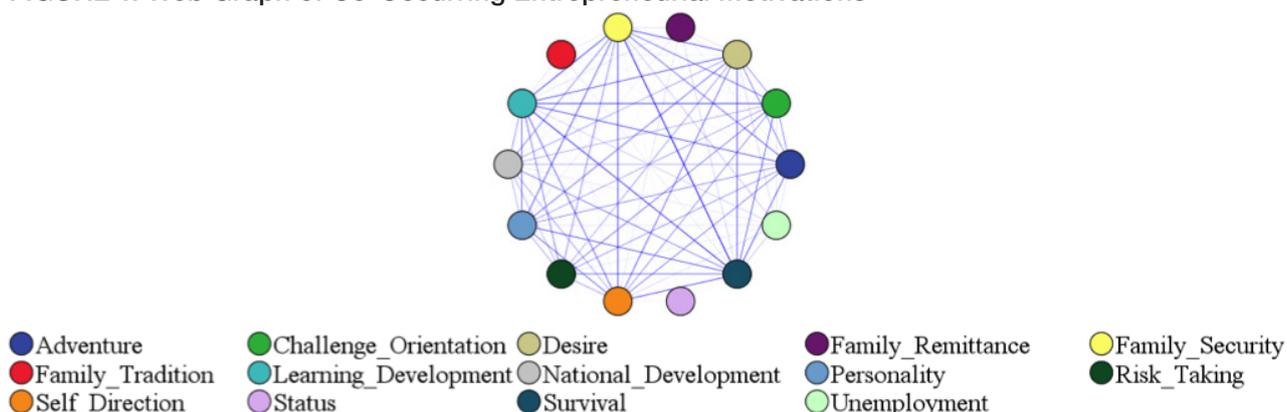
Reasons	Extremely/ very important (%)	Moderate importance (%)	Little/no importance (%)	N
Survivalist				
I needed more money just to survive	82.2	8.4	9.4	499
I wanted to give my family greater financial security	67.1	14.9	17.9	502
I was unemployed and unable to find a job	56.4	9.8	33.8	499
I wanted to make more money to send to my family in my home area	31.5	16.8	51.7	478
I wanted to provide employment for members of my family	21.7	12.3	66.0	501
I had a job but it did not pay enough	18.0	6.4	75.6	500
Entrepreneurial				
I have always wanted to run my own business	66.9	11.6	21.4	498
I have the right personality to run my own business	59.4	14.9	25.7	494
I wanted more control over my own time/to be my own boss	56.7	15.0	28.3	497

I like to learn new skills	55.0	20.9	24.1	497
I wanted to do something new and challenging	52.0	20.4	27.5	497
I like to challenge myself	51.3	18.9	29.8	501
I enjoy taking risks	46.7	17.5	35.8	502
My family has always been involved in business	27.1	17.3	55.6	500
I wanted to compete with others and be the best	15.5	13.1	71.4	497
Other				
I wanted to contribute to the development of Mozambique	32.0	23.9	44.1	495
I wanted to increase my status in the community	24.8	14.8	60.4	500
Support and help in starting my business was available from other people	20.4	13.7	65.9	503
I decided to go into business in partnership with others	14.5	9.4	76.1	502
I wanted to provide a service/product to consumers in my neighbourhood	12.1	18.3	69.6	503
I wanted to provide a service/product to consumers in other parts of Maputo	11.8	10.0	78.2	501
I wanted to provide employment for people from my home area	10.7	10.3	79.0	496
I wanted to provide employment for other people	10.4	9.2	80.4	499
I had a job but it did not suit my qualifications and experience	7.5	5.8	86.7	496

TABLE 6: Entrepreneurial Motivation Variables

Variable name	Variable label
Unemployment	I was unemployed and unable to find a job
Underemployment_Pay	I had a job but it did not pay enough
Underemployment_Skill	I had a job but it did not suit my qualifications and experience
Family_Hire	I wanted to provide employment for members of my family
Community_Hire	I wanted to provide employment for people from my home area
Public_Hire	I wanted to provide employment for other people
Survival	I needed more money just to survive
Family_Security	I wanted to give my family greater financial security
Family_Remittance	I wanted to make more money to send to my family in my home area
Partnership	I decided to go into business in partnership with others
Available_Support	Support and help in starting my business was available from other people
Family_Tradition	My family has always been involved in business
Neighbourhood_Provisioning	I wanted to provide a service/product to consumers in my neighbourhood
City_Provisioning	I wanted to provide a service/product to consumers in other parts of Maputo
Desire	I have always wanted to run my own business
Personality	I have the right personality to run my own business
Adventure	I wanted to do something new and challenging
Learning_Development	I like to learn new skills
Risk_Taking	I enjoy taking risks
Challenge_Orientation	I like to challenge myself
Self_Direction	I wanted more control over my own time/I wanted to be my own boss
Status	I wanted to increase my status in the community
Competition	I wanted to compete with others and be the best
National_Development	I wanted to contribute to the development of this country

FIGURE 1: Web Graph of Co-Occurring Entrepreneurial Motivations



Youth Vendor Challenges

There is considerable heterogeneity in the frequency with which business challenges are experienced by the young food vendors (Table 7). The vast majority said they had not experienced any harassment from the authorities or other vendors in the past year. About one-third said they had sometimes or often had challenges associated with effective business operations, including a lack of training in relevant

skills, lack of access to credit, and competition from supermarkets in the past year. Theft of goods is a greater problem than theft of income (35% often/sometimes versus 21% often/sometimes). But the largest group of challenges relate to operating issues such as too few customers (91% often/sometimes), insufficient sales (86% often/sometimes), too much competition (82% often/sometimes), and suppliers charging too much (80% often/sometimes). Around half noted that customers not paying their debts was a significant challenge.

TABLE 7: Business Challenges Faced by Young Food Vendors in the Previous 12 Months

	Often (%)	Sometimes (%)	Never (%)	N
Too many competitors around here	43.6	37.9	18.4	488
Too few customers	16.9	74.5	8.6	498
Competition from supermarkets/large stores	14.9	18.4	66.7	435
Insufficient sales	13.9	72.4	13.7	496
Suppliers charge too much	11.8	68.6	19.7	493
Restricted by lack of relevant training in business skills	10.8	19.6	69.6	398
Lack of access to credit	8.8	24.5	66.7	444
Customers don't pay their debts	8.5	41.0	50.5	495
No refrigeration	7.2	3.8	88.9	443
Confiscation of goods by police	3.6	13.1	83.3	498
Verbal insults against your business	3.6	22.4	74.1	501
Storage problems	3.0	14.6	82.4	494
Crime/theft of goods/stock	3.0	32.0	65.0	497
Harassment/demands for bribes by police	2.6	8.2	89.1	497
Conflict with entrepreneurs from Mozambique	1.6	9.9	88.4	493
Crime/theft of money/income	1.6	19.7	78.7	498
Arrest/detention of yourself/employees	0.8	0.8	98.4	492
Prejudice against my gender	0.8	3.8	95.4	495
Prejudice against my nationality	0.6	2.4	97.0	499
Conflict with entrepreneurs from other countries	0.6	4.6	94.8	481
Physical attacks/assaults by police	0.4	3.6	96.0	481
Physical attacks/assaults by citizens of Mozambique	0.2	3.2	96.6	499

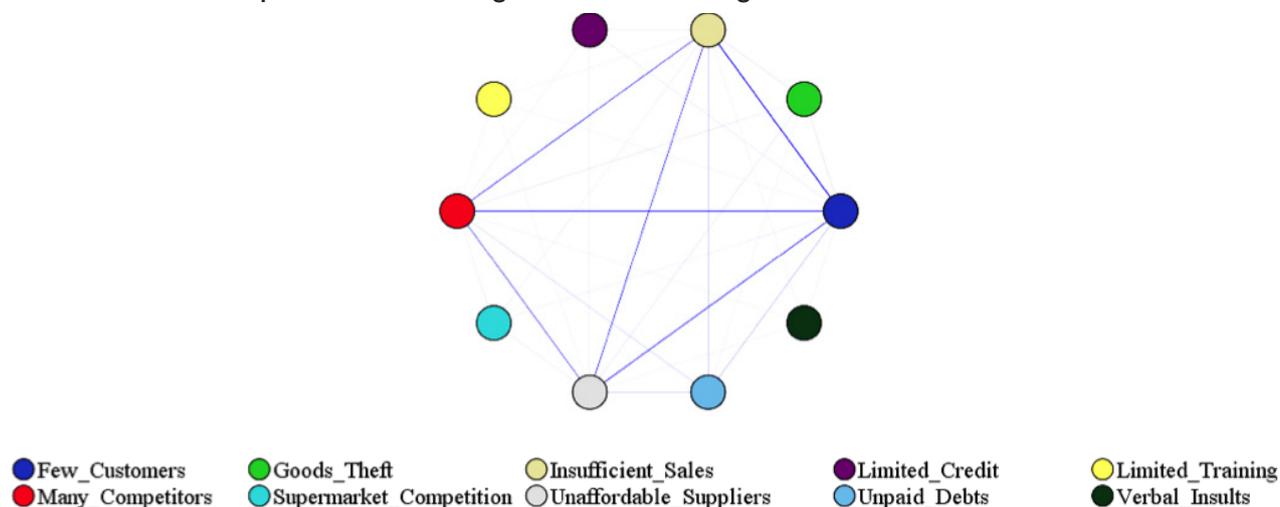
Table 8 allocates variable names to each of the business challenges and Figure 2 shows challenges that co-occurred for at least 20% of the sample. Seventy-four percent of the vendors claimed to have too few customers and too much competition within the previous year. Sixty-nine percent had insufficient sales and too much competition.

Over 64% had both unaffordable suppliers and insufficient sales or too many competitors. Beyond these four challenges (insufficient sales, too few customers, too much competition and unaffordable suppliers), there was very limited co-occurrence of business challenges among the vendors.

TABLE 8: Business Challenges Variables

Variable name	Variable label
Insufficient_Sales	Insufficient sales
Few_Customers	Too few customers
Unpaid_Debts	Customers don't pay their debts
Many_Competitors	Too many competitors around here
Supermarket_Competition	Competition from supermarkets/large stores
Unaffordable_Suppliers	Suppliers charge too much
Limited_Training	Restricted by lack of relevant training in business skills
Storage_Problems	Storage problems
No_Refrigeration	No refrigeration
Limited_Credit	Lack of access to credit
Foreign_Entrepreneur_Conflict	Conflict with entrepreneurs from other countries
Domestic_Entrepreneur_Conflict	Conflict with entrepreneurs from this country
Goods_Theft	Crime/theft of goods/stock
Income_Theft	Crime/Theft of money/income
Police_Confiscation	Confiscation of goods by police
Police_Harassment	Harassment/Demands for bribes by police
Arrest_Detention	Arrest/detention of yourself/employees
Verbal_Insults	Verbal insults against your business
Police_Assault	Physical attacks/assaults by police
Public_Assault	Physical attacks/assaults by citizens of this country
Nationality_Prejudice	Prejudice against my nationality
Gender_Prejudice	Prejudice against my gender

FIGURE 2: Web Graph of Co-Occurring Business Challenges



Youth Vendor Strategies

Within the context of these motivations and challenges, the youth vendors reported a diversity of business strategies (Table 9). Almost 40% had extended hours of operation while over one quarter offered credit to their customers or only opened their business at times when they had the most customers. None of the vendors keep weapons for self-protection or pay community leaders for protection. This appears to validate the extremely low percentage of vendors who claimed to have experienced physical assaults. Mobile phones were integrated into some of the business strategies with 11% using them to take orders from customers, 8% to receive payments from customers, and 5% to coordinate with suppliers and other vendors.

Conclusion

As Sub-Saharan Africa faces a growing youth unemployment crisis, there is a pressing need to understand the drivers that contribute towards, and points of intervention that may stem, the spread of this crisis. Consistent with Sommers (2010) and Rankin and Roberts (2011), this analysis found that financial security was a common motivation among Maputo youth for engaging in the informal economy. The desire to learn, and the low levels of academic achievement, observed among the youth vendors confirm Lam et al's (2008) findings on the importance of education for employment outcomes. This underscores the significant economic challenges faced by many youth entrepreneurs engaged in informal trade while also highlighting a motivation to learn and develop. As a result,

TABLE 9: Business Strategies of Youth Vendors

	No.	%
I extend my hours of operation	200	39.7
I offer credit for customers	145	28.8
I open my business only during the periods of the day when I have the most customers	132	26.2
I negotiate prices with my suppliers	111	22.0
I purchase stock in bulk myself	76	15.1
I use mobile phones to take orders from customers	55	10.9
I look for cheapest prices for goods by calling suppliers	54	10.7
I look for the cheapest prices for goods by asking other entrepreneurs	52	10.3
I use mobile phones to receive payments from customers	40	7.9
I use mobile phones to coordinate with suppliers/other vendors	27	5.4
I sell goods more cheaply than my competitors	26	5.2
I purchase stock in bulk together with others	21	4.2
I keep records of my business accounts	20	4.0
I pay for security guards	19	3.8
I engage in shareholding	12	2.4
I look for the cheapest prices for goods by consulting the media	11	2.2
I change different prices for different customers	9	1.8
I pay the police for protection	7	1.4
I change what I sell at different times of the year	6	1.2
I partner with other businesses to distribute risks	5	1.0
I sleep on my business premises	1	0.2
I purchase insurance	1	0.2
Note: Multiple-response question		

entrepreneurial training may be a necessary, and well-received, intervention in the youth unemployment crisis.

Youth food vendors in Maputo tend to be women and have limited formal education. They identified survivalist and entrepreneurial motivations for participation in the sector and for starting their businesses. The former was most important but a significant proportion had entrepreneurial aspirations as well. In terms of major business challenges, the youth food vendors identified competition, insufficient sales and customers, and unaffordable suppliers as the major obstacles. Most common business strategies included both extended hours of operation and focusing on doing business at certain times of the day. They also offered credit to customers and negotiated with suppliers. A small number utilized mobile phones to increase their profitability.

The co-occurrence of both motivations and challenges provided additional insights into youth involvement in the informal food sector. They indicated twinned motivations stemming from both economic necessity (survival and family security) and aspirational drivers (self-determination and a desire to learn new skills). The co-occurrence of these motivations indicates a robust entrepreneurial spirit in challenging circumstances. While non-economic challenges were included in the business challenges scale, most identified economic challenges as their most frequently occurring obstacles. This highlights the difficulty faced by small-scale entrepreneurs in making significant profits based exclusively on the operation of their business. The limited challenge from supermarkets suggests that the supermarketization of Southern Africa observed by Crush and Frayne (2011) continues to have a limited effect on food sourcing in Maputo (Raimundo et al 2018).

This paper also contributes to the broader literature on informal food vending in Mozambique. While the findings support Companion's (2010) contention that financial necessity and self-determination/growth are motivating factors for engaging in this sector, this analysis found that those two

motivations often co-occur among youth food vendors in Maputo. With rising unemployment and high levels of illiteracy among youth in Mozambique, policymakers can expect increasing numbers of young people to enter the informal retail sector (including informal food retail). Given the importance of small-scale food vending in Maputo, this highlights the need for policy action that addresses the specific motivations and challenges of youth food vendors operating in the city. For example, the data shows a widespread desire among young food vendors to learn new skills. It may be more effective for future municipal policies to provide entrepreneurial training instead of financial subsidies or tax exclusions to support the city's small enterprises. More qualitative research into the characteristics and experiences of these youth vendors will also be needed as this sector of Maputo's food economy continues to evolve.

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