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Livelihoods as relational im/mobilities

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"Livelihoods as relational im/mobilities: exploring the everyday practices of young female sex workers in Ethiopia"

Abstract

Age is now considered alongside other differentiating categories for exploring mobility experiences, yet little work has emerged conceptualising the im/mobilities of marginalized young people living in particularly difficult circumstances. This article therefore, explores the relational im/mobilities of young female sex workers in Ethiopia aged between 14 and 18 years in order to understand how their livelihoods are shaped by the connections between their relations with others, im/mobilities and survival in everyday life. The article draws on detailed narratives and participatory 'mobility' mapping with 60 young sex workers in two locations in Ethiopia.

Conceptually this article moves beyond sedentary and nomadic conceptions of mobility to what Jensen (2009) terms 'critical mobility thinking', where lives do not just happen in static enclaves or nomadic wanderings but are connected through multiple communities of interest and across time and space. Through these processes, 'everyday' livelihoods are shaped and experienced. Further, drawing on Massey's (2005) relational geographical theory, where socio-temporal practices constitute places in a complex web of flows, the article reveals that young sex workers critical im/mobilities are relational: their livelihoods and identities shaped within and between places based on their ability to move, or not. The article reveals that these relational im/mobilities are important for securing work, protection and accessing services, both within and between places and across a variety of sex work livelihoods. The article

concludes by demonstrating that consideration of livelihoods as relational and mobile is central for the development of appropriate interventions.

Key words: Africa, Im/mobilities, Livelihoods, Sex work, Young people

Introduction

A critical mass of research that positions young people as social agents has coincided with recent academic interest in mobility as an everyday practice. This has resulted in young people now receiving more attention as mobile subjects, with age considered significant alongside other differentiating categories for exploring life experiences (Holt and Costello, 2011). However, Skelton (2013) notes that young people are absent from conceptualisations of mobility. Therefore, this article aims to conceptualise the connection between mobility and livelihoods through a nuanced reading of diverse forms of relational im/mobilities.

Across sub-Saharan Africa, livelihood strategies are an increasingly important topic of analysis for understanding young lives. The increasingly youthful population means that youth poverty is a significant issue with Gough et al (2013) highlighting that there remains limited understanding regarding how young people create livelihoods in impoverished contexts. Positioning youth poverty as an effect of power and therefore relational (both inter- and intra-generational), helps to contextualize the way in which young people's livelihoods and identities are shaped. Hajdu et al (2013) demonstrate how relational practices within families, which remove young people from school to help at home/in agriculture, contribute to reducing potential livelihood options and increasing poverty. Others highlight inter-generational contracts, where young people are obliged to support their parents through a logic of debt (Attias-Donfot and Waite, 2012; Katz and Lowenstein, 2013), as a key relational framework for understanding livelihood strategies.

Although some livelihood research also elucidates connections between mobility and livelihoods; this has mainly focused on mobility *for* livelihoods, such as migration from rural to urban areas or to large scale farms/mines for employment (Attias-Donfot and Waite, 2012; Thao, 2013); rather than seeing im/mobilities as an integral part of everyday livelihood practice. Similarly, a few studies are now linking mobility with intra and inter-generational relations (Porter et al., 2010; Veale and Dona, 2014), with Skelton (2013) offering a nuanced conceptualisation of im/mobilities as relational. Yet, such research is still to consider the implications for livelihood strategies; as both mobile *and* relational. A few studies draw attention to how impoverished young people employ mobile strategies for survival (Langevang and Gough, 2009; van Blerk, 2013), but the focus is on survival strategies rather than through the framework of mobility.

This literature shows that both relationality and mobility have important contributions to make to understanding livelihoods but when considered separately these perspectives only partially explain everyday practices. Bringing mobilities and relations together for understanding young lives is important in African contexts where family relationships can be stretched over significant spatial distances (Ansell and van Blerk, 2004). In this article, through a critical conceptualization of young Ethiopian sex workers livelihoods as mobile, I explore the ways in which relational im/mobilities shape their livelihood practices over different spatial and temporal scales.

The politics of im/mobility: critically conceptualising the everyday practice of sex work livelihoods

Conceptualising mobility as everyday practice, bringing together a variety of movement at different scales (Cresswell, 2010; Sheller and Urry, 2006), has resulted in significant developments in our understanding of the centrality of im/mobilities to the everyday. It could be argued that mobility has, more than ever, come to symbolize the contemporary human condition infiltrating all aspects of daily life (Dalakoglou and Harvey, 2012; Urry, 2007). This theoretical shift highlights that mobilities are situated within wider, political, economic and social contexts, and therefore society cannot be understood as a-mobile but rather where daily life transcends spatial boundaries connected through relational networks. Cresswell (2010) employs the term ‘politics of mobility’ to represent how the diverse practices and forms of im/mobilities are both products of social relations and produced by them. This ‘politics’ highlights mobility as a powerful, albeit unequal, process that intersects with daily life as the social relations which produce and distribute power are differently accessed, creating an unevenness to mobility that does not always equal freedom (Cresswell, 2006). This has implications for young sex workers, their livelihoods and identities.

Therefore, it is important to move away from binary oppositions of static and mobile and to engage theoretically with a more nuanced relational understanding of mobility that goes beyond sedentary and nomadic conceptions to what Jensen (2009) terms ‘critical mobility thinking’. This refers to understanding mobility as transcending the sedentary/nomadic dichotomy, where identities (including livelihood identities) are instead constituted via mobile practices as developed through a relational understanding of place. “Accordingly, there is no fixed and nested sense of place but rather... networks of connectivity that transcend place as an enclave” (ibid: 143). For Jensen (2009) lives do not just happen in static enclaves or nomadic wanderings but are connected through multiple communities of interest and across time and space. It is through these processes that ‘everyday’ identities are shaped and experienced. This

suggests that mobility is socially produced and full of meaning and power; both reflecting and reinforcing power relations, and therefore not necessarily a resource that everyone has an equal access to (Sheller and Urry, 2006). As such mobility theorists are critical of those who link power and mobility only positively as power enabling mobility, or mobility as the freedom to evade power (Cresswell, 2006). If power and mobility are linked in this way, where power is seen as a circulating force, an effect mediated through a re-circulation of practices and procedures (Amin and Thirft, 2002), then it is their relationality that is of particular importance. This maps onto Adey's (2006) call for a relational politics of im/mobilities where the connections between people, places and objects need to be understood through their relationships to each other and suggests that studies of im/mobilities should be framed within a critical relational geography, drawing on Massey's (2005) relational theory, where socio-temporal practices constitute places in a complex web of flows. This will go beyond explaining the everyday as that which happens in particular spaces or territories but to also include what happens in the circulation between places.

Following an outline of the research, the remainder of this article draws on this notion that livelihood identities and practices happen through im/mobilities that are influenced by both positive and negative power relations. The article explores how, through livelihood relations, girls experienced diverse im/mobilities; their own and others. Through examples of becoming involved in sex work, both the relations present in leaving home and arriving in the city, and the everyday spatial and temporal relations of sex work between clients, other girls and bar/room owners, the article demonstrates a complex interconnectedness between mobility and relationality for understanding sex work livelihoods. The article concludes by conceptualising livelihoods as both relational *and* mobile; occurring across a range of spatial and temporal

scales, within and between actors and offers the suggestion that livelihoods need to be conceptualised as relationally im/mobile.

The Research

The research took place in two Ethiopian cities; Addis Ababa, the capital city and Nazareth, the regional capital for Oromia district located on the trade route towards Djibouti. Sex work is a diverse and complex industry with girls accessing clients in different ways: as bar girls, red-light area workers and streetwalkersⁱ and at different status and payment levels within society. Their lived experience of sex work varies with red-light area workersⁱⁱ having the most clients, commanding the least money of the three groups and being least mobile (van Blerk, 2008). Streetwalkers and bar girls tend to have fewer clients, often only one per night, although occasionally more depending on the services requested. These latter two groups also have more freedom to engage in mobility. Streetwalkers tend to use main streets around markets and busy centres, move over greater distances and for longer periods of time, while bar girls work from small low-end bars but often move out of the bar to other locations with clients.

Sixty girls, aged between 14 and 19, who were engaged in sex workⁱⁱⁱ as part of their survival strategies, participated in this research. All were marginalised by poverty; commanded little money from clients and worked in poor neighbourhoods, small local bars and *Araki/Tella/Tej*^{iv} houses. Approximately 22% (13) were drawn from red-light areas, 37% (22) worked as streetwalkers and 41% (25) worked in bars^v. The girls were mainly accessed through NGO drop-in centres although snowballing alerted others not engaged with NGOs to also participate.

The research followed a street researcher approach using participatory ethnography and rooted in the work of Paulo Freire (van Blerk, 2012). This approach positions the researcher as a novice willing to learn from participants who are experts in their own lives and encourages researchers to spend time getting to know participants and building trust. Multiple lengthy visits were made to

the drop-in centres where the researcher, assisted by a local assistant/translator, observed, chatted and helped the girls with routine tasks. This enabled the researcher to better understand the complexity of the girls' lives by talking with them and learning from them. Detailed field notes were made and written up each day. In addition, interviews, focus groups and participatory activities were carried out. This article particularly draws upon the analysis and discussion of mobility maps. These maps were drawn by the girls to explain their mobility, which were then used as a visual prompt to elicit further explanation. Full notes were made for analysis of the verbal and visual material. Through these maps and discussions the girls were able to highlight the places they moved between as part of their employment strategies and discuss the implications of these mobility processes as relational networks in their livelihood strategies.

Research ethics were considered in detail and followed guidelines for working with young people (Alderson and Morrow, 2011). As many of the girls had little or no contact with their families, parental consent was not sought. Instead, informed consent was gained from the girls and organisations working with them. Appropriate channels were made available for counselling through the relevant NGOs. At the end of the research workshops were held with the girls to discuss the findings and to think through policy recommendations.

Livelihoods as relational im/mobilities

As noted, critical mobility thinking positions networks of connectivity as central, yet they can take diverse forms for young sex workers. Figure 1A exemplifies the range of mobilities young sex workers engage in. Hanna^{vi} identifies that her networks of connectivity take place at different scales and over different lengths of time. Her map show several places within Addis where she works but also shows movement between places including within Addis as well as between Addis and other towns. It is interesting to note that Hanna's arrows go in both

directions indicating movement between places in a continual process as she develops her own relational im/mobile livelihood strategy.

Figure 1A: Hanna's Map (Hanna, age 18, Addis)

[insert figure]

Hanna's map also acts as an exemplar for highlighting two themes that emerged from the data, which help to conceptualise livelihoods as relational im/mobilities at different scales: the process of becoming involved in sex work and 'everyday' spatial and temporal sex work livelihood strategies. Through these two themes the article highlights the complexity of livelihoods as shaped by everyday mobilities within cities as well as long-term mobility across greater distances and how they are shaped by powerful positive and negative relations.

Becoming involved in sex work

The process of becoming involved in sex work is highly mobile but as Jensen (2009) points out it is not simply a matter of nomadic wandering but instead young sex workers become connected through multiple communities of interest and their mobility has a purpose both for leaving and arriving. Many girls engage in mobility moving from rural areas to larger towns for social and economic reasons. Some girls discussed moving to urban areas because of poverty in their families and as the eldest child felt somewhat compelled to ease the burden on parents. The significance of intra-familial relations is important here, with girls' mobilities bound up with their identities as eldest siblings and 'good' daughters.

"It was difficult at home and there was not any food to eat. My parents had small children and because I was the eldest I thought it is up to me to look for work." (Kidist, age 17, Addis)

For others, such as Atema and Abeba, the relational networks within families were further complicated by social and cultural factors with girls leaving home and exploring urban

opportunities because they did not want to get married (another strategy for overcoming household poverty), to avoid practices related to reaching ‘adulthood’ such as female circumcision and/or because of stigma associated with friendships with young men. In all cases mobility was both purposeful and connected to family and community relations, although often through negative power relations positioning them as ‘bad’ daughters due to their unwillingness to follow cultural practice. This demonstrates a critical edge to girls’ mobility practises that positions their ‘leaving’ with their rural identities.

“I was 15 when I left home and came to Nazareth. I was not a good girl at home and as my father was not alive it was my brother who forced me out.” (Atema, age 15, Nazareth)

“My town was Sire which is near to Arsi and is far from here. At my parents’ house I used to go to school but they forced me to get married when I was only 13. I stayed with my husband only 5 months, he was 23, then I left him and my aunt came and brought me here to Nazareth.” (Abeba, age 18, Nazareth)

The importance of place as a complex web of relations (Massey, 2005) coupled with the idea of relational identities as stretched over space (Ansell and van Blerk, 2006) further adds to the understanding of the relational nature of livelihood mobility. In some cases the process of moving was related more to going somewhere rather than leaving, with girls being enticed to try out working in the city. Here the interplay between relations that connected places separated by distance, and the relational identities girls had within their families resulted in some mobility decisions occurring. For example, Kalkidan demonstrates how she was enticed to the city by the glamorous stories of opportunities, working in the coffee board^{vii}. This, coupled with a precarious home life linked to household poverty, offered Kalikidan an opportunity to create a new livelihood. The journey as a relational process was facilitated by a familiar friend who

shared a connection with Kalkidan through the rural village but whose identity now stretched into the unfamiliar city.

“I am from Wolkete which is a place far out of Addis. I lived with my parents and we were poor. Because of this my step-father never treated me like his children, my siblings who were younger than me. My mother used to fight with him to treat me well and I never liked this so I left home with my rich relatives and worked with them as a waitress. They promised me a good life in the city but then I escaped and a broker took me to Gore. I left Addis because my relatives owned a local araki drinking house and I was scared of getting involved in drinking and prostitution.” (Kalkidan, age 16, Addis)

As Jensen (2009) points out, mobility is a complex process of connection across trajectories, and particularly this last example alludes to the diversity of young people’s im/mobilities as both real and imagined as livelihood opportunities are shaped and re-constituted through relations that occur between places. However, the im/mobilities of beginning sex work (termed ‘business’ by the girls) are complex and not always associated with travelling over distance, from rural to urban places, or from poverty to imagined prosperity. They are sometimes localised within the micro-geographies of the city with girls moving only to new districts. This was particularly evident when the reputation of girls was seen to bring shame on the family, and particularly if they had become pregnant, as both Yeti and Beti identify. This clearly shows that intergenerational relations feature prominently in understanding sex work livelihoods as mobile, demonstrating the need for livelihood conceptualisations to be considered as both relational and mobile.

“I am from Arat Kilo but I do business in another place that is not near to my parents’ home.” (Yeti, age 17, Addis)

“I left home because when I was in 10th grade I got pregnant and had a child. I was a student and not married so my parents did not allow me to live with them anymore.” (Beti, age 17, Addis)

Here, the girls mentioned moving within urban centres just to another location in order to disassociate themselves with their families because of the impact of their relationships. Crucially, the link between mobility and relationality is important where the act of movement enables new identities to be constructed and others forgotten or suppressed. These im/mobilities of beginning ‘business’ are also sometimes practiced because of the stigma attached to sex work. Girls talked of ‘doing business’ in a different area to where they stayed in order to separate their work from home—moving between these locations on a daily basis as part of their strategies for maintaining a sex work livelihood.

The relational aspect of these critical im/mobilities is immensely important. The girls’ movements are not static or nomadic but rather connected to specific relationships that are played out within and between local places (Massey, 2005), illustrating that this girls’ mobility is socially produced based on particular relations of power between them and their families.

Spatial and temporal im/mobilities: sex worker’s relational networks within and between places

In this section, the article explores the everyday im/mobilities that constitute sex work and demonstrates that such livelihoods are mobile processes beyond migration *for* livelihood opportunities but also small scale relational im/mobilities within places and between bodies. Also considering these everyday practices provides a greater understanding of how and why mobility is enmeshed in sex work as a livelihood strategy. This section explores im/mobilities within places and between places which vary both spatially and temporally, highlighting a particular geography of sex work as a mobile livelihood strategy.

Sex work livelihoods as small scale relational im/mobilities

For some girls, most notably those who worked in red light areas, the everyday practice of doing ‘business’, may appear to be immobile and their identity imagined as static, tied to that place as fixed enclave. These girls are often confined for long hours to single rooms, usually with little freedom to engage with other places located at a distance to the immediate space of their work. Their livelihood identity is tied to the micro-space of the room. Yet, if we consider the notion of place as relational and mobility as networks of connectivity beyond the sedentary/nomad dichotomy (Jensen, 2009), then it is possible to move beyond sex work as a static process. By considering the girls as relational subjects (Adey, 2006), their immobility can be seen as a process through which they interact with other important actors necessary for sex work to take place. Therefore, if place is constituted by flow (Massey, 2005) and relations within place seen as moments of encounter (Amin and Thrift 2002), the girls’ identities as sex workers in the red-light area are intrinsically relationally mobile. It is the movement of clients into and out of that area, creating fleeting moments of encounter that enables the girls in that place to construct their livelihoods.

“Most of the time my clients are Government soldiers that come here to visit.” (Zenash, age 16, Addis)

For others, their own movement within and between places is part of the connections that enable their livelihoods. Some of the girls mentioned moving their place of business including to a new bar or house or to a different part of town depending on what was taking place at that time and perhaps varying their places of work at weekends or holidays (see Rita and Meberet’s stories). Others highlighted that their business-related mobility is often dependent on their relationships with clients who may prefer to go to places such as guesthouses or hidden areas. On occasion, girls chose to persuade the client to go somewhere they were known if they felt

uncomfortable or lacked trust that they would remain safe. Here relations with other girls were an important part of these mobility strategies, with girls going to places where their friends could support them if anything went wrong. For some, like Tigist, developing positive relations with other girls had an enabling effect, supporting her to break away from relationships with owners and establish her own business strategies to create a higher earning potential.

“I moved to another bar for two months when I had a fight with the woman owner here because I refused to pay her 10 birr. Although we go away, she always accepts us back.” (Rita, age 16, Nazareth)

“On Saturdays and Sundays we often move the place we stand for business to the markets because we get good business then.” (Meberet, age 17, Addis)

“I used to work on a house but I had to share the money with the owner. If I earn 10 birr I must give 5 birr to her. After a year a friend told me I can do the same in the street and not have to share my money so now I stand in the street for business.” (Tigist, Age 16, Addis)

It is important to note that not all small scale mobility flows are positive (Cresswell, 2006) and having a critical perspective helps to uncover how these girls relational im/mobilities within places are often due to unequal access to power in their encounters with clients and house/bar owners. Some girls’ talked of moving to a new place because of fights with other girls, negative interactions with security and police, abuse from clients and even just feeling ashamed when insulted as they walk near their place of work. These negative relational processes all impinge on girls’ livelihoods and their feelings of self-worth. Therefore, many talked of moving to other locations, red-light areas or bars, on both a short-term and long-term basis, as means for avoiding further denigration regarding their working practices. Tannesh explains how this mobility can have a detrimental impact on their livelihoods.

“Sometimes we move house if we don’t get on with the owner or we want to avoid a client but moving between houses can create a problem because those regular clients who like us may not find us.” (Tannesh, age 15, Addis)

Through examining the small scale spatial and temporal im/mobility relations a greater understanding of young people’s livelihoods can be gleaned as distinctly mobile. Relations that occur with other girls, clients, bar owners, the public and others illustrate how sex work as a livelihood is practiced through connections across space that vary spatially and temporally but without which the girls would not maintain their livelihoods.

Sex work livelihoods as connections between places

Given the difficulties of remaining in one place, maintaining a successful sex work livelihood was highly connected to relational im/mobilities that also sometimes resulted in travelling greater distances, between places, sometimes for a long period of time. By drawing on three examples of mobility between places, where girls travel to access work, to visit home or because of their physical health, the importance of positioning livelihoods as relational and mobile is further evidenced.

Many of the girls identified a well-developed mobility strategy that sought to make best use of their relational networks and maximise their potential for earning through ‘business’. As Yetimwerk highlights, at specific times of the year, they move to new places to create greater opportunities for moments of encounter as potential clients would also travel to the same place. Genet points out that at particular harvest seasons the girls travel to smaller towns where migrant labourers and farmers also go for livelihood opportunities, while Zenash mentioned travelling to different cities at the time of functions or conferences in order to interact with attendees also travelling there. The social relations that this mobility creates maintains the girls’ livelihoods.

“Sometimes I go to Dire Dawa... every year there is a big church ceremony and I go there when there are lots of visitors going to look for fun... when business is slow in Addis I also go to the Djibouti border because a lot of people are coming there for trade and business is good.” (Yetimwerk, age 15, Addis)

“Sometimes I got to different places depending on the seasons. If onions are being harvested then I go to the place where they grow onions as that will be good for business.” (Genet, age 18, Addis)

“Once I went to Debre Zeit because I heard that after the road construction truck drivers from Djibouti were using that road.” (Zenash, age 17, Nazareth)

Sex work livelihoods as concurrently mobile and immobile

Sex work as a mobile livelihood strategy also occurs through relations which position girls as immobile. This is highlighted through two examples: the first relates to health and HIV status; and the second to the flow of money. Although the girls were not asked their status, approximately one third disclosed that they were either positive or suspected that they might be, with the majority too afraid to be tested. Within each moment of encounter, where bodies may be considered immobile, the transmission of bodily fluids always carries the threat of mobility of HIV through this relational encounter. This did result for some in the spread of HIV between the bodies of clients and girls. In turn this resulted in the girls employing different mobility strategies to ensure the continuation of their livelihood. Mobile practices were used to create new sex worker identities in different places and break associations to their current location that may hinder their ability to continue working. The stigma associated with AIDS meant that as girls fell sick and began to lose weight (a clear sign of HIV-related illness), they were often unable to attract clients. By moving to a new town, they were able to hide their previous identity as ‘fat and healthy’ and break relational networks associated to the previous place.

“We are all HIV positive, and we are very careful that no one knows about our status or we will have to stop doing business, only our friends can know. One friend was found out by the client so she moved to Gondar so that she could continue to do business.” (Tibilis, age 16, Addis)

The relational connections between where girls undertake their livelihoods and home further highlight the im/mobility of livelihood strategies that are both real and imagined. Several girls stated that they often thought of their families and would send money home to provide support, especially if they were the eldest sibling. The flow of thoughts and money maintained a relational connection across space but avoided the shame of direct contact – highlighting livelihood mobility in situations where the girls’ bodies are considered immobile. For those who did make the occasional journey home this was a temporary encounter, requiring an embodied expression of a home identity (wearing long skirts and no make-up) and temporarily giving up the embodied sex worker identity (visible through appearance, behaviour and consuming alcohol/marijuana).

“Sometimes I go back to (rural) Asela to visit my mother. I go every couple of months but I don’t stay long. It’s not the same now.” (Tannesh, age 15, Nazareth)

These connections to home complete the picture of livelihoods as mobile practices, as these girls then bring others to engage in sex work, enthralling them with stories of employment and good earning potential working in the coffee board. This examination of the various spatial and temporal scales provides a nuanced approach to how im/mobility is a crucial aspect of this livelihood strategy.

Conclusion

This article has examined the everyday practices of young sex workers in Ethiopia and explores how their livelihoods are developed through critical relational im/mobilities. Exploring how girls use their relational networks and mobility to become involved in sex work provides an understanding of the need to think through livelihoods beyond any static notion of place. Drawing on Jensen's (2009) critical mobility thinking enabled a more nuanced understanding of these livelihood processes. By conceptualising mobility as an everyday practice and therefore exploring the everyday relational mobilities girls' engaged in, such as moving within the city and between places to maintain and enhance sex work as a livelihood, demonstrated that their livelihoods are inherently mobile across a range of spatial and temporal scales. Further, through employing a critical relational im/mobility lens their livelihood strategies were mobile both through the movement of their own bodies but also through the connections they had with others including clients, other girls and families. These examples demonstrate that the mobilities of the young people in this article were not independent singular moves but rather complex relational im/mobilities that were both real and imagined.

What emerges from this analysis is that livelihoods need to be considered as more than relational and more than mobile: rather as relationally im/mobile. Mobility is therefore key to understanding how young people create and maintain their livelihoods, a gap in understanding as highlighted by Gough et al. (2013). The article highlights that a focus on mobility advances our understanding the conditions and practices of sex work as a livelihood strategy and positions this work as highly mobile and changing according to different spatial and temporal relations that are also culturally and context specific. The article also advances the way in which we understand engagement in sex work for girls and suggests that interventions need to account for how such livelihoods are relational and mobile. Therefore, the provision of static services (e.g. health, education) does not account for girls' movement or indeed the movement of their clients as key relational actors in their livelihood strategies.

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ⁱ This research focused on the poorest groups.

ⁱⁱ Red-light area girls work from small informal wooden rooms in poor communities. The rooms are usually owned by someone else who controls the girls' time in the room with clients.

ⁱⁱⁱ It is acknowledged that sex work definitions are complex, particularly in poor communities where sex may be exchanged for income/other needs at times of hardship. This article focuses on girls who exchange sex for cash with several (unknown) men as their main source of livelihood.

^{iv} These are locally produced traditional drinks that are sold in small bars often the size of one room.

^v A smaller number of red-light workers participated in the research due to constraints on their mobility.

^{vi} All names used are pseudonyms.

^{vii} The 'coffee board' is a pseudonym for sex work to lure others to the city unaware of the work they will do.