

PETTY TRADING IN MARKETPLACES: Space Generation, Use and Management at
Temeke Stereo Marketplace in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

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ABSTRACT

Petty trading is a prevailing socioeconomic activity serving a multitude of the low-income population in rapidly urbanising developing countries. Petty trading marketplaces thus, have an important role to play in urban development processes. However, knowledge on the spatial processes connected to generating and sustaining petty trading in the marketplaces is limited. Hence, this study aims at exploring processes of generation, use and management of petty trading spaces in order to establish preconditions for adequate spatial provision of petty trading marketplaces in the Tanzanian context.

In this study, an understanding of evolution of marketplaces in the global perspective sets premises for conceptualising the marketplaces in Dar es Salaam, using the Institutional Theory and Social Capital Theory to illuminate the empirical findings. The case study research strategy is adopted whereby the Temeke Stereo Marketplace in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, is selected through a purposeful sampling.

The findings of the study show that petty trading spaces are produced and reproduced in response to conceptions, actions and reactions of varying actors within prevailing social and institutional structures. Social norms and regulatory mechanisms coupled with traders' hidden knowledge and skills are decisive factors in the fluid spatial reality in the marketplace. This phenomenon challenges the conventional practice in architecture and planning with regard to petty trading marketplaces. A combination of disciplinary and trans-disciplinary approaches in developing adequate environments for petty trading is thus proposed.

Key Words

Petty trading, marketplace, design, planning, space generation, space use, space management, institutions, social norms

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CHAPTER ONE

STUDY BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

1.1 Issue and Background

Petty trading can be referred to as an economic activity that involves selling (and buying) goods and services in small scale, ranging from agricultural produce to imported consumer goods. In this study context, petty trading constitutes a collection of individual sellers with small capital and buyers operating in a group of small spaces. Petty trading has increasingly got attention as one of important activities in urban development processes. In the early 1990s, for example, integrating petty trading in the urban economy was among the prioritised issues in implementing Environmental Planning Management (EPM) in Dar es Salaam (Kombe, 2002). The activity is often linked to the ‘informal sector economy’ that operates outside the formal income generating sphere. The informal sector encompasses occupational and small scale enterprises involving simple organisational and production structures, low level technology and small capital per worker (UNDP 1997 in Kazimoto, 2007). However, a petty trading activity and the space it may occupy, such as a marketplace, may not be necessarily informal. The blurred formal and informal institutions that connote and regulate petty trading spaces are important aspects to consider for their adequate conception, planning and architectural design.

Petty trading activities can be perceived as a reflection of the prevailing social-economic realities of present-day cities, especially in developing countries. It can be argued that petty trading is a product of unprecedented urbanization, especially the failure by the formal employment and income generating sector to cater for the low-income households (UN-Habitat, 2009). Petty trading in cities of developing countries therefore has an important role that cannot be ignored in the overall urban development and management processes as it provides employment opportunities accounting for 60 per cent of urban jobs (ibid), striving at attaining and sustaining livelihoods of many urban settlers, specifically low-income households (Anyamba, 2006). This is further emphasised by the fact that the bulk of urban

population in most developing countries (including Tanzania) comprises low-income households (URT, 2000; UN-Habitat 2009).

In the Tanzanian context, petty trading has often been perceived by politicians, city authorities and many city dwellers as a nuisance, temporary, illegal, disorderly and incompatible activity within the formal urban spaces. This is evidenced by the forced evictions and relocation of petty traders from the city centres to designated places, as experienced in Dar es Salaam, Lusaka and Mexico City, often leading to loss of properties and livelihoods (Sergio, 1999). Respective government authorities in Dar es Salaam and in some instances private individuals¹ would choose location and design marketplaces without involving the ultimate users (traders and customers). Processes of eviction and relocation of traders would mainly be based on the prevailing political interests, rather than technical rationality. However, the marketplaces that were initiated by traders (in terms of location and probably also the making) are observed to be active, popular and more sustainable. This phenomenon implies that there are social, economic, cultural and many other factors, besides political aspects, that formally and/or informally generate, shape and sustain marketplaces in which petty trading activities are accommodated. In-depth understanding of these factors, which seems to be beyond the realm of the architectural practice, is a prerequisite for context-conscious planning and designing of marketplaces.

Petty trading spaces are probably the most widely accessible points of distribution of food in the urbanising areas and, therefore, can be seen as a node in the urban food security chain. In this way, petty trading spaces seem to redefine the public spaces as not merely thoroughfares, but also functioning as service providers, social spaces and life definers. It can be argued that spaces occupied by petty trading are satellite economic hubs constituting a prime space in the economic and socio-spatial form of the city, although often perceived as not being integrated in the formal economic system (UN-Habitat, 2009).

Knowledge of the spatial dimension of petty trading activities in marketplaces and the urban areas at large is, however, scanty. Previous studies on petty trading by, for instance, political scientists such as Bagachwa (1994), Liviga and Mekacha (1998), and the urban design and development researcher Lloyd-Jones (2002) have focused on the socio-economic perspective, leaving out the spatial dimension insufficiently analysed. The planning and architectural

¹ For example a private marketplace built at Mabibo is unpopular and has not been occupied for a long time since its completion.

representation and guiding aspects whether spontaneous or preconceived; the space temporal situations whether fixed, semi-fixed or non-fixed and their interplay in facilitating petty trading; are yet to be analysed. For example, the evolution of shape, form, size, and character or the links with private and other public spaces, boundary definition among different traders, and the nature, function and design of the spaces remain unclear.

A study by Nyström (1998) on marketplaces in Vietnam and Laos is the closest reference to this study. She investigated the physical environment of the marketplaces in relation to food safety management, focusing on the food security chain interacting with and depending on the security and hygiene systems in the marketplaces (Nyström, 1998:6-8). The study ultimately developed design criteria on three levels; namely the market's site, including its indoor and outdoor areas in the city context; the total market comprising buildings and roofed stands; and the interior design concerning the vendors' environment and equipment they use. Further, she proposed implementation plans for improvement of market structures. Nyström contended that traders' behaviour on use of spaces is vital with regard to achievement of the desired hygiene in the marketplaces (Ibid.). However, the study did not comprehensively analyse the institutional and social mechanisms that hold together the traders' operations with the spaces they use in the marketplaces. Her focus was mainly on the market's physical environment rather than petty trading. The point of departure for this thesis is the focus on petty trading.

Petty trading appears to reveal its spatial patterns in the urban form. The petty trading activities and spaces they occupy can, ideally, be categorised into three main groups. The first group consists of *permanently fixed* spaces that are found attached to designated marketplaces or within the formal building systems along a street. The common activities characterizing this group include food vending (*mama lishe*), selling second-hand clothes (*mitumba*), electronic appliances, wristwatches and sweets. Secondly, there are those constituting *semi-fixed* features such as cabins or stalls whose components are easily assembled, modified and stationed particularly on streets/roadsides, edges of public space and are easily demounted when they have to be shifted. The category may also include extension of stall's interior into streets, roads and squares. In this case, goods that may include household items, shoes and food items such as fruits and vegetables may be displayed on a fixed space within the stall's territory such as a dwelling's verandah or walkway. The last group encompasses *non-fixed* trading operations whereby petty traders have no fixed spaces. They may occupy a public

space over a specified period of time, occupy an area along a street or form clusters on an open space. Items sold in the *non-fixed* petty trading operations can be similar to those in the *semi-fixed* group. Practically, however, the three space temporal situations that would otherwise happen in different places appear to co-exist in one space, especially in marketplaces. This presents a spatial challenge and a possibility to make an architectural expertise and research useful with regard to petty trading spaces.

The *fixed*, *semi-fixed* and *non-fixed* categories of petty trading spaces are consistent to features presented by Rapoport (1982), in his description of the built environment. The fixed feature elements are under control of codes and regulations whereas the semi-fixed features tend to be under control of users (Rapoport, 1982:89-92). The spatial patterns of the fixed feature elements; their size, location and organisation can contribute towards understanding the context in which they exist but are supplemented by the semi-fixed and the non-fixed feature elements (ibid).

Trading spaces reveal great diversity in space organisation, robustness, personalisation and relationships to the context. The spaces of this kind can be described as live configurations; the dynamic form controlled by people as agents of transformation (Habraken, 1998:28). Marketplaces, city streets and bus stops, for instance, as functional entities representing rigid urban framework are confronted by action agents, the petty traders, in redefining their physical structure. Rapoport (1984) contends that space organisation is a way in which varieties of relationships occur and central in understanding, analysing and comparing built environments. Hence, marketplaces that are adequate for petty trading can be studied, described and designed by exploring the interplay between the various spatial processes.

1.2 Problem Statement

A series of petty trading spaces characterising the marketplaces and the general urban landscape of Dar es Salaam display a complex mix of varying scales and proportions (in terms of repetitions, similarities, continuity and relationships with formal objects). Although petty trading spaces play a significant role in goods distribution and income generation for a majority of low-income households, there is limited understanding of the generation processes, use and the resulting spatial patterns (in terms of scale, organisation and linkages) as visualized in the urban marketplaces and the extent to which the spaces characterise and influence the general urban form. Existing literature has not established how and why petty traders choose location and appropriate space in a marketplace or a nearby street or open

space; nor how they acquire particular space for their operations or negotiate, establish and maintain complementary networks and relations with each other. In a marketplace where a collection of petty traders can be anticipated, territorial definition of space and a clear understanding of interrelations/networks should be an important phenomenon to explore in order to establish how space is harmoniously used and managed, hence informing adequate planning and designing of these spaces. Such knowledge that appears to be scarcely acknowledged especially by city authorities and urban managers, architects and planners included, is vital in informing the formal land use planning, architecture and urban design practices.

1.3 Objectives:

This Licentiate thesis is an introductory part in a sequential development towards a doctoral thesis. The thesis addresses the rational (cognitive explicative) aspects surrounding the petty trading spaces in order to build an understanding of the premises for analysing aspects of importance to architectural theory and practice in the doctoral thesis. In this initial part, the broad objective is to explore petty trading spatial processes with a focus on establishing the necessary preconditions for adequate spatial provision of petty trading marketplaces in the context-specific social and institutional situations. Specific objectives are:

1. To analyse processes of generation, use and management of petty trading spaces in marketplaces
2. To explore the interrelations, links and networks of petty trading spaces in marketplaces
3. To analyse the influence of social norms and regulatory mechanisms on generation and management of petty trading spaces in marketplaces.
4. To recommend general prerequisites to be considered when planning and designing petty trading marketplaces in Dar es Salaam.

1.4 Research Questions

The study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How are petty trading spaces generated and used? Who are the actors involved?
2. How are petty trading spaces managed?
3. What are the forces or systems that sustain petty trading spaces in marketplaces?
4. How are petty trading spaces interrelated and networked to each other?

5. How are private and public interests in marketplaces promoted, protected and sustained?
6. What are the influencing conditions that may guide planning and design of marketplaces?

1.5 Motivation and Relevance of the Study

Motivation to this study has its roots in the master's degree thesis of the author concerning modern architecture and dwelling practices in Tanzanian local contexts. While analyzing how dwellers use the interior and exterior spaces in the modernist housing schemes in Dar es Salaam, the petty trading phenomenon was noticed to be outstanding. The study concluded that there was prevalence of informal activities, especially trading in and outside the modernistic schemes despite the rigid design of the buildings. This motivated the author to inquire for more knowledge on the area of petty trading activities, particularly on how architecture could contribute in addressing this contextual reality.

In Tanzania, the scale of petty trading activities is enormous. According to the Integrated Labour Force Survey of 2001, petty trading constituted nearly 70 per cent of the total workforce in the informal sector (URT, 2002). Petty trading has, therefore, an important role that cannot be ignored if sustainable urban development and management is to be achieved. Understanding the premises in which petty trading operates is a potential contribution towards provision of appropriate architecture for petty trading spaces. This study aims to deepen the designers' appreciation of a high quality built environment and enhances their ability to create meaningful architecture for the day-to-day social, functional and economic activities (Groat and Wang, 2002). Additionally, the study has a complementary contribution to management of the built environment beyond the realm of architecture and other design-related disciplines.

1.6 Structure of the Report

This thesis contains four broad themes organised in eight chapters. Chapter One and Chapter Two set the background of the study whereas Chapter Three and Chapter Four comprise the conceptual and methodological approaches used. Chapter Five, Chapter Six and Chapter Seven present and discuss empirical findings. Chapter Eight concludes the thesis and offers recommendations for policy and practice as well as avenues for further studies. All Figures and Tables in this thesis are author's unless otherwise stated.

CHAPTER TWO

EVOLUTION OF MARKETPLACES

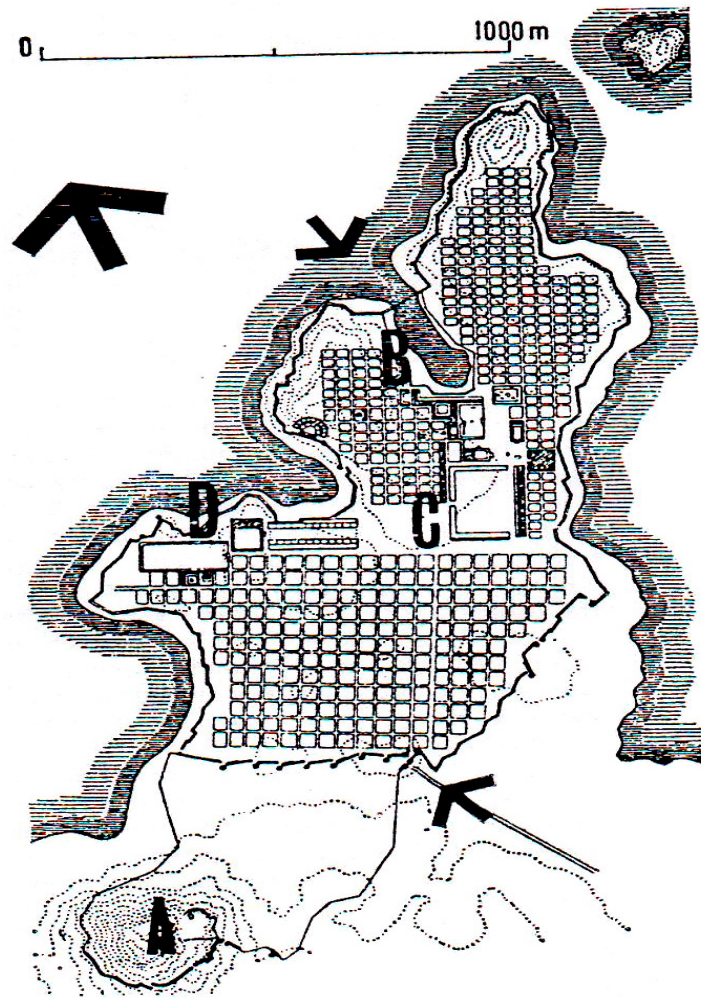
2.1 Introduction

Throughout the world history, marketplaces have been evolving in line with the development of cities. This chapter presents varying and common aspects of marketplaces in different places in the world. A historical perspective of marketplaces is drawn and brought to the contemporary situation. The aim is to trace trends in evolution of marketplaces in order to understand the premises in which the marketplaces in Tanzanian context operate.

2.2 Marketplaces in a Global Historical Perspective

The essence of trade and marketplaces can be traced back in history from around 7000 B.C. in ancient towns such as Catalhöyük as well as the Greek and Roman towns. Catalhöyük town, the most complex Neolithic settlement to be excavated, is believed to have grown out of trade besides agriculture, stockbreeding and hunting (Kostof, 1985:50). Trade of items such as marble, sulphur, and flint are said to have played a role in enhancing “the daily routine and personal appearance of the townspeople” (Ibid.). In the Greek city, the agora² and the acropolis (the religious centre) together constituted the main foci in the city (Morris, 1979; Kostof, 1985; Zucker, 1959). The agora was located in the approximate center of the city to which the major streets led (Figure 2.1). It was the main town square used for meeting (socialising) and trading, hence a centre for public life (Kostof, 1985; Sitte, 1945). Wheeled traffic movement though the agora was restricted and its layout was in such a way that movements of people to other places were separated from those assembled for trading activities (Morris, 1979). Being in focus, the agora was an important symbolic and physical feature of the city (Zucker, 1959). Important public buildings such as those for Municipal administration, temples as well as facilities for shopping and display tended to enclose the agora (Kostof, 1985:149).

² Agora has been defined by Kostof (1985:767) as an open meeting place or market place in an ancient Greek city.



A – Acropolis

B – The Main Harbour

C – The Agora

D – The Theatre

Figure 2.1: Location of the agora. Source: Morris, 1979:27

In the Roman towns, marketplaces were among the prominent town components. Others included the defensive wall, housing areas, the city centre as well as the port and industrial areas. Often, the marketplaces were strategically located within the forum, the Greek equivalent of the agora (Morris, 1979). There were specialised wholesale trade markets for vegetables (*holitorium*), for pigs (*suarium*), cattle (*boarium*), wine (*vinarium*) and fish markets (*piscarium*) (Ibid.). There were also open-air speciality markets for bread, beef, spices and so forth in each Roman town (Kostof, 1985). Petty trading activities were often conducted on the ground. For example, “Rome was a city of small shopkeepers, the great majority trading from ground-floor *insulae* premises but with major concentrations in and around the fora area, notably the Forum of Trajan” (Morris, 1979:46).

Marketplaces in the medieval towns were normally located at the market square itself or near the centre of the town and at the widening of a street. During the Middle Ages in Europe, location of marketplaces depended on local and regional communication patterns and the presence of walled strongholds (Kostof, 1992). Generally, the marketplaces would occupy open spaces at the intersection of several roads. In the ancient Middle East, markets were often located near the town gateways to facilitate control and tax collection (Kostof, 1992, Zucker, 1959).

In the USA, marketplaces were largely self-organised, until the twentieth century when state regulation became prominent and necessary to provide the required infrastructure (Morales, 2010:182). This was also the case in Europe during the Middle Ages whereby merchants would otherwise appropriate any public space for trade unless regulated (Kostof, 1992). The state would, traditionally, allocate central open spaces in the inner cities (such as the agora in Greek cities, the forum in the Roman cities and the marketplaces in the medieval towns) for trade activities as well as set rates for tolls and taxes (Ibid.). In China, however, enclosed marketplaces disappeared as a more open system of trading evolved, making it possible for trade to be conducted anywhere in the city (Ibid.).

During the 19th century, modernisation of the retailing system (including marketplaces, as a part of retail distribution industry) resulted in functionality and formality in shopping cultures of the consuming public that were dominated by a sales-led focus (Kent, 2007). Technological advancement coupled with quality demands propagated the need for more advanced and specialised spaces of distribution. Up to the 20th century, for example, great glass and iron market structures were made throughout the world following the demand for sanitary markets to address the appalling hygienic conditions in market halls used for sale and storage of foodstuff (Kostof, 1992). This situation can probably be linked to the origin of supermarkets and departmental stores in the industrialised countries as advanced techniques on food processing and preservation were developed. In non-industrialised countries, however, distribution and consumption of raw (non-processed) foods from farms is a common practice to date; hence the dominance of marketplaces of their own kind.

2.3 Marketplaces in African Cities

In Africa, trade was an integral component of the city, involving an interaction of merchants who collected and redistributed goods and traders carrying and maintaining communication

and transportation (Coquery-Vidrovitch, 2005). “Markets as an institution were part and parcel of the city. There were periodic markets outside of cities (...) but there was never a city without a market. The importance of long-distance trade can be seen in the growth of cities everywhere and at all times in history” (Coquery-Vidrovitch, 2005:22). For example, towards the end of the 18th Century, Swahili towns in Eastern Kenya were established by the early caravan traders near the chief’s settlements or marketplaces (El-Shakhs and Obudho, 1974:164).

In the early 1900s, the township ordinance of the British East Africa distinguished between areas for trading centres and townships (Obudho and El-Shakhs, 1979). While periodic marketplaces served traditional needs, the trading centres served as bridges between export enclaves and the produce markets in the rural areas (Ibid.). Following the urbanisation process, periodic marketplaces were changing into daily marketplaces so as to meet the increasing needs; hence came the need for fixed facilities in the marketplaces (El-Shakhs and Obudho, 1974:165-170). In this regard, marketplaces, “especially the large daily markets are important features of the retail structure of the largest towns” (El-Shakhs and Obudho, 1974:171 quoting Hodder and Ukwu, 1966). The link between marketplaces seems to follow the hierarchy of the urban systems. Flow of information and goods starts from periodic marketplaces at a village level to metropolitan daily marketplaces in an urban centre or a Municipality (Figure 2.2). Grade or level and rank of a marketplace, as El-Shakhs and Obudho (1974) present, would change with the level of urbanity of the location of the marketplace. However, this may not necessarily be a universal trend, but it is a general picture of what can be anticipated of marketplaces in many of the African cities. Since it has been hard for the author to find written sources about evolution of marketplaces in Tanzania, an understanding and description of the same is partly built upon a model of marketplaces in Western Kenya that was developed by El-Shakhs and Obudho in the 1970s.

Also in Tanzania, marketplaces vary with the prevailing economic activities in the respective areas. There are normally periodic marketplaces in rural areas whereas daily marketplaces are dominant in urban areas. Periodic marketplaces specifically designated for auction of animals, for example, are often found among the pastoralist societies in the rural communities. Likewise, in the farming societies, there are periodic marketplaces that facilitate distribution of food produce from farms. The marketplaces in the rural areas are the suppliers to the daily marketplaces in the urban areas.

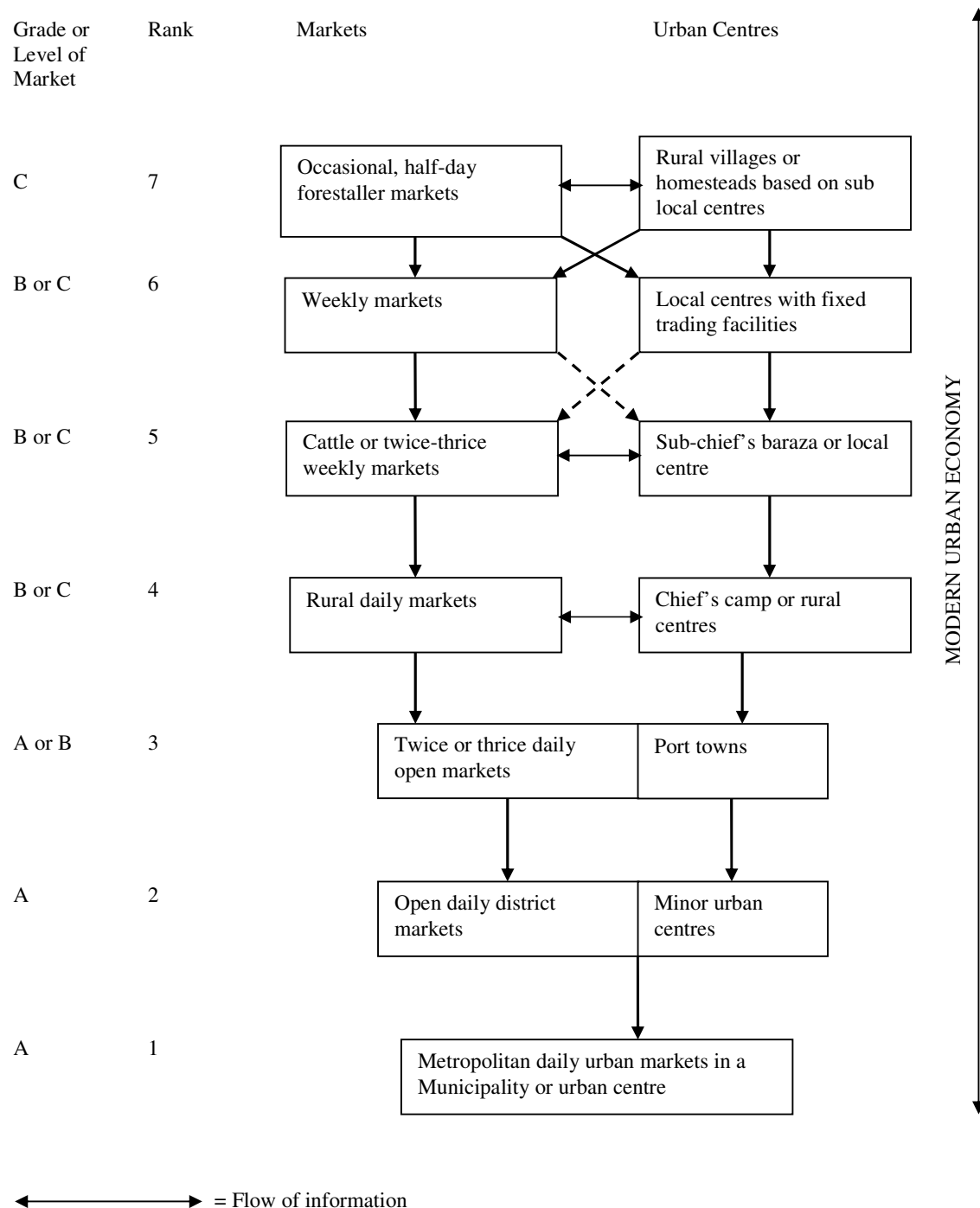


Figure 2.2: Relationship between the development of marketplaces and urban place subsystems in colonial and postcolonial urbanisation: The case from Western Kenya. Source: El-Shakhs and Obudho 1974: 172

The model presented by El-Shakhs and Obudho generally reflects the scenario in a Tanzanian context. However, the flow of information may not necessarily be mono-directional, that is, from the village level to the metropolitan level as graphically presented in the model. In an ideal situation, conceptions, decisions and actions with regard to marketplaces can arise from

any level in the urban system and flow into any direction and influence another level. From the aforesaid, hierarchical distribution of marketplaces as well as spatial and institutional links between them seem to be important aspects to consider in planning and design of cities. Access and use of a marketplace may not only determine its layout but also influence the layout of the town or city in which it is situated.

2.4 Emerging Issues from a Historical Overview

Globally, marketplaces have been the economic, institutional, political and cultural centres of cities throughout history (Morris, 1979; Kostof, 1985; Kostof, 1992; Nystrom, 2002; Morales, 2010). Apart from being points of distribution of goods, marketplaces have also been influencing the physical development of cities (Ibid.). Evolution of marketplaces has been revolving around the institutional and cultural environments as well as the advancement of technology, among other aspects. The structure and complexity of marketplaces is argued to resemble that of cities and hence, an inquiry of the social patterns of the city can be approached by investigating the dynamics of marketplaces (Noren, 2008). In this case, analysis of space uses or activities in the marketplaces becomes equally important to that of their physical environment. This is due to the fact that “every social activity must, after all, take place in a physical environment of some sort, more or less designed” (Kostof, 1992:152).

A ‘market’ seems to have been considered more of a ‘social activity’ that would appear and disappear over a time period rather than just being a public ‘fixed space’. This is evidenced by multiple uses of squares in the medieval cities whereby market activities would share the same space with other public activities. In this way, for example, a market hall would also be interchangeably called a city hall in Western Europe during the middle ages, as it would occupy trade and civic activities at different moments in time (Kostof, 1992). Additionally, spaces that would be occupied by periodic marketplaces in the African cities might also be used for other public activities when the trading activities are not in place. In this regard, architectural accommodation of daily market activities would be simple, emphasising temporary installation or/and use of multipurpose structures (Ibid.). It can be argued that the meaning attached to, or the nature and function of a marketplace would, essentially, connote the social, political or institutional processes. Generation and sustenance of the marketplaces would, in this case, influence and depend on these processes. These aspects constitute the necessary background for in-depth exploration of the physical (architectural) reality of marketplaces.

Specialisation of marketplaces according to goods sold seemed to have been a logical approach for appropriate functioning of the marketplaces in the historical cities. This might have called for specific architectural designs for the respective speciality. As noted in the foregoing discussion, the earlier specialised marketplaces were mainly based on food items for their differentiation, probably more than any other commodity. This phenomenon presents requirements for the conscious consideration of food as a delicate tradable item when designating and designing marketplaces.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the various aspects that have historically influenced the formation, existence and evolution of marketplaces. It was important to briefly draw a picture of the marketplaces in a global perspective so as to provide a platform on which their local contexts can be described. The common issues have been concerned with marketplaces' location in urban settings, their specialisation in relation to sold goods, the multiple uses of their spaces and their physical and cultural significance to the respective societies. These are directly related to the prevailing spatial, institutional and social processes. A conceptual understanding of these processes is further expounded in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUALISING MARKETPLACES

3.1 Introduction

The complexity of marketplaces presents a need to look closely into the various components and their interplay that make up their existence. This chapter considers some elements of Institutional Theory and Social Capital Theory as illuminators of processes that embrace the spatial reality of marketplaces. According to the taxonomy of knowledge, institutional fields are placed within the field of social sciences whereby institutions are regarded as the manifestation of social practices (Searle, 1995; Tuomela, 2002). However, for the purpose of a systematic reasoning in this study, the two theories are discussed separately. A conceptual framework for marketplaces is, therefore, drawn from the historical overview of marketplaces as well as the reviewed theories. The conceptualised systemic components of marketplaces are analysed in relation to each other thereby forming a base from which strategy and methods appropriate for the inquiry are adopted.

3.2 Institutional Theory

A marketplace can be viewed as a spatial organisation comprising various institutional structures and processes. In this regard, Institutional Theory constitutes a potential mirror through which the processes can be broadly viewed and described. The theory focuses on processes in which social structures such as rules, norms and routines are established as authoritative guidelines for social behaviour (Scott, 2004). Different components of institutional theory explain how these elements are appropriated over time and space. Scott (1995) asserts that institutions comprise of resilient social structures that are composed of *regulative*, *normative* and *cognitive* elements. These are argued to provide stability and give meaning to social life (Ibid.).

Institutional Theory illuminates this study in exploring how ordinary rules, norms and routines have gained legitimacy and through which petty trading spaces are organised, used and maintained. This study identifies the processes of petty trading spaces which might bring

forth the social structures and their pertinent ingredients; cultural cognition, normative elements and regulative aspects together with the associated activities and resources. The study considers the regulative, normative and cognitive institutional aspects in assessing and establishing how rules, laws and sanctions facilitate the varying processes and their representation in spatial form of petty trading spaces at the selected case (Table 3.1). Across these three institutional aspects, the basis of actors' compliance to imposed rules; the associated mechanisms and logic behind their actions as well as the embedded indicators at the various institutional levels, illuminate the study. The three aspects also highlight how legitimacy over and continued use of the spaces are gained by the traders, both individually and collectively. On one hand, the study looks at how institutions such as the Tanzanian Local Governments Act number 8 of 1982 section 80 (supplemented by regulations and bylaws under the jurisdiction of marketplace management through its various departments) guide the day-to-day functioning of petty trading activities at the selected case. On the other hand, traders' intuitive approaches, copying mechanisms and established practices with regard to creation and use of individual trading spaces are investigated.

However, Institutional Theory has been criticised on the grounds that it over-emphasises the ideas of inertia and persistence rather than change and adaptations which are characteristic of an organisation (Zucker, 1997; Kraatz and Zajac, 1996; Kraatz and More, 2002 in Fernandez-Alles and Valle-Cabrera, 2006:508). Fernandez-Alles and Valle-Cabrera (2006) argue that the principle of stability in the Institutional Theory mismatches theories of adaptation that consider organisations as "continuously changing their structures and practices to fit a dynamic environment". Institutional Theory can however, still be applicable in studying the complexity of some organisational issues, such as practices and strategies that can be observed in marketplaces, which would otherwise not be understood by using economic theories alone (Fernandez-Alles and Valle-Cabrera, 2006:511). The practices and strategies in petty trading spaces seem to largely involve informal relationships among various actors of an institution or organisation. These can be further described by the Social Capital Theory.

Table 3.1: Three pillars of institutions.

	<i>Regulative</i>	<i>Normative</i>	<i>Cognitive</i>
<i>Basis of compliance</i>	Control, rules, orders to do as desired (<i>expedience</i>)	Obedience/adherence to rules or behaviours; peoples' initiatives; respect; awareness (<i>social obligation</i>)	Experience of knowing; intuition; consciousness of things and judgment of them (<i>taken for granted</i>)
<i>Mechanisms</i>	Obey or perish/penalise/evict (<i>coercive</i>)	Sensitisation of the silent respect and awareness (<i>normative</i>)	Copying (<i>mimetic</i>)
<i>Logic</i>	Effectiveness (<i>instrumentality</i>) – the control and how effective it is in achieving the observed phenomenon	Compatibility with peoples' norms and values (<i>appropriateness</i>)	Generally or officially accepted (<i>orthodoxy</i>)
<i>Indicators/measures</i>	<i>Rules; laws; sanctions</i> ; policies; announcements; records; meeting deliberations; leadership structure and Terms of References (ToRs); conflicts	Peoples' self-initiatives towards stabilisation of the trading spaces/marketplace as officially recognised systems and structures. (<i>certification, accreditation</i>)	Popular or dominant practices in creation, use and management of the trading spaces (<i>prevalence, isomorphism</i>)
<i>Basis of legitimacy</i>	<i>Legally sanctioned</i>	<i>Morally governed</i>	<i>Culturally supported, conceptually correct</i>

Source: Adapted from Scott, W. R. (1995). *Institutions and Organisations*, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage. Itallised in the table are Scott's original words

3.3 Social Capital Theory

Social Capital Theory is another perspective that seems to complement the Institutional Theory in describing social structures that may be responsible in producing and reproducing physical reality of petty trading activities. Social capital is a concept that encompasses “norms and networks facilitating collective actions and mutual benefits” (Woolcock, 1998:155). It is a notion that assumes that social relations have a potential to influence economic and non-economic benefits to individuals (White, 2002). The phenomenon refers to features of social organisation such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate relationships for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1995) or drawn upon by people in solving practical problems (Sirianni and Friedland, 1997). Social capital seems to strongly rely upon ties among people, including the varying formal and informal groups and connections between them (Nooteboom, 2006).

Social Capital Theory has five basic components namely *networks*-alluding to varying lateral associations; *reciprocity*-expectation of return of kindness and services in a short or long term perspective; and, *trust*-willingness to take initiatives assuming that others in a particular social context will respond as anticipated. Others are *social norms*-unwritten shared values that influence or regulate behaviour and interaction; and, *personal and collective efficacy*- active and willing participation of individuals in community related activities (Coleman, 1988; Onyx and Bullen, 2000; Praxton, 2002).

The networks could refer to systems of lines that connect to one another and are vital in describing relationships among the different actors. They could facilitate and link various actors and aspects involved in a social environment. For instance, in a marketplace, networks could link traders, goods producers, customers, local government authorities, sales departments and the surrounding community. Such relationships can influence the planning, design, social and economic processes indwelt in petty trading activities.

The theory's dimension of trust is particularly important in ascertaining traders' personal and collective efficacy described as willingness to take initiatives in, for instance, waste management, security of goods and fulfilling tax/levy requirements in the marketplace as well as maintaining good conduct in their daily practices. This extends also to describing mechanisms in which social norms are facilitating conflict management and arbitration among traders and/or marketplace management to comply or act according to certain agreements where no legally binding written laws and enforcements exist. Trust also

relates to the willingness of traders to comply with regulations set by themselves, the Local Government Authorities or by other critical actors because they 'trust' the other party will act in a predictable or agreeable manner. However, Social Capital Theory is too wide to precisely illuminate the complexity of marketplace processes in detail as it encompasses a dynamic relationship between multiple components that evolve on varying spatial scales. The previously discussed elements of the theory are, nonetheless, consciously adapted in the study.

Social Capital Theory seems to clarify more, specifically, on the normative aspects of the institutional theory. Actors' norms and values appear to be central in the existence of institutions. Although the norms and values attempt to embrace the logic by which normative institutions operate, they also describe social relations among individuals and groups of people – the prerequisites of social capital formation. The two theories, therefore, complement each other in illuminating the mechanisms sustaining the petty trading operations in marketplaces in terms of actions of traders, customers and the Local Government Authorities. However, these alone cannot adequately explain the processes in marketplaces unless the physical reality, the petty trading space, in which they are visible, is also addressed. Hence, the physical (spatial) system must be 'read' in conjunction with the non-physical; the social and institutional systems surrounding the day-to-day operations in petty trading. The three systems are drawn as crucial components of the marketplace.

3.4 Conceptual Framework

A market can be conceptualised as a complex place composed of many integrated systems with a dynamic set of relationships between them (Nystrom, 1998 and 2002). It is not only a place for exchange of goods and services but also for working, meeting and socialising (ibid). This study, therefore, adopts a system analysis approach in describing the various components that uphold the making of petty trading spaces. Particularly, the *systems thinking* underpins the methodological approach in the study. Systems thinking can be defined as a framework of thought that guides the process of addressing complex things in a holistic way (Flood and Carson, 1993 in Mkony, 2009:41).

In this context, the marketplace is conceived to be a complex spatial system within a city setting in which processes of generation, use and management of petty trading spaces seem to be largely influenced by the interplay between the two embedded system's

components. These are social and institutional systems. Focus on the two components does not mean that others are not important in understanding the complexity of marketplaces as spatial systems. The other components might include a political system; that seems to have practical manifestations in the institutional system and, an economic system; that closely relates to social capital formation and sustenance mechanisms.³ Additionally, hygiene and security are also important components of marketplaces.⁴ These are equally vital and relevant in understanding marketplaces but are beyond the scope of this study. Figure 3.1 illustrates such relationships in marketplace systems.

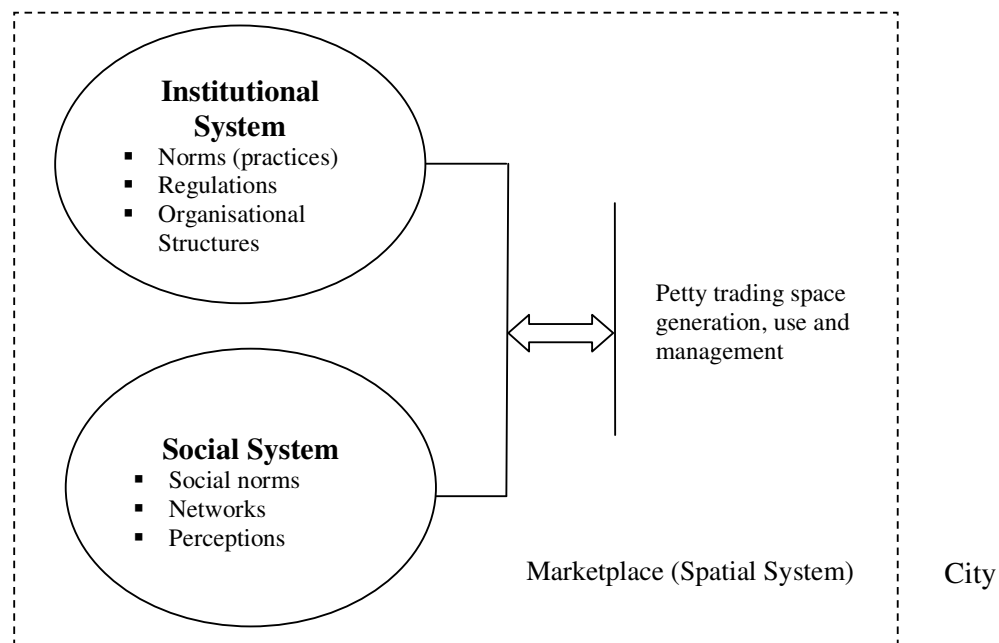


Figure 3.1: A conceptual framework for marketplace systems. The boundary between the spatial system and sub-systems is not precisely defined. Source: Author's construct

In the systems perspective, “synthetic thinking” rather than “analysis” are central in explaining systems behaviour (Patton, 2002:120). Unlike in the analysis thinking whereby system components are individually treated for explanation and the resulting knowledge is aggregated into that of the whole, in the synthetic thinking the components belong to the larger whole and understanding of the whole is disintegrated to explain the parts (Gharajedaghi and Ackoff, 1985 in Patton, 2002:120-121). In view of this

³See urban studies done by Lyons and Snoxell, 2005 and Meagher, 2005.

⁴Nystrom (1998) conducted a study on 'healthy marketplaces' in Vietnam and Laos whereby hygiene and security systems were comprehensively analysed.

contention, the components and variables of a marketplace are investigated by using the synthetic approach in order to understand the dynamics of marketplace system in a holistic manner. In this regard, using a case strategy seems to be a rational choice for the study.

In operationalising the conceptual framework in Figure 3.1, the city is assumed to be an “operational closure” in the sense that the boundary between the marketplace system and the city system cannot be clearly defined, often changing over time. Cilliers (2001) contends that complex systems are open systems in which relationships between the system components are of more importance than the components themselves. In view of Cilliers’ proposition, this study investigates the complexity in proliferation and links of petty trading spaces and activities within and beyond the various components of the respective marketplace and city systems.

The study considers four spatial attributes in the marketplace namely form and character of spaces; configurations; locational characteristics and territoriality. These are physical attributes through which the influence of institutional and social systems in petty trading space generation, use and management are investigated. The form of spaces in this study is described as dimensional attributes namely length, width and height (Ching, 1996), defining the volume, shape and size of the petty trading spaces. The character of space refers to behaviour of space in relation to the general context of the marketplace and to the type of goods accommodated. It has also to do with whether the spaces are permanent or temporal within the system.

Space configuration is another spatial element that is vital in determining the dynamics of interaction and movement of actors and goods between spaces. A configuration is referred to as a grouping and combination of elements or parts making up a form of an object (Habraken, 1998). The configurations may be affected by location patterns of the spaces. For example, spaces along the main routes in the marketplace seem to be differently organised from those away from the routes. It is important, therefore, to examine which spaces and functions are located where and to what extent they influence or are influenced by the institutional and social systems in the marketplace. Further, it is also important to investigate ‘territories’ within the spatial system. Territoriality is a behaviour aiming at control, ownership and appropriation of a space or a geographical area, often leading to boundary creation as a means of defence against intrusion within a

system of interactions (Fischer, 1997; Habraken, 1998). In this study, forms of space demarcations, ownership characteristics and convenience of access by customers to the trading spaces are specifically examined.

The social system is approached by investigating three variables. These are social norms, networks, and perceptions on generation, use and management of trading spaces. With regard to social norms, the prevailing unwritten rules/laws that sustain the trading spaces and actors are examined. The network analysis focuses on interactions within and between groups of various actors in spaces (petty traders, customers and local authorities). These have influence on and/or are influenced by the degree of independence (territoriality) of the various spaces. The study seeks to examine the extent to which formal and informal associations of petty traders can influence acquisition, use and sustenance of spaces in the marketplace (spatial system) as well as safeguard their common interests. Gender and religious aspects would also constitute variables of the social system but are beyond the scope of this study.

Spatial attributes of the marketplace are also influenced by the governing institutional structure. The institutional system comprises of norms, regulations and organisational structures as its variables. In view of the Institutional Theory discussed in section 3.2, the formal or informal practices (norms) that are traditionally exercised by petty traders as well as regulations imposed by the marketplace or Municipal or City Authorities seem to influence the processes in acquisition, use and maintenance of the spaces. In this regard, for instance, the study investigates whether processes of access by traders to formal sheds in the marketplaces vary from processes to access spaces without sheds. The control mechanisms (organisation structures) as realised by various actors in the system, could affect the flow and distribution of goods and services as well as petty traders' practices in the marketplace.

3.5 Conclusion

The theoretical concepts as well as the conceptual framework discussed in this chapter have described interrelations between various variables that make up the marketplace system components. Additionally, the physical and non-physical systems composing a marketplace are diverse and seem to operate in the blurred formal and informal

mechanisms. In order to comprehensively understand the petty trading spatial dynamics in marketplaces, there is a need to combine various methods for data collection and analysis. Chapter Four presents the research strategy and data collection methods that were employed in the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH STRATEGY AND METHODS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the route map for the research. The adopted case strategy is briefly explained and the inherent case selection process is elaborated. The overview of nine marketplaces as potential study cases is presented with criteria for case selection. These are further summarised in Table 4.1 and Table 4.2. Data collection methods are ultimately described in relation to the variables in each marketplace systemic component. Finally, challenges encountered in the research process are presented and discussed.

4.2 Strategy

Essentially, the research adopts the case study strategy as it seeks to investigate and describe the study aspects in detail, contextually and holistically. It is a preferred strategy when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context (Yin, 1994). Petty trading is the contemporary and real life socioeconomic reality in rapidly urbanising developing countries. It is a context-specific phenomenon that may best be described and understood by the case research method. A case provides an opportunity for “development of a nuanced view of reality” and is an important aspect of “researchers’ own learning process in developing the skills needed to do good research” (Flyvbjerg, 2001:72).

The study largely employs qualitative methods; focusing on understanding the complex interrelationships among various components of a marketplace. The inquiry begins with a deductive approach by using an operational framework (Figure 4.1) for enhancing focus on empirical data collection and analysis. It eventually continues into inductive reflections throughout the study stages to the conclusion. This approach is consistent with Patton (2002) and Popper (1972) who notes that an investigation in a

deductive approach is often preceded by a framework for understanding specific observations or a case in which important variables and other relationships are decided by the researcher in advance (Patton, 2002:56; Popper, 1972:344-346). Observations made in the preliminary fieldwork resulted in a new perspective of the relationships between the marketplace's systemic components, hence necessitated a revision of the operational framework. It was earlier assumed that the systemic components of a marketplace would be influenced, in a mono-directional way, by the processes involved in generation use and management of petty trading spaces. However, it was later noted and realised that the relationship is multi-directional, in the sense that the marketplace's systemic components also influence and are influenced by the inherent processes.

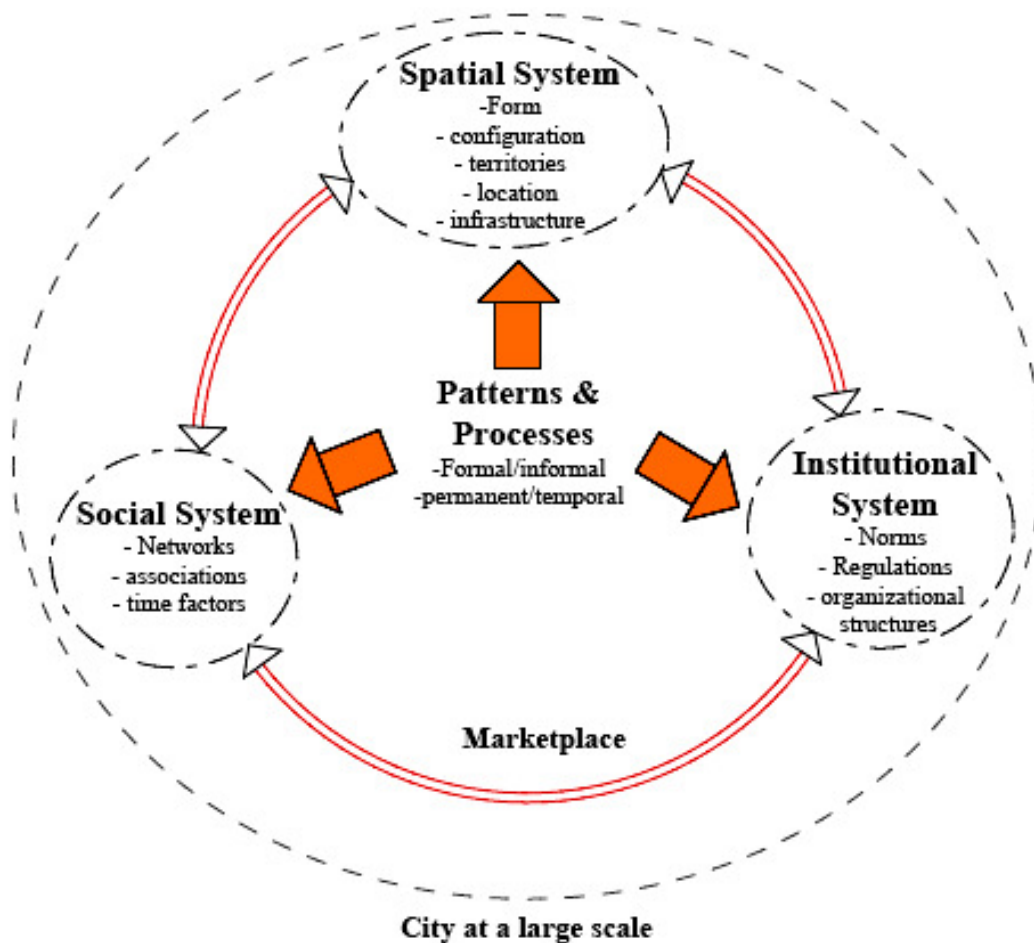


Figure 4.1: Operational Framework. Source: Author's construct

4.3 Research Process

The research spans over a four years' period. It is divided into two main components, namely the Licentiate thesis and the PhD thesis. The Licentiate thesis which is placed in Phase I (Figure 4.2) forms an introductory part of the PhD thesis. It aims at understanding the spatial processes of petty trading within the formal systems. This, in a way, is a baseline study intended to lay ground for an in-depth PhD research in the next stage. In the Figure 4.2, activities in the Phase II are not meant to be firmly defined. They tentatively describe a possible sequence as linked with the activities in the Phase I.

4.3.1 Case selection process

The case is defined as an integrated system with different parts (Stake, 1995:2). It may be “intrinsic” with a motive of learning about its particularity or it may be “instrumental” for the purpose of accomplishing something else other than the case itself (Stake, 1995:3). In this study, the case is a marketplace conceptualized as a complex system. One marketplace is chosen as an ‘instrumental’ case in the sense that the phenomenon rather than the case itself is the study focus and that lessons learnt from it can be applied in designing marketplaces in other similar contexts. This approach takes into cognizance of the ‘power of good example’ in generalisation as a supplement or alternative to other methods in contributing to scientific development (Flyvbjerg, 2001:77). The case is selected by a purposeful sampling strategy, which is geared towards an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon, leading to a selection of an information-rich case from which petty trading spatial processes, which are key issues in the study, are learnt (Stake, 2006; Patton, 2002:46).

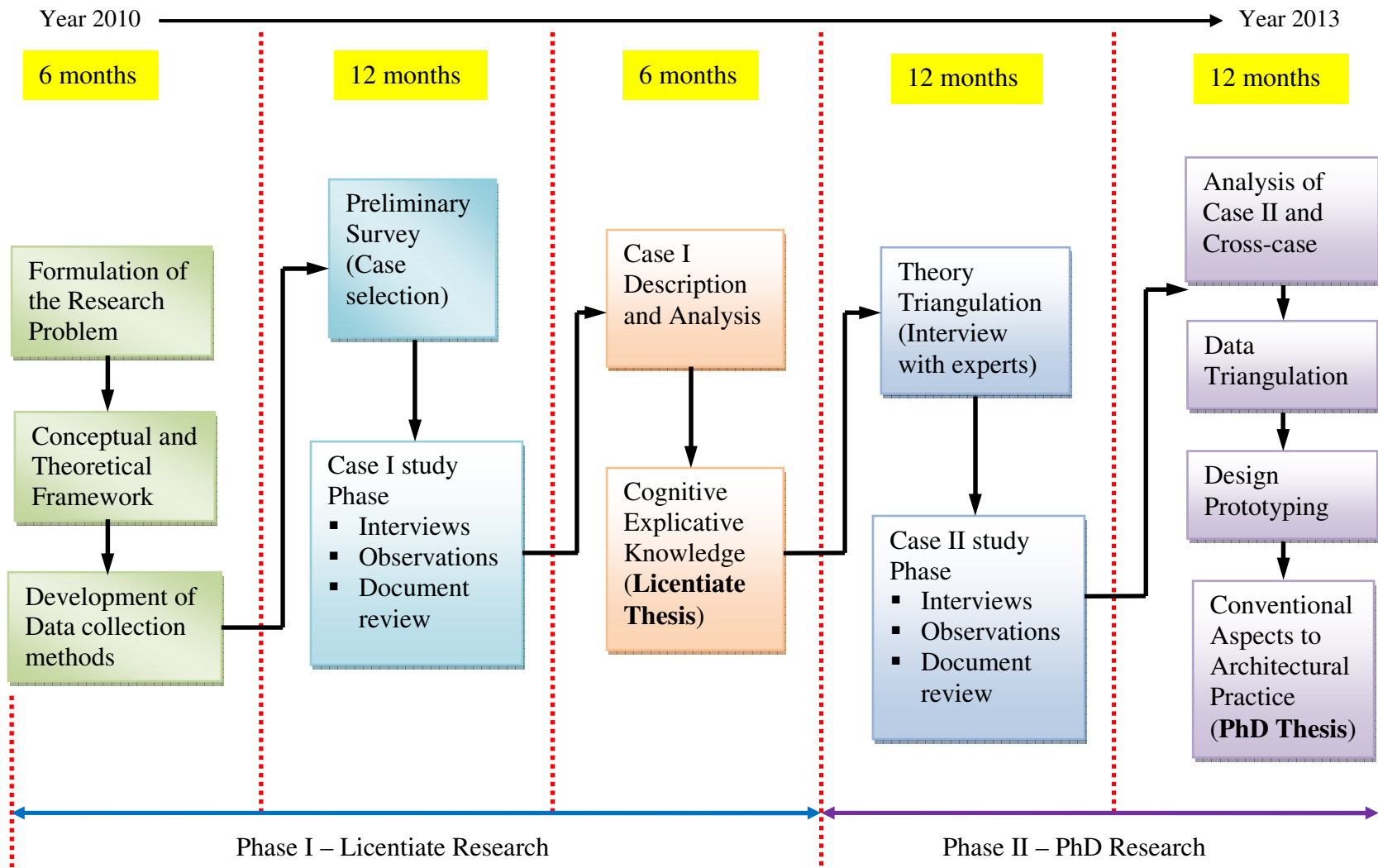


Figure 4.2: The Research Process

The case is selected in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Dar es Salaam is among the fastest growing cities in Sub-Saharan Africa. It is a cosmopolitan city with a complex social, cultural and economic environment with approximately four million inhabitants.⁵ The city has the largest proportion of the population (about 95%) engaged in the informal sector economy, petty trading included (URT, 2004). Petty trading spaces and activities are, therefore, important elements of the city's physical and socio-economic structure. Additionally, managing economy and integrating petty trading is among the most pressing environmental issues that the city has, for years, set to address for effective environmental planning management (ibid.). By virtue of its cosmopolitan nature and the fact that it already has advanced in implementing programmes addressing petty trading, Dar es Salaam, therefore, presents itself to be a potential study area.

A total of forty five marketplaces in Dar es Salaam which are fixed and registered are visited and mapped (Appendix 2).⁶ This study benefits from involving twenty undergraduate students of architecture (year four, 2009/2010) at Ardhi University conducting an industrial training which is kind of a research and studio work. The students are divided in groups of five each and distributed among the forty five marketplaces. The industrial training programme for the fourth year architecture students involves exploration of the actual built environment, in a way, imparting them skills on conducting research prior to their final dissertation in a subsequent year. It is normally organised in seminars and workshops whereby the students present their assigned works. For this study, the students' task concerns exploration of marketplaces in Dar es Salaam; identifying their location, use and general physical characteristics.

The exploration exercise is carried out in two stages. The first stage is identification of the geographical location and categorization of the forty five marketplaces according to type (in terms of dominant goods that are sold) and building structure characteristics. During the second stage, nine food marketplaces are selected for a more detailed reconnaissance basing on the tentative conceptual framework in Figure 4.1 that outlines data to be collected and method to be used. The data sought for the nine marketplaces include contextual location of a marketplace; history behind its formation; spatial characteristics (space form, configuration, territoriality and infrastructure); social trends (social networks, norms in space demarcations,

⁵ The estimated population figure is according to UN-Habitat (2010) in the report on Citywide Action Plan for Upgrading Unplanned and Un-serviced Settlements in Dar es Salaam.

⁶ The number of fixed and registered marketplaces is based on an official list that was obtained from the three Municipal Councils during the three different interviews held in July, 2010.

perceptions on goods' display); and institutional patterns (norms in space occupation time, organisational activities and regulations). Largely, observation methods accompanied by sketching and photographic registration are used to gather most of data for the spatial characteristics. Interviews are also conducted with leaders of the marketplaces and the randomly selected traders to probe for the social and institutional aspects of the marketplaces and to supplement the observations made.

4.3.2 Choices of the case studies: Temeke Stereo and Urafiki Ndizi marketplaces

A reconnaissance of nine marketplaces namely Kisutu, Buguruni, Temeke Stereo, Tandika, Tandale, Mwananyamala Food and Vegetable Suppliers Cooperative Society Limited (MFAVESCO), Msasani, Urafiki Ndizi and Mwenge ultimately leads to a selection of Temeke Stereo and Urafiki Ndizi as potential cases for in-depth study. All the nine marketplaces are food marketplaces. As noted in the historical evolution of marketplaces in Chapter Two, food has been a major concern in differentiation of marketplaces. As much of food sold in marketplaces is unprocessed, concerns for space zoning, goods' display, storage, waste generation and cleanliness are probably more demanding than those of other goods such as garments and domestic utensils. Thus, it can be argued that food marketplaces are more complex than those of other goods, hence calling for special consideration in terms of design, use and management. A brief description of the marketplaces is summarised in Table 4.1 whereas their respective locations are indicated in Figure 4.3.

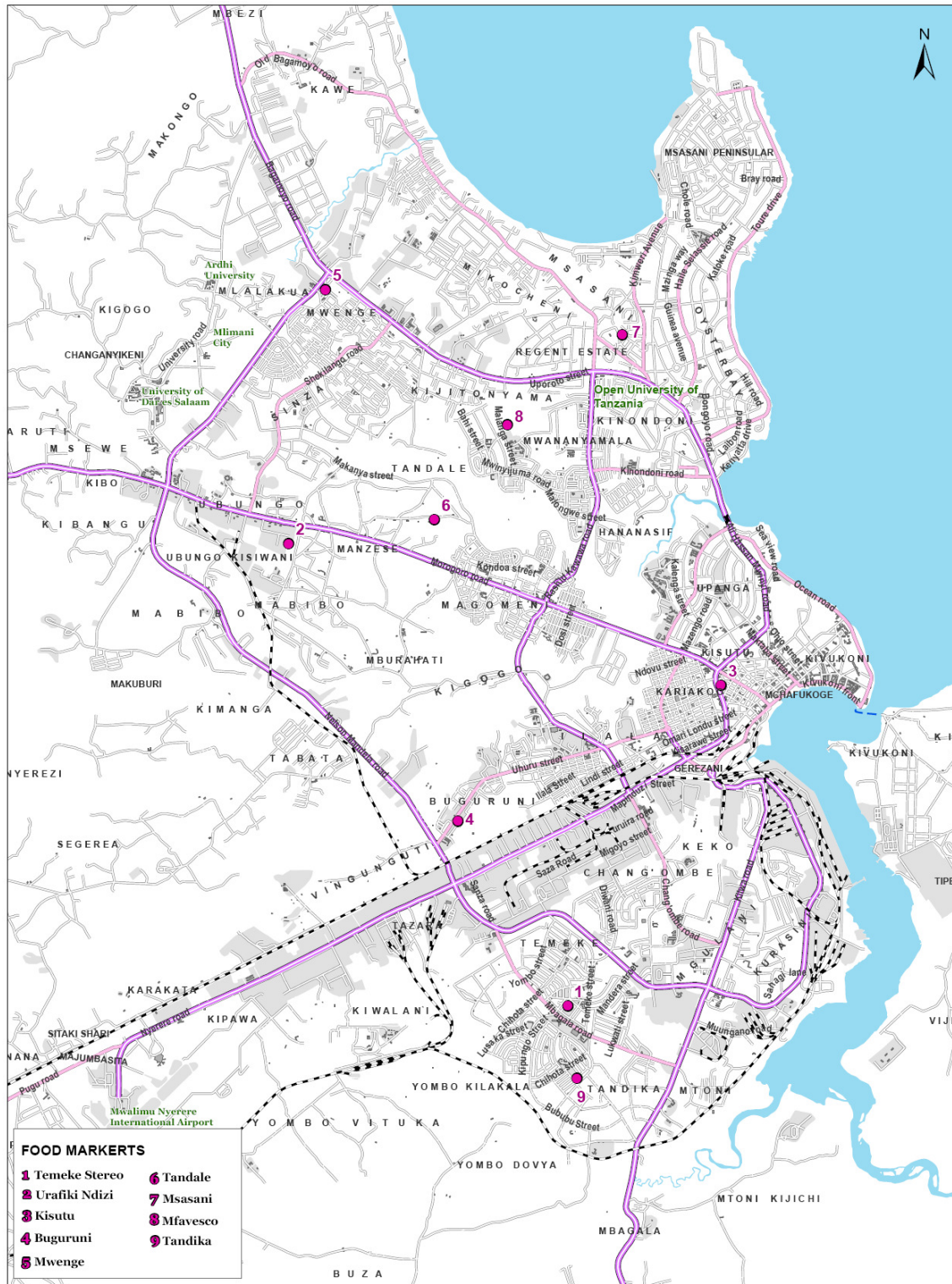


Figure 4.3: Location of the studied food marketplaces. Base map adopted from Dar es Salaam Master Plan, 1979 and locations of marketplaces indicated by the Author

Table 4.1: A brief description of food marketplaces in which reconnaissance took place

S/N	Marketplace Name	Approximate No. of Traders	Remarks
1	Temeke Stereo	2000	Began in 1950s with 4 trading spaces for meat, fish, tomatoes and tea; built to accommodate traders who were evacuated from Tandika market to give room for construction of new stalls; regional market.
2	Urafiki Ndizi	3000 ⁷	Began in 2001 in an open part of land owned by the Urafiki Textile Company. Around 1998 it was operating along Morogoro Road before shifting to the Buguruni marketplace and later to the current site where they informally operate.
3	Kisutu	900	Started in 1987 after relocating traders from Zanaki Street; local market.
4	Buguruni	1500	Started as small stalls (<i>vigenge</i>) in an open space in early 1970s and eventually shifted to the current location; a regional market.
5	Mwenge	110	Established in 1977 and located at a place which was meant to be temporary as the planned area was used for storage of weapons by the army; local market.
6	Tandale	1200	Started in 1972; believed to be the biggest cereals' market in the region and currently hoarding many other perishable foods; partly owned by a private investor who lends spaces to traders; transformation from regular (rectangular) to irregular form; land use conflicts; many extensions of trading activities to the streets; regional market.
7	Msasani	200	Formed in 1978; has 300 formal trading spaces (<i>vizimba</i>); local market.
8	MFAVESCO	400	Established in 1980 as a fusion of three other small markets; operated under a cooperative society; local market.
9	Tandika	1200	Began in 1974 in an area originally planned for a church but later land use changed formally to marketplace function; regional market.

Four basic case selection criteria are used (Table 4.2). The first criterion is whether the marketplace has traces of historical and physical evolution or transformation over a period of time. This gives an opportunity to document and study the spatial patterns and processes

⁷ Traders who are registered in the marketplace's group association are 475. The number of traders operating daily at the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace is approximated to 3000 and varies remarkably (Source: Interview with Urafiki Ndizi Association Group Chairman, December 2010)

through various physical changes displayed by the marketplace. Buguruni, Tandale, Temeke Stereo, Tandika, Kisutu and Msasani marketplaces have been physically transforming since their creation. Tandale marketplace reveals some land use conflicts emerging due to construction of residential houses within the marketplace area, thereby changing the marketplace from regular to irregular physical form. Activities at Tandale marketplace spread to the streets in the surrounding neighbourhood, thereby presenting a fluid space control. Additionally, part of the marketplace is owned and operated by a private individual. This presents an opportunity to learn how traders access and use spaces in comparison to the main marketplace managed by the Municipality. On the other hand, the Temeke Stereo Marketplace has been modernised from time to time to improve its appearance and functions. It contains a mix of permanent, semi-permanent and temporary structures, with predominantly formal systems in generation, use and management of petty trading spaces. Its spatial characteristics, that is, the variety of forms of spaces enclosed with a fence, presents itself to be complex enough to make the inquiry worthwhile to pursue. The way traders attempt to manoeuvre in a controlled space is a phenomenon worth exploring in this marketplace.

The second criterion in selecting a marketplace as the case for this study is the quantity and variety of food items sold. The marketplace exhibiting large quantity and variety of food stuff is likely to display varying trading space patterns in the overall spatial organisation of the marketplace setting. This is due to the fact that there is complex handling and specialised space requirements depending on the quantities and various types of foods. Temeke Stereo, Urafiki Ndizi and Tandale marketplaces are the largest in terms of food distribution in large quantities (wholesale and retail). They additionally contain a variety of food items throughout the seasons of the year⁸.

The third case selection criterion involves the extent to which formal and informal spatial characters in terms of permanence and/or temporariness of building structures as well as access and use of trading spaces are displayed. This can reveal varying processes involved in acquisition, use, management and administration of the trading spaces in a particular marketplace. The marketplace that has both informal and formal spatial characters is considered as an information-rich case for this study as it presents an opportunity to explore how the two scenarios influence and relate to each other. On the one hand, Urafiki Ndizi

⁸ Based on interviews with traders' committee leaders in the respective marketplaces at different times during the pilot fieldwork in 2010.

marketplace qualifies as a potential case study by having been generated largely through informal processes. The Kinondoni Municipal Council collects revenue generated from this marketplace although the authority has no full mandate to manage it.⁹ Traders, mainly of bananas/plantains literally invaded an open land which is part of the land leased to Urafiki Textile Company. It has been operating and intensifying in the area for almost a decade now. Through various associations at the market, there are on-going strategies to formally acquire the land so as to enhance security of tenure.¹⁰ Urafiki Ndizi marketplace, therefore, presents an attractive and well-placed case especially with regard to the informal processes in acquisition, use and management of petty trading spaces. On the other hand, the Temeke Stereo Marketplace was formally conceptualised and designed but also has informal processes in its daily operations as observed in space use and management. This character is particularly important as it provides an opportunity to learn how professionals such as architects and planners would influence the design and management of the marketplace. In this aspect, the Temeke Stereo Marketplace also qualifies as a potential case study.

The extent to which the marketplace is linked and networked forms the fourth case selection criterion. In this respect, a marketplace with regional links and networks is preferred to that which is largely locally integrated. Buguruni, Temeke Stereo, Tandika, Urafiki Ndizi and Tandale appear to qualify for this criterion. They are also large in terms of the physical space they occupy and the number of traders compared to the rest (Table 4.1). Kariakoo market could also be put in this category but is deliberately left out in the reconnaissance as it also offers many other items including agricultural inputs and domestic utensils in addition to food products, making it ‘a mixed goods’ marketplace rather than a ‘food’ marketplace. A detailed classification of marketplaces in Dar es Salaam is expounded in Chapter Five.

In view of the above discussion and case selection criteria in Table 4.2, it follows that Temeke Stereo Marketplace is the most highly qualified (12 points) as a potential case for the study followed by Urafiki Ndizi marketplace (11 points). The Temeke Stereo Marketplace, largely representing characteristics and features of the formal systems (as seen in its guided transformation) with elements of informal practices qualifies to be the case for the Licentiate phase. Urafiki Ndizi, which is largely informal in its generation and character, would be an

⁹ This is according to Mr Oforo, the Kinondoni Municipality markets’ officer interviewed on 30th July 2010 at his office. Kinondoni is among the three Municipalities of Dar es Salaam region.

¹⁰ As explained by Mr Pazi, the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace Chairman during a discussion held on 8th December 2010 at his office in the marketplace.

interesting comparative case during the PhD phase. A detailed description of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace is presented in Chapter Six.

Table 4.2: Case selection criteria

S/N	MARKETPLACE NAME	SELECTION CRITERIA				
		Traces of Physical Evolution/ transformation of the Marketplace	Amount and Variety of Food Items	Formal-informal Spatial Characters (permanent v/s temporary structures)	Extent of Networks and Links (regional)	Score
1	Temeke Stereo	√√√	√√√	√√√	√√√	12
2	Urafiki Ndizi	√√	√√√	√√√	√√√	11
3	Kisutu	√√	√	√	√	5
4	Buguruni	√√	√	√	√	5
5	Mwenge	√	√	√	√	4
6	Tandale	√√	√√	√√	√√√	9
7	Msasani	√√	√	√	√	5
8	MFAVESCO	√	√	√	√	4
9	Tandika	√√	√√	√√	√√	8

Legend:

√ = somehow qualify (1 point)

√√ = generally qualify (2 points)

√√√ = highly qualify (3 points)

4.4 Data Collection Methods

In operationalising the research strategy, various methods such as observations, interviews and documentary outsourcing are used for data collection. Table 4.3 presents a summary of data collection methods as applied in the variables in each marketplace system component.

4.4.1 Observations

Observations are, in most of the variables, carried out in conjunction with interviews. They aim at collecting primary data that describe the marketplace setting(s), petty trading activities in the settings, actors' (petty traders, customers) behaviour in space and meanings of what is observed from the perspectives of the actors. Direct participation in and observation of the case is presented to be the best research approach in understanding fully the complexity of many situations that would otherwise be impossible by only using insights obtained through interviews (Patton, 2002:21-23). Combination of observation and interviews in view of Patton's argument seems to be an effective approach in studying the marketplace as a system. The combined method has the following advantages:

- It enhances understanding of the context of inquiry in a holistic perspective

- It gives a researcher first-hand experience, thereby supplementing reliance on prior conceptualisations from documentary analysis or verbal reports; and
- Gives an opportunity for the researcher to see things that other people in the setting may not be initially aware of; to uncover things that people would be unwilling to talk about in the interview and “to move beyond the selective perception of others” (Patton, 2002:264).

Table 4.3: Data collection matrix across marketplace systems and variables

S/N	System	Variable	Method	Data
1	Spatial	Form and character of space	Observation	Space shape, size, scale, visual qualities, use, materials, temporal qualities
		Space configurations	Measurements, observation	Visibility (exposure), accessibility
		Locational characteristics	Measurements, observation	Distribution of functions/goods-relative lengths
		Territoriality	Observation, measurements, interviews	Space boundary definition elements; sharing of spaces
2	Social	Social norms	Interviews, observation	Traders individual and collective strategies and responsibilities in space management
		Networks	Interviews	Traders' groups membership factors; activities and links to formal bodies; influence on space acquisition, use and management
		Perceptions/values	Observation, interviews	Traders and customers' preferences and opinions on forms of stalls and mode of display of goods
3	Institutional	Norms	Interviews, observation	Space acquisition and maintenance trends, safety and security practices
		Regulations, directives	Interviews, document review	Legal practices in space generation, use and management; conflict resolution mechanisms
		Structure	Interviews, focus group discussion	Power relations: management, associations, petty traders

However, it was also important for the researcher to consider ethical issues including protection of privacy and confidentiality of respondents; also freedom of people to participate in the observation and/or interview session. This is a key requirement for case studies involving contemporary human affairs (Yin, 2009). Thus, consent was sought from petty traders, customers and marketplace authorities prior any observation and/or interview session. Research permit was obtained from the Temeke Municipal Council. From the traders and

customers, consent was sought by oral agreement before observing their spaces and taking photographs.

The observation exercise involves photographic registration and mapping (physical measurements and supplementary sketches) of spaces and activities. Structured observations are carried out as a means of getting a detailed understanding of activities and space use patterns at different times of a day or a week. Spaces that have different functions at different times of a day are observed and photos taken from the same point in the morning, in the afternoon and during the evening. In this way, activities and changes taking place in a particular space are documented. By the help of three research assistants¹¹, location of different sales zones, goods and shed structures are mapped using a base map that was obtained from the Temeke Stereo Marketplace project architect who was responsible for the design and construction supervision. Transformation of the interior spaces of the marketplace and the bordering streets are documented based on the interviews with the Temeke Municipality Markets' Manager and residents living nearby.

4.4.2 Interviews

As earlier highlighted in section 4.2.1, interviews are conducted in conjunction with observations in the marketplace context. Interviews aim at gathering opinions, attitudes, intentions and habits from the various informants with regard to how they organise and the meaning they attach to the marketplace setting(s) and the petty trading spaces. To get a clear focus in collecting interview data, preliminary observations are made to test the pre-conceived framework of thought before in-depth interviews are administered.

Interviews are administered in three levels of informants. The first level consists of thirty petty traders (at least two in each trade department¹²) and seventeen customers whereby informal conversations or unstructured interviews are carried out at the early stages of the fieldwork. This approach is intended to generate the natural flow of questions and responses as part of the observation session. The experience of the first interviews builds upon that of the next in the process. During the pilot fieldwork, three traders and two customers are randomly selected and interviewed at the marketplace. These interviews are used to formulate

¹¹ One research assistant was a fifth year architecture student doing her dissertation on petty trading while the other two were in the fourth year conducting a studio project on marketplaces. The academic year in which the students are referred to is 2010/2011.

¹² A trade department is an administrative unit for particular type of goods sold at the marketplace. More discussion on this is found in Chapter Seven.

structured interview guides for the next stage. At the later fieldwork stages, a standardized open-ended interviews approach is instituted. For data reliability, feedback and detailed understanding of the subject matter, group discussions composed of three and four traders respectively are conducted at two different occasions during the main fieldwork. Interviews with customers (buyers of food stuff) are mostly conducted in the mornings as it is the time when many customers, especially those who are also petty traders in other parts of Dar es Salaam, can be easily reached. Otherwise, time for interviews to other respondents varies. The Temeke Municipality Markets' Manager is formerly met four times for discussions whereas the traders' committee secretary is interviewed three times.

The general interview guide (semi-structured interview) approach is administered to the second level of informants that consists of officials in the Municipal and marketplaces authorities. Semi-structured interviews are flexible and allow the interviewer to get a complete and an in-depth understanding of the issue under the inquiry (Kombo et al, 2006). Three markets' officials in the three Municipalities are interviewed during the case selection stage. The markets' officials are approached with a guided list of interview questions that probes their understanding, experience and opinions on the institutional framework (regulations and norms) governing the daily activities of the marketplaces and petty trading activities in general. The interviews provide a list of marketplaces in their respective Local Government Authorities and insight into their management characteristics. At this level, the Temeke Stereo Marketplace project architect is also interviewed to ascertain the design approach he took for the project. Drawings showing layout proposals are obtained from the architect's office. These, form a base for identifying deviations from the original concept as well as establishing the architect's reasoning behind addressing the petty traders' needs. Other informants include eight department leaders who provide information on the marketplace's organisational aspects and the management of trading spaces in their respective areas of control. Two elderly residents in the neighbourhood within which the marketplace is located are also interviewed to give information on how the bordering streets were transformed over time.

The third level of informants comprises the identified researchers who are currently doing or have already conducted studies in marketplaces. With this group, semi-structured interviews are conducted. Two collaborating researchers at the University of Dar es Salaam who have extensively researched and published on matters regarding petty and/or street trading in

Tanzania are interviewed in this respect. These are approached when parts of fieldwork studies and preliminary analyses have been conducted. At this stage some deductions and reflections have been developed and hence, an opportune time to hold discussions as a means of getting feedback on the research process and content. It is also a means of avoiding bias in the research as alternative explanations and suggestions for data collection and analysis are offered (Yin, 2009). Discussion with the researchers as well as presentations of research progress at Ardhi University broadened an understanding of relevant theories that illuminated the study. Various questions of interest came up, positing a need for infill data collection as well as conducting additional review of relevant literature to further clarify the rising themes in the study.

Interviews are conducted in Swahili except those with the experienced researchers that are conducted in English. Most of them are recorded by a recording device, transcribed and translated into English. This approach enhances data quality and credibility as the recorded interviews can be easily retrieved. Recorded notes from the interviews are read through to identify emerging themes or patterns. The petty traders' interviews are used as the starting point in extracting narratives that make up the themes.

4.4.3 Documentary outsourcing

Aerial maps and architectural drawings are critically studied to understand the physical context of the marketplace and distribution of the petty trading activities within and outside the formal marketplace buildings. Information on the legal and institutional aspects of the marketplace is retrieved from documents such as bylaws, correspondence letters and reports from the marketplace authority or the Municipal Authorities. The relevant project reports of undergraduate and master's students from Ardhi University, Chalmers University of Technology and Katholieke Universiteit Leuven are also studied. From these, illustrations such as drawings and sketches provide insights on design of spaces and activities in marketplaces.

4.5 Challenges Encountered in the Research Process

In general, the research proceeded smoothly despite a few encountered challenges. Most of the interviewed traders were cooperative and willing to get engaged in discussions despite the fact that the interviews were taking place on the trading site. The Municipal officials and the marketplace leaders were also keen on this study and cooperative. Some respondents were, at

the beginning, hesitant to reveal information until they were assured that the information given would be treated with confidentiality. Consequently, names of some respondents were concealed in reporting circumstances where the respondent would not allow some information to be revealed and directly associated to him or her.

The research did however, encounter a number of challenges. These include unwillingness to be interviewed among most of the customers, particularly those who are also traders in other marketplaces, partly because they were in a hurry to sell their own goods. Another challenge is related to bureaucratic procedures that were to be followed before the commencement of fieldwork studies. There were some delays in getting the research permit, something that consequently affected the fieldwork schedule. Additionally, some traders had expectations that the research would offer solutions to their practical problems, such as absence of sheds and access to spaces. Consequently, some respondents would spend much time explaining facts of no clear relevance to the research focus. The researcher had to clearly explain to the respondents that the undertaking was only for academic purposes and not for finding solutions to their problems. This approach was useful in getting valid information relevant to the study. One of the major limitations of this study perhaps dwells on the lack of documentation of facts of the marketplace. Too much reliance was given to the oral information from key informants. Triangulation of information on, for instance, changes that happened in different spaces of the marketplace over time was achieved by posing the same question on a particular phenomenon to the traders, trade department leaders and traders' committee leaders.

CHAPTER FIVE

MARKETPLACES IN DAR ES SALAAM

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the spatial and legal contexts of marketplaces in Dar es Salaam. These are intended to give a general picture of the marketplaces in the city. Distribution of the marketplaces in the three Municipalities of the city is mapped, followed by their classification that was used in selecting a case for the study. Ultimately, the general spatial trends of the marketplaces are presented and discussed.

5.2 Spatial Context

Dar es Salaam is the largest commercial city in Tanzania located along the coast of the Indian Ocean (Figure 5.1). It has a total of 1,393 square kilometres of land mass which is only 0.19% of Tanzania Mainland's area (URT, 2004). The city is bordered by the Indian Ocean in the east and the Coast Region on all other sides. It has three Municipalities namely Kinondoni, Ilala and Temeke which are also the administrative districts of the region. The three Municipalities are autonomous Local Government Authorities, but coordinated by the Dar es Salaam City Council.

The city has fixed marketplaces which operate daily. There are also periodic, or what can be termed as 'momentary' marketplaces that occupy spaces designated for other functions. Petty trading activities in this kind of marketplaces operate at one moment and disappear over a period of time. Such places include bus stops, road junctions, road reserves and public open spaces. The momentary marketplaces normally start operating in the evening, at peak hours, when people are returning home after work. However, this study situates itself on the fixed and daily marketplaces.

The marketplaces in Dar es Salaam are generally randomly distributed in the city's three Municipalities (Figure 5.2). Kinondoni Municipality has the largest number of marketplaces. It has a total of twenty three marketplaces whereas Temeke and Ilala Municipalities have

fourteen and eight marketplaces respectively. The marketplaces are mostly located along or near the high ways or main roads and within residential areas. This pattern is consistent with the urbanisation trend in which services are largely developing along the main roads. This is probably due to easy accessibility, among other factors. The forty five marketplaces operate daily, only differing in amount of products they receive and distribute. The marketplaces are regulated by the respective Municipal Authorities in terms of tax collection and environmental management.



Figure 5.1: Location of Dar es Salaam Region in Tanzania. Map from <http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/tanzania-administrative-map.htm> visited on November 21, 2011



5.3 Legal Context

Business activities in Tanzania are governed by the Local Governments Act number 8 of 1982; section 80 that was revised in 2010 in the Local Governments Finance Act Cap 290, section 6, sub-section 1. Additionally, each Local Government Authority (LGA) has by-laws which regulate the day-to-day trading activities in their respective areas. The Temeke Municipal Council, for example, recently (in 2010) published specific by-laws on marketplaces¹³. The by-laws define marketplaces (*masoko*) as all areas designated by the Municipality for use as markets or *magulio*¹⁴. Two main trading spaces namely a stall (*kizimba*) and a kiosk (*kibanda*) are further categorized. A stall is conceived as a form of table, space, or any other area in a marketplace that is used or intended by a vendor for selling goods. A kiosk is defined as a room or building structure permitted by the Municipality to be erected in the marketplace for trading purposes by the Municipality or private individuals.

The by-laws stipulate that establishment and management of the marketplaces are governed by the Municipal Council. Time of use of the marketplaces, renting processes, cleanliness and restrictions on types of goods to be sold in marketplaces are clearly stipulated. It is interesting to also note that the by-laws have a special provision for cleanliness of food products in a marketplace. Specifically, cleaning of vegetables, meat, fish or any other foods in any area other than that designated for this purpose in the marketplace is not allowed.

In view of the above discussion, it seems that the legal setup governing the marketplaces influence their creation, use and management. However, the observed spatial complexity of the marketplaces calls for a systematic inquiry. From the historical perspective, classification of marketplaces seemed to have been mainly based on food products besides other commodities. Additionally, the hierarchical relationship between marketplaces and urban place subsystems in Kenya earlier presented in Chapter Two (Figure 2.2) generally classifies the marketplaces according to time of operation and location in particular urban centres. In Dar es Salaam, however, such a formal classification is not evident. Based on the foregoing insights, it is necessary to classify the marketplaces as a means of exploring their variations and similarities in terms of spatial, social and institutional patterns and processes.

¹³ The discussion on the by-laws is extracted from the Swahili version titled “*Sheria Ndogo za (Ushuru wa Masoko na Magulio) za Halmashauri ya Manispaa ya Temeke, 2010*” published in the Government Notice No. 309 of 2010 of the Local Government Finance Act Cap 290.

¹⁴ *Magulio* is a plural for *gulio* which is a Swahili word meaning a periodic marketplace that could have meant, for instance, a Sunday market in the western context.

5.4 Classification of Marketplaces in Dar es Salaam

Marketplaces in Dar es Salaam can be generally classified according to the type of goods sold; market generation and ownership; form of structure/enclosure and extent of local or regional integration. A marketplace can fall into more than one class. For example, a food marketplace can also be fenced (closed) and be of regional status. This categorisation was meant to provide an opportunity to understand the marketplaces in broader perspectives; their creation, use and management patterns and processes.

5.4.1 Type of goods sold: Food, clothes and mixed-goods marketplaces

The main goods sold in the observed marketplaces are food and clothes (new and second hand). Of the forty five marketplaces, 42% could be categorised as specifically food marketplaces whereas those with mixed goods (food, clothes and domestic utensils) were found to amount to 47%. Food was found to be the most tradable good in the marketplaces. Even in the mixed-type marketplaces, food has been occupying a remarkable portion of market space. The food items include cereals, vegetables, fruits, cooked foods, fish, meat and chicken. Marketplaces selling clothes only are much less (9%) compared with those selling food only. Hence, in terms of goods sold, marketplaces in Dar es Salaam can be classified as *food* marketplaces, *clothes* marketplaces and *mixed-goods* marketplaces. Table 5.1 illustrates the distribution of types of marketplaces in terms of goods sold in the three Municipalities of Dar es Salaam.

Table 5.1: Categorisation of marketplaces in Dar es Salaam in terms of sold goods

Type	Ilala	Kinondoni	Temeke	Total	Percentage
Food	5	11	3	19	42.2
Mixed	1	9	11	21	46.7
Clothes	2	2	0	4	8.9
Others ¹⁵	0	1	0	1	2.2
Total	8	23	14	45	100

5.4.2 Market generation and ownership: Informal and formal marketplaces

The marketplaces have shown variations in terms of their generation and ownership. There are those that were generated through informal processes such as acquisition and occupation of land, often open spaces which are idle. Small temporary stalls (*vigenge*) would emerge and eventually consolidate and grow into a large marketplace. Examples of such marketplaces

¹⁵ One marketplace in Kinondoni is not yet operational as of April 2011.

include Mwananyamala that was generated on a public open space initially used as a dumping area; Tandika market that started on a plot originally planned for a church; and Urafiki Ndizi market (locally referred to as *Mahakama ya ndizi*) that informally occupies a fenced open land leased to the Urafiki Textile Company. There are also marketplaces that were established through group initiatives or by private individuals. For instance, MFAVESCO (Mwananyamala Food and Vegetable Suppliers Cooperative Society Limited) marketplace was formed by a cooperative society which is a joint venture of three small markets of Mwinjuma, Makumbusho and Mwananyamala. The cooperative society is responsible for managing space acquisition and use in the market. Kariakoo and Msasani markets are examples of other markets generated by cooperative societies. On the other hand, Ubungo Kisiwani market was conceived and developed by a private investor. However, the marketplace is not functioning at the moment although its construction work was completed in November 2009. Some marketplaces were formerly conceived and constructed by the respective Municipal Authorities. These are, for example, Ferry Fish market, Kisutu, Tandale, Temeke Stereo, Makumbusho and many others. In these formal marketplaces, the respective Municipal Authority plans, designates space and manages daily activities.

5.4.3 Type of enclosure: Open and closed marketplaces

Open marketplaces are those that do not have distinctively defined boundaries and access points whereas closed marketplaces have defined enclosures, specifically with a wall fence and clearly defined entry and exit points. Of all the forty five marketplaces visited in Dar es Salaam, nine (20%) are closed (Table 5.2). With exception of Kariakoo, Ferry fish, Ubungo Kisiwani and Makumbusho markets, there is a combination of permanent and temporary shading structures in all the marketplaces. Provisions of shed structures are made by individual traders, organised groups, associations or the respective Municipal Authorities.



Figure 5.3: (Left photo) Tandale market open to a street and; (Right photo) Fenced Temeke Stereo market

Table 5.2: Categorisation of marketplaces in Dar es Salaam in terms of type of enclosure

Type	Ilala	Kinondoni	Temeke	Total	Percentage
Open	5	19	12	36	80.0
Closed	3	4	2	9	20.0
Total	8	23	14	45	100

5.4.4 Extent of integration: Regional and local marketplaces

Kariakoo, Tandale, Temeke Stereo, Urafiki Ndizi and Tandika markets can be classified as regional marketplaces by virtue of their goods often being distributed from and to various regions of Tanzania and in some cases to other neighbouring countries. They are large in size and often overspill their activities to nearby streets. Tandale marketplace, for instance, has traces of business connections to traders from the Comoro islands. Additionally, most of the cereals in Dar es Salaam are delivered to and distributed from Tandale to various other retail marketplaces and shops. Plantains (and bananas) from Mbeya, Kilimanjaro and Morogoro regions are often received at Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace before being distributed to other marketplaces in Dar es Salaam. The Temeke Stereo Marketplace often collects food products from Kilwa, Iringa and Morogoro and is believed to be the major distributor of fruits and vegetables in Dar es Salaam¹⁶. On the other hand, local marketplaces such as Sinza Makaburini, Kapera, Babati and many others are small in size and generally serve their immediate surroundings.

¹⁶ Based on an interview with the Markets' Manager of the Temeke Municipality conducted on 28th July 2010 at his office at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace.

5.5 Spatial Trends

Marketplaces in Dar es Salaam display variations and commonalities on generation, use and management of trading spaces. Space shape and size seem to vary depending on the type and quantity of goods sold as well as the time the space is occupied (which also varies depending on goods' seasons). Spaces that would otherwise be occupied by pineapples in their respective season could also be used to display oranges during the oranges' season. This means that in some sections/areas of marketplaces, sizes and shapes of individual trading spaces are irregular thereby resulting in an organic pattern of the overall spatial organisation. In the Temeke Stereo Marketplace, vehicular circulation space is used by individual petty traders for a time period up to 10 a.m. After that the space is cleared. Thereafter, the marketplace environment changes remarkably. At this moment, the marketplace becomes less hectic, making its various sections easily visible and accessible.



Figure 5.4: Vegetables occupying small spaces on wooden stalls whereas watermelons are displayed on a relatively big space on the ground at Buguruni market. Photos by Fungo, 2010

Trading spaces are often zoned according to the type of goods sold. For example, there are different areas for tomatoes, oranges, coconuts, plantains and many other goods. However, this practice is not common to all marketplaces. Zoning of trading spaces has mostly been observed in large markets such as Temeke Stereo, Tandika and Tandale. Spatial organisation and territories of the trading spaces in the marketplaces are often informally determined by mutual agreement among traders or formally established by the Municipal Authority. Space use and management is regulated by respective Municipal Councils through traders' committees and associations.

5.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has painted a general picture of marketplaces in Dar es Salaam. Classification of the marketplaces facilitated an understanding of the commonalities and variations in terms of spatial processes displayed in the marketplaces. The observed general spatial trends have highlighted the aspects of space size and shape, time factors on space use as well as space territoriality and the embedded social norms with regard to their generation, use and management. These are further explained in Chapter Six and Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SIX

CONTEXTUALISING THE TEMEKE STEREO MARKETPLACE

6.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the setting of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace (TSM) and its subsequent transformation over a period of time. The physical location, the phases of its development as well as the spatial features in terms of organisation, physical structures and zoning of the marketplace are presented and discussed. The influence of the various actors in transformation of the marketplace and its surrounding area are also expounded.

6.2 Setting of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace in Dar es Salaam

Temeke Stereo Marketplace is located in the Temeke Municipality, within a high density residential area built before the 1950s (see Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2). It occupies nearly 20,000 square metres. It is surrounded by commercial-residential buildings along the bordering streets namely Kasana Street (South- East), Kabuga Street (North-West) and Mpolwe Street (South- West). Temeke District Hospital is located at the North- Eastern side of the marketplace. The bus stop is about 200 metres to the east.

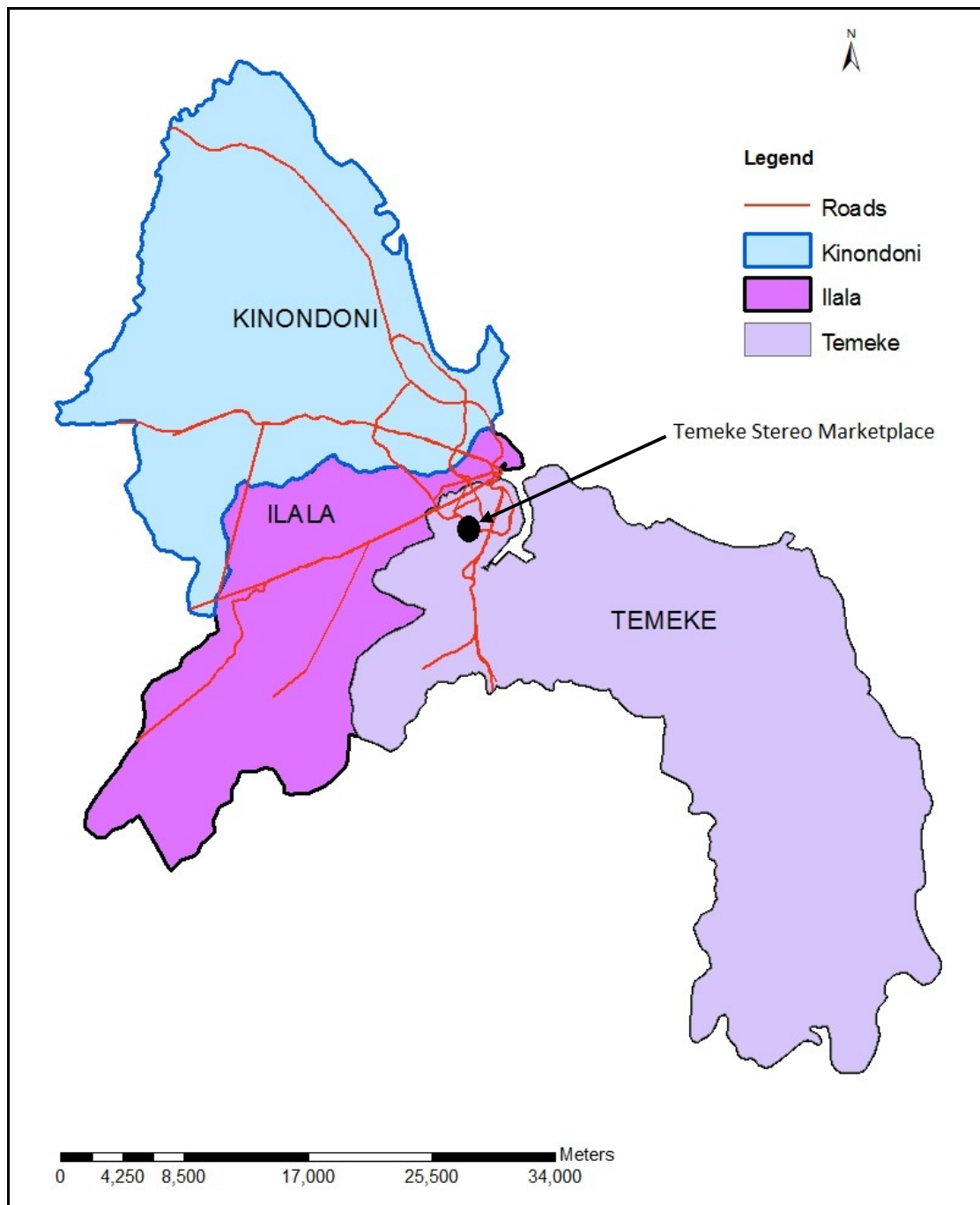


Figure 6.1: Location of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace in the Dar es Salaam region. Base map produced by Joel Msami, 2011

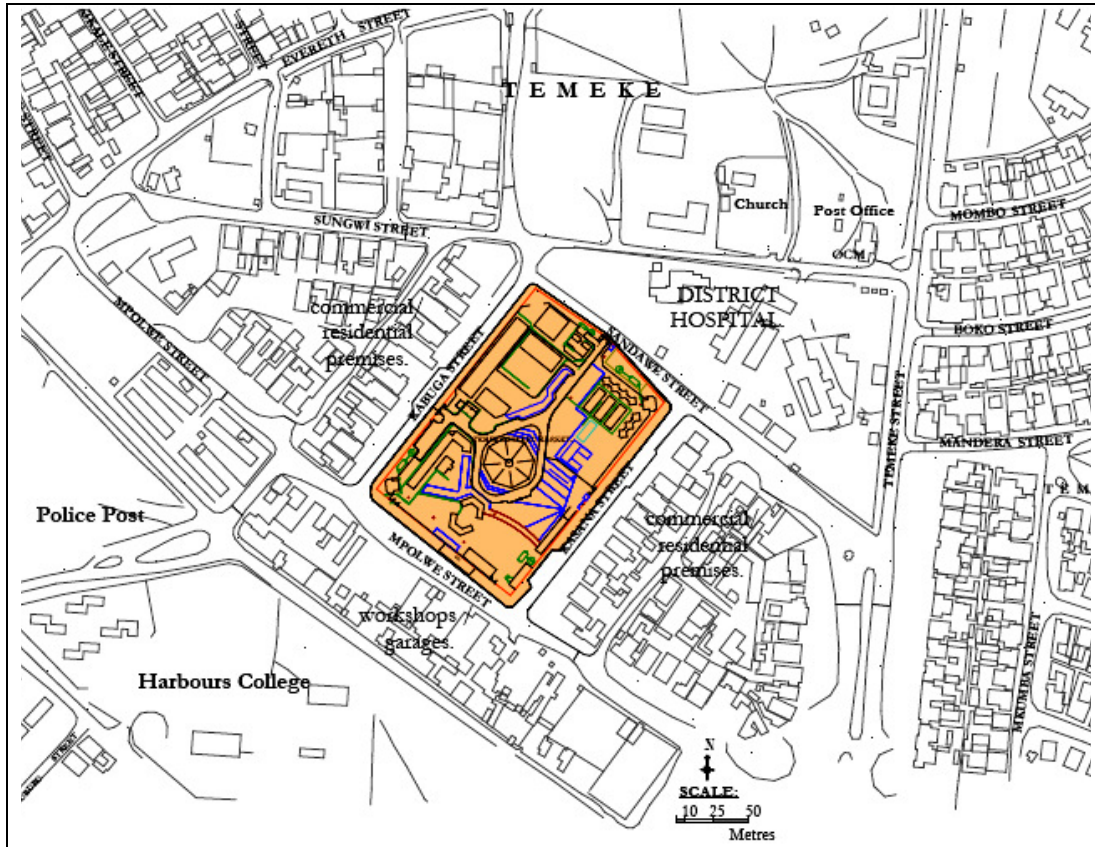


Figure 6.2: The neighbourhood context of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. Base map adapted from Survey and Mapping Division, Ministry of Lands (1992)

The Temeke Stereo Marketplace is rectangular in shape, fenced with a greyish-brown block wall about 2.4 metres high. It has five gates; one on the north eastern side, one on each north western and south eastern sides and two on the south western side. The north eastern gate, which is the main gate for the marketplace, is located approximately at the centre of the fence wall along Sandawe Street facing the Temeke District hospital. As one immediately enters the marketplace through the main gate, finds a security guard house located to the left and the marketplace administration building on the right hand side. The road from the main gate leads to the *rotunda*; a round shaped structure of slanted concrete columns roofed with iron sheets which is located at the centre of the marketplace. The retail shops/kiosks, *kampochea*¹⁷, chicken cages and chicken slaughtering shed are on the left hand side as one approaches the *rotunda* whereas *ma-dago*,¹⁸ and the wholesale area for tomatoes are on the right hand side. Food vending stalls as well as wholesale areas for coconut and fruits are

¹⁷ *Kampochea* is a skewed Swahili word that is locally used to mean 'camp for sharing' at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. It contains a collection of makeshift stalls for retailing mixed food goods.

¹⁸ *Ma-dago* is a plural for *dago* that means a ground trading space for fruits and vegetables.

behind the *rotunda* on the south western side. A mosque used by traders and residents in the neighbourhood is located behind the fence wall near the gate at the junction between Mpolwe and Kasana streets. The garbage collection shed is located near the gate on the south western side. Two public toilet buildings are diagonally located at the east and the west corners of the marketplace. Shops, food vending stalls, security guard house, toilet buildings and the administration building are built of cement-sand block walls and roofed with corrugated iron sheets. The *kampochea* has makeshift stalls of timber with sheds made of polythene sheets, pieces of boxes or iron sheets. Figure 6.3 shows the aerial view; Figure 6.4 illustrates location of the various facilities while Figure 6.5 shows the various sections in the marketplace.



Figure 6.3: Aerial view of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. Source: Google, 2011

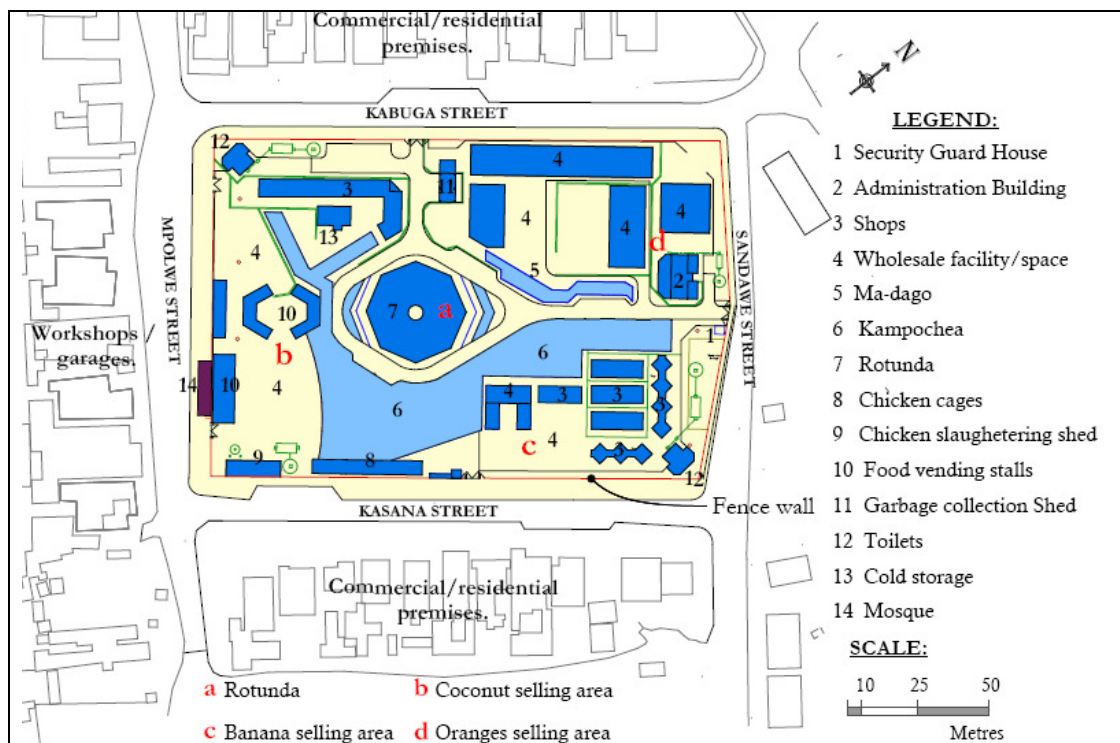


Figure 6.4: A map showing the various facilities/spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. Base map adapted from Survey and Mapping Division, Ministry of Lands (1992)



Figure 6.5: Photos showing various sections at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace: With reference to Figure 6.4; (a) view of the rotunda and kampochea taken from the main gate along Sandawe Street; (b) coconut selling area in front of the U-shaped food vending stalls; (c) banana selling area and (d) oranges selling area with open-sided structures at the front and on the right hand side

A normal day at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace would start at around six in the morning with a high congestion of traders and customers. During this time, tracks and pushcarts overcrowd the vehicular road from the entrance all the way to around the *rotunda* and along the four bordering streets while loading or offloading goods. Goods and people are scattered all over the spaces and leave no visible empty space. In the afternoon, the marketplace is less hectic whereby empty spaces can be seen at some spots in the marketplace. At this time, offloading of goods is completed, traders are settled in and people can easily see and access the trading spaces. In the evening, the marketplace is active again as offloading of goods re-establishes to prepare for the next day's business and as customers go around purchasing goods, upon returning home from work. The marketplace closes at around six in the evening.

Traders are often adults; men and women who attempt to make their ends meet using small capital to explore opportunities available at the marketplace. Customers are either the final consumers of the goods or traders who come to buy goods in bulk and resell smaller amounts for a higher price in other marketplaces or streets. Other customers include people who would come to the marketplace to purchase fruits for their loved ones admitted at Temeke hospital.

6.3 Evolution and Immediate Context¹⁹

Temeke Stereo Marketplace began around the 1950s on the plot that was specifically designated as a marketplace. The area was bushy with a few scattered informal stalls or *magenge*²⁰ in Swahili. The marketplace started with four spaces designated for meat, tomatoes, fish and tea. Beginning from the 1970s, the informal stalls started increasing whereby fruits and chicken became the most common goods that were sold at the marketplace. During the period, the marketplace was open, with access from all the bordering streets, which at that time were not strictly defined. Temeke hospital, community centre and residential houses were the only functions surrounding the marketplace (Figure 6.6). See also Appendix 3A for graphical documentation on transformation of the marketplace.

¹⁹ Discussions with Mr. Tito, the Temeke Municipality Markets' Manager and Mr. Mzome, the General Secretary of the Temeke Stereo Market Traders' committee as well as Mr. Shani, an elderly settler in the neighbourhood since 1950s.

²⁰ *Magenge* is a plural form of *genge* which is a Swahili term that refers to a makeshift stall.

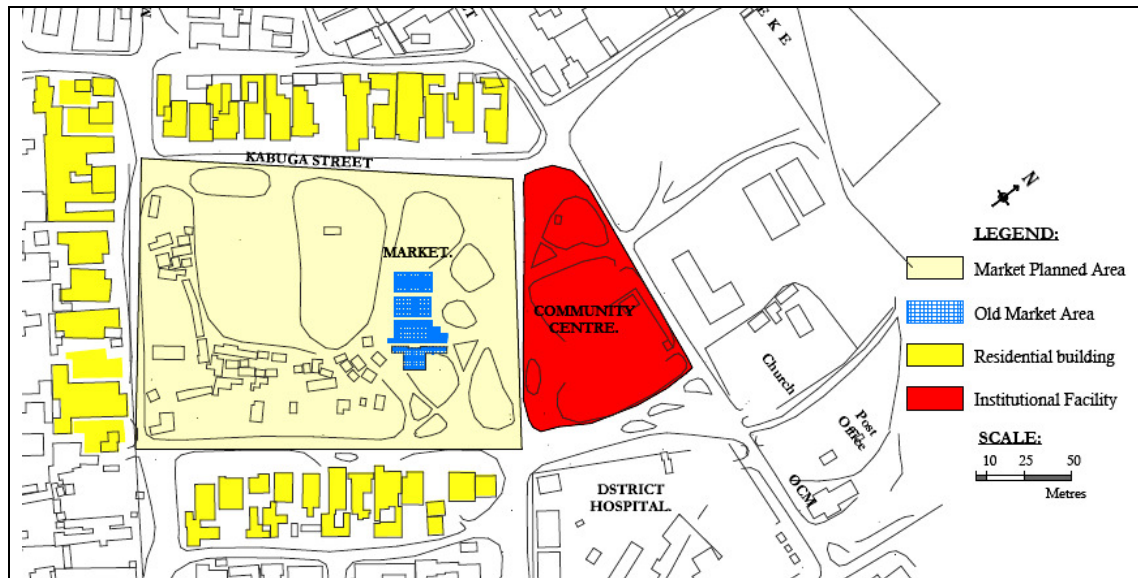


Figure 6.6: Temeke Stereo Marketplace during 1950s. Base map adapted from Survey and Mapping Division, Ministry of Lands (1992)

Between mid 1970s and 1998, the Temeke Stereo Marketplace underwent major transformations. In the interior part of the marketplace, a rectangular structure that occupied most of the north eastern part was constructed by the Temeke Municipal Council. The structure was divided into four main components that were for selling tomatoes, bananas, fish and chicken. From the early 1990s, the other part of the marketplace was used by neighbouring residents as a football ground (Figure 6.7). The remaining part at the centre of the marketplace was occupied and used as informal vehicle repair garages. Outside the marketplace, Kasana and Kabuga streets remained dominated by residential houses whereas Mpolwe Street was largely occupied by garages and workshops. With the exception of Sandawe Street, the fronts of buildings in all other streets were used as informal garages. Along the Sandawe Street close to Temeke hospital, a big retail shop that the residents commonly called a ‘supermarket’ was erected. As said by Mr Shani who has been living in the neighbourhood since the 1950s, the famous Stereo Bar, after which Temeke Stereo Marketplace was named, was built along Kabuga Street in mid-1970s. Up until then, the marketplace was still open, and accessible from the bounding streets.

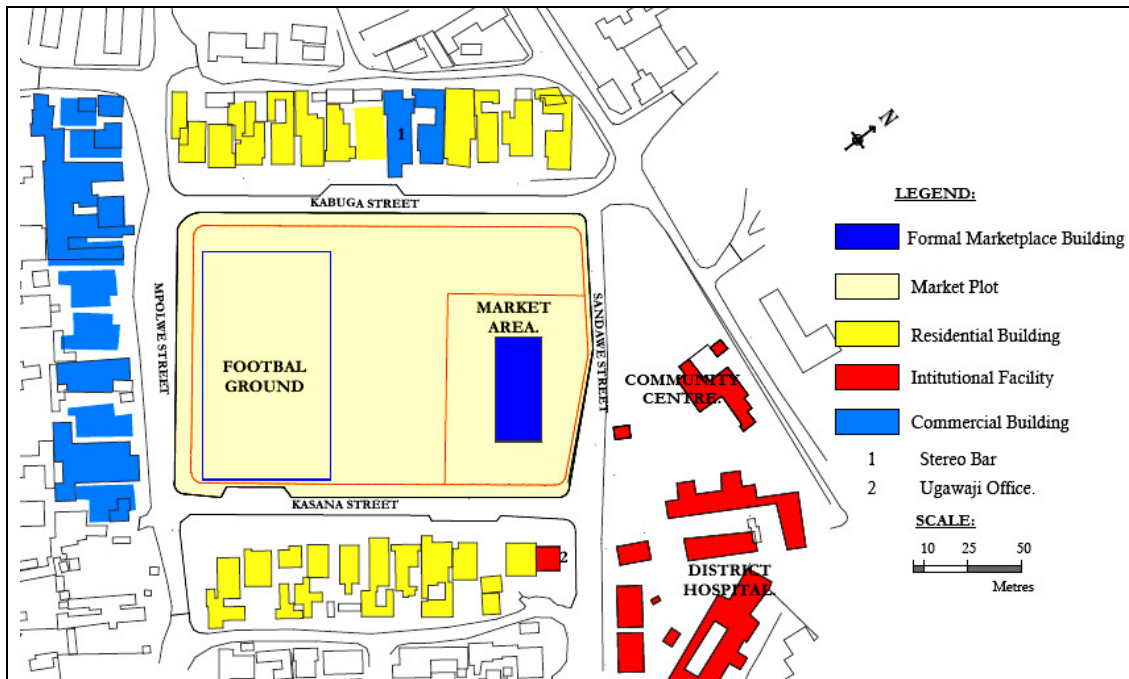


Figure 6.7: Temeke Stereo Marketplace between mid-1970s and 1998. Base map adapted from Survey and Mapping Division, Ministry of Lands (1992)

Construction of formal building structures and a fence enclosing the Temeke Stereo Marketplace started in 1998. Between 1998 and 2006, trading activities at the marketplace were restricted within the formal buildings (sheds) only (Figure 6.8). This was the period when the Dar es Salaam Regional Administration was very strict with informal activities in spaces that were not designated for such purposes. It was thus prohibited by the Temeke Municipal Council to conduct any business on empty spaces between the buildings. It was also not allowed to construct any informal structures in or outside the marketplace. Attempts by traders to build informal stalls in the empty spaces in the marketplace were met by frequent demolitions by the Municipal Council. Security was enhanced after erection of the fence and the restricted access through five gates. It can be argued that the fence and the gates were also symbolic control tools that would, at least, restraint the inflow of trading activities in and outside the marketplace. Thus, the fence and the gates facilitate the management of trading activities in the marketplace.

Within this period, bars and guest houses were emerging along Kabuga Street; a few commercial units were added along Kasana Street. Mpolwe Street remained occupied by garages and workshops with only slight modifications of the buildings. Also, the marketplace users and the neighbouring residents collaborated to build a mosque in front of the

marketplace along Mpolwe Street. Infrastructure services such as clean water supply, storm water drainage systems and roads inside the marketplace were still underdeveloped. However, the streets surrounding the marketplace were tarmaced roads and were provided with storm water drainage channels.

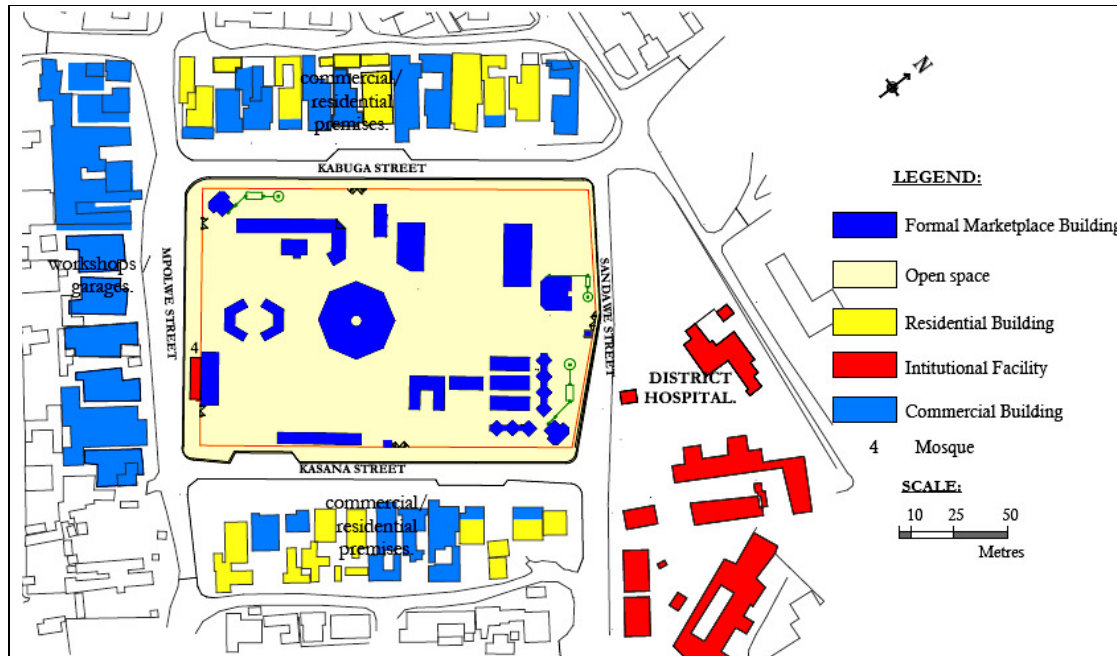


Figure 6.8: Temeke Stereo Marketplace between mid-1998 and 2006. Base map adapted from Survey and Mapping Division, Ministry of Lands (1992)

Between 2006 and 2008, the Temeke Stereo Marketplace transformed significantly. During this period, restriction of traders to construct informal structures between the formal buildings was relaxed following the change of the Dar es Salaam Regional Administration. Frequent demolition of the informal structures declined, attracting many informal structures (makeshift stalls) and occupiers along the formal buildings in the marketplace (Figure 6.9). A few buildings were added and the landscape was greatly improved whereby pavements and a storm water drainage channel were created inside the marketplace. There was, however, no significant change of status of Mpolwe and Kabuga streets. Construction of commercial units intensified along Kasana Street. Petty traders mainly selling non-perishable goods such as cloths and shoes occupied the exterior part of the fence along Kasana and Sandawe streets.

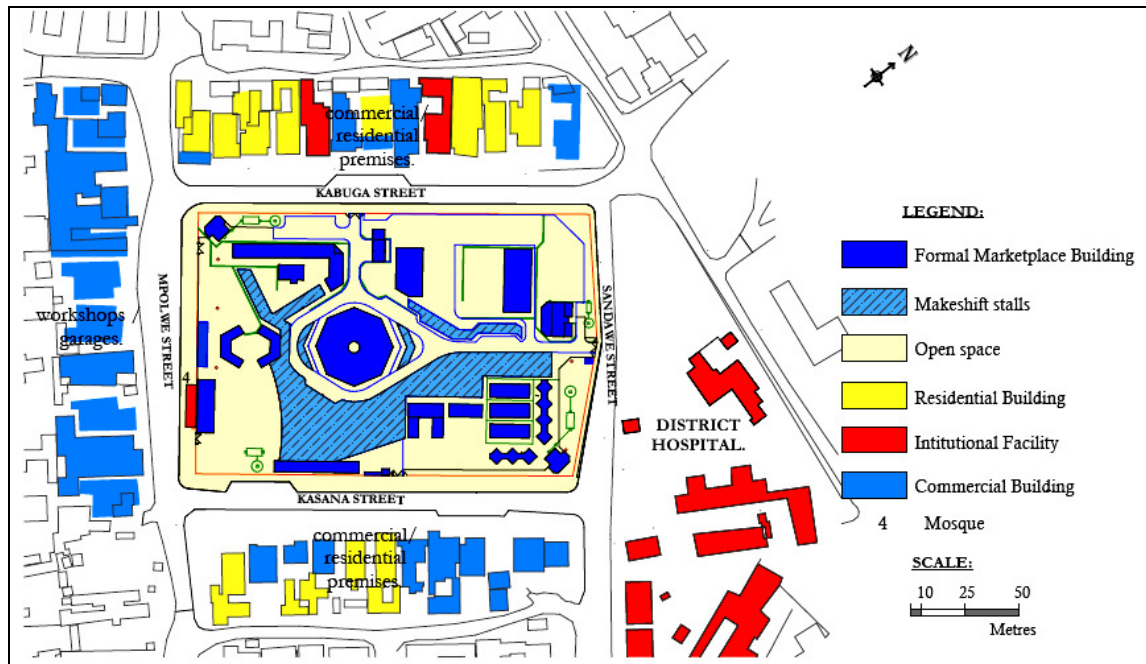


Figure 6.9: Temeke Stereo Marketplace between 2006 and 2008. Base map adapted from Survey and Mapping Division, Ministry of Lands (1992)

Some changes effected the marketplace further between 2008 and 2011 (Figure 6.10). In 2009/2010, three more open-sided structures were erected. Outside the marketplace, two community buildings; a dispensary and a microfinance centre were built along Kabuga Street. The three guest houses that were operating along Kabuga Street were converted to normal residential units. This is probably due to decline in business following the hectic environment at the marketplace. A resident who previously owned a guest house before it was converted into a residential house asserts:

The guest house business is not paying anymore because this place is very busy and noisy as a result of activities at the marketplace. I guess all these guest houses here are going to close down in the near future. If you put up a retail shop here, you can make a lot of money.²¹

Commercial units, especially retail kiosks, have since increased along Kasana Street, also with intensification of informal garages occupying the front parts of the units. Mpolwe Street is still predominantly occupied by garages and workshops.

²¹ Interview with Mr. Shani, an elderly settler along Kabuga Street, on 24th March 2011 at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace.

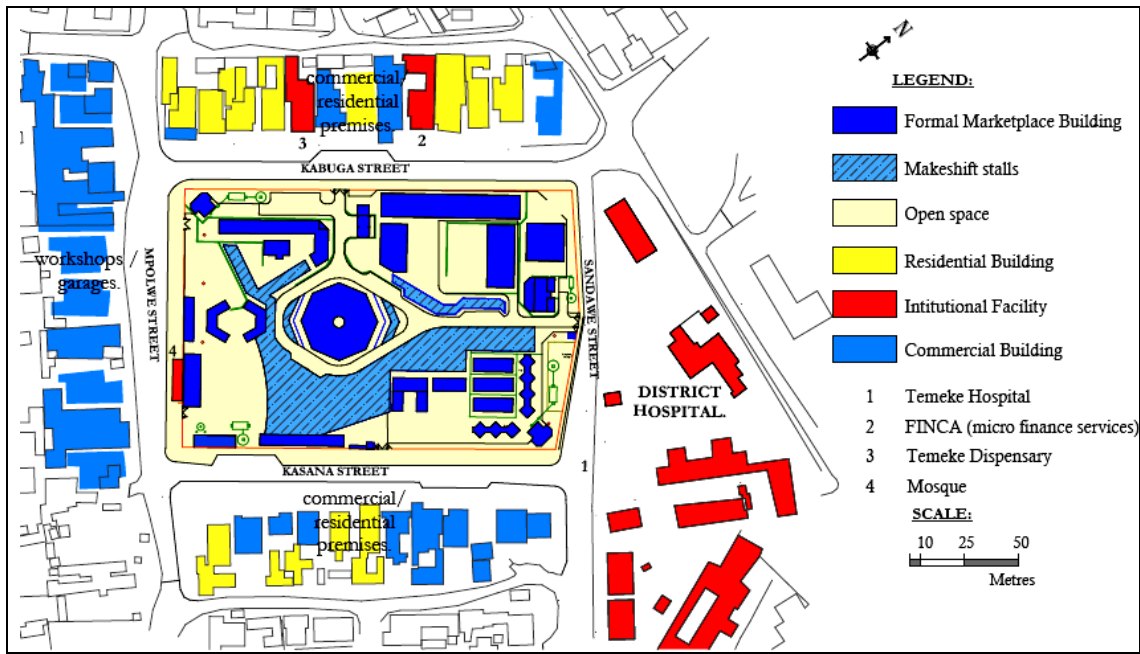


Figure 6.10: Temeke Stereo Marketplace from 2008 to 2011. Base map adapted from Survey and Mapping Division, Ministry of Lands (1992)

Transformation of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace seems to demonstrate the influence in existing power relations among the involved actors as well as between various physical functions. The main actors behind the transformation are the Regional Administration (involving the Dar es Salaam City Council and Temeke Municipal Council), residents in the neighbourhood surrounding the marketplace and the traders. While the Regional Administration seems to have a strong influence on traders' actions in transforming the marketplace, the residents have little or no influence on the same. Since the marketplace is enclosed, traders' actions, for instance, in building up their shed structures inside the marketplace, are not directly affected by actions of the residents, such as changing uses of their houses, in the bordering streets. However, residents' actions in transforming their houses near the marketplace seem to depend on traders' actions and the resulting marketplace situation. For example, a resident's decision to change a residential building into a shop or garage may be influenced largely by the activities in the marketplace. In another dimension, actions of the Regional Administration may not always determine what the residents are doing to their houses. However, the changes that the residents impose to their houses may prompt actions by the Regional Administration to, for example, follow up on whether facilities such as a guest house or a shop are registered (have the relevant licenses) and

function according to the governing laws. Figure 6.11 conceptually illustrates such relationships.

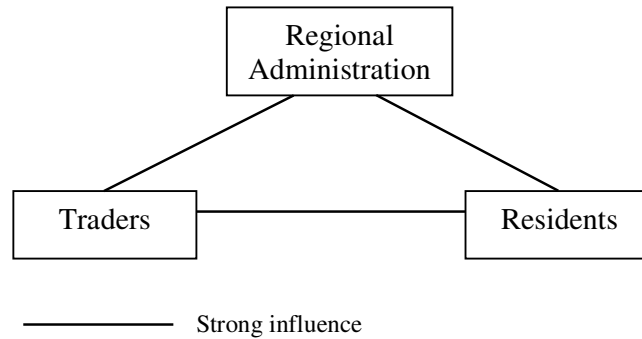


Figure 6.11: Actors' influences in transformation of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace and its immediate surroundings. Source: Authors construct

At another scale, the Temeke Stereo Marketplace seems to relate strongly to the nearby guest houses, residential houses and vehicle repair garages. Presence of the surrounding facilities highly depends on the functional environment of the marketplace. As earlier noted, noise and lack of privacy from the trading environment at the marketplace, would tend to discourage the guest house business nearby. Garages and retail outlets for vehicular spare parts are better placed in attracting customers bringing goods from other parts of the country. However, the marketplace seems to have a weak relationship with institutions such as the Temeke District hospital. Transformation of the marketplace appears to have had no significant influence on the hospital. If, however, the Temeke District hospital is transformed, there is a possibility that activities taking place at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace may also be affected.

Compatibility of various functions has been, and still is, a key ingredient for effective use of public and private facilities. As demonstrated in the foregoing discussion on transformation of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace, understanding the functional relationships between the surrounding facilities is particularly useful in conceptualising, planning, designing and managing marketplaces. Figure 6.12 attempts to express the wholeness of the transformation processes in a broader context before analysing the institutional and social processes specific to the Temeke Stereo Marketplace.

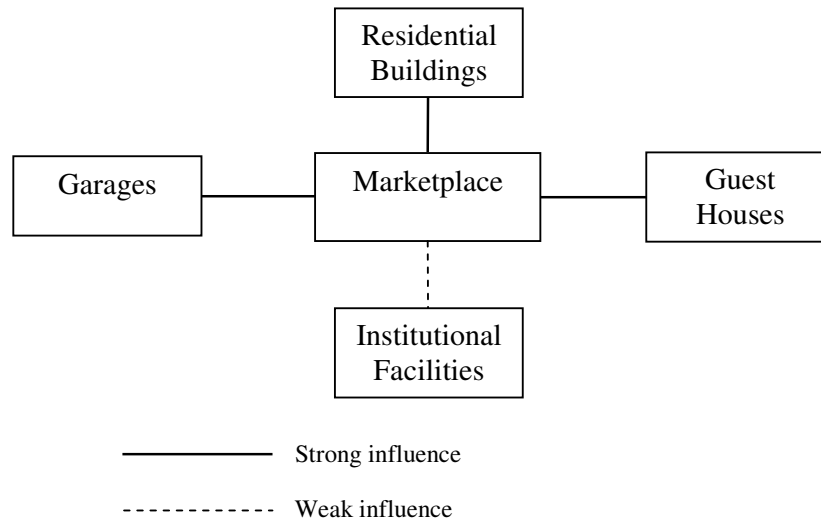


Figure 6.12: A conceptual description of the influence of transformation of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace on other surrounding facilities. Source: Authors construct

6.4 Spatial Features

Generally, spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace are organically arranged with formal and permanent structures nested together with informal building structures that are predominantly temporary. The formally built-up structures range from open-sided and paved floor structures to enclosed buildings. The open-sided structures are basically sheds of industrial sheets on a timber roof structure supported by concrete columns. These, with the exception of the central marketplace complex, the *rotunda*, are relatively large and used for wholesale trading. The enclosed trading spaces such as butchers and kiosks are small units for retail trading. The informal structures consist of sheds made of polythene membrane /plastic sheets, sacks or pieces of boxes that are supported by timber poles (Figure 6.13).

The marketplace consists of a total of 25 formally built-up and permanently fixed structures scattered over the entire plot. It has a total of 901 formerly registered retail spaces occupied by approximately 2000 traders²² (Appendix 3). The *kampochea* is the most concentrated area occupying nearly a third of total allocated spaces in the marketplace. The area is dominated by wooden stalls for display of mixed goods. The spaces are often fixed throughout the year but goods change with seasons. Detailed spatial features of *kampochea* are discussed in Chapter Seven.

²² The number of spaces varies with seasons of various food products. These spaces are registered as the most common that happen to be used throughout the year. The spaces for wholesale are not included in the number.



Figure 6.13: The Left photo shows the *Rotunda* and food vendors' buildings surrounded with informal structures. In the foreground is a wholesale area for mangoes that are protected by banana leaves. The right photo shows the *Kampochea* area with informal structures. Note the sheds of sacks supported by timber poles

The marketplace is administratively zoned into two main categories namely wholesale and retail. The spaces in the wholesale zone are rented out on daily basis. This means that no trader can claim ownership of a particular space in the wholesale area. The spaces in the retail zone, on the other hand, are rented out on a monthly or yearly basis depending on the type and season of goods sold.

It has been observed in the physical layout of the marketplace that there is some correlation between the patterns in sales zones and built-up structures. The areas dominated by temporary (informal) structures are, to a large extent, occupied by retail trade (Figures 6.14 and 6.15). The retail trade zone has a concentration of a cluster of small spatial units of varying sizes and arrangements. With the exception of the fixed kiosks/shops that were formerly designed, the retail spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace present a functioning spatial order of its own that might, however, initially appear disorganized. This phenomenon may imply that there are hidden mechanisms that hold together the formal and informal spatial systems in the marketplaces.

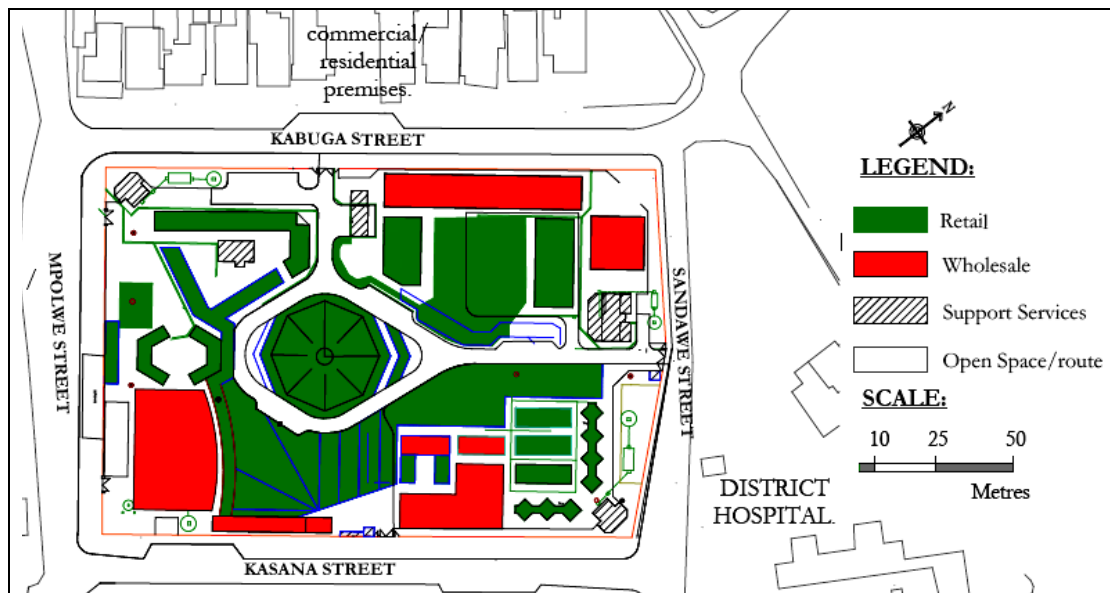


Figure 6.14: Sales zones at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. Base map adapted from Survey and Mapping Division, Ministry of Lands (1992)

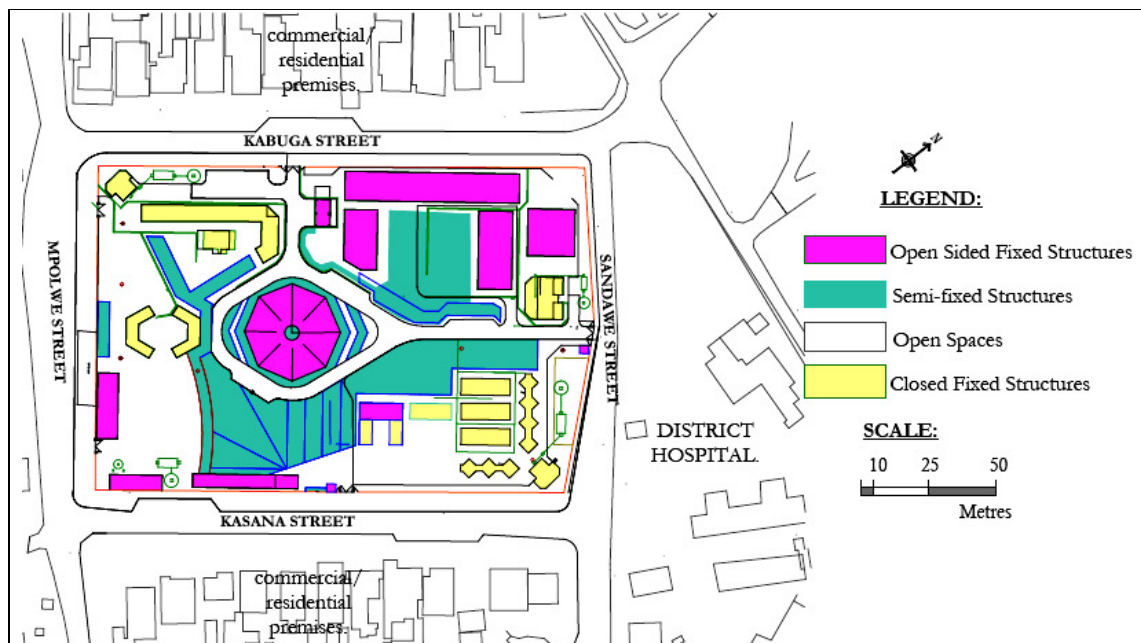


Figure 6.15: Zoning of built-up structures at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. Base map adapted from Survey and Mapping Division, Ministry of Lands (1992)

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has described the setting and evolution of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace, pointing out a number of physical changes that have taken place inside the marketplace and in the immediate surrounding area. The study has shown that transformation of interior

spaces of the marketplace does not take place in isolation, but rather in connection to spaces in the bordering streets. Behind the observed transformation are actions embedded in the prevailing institutional systems. As earlier presented in this chapter, an attempt to modernise the Temeke Stereo Marketplace by the Dar es Salaam Regional Administration resulted in minimal construction of informal shed structures in the marketplace. However, following adjustments in the administration, a compromise was eventually reached whereby the informal sheds boomed in the marketplace and elsewhere in the city. An eclectic mix of fixed, semi-fixed and temporary built-up structures as well as the varying organisational patterns of petty trading spaces became more visible characteristic spatial features of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. Chapter Seven presents an account of the processes that describe the formation and sustenance of the petty trading spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PETTY TRADING SPATIAL PROCESSES

7.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the processes inherent in generation, use and management of petty trading spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. The processes from formal design of the marketplace to traders' informal appropriation of the spaces are described and critically appraised. The spatial, institutional and social aspects with regard to the involved processes and actors are further explained.

7.2 Space Generation and Use

The space patterns that can be observed at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace are a result of integrated processes involving conceptions, decisions, actions and reactions that were carried through a cross section of public and private institutions. In the process, petty trading spaces were and continue to be produced and reproduced. The formal design or conceptualisation and construction process of the marketplace is examined in relation to the users' (traders') needs as depicted in the way they appropriate the spaces. The *kampochea* is further described in detail to reveal layers of the processes and actors on the ground.

7.2.1 Design and construction of the marketplace

Construction of the existing structures at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace started in 1998 and was completed in 1999 through financial support from the National Income Generation Programme (NIGP) in partnership with Dar es Salaam City Council (DCC) (Ka' Bange, 2000). This is one of the marketplaces that were constructed at the time when the marketplaces of Makumbusho, Mwanakwerekwe in Zanzibar and Kilombero in Arusha were built under NIGP. The Temeke Stereo Marketplace was conceived following recommendations of various stakeholders involved in the implementation of the Strategic Urban Development

Plan (SUDP) (Ibid.). A working group (WG)²³ that would address the priority environmental issue of integrating petty trading in urban economy was established from among the various actors. In 1994, relocation of petty traders from undesignated areas was conceived by the WG as a preferred strategy, complementing the accommodation and forced eviction in dealing with petty trading in the city. The aims were inter alia to resettle informal operators in unauthorized areas.

After consultations and subsequent agreements among the involved stakeholders, a proposal to relocate traders to Temeke Stereo and Makumbusho marketplaces was put forward (Ka' Bange, 2000; Kombe, 2002). A sketch design for the 'modest' market sheds was developed by an architectural firm in consultation with the Working Group and eventually submitted to the DCC for approval and subsequent implementation of the project (Kombe, 2002). However, the DCC rejected the submitted proposal of the 'modest' market sheds in favour of the 'modern' structures that "would reflect the value of land as well as enhance the visual outlook of the area (...), options which can generate the desperately needed revenue" (Kombe, 2002:71-72). Consequently in 1997, the NIGP commissioned Plan Associates, a local architectural firm, to design and supervise construction of the modern marketplace complex.

7.2.2 The architect's approach on the design of Temeke Stereo Marketplace²⁴

The architect's design concept for the marketplace was based on enhancement of functional requirements and services for petty traders as well as immediate and future developments. The architect was not provided with specific user (petty traders) requirements that would guide the design. However, the earlier rejected sketch proposals from the WG could have helped the architect to understand the basic needs of petty traders. Nevertheless, the architect conducted case studies at Kariakoo and Magomeni marketplaces in Dar es Salaam as well as at some marketplaces in other regions such as Moshi and Iringa. The general design considerations as pointed out by the project architect included cross ventilation, day lighting, economic design and expandable design. The marketplace would be required to be ventilated by natural means. Thus, sides of the market's enclosed structures were kept as open as

²³ This was among the nine working groups that were established to address the identified priority environmental issues. It consisted of 12 stakeholders from a cross section of institutions in the public, private and community sectors.

²⁴ The discussion on design concepts for the Temeke Stereo Marketplace is based on an interview with Mr. Ndanshau, the project architect of Plan Associates in his office on 24th January, 2011.

possible to allow free movement of air as well as expose the interior spaces to natural light. The buildings were of frame structures to facilitate flexibility in future expansion with minimal alterations, thus economical undertaking, when need arises.

The market centre (*rotunda*) determined circulation within the marketplace. It was designed to be a kind of supermarket. The *rotunda* was also to accommodate bulk storage for goods from up country and a bit of small amounts in the marketplace. Other factors that were considered for the design include traffic flow between stalls, hygienic conditions and security whereby a fence was designed to have a few access points to restrict movement into and out of the marketplace.

The first architect's landscaping proposal shows that other functions including play area for children were considered besides trading activities (Figure 7.1). The proposal had considered the existing situation, in terms of activities that were taking place around the area and tried to incorporate them into the design. These were, however, eventually abandoned as the design progressed and ended up with only market and trading facilities. This was no surprise given the drive that the facility had to depict modernity and with a possibility to generate as much revenue as possible.

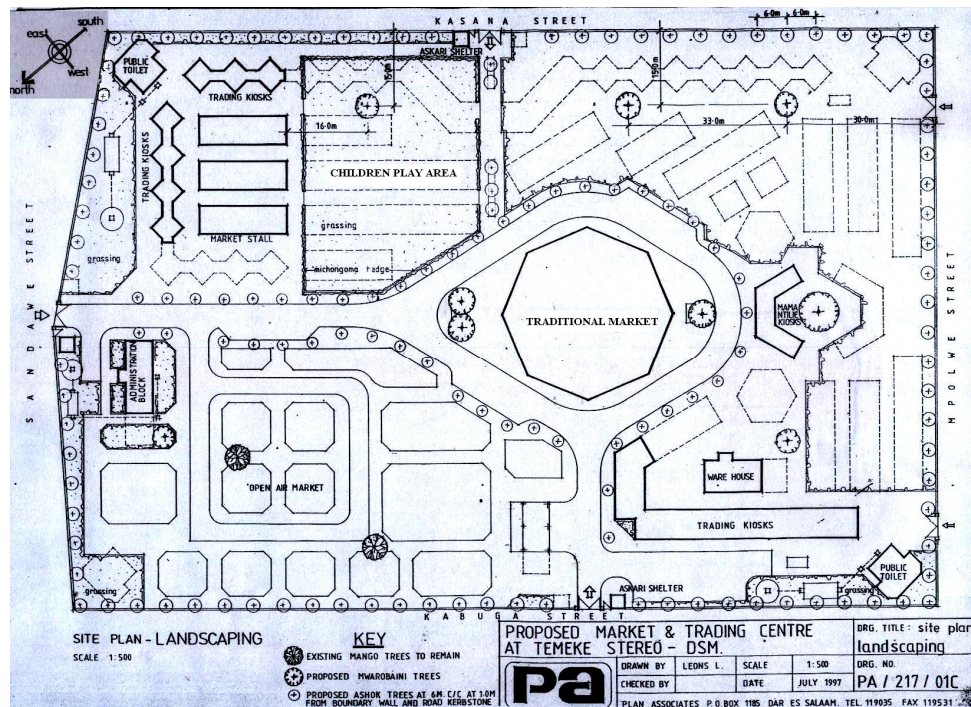


Figure 7.1: Landscaping proposal for the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. Note the provision of a children's play area. Drawing from Plan Associates

The project was titled 'Market and Trading Centre' (Figure 7.2). The two terminologies; 'market' and 'trading centre' in the name of the facility connote different but complementing architectural functions. These are reflected in the design of an open air market and market stalls that are zoned differently from trading kiosks, shops, and supermarkets. The supermarket was to be an enclave within the marketplace, with own parking lots and controlled access gates from the streets and into the market and trading facilities. This seems to be built on the idea that a supermarket and 'traditional market' are hardly compatible, hence the need to physically and symbolically separate them. In other words, petty trading spaces are, or should be, different in terms of design from 'modern' shopping facilities. Moreover, need for more trading facilities outweighed the requirement for provision of a children's play area. Consequently, in the design process, the area initially proposed for a play area was replaced by trading kiosks. This can be attributed to the desperate need to generate revenue for the DCC, rather than provide leisure facilities and market sheds as earlier proposed by the WG.

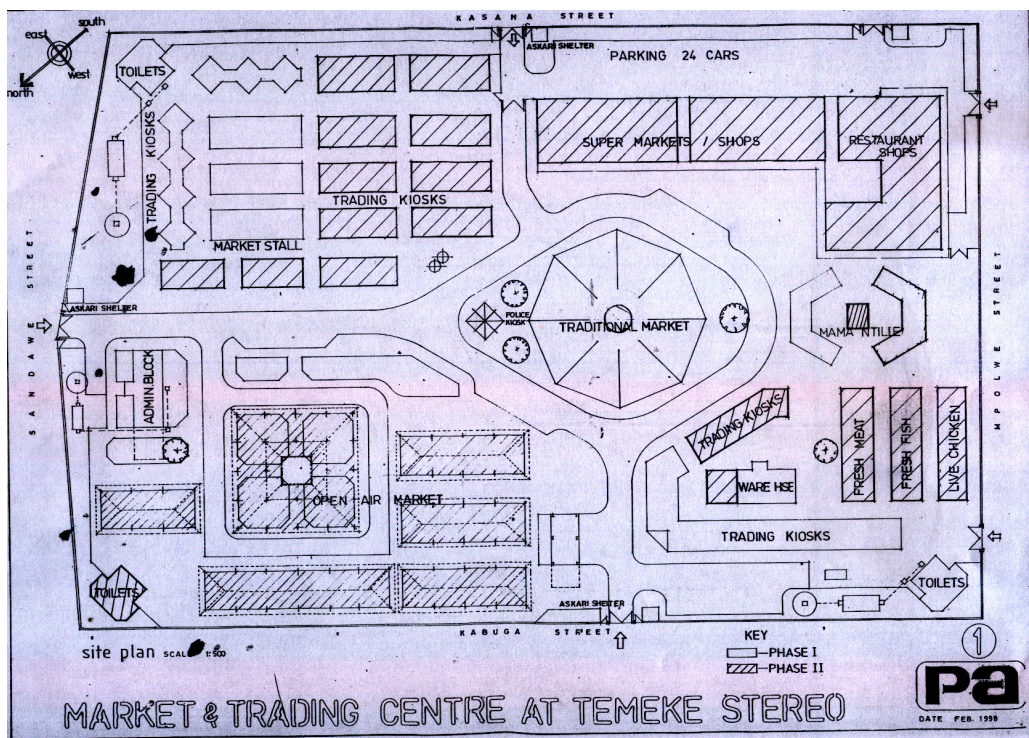


Figure 7.2: The proposed phased development for the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. Note the provision of supermarket facility. Drawing from Plan Associates

Ultimately, structures that were proposed for Phase I were built in 1999. These include the administration building, six buildings that accommodated trading shops/kiosks, two toilet

buildings the rotunda, food vendors' facilities and garbage collection facility. In Phase II, only a few trading kiosks were added. The supermarket, shops and restaurant have not been built to date. The area earlier allocated for the aforesaid functions is currently occupied by chicken cages, a chicken slaughtering unit and a food vending shed. Two open-sided structures were added on an area initially allocated for an open-air market. The organisation of space of the later additions did not fully conform to the architect's original design. It is evident that the original design had overlooked the real spatial needs for petty traders. Appropriation of the existing spaces seems to have been inevitable for the petty traders to conduct their business conveniently.

Reflecting on the current situation of the marketplace, the architect noted that bulk storage is a big challenge. The rate of decay of goods such as mangoes, oranges and pineapples is very high, primarily due to high heat as the goods are largely exposed to the sun. Additionally, the architect acknowledges a challenge of designing context responsive marketplaces. He points out:

I think, up to now, we have not yet obtained proper structures for marketplaces in our local contexts.²⁵

Suggesting the way forward to address the aforementioned challenge on designing context responsive marketplaces, Architect Ndanshau explained:

We need to, firstly, conduct the architectural needs' assessment for petty traders in order to capture the proper spatial requirements. In this way we will have the necessary information and guidelines to design marketplaces that can suit our local context.²⁶

7.2.3 Institutional aspects in creation and use of petty trading spaces

Traders have their own tactics and approaches of appropriating and adapting the existing formal structures to suit their spatial needs. However, they are confronted with institutional obstructions such as rules, norms and routines that regulate their individual interests and collective actions. When the marketplace was officially opened in 1999, there was persistent resistance among traders not to use the place. The DCC forcefully moved traders from streets and other unauthorized areas and relocated them at the new Temeke Stereo. Traders were in fear of not getting customers. Omary, a trader of oranges points out:

²⁵ Discussion with Mr. Ndanshau, the TSM project architect, on 24th January, 2011 at his office in Dar es Salaam.

²⁶ Ibid.

I was forcefully moved from Tandika Marketplace along with my colleagues to this marketplace. By then, the Temeke Municipality had improved this market and directed all vendors in Tandika Marketplace to move so that the market (Tandika) would be improved. We had established ourselves there with customers. Additionally, this marketplace was completely empty, no customers. The vendors were just ‘dumped’ here. The area was open, not built. A few buildings (sheds of iron sheets supported by concrete columns) you see here were not yet erected. We thought that we could not do business here. But slowly, the market environment has picked up and today we are doing good business here; there are a lot of customers coming from various parts of Dar es Salaam.²⁷

Inside the marketplace, the petty traders are located according to the amount of goods they sell whereby the wholesalers occupy open spaces without permanent ownership of the area and the retailers either occupy stalls, tables or kiosks. Access to trading space for rent (especially for retail stalls or shops that are permanent) is normally acquired through the traders’ committee and its sales departments. When a trader goes to the marketplace for the first time, he/she reports to the traders’ committee chairperson or secretary who determines which Trade Department the new trader belongs to depending on the type of goods he/she has. Then, the chairperson or secretary would link the new trader to the Trade Department leader who finally allocates space to the trader if available. Rules and norms within the Trade Department and the marketplace as a whole would be explained to the new trader. Such spaces are rented out monthly or yearly and the fee/rent depends on space type. For example, rent for a shop space is TShs 50,000/-, i.e., around US\$31 per month and a monthly rent for a chicken cage is TShs 10,000/-, i.e., around US\$6.²⁸

In a wholesale zone, a space is acquired in a similar process as in the retailing area except that a business operating space is not permanently held. A trader would find an empty space, occupy or use it, provided that the market dues are paid. In this regard, business space can be occupied by one trader for a day or even by different traders at different periods of a day. A pineapple trader further explains:

I got the space by just displaying my goods, and the space is not entirely mine, if someone else comes when I don’t have business he/she can use it at any time.²⁹

It is also important that goods displayed in a particular space are those allowed by the Temeke Stereo Marketplace authority in the respective Trade Department. Arrangement of

²⁷ Interview with Mr. Omary King, orange trader, conducted on 7th July, 2010 at TSM.

²⁸ One US\$ is exchanged at around TShs 1600 as of June 2011.

²⁹ Discussion with Mzee Machale, pineapple trader, held on 24th January 2011 at TSM.

trading spaces in a particular sales zone as well as occupation of same locations by traders is facilitated by mutual agreement among the traders. Orange trader confirms:

Firstly, as you can see, there are different zones for each type of good. For example, tomatoes are sold in that shed (pointing his hand at the shed for oranges). There is space for watermelon and we sell oranges in this area. Now, no one owns a particular space here. If you find a *dago* (a ground selling space of roughly 1.5m by 2m) empty you can put your oranges and pay a daily tax of 200 Tshs (US\$ 0.13). So, ownership of space is on daily basis. However, most traders here know each other and have been occupying the same spaces throughout this oranges' season. The arrangement of *ma-dago* is according to our own (traders) agreements³⁰.

Sizes of trading spaces are determined by various factors. They include type and amount of goods sold, mode of goods' display (whether on tables or on the paved ground) as well as the time the spaces are used. In the wholesale zone, the amount and type of goods is the major determinant of size and organisation of the spaces. A trader can occupy space of a different size in different days despite the fact that the location may be maintained. This is the case especially when goods are displayed on the ground. On describing how the size of a trading space is obtained, a banana trader explains:

... The space size depends on the volume of the goods. This is because most of the traders here don't have bulky goods. For instance, I get my goods from the farm and sell here. My fellow trader can have 5 baskets of bananas while I have, say, 20 of them. So, automatically it is not possible for us to have space of the same size. The space size depends on the volume of the goods which is different from those on the tables and stalls. The spaces have not been measured, so when you come in the morning a space is allocated depending on the amount of goods you have.³¹

The shops/kiosks sizes were determined by the architect at the design stage. A typical kiosk is made of cement-sand blocks roofed by corrugated iron sheets. It has around 10 square metres and headroom of 2.8 metres high. Some palettes that are laid over the drainage channel near the *Kampochea* area are built by individual traders or at a nearby furniture industry. Thus, the size of the trading space in this case is the size of a palette, about 0.6 square metres, which is determined by the traders themselves as well as the manufacturing industry and agreed upon by the marketplace authority. While space sizes for palettes and stalls is fixed, the size of spaces used to display goods on the ground change momentary with amount of goods.

³⁰ Interview with Mr. Omary King, orange trader, conducted on 7th July, 2010 at TSM.

³¹ Discussion with mama Timo, banana trader, held on 24th January 2011 at TSM.



Figure 7.3: Palletes for goods display over the drainage channel along the Kampocha area

7.2.4 Spatial distribution of trading spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace

There are two major spatial arrangements of the petty trading spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. These are linear and cluster arrangements. The linear arrangement is commonly used by the petty traders that display their goods on tables, kiosks or trolleys especially on the sides of the marketplace. The cluster arrangement is mostly used by the ones that display their goods on nylons/plastic sheets, sacks or pieces of boxes. The goods are arranged in such a way that there are minor pedestrian roads from one petty trader to another. Retailers are positioned in such a way that the majority are in front of the wholesalers along the main access routes. Those who happen to be behind other retailers face a challenge of not being seen and accessed by customers as one potato trader contends:

We found the market organisation like this, and the reality is that people occupying the front stalls do business more than us because at the back only few customers pass by.³²

Vehicular movement is organised by the *rotunda* at the centre of the marketplace from two gates; one through the administration building and another one through the garbage collection point. It is only through this route cars can reach the inner parts of the marketplace. The trading spaces are accessed on foot through small paths between them. The paths are informally created by the traders. They are fluid depending on volume of the goods in a particular day. A trader confirms:

³² Interview with Salma Salum, Irish potato trader, conducted on 28th January 2011 at TSM.

... The footpaths are established by the bulkiness and arrangement of the goods that are brought to the marketplace every day; thus there are changes every other day.³³

Goods are arranged in clusters throughout the marketplace (Figure 7.4). The goods sold as observed at the time of fieldwork include tomatoes, mangoes, Irish potatoes, bananas, fresh maize and oranges. Others are avocado, coconut, raw meat, cooked food, onions, and chicken. Mixed goods, mainly food products occupy the largest space of the marketplace. They occupy the *kampochea* area, the rotunda and the stalls.

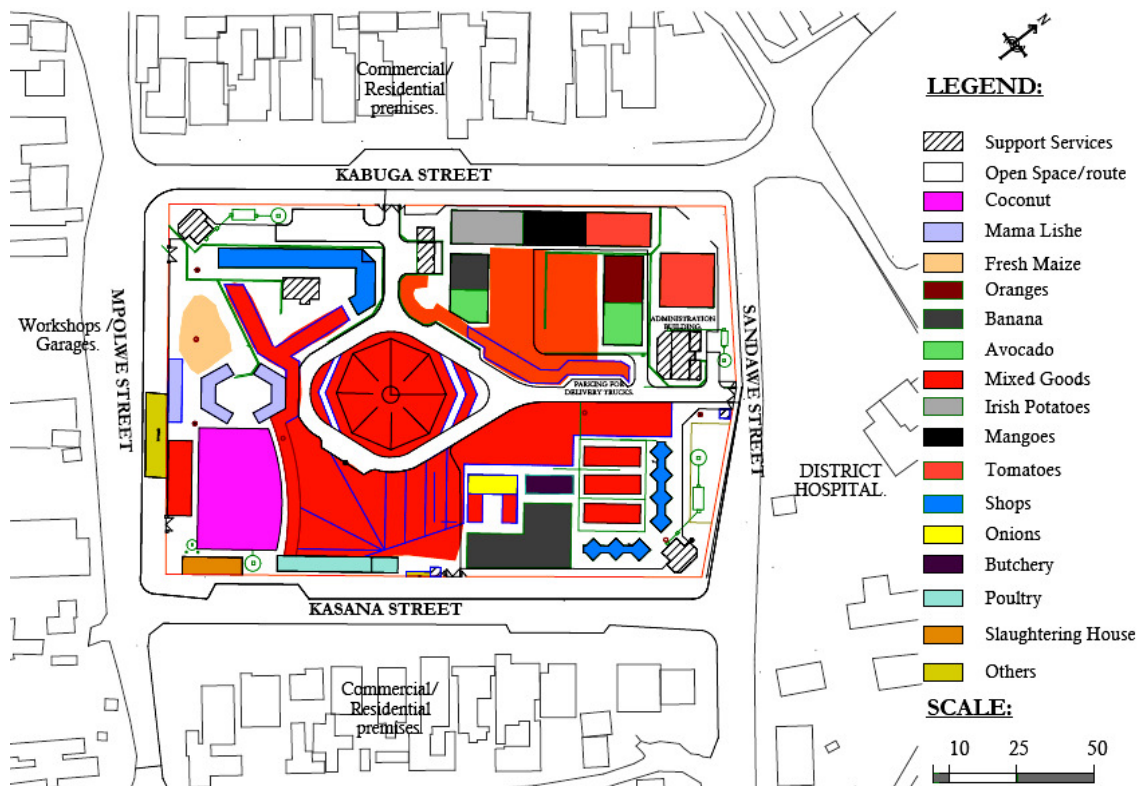


Figure 7.4: Goods' distribution at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. Base map adapted from Survey and Mapping Division, Ministry of Lands (1992)

7.2.5 *Kampochea*: The centre of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace

When the Temeke Stereo Marketplace was designed, the *rotunda* was intended to consist of household merchandise stalls, the symbolic and physical centre that would organize all other spaces in the marketplace. However, the *kampochea* has appeared to be the centre of the marketplace by virtue of its ambiance throughout the official working time of the marketplace. It accommodates the largest number of traders and variety of goods. The area

³³ Interview with Juma Songoro, tomato trader, carried out on 28th January, 2011 at TSM.

has a total of 393 trading spaces out of 901, which is approximately a third of all the formerly registered spaces in the marketplace. The high concentration of traders in this area reflects the notion of ‘sharing’ as the term ‘*kampochea*’ connotes. Together with the fruits department (*madago*), *kampochea* is active throughout the day as the Markets’ Manager describes:

The *kampochea* and Fruits department (*madago*) are the pillars of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. These symbiotically depend on each other as well as on the wholesale traders and street traders. Wholesale traders have largely contributed to bringing many retail traders into the market as are now getting their goods easily. When the marketplace was established, the kiosks/stalls were often empty. After introducing wholesalers, the marketplace is full. Today it is difficult to get an empty space for trading. Also many other marketplaces access goods, especially food items, from Temeke Stereo. The wholesale activity normally ends at around 9 a.m. During the rest of the day, the *kampochea* and the fruits traders continue selling their goods, that is, after the wholesalers have winded up their business activities.³⁴

The *kampochea* area starts at the main entry gate and is bounded by shops, butchers, chicken cages, wholesale areas for onions and coconuts on one side and the main circulation route along *madago* and *rotunda* departments on the other side. The arrangement of spaces at the *kampochea* ranges from linear, curvilinear and clustered patterns. Although the stalls are mostly rectangular in shape, the overall organisation of the *kampochea* is irregular (Figure 7.5). This is attributed to use of tables (and palettes) of varying sizes as well as existence of varying widths of the footpaths. The footpaths formed between tables are between 0.6m and 2m wide. The narrower paths are used for entry into individual stalls, whereas the wider ones are passages for customers.

³⁴ Discussion with Mr.Tito, the Temeke Municipality Markets’ Manager, held on 7th July 2011 at his office in the TSM.

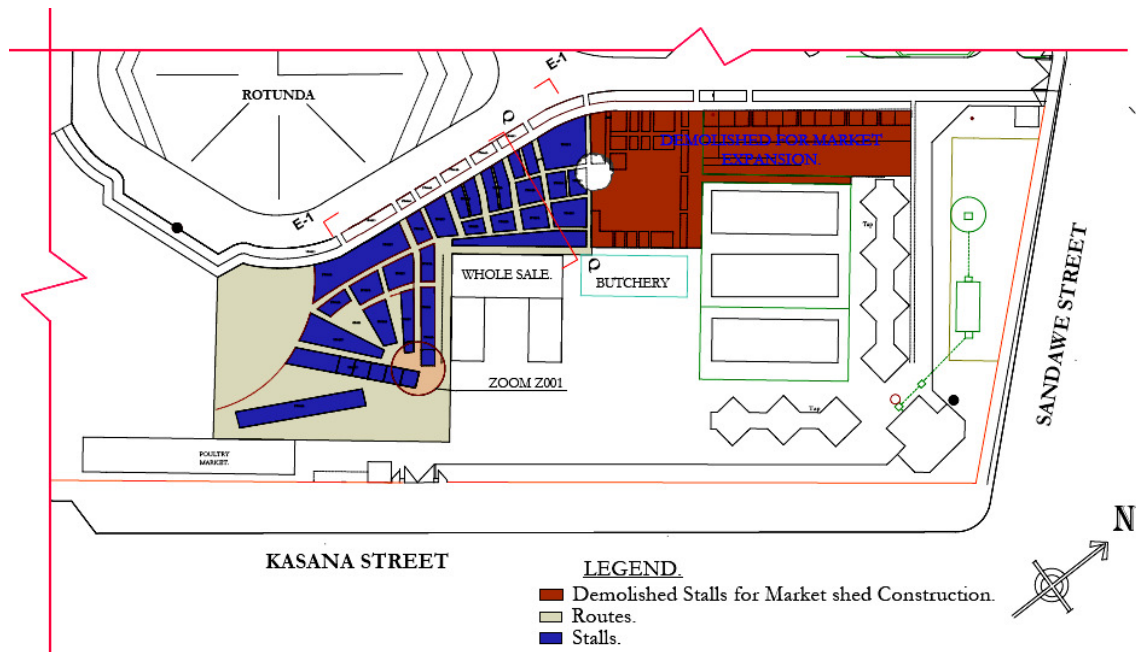


Figure 7.5: General layout of the Kampocha area

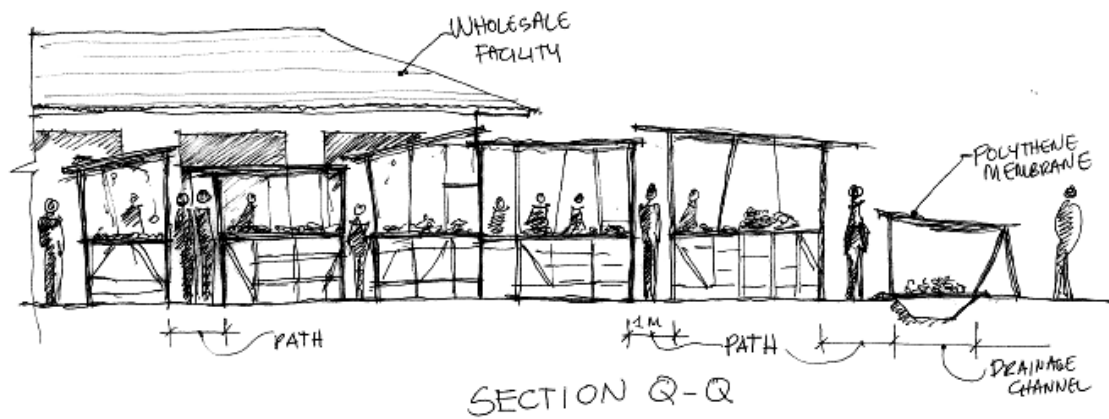


Figure 7.6: A section of the kampocha area

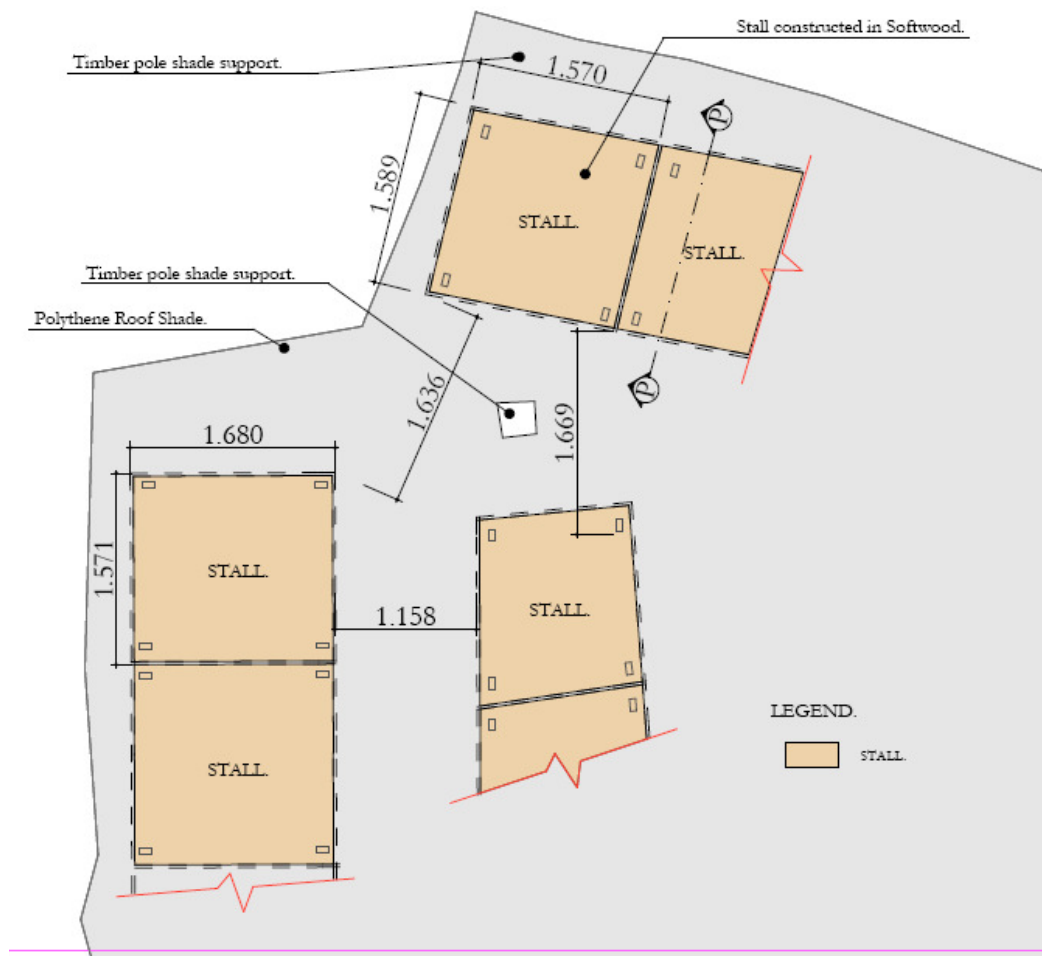


Figure 7.7: Layout of stalls (Zoom Z001 in Figure 28)

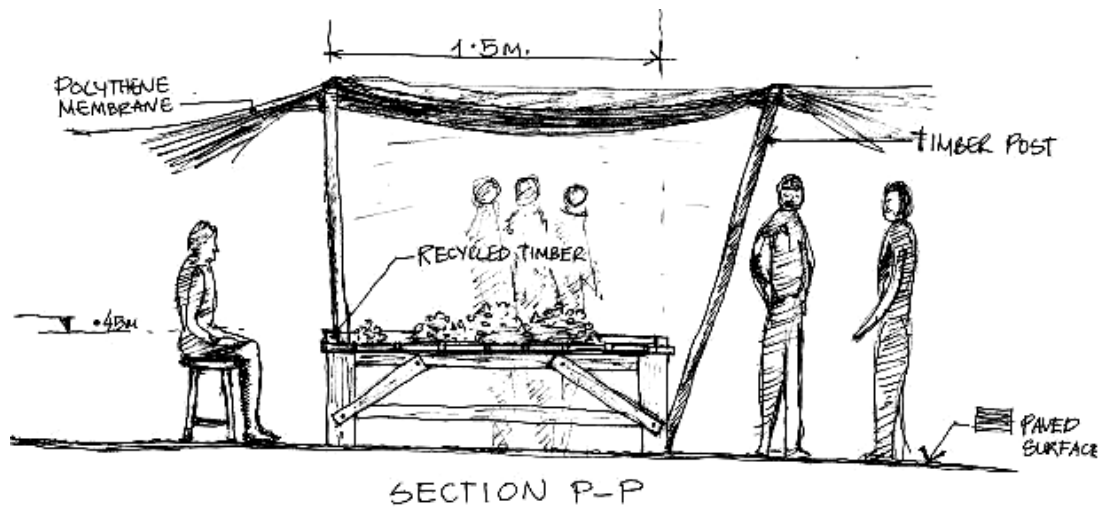


Figure 7.8: A section at the *kampochea* area

The decision to arrive at a specific width of a path is intuitively done through lived experience of the traders as there are no formal standards that guide designation of spaces as such. For instance, there are no provisions that would address fire risks. The neighbouring traders would agree on the size and direction of the path. The guiding principle traders use to decide the width of a path is simply the convenience for two persons to pass at a time or a space that can facilitate a delivery pushcart to move through. This designation implies that traders have tacit knowledge on anthropometrics that makes their spaces functional and useful in their daily activities, thus creating a norm and an order that is collectively accepted. At the first glance, one would perceive the overall organisation of the *kampochea* as chaotic. However, a closer examination reveals that there is an order that is created by proximity, repetition, similarity and containment of the stalls. Grouping of stalls is made from two to four stalls arranged linearly or in a wedge shaped alignment. The stalls also vary in size and shape. Most of them are generally rectangular whereas others have polygonal forms. Those with polygonal shapes are often found at corners or intersection of the routes to give room for people to pass conveniently as one trader points out:

Before I was given this space, I had a stall which is rectangular. Then I realised that if the shape of the stall is upheld, customers would not be able to pass through. I therefore modified it to have this shape, however, in that way I also reduced its size.³⁵

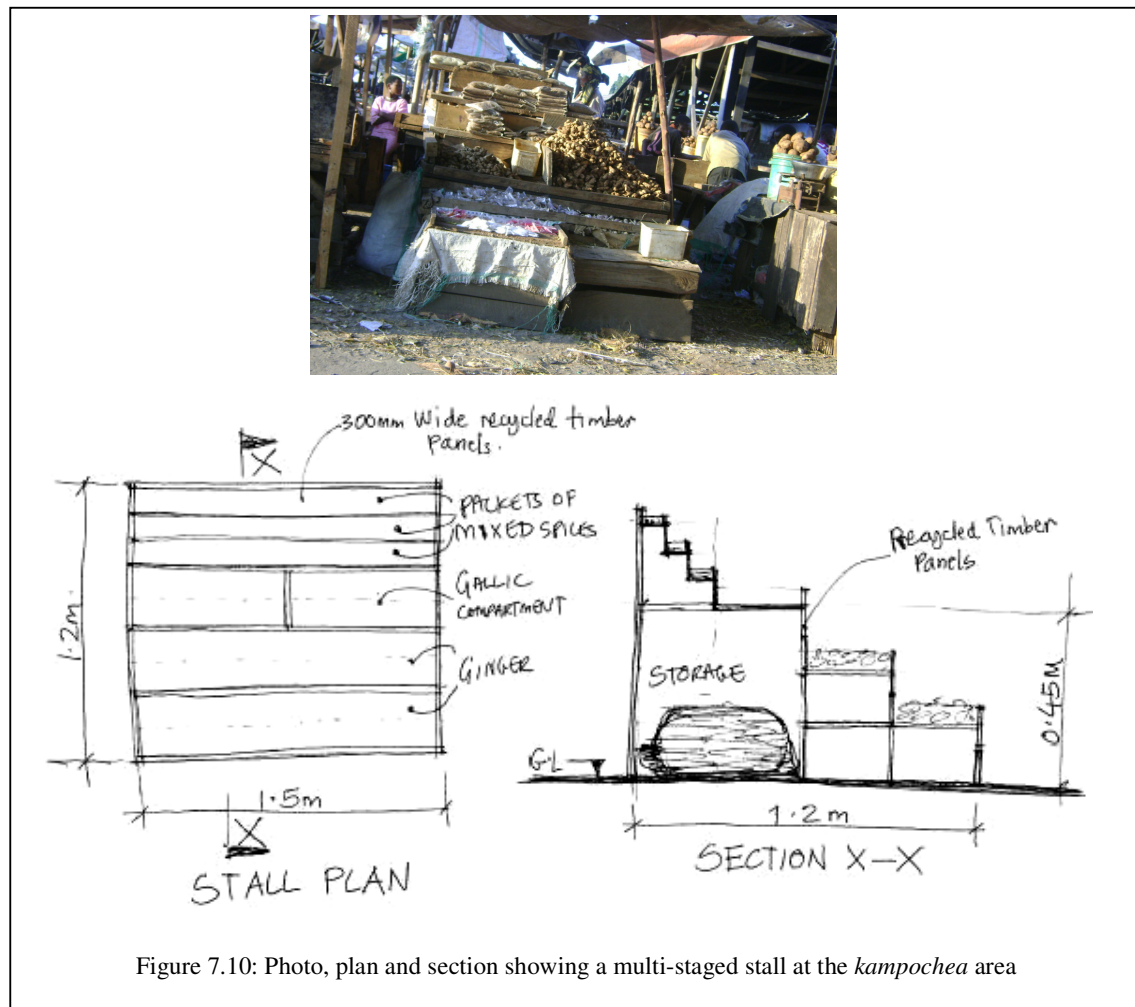


Figure 7.9: A polygonal shaped stall at the *kampochea*

Traders along the main circulation routes have more advantage for visibility and access by customers than those in the inner parts of the *kampochea*. With exception of the palettes

³⁵ Interview with Mr. Rasta, a *kampochea* trader, conducted on 21st July 2011 at TSM.

along the drainage channel that are sometimes empty, stalls that face the main access routes are always occupied and traders strive to get space in this area. It has also been observed that traders are creative in making their stalls. At one instance, a trader has a stall comprising eight compartments in a multi-stage set of display panels occupying a total area of approximately 1.8 m². Different kinds of spices are displayed in each of the compartments. In so doing, the goods are clearly visible by customers as they approach the stall (Figure 7.10).



The *kampochea* is dominated by varying forms of informal shed structures. Traders, through their own individual and collective initiatives, try to protect their trading spaces from the effects of sun and rain. The stall creation process begins with an open-to-sky empty space that is assigned to a trader by the *kampochea* department leader. All the other processes are the responsibility of the trader with consent from the marketplace authority and fellow traders. The first step is mounting of a display table using makeshift timber. When the table is set in the right position, approved by the Trade Department leader and neighbouring traders,

construction of shed begins. The shed is supported on timber poles. Normally, the covering material is polythene membrane or canvas sheets, iron sheets or palm leaves. In some cases shed of varying materials are interconnected. The blend of the varying types of covering materials and the makeshift nature of the roofs at the *kampochea* make it appear haphazard (Figure 7.11).



Figure 7.11: Sections of the *kampochea* displaying the variety of sheds. (Elevation E1 has a reference to the general layout of the *kampochea* in Figure 7.5)

The *kampochea*, like many other parts of the marketplace, are subject to challenges with regards to hygiene and comfort conditions in the working spaces. Initially, the palettes that were used for goods display on top of the drainage channel in front of the *kampochea* area were flat. For hygienic purposes, the health officer from the Temeke Municipality had ordered that the palettes be mounted to a height of at least 150mm so that the goods are off the ground. The major challenge the traders face is probably protecting their spaces against the sun and rain. Most of the sheds are temporal with poor quality materials such as canvas sheets. These wear out easily within a short period of time. During rainy seasons, business

operations at the *kampochea* are difficult as rain spills into the goods. Some areas become dirty, muddy and stinky as a trader complains:

We have a lot of challenges at the *kampochea*. On rainy seasons, some parts for example, the area near the chicken shed, is flooded making the place stink badly. Customers find it difficult to pass through as the routes become dirty and muddy. Generally, this place is not a good working environment in both rain and sun as sheds are not proper. As we are striving to make ends meet, we have no alternative but to accept the situation, hoping that the Municipality would take initiatives to improve the situation.³⁶

Due to scarcity of space at the *kampochea* area, storage of goods is challenging. The most adopted means of storing goods when traders leave in the evening is covering the goods displayed on the stalls by nylon sheets. Ideally, before the trader leaves the marketplace in the evening, security-in-charge would inspect the trader's goods and register accordingly. Other traders have their stalls built to store goods underneath. In this case they have some sort of shelves with shutters on the side of their stalls (Figure 7.12).



Figure 7.12: (Left photo) Goods storage by covering with nylon sheets, and; (Right photo) Storage in lockers built in stalls

7.3 Institutional Elements in Management of Trading Spaces

Trading spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace are created and sustained by interplay with various institutional aspects. These are the regulative, normative and cognitive aspects. Being a formerly conceptualised marketplace, regulative aspects appear to be dominating the other two although reinforcing each other in managing the trading spaces. In view of this connotation, the administrative structure of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace, division of

³⁶ Interview with Ramadhani Kimyakimya, a trader and Chairman of the *kampochea* department, conducted on 5th May 2011 at TSM.

trading spaces as a tool of control as well as time and environmental management aspects are further discussed.

7.3.1 The administrative structure of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace

Administratively, the marketplace is governed by two structural entities. The first is an extension of the Temeke Municipal Council that regulates all business activities, including marketplaces in the area of its jurisdiction. The Trade and Industry department which deals with business activities is headed by the Municipal Director whose powers are carried through the Municipal Trade and Industries, Social (community) Development and Cooperative Officer (MTISCO) and manifested by a Temeke Municipality Markets' Manager who oversees all the 14 marketplaces in the district. The Markets' Manager's main office is located at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace which is considered the largest in Temeke district. The Manager is responsible for providing guidance with regards to daily operations of the marketplaces, including supervising vehicles to offload and load goods at designated places.³⁷ Key actors and other members of the public who operate in all marketplaces in the Municipality include the revenue collector, health officer and auxiliary police. Others include respective markets' committees, casual cleaning labourers, revenue collection labourers, Municipal militia and the traders who are localized in a specific marketplace. For the complete structure, see Figure 7.13.

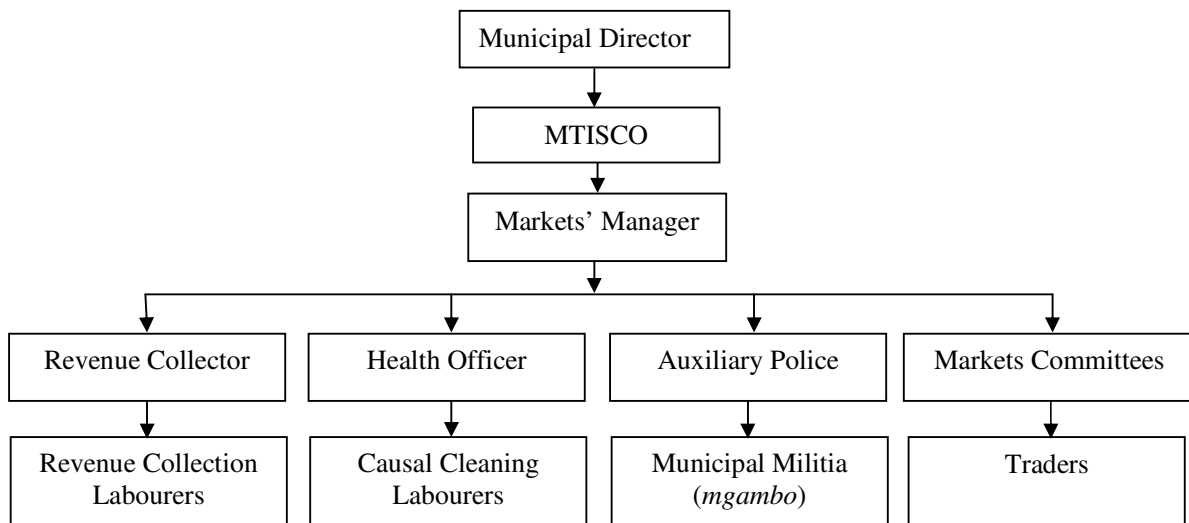


Figure 7.13: Administrative structure of marketplaces at the Temeke Municipality

³⁷ According to the by-laws 2010 of the Municipality from the Local Governments Finance Act Cap 290.

The second structure comprises the market committee that is established by traders on their own constitution which has to be approved by the Municipal Council. The main responsibility of the market committee is to assist the Council in ensuring smooth operation of the concerned marketplace. The Council retains powers to dissolve a committee in any marketplace when the same does not fulfil its responsibilities according to the provisions in its respective constitution. These powers of the Municipal Council are provided in the Local Governments Finance Act Cap 290, section 6 published in the Government Notice No. 309 of 2010.

The Temeke Stereo Marketplace has a traders' committee consisting of 24 members. The members constitute chairpersons and secretaries of the twelve Trade Departments. The committee leaders comprising of chairperson, assistant chairperson, secretary general and assistant secretary general are democratically elected from among the 24 members in the traders' general assembly. Leaders from each Trade Department appoint four traders who also constitute members in the general traders' meeting. The general traders' meeting includes also other members from cooperative societies, associations and institutions which are legally registered and operate in the marketplace. Examples of such associations at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace include the Cooperative Society of Grains and Coconut Traders, the Association of Temeke Fruits Traders, the Association of Fruits Brokers at Temeke Stereo (*Umoja wa Madalali wa Matunda, Temeke Stereo*) (UMATES) and others. The general assembly, thus, is constituted by around 100 members. Structure of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace traders' committee is illustrated in Figure 7.14.

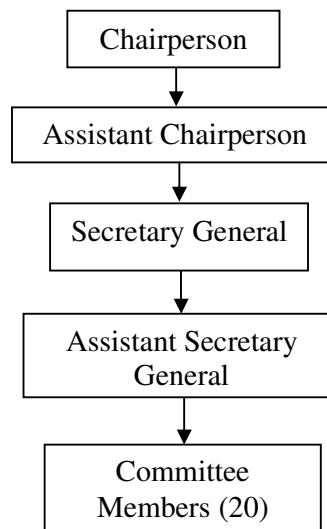


Figure 7.14: Administrative structure of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace Traders' Committee

The traders' committee has a responsibility to ensure that private and public interests of traders and customers are promoted and protected provided that the governing laws are adhered to. The committee, for instance, oversees provision of equal opportunities for traders in acquiring and using the trading spaces, resolves conflicts among traders or Trade Departments as well as attempts to provide an attractive environment for customers. Through the committee, a trader with bad conduct, such as using abusive language to fellow traders and customers, is warned and, at extreme cases, evicted from working in the marketplace.³⁸ The committee also links the traders at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace with those in other marketplaces as well as with the Municipal Council.

The two administrative structures appear too bureaucratic with many actors involved. Such a structure may imply, for instance, unnecessary delays in planning and implementation of programmes for improvement of petty trading environments. However, they seem to be working conveniently in administering trading activities in the marketplace. The structures play their roles in promoting and protecting public and private interests with regard to access, use and management of the spaces in the marketplace.

7.3.2 Division of trading spaces as a tool of control

At the Temeke Stereo Marketplace, the division of the marketplace into zones according to Trade Departments seems to be an influential structure of managing the respective spaces. Each Trade Department has a specific area allocated by the marketplace authority. The Markets' Manager allocates an area for particular goods to the concerned department leader. In turn, the leader subdivides the area according to the number of traders. The traders would mutually agree on the overall organisation of their individual trading units, except those in the formally built-up structures that are permanently fixed.

It can be argued that by the processes of space formation, allocation and organisation in a particular Trade Department, spaces are produced and constantly become culturally reproduced. In this case, a spatial practice may develop into a norm in that particular zone and become distinct from other Trade Departments. The traders, through their accumulated experience, gain awareness of their roles and limits in space creation and use by mimicking the existing practice in the area, at the same time obeying the established rules and regulations. In this regard, "space produced serves as a tool of thought and action, that in

³⁸ Discussion with Mr. Mzome, the General Secretary of TSM Traders' committee.

addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control; and hence of domination, of power” (Lefebvre, 1991: 26).

In the permanently fixed shops or kiosks, a trader in need of space must fill in application forms and submit to the Trade Department leader or Markets’ Manager for registration before a rent contract is issued. The forms are issued by the office of the Markets’ Manager. The form requires the applicant to indicate his/her name, place of stay and supply two recent passport size photos. If a space is available, the Department Leader would allocate it to the trader who will start operating while a rent contract is being processed. The contract is ultimately given to the successful trader on recommendation by the Trade Department leader. Similarly, in the semi-fixed trading stalls, a trader looking for space must be known and is normally under six months’ probation before being allowed to enter into a long-time rent contract. The Trade Department leader registers all traders under his area yearly as a process to identifying vacant spaces that would be reallocated to new traders. *Kampochea* department leader explains:

To be a member one has to follow all rules and regulations provided by the Municipal Council for conducting business including paying the relevant taxes. A trader looking for a space must contact the leaders of the department, as the marketplace authority does not know the trader but their leaders. So, if anything happens to the trader, I am answerable to the marketplace authority. I have to make sure that I follow up everything that is going on in my department. For example, if someone in my department is injured or dies, the marketplace authority will require me to provide an official explanation before further actions are taken. That is why I have all the details with regard to all the traders and their specific operations including spaces they occupy at the *kampochea*. The new trader is given probation of six months after which he/she is formally registered with rights and obligations related to his/her operations at the marketplace. After six months, a new trader would have been known in detail, even where he/she lives so that in case of anything, it is possible to do a follow up.³⁹

The allocation of trading spaces to the respective departments can be said to have eased the process of managing the spaces through various levels of decision and power limits. On the other hand, the more space one administers the more powerful he/she is. For instance, the Markets’ Manager ideally administers the whole marketplace, thus he is the most powerful person and can make many decisions about the spaces. After him, the Trade Department leaders follow. These can make several decisions and give directives on the trading spaces under his control. At the lowest level, a trader adjusts himself within a specific trading space

³⁹ Interview with Ramadhani Kimyakimya, the Chairman, *kampochea* department conducted on 5th May 2011 at TSM.

over which he has control as he/she becomes a recipient of decisions and power from the higher levels.

In July 2011, traders in one part of the *kampochea* area were shifted to a part of the coconuts' zone to give way for construction of a permanently fixed shed structure. Shed construction for traders is among the initiatives that the Temeke Municipality is currently taking to improve its marketplaces in the district.⁴⁰ The decision by the Municipality was communicated to the Markets' Manager through the MTISCO for subsequent implementation. The Markets' Manager identified an area to which the affected traders will be resettled. Then, he informed the *kampochea* and the coconut department leaders to further inform traders in their respective departments on the resettlement exercise. Three days' notice through the *kampochea* department leader was given to the concerned traders to shift to the allocated area. Since coconuts are sold in a wholesale area (with no defined spaces permanently occupied by individual traders), objections on the resettlement plan from among the coconut traders would not be anticipated. Although the resettled *kampochea* traders also could not resist, some complained that the notice was too short for them to resettle. Additionally, some traders suffered loss of their businesses as they lost ties with their regular customers who would otherwise find them (traders) in their old location. One of the resettled traders explains:

I trust that we will return to where we have been when construction of the shed structure is complete. In this location it is hard to do business because my regular customers used to find me at the old location. It is now difficult for them (customers) to know that I am here. Some of my colleagues have decided to stop their operations in the new location, waiting for the shed construction to be completed.⁴¹

7.3.3 Time: A determining factor of trading spaces' use

Time has been a crucial factor with regard to use of space. It is a relational system, a medium through which institutions are marked and operationalised in a defined space. One space can have several uses at different moments in time. At the Temeke Stereo Marketplace, the formal operating hours are from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and after that the marketplace is closed. The interior part of the marketplace becomes quite empty at night but there are some activities,

⁴⁰ Based on the discussion with Mr. Tito, the Temeke Municipality Markets' Manager held on 7th July 2011 in his office at the TSM.

⁴¹ Interview with Mr. Juma, the resettled *kampochea* trader, held on 21st July 2011 at the temporary *kampochea* area at TSM.

mainly hawkers selling cloths, taking place around the walls and towards the bus stop. This is probably due to the location and design of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace as the same was experienced by Msoka and Brown⁴² in their study of Kilombero marketplace in Arusha Municipality conducted in 2008. Msoka and Brown noted that during the night, the activities go outside the walls while during day time the activities are held inside. It can be argued that if Temeke Stereo Marketplace was open (not fenced) and located at a prime location such as a road junction (such as Ubungo and Mwenge), even interior spaces would have a lot of activities going on at night.

In the morning between 6 a.m. and 9 a.m., wholesale areas are always congested. Goods overspill beyond their formerly allocated spaces onto the circulation spaces (Figure 7.15). This is the time when hawkers are also trading their goods.



Figure 7.15: Wholesale area for tomatoes at around 7 a.m.; whereby circulation areas are fully occupied with tomato cages and traders



Figure 7.16: Wholesale area for tomatoes at 12 noon

⁴² Discussion with Colman Msoka and Alison Brown on 30th May 2011 held at the Hill Park Restaurant, University of Dar es Salaam. Msoka and Brown have widely researched on petty trading activities in Tanzania.

The management of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace has arranged for hawkers to occupy the vehicular access roads inside the marketplace from 6 a.m. to 10 a.m. Thereafter, the roads are cleared to give room for cleaners and vehicular access. Sometimes, the Municipal militia is used to forcefully evacuate the hawkers from the roads in the marketplace in case they resist vacating when their time of stay has ended. Offloading of goods is done before 6 a.m. and later after 10 a.m. When hawkers have been removed, customers with cars can drive through the roads, though with difficulty, as the trucks are also offloading and push carts are also occupying the roads (Figure 7.17).



Figure 7.17: Carts and tracks obstructing movement through access roads in the Temeke Stereo Marketplace at the time when hawkers have been evacuated

There is a wholesale area that is shared at different times of the day. Bananas are sold in the morning and cassava in the afternoon in the same space (Figure 7.18). Even the revenue collected for the same space in the morning differs from that in the afternoon. In the morning, banana traders pay TShs 600/- (US\$ 0.38) per basket whereas in the afternoon cassava traders pay TShs 200/- (US\$ 0.13) per space. Since bananas are easily destroyed due to scorching sun, a few traders who continue selling their bananas after 11 a.m. normally use shaded spaces.



Figure 7.18: Bananas (on the left) are sold in the morning and cassava (on the right) are sold in the afternoon in the same place

The arrangement to momentarily allow hawkers to use spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace challenges the practice by city authorities to totally restrict hawkers from using public spaces for some time. Msoka (2007) noted that hawkers get opportunity to occupy bus stops and road junctions at night when the city police are not patrolling public places. Sharing of spaces over time seems to present a potential option in reducing unnecessary conflicts on the use of spaces by petty traders of varying backgrounds at the marketplaces. One space could be effectively used by many traders in need at varying times. The different traders can feel ownership of a particular space, though they may or may not know each other, without necessarily getting into conflict. Self-governance by traders themselves can facilitate smooth organisation of the marketplaces (Morales, 2010:183). The traders may establish and stabilise their own organisational forms ‘by shared purposes, making them recognisable and learnable’ (Morales, 2010:185). However, the organisation of spaces needs to consider flexibility to accommodate different types of goods if timely sharing is desired. For instance, marketplaces can be designed to have fixed, semi-fixed and non-fixed spaces for different goods strategically integrated with each other, thereby offering a possibility for multiple functions in the marketplace. This multiple space use by different actors and functions underscores the design flexibility that planners and architects dealing with marketplaces and other public places ought to reflect upon.

7.3.4 Environmental management of petty trading spaces

Cleanliness of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace entails the involvement of two main stakeholders namely the Temeke Municipal Council and the traders. The role of the Municipal Council starts and ends at the central garbage collection point and the circulation

area. Part of fees collected from traders by the Municipal Council is intended for managing waste that is generated at the marketplace. The main circulation areas are cleaned daily by the casual cleaning labourers employed by the Municipal Council and garbage is dumped at an area designated for the use at the marketplace. Specific trading spots are cleaned by traders themselves or person(s) engaged by traders in a particular trading department. Traders are compelled by the Temeke Municipality by-laws to ensure cleanliness of their trading spaces.

Environmental management of the trading spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace is challenging, which is also the case in many of the visited marketplaces during reconnaissance. The amount of waste that is produced daily is remarkable. Lack of appropriate bulk storage facilities means goods brought to the marketplace rot at a fast rate. Although the garbage collected is emptied daily, a big pile of garbage often still remains in the hut when the marketplace is closed in the evening. Proximity of waste generating goods such as poultry, vegetables and fruits may contribute to unhygienic condition of the goods. Nystrom (1998) noted in her study on healthy marketplaces in Vietnam and Laos that marketplaces are always messy with a full mix of food and other goods sold. She notes that environmental management is the 'hygienic system' and zoning⁴³ of goods is one of the major approaches in achieving hygiene and suitable micro-climatic conditions for food goods in the marketplaces. At the Temeke Stereo Marketplace, different goods are sold in different zones or departments as previously illustrated in Figure 7.4.

Zoning has somewhat helped to enhance cleanliness in the departments. The department leader ensures that his area of control is always kept clean. Moreover, each trader is bound by the Municipal Council regulations to ensure cleanliness of his/her space. However, the challenge remains as zoning of goods at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace has not facilitated complete cleanliness of the marketplace. Selling goods on the ground coupled with the high rate of waste generation are probably among the reasons behind the prevailing dirty environment of the marketplace.

⁴³ Zoning is hereby referred to as a separation or segregation of goods that are thought to be incompatible. For example, fish or meat and vegetables or fruits should be separated from each other. Zoning may also apply to separation between service areas such as toilets and chicken slaughtering areas and selling areas.



Figure 7.19: A truck collecting garbage from the garbage collection point at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace

Although the Temeke Municipal Council plays a big role in waste collection from marketplaces and disposal to designated areas in the city, the amount of remaining waste is tremendous. This is probably a big responsibility that the Municipal Council alone, always with scarce resources and many other responsibilities, cannot effectively handle. Thus, decentralisation of waste management to other private entities would be among the potential options that the Municipal planning authorities can consider to ease the prevailing unhygienic conditions in marketplaces.

7.4 Social Norms Concerning Space Generation, Use and Management

Patterns in petty trading spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace are largely pegged on norms and traditions practised by the traders in addition to formal laws and regulations. The norms can be seen in ownership of spaces, demarcation of spaces, the ways goods are displayed as well as conflicts are resolved.

7.4.1 Trading space ownership

As earlier explained in section 6.2.3, traders do not permanently own or occupy spaces in the wholesale areas. However, often trading spaces are used by the same traders. Although a new trader can occupy an empty space, consent must be sought from the traders nearby. This means that such a space is not really empty for occupation by whoever is interested. It is collectively managed by the traders surrounding it. A trader explains:

I don't own this particular space but out of sheer respect of norms and traditions, we (traders) normally occupy the same locations. However, change of trading location can happen any time.⁴⁴

Another trader added:

My working space is not permanent but based on mutual agreements among ourselves, we normally use same spaces every day; but among us there may be interchanges or movements.⁴⁵

From the aforesaid, it seems that the formal procedures in petty trading space acquisition and use cannot effectively function in the absence of locally agreed norms and arrangements that traders have developed on their own to safeguard individual and collective interests. There must be trust and shared norms among the traders and marketplace management to facilitate their effective working environment without necessarily having the written laws and enforcement mechanisms. Such norms include, for instance, good respect, morals, cooperation, commitment, ethics as well as sense of responsibility among the traders and the marketplace management. These are key factors of legitimacy that constitute what may be termed as 'symbolic management' of trading spaces (Fernandez-Alles and Valle-Cabrera, 2006). As traders are embedded together over a period of time, they develop the sense of public responsibility as they interact and render their services that have both individual and collective benefits (Morales, 2010).

7.4.2 Demarcation and 'fluidity' of trading spaces

There are two levels of boundaries for trading spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. These are boundaries between trading zones allocated to the departments and boundaries between trading units occupied by individual or a group of traders in a specific zone. Boundaries between trading zones are decided by the marketplace authority. These are neither physical (except for the zones with built-up sheds) nor are they permanent, often changing with seasons and amount of goods. When a particular good is in excess, especially in the open spaces, the nearby empty spaces are also occupied provided that there are agreements between the different trade departments and the marketplace authority consents.

Generally, there are two forms of boundaries between trading units. These are routes/paths in the wholesale zones and walls or tables in retailing zones. The space boundaries in the retailing kiosks were determined by the architect when the marketplace was designed. Goods

⁴⁴ Interview with Jerry Kassim, a cassava trader, conducted on 27th January 2011 at TSM.

⁴⁵ Interview with Juma Songoro, a tomato trader, held on 28th January 2011 at TSM.

between individual traders at the wholesale zone are demarcated by the paths that are created by the traders on mutual agreement as a trader explains:

The boundary is the path that allows a person to move through. We traders mutually agree on the size of the path we should leave between our trading spaces.⁴⁶

Additionally, although space demarcations are not physically done with solid fixtures, because traders know each other their demarcations are also obvious. This phenomenon has an influence in determining demarcations as a trader contended:

Space demarcation is known because I always know my neighbours. We have paths that are established by ourselves. For instance, when I arrange my goods, I always maintain an access way for people to pass through.⁴⁷

The above practice presents what can be termed as ‘intuitive order’ within the trading spaces. The spaces are demarcated not because traders have been trained and are compelled to do so but because they are guided by unwritten norms, instincts and experience. There is also a question of mutual trust and recognition of rights and obligations of one another. Though not formerly conceptualised and created, such practices have developed and gained legitimacy over a period of time and thus became a norm. Consequently, the intuitive practices coupled with unwritten norms with regard to demarcation of spaces bring about ‘fluidity’ of the trading spaces. This also brings ambiguity in defining the outline of form of the trading spaces. There are always changes of layouts, sizes and locations of trading spaces for particular goods as a result of changing locations of boundaries. At one moment a trading space takes a particular shape, exists for some time and eventually takes another shape or completely disappears. Space congestion and decongestion; flow and stagnation in circulation between stalls are recurring experiences in the marketplace.⁴⁸

The ambiguity or clarity of outline is an important aspect in describing form in architecture. Ashihara (1989) argues that clarity of outline brings about a distinct form whereas an unclear outline defines a form to be random or amorphous. Clarity of outline is often connected to existence of constraints on individual freedoms through, for example, building codes and

⁴⁶ Discussion with Mzee Machale, a pineapple trader, interviewed on 24th January 2011 at TSM.

⁴⁷ Interview with Mama Timo, a banana trader, conducted on 24th January 2011 at TSM.

⁴⁸ The concepts of *congestion* and *stagnation* were also brought up by Van Tassel (2004) in his master’s thesis on marketplaces in Mwanza. He considers these as determining factors for existence of marketplaces.

town planning or zoning ordinances while unclear outlines connote ‘loose’ planning control tools (Ibid.). In view of Ashihara’s argument, the amorphous character of spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace would imply lenient control on how trading spaces are organized and demarcated. This, however, is an important theoretical question that can be further expounded in studying character of spaces in marketplaces.

7.4.3 Space users’ attitudes on goods’ display and implications on organisation of petty trading spaces

Generally, at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace, goods are displayed on the (paved) ground or on tables in kiosks and stalls. The forms of goods’ display have presented varying perceptions among traders and customers. There are those who simply assert that displaying goods on the ground is not hygienic. Those in favour of this kind of display argue that a customer can simultaneously see quite a large quantity of goods when displayed on the ground. One trader who has been working there since 1966 observes:

... Pineapples as well as oranges and mangoes are traditionally displayed on the ground. These goods will be displayed on a table only if they are sold at a stall for show off. But since 1966, traders have been displaying these kinds of fruits on the ground.⁴⁹

Msoka and Brown in their previous study had found out that one of the factors that they gathered from traders who were avoiding the formal marketplaces is that the marketplaces are always dirty with goods displayed on the ground and therefore it is difficult to clean the spaces⁵⁰. This, they argued, hinders certain kind of customers from going to the formal marketplaces due to the dirty environment. Msoka’s and Brown’s observation is consistent with some of customer’s view on display of goods on the ground at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace as being unhygienic. A customer who prefers to buy goods on tables contends:

I prefer to buy goods displayed on tables rather than those on the ground because they are clean and safe and even the display arrangement looks attractive.⁵¹

There has been a misconception of price as a factor that customers would use to choose whether to buy goods displayed on tables or on the ground. It is generally believed that goods displayed on the ground are cheaper than those displayed on tables. This perception is,

⁴⁹ Discussion with Mzee Machale, a pineapple trader, interviewed on 24th January 2011 at TSM.

⁵⁰ The discussion is based on an interview with Colman Msoka and Alison Brown that was conducted on 30th May 2011 at the Hill Park restaurant, University of Dar es Salaam.

⁵¹ Interview with Tariq, a customer, conducted on 29th April 2011 at TSM.

however, not necessarily valid, as during the fieldwork, it was observed that the prices for items such as mangoes and oranges were more or less the same regardless of whether they were displayed on the ground or tables. For example, during mangoes season, the price for a mango at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace may range from TShs 100 (US\$ 0.06) to TShs 250 (US\$ 0.16) regardless of the mode of display. Additionally, it has been observed that goods bought from wholesale areas have often a different price to those bought from retail areas although, in both cases, they might be displayed on the ground at different locations and sometimes within close proximity.

In Tandika Marketplace⁵², it was also found that those occupying stalls in the middle of the marketplace also take some of the goods outside along the surrounding street and display on the ground to attract customers who think the prices in such areas are low. This practice can also be observed in the Dar es Salaam Central Business District whereby traders take their goods outside their shops and display on the verandahs. Need for maximum display so that as many goods as possible are seen by potential buyers can be one of the reasons for displaying goods on the ground as one trader at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace argues:

Display depends on the amount of customers accessing the goods. So the best way is the one that can accommodate many customers at a time. However, stall and table display is more preferable to me.⁵³

Echoing the foregoing opinion, a customer affirms:

I prefer the goods displayed on the ground because it is easy to see them and the places are organic in nature and even the prices are cheaper than those displayed on the stalls.⁵⁴

With regard to the above views, it is evident that users' perceptions and preferences of space use are key elements to consider in any architectural design project. These are hidden but crucial aspects of design that have to be uncovered and optimally utilized to achieve the design goals; and most importantly enhance user satisfaction. The latter is crucial for effective utilisation of space.

7.4.4 Forms of conflicts on use of trading spaces and resolution mechanisms

As may be the case in public places with high concentration of persons and activities, conflicts in marketplaces cannot be avoided. There are various forms of conflicts at the

⁵² Tandika Marketplace is one of the marketplaces studied during reconnaissance. It is also located at Temeke Municipality.

⁵³ Juma Shombo, a tomato trader interviewed on 24th January, 2011 at TSM.

⁵⁴ Shaban, a customer interviewed on 30th April 2011 at TSM.

Temeke Stereo Marketplace. The conflicts range from those associated with personal interests, whereby an individual, often a trader, would want to exploit an opportunity at the expense of another trader (for personal gains), to those arising from the day to day administrative undertakings on acquisition, use and management of the trading spaces. For example, one trader in the wholesale area would tactically hoard space that would otherwise be used by another trader with goods by putting covered empty baskets on such a space so that it is seen as if there are goods to be sold. In such a case, dispute between traders wishing to access such spaces and the hoarder may rise. This kind of dispute is normally resolved by the traders themselves under the directive of the Trade Department leader. A Trade Department leader further explains:

In my department (coconuts), I have often been receiving complaints on traders hoarding spaces without having displayed goods to sell, but covering such spaces using nylon sheets or palm leaves in a style that one may think that there are coconuts awaiting buyers. What I normally do is to inspect the space by uncovering it. If I find that the space has no goods, I just allocate it to another trader who has goods to sell. Additionally, I warn the concerned trader to stop such practices as it is against norms of our department. At one time we (coconut traders) had all agreed to evict traders (in our area) who do not heed to the agreement after issuing several warnings.⁵⁵

The main forms of disputes that have often been observed at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace include conflicts between trader(s) and the marketplace management, marketplace committee or the Municipality on the one hand and; between specific Trade Department(s) and the above-mentioned authorities on the other hand. The conflicts, as the markets' manager pointed out, emanate largely from disregard of rules and regulations stipulated by the Municipal Council or norms agreed upon by the operators⁵⁶. Often, most of such conflicts are resolved through negotiations among the concerned parties. A few are taken through administrative or legal channels.

One example of a conflict that was resolved through dialogue was that which had occurred between banana traders and the marketplace authority. There was a concern from the marketplace authority that banana traders generate a lot of waste in the marketplace. To that effect, the marketplace authority had decided to charge TShs 100/- (US\$0.06) for cleanliness in addition to other charges (TShs 200/- as regular revenue; TShs 150/- for transportation and

⁵⁵ Interview with the leader, coconut department, who is also the TSM secretary held on 7th July 2011 at the marketplace.

⁵⁶ Based on interview with Tito, the Markets' Manager of the Temeke Municipality, that was conducted on 7th July 2011 in his office at the TSM.

TShs 150/- for security). In response, the banana traders complained that the marketplace authority was being unfair as sellers of other goods in the fruits department such as pineapple sellers also generate waste but were not equally charged. The marketplace authority through the marketplace committee met all the banana traders to discuss the matter. They were given an option to suggest effective ways of handling the waste generated at their spaces. In the tomatoes department, for example, they managed to reduce generation of waste by displaying the tomatoes in specially designed boxes. Additionally, traders in the chicken department resolved to employ a cleaner to take care of their area. The chicken slaughtering shed was also built by traders themselves on agreement with the marketplace authority. After internal discussions, the banana traders eventually agreed to pay the extra revenue to meet the cost of disposing their waste to the regional dumping area.

Another example is the conflict between a trader and the marketplace authority concerning occupation of a stall at the marketplace. In January 2011, a trader had filed a complaint against the marketplace authority for unlawfully ceasing his rent contract for a retail stall at the marketplace that was rented to another trader. The complainant wrote a letter to the Director of the Temeke Municipality alleging that the marketplace auxiliary police have misinformed him (the trader) that he has a court case following the debt on rent he owed the Municipality. The trader further alleged that the Markets' Manager also misinformed him that the case had been concluded and that the trader could re-occupy his stall. The trader found out later that there was no such case and wanted to sue the auxiliary police and the Markets' Manager for planned misinformation in order to rent the stall to another trader. The Municipal Director directed the MTISCO to investigate the matter. In turn, MTISCO directed the Markets' Manager to investigate. The Markets' Manager got written explanations from the new occupier with the attached rent contract for years 2008, 2009 and 2010. He also got a written explanation from the marketplace secretary who basically confirmed that the complainant had been a bad debtor and that the complainant's arguments are baseless. It was revealed that the complainant had rented the kiosk to another trader contrary to the Municipal rules and regulations. The Markets' Manager ultimately ruled in favour of the new occupier.

In view of the two aforesaid examples, a marketplace is not only a grass root institution but also a supreme institution that carries political interests that may result into political conflicts. In this regard, a marketplace appears to be an arena for myriad contestations that may not necessarily base on spatial aspects but also on institutional and social characters. Negotiations among the conflicting parties through the established institutional structures at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace has proved to be an effective approach in resolving conflicts with regard to acquisition and use of petty trading spaces.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the processes in petty trading as related to the formal approaches in conceptualisation and design as well as space use and management in marketplaces. While the conceptualisation of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace was initially participatory; involving petty traders and other key stakeholders, a top-down model seems to have dominated the implementation in terms of design and construction of the marketplace. This is reflected in the design proposal for the marketplace in which functional spatial needs of the petty traders were overshadowed by aspirations for ‘modernity’; arguing for optimal utilisation of land and a need for generation of revenue for the Temeke Municipal Council. However, creation, use and management of petty trading spaces are seen to be responding to the interplay between the entrenched social and institutional frameworks. The spatial characteristics of the *kampochea* demonstrates the essence of petty trading; domination of scattered makeshift structures leading to the fluidity of the marketplace. This aspect challenges the involved stakeholders in marketplaces, especially architects and planners, to consciously consider the role that social and institutional structures may have in influencing conventional practice in architecture and planning.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

The study, through the case of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace, has analysed the institutional and social processes that surround the generation, use and management of petty trading spaces. This chapter reflects upon the findings of the study and presents recommendations for policy, professional practice and areas for further studies with regard to planning and designing petty trading environments.

8.2 Conclusions

Conclusions for this study are drawn in line with the objectives outlined in section 1.3. The objectives sought to analyse processes and the influence of social norms and regulatory mechanisms on generation, use and management of petty trading spaces in marketplaces; explore their interrelations, links and networks and; recommend the general preconditions for planning and designing of petty trading marketplaces in the Tanzanian contexts. The study has attempted to answer the questions with regard to petty trading space generation, use and management; systems that sustain the spaces in marketplaces; and how private and public interests in marketplaces are promoted, protected and sustained. The question of what emerging conditions that may guide and influence planning and designing of marketplaces is answered as a recommendation to architectural and planning practice as well as possible areas for future studies. However, the study has only partially answered the question as to how petty trading spaces are interrelated and networked to each other. Specifically, the study has not comprehensively analysed how the fixed spaces flexibly respond to the fluid functions and the way they relate to the semi-fixed and the non-fixed spaces. This question is to be pursued further in the phase two (PhD) study. The following are the key conclusions of the study.

8.2.1 Generation and use of petty trading Spaces

The study has established that petty trading spaces are generated and used within the prevailing formal and informal institutional and social frameworks. The formal frameworks in the petty trading spatial processes are largely imposed by the Municipal Authorities and the respective marketplace management structures, and are perpetuated through the petty traders' networks and associations. The informal mechanisms are manifested in the way petty traders at their individual or collective capacities acquire and administer spaces to meet their daily needs and operations. The formal and informal mechanisms in trading space generation, use and management seem to co-exist and are often complementary to each other.

Although generation of petty trading spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace is observed to be generally formal in the outset, traders' informal processes, norms and traditions associated with the use, demarcation and display of goods, seem to be a decisive factor in their sustenance and continual functioning. In other words, informality seems to make the marketplace not only vibrant but also boom, in the sense that traders, through their tacit knowledge, are able to acquire, make and utilize a space for one, or several days, making the marketplace appear full, although not always with the same occupants. However, it is still difficult to draw a line between formality and informality in petty trading spaces. This situation poses a challenge to architects and planners in addressing spatial requirements and management of petty trading. For example, it is challenging to design for a situation when activities seem to happen on an ad hoc basis and can change almost instantly; or where there are different rules and codes that are unwritten but exist among the different actors in a marketplace. It can be argued that there are often context-based and 'hidden' architectural dimensions of informality that acquire legitimacy over time and connote the spatial nature of marketplaces and many other public places.

8.2.2 Management of petty trading spaces

The physical reality resulting from the way petty trading spaces are formally managed at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace is seen in the zoning of different areas for different goods. Petty trading departments are also influential in managing the trading spaces. As observed in the study, the Temeke Municipal Council cannot adequately manage the

trading spaces without involving the petty traders through their associations and respective trading departments. This implies that there must be an integration of defined and legitimate power structures among different actors for smooth management and operations of petty trading activities.

Additionally, definition of space boundaries and timely use of spaces are the expression of the embedded regulative, normative and cognitive institutional aspects in generation, use and management of petty trading spaces. As presented in Chapter Six, informal⁵⁷ social norms practiced by the petty traders also play a major role in space management in marketplaces, in addition to formally prescribed rules and regulations. Negotiations and agreements among traders, trade department leaders, traders' committee leaders and the Municipal Authorities are fundamental ingredients that govern the generation, use and management of petty trading spaces. These phenomena are crucial in understanding how marketplaces function in spatial terms.

8.2.3 Hidden knowledge and skills

The study has established that processes, decisions and actions are not as accidental or sporadic as one would perceive. Often, the traders use tacit knowledge to create, shape and manage their spaces at the marketplace. The traders seem to develop and apply this kind of knowledge through their instincts and experience over a period of time within their unwritten social norms and practices. Similarly, the traders have shown to have effective skills in making and organising their stalls (or un-built selling units, often small spaces on the ground) using scarce resources coupled with prevailing regulatory mechanisms. This practice seems to have contributed to the organic nature and fluidity of the marketplace whereby the fixed spaces that would formally be designed by architects live in confrontation with the non-fixed and semi-fixed spaces created by the traders. The traders' knowledge and skills may inform and complement the conventional knowledge and approaches in designing and managing marketplaces. Thus, it is important for architects, planners and other stakeholders dealing with petty trading and marketplaces to be conscious of the hidden knowledge and skills for potential application in professional practice.

⁵⁷ Informal in the sense that the norms are not always written or coded; some are based on trust.

8.3 Recommendations

8.3.1 Recommendations to practice and policy

Planning and design of marketplaces that are adequate for petty trading must be approached by a careful consideration of the ‘real’ spatial needs of petty traders. This can be realised by participatory approaches whereby petty traders, Municipal Authorities, architects, planners and other stakeholders collaborate from the outset of a project. Additionally, training in architecture and planning in the Tanzanian higher learning institutions can be structured in such a way that there is more awareness and sensitivity to complex situations, such as the fluid nature in petty trading spaces, where formally prescribed standards and approaches may not necessarily apply. Space standards for petty trading, especially for those operating in the non-fixed spaces, are yet to, and probably, may not be precisely defined and directly applied. A context-specific approach in identifying, developing, testing and applying design ideas can guide planning and architectural design of context-functioning marketplaces. Furthermore, the tacit design knowledge of petty traders, as seen in their intuitive way of making and managing their spaces, can be tapped, improved and applied in designing marketplaces.

Marketplaces and other urban spaces where petty trading is realised represent an economic power that needs special attention in planning. A top-down planning approach whereby the central government or a particular Local Government Authority independently conceives, plans and implements projects that address petty trading can hardly be sustainable. Neither can the bottom-up planning approach in which petty traders alone confront the situation can successfully address the phenomenon. Top-down and bottom-up approaches should meet at some point as they are to complement each other. Additionally, collaboration of all stakeholders in petty trading is essential in not only facilitating adequate provision of petty trading spaces but also ensuring that private and public interests are promoted and protected. Through participation, the public institutions, for instance, can initiate the process and provide the required skills in planning and implementation of projects while the petty traders can provide the tacit knowledge in defining requirements for their activities so that they are compatible with other urban development programmes. There should be a clear policy that guides participation and defines roles of various stakeholders in planning, design, implementation and management of petty trading areas.

8.3.2 Recommendations for further research

This study has not tackled all aspects that surround the design and management of marketplaces. There are still more avenues that can be pursued from different perspectives in order to better understand how marketplaces function. The following two are among the premises in which further studies are proposed.

8.3.2.1 Trans-disciplinarity: A potential mode of knowledge production in studying and designing marketplaces

Studying and designing marketplaces demands knowledge from various disciplines. It dwells on the design-related aspects (architecture, planning, urban design and craft) on the one hand and socioeconomic aspects on the other hand. The research process in this study involved participation (in terms of observations and discussions) of various stakeholders including petty traders, customers, academicians and officials in the relevant marketplace authorities. This gave an opportunity to appreciate the complexity of design knowledge appropriate for marketplaces. There could also be a study that would closely look into a possibility that the generation of knowledge might require specialised inputs and be explored, shared and applied within the specific contexts. For example, aspects of food security in marketplaces from design, health and economic perspectives can be studied jointly by experts from the respective disciplinary (Mode 1) fields. This is characteristic of *trans-disciplinarity*, also referred to as Mode 2, whereby knowledge is produced and applied in a specific localised context (Gibbons, 1994 et al; Dunin-Woyseth and Nielsen, 2004). This approach is useful in producing a progressive academic and practical knowledge of marketplaces in a broad perspective that is sustainable and transcends one level of spatial reality. However, while design goals and solutions for marketplaces can conceptually belong to Mode 2, methods and models applied in empirical studies as well as technical evaluation of the design solutions belong to Mode 1 (Nyström, 2002). Hence, there is a complementarity between Mode 1 and Mode 2 approaches as argued by Dunin-Woyseth and Nilsson (2008) that have a potential for application in future studies and design of marketplaces.

8.3.2.2 Temporal spatial situations in petty trading spaces

The study has presented that petty trading exists in the three space temporal situations namely *fixed*, *semi-fixed* or *non-fixed* spaces. These situations are probably a

representation of the fluid nature of marketplaces as the spaces always change in shape and size, appear and disappear. The marketplace as seen today is not exactly the same as what will be seen tomorrow in terms of utilisation of trading space units and zones. If an architect has to design a marketplace that is adequate for petty trading, fluidity and flexibility of the spaces is one of the aspects that must be critically addressed. This thesis has analysed the general spatial environment for petty trading. However, it has not adequately analysed the space temporal situations of the marketplaces with regard to their nature and character as well as the interplay between them. This is an area that needs further investigation so that design criteria of marketplaces can be developed and inform the conventional practices in architecture and planning.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Interview Guides

A. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE PETTY TRADERS

1. What is your name? *Jina lako nani?*
2. Where do you stay/are you from? *Uniaishi/unatokea wapi?*
3. What kind of goods do you sell? *Unauza bidhaa gani?*
4. What kind of customers do you normally get? *Kwa kawaida unapata wateja wa aina gani?*
5. Where do you get your goods from? *Unapata bidhaa zako toka wapi?*
6. How much is the capital for the current business? Roughly how much money do you make in a good/bad day? *Kwa makisio una mtaji wa kiasi gani? Hupata faida kiasi gani katika siku nzuri au mbaya kibiashara?*
7. Do you pay any fee/ tax? To whom? How much? *Unalipa kodi kiasi gani? Kwa nani?*
8. What business/activities were you doing before this and where? Why did you leave? *Ulikuwa ukifanya shughuli gani na wapi kabla hujaanza biashara hapa?*
9. How did you acquire this space for the business and what challenges did you face in the process? *Ulipataje sehemu hii ya biashara na ulikutana na changamoto zipi katika upatikanaji wa hii sehemu?*
10. What are the norms/regulations that guide you in using your trading space? *Ni taratibu au sheria zipi zinakuongoza katika matumizi ya sehemu yako ya biashara?*
11. How often do you use the space? Is it permanent or a temporary space? Do you sit or stand all the time? *Hutumia sehemu hii kwa muda gani? Kila siku au mara chache tu? Husimama au hukaa wakati wote?*
12. Who cleans the space? *Nani husafisha sehemu hii?*
13. How do you choose the location for your business in this marketplace? Why here and not another location? *Kwa nini umechagua sehemu hii kwa biashara na sio mahala pengine ndani ya soko hili?*
14. What challenges do you face on your daily activities in terms of space organisation and acquisition? *Unakutana na changamoto zipi katika shughuli*

zako za kila siku, hususan katika mpangilio na upatikanaji wa sehemu ya biashara?

15. How is this space important for your life? *Sehemu hii ina umuhimu gani kwako kimaisha?*
16. How do you demarcate your space from your neighbor's? (establish the forms of boundaries) *Unaweka mpaka kivipi kati yako na mfanya biashara jirani na sehemu yako?*
17. How do you resolve conflicts on use of space among the traders when they occur? *Unatatuaje migogoro (endapo inatokea) baina ya wafanya biashara wenzio, katika matumizi ya sehemu ya biashara?*
18. Do you prefer to display goods on a stall or on the floor? Give reasons. *Ungendeleea kupanga bidhaa sakafuni au kwenye kizimba? Kwa nini?*
19. Would you prefer to stay in your current working conditions? If NO, what would you like to be improved? *Ungenda kuendelea kufanya biashara katika mazingira ya sasa? Kama hapana, kitu gani ungenda kiboreshe?*
20. How and where do you store your goods when you live work for home? *Unahifadhi vipi na wapi bidhaa zako unapotoka kurudi nyumbani?*
21. How would you prefer the petty trading spaces/marketplaces to look like? (in terms of functional spaces and building structure) Would you prefer a multi-storey or single storey structure? Why? *Ungendeleea sehemu za biashara ndogo ndogo/masoko kuonekanaje kiumbo? Je, ungendeleea soko kuwa la chini kama hili au la ghorofa? Kwa nini?*
22. What are the shortcomings in your current working space/surroundings? *Kuna mapungufu gani katika mazingira ya sasa ya biashara?*

B. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE CUSTOMERS

1. Name, and sex of the customer *Jina na jinsia ya mteja*
2. Where do you stay/are you from? *Unaishi /unatokea wapi?*
3. Why do you come to this marketplace? *Kwa nini unakuja kwenye soko hili na sio mengine?*
4. What type of goods do you often buy from this marketplace? *Ni aina gani ya bidhaa kwa kawaida hununua kutoka kwenye soko hili?*

5. Which other marketplaces do you normally go to? *Masoko gani mengine huenda kutafuta bidhaa?*
6. How do you come to the marketplace from your home? (On foot? By daladala? By private car?) *Unakujaje hapa sokoni? Kwa mguu, daladala au gari binafsi?*
7. How do you know the location of trading spaces where you can buy particular goods? *Unajuaaje mahala katika soko hili ambapo unaweza kupata bidhaa unazohitaji?*
8. Do you prefer to buy goods displayed on a stall or on the floor? Give reasons. *Unapendelea kununua bidhaa zilizotandazwa chini au kwenye vizimba? Toa sababu*
9. How would you prefer the petty trading spaces/marketplaces to look like? (in terms of functional spaces and building structure) Would you prefer a multi-storey or single storey structure? Why? *Ungependelea sehemu za biashara ndogo ndogo/masoko kuonekanaaje kiumbo? Je, ungependelea soko kuwa la chini kama hili au la ghorofa? Kwa nini?*
10. In your opinion, what could be improved in the petty trading spaces and the marketplace in general? *Kwa maoni yako, unadhani nini kifanyike kuboresha hali/mazingira ya sehemu za biashara ndogo ndogo na soko kwa ujumla?*

C. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE PETTY TRADERS' DEPARTMENTS

1. Name of the group *Jina la kikundi*
2. Name and title of the group member/leader *Jina na nafasi ya mwanachama/kiongozi wa kikundi*
3. Explain the roles of your group/association in safeguarding interests of petty traders *Elezea matakwa ya kikundi chenu katika kulinda maslahi ya wafanya biashara wadogo wadogo*
4. Describe the organisation structure of the group *Fafanua muundo wa kikundi*
5. How can one become a member of the group? *Mtu awezaje kuwa mwanachama wa kikundi?*
6. How can the group influence/help a trader in acquisition, use and maintenance of trading space? (e.g., in the determination of location and size of trading space; boundary definition between traders, etc.) *Kikundi kinawezaje*

kumsaidia mfanyabiashara katika upatikanaji, utumiaji na utunzaji wa sehemu ya biashara?(Kwa mfano upatikanaji wa sehemu mahali husika na ukubwa wa sehemu yenyewe; namna ya uwekaji mipaka kati ya wafanyabiashara, n.k.)

7. Which regulations/norms guide or influence your group activities and how? *Ni taratibu, kanuni au sheria zipi zina waongoza au kuwaathiri katika shughuli zenu za kikundi?*
8. What are the main problems/ challenges that you face on your daily basis in relation to the petty trading spaces? *Ni zipi changamoto mnazozipata katika shughuli zenu za kila siku kuhusiana na sehemu za biashara?*
9. What do you think can be done to improve the current situation (in your group activities, petty trading and the marketplace in general)? *Unadhani nini kifanyike kuboresha hali/mazingira ya sasa katika shughuli za kikundi chenu, shughuli za biashara ndogo ndogo na soko kwa ujumla?*
10. Please, give any other relevant information that can be useful in the study *Tafadhali tupatie habari yoyote unayodhani inaweza kutusaidia katika utafiti huu*

APPENDIX 2: List of marketplaces in the three municipalities in Dar es Salaam (Source: Pilot study; 2010)

S/N	Market Name	Municipality	Remarks
1	Kariakoo	Ilala	Kariakoo CBD; food (mainly for fruits) as well as agricultural tools (<i>pembejeo</i>); retail and wholesale; permanent structure as a common shed; closed market; Managed by City Council.
2	Machinga Complex	Ilala	Kawawa Road; industrial products; retail; permanent structure as a common shed; closed market; Managed by the City Council.
3	Ferry fish market	Ilala	Ocean Road; food (Only for fish); retail and wholesale; permanent structures; closed (fenced) market.
4	Ilala market	Ilala	Close to Uhuru Road; Food (Fruits and vegetables); retail and wholesale; permanent structure and temporary extensions, open market.
5	Ilala market	Ilala	Along Uhuru Road; clothes (mainly second hand); retail and wholesale, temporary structures, open market.
6	Buguruni market	Ilala	Off- Uhuru road near Mandela Road; Food; wholesale and retail; one small permanent structure constructed by the government and temporary extensions by individual traders; started as temporary stalls (<i>vigenge</i>) at a nearby area and later shifted by government to the current position; open market.
7	Mchikichini	Ilala	Along Uhuru road; Second hand clothes (<i>mitumba</i>) and new clothes; retail and wholesale; temporary structures; open market.
8	Kisutu	Ilala	Bibi Titi road at DSM City Centre; food; retail; 3 permanent structures constructed by the local government and others under association of vendors; open market
9	Tandale	Kinondoni	Off Morogoro high way and Argentina bus stop; food (grains and vegetables); wholesale and retail; common structure with some extensions; open market; main distributor of grains from upcountry and serves other countries like Comoro.
10	Mtambani	Kinondoni	Kinondoni, along Kawawa highway; mixed goods (mainly foods, clothes and home utensils); retail, permanent and temporary structures; closed (fenced) market.
11	Shekilango	Kinondoni	Along Shekilango road; food (largely selling foodstuff and thus can be categorized as food market but tailoring is a supplementary business); retail; temporary structures; open market.
12	Manzese	Kinondoni	Along Morogoro high way; Second-hand clothes; retail; permanent and temporary structures;

S/N	Market Name	Municipality	Remarks
			open market.
13	Sinza Makaburini	Kinondoni	Makaburini close to Shekilango road; Food (mainly vegetables) retail; permanent and temporary structures; open market.
14	Afrika sana	Kinondoni	Along Shekilango road; food; retail; permanent structure providing common shed with extensions, open market.
15	Magomeni	Kinondoni	Along Morogoro highway; Mixed goods (mainly foods, clothes and home utensils); retail; permanent and temporary structures; open market.
16	Mwananyamala Kisiwani	Kinondoni	In Mwananyamala along Kisiwani Street; food; retail; temporary structures; open market.
17	Mburahati	Kinondoni	Along Mburahati and Kigogo roads; Mixed commodities; retail; permanent structures giving common shed with some extensions (temporary structures); open market.
18	Kawe	Kinondoni	Along the Kanisani road and Sokoni street; mixed commodities (mainly food and clothes); retail; permanent structure with common sheds; open market; informally generated along Bagamoyo road but later relocated to the current position.
19	Msasani	Kinondoni	Along Msasani market Road; food; retail; permanent and temporary structures; open market; started as a food and vegetable market at Mkirikiti area before being shifted to the current position formerly a water-logged small farm. Traders under cooperative contributed money to construct the current structure. Before there were individually made temporary sheds
20	Kapera	Kinondoni	Off- Morogoro road near Mwembechai bus stop; mixed goods; (mostly food items and some home utensils); retail; permanent structures (common shed); open market.
21	Mwenge	Kinondoni	Close to Mwenge bus stop off- Sam Nujoma road; food; retail (with some home utensils); permanent structures with some extensions; semi-closed market (surrounded by retail shops on three sides) originally established at the Mwenge bus stop but later shifted to the current position.
22	Msufini	Kinondoni	Dunga street connecting Kawawa and Mwananyamala roads; mixed goods (mainly food and clothes); retail; temporary structures; open market; off the main road and surrounded by residential houses.
23	Urafiki Mitumba	Kinondoni	Along Morogoro road; Second-hand clothes; retail; temporary structures, open market.

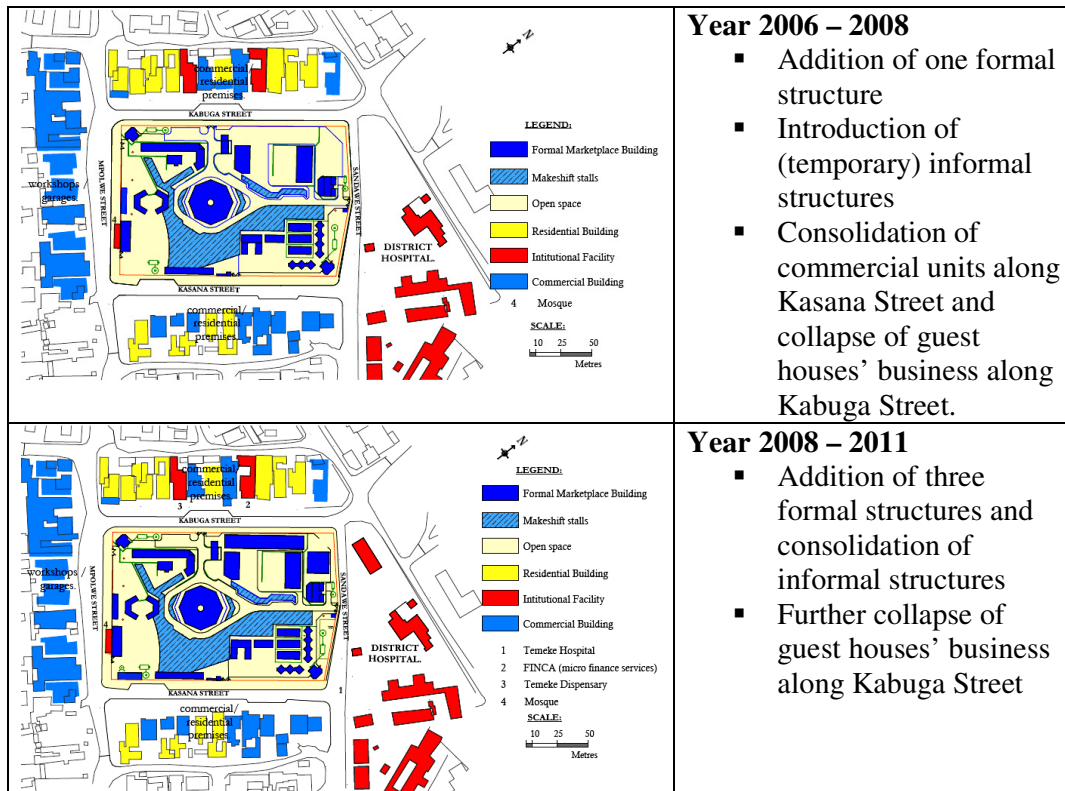
S/N	Market Name	Municipality	Remarks
24	Makumbusho	Kinondoni	Off- Ali Hassan Mwinyi road; mixed goods; retail market; permanent structures; closed market; purposely planned to accommodate the relocated street vendors.
25	Kimara	Kinondoni	Along Morogoro highway; food; retail; permanent structure (giving common shed); open market but surrounded by residential houses.
26	Urafiki ndizi	Kinondoni	Close to the Morogoro high way along Mabibo road; food (mainly for sweet potatoes, tomatoes, yams and plantains); retail and wholesale; temporary structures; closed (fenced) market; Informally organized, not managed by KMC; has strong connection for goods from Kilimanjaro, Mbeya and Iringa; famously known as <i>Mahakama ya Ndizi</i> (a court for plantains).
27	Mabibo	Kinondoni	Along Mburahati road; Mixed goods; retail and wholesale; permanent structure with extensions and an open space for wholesale; open market.
28	Tegeta (Nyuki market)	Kinondoni	Nyuki Street; mixed goods; retail; permanent structure with some open spaces surrounded by shops; open market; started informally along Bagamoyo road and relocated to Nyuki street.
29	MFAVESCO (Mwananyamala Food and Vegetable Suppliers Cooperative Society Limited)	Kinondoni	Mwananyamala; food; retail; permanent structures; open market; found by a cooperative society that joined three markets; located at the informally acquired area originally an open space used as a dumping area.
30	Ubungo Kisiwani	Kinondoni	Ubungo Kisiwani off- Mandela road; closed market; privately owned; completed since 2009 but not yet in operation to-date.
31	Babati	Kinondoni	Off-Morogoro road near Mwembechai Petrol Station; food; retail; permanent structures, open market
32	Temeke Stereo	Temeke	Temeke, close to Temeke district hospital; food; wholesale and retail; permanent and temporary structures; closed market but with operations outside the fenced area; traders initially relocated (by force) from Tandika Market.
33	Tandika	Temeke	Close to Tandika bus stop; food; wholesale and retail; permanent and temporary structures; open market; began as a temporary stalls (<i>magenge</i>) on an area initially planned for church.
34	Mtoni Mtongani	Temeke	Off- Kilwa road; Mixed goods (food in large proportion); retail; temporary structures; open

S/N	Market Name	Municipality	Remarks
			market; began as a small market for agricultural products from up country.
35	Kizuiani	Temeke	Along Kilwa road; mixed goods (food, clothes and home utensils); retail; permanent structure with common shed and some extensions; open market fronted by residential houses.
36	Keko Magurumbasi	Temeke	Keko; mixed goods (food, furniture and domestic utensils); retail; permanent and temporary structures; open market.
37	Maguruwe	Temeke	Along Mikoroshoni road near Liwale Street; Mixed goods (mostly with food stuff); retail; temporary structures; open market.
38	Kigamboni Ferry	Temeke	Near Kigamboni Ferry; mixed goods; retail; permanent structure with common shed, open market.
39	Buriaga	Temeke	Temeke Mwisho; Mixed goods; retail; temporary structures; open market; Started on an open space originally managed by CCM before being transferred to Temeke Municipality.
40	Alimboa	Temeke	Yombo kwa Alimboa; mixed goods; retail; temporary structures; closed market (surrounded with shops but having some thoroughfares between them); Established in 1980 and was managed by single family as the owner of the plot (Ali Mboa), but currently is managed by Temeke Municipality.
41	Lumo	Temeke	Yombo Lumo; mixed goods; retail; temporary structures; open market; originally located at a privately owned plot (which is now a petrol station) before later being shifted to the current position.
42	Zakheim	Temeke	Mbagala; Mixed goods; retail; open market.
43	Tazara Champochea	Temeke	Tazara Veterinary; mixed goods; retail; temporary structures; open market; Started as Mitumba market on an open space.
44	Charambe Champochea	Temeke	Mbagala Charambe; food (vegetables); retail; temporary structures; open market.
45	Madenge	Temeke	Temeke Mikoroshini; mixed goods; retail; temporary structures; open market

APPENDIX 3: Mapping of activities in relation to time

A. Transformation of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace (Source: Fieldwork; 2011)

<p>This map shows the initial layout of the marketplace. A yellow-shaded 'MARKET' area is located between Kabuga Street to the north and Mpolwe Street to the south. To the east of the market is a red-shaded 'COMMUNITY CENTRE'. Residential buildings are shown as yellow rectangles along the streets. A legend identifies the Market Planned Area (yellow), Old Market Area (blue hatched), Residential building (yellow), and Institutional Facility (red). A scale bar indicates 10, 25, and 50 metres.</p>	<p>Year 1950 – 1970</p> <p>The marketplace occupied a small portion and surrounded with residential buildings along the bounding streets.</p>
<p>This map shows the expansion of the marketplace. The central 'MARKET AREA' is now a solid yellow rectangle. A blue-shaded 'FOOTBALL GROUND' has been created on the western side of the market plot. The 'COMMUNITY CENTRE' remains to the east. A legend identifies the Formal Marketplace Building (blue), Market Plot (yellow), Residential Building (yellow), Institutional Facility (red), and Commercial Building (blue). Specific points of interest are marked: 1 Stereo Bar and 2 Ugawaji Office. A scale bar indicates 10, 25, and 50 metres.</p>	<p>Year 1970 – 1998</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The marketplace expanded a bit. Informal garages occupied the centre of the plot and one part was used as a football ground. ■ Houses along Mpolwe Street were transformed into informal garages.
<p>This map shows further development. The market area is more complex, with various blue-shaded buildings. A large blue-shaded 'Mosque' is located in the center. The 'FOOTBALL GROUND' is still present. A legend identifies the Formal Marketplace Building (blue), Open space (yellow), Residential Building (yellow), Institutional Facility (red), and Commercial Building (blue). A scale bar indicates 10, 25, and 50 metres.</p>	<p>Year 1998 – 2006</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Construction of formal structures for the marketplace. ■ Introduction of commercial units along Kabuga Street (guest houses) and Kasana Street (car spare parts shops and informal garages).



B. Use of space at the tomatoes wholesale area

	<p>Time: 06:00 – 10:00</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ The space is full of activities▪ Difficult to access the goods as traders are offloading and loading.
	<p>Time: 11:00 – 1600</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Many traders have already sold their goods and therefore the space looks less hectic
	<p>Time: 17:00 – 18:00</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Traders have left the marketplace. A few boxes have been offloaded ready for business in the next day

C. Use of space at the banana and cassava wholesale area

	<p>Time: 06:00 – 10:00</p> <p>The space is occupied by both bananas and cassava traders and their goods</p>
	<p>Time: 11:00 – 1400</p> <p>The spaces becomes empty with only a few cassava traders as bananas traders finish selling their goods</p>
	<p>Time: 15:00 – 18:00</p> <p>The area becomes full of cassava traders</p>
	<p>Time: After 18:00</p> <p>Traders finalizing their activities before they leave the marketplace</p>

**Appendix 4: TRADING SPACES AT THE TEMEKE STEREO
MARKETPLACE**

S/N	Space Type (Business type)	Quantity in numbers
1	Kiosk	66
2	Old garments (inside)	36
3	Shop	8
4	Butcher	6
5	Food Vendor (<i>Baba/Mama Lishe</i>)	16
6	Rutunda	105
7	Toilet	2
8	Cold room	1
9	Kitchen cage	48
10	Slaughtering space	1
11	<i>Kampochea</i>	293
12	Irish potatoes	21
13	Matango	22
14	Mixed goods (those with no stalls)	8
15	Cassava	83
16	Onions	21
17	Bananas	81
18	Old garments (outside)	83
TOTAL		901

Source: Temeke Municipality Markets' Manager, 2011