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## Research Article

### SPATIAL CHARACTER OF URBAN PETTY TRADING MARKET PLACES IN DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA: SPACE FORM, CONFIGURATION AND USE

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#### ABSTRACT

Petty trading marketplaces are hubs for socioeconomic activities of urbanites especially the low-income population. However, little was known and documented with regards to space dynamics of petty trading marketplace architecture. As a result, formal design and construction of petty trading marketplaces in Tanzania have not necessarily addressed spatial needs of petty traders. This paper analyses the resulting multifaceted spatialities of the marketplaces. Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace, which is an informally generated marketplace and the Temeke Stereo Marketplace, which was formally generated were studied as comparative cases. The study revealed that spatial character of the marketplaces reflects the dynamic needs of petty traders, which are entrenched in the socio-economic realities of the urbanites. The marketplaces are not only places for economic transactions but also for social and cultural activities. The multifunctional character of petty trading marketplaces presents an opportunity to conceptualise design requirements and approaches in developing marketplaces in Tanzania context.

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#### INTRODUCTION

A marketplace can simply be described as an open space, square, or street where transaction of goods and services are transacted (Davies and Jokiniemi, 2008). For the purpose of this paper, a marketplace is considered as a physically defined trading space containing open spaces and built-up structures. Historically, marketplaces have been important structuring elements constituting physical and cultural centres of towns and cities in Europe (Morris, 1979; Kostof, 1985). In Africa, marketplaces influenced the growth of towns as a result of the interaction of merchants in the transportation nodes (Coquery-Vidrovitch, 2005). Following the development and modernisation of trading systems worldwide as a response to the technological advancement in packaging and food processing, marketplaces were transforming to becoming more formal and functional (Kent, 2007). The foregoing is attributed to the emergence of supermarkets and departmental stores and disappearance of traditional marketplaces in the developed world. In the developing countries, however, traditional (petty trading) marketplaces are still important nodes of cities and towns marking the socioeconomic realities of the majority of low-income urbanites.

Dares Salaam consists of fixed and periodic petty trading marketplaces. The fixed marketplaces operate daily throughout

the year in fixed locations. Periodic marketplaces operate only at specific times, normally during peak hours or specific public events; appearing and disappearing at varying locations. They normally occupy spaces designated for other functions such as bus-stop, road junctions, public open spaces and road reserves. This paper, however, is focused largely on the fixed petty trading marketplaces.

The nature of petty trading is attributed to “a collection of individual sellers with small capital and buyers operating in a group of small spaces” (Mbisso, 2011). Petty trading marketplaces accommodate varying commodities ranging from agricultural produce to imported consumer goods as well as varying actors (social and institutional groups). In marketplaces especially those that are enclosed (fenced), petty trading activities are normally limited for expansion but often overspill to the public and private places in the immediate neighbourhoods (Mbisso, 2011; Mbisso, 2014). Petty trading is often considered as a quasi-legal undertaking resulting into competition and conflicts over urban spaces as evidenced by forced eviction and relocation of petty traders from undesignated urban areas as experienced in many African cities (Sergio, 1999).

With regards to the foregoing, the dynamism of actors, their activities and commodities tends to require dynamic spaces that can make the petty trading marketplaces functional. However,

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little was yet known and documented with regards to the way petty trading spaces and marketplaces at large are dynamic in responding to the changing needs of petty trading activities. An understanding of the dynamic character of spaces in petty trading marketplaces would inform recurring interventions in spatialising petty trading in urban Africa. This paper, therefore, intends to assess the multifaceted spatial character of petty trading marketplaces that might inform their appropriate planning and design. The assessment may contribute towards conceptualisation and design criteria for petty trading environments.

### **Conceptualising Space in Petty Trading Marketplaces**

The term 'space' has been widely conceptualised in various ways by many authors including Norberg-Schulz (1980), Rapoport (1982), Lefebvre (1991) and Davoudi and Strange (2009). It can be described in two main views namely the absolute view and the relational view. The absolute view holds that space can be described as independent entity without necessarily taking into account the external forces behind its creation or a neutral container based on Euclidian geometry (Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Davoudi and Strange, 2009). This is an elementary stage at which one can start to conceptualise space. The relational view of space, for which the basic arguments of this paper are anchored, considers space to be dependent on processes and objects it occupies (Davoudi and Strange, 2009). Thus we can describe 'space' in petty trading marketplace as an extension from just an abstract location to something concrete that has definite shape, configuration, territory and texture (Norberg-Schulz, 1980); and that which is influenced by human action (Azimdadah, 2003). At this point, a space has acquired meaning and, therefore, it is no longer just a space but a 'place'.

Understanding the spatial character of petty trading marketplaces requires the understanding of the socio-spatial processes as realised in trading activities and the spaces they occupy. Thus, the non-physical spatial processes (the unwritten norms and everyday practices behind the creation of spaces) are basic in describing the resulting space types in petty trading marketplaces-their evolution, configuration and use. In this way, we can describe the formation, configuration and use of spaces in petty trading marketplaces as a social engineering process whereby spaces are produced and reproduced based on the everyday spatial realities (Lefebvre, 1991). In this paper, the socio-spatial processes that 'take place' and change with context and time will be analysed.

### **METHOD**

Petty trading is a contextual, contemporary and real life socio-economic phenomenon comprising varying operators and social groups in the rapidly urbanising developing countries (UN-Habitat, 2009; URT, 2002; URT, 2004). Thus, the research for which this paper is written adopted a case study research strategy. Two marketplaces in Dares Salaam, Tanzania were selected as comparative case studies. The choice for the cases in Dares Salaam is based on the fact that the petty trading activities are more prominent than in other urban centres in the country. In addition, efforts to integrate petty trading in the city's economy by developing marketplaces and relocating petty traders from undesignated were established since early 1990s (URT, 2004). Temeke Stereo was selected as a formal marketplace, in the sense that it was conceptualised and

designed specifically to accommodate petty traders who were relocated from other urban places in the city. Urafiki Ndizi marketplace is an informal marketplace operating on a piece of land owned by Urafiki Textile Company.

The two marketplaces were selected from a total of 45 marketplaces visited in July 2010. The case selection involved two stages of reconnaissance. The first stage involved categorisation of the 45 marketplaces into food, clothes and mixed-good marketplaces based on the dominant goods sold. Nine largest food marketplaces were studied further in the second stage for the selection of the information-rich cases. The focus on food marketplaces was primarily because they constitute delicate handling and more space dynamism as compared with marketplaces selling other goods (Mbisso, 2011). The two selected marketplaces passed the case selection criteria that looked into physical transformation of a marketplace; variety of food items; the formal and informal spatial characters in terms of permanence or temporariness of building structures; and the extent to which a marketplace is linked and networked. Although the Temeke Stereo Marketplace was formally designed and constructed, there are also some informal processes in the use and management of its spaces. On the other hand, the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace, which evolved informally<sup>1</sup>, possesses some formal structures in terms of administration and building layouts. The two cases, therefore, complement each other in understanding the physical composition and space variety of marketplaces in local contexts.

Data was collected largely through observation as well as through interviews with leaders of the marketplaces, Temeke Municipal Authority officials (including city planners and administrators), selected adult inhabitants living near the marketplaces since the 1950s, and the randomly selected traders and customers. The data collected covered various aspects including traders' and customers' preferences and opinions on the forms of spaces in the marketplace; individual and collective strategies and responsibilities in space management; and the prevailing legal practices and power relations in the generation, use and management of these trading spaces.

### **The Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace**

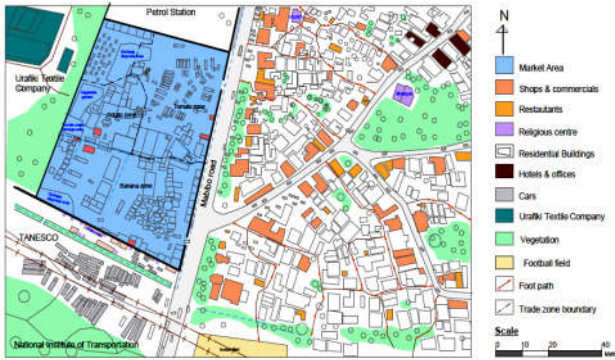
The Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace started in 2001. It is located on an open part of land held by the Urafiki Textile Company at Mabibo area in Kinondoni Municipality. The marketplace is known popularly as *mahakama ya ndizi*<sup>2</sup>, which literally means *Court for Bananas*. The name of the marketplace portrays the fact that bananas constitute the dominant goods sold at the marketplace.

The marketplace is within the context of various spatial functions including a petrol station, the textile company, informal garages, the National Institute of Transportation (NIT) and an unplanned neighbourhood (Figure 1). The unplanned neighbourhood, which has various land uses such as residential, institutional (offices, church and mosque) and commercial (shops and restaurants) seems to blend fairly well with the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace. This is due to the fact that

<sup>1</sup> The informally evolved marketplaces have not gone through the formal architectural design processes in their formation but rather developed through the traders' intuitions and cognitive experiences.

<sup>2</sup> Ndizi is a Kiswahili word for banana, whether green or ripe.

commercial functions are interlinked with a variety of informal business activities, which are in proximity and provide convenient access.



**Figure 1** Location of Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace in its surrounding context. Base map adapted from Survey and Mapping Division, 1994). Source: Mbisso (2014)

The marketplace is informal in the sense that traders invaded the open land and started operating business without getting a formal authorisation from the Kinondoni Municipal Council. In addition, the marketplace is not officially recognised as a marketplace administered by the Council (Mbisso, 2011). However, according to the Kinondoni Municipal Trading Officer, the Council claims the right to oversee all trading operations within the area of its jurisdiction hence collects taxes and fees from the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace through the traders' committee<sup>3</sup>.

Trading operations and spaces at the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace are managed informally and independently by traders' committees under each of the three traders' unions, namely the Development Union of Banana (plantain) and Fruit Traders; the Union of Tomato and Vegetable Traders; and, the Union of Sellers and Distributors of Tomatoes and Fruits.



**Figure 2** Neighbourhood context of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. Source: Mbisso (2011:50)

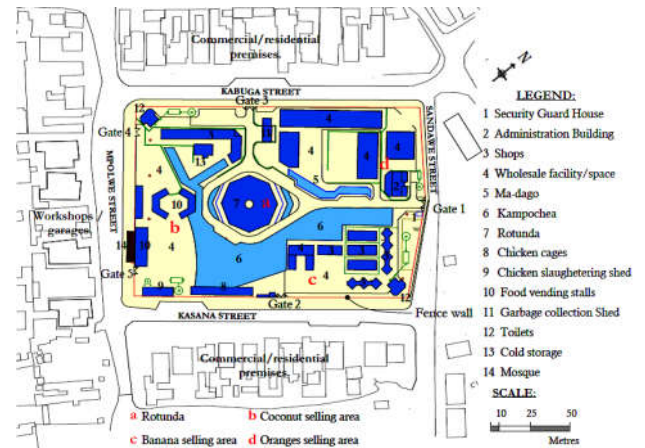
However, the three unions often co-operate on various matters such as security and cleanliness of the marketplace.

**The Temeke Stereo Marketplace**

The Temeke Stereo Marketplace is located within a high-density residential area built before the 1950s at the Temeke

Municipality. It is surrounded by commercial residential premises, workshops and Temeke District Hospital on the North-Eastern side of the marketplace (Figure 2).

The marketplace began in early 1970s, evolving from informal stalls (*vigenge*) on an open space that was formerly designated for use as a marketplace. The formal building structures and a wall fence enclosing the marketplace were constructed in 1998. The construction of the marketplace was a result of the implementation of the Environmental Planning Management (EPM) framework whose strategic objectives aimed at, among other issues, relocating petty traders from undesignated areas in the city of Dares Salaam to formal establishment (Kombe, 2002). However, from the time of its establishment, the marketplace continued to evolve with the increase of informal stalls within and outside occupying a significant portion of the marketplace. The marketplace occupies a total of 20,000 square metres and has five gates along the fence, which are named according to a particular type of good nearby. For instance there is a *geti la mihogo* (cassava gate), *geti la nazi* (coconut gate), *geti la mahindi* (maize gate) and so on. It also contains some auxiliary facilities such as an office for the manager, public toilets, garbage collection shed, mosque and security guard hut.



**Figure 3** Various spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. Base map adapted from Survey and Mapping Division, (1994). Source: Mbisso (2011)

The Temeke Stereo Marketplace is managed formally by the Markets' Manager who is a salaried employee of the Temeke Municipal Council, overseeing all marketplaces in the municipality. The management structure also comprises the traders' committee, which is formed by leaders drawn from twelve (12) trading departments, each representing the type of or mode through which goods are sold. The committee, together with other salaried employees of the Council including revenue collector, health officer, auxiliary police and other casual labourers assist the Markets' Manager in the day-to-day running of the marketplace (Mbisso, 2011).

**The Evolution of Petty Trading Spaces**

Trading spaces evolve and transform depending on protocols and norms as well as the prevailing formal or informal processes specific to a particular marketplace. In both the Urafiki Ndizi and Temeke Stereo marketplaces, trading spaces are acquired formally under the stipulated by-laws, or informally through traders themselves. The formal acquisition of spaces is through contracts with the Municipal Authority (in the case of Temeke Stereo) or through agreements with traders'

<sup>3</sup>This information is based on a presentation conducted by the Trading Officer in a seminar involving the researcher and students from the Amsterdam School of Arts on 17<sup>th</sup> September 2013 at the Rombo Green View Hotel near Shekilango Marketplace.

unions (in the case of Urafiki Ndizi) whereas the informal acquisition involves mutual agreements among traders on occupying spaces over a period of time or, at times, sharing of spaces without any legally binding treaties. A trader at Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace confirms:

No one owns this space permanently. When you have your goods you look for a middleman who will trade by displaying them on the ground. Once the goods are sold, someone else can use the space as long as compulsory levies are paid to the marketplace authorities.<sup>4</sup>

The interplay between formal and informal processes in space acquisition and transformation at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace results into a notable mix between the formally ordered spaces, with regular and repetitive shapes and sizes and the spaces with irregular forms. At the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace, trading spaces are largely created and transformed informally in the absence of formal regulations, leading to the dominance of spaces with irregular shapes and varying sizes. In cases, the creation and transformation of space shape and size seems to depend largely on the type and quantity of goods.

The two marketplaces are urban public places that seem to fulfil the needs of many low-income persons, majority of whom belonging to households in their surrounding areas and the city at large albeit having practical problems such as lack of adequate sheds for traders and their goods, inadequate water supply and poor cleanliness. Reviewing the urban design frameworks, Carmona *et al* (2003:9) citing Lynch (1981) identify ‘vitality’, ‘sense’, ‘fit’, ‘access’ and ‘control’ as important performance dimensions of urban design. The first three dimensions seem to characterise the trading space forms at the Urafiki Ndizi and Temeke Stereo marketplaces whereas the remaining two can illuminate the configuration and use of spaces. In this paper, space forms at the two marketplaces can be observed to exhibit *vitality* in the sense that they are lively and critical in supporting the nature of the trading activities; they *fit* the general purpose of accommodating small quantities of goods and they are flexible in addressing the changing needs of traders over time. *Sense*, largely visual, can be illustrated by the fact that the varying displays of goods (on the ground, palettes or tables) offer a possibility for a customer to visualise

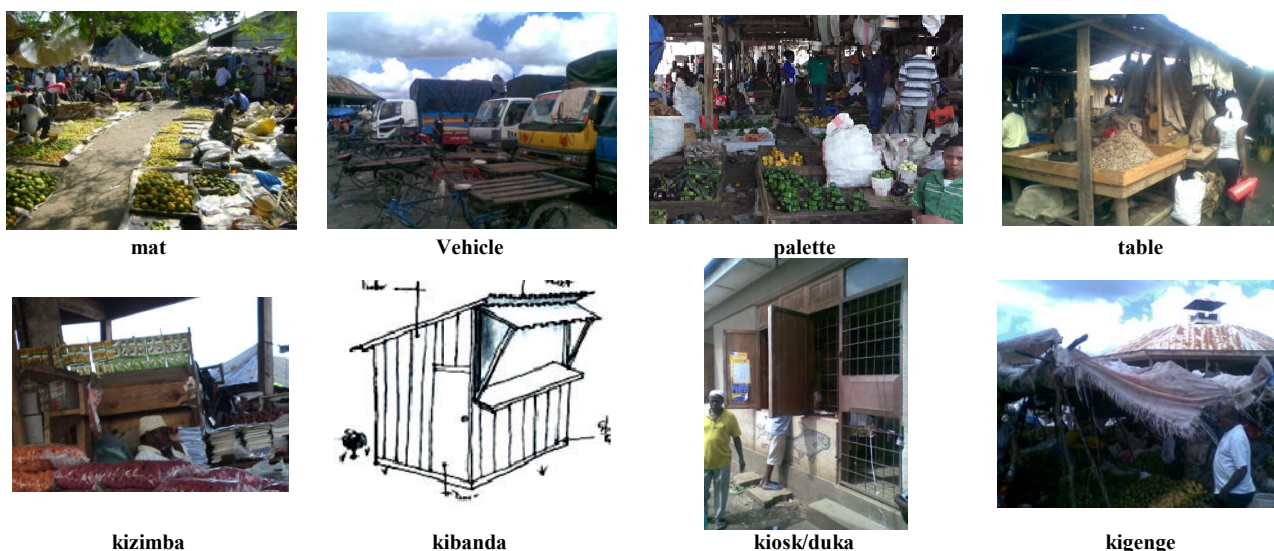


Figure 4 Petty trading space types described by form

The creation process of trading spaces in a marketplace, whether formally or informally, greatly influences its spatial structure, management and use patterns. Whereas the foregoing remains valid in many aspects, it also appears that the trading space forms at both marketplaces are generally, similar in shape with slight differences in size.

The similar shape of spaces can be attributed to petty traders’ common space needs as well as similar economic and social contexts of both the traders and the consumers. Goods are normally sold in small quantities and small spaces based on the needs of the petty traders. Similarly, buyers also purchase fresh farm produce in small quantities, as it is often a challenge to store perishable goods for long periods. Thus, it can be argued that it does not really matter much whether a marketplace for petty traders is formally or informally created. Probably, a crucial issue is whether the marketplace fulfils the daily practical needs of the intended users.

and appreciate the variety and quality of goods. It also facilitates to delineate the varying trading spaces. In view of the foregoing, the evolution and the resulting spatial set-up of the studied petty trading marketplaces reflect and enhance the everyday life of urbanites as well as actors involved in the marketplaces.

### The Character of Petty Trading Spaces

In a typological space study of petty trading marketplaces by Mbisso (2014), space types constituting petty trading marketplaces were analyzed based on three conceptual variables namely *form*, *configuration* and *use*. The three variables were derived from the conceptualization of social space by Lefebvre (1991) and the description of structure of the built environment by Habraken (1998). The variables are further discussed hereunder as observed at the Urafiki Ndizi and Temeke Stereo marketplaces.

### Form of Petty Trading Spaces

In terms of form, eight types of petty trading space forms, which depict the functional characteristics of the petty trading

<sup>4</sup>A mango trader interviewed on 17<sup>th</sup> November 2012 at the UrafikiNdizi Marketplace.

operations, were identified (Figure 4). These are a *mat*, *vehicle*, *palette*, *table*, *kizimba*, *kibanda*, *kiosk/duka* and *kigenge*.<sup>5</sup> The differentiating attributes of the different forms of trading spaces depend on elevation from ground, quality of construction materials, enclosure characteristics as well as the variety of goods displayed. For example, a *palette* and a *table* have similar forms but differ on the elevation from the ground while a *kibanda*, *kiosk* and *kigenge* differ by the quality of construction materials. A *table* and *kizimba* are differentiated according to the enclosure characteristics as well as the variety of goods that can be displayed. A *table* is open and normally contains only one type of good while a *kizimba* is enclosed and contains a variety of goods.

### Configuration of petty trading spaces

In terms of configuration, the petty trading spaces are categorized as *static* and *fluid*. Static petty trading spaces are those that are permanently fixed with operations taking place in the same location, often rented throughout the year. *Kiosk*, *kizimba*, *kibanda* and *kigenge* are normally fixed in one location, making them *static* petty trading spaces. *Fluid* petty trading spaces, on the other hand appear and disappear, change location, expand and contract depending on season<sup>6</sup>, type and amount of goods sold as well as institutional arrangements<sup>7</sup> of a particular marketplace. These are normally occupied over a short period of time; often rented on daily basis. Examples of fluid petty trading spaces are the *mats* and *palettes*, which often change location and size with the amount of goods sold.

Configuration of trading spaces at the Urafiki Ndizi and Temeke Stereo marketplaces has shown some similarities and differences regarding their delineation, organisation and hierarchy. Delineation of the trading spaces is based largely on the amount of goods and requirements for passage of people and goods within various places of the marketplaces. Paths, edges of stalls and ends of goods' display are the common forms of boundaries between individual spaces or trading zones. Generally, fixed spaces such as tables, kiosks and *mabanda* have definite physical boundaries whereas the non-fixed ground spaces such as *mats* have implied boundaries. In the latter case, the boundary of a trading space is implied by the extent to which goods are spread out. The absence of clear physical boundaries between the trading spaces in the marketplaces resembles what Mrema (2008) refers to as 'sleeping' boundaries between properties in the informal settlements. In the informal settlements, neighbours can more or less precisely show their plot boundaries without necessarily referring to any physical demarcation (Ibid.). Similarly, traders in marketplaces can often clearly delineate their spaces without having any physical elements. In both contexts, mutual understanding between neighbours and recognition of the rights for each other (in this case, traders) plays a crucial role in the smooth functioning of marketplaces.

Whereas the formal architectural concepts seem to have greatly shaped the general layout (especially visible in the linear arrangement of the fixed structures) of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace, the traders' intuitive knowledge and pragmatic practices have determined the existing spatial structure of the

Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace. However, in both cases, flexibility in space use has been a major functional requirement for a marketplace to respond to the character and the changing quantity of goods. It can be argued that petty trading activities cannot be permanently fixed on a space with a particular size. They are always dynamic, requiring 'fluid' spaces that can flexibly respond and change to accommodate different quantities of goods at different times.

The major aspect regarding the hierarchy of spaces in the two marketplaces dwells on the extent of dependence and dominance between the wholesale and retail areas. The flow of goods within the marketplaces is normally from the wholesale to retail spaces. Wholesale spaces are generally larger in size than retail spaces. Thus, in terms of flow of goods and space size, wholesale spaces depict higher level of hierarchy than retail spaces. However, at the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace, wholesale and retail spaces are generally more mixed throughout the trading zones than those at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. This is primarily because of the informality characteristics including the absence of forms regulated by design. Retail areas in each of the zones at the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace are organised around the wholesale areas, which are often open ground spaces. This arrangement creates a kind of continuum and link between retail and wholesale spaces. At the same time, it depicts a repetitive system of open wholesale areas as the common central spaces in all the zones. The presence of auxiliary facilities in each of the banana, tomato and potato zones at the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace makes the zones independent and each constitutes a stand-alone marketplace. As traders build stalls individually and incrementally without necessarily considering the whole, some of the individual spaces seem to claim their own identity and territory. This situation is demonstrated by a unique layout at the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace in which some of the stalls along the borders defining the main trading zones end up having their backs facing each other (Figure 5). Instead of paths to mark boundaries between zones and at the same time provide access to trading spaces by the public as mostly observed at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace, orientation of stalls has defined the boundaries between zones but ended up blocking physical access to some spaces at the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace. This observation seems to inform one of the principles in the conventional urban design whereby places (open spaces freely accessible and used by the public) have to be given priority before buildings (Tibbalds, 1988).

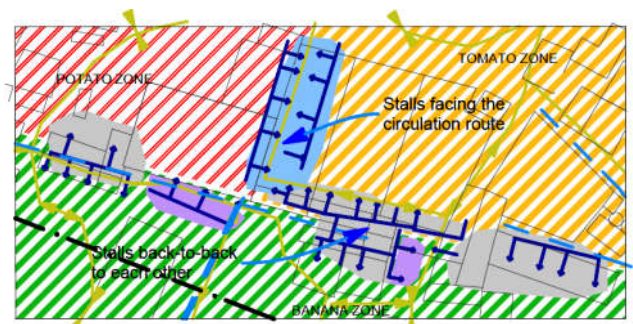


Figure 5 Stalls between banana and other trading zones at the UrafikiNdizi Marketplace with their backs facing each other. Source: Fieldwork, 2012

### Petty trading space use

In terms of use, petty trading spaces are classified as *wholesale*, *retail* or *auxiliary*. Wholesale areas accommodate bulk goods.

<sup>5</sup>Description of the space types is based on a series of interviews with traders and trade union or department leaders and field observations between 2010 and 2012.

<sup>6</sup>Some types of fruits, vegetables and cereals are available in the marketplaces only during specific months of the year.

<sup>7</sup>At Temeke Stereo Marketplace, for instance, hawkers are allowed to use the circulation spaces to trade their goods only from 6 a.m. to 10 a.m.

Wholesaling<sup>8</sup> normally takes place on the ground (on *mats*) where boundaries between traders often change with time and amount of goods. A wholesale space is often occupied on short-term basis, normally for a few hours or a day. Renting a wholesale space is based either on daily basis or on the number of collective units such as boxes of tomatoes. For example, a box of tomatoes at Temeke Stereo Marketplace is charged a fee of TShs200/= while a mat is rented on a daily fee of TShs200/=.<sup>9</sup> Retail spaces are normally fixed or semi-fixed, often for selling goods in small amounts such as one watermelon or one tin of potatoes. Retailing can take place in a fixed stall (*kibanda*, *kizimba* or *kigenge*), which are often rented monthly or annually. The auxiliary spaces give services to the traders and customers. These are such as offices for marketplace leaders, toilets, money vending shops and the like. Sometimes, auxiliary spaces also constitute trading spaces in the sense that the services are traded. The auxiliary spaces are normally fixed permanently in strategic locations of marketplaces.

Times of a day, variations of goods over the seasons, institutional arrangements and contextual factors such as proximity of marketplaces to other functions supporting trading seem to influence space occupation in the two marketplaces. Generally, wholesale spaces are active in the morning and relatively quiet towards the evening primarily because there are many transaction activities as well as persons and vehicles, besides goods being distributed to the wholesalers and then transferred to the retail areas and finally to the consumers.

The pattern of flow of traders (wholesalers, retailers and distributors) has shown similar trends in weekdays and on weekends in the two marketplaces. Generally, the number of consumers rises from the morning and peaks in the afternoon and start decreases towards the evening. The wholesalers and distributors are numerous in the mornings and decrease significantly from the afternoons onwards. However, there is a slight difference in pattern of flow of consumers in the two marketplaces. During weekdays and weekends, the number of consumers at the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace increases in the afternoon and slightly decreases towards the evening. The pattern at the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace during the weekdays is similar to that of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. This may be attributed to the fact that the two marketplaces are located within or close to predominantly low-income residential neighbourhoods. Thus, people returning from work often visit the marketplaces and purchase consumer goods on their way home. It is almost a norm among the low-income persons to go to marketplaces almost every day, as they cannot afford to buy goods in bulk, for instance, once a week. Unlike middle and high-income persons, many do not have storage facilities such as fridges and deep freezers, let alone finances to buy their needs in bulk. During the weekends, the number of consumers at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace does not decrease as significantly as it does at the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace. This is because evening visitors to the Temeke Hospital, which is close by, often visit the Temeke Stereo Marketplace on their way to or from the hospital. These have a tendency to visit the

marketplace to buy fruits such as oranges, mangoes and watermelons for their patients.

The similarities and differences presented underscore the significance of the context in which the marketplaces are placed; this may have an influence on the pattern of the flow of traders and consumers. It can be argued that, apart from the nature and distribution of varying trading spaces, the immediate context determines the use pattern of the trading spaces in the marketplaces. Thus, a marketplace is, indeed, a contextual dependent public facility in the sense that its function and character is an integral parcel of the surrounding environment and cannot be analysed, understood and explained in isolation without taking into account the context.

It has also been established that some spaces in specific trading departments, especially at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace are shared at different times of a day. For example, always bananas are sold in the morning and cassava in the afternoon on the same space. This kind of sharing is facilitated by space being an open ground, without fixed stalls and fixed boundaries that would necessitate rearrangement to suit a particular spatial requirement related to the goods available. In addition, hawkers at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace are allowed to occupy the circulation spaces during certain hours of the day whereas those at the Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace are free to use the spaces throughout the day. Such a practice is made possible by the institutional setup of the marketplaces, as there is a common understanding and co-operation among the marketplace authorities and traders.

The sharing of spaces presents the flexibility of and an opportunity for a marketplace to accommodate the varying trading operators and activities over time. This phenomenon also emulates current practices in which urban public spaces such as bus-stops, road reserves, squares and the like accommodate multiple functions, including petty trading (Msoka, 2007). For example, petty traders often occupy some of bus stops in Dares Salaam temporarily during evenings, offering opportunities for vendors to sell to people returning home from their work. Thus, they are 'bus stops' during the day but 'marketplaces' in the evenings. Traders take advantage of proximity to and convenience of buyers in purchasing their goods and immediately board a bus, thereby avoiding carrying the goods over long distances. The location of trading spaces for different kinds of goods is thus a challenge that planners and designers have to reflect upon when designing petty trading marketplaces.

#### **Implication to planning and architecture**

Spatial practices in petty trading marketplaces have shown to be largely dependent on the way the particular marketplace is generated and its prevailing institutional set-up. For example, there is more flexibility and 'fluidity' in space use at the informally generated Urafiki Ndizi Marketplace than at the formally generated and managed Temeke Stereo Marketplace. Consequently, trading spaces inside the former marketplace constitute more 'organic' shapes than in the latter marketplace despite the enclosing boundaries of both marketplaces forming rectangular shapes. Moreover, the fluid parts of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace are acquired and used through informal processes, that is, not having fixed and formal protocols. Thus,

<sup>8</sup>Wholesaling differs from good to good. It normally depends on the quantity or number of items sold per one transaction. For example, one can buy ten or more mangoes on a wholesale price (Mbisso, 2014:80).

<sup>9</sup>TSHs 200 is equivalent to around one cent of a dollar at the exchange rate of 1 USD for TSHs 2200.

it can be argued that the prevailing informality in spatial practices is a hidden force behind the diversity and sustainability of space forms and configurations in the marketplaces.

Based on the foregoing, the functional architecture for petty trading marketplaces appears to be fluid and sensitive to context and the dimension of time. It is not pillared on conventional architecture, which normally relies on prescribed approaches and standards. This phenomenon is particularly challenging to architects and planners in addressing the design of petty trading marketplaces. Petty traders' tacit knowledge on creation, appropriation and use of trading spaces may inform the conventional design approaches towards sustainable and functional environments for petty trading.

## CONCLUSION

The paper has demonstrated that form, configuration and use of the trading space forms at the Urafiki Ndizi and Temeke Stereo marketplaces reflect the nature of the petty trading operations. The forms, configurations and uses result largely from the basic spatial needs of petty traders, which are entrenched in the duality of simplicity and complexity of spatial processes and the resulting built environment. Thus, a comprehensive understanding of the spatial needs of petty traders is of paramount importance before one can attempt to design an appropriate petty trading marketplace. The observed forms, configurations and uses of the trading spaces in the case studies underscore the pragmatic processes and down-to-earth solutions. The trading space is static or fluid depending on the need (delicacy and quantity of goods) at a particular time (day, season or festival) and is enhanced by the flexibility, which the space can provide. Thus, a petty trading marketplace is conceptualised as simple in its general physical composition as marked by the simple typological forms and functions of the trading spaces. However, such a marketplace is also complex in its underlying processes of formation and use of its trading spaces. Forms, configurations and uses of trading spaces in the marketplaces studied reflect the everyday processes of the varying actors including traders, customers, city authorities and designers in the confrontation and complementarity between formality and informality.

It is therefore important for architects and planners to draw attention to the fluidity and complex situations of the built environments, which are not necessarily conventional. Traders' tacit knowledge in creating their functional environments for daily activities can be explored, tapped and possibly uplifted and shared in training and practice of architecture and urban planning. Thus, pragmatic approaches to architecture can be appreciated and possibly applied in specified contexts as an alternative to formal and prescribed approaches in addressing practical problems in the complex built environments.

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