Institutional and Social Aspects of Petty Trading Spatialisations Processes: The Case of Temeke Stereo Marketplace in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

D.A. MBISSO*

ABSTRACT

Petty trading constitutes a significant economic base visible in space and serving the bulk of low-income population in most of the rapidly urbanising developing countries. However, there is limited knowledge and documentation on operations and procedures that generate, structure and sustain spaces and places for petty trading. Subsequently, urban planning and architectural design responses and options for guiding and regulating petty trading has been inadequate and conflicted with reality obtaining in the marketplaces. This paper is aimed at presenting and analysing the formal and informal spatialisation processes that surround the petty trading operations. Temeke Stereo Marketplace (TSM) in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania is used as the case where empirical studies were carried out. The paper argues that petty trading spatial processes in marketplaces reflect the interplay between formal and informal structures and norms that are entrenched in context specific social and institutional settings. Also, petty trading spaces are constantly being produced and reproduced as a result of conceptions, actions, compromises and reactions of defined and legitimate power constellations at the market places.

Key Words: Petty trading, marketplaces, space generation, space use and management

INTRODUCTION

There is no universally accepted conception of petty trading. In Tanzania, the term has been used synonymously with micro trade and micro enterprises; referring to trade operators at different contexts and locations constituting the ‘informal sector’ or ‘informal economy’ (URT, 2003; DCC, 1999). Also, the term informal sector has been used to a variety of occupational and small-scale (micro) enterprises of simple organisational and production structures, low level technology or skill and small capital (UNDP, 1997 in Kazimoto, 2007:2). In the Tanzanian context, micro enterprises refer to those activities with a starting capital below five million Tanzanian Shillings (which is equivalent to USD 2300 as per October 2015 exchange rate) and engaging up to four persons, often family members (URT, 2003). Normally, operators of micro enterprises occupy fixed locations such as marketplaces, street kiosks and public squares but also non-fixed locations. Operators in the non-fixed positions often use push carts, bicycles or carry goods on their heads or hands (Kazimoto, 2007). These definitions underline the fluid nature of petty trading including the small size of capital and informal characteristics. This paper adopts the UNDP’s perspective and considers petty trading as an economic activity involving a collection of individual sellers with small capital and buyers operating in a combination of small spaces that are often strategically located. Petty trading activities provide over 60% of urban jobs in the developing countries (UN-Habitat, 2009). It is estimated that 70% of workforce in the

* Dr. D.A. Mbiasso is a Lecturer, in the School of Architecture and Design, Ardhi University, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. His contact address is P.O. Box 35176, E-mail: mbissod@yahoo.com
informal economy in Tanzania conducts petty trading (URT, 2002) whereas 95% of Dar es Salaam population is engaged in informal sector economy; petty trading included (URT, 2004). The importance of and role petty trading is playing calls for the understanding of premises in which the activity operates not only for a better architectural practice, but also to improve the overall functional environment for petty trading.

Besides, the need to analyse and understand petty trading is an agent issue of concern, because knowledge on spatial environments for petty trading is scanty. There is very little research conducted on the spatial aspects of petty trading. The existing literature by, for example, political scientists such as Bagachwa (1994), Liviga and Mekacha (1998), and the urban design and planning researchers Lloyd-Jones and Brown (2002) has largely focused on the social economic aspects of petty trading, leaving their corresponding spatial (architectural and planning) aspects insufficiently analysed. For example, little is known on how the spaces evolve, transform and organised. There is also scanty knowledge on how petty traders locate themselves in specific contexts such as marketplaces or establish and maintain complementary networks that sustain their identity and space use. Furthermore, the resulting patterns of the petty trading spaces have not yet been adequately explored and documented. This paper brings to the fore lessons which can provide some answers to the aforementioned issues and sets agenda for further inquiry on issues including those which are relevant to theory and practice in architecture and planning. The paper is limited to the study of institutional and social processes that determine the generation, use and management of petty trading spaces at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The spatial processes in petty trading are conceptualised within the framework of the Institutional Theory and the Social Capital Theory. The choice of these theories is underpinned by the fact that petty trading marketplaces constitute various structures, processes and social relations that shape the day-to-day activities. The Institutional Theory views social structures such as rules, norms and routines as legitimate guidelines for social behaviour (Scott, 2004). In this study the theory illuminates the regulative, normative and cognitive aspects governing the petty trading spatialisation processes. For instance, the theory provides insights on how ordinary rules, norms and routines applied in petty trading marketplaces gain legitimacy and shape the disposition, use and management of trading spaces.

‘Social capital’, a concept from which the Social Capital Theory is derived, relies on ties and networks between the formal and informal groups and the connection between them (Nooteboom, 2006). The social capital theory assumes that critical features of social organisation including networks, norms and trust facilitate and regulates relationships and interactions for mutual benefit (Putman, 1995). This paper explores unwritten norms and values that influence decision-making processes and actions of petty traders in creating the reality of petty trading spaces. The paper also looks into how petty traders adjust to the legal provisions including formal protocols that are put in place by public institutions responsible for regulating marketplaces such as Local Government Authorities. The two theories therefore help in illuminating the mechanisms in which actions of petty traders, customers and other structural entities operating in marketplaces create and sustain the petty trading spaces that together configure marketplaces.
METHODOLOGY

Petty trading is a real life phenomenon that is evolving continuously depending on the context and contemporary local and external factors within cities and neighbourhoods. Hence the adoption of a case study research methodology. Temeke Stereo Marketplace was selected through purposeful sampling as an information rich case after a two-stage reconnaissance study of the 45 formerly registered marketplaces in Dar es Salaam. In the first stage reconnaissance, the marketplaces were mapped and categorised by the researcher as food, clothes or mixed goods marketplaces. The case selection was carried out in the second stage reconnaissance whereby main food marketplaces were essentially the focus of the study. The focus on this type of marketplaces was influenced by the fact that these are more complex to manage than those of other goods because many varieties of foodstuff and actors are involved. Besides, almost all foodstuff sold are normally unprocessed. Hence, spaces in food marketplaces demand special consideration in design, use and management (Mbisso, 2011). The case selection criteria included indicators of 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. Data collection methods included interviews, observations and documentary outsourcing.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Petty Trading Spatial Processes

Architectural design of and institutional processes at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace

The design and realisation

The conception, design and construction of the Temeke Stereo Market place was a result of the implementation of the Strategic Urban Development Plan (SUDP) established in the early 1990s to address critical environmental issues, including petty trading, in the city of Dar es Salaam (Kombe, 2002). Various stakeholders including the National Income Generation Programme (NIGP), the Dar es Salaam City Council (DCC) and the Working Group (WG) consisting of members from a cross-section of public and private institutions and community sectors were involved in the conception of the market place’s project (Ka’Bange, 2000). In consultation with the WG, a local architectural firm came up with a sketch proposal of market sheds, which were eventually submitted to the DCC for approval. However, the DCC rejected the proposal on the grounds that the sheds were awkward or not modern and thus not conforming to the value of land in the proposed site for the project. Further, it was argued that the design would not generate the revenue needed by the DCC. In 1997, through the NIGP who financed the project, the DCC commissioned the design and construction supervision of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace to the local architectural firm.

The resulting space patterns in the marketplace (Figure 1) represent the outcome of the decisions and actions by the involved institutions (such as the DCC and the NIGP) and other stakeholders such as architects and spatial planners. The desire for modernity

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1 The number of registered marketplaces in Dar es Salaam is as of July 2010 based on interviews with officials in the three Municipal Councils and fieldwork studies.

2 Modernity in this context means ‘of now or contemporary’ – not necessarily reflecting the principles of the architecture of the modern movement that advocate simplicity of form, rationalization in building process and product as well as functionality, among the attributes of modern architecture (Henket and Heynen, 2002).
coupled with a need for revenue generation to the DCC led to the formal layout design of the marketplace by a hired architect. Eventually, it was partly built and appropriated by various actors to suit the requirements of the intended users namely the petty traders. The future construction of the marketplace was to be done in structured phases.

![Figure 1: Schematic proposed phased development of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace](image)

Source: Mbisso, (2011)

The later space changes and additions at the marketplace (Figure 2) illustrate traders’ attempts to redefine and transform the architecturally designated spaces by the architect. The traders’ disposition of space in the observed appropriations did not fully conform to the architect’s original design. This fact implies that the original design had overlooked the real spatial needs for petty traders. As a result, appropriation of the existing spaces was inevitable for the petty traders to conduct their business conveniently. The appropriation processes by traders especially in creating informal stalls of various sizes and shapes alongside the formal built up structures in the marketplace, often faced resistance from the Municipal Council. The informal stalls (Figure 3) are mainly made up of makeshift materials such as canvas sheets or polythene membranes, iron sheets or palm leaves. The use of temporary materials is largely due to the fact that they are readily available and easy to shift and adapt to new situations including interventions by the Municipal Council. However, with negotiations and compromises between the traders and the Municipal Council, appropriation of the spaces in the marketplace continued.
Institutional structure for managing petty trading marketplaces

All business activities in Tanzania including petty trading are regulated by the Local Governments Finance Act Cap 290. Local Government Authorities (LGAs) have by-laws that regulate the daily trading operations in their area of jurisdiction. The Temeke Municipal Council has specific by-laws on marketplaces. The by-laws define marketplaces as areas designated by the Municipal Council for use as daily markets (masoko) or periodic markets (magulio). Further, it categorises two main spaces in the marketplace namely a stall (kizimba), which is a form of table, space or any other area that is used by a vendor for selling goods; and a kiosk (kibanda) which is defined as a room or building structure erected in the marketplace by the Municipal Council or a private individual for trading purposes. Additionally, the various clauses in the by-laws stipulate the space management, renting process, time of operations in the marketplace, cleanliness and the permitted type of goods (URT, 2010; 517-518).

All formally designated marketplaces at the Temeke Municipality are controlled by the Municipal Director through the Municipal Trade and Industries, Social (community) Development and Cooperative Officer (MTISCO) and the Markets’ Manager both of which are salaried employees of the Municipal Council (see Figure 4). The Market’ Manager is currently stationed at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace and oversees the day-to-day operations of the marketplaces. The formal administrative structure of the marketplaces includes respective markets’ committees, casual cleaning labourers, revenue collectors, Municipal militia and petty traders.

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Figure 2: Schematic actual zoning of built-up structures at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace
Source: Mbisso, (2011)

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1 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.
A market (traders’ ) committee is voluntarily established by petty traders after formulating their own constitution which is approved by the Municipal Council. The committee has a responsibility to assist the respective Council in smooth running of the respective marketplace. The Local Government Finance Act Cap 290 Section 6 gives powers to the
Municipal Director to dissolve any traders’ committee if it does not fulfil its obligations according to the existing laws and regulations.

A traders’ committee at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace consists of members from Trade Departments. The Trade Departments are basically administrative zones based on type of goods sold and established by the Markets’ Manager through the traders’ committee. Examples include coconut, tomatoes, poultry, kiosks and food vending departments. The committee leaders are democratically elected during the traders’ general assembly. The assembly also comprises four traders from each Trade Department. Additionally, the assembly draws its members from traders’ registered associations, cooperative societies and institutions operating in the marketplace. In the context of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace, the general assembly is constituted by around 100 members. Figure 5 illustrates the structure of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace traders’ committee.

The traders’ committee has a responsibility to promote and protect private and public interests of traders and customers and ensuring adherence to the governing by-laws and regulations. The committee provides equal opportunity to traders in accessing and using spaces in accordance with the norms and regulations in the marketplace. It also provides an attractive environment for customers by ensuring that traders fairly treat and respect fellow traders or customers. A trader who does not adhere to the prevailing norms and regulations would either be warned or, at extreme cases, evicted from operating in the marketplace.4

The administrative structure of the Temeke Municipal Council (Figure 4) and the traders’ committee structure (Figure 5) complement each other in the management of the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. The two structures balance between the formal requirements and informal processes in the marketplace activities. For instance, in the process of maintaining cleanliness and safety of the

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4 Discussion with the General Secretary of TSM Traders’ committee.
marketplace, the Municipal Council would tend to restrict erection of informal stalls while the Traders’ Committee would act as a pressure group to negotiate with the Council to put up the stalls in a manner that cleanliness would be ensured. The balance between formal and informal aspects of space management is key in the day-to-day operations of the petty trading marketplaces.

Trading space creation, use and administration

The Trade Departments at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace seem to facilitate management of the respective trading spaces. The Markets’ Manager allocates an area for a particular Trade Department and delegates mandate to the departmental leader to further subdivide the area according to the number of traders. The traders in departments other than those comprising the formally and permanently fixed built-up structures would normally have to mutually agree on the overall organisation and structure of their individual trading spaces including provision of accessibility for the general public, push carts and tricycles.

Different trade departments have varying spatial practices that operate with specific norms with regard to processes of organisation, allocation and use of the individual and collective spaces. In this regard, spaces are culturally produced and reproduced as traders learn their roles and limits in the spatial processes; and accumulate experience by mimicking the established practices in the department while respecting formal rules and regulations. The power relations within the interplay of the existing institutional structures are made apparent by space divisions which are often used as a means of control and domination, ‘a tool of thought and action’ (Lefebvre, 1991: 26). At Temeke Stereo Marketplace, a decision on management and use of trading spaces made by the Municipal Director trickles down to level of an individual trader through the respective department. The departments act as regulators of the spatialisation processes at the grass root level and feedback channel to the Municipal level.

Accessing and renting a space in the permanently fixed spaces (shops or kiosks) entails filling an application form in which a trader provides personal details including name, place of stay and photos. The applicant submits the form to the Trade Departmental leader or Markets’ Manager for registration before a rent contract is issued. Upon the applicant’s fulfilment of requirements and if a space is available, the Markets’ Manager allocates space to an applicant who in turn enters into a contract with the Municipal Council on recommendation of the respective Trade Departmental leader. Similarly, in the semi-fixed trading stalls such as the informal stalls (vizimba) as shown in Figure 3, a trader seeking for a trading space is normally under six months’ probation before one is allowed to enter into a long-time rent contract. The probation time allows the respective Trade Departmental leader to monitor and better know the trader as well as confirm his/her physical address. This provision helps the leader to make follow up and accordingly report to the marketplace traders’ committee or Markets’ Manager in case there are problems such as cheating, subletting, injury or death of a trader. The kampochea Departmental leader explains:

A trader looking for a space must contact the leaders of the respective department, as the marketplace authority does not directly work with traders but their leaders. So, if anything happens to the trader, I am answerable to the marketplace authority. I, therefore, follow up everything that is going on in my

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5 Kampochea is a skewed Swahili term given by traders to mean ‘camp for sharing’; a Trade Department in which mixed food items are sold.
Division of trading spaces in the respective departments at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace seems to follow the divide-and-rule principle, whereby spaces are managed through varying levels of decision-making and power limits. The Markets’ Manager who also oversees all marketplaces at the Temeke Municipality ideally administers the whole marketplace. Thus, he is empowered to make many decisions about various spaces at the marketplace. A Trade Departmental leader who is next to the Markets’ Manager in the power hierarchy has powers to make several decisions and issue directives on the trading spaces under his control. At the bottom of the hierarchy lies the trader who is in control of a specific trading space. A trader has to operate within decisions and institutional provisions such as trading the permitted type of goods within the allowable time as well as maintaining cleanliness of the trading space and the immediate environment. If a trader, a Trade Department leader or the Markets’ Manager do not perform or abide by the aforementioned institutional provisions, unnecessary conflicts among the power structures and traders with regard to accessing, organising and using trading spaces are likely to happen.

Social processes in petty trading

Ownership and demarcation of trading spaces as well as the goods’ display mechanisms at the Temek Stereo Marketplace are examples of areas which are influenced largely by the social processes. Space ownership trends in the wholesale areas which are characterised partly by semi-fixed and largely by non-fixed spaces differ from that in the fixed retail spaces. Traders do not permanently occupy spaces in the wholesale areas although same traders often operate in the same spaces. Normally, a petty trading space is collectively managed by traders surrounding it. Thus, consent must be sought from the already present traders when a new trader seeks and wants to occupy an empty space. As such, space access and use is not automatic or available to everyone who is interested.

A trader interviewed narrates:

*I do not 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.7 Asked about what these norms and traditions are, one respondent added:

*My working space is not permanent, but based on mutual agreements and understanding among ourselves, we normally use same spaces every day; but among us there may be interchanges or movements.*8

Generally, individual trading spaces, especially those in the wholesale areas and open spaces are demarcated artificially by mutual agreement among the bordering traders. Boundaries between different sale zones/departments are normally established by the Markets’ Manager. Often this changes with seasons, type and amount of goods. Occasionally, neighbouring Trade Department leaders have to mutually agree on giving up part of their spaces when goods are in excess

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6 Interview with the Chairman, kampochea department conducted on 5th May 2011 at TSM.
7 Interview with a cassava trader conducted on 27th January 2011 at TSM.
8 Interview with a tomato trader held on 28th January 2011 at TSM.
in one department. In such an occasion, the Markets’ Manager has to approve what the Trade Department leaders agree. Space demarcation based on mutual agreement between traders or Trade Departments often results in boundaries which are neither physically marked nor permanent. The most common form of boundaries in both the semi-fixed and the non-fixed spaces is a route or path between spaces (Figure 6). At the kampoechea department, for instance, traders decide on the size and direction of a path based on their intuitive knowledge. For example, wider paths would be based on convenience of passage by customers or push carts whereas narrower paths would be enough to allow a trader to access his/her trading space. A trader explains:

The boundary is defined by a path that is wide enough to allow a person to move through. We traders mutually agree on the size of the path we should leave between our trading spaces.9

Furthermore, in spite of the fact that spaces are not necessarily demarcated with solid fixtures or beacons, because traders are aware of each other, their space boundaries are also obvious. This phenomenon has an influence in determining demarcations as a trader claimed:

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 customers to pass through.10

These practices imply that “spaces are demarcated virtually not because traders have been trained and are compelled to do so but because they are guided by unwritten norms, instincts and experience” (Mbisso, 2011: 91).

Additionally, these locally sanctioned norms and arrangements that traders have developed over time without necessarily being conceptualised formally have acquired legitimacy and become essential instruments in complementing the formal protocols in acquisition, use and management of trading spaces.

The norms safeguard individual and collective interests thereby facilitating smooth management of petty trading and especially marketplaces; without necessarily having written laws and enforcement mechanisms. Such norms may include, for example, a sense of responsibility among traders and marketplace management, good respect, moral values, cooperation and commitment of various actors in rendering their services. The norms and traditions are key attributes in petty trading spatialisation processes as traders “develop the sense of public responsibility as they interact and render their services that have both individual and collective benefits” (Morales, 2010).

Implications to Architecture and Planning

The social and institutional mechanisms in creation, use and management of the spaces observed at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace have significant implications to architecture and planning. The mechanisms do not only underpin the existence and sustainance of the trading spaces but also underline the resulting patterns in terms of their organisation, scale, interrelations and character. At the marketplace, spaces are generally ‘fluid’ in the sense that they appear, disappear and or reform at different moments in time. The fluid nature of petty trading spaces is a crucial phenomenon that requires close attention by architects and spatial planners when designing for appropriate petty trading marketplaces. Unfortunately, in practice this is often underestimated or at best ignored.

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9 Discussion with a pineapple trader interviewed on 24th January 2011 at TSM.
10 Interview with a banana trader conducted on 24th January 2011 at TSM.
It appears to be a challenge for architects and planners to intervene in a situation when spatial practices do not entirely conform to conventional standards and procedures, as it is the case in petty trading marketplaces. This is probably a common situation in spatial planning and architectural practice in which space formation and reform are largely determined by end users rather than predetermined or implied by designers (Esho, 2009). The findings from the Temeke Stereo Marketplace suggest what can be termed as ‘architectural dimensions of informality’ that seem to explain its identity and physical reality. Although these are not the commonly used design principles and standards for
marketplaces, they seem to promise a possibility of application in similar contexts if well tapped and adjusted to suit the local needs. Traders’ actions on space and the resulting spatial patterns can be a credible source of ‘tacit knowledge’ with regard to spatial requirements and creation process of petty trading marketplaces and other forms of architecture (Gibbons, et al, 1994; Mbisso, 2014).

The petty trading spatialisation processes as shaped by unwritten norms and practices (such as mutual agreement among actors on space and recognition of each others’ needs) as well as the interplay between the different space scenarios seem to express Lefebvre’s concept of everydayness dwelling on a dynamic production of spatial relations. Lefebvre (1991) categorises social space into three dimensions namely the perceived, the conceived and lived space. He refers the perceived space as spatial practice describing the mechanisms in which social life is produced through the everyday human actions in the physical world. The conceived space, on the other hand, refers to representation of space, which describes the way spaces are conceived both formally and informally, and the embodied knowledge guiding their formation processes. For example, how architects and planners conceptualise design of a marketplace on one hand does not necessarily reflect how traders appropriate the spaces for their use on the other hand. The lived space is coined by Lefebvre as representational space, and refers to the reality in the everyday practice of actors on the physical world “as a result of the dialectical relation between spatial practice and representation of space” (Esho, 2009). Lefebvre considers all the three dimensions as necessary in the holistic understanding of space. In view of this framework, the embracing multifaceted scenarios that describe spatial patterns in marketplaces can be understood. In this respect, architects and planners have to be willing and ready to answer the difficult questions such as to what extent and under what circumstances a space can be flexible to accommodate multiple and changing functions? How can informality be realized in spatial terms while maintaining the formal space requirements and standards?

Lefebvre’s notion of the conceived and lived spaces can be informed by the spatial reality at the Temeke Stereo Marketplace. It has previously been pointed out that the conception and design of the marketplace (hereby inscribing to the notion of the ‘conceived space’) has continuously been appropriated by the everyday spatial realities in the trading spaces. The space appropriation by the traders can be perceived as a necessary negotiation and compromise in trying to fit in the preconceived spatial programme, which would not initially meet their needs. This implies what we may term as ‘a misrepresentation of space’; in line with Lefebvre’s ‘conceived space’ whereby what was anticipated is not necessarily what is operational. In other words, the ‘lived space’ as manifested by the prevailing spatial norms and practices, does not directly succumb to the ‘conceived space’. However, the mechanisms in which the trading spaces are produced and reproduced (the perceived spaces) explain the spatial reality (the lived spaces) we experience in the marketplaces. For instance, the intuitive knowledge and cognitive experience of traders is widely reflected in the way various space forms and boundaries are created. The Institutional Theory and Social Capital Theory fairly depict dynamic structures and processes that embrace individual and collective actors’ decisions, actions and reactions, which shape the spatial character of petty trading marketplaces.
CONCLUSION

It has been argued that architects and planners ought to understand the non-physical (the institutional and social) spatialisation processes in generating marketplace environments for petty trading. However, it is also equally important to critically consider the physical reality such as the specific space configurations and scales resulting from the non-physical spatial processes. For example, analysis of the traders-centred taxonomies of spaces composing marketplaces such as wholesale and retail, fluid and static as well as fixed and non-fixed can help architects to design better-functioning petty trading marketplaces than the dominant practices that dwell much on designers’ skills, competence and intuition. Thus, the institutional and social processes in petty trading create a platform on which marketplaces specific for petty trading can be conceptualised, designed and managed.

The space fluidity is a phenomenon observable in many marketplaces. It is an important real life situation that should be carefully looked upon in designing marketplaces. This is especially because space fluidity results in varying types of trading spaces that, in turn, determine the configuration and overall function of the marketplaces. Above, all, it implies the need for flexibility in designating and designing spaces for petty trading. An understanding of space types, levels and configuration in marketplaces may offer an opportunity to designers, especially architects, to perceive spaces in the marketplaces in complementary relationships, hence promote and provoke thoughts and actions in conceptualisation and design processes. This would also increase appreciation of intuitive knowledge and cognitive experience as a critical concern in co-production of marketplaces that satisfy the needs of users.

The informal norms, structures and values have interacted with the formal structures in a complementary manner. Through mutual understanding and trust among different actors, as well as traders’ cognitive experience, the interaction has engendered smooth management of the petty trading activities and spaces. Thus, the formal-informal linkage of the norms, values and structures seem to be a legitimate precondition for creation, use and management of petty trading spaces.

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