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Tarmac road investment and road side livelihoods

A case study of street hawkers in Babati and Magugu, Tanzania

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Summary

Many road projects have been done in Tanzania to increase trade and reduce poverty. One of these investments was the upgrading of the Singida–Babati–Minjingu Rd., a distance of 223.5 km, which is now a tarmac road. The section of the road Dareda–Babati–Minjingu, 84.60 km, passes the two places Babati and Magugu (ADF, 2007). There are throughout the country many street hawkers who sell different goods to, among others, bus passengers. Street hawking is a possibility for poor households to get an income without the need of a big capital. There has been conducted many studies about street hawkers and about infrastructure, as well as the two in combination. These studies have focused on the importance of space and not on the changes that a better road might or might not bring on. In this survey the aim is to investigate the consequences of the road-upgrading, experienced by the street hawkers conducting businesses along the newly paved tarmac road.

Through an interpreter 60 street hawkers were interviewed, 30 in Babati and 30 in Magugu. The upgrading of the Singida–Babati–Minjingu Rd. has largely increased the number of buses and passengers and it is possible that this is the reason to an experienced increase in customers among the street hawkers in Babati. The street hawkers in Magugu experience a decrease of customers as the buses do not stop there as frequently as before the upgrading, or at least do not stay as long as they used to.

In both Babati and Magugu several street hawkers had a number of family members depending on the hawker's income. This result is consistent with what has been stated in scientific articles. This means the profit from the small enterprise is of great importance for the street hawker's whole family (ILO et al., 2002). In Babati more of the families are depending of the hawking than they are in Magugu, since many of the respondents at the later location ranked farming as the family's most important activity.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

One of the eastern African Countries is the United Republic of Tanzania, with a population of 47.78 million in the year of 2012 (World Bank, 2013). In 2008/2009 16.9 percent of the population lived under the national food poverty line (UDSM, 2011). Tanzania has worked hard to achieve, among others, the different Millennium Development Goals. Although many problems remain, the nation has come a long way in many projects, especially in the areas of education, availability to water and health care for children (European Commission b, 2012).

For Tanzania, roads are the most important transport mode since it reaches the rural areas and more than 75 percent of transport of goods and 80 percent of the transports of passengers is done by roads (UNESCO, 2010). In 2007 there were 12 786 km trunk roads, 21 105 km regional roads and 53 460 km of road classified as either urban, district or feeder. Of the trunk and regional roads about 40 percent and 4 percent respectively, are paved (TANROADS, 2011).

During the last few years Tanzania National Roads, TANROADS (2011), has completed several road projects successfully. New roads have been made and some old roads are now accessible all year round. Despite these efforts the problems are not solved and major barriers still has to be overcome (MoHSW, 2010). One problem is the maintenance of the roads, derived from lack of capital (UNESCO, 2010). One of the roads that have been upgraded to bitumen standard is the Singida–Babati–Minjingu Rd., a distance of 223.5 km (see Figure 1). The section of the road Dareda–Babati–Minjingu, 84.6 km, is the last part of three separate lots (ADF, 2007). It was officially inaugurated August 1, 2012 (TANROADS, 2011). The Babati and Magugu residents consider the road to have been completed about 4 months earlier, since only a short distance was not completed before the official completion (Magali, 2013). To upgrade the Singida–Babati–Minjingu Rd. was important for Tanzania's economy since the road connects different areas where good transport possibilities are already available. The road enables trade and transportation of goods to be made more easily throughout the country. It is also important for international trade with, among others, Kenya and neighbouring land-locked countries. To connect different parts within the country and to facilitate trade with other countries through good infrastructure is a part of the goal to reduce poverty (ADF, 2007).



Figure 1. The Singida–Babati–Minjingu road.

Source: ADF (2007).

In Manyara region lays Babati district, which is divided into two councils; Babati district and Babati town. The ward named Babati is a part of the Babati town council, while the ward Magugu belongs to the Babati district council (Gov. TZ, 2012c).

1.2. Justification

Even though big improvement in the country’s economy has been made, the change in Human Development Index is barely noticeable and indicates that the poor do not receive higher income or live under better conditions in 2010 compared to 2005. Most of the Tanzanians live in rural areas and it is also where most of the poor residents are located. The main reason for poverty in the rural areas is lack of successful farming. In Tanzania’s development strategy from 2012 two of three topics were; “growth and reduction of income poverty” and “improvement of quality of life and social well-being” (European Commission a & Gov. TZ, 2007a).

Tanzania’s government has paid attention to the importance of the road network as a part of a way to reduce poverty. The Singida–Babati–Minjingu Rd. is part of a program which aims to catalyse growth and reduce poverty. According to the project proposal it is the regions residents who will benefit most from the upgrading and most of the future beneficiaries will be the poor. Traveling costs and travel time is expected to be reduced (ADF, 2007).

In rural areas where poverty is still widely spread many are dependent on agriculture and the chances to win new market shares and develop new jobs are strictly limited. The Singida-Babati-Minjingu road is expected to reduce some of the barriers hindering the development. The urban setting holds many small businesses that often are a part of the informal economy (Baker & Wallevik, 2003). One of the hopes with the road upgrading project is that it will benefit small-scale enterprises like street hawkers. The Tanzanian government has conducted a strategy to increase the attention to non-farming activities like trading, since it is important for the country growth (ADF, 2007).

When public infrastructure is improved, it is tempting to think it necessarily means enhanced public welfare, although this is not always the case. Studies show how increased investment in infrastructure only is beneficial to a certain degree (Rioja, 2003). Since the impact of new infrastructure projects is not obvious there is of utmost importance to analyse all variables that might be coupled with infrastructural changes. When decisions are made regarding infrastructure there is seldom any attention paid to how public spaces are affected. This means no consideration is paid to many of the poor who is dependent on public spaces to earning their living, among these people are the so called street hawkers (Brown, 2001).

The street hawkers have been studied many times, especially regarding participation of the informal economy. The hawkers contribution to countries' economy has been analysed and so has their constant battle with the authorities (also since they often are a part of the informal economy) (see for example Brown et al, 2012; Skinner, 2008). In articles it has been discussed what barriers hinders street hawkers to become a part of the formal economy and to grow as a business (for example ILO et al., 2002). When studying infrastructure, most authors have been focusing on the importance of urban spaces (Brown, 2001). What is missing is the connection between development of roads and the street hawkers' ability to sell their goods.

It feels natural to think that an increase of movement as a consequence on increased mobility, will lead till an increase of potential customers at bus stands. But what also feels logical, is that an increase in number of customers also will lead to an increase of operating street hawkers. The question is then, if the resulting change is positive or negative for those many Tanzanians having street hawking as their source of income. These small-scale entrepreneurs really have to struggle since their customers do not have a lot of money, the infrastructure is not satisfactory and the competition is fierce (ILO et al., 2002).

1.3. Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the relationship between road infrastructure improvement and rural livelihood opportunities. Empirically this is investigated among street hawkers in the villages of Babati and Magugu, both located along the newly improved Singida–Babati–Minjingu road, Tanzania. The following research questions are studied:

- Has the number of potential customers and the competition at the bus stands changed due to the tarmac road?
- Do the hawkers experience a change in their sales since before tarmac road?
- Does a change in sales have an important impact on the street hawkers' families' economy?

1.4. Disposition

This thesis is divided into six different chapters. The first chapter aims to give the reader an understanding of what lays behind the problem at hand. By starting wide in the background and slowly narrow down the connections, the variables that have to be investigated unfold in the end of the justification. After the purpose of the study has been clarified, three questions are pointed out that together will bring upon the answer of the main issue. The delimitations are meant to further clarify for the readers which factors are being studied and which are not.

The second chapter contains some basic information about Tanzania and is meant to make it easier for the reader to understand the following analysis. In the third chapter the theoretical framework, that is the foundation of the thesis, is presented. The text is divided into five different sub-titles “Road investment and development”, “Hawkers and markets”, “Accessibility and mobility”, “Gender” and finally “Subsequent changes”. The fourth chapter explains how the study is conducted by denoting the methodology used. In the fifth chapter the results from interviews is visualised through different diagrams and explained in fluid text. The analysis is found in the sixth chapter, where the results are examined with regard to the theoretic framework presented earlier. The seventh chapter consist of the conclusions derived from the analysis. Last chapter contains information about some recent changes that occurred after the interviews had been fulfilled and which might be of interested in relation to the final conclusions.

1.5. Important definitions

In this survey a person that is categorised as a street hawker is a person that is running a small scale business, which has no established address (Lyons, 2013). Furthermore the hawkers operate at public spaces but are here not viewed as automatically being part of the informal economy. Other names used in earlier studies are for example street vendors, street traders and the more local “machingas”. There is important to know that all authors do not define these different names alike and that they not always are synonyms. Street hawkers are not to confuse with petty traders or sellers of illegal goods (Brown, 2001). The street hawkers that has participated in this study carry around their goods and manly operates at bus stands where they sell different things to travellers, often by doing business with bus passengers through the bus windows.

Public spaces are in this paper regarded as physical areas that is not controlled by individuals, has different purposes and has no boundaries, so that anyone can enter the spaces. An example of public spaces is roads that are owned by the government. The opposite of public space is the private space (Brown, 2001).

Tanzania refers here to Tanzania mainland, which means that Zanzibar is excluded.

Babati is, if nothing else stated, the part of Babati town council that is called Babati.

Informal economy is here defined as businesses that do not follow the country's regulation by not being registered, not paying taxes and not following certain regulations regarding for example health (Cohen, 2012).

Infrastructure stands here for hard infrastructure as for example transport, water and power (MIT, 2003).

2. Tanzania

2.1. Income and capital

In the Manyara region maize is the most common crop to produce. Groundnuts and sunflowers (for oil) are also common. Among the household involved in agriculture farming of annual corps and raising animals are the two most important sources of income (Gov. TZ, 2012b). For non-agriculture households selling food crops and selling livestock is the two most common activities to choose as most important for the household’s income (See Table 1) (Gov. TZ, 2012b).

Table 1: Importance of activities for households’ income (percent).

Activity	Percent
Selling food crops	46
Sales of livestock	14
Casual earnings	12
Sales of cash crops	10
Business income	8
Sales of livestock products	6

Source: Gov. TZ (2012b).

Among the households growing crops there is 6.2 percent that also sell corps. In Babati there are 5,213 households that sell their own crops, which correspond to 8.9 percent and the highest proportion in the Manyara region. Among the permanent crops bananas is the most important (Gov. TZ, 2012b). Since there is a lack of possibilities for many Tanzanians to get a formal job, the turn to the informal sector instead (Skinner, 2008), which is growing in number of businesses. For a large group of people being a part of the informal economy is the only way to survive.

Among the employed in Tanzania year 2006, 34.7 percent were part of a household living below the national poverty line (less than 1 US\$/day). This proportion has not increased significantly since year 2000/2001. The same indicator showed, during the same years, that the ratio was higher in the rural areas, than in the urban areas. Proportions of poverty among employees have been observed in Tanzania as a whole, and as divided in to Dar es Salaam, other urban areas and rural areas (see Table 2). A person who is here defined as employed is an individual who gets paid or is self-employed with activities that gain the family and/or gives profit (UDSM, 2011).

Table 2: Number of workers living on less than 1 USD per day (percent).

	2000/01	2006
Tanzania	32.5	34.7
Dar es Salaam (largest city)	14.5	30.7
Other urban	22.9	13.1
Rural	35.6	34.7

Source: UDSM (2011)

Among farming families the biggest problem experienced 2007/2008 was the low market price for crops. The same group of households also experience problems with getting to the market, with limitations regarding distance, transportation possibilities and costs (Gov. TZ 2012b). In most low-income countries capital for financing is a major problem (Kalema, 2008). Being in the informal sector often means no access to utilities and not gaining the same rights that they would if they were engaged in a formal business (ILO et al., 2002). When Tanzanians involved in informal businesses ranked different variables according to their greatest problems, the result could be summarised as shown in Table 3. Infrastructure and financing was ranked as most and second most important, respective (Kalema, 2008):

Table 3: Ranking of most problematic variables while running a business.

Access to financing	2
Corruption	4
Inadequate supply of infrastructure	1
Tax Rates	3
Inefficient government bureaucracy	8
Poor work ethics in national labour force	7
Policy instability	11
Tax regulations	5
Inflation	10
Inadequate educated workforce	6

Source: Kalema (2008).

2.2. Customers and hawkers

In a time of globalisation and new trade possibilities it is up to Tanzania to exploit the opportunities. When trade becomes freer, the competition hardens. Tanzania is facing situations where they have to find ways to manage the increase of goods and companies crossing the border. Because of, among other reasons, lack in infrastructure and shortfall of capital the country has so far not utilized the positive possibilities of expanding markets to the fullest. Competition on the Tanzanian market gets new faces when for example new resources and competence enter the country. If the Tanzanians are to be competitive on their own market, they need to have among others good infrastructure facilities. Also in the different districts there are hinders for free trade that has to be removed (MIT, 2003). The street hawkers are not excluded from the increase of competition from outside the market.

These entrepreneurs have to get a better platform to stand on, if they shall be able to defend their position on the domestic market (ILO et al., 2002).

The government of Tanzania has predicted an increase in traffic on the Singida-Babati-Minjingu road (see Table 4). A traffic survey showed that the number of passengers arriving and leaving Arusha each day is up to 3000 and 80 percent of them travelled with big buses. It became clear the contribution from cars and small buses were less important (ADF, 2007).

Table 4: Expected increase in annual passenger and freight vehicle growth (percent).

	2012–2016	After 2016
Passenger Vehicles	7.4	7.5
Freight Vehicles	6.5	6.5
Per capita income growth	4.0	4.3

Source: ADF (2007).

During recent years the number of buses in Tanzania has increased and they compete among each other to get first to where new passengers are waiting. To get as high profit as possible the drivers goes to fast and sometimes stop at unsuitable places along the way (Maunder & Pearce, 2000).

3. Theoretical framework

3.1. Road investment and development

The relationship between transport and development has long been a studied topic, since it has been a basis for investment decisions. New roads and infrastructure are often looked upon as having only positive impact on the society. When the result is analysed spatially, economically and socially it is clear that the impact can be negative as well as positive. Analyses are often based on misconceptions lingering on from earlier studies where infrastructure was seen as automatic triggers of development. Overlooked are the interactions with external factors affecting the situation, so that the end result not necessary positive. Since the construction of new roads often are parts of a wider development programmes, it is hard to isolate the impact that has arisen from the introduction of the road. It is not possible to foresee if development will follow when new roads are provided and it is not obvious that there is a relationship between accessibility and poverty, or between relative mobility and poverty (Simon, 1996; Banister & Berechman, 2000).

It is difficult to distinguish if changes in the relationship between transport and localisation is caused by development in infrastructure or is an effect of changes independent of transport investments (Banister & Berechman, 2000). Expanding and improving road networks have in many cases strengthened the interplay between different parts of the country concerned. As mentioned above, the correlation between new roads and the benefits are complex and it has been shown in studies that side effects and unexpected problem may follow from changes in the road network. The end result may be that the costs of the project largely exceed the benefits. An example when this may occur is when there are few that actually require increased travel and when other basic requirements for trade are non-existent. Nowadays more focus lays on relative indicators, rather than absolute measures of infrastructural provision. For example, it is often of more interest to know average access to transport, than length of road network (Simon, 1996).

A beneficial change for one region may only be possible if the effect is the opposite in another region. When viewing only one region it has been noticed how activities creating opportunities for some, can lead to others lose their livelihood (Banister & Berechman, 2000; Simon, 1996). It is not easy to predict if a decrease in transport costs will be of advantage for all involved; owners, employees and customers. Historically, focus has been on what impact companies has experienced and households have been overlooked. Again, the complexity has been ignored whilst trying to isolate a variable.

The positive impact from transport improvements has been observed to be greater where there were no roads from the beginning, than where poor roads have been upgraded. Great improvements are noticed; when transport cost represents a high proportion of total cost of goods and services, when the time or cost savings are substantial or when transport

becomes considerably simplified (Simon, 1996). But when infrastructure has reached a certain level of standard, further improvements have a decreased effect. That is if the invested infrastructure is not radically changed to a higher quality and on a big scale (Banister & Berechman, 2000). Research shows that the impact of introducing new technologies differs both between countries and within regions. Between the 1980's and 1990's, the rate of road development was higher in the poor countries than in the rich, since they started at a lower level (Simon, 1996).

The number of passengers that wants to travel far by road generally increases when the roads gets better and public transportation such as buses and shared taxis often gets overcrowded. This also means an increase in the total number of operators. Commonly both public and private operators occupy the market (Simon, 1996). In some countries, the rise of road transport has been so fast that the situation gets overwhelming. In some cases it is not possible to implement new technologies and infrastructure in stages, which makes it harder to integrate the new with the old. Congestion is now substantial on main routes and road accidents are increasing, despite information to drivers about speeding, overloading and so on (Simon, 1996).

3.2. Hawkers and markets

Many of those working in the informal sector, as street hawkers often do, act as the only providers for children and other persons within the household. This might also mean they are among the poorest (ILO et al., 2002). Many of these persons are women and it is also women that represent the biggest group of street hawkers (ILO et al., 2002; Kalema, 2008). Most hawkers are responsible for a large family and sometimes the family's only adult. Since street traders who invest more in their business are often men, they generally get more profit than female hawkers (Kalema, 2008). The households tend to rely more on their income if the hawker is a woman compared to the households of hawking men (Cohen, 2012). The families who have the most stable economy are those with several sources of income and those who are involved in both urban and rural activities (Baker & Wallevik, 2003).

When living far from roads and when roads are in bad condition a lot of time is spent on travelling and is therefore a financial burden (Momsen, 2004). If enterprises shall be able to develop they need somewhere affordable to do business (Kalema, 2008). Even though capital is the biggest problem for many small-scale entrepreneurs, the importance of a place to perform the business upon is not to be forgotten. That is especially true for street hawkers and other entrepreneurs that are not fixed to a certain location. Space are often most regarded as important when it comes to shelter, but there is other use of the public space that is of great importance, as for example as a place for social interaction (Brown, 2001).

Based on different persons' life situation and reasons for being at places where street hawking is common, the opinions about how public spaces should be used differ. Some wants the centre of commerce to be clean and controlled, although that is a picture in which many street hawkers don't fit. The public area is a place to do business and earn money, but also a place to meet others both for socialising and to spread information (Brown, 2001).

There are markets where the demand is high; especially among the part of the bigger market that mainly serves the customers with low income. For example, vending food is a common activity for many women when there is no other alternative. Despite the demand being high, the profit is low at many places due to the hard competition. An obstacle for the hawkers is to find new market segments to enter. One of the reasons that there are so many food hawkers is that not much is required for entering the business. The investment capital is low, it is easy to learn and only a space on the street is needed (ILO et al., 2002).

Those societies where the habitants produce food mainly for their own consumption is less mobile than those who sell the food they farm. Their access to other areas outside their own community is small. It has though been pointed out that, although many of these farmers are poorer than those involved in commerce, the lack of mobility may not be a sign of any substantial requirements for change (Simon, 1996).

3.3. Accessibility and mobility

When analysing the impact of new innovations it should be taken in consideration if it means both increased accessibility and increased mobility, and if it is the same result for everyone (Kusakabe, 2012). There is a difference between accessibility and mobility that need to be clarified. Accessibility describes to what degree something is available for someone. Service and interactions with other people can be made without anyone physically moving. For example makes internet and phones it possible to exchange information between friends whilst staying at home. Mobility on the other hand is the ability to move physically. Therefore, mobility is only one factor that can affect a person's extent of accessibility. Other aspects are for example gender, income and race (Knowles et al, 2008).

When accessibility and mobility are used as separate concepts, a greater understanding of the underlying reasons to why people experience the same changes in different ways could be achieved. A differentiation between the concepts may provide new explanations to why the travelling patterns between men and women continue to be unequal. It also differs between gender if they have to be mobile or not, to receive the same benefits. In some cases increased mobility for one, means decreased mobility for someone else. For example may more mobility for a man mean increased immobility for his wife, who has to stay home and take care of the household. Women in a study who after a road improvement received a better financial position did not get more mobile than before, since traders now comes to their homes. In the same study the women got higher mobility experienced an increased

control (Kusakabe, 2012). Conclusively to ensure that both men and women get the same chances to pursue successful enterprises, a mobility-accessibility approach ought to be used (Fernando & Porter, 2002)

3.4. Gender

Gender is an important aspect while discussing infrastructure, movement and hawking. It has repeatedly been shown that road expanding projects affect women and men unevenly. The reasons for the differences vary between different cases and for the underlying reasons to be fully understood, capability rather than access has to be analysed (Kusakabe, 2012). A large number of variables like race, age and occupation make it impossible to draw any definite gender-based conclusions. No men or women are exactly the same (Fernando & Porter, 2002).

Women's needs are often not included in decision-making regarding infrastructural investments, especially if regarding poor rural women since they are not in position to have a saying among significantly stronger stakeholders. This is despite that many studies show that women make an important economic contribution to the society (Fernando & Porter, 2002). Many women in the South bare a heavy burden since they often are both responsible for the everyday tasks in the household and to earn money by being extra labour on someone else's husbandry or by small scale marketing. It is often women that are responsible for selling surplus produce, which is an important activity for many peasants. Especially in Africa, it is commonly women who are marketing, although it is often men who do the businesses regarding export (Momsen, 2004).

A major problem for many women is lack of capital. This is due to, for example, illiteracy and complicated restrictions within the family. Another common reason is lacking knowledge about how to get loans and financial support from institutions and banks. In the banking world women in the south is often regarded as having low creditworthiness, due to ownership of land and other assets. This forces women to instead turn to family, friends and shameless loan sharks to get informal loans. The capital possible for women to invest in businesses is reduced further by their need to pay for expenses of the household. Selling surplus produce on the local market and other small scale hawking is possible without extensive access to capital it is many women's resolution (Fernando & Porter, 2002).

Due to lack of capital many poor women, in larger extent than men, find it too costly to use transportation to the markets, so instead it is common to get there by foot. If a business requires travelling and there are no good roads available, it might be so time-consuming and costly the business simple is not profitable (Fernando & Porter, 2002).

3.5. Subsequent changes

As mentioned above, the relationship between road improvements and development is indeed complex. Many case studies have been conducted, where extensive interviews have been made, to understand what consequences can be expected when important changes in the road network are implemented. In studies where the majority of the interviewed habitants experienced mainly benefits, the respondents mentioned lower traveling costs and less time needed for traveling. Other changes were increased use of motor driven transportation and expanded supply of public transportation. Lower prices of farming inputs were experienced and so were a decreased losses and damages of goods during transportation. Cheaper storage of agriculture inputs, increased sales of farmer output to higher prices and improved employment opportunities. Markets were held more often and were visited more frequently (Fernando & Porter, 2002). The number of buyers and sellers rose and the volume of transactions mounted up (Momsen, 2004). At the same time as new people started engaging themselves in trade, those already involved in the business could expand their enterprises (Kusakabe, 2012). After a new road was built trade was repositioned to areas alongside the road and people also moved closer (Fernando & Porter, 2002).

Several other studies conducted by interviews with habitants in areas where substantial road improvements, has shown the opposite results from what has been mentioned above. For example is it at many places hard for small traders that were there before, to cope with the concurrence of bigger businesses that has arrived to the market and which holds lower prices (Kusakabe, 2012). Instead of an increase of sales for the farmer who sell surplus crops, the large-scale importing traders take over the market (Simon, 1996). In some areas the network of public transportation has not developed and it has not gotten easier to get to a market, as were expected (Fernando & Porter, 2002).

In an area where women had considerable power and mobility a substantial road improvement lead to an increase in number of women involved in trade (Kusakabe, 2012). In another area, where women did not have as much saying, the burden of work increased after a road upgrading. Time saved from improvements while doing one task, is just used to perform another task instead (Fernando & Porter, 2002).

Because of increasing number of road accidents as a result of better roads, some women feel they have to stay closer to home and watch both children and animals. In this way their mobility has decreased because of all the traffic (Kusakabe, 2012). Conclusively, it is clear that if an area is thinly populated, has a bad economic platform and is located far from urban centres an expected outcome may not be as conspicuously positive as one first might think (Fernando & Porter, 2002).

4. Methodology

The following chapter consist of the methods used in the planning of the study as well as during the collection and processing of data. The methodological framework is the basis for the whole study and is a cornerstone of all steps conducted in this project.

4.1. Choice of methods

This thesis is based on a field study where a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods has been used. This way of conducting the study goes against the more classical view where the two should be kept separated. If comparing the characteristics of case studies and the characteristics of surveys, it seems unclear what the difference between the two really are (Murray, 2003).

The qualitative part has some of the characteristics of a case study. A case study is suitable when analysing the impact of a phenomenon and when trying to unfold patterns. The advantage of a case study is its uniqueness, as every new group or event is different. The uniqueness limits generalisations, which here is solved by adopting some of the characteristics of a survey. The reason for this is to increase the probability that conclusions drawn from this certain case, also can be applied outside the exact delimitations adopted in this thesis (Murray, 2003).

When conducting surveys it is possible to analyse data with methods commonly used for case studies, and vice versa. This means that regardless of which method chosen, case study or survey, the data can be either quantitative or qualitative (Dul & Hak, 2008). Each different part of the study process was assigned to one of the two methods. It resulted in the sectioning visualised in Table 5.

Table 5: Summary of methodical characteristics coupled with the different parts of the study process.

Part of process	Case Study	Survey	This thesis
Formulate problem	Questions	Hypothesis	Questions
Collection of data	For example Interviews	For example Interviews	Interviews
Sample size	Small	Big	Over 50
Presentation of data	Text	Statistically	Statistically
Analysing data	Qualitative	Quantitative	Quantitative

Source: Ekengren and Hinnfors (2013); Dul and Hak, 2008; Rundberg, 2013.

The study compares a change in time with the hope that the biggest change that might have an impact during the timeframe is the upgrading of the Singida-Babati-Minjingu Rd. The results are based on changes experienced by the street hawkers with the basic assumption that the alternations can be derived from the upgrading of the Singida-Babati-Minjingu Rd.

This assumption is based on the premise that the upgrading is the most significant modification over the current timeframe.

4.2. Collection of data

4.2.1. Interviews

Esiasson et al. (2012) makes a distinction between two ways of handle the interaction with people when data is collected by questioning. During one of the methods the person answering questions is regarded as a witness and the purpose of the search is to get a description of an event. Since a complete picture of an event often is reached through different peoples stories put together, so there is no need to have the exact same questions in all interviews. In this other method described by Esiasson et al. (2012) the focus is on the respondents’ opinions on the issue at hand. In this survey it is the respondents' assessment of the upgrading, that is requested and therefore the latter method was used. By using virtually the same questions to all participators, the answers can be used to extract patterns in how and why people chose to answer as they do.

The control of who is really answering the questions is greater when the interviewer meets the respondents personally than in, for example, telephone interviews. A disadvantage is the undesirable effects of the interaction between the interviewer and the respondent. There is a risk of the interviewer influencing the answers through gestures, enunciation and so on. It is also possible that the respondents answer different based on visible attributes of the interviewer, as for example gender and ethnicity (Esiasson et al., 2012). During the interviews in this survey, a man called Joseph Magali translated English to Swahili and vice versa. As Mr Magali holds knowledge on different interview techniques, the risk of interviewer effects was reduced (Esiasson et al., 2012).

A first draft questionnaire was pre-tested with two street hawkers in Babati. Some questions were to complex and others had obvious answers. After revising the questionnaire, 30 street hawkers at Babati bus stand and 30 street hawkers along the tarmac road in Magugu participated (see Table 6). They were, to the extent that is possible when all viable participants are visible, randomly selected. In Magugu, 30 hawkers meant almost all who were on the location. 85 percent of the respondents were women, a result of there being mostly female hawkers at both locations. It is important to keep in mind during the reading of this survey, that since there is a difference in mobility between genders (Kusakabe, 2012) the results could have been different if more of the participants were men.

Table 6: Number of respondents.

	Man	Women	Total
Babati	6	24	30
Magugu	3	27	30
Total	9	51	60

Although following a pre-made questionnaire, several respondents added comments and the participants who gave an abnormal response, were asked follow-up questions for deeper understanding. The street hawkers in Magugu were more willing to participate and added comments to a greater extent, than those in Babati. There are different possible motives for the difference in attitude to the field study, one being the difference in time access. At the time of interviews (one day at each location) the street hawkers in Babati were very busy to run to the different parts of the bus stand. In Magugu, the hawkers operated in a smaller area and only the person who was part of an interview in progress was missing the opportunity to sell. The information about the changes in proportion of buses were gathered through a one hour long interview with two men that had been working at the Babati bus stand during several decades and who knew all the bus schedules by heart.

4.2.2. Literature studies

According to Davidson and Patel (2011) a reader need to be critical while reading literature and always question the probability of information not being true. Furthermore the readers must consider who the writer is and if there may be conflict of interests. The writer must also question if the writer has knowledge of the area or are an amateur, and trust the level of truthfulness accordingly.

The theoretical framework is based solely on earlier scientific studies and government surveys. They were found through keywords and were chosen according to their ability to answer the problem at hand. The keywords were: Tanzania, informal economy, street trading, street hawking, women, poor, livelihood, economy, development and trade. The articles used were found through the search engine of the University of Gothenburg and the government surveys were found at government websites.

4.3. Validity and Reliability

One way to discuss the quality of dissertation is concept validity, high reliability and outcome validity. Esaiasson et al. (2012) describes concept validity as how well “the theoretical definition conforms to the operational indicator” and “absence of systematic errors”. Here the impact of the road on a certain group of people has been derived from changes in concurrence, sales and importance. These three aspects were chosen after reading some of the material used in the theoretical framework and discussing the subject with Mr. Joseph Magali and Dr. Asantali Makkundi who both has local knowledge.

High reliability indicates high “absence of random or unsystematic errors” (Esaiasson et al., 2012). By being meticulous while collecting data and while analyzing data, reduces the risk of making errors. Good outcome validity means, according to Esaiasson et al., (2012) “that we measure what we states we measure”. If the work has good concept validity and a high reliability it means the outcome validity is good too.

4.4. Delimitations

Street hawking includes many types of activities. In this paper only street hawkers carrying around their goods and operates at bus stands is included. These hawkers often sell to bus passengers directly through the bus windows. Some customers are persons passing the bus stand, without being passengers. The hawkers carrying around their articles are more visibly connected with the travellers using the road in question, than for example those working at food stands along the sides of the bus stand. What they sell, for example soda, biscuits and peanuts in small bags, suggest that the target group is travellers. When street hawkers or hawkers is mentioned throughout this paper it refers to, if nothing else is clearly stated, the men, women and children that is carrying around their goods at public bus stands.

As mentioned earlier there are many different and important angles that have been investigated in other studies. There are several interesting areas of discussion in the subject of street hawkers and also by the impact of roads. In this paper has no consideration been taken to more political and non-private economic issues like corruption, fluctuation and decision-making.

The street hawkers in the field study were, during the survey, a part of the informal economy. In the time of writing this paper, the situation is about to change. Since the information is gathered and processed during a time when no actual decision about legitimacy has been established, the participators is still regarded as operating in the informal economy. One might argue that the impact of the road, that is after all the focus of the paper, is the same whatever sector the hawkers is participating in. Since the political aspect of the street hawkers' everyday struggle has been excluded from the beginning, this should not affect the conclusions significantly.

To estimate the number of bus travellers passing Babati and Magugu the increased number of bus companies and buses capacity has been analysed. In this process have private cars, lorries and other vehicles for freight been ruled out. The reason for not including all types of vehicles is that they do not have the main goal to move many passengers at the same time. The aim is to compare the pattern of change in number of travellers through the bus stand and the change in number of customers for the street hawkers, not to establish data regarding the utilization of the road.

The study tries to give an indication on how the upgrading of the Singida-Babati-Minjingu road has affected the street hawkers, therefore the questionnaire, the results and the analysis focuses on the hawkers' own experiences. In doing so, the problem with remembering exact sales numbers from previous years was avoided. The study does not look upon how the businesses is run and how the money earned is used, since it is the change that the upgrading of the road might bring on, that is relevant here.

The Manyara region was chosen for the survey due to time of completion of the last lot of the Singida-Babati-Minjingu Rd. The road has been paved long enough for people to adapt to the change, but not so long that the changes that followed has been forgotten. Two locations are being studied, which were chosen due to their difference in size (see Table 6). One of the communities, Magugu, is small meanwhile Babati is the centre for the Manyara region. Both communities are located along the Singida-Babati-Minjingu Rd. (see Figure 2).

Table 7. Population and average household size in the different parts of Tanzania.

	Population	Average household size
Tanzania Mainland	43,625,354	4.8
Babati town council	93,108	4.4
Babati (part of Babati town council)	16,718	4.5
Babati district council	312,392	5.2
Magugu (part of Babati district council)	32,774	4.2

Source: NBS (2013).



Figure 2. The red dots points out Babati and Magugu, Manyara region, Tanzania

Source: Google maps (2013).

5. Result

In this chapter the answers to the questionnaire given from the respondents is summarised both as fluid text and as diagrams. The aim of the presentation of figures is not in first hand to reflect an exact reality, but to give an indication of what thoughts a representative group of street hawkers has regarding this certain situation of change. The hope is that the patterns emerging from the figures, gives a truthful picture of the impact the upgrading of the Dareda–Babati–Minjingu lot has had.

5.1. Change in number of customers and hawkers

In Babati there are 14 persons of the 30 interviewed that has worked 2 years or less (see Table 8). The survey does not say how many persons that have stopped working during the period, but it shows that persons constantly are addressed or forced to start hawking. In Magugu there are only four people that has worked two years or less and no one of the respondents has been hawking less than a year.

Table 6: Number of years the street hawkers in Babati and Magugu has been selling current goods.

Years	Babati	Magugu	Total
Don't know (but after)	1	0	1
< 1	4	0	4
1	4	1	5
> 1 & < 3	3	3	6
3-20	18	26	44
Total	30	30	60

In Babati 20 percent of the respondents (6/30) started working with their current activity after the tarmac road (see Table 9). While there were only 3.3 percent of the interviewed (1/30) in Magugu that started working after the road was upgraded. That means that in Magugu as many as 96.6 percent (29/30) did the same work, selling the same goods, also before the upgrading. As a total, 88.3 percent of the respondents (53/60) in Babati and Magugu started working with their current business before the considered change occurred.

Among those who answered that they have worked one year, there are both those who started before and those who started after the road had been paved. They are in the study treated according to their own categorization in terms of whether they started before or after the upgrading.

Table 7: Proportion of respondents that started working before and after the upgrading in Babati and Magugu (percent).

	Babati	Magugu	Total
Before	80.00	96.67	88.33
After	20.00	3.33	11.67

Before the upgrading there was only one type of buses passing Babati and Magugu. Arrivals and departures were not as regular and it varied if the buses went every day or with a few days in between (see Table 10). After the upgrading there are three types of buses that passes Babati and Magugu each day; big, medium and small. The different types of buses has various capacity for number of passengers and the different types of buses pass Babati and Magugu several times each day (see Table 11 and Table 12).

Table 8: Number of buses and passengers through Babati and Magugu *before* the tarmac road.

Place	Number of buses every 1-3 days	Number of passengers, per bus	Number of passengers, total, every 1-3 days
Babati	28	35-45	980-1260 (mean value: 1120)
Magugu	24	35-45	840-1080 (mean value: 960)

Table 9: Number of buses and passengers passing through Babati each day *after* tarmac road.

Type of bus	Buses passing Babati Bus station	Passengers per bus	Total passengers
Big	71	50-65	3550-4615 (mean value: 4082.5)
Medium	25	35-45	875-1125 (mean value: 1000)
Small	78	12-18	936-1404 (mean value: 1170)
Total	174		Σ (mean value): 6252.5

Table 10: Number of buses and passengers passing through Magugu each day *after* tarmac road.

Type of bus	Buses passing Magugu Bus station every day	Passengers per bus	Total passengers
Big	58	50-65	2900-3770 (mean value: 3335)
Medium	18	35-45	630-810 (mean value: 720)
Small	29	12-18	377-522 (mean value: 449.5)
Total	105		Σ (mean value): 4504.5

Those who started working before the road was upgraded to Bitumen standard were asked if they experience a change in the number of buying customers after the change (see Table 13). In Babati 13 of the 24 respondents (54.1 %) experienced an increase of customers and 10 persons (41.6 %) answered that they feel they have fewer customers. In Magugu is the result different than in Babati, since 20 of 29 persons (68.9 %) said the number of buying customers had decreased. As a total, when regarding Babati and Magugu, 41.5 percent of

the respondents (22/53) experienced a positive change and 56.6 percent of the interviewed (30/53) experienced a negative change.

Table 11: Experienced change in the number of buying customer in Babati and Magugu (number).

Change	Magugu	Babati	Total
Don't know	1	0	1
Decrease	10	20	30
Increase	13	9	22
Total	24	29	53

The same persons that were asked if they experience a change in customers were also asked if they experience a change in number of street hawkers that sell the same type of goods as they do (see Table 14). In Babati, 79.1 percent (19/24) experienced an increase of hawkers selling the same goods. As the same question was asked in Magugu 68.9 percent (20/29) of the respondents felt an increase. Four people in Babati and nine in Magugu experienced that there are now, after the road, fewer salespersons with the same goods.

Table 12: Change in competition experienced by the street hawkers in Babati and Magugu (number).

Change	Magugu	Babati	Total
Don't know	0	1	1
Decrease	9	4	13
Increase	20	19	39
Total	29	24	53

The street hawkers who started working before the road was upgraded were also asked if they think that the number of salespersons has increased more than the number of customers, or if the situation is the opposite (see Table 15). The majority of hawkers both in Babati and Magugu experienced a decrease of customers. In Babati 19 out of 24 (79 %) answered that there are fewer customers per salesperson. In Magugu the corresponding result is 27 out of 29 (93 %).

Table 13: Change in proportion of customers per salesperson experienced, in Babati and Magugu (number).

Change	Magugu	Babati	Total
There is now fewer customers per salesperson	27	19	46
There is now more customers per salesperson	2	5	7
Total	29	24	53

5.2. Impact on sales

In Babati a majority (79.1 %) of the respondents experienced an increase in income, while it was the other way around in Magugu, where 68.9 percent said their income has decreased since the tarmac road (see Table 16). The differences between Babati and Magugu regarding

the impact on income mean that there is only a small difference between positive and negative impact for the total survey-group (47.1 and 43.4 % respective).

Table 14: Experienced change in income in Babati and Magugu (number).

Change	Magugu	Babati	Total
None	3	2	5
Decrease	20	3	23
Increase	6	19	25
Total	29	24	53

In Magugu the common opinion among those who experienced a decrease in sales was that the major reason is that the bus does not stop anymore. Also some of the participants that experienced an increase in profit mentioned how much faster the buses pass Magugu. According to some of the respondents the buses always stopped before, but after the upgrading just passes in high speed if there is not anyone waiting along the road. The participants also mentioned how the high speed has led to road accidents.

5.3. Impact on the families’ economy

To get an understanding of the situation regarding competition and the respondents work, the first question asked was which type of goods that the person is selling (see Table 17). In Babati the most common good to sell were drinks/biscuits, which are done by nine of the respondents. In the presentation are drinks and biscuits seen as one type of good, since everyone selling drinks were also selling biscuits and vice versa. Second place in popularity of goods at Babati buss stand is shared between groundnuts and bananas, which are being sold by six persons respective. In Magugu only 7 of the 30 (23.3 %) respondents were selling something other than peanuts. When considering both Babati and Magugu at the same time, as much as 27 of the 60 interviewed (45 %) were selling groundnuts. The next most popular product was drinks/biscuits, chosen by 11 hawkers out of 60 (18.3 %).

Table 15: Number of hawkers in each different category of goods in Babati and Magugu.

	Babati & Magugu	Of whom are men
Peanuts	27	
Drinks & Biscuits	11	4
Bananas	4	
Small things	4	4
Lemons	1	
Sweet potatoes	1	
Avocado	1	
Fish	2	
Rice	2	1
Vegetables	1	
Bananas + Sweet potatoes	2	
Peanuts + Rice	1	
Peanuts + "Drinks & Soda"	2	
Small things + Sweet potatoes	1	
Total	60	9

In Babati, 28 respondents of 30 (93.3 %) ranked street hawking as the activity that is most important as source of income for their families (see Table 18). One person answered that hawking was second most important contribution for the family and one participator answered that the family had two other activities that was more important for their economy. In Magugu was the result different, as 12 of 30 (40 %) respondents answered that they had the hawking as their family's main source of income. 17 persons (56.6 %) put the activity on second place and one person (3.3 %) ranked it as third in importance. When looking upon the answers from both Magugu and Babati, two thirds (66.6 %) consider revenues from street hawking to be the most important contribution to the family's common economy. 18 persons (30 %) ranked hawking second place and two persons (3.3 %) ranked it third.

Table 16: Ranking of importance of hawking as contribution to the respondent's family's economy (number). Where 1= most important, 2= second most important and 3= least important.

Importance	Babati	Magugu	Total
1	28	12	40
2	1	17	18
3	1	1	2
Total	30	30	60

The ranking above was also done regarding the importance of farming for the families' economy (see Table 19). In Babati 20 of 30 respondents (66.6 %) did not do farming (coded as 0). Two persons (6.6 %) have ranked farming as the most important source of income for the family. In other words, the two in Babati who did not rank street hawking as most important (Figure 4), has families that experience farming as more important for the family's

economy than street hawking. 8 of the 30 respondents (26.6 %) ranked farming as second most important activity for the family’s economy.

In Magugu 16 respondents (53.3 %) said that farming is the most important activity for their family’s economy, 12 persons (40 %) answered that their families not do farming and two persons (6.6 %) ranked farming as the second most important activity. When Babati and Magugu is regarded at the same time, 53.3 percent of the respondents (32/60) are not involved in farming activities and 30 percent (18/60) of the participants rank farming as number one.

Table 17: The ranking of the importance of farming as contribution of income to the common economy of the respondent’s family (number). Where 0= do not do farming, 1= most important and 2= least important.

Importance	Babati	Magugu	Total
0	20	12	32
1	2	16	18
2	8	2	10
Total	30	30	60

When asked if the respondents before the upgrading expected that the tarmac road would have an impact on their income, all respondents besides one answered that they thought the change would mean an increase in income (see Table 20). The person who answered differently than the majority said that she did not know. She is selling bananas in Babati and started working after the road was upgraded. Even those few who started working after the road had been paved were asked this question, since they also had thoughts regarding the new infrastructure development.

Table 18: Expected impact on income in Babati and Magugu (number).

	Babati and Magugu
Positive	59
Negative	0
Don’t know	1
Total	60

Among the 31 individuals whose family not was involved at all in agriculture activities 20 persons (64.5 %) were selling potatoes, bananas, avocado and rice. The other 11 respondents (35.4 %) do not sell food. Only one of the persons among the 31 that is selling food did not rank selling as the most important activity for the family.

Of the 30 street hawkers interviewed at Babati bus station, 16 (53.3 %) has the profit from selling goods they carry around as their and their family’s only source of income (see Table 21). For Magugu there is instead 10 persons (33.3 %) that has hawking as the only source of income. When regarding Babati and Magugu together 26 out of 60 (43.3 %) said that the

activity is the only contribution to their family’s economy. Four women that have street hawking as the only income for the family, all of them selling peanuts in Magugu, mentioned that they have a group of children depending on them at home; 3, 3, 3 and 2 (plus 2 adults) respective.

Table 19: Number of respondents whose family have street hawking as the only source of income in Babati and Magugu.

	Babati	Magugu	Total
Yes	16	10	26
No	14	20	34
Total	30	30	60

During the interview the respondents were asked if they could do something else to earn money, if the competition gets even fiercer and/or the number of customers would decrease, to which many answered through a comment. 22 participants said that capital is a problem and several of them, and also a number of other respondents, expressed their wish to have a store instead of selling at the bus stand. 17 persons said that if the situation worsens they would probably change type of goods to sell. For example sell rice instead of peanuts. The third alternative mentioned during the interviews was to change business location. Two persons explicitly said that they do not want to change what they are doing.

6. Analysis

In the following chapter the survey results, visualised above, will be analysed based on the theoretic framework presented in chapter 2 and 3. The chapter is divided into three different parts, based on the sections in previous chapter.

6.1. Change in number of customers and hawkers

Basically all street hawkers in Magugu were working before the upgrading of the Singida–Babati–Minjingu Rd. In Babati the result is different, since the majority started working after the upgrading. Both in Babati and Magugu the majority experienced an increase in number of persons selling the same goods as they do. The increase in number of street hawkers experienced may indicate it is easy to enter the market, which is consistent with earlier studies (ILO et al., 2002).. The fact that the many street hawkers continues with their businesses despite increased competition, might suggest the barriers for small scale entrepreneurs making it difficult for their businesses to develop is still there.

Kusakabe (2012) reports how an upgrading in one area led to possibilities for new individuals to enter the market whilst those who were already engaged in business could expand. In both Magugu and Babati an increase of hawkers was experienced, but among those who were there before the upgrading only a few have made any alterations in their businesses. Momsen (2004) concludes the results from another field study shows how both an increase of sellers and customers due to a upgrading meant the volume of transactions increased. Other studies show how improved roads meant the small traders were outruived by larger businesses (Kusakabe, 2012) and (Simon, 1996). So far the market structure looks the same both in Magugu and Babati, whit basically only small scale operators.

Relatively many respondents in Babati answered that both competitors and customers have increased, which implies they are in a market where the demand is high (although, as mentioned before, the majority felt there is fewer customers per hawker). Mentioned in the theoretic framework is how there are some markets segments where demand is high, commonly serving low-income citizens. The customers of street hawkers often fall in that category of people. It is also stated that even if the demand is high the profit many times is low, as a result of intense competition (ILO et al., 2002). This is consistent with the situation in Babati, where there is a lot of customers but the profit still is low.

Kusakabe (2012) notices how women in an area where they have power in the society increased their involvement in trade after a comprehensive road improvement. Women living in another area, where they did not have as much saying in the community, only experienced an increased workload of everyday tasks after a similar investment (Fernando & Porter, 2002). At the locations relevant for this study it seems the new hawkers are female in the same frequency as before the upgrading.

When it comes to change in the number of customers, more than half of the respondents in Babati said it has been an increase, while more than half of the respondents in Magugu considered a decrease in the number of customers. Both in Babati and Magugu the majority answered they experience a decrease in number of customers per salesperson. This means fewer customers per street hawker were experienced both in Babati and Magugu, even though the majority of participants in Babati said the number of customers has increased and the majority of respondents representing Magugu felt the opposite. This is possible since the hawkers at both locations experience an increase in number of hawkers.

Simon (1996) concludes the number of passengers increased and more operators entered the market when roads were improved to a higher standard. The great increase of buses means there are now capacity for more than 4 times as many passengers to travel through Magugu each day and almost 6 times as many through Babati, compared to before the upgrading. According to studies conducted by Fernando and Porter (2002) a road upgrading does not always lead to an improvement of the public transportation network. The government of Tanzania stated in their upgrading project appraisal how better road conditions would lead to an increase of passenger vehicles each year by more than 7 percent. In the same report it was stated that while calculating the number of passengers arriving and leaving Arusha each day the numbers contributing from cars and small buses were insignificant (ADF, 2007). This study shows it is the increased number of big buses making the biggest contribution to the enhanced passenger capacity.

The number of passengers has increased in both Babati and Magugu, although they do not serve as customers in Magugu in the same way they did before the upgrading. This indicates the introduction of better roads in this case has led to increased mobility of a number of people. It is not clear if it is a group of people who travels more often or if individuals not travelling by public transportation before do so now. Kusakabe (2012), as well as other authors, emphasises the existing differences in mobility between individuals. According to Fernando and Porter (2002) not all road upgrading projects has led to a better public transportation network and to reach market places have not always become easier.

6.2. Impact on sales

The majority of street hawkers in Magugu experienced a decrease in income, whilst most of the respondents in Babati instead stated the opposite result. Banister and Benchmark (2000) as well as Simon (1996) mention how an improvement in one region may be at the expense of residents in another region. Although it is not possible to conclude that the situation would be better in Magugu if the increase in sales for the street hawkers in Babati had not been so great, it is clear the upgrading has had opposite effects in the different regions.

It has been observed how the effects of a new road are more substantial if the road was previously non-existent (Simon, 1996). In the case of the Singida-Babati-Minjingu Rd the fact

that the upgrading has been from an earth road in bad condition to a paved road in bitumen standard might be the reason for the improvements in Babati being so great. Even so, the level of infrastructural improvement was the same through Magugu and as mentioned before the respondents there did not experience great positive effects. According to Banister and Berechman (2000) as well as Simon (1996) the relationship between the outcomes of an infrastructural investment is complex and is affected by external factors. Studies show how the effects from new technologies differ between regions, which are consistent with the differences between the results given in Babati and Magugu (Simon, 1996).

All street hawkers interviewed, except one, expected the upgrading project would mean their sales would increase. Clearly their expectations have not been met. The respondents assumed the infrastructural changes would automatically lead to development which is in line with the misconceptions Simon (1996) as well as Banister and Berechman (2000) discusses. They say the misunderstandings remain from earlier studies and that it is not possible to know in advance if an upgrading project will have desired outcomes. In the road upgrading project appraisal from 2007 it was reported how a growth in income per capita by 4 percent each year can be expected between 2012 and 2016 (ADF,2007).

Several persons in Magugu expressed their disappointment over the fact that the bus drivers passed them, both having an impact on sales and causing accidents. The new development of travel patterns experienced in Magugu has also been identified in other studies (Maunder & Pearce, 2000). Simon (1996) identifies accidents as a consequence of a fast increase of road transport. Simon also declares it is not always possible to do the implementation of new infrastructure in stages, causing the situation to feel overpowering. It is clear that the respondents in Magugu feel powerless over the negative and unexpected outcome of the upgrading. Simon (1996) mentions other studies where side effects and unpredicted problems have occurred after the road network has been modified.

According to studies made by the Tanzania Government many farming families in Tanzania experience limited access to markets because of lacking transportation possibilities (Gov. TZ, 2012b). Although the street hawkers in Magugu are more unsatisfied with the market situation than those in Babati, they have not relocated their businesses. Kusakabe (2012) found in a field study conducted where the roads had been upgraded that women experienced a financial improvement even though they did not become more mobile. Instead traders could reach them more easily. Knowles et al. (2008) describes how individuals can receive a higher accessibility without increased mobility. Kusakabe (2012) reports how women who after an upgrading became more mobile felt an increase of control. The majority of participants in the study were women and according to Fernando and Porter (2002) women often have less possibility than men to afford transportation to market places. Banister and Berechman (2000) underlines how hard it is to distinguish if there is a relationship between development and mobility as well as between development and

accessibility. According to Kusakabe (2012) it differs based on gender if an individual needs to be mobile to gain the same advantages as someone else. Because of an increase in travellers coming to Babati after the upgrading, it means more people living in Babati can stay close to home and make money instead of having to travel to find work. This is consistent with the increase of street hawkers in Babati, discussed earlier.

The street hawkers in both Babati and Magugu seem to keep doing business in the same way they did before the infrastructural changes. This further proves the complexity of development since similar upgrading projects at other places resulted in increase of visits to the market and markets to be held more often (Fernando and Porter, 2002). Simon (1996) points out that an upgrading investment may not be helpful if there is no substantial need for increased travel or fundamental components for running successful businesses are absent. Simon (1996) also mention how farmers that produce surplus primarily for their own consumption, like in Magugu, are less mobile than those who concentrate on commerce since they do not have the same need to reach other communities.

In the theoretical framework it is mentioned that several researcher has revealed the great importance of the usage of public space for small enterprises, especially street hawkers (Brown, 2001). The considerable large differences in experienced changes described by the hawkers in Magugu and Babati can perhaps be derived from the disparity of the usage of public space. In Babati the buses leaves the main road to pick up passengers at a big parking lot which also serves as the centre of the town's commerce. Where the hawkers in Magugu do their selling is a hub for people, not for public transportation. Brown (2001) explains how individuals want public spaces to be adapted to different functions, based on their own personal needs.

6.3. Impact on families' economy

About half of the men and women interviewed in Babati and Magugu had the profit from street hawking as only source of income to the family's economy. From the results it is clear there are more among the respondents that are doing farming activities in Magugu than in Babati and that farming is more important for the family's economy in Magugu than in Babati. The same connection was mentioned earlier in the theoretical framework where it was stated that if an individual is involved in agriculture, then agriculture is the most important source of the household's finances (Gov. TZ, 2012b). The clearly most common thing to sell is groundnuts, which is also the next common crop in the area (Gov. TZ, 2012b).

In the study only very few of the respondents were men, indicating it is mostly women who are involved in this type of street hawking. The majority of street hawkers being women have also been observed in other studies (Kalema, 2008). Momsen (2004) declares it is mostly women who sell surplus food, but men who is responsible for export.

Street hawking has been, and in most places still are, a part of the informal economy. In the informal sector the operators are many times individuals who are solely responsible for the family economy (ILO et al., 2002). According to Cohen (2012) this is specially the case if the hawker is a woman. In this study, four women in Magugu mentioned they have children depending on their profit from the hawking. There might have been more than four persons who were in the same situation, but the issue was not a part of the questionnaire. The information about the four women selling peanuts are instead a result of the respondents' opportunity to give comments. According to other studies children often constitute a group depending on this type of income. One of the studies also states that street hawking many time is the only way for the family to survive (ILO et al., 2002).

Several published articles discuss the importance of capital for street hawkers to be able to develop their business and to enable higher profits (for example ILO et al., 2002). When Tanzanians ranked which factors constitutes the biggest problems for their businesses, capital for financing got on second place (Kalema, 2008). The field study also points out capital as a factor of major importance for many street hawkers. More than one third of the respondents commented about the limitations for them to find another way of providing, due to lack of financing possibilities.

Almost all men in this study were selling "small things" or "drinks and biscuits" while there were only a handful women interviewed that were selling these goods. Of the different articles being sold these two groups are the ones that requires most capital to purchase, especially the "small things". Kalema (2008) concludes that male street hawkers invest more in their businesses and therefore also make higher profits than female street hawkers. According to Fernando and Porter (2002) it is harder for women than men to get capital through formal institutions due to low creditworthiness, family dynamics and so on. According to Fernando and Porter (2002) lack of capital is what forces women to sell surplus crops on the local market. In this study it was women who sold surplus produce, not the few men participating.

7. Conclusions

In the following chapter the intention is to use the findings of this study to specify what relationship there is between road infrastructure and the opportunity for rural dwellers to earn their living. The chapter is divided into four different parts, based on the three research questions as well as a part consisting of final conclusions.

7.1. Customers and competition

Has the number of potential customers and the competition at the bus stands changed due to the tarmac road?

The majority of respondents experienced increased competition, even though most of the participants in Magugu had worked as street hawkers since before the upgrading. In Magugu the experience among the respondent were a decrease of customers, while the opposite result were reported in Babati. Based on the participators' reviews, the increase of hawkers in Babati has been greater than the increase of customers, resulting in fewer customers for each hawker. The hawkers in Magugu reported tougher competition and fewer customers, which meant fewer customers per salesperson also in Magugu.

This thesis shows the result from similar upgrading projects can have different effect between areas (Banister & Benchmark, 2000) (Simon, 1996). The differences between the results from Babati and Magugu indicates there is a connection between how many bus passengers the hawkers can reach and the profit they can make. The number of people travelling by bus is in turn related to the improved road standard. If the buses had stopped more frequently in Magugu it is possible the change had taken the same direction as in Babati.

7.2. Sales

Do the hawkers experience a change in their sales since before tarmac road?

In Magugu the public space are now a worse place for doing business due to the difference in how the bus chauffeurs drive, which in turn is a result from the upgrading of the road. In Babati the majority experienced an increase in income despite reporting a decrease of customer per street hawker. It is not possible to state that the sales have increased because of the road since this type of situation is complex according to Banister and Berechman (2000). The complexity also makes it difficult to completely isolate single variables, which aggravates a deeper analysis.

7.3. Importance

Does a change in sale have an important impact on the street hawkers' families' economy?

The income from the street hawking is of great importance for the families of those involved in the business, both in Magugu and Babati. More than half of the respondents in Babati said hawking is their family's only source of income. The families in Magugu are not dependent on the profit to the same extent, since most of them rank farming as the family's most important activity. Some women in Magugu said they have children depending solely on their revenue from street hawking. These findings are in line with other surveys (ILO et al., 2002) (Cohen, 2012) and according to Cohen (2012) it is more likely a families is the dependent on the income from a single street hawker if it is a women.

7.4. Final conclusion

This study supports authors like Simon (1996) who emphasize how the complexity of development patterns makes it impossible to fully predict the outcome of an infrastructural investment. The upgrading of the Singida–Babati–Minjingu Rd. has according to the street hawkers in Babati meant an increase of sales. Meanwhile the same upgrading project has had an impact on the bus drivers' behaviour, whom now passes Magugu in high speed. This causes the street hawkers of Magugu loses the passengers as customers and their sales has decreased. The road improvement has had a significant effect on the hawkers' families since the profit is important for their livelihood, especially for those not involved in farming and for single parents. All street hawkers interviewed expected to benefit from the upgrading, an anticipation that has not been fulfilled.

8. Ongoing changes and further studies

In Magugu a bus stand is under construction where permanent shops create an area for the bus to stop. This will hopefully mean the buses do not only pass, but come off the road and at the same time reduce their speed. This might result in the change the street hawkers in Magugu are hoping for, which is for the buses to stop long enough for the passengers both to see and buy the goods. So if someone were to do further studies in the area it would be a good idea to investigate if the conclusions drawn here are true, by interviewing the street hawkers in Magugu again after the bus stop is completed.

The range of different goods is clearly limited among the street hawkers in Babati and Magugu. Many of the hawkers at Babati bus stand were working for a stationary shop nearby. As lack of capital is a major problem for most of the respondents it might be the reason to why the different sales persons do not distinguish themselves from their competitors. If someone were to conduct a similar study it would be of interest to hear the street hawkers own thoughts about supply and demand. Is it only lack of capital that hinders hawkers from selling other type of products and would the total transactions increase if the range of goods were more variable.

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Appendix

Questionnaire used during interviews with street hawkers in Babati and Magugu.

1. Sex: Man Women

2. Age: _____

3. **When did you start working with this?**

More than one year ago, before the tarmac road.

After the tarmac road, but has been working more than 1 month.

After the tarmac road, but has been working 1 month or less.

4. What do you sell: _____

5. What did you do before you started this work? _____

If you had a paid job, do you earn more money now? _____

6. Are you the only family member that is working with this?

Yes, I am the only one

No, I am not the only one

If there are other family members doing this business, please fill the following table

Family member (sex)	Age	Product selling	If child, missing school? (Yes or No)

7. From where do you get/ obtain what you sell:

- I sell for a shop
- I do everything by myself
- Other: _____

8. Purchase/cost, Sales and Profit, in average per day (Tsh):

Before tarmac	Purchase/ cost (lowest)	Purchase/ cost (highest)	Sales (lowest)	Sales (highest)	Profit (lowest)	Profit (highest)
Low season						
High season						
After tarmac						
Low season						
(High season)						

9. Is this your only occupation?

- Yes
- No

10. What is the different sources of income obtained to the family, from the whole family?
Please rank the different sources of income according to importance (1= most important)

	Source	Rank of importance
A		
B		
C		
D		
E		

11. If there would be even bigger concurrence or fewer costumers, will you then have the possibility to earn money in some other way?

Yes

No

12. How many other **salespersons** with same or similar goods, do you think works at this bus stand in average, per day? _____

13. ***If worked before the tarmac road:***

How many other **salespersons** with same or similar goods, do you think worked at this bus stand in average, per day, at low season a year ago? _____

14. How many **customers** do you think you have in average, per day? _____

15. ***If worked before the tarmac road:***

How many **customers** do you think you had in average, per day, a year ago? _____

16. Which one of following two statements do you think is the most correct?

The amount of customers has increased **more** than the amount of salespersons has increased. (There are now more customers per salespersons than before the road).

The amount of customers has increased **less** than the amount of salespersons has increased. (There are now fewer customers per salespersons than before the road).

17. Would you, as a conclusion, say that the tarmark road has had an impact on your income?

- No, none**
- Yes, **positive.**
- Yes, **negative.**

18. ***If worked before the tarmark road:***

Did you expect that the tarmark road would have an impact on your income before it was implemented?

- No
- Yes

If Yes, did that it have the impact that you expected?

- No
- Yes

19. Please list other impacts brought by the tarmac road:

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____
- d. _____
- e. _____