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Toilets Not Taxes: Gender Inequity in Dar es Salaam's City Markets

Summary of ICTD Working Paper 89

Are taxation systems in Africa biased against women? This is a hard question to answer and there is very little literature on the topic. Gender biases of personal income tax systems in developed countries have been well documented but play a limited role in the context of developing countries - where only a small proportion of the population is working in the formal sector. Looking at formal employment markets and taxation systems in environments where a high proportion of women earn their living from small scale trading (such as in many African countries) might not reveal all patterns of use or funding of collective goods and services. It may consequently fail to reveal the impact of this on society in general and women in particular.

To throw more light on this issue, we examined relative tax burdens of male and female traders in 9 city markets in Dar es Salaam. We started by focusing on taxes because the existing literature implied that this is where we might find gender biases.

Market taxation in Dar es Salaam – a gender equal tax system?

To some extent, our findings differ from those of other researchers who have studied market taxation in Africa from a gender perspective. We found no evidence of gender bias in the way market traders are taxed. Female and male traders seem to pay the same market taxes, in much the same ways. There was no suggestion of sexual harassment of female traders by tax collectors – most of whom are male. Further, female and male traders had very similar opinions on major issues of market organization.

More generally, our research highlights a number of challenges that market traders

are facing at their places of work. These challenges range from insufficient sewage and rubbish collection systems to poor quality, expensive toilets and trouble with the private security companies guarding the traders' goods at night. These are mostly issues of general or collective interest for all market traders and their customers, with one specific exception with very important gender implications: the quality and cost of toilets in markets.

The cost of toilet fees

The most surprising finding of our research is that toilet fees constitute a considerably higher financial burden than the official market tax for the vast majority of traders, especially for female traders. The daily market tax rate at most markets we visited lies between TZS 100 and TZS 200 (USD 0.04 to USD 0.09) per trader while the toilet fee ranges from TZS 200 to TZS 300 (USD 0.09 to USD 0.13) for each usage. Women are doubly disadvantaged. Firstly, men can more easily avoid toilet fees by going around the next corner or to the next bush. This is a rampant and more or less tolerated practice for men in Tanzania. For women the issue is very different. Several studies have highlighted that using such 'open toilets' not only increases women's vulnerability to shame but also raises the risk of sexual assaults. (Shirley 2012; Srinivasan 2015). Secondly, women also need to use toilets more frequently than men, especially during menstruation and pregnancy. Consequently, the women we talked to stated that they are making use of the toilet facilities on average 6 times per day, while men stated that they use the toilets only 4 times per day. On an average day, female market traders pay up to TZS 1,800 on toilet fees.

“Gender biases of personal income tax systems in developed countries have been well documented but play a limited role in the context of developing countries.”



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