Where’s the Cash?
The Geography of Financial Access Points in Tanzania

The availability of physical locations where one can exchange cash for transferable or storable electronic value is an essential component of financial access. The rapid spread of mobile money and POS-based solutions, coupled with the bank retail agency model, has profoundly altered the landscape of the retail payments market, and is poised to equally profoundly transform the economics of financial service delivery in Tanzania.

In keeping with its mission of tracking and promoting financial inclusion, more specifically the proximity of financial services, the Financial Sector Deepening Trust of Tanzania (FSDT), in partnership with the Bank of Tanzania, has completed the second census of financial access points in the country. The data for the first edition was collected during April - July 2012, and the current data set was collected during November 2013 - February 2014. Data collection for both editions was undertaken by Brand Fusion, and the data, analysis tool and maps are available publicly for free from www.fsdt.or.tz/financialaccessmapstz.

Beyond reflecting the sheer passage of time in a rapidly evolving space, the new dataset is more comprehensive than the first edition because it includes: (i) retail agents for all mobile money providers, not just M-PESA; (ii) retail outlets serving as agents of banks (none existed before); (iii) retail outlets with a point-of-sale (POS) terminal, whether it is used by third-party payment service providers or by banks to accept merchant payments, and (iv) offices of SACCOs (semi-formal savings and credit cooperatives). As before, this census also includes branches and ATMs (located at a bank branch and stand alone) of commercial banks, branches of community banks and microfinance institutions (MFIs), post offices and major bus stations. The survey instrument used this time also asked a broader set of questions to agents.

This report highlights some of the key findings from the second edition of the financial access point census, and updates the earlier Where’s the Cash? report which FSDT published in January 2013. Overall, the results from this census are very much in line with those of the previous one, and point if anything to an acceleration in the trends in territorial coverage with financial access points. This report also highlights the surprising spread of POS-based agents of Max Malipo and Selcom, and the slow start of bank agents.

In reading this report, it is necessary to remain aware of some of the limitations of the underlying data. First, retail outlets in the census were all visited and hence must have been open for business at the time of the survey, but there was no verification of the number of cash-based transactions they have conducted or of their liquidity levels. Thus, many retail agents could be inactive or unreliable as financial access points. Second, direct comparisons in the absolute numbers of outlets between the two editions of this census are hazardous because the collection targets and methodology have changed quite significantly. It is noteworthy that the number of microfinance institutions and post offices has dropped, likely reflecting a difference in definitions and methodology than a market reality. Still, despite these caveats, the census does help to give us a good understanding of the geography of financial access points in Tanzania.
Breakdown of outlets by type of service provider

The census revealed 55,851 outlets. Figure 1 shows various breakdowns of these outlets by type. 81% of these (45,341) are mobile money agents, and a further 12% (6,900) are retail agents of non-bank POS-based payments providers. There are only 265 bank agents, and there are 130 merchant POSs, i.e. stores that have a POS only to receive payment from their customers and do not offer third party payment services. The remaining 3,215 outlets are dedicated outlets for financial or postal services. Within these, SACCOs are the most widespread category (1,171 outlets), followed by ATMs (964) and commercial bank branches (654). The smallest categories are microfinance institutions (246), post offices (180) and community banks (37).

It should be noted that these figures overstate the total number of physical outlets, because outlets that offer multiple types of services might be counted in more than one category. For instance, 44 microfinance institutions, or 15% of the total, are also mobile money agents; 133 SACCOs, or 11% of the total, are also mobile money agents; and 22 post offices, or 12% of the total, are also agents of mobile money or POS-based payment providers.

Figure 1: Distribution of Financial Access Points by Type
(The numbers are the total number of outlets of each type, across Tanzania)

Figure 2 displays the density of financial access points over the map of Tanzania, for the more widespread types of outlets discussed above. The intensity of the color represents the density of agents of that type at each point on the map (where each outlet is counted as serving an area of 5km radius around it). It can be seen clearly from the charts that mobile money agents are the most spread out. In second place are POS-based agents of third party payment providers, which follow a similar deployment pattern as mobile money agents. SACCOs seem to be relatively more prevalent in the central and southern areas.

Figure 2: Density of financial access points, by type, across Tanzania

The colours represent the number of outlets serving each point on the map (assuming each outlet services a 5km radius)
The first column in Figure 3 shows the share of districts that have at least one financial access point of each type listed. The other two columns give a weight to each district proportional to its population and landmass, respectively. Mobile money agents are present in over 80% of districts, followed by SACCOs which are present in over 70% of districts — regardless of how districts are weighted. All other types of outlets have a heavier preponderance in districts with higher population density, as seen from the shortfall in presence with respect to landmass versus population. Post offices, banks and microfinance institutions are present in 50-70% of districts by population, but only 40-60% by landmass. Bank agents are present in a third of districts, containing about a third of the national population.

Growth in the number of outlets

The data from the current census shows a very significant increase in the number of financial access points relative to the first census, conducted one and a half years earlier. To make a more reliable growth assessment over a longer period of time, in the new census non-retail store outlets were asked for how long they have been in operation, and the results are shown in Figure 4. This data therefore doesn’t account for financial access points which may have been closed over this period.

The recent proliferation of mobile and POS-based agents overshadows a fairly impressive growth in the number of dedicated financial outlets in the last ten years. This growth has been led by SACCOs, by commercial banks, through their ATM networks, and by microfinance institutions. The postal network has also experienced a steady, albeit lower, growth.

Distance to the nearest outlet

Figure 5 shows the distribution of four different types of financial access point based on how far they tend to be from different kinds of outlets. Three distance cuts are shown with the vertical dotted lines in each case: at 1km (representing vicinity), 5km (an upper limit of convenient walking distance) and 25km (requiring significant travel). All distances are measured as the crow flies, so the actual distance by road may be significantly larger; also this does not take into account the nature of the roads (paved or not) between two outlets. Note that the charts use a compressed (log) distance scale on the horizontal axis.

The first chart, for mobile money agents, shows that practically all agents have another agent right nearby. Almost two-thirds of agents are within one kilometer of a potential rebalancing point (bank branch, ATM or MFI), and four-fifths of agents are within five kilometers. The picture is quite similar for bank agents (not shown). The second chart, for SACCOs, shows that SACCOs are roughly as distant from banks and MFIs as mobile money agents. The third chart, for commercial banks, shows a very different profile: almost 90% of bank branches are less than a kilometer away from another bank or MFI. The final chart, for post offices, presents much flatter curves because of their broader dispersion: one out of five post offices are more than 5km away from a bank or MFI, and one out of ten are more than 25km away.
Relationship between number of agents and population density

Figure 6: The relationship between number of mobile money agents and population density at the district level

Figure 7 shows the extent of agent sharing among mobile money providers. Two-thirds of agents have a single provider; only one in ten are shared by more than two providers. M-PESA has the larger agent network, with over 38,000 outlets, or 58% of the total. Tigo Pesa and Airtel Money follow, with around 20% each.

Sharing of agent networks

Figure 7 shows the extent of agent sharing among mobile money providers. Two-thirds of agents have a single provider; only one in ten are shared by more than two providers. M-PESA has the larger agent network, with over 38,000 outlets, or 58% of the total. Tigo Pesa and Airtel Money follow, with around 20% each.

Turning now to POS-based agents for third party payment providers, Figure 9 shows that a tiny proportion of agents are shared by different providers. Max Malipo and Selcom are the two biggest providers, together accounting for 87% of all POS-based agents.

Figure 8 shows the probability that the agents of a given mobile money provider are shared with each of the other providers. The dominance of M-PESA is evident from this figure. Under a third of M-PESA agents are shared with Tigo, and under a quarter are shared with Airtel. On the other hand, over 70% of the agents of both Tigo and Airtel are also M-PESA agents. As the smallest player, Ezy Pesa shares half of their agents with each of the other three mobile money providers.

Figure 9: POS-based agents, by provider and degree of sharing among providers

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Figure 10 shows how agents are shared with other, non-finance related businesses. Mobile money and POS-based agents show a similar pattern: almost half of all agents are standalone, around a quarter are dukas (small grocery corner shops), and one in ten are stationary shops. Banks do not have agents who operate on a standalone basis: they all conduct some other business. Banks also have a higher proportion of general & grocery stores as agents.

**Services offered by agents**

Mobile money agents only offer basic cash in/cash out services; customers themselves invoke the various mobile money services from their mobile phone, be it for bill payment, money transfer or to move money from a bank account. POS-based agents, on the other hand, perform the underlying service on behalf of their customers, using their POS terminal.

The three most common services used by customers of POS-based agents are utility payment, tax payment and money transfers. Figure 11 shows the breakdown of the universe of the 6,901 POS-based agents, based on what combination of these services they report performing. Around 80% of agents offer utility payments, around 70% offer money transfers, and around 60% offer tax payments. 93% offer utility and/or tax payments. But only 881, or 13% of agents, report offering all three services. On the other hand, 5% either did not offer any of the three services or did not supply data.

Most bank agents offer card services from international payment associations. VISA cards are accepted at 67% of bank agents, and MasterCard is accepted at 60% of bank agents. Only 16% of the 265 bank agents do not accept such cards.

**Figure 11: Distribution of POS-based agents according to the services they report offering**