A. KANYAMA & G. CARS

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Ahmad A. Kanyama – Research leader
March 2009

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study proposes a new framework (the Apex Framework) for institutional coordination in planning for public transportation that is capable of addressing constraints to tackling problems of public transport in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. Public transport in major cities of sub-Saharan Africa currently consists of e.g. public paratransit (minibuses), characterised by disregard for traffic rules, congestion, accidents, air pollution and abysmal quality of services. Provision of sustainable public transport is a formidable task for authorities in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa, where success in transport and traffic planning in the post-independence period has been negligible and where the urban population is growing faster than in any other continent. Without immediate strategic planning intervention, the deteriorating travel conditions will continue to undermine the urban environment in sub-Saharan Africa.

The main contention in this study is that public transport problems in sub-Saharan African countries could easily be tackled if institutional coordination were to be organised in such a way that all stakeholders in the public transport sector were involved effectively in the planning process. The barriers to institutional coordination in planning for public transportation are widespread and varied, and occur in different ways in developed and developing countries. In sub-Saharan Africa, the existing literature on sustainable public transport fails to explain how such barriers arise and how the citizens concerned believe transport planning institutions could be improved.

The aim of this study was thus to devise an effective framework for institutional coordination in planning for public transportation suited to the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. This aim was achieved through two case studies in the cities of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi, where field studies revealed a number of factors that constrain prospects for institutional coordination in planning for public transportation, including:

- ***Lack of vision of cities:*** Envisioning a type of 'city for all' wanted by citizens is the base on which public transport policies can be formulated.
- ***Lack of effective city and public transport plans:*** City and transport plans are essential in institutional coordination because it is from these plans that different fields can coalesce to tackle problems of public transport.
- ***Lack of professionalism:*** Professionalism must be improved by establishing robust departments such as public transport planning and traffic management, and by providing competent, trained and motivated people to manage such functions.
- ***Lack of regulatory framework:*** A regulatory framework stipulates the roles that different stakeholders should play and sets standards for accountability in the planning process.
- ***Rampant corruption:*** Corruption must be eliminated so that public resources can rightly be directed to planning and implementing public transport schemes and to supporting the mechanisms for institutional coordination.
- ***Poverty:*** Alleviation of poverty is essential for securing a good economy that can provide public institutions with the necessary finances to formulate and implement transport schemes; enable relevant stakeholders to invest in the public transport sector and enable citizens to afford to pay for public transport services and thus sustain the system.

- ***Poor citizen and stakeholder participation:*** Citizens and other stakeholders are the principal recipients of public transport services and their involvement in planning processes is crucial in supporting actual implementation.
- ***Inadequate political and fiscal decentralisation:*** Realistic political decentralisation to local level is essential to increase the political power for taking crucial planning decisions at city level. Likewise, appropriate fiscal decentralisation at the local level would expand and increase the local government self-sufficiency in revenue generation necessary in formulating and implementing public transport schemes. Increased revenue generation is also crucial in supporting programmes essential for institutional coordination.
- ***Unwillingness by decision-makers to change existing transport systems***: City development decision-makers and leaders must be willing to make planning interventions that change existing poor public transport systems and that engage different stakeholders in public transport planning.

The study found that these nine factors that constrain institutional coordination in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi occur in the same way and have the same negative impact on institutional coordination in tackling public transport problems in other cities in sub-Saharan Africa.

Despite the weaknesses identified here, cities in sub-Saharan Africa possess high potential and capacity in terms of human and organisational capital, which can be the basis for initiating effective forms of institutional coordination in planning for public transport. This is demonstrated by the different planning interventions made to date by these cities to tackle public transportation problems, with varying degrees of success. The cities also have various kinds of institutions and stakeholders involved in the public transport sector with different roles and capacities for tackling public transportation problems.

The stakeholders from Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi interviewed in this study provided a range of strategic viewpoints that could be crucial in achieving a coordination mechanism in the planning process. They believed that an effective mechanism of institutional coordination in planning for public transport could be achieved if truly democratic conditions were created in the cities. In general, the report showed that citizens in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa are aware of the planning weaknesses in tackling public transportation problems and can assist decision-makers, leaders and planning authorities in rectifying these weaknesses.

This report culminated in formulation of a framework for institutional coordination, the ‘Apex Framework’, which can be applicable in the sub-Saharan cities. The two major considerations in formulating the Apex Framework were that all nine factors identified as constraining institutional coordination must be addressed during the process of planning for public transportation; and that the institutional structure needs a leading apex authority capable of coordinating all other stakeholders involved in planning for public transport.

It was concluded that the factors constraining institutional coordination in planning for public transport must be tackled by deploying specific fields of expertise in combination with applying principles of governance and emerging types of public-private partnerships. This creates synergy in collective action across the public-private

demarcation, and leads to the empowerment and inclusion of civil society into the spheres of public policy processes involving the public transportation sector. Governance models must fit the prevailing social, economic and cultural particularities of a country, but certain basic principles or attributes are essential. The approach taken to governance in planning for public transportation should be transparent, inclusive, coherent and equitable. This requires the participation of government, citizens, civil society and the private sector, as all are instrumental in different ways in the successful implementation of a mechanism for institutional coordination in planning for public transportation.

It was also concluded that the apex authority should have the following specific roles:

- Coordinating the activities of all stakeholders between sectors, jurisdictions and groups concerned with urban (public) transport and providing guidance for long-term, strategic decision-making involving all the relevant sectors.
- Ensuring that decisions on public transport are made according to transport policies intended to achieve sustainable public transport that meets environment, social and economic requirements.
- Ensuring that other sectors conduct their planning activities for public transportation according to the regulatory framework.

There is no single authority blueprint for all countries to adopt as the apex coordinating authority. What is important is that the apex authority body be equipped with the appropriate skills, powers and functions, including e.g. conflict management skills and awareness-raising techniques, to ensure that sustainable public transportation is achieved through planning. The functions of the apex authority should be supported by a clear basis in law.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.0 Introduction

The goal of this study was to propose a framework for institutional coordination in planning for public transportation that is capable of addressing constraints hindering prospects for tackling problems of public transport in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. Field work in the cities of Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania and Nairobi in Kenya revealed a number of factors that constrain prospects for institutional coordination in planning for public transportation. One of the objectives of the field work was to investigate how factors that constrained institutional coordination occurred and how they negatively affected the prospects of tackling problems of public transport through planning in these cities. These findings were examined in comparison with similar situations occurring in the cities in the sub-Saharan African region. The conclusion was that the factors that constrain institutional coordination in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi occur in the same way and have the same negative impact on institutional coordination in tackling public transport problems in other cities in sub-Saharan Africa.
The report consists of four chapters. Chapter One contains an introduction which includes setting the argument for the essence of this study in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. Chapter One also includes the research question and methodology for the study and describes the research approach, including different theoretical concepts which were used for analysis.

Chapter Two describes briefly the dynamics of public transport in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi. For Dar-es-Salaam, the chapter gives a brief description of bus services before independence as operated by the Dar-es-Salaam Motor Corporation (DMT) and finally the emergence of dala-dalas in the 1980s. For Nairobi, Chapter 2 gives a brief description of bus services before independence as operated by the Kenya Bus Services (KBS) and finally the emergence of matatu and its acceptance by the government to provide services in 1970s. Furthermore, Chapter Two presents the results generated from interviews about factors that constrain institutional coordination in the planning for public transportation in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi, relates the occurrence of factors that constrain institutional coordination in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi to those in other sub-Saharan African cities and examines how they affect planning for public transport in a sub-Saharan Africa context.

Chapter Three shows the potential that exists in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi to tackle problems of public transportation by highlighting traditional ways of addressing public transport problems by different stakeholders and institutions. It also highlights existing potential in the form of established institutions that have a stake in the public transport sector. Chapter Three examines some weaknesses that exist in practising formal and informal coordination among stakeholders and presents a set of recommendations from interviewed stakeholders and workshop conclusions in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi. Participants in this study thought that their recommendations would be crucial in formulating a framework for institutional coordination in planning for public transport.

A framework for creating a mechanism for institutional coordination in the cities in sub-Saharan Africa — the 'Apex Framework' is recommended in Chapter Four. The Apex framework emphasises addressing all the factors that constrain institutional coordination in planning for public transport in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. The Apex framework includes establishment of an authority that is responsible in coordinating all relevant stakeholders in the planning for public transport in a spirit of public-private partnerships. The recommendations from stakeholders and workshops in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi were crucial in recommending the framework.

1.1 The essence of the study

The main contention in this study is that public transport problems in sub-Saharan African countries could easily be tackled if key stakeholders were involved effectively in the planning process. The difficulty concerning institutional coordination in planning for public transportation is a widespread phenomenon and it occurs in different fashions from country to country in both developed and developing countries. This study examines institutional coordination in tackling problems of public transportation in sub-Saharan African cities based on the premise that the countries have similar cultural, socio-economic and colonial history. However, there are some cultural differences among countries based on geographical locations or the type of past colonial administration, i.e. British, French or Portuguese. For instance, as former colonies of Portugal, Mozambique has more in common with Angola than with its neighbours, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Tanzania. Francophone central African countries have characteristics in common with Anglophone central African countries, as well as with francophone west African (Rakodi, 1997a). Yet in these countries, there are significant common trend problems and pressures which weaken the foundations for establishment of a robust institutional coordination in planning for public transportation.

Poor public transportation in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa is partly attributed to the fact that majority of the cities are generally young and represent new frontiers of urban development in their systems. Many of the cities emerged under world colonialism and settler regimes, exhibit common experiences in political and civil development, and share burdens and hopes that are inextricably linked to Africa's unique position within the world economic and political systems (El-Shakhs, 1997).
Travel conditions in sub-Saharan Africa's larger cities are extremely stressful: stressful for citizens who often have no alternative but to walk long distances under hazardous and unsafe circumstances, and stressful for the users of public paratransit (minibuses) where overloading is the norm, the rules of the road are little respected, traffic is subject to constant bottlenecks, pollution is rife, and the quality of services is abysmal (Bultynck, 2001; Kanyama et al. 2004, 2005). These problems should be viewed within the context of the process of urbanisation where cities are growing faster than cities in other continents (El-Shakhs, 1997). They have expanded rapidly in the last fifty years in response to the transformation of the post-colonial period, mainly from streams of poor rural migrants. By 1950, only two African cities had populations exceeding two million; by 1990, as many as 37 had joined this category (Nwaka, 2005). Urbanisation in sub-Saharan African countries includes high concentration of population, economic activity, and motorisation in one or very few major cities that are expanding rapidly in size and population.

The rapid growth of cities brings pressures on the administrative and institutional ability to plan for, and control, development. It defies the government's ability to respond in a timely fashion, because planning and development of major infrastructure projects are by their nature time-consuming process games (El-Shakhs, 1997). Cities are characterised by poorly developed institutional, fiscal and regulatory arrangements at local government levels (World Bank, 2002). Due to the rapid pace of change, and delayed planning intervention, many improvements become either inadequate or obsolete by the time they are finished. Thus, the governments end up playing a catch-up game (El-Shakhs, 1997). For that reason, sub-Saharan African towns and cities have often been depicted as being in crisis (Stren and White, 1989).

Nonetheless, cities in the region continue to grow and function despite the severity of the challenges they face (Rakodi, 2005). Yet that does not mean that the cities should now be neglected, because that will only intensify the problems (White, 1989). Sustainable policies are urgently needed in the sub-Saharan African region to effect planning processes that are capable of tackling problems arising from rapid urbanisation, including those of public transportation. Prospects for achieving this will depend on the capacities of countries to create institutional coordination mechanisms that include all stakeholders in the planning for public transportation.

1.2 The research question

The planning, implementation, operation, maintenance and regulation of urban transportation involve complex processes encompassing numerous modes, users, agencies and the framework within which the system functions. Failure to deliver an acceptable transport system is immediately evident to transport system users – passenger queues, traffic congestion, slow journey times, accidents, air pollution and so on (Cracknell, 2000). Issues that trigger problems of public transport in sub-Saharan cities are many and crucial among them is that since the 1980s, the supply of transport services in Africa's largest cities has been characterised by a significant collapse of public transit companies, with subsequent emergence of small vehicle paratransit operations. Because of their lower passenger capacities, the paratransit vehicles have to be deployed in large numbers in the cities in order to meet demand for public transportation. However public transportation systems dominated by these vehicles are the source of problems such as pollution, increased accidents, prolonged delays to destination and poor customer services (Kanyama et al., 2005). As the problems of public transport continue grow, the need to tackle them to achieve efficient public transport system has also grown. This need has led to the upsurge of different agencies, private and public, as well as NGOs, all wanting to tackle the problems of public transportation. With such increases in stakeholders in the public transport sector, the persistence of such public transport problems in African cities is largely due to lack of coordination in tackling the problem through transport planning processes (Mbara, 2002; Kanyama et al., 2005; Nantula et al., 2005). This weakness is attributed to the fact that public transport problems are not tackled in a holistic planning approach to reflect the complex interactions both within the urban transport sector and between public urban transport and the rest of urban development strategy (World Bank, 2002). Factors that inhibit such a holistic approach when shaping urban transport in Africa's cities include (UNCHS, i):

- Lack of understanding of the need for such an approach and lack of readiness and willingness to accept it.

- Lack of know-how to develop the various strands of such an approach.
- Lack of an urban management framework capable of understanding such a policy framework and its systematic implementation.

Public transport has always been in the domain of urban planning and the basic and most complex task of urban planning is to define and achieve a balanced and viable transport system. Major steps in this process are (Vuchic, 2002):

i) Defining the goal: What type of city/metropolitan area is envisaged? Due to the impact of transport systems on the form and character of cities, planning should start from societal goals about the type of city and quality of life in it. That goal is then the basis for determining the roles of different transportation modes at two levels (ii and iii).

ii) Determination of the desirable roles of three major categories of transport modes:
- Non-motorised, e.g. pedestrians, bicycles and others
- Private cars
- Public transport

In addition to urban form and character, the relative roles of these three modes depend on economic development, city size and local conditions.

iii) Selection of most efficient transport modes for the given roles of transport among different bus, rail and other modes.

iv) Developing and applying policies and measures to implement the planned transportation system.

The above stages for planning public transportation conform to what the concept of *Smart Growth* emphasises – integration of transportation and land use decisions and encouraging more compact, mixed-use development within existing urban areas, and discouraging dispersed, automobile-dependent development (VTPI, ii). Smart Growth in turn relates to *Context Sensitive Design* (CSD), which emphasises a collaborative, interdisciplinary approach involving key stakeholders to ensure that transportation projects are not only 'moving safely and efficiently', but are also in harmony with the natural, social, economic, and cultural environment. Early and continuous commitment to public involvement, flexibility in exploring new solutions, and an openness to new ideas in the planning process are some of the principles of the CSD concept. On the whole, the CSD concept embraces the following steps in the design process (VTPI, iii):

- Ensuring that public and private sector stakeholders coordinate their transportation planning, development and delivery activities. These transportation decisions should also be integrated with environment, health, energy and urban land-use decisions.
- Making transportation-related decisions in an open and inclusive process: informing the public about transportation options and impacts, and encouraging them to participate in decision-making so that the needs of different communities (cyclists, commuters, disabled, elderly people, school children, pedestrians, drivers, etc.) can be understood and accounted for.
- Anticipating environmental or social impacts of transportation-related decisions rather than trying to react to them after they have occurred. This can

result in considerable cost savings since transportation decisions often involve costly, long-term infrastructure investments.

From the foregoing, a successful coordination mechanism among stakeholders in the public transport sector can be measured by the existence of a public transport system which is capable of tackling public transport problems. Crucially, institutional coordination mechanisms in the planning process will be effective in tackling transport problems under the following conditions:

- Involvement of citizens in the policy development and planning processes: Citizens' contribution of their views and consultation is vital if processes for public transport planning around which institutions coordinate are to reflect people's needs and preferences. In other words, the efficacy of institutional coordination in the planning process will be measured by the willingness of the citizens to implement public transport schemes.
- Involvement of institutional stakeholders (both public and private).
- Producing city and transport plans which reflect realistic socio-economic, cultural and environmental conditions in a city.

The above three attributes lie at the centre of investigation in this study about why it is difficult to attain an effective institutional coordination in planning for public transportation. Generally, knowledge is inadequate in sustainable public transport literature concerning sub-Saharan African on how barriers arise and what people think about the ways to improve coordination among transport planning institutions. This knowledge gap leads to the following research question namely: **what is an effective framework for institutional coordination in planning for public transportation suited to the cities of sub-Saharan Africa?**

1.3 Objectives of the study

The overall aim of this study was to propose a new approach to institutional coordination in the planning process for public transport which takes into account existing cultural and socioeconomic conditions of cities of Africa south of Sahara. Normatively, this research is based on the idea that effective institutional coordination in the planning process will lead to improved public transportation.

As stressed above, successful institutional coordination to tackle public transport problems depends on: (i) citizens' participation (ii) involvement of all key stakeholders in the planning process (iii) a planning system anchored on realistic socio-economic, traditional, cultural and environmental conditions of cities.

This study examines how factors that hinder correct application of the above attributes in the planning process arise and how they constrain institutional coordination.

Furthermore, the study examines the weakness and strengths of different stakeholders in promoting institutional coordination in the planning process through interviews with stakeholders. As a conclusion, this study recommends a framework for institutional coordination taking into consideration recommendations from stakeholders interviewed in this study and conclusions of workshops in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi.

1.4 Methodology

The methodological approach used in this study is based on inductive inquiry. The authors administered semi-structured questionnaires in the form of focus group interviews. Interviews involved officials in institutions that actively deal with city and transport planning, government departments, institutions that formulate urban transport policies, institutions both private and public that are involved in the operation of the public transport sector and state institutions that deal with the management of the urban environment. The first phase of the field work was carried out in April and May 2007 in both Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi.

The research work began with an inventory exercise – to identify various actors, both private and public, which had a stake in the public transport sector either in the aspects of planning, organisation or operations. Public transport stakeholders that were traditionally inactive or neglected in the planning process were shortlisted and considered for interviews. The majority of the focus group interview sessions involved more than four persons and were moderated as a form of dialogue discussion. The interviews contained a series of open and closed-ended questions and were structured differently according to the category of respondents. Appendix 1 shows a set of questions that were discussed during the interviews.

In Dar-es-Salaam, institutions that were picked for interviews were: The Ministry of Health; Surface and Martine Transport Authority (SUMATRA); Dar-es-Salaam Commuter Bus Owners' Association (DARCOBOA); The Dar-es-Salaam City Council; Dar-es-Salaam Rapid Transit Agency (DART); National Institute of Transport (NIT); The Dar-es-Salaam Regional Traffic Police Authority; National Environment Management Council (NEMC); and Ardhi University.

In Nairobi, institutions that were picked for the interviews included: Blue Shield Insurance Company Limited; Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Nairobi; Ministry of Health; Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA); Kenya Revenue Authority and Transport Licensing Board; Ministry of Roads and Public Works; Ministry of Transport; Nairobi Central Business District Association (NCBDA); Nairobi City Council; Officer Commanding Traffic – Nairobi Area; National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA); Public Service Vehicles Owners Welfare Association (POWA). The authors reviewed information from secondary sources, including national laws, policies, reports, communications, studies, and medium and long-term development plans to verify data collected from the interviews and strengthen possible gaps.

The second phase of the field work was carried out in April 2008. In this phase workshops were conducted in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi during which the results of the interviews in the first phase field work were presented to stakeholders. The workshops' participants included all stakeholders that were involved in the focus group interviews a year earlier in April/May 2007. The workshops provided the opportunity for stakeholders to share mutual concerns and different experiences and created a harmonious climate for joint brainstorming on possible ways for institutional coordination. An all-inclusive mechanism for institutional coordination in the planning process was the gist of the workshop discussions. Presentations, plenary discussions and focus group discussions were adopted as the methodology for the

workshop. Research data obtained from different documents, interview results, workshops' conclusions and practices of city and transport planning in sub-Saharan African cities were analysed using different theoretical models, concepts and frameworks (presented in the Section 1.5) with regard to institutional coordination in the planning for public transport.

1.5 Research approach

Regulation of public transport has undergone significant shifts internationally over the past three decades. The rise of privatisation of public sector enterprises, which started in the UK and the USA, eventually focused on public transport as a sector worthy of reform. Deregulation was prompted in response to increasing subsidy levels required from governments; consumer dissatisfaction; and increasing pressure from private operators to enter the market. The model of deregulation and privatisation adopted in the UK was subsequently used in many developing countries in the 1980s (Kane, 2003), although as will be seen in Chapter Two, the entrance of private operators in the public transport sector in sub-Saharan Africa cities was caused by the collapse of public transport corporations. As many actors have now become involved in the public transport sector, effective planning of this sector will depend on cohesion between the various sectors – public, private, voluntary, community – and relies on the development of structures and processes which support collaboration.

Over many years during the colonial period and after independence, in most sub-Saharan African cities the public sector was largely responsible for the planning and operations of public transportation (see Chapter Two). By then, institutional coordination in planning processes was less complicated because few stakeholders were involved in the public transport sector. Today, the sector involves a great number of private actors. Such proliferation of new actors has partly contributed to the impaired quality of mobility in urban areas due to conflicting interests among stakeholders in the planning and operational processes. Chapter Two shows that there is no clearly defined public transportation plan in most of the cities in sub-Saharan Africa. This has led to inefficient public transport systems in cities, yet such transport systems have continued to support the functioning of the cities. Currently, there are some kinds of public transport schemes supported by semi or unstructured cooperation/coordination involving public and private sectors that keep existing public transportation to function. Such quasi-coordination arrangements can be the basis for evolving new and effective arrangements of institutional coordination for all relevant actors in the planning process if strategic restructuring is sought. In view of the large number of actors now involved in the public transport sector the concept of 'partnership' is adopted in this study. The concept of partnership is a tool to examine the strength and weakness of different schemes with respect to how different stakeholders are involved in planning and implementation. Other relevant theoretical concepts that are crucial in this analysis include sustainable transportation, governance, path dependence, institution, stakeholder, and intellectual capital, models of coordination and Institutional Analysis and Development IAD framework. These are highlighted below in brief:

Sustainable public transportation

The concept of sustainable public transportation is inextricably intertwined with the concept of sustainable development. The concept of sustainability reflects one of the

most fundamental human desires supported by virtually all philosophies to create a better future world. According to Brundtland Commission (1987), sustainable development 'meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.'(WCED, 1987, p.43). Although this concept has variously been characterised by researchers and policy makers as vague, yet it is founded on the need to redress the balance between economic, social and environmental priorities. Economic development relates to the growth in the economy over time and how this is reflected in the wealth of individual countries. Social development addresses the question of the distribution of wealth between individuals (social equity) and over space (spatial equity). Environment development is the protection of the environment, both in terms of maintaining the current stock of environmental resources – *intragenerational* – and in terms of bequeathing to subsequent generations a stock that has not been substantially depleted – *intergenerational* (Banister, 2005b). In addition, there are two other important factors. Implementation of sustainable development requires all actors to be involved in that process – private individuals, companies, industries and governments must all 'buy in' to proposals being considered. Exclusion from the process means that it is much harder to develop strategies for change. The second factor is the role of government in achieving sustainable development. Sustainable development is all embracing and requires new thinking so that cross-sectoral decisions can be made. This in turn means that both the responsibilities and resources should be reallocated between departments to facilitate action (Banister, 2005b).

From the foregoing, the concept of sustainable development provides guidance for long-term, strategic decision-making and emphasises the integrated nature of human activities and therefore the importance of comprehensive planning that coordinates between sectors, jurisdictions and groups (VTPI, i). The concept of sustainable development links directly to the concept of sustainable transportation, the goal of which is to ensure that environment, social and economic considerations are factored into decisions affecting transportation activity. Public transportation forms part of a wider integrated sustainable transport strategy. An effective institutional coordination mechanism is crucial in enabling integrating transport and land use decisions in the planning process to achieve sustainable transport. In principle, a city's public transport ought to fulfil the following basic requirements:

Access: People are entitled to diversified transportation options, giving them more choices as to how they meet their basic access needs.

Equity*:* People are entitled to a transportation system that ensures social, intra-generational and inter-generational equity, meeting the basic transportation-related needs of all people including women, the poor, the elderly, young people and the disabled.

Health and Safety: Transportation systems ought to be operated in a way that protects the health (physical, mental and social well-being) and safety of all people, and enhances the quality of life in communities.

Pollution Prevention*:* Transportation needs must be met without generating emissions that threaten public health, global climate, biological diversity or the integrity of essential ecological processes.

Land and Resource Use: Transportation systems must be well integrated with town planning and they should be designed to make efficient use of land for urban development.

Economical Transportation: The cost of transportation ought to be designed in a way that guarantees accessibility to all the people, but transportation should also be operated in such a way that revenue is generated to cover its operating costs.

Partnership

The concept of 'partnership' involves two or more actors, at least one of which is public. A partnership is often characterised as a working relationship between stakeholders with mutual and equal participation, joint interest and shared responsibilities. Processes in a partnership are typically transparent and based on an open dialogue. As Sorensen and Torfing (2007) remind us, the many reports about the failure of national governments to solve concrete policy problems and exploit new opportunities through hierarchical command and control have triggered an increasing use of market regulation in the provision of public goods and services. This has led to widespread privatisation of public enterprises since the early 1980s, including those in the public transport sector. Transport planning processes became considerably more complex in the 1980s and 1990s as a result of a process of state withdrawal from direct transport provision, thus increasing the number of participants in policy processes (Vigar, 2002). However, the delivery of services by enterprises according to market regulation fails to reduce the need for state regulation, which seems to grow rather than diminish in the face of increased marketisation. There is also the failure to facilitate collective orientated and pro-active 'governance' on the basis of joint objectives and mutual trust among different enterprises (Sorensen and Torfing, 2007). In order to compensate for the limits and failures of both state regulation and market regulation, new forms of negotiated 'governance' through the formation of public-private partnerships have mushroomed. In a partnership arrangement each participant is principal and capable of bargaining on its own behalf, rather than having to refer back to other sources of authority, and participants must have a good deal of latitude for action (Peter, 1998). Kinds of circumstances in which no single actor can solve a problem alone or compel others to seek effective solutions are precisely the sort that propel formation of partnerships. Through the spirit of partnerships among stakeholders, there tends to be a certain number of shared values among the participants, as well as some common policy goals so that they are symbolic as well as utilitarian components of the relationship. Partnerships are designed as horizontal networks rather than top-down hierarchies common to government bureaucracies.

Governance

Governance can be seen as the process through which local political institutions implement their programmes in concert with civil society actors and interests, and within which these actors and interests gain (potential) influence over urban politics (Pierre, 1998). Governance refers to a broad category of management practices, distinguishable from the more specific term of government. It incorporates elements which, in conventional terms, are often considered to be outside the public policy process. These include the private sector, civil associations, community organisations and social movements. An approach to urban analysis based on governance allows all the stakeholders in the unfolding process to be taken on board, not only state actors (Tostensen et al., 2001).

Application of the concept partnership in the structures of institutional coordination in tackling public transport problems requires adherence of good principles of

governance. Certainly, heterogeneous groups have the potential to provide the needed creativity and perspectives to tackle the difficult and multifarious dimensions of sustainable development, but incompatibility of interests and the absence of norms are likely to produce decision processes where actors seek self-satisfaction and reward, thus generating conflict and sub-optimal outcomes (Boyer and Crémieux, 1999). In view of that, elevation of good governance principles in the form of activating leaders in all institutional settings involved in the planning process is crucial. Such leaders need to be able to build consensus, to organise participation and cooperation, to mobilise actors, to mediate conflicts, to foster social learning and to promote creativity and innovation.

Carefully and balanced design of an institutional structure is an essential function of governance and this is inextricably linked to leadership. Good leadership can be seen in well-balanced institutional designs, and the absence of good leadership can be reflected in imbalanced or insufficiently articulated institutional structures. The exercise of leadership does not necessarily take the form of actions by the leaders themselves. Leadership may be disguised as scope of rules (limiting the possible outcomes to those acceptable to leaders, or to the interests they represent), or they may be found in the acts of a special position-holder such as the review committee that has the authority to maintain or interpret the rules (Klok and Dentas, 2005). They might also be found in the selection of actors that become holders of a certain position (for example, the city planners chosen to develop a plan).

Institution

The concept of institution can be viewed from the internal patterns of behaviour and ways of working, as well as the collective values, knowledge and relationship that exist within any organisation in society. Institutions signify rules norms and codes of conduct structuring interaction among individuals, firms and organisations (actors) at one or several scales, providing opportunities and constraints for interaction outcome (Rader Olsson, 2008). Institutions can be characterised in the following four types (Stough and Rietveld, 2005):

- *Informal institutions*: They hold deeply embedded values, norms, practices, customs, and traditions. They are powerful conditioners of behaviour but for most part change very slowly. When an informal institution does change, there may be rapid and profound behaviour change. As Dorn (2002) points out, the terrorist attack of 11 September 2001 changed many aspects of American lives, including the transport arena – since that day, transit agencies across the USA have voluntarily and enthusiastically partnered the Federal Transit Administration (FTA) in bringing their systems to a new level of security.
- *Formal institutions*: Involve codified statutes, constitutional provisions, laws, regulations, and high level administrative orders. They focus on such issues as property rights and judicial and administrative orders. Formal institutions may change more quickly than informal, but tend to be stable over fairly long periods (decades) unless there are radical changes in the environment.
- *Governance institutions*: In these institutions change occurs with greater frequency, often measured in years rather than decades. Governance institutions involve rules (minor laws, administrative orders, regulations, and policy directives) that function to maintain or change how government and

related organisations, such as planning and zoning boards, conduct business and direct transactions with other actors and agents.

- Finally, *the diverse actions and behaviour patterns of multiple actors* in the decision environment, ranging from government agencies to commercial companies and to non-profit organisations (for example, neighbourhood organisations). Institutions at this level are about allocating resources to operations designed to influence individual and organisational outcomes. These institutions change almost continuously because they have widely distributed consequences. However, the consequences at the societal level are small and often relatively insignificant in terms of long-run outcomes. They involve decisions and actions about production, delivery, resource acquisition and use and process, and occur in a context measured in days, weeks and months. Decisions about a zoning variance request or a fare level change for a transit system are examples of this fourth level of institution (Stough and Rietveld, 2005).

Stakeholders

The usage of the term 'stakeholder' in public transportation occurs in a very general manner, referring to all agencies and individuals who might be deemed to have an interest in the public transportation sector. The term covers individual citizens acting on their own rights; residents' associations or local pressure groups; and major actors including central and local governments, government departments, public agencies, private organisations and associations (Evans, 2005). Although the concept of stakeholder entails individuals or organisations with a stake in an issue, in practice not all stakeholders have the opportunity to participate in planning or decisions regarding the issue in which they have a stake.

In the planning for public transportation, stakeholders can be involved formally and informally through so-called deliberative assemblies. These assemblies are arenas which reveal how governing occurs, the character of politics and policy-making, and the possibilities of collective learning and conflict resolutions (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). In deliberative processes, concepts such as *policy discourses, policy communities, policy arenas* and *policy networks* become crucial. *Policy discourses* are a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities (Hajer, 1995). A discourse is said to structure a given debate when it requires stakeholders to refer to its concepts, arguments and methods in order to justify a course of action. *Policy communities* encapsulate the concept of stakeholders including all those potentially affected by events of a certain policy (Vigar, 2002). *Policy arenas* make up the institutional 'sites' where policy is discussed. An examination of such arenas can highlight the type of relations that exist among stakeholders – key arenas may be formal mechanisms such as a development plan inquiry, or informal contact attained through regular contact. *Policy networks* relate to how stakeholders coalesce around a particular discourse: Network concepts thus provide a way of categorising both the important linkages between actors within and between policy systems, and also provide a means of identifying the importance of such relations in the determination of policy (ibid).

Institutional Analysis and Development (AID) framework

The AID framework is a tool that is crucial to examine how a framework for institutional coordination could be formed according to the consent of stakeholders in the studied cities of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi. AID framework facilitates knowledge about relevant actors in terms of their behaviour, intentions, interrelations, agenda, interest and the influence or the resources they have brought (or could bring) to bear on the decision-making process. The (IAD) framework combines actor-centred and institution-centred approaches to the analysis of the policy-making process, and also relates to the theories of actor-centred institutionalism (Ostrom, 2005). Institutionalism is usually described in different forms, including *'new institutionalism'* sometimes known as *'value institutionalism'*, '*rational institutionalism'*, and '*historical institutionalism'* (Peters, 1998). With *value institutionalism,* the values that are embodied within the institution create a 'logic of appropriateness' that guides the behaviour of individuals embedded within the institution. For the members of the institution there is a common understanding about what should be done by the institution and what actions would tend to fall outside their common value framework. *Rational institutionalism* relates more to the rules that shape individual behaviour within those structures rather than the values that may permeate them. These rules 'prescribe', 'proscribe' and 'permit' actions by members of the institutions and often by institution acting collectively. As for *Historical institutionalism*, the fundamental concept here is that the conditions and ideas central to the founding of an institution are also crucial to understanding its subsequent behaviour, and will continue to influence the types of policies that it will make (Peters, 1998).

In order to identify resistance points of different stakeholders and the potential sources of support and thus to be able to offer a viable policy solution in line with AID, it is necessary to map correctly the institutional and stakeholder terrain (Aligica, 2005). Thus, the central unit of analysis in AID framework is the 'action arena'. Action arenas include both an'action situation', and the actors involved in that situation (Ostrom, 2005). Interviews and workshops in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam and subsequent examination epitomised the AID framework. The inquiries for selected interviewed stakeholders in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi dwelt on exploring the quality of existing institution coordination mechanisms and their future reformation prospects such as: i) whether certain sectors/agencies are not able or willing to participate in the process, ii) domination of some institutions in the collaboration process, iii) transparency in the policy processes, iv) biased outcomes towards the interests of sectors that collaborate, v) conclusiveness of deliberative process, vi) whether conflicts get resolved or vii) whether public officials abuse power in the participatory process, viii) the manner in which ideals of sustainable public transportation determine the collaborative planning process, and ix) the desired framework for institutional coordination that could be effective in the planning for public transportation.

The AID approach tries to combine conceptual simplicity with empirical realism in capturing the normative, cognitive and institutional patterns defining the actors' decision-making in concrete 'action arenas': rules of the game, incentive systems, knowledge and information, routines, customs and so on (Ostrom et al., 1994; Ostrom 2005). As Aligica (2005) highlights, the task of the investigator applying the AID framework is to identify in any social situation or institutional arrangement the

relevant actors, the institutional levels or action arenas in play, to disentangle these arenas, to explore how they generate interaction in the specific setting they create, and to trace the problems to those interactions while exploring the possible solutions.

Institutional path dependence

Path dependence is an important approach for exploring the role of decision-making on the development and impact of specific technologies or technical systems. The theory focuses attention on the means by which choices are made, the connection of those choices to future options and sequences of events, and to outcome (Melosi, 2005) Social scientists, especially economists, began exploring path dependence theory in the mid-1980s. Although definitions vary, simply put, path dependence exists 'when the present state of a system is constrained by its history' (Hirsch and Gillespie, 2001)

Constrained institutional coordination can arise from existing policies and discourses that inform a planning system. As highlighted (Vigar, 2002), when discourses become institutionalised they become powerful and ' a strong discourse provides legitimate reasons for ignoring some evidence, some values and claims for policy attention'. Issues can become 'black boxed' and the assumptions that underpin a particular practice are rarely challenged. As a consequence, old ways of doing things can become fixed as proponents defend their position as 'every proposal for innovation is an implicit criticism of existing practice'. Relating to this study, the path dependence concept embodies how institutional coordination in the planning for public transport can be hindered by various institutional barriers that are deeply rooted in existing individual organisational frameworks of public transport actors that govern the interaction among them.

Coordination Models

Different approaches of institutional coordination and levels of formality are in use in various parts of the world too, which affects the quality of the planning process. These can range from totally informal/no formality to completely formal and integrated approaches. The decision-making process of formal coordination can range from centralised control by a single organisation to a collaborative, consensus-based format. Informal coordination, on the other hand, is the cumulative result of many individual decisions that work with conditions favouring development of informal ties which are not necessarily based on any direct or formal coordination procedures (Miller and Lam, 2003). Integrated coordinated approach is the hybrid of formal and informal coordination approaches in planning processes. Hybrid approaches may be taken depending on existing conditions in site-specific city regions, including metropolitan geographical size, number of public transport agencies, and existence of metropolitan organisations (ibd.).

Intellectual capital

A city's stock of intellectual capital is a combination of its human and organisational capital, which in turn includes social, innovative and process capital (Pricewaterhouse Cooper, 2005):

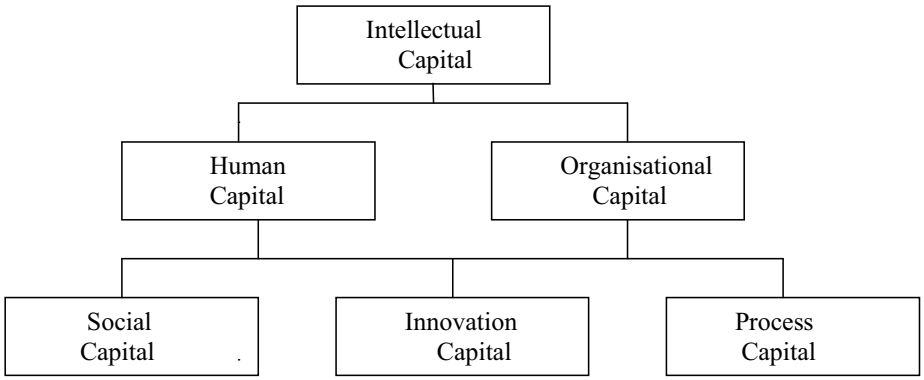

Figure 1:1. Components of intellectual capital (source: Edivinsson and Bounfour, 2005).

Human capital: Human capital represents one of the most important sources of value. It provides knowledge, creativity and the ability to innovate. It refers to staff within public sector organisations, as well as citizens and customers.

Organisational capital: Organisational capital refers to all non-human stocks of knowledge embedded in hardware, databases and the concepts and values, organisational structures and guiding principles of organisations or companies that support people's everyday work. Organisational capital includes research and development programmes, systems of education, fiscal policies, public procurement policies and management tools, and crucially refers to the organisation culture of leadership

Social capital: Key elements of social capital include trust or trust relationships, reciprocity, networks and partnership. This capital increases efficiency in the development of a city through trust and honesty and it encourages better performance, as well as encouraging people to honour commitments voluntarily. Social cohesion is crucial in the concept of social capital – common values, civic culture, social order and social network. The complex ways in which different sectors of civil society build and maintain capacity (economic, social and mutual support) for action to promote the needs of different groups is encompassed in the concept of social capital.

Process capital: Process capital refers to the internal processes used by an organisation and its staff including learning and creating knowledge, building social capital and trust and innovation, process of recruitment and leadership and business process. This capital is essential for cities to differentiate from one another in terms of, for example, how problems of public transport are tackled.

***Innovative capital*:** Innovative capital refers to the ability of a city to focus on developing and enhancing and revitalising its intellectual capital. This capital is essential in creating competitiveness and enabling a city to cope with emerging challenges of planning.

Chapter Two

2.0 Case studies: Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi

The cities of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi represent the case studies through which institutional coordination was examined here in the processes of tackling problems of public transportation. The basic argument in this study is that cities of sub-Saharan Africa share in many ways similar issues that cause the problems of urbanisation including those of public transportation. Constraints of institutional coordination in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi and the ideas generated by stakeholders in both cities regarding the prospects for improving institutional coordination in the planning process were examined and compared with similar analyses for sub-Saharan African cities. Dar-es-salaam and Nairobi as case studies constitute 'action arenas' in which 'action situation', i.e. public transport situation and modes of institutional coordination mechanism, are examined. In this process, institutional arrangement, relevant actors, the institutional levels were identified and examined regarding how they generate interaction in tackling problems of public transportation. This analysis enables problems of interaction among institutions in the coordination mechanism to be traced and possible solutions to be explored.

A brief description of the historical dynamics of public transport development in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi sets the scene for examining the factors that condition current institutional coordination in tackling problems of public transportation. Elements linked to the description of the dynamics of public transportation include population growth, spatial growth, the quality of public transportation, and overall planning intervention to tackle problems of public transportation.

2.1 Dar-es-Salaam

In 1891, the German colonial power proclaimed Dar-es-Salaam the capital of Tanzania. The role of Dar-es-Salaam as the seat of government was maintained by the British colonial administrators when they took over from the Germans after the First World War in 1919. Dar-es-Salaam continued to be the capital after independence in 1961. In 1973, after eighty-two years as the capital, the government of Tanzania decided to move the national capital from Dar-es-Salaam to Dodoma, about 500 kilometres inland to the west of Dar-es-Salaam. The arguments cited for the transfer of the capital were that Dar-es-Salaam was growing rapidly into an outdated city with limited economic expansion and congested transport facilities (URT, 1976). The shifting of the capital from Dar-es-Salaam was partly aimed at decongesting the growth of Dar-es-Salaam and promoting other growth centres in the upcountry regions (Kanyama et al., 2004).

Even with the relocation of the seat of Government, Dar-es-Salaam still continued to be an attractive, cosmopolitan city that continued to grow. It has been the dominant focus of most development, the antithesis of what Tanzania had aimed for, and is growing at a pace which is already damaging the urban environment (Kanyama et al., 2004). The government of Tanzania attempted to revise the Master Plan for 1979 in

the 1990s in order to ease the problems emerging in the city, without success. Increasing public transport problems in Dar-es-Salaam is one example.

The dynamics of public (bus) transport and management in Dar-es-Salaam

Before independence

Public (bus) transport in Dar-es-Salaam dates back to the British colonial era when in 1949 a privately owned British company known as the Dar-es-Salaam Motor Transport Company (DMT) was started to provide bus services in the city. The DMT's transport services were confined within the (then) officially recognised urbanised area of about 2-3 kilometres radius. Today, the radius of urbanised area is more than 32 kilometres (Kanyama, 2004). In the 1940s, the colonial policies were prohibitive for Tanzania's population to migrate into the cities. This policy meant that Dar-es-Salaam's population remained relatively low until during independence in 1961. In view of this, bus transport services that DMT provided before independence corresponded to a great extent with the existing demand to travel at that time as a result of the smaller size of the city and its population size.

After independence

In 1970, DMT was nationalised, and in 1974 it was renamed Usafiri Dar-es-Salaam (UDA). UDA became owned jointly by Dar-es-Salaam City Council with 51% of the shares, and the National Transport Company (a government agency) holding 49% of the shares (Kombe et al., 2003). As the sole provider of bus services in Dar-es-Salaam, UDA operated fairly satisfactorily immediately after it acquired the assets of DMT. It inherited good large-sized buses that were well-suited to the city's public transportation. It also carried forward DMT's basic transport planning skills among its staff, namely planning for bus route networks, number of routes, route length, bus terminals and principal bus stop locations. In the 1980s the government of Tanzania faced financial hardship which made it unable to support the public transport sector in Dar-es-Salaam. Bus services operations were on the brink of collapse and the lack of qualified workers in the sector undermined further the quality of transport services. Commuters often reported to work late due to poor public transport services (Kanyama et al., 2004).

Emergence of privately owned dala-dala buses

Private mini-bus transport operators popularly known as 'dala-dala' emerged in the late 1970 and early 1980s due to the gross failure of UDA to provide transport services to meet the public travel demand. When dala-dalas first emerged, the government prohibited their operation but this intervention was ineffectual because the government had no other viable alternative to solve the problems of public transportation in the city as demand for travelling continued to soar. For that reason, in 1983 the Government of Tanzania allowed the operation of dala-dalas to ease the city's transport problem. A dala-dala transport operator can own a single to several operating old bus vehicles usually poorly maintained. Employees in the dala-dala industry are usually underpaid and lack a social support net. The official permission allowing dala-dala to provide services in Dar-es-Salaam obliged the government to set

up a framework for the operations of the dala-dala buses. The Central Transport Licensing Authority (CTLA), a department within the Ministry of Communication and Transport, was given the responsibility for issuing licences to vehicles operating in Dar-es-Salaam. All the operators had to apply to the CTLA for licences and route permits. The CTLA did not issue licences based on the right to ply specific routes, but instead issued permits and road licences valid on all Dar-es-Salaam roads. For that reason, competition and chaos among dala-dala operators became common as buses could operate on any route which they thought had more passengers (Kanyama et al., 2004).

Acknowledging the shortfall in tackling public transport problems in Dar-es-Salaam, the government, through the Regional Commissioner Office in Dar-es-Salaam initiated a takeover of management of dala-dala services from the CTLA. In 1999, the Regional Commissioner formed an agency – the Dar-es-Salaam Region Transport Licensing Authority (DRTLA) – to license commuter buses within the Dar-es-Salaam region. Licensed vehicles were expected to operate on specific roads. Each route was allocated a certain number of vehicles, and each vehicle was painted a particular colour to signify a specific service route (Kanyama et. al., 2004). Such transport management interventions by the DRTLA failed to ease the problems of public transport in Dar-es-Salaam. Today, public transport is managed by a new organisation, the Surface Martine Transport Authority (SUMATRA), although its public transport management practice is not specifically distinct from that of DRTLA.

2.2 Nairobi

In 1898 Nairobi was conceived as a railway encampment and as a headquarters during the building of the Uganda Railway from Mombasa to Kampala by the British colonial government. In 1919 Nairobi became a municipality characterised by a grid-iron street pattern in the central area. In 1928 the local Government commission redrew the boundaries of Nairobi to absorb more of the 'autonomous' and racially segregated residential areas. From 1928 to 1963, the municipal boundaries remained substantially the same with minor additions. In 1948 the Master Plan for Nairobi was prepared by the Nairobi Municipal Council as a first major town planning concept to promote land use control within and outside the central area of Nairobi. It earmarked land for residential, industrial and other uses and introduced the principles of neighbourhood units and planned road network. In 1950, the city of Nairobi was proclaimed (Obudho, 1997). Because of persistent problems in the city, the government of Kenya decided to prepare a strategic plan for Nairobi, but lack of implementation of this scheme has been partly the cause of continuing transport problems in Nairobi.

History of public transport institutions in Nairobi

Before 1934, there were no public transport services in Nairobi. However, the expansion of Nairobi as an industrial hub and administrative capital increased the need for public transport. Leaders of Nairobi Municipality signed an agreement with the Overseas Motor Transport Company (OTC) of London in the early 1930s for the latter to provide public transport in Nairobi. Consequently, in 1934 the OTC established the Kenya Services Limited (KBS), which was given the exclusive franchise of carrying fare-paying passengers in and around Nairobi (Obudho, 1997; Asingo, 2004). During this time the demand for public transport was low, consisting mainly of European and Asian expatriates and a growing number of African workers (Obudho, 1997).

During Kenya's independence in 1963, Nairobi had a population of about 350,000 people, which increased to about 1.3 million people in 1989 and now the population stands at more than 3.2 million people (UNEP, 2005). The inherited transport patterns after independence, together with the additional travel generated mainly by an increased population, exerted demands on the urban form and its infrastructure that they were ill-equipped to meet. KBS, in which Nairobi City Council owned 25% equity shares, was unable to purchase new buses to boost its bus fleet to match the increased travel demand due to financial constraints (Asingo, 2004).

The inability of the Kenya Bus services (KBS) to meet the public transport demand in the city led to the entrance of transport operators popularly known as matatu into the public transport sector in early 1970s. The arrival of matatus as public transport operators in Nairobi was supported by a presidential decree on 1 June 1973, which legitimised services in Nairobi (Asingo, 2004). In 1998, a consortium of local investors took over the activities of KBS. On the whole, the main actors that provide public transport services in Nairobi include City Hoppa, a private bus operator, matatu operators and the Kenya Bus service Management ltd (KBS). However, matatus predominate as de facto public transit in Nairobi. Matatu bus operation relies on a multitude of small enterprises – operators can own a single bus vehicle or more. Typical matatu bus vehicles include the small- and medium-capacity minibuses, often old and poorly maintained vehicles which accentuate problems of traffic congestion and air pollution. For the majority of urban residents in Nairobi, the primary means of urban transport is walking. The central business district in Nairobi is characterised by intense congestion of walking people and vehicles and travelling even short distances by motor vehicle can take an inordinate amount of time. Sidewalks for pedestrians are inadequate, and many compete with vehicles for travel space on the side of roads, which increases the risks of road accidents. Idling of vehicles due to congestion exacerbates air pollution on the roads.

2.3 Similar dynamics of public transportation in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi

As shown in sections 2.1 and 2.2 above, there is a striking similarity in the dynamics of failure to tackle problems of public transportation in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam.

After independence of Kenya and Tanzania in the early 1960s, the growth of Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam cities occurred rapidly in terms of population increase and urban physical expansion. The colonial authorities controlled the growth of population in the cities by restricting rural urban migration, which meant that problems of public transportation were less significant than they are today. City authorities in Dar-es-

Salaam and Nairobi both had significant equity shares in the corporations which operated public transportation during the post-colonial period. As a result, these local authorities were directly involved in the provision of public transport services. However, from early 1970s both city governments were unable to provide efficient transport services and public transport problems started to grow. Although both governments permitted private operators to provide transport services, the quality of public transport systems has continued to deteriorate in both cities. Common problems of public transport in both cities include poor customer services, delays to destinations, congestion, increasing air pollution and accidents. As the problems of public transportation grow, the number of stakeholders to address these problems has been increasing in both cities. Several planning interventions have been carried out including changes of Master Plans in both Dar-es-salaam and Nairobi, as well as privatisation and restructuring of passenger bus services, yet improvement of public transportation remains remote. What is obvious in both Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi is that the number of stakeholders has profoundly increased in the post-independence period. The failure to tackle problems of public transport in these cities is a strong indication of a lack of framework within which different stakeholders could participate to tackle problems of public transport. Later in this chapter, factors (from interviews) that constrain institutional coordination are presented and explained. We then examine how these factors undermine the prospects for coherent institutional coordination in the planning for public transport. Chapter Three presents different recommendations from stakeholders about the desired ways to improve institutional coordination.

In order to find out the factors that constrain institutional coordination and also to solicit views about strategic planning intervention, some central interview questions in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi were formulated using direct and indirect questions to facilitate:

(i) An explanation for why public transport does not improve over the years.
(ii) Assessment and identification of constraints for institutional coordination by interviewees.
(iii) Generation of different views from stakeholders for alternative frameworks for institutional coordination that can be effective in planning for public transportation.

The responses to the above questions in interviews and workshops in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi provided the opportunities for different stakeholders to point out some of the reasons for the persistence of public transport problems and the reasons for the failures of attempted planning interventions. Furthermore, stakeholders were able to suggest different viewpoints they thought were necessary to improve the framework for institutional coordination in the planning process. Examination of the interview responses for questions (i) and (ii) form Chapter Two of this report, while responses to interview question (iii) are examined in Chapter Three. Tables 2.1 and 2.2 present the results of interviews for question (i) for Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam respectively. Stakeholders that were interviewed about these questions in Nairobi included Blue Shield Insurance, Department of Urban and Regional planning, University of Nairobi, Ministry of Health, Kenya Institute of Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA), Kenya Revenue Authority, Ministry of Roads and Public Works, Ministry of Transport, Nairobi Central Business District Association, Nairobi City Council, National Environment Management Authority (NEMA) and Public Service Vehicle Owners Welfare Association (POWA). Stakeholders that were interviewed about

these questions in Dar-es-Salaam included the Ministry of Health, Surface and Martine Transport Authority (Sumatra), Dar-es-Salaam Commuter Bus Owners Association (DARCOBOA), Dar-es-Salaam Rapid Transit Agency (DART), National Institute of Transit (NIT), Dar-es-Salaam Regional Traffic Commander, National Environmental Management Council (NEMC) and Ardhi University.

2.4 Results

This section presents results of the two main questions which probe the causes for persistence of public transport problems despite different planning intervention and factors that constrain institutional coordination in the planning for public transport.

Why public transport problems persist

Different reasons that were presented by stakeholders in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam are outlined in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 respectively.

Table 2.1 Reasons for persistence of public transport problems in Nairobi
Lack of a national transport policy and a political will to improve public transport
A few influential people exploit the situation to make money by e.g. selling vehicles to matatu operators. Big stakeholders such as the matatu cartels are only interested in making money – individual rather than public interests take precedence.
Apathy: The general public has developed apathy because of corruption and chronic public transport problems – public resistance to following traffic rules.
Politics: Politicians negate technicians' ideas to improve public transport.
Poor law enforcement by those responsible.
Politicians' disregard of recommendations by technicians .
Opposition of changes: Decisions in the planning process for public transportation involve stakeholders that gain and those that lose. Those who lose always try to oppose new decisions.
Fear of changes, e.g. there was a fear of what would happen to the matatus bus industry if 14 passenger vehicles were prohibited from operating.
Inadequate budget for many planning initiatives.
Lack of vision for the city – planning in Kenya puts little emphasis on the public good or services; attention is given to those who can pay for services.
Poor enforcement of public transport policies.
Poor traffic management plans.
Lack of a plan for public transport
Abuse of power through corruption in different stages of planning and management of public transport

Table 2.2 Reasons for persistence of public transport problems in Dar-es-Salaam
Poverty: - Inadequate finance from the government to plan and implement programmes. - Operators' poor financial position, which leads to importation of poor quality vehicles. - Inability of people to pay higher fares. - Fear of increasing unemployment and poverty if existing bus service is replaced.
Corruption: - Strong stakeholders with vested interest resist changes so as to continue exploiting the chaotic transport situation.
Lack of robust plans for public transportation.
Lack of a comprehensive plan for the development of Dar-es-Salaam.
Rigid planning standards which do not take into account current condition of urbanisation in Dar-es-Salaam.
Apathy: People are not keen to follow regulations.
Poor enforcement of traffic management regulations
Lack of political will to support planning and implementation of plans

The question posed here regarding why public transport conditions did not improve over the years in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi revealed a number of similar causes, as shown in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. These causes can be summarised in four main themes:

- Lack of vision for cities. This has led to unrealistic physical/transport planning schemes and poor practices of traffic management which fail to respond to current public needs of public transportation.
- Poverty. This occurs in the form of government financial inability to support production and implementation of plans, inability of public transport operators to import good quality vehicles and inability of people to pay higher fares to sustain public transport system.
- Unwillingness for change. Planning is feared from unpredictable change that may accompany it. One such fear is increased unemployment if current public transport systems which engage a great number of young people, were to be replaced. The other concerns those decision-makers who have vested interests in the current public transport system, who may see their economic advantages diminished if the current system is replaced.
- Lack of political commitment and corruption. This occurs in the form of suppressing constructive views from technocrats in favour of schemes which lack robust professional support. Acts of corruption have exacerbated production of poor schemes and enforcement of traffic management schemes, which has bred apathy.

Weaknesses and constraints for institutional coordination

Different reasons were given by different stakeholders concerning inclusiveness, constraints and the general weaknesses of the current institution coordination in planning for public transport in Dar-es-salaam and Nairobi. Tables 2.3, 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6 outline the results.

Table 2.3 Involvement of institutions in planning/coordination for public transport in Dar-es-Salaam

Institution	Role of the institution	Involvement in coordinated planning
Ministry of Health	Supposed to regulate public health in the public transport sector	Has not been involved in the planning for public transport
Surface and Martine Transport Authority (Sumatra)	Issuing bus route licences, planning public transportation, issuing transport regulation, monitor performance of operators	Involved mainly with the Dar-es-Salaam City Council
Dar-es-Salaam Commuter Bus Owners Association (DARCOBOA)	Campaigning for the welfare of bus owners and campaigning to change from a chaotic, individual ownership of buses to more manageable corporate companies	Partly involved but not in a coordinated manner
City Council	City council planners ought to coordinate the three local authorities of Dar-es-Salaam with regard to public transportation. Dar-es-Salaam Rapid Transit (DART) is managed by the city Council	Involved but not in a clear coordinated manner
Dar-es-Salaam Rapid Transit (DART)	Has been set up to plan and coordinate, and manage public transport in DSM	Involved but not with all stakeholders
National Institute of Transport (NIT)	Capacity building for the transport sector through training and carrying out research.	Not involved in a clearly coordinated manner
Regional Traffic Commander in Dar-es-Salaam	Enforcement of traffic management measures to ensure smooth flow of public transport from A to Z.	Involved only on ad hoc basis
National Environmental Management Council (NEMC)	Monitoring environmental quality and enforcement of environmental policy	Involved but without a clear structure of coordination
Ardhi University	Conducting research and teaching urban transport related issues	Not involved

Table 2.4 Involvement of institutions in planning/coordination for public transport in Nairobi

Institution	Role of the institution	Involvement in coordinated planning
Blue Shield Insurance	Insurance coverage for public service vehicles and compensation of accident victims	Never approached in the planning process by authorities responsible
Department of Urban and Regional Planning	Train urban planners and to a lesser extent transport planners	Not involved
Ministry of Health	Takes care of victims of road crashes at the hospitals, ought to regulate health aspects on vehicles and ought to give awareness on health aspects of public transportation	Has not been seen as a player in the public transport sector
Kenya Institute of Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA)	Provides public objective policy advice based on research including those of transportation	Ad hoc involvement on issues of planning for public transport
Kenya Revenue Authority	Registration of motor vehicles and the subsequent licensing.	Involved but not in any coordinated way
Ministry of Roads and Public works	Building of road infrastructure	Involved by Nairobi City Council (NCC) when it plans for infrastructure
Ministry of Transport	Policy formulation and also the custodian of transportation legal and regulatory framework.	Not involved in a clearly spelt coordination manner.
Nairobi Central Business District Association	Promoting efficiency of services in Nairobi city	Involved but there is no clear structure of how involvement is coordinated
Nairobi City Council	The custodian of the city planning process in Nairobi	Inadequate practice of coordination due to lack of integrated approach in the planning process
National Environment Management Authority (NEMA	Undertaking Environmental Impact Assessments before roads are constructed. Mandated to ensure clean and healthy environments.	Involved but without a clear structure of how all the key stakeholders are involved
Nairobi Traffic Police	Enforcement of the law and ensuring that traffic rules are followed.	Involved only when reacting to crises
Public Service Vehicles Owners welfare Association (POWA)	Protecting the welfare of public bus operators	Has not been involved in the planning for public transportation

Table 2.5 Constraints for institutional coordination in Dar-es-Salaam
Health aspects are not emphasised in the public transport sector.
Lack of involvement of the public in planning processes.
Lack of incorporation of the current bus operators in the planning processes; disregard of citizens' views in planning for public transport and conflict of interest among stakeholders
Lack of clarity at the City Council on its institutional coordination role because there is no statutory provision to support this in planning for public transport. Likewise, institutional coordination is constrained by lack of funds.
Public transport sector is fragmented, characterised by institutions with conflicting interests. These include SUMATRA, Regional Commissioner, Local Government Authorities, etc. There has never been any holistic planning for public transport after the collapse of UDA.
Some institutions fear that they may lose part of their roles if they work closely with others. Professional input on the issue is usually disregarded.
Lack of a clear regulatory framework in planning the public transport sector.
Poor enthusiasm among stakeholders for tackling together issues in public transportation. Overlap of institutions' responsibilities of public transportation.
Inadequate sources of revenue generation at the City Council restrain planning and implementation. This affects coordination . Government still controls some sources of revenue generation at the local level.

Table 2.6 Constraints for institutional coordination in Nairobi
Stiff competition between the different insurance companies has made coordination difficult.
The Transport Licensing Board (TLB), which is the main transport coordinating body, concentrates on revenue collection and issuing licences. Little emphasis is given to other roles such as route regulation.
Inadequacy of sources of funds at the city council constrains institutional coordination.
Politics – economy nexus has overshadowed efficient coordination mechanism in the sector: Improvement of public transport goes against economic interests of some key decision-makers.
Different institutions draw mandate from different laws. This makes coordination difficult
Availability of financial resources and politics affect negatively or positively coordination in Kenya
There is no law that provides for a framework of coordination among institutions in planning.
There is no clear structure mechanism for institutions in the planning process for public transportation.
Bureaucracy and ineffective ways of communication between different institutions affect coordination negatively.
Coordination fails because of poor enforcement of regulations and implementation of plans.
Coordination is poor because there is no plan for public transportation.
Government reluctance to engage bus owners in policy formulation and also there is no forum for coordination

Stakeholders in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi gave different reasons concerning lack of inclusiveness and the constraints in the general weaknesses in current institutional coordination in planning for public transport in Dar-es-salaam and Nairobi. From the results in Tables 2.3, 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6, the constraints can be summarised into four main themes:

(i) Inadequate citizen participation: Stakeholders who were concerned with citizens' participation argued that there is no institutional coordination that will succeed if citizens, who are the recipients of public transport services are not involved in conceiving the kind of public transport that they want.
(ii) Lack of regulatory framework: Respondents who were concerned with this aspect felt that there were no regulatory frameworks to guide different stakeholders to coordinate in the planning for public transportation.

(iii) Inadequate political and fiscal decentralisation at the local level. It was argued that governments continue to wield some political and financial powers at the local level. Respondents who were concerned with the decentralisation aspect argued that city councils can not execute their duties involving planning and institutional coordination at the local levels if they do not have enough sources to generate revenues and sufficient political power to take necessary decisions. It was argued that local authorities need finance to enable the processes of executing coordination by way of supporting different stages of coordination such as meetings, workshops, modes of communication etc.

(iv) Exclusion of stakeholders in the planning of public transport sector. Stakeholders who were concerned with this aspect argue that there are some sectors that are not considered important in the planning for public transportation. However, most of the stakeholders argue that their involvement in the planning of public transport is ad hoc.

2.5 Analysis in the context of sub-Saharan Africa

The above results from interviews in Dar-es-salaam and Nairobi in sections 2.4 form the basis for examining the issues that constrain institutional coordination in the cities in sub-Saharan Africa using theoretical concepts presented in Chapter One. Aspects that are examined with regard to constraining institutional coordination in the planning process are:

(i) Poorly envisioned cities – lack of realistic physical/ transport planning schemes.
(ii) Poverty.
(iii) Decision-makers' unwillingness for change.
(iv) Lack of political commitment and corruption.
(v) Inadequate citizen participation
(vi) Lack of regulatory framework in planning for public transportation
(vii) Inadequate political and fiscal decentralisation at the local level.
(viii) Exclusion of some stakeholders in the planning of public transport sector:

Poorly envisioned cities — lack of effective physical/transport planning

As summarised in Tables 2.1 and 2.2, the stakeholders interviewed in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam felt that the inability of authorities to tackle public transport problems was due to lack of realistic city plans for public transportation in the respective cities. Such concerns are strengthened by the obvious skewed urbanisation and dynamics of spatial growth of the respective cities based on methods of planning developed during the colonial period – a phenomenon widely evident in all sub-Saharan cities. As Nwaka (2005) stresses, many African cities still bear a heavy imprint of their colonial past, with many of the features of colonial planning and the supporting legal framework largely unchanged. In Dar-es-Salaam, for example, public transport services during the colonial period were confined within the specified urbanised area of about 2-3 kilometre radius. The city's growth was then restricted by prohibitive colonial policies that prevented indigenous Tanzanians migrating into the cities. Indigenous people who were allowed into the city largely comprised those who worked in the colonial administration and its economy. Such policies that controlled

the growth of the city constituted tools which kept the problems of public transportation to a minimum level during the colonial period in Dar-es-Salaam (Kanyama et al., 2004).

Similarly in Nairobi, the demand for public transport was low during the colonial period and travelling consisted mainly of European and Asian expatriates and a few permitted African workers. Major public transport problems in Nairobi emerged after independence owing to increased population and continued centralisation of the civil service, commerce and other service activities in the CBD and industrial area, where it was estimated that over 75% of Nairobi's commuters were employed (Obudho, 1997). Like Dar-es.-Salaam or Nairobi, during the colonial period problems of public transportation in sub-Saharan African cities as a whole were minor because of restrictive policies on rural-urban migration. Such policies were subsequently seen as inappropriate in the post-independence sub-Saharan African cities – moving into the cities was part of the new freedom that enabled people in large numbers to seek employment in the urban areas. Parallel to this post-independence phenomenon, most African city authorities neglected systematic planning in the sector of public transportation by for instance disregarding the link between the quality of public transportation and the growth of cities (Kanyama et al., 2004).

In the colonial era, master planning and its implementation was conducive with public transportation requirements. In post-independence sub-Saharan African cities, the narrow master planning approach has had limited impact on the ground, partly because the authorities had inadequate finance to implement plans, but also because the towns originally designed for much smaller populations in the colonial period are now having to cope with the massive influx of rural migrants (Nwaka, 1992). Planning authorities were stuck with systematic planning assumed at the level of Master Plans informed by Western assumptions, but these have had little correspondence with post-independence realistic urban conditions (UN-Habitat, 2002). The urban poor are now dominant and in most cases are transforming the city to meet their needs, often in conflict with official laws and plans (Wekwete, 1992). The unrealistic nature of Master Plans and pressures arising from emerging dynamic of urban conditions has made city authorities lose control of management tools which guide the growth of cities. For example, since 1980s, planning and management of public transportation in Dar-es-Salaam was carried outside the official master plan framework which guided the growth of the city because the official plan was unable to handle the emerging public transport problems. Currently, public transport planning in Dar-es-Salaam is arbitrary in character – allocation of bus service routes is based on intuition and simple methods such as: i) rough assessments made by traffic counts on different routes; (ii) simple on-site observations of concentrations of people in different zones in the city; and iii) hasty and generalised assessments of income distribution according to conditions and the quality of built-up areas (Kanyama et al., 2004). Similarly, in Nairobi the Transport Licensing Board (TLB) is the regulator of public service and commercial vehicles. It is responsible for licensing public service vehicles (PSV) and allocation of routes for PSV vehicles. Yet, according to stakeholders' response in Nairobi, there was no clear working professional link between the TBL which allocates bus service routes and the city council department of planning which is responsible for the planning of the city.
In addition, some transport routes in Nairobi have been under the control of organised

cartels popularly known as mungiki, who collect revenue charges for allowing bus operators to use certain routes (Asingo, 2004).

The basis for the persistence of public transport problems in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam lies partly in the way cities were planned. Like other colonial inherited plans, their plans are basically physical plans, static and largely concerned with the physical arrangement of activities in space, despite changing urbanisation conditions. The first Master Plan for Nairobi, influenced by the 'garden city' concept, was completed in 1948. Land-use patterns became well defined, reflecting the commercial and racial segregation policies pursued by the colony in Nairobi (Obudho, 1997). These segregated lifestyles and zoning policies are still seen to this day in Nairobi (Republic of Kenya, 2000). Another plan for Nairobi was the Metropolitan Growth Strategy for Nairobi, prepared between 1970 and 1973. The Strategy outlined a comprehensive plan of action for the city's growth in all areas of development i.e. physical growth, population, housing, transportation, infrastructure and services development, etc. (Republic of Kenya, 2000). Although the plan was given Government approval, it was never seriously implemented. As a result, objectives such as improving the quality of public transport in Nairobi were not realised (Obudho, 1997).
As for Dar-es-Salaam, with the support of UN Habitat, the government revised the 1979 Master Plan in order to improve the management of city. This resulted in a strategy plan which was completed in the early 1990s. The strategy plan was aimed to be stakeholder-driven, focusing especially on the interaction between environment and development, and with a major emphasis on cross-sectoral and inter-agency coordination (Kanyama et al., 2004). Despite this planning intervention, public transport problems in Dar-es-Salaam have continued to increase

The inability of planning interventions in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam to make inroads in tackling public transport problems is traceable to the colonial city and transport planning philosophy, which is also a common feature other sub-Saharan African cities. The most notable philosophy is the Urban Transport Planning (UTP) approach that dominated in most colonies. According to Dimitriou (1992), UTP was conceived in the United States just after the Second World War and subsequently spread into Europe. In the 1960s and 1970s UTP was introduced in many developing countries including those of Africa by European and American transport consultants and professionals who studied in European and American institutions (Dimitriou, 1992). The general framework and features of UTP were based on simulation of land use and transport relationships on a city-wide and zonal basis, employing data from households and roadside surveys, as well as planning studies. The UTP process is understood to be 'comprehensive' from its attempts at providing a city-wide coverage of all types of urban transport modes. The formality of the process and its extensive reliance upon systems thinking is a pre-requisite to formulating recommendations. Its methodology entails handling complex interrelationships and analysing a large amount of data (Dimitriou, 1992). The application of this planning approach in sub-Saharan cities has been highly constrained by a number of factors including the rapid and sometimes imprecise rates of population growth which cannot be relied on in the planning processes. The city authorities have not formulated new planning approaches which are suited to the changing socio-economic and cultural conditions of sub-Saharan cities. As a result, urban management in the cities has remained far from efficient. Tostensen et al. (2001) note that in the sub-Saharan region, national governments have perceived the high rates of urban population growth as deeply

problematic and have generally shied away from formulating any comprehensive policies for urban development. Inability to come up with new approaches to tackle emerging urban problems has caused planning systems in the cities to remain inactive or static over the years since the colonial times.

In view of the foregoing, problems in the public transport sector in sub-Saharan Africa must be viewed within the context of sharp demographic growth. Population is the most important component in the planning of cities and African cities are growing at annual rates of 5%, and even 8% in some of their outlying areas, or double the rate of national population growth (Kanyama et al., 2005). The inherited transport patterns after independence, together with the additional travel generated mainly by an increased population, exerted demands on the urban form and its infrastructure that they were ill equipped to meet. The most common problem is the inability to secure reliable data that can be fed into the planning process due to the unpredictability of the dynamics of urbanisation. Most data are collected at the national level, not the city level, and much of the region's census data are from the late 1980s or early 1990s (UN Habitat, 2002). In Nairobi, for example, there has not been a reliable population figure that would be considered effective in the planning purposes. There are many different population projections for Nairobi City, each dependent on the researcher's intended use (ROK, 2000). Likewise, as pointed out earlier, the lack of accurate date is common in Dar-es-Salaam – public transport planning and management rely on imprecise population distribution information.

Imprecise data for planning purposes is a common phenomenon in the sub-Saharan African cities and has led governments to continually produce arbitrary policies and schemes to solve public problems (Rakodi, 2005). This situation is aggravated by the rigidity of professionals such as engineers and planners, who insist on adherence to relatively high standards, the rationale for which is often not clear and which are costly and unrealistic (Rakodi, 2005). For instance, in Nairobi non-motorised modes of transport (NMTs) have not been mainstreamed into Nairobi's transport system despite being pro-poor, low cost, and with potential for supplementing the other modes of transport. Currently, about 40% of Nairobi's working population walks on foot, while 4% use bicycles (Asingo, 2004). In Dar-es-Salaam although the majority of the people are poor and felt that travelling by bus public transport services was expensive, more than 50% of the interviewees were negative to cycling due to poor bicycle routes, traffic congestion, poor road conditions and reckless drivers who do not care for cyclists' safety (Kanyama et al., 2004).

In general, bicycles and walking are efficient modes of travelling which need to be promoted in the cities, especially in the sub-Saharan Africa to ease travelling conditions for the majority of the poor inhabitants. Such weaknesses in planning have constrained governments to provide at least the basic framework for sustainable urban travel conditions and as a result, public authorities are rarely taken seriously by the citizens in their planning endeavours (UN Habitat, 2002). For example, some interviewed stakeholders in Nairobi felt that people have apathy about official efforts to tackle public transport problems because of what they saw as disjointed measures to solve the problem …'*people may not see justification at all in buckling their seat belts when most of the roads in the city are in poor condition*'.

Interviewed traffic police officers in Dar-es-Salaam remarked that: '*dala-dala buses follow traffic rules only when they spot the traffic police. In the absence of traffic police they break the rules. It is impossible to position traffic police officers at all corners of the road in Dar-es-Salaam for twenty four hours to keep an eye on traffic!*'.

Interview results showed vividly that stakeholders in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi were discouraged by the way decision-makers intervene to tackle public transport problems in a partial and ad hoc manner despite the complexity they exhibit. Kasemo (2005) notes that urban transport problems and transport systems exhibit a complex system with long-term changes which are difficult to predict, yet can be realised by means of some kind of systematic approach. A holistic planning approach is being widely viewed as an effective way to manage the complexity of public transportation. A holistic approach to improve public transport systems should be supported at least by the following basic functions (Cracknell, 2000):

Strategic transport planning – development of transport strategies within the urban development context leading to realistic policies, short- and long-term investment and so on.
Infrastructure for transport – planning, design, financing, construction and maintenance of road, public transport and other transport infrastructure.
Public Transport – development of the public transport system including planning, design, management, regulation, licensing, franchising and, in rare cases, operation (there are still some public sector operations, both effective and non-effective).
Traffic Operations and Management – management of roads and road use for all vehicular and non-vehicular modes including planning design, design, implementation, operation, maintenance etc.
Regulations – enforcement of traffic regulations, driver and vehicle licensing, vehicle testing, etc.

Effective execution of the above functions requires the existence of a planning system which is buttressed by robust institutional coordination and a trained and motivated workforce that is willing and capable to execute the functions. However, many cities lack an agency that is specifically responsible for traffic management planning and design. Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam are some examples where the city councils have no credible departments that deal with specific issues of transport planning and traffic management. For that reason, the traffic police departments shoulder the huge task of solving daily traffic and transport problems in the city streets. This is a typical situation in many cities of Africa and other developing countries. Cracknell (2000) notes that often in the cities of developing countries, traffic management is not seen as a distinct function or discipline and is undertaken as a 'by-product' of work of various other agencies such as the roads department or the traffic police, or inadequately trained staff at the local council. Management of public transportation is further complicated by the payment of a low salary, inadequate for living to those who are responsible in planning and management of the transport sector notably the traffic police (ibid.). This limits the build of creative and innovative attitudes among officials entrusted to handle the planning and management of public transportation. Inadequate education in the field of public transportation has a negative impact on the competence to handle public transportation issues in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam. Kenya has no school that offers comprehensive education on the complexity of public transportation. According to an interview with the University of Nairobi, training in

urban transportation offered at the Department of Urban and Regional Planning is inadequate – urban transport is only *'one course unit'* for undergraduate students and '*two course units'* only for postgraduate students. Emphasising the shortage of trained professionals in the field of urban transportation, the interviewee pointed out that:

'Indeed there are only about four trained transport economists in the country and almost all are working for international and other private organisations.'

Although a shortage of trained urban transport professionals is common in the cities, the problem is exacerbated by politicians and decision-makers who often disregard professional views, as was clearly felt by staff at the National Institute of transport in Dar-es-Salaam: '*Transport professionals' input is not seriously considered essential in the way decisions to tackle public transportation are conducted in Dar-es-Salaam.*' The same sentiment was echoed by transport professional stakeholders in Nairobi. This sheer disregard for professional views by decision-makers or leaders is a significant factor which discourages creativity and innovation among professionals and hence the inability to formulate public transport plans that are crucial to improve public transportation.

Certainly, effective coordination relies on the existence of the necessary technical skills to develop a plan that is comprehensive and internally consistent. In the absence of internally consistent and fully integrated spatial policy, infrastructure investment, public transport requirements and regulations, it is hard to see how an effective mechanism of institutional coordination can occur. As the challenges for public transport grow in the cities, creating better city and transport plans will require strategies to develop stocks of capital such as human and organisational through increased training and generation of knowledge to stimulate innovation capacities to cope with fast changes occurring in African cities. These efforts will need to be supported by decision-makers and politicians.

Poverty

Interviews with stakeholders and workshop conclusions in both Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi revealed that poverty was one of the central reasons for the inability of the cities to adequately tackle public transport problems. The constraints imposed by poverty were felt to be: (i) inability of the public authorities to finance basic infrastructure such as roads; (ii) inability of most low income people to afford transport services; and (iii) poor financial status of bus operators to purchase technologically and environmentally suitable transport vehicles.

Constraints for public authorities to provide basic physical infrastructure such as good roads in urban areas included poor economic performance of a country or a city. In Tanzania, the slowdown in economic development in the 1970s constrained finances for physical infrastructure facilities provision in the cities. In the 1970s the country suffered a major balance of payments deficit as a result of factors such as falling primary agricultural commodity prices, the first of the oil price rise shocks and drought. This had a negative impact on the urban development schemes so much that direct investment in infrastructure and services in existing and new planning schemes became highly constrained (Kironde, 1995). Dar-es-Salaam experienced a decline in expenditure on services and physical infrastructure of 8.5% a year from 1978/9 through 1986/7 measured in constant currency units (UN Habitat ,1993). This drop in

investment in infrastructure had a direct negative impact on the quality of public transportation in Dar-es-Salaam.

A poor economy is a characteristic feature of sub-Saharan Africa and has constrained countries' ability to cope with urban development forces. The continent of Africa has most of the most low income countries of the world. Its west, east-central and southern regions (known collectively as sub-Saharan Africa) contain 20 of the 42 low income countries of the world and 16 of the world's poorest countries (UNCH, i). In many cases, governments in sub-Saharan Africa have attempted to use the public transport industry as an instrument of social policy by simultaneously constraining fare levels and structures and guaranteeing favourable wages and working conditions to employees (World Bank, 2002). However, most of the public transport systems in sub-Saharan cities were deregulated in the 1980 and 1990s in response to increasing subsidy levels required from governments, consumer dissatisfaction, and increasing pressure from private operators to enter the market. Deregulation and privatisation of the public transport sector adopted in the African countries in the 1980s was an imitation of the model adopted in the UK (Kane, 2002).

However, the poor state of the economies of sub-Saharan cities and mismanagement of the public transport industry has left service operators to run the industry in a state of laissez faire economics. New bus service operators often see their operations as profitable, although the profits may in fact be illusory and only short-term, as operators often ignore vehicle depreciation (Kane, 2002). In Dar-es-Salaam, for example, it is common for dala-dala bus services operators to end up at financial losses. Often, operators who leave the business sell their vehicles to new operators who are less experienced and less well informed about the risk of taking on the dala-dala business. However, the operators of public transport in Dar-es-Salaam have continuously argued that the fare set by the government is very low and can hardly generate enough revenue which can be reinvested in the sector to improve the services (Kanyama et al., 2004).

Due to poor economic foundations, the organisation, financing and profitability of urban transport microenterprise in the sub-Saharan Africa cities is characterised by: (i) a great proliferation of operators; (ii) the dominant vehicle being the small-medium capacity minibus, which accentuates problems of traffic congestion; (iii) the average age of the fleet is high (often 15 years) and the situation has been worsened by the opening of the market to used vehicles; and (iv) financing is done largely outside traditional banking circles in the form of tontines and personal savings (Bultynck, 2001).

The level of fare charged by public transport operators is a contribution to the operational costs of the transport system involved, either partial (as is frequently the case with publicly supported systems) or total. In all sub-Saharan African cities the cost of operating the public bus transport service is expected to be fully covered by revenue collection obtained from charging a fare. However, almost everywhere in the world, particularly in the developed countries where public transportation is efficient, operational cost is not solely covered fully by fare revenue (Amsler, 1998). There are several practical reasons for government subsidies of public transit. By subsidising mass transit, it encourages ridership and subsequently lowers traffic congestion. Another benefit is lowering pollution from single occupant vehicles that are no longer

on the roads. The third benefit is reducing infrastructure costs needed to build and maintain more streets, highways and freeway lanes associated with increased traffic congestion. These factors considered together also contribute to a better quality of life as defined by global quality of living measurements (Mercer Human Resources Consulting, 2005).

The extent to which public transport systems can be subsidised is shown by what is referred to as the fare box recovery ration of a passenger transport system (see Table 2.7). This is the proportion of revenue generated through fares by its paying customers relative to the cost of its total operating expenses. Most systems are not self-supporting, so advertising revenue and government subsidies are usually required to cover costs.

Table 2.7. Ratio of fares to operating costs for public transport system

Brussels	28%
Copenhagen	52%
London Underground	84%
Milan	28%
RATP (Paris)	43%
Stockholm Transport	44%
Vienna	50%
Zurich	66%
Atlanta (MARTA)	31.8%
Chicago (CTA)	44.3%
Edmonton, Canada (ETS)	39.4%
Toronto, Canada (GO Transit)	89.4%
Cleveland (GCRTA	21.5%
Detroit (DDOT)	13.9%
Los Angeles (LACMTA	30.6
New York City subway	67.3%
Washington, DC (WMATA)	61.6%

Source: Wikipedia—Farebox recovery ratio.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Farebox_recovery_ratio#cite_note-5

In well-established public transport systems, it is common to see concessionary travel conditions for the elderly, disabled persons or students. In African cities concessionary travel by these type of passengers is almost non-existent. In Dar-es-Salaam, for example, the government issued a directive that students should travel at a reduced travel fare, yet it did not subsidise the costs for travelling students, thus compelling bus operators to bear the economic brunt for the difference in travelling costs. Other commuters who often travel free of charge include the police and military officers (Kanyama, et al., 2004). The irregularity about public transport subsidies appears in different forms in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa and according to Kane (2002), operators of public transport services in urban areas bear the brunt of governments' subsidy obligations at the expense of improved transport services. Common examples include frustrations and subsequent actions by public transport operators who wreck the quality of service in different ways. For example, it is common in Dar-es-Salaam to see students being refused entry to buses because they do not pay full fare. It is also common to see a bus vehicle with squeezed and smaller seats to accommodate more passengers than normal in order to generate extra revenue. The quest to generate more revenue has also resulted in general overloading of buses and speeding to compete for

passengers (Kanyama et al., 2004). These are common characteristics of a public transport system in the sub-Saharan African cities.

From the foregoing, poverty is a course for unsustainable public transport in the cities in sub-Saharan African cities. In general, there are three fundamental tenets that are essential if cities are to embark on planning process to achieve sustainable public transportation. First, financial sustainability should be sound in the sense that transport must be cost-effective and continuously responsive to changing demands. Second, environmental sustainability should be considered in the design of programmes and systems in general. Making better use of readily available and cost-effective technology is necessary, but not in itself sufficient. More strategic action is also required in the form of better-directed planning of land use and stricter management of demand, including the use of pollution and congestion charges to correct the relative prices of private and public transport. Thirdly, social sustainability – equity – needs to be emphasised in such a way that transport strategies can be designed to provide the poor, women, children, disabled and elderly people with better physical access to employment, education and health services (TRB, 2002).

The problem with these otherwise lofty ideals is that they lead to conflicts in the sphere of 'governance sustainability'. Given the financial troubles facing bus operators in sub-Saharan cities, if one works the first sustainability principle through economically healthy transport, one finds that transport operators, whether public or private, will fight higher costs imposed by the second principle, environmental sustainability. With fares for public transit barely covering costs, few operators want to improve their vehicles or fuels and risk not covering the incremental costs (ibid). This dilemma is very profound is sub-Saharan cities where public transportation is found in many guises but does have some common traits. Transport services are privately owned, demand responsive public transport systems with owners who are individuals, families or groups. Whilst many operators may have only one vehicle, examples also exist of operators with small fleets (Kane, 2002). Most of the operators have poor financial bases to enable them to improve public transport services to meet sustainable standards.

The poverty-public transport nexus in sub-Saharan African cities also needs to be examined from a low wages perspective. Generally, the low economic situation of households in developing countries has a strong bearing on the quality of utilised public transportation. In these countries, urbanisation is accompanied by an alarming growth in the incidence of poverty and environmental degradation. One out of four urban dwellers in developing countries lives in absolute poverty[1], while another one in four is classified as relatively poor (Fernandes, 1998). For Africa in general, the period of mid-1960s to the early 1970s was characterised by a rate of rural-urban migration that greatly exceeded the rate of formal employment creation in its cities. Total numbers of jobs created in the formal sectors (including government, the para-state sector, manufacturing and the large-scale service sectors such as banking and tourism) did not keep pace with the increase in the urban population (UNCHS, 1996). Furthermore, unemployment in sub-Saharan Africa has been increasing while wages have declined steadily (ILO, 1999). In Nairobi, the growth of jobs in the formal sector

[1] Absolute poverty is a level of poverty at which certain minimum standards -- for example for nutrition, health and shelter -- cannot be met.

has not kept pace with that of labour force – indeed there has been a decline in wage employment in the public sector in Kenya owing to the restructuring and privatisation programmes introduced in 1990. The low income group has been seriously affected by inflationary trends since 1990. Due to this, a substantial number of middle income households have been pushed into a low-income category (Obudho, 1997). In Tanzania, wages declined by 65% in real terms between 1974 and 1988 (Kombe,1999). This decline in real wages has an impact on households and individuals on the extent to which they may be willing to spend on the public transport services. In Temeke, Tanzania, 8 kilometres from the centre of Dar-es-Salaam, households spend 10-30% of their income on transport (World Bank, 2002). It has been estimated that transport accounts for between 8 and 16% of household expenditure in a range of countries in Africa (ibid.). However, the proportion of income spent on transport varies greatly for the very poorest groups. Some of the very poor are forced to accept precarious travelling conditions including walking to reach work places and necessary services. In Dar-es-Salaam or Nairobi, walking to places of work is an inevitable option for low income people who cannot afford bus fares everyday (Obudho, 1997; Kanyama et al., 2004).

In this general notion of poverty as 'exclusion', accessibility is important, not only for its role in facilitating regular and stable income-earning employment but also for its role as part of the social capital that maintains the social relations forming the safety net of poor people in many societies (World Bank, 2002). Despite past decades of concentrated reform in sub-Saharan Africa made to ensure that the economies in the cities improve, cities are not generating, nor have other access to, the kind of finance necessary to pull off sweeping restructuring necessary to substantially increase the number of jobs, opportunities and services (UN Habitat 2002). Mbaku (2005) points out that persistent urban economic downturn in African cities after so many years of independence is due either to policy mistakes made by well-intentioned leaders or to incompetence and ineptitude of poorly educated, unskilled and ill-informed bureaucrats and politicians. Mbaku underscores that for each African country's economy to operate efficiently and create wealth that is needed to confront poverty and deprivation, the economy not only has to have the necessary resources, but must be provided with the appropriate institutional environment.

As poverty continues to constrain implementation of plans for land use and transport plans or make people unable meet their travel costs, it is hard to achieve a meaningful institutional coordination in the planning for public transportation. However, alleviation of poverty can be achieved through strategy development by cities themselves. A City Development Strategy (CDS) is an action plan for equitable growth in cities, developed and sustained through participation, to improve the quality of life for all citizens (World, Bank, 2002). The goals of a CDS include a collective city vision and action plan aimed at improving urban governance and management, increasing investment to expanding employment and services, and systematic and sustained reductions in poverty. CDS forms the basis for planning of land use, transport and other sectoral needs, and for setting policy, resource allocation and investment priorities. Requisite stocks of human, innovation and organisation capital need to be increased to support poverty alleviation strategies. Some strategies focus on creating economies of agglomeration, i.e. basically taking what exists and finding new ways to organise, link and substantiate it (UN Habitat, 2002). Fostering greater links between training and job creation is an important component of these economies

of agglomeration. Theoretically, these links will, in turn, bring about virtuous cycles. Targeted investments in human capital creation, employment and entrepreneurship, largely managed outside the public realm, will result in better health and living conditions (ibid.). Improved quality of livelihood will result in a more solid base to increase the social capital among the citizens, which will encourages their commitment to planning and implementation of public transport measures. Albeit indirect, improved public economy contributes to promote institutional coordination in planning and implementation process of public transport schemes.

Unwillingness to change: Maintenance of status quo

The feeling by interviewed stakeholders in both Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi was that the stalemate in improving public transportation was partly due to perceived inability by decision-makers to handle the consequences accompanying planning interventions. Unemployment which could be triggered by such an action was an example. It was perceived that the prospects to modernise the public transport system would likely trigger new types of operators who would prefer bigger buses to the current small sized mini-buses. The current demand for public transportation is somehow met by the deployment of many of small buses which are thought to create employment to very many people. For that reason, bigger buses would mean that fewer people will be employed in the industry.

This employment issue is directly linked to the big picture of poverty, which is significant in constraining improvements to public transport. Given the importance of paratransit both as an income generator and, often, as a service provider to the poor, attempting to eliminate it by administrative action could generate significant unrest in the cities (World Bank, 2002). In 2007, the Government of Kenya had announced that 14-passenger vehicles would be barred from operating in Nairobi. Until now this proposal has not been implemented. A similar decision by public transport authorities to prevent the operations of 14 passenger mini-buses in the Dar-es-Salaam city centre over past years has failed to materialise. Governments tend to be ambivalent in such kinds of intervention and there is never a clear government directive or policy on such interventions. Part of this dilemma is due to the inability of governments to see alternative employment options which can engage a large population of young people who are unemployed in the cities.

In the sub-Saharan African cities in general, the public transport sector is an important employer, especially at the semi-skilled level. It provides direct and indirect employment for large numbers of people. In terms of direct operating jobs, there are owners, drivers, apprentices, fare collectors and hawkers, while indirect employment is provided by garages, spare parts suppliers, used car sellers, fuel distributors, etc. (Kane, 2002; Kanyama et al., 2005).

Official statistics are for the most part difficult to obtain, given the highly fragmented (and precarious) nature of such jobs, and the irregular conditions under which certain services are provided. However, some studies show that in Dakar public transport operations provide a living for some 30,000 people, in Abidjan and Nairobi 22,000 (Bultynck, 2001) and in Dar-es-Salaam 30,000 (Kanyama et al., 2004). In all cities, these jobs are typically held by young people with little education who obtain them through family ties or through membership of a social or religious group. The labour

relationship in most cases is not contractual, but based on trust, i.e. on a person-to-person relationship with no social security or employment security (Kane, 2002; Kanyama et al., 2004).

The inability of decision-makers in sub-Saharan African cities to tackle serious public transport problems in the cities due to the fear of handling the consequence of job losses or other challenges that accompany planning intervention suggests that they are caught in a path dependence quagmire. Hirsch and Gillespie (2001) remind us that when faced with challenges and threats related to poor performance, organisations tend to rigidly adhere to current strategies instead of engaging in failure induced change. Problems of public transportation in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa are already obvious in increased pollution, congestion and delays to destination, poor customer services, increased accidents, etc. All these factors taken together negatively affect the economies of the cities and offset the advantages of protecting employment opportunities tied to the current inefficient transport systems.

In Kenya, for instance, the neglect of non-motorised modes of transport planning has meant that pedestrians are not only the greatest casualties in fatal road accidents, but also the second greatest cause of road accidents, with serious consequences for the national economy. The annual average cost of road accidents to the economy is estimated at Kshs 14 billion or 5% of GDP (Asingo, 2005). Due to similar reasons, about 2,838 people were killed and more than 15,500 injured in 2006 by road accidents in Tanzania. The total economic loss to the nation for the year 2006 was 508,019 mTshs or 3.4% of GDP, of which 50% was lost output due to death and injuries, 25% loss of property, 20% intangible losses, 3% medical costs and 2% other costs (Guardian, 16.11.2007).

Cities are capable of generating employment opportunities but must be able to run an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable transportation system. Innovative measures for an efficient public transportation system are crucial for an improved economic base of a city and to stimulate creation of employment opportunities. At the individual level, the urban poor are very conscious that access to employment is crucial to their fight against poverty, and that the availability of good transport infrastructure and services is a basis on which this access can be achieved. Hence transport policies that improve the general economic viability of the city are very important to poor people (World Bank, 2002). For that reason, attempts to modernise public transport systems must be accompanied by willingness and the ability of authorities to handle existing challenges (such as emerging short-term loss of jobs) to disengage from existing path dependence and create new paths. As highlighted by Garud and Karnoe (2001), decision-makers or entrepreneurs may intentionally deviate from the way of doing things determined by existing artefacts and relevant structures, fully aware they may be creating inefficiencies in the present, but also aware that such steps are required to create new futures. Such a process of mindful deviation lies at the heart of path creation. Because deviation can be threatening to existing orders, entrepreneurs or decision-makers exercise judgment regarding the extent that deviations may be tolerated in the present and may also be worthwhile to create new features (Garud and Karnoe, 2001). Viewed in this way, decision-makers should understand that the availability of good public transport infrastructure and services can stimulate the growth of an urban economy which in turn can stimulate employment creation for unemployed young people. This is an

obvious motivation that can prompt decision-makers to take daring planning intervention not only to improve public transport problems but also to stimulate the growth of urban economies. Planning intervention could occur by incremental planning and organisation of the existing transport system namely:

- Mobilising the initiative potential of the existing public transport systems by working in partnership with public transport associations in structuring franchising arrangements to improve services.
- Prohibiting antisocial behaviour within the public transport sector and enforcement of quality standards.
- Cities ensuring that public transport operators meet environmental, safety, insurance requirements and proper tax obligations.
- Cities should plan and allow for a gradual replacement of a great number of small size mini-buses, which increase congestion and pollution, with technologically better and environmentally friendly bigger buses with high carrying passenger capacity.

There is a growing and gradual recognition by city authorities in developing countries of the need for courage to change public transport systems. One approach is the new paradigm in delivering bus services by Bus Rapid Transit. Discussion is underway in Nairobi on the possibility of introducing BRT in Nairobi. Other cities which are involved in the BRT scheme include Dar-es-Salaam, Kampala, Lagos and Accra. In Lagos, the BRT scheme has started to take off (SSAPT, 2009) although it is still grappling with the problems of inadequate institutional coordination affecting other cities in sub-Saharan Africa. In Dar-es-Salaam, decision-makers and planners have grappled with the BRT plan for almost ten years now since the idea was initially accepted. The plan involves Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) either replacing the existing poor and chaotic public city transport vehicles (dala-dalas) or reorganising them to operate more efficiently along BRT. The vision was to embark on a modern public transport system at a reasonable cost to the users with quality and high-capacity buses that meet international service standards, reduce travelling time and that are environmentally friendly. The target was to make the BRT project operational by 2005 (Kanyama et al., 2004). This deadline has now passed and the plan is yet to come to fruition. The challenge facing authorities in Dar-es-Salaam is that reorganising public transport and introducing BRT within the existing built environment in Dar-es-Salaam is a huge task and requires the concerted coordination of many stakeholders.

Upgrading the performance of bus services to meet the objectives of Bus Rapid Transit requires policies that give priority to bus operations and provide for investment in crucial system components: infrastructure that separates bus operations from general-purpose traffic; facilities that provide for increased comfort and system visibility; and technology that provides for faster and more reliable operations. In addition, new guidance, information and fare technologies are crucial for an expanded range of possibilities for operating bus systems (FTA, www.fta). Bus Rapid Transit provides maximum benefit when developed in close coordination with land use policies and community development plans. These operations will require improved land use options that provide for compact, pedestrian-friendly and environmentally-sensitive development patterns that can sustain the development of Bus Rapid Transit. These principles for developing a robust BRT require effective institutional

coordination in the planning for public transportation, which is currently weak in Dar-es-Salaam.

Although many cities in the sub-Saharan Africa region are contemplating adopting a BRT system, the prospect of achieving this will depend on the willingness of decision-makers to truly change the current public transport systems. In all bold decisions that are needed to create change for better public transportation the attribute of leadership is crucial. Bogotá and Curitiba are some of the cities that have been able to adopt BRT based on simple low cost solutions that required both vision and political leadership. Banister (2005b) reminds us that central to all levels of decision-making, it is necessary to have clear and visionary leadership and commitment to change. Leaders must be prepared to make agreements and to argue for change, as well as being instrumental in pushing the agenda forward. Part of this process is to accept responsibility and to engage all relevant stakeholders in a fully participatory debate about the need for action and the necessity of their involvement. In view of this, prospects for improved institutional coordination lie in the courage, willingness and support of leaders in envisioning a sustainable city, including its planning and implementation to improve public transportation.

Lack of political support and corruption

Lack of commitment by politicians and decision-makers to tackle public transport problems can occur in different ways. For example, lack of commitment to address the issues in a comprehensive and consistent approach may arise because a city council may commit itself to a sustainable transport policy, but at the same time it has committed itself to economic growth with policies which encourages further traffic growth (Banister, 2005). Lack of political commitment occurs also in the form of increasing individualism and corrupt practice among decision-makers in tackling public transportation problems – a phenomenon that is common in sub-Saharan cities. This has widely led to political apathy in involvement of cities in tackling cities problems. There is a crucial link between political processes and tackling problems of public transportation. Kane (2002) notes that transportation planning is an inherently political exercise and that ignoring the political dimension is perilous and unlikely to lead to success in the long run. Political aspects are perhaps even more important to consider in developing countries than elsewhere due to the 'fragile' nature of democratic processes in those countries. In developing countries, political representation mechanisms are not strong, and decision-making process are dominated by an essentially middle-class elite, who make decisions favouring themselves.

The stakeholders interviewed in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi made their disappointment clear over the political processes, corruption and lack of commitment among decision-makers in tackling public transport problems through opinions such as:

- There is lack of political will in the planning process. Technocrats may come up with sound plans but the last word belongs to politicians. Politicians' final decisions are often not in compliance with technical recommendations.
- Law enforcement officers and other prominent decision-makers are not strict in implementing the traffic laws because of receiving kickbacks.
- Politicians take into consideration policy recommendations that promote their economic interests in the transport sector as opposed to policy objectives.

- Politicians pretend to be committed to improving public transport during the election period only. After elections they do nothing.
- Political decision-makers own businesses in the public transport sectors. They own matatu or dala-dala buses and therefore do not want changes in the current systems of transportation, which profit them.

Such sentiments about the lack of political commitment and corrupt practices in tackling problems of public transport resonate widely in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. Nwaka (2005) notes that in sub-Saharan Africa not only do politicians and municipal authorities often give low priority to urban environmental issues but also that enforcement of environmentally responsible policies often entails social and economic costs that vested interests tend to resist (Nwaka, 2005). In the same vein, decision-makers are inclined to corrupt practices and using state privileges for private objectives. Occupation of state power is increasingly viewed as the key vehicle to private accumulation (UN Habitat, 2002). These practices erode the stock of the social capital since communities are convinced that their local initiatives and development efforts (such as implementing public transport policies) will be wasted by dishonest and corrupt decision-makers (ibid). This negative responsiveness of decision-making arises where policy-makers do not take citizens' preferences into account.

Lack of political commitment means that biased planning intervention ignores ideals for actual integrated policy-making which characterises a holistic form of decision-making essential to achieve a sustainable public transportation system. Governance in the form of well-designed political institutions and building of new institutional structures to moderate individualism are crucial to foster civic spirit. Trust from citizens will develop when accountable authorities planning for public transportation provide citizens and other stakeholders with plans and goals, setting out decisions, how they are taken, and the results achieved. The goal of interactive planning is to bridge the gap between politics and citizens, to democratise decision-making and to create public support.

Inadequate citizen participation

Policies being adopted in a city that support tackling problems of public transportation must have the support and confidence of the people living there. In both Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam, the stakeholders interviewed felt that that inadequate institutional coordination occurred because commuters, vehicle owners and their employees are not involved in the planning process. These are the suppliers and recipients of public transport services and hence deserve to be fully involved in the planning process. A variety of institutions, both public and private, have different roles in a public transport system and proper coordination is essential for the system to succeed. For this to be achieved, aggregate institutions involved in the coordination process must receive the support of citizens. Any institution that may not have the consent of citizens is likely to undermine the prospects for an effective coordination in the planning for public transportation.

For example, in October 2003, the Government of Kenya introduced traffic rules that would enhance the quality of traffic system in urban areas guided by the following objectives (Khayesi, 2004; Asingo and Mitullah, 2005):

- Reduce accidents caused by speeding vehicles.
- Enhance safety of commuters.

- Ensure responsibility, accountability and competence of drivers and conductors.
- Eliminate illegal drivers, conductors and criminals that had infiltrated the public transport industry.
- Facilitate identification of operating vehicles and restrict their operation to authorised routes.

The implementation of the above rules required concerted coordination of government institutions and agencies as well as the private sector. However, the implementation failed despite strong efforts by the government, largely because the public was not totally involved in the formulation of the scheme (Khayesi, 2004).

There are various reasons linked to exclusion of citizens in a planning process. One of the reasons observed in the city council planning department in Dar-es-Salaam was that planners and other related public planning professionals lacked proper training on how to involve citizens in such processes (Kanyama et al., 2006). Lack of citizen participation in planning processes is common in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa and is caused by a number of reasons (Rakodi, 1997b). One of the reasons, according to Afoaku (2005), is that since the inception of the post-independence era, the African elite is still orientated toward colonial paternalism, which often conditions state policies and the attitudes of the elites toward the masses. In view of that, the governing elite has been generally uncomfortable with, or unable to, support citizen participation as well as other power-sharing arrangements that would empower civil society vis-à-vis the state. This weakness has discouraged people's engagement in urban development discourses. In interviews with Dar-es-Salaam's residents, it was felt that they do not have a stake in the development of their city because there was no mechanism by which their views could be incorporated in the development of cities. Accordingly, people felt that their involvement in planning activities was a waste of their valuable time. The views of city planners in Dar-es-Salaam's city were (Kanyama et al., 2005):

'*People value attending activities to generate revenue for their daily livelihood more than attending public participation planning meetings. They see attendance at such meetings as a waste of time*.'

Other reasons which prompt apathy in the sub-Saharan African context include how urban development has often served as a means for those with political and economic power to expand their capacities. As a result, the majority of the residents in the cities continue to pursue a wide range of informal solutions to consolidate their positions within the city. Accordingly, citizen engagement with their cities has remained out of view (UN Habitat, 2002). Given widespread insecurity in cities – in terms of services availability, livelihood, and personal safety – many residents have been reluctant to invest time and resources in institutionalising a sense of place. The difficulty lies in inciting poor people to accept the costs of engaging in action. The working conditions of civil servants, small businessmen, self-employed and wage-workers may not be in tune with expectations and expenditures of participation, for instance taking part in meetings (Kanyama et al., 2006). Instead, a way of being and operating in the city that relies upon the provisional has dominated. As a result, important and stable assets are hidden rather than being mobilised for physical or social infrastructure development. Such attitudes are clearly seen in the aftermath of long efforts to mobilise local communities to elaborate a sense of urban citizenship through taking initiatives to

manage their local environments (UN Habitat, 2002). Without clear institutional forms offering a sense of stability and faith in the future, engaging the citizenry in planning for public transportation will remain difficult.

Crucial in ensuring that citizens are enable to participate in decision-making is the question of leadership. Courageous and imaginative leadership will make sure that workable mechanisms that can enable all the citizens to participate in planning processes are created. Promoting citizen participation and consultation as a means of improving local policy design, leaders must ensure that plans are exposed to a free press and other media, as well as through more formal processes of public consultation or public inquiry. As an example, public transport users may also be involved in service franchising arrangement by complaints and consultation processes. Citizen participation must be timely and well structured. As stressed by World Bank (2002), developing strategic involvement requires action at two levels. First, the public process must be organised to facilitate timely but well-informed consultation. Secondly, particularly where formal local political processes are weak, the existence of effective local community groups is extremely important. Public participation in planning processes depends on how committed decision-makers, politicians and planners are to involving people in decision-making so as to improve their living conditions. To achieve this objective, the contribution of urban planning professionals is crucial because it is a field in which different actors are mobilised and the roles played by planners has a more political dimension (i.e. mobilisation, consultation, support, supervision in processes, etc.). For that reason, the planner is no longer isolated from politics and society but is an activist, socially interactive, a leader of participatory processes (Balducci and Calvaresi, 2005). Citizen participation will instil a sense of belonging in their cities and thereby increase the social capital which is crucial in encouraging creativity and innovation in the planning and development of cities. Social capital necessary to sustain citizen participation is an inherent social dimension of sustainable urban development. For example, Banister (2005b) stresses that improved cycle and pedestrian infrastructure to improve their movement and stepping up efforts to curb increased accidents, pollution and noise are some of the crucial measures that can be appreciated by the public. Tangible results of a good build environment supported by a continually improved public transport system inculcates a sense of trust in the system of planning. This is crucial for willingness of the public to be engaged in planning processes, a key attribute for an effective institutional coordination mechanism.

Lack of a regulatory framework

A regulatory framework for the public transport sector is a tool which guides planning and management of the public transport system, embracing all key stakeholders in the public transport sector. Interviews in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi showed that examples of institutional coordination do occur involving a limited number of stakeholders in addressing problems of public transportation, but these are often impromptu in character and generally a reaction to crisis. In addition, some of the stakeholders that are often involved do not know their specific roles in different stages of the planning process and implementation. It was felt that this weakness was due to poor understanding of public transport policies (if there was one) and an overlap of legal mandate and conflict of roles amongst stakeholders in the public transport

sector. Crucially, in both Dar-es-salaam and Nairobi, it was felt that there was no institutional set-up for coordinating different stakeholders in the planning process for public transportation in the cities.

One of the key tool for an effective regulatory framework is the national transport policy. Currently, Kenya does not have one although the government is currently working on this – a draft integrated national transport policy report was produced in 2004 (ROK, 2004). In Tanzania, the first national transport policy was produced in 2004 (Kanyama et al., 2005). Four years have passed since this policy was produced and yet its contribution in regulating planning for public transportation is not evident. Lack of a regulatory framework to guide planning for public transport is common in most sub-Saharan African cities. This weakness is traceable from the way governments in the area have handled urban development during the post-colonial era, neglecting to formulate any comprehensive policies for urban development. As pointed out earlier, the problems of public transportation in African urban areas add into a catalogue of problems which have compelled others to conclude that 'African cities are in crisis' (White, 1989). This crisis is not only caused by explosive urban growth and adverse economic circumstances, but is also the result of failure in governments. The inability of governments to provide institutional and legal frameworks for the overall development of cities has led to obstructionist legal norms, corrupt civil servants and pervasive informality (Torsten et al., 2001). Local authorities have until recently been unresponsive to the mounting urban crisis. They have not been able to devise new regulatory frameworks which would serve urban residents better in their pursuit for livelihood, shelter and services (ibid.). Many of the municipalities are a creation of the colonial inventions and are unable to regulate current problems in urban areas. The concept of local governments in Tanzania is to a large extent based on the 1946 Municipality Act and Local Government act of 1953 (Mhamba and Titus, 2001). In Kenya, the Nairobi City Council is directly linked to the local Government Act (ch. 265) of the laws of Kenya (UNDP 1996). Accordingly, local government and authorities were developed along the lines of the local government legislation during the British colonial administration in the early half of the century, replacing the traditional forms of local governance in villages and settlements before colonisation. Most of them functioned efficiently and effectively with strict enforcement of law and administration (ibid). This was the common feature of most local authorities in most of sub-Saharan Africa. When independence was attained in the region, these same local authorities had to cater for the growing needs of the population in major cities. Administrative, financial, technical/operational/personal, services delivery and environmental demands placed on these authorities have brought many of them to near collapse over the past four decades. The abolition of the Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam City Councils with subsequent replacement by City Commissions and later reinstating the City Councils in 1980 and 1990s were such examples. Such unsteady kinds of local government in Africa have been unable to produce viable frameworks for urban development. For that reason, local authorities are often engaged in crisis management and strategic decision-making is limited, plans are out of date and decisions made without prior consultations. This lack of consistency and regulatory mechanism is exemplified in a focus group interview with the Dar-es-Salaam Regional Traffic Police Authority, who felt they were disappointed by a lack of regulatory framework to tackle public transport problems in the city. Commenting on their interaction with the City Council they pointed out that:

'*When the Dar-es-Salaam City Council changes laws, orders or regulations, it does not inform us but just make political decisions. No information was given to us when the City Council established a Sunday market along Lumumba road. But when transport-related problems emerged in that area, the City Council rushed to the traffic police for help and even though we intervened to redress the problems, the City complained that we were not doing our job responsibly.*'

The Traffic Police interviewees felt that different institutions perform various but related tasks, each with different professional cultures and with different systems of accountability and separate autonomy. The following examples were raised by the Traffic Police interviewees: The Traffic Police Authority tests vehicles and issues vehicle road worthiness permits; SUMATRA issues licenses and allocates bus routes to bus operators; the City Council earmarks parking areas and collects tax; yet these authorities do not have a coordination mechanism to discuss areas of overlapping responsibilities (Kanyama et al., 2006).

In an interview with Nairobi City Council officials it was acknowledged that the council does not approach problems of public transportation in an integrated planning approach although many sectors were involved in the operation of public transportation. Stressing this point, the traffic police officer in Nairobi felt that planning for public transportation was carried out on an ad hoc basis without consultation among concerned actors:

'the Traffic Police Department had once been asked by the Council planners to remove a public transport company from where its vehicles pick up and drop passengers because people in adjacent buildings were complaining that the presence of the vehicles obstructed their businesses activities. But, since the City planners had not set aside an alternative site for a bus stop, the police could not execute the order.'

Lack of a regulatory framework leads to some stakeholders carrying out wrong duties. Interviews revealed that some stakeholders of some institutions were reluctant to get involved in coordination processes because they feared losing their roles or having their revenue allocation reduced. Such regulatory weaknesses require new institutional and organisational and regulatory structures for the public transport sector. For this to occur, a clear transport policy is essential. Institutional coordination could be improved by clear allocation of functions among agencies, with more strategic functions being retained at metropolitan level. The government must introduce packages of policies that are mutually reinforcing, and combine both land-use and transport elements. Central attributes in any regulatory framework could be (Banister, 2005b):

- A supportive national framework that is internally coherent with integrated policies on investment, traffic and demand management, that is externally coherent with consistent cross sectional policies.
- Improvements in institutional coordination and cooperation so that effective decision-making can take place vertically (between all levels of government) and horizontally (between sectors).
- Decentralised responsibilities and resources where possible, a centralised framework for the finance and investment issues, and a consideration of all modes of travel and land-use priorities.

- Encouragement for effective public participation, partnerships and communication with early involvement and continued activity throughout implementation.
- Provision of a supportive legal and regulatory framework with guidelines for public sector action and the means by which the private sector can be involved.
- Comprehensive pricing and fiscal structures, which send out the right messages and are consistent, including channelling revenues from pricing incentives and allocating funding fairly.

Strong political leadership is essential in the formulation of a regulatory framework for institution coordination in planning for public transport. This requirement is crucial, as is the necessity for the institutional capacity for change, the legal framework for enforcement, and the financial resources for implementation. Underlying this is the quality of the politicians and their ability and will to bring about a sustainable city vision.

Inadequate decentralisation

The lack of effective political and financial decentralisation hampers application of strategies which promote institutional coordination in planning processes. For example, Tanzania carried out different local government reforms in the 1990s which included decentralisation of powers to local authorities in order to improve, among other things, revenue generation to support local development activities. Despite such reforms, generation of revenues at the local level still has some problems as central government continues to control some of the revenues sources for local governments (Kanyama et al., 2004). In Kenya, the central-local government fiscal relationship is characterised by the government being the beneficiary of most sources of revenue such as road maintenance levy, motors vehicle road licences, value added tax, and other taxes meant to meet the costs of services provided in the city (UNDP, 1996). In sub-Saharan African cities in general, there has been a significant devolution of responsibility to the local level but there has not been an equivalent devolution of political and fiscal power (UN Habitat, 2002). In Nairobi, for example, there is no system of grants from the central government to Nairobi City Council (NCC) for the costs of services which have national character; e.g. education, health (UNDP, 1996). According to UN Habitat (2002) sub-Saharan African states may have more options to access development and operational financing for municipalities, yet they generally do not provide a fair share of the national fiscal budget for cities (UN Habitat, 2002). In most sub-Saharan Africa francophone countries, the state is expected to raise money for municipalities and inform them well in advance of the budget allocation. However, this is seldom the case. The system becomes distorted with too many tax exemptions and too much incorrect information. As a result, cities find it difficult to generate realistic plans, leading always to excessive amounts of deficit spending (ibid).

The weakness of decentralisation in most sub-Saharan African cities is often due to unwillingness of ministries to cede their functions, fearing loss of control over programmes, loss of staff and reduced influence (Rakodi, 2005). Central government also fears loss of control over revenue raising and expenditure. In many African countries, central governments are granting maximum autonomy to local government

without adding any extra resources (Wekwete, 1997). Like in Kenya and Tanzania, many central governments keep control over the most lucrative and buoyant taxes, yet they give little attention to developing well-designed local government funding systems and are also reluctant to legally let municipalities develop their own revenue bases (Rakodi, 2005). This lack of revenue base has hampered local authorities in initiating programmes which promote institutional coordination in planning processes.

Decentralisation and grassroots participation are considered essential for 'good governance'. Decentralisation is used in the political sense to refer to the devolution of administrative and financial powers to the local levels of government, especially local municipal authorities (Nwaka, 2005). In the prevailing process of subsidiarity, i.e. of bringing management of public affairs and goods down to the most immediate and practical levels of where they actually take effect, municipal authorities are supposed to act with increased measures of fiscal autonomy. Municipal authorities are to take on more responsibility for covering larger shares of their operating costs (Aina, 1997). However, as shown above, municipal governments in many African cities are caught in a persistent bind. Effective decentralisation of both policy and financial responsibility for urban development to the cities is crucial to create institutional and financial arrangements that better reflect the complex interactions both within the urban transport sector and between urban transport and the rest of urban development strategy. According to World Bank (2002), it is only on such carefully considered institutional and financial basis that the fundamental paradox of urban transport can be resolved.

Exclusion of stakeholders in planning for public transportation

The following examines how and why exclusion of some key stakeholders occurs in the planning for public transport. As summarised in Tables 2.3 and 2.4, such institutions include government departments, local authorities, public and private agencies, interest organisations and associations, academic and research institutions. The results in Tables 2.3 and 2.4 show that stakeholders were either partially involved or excluded from planning for public transport, yet all of them believed that their functions were crucial in the public transport sector.

For example, stakeholders of Blue Shield Insurance in Nairobi felt that their insurance function was crucial to the public transport industry, yet they have never been approached in the planning for public transport (Table 2.4). Similarly, stakeholders in the Ministry of Health in Nairobi stated that they have not been involved in any planning for public transport although their functions include:

- Handling victims of road crashes.
- Regulate health aspects in vehicles such as ventilation, overcrowding of the passengers, etc.
- Awareness creation regarding health aspects of public transportation to other stakeholders such as local authorities, Ministry of Transport, etc.

Stakeholders of the Matatu Owners Bus Welfare Association felt that they were crucial in the public transport system by organising matatu owners and operators to improve public transportation in Nairobi. Yet the government has not fully integrated the association in the planning and decision-making organs for public transportation. Other key stakeholders in Nairobi felt that their involvement in the planning for public transport was erratic and unsatisfactory (Table 2.4). Similar patterns of inadequate

involvement of institutions in planning for public transport were apparent in Dar-es-Salaam (Table 2.3). In an interview with the Municipal Health Office in Dar-es-Salaam, it was felt that:

'*We are a direct referral point whenever road accidents happen. We are also responsible for treating the victims of air pollution. Our medical role gives us a wide exposure to public transport issues, but when it comes to decision-making, we are not approached to give our contributions*.'

The municipal health officer argued that the exclusion of the health sector from collaborating with other sectors in the planning for public transportation stems from the lack of awareness of ordinary citizens and politicians about the link between public transport and health issues (Kanyama et al., 2006). According to the municipal officer, this link has not been clearly described in the public domain in Tanzania.
All other interviewed stakeholders in Dar-es-Salaam felt that their involvement in the planning process for public transport was partial and unsatisfactory.

As the findings from Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi have shown, all the stakeholders are dissatisfied with their involvement in the planning for public transportation.
This exclusion of some stakeholders in the planning process can be traced from the model of urban planning and management inherited in the colonial period. The traditional model of management has always been dominated by the public sector investment programme, despite the increasing involvement of private actors in the running and operation of different urban sectors in African cities. Table 2.8 depicts the traditional urban management model, with a clear sectoral public sector orientation and an emphasis on physical planning and infrastructure provision. In this model, local and especially central government are the dominant actors, with non-governmental organisations and the private sector playing a limited role in social sector provision. This dominance of central authority in the development paradigm hampered involvement of other actors and undermined local autonomy (Wekwete, 1997). However, findings have shown that the latter development paradigm not only limited the private sector and NGOs, but also some key central government agencies and ministries (such as Health and Education) in the planning processes and thereby undermined any prospects for achieving a sustainable public transportation system. Before the release of Brundtland Commission Report in 1987, it was widely remarked that agencies responsible for planning disregarded the environmental discourse in planning processes by not involving essential departments such as Departments of Health, Environment, Education, etc. Strong connections between transport are now clearly recognised as including health impacts of transport pollution, the contribution of walking and cycling to health promotion, accessibility to health services, and information on healthy lifestyles. The prospects of achieving a sustainable public transport are undermined further due to recent increases of stakeholders in the public transport sector which are not involved in the planning process.

Table 2.8 Traditional urban management model

Actors	Responsibilities (management variables)
Central government	Political and administrative control of local governments Provision of grants and loans for major utility provision Development control and land administration Infrastructure development and management Preparations and approval of master plans
Local governments	Directly elected or appointed representatives constituting a decision-making body (local government)
Municipalities	Direct provision of social and physical infrastructure
Metropolitan	Maintenance of services and utilities
Governments	Development control, preparation of Master Plans and local plans
Non-governmental	Local-level interventions
Sector	Social service provision

Source: Wekwete, 1997.

The deregulation of public transportation in the 1980s and 1990s is an international phenomenon which is not limited to the cities in sub-Saharan Africa. This has led to the emergence of a great number of (private sector) stakeholders involved in the operation of public transport systems. In Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi, such stakeholders include private bus operators, bus importing agencies, associations promoting businesses in the city centres, insurance companies, associations of bus owners, etc. As noted earlier, most of the new stakeholders are not truly involved in the planning process for public transportation, yet their involvement in the public transport sector is crucial to ensure that the cities can continue to function although the poor quality of services they provide is a matter of serious concern. All interviewed stakeholders in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi felt that their involvement in the planning processes would be beneficial because they could contribute ideas they thought could be useful in improving public transportation.

However, urban management thinking in sub-Saharan Africa has been significantly shaped by trends in the broader development debates, where there is a de-emphasis on state intervention and much more faith put on market forces. The 1992 Rio Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) and Agenda 21 in particular underlined the importance of involving multi-stakeholder groups in decision-making. It is now widely recognised that the main stakeholders in urban management include central government, local government, non-governmental agencies, private sector business, urban households, and the various segments of civil society (Wekwete, 1997). This is seen as a shift away from well-established notions of politics in tackling urban problems. It brings in new sites, new actors and new themes – a move from the familiar topography of formal political institutions to the edges of organisational activity, negotiations between sovereign bodies, and inter-organisational networks that challenge the established distinction between public and private (Hajer and Wagennaar, 2003). Table 2.9 depicts the emerging public-private sector model of urban management

Table 2.9 The emerging public-private sector model of urban management

Actors	Responsibilities (management variables)
Central government	Political and administrative control of local governments Limited provision of grants and loans Emphasis more on coordination
Local governments	Formally more decentralised Provision and maintenance of basic services Development control; preparation of coordination plans Limited direct provision of services
Non-governmental and private sector	Increased local-level interventions Social services provision

Source: Wekwete, 1997.

The challenges for the new model of urban management is that as the local NGOs and private sector increasingly play in the development of urban services, the definition of their responsibility requires a clear delineation of what the different actors do and the matrix of management and responsibility. Although there is a growing inclination by government in sub-Saharan Africa to incorporate all actors in the planning processes, in practice they fail to articulate the roles of the different actors in urban management. Cities in Africa that have attempted the latter model (Table 2.9) under the auspices of the UNCHS (Habitat) Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP), in the last two decades include Dar-es-Salaam, Ibadan and Accra. Although the key objective of the SCP programme was to strengthen the planning and management capacities of urban governments, its success was limited (Wekwete, 1997). The project in Dar-es-Salaam exemplifies how such failures occur. In the 1990s the city of Dar-es-Salaam, assisted by UN Habitat, designed a new approach through which planning could be carried out based on a revision of the 1979 Dar-es-Salaam Master Plan. UN Habitat emphasised that the urban management problems facing the city required an approach that was stakeholder-driven, focusing especially on the interaction between environment and development, and with a major emphasis on cross-sectoral and inter-agency coordination. It thus proposed the application of an Environmental Planning and Management Approach (EPM) to improve the capacity of the local authorities to plan, coordinate and manage urban development in a manner that optimised the use of available resources, including manpower and natural resources (Kanyama et al., 2004).

Through the EPM approach, a Sustainable Dar-es-Salaam Project (SUDP) was formed. This project was not proposed by any one single agency but was the product of a partnership between residents, private companies, utility companies, central government departments and Dar-es-Salaam City Council (DCC). The project had set up working groups to deal with the priority areas identified in the environmental profile. The partnership that emerged became operational through a system of working groups with voluntary members drawn from different sectors of the city society (ibid).

Despite the emphasis on applying the EPM approach in the planning process, the influence of various stakeholders on planning was still very limited. Government-controlled urban development planning policy and practice remained inflexible and

restrictive and run by experts. The new SUDP scheme for the city designed to promote participation of different stakeholders in planning process failed because it lacked a legal mandate and a framework for stakeholder participation. Similarly, the project did not address the structural problems that the city of Dar-es-Salaam faces. These include central-local relationships, particularly the administrative and financial questions. Both these dimensions were still dominated by central government and there were few resources for the city to operate with. Certainly, the major innovation of the project has been the strengthening of a participatory system of management and a forging of public-private sector partnerships. But planning in a spirit of partnership was not achieved, as the concept of partnerships was still alien in the management in Dar-es-Salaam. Rules in partnership require a certain number of shared values among the participants, as well as some common policy goals. The mechanism which forms a partnership relationship between government and private sector in tackling city problems had not developed. The governments still dominate in policy prescription, which undermines stakeholder participation in a partnership arrangement. The application of partnership in the new urban management approach (Table 2.9) in Dar-es-Salaam required a prior development of institution and regulatory framework which could support this urban management approach. According to interviews with the city council planners, the application of the partnership concept failed in a SUDP in part because it was not locally grown and hence had no popular support.

'The problem was the EPM and its partnerships ideals was a United Nations initiated concept and the Sustainable Dar-es-Salaam Project (SDP) as a UN funded project was perceived by the public as elitist.'

Professionals who worked with the SDP had little success in inculcating the true ideals of partnerships and institution coordination in the general urban management process. In general, the failure of SDP in Dar-es-Salaam and other similar projects in other sub-Saharan cities should viewed as an inadequate institutionalisation of partnership arrangements. Peters (2002) underscores that partnerships as institutions provide a useful starting point for understanding their behaviour and their role in policy process. What cities in sub-Saharan Africa seem to portray is that partnerships in urban development projects are merely transient relationships among government, private sector, civil organisations and citizens, without stable institutional structures that are governed by shared understandings of priority and values as well as by sets of rules that have been mutually agreed upon by all actors. Inability to institutionalise partnerships in sub-Saharan cities is directly linked to increased transaction costs, thus reducing the prospects of facilitating decision-making based on common policy perspectives.

Conclusions from Chapter Two

This study began by emphasising that institutional coordination in a planning process should be guided by three main tenets, namely involvement of citizens, involvement of key stakeholders, institutional stakeholders, both private and public and carrying out a planning process that takes into account realistic social economic and cultural conditions inherent in the cities. Interviews with different stakeholders in the case study cities of Dar-es-salaam and Nairobi revealed a wide range of factors which limited the prospects of institutional coordination in the planning for public transport. These were: lack of strategic city and transport plans, poverty, fear of change or unwillingness to make bold planning interventions, corruption and lack of political commitment, inadequate citizen participation, lack of regulatory planning framework, inadequate decentralisation and inadequate involvement of institutional stakeholders in the planning processes. The investigation in this study sought to know how the above factors occurred, their impact on the public transport conditions and indeed how they affect the coordination process in planning for public transportation. The findings from the case study cities in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi were examined in the context of sub-Saharan African cities, with the focus on the inclination of cities to plan for sustainable public transportation. Factors that constrain institutional coordination (mentioned above in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi) in planning for public transport are similar and occur in a similar fashion in other sub-Saharan African cities.

The study revealed that authorities in sub-Saharan cities have not been active and innovative in formulating schemes that could tackle problems of public transportation after the countries attained independence from the colonial powers. Current increases in urban population and spatial expansion of cities has impaired the management capabilities of many city authorities. For that reason, authorities have been less keen or unable to manage the current transport systems in the cities. In general, there are no public transport schemes worth naming. The failure to produce effective schemes is partly due to shortage of competent public transport professionals who can meet the large-scale public transport planning requirements. Contributing to this is the insufficient provision of institutions to train professionals in the field of transportation. Likewise, research works in the field of city and transport planning is inadequate, lack of crucial information for city and transport development being an example. In addition, inability to produce good schemes is due to demoralised professional staff as a result of poor governance practices. These take the form of poor involvement in policy formulation and low salaries, which do not motivate professionals to be creative and innovative in tackling the problems of public transportation, etc.

Poverty poses a huge dilemma in tackling public transport problems of sub-Saharan Africa. Virtually all cities in the sub-Saharan region are characterised by poverty. This problem has consistently led to poor prospects for achieving a sustainable public transportation. The way poverty occurs in the cities is similar in most of the sub-Saharan African countries – incompetence in economic development strategies, corruption, poor developed human and organisational capital, poor planning of cities as nodes to stimulate economic development. In turn, this has undermined the prospects for having an institutional coordination mechanism to tackle public transport problems because of the inability to produce basic schemes for public transport, or when these are prepared, there is a lack of funds for implementation.

Unwillingness by decision-makers to change current public transport conditions is a common phenomenon in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. Cities have extremely poor travel conditions characterised by increase in accidents, air and noise pollution, delays to destination, congestion, etc. These conditions adversely affect the economies of African cities in terms of lost productive times in travelling, loss of human lives through accidents and the increase of diseases due to pollution. Yet authorities lack courage to take corrective intervention measure in fear of other issues that commonly accompany any planning interventions. Likewise, some decision-makers exploit chaotic public transport situations for their corrupt gains and hence change is not a preferred option. These poor governance attributes are a common occurrence in all cities and have generated similarly poor public conditions in almost all African cities.

Lack of political commitment and corruption in the process of decision-making is widespread in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. Politicians disregard professional views and in some instances they give the public false promises about the prospects to tackle public urban problems during election periods. Promises about how transportation problems could be tackled are often not kept after elections. Lack of political commitment in planning for public transport is directly linked to corruption. Likewise, many planning authorities pursue planning interventions that award privileges to top decision-makers. UN Habitat (2002) stresses that in sub-Saharan Africa, decision-makers often use state privileges and the trappings of sovereignty for private objectives and occupation of state power is increasingly viewed as the key vehicle to private accumulation. Accordingly, regimes curtail many possibilities for urban economic development, which also affects the development of cities. There are also low levels of corruption triggered by low salary pay, which tempts low key officers to bribery in exchange for violation of laws. This problem is often common in the enforcement of traffic regulation in the cities where a traffic police force is involved.

Citizen participation is weak in planning processes in sub-Saharan cities and the reasons for this weakness, which are similar across the continent, include:

- Lack of competence by planners about how to involve the citizens in planning processes and therefore planning is solely dependent on expert views.
- Deliberate exclusion of citizens from decision-making by the planning systems
- Lack of citizens' motivation to participate in planning process.

Most cities in sub-Saharan Africa have not established a regulatory framework to guide planning for public transport to suit the current urbanisation conditions. Planning interventions to tackle public transport are ad hoc in character. Attempts to carry out coordinated interventions by institutions lack clarity of who does what. In other cases some institutions are reluctant to participate in any mechanism of coordination because of a fear of reduced roles or reduced revenue allocation.

Most of the local authorities in sub-Saharan Africa are unable to implement crucial schemes to tackle problems of public transportation because central governments control the sources of revenue generation. This hinders local authorities' ability to initiate public transportation schemes to tackle problems of public transportation and for organising mechanisms for institutional coordination.

Key stakeholders, both public and private, are excluded from planning processes. This has reduced the prospects for achieving a sustainable public transportation system. Planning processes involving the concept of partnership have been applied in a number of cities in sub-Saharan Africa but with limited achievements. The problem was that the participation of stakeholders was not based on shared goals because the public sector continued to dominate planning processes. However, different stakeholders in both the private and public sector showed an interest in being involved in the planning for public transportation. This involvement will truly occur if there is a clear framework formulated to enable all stakeholders to be involved planning processes in a spirit of true ideals of partnership.

Putting the above factors that constrain city and transport planning activities in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa together makes the prospects for effective institutional coordination in the planning for public transport difficult to view. That is why it is constantly hard for cities in the region to produce public transport schemes that can be truly implemented by the support of all the key stakeholders. It is fair to say that planning for public transportation is path-dependent because of its inability to transform to tackle emerging public transport problems in sub-Saharan African cities. Protecting jobs for young people in an inefficient public transport system blocks prospects for positive planning intervention. Likewise, discourses that informed public transport planning in the colonial period are still in use today despite the increase in population and spatial sizes of cities. Institutionalised discourses of public transport remain strong and provide legitimate reasons for ignoring some evidence, some values and claims for policy attention. Issues such as increasing poverty or the need for citizen or stakeholder participation in planning processes have become 'black boxed' and the assumptions that underpinned a planning practice remain unrealistically challenged. As a consequence, old ways of planning have become fixed and thus have undermined prospects for innovation to improve existing practice.

In a similar path dependence perspective, Mbaku (2005) argues that although Africans 'transformed' the institutional arrangements that they inherited from the colonialists, transformation was not undertaken in the appropriate manner. The process was dominated by indigenous urban elites with most of the relevant stakeholders groups not provided with facilities to participate fully and effectively in the transformation of the critical domains. As a consequence, the outcomes were laws and institutions that failed to reflect the desires, interests and aspirations of the African people. Instead they encouraged and facilitated rent seeking, rent extraction, financial mismanagement, corruption and other forms of opportunism (ibid). Such malpractice has also affected prospects of instituting a coordination mechanism among institutions.

Barriers to tackling problems of public transport and the creation of institutional coordination also occur in the form of satisfaction with the status quo and thus becoming a major resistance to change. Stakeholders in Nairobi pointed out three ways in which the stalemate to tackle problems of public transport problems occurs:

> '*The problem is that decision-makers do not bother so much about the current transport situation involving matatu as long as the situation 'seems to be working'. A few people who have travelled to the rest of the world are the ones who feel that things are not ok.*'

'*Besides public transport is not regarded as fascinating by decision-makers, the majority of the commuters are low income earning group, hence it is not a priority for many policy-makers.*'

'*The interest to improve transport services as a public good is also not paramount. There are big stakeholders such as the Matatu Cartels, who are only interested in making money – economic interests take precedence than improving bus services.*'

In the African context, path dependence manifests itself also in the lack of a common vision among interdependent agencies, the increasingly political nature of decision-making that complicates the redistribution of power, authority, and control in any coordination format, inflexible funding arrangements and, most important of all, the lack of an 'enabling environment' to foster fundamental change to improve public transportation.

Chapter Three

3.0 Existing potential for tackling transport problems and prospects for effective institutional coordination

Cities organise functions in different ways and there are many actors involved, which leads to a need for some kind of coordination. Any form of institutional coordination can be unique, depending on the political, cultural and socio-economic conditions of a city. Existing ways of tackling public transport problems and how institutions are structured can be the basis for building new forms of institutional coordination in the planning for public transportation. This arises when different stakeholders representing specific and different interests in the public transport industry synchronise their interests to permit achievement of a common goal – an efficient public transportation system as a public good. This depends largely on the existing stocks of human, social and organisation capital inherent in a city. Chapter Three uses interview results of what stakeholders felt were past and existing capacities to tackle problems of public transportation. It also examines the mode of coordination that may have taken place to show the possible weaknesses and strengths in the existing institutional coordination. The final part of Chapter Three presents the conclusions from the workshops in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam about the formation of a framework of institutional coordination that can be effective in planning for public transportation.

3.1 Existing and past capacity to tackle public transport in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam

Nairobi

There are currently inter-ministerial and inter-departmental committees which meet occasionally to discuss how to tackle a range of Nairobi's city development problems – including public transportation. Stakeholders that are actively involved in the committees included the Office of the President, Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, Ministry of Lands, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Roads and Public Works, Traffic Police, Research Institutions, Ministry of health. One outcome of this committee was the preparation of the National road safety action plan in 2007.
Kenya has a number of research institutions which carry out regular research studies concerning problems of transportation. Such research institutions include the Institute of Developing Studies (IDS) and the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, both of University of Nairobi and the Kenya Institute of Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA). Often findings are disseminated to the public in the form of presentation and reports.

The Metropolitan Growth Plan – known specifically as the Strategy Plan – was prepared for Nairobi between 1970 and 1973. The Strategy Plan outlined a comprehensive plan of action for the city's growth in all areas of development, i.e.

physical growth, population, housing, transportation, infrastructure and services development, etc.

According to officials in the City Council, in the 1990s Nairobi City had a Traffic Liaison Committee which was chaired by the Nairobi Provincial Commissioner (PC). The Committee constituted a number of stakeholders including the police, vehicle owners and the City Council, among others. One of the Committee's achievements was that it managed to reorganise the public transport service in Nairobi. However, this committee has since ceased to function after the Provincial Commissioner was transferred away from Nairobi.

The dominance of the matatu public bus transport system in Nairobi. Its current strength lies in (i) savings and credit organisations extending credit to support the private passenger operators – they have assisted small investors by giving them soft funding for the purchase of newer fleets of bus vehicles, (ii) the Public Service Vehicles Owners Association is somehow involved in consultations with government authorities and lobbying for better and more inclusive policy formulation processes which should involve them; (iii) some bus public transport investors in some public service routes have initiated limited transportation companies for their operations.

Preparation of an Integrated National Transport Policy was prepared under the coordination of the Ministry of Transport in a process involving a wide range of stakeholders. The document was subject to parliament approval by 2008. By 2008, various stakeholders were involved in the pre-planning discussion phase for the Bus Rapid Transit project for Nairobi.

Nairobi has already a well established public transport company – the Kenya Bus service Management ltd (KBS). According to the company statement, the aims of the company include organising para-transits into profitable formal companies; lobbying for greater government interest and participation, building capacity in the management of bus business and promoting bus transport as the preferred mode of travel for all. In 2006, the City Council and the Nairobi Central Business District Association launched a pedestrianisation programme. Some streets are to be converted into pedestrian only areas by paving them, and only allowing through traffic. The programme included placing of litter bins, planting trees, installation of street lights and security surveillance devices.

Dar-es-Salaam

In 1983, the prime minister of Tanzania took the crucial decision to allow individual private bus operators to provide public transport services in Dar-es-Salaam after the public owned transport company failed to provide adequate commuter services. In 1999, the Dar-es-Salaam Regional Transport Licensing Authority (DRTL) was formed to manage public transport in the city. This function has since 2005 been transferred to a new organisation – the Surface and Maritime Transport Authority (SUMATRA).

Customer protection associations have been formed to protect public travellers' interests. One such association is 'Chama cha kuwatetea Wasafiri Dar-es-Salaam'(CHAKUWADA). Meanwhile, private bus operators in Dar-es-Salaam have

formed their association, the Dar-es-Salaam Bus Owners Association (DARBOCOA). This association is somehow involved in the estimation of bus fare, planning for re-routing buses to ease traffic problems in the city centre and also participates in discussing new licensing regulations. Furthermore, DARCOBOA promotes information against corruption among bus operators in order to improve bus transport services. Likewise, the association has proposed the introduction of registered companies instead of individual public transport operators.

In 1992, Dar-es-Salaam planning authorities adopted a planning intervention for the city's problems including public transportation in the form of Environmental Planning and Management Approach (EPM). EPM was expected to provide an environment for the local government to manage and mobilise for change by building linkages and synergies with partners in the urban development process. Urban management problems facing the city were to be tackled by an approach that was stakeholder-driven, focusing especially on the interaction between environment and development, and with a major emphasis on cross-sectoral and inter-agency coordination.

Dar-es-Salaam rapid transit agency has been established to plan and coordinate public transport in Dar-es-Salaam. Its task is expected to include management of the public transport system in Dar-es-Salaam

Tanzania prepared and approved a national transport policy in 2003. This document stipulates the importance of institutional coordination in the planning process if sustainable public transportation is to be achieved. Tanzania has a national Environmental Act which was adopted in 2004. It is the legislative framework for coordination of environment management to guide stakeholders. It points out the requirement for multiple stakeholder involvement in any project that affects the environment. National Environment Management Council (NEMC) is an agency that is responsible for monitoring agreements reached by stakeholders. NEMC links up with planning and environmental units of various sectors. Efficient public transportation is an area that was incorporated into the Environmental Act.

In June 2008, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) completed the new Transport Master Plan for Dar-es-Salaam, which proposed the construction of flyover bridges at different road intersections in the city to ease traffic flow. JICA also recommended revamping public transportation through more regulation, to encourage more commuters to use public transportation rather than personal vehicles.

The above enumerated institutions and functions which are connected to the public transport sector in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam are vital human and organisation capital which have been crucial in ameliorating the problems of public transportation with varying degrees of success. Included are technical departments, central and local authorities, national officials, public transport association, research institution and consumer associations. The next section examines briefly the difficulties of institutional coordination involving these institutions in planning processes.

Weakness in existing ways of institutional coordination

The foregoing sections have shown that both Dar-es-salaam and Nairobi cities have a number of existing stakeholders in the public transport sector with different roles

and capacities to contribute in tackling the problem of public transportation. The existence of these institutions with their varying capacities in the public transport sector forms important intellectual capital which can be strengthened and become a spring-board to build strong forms of institutional coordination. Stocks of intellectual capital inherent in a city are crucial both in any substantive drive to tackle public transport problems and culturally to organise effective institutional coordination in planning for public transportation.

There are different patterns of institutional coordination that different stakeholders may engage in for the planning of public transportation. These range between totally informal/no formality, completely formal and integrated approaches (Miller and Lam 2003). Formal coordination is the existence of either formal agreement(s) reached by all the member agencies or legislation that dictates roles and responsibilities of each stakeholder within the coalition (ibid.). Research findings in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi have shown that contemporary 'formal' institutional coordination mechanisms involve central and local government departments as the main stakeholders. Authorities in these departments decide about which other stakeholders can be invited. The weakness of the practice of coordination is that there is no guarantee whether key stakeholders in the private sector or civil society would be invited into a coordination process or whether their views would be considered in the development of schemes. Bus owners associations in Dar-es-salaam and Nairobi felt that their inputs in a 'formal' coordination mechanism were merely of an advisory nature. The involvement of bus owners' associations was not based on the spirit of partnership because decision-makers were obliged to take views from such associations seriously in the preparation of public transport schemes. Similar treatment was described by other stakeholders such as researchers and public transport professionals. In general the findings have shown that the weakness of formal institutional coordination in planning for public transport in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi are:

- Lack of clear division of roles and responsibilities among departments and agencies.
- Lack of a strong policy or legal framework requiring coordination.
- Lack of established common goal and vision to achieve public transport as public good.
- Lack of availability of suitable technologies (in this case transport plans) to spur institutional and operational changes.
- Lack of consensus- and compromise-driven decision-making process due to exclusion of key stakeholders in coordination processes.

Some form of coordination often occurs in the form *informal* private-private sector coordination or *informal* private-public sector coordination. Examples of private-private sector coordination in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi involve vehicle repair firms and public transport bus operators or between bus importing firms and public transport operators, etc. Repair work based in this form of coordination does not guarantee that repaired vehicles meet the required mechanical standards. This often leads to the supply of transport services by vehicles with mechanical faults – common in the public transport systems in the sub-Saharan cities. This weakness occurs because informal coordination mechanisms are not guided by a clear framework of managing the public transport industry. Decisions reached by the two parties informally are likely to disregard standards that promote a sustainable public

transport. However, informal coordination provides an alternative approach to encouraging cooperation among agencies on an ad hoc basis. Studies suggest that existing linkages between organisations, while largely informal and unplanned, may better serve the interests of those demanding public transportation than a large central authority (Stone, 1990). Wide application of this form of coordination in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa can be appropriate where the number of actors in the public transport system is increasing, but this will depend on the application of good principles of partnership arrangement in the coordination mechanism. A range of factors, from personal attributes to organisational structures, contribute to the success of informal coordination. Such factors include (Chisholm,1989):

- Mutual trust and similar corporate values among agencies.
- Culture of reciprocity (people must help those who have helped them) allows informal mechanisms to persist and establish firmly in the society.
- Personal contacts and networks serve as informal channels.
- Motivation to coordinate – organisations will coordinate if there are extrinsic benefits for all parties involved such as expedited services as well as intrinsic benefits such as increased customer satisfaction and passenger miles.

Informal coordination is the cumulative result of many individual decisions that work with conditions favouring development of informal ties. Informal channels provide the means through which coordination can occur, sometimes without any direct or formal coordination procedures. Informal mechanisms can address transit needs that arise from the inherent interdependencies among particular operators. Informal coordination mechanisms are more adaptive to the level of interdependence required on a case-by-case basis while formal channels are more effective in coordinating operations that involve numerous stakeholders (Miller and Lam, 2003).

The preceding sections of this chapter show the existing potential and capacities in terms of human and organisation capital that the cities of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi possess, which can be the basis for initiating effective forms of institutional coordination in planning for public transport. Likewise, the sections highlight some weaknesses in existing formal and informal coordination in tackling problems of public transportation. The following section presents results of interviews and workshop conclusions in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam as recommendations for building a framework for institutional coordination that suits local conditions.

3.2 Recommendations from interviews and workshops

As shown in Chapter Two, it is clear that lack of institutional coordination in planning for public transport in sub-Saharan cities is inherently embedded in the institutional, political, cultural, economic and technological condition of those countries. In recognition of the above weaknesses, key stakeholders who were interviewed and who participated in the workshops in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam were asked for recommendations about how to tackle public transportation planning. The interviews and the outcome of the workshops revealed a number of ideas and strategies that stakeholders thought were important in the formation of a framework for institutional

coordination mechanisms in the planning for public transport. The following paragraphs present different viewpoints from interviews and conclusions of the workshops about how institutional coordination mechanisms can be improved in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi.

Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi: Stakeholder recommendations

The recommendations of interviewed stakeholders for a framework for institutional coordination in planning for public transport fell into two main categories. The first category involved different suggestions for institutional set-up to enable effective institutional coordination as shown in Table 3.1 and the second category involved a set of recommendations as shown in Table 3.2, which focus on the application of good attributes of governance and leadership to ensure that the framework of institutional coordination works.

Table 3.1 Suggestions for institutional set up to improve coordination
In both Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam, forming the national coordinator for public transport services was emphasised.
The Ministry of Infrastructure, which was responsible for producing the national transport policy, was seen as a potential authority to coordinate the public transport sector. It was emphasised that one of the key roles of the coordinating authority would be to identify stakeholders and their roles to avoid overlap and thereby encourage accountability (Dar-es-Salaam).
The Ministry of Transport should take the lead and develop a policy that recognises public transport service as a major component in the transport sector. A key aspect of this policy should be training of staff for transport planning (Nairobi).
Institutional coordination must be supported by legislation to oblige all (key) public transport stakeholders to participate in the planning and coordination process of public transport.
The Ministry of Transport must take a coordinating role and take a lead in developing policies that will be used by other stakeholders (Nairobi).
Institutional coordination should occur through a metropolitan authority falling under the city council (Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam). The metropolitan authority should coordinate all transport issues in the city.
Forming a Department of Transport which will bring all actors under one unit (Nairobi). Today there are over 17 departments dealing with road transport, all with different heads and mandates.
A coordinated planning approach led by a consultant (Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam). Other stakeholders are identified and incorporated in the planning process.
Forming a metropolitan authority falling under the city council (Nairobi). Infrastructure and traffic enforcement management should fall under the Ministry of Transport as a semi-autonomous fully funded body and Public Works Department in the Ministry of Roads to be a semi-autonomous authority for infrastructure development.
All stakeholders should get an opportunity to participate effectively in the planning process to choose the most efficient and cost effective plan and the Government should take the lead role (Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam).
The Ministry of Health and in particular the Public Health Department need to take up their roles and spearhead the enforcement of laws such as the public health ACT (Nairobi). Once this is clear, it will then be possible to coordinate all other players in the sector.
The Ministry of Transport should take the coordinating role of all public transport matters. The government should also allow for self-regulation in the sector. Ideally self-regulation should be structured in a manner that results in the formation of a passenger service vehicles (PSV) regulatory board (Nairobi).
Institutional coordination should be designed in such a way that the office of the president should be seen more as the lead coordinating organisation and that public transport plan should be seen from the vantage point of a city plan which ideally would draw much from the region vision (Nairobi).

Interviews with stakeholders in both cities highlighted similar issues of governance and leadership which they thought were crucial for a framework of institutional coordination. In general stakeholders stressed that politicians and decision-makers

should show seriousness and accountability to public transport policy formulation and subsequent implementation. Table 3.2 presents the attributes of governance recommended by different stakeholders in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam.

Table 3.2 Suggestions on governance to improve coordination
Leaders and decision-makers should be objective and avoid selfishness and vested interests during decision-making in planning process.
Leaders and decision-makers should encourage research works as the basis for knowledge essential to formulate effective ways of institutional coordination mechanisms in tackling public transport problems. Efforts should be stepped up to ensure that the knowledge obtained reaches decision-making authorities and be used effectively.
Leaders and decision-makers should promote inclusiveness of all key disciplines and experts concerned in the public transport sector in a framework of institutional coordination.
Leaders and decision-makers should be guided by a shared vision of what a good public transportation system is. Institutional coordination in the planning process to be guided by three principles; (i) clear public transport policy; (ii) good planning; and (iii) good regulations and efficient transport service provision.
Leaders and decision-makers should be guided by objective planning underpinned by strategies such as transparency and open dialogue
Leaders and decision-makers should avoid unnecessary bureaucracy guided by old laws and ways of operations which impair prospects for an effective institutional co-ordination mechanism.
Leaders should encourage creativity and innovativeness and dare to challenge ineffective systems of planning that hamper achievement of a better public transport system – courage to break from the traditions of planning if it is unproductive.
Leaders and decision-makers should encourage and promote public transport plans (based on the vision of the city) and integrated with other sectors and thus forging interdisciplinary approach in tackling problems of public transportation
Leaders and decision-makers should promote formulation of performance contract mechanisms to hold individuals working in all institutions of public transport sector personally responsible for their actions when they abuse their authority

Workshop recommendations for a framework of coordination

In order to establish contrast and unanimity in the recommendations and viewpoints given by separate institutions regarding institutional coordination during interviews, the two workshops organised in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi were crucial. The workshops provided an opportunity during which all the stakeholders deliberated about how a framework for institutional coordination should be structured. In both workshops, participants ventured into brainstorming with the aim of developing a workable framework for institutional coordination in the planning process. Brainstorming and discussion about searching for a framework for institutional coordination was guided by specific formulated themes, namely: (i) what was a realistic framework that can be the basis for coordination in the planning process for public transport and who were the main stakeholders; (ii) how actors' viewpoints and interests can be identified; and (iii) what aspects of human, social and intellectual capital are essential in promoting institutional coordination in the planning process. The conclusions of the workshop agenda in both Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi about the set-up of a framework for institutional coordination were similar in many respects and are summarised below.

Framing institutional coordination

Workshop participants advocated that the public transportation issues should be placed under one coordination authority. Such authorities could either be the Ministry

of Transport or a metropolitan authority which produces a transport plan as part of metropolitan planning as a whole. Crucially, such an authority should be able to coordinate with other actors involved in the public transport sector during the planning process. The coordination authority should have a clear structure of the roles played by each sector in the planning process and all key stakeholders should be accountable in their respective areas of responsibility. The framework should be designed so as to enable the coordinating authority to execute the following processes: (i) to develop the environmental profile of a city and identify issues, needs and requirements for public transportation in a city; (ii) preparation of a public transport plan accompanied by specific strategies for action; (iii) to organise cities' consultative meetings or workshops involving all the stakeholders; and (iv) implementation of the developed action plan, monitoring and evaluation.

Identification of stakeholders

Stakeholders in the public transport sector that were identified during the workshops included employees in various sectors, regulators, central and local governments, vehicle suppliers, suppliers, consumers, city and transport planners, public transport associations, research institutions, technical experts, people in the business sector, commuters, individual bus operators and their employees, i.e. drivers and conductors, disadvantaged groups – children, elderly and disabled people, regulatory institutions like traffic police departments, media groups and civil organisations.

Mode of getting stakeholders views

A coordinating authority should be designed with structures which allow a culture of negotiation and consensus building to develop. Generation of views should occur through establishment of task teams, consultative workshops and seminars. It was underscored that institutional coordination should be underpinned by observing practices of transparency, trust, education and awareness. Legislation that supports coordination mechanism among actors was considered to be crucial.

Source of intellectual capital

The workshops' conclusions cited sources of intellectual and social capital as central and local governments, civil society, religious bodies, academicians, researchers, the business entrepreneurial community, professionals and the citizens. Good leadership was seen as a crucial attribute of intellectual capital in working out a framework for institutional coordination in planning for public transportation.

Conclusions from Chapter Three

The interviews and workshops in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi revealed that people are aware of the weaknesses of planning intervention in tackling the problems of public transportation and provided different strategic viewpoints which are crucial in achieving a coordination mechanism in a planning process. The examination in this study shows that the issues that constrain institutional coordination in Dar-es-salaam and Nairobi are similar in these two cities and generally apply for most of the cities in sub-Saharan Africa. The cases of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi have shown that there are existing institutions that can be strengthened to tackle problems of public transport and citizens have a strong wish to contribute from their experiences in planning and implementation processes. However, this study also shows that citizens' contribution and impact will be felt only if true democratic conditions are created in the cities. Apathy in politics is

not limited to Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi alone, but rather it is a common phenomenon in the sub-Saharan African cities. Thus the future of sustainable public transportation in the cities of sub-Africa rests on the willingness of the African states to accommodate the diverse viewpoints and interests of the people in public policy decisions. Citizens' disillusionment about useless political and development programmes has discouraged them from participating in shaping public policies for development of their cities. To engage citizens to participate in the development programme of their cities, governments will need to address the root causes of such disillusionment. Chapter Four proposes the Apex Framework for institutional coordination which can be used in planning for public transportation in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa.

Chapter Four

4.0 Way forward — the Apex Framework

Coordination has become an increasingly popular buzzword in government circles over the past few decades, largely because of the nature of the problems confronting society. However, the outcome has been the creation of coordinating authorities or committees without reflection on the resources needed to be allocated or the consequences on the functioning of existing mechanisms (Boyer, 2001). Chapter Four proposes a framework — the Apex framework that could lead to an effective mechanism for institutional coordination in planning for public transport suited to the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. As examined earlier in Chapter Two, the factors and conditions constraining institutional coordination in planning for public transport in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam are similar in many respects to those in other cities in sub-Saharan Africa. Likewise, they occur in the same way and have led to the same kind of public transport problems as in other cities of the African region. Thus, it is necessary to find a universal approach or a framework for institutional coordination that can be applied in sub-Saharan African cities to counteract the common constraints encountered in planning for sustainable public transportation. In interviews, stakeholders in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi underscored the complexity of public transport in their cities and were distressed by the lack of order in the mode of operation of many agencies involved in the public transport sector. Different stakeholders in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi proposed different views on how an effective framework for institutional coordination in planning for public transport could be achieved. A crucial factor in their recommendations was that different roles and functions relating to planning for public transport should be placed under one authority to facilitate effective coordination among the stakeholders involved.

However, recognition of the fragmented institutional set-up and the need for institutional reorganisation to improve coordination in planning for public transport in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi is not new in developing countries. In Caracas, for example, a single metropolitan transport authority was proposed by consultants in 1976, but was not implemented despite the apparent need for it. In Latin America there have been difficulties in implementing single Transport Authorities, e.g. due to political constraints in Buenos Aires and to lack of agreement between local authorities in Rio de Janeiro. Likewise, in South Africa the development of a new Metropolitan Transport authority (MTA) was regarded as challenging by authorities. Actually, case studies of fully functioning and successful transport authorities as described above are not generally evident (Kane, 2002).

Some countries and cities have been relatively successful in institutional coordination efforts. These vary widely in scope and level of apparent success, but two themes are evident: the development of specialist units, often comprising professionals and interested employees of state; and the instigation of inter-ministerial or inter-sectoral committees. For example, in Curitiba the IPPUC (Curitiba Research and Planning Institute) is a technical group of local planners, architects and engineers who have effectively influenced the development of the public transport system there (Rabinovitch and Hoehn, 1995). Coordination between land use and transport development proved to be key to successful public transport planning in that case and the institutional basis for the success was early establishment of strong technical planning. However, the success was also due in large measure to political leadership,

which was crucially important, as was the necessity for institutional capacity for change, the legal framework for enforcement, and the financial resources for implementation (Banister, 2005a). The World Bank-supported Urban Transport Project in Ghana created the Urban Transport Unit to move its supported project forward and Buenos Aires has established a Metropolitan Transport Unit to oversee some of the roles which a Transport Authority would undertake. Meanwhile in South Africa there are technical committees at metropolitan, provincial and national level and there have been some moves toward Transport Authorities. In Ghana, a technical committee preceded the development of committees of political representatives. Ghana now has inter-ministerial committees in place, inter-sectoral committees have been developed and urban transport policy, regulation and execution issues are under one minister. In both Ghana and South Africa, where coordinating authorities or committees were established in the cities, there was no clear-cut success in achieving an effective mechanism for institutional coordination in the planning for public transport (Kane, 2002).

However, as the demand for sustainable public transport gains ground, there are widespread calls for institutional change and particularly for greater co-ordination between, and integration of, agencies for (public) transportation in urban areas. Some achievements such as those in Curitiba and Bogotá for well-planned public transportation have been widely publicised, but in many other cities of developing countries, notably in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa, the degree of achievement is dismal. The evidence from the present study was that institutional coordination in planning for public transport in sub-Saharan African cities is constrained by factors which include:

(i) ***Lack of political commitment in creating a vision of a city.*** The importance of having a vision of a city is to envision the type of city wanted by the citizens, from which public transport policies can be formulated.

(ii) ***Lack of effective city and public transport plans:*** The capacity to make city and transport plans is fundamental in institutional coordination because it is from these plans that different fields can coalesce to tackle problems of public transport.

(iii) ***Lack of professionalism:*** Professionalism could be improved by establishing key departments such as public transport planning and traffic management and by securing competent trained staff to handle public transport planning and traffic management functions.

(iv) ***Rampant corruption:*** Corrupt-free institutions are crucial so that public resources can rightly be directed to planning and implementation programmes for public transport schemes, as well as in supporting the mechanism for institutional coordination.

(v) ***Lack of regulatory framework:*** A well-designed regulatory framework is crucial in stipulating roles which different stakeholders can handle and in setting standards for accountability in the process of institutional coordination in planning for public transport.

(vi) ***Poverty:*** Alleviation of poverty is essential for securing a good economy that can enable public institutions to secure the necessary finances to support formulation and implement transport schemes. An improved economy would enable relevant stakeholders to make necessary

investments in the public transport sector, as well as enabling citizens to pay for public transportation services and thus sustain the system.

(vii) ***Unwillingness by decision-makers to (break the status quo and) change existing poor transport systems***: Willingness by city development decision-makers and leaders planning intervention to change existing poor public transport systems is crucial for engaging different stakeholders in institutional coordination in planning for public transport.

(viii) ***Inadequate political and fiscal decentralisation:*** Realistic political decentralisation to local level is important to increase the political powers enabling authorities to take crucial decisions at this level. Likewise, proper fiscal decentralisation to local level would widen and increase prospects for local government self-sufficiency in revenue generation necessary to support formulation and implementation of public transport schemes. Increased revenue generation is also crucial in supporting programmes essential for institutional coordination.

(ix) ***Poor citizen and stakeholder participation:*** Citizens and other stakeholders are the principal recipients of public transport services. Their actual involvement in planning processes is crucial to support actual implementation.

For a mechanism of institutional coordination to be effective in planning for public transport, it is crucial that all the above factors that constrain institutional coordination are tackled. Citizens and many other stakeholders are disillusioned by these weaknesses and are thereby discouraged from participating in shaping public policies for development of their cities. The stakeholders in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi felt that the establishment of a coordinating authority was in itself not enough to result in an effective mechanism of institutional coordination involving all stakeholders in a planning process for public transport. Accordingly, they recommended inclusion of principles of good governance in a planned framework for institutional coordination. They emphasised that cities must reverse the existing pattern of public alienation from the city development programmes and inculcate discourse on sustainable development within communities to emphasise more democratic mechanisms for decision-making and policy implementation. In creating the Apex Framework for institutional coordination, section 4.1 highlights different strategic governance approaches to tackle the nine factors outlined above which constrain institutional coordination, while section 4.2 recommends an institutional framework that includes an apex coordinating authority, all the stakeholders, and functions for institutional coordination in planning for public transportation.

4.1 Governance strategies to tackle the constraints

The essence of the concept of governance in supporting institutional coordination in planning for public transportation entails synergy in collective action across the public-private demarcation, and the empowerment and inclusion of civil society into the spheres of the public sector and public policy processes involving the public transportation sector. Governance models must fit the prevailing social, economic and cultural particularities of a country, but certain basic principles or attributes are

essential. The approach taken to governance in planning for public transportation should be transparent, inclusive, coherent and equitable. Similarly, the governance system should be accountable, efficient and responsive. Better governance requires the participation of government, citizens, civil society and the private sector, as all are instrumental in different ways in the successful implementation of a mechanism for institutional coordination in planning for public transportation.

(i) Political commitment in creating a vision of a city

A well-functioning public transport system is determined by a coherent vision of a sustainable city which spells out the kind of community it wishes to be. The vision of a city encompasses an action plan for equitable growth in cities, developed and sustained through participation to improve the quality of all citizens. The overall vision of the 'sustainable city' first requires the development of a holistic concept for sustainable urban development, within which all aspects of sustainability should be considered, i.e. economic, social and environmental. A decision in one of these areas can affect the progress of the other areas. Furthermore, an integrated approach is needed where different fields of actions can be coordinated and combined in an optimal way. A collective city vision and action plan is aimed at improving urban governance and management, increasing investment and expanding employment and services while bringing about a systematic and sustained reduction in urban poverty. The vision of a city forms the basis for planning land use, transport and other sectoral needs, and for setting policy, resources allocation and investment priorities. As pointed out earlier, the culture of creating substantive visions of cities in sub-Saharan countries is non-existent due to:

- Lack of understanding of the need for such an approach and lack of readiness and willingness to accept it.
- Lack of know-how to develop the various strands of such an approach.
- Lack of an urban management framework capable of understanding such a policy and its systematic implementation.

It is imperative that decision-makers, politicians, leaders and the public at large in sub-Saharan African cities embark on formulating visions for their cities in which everybody is expected to live a decent life. Politicians and decision-makers constitute institutions that are crucial in marshalling internal patterns of behaviour and ways of working, as well as the collective values of the citizens in the development of their cities. Improved training is crucial to produce professionals who are capable of taking the lead in mapping out the vision of cities. Decision-makers and politicians must be strong in envisioning processes for types of cities that are wanted by the citizens. Planning for public transport should then start from societal goals about the type of city and quality of life it contains, in order to design public transport systems that meet sustainability requirements. Decision-makers and politicians must be willing and prepared to support professionals in this process as a necessary step to promote institutional coordination and achieve better public transportation.

(ii) Strengthening the physical and transport planning capacity of a city

Public transport has always been in the domain of urban planning and the basic and most complex task of urban planning is to define and achieve a balanced and viable transport system. This challenge is directly connected to how the decision-makers, politicians and professional planners facilitate realisation of a vision of a city as described above. The city's official community plans establish the long-term goals, plans and actions that will successfully balance the environmental, economic and social needs of the community.

As mentioned earlier, most cities in sub-Saharan Africa lack realistic physical and transport plans for the development of cities, partly because planning authorities were burdened with systematic planning assumed at the level of master plans informed by Western assumptions. These plans had little agreement with post-independence realistic urban conditions. The unrealistic nature of master plans and pressures arising from the emerging dynamics of urban conditions in sub-Saharan Africa has caused city authorities to lose control of the management tools that guide the growth of cities. This weakness has constrained cities like Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi, as well as others in sub-Saharan Africa, to produce new approaches to tackle emerging urban problems. For that reason, cities do not have plans worthy of the name to tackle public transportation. On the whole, cities lack robust functions that are basic and crucial in the overall planning process for public transport, including:

- ***Strategic transport planning*** – development of transport strategies within the urban development context leading to realistic policies and short- and long-term investment.
- ***Infrastructure for transport*** – planning, design, financing, construction and maintenance of road, public transport and other transport infrastructure.
- ***Public transport*** – development of the public transport system including planning, design, management, regulation, licensing, franchising and operation.
- ***Traffic operations and management*** – management of roads and road use for all vehicular and non-vehicular modes and users including planning, design, implementation, operation, maintenance, etc.
- ***Regulations*** – enforcement of traffic regulations, driver and vehicle licensing, vehicle testing, etc.

The inability of African cities to carry out the above functions is traceable in a lack of a combination of vision and strategy at the level of government and an inability to implement change according to local needs. Public transport planning needs to be based on policies of the vision of a city which support capacity-building measures to strengthen the ability of cities and organisations to build their structures, systems and requisite skills.

Political commitment can be shown by leaders and decision-makers in sub-Saharan cities in the form of supporting strategies to strengthen the availability of technical, financial and human resources necessary in planning and implementing plans. Politicians and decision-makers must take the lead in creating an environment in which professionals are encouraged to be creative and innovative in producing robust city and transport plans, because these are the foundations on which different institutions can start to deliberate on how to achieve objectives of public transport collaboratively. Urban planning is a crucial area which constitutes a platform for a

broad systems approach whereby different fields can meet in planning and collaborative processes for public transport.

(iii) Enhancing professionalism

As exemplified in the case of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi, lack of trained professionals in the field of transportation constrains the prospects of tackling public transportation problems. In many sub-Saharan countries, universities, colleges and institutes do not offer appropriate traffic management courses and cities do not have strong traffic departments which can offer career paths or structured training programmes to traffic professionals (Cracknell, 2000). The cities of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi lack credible departments of transport planning and traffic management. Accordingly, it is the traffic police that cope with managing day-to-day traffic flow in the cities, although a poor police image due to allegations of corruption damages the credibility of their role. However, it is recognised in many developing cities that while traffic police have proved to be the only agency ready to take action to resolve serious traffic issues, they tend to operate to their own agenda. Their main objective is usually to keep traffic moving, particularly on main routes (World Bank, 2002). It is crucially important to note that in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi, as well in other cities of sub-Saharan Africa, traffic police are organised at a national level, answering to a central Ministry of the Interior. Police intervention in traffic management matters follows the command structure of the police force, which has little relation to other planning and management agencies at the City Council authorities. Furthermore, many traffic police forces are not well-trained in current methods of traffic management enforcement, nor do they appreciate the role and function of traffic management (Cracknell, 2000). Despite these problems, it is difficult to make progress in urban transport management without the involvement of the police (World Bank, 2002). As traffic problems become complex in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa, traffic police must be well-informed and involved in traffic management development and design stages to be able to provide the practical view that is necessary for the successful operation of traffic schemes. For this participation to be effective, police must be able to understand traffic matters. This involves improved training and better promotion of traffic management by city traffic planners to the traffic police (Cracknell, 2000). Training for police officers must be also tailored to inculcate a sense of desisting from the corrupt practices that have tarnished the traffic police force in most of the cities in sub-Saharan Africa.

Cities in sub-Saharan Africa must establish strong departments that deal with transportation, transport planning and traffic management at the city council or metropolitan authority in order to deal effectively with the challenges of transportation in urban areas. This must be accompanied by increasing the number of trained transport planners and engineers. Not all countries have universities, colleges or institutes that offer academic training in transport engineering, planning or traffic management. For some countries such as Tanzania, Kenya and others which have such institutions, the courses that are offered are inadequate to equip students with the expertise required to handle the current problems of public transportation in cities. Efforts must therefore be stepped up to strengthen the curricular of essential courses in the countries in which these are offered. In the likelihood that specialised courses may not be offered in all countries initially, countries offering transport planning

courses should be prepared to receive students from other countries in which courses are not offered.

Although professionalism is enhanced through better training of transport planners, decision-makers must also value professional contributions by appropriate rewards. Professionals do not need to be regarded as key decision-makers, but they do need to be taken seriously in their roles and the contribution they make in public policy processes. Likewise, professionals should be paid an appropriate salary. These two attributes are crucial in encouraging innovation and creativity in executing their functions.

(iv) Curbing corruption

As shown in Chapter Two, corrupt practices and vested interests are some of the factors that contribute to the lack of commitment by some politicians and decision-makers in the process of tackling public transport problems in urban areas. Public revenues diverted away from public coffers due to corruption reduce the prospects for authorities to produce necessary public transport schemes and effect an efficient institutional coordination mechanism.

Construction is a $1.7 trillion industry worldwide, amounting to between 5% and 7% of GDP in most countries. Government investment in road transport alone can account for between 2% and as high as 3.5% of GDP— suggesting that as much as one half of all construction is transport-related, and a considerable majority of government-financed construction (and related corruption) involve transport (Kenny, 2009). Corruption that leads to poor-quality construction or poor quality public transport infrastructure due poor project selection and insufficient maintenance can significantly reduce the economic return to investments, and carry high human costs in terms of injury, death and generally reducing quality of transport in urban areas. Kenny (2009) highlights a number of potential avenues to reduce the extent and impact of corruption in the transport sector. These include efforts to improve planning and budgeting process, increase competitive pressures, reduce unnecessary regulation and better monitor necessary regulation, improve the transparency of the project cycle, increase civil society participation, reduce the discretionary power of individual bureaucrats, and improve financial and physical auditing.

Curbing corruption in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa will necessarily contribute to the rightful use of public revenue and facilitate improving planning and implementation of public transport schemes. Genuine improvements in channelling revenues to planning and implementation of schemes will encourage a willingness by citizens to participate in policy processes and this will strengthen institutional coordination in planning for public transport. For cities in sub-Saharan Africa where corruption is rampant, the leadership must be engaged in educating itself about the changes needed to curb such corruption. New laws and institutions are crucial to constrain public servants from corruption and force them to perform their jobs efficiently and serve public interests instead of their own.
Likewise, citizens must be encouraged to take the necessary steps to protect their constitutional rights or seek redress when those rights are violated where corruption is concerned. Not only should the people be made to recognise how much power they command against political and bureaucratic corruption, bribery and other illegal

practices, but civil society must have mechanisms in place to help them resist attempts by public officials to exploit them. Such a mechanism can be facilitated by careful, balanced design of an institutional structure that is capable of preventing corrupt practices. A regulatory framework for planning for public transport and partnership arrangements are some of institutional arrangements that can help curb corruption and promote accountability.

(v) Creating a regulatory framework

As shown in Chapter Two, effective institutional coordination in the public transport sector in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa is undermined by the lack of a regulatory framework in planning for public transportation. A national transport policy is inextricably linked to the performance of a regulatory framework for planning public transportation. Tanzania has a national transport policy and Kenya has one under preparation. However, neither country has a clear regulatory framework for planning public transport and this is important to note, because no improvement in public transport can occur without a regulatory framework. The lack of a national transport policy or a regulatory framework in planning for public transport is a weakness that face many cities in sub-Saharan Africa. A national transport policy generally stipulates sustainable public transport policies based on the agreed vision of a city. It provides guidance to use a common set of objectives among different sectors, a common process and a standard appraisal mechanism that can achieve consistency in planning for public transportation. In view of this, countries in sub-Saharan Africa must put emphasis on producing national transport policies and formulate regulatory frameworks for public transportation that stipulate roles of stakeholders – who does what for whom, and to whom they are accountable. An institutional assessment should identify, for example, conflicting laws, duplication or lack of clarity of mandates for different organisations and jurisdiction of different tiers of authority – local, sub-regional, national. It is important to avoid any duplication of roles that may result in competing functions, coordination fatigue and counterproductive measures.

A regulatory framework should guide the interaction of all levels of government, professional departments, academic and research institutions, politicians, citizens, private agencies and community-based organisations in planning for public transport. As a form of governance, an effective regulatory framework in planning for public transport ensures that there is transparency and accountability in actions conducted by different participating stakeholders. All decision-makers and leaders or any key stakeholders in the city's organisations should regularly provide citizens and other stakeholders with information about plans and goals, setting out decisions, how they are taken, and the results achieved – good as well as bad. Within the regulatory framework, regulatory and enforcement bodies have an extremely important role to play in establishing and ensuring delivery of better quality public transportation. The actual functions of regulatory and enforcement bodies should be set in a clear legal framework reflecting public transport policy. Regularity and enforcement agencies normally have a range of tools for enforcement – fines, penalties, withdrawal of permits and licences, etc. Important priorities for enforcement and regulatory agencies include:

- Funding regulatory bodies and enforcement agencies through central government funds, or by user fees (e.g. pollution charges or fines for non compliance)

- Sufficient staff of adequate capability to enforce regulations (enforcement agencies)
- Statutes which are practical, enforceable and based on accurate knowledge of the requirements for public transport and environmental impacts.
- Staff who are knowledgeable about good planning and management practices of public transport.
- A sense of ownership on the part of stakeholders so that they accept the monitoring and enforcement.
- Adequate financial resources to support field staff and operations, and transparency in financial management.
- Accountability, with clear roles in the legislative and executive processes. Each institution must explain and take responsibility for what it does.

Corruption appears in different forms in the public transport sector. A regulatory framework for planning public transport in the above form is capable of restraining corrupt behaviour.

(vi) Alleviation of poverty

Strategies to alleviate poverty in a city should be part of a vision for a sustainable city which must be promoted by the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. Economic sustainability is about meeting the diverse needs of a community by providing what it needs in terms of livelihood and services. It is common for cities in sub-Saharan Africa to fail to prepare schemes or to be unable to implement public transport schemes because of lack of the necessary funding. The majority of citizens in the cities think that public transport fare levels are unaffordable. In turn, the inability of public transport operators to generate revenue according to prevailing market conditions restricts improvement in public transport services. As a result, poor condition of vehicles, causing an increased risk of accidents, and air pollution characterise the public transport system in sub-Saharan Africa cities. This vicious circle of poverty characterising public transport systems in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa cities inhibits any prospects for institutional coordination in planning for public transport.

As mentioned above, poverty alleviation in a city can be achieved through strategy development by cities themselves, determined by a collective city vision and action plan. This could be in the form of increased investment to expand employment and services and to achieve systematic and sustained reductions in poverty. The strategy for poverty reduction should encompass planning of land use, transport and other sectoral needs, and policy setting, resource allocation and investment priorities. Initiatives can occur at local level to support community-based development initiatives as a component of the overall local economic development programme. Likewise, poverty eradication initiatives can encompass extending active material and non-material support to local credit unions, community banks, cooperatives, local exchange and bartering networks, neighbourhood associations and informal trading associations, thus establishing a network of people or service clubs that can provide technical assistance to community groups. This brings to the fore the concept of social capital – those networks and assets that facilitate the education, coordination and cooperation of citizens for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1993). In this respect, tackling poverty becomes a mutual concern among citizens. City governments therefore have to look beyond their traditional role and develop collaborations and partnerships with the private sector and citizens themselves and find ways to attract businesses that will

stimulate economic growth of their cities. As alleviation of poverty in the cities becomes a common society problem that all citizens should be committed to tackle, new forms of partnership, in which citizens and the public and private sectors find new ways to work together, become crucial. As Pierre (1998) points out, public-private partnerships for local economic development have a significant effect on the performance of municipal authorities in local development policy. However, in sub-Saharan Africa this will depend on the trust that people develop by judging how committed politicians and decision-makers are to tackling poverty in line with the envisaged vision of a city for everybody. Trusted leadership is crucial in the development of social capital, which is necessary in collective implementation of policies to tackle poverty.

(vii) Willingness to change

As shown earlier, problems of public transportation in sub-Saharan African cities persist partly because of the unwillingness of decision-makers to carry out planning intervention measures to alter the existing poor travel conditions. Such a stalemate is helped by the prevalence of corruption and the exploitation of the chaotic public transport situation by some decision-makers and politicians for economic gains. Most significantly, policy-makers faced with the challenge of improving the public transport system often conclude that planning intervention is all too complex, with too many trade-offs and choices to make. An example is the loss of jobs by young people if public transport were to be modernised. It has also become much easier and certainly politically safer in these cities to maintain current policies and practices and avoid confronting the vested interests who gain from the status quo. However, doing nothing is not an option – problems of public transportation in the cities will simply get worse and more difficult to tackle. Policy-makers should think in terms of gradual, incremental change; identifying opportunities for reform as circumstances alter and using all windows of opportunity to nudge the reform process forward. In this respect, re-educating decision-makers and leaders on the ideals of sustainable development and reorienting them toward substantive ways to tackle problems in the cities is crucial. The current crisis of poor public transport in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa should be seen as a challenge which opens windows of opportunity rather than reinforcing the status quo. As mentioned earlier, modernising public transport is a strategy to improve the economies of cities and increase the prospects for creating employment opportunities. In view of this, clear and visionary leadership committed to change is crucial. Leaders must be prepared to reach agreements and argue for change, as well as being instrumental in pushing the agenda for change. Good laws revising procedures can often fail as they are not understood or accepted by officials or citizens. Institutional reforms intended to foster change (in public transportation) need to be made with a participatory and consultative approach, involving the formal and informal sectors, to develop understanding and ownership of the change process. Genuine willingness by decision-makers to tackle current problems of public transport by taking substantive planning intervention will increase the prospects for creating an institutional coordination mechanism that is inclusive to many stakeholders in planning for public transport.

(viii) Decentralisation

As shown earlier, cities in sub-Saharan Africa have carried out significant devolution of responsibility to local level, yet there has not been an equivalent devolution of political and fiscal power. This weakness has led to inability of local authorities to take crucial autonomous planning decisions. Lack of autonomy in revenue generation has undermined the prospect of local authorities to prepare planning and implementing schemes that are essential to improve public transport in the cities. Genuine decentralisation – both political and financial – must occur in the sub-Saharan African countries. This means that local governments must be provided with the ability to raise sufficient funds to enable them to implement schemes at the local level to improve public transportation. Decentralisation of both policy and financial responsibility to the cities should enable the creation of institutional and financial arrangements that reflect the complexity of the public transport sector in the overall urban development strategy. Clearly legislated functional financing and fiscal relations between central government and local governments are crucial in enabling local authorities to obtain the sources of revenue to perform assigned functions such as road construction and maintenance, street lighting, etc., as well as supporting administrative and political responsibilities. Different sources of revenue at the local level that are currently under the control of central government should be assessed with the aim of being taken over by local authorities. Strong leadership and political commitment is crucial if complete political and fiscal decentralisation is to be achieved at the local level so that cities can become autonomous in decision-making and revenue generation. These two attributes are crucial in planning and implementation of public transport schemes, as well as in promotion of institutional coordination.

(ix) Citizen and stakeholder participation

As shown earlier, poor public participation in policy processes in sub-Saharan African cities arises partly due to apathy. People have lost trust in planning systems to tackle their problems. Persistent problems in the cities such as poor transportation, housing, lack of utilities, etc. that reduce the quality of life of the citizens have discouraged them from participating in the planning activities in their cities. The poor condition of services and utilities in the cities, which leads to apathy, accrues from a lack of vision for the city and insufficient political commitment to support improvement of poor conditions in the cities. A good city environment instils satisfaction and pride among citizens. As Banister (2005b) stresses, improved cycle and pedestrian infrastructure to improve people's movement and stepping up efforts to curb accidents, pollution and traffic noise are crucial measures that can be appreciated by the public. Such appreciation induces a feeling of strong identification with the city and encourages people to participate in the official planning process for their city. This in turn encourages people to be willing to voluntarily honour their commitments in the development of cities, thus reducing the transaction costs associated with monitoring, negotiating, litigating and enforcing formal agreements. Citizen engagement in the planning of cities and the ability to plan and implement changes according to social needs increase social cohesion (an attribute of social capital) among citizens. This is a crucial motivational factor for individuals and organisations participating in implementing schemes in the cities.

The other crucial factor that constrains public participation is the absence of a mechanism about how people should participate – lack of expertise and negotiation capacity. It is imperative that cities in sub-Saharan Africa establish ways to bring about citizen involvement in policy-making processes. Public participation in planning processes will depend on how committed decision-makers, politicians and planners are to including citizens in planning processes. The role of urban planning professionals can contribute towards promoting citizen involvement because it is a field in which different actors are mobilised and the roles played by planners also have a political dimension (i.e. mobilisation, consultation, support, supervision in processes, etc.). The planner is no longer isolated from politics and society but is an activist, socially interactive, a leader of a participatory process.
Diverse strategies and frameworks to involve citizens in the planning process must be sought in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. These should include comprehensive and long-term programmes of civic education in African cities and should be designed with the primary intent of re-orientating the elite toward people-centred behaviour and empowering popular constituencies. Ultimately, civic education should serve the dual purpose of fostering an environment conducive to sustainable development of cities and reversing the existing pattern of public alienation from the city development programmes.

Involving citizens in planning and development instils a sense of belonging in their city and thereby increases the social capital which is crucial in encouraging creativity and innovation in cities. Social capital necessary to sustain citizen participation is an inherent social dimension of sustainable urban development. Involving people in the planning process and achieving tangible results of a good built environment, such as an improved public transport, inculcate a sense of trust in the system of planning. This encourages the public to be engaged in planning and implementation processes for public transport, thus increasing the prospects of an effective mechanism of institutional coordination in planning for public transport.

As shown above, weaknesses in the collaboration process among key institutions in planning for public transport in sub-Saharan African cities are profound. Key institutions such as the health sector are excluded from the planning process, but also many emerging public and private stakeholders in the public transport sector. The common practice of planning and the mechanism of institutional coordination in planning processes in sub-Saharan Africa still hinge on tradition, sectoral, top-down, command and control to closed expert-driven planning processes. In government hierarchies, officials are accustomed to vertical and analytical reasoning processes, which have made prospects for effective collaboration and coordination in planning difficult. Thus, new ways of coordination must be sought to enable effective planning processes for public transportation in sub-Saharan African cities.

In view of this failure to involve citizens and stakeholders in planning processes and coordination mechanisms to tackle problems of public transportation, the application of the partnership principle (discussed in the following section) is crucial. Public-private partnership can provide the prospects for galvanising all key stakeholders in the public transport sector in planning and coordination processes to improve public transport in the cities.

Public-private partnerships - a common governance tool

Points (i) to (ix) list the factors that constrain institutional coordination and highlight ways of redressing them in order to support effective planning, implementation and coordination mechanisms in tackling problems of public transportation. The common governance tool in redressing the constraints for institutional coordination in planning for public transport is the application of public-private partnership principles.

With regard to problems of public transport in sub-Saharan cities, according to the public-private partnership principle, all the stakeholders in the public transport sector are tied together in the definition of the problem and this in turn defines the mode of intervention. Stakeholders of all kinds should have the opportunity to participate formally and informally in identifying problems of public transport and in generating ideas on how to tackle them. Deliberative processes in different policy arenas should facilitate formulation of the character of collective policy to resolve current constraints for institutional coordination in planning for public transport.

Currently, a partnership arrangement is one of the key concepts. It is widely recognised that no government institution possesses sufficient authority, resources and knowledge to enact, let alone achieve, policy intentions for public transportation. Instead, policies require the concerted efforts of multiple actors, all possessing some capabilities for action but each dependent on others to solidify policy intention and to seek its conversion into action. Government authorities must develop mechanisms by which partnerships with the private sector and citizens can occur. The success of institutional coordination will depend on the ability of cities to devise ways in which partnerships can be achieved according to local conditions. Partnership is a new concept in the field of planning. It requires a substantial learning programme to develop new skills and capacities among professionals and other stakeholders. Partnerships are designed as horizontal networks rather than top-down hierarchies common to government bureaucracies. This horizontal networking of government and multi-stakeholder representatives requires lateral thinking modes that stress innovation and creative problem-solving (Boyer, 2001). A partnership is often characterised as a working relationship between stakeholders with mutual and equal participation, joint interests and shared responsibilities. Processes in a partnership are typically transparent and based on an open dialogue.

Starting a partnership involves extensive work on many aspects: stakeholder analysis, gap analysis, development of common goals, planning, programme design, social changes accompanied by social capacity building, cooperative inquiry, supporting self-organisation and organisational development. Setting up a partnership has a number of dimensions that need to be addressed simultaneously if success is to be achieved (Global Water Partnerships):

- Stakeholders need to get to know each other, understanding and interpreting concepts in the same manner and establishing a common ‘language’ in the partnership.
- A level playing field is needed for all partners in terms of information, knowledge and expertise at the beginning, when there is usually a (large) difference in information levels.
- The partnership needs to develop its goals, outputs and actions based on the will and motivation and collaboration of the partners.

To support the start of a partnership, framework conditions (protocol) in terms of form and working modality (e.g. forum) and the scope of content need to be created. The method/protocol allows the stakeholders to interact with each other and generate an outcome that is owned by all. This is possible because there is intensive horizontal communication and no hierarchy. Furthermore, meetings are facilitated by a neutral outsider. The protocol used aims to create a 'space for dialogue' and is characterised by (ibid):

- Clearly defined roles, both for the participants and for the facilitating team. By maintaining these roles, the responsibilities will also remain clear: the participants are responsible for finding a response to their own issues and the facilitating team is responsible for maintaining a space for the dialogue.
- Defining the question/issue and the group that will be involved in answering this question. If the question is too big for the group, because a specific group is missing, then the question should be altered or the group should be extended.

Heterogeneous groups in a partnership arrangement have the potential to provide the necessary creativity and perspectives to tackle the difficult and multifarious dimensions of sustainable development, but incompatibility of interests and the absence of norms are likely to produce a decision-making process where actors seek self-satisfaction and reward. Thus flatter structures of governance may give rise to collective action problems and are apt to produce conflict among participants, particularly when agenda items involve determining policy choices and strategic planning. It is in this context that the attributes of good governance become crucial. Leaders and decision-makers must exercise skills of building consensus, organising cooperation, mediating conflicts and fostering social learning to promote creativity and innovation.

4.2 Framework for effective institutional coordination

We have seen that due to lack of proper planning and the absence of institutional coordination, it is hard to find an effective strategic agency for land use and transportation planning or traffic management unit in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. Unprofessionally managed public transportation in these cities is the norm, as traffic police dominate in the practical management role although they are poorly trained to cope with the contemporary traffic problems. Accordingly, public transport planning and regulation is tied to operations, while public transport authorities are simply confined to allocation of service routes and licensing to generate revenue without regard to the quality of services provided. The challenge for African cities is to organise transport operators so that the services that are produced meet standards that improve travelling in the cities.

The demand for public transportation will continue to grow in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa and although many modes will be involved in the provision of services, bus services will dominate in the foreseeable future. We have seen that the current public transport problems have economic, environmental and social ramifications. Planning for sustainable public transportation requires that all the

policy and planning decisions related to public transportation in numerous departments at national, regional and local level must be carefully coordinated if the policy process is to yield optimum results. For that reason, formation of an overall coordinating authority is crucial. As shown in this report, cities in sub-Saharan Africa have diverse potential in the form of existing departments, research and academic institutions, programmes, associations, agencies, etc. which are directly linked to public transportation. These institutions form a potential springboard for building different forms of institutional coordination in planning for public transportation. Initially, it may be hard for many cities in sub-Saharan cities to build fully-fledged institutions for coordination in the planning process. For this reason, establishing interim institutions and strengthening existing institutions is crucial. For instance, existing chaotic public transport services may be improved by establishing specific agencies that are responsible for ensuring that physical infrastructure, services systems, fare and finances are clearly allocated in the cities. Likewise, in order to take advantage of existing public transport assets, special agencies should be established to carry out an inventory of the quality of existing vehicles, physical infrastructure and human and organisational capital that can be supportive in planning for improved public transport. Existing public transport operators and their associations should be included in official transport planning machinery and decision-making processes. By doing this, decision-makers in the cities can ensure that small bus operators meet environmental, safety and insurance requirements. Crucially, authorities should gradually replace small paratransit buses with technologically better buses in order to minimise congestion and air pollution in the cities. Accordingly, cities will be able to mobilise the initiative potential of the informal sector and formal sector with the ultimate objective of encouraging more informed and disciplined entrepreneurial structures which facilitate provision of the required services, environmental safety and compliance with insurance and tax obligations. However, such initial measures must be incorporated in a comprehensive plan for public transportation based on:

- Integrating strategic urban land use and infrastructure planning with the transport system and networking planning, including the development and publication of a strategic planning framework for transport and land use in the metropolitan region.
- Integrating road network planning with public transport planning.
- Integrating the planning, policy regulation and pricing of various public transport modes.

The basic organisational requirements for good urban transport are that each major function is recognised, that responsibility for each function is clearly assigned to an identifiable management unit, that units are properly resourced for their tasks, and that their relationship with other organisations is clearly designated. The majority of local planning and day to day operational functions will occur at the metropolitan level. The typical organisation for the performance of these functions, together with the responsibility and human resource requirements of the departments or agencies, are summarised in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Organisation of professional units for metropolitan transport functions

Function	Principal responsibilities	Policy functions	Professional skills	Relation to other organisations
Urban structure planning	Preparing and maintaining metropolitan structure plan	Shaping development structure, creating basis for development controls	Land-use planning, environmental science, sociology	Responsible to mayor or city council/ metropolitan authority
Strategic transport planning (must be consistent with strategic land use planning and functions)	Conducting strategic transportation studies. Preparing comprehensive transportation plans for the city or metropolitan area	Preparing broad strategies that other organisation should follow	Transport planning, economics, civil engineering	Responsible to strategic transport authority. Receives input from other municipal or district transport units in preparing strategies and plans
Traffic management (some activities such as inspection and maintenance can be contracted out to private sector)	Preparing traffic management plans; reviewing development proposals with traffic impacts; operating Traffic Control and ITC (Intelligence Transport Systems); managing vehicle inspection and maintenance scheme; monitoring environmental impacts	Determining traffic priorities consistent with general strategy. Creating parking and traffic management framework.	Transport engineering, economics, parking construction, electric engineering	Responsible to strategic transport authority. Must work in coordination with local police authority
Public passenger transport	Planning and regulating public transport system including buses, light rail, taxes	Preparing passenger transport services consistent with strategy and financial capability	Public transport and regulatory specialists	Responsible to strategic transport authority. Should be separate from any passenger transport operation
Traffic enforcement	Enforcing traffic regulations; managing traffic events and incidents, collecting accident data	Collaborating in traffic management system design. Enforcing traffic management policy.	Police officer training	Traffic police provide data on traffic accidents and incidents to safety and traffic management organisation
Road design, construction and maintenance	Responsible for designing, constructing and maintaining streets	Maintenance prioritisation	Civil engineering (could be part of a city public works department)	Work closely with traffic management organisation to implement detailed engineering works
Traffic safety (must lie within a lead department, e.g. traffic engineering. Police commitment essential)	Road traffic safety strategy: coordinating all departmental inputs, from health, education, and so on	Analysing safety data; orchestrating interdepartmental collaboration to implement strategy.	Statistics; transport engineering	Directly responsible to mayor or city council. Relation with health authorities necessary

Source: Adapted from World Bank, 2002.

Organisation for metropolitan transport functions

For cities in sub-Saharan Africa to have good public transportation, metropolitan transport functions must be managed and coordinated by a number of separate but interacting organisational units or departments. These should include departments for 1) urban planning; 2) transport planning; 3) transport management; 4) roads; 5) public transport planning; 6) traffic police; and 7) traffic safety. An overall apex authority will also be needed to coordinate the different areas of responsibilities and activities of these departments as discussed in the following paragraphs.

1) Urban planning department

As noted earlier, cities in sub-Saharan Africa have poorly conceived or non-existent structure plans which can promote good public transportation. Guided by an established vision of a city, the urban planning department must be responsible for formulating structured plans that integrate the disciplines of land use planning and transport planning, to explore a very wide range of aspects of the built and social environments and improve the long-term social and ecological health of cities and towns. Expected attributes include compact, efficient land use; less vehicle use yet with better access; efficient resource use, less pollution and waste; the restoration of natural systems; good housing and living environments; a healthy social ecology; sustainable economics; community participation and involvement; and preservation of local culture and wisdom.

The urban planning department should formulate policies which ensure that growth is well-planned and targeted toward areas with established transport systems, to minimise construction of extensive new infrastructure. Likewise, policies should focus on development in a manner that imposes the potential to establish more efficient transit corridors and high quality neighbourhoods. This function should be placed at the city council or metropolitan authority.

Appropriate professionals in this role include town planners, sociologists, geographers, economists and architects.

2) Transport planning department

It is crucial that transport planning practices in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa include tackling environmental problems arising from urban transportation. As highlighted by Freidmann (1987), mobility issues are part of urban planning and modern (urban) planning is "*applied to the full range of problems that arise in the public domain*". In many cases transport planning in sub-Saharan African cities is limited to simple town planning schemes showing the road network. The role of the transport planning department must be to prepare comprehensive and strategic transport plans for the city or metropolitan area as guided by the vision of cities and related strategic land use planning and functions. Crucially the transport planning department should be responsible for developing policies for transportation that:

- Offer safe and convenient access for individuals to meet their daily needs.
- Enhance the liveability of neighbourhoods.
- Encourage a more compact urban form, land use intensification and transit supportive mode.
- Protect the environment by minimising impacts on air, water, land and natural resources.
- Support local businesses and the community's economic development.

- Operates efficiently and is affordable to citizens.
- Integrate transportation within and between different modes of transport with the environment.
- Are integrated with land use planning.
- Are integrated with policies for education, health and wealth creation.

The transport planning department will receive inputs from other transport units within a metropolitan or city council in preparing strategies and plans. On the whole, the activities of the strategic transport planning department must be consistent with the strategic land use planning function.

Appropriate professionals in this department include transport planners, economists and civil engineers.

3) Traffic management department

The goal of urban traffic management is to make the most productive use of the existing dominant (road-based) transport system by adjusting, adapting, managing and improving the system. Specific objectives are to:

- Improve the movement of people and goods and not necessarily vehicles.
- Improve the quality and safety of the traffic and transport system.
- Contribute to the improvement of the traffic-related environment.

In order to achieve the above objectives, the traffic management department should carry out functions such as:

- Formulation and implementation of city-wide traffic management policies to comply with objectives defined by the metropolitan or city structure plans and strategic transport plans.
- Surveying, monitoring and evaluating all traffic and accident data to enable trends to be identified, problems quantified and traffic management plans and improvements prepared.
- Planning, designing, installing, operating and maintaining all traffic control devices including traffic signal systems, road markings, road signs and enforcement devices such as cameras.
- Formulating traffic regulations for enactment by city government and for enforcement by the traffic police.
- Preparing off- and on-street parking policies and programmes.
- Preparing management plans, operating traffic controls and ITC (Intelligence Transport systems), managing vehicle inspection and maintenance schemes and monitoring environment impacts.

Traffic management activities intersect with the activities of the strategic transport planning department and must be executed in coordination and consultation with the traffic police authority in a city. Some activities (such as inspection and maintenance) can be contracted out to the private sector.

Appropriate professionals include traffic engineers, economists, parking specialists and electrical engineers

4) Roads department

The poor road infrastructure conditions in sub-Saharan cities require a strong department that is responsible for designing and maintenance of roads. The

department should be responsible for producing policies for road classification. The objective of an urban street classification system is to group streets and roads according to the character of services they are intended to provide. Thus, the classification of streets assists in establishing, among other factors, the geometric design feature for each group, consistent with the long-term operational needs of that particular group. The functional classification of roads is important for determining the applicability of design features during road construction or reconstruction. A road classification system must take into consideration factors such as the absence or presence of truck routes, transit routes, designated bicycle and pedestrian network links, parking and loading restrictions, etc. Members of the public should be able to be involved in this process to determine the essential characteristics of the roads on which they live, or on which they intend to live. Road classification can be used as a basis for the allocation of financial responsibility for provision and as an important aid to effective distribution of maintenance resources. The roads department should work closely with the traffic management department.

Appropriate professionals are civil engineers, but experiences from traffic officers managing traffic on the roads could be crucial.

5) Public transport planning department

Establishment of a public transport planning and regulatory department is crucial in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. The lack of such a professional department is the main cause of the current public transport crisis and has been the loophole for bureaucrats and politicians making important public transport decisions without professional inputs. A professional public transport planning department must be crucial in planning and regulating public transport systems, including buses and other modes. The department must ensure that public transport operations are consolidated, buses are maintained and new buses purchased to replace ageing fleets, as well as ensuring that bus schedules and routes are well planned to match travel demand.

On the whole, a public transport planning department should be able to prepare and implement policies for passenger transport service levels and parameters for procurement of public transport services. Good practice suggests that the public transport department or authority should not be involved in passenger transport operations. Instead, experienced public transport companies need to be contracted. The public planning transport department should confine itself to establishing best ways of organising competition to secure the strategic objective of a better public transport system.

The activities of the public transport planning department are directly linked to the strategic transport authority at the city council or metropolitan authority.

Appropriate professionals include public transport and regulatory specialists.

6) Traffic police department

The role of traffic officers in the management of transportation in sub-Saharan cities should be redefined. As part of a city police department with wider enforcement functions, traffic police officers should collaborate in traffic management system design and enforce traffic management policy, which includes enforcement of traffic regulations and management of traffic events. The role of the traffic police department should include provision of data on traffic accidents and traffic incidents

to traffic safety and traffic management departments. The traffic police department will have to work in close collaboration with these latter departments.

Appropriate professionals include traffic police officers.

7) Traffic safety department

The increase in road accidents and increasing air pollution in African cities requires establishment of a specific department that deals with traffic safety. Its role includes analysing data and developing a strategy for road traffic safety. It should coordinate inputs from different departments in the city council or metropolitan area to implement any road traffic strategy. Such a department should be located at the city or metropolitan authority with strong involvement of traffic police and health authorities.

Appropriate professionals include traffic engineers and statisticians.

The need for a coordinating authority

The single most remarkable urbanisation problem in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa is public transport. As highlighted earlier, public transport is connected to all sectors of urban development and its characteristics in sub-Saharan African cities include excessive pollution, lack of safety, congestion, and delays in journeys to destination. These problems undermine e.g. the development of businesses and economic growth of cities, thus reducing the quality of life in cities as a whole. Despite the various constraints inhibiting achievement of good public transport as discussed in this report, African cities must be planned to counteract the problems of public transportation so as to provide a good livelihood for people. In general, urban development conditions for sustainable urban transportation require integrated processes which ensure that sustainability is built in as a primary objective at all levels across the range of policies – land use, energy, transportation, pollution and so on – that affect the environment. The transport sector functions within an economic and social framework established by the state as a basis for meeting its overall objectives for the national economy. All sectors and parts of the economy operate within this framework under the specific policies designed for each. What this means is that all the policy and planning decisions made in numerous departments at national, regional and local level must be carefully coordinated if the policy process is to yield optimum results. This section provides a comprehensive Apex Framework for institutional coordination which provides a mechanism for involvement of different actors in planning for public transport in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa.

An apex coordinating authority is recommended, as shown in Figure 4.1. This authority has the following specific roles:

- Coordinating the activities of all stakeholders between sectors, jurisdictions and groups concerned with urban (public) transport and providing guidance for long-term, strategic decision-making emphasising the integrated nature of sectors in tackling the problems of public transport.
- Ensuring that public transport is planned and programmed so that decision-making is carried out according to transport policies intended to achieve a sustainable public transport system that meets environmental, social and economic requirements.

- Overseeing other sectors conducting their activities of planning for public transportation according to the regulatory framework.

There is no single authority blueprint for all countries to adopt as the apex coordinating authority. What is important is that the apex authority be equipped with the appropriate technical organisation capable of performing the coordination role to ensure that sustainable public transportation is achieved through planning. The authority must have the capacity for conflict management and awareness-raising techniques in coordination activities.

In most cases public transport policy and management is centred in a specific government department, but in many situations responsibility for public transport is shared between a number of bodies (e.g. ministry for physical planning, national environmental agency and public works departments) that may not be able to operate easily together. In some cases there can be a joint committee of independent authorities dealing with issues of public transportation. The activities of different ministries and committees must be linked to the coordinating authority, which provides structures for co-ordination between different organisations involved in public transport.

Having a single institutional framework for tackling public transport reduces the negative effects of uncontrolled fragmentation of public transport agreements across different agencies, while still permitting different sectors to be the focal points of individual public transport initiatives within the agreed policy objectives. The single institutional framework provides the opportunity to enhance coordination and communication among different stakeholders through the organisation of joint working groups or sub-committees.

The majority of the planning and management functions of public transportation will be carried at the metropolitan authorities or the city council, as shown in Table 4.1. In order for the cities of sub-Saharan Africa to succeed in achieving sustainable public transport through planning, the Apex Framework emphasises that all the constraints for achievement of a good public transport system revealed in this study must be progressively eliminated during the planning processes. These include:

- Creating a sustainable city vision
- Promoting professionalism
- Curbing corruption
- Creating a regulatory framework
- Poverty reduction strategy
- Decision-makers willingness for change
- Improved citizen and stakeholder participation
- Improved political and fiscal decentralisation

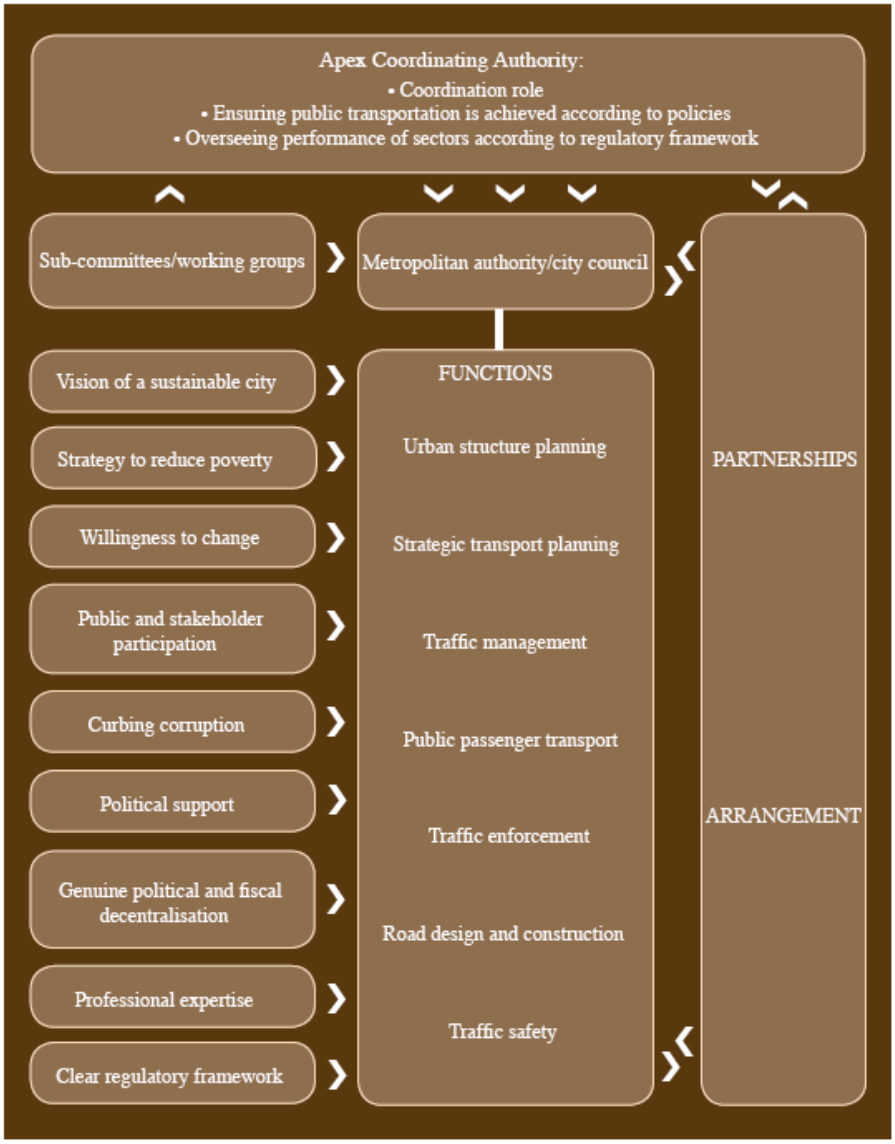

Figure 4:1 Summary of the proposed Apex Framework for institutional coordination in planning for public transportation in sub-Saharan Africa.

Tackling these constraints requires synergy in collective action across the public-private demarcation, and the empowerment and inclusion of civil society into the spheres of the public sector and policy process at city and national level. Although some of these constraints may be handled at a metropolitan or city level, others may handled by ministerial committees or task force groups, but it is important that the apex coordinating authority oversees the functions of all different actors handling the problems.

The functions of the apex coordinating authority require jurisdictional coordination, facilitated by a clear establishment in law of the allocation of responsibility between levels of government, agencies and other stakeholders. The apex coordinating authority will function effectively when all the stakeholders who are involved in the functions under its jurisdiction develop commitment to it and ensure it has appropriate powers.

The framework proposed here encourages the formation of sub-committees or working group at different levels below the apex coordinating authority. The strategic stakeholder partnership is the mechanism recommended for structuring debates and forging consensus on planning and implementation of public transport plans at the metropolitan or city council level up to the national level for all stakeholders involved in the public transport sector.

Conclusions

This report recommends a new framework — the Apex Framework for institutional coordination that can be applied in planning for sustainable public transport in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. In creating this framework, socio-economic, technical and cultural conditions that constrain institutional coordination in tackling problems of urban public transport in sub-Saharan African cities were identified and measures to redress these are recommended. In addition, the framework provides a mechanism for institutional coordination involving all actors in the public transport sector and emphasises the need for an integrated approach in addressing public transportation. A holistic view that seeks to measure the combined impacts of different types of development based on a coherent vision of a city for all inhabitants is a crucial aspect of the framework. A single apex authority which is charged with coordination and ensuring that all stakeholders adhere to accountability requirements is recommended to achieve better public transport. Application of good governance and leadership principles are central attributes of the framework, which emphasises democratic participation and the development of partnerships between private and public sectors and citizens in planning for public transport. Thus the framework requires a strengthening of collective capacity in the form of the human, organisational and social capital that exists in local city communities in tackling problems of public transport. The institutional structure and different governance measures recommended in this study provide a strategy that can create an effective mechanism for institutional coordination involving all stakeholders in planning for public transport in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa.

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Appendix 1

Focus group interview Questions

1: What do you consider to be the most urgent problems concerning public transport services in the city?

2: What are, according to you, the most important reasons for the problems that you have pointed out?

3: Can you point out good aspects the current public transport services?

4: According to your opinion, how has the current planning process contributed to the good aspects of public transport service?

5: What do you consider to be the most important concerns that should guide the planning of public transportation?

6: What actors do you consider to be the 'key-actors' in public transport planning?
For the actors which you have mentioned:
what are their roles or responsibilities in the development of public transport sector?
How do you assess their performance?

7: What specific role is your institution/organisation supposed to carry out and fulfil in the existing public transport system?

8: Is your institution involved in any way in a planning process of public transport in coordination with other institutions ?
If yes, how is coordination carried out?
If not involved in a planning process, why not?

9: What is your assessment of the current institutional coordination in the process of planning for public transportation?

10: Do you think that coordination in the planning for public transportation is limited to a few institutions only? If so why?

11: Which Institutions have a dominant say in the planning and decision-making process ? And in what way?

12: What do you consider to be the most important gains in the public transport system achieved by existing planning and decision-making process and what specific aspects of coordination attributed to the gains?

13: What are the main constraints that you face when you participate in the planning process for public transportation within the existing mechanism of institutional coordination? Or what kind of constraints that you know in the existing mode of institutional coordination in planning and decision-making process for public transportation?

14: Can you point out any past intervention measures within the past twenty years that were intended to improve the planning process for public transportation by reforming institutional coordination? How has this improved the planning and decision-making process for public transportation?

15: How do stakeholders in a planning and decision-making process reach a shared understanding of the scale and nature of public transport problem and subsequent agreement on implementation?

16: In your view do you think that the planning process of public transportation is transparent with all stakeholders legitimately representing sincerely the interest for which they claim to speak? If yes in what way? If no, why not?

17: In event of incidences of abuse of power (regarding distorting planning process) by key persons within your organisation or in other stakeholders' organisations, how does these affect negatively the process of planning for public transportation?

19: In your view, how might the prevalence of corruption within public transport stakeholder organisations affect negatively institutional coordination in the process of planning for public transportation?

20: In what specific way can the local socio-economic or cultural factors possibly determine the quality of institutional coordination in the planning for public transportation? What do you think would be an effective response to tackle this problem?

21: How does the planning process utilise local knowledge about realistic transport situations and determine the planning process with regard to what is feasible or not?

22: How do you assess the capacity (in terms of know how) of participating stakeholders in carrying out dialogue and adherence to set of practices that strive for a collective interest in the planning process?

23: If you were given the powers to design a 'new' system for planning, decision-making and implementation of public transportation policies ;
What are the most significant changes you would propose?

Questions for selected individuals in leadership positions

1: What do you consider to be the most important changes to improve public transportation ?

2: What are the main achievements you have contributed in the planning and decision making process to promote a better public transportation?

3: What are according to you are the main obstacles in current policies concerning planning for public transportation?

4: What is the role of your leadership in promoting effective institutional coordination in the planning process for public transportation? In what way do you carry out this role?

5: What have you achieved substantively in promoting institutional coordination which is effective in the planning process for public transportation?

6: How can the public transport planning and decision-making process be organised to ensure that all stakeholders in the public transport sector get rightful opportunity in the coordination mechanism?

7: How can the planning and decision-making process be carried out to ensure that true transparency characterises the coordination in the planning process?

8: How can the planning and decision-making process for public transportation be organised to ensure that public officials do not abuse power in the mechanism of institutional coordination process?

9: How does political leadership encourage and promote planning process for public

transportation based on robust forms of institutional coordination?

10: What are the most urgent improvements in the planning and decision-making process for effective coordination mechanism in the public transport planning process?

11: Which issues of the leadership among different stakeholders are most urgent to coordinate in devising a better planning process for public transport in the future?