Challenges of Institutional Coordination in Planning for Public Transportation in East Africa: Analysis Based on Perceptions of Stakeholders in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi

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Abstract

This paper examines the challenges of institutional coordination in planning for public transport in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi. Sources of data included literature review from published and unpublished documents, interviews with institutions involved in public transportation and workshops. The data was coded and analyzed using structural-functional and content analysis. Analysis of results showed a number of challenges that constrain institutional coordination in planning for public transport in the cities of Dar-es-salaam and Nairobi. Those challenges are inherently embedded in the institutional, political, cultural, economic and technological conditions of Tanzania and Kenya. This paper recommends establishment of a framework for institutional coordination in planning for public transport suited to circumstances of each of these countries. This will be a tool to address uncontrolled fragmentation of public transport agreements across different agencies, and a guide to different sectors to pursue individual public transport initiatives within the agreed policy objectives. Good governance and leadership principles should be central attributes in the framework for institutional coordination with emphasis on democratic participation and the development of partnerships between private and public sectors and citizens in planning for public transport.

Keywords

institutional coordination, planning, public transport, Dar-es-salaam, Nairobi, East Africa

1. Introduction

The problem of inadequate coordination among institutions involved in planning for public transportation has been a major concern in many cities worldwide as a large number of public and private bodies are involved in public transport service provision (Hatzopoulou & Miller, 2008). The challenges facing public transport sector involve complex, cross-cutting issues which impinge on the internal working of separate organisations characterised by differing understandings and explanations of cause and effect and by multiple organisational engagement (Stewart, 2005; Kanyama & Cars, 2009). Institution coordination in planning for public transportation differ from one country to another due to

differences in culture between different actors and in other cases, the distribution of legal powers between government bodies (Banister, 2005). The difficulty concerning institutional coordination in planning for planning public transportation occurs in different forms from one country to another in both developed and developing countries (Stead, 2008). In East African countries, inadequate institutional coordination becomes a major concern where it manifests itself in poor transport planning and poor quality of public transport services in the cities (Kanyama et al., 2006). This paper examines the challenges of institutional coordination in planning for public transport in the cities of East Africa using Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi as case studies. Specifically, through perceptions of stakeholders in the two cities, this paper examines i) the reasons for persistence of public transport problems, ii) the involvement of institutions concerned with public transport in planning for public transport and, iii) the constraints for institutions coordination in planning for public transport.

1.1 Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi as Cities of Study

There is a striking similarity in the dynamics of failures to tackle problems of public transportation in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi. After independence of Kenya and Tanzania in the early 1960s, the growth of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi cities occurred rapidly in terms of population increase and urban physical expansion (Kanyama et al., 2004; Obudho, 1997). The colonial authorities controlled the growth of population in the cities by restricting rural-urban migration. Local authorities were directly involved in the provision of public transport service in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi in which they had significant equity shares in the corporations which operated public transport services during the post-colonial period (Asingo, 2004; Kanyama et al., 2004). In Dar-es-Salaam, public transport services were provided by Dar-es-Salaam Motor Transport (DMT) and later in 1970 by Usafiri Dar-es-Salaam-UDA (Kanyama et al., 2004). In Nairobi public transport services were provided by Kenya Bus Services (KBS) (Asingo, 2004). However, from early 1970s both cities' governments were unable to provide efficient transport services and public transport problems started to grow mainly due to rapid population increase in the cities. Although both governments permitted private operators to provide transport services, the quality of services continued to deteriorate in both cities. Common problems included poor customer services, delays to destinations, congestion, increasing air pollution and accidents. As the problems of public transportation grew, the number of stakeholders to address emerging problems had been increasing in both cities. Several planning interventions were made 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 remained remote (Kanyama & Cars, 2009). These problems echo the situation in sub-Saharan Africa as a whole where cities are growing faster than cities in other continents (UN Habitat, 2009; 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 bringing about pressures on the administrative and institutional ability to plan for, and control urban development (Nwaka, 2005). Due to the rapid pace of

change, and delayed planning intervention, many improvements became either inadequate or obsolete by the time they are finished. Thus, the governments end up playing a catch-up game (UN Habitat, 2009; El-Shakhs, 1997). For that reason, Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi like other sub-Saharan African cities, have often been depicted as being in crisis (Stren & White, 1989).

2. Method

Four sources of data were used: secondary data review, key informants interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and workshops. Information from secondary sources was secured through extensive reading and extraction of information from published and unpublished documents. The second source of data was key interviews and the third FGDs. FGDs was conducted where interviewed institutions had more than three members, i.e., six institutions in Dar-es-Salaam. All interviews in Nairobi were of key informants form. The Interviews in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi sought to gather information on i) why public transport was not improving over the years, ii) involvement of stakeholders in planning for public transport and, iii) the constraints for institutional coordination in planning for public transportation. In Dar-es-Salaam, interviews were held involving the following nine institutions with respective number of participants in brackets: The Ministry of Health (four) Surface and Martine Transport Authority (SUMATRA) (four); Dar-es-Salaam Commuter Bus Owners' Association (DARCOBOA) (three); The Dar-es-Salaam City Council (four); Dar-es-Salaam Rapid Transit Agency (DART) (two); National Institute of Transport (NIT) (eight); The Dar-es-Salaam Regional Traffic Police Authority (two); National Environment Management Council (NEMC) (five); and Ardhi University (eleven). In Nairobi interviews involved the following institutions with respective number of participants in brackets: Blue Shield Insurance Company Limited (three); Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Nairobi (one); Ministry of Health (three); Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA) (one); Kenya Revenue Authority and Transport Licensing Board (two); Ministry of Roads and Public Works (three); Ministry of Transport (one); Nairobi Central Business District Association (NCBDA) (one); Nairobi City Council (three); Traffic police—Nairobi Area (one); National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) (one); and Public Service Vehicles Owners Welfare Association (POWA) (two). The fourth source of data was workshops held in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi which included representatives of all institutions that were involved in the interviews and other stakeholders that had a stake in the public transport sector. The Number of participants in the workshops was 30 and 25 for Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi respectively. The workshops provided the opportunity for stakeholders to share mutual concerns and experiences and created a harmonious climate for joint brainstorming. The results of the interviews were presented to stakeholders at the workshops where four themes constraining institution coordination in planning for public transport emerged. Participants of the workshops in respective cities were grouped in four groups each dealing with specific theme for a detailed examination. The

identified themes were: (i) the difficulty to produce a realistic framework for planning public transport, (ii) the difficulty to get views of stakeholders in public transport for planning process, (iii) the difficulty to implement public transport policies and, (iv) the difficulty in utilising human, social and intellectual capital in planning for public transport. Presentations, plenary discussions and focus group discussions were adopted as the methodology for the workshop. Data analysis was carried out in line with the tenets of "an organising system". According to Tesch (1990), the purpose of an organising system is to identify dominant themes through which narrative accounts can be meaningfully organised. Qualitative data from the study was coded and analyzed using structural-functional and content analysis.

3. Result

This section presents results in the form of perceptions for institutions covered in the study concerning three main questions for the cities of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi namely, i) the reasons for persistence of public transport problems, ii) the involvement of institutions concerned with public transport in planning for public transport and, iii) the constraints for institutional coordination in planning for public transport.

3.1 Persistence of Public Transport Problems in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi

According to the interviewed institutions in Dar-es-Salaam, a number of reasons have contributed to persistence of public transport problems despite past planning interventions. These were poverty (44.4%), corruption (66.6%), poor transport plans and traffic management (44.4%), and lack of vision of a good city and poor city plans (55.5%). Others were existence old and rigid schemes that do not respond to current city reality (44.4%), apathy among the citizenry and decision makers in addressing the problems of public transport (33.3%), and lack of political will among decision makers to address the problems of public transport (55.5%) (Figure 1).
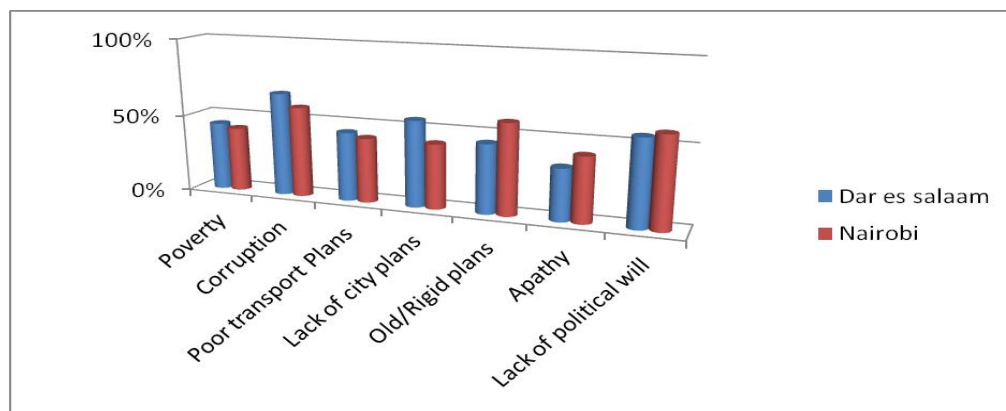

Figure 1. Causes of Continued Public Transport Problems in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi

*Data is based on multiple response.

As for Nairobi factors that were thought to cause continued public transport problems by the interviewed institutions were, poverty (41.6%), corruption (58.3%), poor transport plans and traffic management (41.6%), and lack of vision of a good city and poor city plans (41.6%). Others were existence old and rigid schemes that do not respond to current city reality (58.3%), apathy among the citizenry and official in addressing the problems of public transport (41.6%) and lack of political will among decision makers to address the problems of public transport (58.3%) (Figure 1).

3.2 Involvement of Institutions in Planning for Public Transport in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi

With regard to the extent to which institutions are involved in planning for public transport in Dar-es-Salaam, neither of the interviewed institutions felt that it was involved fully in the planning, 67% of the institutions felt that that they were partially involved in the planning process and 33% of the institutions felt that they have never been involved in planning for public transport (Figure 2). However, representatives of all interviewed institutions in Dar-es-Salaam described their obligations they thought, they are ought to carry out in the public transport sector. For example, among these institutions, representatives of the Ministry of Heath felt that they are supposed to regulate public health in the public transport sector; representatives of Sumatra specified that they issue bus route licences, plan routes for public transport services, issue transport regulation and monitor performance of public transport service providers.
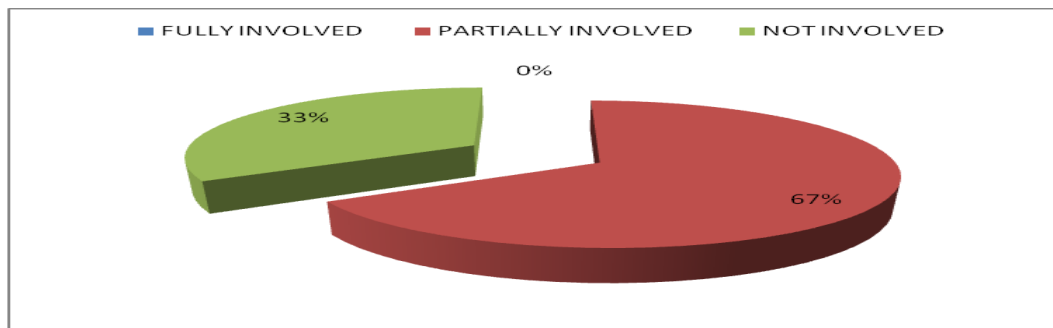

Figure 2. Involvement of Institutions in Planning for Public Transport in Dar-es-Salaam

In Nairobi neither of the interviewed institutions felt that it was fully involved in the process of planning, 58% of the institutions felt that that they were partially involved in the planning process and 42% of the institutions felt that they have never been involved in planning for public transport (Figure 3). However, like in Dar-es-Salaam, representatives of all interviewed institutions in Nairobi thought that they have obligations they are ought to carry out in the public transport sector. For example, among these institutions, representatives of Kenya Revenue Authority stated that they are responsible in registration of motor vehicles and the subsequent licensing; Nairobi Traffic Police enforces the law and ensuring that traffic rules are followed; Nairobi City Council is the custodian of the city planning process in Nairobi.
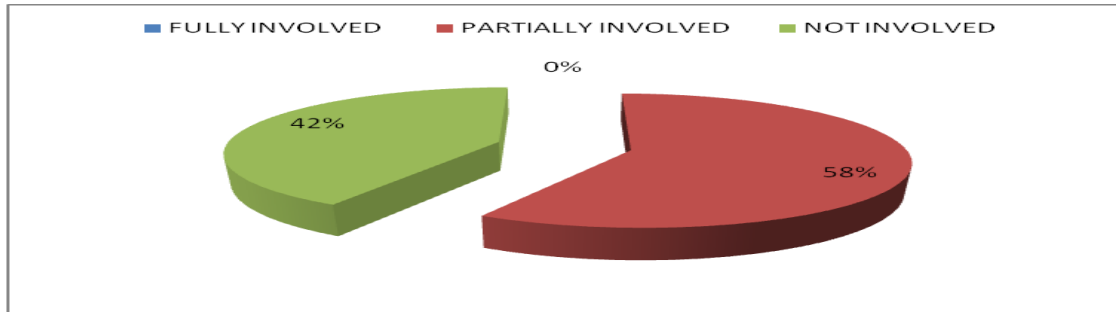
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Figure 3. Involvement of Institutions in Planning for Public Transport in Nairobi

3.3 Constraints for Institutional Coordination in Planning for Public Transport in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi

According to interviewed institutions in Dar-es-Salaam, major challenges that inhibit effective institution coordination in planning for public transportation were, i) lack of vision of a good city and poor city plans including poor schemes of public transport, 66.6%, ii) Poverty, i.e., inability of government to provide funds to implement public transport schemes, likewise inability of low income citizens to afford to pay for market price fare necessary to sustain public transport services, 55.5%, iii) Fear for change, i.e., hesitation by institutions to solve the problem in fear of creating other problems, e.g., loss of jobs in the existing public transport system if this were replaced in favour of improved services, 44.4%, iv) Lack of political commitment and corruption, i.e., decision makers with vested interest in the public transport system resist change in fear for diminished economic advantages if existing chaotic transport systems were replaced, 44.4%, v) Lack of a regulatory framework in planning for public transport, 55.5%, vi) Inadequate fiscal decentralisation to enable local authorities to generate revenue to finance public transport schemes, 44.5%, vii) Inadequate participation of citizenry and institutions in planning for public transportation, 55.5% (Figure 4).
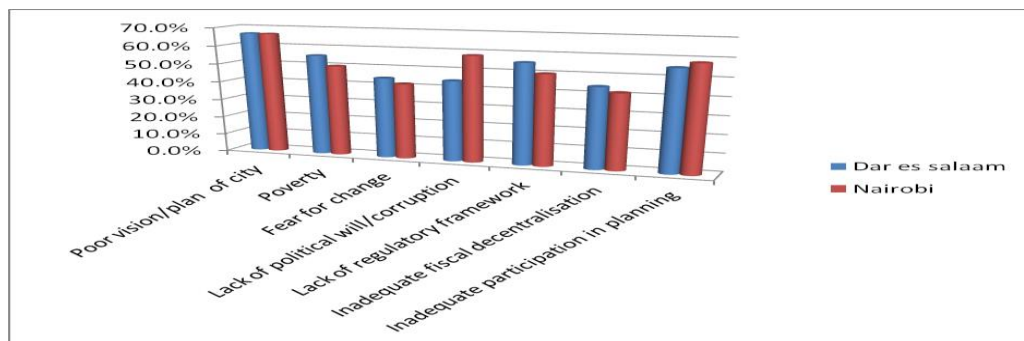

Figure 4. Constraints for Instititutional Coordination in the Planning for Public Transport in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairibi

*Data is based on multiple response.

In Nairobi major challenges that were thought to inhibit effective institution coordination in planning for public transportation by interviewed institutions were, i) lack of vision of a good city and poor city plans including poor schemes of public transport, 66.6%, ii) Poverty, i.e., inability of government to provide funds to implement public transport schemes, likewise inability low income citizens to afford to pay market price fare necessary to sustain public transport services, 50%, iii) Fear for change, i.e., hesitation by institutions to solve public transport problem in fear of creating other problems, e.g., loss of jobs in the existing public transport system if this were replaced in favour of improved services, 41.6%, iv) Lack of political commitment and corruption, i.e., decision makers with vested interest in the public transport system resist change in fear for diminished economic advantages if existing chaotic transport systems were replaced, 58.3%, v) Lack of a regulatory framework in planning for public transport, 50%, vi) Inadequate fiscal decentralisation to enable local authorities to generate revenue to finance public transport schemes, 41.6%, vii) Inadequate participation of citizenry and institutions in planning for public transportation, 58.3% (Figure 4).

4. Discussion

The results of interviews in Dar-es-salaam and Nairobi have shown major causes for continued problems of public transport in those cities (Figure 1). On the whole, as results in Figure 4 shows, major challenges that constrain institutional coordination in planning for public transport, are: i) poorly envisioned cities—lack of realistic physical/transport planning schemes, ii) Poverty, iii) fear for change and innovation, iv) lack of political commitment and corruption, v) inadequate involvement of institutions and citizen participation in planning for public transportation, vi) lack of regulatory framework in planning for public transportation, vii) inadequate fiscal decentralisation at the city council. Each of these factors is examined in the context of the East African cities of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi and sub-Saharan African urbanisation and planning context.

4.1 Poorly Envisioned Cities—Lack of Realistic Physical Plans and Plans for Public Transportation

The results in Figure 4 show that 66.6% of the interviewed institutions both in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi felt that the lack of a good vision of the cities, including poor physical and public transport plans constrained effective institution coordination in planning for public transport. Such a perception conforms with previous studies which show that the plans for the cities of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi have basically been physical plans, static and largely concerned with the physical arrangement of activities in space, despite changing urbanisation conditions (Kanyama & Cars, 2009). The first Master Plan for Nairobi was completed in 1948 reflecting the commercial and racial segregation policies pursued by the colony (Obudho, 1997). These segregated lifestyles and zoning policies are still seen to this day in Nairobi (Republic of Kenya, 2000). Another plan for Nairobi i.e., the Metropolitan Growth Strategy for Nairobi, prepared between 1970 and 1973 emphasized planning and improving public transportation (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).

In Dar-es-Salaam, the government revised the 1979 Master Plan in order to improve among others, public transportation. The revision resulted in a strategy plan which was completed in the early 1990s. The strategy plan was aimed to be stakeholder-driven with a major emphasis on cross-sectoral and inter-agency coordination to make planning effective (Kanyama et al., 2004). Despite this planning intervention, planning in Dar-es-Salaam remains unreal and public transport problems have continued to increase. In part, this is due to the fact that public transport planning has remained arbitrary in character—allocation of bus service routes has been 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 & Cars, 2009). Similarly, in Nairobi the Transport Licensing Board (TLB) as the regulator of public service and commercial vehicles is responsible for licensing Public Service Vehicles (PSV) and allocation of routes for PSV vehicles. Yet, according to views from workshop participants 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). According to Klopp (2012), institutions for inclusive, transparent and integrated land use and transport planning do not exist in Nairobi and the current trajectory of Nairobi is "locked into" negative patterns of land use and transportation that reinforce Nairobi's already problematic patterns of urbanisation. Pirie (2013), observes that this is the pattern seen in most of the Anglo Sub-Saharan African cities (ASSA) originated in the colonial era which show the failure to establish institutional arrangements and governance systems for integrated land-use and transport planning. Looking at this from a larger sub-Saharan Africa perspective, Nwaka (2005) observes that planning approaches have had limited impact on the ground 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. City authorities have not formulated new planning approaches which are suited to the changing socio-economic and cultural conditions of sub-Saharan cities (Kanyama & Cars, 2009). The most common problem in African countries, including Tanzania and Kenya is the inability to secure reliable data that can be fed into the planning process due to the unpredictability of the dynamics of urbanisation (UN Habitat, 2002, 2009). 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 as a result, urban management in the cities has remained far from efficient (Tostensen et al., 2001). 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.

4.2 Poverty

Results in Figure 4 show that 55.5% and 50% of the interviewed institutions felt that poverty is significant in constraining institutional coordination in planning for public transportation in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi respectively. During the respective workshops, it was elaborated that poverty constrained institutional coordination due to i) inability of the government authorities to finance basic infrastructure such as roads, ii) inability of many low income people to afford public transport costs, and iii) poor financial status of bus operators to purchase technologically and environmentally suitable public transport vehicles. As an example of linkage between poor government economic situation and deterioration public transport sector, in the 1970s Tanzania 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 (Kironde, 1995). Accordingly, 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 meant that financing infrastructure for public transport by the government was stopped with direct negative impact on the quality of public transportation in Dar-es-Salaam (Kanyama & Cars, 2009). The inability of people to afford transport cost can be viewed from the dynamics of income situation in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam. In Nairobi for example, the growth of jobs in the formal sector has not kept pace with that of labour force due to decline in wage employment in the public sector in Kenya owing to the restructuring and privatisation programmes introduced in 1990. Furthermore, the low income group has been seriously affected by inflationary trends since 1990 as a substantial number of middle income households was 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 had an impact on households and individuals on the extent to which they may be willing to spend on the public transport services (World Bank, 2002). In Nairobi, between 14 percent and 30 percent of household income is spent on transport (Pirie, 2013). In Temeke, Tanzania, 8 kilometres from the centre of Dar-es-Salaam, households spend 10-30% of their income on transport (World Bank, 2002). These costs are high to poor households. 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 and 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). It has been estimated that transport accounts for between 8% and 16% of household expenditure in a range of countries in Africa (World Bank, 2002).

Given the low wage situation, the government of Tanzania has set fare limits that must be adhered to by all bus operators. However, the operators of public transport in Dar-es-Salaam have continuously

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argued that fare set by the government was very low and can hardly generate profit revenue which can be reinvested for example, to purchase new buses to improve the quality of public transport services (Kanyama & Cars, 2009). In general, governments in 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). Kane (2002), observes that operators of public transport services in urban areas bear the brunt of governments' subsidy obligations at the expense of improved transport services. This leads to frustrations and subsequent actions by public transport operators who wreck the quality of public transport service in different ways. In Dar-es-Salaam it is common 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. In general, the financial sustainability of public transport system is a major challenge for ASSA cities. Like other sub-Saharan countries, Tanzania and Kenya are characterized by a poor economy which has constrained cities' ability to cope with urban development forces (Okpala, 2009). As poverty in these countries continues to constrain implementation of plans for land use and public transport plans, make people unable meet their travel costs or inhibit transport operators to make profit to sustain the public transport industry, it is hard to achieve a realistic institutional coordination in the planning which can improve public transportation.

4.3 Fear for Change: Maintenance of Status Quo

According to results in Figures 4, 44.4% and 41.6% of the interviewed institution in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi respectively felt that institution coordination in planning for public transport was constrained by fear that changes to improve existing transport systems would create other problems that may be hard to solve. Stressing on this, workshop participants in both Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi felt that the prospects to modernise the public transport systems would bring in new types of operators who would prefer bigger buses to the current small sized mini-buses. It was further felt that the current public transportation systems involve deployment of many 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. Workshop Participants in Nairobi exemplified that in 2007, the Government of Kenya had announced that 14-passenger *matatu* vehicles would be barred from operating in Nairobi yet until now this proposal has not been implemented. A similar example was given for Dar-es-Salaam where decision by public transport authorities to prevent the operations of 14 passenger mini-buses in the Dar-es-Salaam city over past years had failed to materialise. Klopp (2012) argues that in Nairobi, *matatus* are an integral part of the urban economy and cater to the needs of the lower middle and under class in Nairobi but also allow services that cater to the society as a whole. 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). Given its importance, attempting to eliminate paratransit public transport by administrative action could generate significant unrest in the cities (World Bank, 2002). Yet, Problems of public transportation in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi 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. Banister (2005) 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 for change to improve public transportation.

4.4 Lack of Political Will and Corruption

According to results in Figures 5 and 6, 44.4% and 58.3% of the interviewed institution in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi respectively felt that institution coordination in planning for public transport was constrained by the lack of political will and corruption. Participants of the workshops in respective cities came up with examples of respective city councils that they commit themselves to a sustainable transport policy, yet they commit themselves to economic growth with policies which encourage further traffic growth. In addition participants of workshops in both cities felt that professional advices in favour of improving public transportation were often ignored by influential decision makers in favour of inferior solutions. Arguing with regard to Kenya, Klopp (2012) observes that the current political economy of transportation in Kenya's large metropolis and surrounding regions appears prone to the implementation of large, often disconnected projects with their possibilities of kickbacks, contracts and land speculation opportunities for the elites. Decisions tend to be made on a form of "planning" that is a very technical and elite driven process that supports the vision of social and spatial segregation which deepens inequalities (Linehan, 2007). Okpala (2009) sees such lack of political commitment and corrupt practices resonating widely in the cities of sub-Saharan Anglo Africa (SSAA)—decision-makers inclined to corrupt practices use state privileges for private objectives. Occupation of state power is increasingly viewed as the key vehicle to private accumulation (Okpala, 2009; 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 (UN Habitat, 2002). 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. Lack of political commitment means that biased planning intervention ignores ideals for actual integrated policy-making which characterises a holistic form of decision-making underpinned by institutional coordination.

4.5 Inadequate Institutions and Citizens Participation in Planning for Public Transportation

According to results in Figure 4, 55.5% and 58.3% of the interviewed institution in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi respectively felt that institution coordination in planning for public transport was constrained due to inadequate institutional and citizenry participation in planning process. As results in Figures 3 and 4 show, none of the institutions were fully involved in Planning for public transport in the two cities while 67% and 58% felt that they were partially involved in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi respectively. Likewise results showed that 32% and 42% of the institutions felt that they have never been involved in planning for public transport in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi respectively. Yet all of these institutions believed that their functions were crucial in the public transport sector. For example, stakeholders of Blue Shield Insurance in Nairobi felt that their insurance role was crucial to the public transport industry, yet they have never been approached in the planning for public transport. Similarly, interviewed members in the Ministry of Health in Nairobi felt that they have never 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. Likewise, the chairman of the Public Service Vehicle Owners Welfare Association (POWA) in Nairobi felt that they were crucial in organising *matatu* owners and operators to improve public transport. Yet the government has not fully integrated the association in the planning and decision-making organs for public transportation. Similar situations of inadequate participation of institutions in planning for public transport were apparent in Dar-es-Salaam. For example, the Municipal Health Office in Dar-es-Salaam, observed 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 consulted to give our contributions".

According to Wekwete (1997), the weakness to involve institutions in planning is common in sub-Saharan Africa and is 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 a variety of actors in the running and operation of different urban sectors in African cities. 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. Dia (1996) calls this institutional crisis rooted in the sub-Saharan region's history, culture and formal institutions mostly transplanted from outside. The dominance of central authority in the development paradigm hampered involvement of other actors and

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undermined local autonomy (Wekwete, 1997). Participants in the workshops in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi expressed that ordinary citizens, commuters, vehicle owners and their employees are not involved in the planning process. Workshops participants felt that any public transport scheme that exclude citizens in planning is likely to undermine the prospects for an effective coordination in the planning and implementation of a public transport scheme. Nairobi was cited as an example on how the Government of Kenya introduced traffic rules popularly known as *Michuki* rules in 2003 to enhance the quality of traffic system in urban areas. However, the implementation of the scheme failed largely because the public was not totally involved in the formulation of the scheme. Rakodi (1997) sees that lack of citizen participation in planning processes is common in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa. 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 (Afoaku, 2005). 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 as they feel that their involvement in planning activities was a waste of their valuable time. Concurring to this, the city planner in Dar-es-Salaam city observed that (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".

According to UN Habitat (2002), apathy is prompted further in a number of African cities due to how urban development has often served as a means for those with political and economic power to expand their capacities. 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. As a result, the majority of the residents in the cities of sub-Saharan Africa continue to pursue a wide range of informal solutions to consolidate their positions within the city (Okpala, 2009). Without clear institutional forms offering a sense of stability and faith in the future, engaging fully the citizenry and institutions in planning for public transportation is likely to be hard.

4.6 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 and providing for fully participation of all key stakeholders in the public transport sector. On the contrary, in this study as Figures 3 and 4 show, 67% and 58% of the interviewed institutions felt that they were only partially involved in planning in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi respectively. Furthermore, results show that 32% and 42% of the interviewed institutions felt that they have never been involved in planning for public transport in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi respectively. In addition, it was felt in both workshops in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi that, often institutional coordination in planning for public transport have been impromptu in character and generally a reaction to crisis. It was further felt that some of involved stakeholders often do not know

their specific roles in different stages of the planning process and implementation. This weakness was seen to occur due to poor understanding of public transport policies (where there was one) and an overlap of legal mandate and conflict of roles amongst stakeholders in the public transport sector. According to workshops participants, this was caused by the lack of institutional set-up for coordinating different stakeholders in the planning process for public transportation in the cities. For example, in Nairobi no single agency or institution that deals with all transport matters for the metropolitan region in Nairobi (Republic of Kenya, 2005). The current fragmentation in Nairobi allows the existing decision-making network a great deal of leeway to operate in ways that favour interested parties within networks of politicians and bureaucrats linked to key ministries, while diffusing responsibilities (Klopp, 2012). Most Anglo sub-Saharan African (ASSA) cities suffer from this weakness which 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 (Okpala, 2009). 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). Many local authorities are often engaged in crisis management where 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 officers, who observed that:

"When the Dar-es-Salaam City Council changes laws, orders or regulations, it does not inform us but just make political decisions. For example, we were not informed 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".

Furthermore, the traffic officers in Dar-es-Salaam observed that, "*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*". Similarly, the traffic police officer in Nairobi felt that planning for public transportation was carried out on an ad hoc basis without coherence and gave example that:

"The Traffic Police Department had once been asked by the City Council planners to force a public transport company to stop its vehicles from using a certain location as a bus stop 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".

4.7 Inadequate Fiscal Decentralisation

According to results in Figure 4, 44.5% and 41.6% of the interviewed institution in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi respectively felt that institution coordination in planning for public transport was constrained

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by inadequate fiscal decentralisation to the local authority which constrain them to generate revenue for local development. For example, in an interview with the city planner in Nairobi it was observed that "*we do not have enough revenue base at the city council to generate adequate revenue to implement schemes for institutional coordination because the central government retains many sources which would have benefitted the local authority*". Similarly, according to interview with the chairman of Public services vehicles Owners Welfare Association (POWA) in Nairobi, the licensing authority for the Nairobi public transportation system is handled by the central government and any revenue generated ends up in the central government coffers. This inadequacy can be viewed from UNDP (1996), observation that 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. Similarly, in Tanzania, different local government reforms were carried out 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). Inadequate fiscal and political decentralisation is seen to be a common weakness in African cities often due to unwillingness of ministries to cede their functions, fearing loss of control over programmes, loss revenue and reduced influence (Rakodi, 2005; Smoke, 2003). Governments grant maximum autonomy to local government without adding any extra resources (Wekwete, 1997). 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 hampers local authorities the capacity to implement projects and schemes which would contribute in promoting institutional coordination in planning for public transport.

5. Conclusion

This study identified and discussed constraints associated with institutions coordination in planning for public transport planning in Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi. The main finding was that institutional coordination constraints centred around four core sets of issues: i) limitations in transport planning and operational framework; ii) limitations in decision-making and strategic planning approaches; iii) economic/financial problems; and iv) challenges in political leadership and management. Examining of these constraints for Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi, has shown that lack of institutional coordination in planning for public transport occurs in a similar manner. This weakness is inherently embedded in the institutional, political, cultural, economic and technological condition of those countries. These issues underscore the importance of urban and national governance in general, and on public transport planning

in particular. This paper recommends establishment of a framework for institutional coordination in planning for public transport suited to circumstances of each of these countries. This will be a tool to address uncontrolled fragmentation of public transport agreements across different agencies, and a guide to different sectors to pursue individual public transport initiatives within the agreed policy objectives to achieve a sustainable public transport. Strategic planning and implementation, good governance and moral leadership principles should be central attributes in the framework for institutional coordination with emphasis on democratic participation and the development of partnerships between private and public sectors and citizens in planning for public transport.

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