



IFRTD

PRO-POOR TRANSPORT POLICIES

Experiences and Lessons from Four East and Southern African Countries

A Synthesis Report

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PRO-POOR TRANSPORT POLICIES

Experiences and Lessons from Four East and Southern African Countries

A Synthesis Report

BACKGROUND

This report is a synthesis of 4 country case studies in Eastern and Southern Africa region, that looked at the linkages between transport and access policies and poverty reduction strategies. The country studies were carried out in Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Uganda and Kenya by the National Forum Groups on transport [NFGs], under the framework of the International Forum for Rural Transport and Development [IFRTD].

This initiative is part of a global IFRTD¹ programme known as **Poverty Watch** supported by the Civil Society Challenge Fund (CSCF), a programme of the British Department for International Development [DFID]. Similar country studies have also been carried out in Senegal, DRC Congo, Burkina Faso, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Peru, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and Cambodia. Implementation of the case studies by the NFGs was part of an overall IFRTD strategy of mobilizing the civil society sector to become more effective in influencing transport policies and programmes in their countries, from the point of view of poverty reduction.¹ Civil society participation in the policy process is crucial for any meaningful poverty reduction strategy (PRS). The development of pro-poor transport policies and strategies presupposes broad based participation by stakeholders. However, in both decentralised polities and in the context of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs)², effective stakeholder participation in the policy process is not assured for a variety of reasons, one of which is capacity constraints.

The poverty reduction debate has increasingly been characterized by the need to show the contribution that individual sectors (e.g. transport) make within a defined PRS. Consequently, framing sectors in the context of PRS has become necessary in order to enhance the collective capacity for sustainable poverty reduction.

IFRTD focuses on the role of transport sector in poverty reduction, as well as ensuring that there are effective mechanisms for poverty monitoring as well as sharing of lessons. The case studies whose synthesis is contained here were designed to meet the following objectives

- 1) Carry out an overview of transport sector policies in the respective countries;
- 2) Review key national development policies in respect to the role of mobility and access; and
- 3) Convene a national forum to present findings from the above process and to (a) agree on practical, priority interventions that should be addressed in order to enhance the contribution of transport to poverty reduction, (b) identify key stakeholders that can move forward the identified issues, and (c) develop a plan of action based on (a) and (b).

The reports prepared by individual NFGs describe national transport sector policies in each country. They also outline main programmes being implemented in the country and the key objectives. Finally, they analyse the strengths and weaknesses of existing (transport and other development) policies in addressing the role of transport in poverty reduction.

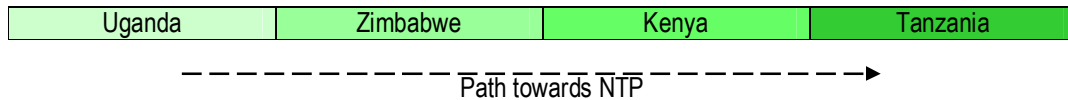
Transport Sector Policies

There is a sense of dynamism in the region in terms of development of transport policies and strategies. This is illustrated by the different stages at which the various countries are, on the path towards having

¹ Visit www.ifrtd.org

comprehensive national transport policies (Figure 1). Tanzania (shaded with the darkest hue) has developed a National Transport Policy (NTP). The rest (Kenya, Zimbabwe and Uganda) are at different stages in the policy formulation process with Kenya and Zimbabwe seemingly moving closer towards finalization of their respective NTP documents.

Figure 1: Road towards a National Transport Policy



The Tanzanian NTP has very elaborate sections on policy objectives, goals and directions for urban transport, rural transport, pan-territorial, international, and special transport (e.g. for mining, tourism, forestry and fisheries). Several programmes, reforms and initiatives have been undertaken as part of the implementation of the NTP. Among these are the establishment of the Tanzania National Roads Agency (TANROADS) to manage the trunk and regional road network; the Road Fund Board to manage the Road Fund set up to ensure adequate funding for road maintenance; promotion of labour-based techniques and local contractors for road works; the implementation of the Village Travel and Transport Programme (VTTP); and local government reform. Many other multi-purpose programmes, most of which are being implemented by donors contain a significant rural transport component.

Draft NTP documents have been developed in the case of Kenya (2004), Zimbabwe (2005) and Uganda (2001). In the absence of a national transport policy a number of institutional arrangements and policy documents are in place to manage the transport sector challenges in these countries. In spite of having one central ministry in each country responsible for transport, the absence of integrated policy frameworks on transport has led to fragmentation of policy responsibilities. Reference to the transport sector has and continues to be made in policy documents including National Development Plans, Sessional Papers, sectoral plans and programmes, statutory instruments, etc. The proposed national transport policies seek to integrate the various transport components within a coherent framework. The speed with which this is achieved is crucial in terms of enhancing the contribution of transport to poverty reduction.

Policies towards Mobility and Access

The precise role of transport in poverty reduction, even the direction of causality, remains a field of robust debate. In its simplest form it is implied that better transport infrastructure and services will lead to lower transport and transaction costs or to a wider range of choices and more competition. Improved access and mobility to markets, health, schools, administrative and financial services, and more basic amenities, such as water will lead to better livelihoods. Evidence has also been assembled to show that that improved access to transport services, increased ownership of means of transport and improvements in the transport infrastructure most used by the poor are all required to have an impact on poverty.³

These arguments have led to broad agreements and policy measures to improve physical access either by increasing the mobility of people to reach a particular facility, or bringing the facilities closer to communities. In Tanzania, for example, Vision 2025 stipulates the vision, mission, goals and targets to be achieved with respect to economic growth and poverty reduction by the year 2025. To operationalize the vision, the government formulated the National Poverty Eradication Strategy (NPES), which provides overall guidance and framework for co-ordination and supervision of the implementations of policies and strategies of poverty reduction. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) was then formulated as a medium-term strategy of poverty eradication in the context of the enhanced HIPC initiative. The focus of the PRSP is threefold, namely reducing income poverty, improving human capabilities, survival and social well being and containing extreme vulnerability. The role of transport and physical access in addressing these dimensions of poverty is implied in the PRSP.

As part of the process of ensuring the transport is responsive to the needs of the majority, there have been experimental initiatives to enhance the mobility of users of Non-Motorised Transport (NMT) who form the bulk of the population in the region. For example, between 1995 and 1999 a pilot project on urban mobility and non-motorized transport was implemented in four towns, two in Kenya (Eldoret and Nairobi) and two in Tanzania (Dar-es-Salaam and Morogoro) between 1995 and 1999. The project was financed by a Dutch trust fund as part of the Sub Saharan Africa Transport Policy (SSATP) program. The aim was to test various engineering solutions in favor of pedestrians and cyclists, and to develop local capacity to plan and implement low cost mobility improvements.

The low cost infrastructures proved efficient in increasing traffic safety for pedestrian and cyclists. The safe cycle paths favored both passenger and goods transport. Construction of pedestrian walkways also stimulated the creation of small informal retail activities favoring economic growth. Local participation in the planning and implementation stages of the pilot projects allowed municipal executives and technical staff to get sensitized on the importance of sidewalks and bicycle paths for safety and low cost mobility for poor people.⁴

There have been positive offshoots from this early exploratory work. In Kenya for example, there are a variety of initiatives on NMTs in the municipalities of Nairobi, Eldoret, Kitale and Kisumu, while in Uganda, there are ongoing projects in Jinja and Iganga municipalities. In Tanzania, there is an ambitious NMT infrastructure and institutional support programme involving the City Council, the Institute for Transport Policy and Development [ITDP] and the Global Environmental Facility (GEF).

Another example of the links been made between transport and poverty is in Uganda. The HIPC initiative, Vision 2025 identified poverty as an urgent public policy challenge. Accordingly, the Poverty Action Fund (PAF) was created to finance projects with direct poverty benefits. In its 1999/00 and 2000/01 budget, PAF expenditure on rural roads was the largest component of the expenditures that directly increase the incomes of the poor and its share was projected to increase to over 60percent of this category (US\$37.2 billion or US\$28.4 million) by 2002/03.⁵

THE CONTEXT

Poverty

Poverty is a reality in all the four countries studied: Tanzania and Uganda, for example, are classified as Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC). According to the Household Budget Strategy Survey of 2000/1 carried out as part of the Poverty Monitoring System and the Integrated Labour Force Survey, 18.7 percent of Tanzanians live below the food poverty line and 35.7 percent below the basic needs poverty line. Poverty is more severe in rural areas (87 percent) than urban ones (13 percent). Uganda's per capita income, among the least in the world, stands at US\$ 340. About 48 percent of Uganda's national budget is accounted for through foreign aid. Poverty trends reveal that 35 percent of the population (8 million) live below the poverty line. Poverty is particularly acute among women living in rural areas with women-headed households, some 29 percent of the total number of rural households facing higher risk of poverty.

In Zimbabwe, twenty five percent of the people were poor in 1990/¹⁶ as they could not meet basic consumption needs – food, shelter, clothing, education, health services and transport, while 7 percent were very poor especially in that they had insufficient power to buy adequate basic food basket. Poverty is rife in rural areas (31 percent) than in urban areas (10 percent). Currently, it is estimated that almost two-thirds of the population lives below the poverty datum line. In Kenya, where average growth per annum declined from 6.6 percent (1960-70) to 2.2 percent (1980-89), the poverty headcount was estimated at 46 percent in 1994 (Hanmer et al., 2003).

The transport sector

The four case studies characterize transport in terms of the following sub-sectors:

- ❖ Road,
- ❖ Rail,
- ❖ Waterways,
- ❖ Air
- ❖ Pipeline.

Roads are the dominant mode of transport in the four countries, accounting on average for $\frac{7}{8}$ of passenger and freight transport. In the case of Kenya the road sector accounted for 99 percent of passenger/km transport and 95 percent of freight tonnes/km in 1998. Road and road transport is critical to the Kenyan economy with the Northern Corridor carrying 75 percent of freight. However, Kenya's road sub-sector suffered negative growth in the 1990s resulting in 43 percent of the road network being declared to be in 'poor' conditions. In neighbouring Tanzania, notwithstanding recent impressive gains in the development of roads, maintenance and rehabilitation remains a serious challenge.⁷

Developing an efficient and reliable air transport system is necessary especially in the case of the two landlocked countries Uganda and Zimbabwe. Some of the challenges to overcome include the need to establish a clear and flexible institutional framework that facilitates investment and competition and not control, as has been the practice during the past. In particular, harmonizing civil aviation authorities and the transport ministry functions will be critical, as well as addressing deficiencies in safety and security.

Railway is an integral part of the transport systems in all the four countries. Until recently, railway transport was managed as a State Owned Enterprises (SOE). Following the wave of reforms these SOEs are being restructured to reverse years of mismanagement and loss making. In the Kenyan case, for example, Kenya Railways has contracted out management and operations of certain of its activities alongside commercialisation of the railway transport system. The scheme aims at rehabilitating and modernising the locomotives, railway line, wagons and other equipment, and concession gulf marine services. A new line linking Nakuru to southern Sudan will be the most ambitious railway project to be undertaken in recent times in Kenya.

In Uganda, the Uganda Railway Corporation (URC) manages formal water transport. URC ferries connect Kisumu (Kenya), Bukoba (Tanzania) with Jinja and Port Bell (Uganda). In spite of known potential of inland water transport in the region, there is still very little investment going into this sub-sector and as a result this form of transport is relatively underdeveloped in all the four countries. This has huge implications for farming, fishing, and the livelihood of communities living along the shores of the lake.

Pipeline is equally underdeveloped. In Tanzania, for example, the only existing pipeline in the country is TAZAMA, which conveys crude oil products from the coastal city of Dar-es-Salaam to Ndola refinery in Zambia, a distance of 1,750km. A new pipeline is being constructed from Songo Songo to Dar-es-Salaam to transport natural gas. Another pipeline is still under consideration to transport petroleum products from Dar-es-Salaam to Mwanza.

In the case of Kenya, the policy thrust involves the extension of the pipeline to western Kenya and later Uganda to increase exports, privatisation of the Kenyan Pipeline Company (KPC), diversification of opportunities and improvement of existing facilities, and programmes to be implemented towards increasing KPC's foreign earnings.

Contribution of the transport sector to the economy

The size and contribution of the transport sector to the economy of the four east and southern Africa countries is remarkably similar. In Kenya, transport contributes 6 percent of the country's GDP and

consumes 6,3 percent of the public's resources as the proportion of GDP. In Tanzania, the transport and telecommunications sector contribute an average of 5 percent in the GDP in value added terms. In the case of Uganda the transport sector contributed 6.01 percent to the GDP in 2001. Obviously there are many other ways to measure the size and contribution of the transport sector—the jobs it creates or investment it sustains, value-added, export earnings, etc. In terms of the domestic revenue, fuel tax, road licenses, income tax and import taxes, for example, Uganda's transport sector contributes 23 percent of local domestic revenue to the treasury.

These figures do not tell much about the impact of transport on poverty reduction per se. While there is much faith among policy and decision makers that improving the transportation infrastructure and services in a country contributes to reducing poverty, there is an absence of indicators to systematically monitor the performance and impacts of transport sector in respect of poverty reduction. Therefore, most decisions and policy choices depend on circumstantial and anecdotal evidence. Thus, in the case of Kenya, for example, "participatory poverty studies suggest that living in areas with poor infrastructure (especially roads) is one of the key determinants of poverty" (Republic of Kenya, 2004:10). Yet, there are many dimensions of transport and poverty links that should inform the process of drawing up a pro-poor transport policy agenda.

Transport sector policy in the region

The four case studies represent a unique mix of lessons and experiences linking transport policies and poverty reduction strategies, which are in fact an extension of a long tradition of attempts to conceptualize transport and poverty (e.g. Howe and Richards, 1984; Lang 1997; Gannon and Liu 1997; van de Walle 2002; Turner and Grieco 2000; Booth, Hanmer and Lovell 2000; Barter 1999; Hine and Rutter 2000; Howe 1997; Howe and Bryceson 2000; Bryceson, Mbara and Maunder 2003; Merläinen and Helaakoski 2001; Kamarage 1998; Njenga and Davis 2003; Odera 1992, 2003 and 2005; etc.). Pertinent to this discourse are notions of participation and integration, social exclusion,⁸ and human rights. Inability to afford personal or public transport precludes participation in many community and public activities (i.e., social exclusion).

The most enterprising thing emerging in the policy front in all the countries is the singular effort to redefine transport policy in the context of poverty reduction (also see discussion under common themes below). Although progress has not been uniform, and never could be, there have been key and outstanding achievements in terms of recognizing in general terms the link between transport and poverty. In some cases this has been concretized into programmes and activities that have direct bearing on the daily lives of millions of people. The benefits have been demonstrable in some cases and anecdotal in others. Reducing by half the proportion of people living on less than one dollar a day thus still remains a challenge.

DIMENSIONS OF TRANSPORT AND POVERTY LINKS

Transport is an integral part of daily economic and social activities of majority of the people. Among the poor, mobility and accessibility constitute a twin challenge to livelihoods. The failure to address access and mobility conditions of the poor is linked to the lack (until very recently) of national policy frameworks, which explicitly recognise the need to go beyond road construction and to integrate access and mobility issues as critical dimensions of transport. This *policy gap* is explained by at least two factors. Firstly, up to mid 1980s there was little appreciation of the complexity of the transport problem, especially its links to poverty and social development. In a majority of cases, planners and policy makers were schooled in the trickle down models, of which, in the transport discipline, road construction occupied a revered place. Secondly, in the field of bilateral development cooperation, success was often judged by the size of financial disbursements and for donors and recipient governments, road construction offered a key avenue to good success ratings. Unfortunately, such investments only met the transport needs of a fraction of the urban and rural population.

The case studies suggest the need to use available anecdotal evidence as a basis for developing a tool for systematically monitoring the links between poverty, transport and access. There can be little doubt that transport does impact poverty in several ways.⁹ Some of the indicative linkages are

- ❖ Direct and indirect employment in the transport sector, both in the construction sub-sector and the transport service sub-sector. Evidence in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania shows substantial employment is available in the sector especially for low-skill cadres.
- ❖ Lowered costs of transport can facilitate establishment of, or increasing productivity of business, including small scale businesses
- ❖ Lower transport costs can reduce the costs of goods and services used by the poor.
- ❖ Access to reliable and affordable transport services reduces the amount of time and effort it takes for poor people to reach important community resources, such as clean water, health, education and administrative services.
- ❖ A combination of transport and access improvements can reduce difficulties of access to key services, thus contributing to financial and time savings.

But transport improvements can also lead to negative externalities. As studies (e.g., Odero, 2005 and Booth et al., 2000) show, transport interventions and construction of new transport infrastructure can exacerbate exposure to risk. Increased mobility may be associated with exposure of communities to new disease through in- or out-migration. In some of the worst AIDS-afflicted countries of east and southern Africa, the highest HIV prevalence rates are found on major transport routes and truck drivers, and sex workers, are frequently considered high-risk groups.

Experience from case studies

Access to social services

Access to health services have improved (e.g. in Kenya) due to road construction.¹⁰

Employment effects

Public works on transport infrastructure has been used to reduce poverty through providing employment. The impact of labour-based work in Kenya where cash earnings in road areas compared with non-road areas has been recorded to be between two and six times higher, has indirect effects on the livelihoods of others as well as direct benefits for the individuals and their households who are directly employed on such schemes.¹¹ In Uganda, Taylor (2000) reports that for every job created in the feeder road programme by using labour-based methods, another 1.6 Jobs were created in the wider economy; overall the use of labour-based methods created three times as many jobs as equipment-based methods; labour-based methods generated about two times more GDP through indirect effects than equipment-based methods; although the direct benefit of labour-based methods on public revenue is smaller than that of equipment-based methods, this is more than offset once indirect benefits are included. The overall effect is that labour-based methods result in a fiscal deficit of only 46 percent of that resulting from the use of equipment-based methods. Hence, higher net public revenues result from using labour-based methods compared to equipment-based methods; and there is a significant saving in foreign exchange (62 percent) when using labour-based rather than equipment-based methods.¹²

An assessment (World Bank, 1995) of poverty targeted employment programmes in Kenya found that some employees on the Rural Roads Programme were able to use their wages to hire labour on their own farms and build houses. In Tanzania, a study of the railways showed that people are able to take advantage of seasonal employment opportunities and travel to urban centres when the need for labour is scarce in the countryside (Blume et al., 1995).

Modal choice

In Kenya, road improvement has been shown to increase opportunities for the individual to travel by local paratransit vehicles.¹³ In the case of Uganda, the emergence of boda-boda (i.e.,

bicycle/motorcycle taxi services) have promoted trade and created jobs in the rural areas and bridged the transport gap between the rural and peri-urban areas (Iga, 1999).

Trade links

In land locked countries like Uganda, inadequate transport is perceived as 'a non-tariff barrier to trade'.¹⁴ The implicit taxation of exporters that results from high transport cost ranges from 40 percent for food exports to 24 percent for coffee, goods that make up the majority of Uganda's exports. Sectors that produce goods that are bulky relative to value and/or require imported inputs have an implicit transport tax rate in excess of 100 percent. This includes manufactured foods, tobacco and beverages, textiles, clothing and footwear, building materials and chemicals.¹⁵ Asked to rank constraints facing their firms using 1 as no obstacle and 4 as a major problem, a survey found that Ugandan industrialists ranked the quality of roads as 2.6 after power breakdowns (3.5), voltage fluctuations (3) and telecoms problems (2.7).¹⁶

COMMON THEMES

Transport and Poverty Reduction

Provision and production of transport infrastructure, equipment and services can be designed so as to have maximum impact on poverty reduction. Accessibility is facilitated by availability of transport facilities (infrastructure and equipment) and services. Transport is required to provide physical presence at places offering opportunities. The transport system consists of infrastructure and equipment, the management system, and the transport modes, and operators. This makes investment in rural transport infrastructure a major development priority for developing countries (Jacoby 1998). Transport deficiencies add to input costs. Transport inadequacy affects efficiency in marketing, as competitive market centers cannot be reached with ease. Inadequacies in transport also affect labour mobility.

Is Transport Policy Necessary?

The need for a coherent transport policy is amplified in all the countries. The transport sector needs a comprehensive policy aligned to national social and economic development objectives and goals, paying due attention to private sector participation in the provision of services while the government continues to retain the role of ownership and development of the key strategic transport infrastructure. A fundamental requirement for an effective transport system is an institutional framework, which will ensure provision of effective, reliable and integrated transport services.

In all countries transport plays a crucial role in meeting multiple objectives of poverty reduction (e.g. HIV/AIDS, good governance, etc.). While in certain cases transport policies have not worked to reduce poverty, in others they contribute to increasing poverty. Authorities have at times inefficiently managed the public transport system. Poorer people, people with disabilities (PWD) and other marginalised groups, are not always offered alternatives under privatised transport service environment. Although privatisation is acknowledged for generally improving transport services, the economic rationale on which such services are based might also lead to exclusion of many poor people.

Also, safety and security¹⁷ are often neglected issues during transport policy formulation despite being critical to addressing poverty reduction, as the poor tend to be most vulnerable, partly due to lack of insurance and other social safety nets. Equally, crime undermines the role of transport in trade or provision of secure livelihoods. These complications arise, firstly, because transport policy planning has for a long time been a public function. In theory, the private sector and civil society have a role in policy formulation and provision of transport services. However, the duo's handle on the policymaking process remains minimal in practise.

Secondly, more attention is given infrastructure rather than transport services during policy making. As the case studies demonstrate, in a context where road transport is emphasised in policy circles relative to other modes of transport e.g. rail and water transport, and especially where integrated transport planning is not the norm, the experience is that these biases are reflected not only in the resulting transport policy frameworks, but ultimately in the transport outcomes as well.

Institutional Reforms

Reforming the transport sector is high on the agenda. The focus is on improving management and operations of infrastructure and services to enhance competitiveness and to access to services. In response to externalities arising from the provision of public goods, governments have realised the importance of developing policy and regulatory frameworks under which road users, road assets, and the environment can be protected. Standard initiatives include: setting up of road network management systems, review of road design and maintenance standards, specifications, and maintenance procedures, promotion of road safety measures,¹⁸ and innovative road financing mechanisms. Somehow, even if not stated explicitly, these objectives are perceived to contribute to poverty reduction.

The need to reduce the widening gaps between the poor people and policy makers regarding the design and implementation of pro-poor policies is seen as a priority in the context of Poverty Reduction Strategies. Included in this broad agenda is the recognition that transport is not only a means to reducing poverty, but that there also needs to be coherence between transport policies and with PRSs. In the three East African countries, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, such coherence is being realised through the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), and Budgetary Support (BS), among other processes.

COUNTRY SPECIFIC ISSUES

After outlining the general thread of issues in the four case studies, this next section turns to specifics of individual countries, discussing one at a time.

KENYA

Kenya is in the process of developing a comprehensive national transport sector policy. Hitherto, sessional papers, national development plans and strategies, including the PRSP have articulated mostly road transport policies and strategies. In addition to roads, the transport sector in Kenya is made up of rail transport, air transport, water transport and pipeline transport. There is broad agreement that the development and maintenance of physical infrastructure in all transport sub-sectors is a key prerequisite for economic growth and poverty reduction. Properly built and maintained infrastructure influence production costs, employment creation, access to markets and investment. For example, studies on rural road projects in sub-Saharan Africa also show a strong catalytic effect of rural feeder projects on agricultural development.

Transport and Poverty

Transport infrastructure in rural areas can enhance access to services and facilities thus strengthen human capabilities. Government-commissioned research (MoITC 1981, 1983, 1984; MoRPW 1991) and other studies (for example, Rhodes 1993) show that gains to agriculture from rehabilitating rural roads are considerable, and that lack of road maintenance can greatly reduce the benefits to agriculture of rehabilitated roads. Additionally, transport improves livelihood assets by improving poor people's individual and community assets. Influencing regulations, culture and gender dynamics in transport service and infrastructure is thus not an end in itself. Lack of access roads is a major contributor to reduced productivity and increased poverty in the country. Promoting access to markets and market opportunities for the poor has been identified as a national development objective and priority.

Inter-Sectoral Linkages

In the context of PRSP transport is understood to facilitate (or is a service to) other sectors. Thus, the development of the crop sector, rural water development, livestock development, etc., is integral to the performance of the transport sector. In the livestock sector, for example, improving marketing systems and transport infrastructure are considered as complementary and thus both are priority areas. The perception among policy makers is that the current system where live cattle are trucked up to 1,000km along poor roads is not sustainable. The tourism sector also faces challenges in infrastructure, facilities and transport and communication problems.

Key Challenges in the Transport Sector

In order to contribute to poverty reduction in the transport sector, the Government of Kenya (GoK) has drawn up a number of measures to address the challenges faced especially in road sector.¹⁹ However, limited financing has affected the implementation of policies significantly. While about US\$1billion is needed to reconstruct major roads, substantial funding gap exists. Despite reforms (see discussion on the road fund) funding mechanism for maintenance of urban roads needs development. There is also no delivery system for the comprehensive routine maintenance of Kenya's roads. The District Roads Committee system is effective but needs substantially greater funding.

Currently, the road sector in Kenya is characterised by poor state of the trunk road network; poor or lack of rural access roads; poor linkages between rural access and other rural roads and major highways; lack of efficiency in use of roads funds; lack of adequate quality control in execution of road works; misuse of road facilities; and lack of adequate research and development in roads. Other challenges include securing and ensuring sustainable funding for rehabilitation and maintenance works (see following discussion on Road Fund).

Further, traffic growth has resulted in a substantial network of unpaved roads carrying traffic levels that would justify paving the roads: about 2,500 km of unpaved roads carry over 200 vehicles per day. The road transport system, particularly in major urban areas, is characterized by heavy congestion during peak hours, over-loaded public transport vehicles, speeding, and reckless driving. Road safety also is an issue of concern since official statistics show that the cost of road transport in Kenya is extremely high in terms of accidents and loss of human life.

Institutional Responses

To improve on the delivery of road infrastructure, GoK proposes to improve the management of interventions in the roads sub-sector through the operationalisation and facilitation of the Kenya Roads Board (KRB) and District Roads Committees (DRCs). The KRB will oversee the maintenance of all major roads, rehabilitate and upgrade international trunk roads. DRCs will oversee the maintenance and upgrading and construction of rural access roads, footpaths and bridges. Appropriate appraisal methods in maintenance and construction of roads will be enforced and delays in auditing and accounting for road maintenance funds will be minimised.

Maintenance, Repair and Rehabilitation of Roads

The Kenya Roads Board was set up to take up road maintenance, repair and rehabilitation (MR&R) from the Ministry of Roads and Public Works. It works through DRCs and Constituency Roads Committees for maintenance of roads at the local level. Removing responsibility for the main road network to a separate Highway Agency has allowed greater focus on rural roads. The DRCs have been successful in bringing a more local perspective on the prioritizing of road works, and legitimacy for the work plan. The level of resources in the Constituency Development Funds is insufficient for rural roads and other transport infrastructure and should be increased.

Overall, the Roads Department of the Ministry of Roads and Public Works is responsible for planning, designing, constructing, and maintaining the classified network measuring over 63,000 km. Other agencies, for example, the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) is in charge of roads in the national parks. Coordination to ensure that decisions are taken in a coherent policy context covering all modes remains a challenge facing the road transport sector. Sustainable development demands that the country must develop a road policy strategy that accounts for other transport sectors and the overall development concerns of efficiency, equity and environmental sensitivity.

Strategies

In an attempt to respond to some of the issues and challenges, the Kenyan road transport policy framework focuses on: -

- ❖ Infrastructure improvement by coordination of road development and maintenance to ensure that the roads network is maintained rehabilitated/upgraded and expanded to rural areas through revival of the mechanical transport and Plant Fund under MTYD so as to provide sustainable funding for provision and maintenance and renewal of roads (NDP2002-8);
- ❖ Restructuring of the Roads, the transport and mechanical departments and privatization of Axle load control Function to provide necessary back up to district roads committees (GoK, NDP 2002-8);
- ❖ Encouraging private sector involvement in development and maintenance of selected roads through concessioning under the Roads 2000 maintenance strategy (ibid); and
- ❖ Initiation of appropriate feasibility studies for maintenance and construction of roads, by-passes and rigorous enforcement of discipline on the roads

Safety

The Kenya Roads Safety Authority, whose responsibility is to oversee safety matters of road transport services, training of personnel on roads safety programs and rigorous enforcement of discipline on the road has also been established under the current national development plan.

The Road Fund

To increase funding and ensure adequate cost recovery for efficient and continued maintenance of the road network, there has been a changeover from cess and direct pricing to indirect revenue collection through road maintenance fuel levy fund managed by Kenya Roads Board. Similar measures have been taken through the introduction of the Transport Licensing Board to address public transport issues as well as generate additional revenue for the sector. Realizing better service and value from existing resources by bringing in the private sector to build and operate some roads under concession arrangements is another key strategy.

The need for effective roads development and maintenance policies and works has long been realized. While major road projects are comparatively easy to finance internationally, funding for rural roads, with the exception of roads in tea growing areas, has tended to be neglected because it was difficult to justify in economic terms.

Privatization

Encouraging private participation in Kenya's transport sector has been an important objective of Kenya's transport policy. First and foremost, privatization seeks to expand private sector participation in the transport sector. The policy also seeks to: -

- a. Reduce the role of the public in the day-to-day management of Kenya's primary transport network;
- b. Increase the resource flow to the sector by identifying road segments for concessioning and encouraging private investment; and

- c. Empower the private sector to manage the network.

Contract management is one of the ways that private sector participation is being promoted. The public sector already awards many contracts in the transport sector, particularly in the road sector, but the new contracts are different from those traditionally awarded by the public sector: The current ones, require management over a much longer period. This has implications not only in terms of requisite capacity in the private sector, but also in terms of concession monitoring. Some of the options being considered are for a sector regulator - a single regulator to cover the entire transport sector or multi-sector regulator that covers the transport sector and some or all of the utility sectors.

In the context of public private partnership, the role of government as regulator is to provide consistent and predictable regulatory framework such as on the use of roads by traffic, which should be enforced in parallel with timely maintenance of the road network. By providing various incentives, the regulator should also facilitate linkages across transport modes to encourage use of alternative modes of transport to maximize consumer surplus and wider economic benefits.

Roads 2000 Strategy

The Roads 2000 Strategy is meant to build on the good experience of labour based technologies and address the problem of inadequate road maintenance. There is hope that if Kenya seriously implements Roads 2000, very many small works (whether maintenance, partial rehabilitation or spot improvements) will be implemented over an extensive road network. Apart from the current institutional framework apportioning specific road classes to particular agencies, there is no maintenance policy for Kenya's road networks. And while the country has made strides in decentralizing road delivery, increasing road revenue for effective maintenance remains a challenge. Some of the policy measures necessary to reduce maintenance costs arising due to heavy vehicles in road traffic include: -

- Substantial reduction in all types of negative impact arising from use of the national road networks by heavy vehicles, including deterioration in road condition, safety and environmental conditions;
- Improving road freight productivity through reforms in policy on vehicle size and weight; and
- Quantifying the potential benefits of 'road-friendly' vehicle suspensions in extending pavement life and reducing maintenance costs for trucks.

The Kenya case study also shows that the country needs to develop a national (and/or district) road asset management strategy as a road maintenance policy.

Rail Transport

Policies on rail transport have generally focused on the following:

- ❖ Expansion, upgrading and modernizing rail transport infrastructure equipment and facilities.
- ❖ Institutional strengthening of the Kenya Railways to increase efficiency via
 - Kenya Railway Company;
 - Kenya Railways Asset Authority; and
 - Kenya railways Regulatory Board

Air transport

Kenyan air transport policies have generally focused on upgrading, maintenance and integration of air transport facilities with other infrastructure, modes and economic activities to international standards. Also improving the regulatory environment including air transport policy formulation and implementation of a National Air transport Policy to improve air transport in the region have been high on the agenda.

Marine transport

Reform in the maritime sub-sector has focused on institutional restructuring and systems management to improve management and efficiency of marine transport services through: privatization and/or concessioning of marine transport services; upgrading and maintenance of port facilities; and improving the regulatory environment for marine transport. Similar measures designed to improve performance have also been implemented in the pipeline sub-sector.

Efficient and effective delivery of transport services require broad-based policy reforms

Kenya's experience shows that local government reforms significantly affect transport services delivery as well as infrastructure development. The introduction of the Local Authorities Service Delivery Action Planning process, for example, has introduced a more responsive system to deliver services including transport to the poor people.²⁰ At the same time, national development plans have increasingly paid attention to other modes of transport including non-motorised transport. Mode substitution and inter-mode complementarities should be part of an integrated approach for making roads and road transport economically and environmentally sustainable.

For instance, mixing measures to control private transport modes in urban centres and improved public transport policy increases the effectiveness of transit improvements. To promote positive impact and generate cumulative positive cross-externalities within the road sector, short- and long-term integrated transportation policies are necessary in four fields: transport and land-use planning, transport and environmental policies, transport and telecommunications, and transport and local public finance. The policy interventions are necessary in infrastructure development, and in ensuring the quality, reliability and attractiveness of various transport services.

Integrating Transport Issues in Other Sectoral Policies

The national transport policy should seek to integrate concerns and influence the development of other sectoral policies to reduce transport related constraints, which impact on social and economic aspects of the poor people. As the Kenyan case shows (also see the Uganda case), transport policy thrusts can be consistently addressed in various policy documents (e.g. the PRSP, the national development plans and the Economic Recovery Strategy Paper) without contradiction. Integrating access and mobility issues in a multi-sectoral context is good for poverty alleviation.

UGANDA

In Uganda, in line with the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), which constitutes the government's major development plan to actively combat poverty, the provision of public services has become more and more focused on poverty reduction since the mid-1990s. Budgetary allocations largely reflect this position. In the course of elaborating the PEAP, five priority areas were identified: primary education, primary health care, rural road rehabilitation and maintenance, agricultural modernisation, and water supply and sanitation (Kappel, Lay and Steiner 2005).

Like in the Kenyan case, the Uganda transport system consists of road, water, rail, and air transport. The road transport is by far the most dominant mode of transport. The total public road network is 64,558km. Of these national roads are 9,458km, district roads 22,300km, urban roads 2,800km, and community access roads 30,000km. Roads have been identified as among the priority areas that can facilitate poverty reduction. However, Uganda has not yet developed a National Transport Policy (NTP) although a Draft Transport Sector Policy and Strategy Paper² was published in 2001 with the objective of developing a National Transport Policy. Realising poverty reduction in the absence of a unified policy framework is not easy, especially where each transport sub-sector has its own sectoral policies, as is

² *The Draft Transport Sector Policy and Strategy Paper*, Government of Uganda, Ministry of Works, Housing and Communications, December 2001.

the case in Uganda. Useful initiatives like the Rural Travel and Transport Programme (RTTP) of the Sub Saharan Africa Transport Policy (SSATP) program fall through the cracks due to lack of a policy framework where they could be anchored. Thus the development of a national transport policy framework is likely to underscore the Government's medium term strategy for promotion of cheaper, efficient and reliable transport.²¹

The extent to which transport can contribute to poverty reduction is influenced by a variety of factors. Sectoral decomposition analysis shows that transport, among other sectors, is gaining importance in the Ugandan economy in terms of employment (ibid). Production in transport almost tripled between 1991/2 and 2002/3. In 2001, the transport sector contributed 6.01percent to the GDP. But, taxing petroleum consumption affects transport prices and hence final consumer prices of all types of goods, tax incidence analysis suggests that people in rural areas and thus the poor are likely to be hurt disproportionately (Chen et al. 2001 in Kappel et al. 2005).

The key element in the Government of Uganda (GoU) transport sector strategy is the Ten-Year Road Sector Development Programme (RSDP), which *inter alia* seeks to provide an efficient, safe and sustainable road network in support of market integration and poverty reduction; as well as improve the managerial and operational efficiency of road administration. In Uganda, poverty responsive policies in transport have largely been developed based on road transport. As a result, roads rather than transport services are emphasised. This tends to lead to less than optimal distribution of scarce resources across sectors and possibly diminished impact on poverty reduction. For example, although water transport is a relatively inexpensive, energy efficient and environmentally friendly form of transport, it is largely neglected. As the 2003/04 Budget Speech revealed, many road transport policies hinge on roads instead of transport.

Poverty Reduction Strategies in Uganda

Reducing poverty is fundamental to human development. The challenge to reduce poverty can therefore best be tackled by implementing pro-poor policies. In Uganda, such policies have been defined in terms of promoting economic growth and regional development balance in that country. Under the Poverty Eradication Action Plan, which is Uganda's PRSP, the first three sectors namely main roads, rural feeder roads and agriculture are directly concerned with increasing rural incomes and supporting the private sector. The provision of an efficient road service is at the core of poverty eradication strategies and enhancing rural incomes. Roads benefit the poor by improving their livelihood. It also contributes towards meeting crosscutting objectives of poverty reduction. The other three, education, health and water are directly concerned with improving the quality of life of the poor.

Uganda's Pro-poor Transport Strategy

A number of elements can be said to provide links between poverty reduction and the transport sector strategies in Uganda. First, is the recognition that transport is a means of poverty reduction: The PRSP recognises that the majority of the poorest people are isolated. They incur high transport and accessibility costs. These costs are higher in rural areas especially for inland water transport (i.e. four times more expensive than road transport). Second, is the progressive increase in roads expenditure: The original focus of RSDP was major roads. But with the PEAP there was a shift to include district, urban and community roads in order for the rural communities and the poor people to participate in the national economy.

Contribution of the Transport Sector

Statistics from Uganda Bureau of Statistics³ shows that the transport sector contributes 6.01percent to the GDP in 2000. This contribution is significant because government uses these resources to fund various poverty reduction programmes, including those discussed above. In addition, public transport

³ Statistical Yearbook 2001 (Uganda Bureau of Statistics)

levies and tender fees are the single most important source of tax revenue for local governments. In Kampala City Council, for example, public transport levies contribute up to 30 percent of the local tax collections. Transport service sector is a large employer: Poor people are employed as drivers, cyclists, conductors, guides, boat operators, tax collectors, and porters among others. *Boda Boda* services in Uganda directly employ up to 200,000 people.

Waterways

Water transport is the most important way to access core transport networks and local facilities for many communities. But it is often neglected in transport policies, even when consciously poverty-focused. The district of Kalangala in Uganda consists entirely of islands in Lake Victoria. In 1999, UPPAP found that people in the district wanted a regular, safe and affordable water transport system which would improve access to health care, schools, markets, justice and security. However poverty-targeted district budgets for transport only provided for feeder road construction.

Reasons for poor transport policy outputs

Non-implementation of the transport policies, poor implementation, absence of the relevant transports policies and negative impacts of the transport policies are some of the reasons for poor performance of the transport sector. According to the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)⁴, poor transport performance is due to lack of appropriate policy formulation and implementation; inadequate financing; high cost of transportation; lack of appropriate human and institutional capacity;²² poor transport and communication facilitation; inadequate safety and security; poor contribution of urban and rural areas to development and to poverty reduction; unexploited technological development; lack of appropriate database; disjointed market integration; and inappropriate infrastructure network among other factors.

Privatisation of transport services and outcomes

As a rule the GoU does not directly participate in the provision of transport services. However, private companies have not offered a successful alternative to the poor state provision of transport services for the poor. Recent studies by Transport Research Laboratory, UK have shown that public transport agencies in Uganda practice cartel systems leading to inefficient delivery of services⁵. But, regulatory institutions for hearing public complaints about transport service delivery are lacking.

Privatisation has not increased traffic safety especially public transport industry. Since most of the public transport users carry poor people, the poor are more susceptible to accidents. Research in Uganda shows that road accidents impacts the poor most.⁶ Investing in urban infrastructure improvement in a country like Uganda where it is estimated that 18 percent of urban poor people's income is spent on transport is likely impact on safer urban mobility.⁷

But, dealing with the multiple problems (including: congested central business district; poor quality of service from public transport; high exposure to road accidents; poor terminal organisation and management, which restricts the optimum use of the available public transport capacity; and poor standards of road traffic awareness, vehicle maintenance, and driver behaviour) currently facing the transport system in the city in a manner that materially improves mobility conditions faced by the poor requires much more than infrastructure improvement. Education, training, better regulations and management are necessary elements of an integrated urban transport policy.

Infrastructure financing

⁴ ECA *ibid.*, May, 2002

⁵ M. Benmaamar, *Improved Vehicle Operations in Uganda*, TRL, UK (2001)

⁶ Work done by Injury Control Centre, Uganda (1998)

⁷ ECA, *ibid.*, (2002)

Commercialisation is a key aspect of the Government of Uganda transport policy initiatives. In this regard, the Transport Sector Strategy Study and Road Management and Financing Study advised for the need for both the creation of a Road Fund and a National Maintenance Fund.

CONCLUSION

The role of transport in poverty alleviation is without doubt significant. A review of government documents and policies, however, shows more emphasis on the role of roads to poverty alleviation rather than transport as a totality. Emphasis on roads has led to the neglect of other modes of transport e.g. rail and water transport. The lack of integrated transport planning has led to biased policies towards road transport and roads in particular and the draft transport policy and strategy paper seems silent on this. At the moment, the road transport infrastructure remains in an unsatisfactory condition leading to difficulties in mobility and high transport costs. Finally, Uganda is yet to articulate an integrated rural transport policy that looks at more than the rural roads. Rural transports are poorly developed and expensive.

TANZANIA

STATUS OF TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

The Transport network in Tanzania comprises: -

Road Network

Tanzania has about 85,000km of road network. The network consists of trunk (10,300 km), regional (24,700km), district (20,000km), urban (2,450) and community (27,550 km) roads. Only 5 percent of the road network is bituminized.

Maritime and Inland Water Transport

Tanzania has major sea (maritime) ports in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanga and Mtwara, and inland water ports in lakes Victoria, Tanganyika and Nyasa. Other smaller ports are Kilwa, Lindi, Mafia, Pangani and Bagamoyo. Dar-es-Salaam Port, which is the biggest port, has 11 berths of which 8 are for break-bulk (6,400,000 tonnes) and 3 for containers (120,000 TEUS). The port also has an oil jetty with the capacity of handling larger tankers of up to 40,000 DWT. The challenge for the port of Dar es Salaam is that of attracting greater traffic from its hinterland inside Tanzania and from neighbouring land locked countries.

Maritime transport in Zanzibar is characterized by the presence of major sea ports, which are Malindi and Mkoani, managed and operated by Zanzibar Ports Cooperation. Other smaller ports include Chake Chake, Weshu, Wete which are in Pemba and Mkokoteni in Unguja.

Inland shipping is currently undertaken on lakes Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyasa. The major ports are Mwanza, Bukoba, and Musoma on Lake Victoria, Kigoma on Lake Tangayika, and Itungi on Lake Nyasa. There is also a potential for navigation in Lake Rukwa and along some of the big rivers e.g Kagera which together with three lakes constitute thousands of square kilometers of natural navigable waters, availing Tanzania mainland a most valuable transportation resource that has not been sufficiently utilized. Besides port facilities and navigational aids are inadequate.

Railway Transport

The Tanzania railway network has a total track length of 3,685 km (mainland) out of which 2,715 km is operated by Tanzania Railways Corporation (TRC) and 970 km by Tanzania-Zambia Railway authority – TAZARA (970 km within Tanzania). Together, the two railways systems link 14 of the 20 regions on

the mainland, and neighbouring countries including Zambia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Kenya. TRC is fully owned by the Tanzania Government, while the governments of Tanzania and Zambia own TAZARA jointly 50/50.

The TRC makes many positive contributions to poverty reduction and is probably of net benefit. It uniquely provides services to and within remote regions; transports agricultural cash crops grown by the Tanzanian poor and the poor in neighbouring land-locked countries to markets; facilitates the transmission of market information and opens up new market opportunities. In addition, it enables welfare-enhancing and risk-reducing migration strategies; helps maintain traditional family-based social security systems; and provides employment at wages above the poverty line. Also, railway lines and bridges are used as paths by the poor (Blume et al., 1995).

Air Transport

The United Republic of Tanzania has three international airports (Dar-es-Salaam, Kilimanjaro and Zanzibar) and an additional four major domestic airports (Mwanza, Mtwara, Dodoma and Tabora), as well as smaller aerodromes and air strips making a total of about 60 facilities. Domestic air travel is important for Tanzania because of the long distances involved between major regions. The domestic services also serve to satisfy business and tourism markets. The number of licensed domestic charter operators has increased from 16 in 1992 to 31 in 2001.

Pipeline Transport

The only pipeline transport in the country is the one that conveys crude oil products from Dar-es-Salaam to Ndola refinery in Zambia, a distance of 1,750 km. THA has a single buoy mooring for delivery of crude oil from the jetty to the TAZAMA pipeline. Besides, a pipeline is being constructed from Songo Songo to Dar-es-Salaam to transport natural gas, and another pipeline under consideration is from Dar-es-Salaam to Mwanza to transport petroleum products. Further private investment in this mode of transport is encouraged.

Urban Transport

Urban transport in Tanzania is predominantly road based, both motorized and non-motorized. Other modes including rail- and water-based transport are not yet developed.

Rural Transport

The rural transport is predominantly non-motorised, walking and head loading. Poor infrastructure development, high transport operation costs and changes experienced by operators and users respectively. Low demand of Transport is due to low level of affordability. Other modes of transport including trains, water are not yet developed.

Several authorities are involved in the regulation of road transport, namely Ministries of Communication and Transport (road transport licensing), Finance (motor vehicles registration, road toll), Regional Administration (regional transport licensing), and Planning Commission (key transport utilities). Existing regulations for the railway transport system are meant to ensure smooth, safe and reliable services. A regulatory body responsible for air transport has been established. Maritime transport is guided by both national and international regulatory regimes.

Water Based Transport

Beside road transport, Tanzania is far from full (or optimal) utilization of water transport. Although transport generally contributes to poverty reduction, its effectiveness in achieving this objective depends on technology and the level of utilization among a host of other factors. The transport sector in Tanzania

is characterized by high cost, low quality services due to various reasons. Ministries responsible for Transport, Works, Home affairs, Regional Administration and Local Government and Finance share transport planning and management responsibilities. Coordinating the actions of many these many actors coherently remains a challenge in Tanzania as well as in the other countries reviewed.

TRANSPORTS AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

National Transport Policy

The Tanzanian government has developed a long-term strategy on poverty reduction. Unlike Kenya and Uganda, Tanzania also has developed a National Transport Policy (NTP) that has elaborate sections on transport sector objectives and goals, urban transport policy directions, rural transport policy directions, pan-territorial transport policy directions, international transport policy directions, and special transport (for mining, tourism, forestry or fisheries) policy direction. The Tanzania case study focuses largely on rural transport issues.

Transport Sector Contribution to the Economy

The lack of transport infrastructure and their poor condition remain one of the main bottlenecks for Tanzania mainland longer-term development goal due to inadequate investments in physical infrastructure especially transport. An enabling environment is critical to attract private sector investments in transport infrastructure. The NTP provides guidance towards better transport infrastructure and services which will in turn lead to the development other sectors including, education, agriculture, health care, access to water, and general economic development. Enhancement of productive sectors especially agriculture, improvement of infrastructure, promotion of private sector development, development and /or improvement of transport infrastructure and services is therefore crucial to the attainment of poverty reduction objectives.

Rural Transport and Development

The transport sector objectives and goals emphasize the need to design and implement an institutional framework which will ensure the provision of effective, reliable and integrated transport services; provide supportive legislation in line with the implementation of the NTP; enhance technical and managerial capacity in the transport sector; and to develop or acquire appropriate transport and communication technologies suitable for the Tanzania environment.

The rural transport policy has sections on infrastructure development and maintenance, gender perspective, provision of rural transport services, transport for agricultural production and marketing, transport equipment ownership, and rural transport and environment. The primary emphasis of the national transport policy is on infrastructure development and maintenance. The provision of rural transport services is left to the private sector.

The road sector component of the PRS mainly considers the maintenance and rehabilitation of the trunk and regional road network in the most vulnerable areas. The priority issues that require urgent consideration, therefore, include the need to establish an effective management system for rural transport at the district level and the need to get the Rural Transport Policy (RTP) to the rural areas. Furthermore, the RTP should place proper balance between infrastructure development, and the availability of the right kind, quantity and quality of vehicles on that infrastructure; empower rural communities to develop and maintain their transport infrastructure and equipment; and provide adequate information and incentives for the private sector to participate effectively in providing rural transport.

Transport and alleviation of poverty in rural areas

As already discussed, in Tanzania, rural poverty is aggravated by the fact that the rural sector is poorly served with transport infrastructure, negatively affecting farming activities and marketing of produce.²³ Rural transport services in turn are inadequate due to lack of affordable and appropriate infrastructure and means of transport. Rural poverty is aggravated by the fact that the rural sector is poorly served by transport facilities. Transport improvements are thus critical for rural development and poverty reduction. The intermediate means of transport (IMT) are, therefore, the most used vehicles in the rural areas.

TRANSPORT SECTOR OBJECTIVES AND GOALS

Sector Capacity Building

The NTP recognizes the need to enhance technical and managerial capacity in the transport sector. The ongoing reforms in the sector necessitate further human resource development to face challenges posed by developments in science and technology, as well as ensure availability and sustainability of local technical and managerial capacity to man the transport sector. For example, despite their known benefits of creating labour-intensive employment and income generation, which is especially good for poverty reduction, lack of capacity of district authorities to contract out and manage labour based road works continue to dog the rural roads programme.

Rural Infrastructure

Rural transport infrastructure is at four levels i.e. household, village, ward and district. Issues related to rural infrastructure in Tanzania include the need to develop the capacity of rural communities to plan, design, maintain and construct rural infrastructure; contract local communities to manage the roads in their localities; explore ways of ensuring availability of a dedicated fund for rural infrastructure maintenance; and improve community capacity building in rural infrastructure maintenance.

Institutional Arrangements for Rural Infrastructure Development

The current institutional arrangements assign the responsibility to manage feeder and district roads to local government. Furthermore, external funding is commonly restricted to the national and regional roads with less emphasis on district roads. The policy direction is to enable local government to be more responsive, responsible and accountable for overseeing rural infrastructure development and management. With regard to women, the policy thrust is to minimize rural transport related problems to women. Poor rural transport infrastructure affects the value of what women produce. In order to alleviate rural women transport related problems, the policy seeks to encourage non-motorized means of transport and improve rural transport infrastructure.

Rural Road Transport Services

The quality and quantity of rural transport services profoundly affect the daily lives of millions of residents of rural communities. Goods and agricultural inputs need to be transported to/from villages and market centers. Similarly, social interactions generally require significant level of transport. Despite all these, transport services are limited making the mobility of rural communities difficult and costly. This situation reduces efficiency in economic activities and marketing, hence accelerates poverty in the rural.

Non Motorized Transport Services

Here, the objective is to improve transport infrastructure in the rural areas to cater for all transport means including NMT.

Motorized Transport Services

At village, ward and district levels, the most predominant mode is road. The use of road motor transport at this level is poor due to inadequate transport equipment and low demand. The objective is to plan village development programmes, with transport aspects being considered in conjunction with other important land use, social, economic and cultural factors.

Rural Transport Services and Agriculture

Poor transport services impede the growth in agricultural activities and standard of living of rural communities. Rural areas need to be given primary consideration in transport services through increased transport supply and investment. The policy seeks to improve transport services in rural areas to foster agricultural growth and promote private sector participation in the provision of transport services.

Ownership of Transport Equipment

There is a need to ensure villages and cooperatives perform efficiently and improve transport services in rural areas up to the household level. The Government of Tanzania seeks to mobilize resources to enable acquisition of transport equipment. Also, it wants to increase supply and ownership of transport means/equipment at village, ward and district level.

MAIN TRANSPORT SECTOR INITIATIVES AND REFORMS

Tanzania National Road Agency

The Tanzania National Road Agency (TANROADS) is funded through payments from the Roads Fund. The original proposal was that decentralization in the road sector should be complete with TANROADS responsible for the trunk road network, while local authorities would have been responsible for both regional and district roads. A related objective was to create a sense of ownership by involving road users.

Roads Fund Board

The functions of the Road Fund Board are: -

- ✧ Advising the roads Minister on new sources of road tolls.
- ✧ Adjustment of rate of existing road tolls.
- ✧ To recommend to the roads Minister the allocation of Road Fund for TANROADS, local authorities and other agencies. The 30 percent of the Road Fund allocated to local authorities is small compared to the size of the road network they manage (75 percent)
- ✧ The allocation of Road Fund between different districts and ring-fencing the funds sent to the district.

The Village Travel and Transport Program (VTTP)

The goal of VTTP is to make sustainable improvements in the rural transport system in all selected villages. In addition it seeks to reduce the time effort households spend on transport and empower communities to build capacity in development and maintenance of transport infrastructure such as

feeder roads paths and tracks. The planned program interventions are improvement to transport infrastructure, promotion of intermediate mode of transport (IMT),²⁴ and non-transport interventions such as water wells, grinding mills and extension of forest.

Rural Transport Policy

The National Transport Policy (NTP) places emphasis on the role of local communities in developing their transport infrastructure and solving transport problems. But, communities are yet to be provided with the capacity to develop and manage their transport infrastructure and the total transport system. The policy also places a lot of emphasis on the involvement of the private sector in tackling the national transport problem and puts emphasis on the use of labour base-technology for transport infrastructure works.

Managing the Rural Transport System

In Tanzania, local government (district council) is considered to be the most important institution for implementing rural travel and transport programmes. Different ministries, without transport considerations, deal with facility location in the rural areas. District engineers, who are supposed to deal with rural transport, tend to deal primarily with road development and maintenance. The first consequence of this arrangement is that there are virtually no vehicles on the rural district and feeder roads network. The second consequence of the rural transport management system is that the rural transport infrastructure up to the door of the rural household is largely undeveloped. So far government concentration has been on the rural district and feeder road network.

In order to reorganize the management of rural transport in Tanzania it is envisaged that a transport management office would be established at the district level to manage the total transport system in the district, particularly the rural transport system. The primary duty of the district transport management office will be to constantly monitor the actual transport situation particularly in the rural areas and initiate action to remedy any transport deficiencies.

Furthermore, an effective rural transport strategy (RTS) should be developed to ensure effective and efficient implementation of the RTP. The district transport management office should assume primary responsibility for implementing the RTP in the district. The district transport management office should assume primary responsibility for ensuring community empowerment and capacity building for rural transport. The district transport management office will assume primary responsibility for implementing the strategy. The district transport management office should develop and implement a comprehensive programme for promoting appropriate IMTs in the rural areas of the district. Where water transport is a viable option, the district transport management office should develop and implement a comprehensive promotion program for reliable water transport in the rural areas of the district.

Transport Services and Agriculture

The objective of the NTP is to improve transport services in rural areas to foster agricultural growth. Poor transport services impede the growth in agricultural activities and standard of living of rural communities. Poverty reduction in the rural areas basically means increasing household agricultural production and improving crop marketing efficiency. Achievement of both of these objectives requires a significant input of transport services. Transport is also necessary to ensure marketing efficiency. Getting crops to the market at the right time requires reliable and efficient transport.

At the same time, it has been observed that improving the transport system will significantly improve the productivity of time spent on transport and, therefore, release transport labour (particularly women) to engage in non-transport (agricultural) activities. The provision and production of transport infrastructure equipment and services can also be designed so as to make a major contribution to poverty reduction.

ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe is in the process of developing a National Transport Policy. Zimbabwe's transport policy and priorities have hitherto been articulated in urban and rural spatial (physical) plans, Provincial and District Development Plans, sector plans, Public Sector Investment Programme (PSIP), and donor projects, among others. Due to such scatter, poverty issues have been partially integrated in transport policies and programmes (see Table 1 below). The thrust of these 'fragmented' transport policies has been: (1) urban transport (2) economic growth and development (3) rural development, (4) poverty reduction, (5) environment, (6) mobility and accessibility, and (7) land use planning and development management.

Given the fragmented nature of transport policy with attendant management problems and its limited impact, it became necessary in the late 1990s onwards to not only develop a comprehensive national transport policy and strategy (with support from SSATP), but to do so in a consultative manner. As a result, stakeholder workshops have been held to get input from both public and private sectors, including NGOs and other civil society groups. Similarly, there has been both professional input from consultants as well as from the Country Transport and Poverty Report. Themes included in the Draft National Transport Policy are indicative of this. They are road transport including motor transport, infrastructure, urban transport, rural transport, local rural travel and transport, freight transport, and traffic safety. Air transport, railway transport and inland water transport are the other transport components featuring in the policy document. Freight forwarding, transport and disabled as well as regional and international cooperation and crosscutting issues make up the remaining themes.

Transport and Poverty

In the context of transport, the immediate post-independence policy framework recognized that a comprehensive and efficient transport network (and services)²⁵ was a vital basis for equitable and sustainable development. As a consequence, the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) set out to restore, improve and extend basic economic infrastructure and services pertaining to transit and feeder roads, rail and air throughout the country and especially in the rural areas. Most of the initiatives were focused on the roads sub-sector.

The Road Sector

Being a land-locked country, road transport in Zimbabwe plays an important role in promoting economic growth. Zimbabwe has 90 000km of road network. Of these, 14 000 km are surfaced, 56 000 km are all-weather roads, and the rest are earth roads. The network has a replacement value of approximately Z\$10 trillion (as at September 2003).

Over the years, emphasis was placed on expanding the road network to ensure the accessibility of rural areas and promotion of rural development. Emphasis was also placed on linking growth points to provincial capitals in order to improve communication links and promote the movement of people and goods through the use of conventional means of transport.

Road Sector Reforms²⁶

In order to improve the financing and management of Zimbabwe's road network, GoZ promulgated the Roads Act of 2001. The Act provides for the establishment of a dedicated Road Fund as well as the creation of four Road Authorities (RAs) namely, the Department of Roads (DoR) which was transformed into State Highways Authority (SHA), Rural District Councils (RDCs), Urban Councils (UCs) and the District Development Fund (DDF). Fuel levies, transit fees, heavy vehicle surcharges and axle load fees

Table 1: Documents utilized in providing for transport policy generation and prioritization

Policy instrument	Object of policy	Remark
Economic Policy Documents such as first and second Year Development Plans, ESAP, ZIMPREST and MERP et cetera.	The aim is to stimulate growth and reduce poverty.	These do not explicitly address poverty reduction and alleviation as major themes. Pro-poor transport focus is weak. Impact studies on transport and mobility challenge are absent. Consequent to this the science and technology policy paper was launched in 2002 and the SIRDC as well as NUST established.
Agriculture and Rural Policy Documents e.g. The Resettlement Programme, Growth Point Policy, Land Reform Programme et cetera.	Land redistribution is envisaged to tackle poverty reduction and alleviation. The Agriculture Land reform programme is being implemented in the absence of a comprehensive plan compromising its ability to realise much gains.	Although studies in rural travel and patterns have been done, no study on activity patterns and resettlement travel demands and needs has been done to date.
Social Policy documents such as PAAP (Poverty Alleviation Action Programme).	Rural transport needs were addressed with poverty alleviation and reduction as the major aim.	Consequently labour based technology in road rehabilitation, new road construction, bridge repairs et cetera were preferred.
Academic Policy Documents. Academic research focus on traditional traffic engineering and, transport development planning and management.	Studies that link transport with poverty treat this as a minor theme.	Academic studies majoring and advancing the transport and poverty agenda is a novel field where focus is just starting to filter.
Government Policy Directives.	Directives such as price controls, capitalization of ZUPCO and the urban commuter train service have impacted on transport and poverty in a very big way.	Pro-poor terms, urban mobility (travel) has become affordable and sustainable. Impact is however geographically restricted to urban areas where such modes operate.
Development Management Policy Documents.	A chief tool in Zimbabwe is statutory (land use) master and local plans.	Transportation problems of the urban areas are identified by master plans however pro-poor transportation policies are absent.
Legal Policy Documents.	The Transport sector is supported by a number of legislation ⁸ . Legislation enables the discharge of functions and delivery of transport infrastructure and goods/services. Legislation sets the rules of operations, procedures to be met, standards and conditions to prevail in the transport sector.	Legislation is in itself policy. It at least provides the ways and mechanism in which policy is implemented or crafted.

Source: Zimbabwe Country Report, 2004

provide revenue for the Road Fund. Revenue commenced flowing into the Fund with effect from April 2001. As at September 2003, about Z\$8.2 billion had accumulated into the Fund. The funds were

⁸ Roads and Traffic Act, Roads Fund Act, Regional, Town and Country Planning Act (Chapter 29:12), Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15), Rural District Councils Act (Chapter 29:13), Civil Aviation Act, Railways Act, Inland Waterways Act, Pipelines Act, Posts and Telecommunications Act including statutes and other acts with a bearing on the transport sector

initially earmarked for routine and periodic road maintenance and once there is enough capital built up, financing will be extended to new road construction projects.

The Zimbabwe National Roads Administration (ZINARA) Board whose membership is drawn mainly from the private sector is managing the Fund. An interim Secretariat is assisting the Board in the day-to-day management of the Road Fund. ZINARA has been perhaps the most visible institution to come out of the reform process. Together with the other structures (RAs, SHA, RDCs and UCs), ZINARA is meant to improve road sector management through promoting commercial policies and practices. This presupposes technical and managerial capabilities within and across the RAs, an assumption that is not always justified (Odero, 2005).

CONCLUSION

The four case studies reviewed underscore the importance of link between transport and poverty. Developments of transport policy and strategy have sought to incorporate this link. This is a first step in the right direction. What is required now is translation of the policies and strategies into programmes and actions that impact on the poverty situation on the ground. Thus, the success or failure of emerging pro-poor policies depend on the extent to which they systematically and sustainably address specific poverty issues and concerns embedded in both rural and urban settlements. In order to ensure that the pro-poor transport policy agenda is on course, the impact of policies must be monitored continuously to provide feedback on its effectiveness. For example, monitoring could observe the changes in the number of poor communities once access-improving infrastructure has been build. This calls for the systematic development of the capacity of National Forum Groups (NFGs) and other civil society actors to become more effective in tracking the way key welfare indicators (for example, employment rates, literacy rates, child and maternal mortality rates, maximum distance to public transport service, time spent to travel to work, etc.) change over time as specific policies and project interventions are implemented in their countries, from the point of view of poverty reduction. The current process of which this report for a part is one such attempt.

For both the process and outcome to be legitimate, stakeholders' participation and civil society consultation and participation in traffic and transportation planning must be encouraged. Community empowerment for more effective management of local transport infrastructure is also critical to ensure ownership and sustainable interventions. Equally important is the need to develop a comprehensive programme for promoting appropriate means of transport and non-transport interventions, which are suitable and affordable for the poor. For example, they should be attuned to withstand disaster and other shocks that poor people frequently face, create opportunity for growth through improved transport system efficiency, access and mobility, and enhance security, among other dimensions.

It is also clear from the case studies that the level of funding for transport interventions is woefully inadequate and requires to grow substantially. While most countries are carrying out reforms and developing innovative financing mechanisms incorporating user pay principles and better resource allocation through rationalisation, there is need for more effective monitoring mechanisms to ensure, for example, that budget support and other processes do not gloss over transport issues. Influencing transport policy in the way already suggested is necessary. Equally important is the need to promote alternative and integrated transport policies that allow for transport to be factored into other sectors' since it is as much a service to other sectors as it is a sector in its own right. Useful indicators that can be easily monitored are the extent to which 'access' and 'mobility' issues are incorporated within a broad poverty reduction country strategy.

Other areas include the extent to which labour-based methods are mainstreamed into local contracting, income generation and capacity building initiatives, as well as decentralisation of transport decision-making and management. In terms of monitoring the outcomes of poverty reduction policies and interventions (for example, marketing of crops, access to health facilities, degree of 'fit' between intervention and poor people's felt and expressed needs, etc.), a multi-dimensional framework that captures the nuanced effects of transport on poverty in terms of employment, trade, access to social services, empowerment of formerly weak or excluded individuals and groups, etc. is helpful.

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NOTES

¹ Documenting and disseminating lessons and experiences of countries grappling with major transport and poverty issues serves this aim both directly and indirectly. Thus, respective NFGs in the four east and southern African countries, namely Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Zimbabwe conducted research between November 2003 and July 2004. This report is an outcome of this collaborative work.

² Especially where PRSPs have been adopted as the planning framework (i.e. in all the countries except Zimbabwe).

³ Barwell et al., 1985 and Starkey, 2000 quoted in Booth et al., 2000:22.

⁴ Gannon, C. et al., 2001:11-12

⁵ Booth et al., 2000:32.

⁶ Poverty levels in Zimbabwe have risen dramatically during the past five years. According to the UNDP *Human Development Report 2004*, Zimbabwe's Human Development Index (HDI) dropped from 0.547 in 1975 to 0.491 in 2002.

⁷ Tanzania's PRS envisaged a rehabilitation of 4,500 km of rural roads in twelve of the poorest regions by 2003. It also aimed at undertaking routine and periodic maintenance on all rural roads, with a focus on community involvement. Only 51 percent of the planned rural roads had routine spot improvement and periodic maintenance. The condition of most roads is classed "poor" (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2004:6).

⁸ See Stephen Klasen (2001) for incisive discussion on social exclusion.

⁹ For a comprehensive literature review, see Breneman and Kerf (2002).

¹⁰ Airey, 1992.

¹¹ Hussain et al., 1992.

¹² Quoted in Booth et al, 2000:44.

¹³ Byrne and Savage, 1994.

¹⁴ According to Limao and Benable (1999), a landlocked economy usually has about 30 percent of the trade volume of a coastal economy of a similar income level. Halving transport costs increases the volume of trade by a factor of five (quoted in Booth et al., 2000:27).

¹⁵ Milner, Morrissey and Rudaheranwa, 2000, quoted in Booth et al., 2000:27

¹⁶ Country Studies, Trade and Development Centre website: www.itd.org, quoted in Booth et al., 2000:24

¹⁷ In conflict and post-conflict societies poor people live in internally displaced camps (IDC). In the case of Uganda rebels target public transport and usually kill and injure the poor in the process. Road users are vulnerable to crime in transport thus undermining the role of transport in trade or provision of livelihood. Public transport users lose money and valuables to pickpockets. In regard to road public transport, the operators are also vulnerable. Criminal gangs usually infiltrates the public transport operators and cause terror among road users.

¹⁸ Improving cross-sectoral cooperation for health promotion and public health, especially to achieve public health standards that are currently not realised for the poor is seen as an effective strategy for achieving better health outcomes e.g. road safety.

¹⁹ Equally, there are important issues to be resolved in other sub-sectors. However, these have received relatively less attention than roads due, perhaps, to historical reasons.

²⁰ The local government carries out a huge proportion of road infrastructure maintenance.

²¹ Such a framework would include policy on the aviation industry focusing on ensuring safe, secure, regular and efficient air transport system. Rail and water transport also deserve attention in the context of a national transport policy framework.

²² The 1999 Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Project (UPPAP) also found that district administrations lacked the technical capacity to construct and manage feeder roads, as well as the supervisory skills to oversee work of local contractors.

²³ The transport burden impacts differently on men and women. Women constitute the primary transport vehicle in the rural areas.

²⁴ These are particularly suited for rural areas where walking and head loading (by women) dominate travel and transport activities. Many local transport solutions are cheap relative to motor options but expensive relative to local incomes.

²⁵ Emphasis mine

²⁶ The World Bank sponsored road sector review programme was started in the mid-1990s. The thrust has been to support activities and programmes with an interface and relationship with the poor such as the IRAP (Integrated Rural Accessibility Planning), ILO (International Labour Organisation) efforts and activities, IRDP (Integrated Rural Development Programme). This has set the tone for the development programmes that are pro-poor sensitive inclusive of the transport component. Successive programs have build on previous efforts shortcomings from environment, capacity building and training, sustainability, and governance to currently poverty amelioration.