MAINSTREAMING NON-MOTORISED TRANSPORT (NMT) IN POLICY AND PLANNING IN NAIROBI: INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

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ABSTRACT

Non Motorized Transport (NMT) is a dominant mode of transport in African cities, and there are a number of institutional issues and challenges that confront African governments in mainstreaming the mode into the overall planning of cities. This paper acknowledges the progress made in the mainstreaming of NMT in planning, including inherent institutional issues and challenges, based on preliminary findings from a study on NMT provision in Nairobi. The paper argues that, in spite of several attempts aimed at mainstreaming NMT in policy and planning, the process is confronted with institutional issues and challenges which affect implementation. After an extensive discussion of the NMT drivers, institutional issues and challenges, the paper concludes that there is an innovative trend emerging which bears hope for mainstreaming NMT within the city of Nairobi. As discussed in the paper, there is awareness among various actors of the need to accommodate and integrate NMT into the existing modes of transport. However, a number of challenges impact on this effort, including: the slow pace of processing the National Integrated Transport Policy, an existing biased inclination towards motorised transport, poor coordination of the drivers of NMT, and, poor enforcement of regulations. These constraints make it difficult to conclusively determine the direction of NMT mainstreaming within the city of Nairobi.

1. INTRODUCTION

Non Motorised Transport (NMT) is a dominant, cost effective and, healthy mode of transport in African cities. The mode is used irrespective of class and income group, although majority of its users belong to low income groups. The dominance of the NMT mode has not cushioned the mode from a number of challenges, largely due to the secondary consideration given to the mode by policy makers and bureaucrats. This is illustrated by the lack of relevant policies, plans and, limited infrastructure in most urban areas in Kenya. In most cities, NMT is not integrated into the overall planning and infrastructure development of urban areas. New construction and upgrading often does not provide physical infrastructure such as overpasses and shoulders for existing NMT users, often resulting in higher NMT road accident rates, longer travel time, or even the incomplete elimination of NMT traffic (http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTURBANTRANSPORT/Resources/T-UT-4.pdf).

In Nairobi, 60 per cent of the residents meet their daily transport needs through walking, 35 per cent travel by public transport, mostly *matatus* and buses, while only 5 per cent use cars (GOK, 2010). Thus, NMT remains the most convenient and conventional way of linking places and activities, in particular those covering short distances. However, the inadequate planning and provision of NMT infrastructure has resulted in NMT modes competing for space with motorised vehicles, causing conflict and compromising safety (GOK 2010), and resulting in road accidents crashes involving pedestrians.

While this paper acknowledges the attempts being made in cities such as Nairobi to mainstream NMT mode, the paper contends that, the process is confronted by institutional issues and challenges which affect implementation. In order to interrogate this situation, the paper examines the actors engaged in this process and how related institutional issues and challenges affect the planning and governance of the mode. Apart from this introduction, the second section of the paper provides a conceptual understanding of the issues, in particular, policy and governance. The third section operationalises these conceptual issues using the case of Nairobi by briefly presents the main drivers of the NMT agenda, the fourth section examines inherent institutional issues and challenges explaining the lacuna between the reality of the dominant mode and the slow pace of mainstreaming the mode into the overall planning and governance of the city. The last section concludes the paper, highlighting the importance of policy, and effective planning and governance of NMT.

2. METHODOLOGY

This paper is based on both secondary and primary data drawn from an on-going larger project funded by the Volvo Research Foundation (VREF) that, covers various aspects of public transport in Nairobi, Dar-es-Salaam and Cape Town; under the leadership of the African Centre of Excellence for Studies in Public and Non-Motorised Transport (ACET) with a secretariat at the School of Engineering, University of Cape Town. The paper draws from the Non Motorised Transport (NMT) component of the study, focusing on Nairobi. So far, a number of key informant interviews have been conducted with policy makers, and bureaucrats. Pilot surveys have also been conducted including one focusing on Jogoo Road, as well as an analysis of NMT travel.

3. UNDERSTANDING POLICY AND GOVERNANCE OF TRANSPORT

The concepts of policy and governance are intertwined; without policy and appropriate legislation, governance of sectors such as the transport sector can be a major challenge to any city, a situation which seems to be the case for most Kenyan cities. In order to conceptualise these issues, institutional theory is used as a lens, the concepts, institutions and organisations are ordinarily used interchangeably. However, this paper adopts Douglas North's (1990) definition, which provides a good separation of the two concepts.

North conceptualises institutions as `humanly devised constraints to human interaction', some constraints are formal with rules written down, while others are informal. In distinguishing institutions and organisations, North used sports analogy, noting that institutions are the `rules of the game' while organisations are its players. Institutions are products of interaction and adaptation that hold ideals and values (McCormick 2007), and organisations may become institutions if they take on values beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand (Selznick 1966). Institutions that influence the transport sector include formal rules, such as policies, laws, regulations and other informal

practices. It is these institutions that inform the governance of the transport sector. In the absence of coherent institutions, governance of the sector is bound to be problematic. This paper therefore, concentrates on the codified formal rules that govern the sector.

Kanyama and Goran (2009) isolate 9 factors that constrain the prospects for institutional coordination in planning for public transport: lack of vision for cities, lack of effective city and public transport plans, lack of professionalism, lack of a regulatory framework, rampant corruption, poverty, poor citizen and stakeholder participation, inadequate political and fiscal decentralisation and, unwillingness by decision-makers to change the existing transport systems. Discussing the Kenya case, Asingo and Mitullah (2007) note the inefficient institutional and organisational structures of public transport stating that there are too many organisations and related institutions, which deal with public transport. The lack of coordination, overlap of functions and responsibilities, the lack of an Integrated Transport Policy, as well as bias towards motorised transport, continue to affect the efficient governance of the sector.

The response to public transport in Africa was triggered by the African Union's initiation of a programme on Transport and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The recognition by the African Union (AU), resulted in a number of development partners, led by the World Bank, forming a Task Force to address the transport challenge in Africa. This became a major turning point in transport planning in Africa. In Kenya, the AU initiatives and the World Bank supported SSATP and studies influenced NMT concepts, embedded into the Kenya National Development Plans of 1997/2001, 2002/2008 (SSATP, 2002), Kenya Vision 2030 and other related strategic plans.

In terms of policy, the Kenya Vision 2030 highlights the strategy of developing a 50 year, Integrated National Transport Master Plan, which is linked to the National Spatial Plan. The Master Plan will ensure that the investment and location of transport infrastructure and services are consistent, with other public policies. The Vision also provides for the development of the Nairobi Metropolitan Region Rapid Bus Transit System and the development of Light Rail for Nairobi and its suburbs. The Light Rail is projected to serve at least 150,000 passengers daily, which is 5 per cent of the future transport demand in the Nairobi Metropolitan (GOK 2007).

The Vision is complemented by the development of a Session Paper on an Integrated National Transport Policy. The paper has been presented to the cabinet, but is yet to be passed by the Parliament. The draft policy dedicates a section to NMT, acknowledging that, NMT has not been given due attention, as compared to roads for motorised transport. The paper notes that the development and maintenance of infrastructure for NMT will be supported by Local Authorities (LAs). In the urban areas, each LA or agency will provide and maintain adequate sidewalks and pavements for pedestrians, separate lanes, parking bays, bridges, footpaths, and other facilities for Non Motorised Intermediate Means of Transport (NMIMTs), including ramps for the physically challenged. All road agencies shall make provision for NMT facilities in their planning and design programmes, irrespective of the use of those facilities, by motorized vehicles.

The national interventions on public transport are yet to fully cascade into urban authorities such as Nairobi. Making the majority more mobile by focusing on the provision and use of NMT, requires a fundamental change in urban governance, including: change of attitude and bias towards motorised transport; focusing on developing relevant policies and transport infrastructure; completing the development on the on-going urban and transport policy; and, promoting NMT use.

Governance is an encompassing concept, which includes a broad category of management practices which are not limited to typical government institutions such as city authorities and quasi-governmental institutions. Transport, in its various forms, brings together many actors who make different contributions; these actors include both public and private organisations, including non state actors. While all these actors make a contribution and can either facilitate or constrain the system, the multiplicity of state actors, without effective coordination, and the inability of urban authorities to direct urban transport pose a challenge to the governance of the transport sector in Kenya. The section below examines the drivers of the NMT agenda in Nairobi in order to set the ground for discussing pertinent institutional issues and challenges.

4. DRIVERS OF THE NMT AGENDA IN NAIROBI

Institutions and actors play a major role in the development and functioning of any sector including NMT. NMT in Kenya and particularly in Nairobi are directly influenced by the institutions and actors overseeing transport and road sectors. The major players in these sectors include both local and international organizations; these are guided by different mandates, interests and regulatory regimes. The local institutions include several government ministries; quasi-government organizations such as Kenya Roads Board (KRB), Kenya Urban Roads Authority (KURA); the City Council of Nairobi (CCN); private organizations and civil society organizations. The international players are mainly development partners such as the World Bank, Africa Development Bank, Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), Japan International Corporation Agency (JICA), and United Nations among others. While it is not possible to comprehensively discuss all these actors in this paper, some of them are discussed in order to highlight their role in driving the NMT agenda within the city.

The mandates and roles of organisations charged with the responsibility of managing transport in Kenya are muddled, many organisations not clear of where their mandates start and end. This challenge has been worse in the provision of NMT infrastructure since most politicians and bureaucrats, including planners, still have to deal with their bias towards motorised transport.

The **Ministry of Transport** is a key player in the formulation of transport policies aimed at guiding the development of the sector. This ensures harmony and compliance with international standards and the supervision of transport service delivery. The ministry has been struggling with this mandate, with the support of international development partners, albeit, with limited success. It was not until the change of regime in 2003, that Kenya began experiencing some tangible outcome in the transport sector, through the development partners who continue to work with the ministry on capital projects.

Both the change of regime and the development of progressive policies such as the Economic Recovery Strategy (ERS) for renewed growth of 2003/2007, and Kenya Vision 2030, has triggered the innovative approaches to NMT. The ERS for instance, acknowledged that the transport sector was beset by a number of problems that hinder it from effectively supporting cheap, safe and fast domestic and international mobility of people and goods; it cited the lack of integration of various modes of transport, poor safety records, ineffective legal, institutional and regulatory frameworks; and the role of NMT, indicating that , the government will incorporate the needs of NMT in all physical infrastructure developments and develop NMT facilities (GOK 2003).

The ERS proposed the formulation of an Integrated National Transport Policy to address the challenges facing the sector. This has since been done, but the draft policy is yet to be assented by Parliament. The draft policy, recognizes NMT as a popular mode of transport in Nairobi, requiring infrastructure and regulatory attention in terms of design and integration with other modes of transport. It further proposed the integration of Non-Motorised and Intermediate Means of Transport into the Transport Systems; harmonization of NMTs and related infrastructure into technical, legal and institutional mandates of existing road agencies, Local Authorities and relevant government ministries; establishment of a National Transport Safety Board, National Transport Research Institute, and National Transport Information Support Services among others (GOK 2010).

In spite of the policy not being in place, a number of interventions provided in the draft policy, have been implemented with the support of development partners. Some of these interventions are facilitated by isolated policy directions on NMT in the Traffic Act, Cap 403 and some agreements between development partners and the government. Apart from the Traffic Act Cap 403, which mandates all LAs to develop By-laws for managing traffic, and agreements with development partners, it is not clear what informs the provision and management of NMT, within the city of Nairobi.

In recent years, NMT management has become quite necessary with the increasing human population, and NMT modes such as motor cycles and bicycles. The number of modes intensifies problems during peak hours, when almost all modes of NMT are operational. The modes struggle to share the motorised infrastructure and limited space available, with little or complete lack of regulation. Although the provisions of the Traffic Act and By-laws of LAs recognize the use of certain NMTs, enforcement of these By-laws for the benefit of all the users is weak.

The **Ministry of Roads** plays a complementary role in the regulation, coordination, oversight, and supervision for the smooth functioning of the roads sub sector. The Ministry has realized two major reforms which have led to major changes in the transport industry. The first one, in 1999, which led to the formation of the Kenya Roads Board, a body established to advise the Government, oversee the road network in Kenya and coordinate its development, rehabilitation and maintenance (GOK 2000). The ministry works in collaboration with agencies established through Acts of Parliament, namely: Kenya National Highways Authority, the Kenya Urban Roads Authority (KURA) and the Kenya Rural Roads Authority (KRRA). KURA has a number of functions which are aimed at improving urban roads.

Although there is no specific mention of NMT in KURA's mandate, the provision on planning and operations in respect to roads include NMT infrastructure and planning. Preliminary findings of the ACET studies in Nairobi reveal that, NMT facilities in Nairobi are provided along motorised roads which KURA oversees. In this case, KURA should advise both the ministry and the city authority on how best to plan, ensure ample space for the provision of NMT infrastructure, and the protection of NMT from encroachment by motorised vehicles. The planning of NMT alongside motorised routes in the city of Nairobi has proved dangerous. Motorised transport encroaches on NMT facilities and cause conflict often resulting in road traffic accidents and the death of pedestrians.

The **Ministry of Local Government** is responsible for facilitating Local Authorities to achieve good governance and improved service delivery for enhanced socio-economic development. Since the change of regime in 2003, the ministry has intensified its service delivery mandate by working closely with other ministries, urban authorities and

development partners on a number of transport projects. Of relevance to this paper, is the initiation of NMT feasibility studies in four urban clusters composed of the major cities in Kenya. The ministry in collaboration with other development partners has also supported the **Nairobi City Council** in the provision of NMT facilities along 18 routes identified by the Katahira (2006) study, as missing gaps.

In order to promote the use of NMT in Nairobi, the City has formulated By-laws which protect NMT users, including provision for observing traffic lights and zebra crossing (*http://www.nairobicity.go.ke/). A* perusal of the By-laws reveals that NMT is recognized as a legal mode of transport requiring protection but, the main challenge is the enforcement of the By-laws, which has been *ad hoc and* poor. The implementation of the Kenya Constitution 2010 and, related Urban Areas and Cities Act, is expected to improve the mainstreaming of NMT. The Act provides for integrated development planning through a participatory approach which is expected to facilitate effective planning and provision of all relevant modes of transport, including NMT.

Other Government ministries also play crucial roles in the sector with the ministry of finance facilitating the processing of contracts involving other development partners and funders; while the ministry of health takes care of health issues related to road safety. The Kenya Police, through the traffic department is responsible for safety compliance and enforcement of regulations for all modes of transport as enshrined in the Traffic Act. However, in practice, the department has a bias towards motorised transport.

The **private sector** has been very active in the city, by providing transport and supporting the city through corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). However, in the area of NMT, the sector has been more of a hindrance, rather than, a solution. The paratransit mode, the matatu, has been a major threat to NMT. Most matatus encroach on NMT facilities, especially during peak hours causing serious conflict. Although the matatus have three associations for : the owners welfare and for drivers and conductors, these associations do not seem to contribute towards improving NMT within the city, indeed, each association addresses its own interests and none of the associations have attempted to address issues relating to NMT.

Development partners such as the World Bank, Africa Development Bank, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), Japan (JICA), European Union [EU], Canadian International Development Agency [CIDA], International Development Bank [IDB], the People's Republic of China and Nordic Development Fund among others, have committed financial and technical resources in commissioning studies and funding several projects in Kenya. Some of these studies, especially by the World Bank, have contributed significantly to the visibility of NMT in various urban road projects, in the transport policy document and various acts and City Council of Nairobi By-Laws. The SIDA support facilitated the development of a National Road Safety Action Plan, 2006/2010. The Plan covers many aspects and addresses the safety needs of NMT, including the provision of infrastructure and enhancing national emergency capacity to deal with victims of road accidents.

In a bid to improve the capacity of the City Council of Nairobi, and in response to the plight of NMT users within the city, the development partners including the World Bank have been supporting the city urban mobility projects through modest investments in NMT. Retrofitting has been going on along major arterial roads, and pedestrian paths, envisaged to link the areas where the urban poor live, with locations where they walk to work (World Bank, 2006). The interventions are being made through the Kenya Municipal Program (KMP), the programmes are pro-poor and are focusing on building the capacity of the city

government in the areas of policy development, institutional and financial management relating to design, implementation and management of higher levels of infrastructure.

Whereas there are many actors engaged in NMT provision, as discussed in this paper, the NMT agenda is mainly driven by the development partners who fund road projects. They have made NMT a funding conditionality for road projects, albeit with minimal coordination. Conditions given by the development partners have created awareness among Government ministries, related agencies and urban authorities. This has resulted in NMT provision being recognized as a standard feature of any road project in Nairobi, although the major challenge is that the provision is still limited to retrofitting of footpaths. Furthermore, what is provided across the city is not standard due to lack of a national standard manual, guiding the design of NMT provision. Existing infrastructure largely relies on the design skills of the individual engineers, carrying out the work. This has contributed to cases where many NMT facilities such as foot bridges, speed bumps, and pedestrian crossing exists but are not utilized due to poor design and inappropriate location.

5. INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

There are a number of institutional issues and challenges facing the provision of public transport in Nairobi. However, discussion in this sub section is limited to issues relating to mainstreaming of NMT within the city of Nairobi which is the focus of this paper. There are a number of issues which pose challenges to NMT mainstreaming and need to be addressed. However, this section limits the discussion to: lack of policy framework, lack of an integrated transport plan, bias towards motorised transport, poor coordination among the drivers of NMT, and poor enforcement of regulations. The ACET NMT project in Nairobi is assessing some of these issues and discussions in this sub section are based on preliminary observations and findings.

Policy framework is a good reference point for the planning and management of any sector. In Kenya, both a transport policy and an urban development policy are lacking, and most of the actions of urban governors are not based on a policy or legal framework. Instead, their actions are based on decisions by urban governors, influenced largely by political interests and development partners. This is problematic, due to the turn over of city governors, and the lack of continuity of the measures. In the absence of a policy document and legal framework, each regime handles transport issues in its own way and without any frame of reference for continuity of the projects and programmes. This problem is intensified by the lack of effective planning procedures required for comprehensive land use planning as well as the lack of agreed precedence and good practices upon which actions can be based.

The lack of an integrated transport system for Nairobi is linked to the absence of a policy and a comprehensive city land use plan, which largely contributes to spatial conceptualization of different modes of transport into a web of transport system integrating all modes of transport including NMT. Land is the most critical issue in planning any activity, since all activities, including NMT, require and consume space. Lack of a City land use plan will therefore; continue to be a major challenge especially when there is need to address the City's NMT potential index which measures the potential demand for NMT-oriented travel in the City. This situation has an influence on the institutions, actors and related NMT deficiency index which, basically addresses areas considered critical and in immediate need of NMT improvements.

The bias towards motorised transport is problematic since most modes of transport are related, and the NMT mode, in particular walking, complements all other modes of transport. Across the city of Nairobi, the NMT mode is inadequately provided for, and often the limited infrastructure does not provide the shortest route to a destination, since most facilities are provided alongside motorised roads. This attracts motorised vehicles to encroach on NMT facilities. In addition, facilities such as foot bridges, pedestrian crossings, and traffic calming measures are not linked to the city's land use profile and are hardly used. They are also, poorly located, maintained or inappropriate designed. This is complicated by the lack of compliance to regulations by drivers and the traffic police who control traffic, in addition to existing traffic lights, causing serious confusion. These complex problems result in NMT users, in particular pedestrians pushing in between other incongruent land uses and motorised transport to access their destinations.

The bias towards motorised transport is a major challenge in urban governance. Most politicians and bureaucrats are more concerned about moving vehicles rather than people and goods. For example, in an attempt to decongest the Nairobi CBD, and in response to a recommendation made by Katahira and Engineers, the City Council of Nairobi Town Clerk proposed to increase the parking fees by over 500 per cent, insisting that the city centre is not a parking space for ordinary people and those who wish to drive into the city must be ready to pay high parking fees. This statement attracted a lot of public protest since the city lacks an efficient transportation system and most residents have no option but to either use the poorly operated public transport modes or drive their vehicles. The city has no alternative mass modes of transport such as Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) and speed train to fill the void. It should be noted that the problem in the city of Nairobi is not the reluctance of residents to use public vehicles or walk but rather, it is the inefficient provision of public transport, and the poor NMT infrastructure. The public services are not scheduled and are often congested, resulting in average city residents struggling to own vehicles in order to avoid the messy public transport. At the same time, those who would wish to use NMT are discouraged by the lack of facilities.

Instead of enabling mobility within the city, the governors have been more concerned with decongesting the city at the expense of the users of public transport. This is evident from the emerging location and planning of termini facilities within the city. Most termini are located outside the city centre, with majority of public transport operators restricted from entering the city centre. This implies that, passengers either have to walk an extra distance as part of their journey or incur extra transportation costs by boarding other means including hiring motorcycle or bicycle transport services since the original modes they use, terminate before their destinations, creating serious transport gaps. The city has not addressed these gaps in terms of planning although they have been acknowledged.

The poor provision of NMT demonstrates the bias towards motorised transport. Foot bridges, for instance, have been inadequately provided and/or poorly maintained by the city and road agencies (SSATP, 2005 and GOK, 2009). In recent years, there are signs of change within the city as reflected in the isolated provision of NMT, for example, Jogoo Road, which links the high density residential areas to the industrial part of the city and the city centre, was one of the corridors which benefited from early interventions funded by the World Bank. The NMT interventions consisted of paving the pedestrian waiting areas at busy crossing points; demarcation of the waiting area with steel bollards; paving areas in the central median of the road including crossing slabs over the drain; painting regular zebra crossings on the carriageway; erecting road signs warning of the zebra crossings ahead and placing guardrails at a roundabout, to channel the pedestrians towards the crossing point (www.aashto.org). While these were good interventions, they became a

one-time measure, without enforcement and maintenance, thereby turning more into a threat than a solution, Motorists do not respect the interventions, with paratransit *matatu* vehicles not only ignoring the provisions but also using the non developed alternative NMT paths.

Another example is a portion of Mama Ngina Street, within the Central Business District (CBD). The section has been closed and extended for pedestrians, in order to effectively link Aga Khan Walk and Hilton Arcade which are traditional pedestrian corridors within the CBD. Existing legal frameworks gives LAs the powers to make, alter, construct and repair, or temporarily close or divert streets and plan new streets. However, LAs hardly apply these powers. Such examples are isolated and on-going in Nairobi. The ACET NMT project will continue to study and assess the driving forces behind such innovative NMT approaches.

Poor coordination of the actors engaged in public transport, including NMT provision has been highlighted almost by all studies focusing on transport ((GoK, 2010; Aligula *et al*, 2005: World Bank, 2005), but the challenge remains. These studies note that the institutional status of Kenya's transport sector is fragmented among the different government ministries, departments and LAs. The fragmentation and ineffective coordination results in confusion, wastage of resources and duplication of responsibilities across actors. The absence of an integrated transport policy has also contributed to this outcome. Putting the policy in place, followed by relevant Acts of Parliament and embracing some of the remedies provided in the draft policy is likely to improve coordination within the sector.

Enforcement of NMT regulations remains a major challenge and is related to a lack of clarity of the responsibility of various actors. Our preliminary findings indicate that regulation of the sector is the domain of the City Inspectorate Department and the Traffic Department of the Kenya Police Service, but, these two bodies have no platform to bring them together. It was noted that the City Council, occasionally monitors the interaction between NMT and Motorised transport within the CBD and those found flouting the traffic rules are arrested. However, the city has no capacity to cover the entire city and, most responses are isolated and ad hoc. Some of the proposals of the draft integrated transport policy proposals such as the establishment of a Metropolitan Transport Authority are expected to address some of the issues discussed in this paper. The authority will have dual functions of : preparation of a comprehensive transport plan for a metropolis region and the mobilization of resources to develop the transport facility.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Effective transport planning and mainstreaming requires a vigorous examination and understanding of the full range of actors that use streets and roads. This facilitates the generation of optimal satisfactory design solutions and the use of streets and spaces, by all modes of transport, including NMT. While this has been a missing gap in the city of Nairobi, in the absence of a national policy and an integrated transport plan, as well as the existing bias of governors towards motorised transport, there are signs of hope as reflected in the emerging innovative approaches to NMT provision used by a combination of actors.

From the discussion of the NMT drivers, institutional issues and related challenges, this paper concludes that there is an emerging innovative trend which bears hope for mainstreaming of NMT within the city of Nairobi. As discussed, there is awareness among

various actors, of the need to accommodate and integrate NMT as an official mode of transport into other existing modes of transport in Nairobi. However a major short coming is the slow pace of processing the Integrated Transport Policy. This makes it difficult to conclusively determine the direction of NMT mainstreaming within the city of Nairobi. Furthermore, 2012 is election year in Kenya and, unless the current Parliament passes the policy, one cannot predict what the next regime will do with the draft policy.

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