EFFORTS TO IMPROVE ROAD SAFETY IN KENYA

ACHIEVEMENTS AND LIMITATIONS OF REFORMS IN THE *MATATU* INDUSTRY

by

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1. BACKGROUND

Public transport in Kenya and especially in urban areas is dominated by *Matatu* vehicles. The term *Matatu* is derived from a local Kikuyu vernacular, term *mang'otore Matatu* which means "thirty cents" which was then the standard charge for every trip made (Aduwo (1990). In the early 1960s, the total number of Matatus operating in the country was less than 400 and did so in the form of taxis. In 1973, President Jomo Kenyatta, responding to lobbying from Matatu operators declared that Matatus were a legal mode of transport and could carry fare paying passengers without obtaining special licenses to do so but had to comply with existing insurance and traffic regulations (Aduwo, 1992. p.125).

The origins of Matatu industry can be traced from the type of transport system that operated in towns in the early 1960s. Initially, the Kenya Bus Service existed since 1934 as the sole legal provider of public transport services (Aduwo, 1972: p.123). It was jointly owned by the United Transport Overseas Ltd (75%) and the Nairobi City Council (25% of the shares). It operated in

[1] This paper has been prepared on the basis of the IPAR Policy Brief on the *Matatu* Industry in Kenya. The brief was based on original studies that were completed by the Institute's researchers between November 2003 and March 2004 and which were: **The Institutional and Organizational Structure of Public Transport in Kenya** by P.O. Asingo; the **Economic Costs and Benefits of the Industry** by P.K. Ndung'u, T.N. Kibua and M.M. Masinde; the **Internal Capacity of the *Matatu* Industry** by P.O. Chitere; and **a Commentary on the Legal Notice No. 161** by D. Gachuki.

major towns such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru and Eldoret. It was, however, not able to cope with the increase in demand for its services.

By 1990, of the 333,300 vehicles registered in the country, 17,600 were Matatus (Bhushan, 1993 cited in Muyia, 1995). By 2003, the number of Matatus operating in both urban and rural areas were estimated at 40,000 (Asingo, 2004). They comprised Nissans, mini-buses and pick-ups. They provided employment to nearly 160,000 persons and generated vast revenue for the Government in the form of charges for licenses, duty, VAT and other taxes. In addition, the industry plays a leading part in transportation of both persons and goods in both rural and urban areas.

Unfortunately, the industry's vast growth has been accompanied by increasing road traffic accidents that have threatened safety of Kenyan travelers. The accidents tripled from 3,578 in 1963 to 10,106 in 1989 and 11,785 in 1994 (Muyia, 1995). In these accidents, 2,014 persons were killed, 6,650 were seriously injured and 11,094 had minor injuries. The causes of the accidents included reckless driving, non-roadworthy vehicles and poor conditions of the roads.

Odero, Khayesi and Heda (2003:p.53) observe that Kenya, with an average of 7 deaths from the 35 crashes that occur each day, has one of the highest road fatality rates in relation to vehicle ownership in the world. They add:

> "Nearly 3,000 people are killed on Kenyan roads annually. This translates to approximately 68 deaths per 1,000 registered vehicles, which is 30-40 times greater than in highly motorized countries. Road traffic crashes are the third leading cause of death after malaria and HIV/AIDS and present major public health problem in terms of morbidity, disability and associated health care costs. Despite this huge burden, road safety measures in place are ineffective, characterized by crack downs on motor vehicles following a tragic road crash".

These accidents have been occasioned by the government's neglect of the road sub-sector in the past 10-15 years. The new NARC government has so far taken two measures to correct the situation. First, it has developed the integrated national transport policy. Secondly, it has introduced reforms in the operation of public service vehicles (PSVs) by publishing Legal Notice No.161 in October, 2003 Daily Nation August 4th, 2004).

2.0 STUDIES OF THE SITUATION OF THE MATATU INDUSTRY BEFORE THE REFORMS

Faced with indication that the government was likely to embark on a major reform of the industry and the ensuing tension-packed situation with a near stand-off between the government and the Matatu owners, leaders of the Matatu Owners Association approached IPAR researchers and asked them to carry out a detailed study that could provide insights about the industry and serve as a basis for its improvement. Detailed discussions between the researchers and the leaders led to their agreement on the study's three aspects that were also its policy concerns. These are:

- The institutional and organizational structure of public transport in Kenya;
- The economic costs and benefits of the industry; and
- The internal capacity of the industry.

The study was largely carried out in Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kisumu, with modest back-up data from Nakuru, Machakos, Kwale, Migori, Kakamega, Bungoma, and Kilifi. It utilized both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained through interviews and focused group discussions. Secondary data was obtained from official government documents, statutes and other relevant literature. The data obtained was analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The initial Concept Note for the study was thoroughly discussed and enriched by stakeholders in a workshop organized at the start of the study in November 2003. Study findings and recommendations were also discussed in detail at a dissemination workshop for all stakeholders held in March 2004. In addition, an examination of the legal implications of the Legal Notice No.161 was carried out.

Highlights of the results of the study in terms of the three areas of concern are presented below.

2.1 The Institutional and Organizational Structure of the Transport industry

The study established that institutional fragmentation in the sector was a key obstacle to road transport planning. The Kenya Roads Board (KRB) is the main institution responsible for the national road infrastructure network in Kenya. Other institutions include, the Transport Licensing Board (TLB), Motor Vehicle Inspection Unit, Registrar of Motor Vehicles, Driving Test Center, Traffic Police and Local Authorities. These institutions are fragmented across government ministries and departments. The Registrar of Motor Vehicles, who determines and fixes passenger and luggage capacity for all vehicles, is currently under the Ministry of Finance, while the Driving Test Unit is under the Office of the President. This leads to disjointed handling of transport issues.

Although TLB is supposed to license all public service vehicles, allocate them routes and regulate their operation timetables, it has generally been unable to allocate routes and monitor compliance or even ensure that public service vehicles have operation timetables. This could be a consequence of the fact that the Board does not incorporate stakeholder representation and hence, is not conversant with the routes. There is also lack of data on vehicle requirements by route. *Matatu* owners therefore decide which route to operate on.

Local authorities have also not been able to perform their roles with regard to urban public road transport. Consequently, certain routes lack *Matatu* terminuses, and where they exist, they are inconveniently located, and generally small in size. This encourages arbitrary picking and dropping of passengers.

The Traffic Police is required to enforce traffic rules, examine PSV drivers and issue certificate of good conduct to *Matatu* crew. However, traffic rules continue to be violated right under the nose of the traffic police. Section 42 of the Traffic Act, for example, limits public service vehicle speed to 80km/hour, yet the police have been unable to enforce the speed limit.

The failure of the police to enforce traffic rules is due to massive corruption, ill equipment and the impracticality of some of the rules such as Section 66 of the Traffic Act, which prohibits continuous driving of PSV vehicles for more than eight hours, yet the police cannot detect how long one has been driving continuously.

At the local level, there are District Roads Boards that allocate the road fund provided by the central government. There are also Cess Committees that handle funds levied from various sources for road maintenance. Both the Roads Boards and the Cess Committees operate independently of each other.

Other institutional constraints include:

- Lack of a clear policy guideline on whether the government favors private or public transportation. Although private vehicles are uneconomical in terms of road space usage per head, their number far outweigh the number of Matatus and buses registered. While the number of buses has been declining steadily, that of *Matatus* has been increasing;

- Neglect of the Non-Motorized and Intermediate Modes of Transport (NMIMTs). Although these modes are pro-poor, low cost and with potential for supplementing and complementing motorized road transport, they have not been mainstreamed into the country's transport system; and

- Neglect of pedestrians in road space design has resulted in the latter being not only the greatest casualties in road accidents, but also the second greatest cause of the same.

2.2 The Internal Capacity of the *Matatu* Industry

This aspect of the study focused on owners of Matatu vehicles, workers and their associations and found the following:

Owners: a majority of the owners had reasonable educational and training qualifications and occupational experience in fields such as banking, accountancy and teaching, and were well informed about problems of the industry. They also had other sources of income and had used credit to purchase or improve their vehicles. Most of the owners were however, absentee operators of their *Matatu* businesses, set targets for daily fare collections, and were not conversant with traffic rules and customer care. Some of the owners also held positions in government that would make them partisan when making decisions on the *Matatu* industry.

Workers: in 1982, the industry had 14,000 workers. Currently, there are an estimated 160,000 workers based on assumption that each Matatu employs about 4 persons. Earlier studies by Khayesi (1997) and Kapila, Manundu and Lamba (1986) showed that employment of the workers was based on family and friendship ties, majority worked for many hours (9-15) per day and payment was on daily basis, ranging from KSh 250-300 per day without other benefits. A majority (80%) of the drivers and conductors had good educational qualifications (upper primary and secondary school education), and had several years work experience in the *Matatu* industry. Also 90% worked on contract/casual terms, had been with their present employers for a few months, worked for long hours, and did not belong to any *Matatu* association. These poor work conditions accounted for road accidents as reported by a third of the workers interviewed. Another study of drivers in Eldoret town completed by Muyia (2004) found that 97% of the drivers interviewed had been involved in one or several accidents.

A large number of drivers (80%) had been trained in driving, mechanics and a few in customer care. The training was basic, provided by the profit-oriented commercial schools and did not effectively impart skills and practices about safe driving. None had attended any refresher courses provided by Automobile Association of Kenya (AAK) and the Kenya Bus Services Company (KBS) in safe driving. A few of the drivers had not attended basic training in driving and some had obtained their licenses fraudulently.

Associations/Saccos: After the official recognition of *Matatus* in 1973, owners nation-wide formed the *Matatu* Vehicle Owners Association (MVOA) which allocated *Matatu* routes and controlled the operations of the sector (Aduwo, 1992). MVOA was banned in 1988 by the government on grounds of being used by opposition politicians to further their interests. The associations re-emerged in the late 1990s with the registration of the *Matatu* Welfare Association (MWA) in 2001 and the formation of the *Matatu* Owners Association (MOA) in April 2003. Unfortunately, MWA and MOA do not see eye to eye and this undermines their ability to adequately articulate the interests of *Matatu* owners. There is also the *Matatu* Stage Welfare Association for drivers, conductors and other stage workers and several route-based Saccos and welfare organizations that pool resources and redistribute them through credit schemes, organize route operations and address members' welfare concerns. Most of the Saccos were affiliated to larger organizations like MWA and MOA and their officials had good academic qualifications, which partly explains why they are well managed. The route-based organizations were generally stronger than the national bodies like MWA and MOA in terms of financial resource base, organization and control of *Matatu* operations in their respective areas.

2.3 The Economic Costs and Benefits

This aspect focused on benefits of the industry to the economy and capital as well as the operating and insurance costs. The basis of the study was the recognition that the industry required to ensure an adequate provision of reliable and affordable transport for most workers.

Matatus and the economy: The industry pays Ksh 1.09 billion per annum to the government in taxes while it is estimated that the 40,000 *Matatus* provide 80,000 direct jobs and 80,000 indirect jobs.

Capital: the initial capital to invest in *Matatus* is large and hence difficult to raise. Most operators finance their purchase through own savings as well as work and pay system. Many owners are aware that locally assembled vehicles are strong and durable, but because of their prohibitive purchase costs, they buy used vehicles (on average 8 years old) locally from motor dealers. This encourages the presence of old and sometimes unsafe vehicles on the roads.

The high cost of funds has been a major hindrance to investment in *Matatus*. Due to the high risk factor, most formal lending institutions do not give loans for the purchase of *Matatus*.

The cost of operating Matatu business: the total cost per day for the 18-seater *Matatu* is Kshs 3,361, while that of the 25-seater *Matatu* is Ksh 3,882. A larger share of daily cost goes to fuel and wages.

The prohibitive cost of operation has been a major hindrance to investment in *Matatus*. Considerable benefits of *Matatus* can only be realised if the costs of fuel, maintenance, wages and insurance are low. Additionally, the current age limit of 8 years for imported vehicles allows for importation of poor quality vehicles. This exacerbates the problems of pollution and road carnage.

Taxes: the tax burden (135% of vehicle value, excluding VAT) on motor vehicles is also a contributing factor to the high costs of operation. The import and VAT taxes are major barriers to importation of more *Matatus*. This leads to low supply (shortage), which cannot meet the increasing demand for transport vehicles leading to high prices and unaffordable fares.

Insurance: Most *Matatus* prefer third party insurance cover and the annual collection in terms of premiums is Kshs 4 billion. Comprehensive cover is generally very expensive since accident and theft risks are very high. The government has agreed to compel insurance companies to reduce amount of premium charged. However, it has to first address the issue of compensation. Insurance companies incur huge sums of money due to hefty compensation claims. Secondly, there are no guidelines of how compensation amounts are determined.

Pollution: the cost to society arising from emissions of old (more than 8 years) vehicles as well as their disposal where they eventually become junk is likely to be enormous.

3.0 THE LEGAL REFORMS

3.1 Objectives and Provisions of the Legal Notice

In October 2003, Kenya's Minister for Transport and Communications issued Legal Notice No. 161 that sought to regulate the Public Service Vehicle sub-sector. The objectives of the Legal Notice were to: reduce accidents caused by overspeeding; enhance safety of commuters; ensure responsibility, accountability and competence of drivers and conductors; eliminate illegal drivers, conductors and criminals that had infiltrated the industry; and facilitate identification of vehicles and restrict their operation to authorized routes (see MOTC, Transformation of Road Transport Report, 2004). The provisions that were to be observed with effect from 1st February 2004 (see Legal Notice No. 161 of 2003) are:

- Fitting of speed governors in all PSVs and commercial vehicles whose tare weight exceeded 3,048 Kgs. These are to limit speed to 80 kph;

- Fitting of seat belts on all vehicles (both public, commercial and private);

- Employment of drivers and conductors on permanent basis;

- Issuing of badges to PSV drivers and conductors;

- Issuing of uniforms to PSV drivers and conductors;

- Indication of route details and painting of yellow band on Matatus for purposes of easy identification;

- Re-testing of drivers after every two years;

- Every driver shall prominently display his/her photograph of postcard size of the head and shoulders taken full without a hat. The photograph together with particulars of the driver's identity card shall be approved by a police officer of or above the rank of a superintendent; and

The Legal Notice required that vehicles meeting these conditions be inspected by the government motor vehicle inspection centers in different parts of the country for testing and certification. It indicated that any person who contravenes or fails to comply with these provisions, owns, drives or has charge of the taxicab or Matatu, shall be guilty of an offense and could pay a specified fine or face imprisonment. A passenger found not wearing seat belt was also to pay a specified fine.

3.2 Critique of the Provisions

There arNe a number of criticisms of the Legal Notice are not new. First, Gachuki (2004) observes that its provisions were not new since the Traffic Act 403 section 42 (1) and (3) of 1975 specified speed limits for PSV vehicles. He observes further that it has always been mandatory for all motor vehicles to fit seat belts for the driver and front passenger seats. Similarly, Act No.10 of 1984 set out rules for drivers and conductors. He concludes that whereas the rules exist, a main weakness has been lack of their enforcement by the government.

Secondly, Gachuki noted further that the rules were discriminatory in so far as they targeted only Matatus. He argued that the rules should be applied to all vehicles including private ones. The reason for his argument was that whereas Matatus caused about 19% of the accidents on Kenyan roads, private vehicles caused 25% of the accidents. He emphasized the need for a national road safety policy that applies to all road users without discrimination.

Thirdly, the provisions were expensive to adopt owing to their estimated cost of about Ksh 60,000 (US$ 750) (seat belts about Ksh 10,000, refurbishing Ksh 25,000, speed governors about Ksh 25,000 and government inspection Ksh 1,200)(Daily Nation, 30t^h Jan, 2004). It was pointed out that part of this high cost would be recoverd from reduced insurance premiums. Fourthly, reduced income for the operators owing to the fact that the seating capacity of the smaller Nissan vehicles was reduced from 18 to 14 passengers (13 passengers and a conductor). Thus whereas in the past passengers were squeezed in the vehicles including standing or leaning or some seating on others, the new law required each passenger to occupy his/her own seat and wear a seat belt. Fifthly, there were additional monetary and time costs owing to the fact that each PSV vehicle had to be inspected by the vehicle Inspection Unit once the seating capacity was modified and the gadgets had been fitted. Those not meeting the specified standards would not be licensed by the Registrar of Motor Vehicles. Finally, the enhanced regulatory requirements increased the possibility of extortion for bribery by the principal agents of the government.

These measures were opposed by the Matatu Owners Association (MOA) as well as by some members of the Matatu Welfare Association which called for a country-wide strike starting 19th November if the law were not degazetted by the Minister (Daily Nation, 7th November, 2003). Whereas the Minister responded to the strike threat by extending the deadline for adoption of the reforms to 1st February, 2004, the Matatu operators went ahead with the strike thus paralyzed the entire transport system in the country. Some two days later, the President while speaking at the national Investor Conference in Nairobi briefly referred to the Matatu strike by saying:

> "When we propose to reduce the speed of public vehicles, we want to reduce the 3,000 deaths on our roads annually. We are also saying that the Ksh 4

billion ($ 51.3 million) cost as a result of accidents must come down" (The East African, 24-30, Nov, 2003).

This intervention by the President led the leaders of the Matatu associations to call off the strike. In mid-January, 2004 the associations filed a court case in which they sought to bar the Minister from implementing the Legal Notice. The associations, however, lost the case and the implementation of the legal notice went ahead as scheduled.

3.3 Progress made in implementation of the reforms

A study of progress being made in implementation of the legal notice has not yet been carried out. However, whereas only 23 Matatus had complied by 13th February, 2004, by 3rd February about 7,000 vehicles, most of them Matatus had been issued with compliance certificates (Daily Nation, 3rd Feb, 2004). Despite this rapid progress, a transport crisis hit the county, especially in the city of Nairobi that relies on Matatu transport and where a majority of its residents had to walk to work. The situation eased down gradually in subsequent months as more and more vehicles were issued compliance certificates.

A senior official of the MOTC reports that the ministry in collaboration with one NGO, the National Road Safety Agency has been conducting the National Roads Safety Awareness Campaign on radio, TV and newspapers as well as using billboards. The campaign seeks to educate pedestrians, cyclists, motorists and all road users on road safety. In addition, a National Roads safety Committee has been formed by the Ministry comprising mainly ministry staff and a few private and voluntary sector representatives. The committee meets regularly to review progress being made in implementation of the reforms.

The MOTC has prepared an Action Plan on the National Road Safety Awareness Campaign. Its activities include: installation of billboards; procurement of T-shirts, caps and stickers with road safety messages; holding of road shows; production of a documentary film on road safety; print and electronic media adverts; and workshops and seminars for PSV crew, driving school owners, vehicle owners and enforcement officers. The budget for the Action Plan is Ksh.51 million—55% of which is to be spent on billboards and on print and electronic media adverts and about 16% on workshops and seminars.

In July, 2004, the Minister issued legal Notice No. 83 which stated that: "Every owner of a public service vehicle shall be held liable for non-compliance or tampering with speed governor fitted in his/her vehicle". The notice also specified that drivers' uniforms were to be navy blue while those of conductors were to be maroon in color.

In September, 2004, the Minister issued another Legal Notice No. 97 which stated: "Any person who owns, drives or causes to be driven or has charge of a public service vehicle other than in accordance with the provisions of this part shall be guilty of an offence and liable to: a) a fine not exceeding Ksh.10,000 or imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or both in the case of a first conviction; and (b) double the amount and period of imprisonment or both in the case of second and subsequent convictions. One senior official of the MOTC observes that this provision was a response to court fines for traffic offences which have been generally low. The official further observed that calibration of diesel engines which had been permitted by the earlier legal notice was abolished in a Legal Notice published in August this year owing to its abuse. All vehicles are now required to install speed governors.

3.4 Achievements

The achievements of the reforms are presented below.

- Reduction in accidents by about 73% in the first six months of implementation of the legal notice as compared to a similar situation in the previous year as shown below (GOK, MOTC Report, 2004).

Accidents	Feb-July, 2003	Feb-July, 2004
Fatal accidents	1,047	616
Serious accidents	2,110	1,199
Slight accidents	3,445	2,092

- Restoration of sanity and order in the Matatu industry. The vehicles are currently clearly marked and their destination and carrying capacity are indicated and people travel in comfort Daily Nation, August 4, 2004);

- Defective vehicles have been eliminated since all vehicles had to go for inspection. Unroadworthy vehicles that did not meet this requirement were removed from the roads;

- Cartels have been eliminated or reduced; that is, the new measures have reduced illegal groups and placed management of PSVs in the hands of their owners. The government has further directed all local authorities to take over management of stages within their areas to help remove cartels from the routes;

- New investors are coming into the industry owing to conducive business environment that has been created. For example, only two insurance companies, Blue Shield and United provided insurance cover to Matatus. Following the reforms, two other firms, Africa Merchant Assurance (AMACO) and Lion of Kenya have started insuring PSVs (Sunday Nation 12/09/04. page 19);

- Crime rate has reduced owing to the requirement that all PSV drivers and conductors must get certificates of good conduct from the police. The same requirement has also led to elimination of unqualified drivers who were major causers of accidents;

- Control of speed has led to reduction in fuel consumption leading to saving in its purchase and lowering of maintenance costs;

- Compliance has also made possible computerization of data on distribution of PSVs on various roads;

- Interest is now being shown in the sub-sector by NGOs and private sector players such as insurance firms that are sponsoring seminars and workshops in safe driving for owners and workers;

- TLB had by August, 2004 suspended licenses of 42 vehicles that had flouted the safety regulations (Daily Nation August 28th, 2004). It had also ordered vehicles belonging to the government, tour firms, schools and colleges to be fitted with the gargets. For example, the Minister of Transport and Communications recently clarified that school buses and trucks be fitted with speed governors and safety belts and that those that do not do so would be flouting the rules (Sunday Nation, 05/05/04 page 14); and

- Long distance crews are complying with the rules, for example, Molo Line Services with more than 300 vehicles has been observing the regulations (Saturday Nation 11/09/04: page 36). A few owners are also improving their vehicles and are an example to others.

3.5 Limitations

The MOTC Report (2004) lists the limitations of implementation of the Legal Notice presented below.

- Tampering with speed governors has been done by some dishonest operators to enable them drive the vehicles beyond the authorized speed of 80 km/h;

- Seat belts fitted by some PSVs are substandard and do not guarantee safety in the event of accidents. In some vehicles, they are not cared for and some commuters decline wearing them owing to their being dirty. Often the crew does not emphasize their importance until they are about to encounter the police;

- Hiking of fares has been done by all operators and has compelled commuters to appeal to the government to control them although this has not been possible owing to the liberalized market economy. The fares were, however, higher in the first few months of enforcement of the legal notice but have since then stabilized at slightly higher level on many routes owing to reduced seating capacity;

- Inadequate public transport has been a problem owing to elimination of unroadworthy vehicles and standing passengers in buses and mini-buses. It is estimated that demand would be met by an additional 10,000 vehicles although there is an emerging trend of increasing investment in higher occupancy vehicles with 25 or more seats.

- Laxity in law enforcement is still a problem. Many police officers are still reluctant to enforce the laws. Whereas the government has been fighting corruption, many police officers are still extorting bribes from PSVs;

- Re-mergence of cartels has been reported on some routes;

- Corruption has also been reported by the media among key government officials in relation to issuance of PSV licenses and inspection certificates. For example, poor quality road licenses that do not meet security test and that can easily be produced by local dealers have been released by the Kenya Revenue Authority (Daily nation 30/08/04:page 1); and

- Overloading has been reported in towns such as Nakuru where some Matatus still carry 18 instead of the required 14 passengers (Saturday Nation, 11/09/04: page 36).

Newspaper reports and direct observations by the first author both in Nairobi and in the western part of the country show that whereas Matatus have generally complied with the regulations, there are still many instances of lack of compliance. This is evidenced in failure of some drivers and conductors to wear their badges or to display their photos. Touting is still common and some crew still play music loudly in their vehicles. Overspeeding, careless overtaking, overloading in some cases and paying of bribes to the police are still commonly practiced by crew . There are also a number of vehicles that have been certified but which are not in good mechanical conditions. For example, in a recent week-long traffic police inspection on Nairobi-Mombasa road, 480 PSV vehicles including buses owned by leading transport companies have been found violating the rules (Daily Nation 20/08/04:page 7). The offences committed were speeding, lack of first aid kits, faulty speed governors and flouting set timetables and 200 drivers and conductors were booked and forced to pay cash bail on the spot. In another police inspection in Embu and Kisii areas, speed governors of 300 PSV vehicles were found to have been tampered with (East African Standard 14/09/04:page 13).

4.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Efforts made by the government in regulating the Matatu industry are commendable. The efforts, however, need to be strengthened in the following ways:

- Need for reducing the large number of institutions dealing with PSV services by unifying them under one or two major institutions such as the Kenya Transport Licensing Board;

- Need for comprehensive and efficient enforcement of law through enhancement of capacity of the traffic police and their better training and remuneration. Consideration needs to be given to possibility of removing the traffic police from the generally corrupt police force and seconding them to the major institution dealing with PSV services;

- Need for involvement of Matatu owners and crew through their civil society organizations in discussions and decisions relating to their industry as well as strengthening their capacity to manage the industry and to self-regulate. Some of the Saccos were effectively managing their routes, providing credit to their members for purchase of vehicles or repairs—one had established a fueling station for its members' vehicles;

- Need to consider ways of enhancing competitiveness in the industry through reduction of costs of purchase and operation of PSVs, reduction of their age limit from 8 to 5 years, and reduction of insurance costs;

- Need for strengthening training of PSV drivers through regulation of activities of commercial training schools and support of initiatives being taken by the vehicle owners associations, NGOs and insurance firms in training of the drivers in road safety. In addition, there is need for all driving schools to have a common curriculum under a central body which will oversee examination and certification including standards;

- Need for improvement of the terms and conditions of work for employees in the industry through collective ownership and operation of PSVs; and

- Need for collection and documentation of data on routes, number of vehicles, number and characteristics of owners and workers, fares and so on.

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