Improving access and quality of public transport services through partnerships

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1 INTRODUCTION

This paper reports on a significant part of the findings from a major study funded by the UK Department for International Development which was undertaken in Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Tanzania between 2001 and 2003. The primary objective of the study was to produce Guidelines for use by policy makers and urban public transport operators to ensure that the poor can enjoy improved access and quality of public transport in the future. At the present time there is a lack of understanding about how such partnerships function to deliver transport services and what can be done to support and strengthen such relationships in order to improve accessibility and quality of public transport services. The Guidelines contribute to the knowledge base by focusing on a number of issues at both the policy and operational levels. Clearly, identifying key stakeholders, understanding roles and responsibilities and analysing the working linkages and mechanisms used to deliver public transport services is fundamental. Existing partnerships can then be strengthened and new ones created and developed to ensure that all stakeholders including users, regulators, administrators, planners and operators are included and all view points considered.

2 PUBLIC TRANSPORT PROVISION

Access to affordable transport is critical for the urban poor, as it offers a way out of economic, social and physical isolation. The study looked at issues of price, affordability, access and quality in relation to the provision of public transport services in two Asian cities and one African city. Public transport is the provision of transport that is consumed collectively (whether provided by the state or private sector) and a fare is paid by passengers. Primarily, modes include trains, buses and minibuses but also include taxis, trams and trolleys, metros and paratransit modes such as rickshaws, cycles and motor cycle taxis.

There is a widespread perception that urban transport policy initiatives in the developing world are influenced principally by the demands of the car-owning affluent whose travel needs are entirely different from those of the urban poor, who generally travel on foot or by public transport. Whether this perception is right or wrong, most observers would agree that securing an effective public transport service is important. Traditionally governments have frequently sought to provide this through a monopoly public sector supplier, which they can control and which may or may not have operational and financial objectives as key performance criteria. Unfortunately many of these suppliers have performed poorly, have been subject to undue political influence, and have shown themselves unwilling or unable to react appropriately to changing customer demand.

As a result, governments in both industrialized and developing countries have increasingly turned to
the private sector for the provision of public transport services in cities and urban centres throughout the world. Wherever private operators predominate in a city or network under conditions of unfettered competition, the general outcome is a large number of individual operators whose main aim is (not surprisingly) to maximize profits. Consequently, there has been a growth in the provision of minibus or shared taxi services. The small- or mid-i-type capacity vehicle that the private sector prefers, and can afford to invest in, differs appreciably from the larger conventional buses that are generally favoured by the public sector. Vehicles are owned and operated as a business with profitability as the key objective, rather than a service being provided irrespective of passenger demand or the need to generate a sustainable financial return.

The drive for profitability can be achieved by increasing efficiency and cutting costs, but may also lead to unfavourable behaviour that can adversely affect passenger safety and comfort and damage the urban environment. In a totally unregulated environment, driver behaviour is often dangerous as vehicles ‘race’ each other to stops along the route to either pick up passengers or complete their trip to pick up more passengers for the return journey. Vehicles may be worked hard with little preventative maintenance, so breakdowns en route become a frequent occurrence. Operators (drivers and conductors) often ‘hire’ the vehicle on a daily payment basis, having to guarantee the owner an agreed sum. The result is that the vehicle is worked as long as possible to maximize earnings for the operators, with scant regard for the longer-term reputation of the service provider. To this extent, bus operation is a ‘fail-dangerous’ rather than a ‘fail-safe’ industry, and the primary role of regulation is to minimize the risk of failure without reverting to the inefficiencies of monopoly provision.

Regulation is also needed to protect the interests of the poor. Low-income communities are frequently located on the outskirts of cities with poor and narrow road access. These roads are more accessible to minibus type operations than to large conventional buses. However, owners and operators generally prefer to keep to the major road network to safeguard their vehicles. So the urban poor often have to face long walks along or on poorly maintained pavements and poorly illuminated streets to reach any type of service. Dark alleys were reported as places where women were frequently harassed. A long journey in a vehicle often in cramped conditions will follow, before another journey on foot to reach their destinations. Thus, journey times can be excessive.

Roads themselves can be dangerous. Road space is shared by a plethora of motorized and non-motorized vehicles; these include horse drawn tongas, cycle and auto rickshaws and mini- and conventional-sized buses. Pedestrians are frequently forced onto the roads, as pavements are used by vendors to sell their wares. Besides putting pedestrians at risk of injury, road capacity is thus further constrained, reducing speeds and exacerbating congestion. The poorest segment of society travel predominately on foot as they do not have any affordable alternative. As wealth creation increases at the personal level, reliance on public transport becomes feasible. Access to a wide variety of road- and rail-based public transport offers an expansion of horizons and opportunities for the poor community, who can sustain their own and their families’ needs by reaching more peri-urban areas to carry out livelihood activities.

3 WHY THE RESEARCH WAS UNDERTAKEN

Urban public transport is a key link to access other services and livelihood assets. In the context of the project, public transport services are defined as services comprising formal and informal modes (vehicles) where a fare is paid by a passenger. It is suggested that a better understanding of inter- and intra-linkages of public transport and its impact on other services is required to improve the sustainable livelihoods of the poor. Relationships between agencies, in some cases partnerships, both formal and informal, have responded to provide access for the poor to public transport. However there is a lack of understanding about how such partnerships function to deliver public transport services and what can be done to support such partnerships to improve accessibility and quality of public transport. The present study tried to address the key question of how to improve the access to and quality of public transport for the urban poor. In this respect the following issues were explored in the three cities of Colombo, Dar es Salaam and Faisalabad that comprised the study [See Appendix I for basic City data].

1 How can access/mobility and quality of urban public transport services provision be improved for the urban poor?
2 How can existing partnerships be strengthened and new ones established in respect of public transport provision?
3 How can the views of users, operators, and regulators be integrated and how should priorities be established at operational and policy levels?
4 How can the urban poor’s need for safe, affordable, effective, and efficient public transport services be understood, quantified and prioritised to ensure reasonable access to work, education, health, and leisure when other factors such as water, food, housing, and health are all equally or more important factors of sustaining livelihoods.
4 KEY PRACTICAL ISSUES

During an International workshop in Colombo in January 2003 where the findings from the research were presented, the participants were asked to prioritize actions for a given city. They came up with the following.

- Running buses on fixed time tables
- Uniforms or an identify card for drivers and conductors
- Continuous awareness programmes on passenger rights and responsibilities, as well as programmes for the operators (drivers/ conductors)
- Introduce by-laws for proper traffic management in the city
- Provide regular training for the operators and regulators
- Re-introduce express and semi-express buses
- Introduce a metropolitan bus service in the city
- Introduce easy ticket purchasing mechanisms, such as buying tickets from newspaper stands etc.
- Provide multi-modal terminal facilities
- Proper maintenance for bus shelters
- Provide adequate pavements in the city
- Regulate para-transport (i.e. informal modes such as three-wheelers, auto rickshaws etc.)
- Increase government operated school bus service
- Promote use of bicycles

Many of these improvements appear relatively straightforward but in each of the case studies such actions were generally missing and one wonders why?

For many years priority was given to publicly owned transport services, often at the cost of preventing private services. However, as shown by the experience in Dar es Salaam, banning private bus operators in 1975 did little to address transport needs. The private operators continued to provide services, albeit illegally, and in 1983 they were once more allowed to provide (limited) services. A similar experience happened in Colombo between 1958 and 1979. At present, transport services in all four cities (including Karachi see Sohail, M. (ed.) 2000,) are provided by both the private and public sectors. However, there is only limited (or a lack of) coordination between either the different providers, or between a broad spectrum of stakeholders and the providers of the services.

On one hand, the case studies show the benefits of involving the private sector in the delivery of urban services, including public transport, which previously was regarded as the domain of the public sector. On the other hand, there is evidence of the problems that can arise due to a lack of regulation and regulatory capacity, poor service provision and a lack of affordability.

One possible strategy to resolve some of these potential problems arising is through partnerships to secure service improvements. Numerous opportunities for partnerships emerge, in particular, within the private sector and between public agencies and private firms. Additional potential groups to be involved in such partnerships are the users themselves, the regulatory agencies, and those responsible for government transport policy.

The term “partnership” can mean different things to different people. Partnerships can be described as: non-adversarial organizational relationships, (both formal and informal) involving public and private organizations, public and public and private and private. For the purpose of the study, ‘public’ related to any government agency (e.g. local authority or state) either directly (for example, as a regulator) or indirectly (for example, as principal where a commercial firm acts as an agent), and ‘private’ relates to any other type of organization involved in local government services (e.g. private operator, small-scale private provider, community-based provision). The organizational context is one where public institutions (including regulatory agencies) are frequently weak and service coverage is limited, poorly maintained and often non-existent for the poor. At the same time, the private sector is unproven and often informal. The service delivery problem includes the need for substantial service expansion to new, informal and marginal settlements as well as an improvement of the existing services. Access and quality are the two main aspects that potential partnerships might wish to address in the context of service delivery.

Whilst partnerships may not address all the problems listed, they may offer a potential solution to some. Experience suggests that partnerships are likely to be most successful when ‘win-win’ solutions can be identified providing an incentive for both parties to the agreement. Drawing on an example in the earlier study of Karachi, one citizens’ group, SHEHRI, went to court to prevent the sale by the State of plots of land intended for depots and workshops for city buses. In this case, the alliance was between the users and the bus owners, both of whom wanted to retain the facility (Sohail, 2000, 75). Other opportunities for ‘win-win’ solutions also emerged in the case studies, for example, bus route improvements in Karachi, and improved visibility of dala-dala minibuses in Dar es Salaam.

In a further example of a partnership between organizations within a specific transport services sector, Sohail (2000, 149) illustrates collaboration between operators in Karachi. Due to the large number of buses being burnt in political unrest and the non-availability of insurance cover, the operators themselves established their own insurance. Each member pays Rs.15 [£0.16] per day per bus and the Scheme pays out whenever a bus is set on fire. A final illustration of partnership between sectors also comes from Karachi. In 1997, a group of government officials and professionals from the private sector worked together with the Airport Security...
Force to improve traffic management at the airport. Two years later, activities were expanded to include a 14-kilometre road from the centre of town to the airport.

5 POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR TRANSPORT GOVERNANCE

Experience shows that effective partnership requires a clearly defined framework to guide governments, municipalities, and other stakeholders through the process. Although this framework needs to be developed within the specific local public transport context there are a number of general issues that such a framework needs to consider. These include:

- political processes, supporting the role of municipalities in representing constituents, maintaining power over the allocation of resources, regulating partnership arrangements, and other service delivery options to serve the public good;
- funding to ensure revenue flow to support service delivery;
- economic benefits, to improve efficiency, generate economic growth, and develop a market of service providers or users;
- social equity, addressing the needs and impacts of service partnerships on communities, with sensitivity as to how this is relevant to different groups, such as women, children, the poor, and other vulnerable people;
- environment, ensuring basic health and sustainable use of natural resources;
- institutional imperatives, to improve the capacity of municipalities and other organizations to manage and govern local areas through partnerships;
- conciliation and mediation, to facilitate a rational and pragmatic rather than ideological perspective; (Throughout the developing world there are examples of processes where the debate has taken an ideological perspective and thus lost the pragmatic approach. Intermediaries, International and domestic, can provide space for different parties to air their differences and come to a consensus.)
- reducing transaction costs through better information provision, which reduces asymmetries of information by creating a pool of information to be used for planning for better transport services. Many partnership arrangements lack basic information relating to the poor and hence it is difficult to design pro-poor partnerships.

Two crosscutting elements are also important. Comprehensive and holistic approaches, though not prescriptive, are critical. These help municipalities to:

- determine how to prioritise objectives;
- assess past initiatives in terms of municipal objectives;
- transcend the traditional bias in many partnerships towards economic and financial objectives; and address instead the range of social, political, and institutional issues that lead to a search for alternatives.

The scale of the potential problem in regard to policy fragmentation is illustrated in the study of Dar es Salaam in which four Ministries have an involvement in transport services: the Ministry of Communications and Transport, the Ministry of Finance (collecting taxes), the Ministry of Home Affairs (vehicle inspection), and the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government (with responsibilities including Dar es Salaam’s transport licensing authority and route allocation).

Partnerships in developing countries often face extensive challenges in dealing with poverty hence a pro-poor focus is essential. A pro-poor public-private partnership is about meeting the service needs of the poor and improving the quality of the lives of poor households. This raises several fundamental questions such as:

- what type of service delivery arrangement benefits the poor?;
- what form of delivery is most sustainable?;
- what level of benefit is most feasible to achieve?; and
- what form of cost recovery would be appropriate?

In practice, a pro-poor focus may be hard to secure. For example, in Faisalabad, a partnership has been set up between the Faisalabad Urban Transport Society [FUTS] and a telephone company to provide 70 bus stops. The telephone company (which offers telephone booths at each stop) has now established the ones that are profitable and it is reluctant to continue the venture in places where the telephone income is likely to be insufficient. This example suggests that whilst partnerships may go some way to improving the current situation, they are unlikely to be sufficient to address all the needs, especially those of the poorer groups. The advantage of such partnerships is that they enable the authorities to focus their resources more efficiently.

6 PARTNERING CONTEXT

The potential partners can be broadly classified as:

- users;
- operators;
- regulators;
- government policy makers; and
- support organizations such as financial institutions.

Users can be individuals or a group. In all of the case studies, the researchers noted that the mechanisms for the users to have a voice were very limited, particularly for the poor.
It is important to recognize that generalized user groups may not be fully representative of all the interests of the poor. In Karachi, for example, the Karachi Public Transport Society mainly addresses the needs of higher income groups (Sohail, 2000, 136). There is clearly a need to consider specific groups, such as those with disabilities who require access to safe public transport services to sustain their own medically constrained livelihoods. In some cases, intermediaries have acted as representatives of users in some forums.

Operators are informally and in some cases formally organized. Such organizations are often only effective around short-term issues such as a fare increase.

Regulators are mostly formal and in most cases very complex. These include various public sector organizations such as police. For example, in Karachi it was estimated that there were around 60 organizations connected with the issue of public transport without any effective organizational hub.

Government policymakers and local government representatives are also important potential partners in their own right, (as well as the target of other partnerships) in terms of national and local transport initiatives.

Support organizations are both formal and informal. There are numerous support organizations such as those providing transport and maintenance services. There is a tendency for small-scale operators to seek assistance from informal support organizations though, these are very costly to utilise. Whilst at the same time the formal support organizations have not even reached the stage of acknowledging the existence of informal potential partners.

The lack of credit, for example, is an illustration of how partnerships with financing institutions might offer benefits to the public if investment opportunities can increase to potential owners and operators thereby increasing service provision. In a further example of the type of organization that might be involved, in Faisalabad, FUTS is planning an arrangement with a minibus leasing company to increase the scale of services that it offers.

The current situation is illustrated by Figure 1, which shows some links between potential partners. Existing links are mostly adversarial and uncoordinated.

For example the links in Karachi can be illustrated as below:

The Figures demonstrate how the existing links can be converted into a partnering link to improve the provision of public transport services. The potential for partnerships to improve the current situation emerged on several occasions within the studies:

In Faisalabad, the City Commissioner conceived and implemented FUTS, which is a voluntary organization that provides a transport system and licences over 1,000 private vehicles to provide services. The objectives of the Society are to “...provide, maintain and supervise transport facilities for the commuters.” Whilst the maximum number of vehicles on each route is not set, the operators ensure that additional services are viable before allowing an additional bus. A single central terminal has assisted in the interchange of passengers between routes, but congestion has resulted in a second terminus being prepared.

A second and earlier example in Faisalabad is that the Municipality provided eight stands for horse drawn tongas in several places within the city. Such stands provide the animals with some relief from the heat in the summer and also offer animal drinking facilities.

In Karachi, both users and operators agree that speed bumps (and other traffic calming measures) would assist in enforcing speed restrictions (Sohail, 2000, 145 and 147). Clearly it is in everyone’s collective interest for speeds in dangerous places to be reduced. But if restrictions are not enforced, then each operator has an incentive to break restrictions to increase their potential number of passengers and consequently their earnings.

In Karachi, for a further example of need, the governor of Sindh Province failed to include transport in his Annual Plan for 2000/2001 even though the ordinance establishing the Karachi Metropolitan Transport Authority had lapsed (Sohail, 2000, 135). Users, operators, and regulators have an interest in ensuring that transport remains on the policy agenda otherwise funding will be difficult to earmark for
transport improvements and maintenance of the existing network in the city.

7. TYPES OF PARTNERSHIPS

For a partnership to exist, it is not necessary for it to be articulated in formal contractual terms. In the case studies links between operators and regulators were set up in order for both parties to achieve a particular goal; in cases such as these the relationships evolved into a partnership without the parties actually knowing that they had developed into a partnership situation.

The question of partnership types can be approached from at least two angles: institutional and contractual. But one should not be restricted to any classifications as in many cases it may not be feasible to conform strictly to any one typology. The real issue is for parties to analyse robustly their situations and options and to develop meaningful solutions.

8 CLARITY IN ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Partnerships may involve a coming together of parties to address an issue of common interest. Such partnerships are characterised by autonomous and independent organizations, each with something to contribute and each party negotiating to establish the rules of their collaboration. Alternatively, a partnership may involve one party, usually the public sector, setting out a framework in which the role of the other party (or parties) is already defined. The need for clear and precise contracting arrangements in the provision of public transport cannot be over stressed. Contracts need to be tailored to suit local conditions and it is here that significant differences are likely to be required between partnership contracts in northern and southern countries. The following generic options exist:

Service Contracts. The most common approach is the service contract characterized by the contracting-out of services to a private provider to an agreed level within defined specifications and for a fixed period of time.

Management Contracts are somewhat more complex than basic service contracts. Again the client retains ownership of the assets and is responsible for capital expenditure, working capital and commercial risk of the collection of service fees. The contract is normally output based. The private party manages the provision of service without committing significant investment capital and without accepting much risk.

Leases and affermage contracts provide for the client to lease infrastructure and facilities to a private firm that will then have exclusive rights to operate and maintain the system for a fixed period of time. The main distinguishing feature from a management contract is that the private operator bears the commercial risk of non-payment of fees and charges. There is no transfer of ownership and the client remains responsible for capital investment required to upgrade or extend the system.

Franchise arrangements are based upon granting exclusive rights to provide a type of service within a specific geographical area. Such arrangements are often for waste services. Instead of leasing facilities and infrastructure the operator is given the right to deliver a service in return for a payment, and will in turn levy charges for the delivery of the service and/or for generating income from the service through other means, such as selling by-products.

Concessions entail the municipality transferring full responsibility for service delivery in a specified area to a concessionaire. This will include all construction, maintenance, collection, and management activities. The concessionaire is responsible for all capital investment to build, upgrade or extend the system. The client will generally retain responsibility for establishing and monitoring performance standards, regulation of price and service volumes. This regulatory authority is crucial in public goods that have monopoly characteristics. The main distinguishing feature from a lease is the additional responsibility for financing capital investment. Although the fixed assets are entrusted to the concessionaire for the agreed period (usually over 25 years) they still remain the property of the client.

9 NURTURING PARTNERSHIPS

Partnering is not discrete but involves a continuous process. Of course, partners do disagree and complex arbitration systems may be established as a part of the partnership. However, experience suggests that such adversarial attitudes should be avoided. To be successful, a partnership needs monitoring, maintenance and sustenance.

It should be emphasized that partnerships do not absolve the regulators from their public responsibility but merely shift the government’s focus from managing the inputs of service provision to managing outcomes. There is a need to remain vigilant to carefully crafting principles and practices that create a supportive and credible environment, involving the right stakeholders in the right roles, and blending social and institutional dimensions of poverty reduction with the economic and financial gains of all partners.

There are three main constraints to partnering.

Lack of Transparency / Trust. There is a need for processes to be open, fair, and reasonable. Distrust is a function of perception and not necessarily of facts.
Lack of Professionalism. There is a need to use people who are good at doing what needs to be done. Sound local management also means an organization must address those areas in which it lacks acceptable levels of professionalism.

Lack of capacity. Partnerships involve new ways of doing things and new ways in which different groups can work together. As a first step, it is essential that groups learn to talk to each other. It was noted in the case studies that the different groups lack the capacity and facilities to engage with each other. The research process itself offered a chance for groups to meet and talk. In many of the city forums, it was clear that such forms of cooperation were held for the first time in the respective cities. These forums offered a chance for the tentative emergence of a list of issues that might usefully be addressed. Sadly, however, it is not clear that there is sufficient support mechanism to sustain this process.

10 SUPPORTING PARTNERSHIPS

What are the emerging lessons in respect of partnership support?

Whilst the examples above have illustrated that collaboration between the sectors is possible, partnerships are clearly lacking in the cities studied. For example, in Dar es Salaam: “...there is no dialogue between key actors, thus critical issues in the public transport service sector have not been resolved.” This quote emphasizes that a first step to partnership is dialogue. The authors of the Dar es Salaam report conclude that as a result of the lack of dialogue, stakeholders tend to blame each other for the problems that they have to suffer. Without shared perspectives, little will move forward. A similar experience emerges from the study of Colombo. However, there are no partnership arrangements current in respect of transport provision/infrastructure and hence little appears to be undertaken to address needs. In Karachi and Faisalabad, some experience of collaboration exists, although there remains a need to strengthen and deepen existing initiatives and create new ones.

As argued in the Dar es Salaam report, it is the role of the state to “...provide a platform for the various stakeholders in the sector (including operators and users) to meet and exchange views and derive opinions for addressing problems facing the sector.” Whilst partnership arrangements may then occur between interested parties, the prime responsibility of bringing groups together should be taken by government (in the absence of another instigator). To realize a sustainable partnership requires that there is a champion to bring the parties together over an issue that can be successfully addressed.

However, more than a simple bringing together of different stakeholders is needed. In Faisalabad, for example, in a discussion with 16 drivers it emerged that only one had studied traffic rules and regulations. However, the majority of the group were not satisfied with the implementation of traffic rules and thought that there should be greater enforcement. Such contradictions need to be identified and suitable proposals put forward. Operators in this city recognized that service delivery would be improved through partnerships, especially those between three groups: public-private, private-private, and banks-public/private.

Partnerships are means to an end rather than an end in itself. Partnerships have to provide perceived benefits and incentives both for partners and service users. Thus issues of equality and equity become relevant. Equality is necessary between parties, so that they are treated on an equal par and without being disempowered by the agreement.

11 CONCLUSIONS

A better understanding is required of the inter and intra-linkages of public transport and its impact on other services required by the poor to sustain their livelihoods. This can be assisted through relationships being established between several agencies/organisations which can lead to formal and informal partnerships being developed. Partnering will support the vast urban poor communities living throughout the urban developing world as they identify and develop livelihood strategies under existing structures, processes and constraints observed in three representative cities of the developing world namely: Colombo, Dar es Salaam and Faisalabad.

At the present time there is a lack of understanding about how such partnerships function to deliver transport services and what can be done to support and strengthen such relationships in order to improve accessibility and quality of public transport. The Guidelines to be published in November 2003 by WEDC contribute to the knowledge base by focusing on a number of issues at both the policy and operational levels. Clearly, identifying key stakeholders, understanding roles, and responsibilities and analysing the working linkages and mechanisms used to deliver public transport services is fundamental. Existing partnerships can then be strengthened and new ones created and developed to ensure that all stakeholders including users, regulators, administrators, planners and operators are included and all view points considered.

The lack of a partnering approach seems to be an exacerbating factor in worsening the situation of access and quality of public transport in developing countries. Partnering approaches and not the form of
partnering needs in depth consideration by policymakers and practitioners. The informal private sector in many developing countries is one of the key resources to improve access throughout the developing worlds.

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APPENDIX 1. BACKGROUND DATA ON CITIES IN STUDY

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<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Pop (est 2000)</th>
<th>Rate of urban growth 1996 - 2000</th>
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<td>Colombo</td>
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<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
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<tr>
<td>Faisalabad</td>
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*Estimate for 1999