

Running head: THE CHALLENGES BUS PASSENGERS FACE

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

EXPLORING THE CHALLENGES OF LARGE BUS AND MINIBUS THAT PASSENGERS
FACE IN GAMBELLA REGION: THE CASE OF MAKUEY, WANTHOWA AND ITANG
SPECIAL WOREDA

A Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for Degree of Master of Social Work (MSW)

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JUNE 25, 2016

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RESEARCH AND GRADUATE PROGRAMS

Exploring the Challenges of Large Bus and Minibus that Passengers Face in Gambella Region:

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Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to express my deepest thank to Almighty God for protected me from political issue which I am not interested to mention in the paper.

Next, I would like to express my genuine appreciation to my advisor Dr. Meseret Kassahun for her unlimited and continuous technical support, critical comments and guidance throughout the study. I am very much grateful for her constructive advice.

I would also like to thank the administrators of Gambella Transport and Road Development Bureau, and the administrators of Matar Council Bureau for financial support they provided during the study.

I would also like to thank teacher Bidong Gony for the week I spent at his home in Matar.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my uncle Peter Lual, cousin Buay Peter Panoum and brother Eng. Gatbel Buony, cousin Nyawal Ruach and my wife Mana James for all the contributions they made during my study. This is the result of our work, not my work alone!

I am certain that this piece of acknowledgements will always show that you are parts of my history.

Abstract

This comprehensive study on the challenges bus passengers face in Gambella will create good work environment for Gambella transport authorities by providing them with new and valuable information to help them better understand the challenges bus passengers face. The study objectives were to describe the affordability, acceptability of bus transport services and to explore the availability and accessibility of bus transport service as well as to investigate the challenges bus passengers face. The researcher had used qualitative approach with case study methodology and cross-sectional study design. The finding of the study showed that there is a huge demand of improvement on bus transit system in the three selected woredas. When I analyzed the point of views of bus passengers, views of transport authorities and cases, the study exposed that the current status of bus transport service in Wanthowa, Makuey and Itang special Woreda demands huge improvement. Large buses and minibuses are overcrowded; passengers pay unauthorized transit price and pay illegal tax to police, special force and militias at checkpoints. Besides, there are no waiting shelters and toilet rooms at bus stations and there is poor traffic management. Not only this, wuyallas/porters use to abuse bus passengers at bus stop or bus station at any time of a day. To improve bus transport services provision, I had provided practical recommendations. I believed that when the recommended strategies are effectively implemented, there would be effective bus transit system in the region, particularly, Wanthowa, Makuey and Itang Special Woreda.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AA	Addis Ababa
AACA	Addis Ababa City Administration
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
GPNRS	Gambella People's National Regional State
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
M&E	Monitoring and evaluation
PT	Public Transport
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SSATP	African Transport Policy Program
WDR	World Development Report
¶	Paragraph

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Chapter One

1.1. Introduction

Public transport or mass transit is a shared passengers transport service which is available for use by the general public, as distinct from modes such as taxicab, carpooling or hired buses which are not shared by strangers without private arrangement, (“public transport”, ¶1). Public transport is significant because it provides services to those who do not have their own cars. The Partnership on Sustainable, Low Carbon Transport (2010) also assured that transport plays a key role in providing access to markets, jobs, education, health care and services. World Bank (2004) also stated that without improved access and strengthened transport infrastructure, achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, especially poverty reduction is unlikely.

In Gambella, passengers to and from Makuey and Wanthowa woredas, traveled by two modes -buses and boats during summer season. These buses and boats transport services are provided by private operators who are under pressure to be financially self-supporting. Though road and water transport services are used, road transport is regularly served in both winter and summer seasons. Travelling by boat is rare, costly, time-consuming, tiresome, and dominated by loading commodities. Bus transport on the other hand is cheap and it takes shorter time to reach the destination compared to boat travel. Due to this, majority of passengers to/from the above mentioned woredas prepare to travel by bus than to travel by boat.

At the beginning of 2014, boats’ transit was stopped due to an eruption of current civil war of South Sudan because majority of boats’ owners are South Sudanese who used to take goods from Ethiopia to their country. As a result, road transport remains the only mode of transportation for passengers to/from Itang, Makuey and Wanthowa woredas. Besides, the war has displaced hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese to Gambella, Ethiopia and it has put

pressure on the transport system of the region. According to UNHCR report in April 10 (2015), there are 251,172 South Sudanese refugee population in Gambella. This recent increases of refugee population in Gambella is used as an opportunity by bus operators to mistreat and overcharge passengers. The recent population increase together with the recent ethnic conflict between Nuer and Anyuak had imposed different challenges on bus passengers.

1.2. Statement of the problem

The studies conducted on public transport have given less attention to the views of bus passengers than the views of officials and other stakeholders. For examples, Hendra (2009) had conducted study on service quality in public transport in Trans Jakarta by using qualitative approach and found that passengers complained about queuing time for ticket; waiting time for bus, bus capacity, and physical condition of the bus, unfriendly service personnel, bus drivers, cleanliness and security on bus. Though he came up with that findings, he obtained his data only on the internet media that is official website and mailing list of the Trans Jakarta Bus users, and suggested future researchers to carry out data collection process through direct interview about the perceptions and expectations of passengers towards the service of Bus and what they feel when they use the service.

Sultana (2013) had carried out a study on efficiency analysis of public transit systems in Bangladesh by using the same approach (i.e. qualitative approach) and found that there is no formal institutional arrangement particularly for public transit sector, poor road infrastructure specifically less road space was found to be the most important challenges according to the interviewed stakeholders. The gap in Sultana study is that he only included the stakeholders concerned with transit operation and policy making leaving out one of the most important

stakeholders, which is a transit user. Like Hendra, he also recommended the future researcher to include bus passengers so that they may offer different views on bus transport.

In Ethiopia, Genet (2007) had conducted study by using qualitative approach and he stated that poor face enigmatic pressure since they depend on the bus to get to the market, job, health centers and other socio-economic activities and shared-taxis prefer for only few destinations in that area because people are willing to pay higher transport fares unfairly set by the service providers. Genet obtained his data from authorities in Addis Ababa City Administration and the Federal transport Authority. He employed observation and secondary data to support the results of the interview. Meshesha (2014) had also conducted study in Addis Ababa by using qualitative approach and stated that the existing public transportation system of Addis Abba could not satisfy demand.

Unlike Hendra, Sultana, and Genet, Meshesha study relied more on secondary data such as Addis Ababa transport plan, transport policy of Addis Ababa, annual report, evaluations, research report, books, journals, articles, government policy and websites. He used primary data as supplementary. Like the above researchers, he obtained his primary data from public authorities that have jurisdiction on urban transport. He had ignored the views of services' users.

By taking exclusion of passengers' analysis of transport problems as a gap, I decided to conduct all-encompassing research on the challenges bus passengers encounter by interviewing commuters directly rather than focusing on secondary data and the views of transport authorities, policymakers and bus drivers. Another gap, all of the above studies were conducted outside of Gambella Region. Therefore, I want to see bus transportation problems in Gambella. I have searched studies conducted on bus transport in Gambella in order to look at their findings, approaches and methodologies; however, I did not get any research conducted on bus transport

in Gambella while there are problems. In Gambella, for instance, the administration of bus transport is loosely run by circumstances, drivers and “wuyallas” who dictate unfair transport prices and unfair price for belongings. Passengers to and from Itang special Woreda on the other hand share buses with 100,783 thousands South Sudan refugees who recently settle in Tierkitdi and Kule refugee camps according to (UNHCR report April 10, 2015). This recent increase of population is used as an opportunity by bus drivers to overcharge bus passengers. This situation signifies an urgent need to hear the views of bus passengers regarding challenges they face and make improvement on bus transport system by providing safe and secure transit system for the benefit of passengers. Therefore, I am interested to bring the issue to the attention of transport authorities by describing the challenges bus commuters face and write recommendations to improve practical and political actions that mainly focus on securing the rights and safety of bus passengers.

1.3. Significances of the study

This comprehensive study will create good work environment for transport authorities by providing them with new and valuable information to help them better understand the challenges bus passengers face. It benefits the administrators and policy makers by using the findings of the study as a basis of taking further actions and formulating new plans to strengthen bus services provision. The study also provides top politicians of the region with more information for discussion making process on improving bus services provision and alleviation of the problems bus passengers encounter. This in turn will benefit all passengers-old, children, women and disabled people that are vulnerable to the challenges. Finally, the study will fill the gaps identified and it will serve as a reference for individuals or organization researchers.

1.4. General objective

The general objective of this study was to describe the overall challenges faced by passengers of large bus and minibus by assessing the affordability, availability, accessibility and acceptability of bus transport services in the three selected woredas.

1.5. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this study were to:

1. describe the affordability and acceptability of bus transit price.
2. explore the availability and accessibility of bus transport service.
3. investigate the challenges bus passengers face

1.6. General Research Question

Is bus transport service affordable, available, accessible and acceptable to the community in Gambella region, particularly, Itang special Woreda, Makukey and Wanthowa Woreda?

1.7. Specific Research Questions

1. To describe affordability and acceptability of bus transit price

Is bus transit price affordable to passengers?

2. To explore the availability and accessibility of bus transport service

Is bus transport available and accessible to the community?

3. To investigate the challenges bus passengers face

What are the challenges large bus and minibus passengers encounter?

1.8. Description of the Study Area

Gambella People's National Regional State (GPNRS) is one of the nine regional states which constitute the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). The Region is located in the western part of the Ethiopia and it border's with South Sudan to the west, Oromia to the east,

Benishangul-Gumuz to the north and SNNPR in the south. It lies between $7^{\circ} 13''$ - $8^{\circ} 17''$ latitude and $33^{\circ} 52''$ $02''$ longitude. The regional capital, Gambella, is 767 km to the south west direction of Addis Ababa. The region has total area of approximately 29,782 km² with latitude ranging from 300 to 2,300 meters above sea level. Its annual rainfall varies from 900 to 2100 mm. The average mean temperature reaches a daily maximum of 27⁰c to 33⁰c. The hottest period is from February to April.

Based on 2007 Census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSA), Gambella Region has total population of 307,096, consisting of 159,787 men and 147,309 women; urban inhabitants' number 77,925 or 25.37% of the population with an estimated area of 29,782.82 square kilometers. The Gambella Region is mainly inhabited by various Nilotic ethnic minority populations (Nuer 46.66%, Anuak 21.16%, Mezhenger 4%), Komo and Opo as well as some Omotic groups (Kafficho 5.04%, Shakacho 2.27%), Afro-Asiatic populations (Amhara 8.42%, Oromo 4.83%, Kambaata 1.44%, Tigray 1.32%), and other ethnic groups predominantly from southern Ethiopia 4.86%. Nuer is spoken as a first language by 48.35%, 22.02% speak Anuak, 11.11% Amharic, 4.85% Oromiffa, 4.65% Kafa, 2.48% Shak.

Nations and Nationalities: Gambella People National Regional State is inhabited by the five indigenous ethnic groups and other nationalities that are distinguished by the name highlanders. The five indigenous ethnic groups are Anywaa, Nuer, Majang, Komo and Opo.

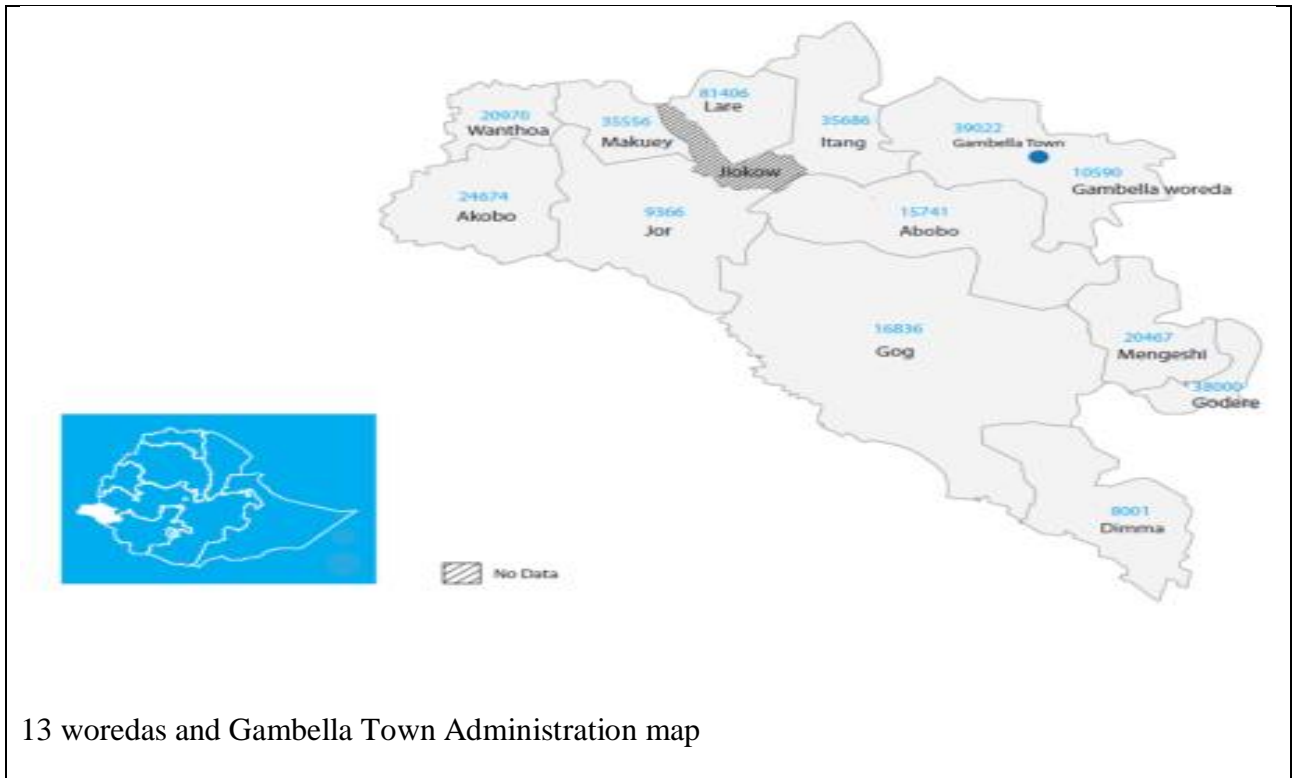


Figure 1: Map of Ethiopia, Gambella Region and its Woredas

Administration: Gambella People National Regional State is divided in to three nationality zones, thirteen woredas, and one town administration. The Anywaa zone consists of Gog, Abobo, Jor, Gambella Zuria, and Dima woredas; Nuer zone - Jokow, Lare, Akobo, Wanthowa and Makuey. Majang Zone- consists of Godere and Mengeshi Woredas. In addition, Itang special Woreda and Gambella Town Administration are part of the region's administration. They all comprise a total of 258, rural Kebeles.

1.9. The scope and delimitation of the study

Although it is essential to select Woreda (s) from each zone in order to carry out the study on the challenges bus passengers encounter throughout the region, geographical location of other two zones, (i.e. Majang and Anyuak zones) and lack of studies conducted in the area of transportation in Gambella Region have limited the scope of this study. As a result, the study had focused on Itang Special Woreda, Makuey and Wanthowa woredas in Nuer zone. Itang Special Woreda is

selected because bus passengers to and from Itang share buses with South Sudan refugees who live in Tierkitdi and Kula refugee camps. These South Sudanese refugees do not speak Amharic which is a language used by bus drivers. Besides, most of them are women and children. This scenario had helped the researcher find unique challenges that bus passengers face. Bus passengers to Makuey and Wanthowa woredas like passengers to Itang travel together because those woredas are situated on one main road. Therefore, it was feasible to conduct study on them simultaneously.

Finally, the affordability, availability, accessibility and acceptability of bus transport services was limited remarkably on bus passengers' points of views though the views of bus service providers as well as the views of transport authorities are included. I had exceedingly focused on the views of passengers. Limitation of the scope was considered throughout data gathering and data analysis. I had worked carefully and in-depth without losing sight of the scope and the research objectives. In addition, the sample population was limited to bus passengers, transport authorities and experts, traffic police, porters and bus drivers of the study woredas. The capacity to generalize the findings to the region and beyond its borders was also limited.

1.10. Operational definition

Wuyallas: Wuyallas are young men who load properties on bus, keep passengers on queue and sell tickets for seats' numbers to the passengers according to their own fixed price which they add on transport authority's fixed bus transport fare. They are also paid by bus drivers for keeping people on queue. Wuyallas are porters in English but their activities in this context are beyond the activities of porters.

Highlander: Highlander is a term used for other Ethiopians who are not indigenous of Gambella.

1.11. Thesis structure

The thesis structure is presented in order to guide the reader through this thesis and to give a quick outline of the different chapters. Chapter one presents the introduction, the identified research problem, significances of the study and objectives. Again, research questions, description of the study area, the scope and delimitation of the study are presented in the same chapter. In chapter two, literature review is thoroughly presented. In this section, conceptual framework and findings of different researchers that support this study were described. The emphasis of literature review was on identification of gaps and road transport's problems. Chapter three is about methodology, research design, sample size, sampling technique, methods of data collection, methods of data Analysis, quality assurance of data and ethical consideration. In chapter 4, research finding is presented and discussed. The last chapter or chapter five focus on recommendations and implication of this study on social work profession. Before references, I had suggested areas of research for future researchers.

Chapter Two

2.1. Literature Review

2.2. Accountability in Public Services: Conceptual Framework.

This study had used Social Accountability as its framework. Accountability can be defined as the obligation of power-holders to account for or take responsibility for their actions. Power-holders refers to those who hold political, financial or other forms of power and include officials in government, private corporations, international financial institutions and civil society organizations (CSOs) World Bank Sourcebook (2005).¹

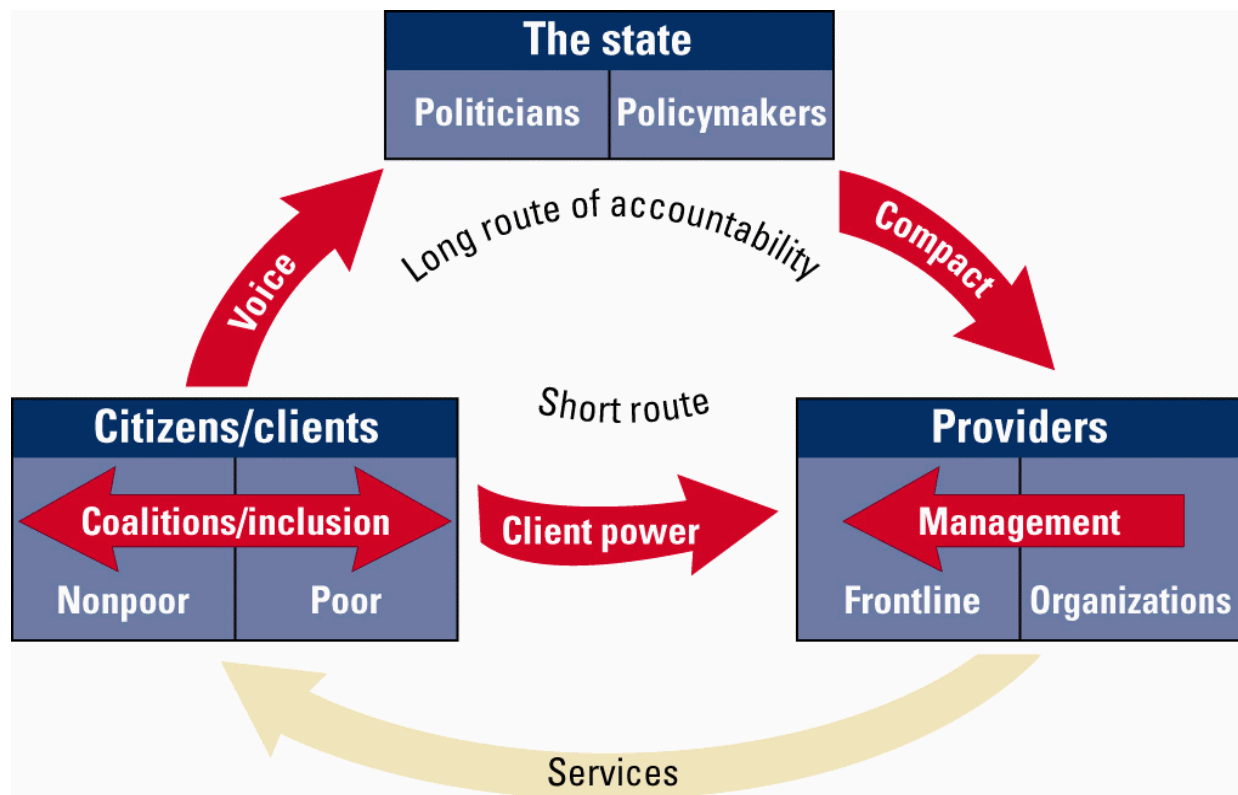


Figure 2: The WDR 2004 Accountability Framework

¹ Social Accountability Sourcebook is made available at (<http://www-esd.worldbank.org/sac/>).

The 2004 World Development Report (WDR) argued that the key to making services work for poor people is to strengthen relationships of accountability between policymakers, service providers and citizens. According to the WDR 2004 framework (Figure 2), successful service delivery requires relationships in which citizens can have a strong voice in policymaking with politicians and bureaucrats (voice), clients can monitor and discipline providers (client power), and policymakers can provide the incentives for providers to serve clients (compact). Bano (2012) stated that genuine cooperation thrives on incentives that are non-material in nature or what are called psychosocial needs. These non-material motivations include such needs as “a good reputation”, “trust” and “reciprocity”. They lead individuals and groups or organizations into different types and levels of co-operation – or non-cooperation where they are lacking and multiple configurations of accountabilities.

Accountability is most commonly associated with punishment. Punishment is an absolutely crucial element of accountability. With human nature, punishment is indeed necessary to assure honest, fair and effective behavior. The problem of course is that excessive punishment tends to corner public officials into a state of fear and paralysis. While this may be positive from the perspective of rule-following it is often counter-productive from the perspective of improving government performance. This is because we tend to associate social mobilization with anger and protest, with social movements that challenge the state and try to punish government officials for malfeasance or for taking particular policy directions. Such actions are indeed important. Nevertheless, social accountability is also effective when it is grounded in constructive partnerships between civil society and the state. (John, 2005.p.13)

Across the world, citizens often demand better services. Not by shouting, but by counting. Making sure their governments spend effectively, and keep their promises (World Bank, 2004a). Problems with the provision of public services have been the result of broken lines of accountability at various points along the public policy making, implementation and monitoring chain of delivery. Such lines of accountability are defined in the WDR in terms of the “long route” and “short route” to accountability. The political process citizens try to use to influence politicians is called “citizen voice”—the long route’s first “leg.” The relationship between politicians/policymakers and service providers is the second leg of the long route—“the compact.” Many of the government’s current initiatives to improve accountability focus on this leg. The short route—the third leg— considers how citizens act as clients of public services. The reaction of citizens can directly pressure the service providers to ensure efficient delivery—we call this “client power.” Accountability is strongest when both the long and short route to accountability works.

A growing body of research demonstrates that “getting these accountability relationships right” is the key to improving public services for the poor/citizens. Getting it right means that accountability relationships are all working properly, reinforcing each other as a public service delivery system.² Hendra (2009) acknowledged that the substance of government is to serve the society. Government is not held to serve itself, but to serve society and create conditions that

² For more on accountability relationship between authorities, service providers and citizens, you can see: Anwar Shah (2005) Public sector governance, and accountability series: the World Bank 1818 H Street NW Washington Dc 20433. World Development Report (2004) Making Services Work for poor people, World Bank, Washington, DC and Acosta, A.M., and Joshi and R. Graeme (2013) Democratic Accountability and Service Delivery.

allow each member of the society to develop their ability and creativity in order to reach the goal together. By taking bus transport as public service, I took transport authorities as policymakers or politicians, bus operators and wuyallas as service providers and bus passengers as citizens whose their views regarding the services they receive can influence politicians and service providers to improve bus services provision in order to build a sustainable public transport system. Hendra (2012) stated that reliability of transportation as a public service should be reviewed from the aspect of social justice and should focus on the development of public transport that is convenient, safe and cheap in order to optimize the accessibility of society.

2.2.1. Democratic Accountability in Public Service Delivery

According to World Bank (2004) we can say that there is democratic accountability in service delivery when citizens or their representatives question or provide feedback on a public service, and the political actors and service providers either act on that feedback or face consequences. A fundamental assumption is that the practice of accountability mechanisms in a democratic system ensures that public officials provide services of the highest possible standard to the people or face consequences if they fail to do so. When officials are held accountable and democratic principles are observed, there is a better chance that service provision will improve, in the form of faster, higher-quality or better-implemented services. A fundamental principle of democracy is that citizens have the right to demand accountability and public actors have an obligation to be accountable. Elected officials and civil servants are accountable for their conduct and performance. In other words, they can and should be held accountable to obey the law, not abuse their powers, and serve the public interest in an efficient, effective and fair manner.

Accountability of public officials is the cornerstone of good governance and democracy.³ By involving citizens in monitoring government performance, demanding and enhancing transparency and exposing government failures and misdeeds, social accountability mechanisms are potentially powerful tools against public sector corruption. In addition to improved government, social accountability empowers citizens.

There are several core elements or building blocks that are common to most social accountability approaches. These include (i) accessing information, (ii) making the voice of citizens heard, and (iii) engaging in a process of negotiation for change.⁴

Accessing or generating relevant information and making it public is a critical aspect of social accountability. Building credible evidence that will serve to hold public officials accountable often involves obtaining and analyzing both supply-side information from government and service providers and demand-side information from users of government services, communities and citizens. Another key element of social accountability is giving voice to the needs, opinions and concerns of citizens – helping government to better understand citizen priorities and how to better serve citizens. Important strategies for strengthening citizen voice include creating spaces for public debate and platforms for citizen-state dialogue, building citizen confidence and rights awareness, facilitating the development of coalitions and alliances

³ See the public sector governance section of the World Bank website at <http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector> and <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance>

⁴ These core building blocks are taken from the Civic Engagement Analytical Framework, an analytical tool designed by the Participation and Civic Engagement Group of the World Bank to assess the conditions for civic engagement.

that can speak with a strong, united voice, and making strategic use of (or helping to develop) both modern and traditional forms of media.

The most crucial and challenging element of a social accountability strategy is to be able to elicit a response from public officials and achieve real change. Negotiation processes may be ad hoc or institutionalized. They can take the form of direct citizen-state interaction, for example, community level meetings with government officials or indirect, mediated forms of consultation and negotiation. In negotiating change, citizens groups employ a range of both informal and formal means of persuasion, pressure, reward and sanction. These include creating public pressure (e.g., media campaigns and public meetings) or when necessary, resorting to formal means of enforcement (e.g., legal and judicial processes).

2.3. Public transport in developing countries

Many studies conducted on public transport revealed different problems in public transport in developing countries. For instance, Tahmasseby (2009) stated that public transport service variations affect traveler's departure time and route choice behavior directly, and mode choice and destination choice in the long run. Aidoo, Agyemang, Monkah and Afukaar (2013), Imam, Islam, Chowdhury, Sumann & Ahmed (2014) have conducted study on passengers' satisfaction on bus transport. The examination of the literature provide some interested results: Behavior of personnel and specifically behavior of bus driver, frequency of services, reliability of services as well as time and particularly waiting time seemed to be the most crucial factors affecting customer satisfaction within other. World Bank (2002b) also stated that the existing public transport capacities in developing countries do not satisfy the demand. The quality of travel on public transport is poor, roads are badly maintained and managed; cost of travel is high for the poor to make regular use of public transport. Thus, transport planers should provide a

framework within which the poor and the less poor use the public transport with more confidence and comfort.

2.4. Problems and challenges of public transport

Abiero (1998) identified that public transportation is facing various problems resulting in the inefficiency of the system and deterioration of the services. The main causes of urban public transport problems in Nairobi include: inadequacy and lack of proper maintenance of the transport infrastructural facilities; concentration of a lot of economic activities, employment, and other activities within the central area. Something as simple as a poor street layout can minimize the success of BRT. Inadequate supply of public transport services to meet the high and increasing demand, low efficiency in traffic management and operations of the modes of public transport. Those weaknesses of management and operation that he came up with implied that passengers face several challenges.

Genet (2007) found that commercial activities in Saris area in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia are held at the edge of the main road and aggravate the congestion and pollution problems of Saris and the surrounding by encroaching the path way and blocking mobility of goods, people and vehicles especially at morning and evening pick hours. FDRE Ministry of transport (2011) also briefed that transport studies conducted in Addis Ababa indicated that there is a big gap between public transport demand and supply. The service standard is also low. Old neighborhoods are far from the main roads and expansion areas of the city are not well served by public transport. Oktiani (2009) expressed that serious problem of transport in Indonesia is associated with road space encroachment. Pedestrian facilities are normally misused by street vendors and/or parked motorcycles which force pedestrians to walk on the roads. In some cases, market activities may use part of the road, narrowing the effective width used by traffic. This finding indicated that

pedestrians and passengers face challenges of walking on the main road which may lead them to encounter accidents. UK Department for Transport (2009) reported that young people (mostly male) involved in assaulting behavior, theft, vandalism and criminal damage are a problem for public transport users. Niels (2011) confirmed that when a vehicle is delayed and the headway is longer, the number of passengers will be larger than the expected average per vehicle. This additional number of passengers may lead to capacity problems in the vehicles that make more people to stand or not to enter the vehicle at all. In this case, crowding may occur if passengers miss a vehicle (due to early departure for instance) and board the next vehicle (which is not too early). In 2011, according to Niels, the extension of average travel time, the variability of travel time and the decreased probability of finding a seat may all lead to the following changes in choice behavior of passengers. Passengers change their departure time; passengers change their origin stop; passengers change their destination stop; passengers change their route (other line, less or additional transfers); external (options outside the public transport system) passengers change their mode; passengers change or cancel their journey. Therefore, this service unreliability in public transport drives away existing and prospective passengers. O'bannon (2011) studied that Bogotá bus system was not meeting the needs of the people. People (passengers) became frustrated with the overall efficiency of public transit and demanded more from their city officials. In fact, as time went on without any improvements to the bus system, people just stopped traveling by bus, but this was not due to lack of commuters.

2.5. Challenges women face on public transport

It is widely acknowledged that women's travel patterns are different from men's, and these differences are characterized by persistent inequalities. Within any given urban setting, women have inferior access to both private and public means of transport while at the same time

assuming a higher share of their household's travel burden and making more trips associated with reproductive and caretaking responsibilities" (Peters 2013). Globally, women specific barriers to safe public transport include fear and experiences of sexual harassment and violence while accessing and using public transport. Overcrowding, lack of space and information, delay or unreliable public transport services have a disproportionately higher impact on women than men. Trips made by women are typically characterized by off-peak hour trips, trip chaining i.e. grouping multiple activities and/or destinations into a single trip, higher probability of carrying packages or being accompanied by dependents (UN Women 2010). These factors make women even more vulnerable to harassment as standard public transport services do not account for them and thus cater to these trip characteristics. In addition, the complex household and caretaking responsibilities of women usually force them to make multiple stops even in a chained trip. In 2013, Peters stated that this makes the trip costlier for women as they may have to pay numerous single-fare tickets during such a chained trip. As women's travel is characterized by trip chaining, the most predominant mode of travel for low-income women in developing countries is walking. The off-peak and peripheral public transit routes that women depend on for their travel to shopping or social facilities have less priority than the radial commuter corridors that connect directly to the city Centre. It is well documented that women often face sexual harassment and violence during their daily commutes, particularly in countries with extreme levels of gender inequality.

2.6. Challenges older and impaired passengers face

Help Age International (2002) affirmed that lack of adequate, accessible and affordable transport creates a real barrier to older women and men to access basic social services. Older people in Kenya spoke of the problems they face in reaching health facilities and how this results

in their preferred use of herbalists and traditional healers who are cheaper and present in most villages. They stated that health facilities are far from where they live and due to their weak bodies, they do not have energy to walk long distances. Sometimes they use bicycles and wheelbarrows to ferry the sick to hospitals. Another problem facing older people in public transport is that they suffer from age-related abuse when using public transport. According to Help Age International (2002) older people in Zimbabwe spoke of being pushed and shoved by other passengers, which discouraged them from using public transport when they could afford to. Forschung and Beratung (2007) confirmed that older people have needs that are different from impaired persons. Impaired passengers expect improved physical accessibility, but senior persons expect improvement on safety and security and understandable information/ease of use. They pay more attention on behavior of staffs and other passengers. Whilst the problems of impaired passengers mainly concern technical level (physical accessibility), seniors hamper more on societal, psychological and cognitive issues. Therefore, an advance understanding of accessibility is required. According to Carruthers, Dick and Saurkar (2005) any comprehensive approach to improving public transport from a user's perspective should address all four of these parameters.

2.7. Affordability

Carruthers et al (2005) declared that affordability refers to the extent to which the financial cost of journeys put an individual or household in the position of having to make sacrifices to travel or the extent to which they can afford to travel when they want to. While a family on a low income (say in the bottom quartile of the income distribution) might be able to afford the necessary journeys to work for the income owners of the family, they might not be able to afford trips to school for their teenage children, or for their children to visit a grandparent

in hospital. For such a family, urban transport would, by most standards, be considered unaffordable. So affordability can be considered as the ability to make necessary journeys to work, school, health and other social services, and make visits to other family members or urgent other journeys without having to curtail other essential activities.

2.7. Availability

Availability of transport is used to refer to route possibilities, timings and frequency. Whatever the purposes of an individual's journey, be it education, work, leisure, personal services, or another, her/his activities are constrained by the route and the time taken traveling. Even if an individual has a bus stop within a reasonable distance, say 400 meters of their home (the most common measure of public transport accessibility), the amount of use it will be to any individual entirely depends on where he/she wants to go, how often, and how long the whole journey is going to take. Furthermore, a bus stop 400 meters away from home, particularly one with no seats or shelter, or one which can only be reached by crossing a major traffic artery, may be of little use to a person with, for example, a weak heart or knees, heavy shopping, or young children. Timings and frequency are included since if there is no service when a person wants to travel, there is no available transport. This measurement of suitable distance depends on how the researcher and people perceive the truth and fact. Because I believe that fact and reality depend on individuals' definitions of the situation, the availability of bus transport will depend on the interpretations of bus passengers in their social setting.

2.8. Accessibility

Accessibility describes the ease of accessing the bus stop or station, although sometimes these parts of the journey are referred to as part of the "public transport environment". If a walk is intimidating or dangerous, a bus stop at 200 meters distance may be perceived as inaccessible

to a fit 14-year old boy because of the risk of mugging. Accessibility also includes ease of finding out about travel possibilities, i.e., the information function Carruthers et al (2005).

In the realm of transport planning and policies, the term accessibility is used in two different contexts; when referring to people's "closeness" to public transport and disabled person's capabilities to use public transport Kottenhoff (2012). The latter is an issue of public transport vehicle design (low floor decks and its supportive facilities (docking, ramps etc.) which makes it suitable for people of limited flexibility and mobility (disabled, elderly and people with babies in trolleys). On the other hand, closeness is a function of distance which can be explained by spatial arrangement of public transport infrastructure and the built environment and is a question of how far it is from living place to a nearby bus station. Performance indicators of public transport can be grouped in two sets of measures: quality of service and service efficiency and effectiveness Kottenhoff (2012). Quality of service refers to the overall measures and perceived performance of PT from passenger's point of view. It covers various service aspects ranging from measurable entities like walking distance, waiting time, travel time, availability and reliability to more qualitative aspects like comfort and safety Kottenhoff (2012). The total journey time is broken down in to walking distance, waiting time and travel time.

Walking distance refers to the distance from home or work place to a nearby bus stop. It is an indicator of service coverage area. This is one of the most important factors that affect people's decision of using public transport Kottenhoff (2012). A walking distance in the range of 300-500m radius is considered as comfortable walking distance. In low density areas, a walking distance in excess of 500m is acceptable but the maximum should not exceed 1000m). In some culture, 1000m is not far distance.

Waiting time refers to the time passengers spent at stations waiting for a bus. The waiting time is perceived as the most inconvenient/or ‘heavy’ part of the whole journey time. A well-designed bus stop (availability of seats, shelter, information display, telephone, presence of café at close range etc.) can reduce the inconvenience of waiting time. The waiting time is an indicator of the frequency of a bus. To attain acceptable level of service, the average waiting time in developing countries should be in the range of 5-10 minutes, however, depending on the prevailing conditions of PT, it is extended to 10-20 minutes of maximum waiting time (Armstrong et al, 1987 cited by Tesfaye, 2012).

Travel time refer to the time taken from origin to destination while riding (in -vehicle/onboard time). The green standard for acceptable travel/riding time can be 30 minutes or less (Kottenhoff, 2012). Important regional destinations like universities/high schools, major working places, central business districts (CBDs) and medical centers need to be considered in the analysis of travel time.

2.9. Acceptability

Acceptability is another important quality of public transport, whether because of the transport or because of the standards of the traveler. Even if a bus has all the first three qualities, potential travelers may be deterred by the state of the vehicles, lack of personal security on buses or trains, particularly at night, drivers’ attitudes and driving style, lack of waiting facilities and other attributes of public transport travel Carruthers et al (2005).

2.10. Problems related to transport policies

In 2007, Getnet stated that Addis Ababa Transport Authority didn’t have the power to influence the decisions on the land use allocation and the overall master plan preparation by forecasting the travel demand that will be generated as a result. According to Genet one of the

interviewee from the A.A. Master Plan Office revealed that they never had any scheduled meetings with the Transport Authority but only few ad-hoc meetings as the need arise from either side. Genet confirmed this from the side of the Federal transport Authority interviewee who said that the contact should be with the A.A. Roads Authority but not with the Transport Authority. Surprisingly, the objectives of the Transport Authority as stated in Transport Proclamation No. 468/2005, include promoting an efficient, adequate, economical and equitable transport system, ensuring that public transport services are safe and comfortable, and promoting the development of all aspects of transport. In fact, the city did not have any white paper entitled ‘transport policy’ so far but is run by proclamations, regulation and reaction to immediate concerns as curative measures. A very recent proof for that is the regulation that changed the number of passengers allowed to board on shared taxis to relief the pressure and the other that allowed mini buses without blue and white colors to provide taxi services in the city. These rules are not put in black and white but are working ‘well’ by what the authorities call ‘understanding’. These decisions did not involve other stake holders with in the AACA, or other transport experts, but are speculative and desperate decisions by the authorities. This fails the notion of good governance which is an inclusive process that encourages involvement of all relevant stakeholders in decision making from the outset hence not sustainable.

Runji (2015) acknowledged that transport is important as an enabler of development. Within the global development objective of ending extreme poverty and promoting shared prosperity, the transport sector is regarded as essential to development efforts. It is within this context that the SSATP has initiated the review of the past transport policy performance. Its objective is to inform future transport policies, guide institutions and programs in their transport policy processes and provide policy makers with a better understanding of the requirements for

successful policy development and implementation. He further stated that an effective transport policy should be guided by clear objective-to provide direction and help gauge performance.

The effective design of strategies and initiative requires the establishment of clear linkages with the intended policy objectives, as well as appropriate levers that will drive performance during implementation towards these objectives. To be effective, strategies must also be designed in line with available capacities to implement them. Tracking outcomes against intended objectives is critical to understanding the performance of policies and strategies. This also provides an important feedback loop that can inform future policies and strategies.

2.11. The most common barriers to the successful implementation of transport sector strategies in SSA

Runji (2015) affirmed that in most countries, there are too few qualified technical resources. This is generally the case across all transport sector departments but is most acute within road sector departments. There is lack of proper human resource management including the staff recruitment and selection process, career development and provision of training for government staff. All countries included in SSATP review lack the necessary data and information systems to appropriately support their policy development process. In most cases, the basic information available about the road network, for example, is not appropriate for policy formation. This is likely the result of limited institutional capacity with respect to data collection, processing and management. It is also symptomatic of weak governance and overall lack of accountability when information is unavailable to measure the results of policies and government commitment. Effective transport policy performance hinges on an efficient and well-articulated policy process. For that, the transport policy process needs to address a number of pervasive challenges that hinder effective policy design and implementation. The first

challenge is the lack of adequate institutional capacity to effectively implement transport sector strategies. This can be as much about actual capacity constraints-inadequate human and financial resources, poor information and information systems, lack of prioritization frameworks, as it can be a failure in the design of the strategies themselves-if these do not appropriately recognize local realities and related implementation capacity issue. Indeed transport policies will not perform if there is no capacity to implement them. This appears to have been a constraint to many policies in SSA and warrants greater focus if future policies are to succeed. The second challenge is weak monitoring and evaluation of transport policy performance. Without appropriate data and indicators to understand past performance with respect to policy objectives, it is very difficult to develop meaningful transport policies and strategies going forward. In some respects, the lack of an effective M&E process undermines the entire transport policy cycle. Central to the success of future solution is the recognition of local realities and capacity constraints faced by transport policy makers.

2.12. Summary of Literature review

I have presented different challenges that passengers faced in the main part of the literature. Some of the challenges are behaviors of personnel; specifically, behavior of bus drivers, frequency of services, reliability of services as well as time and particularly waiting time seemed to be the most crucial factors affecting customer satisfaction within other. Other challenges are related to the quality of public transportation and cost of trip. The quality of travel on public transport is poor, roads are badly maintained and managed; cost of travel is high for the poor to make regular use of public transport. Women on the other hand face unique challenges. Women specific barriers to safe public transport include fear and experiences of sexual harassment and violence while accessing and using public transport. It is well

documented that women often face sexual harassment and violence during their daily commutes, particularly in countries with extreme levels of gender inequality. Other groups of passengers with unique challenges are older people and impaired people. Older people face challenges of being pushed and shoved by other passengers, which discouraged them from using public transport when they could afford to, but impaired passengers challenges is on physical accessibility. Generally, the literature review part has presented empirical findings of the challenges passengers faced, problems related to transport policy objectives and barriers to successfully implementation of transport strategies.

Chapter Three

3.1. Methodology

I had used qualitative research approach. This qualitative research is designed to explore and describe the challenges bus passengers' experience, the services they receive and the services they expected to receive. Qualitative approaches are typically used to explore new phenomena and to capture individuals' thoughts, feelings, or interpretations of meaning and process.

3.2. Justification of the approach

Every approach is used based on assumptions about how the world is perceived and how we can best come to understand it Zegeye, A. Worku, A. Tefera, D. Getu, M. & Sileshi, Y (2009). The epistemological position of this qualitative approach is interpretative social science theory. Interpretive researchers study meaningful social action, not just the external or observable behavior of people. Social action is the action to which people attach subjective meaning. For interpretive social work researchers, social reality is based on people's definitions of it. A person's definition of a situation tells him or her how to assign meaning in constantly shifting conditions. Interpretive social science researcher sees facts as fluid and embedded within a meaning system in the interpretive approach; they are not impartial, objective, and neutral. Facts are context-specific actions that depend on the interpretations of particular people in a social setting. Therefore, I had analyzed the situations through the direct detailed investigation and observation of passengers in natural settings in order to arrive at understanding and interpretations of the challenges they face. This denotes that I had grasped the reality by analyzing the various perspectives of passengers, transport authorities and bus service providers.

3.3. Case Study

I used qualitative case study methodology to describe types of challenges bus passengers face. I selected worst cases which revealed why, where and how problems occur to help me see the phenomenon through varieties of lenses, not single angle. I had fully analyzed the conditions that the passengers faced based on face-to-face investigation of a person. I did this through an intensive investigation of a challenge that an individual passenger had faced. The selection of the case was driven by the objectives of the study. Therefore, I had selected three worst case events and identified the key issues in them.

3.4. Research Design

This research design explains the time proposed for data collection and the procedures that were pursued throughout the process of the study. I had used a cross sectional study design with purposive sampling to collect data. I had spent one month and half in the field site and had carefully selected three cases to illustrate challenges bus passengers face and analytically studied them in details. I had also reviewed secondary data at transport bureau and different web sites. I did the literature review throughout the study and described what prior researchers found and how this study is linked to them.

The following chart illustrates the logical steps in the course of the research.

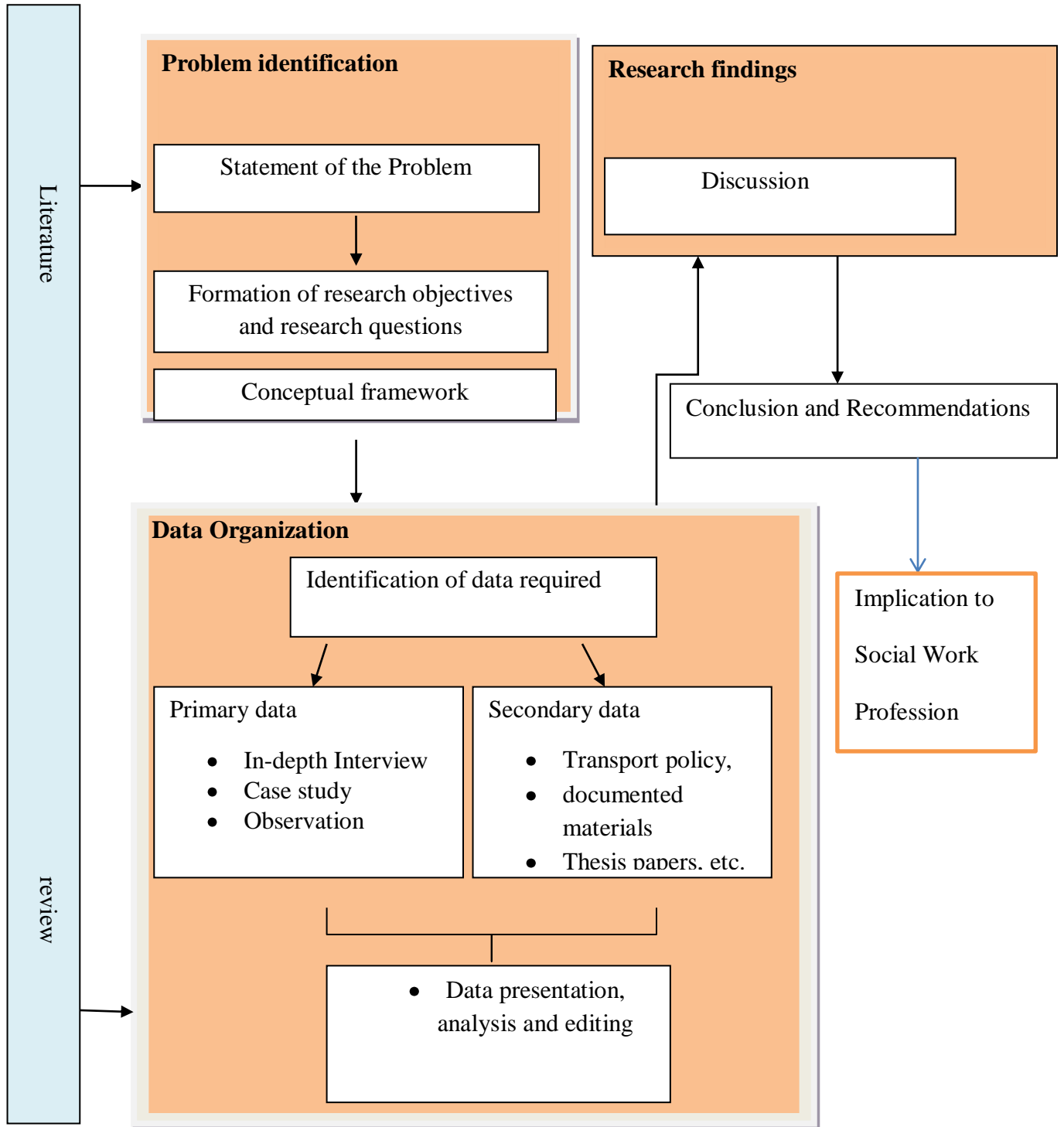


Figure 3: Research Design

3.5. Sample size

There are no fixed rules for sample size in qualitative research, but this does not mean that qualitative researcher should haphazardly explain his sample Zegeye et al (2009). Therefore, the same size proposed for this study was not specified at the beginning. When I went to the field, the sample succeeded with 45 people included the cases. In the field, I conducted 34 in-depth interviews with passengers at Itang, Makuety and Wanthowa, 3 in-depth- interviews with large bus and minibus drivers, 2 in-depth- interviews with traffic police, and 6 in-depth- interviews with transport authorities, officers and experts at Gambella Transport and road development bureau, Matar transport office, and Matar Kebele with ticket providers. The selection of key informants was based on their positions and responsibility in the institutions. I had stopped interviewing research participants after I obtained redundancy (i.e. when there was no new data any more). I can say that the sample of the study was driven by data, not by the number of participants.

3.6. Participants selected procedures

I had used purposive sampling in order to deliberately include the views of males, females, old, young, and disabled people in the study. I chose the participants because they are likely to generate useful data for the study. The participants were identified by their professional roles, experiences, ages and sexes. The primary purpose of using purposive sampling was to gain a deeper understanding and to collect special cases that can deepen my understanding and the understanding of the transport authorities, other researchers and the readers of this thesis.

Before I collected data with the passengers at the station, I had visited Gambella transport and road development bureau and took a permission letter from bureau. I had also interviewed officers to better understand the services provided and the transportation policy of the region.

When I finished with authorities, I went to the bus station and introduced myself to responsible people at the station. At the same occasion, I observed the weather condition, number of passengers on a bus; the way they sit or stand, and the overall physical environment of the station. After I spent one week in Gambella, I had traveled to Itang; then Makuey and Wanthowa woredas in order to interviewed passengers, key informants and observed the challenges bus passengers encounter on the way to their destinations as well as the challenges they encounter at bus stops of those woredas.

3.7. Methods of data collection

I had used different strategies to obtain sufficient data that support the study. The techniques I used are in-depth interview, observation, and review of secondary data to produce heterogeneous data which are likely to provide enough sources of understanding and ways of looking at bus passengers' situations and the service they receive.

3.7.1. In-depth interview

I had used in-depth interview in a form of conversation to deeply explore accurate and detail explanations that are based on personal experiences of the respondents. I developed semi-structured interview questions and I had also asked unstructured interview questions to generate passengers' perspectives about the challenges they encounter. Both semi-structured and unstructured interview questions were also used for transport authorities, drivers, traffic police, and wuyallas. Semi-structured interview was used to probe the data gathered through observation of the situations and the speeches I heard from passengers at the station and on a bus.

In nutshell, I had used tape recording for only three respondents and stopped recoding the speeches of interviewees because majority of research participants were not willing to recode their voices. To avoid or to minimize bias that may occur due to language barriers, I interviewed

bus passengers and key informants who do not speak English in local languages such as Amharic, Anyuak and Nuer. For three participants who had allowed me to record their voices, I had written interviewee code, date and place of interview in order to remember the person. During recording, I used to leave empty space between each speaker so that I could quickly recognize speakers. I also used to take notes to identify words that are unclear on the tape. In every interview session, I used to take detail notes and clarified the notes immediately after the interview. I also used to manage the data carefully. Immediately after each session, I organized tape recordings and prepared the field notes. Because I conducted interview in local languages, I was the only person who did full translation from the original languages to English.

3.7.2. Observation

I had spent as much time as possible in the field site so as to gain access to passengers, bus service providers and describe personal experience and interpretation. Since I conducted the study in natural setting, I observed the situation and described it in the way it occurred. Because bus station is a public place, I did not negotiate with everyone that I was observing the events, but I had asked the permission from those who were in charge at the station and proceed to observation. I had observed what actually people do in the field which is missed during interview or what really support or contradict with what bus passengers say or what transport authorities say they do or what they say they do not do. During observation, I took photo of events so that the pictures could help me remember and describe the incidents accurately.

3.7.3. Secondary data

Secondary data which include transport policy and transport documented transit prices, thesis papers, and different web pages were reviewed to supplement the data collected in a natural setting.

3.8. Data analysis

I had used transcription by converting audio recordings interview sessions into text. I did this by listening to the tape and wrote a verbatim account of everything that the interviewee explained. I did this process of data analysis simultaneously with data collection. Immediately after each session, I used to organize field notes and tape recordings. I did this sort of editing as soon as possible after the interview or observation, preferably on the very day or on the next day. General editing took place in Gambella and in Addis after all schedules have been completed. I had organized the note, ordered it and reduced non-essential details. I did organization and analysis of the data in relation to the objectives of the research or the research questions. I had analyzed ideas, expressions, case studies and viewpoints of research participants and I carefully looked at the logical relationship between them. Besides, I had arranged data in group based on attributes. I placed data with common characteristics in one class and in this way the entire data is divided into a number of groups.

3.9. Quality Assurance of the data

I had checked for representativeness of data. I had surely identified that all categories of informants were interviewed in order to get a complete picture. Again, I had carefully checked the analysis for bias. I had cross checked the data obtained through observation with other divergent source of data. In addition, I had presented the data in the form of extensive written notes to provide very detailed descriptions. Furthermore, I had deliberately sought evidence from a wide range of sources and compared findings from those different sources with my findings. In short, I had used triangulation. I had a crossed all the data obtained from authorities, passengers, drivers, wuyallas, and observation with secondary data to identify the

common issues that reappear, and identify the main themes that summarize all the views I had collected.

3.10. Ethical consideration

When I reached Gambella, I went to Transport and Road Development Bureau and I submitted the letter that I took from Addis Ababa University to Gambella Transport and Road Development Bureau. After I finished data collection, I took a letter from Gambella Transport and Road Development Bureau and submitted it to the department of social work at Addis Ababa University. At every interview session, I used to inform interviewees about the nature and the purpose of the research before interview took place. Again, I had consistently considered the bias that may occur and the safety of key informants and research participants. Because some interview data were recorded, I used to ask the permissions before recording. On the top of this, I had assured participants about ethical principles, such as anonymity and confidentiality. I conducted every interview session in area which was free from distractions and at times and locations that were most suitable for study participants. In addition to this, I took pictures based on the permission of responsible persons at the station. Furthermore, I did not leave any transcript on the ground and I am sure that no-one had accessed my materials. Not only this, I did not take the exact name of any person at all. Generally, I took a necessary precaution to eliminate any bias and at least to minimize any harm to the key informants and to the research participants.

Chapter Four

4. Findings of the study

4.1. Brief Description of research participants

Research participants were identified by their professional roles, ages and sexes. From 34 bus passengers, 25 were females and 10 were males. More females were deliberately interviewed from passengers because all key informants from three selected woredas are males. Regarding their educational background, one person from key informants is master holder, and other officers and experts are degree holders but 2 traffic police were diploma holders. In addition, all the three bus drivers are grade 10 completed. Majority of females' bus passengers I interviewed are dropouts from Grade 7, 5, and 3, but 3 females were diploma holders. From 10 males' bus passengers I interviewed, 1 is a bachelor degree holder, 4 were college students, 3 were diploma holders and 2 were illiterate old men. Three bus' drivers were selected based on their experiences and 3 wuyallas were selected based on their position in porters' private association at Tharpam road intersection. This chapter presented the finding and the discussion of the thesis. The finding is presented by describing the views of all participants, key informants, and by describing the cases in details. In addition to this, data obtained through observation were merged with data acquired through interview. Besides, secondary data was also presented at the end of this chapter.

4.2. Transit fare based on the views of transport authorities and experts

Large bus and mini bus transit fare structure from/to Wanthowa, Makuey and Dok or from Matar to Burebiey is not controlled by transport authorities. This statement is supported by the evident that I gathered from transport authorities. I had interviewed transport authorities, officers and experts, bus and mini-bus drivers so that I could know their views on affordability of

transit price. During interview, transport authorities in woredas and bus drivers disclosed that the transport price from Matar, the main town of Wanthoa to Burebiey Kebele, was 100 birr but now it decreases to 50 birr. The transit price from Makuey to Matar Woreda was 30 birr, 100 birr when refugees were at Lietchuor camp, but now it is 50 birr because refugees were relocated to Jewi camp. The distance between these two woredas is 45 km. This scenario reveals that the transport authorities do not normally fixed rate fare for the route trip between woredas within Nuer zone and between Woreda and its Kebeles. Again, it shows that bus and mini-bus transit price from Woreda to Woreda and from woredas to Kebele is regulated by circumstances and by bus drivers who work for self-benefits, not by transport authorities and experts. For instance, the transit price from Matar and Makuey decreased to 50 birr because refugees were relocated to Jewi and the transport price from Matar to Burebiey decreased to 50 birr due to competition between mini bus drivers and Bajaj drivers, not the intervention of transport authorities according to what mini bus drivers stated.

During the time of this study, the transit fare from Matar to Dok was 80 birr, and the transit price from Makuey to Dok was 30 birr.

A passenger (personal communication March 20, 2016) stated that transport price from Dok to Matar is too high compared with the distance they travel.

When I interviewed transport authorities at Wanthowa Woreda, they acknowledged that transit price between Makuey and Matar is not proposed and controlled by transport authorities.

Transport authorities at Woreda level fear to propose the price because the road from Makuey to Dok is not constructed. The authorities stated that it is difficult to recommend the price because the road from Dok to Makuey is not good. According to transport authorities at Matar Woreda,

the price will be adjusted when the road from Makuey to Dok is rebuilt. This time the transit fare is not suggested to reflect the distances of the route.

Different from the view of transport authorities at Woreda, transport experts at Gambella transport and road development bureau stated that transport authorities at Woreda levels have no authority to propose road transit price. This means that transport authorities and experts in Gambella transport and road development bureau are accountable for not proposed the transit price. The statement of expert at Gambella transport and road development bureau, in another way round, could mean that Gambella road transport policy is not clear to transport authorities and experts at Woreda levels that is why transport authorities at woredas said that they will propose the transit price when the road between Makuey and Dok is constructed while, in the policy, they have no authority to propose transit price.

4.3. Transit fare based on the views of bus drivers

The transit price between Makuey to Matar is 50 birr and the transit price between Matar to Dok is 80 birr because the transport authorities in woredas allowed only large buses to trade on those routes. If minibuses are allowed to trade with big buses, the price can decrease in the same way transit price between Matar and Burebiey decreased from 100 birr to 50 birr due to competition between Bajaj and minibuses, a minibus driver (personal communication, March 26, 2016).

This implies that mini-bus driver believes transit price could decrease as a result of their competitions, not by the plan made by transport authorities. He stated that if mini-buses are allowed to trade with big buses, the transit price from Matar to Makuey and the transit price from Matar/Makuey to Dok can decrease because there could be option for passengers. This mini-bus

driver argued that big bus drivers overcharge passengers because they know that no one controls them and no option for passengers.

He said that if all shops in Matar town are closed but one person is allowed to trade and that person knows that no one controls him from the authorities, he can increase the prices of goods as he wants. This is what large bus drivers do, he explained.

This mini-bus driver claimed that transport authorities at Matar Woreda focus on the benefits of big bus drivers, not the problems that passengers face. He said that if transport authorities consider the challenges bus passengers face, they could not prevent mini-bus drivers from taking passengers to Makuey or Dok when there are no big buses in the town. Mini-bus drivers did not mention anything about lack of road from Makuey to Dok as transport authorities at Woreda claimed to be the main reason why transit price increase.

Big bus drivers on the other hand stated that the road between Makuey and Dok is not rebuilt that is why they increase the price. Besides, they said that mini-buses could take people from Matar to Burebiey and the direction between Matar and Dok could be for big buses because they were the buses that used to take passengers from Gambella to Matar before the main road was abandoned. They claimed that transit price between Matar and Dok is fair because there is no good road.

4.4. Views of traffic police

Traffic police (personal communication, April 2, 2016) stated that whenever passengers are told not to enter in to a bus after a bus is full, they cannot listen. Most of the times, they blame traffic or hid themselves in the forest and wait for a bus at a distance which is far from traffic police. Besides, when they are overcharged by drivers, they do not carry a receipt and give it to traffic. Due to this, it is difficult to punish the driver if there is no receipt.

Traffic police further stated that majority of bus passengers do not know their rights. They pay extra money while they know the fixed transit price. Passengers who know their rights are the same to those who do not know their rights because they do not act on them due to cultural influence. They thought that when a person complains for four birr in a public, the rest of passengers will consider him as a poor man. This is the main reason they do not complain when drivers overcharge them. They consider reaching their destination as more important than the extra money they pay.

4.5. Affordability on passengers' perspective

Bus transit price from Gambella to Makuvey or to Matar is too high while the distance is shorter compared to the distance of the main road, a passenger (personal communication, April 5, 2016).

Passengers claimed, 'Now we pay for kids, we pay 3 birr for ticket at Matar, 80 birr from Matar to Dok, 20 birr from Banyrial to Lare, 40 birr from Lare to Gambella and 3 birr for a seat ticket at Lare bus station.' In a summer, a passenger pays 50 birr for a canoe owner from Banyrial/Mading to Dok. The total cost during winter is 140 or more than 140 birr but it is more than 200 birr in a summer.

Passengers to Itang, however, stated that the transit fare from Gambella to Itang is fixed by transport authorities, but it is not followed by mini bus drivers. The authorities fixed transit price from Gambella to Itang is 25.45 birr but mini bus drivers charge passengers with 30 birr every time of a day. According to the document I reviewed at Gambella Transport and Road development Bureau, Gambella to Itang is 49 km. This document shows that Tharpam to Itang is 9km. Because there are no regular buses and there is no fixed price for Tharpam, passengers to Tharpam pay 30 birr or 40 birr if they take a bus to Itang or a bus to Lare, respectively. Due

to this, many passengers to Tharpam complained that transport authorities should suggest transit fees for passengers to Tharpam even if they do not assigned a regular bus.

According to one officer at Gambella Transport and road development bureau, the reason there is no regular bus for Tharpam is because it is located between Itang and Lare so passengers to Tharpam can take any bus they get. Besides, those who live at Tharpam are refugees.

Another expert in the same bureau disagreed with that explanation. He said if it is because those who live at Tharpam are refugees, why there are regular buses for Jewi while Jewi is refugees' camp? Again, he said that Jewi is located between Gambella and Bonga. If the reason is because Tharpam is situated between Itang and Lare, why does transport bureau assign regular bus for Jewi while there are buses to Bonga and Mettu? The expert further said that there are schools and health centers for citizens who live at Tharpam. The school is from Grade one to Grade ten and it is for citizens. There is no way to say that those who live at Tharpam are refugees. He also stated that Tharpam is 40 km from Gambella so it should have fixed transit price based on the distance.

This second expert said that the problem is within transport bureau. Two years ago, for example, there was no regular bus assigned for Makuey and there was no proposed transit price for passengers to Makuey. As a result, bus passengers to Makuey used to pay the same transit price paid by Matar passengers. Makuey is 120 km before Matar and Matar is 165 km from Gambella. There was no convinced reason for passengers to Makuey to pay the same transit price with passengers to Matar. This is the same situation that passengers to Tharpam face at present. The same expert said that even if there is no

regular bus assigned for Tharpam, transport bureau should propose fixed price for Tharpam.

4.6. Acceptability of large bus and mini bus service

According to passengers, large bus and mini bus transport system in Gambella is not safe and is uncomfortable for all passengers. There is no comfort features on boarding the bus at Gambella bus station or bus stops at Banyrial, and Dok.

Another thing that is not good is attitude of bus drivers and attitude of drivers' assistants, unregulated transit price, lack of toilets and lack of waiting shelters at station. Bus drivers most of the times add transit price, force parents to pay for kids and talk to passengers in a way that does not show any sign of respect. When a passenger reports his claim to a police at the station, the police can tell the passenger to take another bus if he does not agree with the driver. This is the reason we pay what a bus driver demands from us.

Regarding traffic control, many passengers mentioned that there is less traffic safety from Gambella to Itang and zero traffic safety at Matar to Muon and Burebiey, Matar to Makuey, or Makuey to Dok and Banyrial to/from Lare. In short, passengers calmed that there is no traffic control in Nuer zone but there is less traffic safety from Gambella to nearby woredas.

Bus passengers also stated that most of the times, drivers tell passengers to Makuey to reserve seats on Matar's bus, but when the number of passengers to Matar increase, they can drop passengers to Makuey or force them to pay 80 birr which is a transit price of Matar while the transit price of Makuey is 30 birr. This is the same to what bus drivers from Gambella to Lare do to passengers to Tharpam. This sometimes causes quarrel between driver assistant and

passengers who refuse to pay 80 birr from Dok to Makuey and 40 birr from Gambella to Tharpam and refuse to be dropped because they wait for hours.

Because bus at Dok does not depart on time and it sometimes drop Makuey and Jokow passengers, some passengers to Jokow and Makuey do not tolerate waiting when they know that there is no regular bus to Makuey. They walk on foot for a distance I estimated to be more than seven kilometer. I personally wait for a bus for more than two hours at Makuey town but there was no bus. Fortunately, I was taken to Jokow by an ambulance and walked on foot from Jokow to Dok. The walk took me one hour and half. On my way to Dok, I met one highlander with his wife who carried a kid and I asked them why they walked on foot, he told me that the bus was not full and there were few passengers at Dok. The only thing that I would like to repeat here is that the road is used during the conflict between Nuer and Anyuak. It is not the regular road of Makuey and Matar. Besides, it is sometimes used during summer when the main road from Gambella to Makuey and Matar is covered by flood. Due to this recent ethnic conflict between Nuer and Anyuak, Anyuak had abandoned the main road to Itang and go to Itang through Elea. Nuer had also abandoned the main road from Makuey and Matar and the situations had forced them to move through Lare. The same situation had also forced Anyuak to move for a distance of two hours on foot from Elea to Itang.

According to my observation, there is unquestionable human abuse on boarding, at checkpoints and at bus stops. The abuse is carried out by porters at Tharpam road intersection, Banyrial bus stop, Lare bus station, Dok bus stop and even within Gambella bus station. Lare is not part of my research but it is mentioned because bus passengers from Gambella to Makuey and Wanthowa move through Lare during the time of this study and they (passengers) take bus from Lare to Banyrial or from Banyrial to Lare then to Gambella. This happens because the

main road from Gambella to Makuey and Wanthowa was abandoned as a result of recent conflict between Nuer and Anyuak. The finding of my observation is consistent with the finding of interview.

According to bus passengers, there are buses at bus stops and checkpoints. The abuse at bus stations and at bus stops is carried out by porters and bus drivers, but the abuse at checkpoints is performed by police, Special Forces and militias who are assigned at checkpoints for the security purpose.

Ticket providers at Matar town stated that the abuse which was carried out by wuyallas was minimized due to intervention of Woreda administration council bureau, community leaders and traders. They explained that political appointees and the community leaders had conducted five days evaluation of wuyallas activities and their effect on bus passengers and on the community as a whole. During evaluation, they found out that the number of wuyallas had increased to hundreds. Besides, they found that there were some government officials who had involved and worked secretly with wuyallas.

The finding of interview is also consistent with the findings of observation. I observed that buses from/to Banyrial, Lare, Dok, Makuey, Matar and Burebiey are overcrowded in a way that a driver assistant could not have a space to move and collect transport fees from passengers. According to my observation, big buses and mini-buses carry more than twice their maximum capacity of more than 30 to 12 passengers standing in a big bus and in a mini-bus, respectively. When I went to Burebiey by mini bus, we were 23 passengers on a mini-bus that is supposed to carry only 12 passengers. Besides, I travelled by a medium size bus from Banyrial to Lare and more than 50 passengers were on a bus that could carry only 24 passengers. I observed many

passengers stood hanging out their heads through windows. From Matar to Dok and from Banyrial to Lare, I saw a driver of big bus sat among passengers. I saw one person sat on his left hand side and many passengers sat on engine on his right hand side. On a mini bus to Burebiey, I also saw three passengers sat in front seats together with mini bus driver. According to my interpretation, Mini bus front seat is considered the safer place for pregnant women and women who carry infants. This situation is an evident that traffic police in woredas do not consider the safety of bus passengers and the safety of bus drivers. If a bus is overcrowded in such a way, a person may accidentally push the gear shift while the driver attention is on driving. Besides, a passenger's leg may block the driver hand when he wants to catch the break.

At Banyrial, when a bus drops all passengers it brings from Lare, the bus conductor can let wuyallas enter in order to reserve seats that they can sell to passengers. After porters reserved seats, the bus can run and all passengers who wait at bus stop can run after it. As a result, vulnerable passengers such as elderly people, pregnant women, and disabled individuals, women with small children and government officials who feel that it is shame to run after a bus could not get seats because they do not run quickly like others. After a bus is overcrowded, porters can tell those who did not get seats to pay money for the seats they reserved. The price of a seat is started from 10 to 20 birr and the transit fee is 20 birr. After a bus is entirely full, it can run to a distance of 4 to 5 kilometers and stops for a driver assistant to collect transit fees from passengers. Because there is no space for him to move, he can order all passengers who stand to take off and make a line so that he can collect money. After he collected the money, he uses to order them to get in the bus again. This situation is visible to traffic police but they cannot take any action on bus drivers.

A passenger state that there is no need of traffic police in Nuer zone because traffic police see everything that happens but they do not take any action on bus drivers. He described large bus and mini bus transportation as a 'mobile prison.' He said that when a person is on a bus, he cannot have peace in mind. A bus driver can act like a commander and bus assistant acts like a prisoners' guard. We, the passengers, are like prisoners.

Another passenger (personal communication, March 28, 2016), whenever I plan to go to any Woreda in Gambella, I can also plan to fight because I am not happy for things I face on my way.

4.7. Availability of buses

According to my observation, buses from Gambella to Itang are available at any time in a day but buses from Matar to Dok are availability only in the morning hours. Besides, bus from Dok to Makuey or to Matar is not available at the time a passenger wants to leave. During data collection, for instance, there were only three big buses and many mini-buses in Matar Woreda. Bus drivers stated that those Mini-buses were allowed to trade only on the side of Burebiey Kebele and big buses were assigned to work between Matar, Makuey and Dok. Because these three buses are big, they work turn by turn. In a day, two buses take passengers to Makuey and Dok and the third bus waits for the next day. When its turn comes, a bus from the two big buses could park and gives chance to another bus owner. Because these two buses leave at the same times in the morning, passengers who come after they had gone could wait until they return from Dok. Most of the times, a bus may spend four to five hours at Dok. Even though more passengers wait for a bus under tree in Matar, no mini bus could take them to Makuey or to Dok until big buses return from Dok. Though commuters tell driver to leave on time, bus at Dok does not depart on time. One day, a passenger that I left at Dok in order to go to Matar called me

through phone and told me that he was at Dok after I reached Gambella. This suggests that bus at Dok does not depart on time.

Passengers complain about the length of the leaving time of Makuey and Wanthoa bus at Dok bus stop. Bus at Dok sometimes leaves after passengers wait for more than four to five hours. I observed passengers waiting for a bus by washing their clothes and drying them up in the sand and on grasses at the bank of the river.

According to my interpretation, one of the reason bus at Dok does not leave on time is because the bus that take passengers from Dok to Makuey and Matar is twice bigger than the bus that bring passengers from Lare to Banyrial. Due to this, the driver of bigger bus waits for mini-bus of Banyrial to return to Lare more than twice so that there could be more passengers to Makuey and Matar. I interpreted it in that way because I have observed the capacity of both buses that exchange passengers.

4.8. Ticketing system

Bus transit system particularly, large bus, use a ticketing system at every bus stop where a ticket provider sells bus seat numbers with three birr at Wanthowa, three or two birr at Makuey, one birr at Itang and three birr at Tharpam road intersection. Selling tickets of seat number at Tharpam road intersection is used only during ration days because number of passengers from refugees increases during ration days and there is no regular bus for Tharpam.

The price of a ticket for a seat number, the purpose of collecting money from passengers and what ticket providers do with money vary from Woreda to Woreda. Bus passengers said that ticket providers collect money for sport activities but government officials at woredas said that ticket providers collect money for sport purpose when a Woreda is the host of sport tournament.

Because the host of sport tournament uses to collect money from traders, government officials and bus passengers, it becomes a strategy that porters in Makuey, Matar and Lare use at any time to collect three birr from each passenger without the knowledge of government senior officials.

The ticket providers in Itang special Woreda collect one birr from each passenger but they do not tell passengers that they collect money for sport purpose. Ticket providers in Itang special Woreda and Makuey Woreda are wuyallas/porters. In Wanthoa, Matar town, ticket providers at this time are government officials who work in Kebele. Two years ago, tickets providers at Wanthoa Woreda were wuyallas but the responsibility was given to Kebele after porters were dismissed from duty. During this study, I interviewed ticket providers who are government officials about the purpose and what they do with the money. Matar ticker providers (personal communication, March 30, 2016), ticketing system is used to minimize stealing of passengers' properties and to minimize struggling among passengers or pushing of elderly persons, disabled persons and pregnant women. This helps vulnerable passenger to get seats. But, what they do with the money they collect from each passenger was not clear to me though they tried to explain it.

Bus passengers claimed that a bus uses to wait for more and more passengers until it gets no free space for a driver assistant and passengers to walk from seat to seat. This is a mistake of those who work at bus stop or bus station because they should order the bus to leave when it is full.

Based on my observation, every bus has a driver and a helper who remains inside the bus to collect the transit fee from passengers because the money paid at bus stops are for seat numbers, not for a trip. The trip tickets are sold by driver assistant inside the bus. Most of the

times, driver assistants do not provide tickets to passengers. Because passengers know that the authorized transit fare from Gambella to Itang is 25.45 birr, driver assistant just collect money or writes 26 birr on ticket and asks each passenger to pay 30 birr. When a person carries only 26 birr, the driver assistant can drop him/her.

4.9. Challenges related to distribution of the road

Road infrastructure did not reach some Kebeles. For examples, people of Gier Kebele who travel by Makuey or Wanthowa bus use to walk for a distance of 8 Km on foot from Kebele to the main road or from the main road to their residents. Another Kebele called Aju is 5km away from the main road of Makuey and Wanthowa Woreda. People of Gier and Aju Kebele face challenges of walking and carrying their luggage for a distance of 8 and 5 kilometers, respectively. Furthermore, people who live at Dok do not have a road. This is one of the reasons bus drivers who use that route after the conflict between Anyuak and Nuer overcharge passengers. As a result of unevenly distribution of road infrastructures, bus passengers who live in those Kebele face unique challenges. When a bus reached Mading or Banyrial, it drops passengers and passengers can walk on swamp until they reach Dok where they can take a bus to Makuey or to Matar. The roads in Nuer zone, particularly, road to Gier, Banyrial to river bank, Dok to Jokow and Makuey need urgent construction in order to minimize the challenges bus passengers face.

4.10. Lack of basic services at bus station

I had also conducted both observation and interview on access to basic services at bus stations. The responses of bus passengers on how they get access to basic services such as water, toilets and waiting shelters were almost negative. According to passengers, Banyrial is the only bus stop that lack water. I estimated Banyrial/Mading bus stop to be three to four Kilometers

away from Baro River. This bus stop is not inhabited place and it is where the road constructed from Lare to Dok end. Because there are no homes and cafeterias at the end point of the road, the situation has increased the risk of shortage of drinking water since water that passengers carry become hot because they sit in a sunny place.

According to passengers, time seems short when you sit in a comfortable place, not when you wait standing at an unsheltered bus station. Lack of waiting shelters and lack of toilet rooms at every bus stations make conditions of waiting seems longer and uncomfortable. Waiting shelters for commuters is intended to create a more comfortable waiting environment by providing protection from rain and sun. Despite this, there are no waiting shelters and toilets at Gambella bus station and at other bus stops in the selected woredas. I had observed bus passengers at Gambella bus station, Itang bus stop, Makuey bus stop and Matar bus stop. Bus passengers in the woredas I mentioned used to sit on their feet in shade of a bus, or on small stones under tree or on seats in nearby cafeterias. Those who do not have money sit on small stones on the road side.

In Gambella bus station, when a child wants to urinate, his mother can take him to town or she can take him to the fence of bus station and urinate near the fence. Like Gambella bus station, bus passengers in woredas such as Itang, Makuey and Wanthowa sit on small stones because there are no pre-prepared waiting places. In Itang, for example, bus passengers use to wait for a bus under a big tree in the town. This is the same to Wanthowa and Makuey woredas.

Passengers, especially women, stated that lack of waiting shelters and lack of toilet rooms are great challenge, but it is worst for women and elders people who do not speak Amharic. In the culture of local people, for instance, women fear to talk about going to latrines. Due to this, they fear to ask keys of toilet rooms from waiters and waitress in

nearby hotels because toilets of hotels around Gambella bus station are locked. Besides, waiters and waitress give keys to only customers of the hotels, not passengers unless a passenger eats or drinks something in the hotel before he/she goes to toilet. This means ‘No toilet before a drink or food.’

In addition, I had observed the condition at bus stations at numerous times of the day to see weather conditions and the feelings of passengers. According to my observation, waiting environment changes the feelings. In Gambella bus station, and bus stops of Itang, Makuey and Wanthowa woredas waiting time seems shorter in the morning than afternoon and evening. When the temperature get hotter and hotter, passengers can speak angrily to a bus driver in order to leave but in the morning hours, they are calm and wait until the driver decides to go by his own time. This indicates that moderate temperature in the morning hours makes waiting seems shorter and comfortable. Those who sit in unsheltered place, for example, Banyrial bus stop or in shade of buses at Gambella bus station do not feel well and free in afternoon and evening hours. Their faces can display anger and uncomfortable feelings.

4.11. Waiting time at Banyrial bus stop

I had observed that there is no properly arranged queuing system at Banyrial bus stop. When a bus came, I looked at the situation and took photo when passengers run after a bus. After few minutes, I stopped capturing the scenario and run after a bus because I also wanted to find a place for myself as a passenger. I observed and heard women crying for the situation and blaming the government for not constructing the road up to the river bank. Because it was winter, I interviewed them about the condition of summer and they said that the situation is worst in summer than winter. In a summer, bus dropped passengers at the same place. The problem is

that passengers cross big swamp which is full with water until they reach river bank. When they reach river bank, each passenger can pay 20 birr for a canoe owner to take them to another side of the river. When the volume of water in swamp increases, the passengers can take the canoe at bus stop and the price increases to 50 birr. The worst thing is sitting in a canoe for hours and crossing a river when it rains.

4.12. Challenges refugee women face

Refugees are people who are psychologically tormented by their past experiences. Due to this, they need psychological help so that they may regain their confidence and hope for the future. However, refugee women are never given good transport services by wuyallas, driver assistant and police at Tharpam checkpoint, Abole checkpoint and Donbosco, Gambella checkpoint. The wuyallas, bus drivers and police at checkpoints demand refugee women to pay more money for their properties that they want to take to Gambella and the consumption goods that they buy from Gambella to camp which discourages many women from trading and thus lead them to sit in a psychologically traumatized mood on a bus. According to refugee women, Porters and police at Tharpam road intersection checkpoint work collaboratively to get money from refugee women and vulnerable citizens who do not know their rights. I can witness this because I saw it when I came from Lare to Gambella. At that time a mini-bus was stopped at Tharpam roads intersection checkpoint and a woman who carried one sack of sorghum got in a mini-bus. She told wuyallas/porters that she has only 100 birr for porters, police and driver assistant. She divided the money to wuyallas, bus transit fees, fees for sack of sorghum and checkpoint crossing fees for a police. The wuyallas claimed that there is no way for a bus assistant to take 70 birr alone while wuyallas and a police man take only 30 birr. Because they did not agree, one wuyalla/porter had called me to comment. I did not understand why he

wanted me to comment and I did not know that he knew I was a researcher. When he called me, the police man at checkpoint came, too. I told wuyallas that the woman ought to give 30 birr to driver assistant as her transport fees, 10 birr to police as checkpoint crossing fees, 20 birr for wuyallas for loading a sack of sorghum on a bus and 40 birr for driver assistant as fees of a sack of sorghum. The porters did not agree.

Porters said that there is no way for the woman to pay 40 birr for transportation of 50kg sack of sorghum and only 30 birr for wuyallas and a police man. I asked them why a police man at checkpoint is paid. The porters responded me that if a police man at checkpoint is not pay while there is a sack of sorghum on the bus, the bus could not cross the checkpoint.

When the police man heard our conversation, he told wuyallas to take 30 birr and let the bus go. The wuyallas asked him, “How much will we give you if you agree for only 30 birr.” I did not wait for a police man answer. I moved in the bus and sat on my seat.

On our way to Gambella, the woman said, “I don’t know why police support wuyallas and why wuyallas collect money for police at checkpoint. Whenever a woman wants to take a sack of maize or a container of oil to Gambella, wuyallas request loading fees and checkpoint crossing fees for police. Police do not come and ask directly but when a person refuses to pay, they support what wuyallas said. She added that wuyallas do not collect money from refugee women only; they do it to citizens, too. We are refugees so we can just pay what they want,” she concluded.

According to my observation combined with women responses, women specific barriers in an overcrowding bus are lack of space for children, overcharging for their properties and delay.

Women usually carry many properties. This makes their trip costlier because they pay for tickets, for porters, and for police at checkpoints. Women also stated that when a woman who has no money carries many properties, she can drop her properties on a road before bus stop or station. Because women fear wuyallas, they drop their goods from a distance of 2 to 3 km away from bus station and walk on foot to their destination so that wuyallas could not charge them. Unexpectedly, when wuyallas see women dropping their goods, they can take money from women even if they drop the goods by themselves.

4.13. Case study I

Case study research methodology is good at bringing us to an understanding of a complex issue and can add strength to what is obtained through interview and observation. This case study emphasized detailed contextual analysis of a limited condition that a passenger woman who carried dry fish faced at checkpoints. I had studied three cases to examine the existing real-life situations and provide the suggesting solution. I had established the focus of the study by forming questions about the situation and determining a purpose for the study. I had investigated these individuals deeply to produce evidence that leads to understanding of the cases and answers the research questions.

General profile

The woman is a late thirty married with three children. Her husband is third year college student. I selected this woman when I heard what happened to her from a woman I interviewed at Matar.

A woman that I investigated at Matar Woreda told me that when she carried seven dry fish that she wanted to send to her relatives at Pinyudo refugees' camp, she had suffered a lot on the way to Gambella. She said that the bus was stopped at Panyuan Checkpoints by Special

force because they demanded her to pay 20 birr as a tax for seven dry fish but she has no money at that time. She argued with special force for many minutes and the special force refused to let her go. When she understood that they will not let her go, she asked bus passengers if there is a person who wanted to buy a dry fish but no body was found. At last, the special force took one dry fish in the place of twenty birr. She remained with six dry fish.

At Bildak checkpoint, the bus was stopped by Special force and they took one dry fish. She remained with five dry fish. When the bus reached Chotkuach/Etayi checkpoint, special force took two dry fish. She remained with three dry fish. At Puldeng checkpoint, they took one dry fish. She remained with two dry fish. When the bus reached Elea, the special force at checkpoint requested twenty birr but she said that she has no money. They took a dry fish and all the passengers shouted at a special force but he could not listen. At last, a man who was on a bus gave him ten birr.

Finally, the Special police at Gambella entry checkpoint on the main road of Makuey and Wanthowa had asked the woman to pay 10 birr for two dry fish. The man who paid 10 birr at Elea checkpoint had paid five birr again. The woman reached her home with only two dry fish.

4.14. Case study II

General profile

The profile of this woman indicated that she is a widow. Her husband has died five years ago and she has six children under her support. At that time, she carried only four young children with her and said that the other two were with their uncle at Kule refugees' camp. The woman looks late-forty but she does not know her exact age. I selected this woman when she talked alone about the situation of Banyrial and I understood that she could produce useful information.

The woman said that Banyrial bus stop has no properly arranged queuing system like Matar. Passengers at Banyrial do not travel by first comes, first goes; they travel by 'stronger passengers first go and vulnerable passengers last go'. This is not good place. The situation forces young, healthy and strong passengers to struggle in order to get in a bus and leave us (old women) at bus stop, she added.

When I observed the situation of waiting a bus in unsheltered swamp place with no drinking water and cafeteria, I understood that it is very uncomfortable.

The woman said, 'my son, I have two days in a nearby cattle camp because nobody helped me to get in a bus with my children.' I have finished my money by paying people who carried my bags from river bank to cattle camp.

The woman carried four children and big bags. She told me that she came from a village called Topot around Nassir in South Sudan and she finished her money by paying wuyallas from Burebiey, Matar and Dok. She reached Banyrial after she had finished her money.

She said that when a bus dropped the passengers, and the driver sees that people from nearby cattle camps, Jokowi, Makuey and Wanthowa are more at bus stop, the driver can drive his bus quickly for people to run after it in order to get seats. I am an old woman and I cannot run even if I do not carry these children and these bags with me.

Because she had finished her money, she was not able to pay wuyallas for bags and for seats.

Again, there was no way for her to run and find a seat because she carried big bags as she said.

As a result, she sent her message through another woman in order to inform her relatives at Kule refugees' camp so that a man from her relatives could find money and go to Banyrial to find a way for her and her children. When she told me the story, I talked to wuyallas at bus stops.

Wuyallas said that the woman had refused to pay them by saying that she has no money while

she carried big bags. I introduced myself to them and told them the purpose of my mission. After that, I gave them 40 birr for seats and for bags. Besides, I paid 60 birr as a transit price for her and her two children, but bags were freely put on bus and I was not charged for her two children. By chance, we met her relative at Lare bus station as soon as we reached Lare and she told him the story.

4.15. Case study III

General profile

This case is about young man who married in 2015. I purposefully selected this young man after he told me that he has a testimony on bus transportation. Academically, he is a bachelor degree holder.

At the end of 2015, that young man went to Makuey in order to call his relatives to come to Gambella for his wedding ceremony. On his way to Makuey, he paid 75 birr. Next day, when he was about to pay his transit fees and the transit price of five people he invited, the driver assistant asked him to pay 100 birr per a person. He told driver assistant that when he came from Gambella, he paid 75 birr. Therefore, there is no way for him to pay 100 birr per a person while he knows that the transit price is 75 birr. He argued with driver assistant and other passengers who had already paid 100 birr used to tell him not to argue with a driver assistant. They told him that if he did not want to pay 100 birr, he should take off and let the bus go, but the man insisted not to pay 100 birr per a person and not to take off. When he understood that the driver assistant would not agree, he gave 500 birr to the people he invited and told them to pay their transit prices. He told driver assistant that he would not pay 100 birr because the transit price written on ticket is 75 birr. He further elaborated it to the driver assistant that if he is supposed to pay 100 birr, the driver assistant should write 100 birr on the ticket but the driver assistant refused.

When the bus reached Chotkuac/Etayi checkpoint, the driver assistant went to a special force and told him that there is a passenger who refused to pay transit fees. The young man was called by a special force and he was slapped before he was asked. After he was slapped, the special force asked, “Why would you disturb people?”

The young man replied: That is the question you could ask before you slapped me. I am a mature person. If there is something wrong, you could ask me before you take any action. To answer your question, I did not refuse to pay 75 birr which is written on the ticket but driver assistant wanted me to pay 100 birr. How could I pay 100 birr while the price written on ticket is 75 birr? If he wanted me to pay 100 birr, let him write 100 birr on the ticket.

After he explained it to a special force, the special force told driver assistant to write 100 birr on the ticket. He wrote 100 birr and the man paid. When that young man entered the bus, all the passengers had blamed him. They told him that it would have been better if he had paid 100 birr before he was slapped, but he kept silent.

When the bus reached Gambella, it was stopped by a traffic police at welcome to Gambella checkpoint. The young man went to a traffic police and informed him about what happened to him. When the traffic police heard the whole story, he asked his ticket and the man gave him the ticket. Again, he asked all passengers on a bus about the transit price they paid. They all said 100 birr per a person. The traffic police wrote the case and told bus driver to report his car at Gambella police commission. Besides, he told that young man to report cases like that whenever he comes across them.

4.17. Challenges bus passengers face at checkpoints

There are 12 checkpoints from Wanthowa to Gambella and 4 checkpoints from Itang to Gambella. The following are the names of checkpoints.

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Burebiey checkpoint | 7. Nyinenyang |
| 2. Moun | 8. Bildak checkpoint Matar- |
| 3. Burebiey direction | 9. Chotkuac/Etai checkpoint |
| 4. Matar-Makuey direction | 10. Puldeng checkpoint |
| 5. Adura | 11. Elea checkpoint |
| 6. Panyuan/Kondey | 12. Gambella checkpoint |

Checkpoints from Itang to Gambella:

4.15.1. Tharpam road intersection checkpoint

4.15.2. Pinykiew checkpoint

4.15.3. Abole checkpoint

4.15.4. Gambella entry checkpoint at Donbosco

These checkpoints are described by an illiterate old man as ‘fishing nets’ on the land.

The old man said, “I do not like those ‘fishing nets’ on the land.” First, I did not understand what he meant but he clarified it by saying that police at checkpoints are just

hunting for money. If they are community protectors, they would do the activities of police, not the activities of tax collectors.

I had observed what the old man meant on my way to Burebiey Kebele. One day, a mini bus moved from Matar to Burebiey and authorized tax collectors at Matar checkpoint took tax from passengers who loaded goods for trading purposes. They provided receipt to passengers and wrote the amount a person pay on the receipt. When they gave receipt, they negotiated with a passenger on how much they (tax collectors) should write on the receipt. For example, if the tax price is 140 birr, the owner of goods may tell tax collectors to write 40 or 50 birr. The tax collectors can agree because they will put 80 or 90 birr in their pockets. But, why does a person agree to pay 140 birr while only 50 birr is written on the receipt? The answer is that illegal tax collectors (i.e. militias) at Moun checkpoint and Burebiey checkpoint will demand less since they estimate the price based on the amount written on the receipt.

After I interviewed that old man, I went to Burebiey (the border between Ethiopia and South Sudan) in order to observed the situation if it is true. I had observed the situation at Muon checkpoint and Burebiey checkpoint as well as Tharpam road intersection checkpoint and I understood that militias and police at checkpoint indirectly collect tax from both traders and passengers. The only different between militias at Moun and Burebiey checkpoints from police at Tharpam road intersection, pinykiew, Abole and Donbosco checkpoint is that Militias at Muon and Burebiey checkpoints estimate the price based on the price written on the receipt but police at Tharpam, Pinykiew, Abole town and Donbosco checkpoint just demand what they want.

According to passengers, when a passenger carries container of oil, milk for trading purpose, 1 or 2kg of sugar, dry fish, sack of maize or sorghum, any goods of UNHCR, or

personal computer which has no receipt, police or Special Force, or Militias at checkpoint can ask for money.

According to my observation, this unlawfully collecting of money from passengers was minimized during the conflict between Nuer and Anyuak because buses do not stop at Abole and Pinykiew checkpoints. Again, the main road from Gambella to Makuey and Matar, which has many checkpoints, was blocked by attackers. As a result, the situation has blocked the illegal ways of collecting money from passengers at Pinykiew, Abole, Donbosco, Nyinenyang, Bildak, chotkuac/Etayi, Puldeng, Adura, Pagnuan, Elea, Gambella entry at Baromado, but it still exists at Muon, Burebiey and Tharpam road intersection checkpoint. Based on my interpretation, this unauthorized collecting of tax at checkpoints by regional police, special force and militias can negatively affect the legitimacy of the state.

4.18. Discussion

I conducted this study on a shared bus transport service which is available for use by the general public. I presented the data of this study by describing the views of transport authorities and experts, views of bus passengers, views of bus drivers, views of traffic police and views of wuyallas. Again, I had clearly written three cases so that the findings should be seen through holistic perspective. Moreover, I validated the data obtained in a field with secondary data. I did this by looking at all the data obtained from transport authorities and experts, bus passengers, bus drivers, wuyallas, and observation with secondary data to identify the common issues that reappear, and identify the main themes that summarize all the views I had collected. After I verified all my data, the study revealed that the existing large bus and mini-bus transport service in Gambella is unable to adequately cope with the demand of bus passengers due to unaffordability of transit fees, paying unauthorized transit price, paying transit fees for kids,

unlawful taxation at many checkpoints, behaviors of porters, bus drivers and driver assistant, poor traffic management, overcrowdings of bus, overcharging of passengers for their luggage, lack of passengers waiting shelters, lack of toilet rooms at bus station, and walking on foot for a distance of three to eight kilometers.

When I validated my major findings with the findings in literature, I confirmed that the study had added new findings to the existed findings of previous researchers. In my new findings, I found out that passengers to/from Itang, Makuey and Wanthowa who carry dry fish, or 1 to 2kg of sugar, for example, make scarify by paying extra money at every checkpoint for their properties to reach the destination. This means that police, militias and special force use to collect unlawful tax from bus passengers at checkpoints. This is illustrated in case (I) and it is a new finding which was not mentioned by prior researchers.

According to Carruthers et al (2005) affordability refers to the extent to which the financial cost of journeys put an individual or household in the position of having to make sacrifices to travel or the extent to which they can afford to travel when they want to. In this study, I found that driver assistants use to overcharge passengers for luggage and they also force them to pay transit fees for kids. Overcharging of passengers for properties by wuyallas was also a part of new findings. It is new finding because passengers pay more transit price in other country but they are not overcharged by porters and police at checkpoints. This extra money that passengers pay for kids, for porters and for properties at checkpoints sometimes makes passengers not to buy goods that police, militias and special force tax at checkpoints. Most of the times those who face challenge of paying extra money at checkpoints are women who buy goods for consumptions and who also carry children.

In the reviewed literatures, it is acknowledged that women's travel patterns are different from men's, and these differences are characterized by persistent inequalities. Within any given urban setting, women have inferior access to both private and public means of transport while at the same time assuming a higher share of their household's travel burden and making more trips associated with reproductive and caretaking responsibilities" (Peters 2013). As women's travel is characterized by trip chaining, the most predominant mode of travel for low-income women in developing countries is walking. The same problem that is found in empirical data is consistent with my finding. In Gambella, for instance, when women reach Mobil in the center of Gambella town or a distance of 2 to 3 kilometers before bus station, they tell driver assistant to stop a bus so that they can drop their goods and walk on foot to the bus station. They do this because they fear wuyallas at the station.

Surprisingly, I had found that three passengers sit in front seats of mini-bus together with bus driver. He observed that those who sit in front seats with bus driver are pregnant women and women who carry small babies because there is no suitable place for them on bus. I interpreted it as a lack of accountability and poor traffic management at Matar Woreda. I saw this on mini-buses from Matar to Burebiey Kebele. Besides, I found that bus passengers at Banyrial/Mading use to run after a bus in order to move in a bus which leads to overcrowding. Because bus is overcrowded, whenever a driver assistant wants to collect transit fees, he can first drop some passengers so that he can collect transit fees because there is no space for him to move. That was very new to me. Overcrowding sometimes happens due to delay of a bus at station. Most of a time, a bus at Dok may delay for more than four to five hours at bus stop. Niels (2011) confirmed that when a vehicle is delayed, it may lead to capacity problems in the vehicles that make more people to stand or not to enter the vehicle at all. In this case, crowding may occur.

This too much delay of a bus shows that buses are not available at Dok. According to Carruthers et al (2005), if there is no service when a person wants to travel, there is no available transport

Different from this, Carruthers et al stated that if a walk is intimidating or dangerous, a bus stop at 200 meters distance may be perceived as inaccessible to a fit 14-year old boy because of the risk of mugging. However, in Gambella, there are some places like Banyrial to Dok, Dok to Jokow, main road of Makuey to Gier and Aju that a less than 14 years old child may travel on foot. The distance of the above mentioned places is started from 3 to 8 kilometers. This scenario indicates that bus transportation service in those places is inaccessible. Inaccessibility of bus transport exists even in a big city as it is supported by FDRE Ministry of transport (2011) which briefed that transport studies conducted in Addis Ababa identified that there is a big gap between public transport demand and supply. The service standard is low. Old neighborhoods are far from the main roads and expansion areas of the city are not well served by public transport.

Another issue that I found is that transports authorities in woredas claim to propose transit price which is not their authority. Their claim shows that they do not clearly understand the limit of their power and transport policy of Gambella. In the literature part of this thesis, Runji (2015) stated that an effective transport policy should be guided by clear objective to provide direction and help measure performance. His empirical finding designates that it is difficult for transport authorities in woredas to link their strategies with the intended Gambella transport objectives if they do not know the policy of Gambella transport and road development bureau. In addition to this, it indicates that there would not be an effective road transport system in Gambella unless transport authorities in woredas understand the objectives of transport policy of the region. When I said Gambella transport policy, I mean Federal Democratic Republic of

Ethiopia road transport policy because Gambella has no road Transport policy. The policy that Gambella transport and road development bureau uses- is that of federal and it did not modify it.

According to my perspective, most of the above mentioned challenges are caused by inappropriate implementation of transport policy. This is because the core objective of transport bureau as it is stated by Genet (2007) ... the objectives of the Transport Authority as stated in Transport Proclamation No. 468/2005, include promoting an efficient, adequate, economical and equitable transport system, ensuring that public transport services are safe and comfortable, and promoting the development of all aspects of transport. In fact, Gambella does not have its own document entitled 'Gambella transport policy'. She follows Federal transport policy which is not modified to regional context and sometimes it is run by proclamations, regulation and reaction to immediate concerns. Therefore, the major cause of this uncomfortable bus transport system in the region is lack of strong coordination and follows up from transport authorities and traffic police. Due to this, transport authorities are accountable for many challenges that bus passengers face.

By looking at the findings, it is possible to take a broad view that transit price in Nuer zone is not reviewed periodically based on distance, fuel price increase and decrease with the consultation of bus operators. The above statement means that the transit price from Woreda to Kebele or between different woredas (e.g. Makuey and Matar) within Nuer zone is not recommended and regulated by transport authorities and experts of Gambella transport bureau. This problem happens due to what Runji (2015) stated about all countries included in SSATP review. Runji affirmed that all countries included in SSATP lack the necessary data and information systems to appropriately support their policy development process. This is symptomatic of weak governance and overall lack of accountability when information is

unavailable to measure the results of policies and government commitment. Lack of accountability is what makes transport authorities and experts of Gambella transport and road development bureau not to follow transport strategies consistently. In order to improve bus transport system in the region, particularly, bus to/from Itang, Makuey and Wanthowa, authorities of Gambella transport and road development bureau need to address a number of challenges based on the findings of the study because it is very difficult to develop meaningful transport policies and strategies going forward without appropriate data and indicators to understand past performance with respect to policy objectives as Ruji 2015 stated in his finding. The researcher believes that improvement of bus transport service depends on implementation of the recommendations in this thesis.

4. 19. Summary

This chapter four is about the overall findings of the study. The study exposed that bus passengers in Gambella face so many challenges at bus station due to lack of waiting shelters and toilet rooms as well as abuse of wuyallas, police, militias and special force at checkpoints. I found out this finding by analyzing the views of bus passengers, transport authorities, experts, wuyallas, traffic police, cases, secondary data and observation.

Chapter Five

5.1. Conclusion and Recommendations

I would like to remind the readers with the purpose and the questions of this thesis again in this chapter. The purpose of this study was to describe the overall challenges faced by passengers of large buses and mini-buses in the three selected woredas tremendously based on passengers' point of views. Research questions are as follows: Is bus transit price affordable and acceptable to passengers? Do bus service providers deliver services consistently with passengers' preferences? What are the challenges bus and mini-bus passengers encounters? What sort of service delivery do bus passengers expect to receive? After I analyzed the data, the study exposed that the existing large buses and mini-buses transport service in Gambella is unable to adequately cope with the demand of passengers due to several factors. As a result, I would recommend authorities of Transport and Road Development Bureau to take further practical and political actions that mainly focus on securing the rights and safety of bus passengers and their properties in the three selected woredas. I gave many recommendations to Gambella transport and road development bureau because it is the only institution that is responsible for the performance of road transportation sector. Due to this, I would recommend transport authorities to prioritize the expansion of road infrastructure to Kebeles. Transport authority should also propose fair transit price based on price system of transport policy and discipline bus service providers who do not respect the regulation and transport guiding principle issued by the government.

To minimize the challenges bus travellers face, I would recommend the regional transport authorities and experts to strengthen the existing transportation framework and to ensure that the existing transport strategies are fully and effectively implemented. These transportation

problems that bus and mini-bus passengers face at Banyrial and Dok will be reduced when road infrastructure is improved and better traffic management policy is introduced.

Gambella transport authorities should cooperate with bus private association and organize awareness trainings for bus drivers, driver assistants, bus owners and traffic police so that they can develop awareness of putting safety of passengers, their personal safety and safety of a bus at first consideration.

The transport bureau should cooperate with NGOs in order to provide necessary trainings to the community at grass root level so that bus passengers should know their rights. This can help community know that it is illegal and dangerous to be on a bus that is overloaded.

Traffic police should regularly make sure that passengers are carried safely. This is a responsibility of traffic police, community and transport safety management committees to ensure that any load a bus carries is safe. Therefore, transport authorities should provide updating trainings to traffic police and transport safety management committees so that they should strongly control transit price and make sure that buses do not exceed their maximum capacities.

Because it is found out that bus service delivery in Gambella is very poor and it focused more on the benefits of bus drivers, transport authorities should take further actions and develop practical strategies so that service standards should be improved in the ways that focus on the co-benefits of bus drivers and bus passengers.

Transport authorities and experts should propose transit price for Dok, Makuey to Dok, Makuey to Matar, Matar to Burebiey and Banyrial to Lare and ensure that all buses charge passengers according to the price proposed by transport authorities. This needs strong coordination.

Transport authorities should regularly make sure that traffic police and drivers keep safety laws and regulation of Gambella transport and road development bureau.

Woredas should have bus station and make sure that basic services such as waiting shelters, seats, ticketing station and toilets are available at the station.

Transport authorities in Gambella Transport and road development bureau should construct passengers waiting shelters with seats and toilet rooms for females and males.

Regional transport bureau should design appropriate and consistent plans to gain regular feedback on the quality and outcome of bus service delivery. Transport experts should quarterly conduct assessment on bus service provisions and the challenges bus passengers face by interviewing bus passengers, observing the conditions and travelling to woredas to make sure that bus service provision is improved.

Transport authorities and experts should consult bus owners and proposed practical strategies, transit price from woredas to Kebeles, coordinate and check the activities of bus service providers.

It is discovered that government body such as police, special force and militias mistreat and humiliate passengers. Therefore, Gambella police commission is accountable for all bad activities performed by police, special force and militias at checkpoints and it is still its responsibility to correct them.

In order to provide effective bus service in the region, transport authorities should cooperate with top politicians and make sure that: The needs and the rights of bus passengers are secure and their human dignity is respected at bus station, at checkpoints and at bus stops. I would recommend government authorities from the top to the bottom to intervene so that bus service providers can change their bad activities and behaviors.

The fundamental assumption of conceptual framework that I used in this thesis is that government authorities should have strong relationship with citizens/passengers. This strong connection between politicians and passengers will force those public service providers such as: traffic police, police at checkpoints, bus drivers and wuyallas to provide effective bus transport services to all passengers or face consequences if they fail to do so. When bus service providers are held accountable, and democratic principles are implemented and citizens/passengers build strong relationship with transport authorities, according to this conceptual framework, there would be a better chance that bus service provision will improve, in the form of faster, higher-quality or better-manner.

According to social democratic accountability, we can say that there is democratic accountability in service delivery when citizens or their representatives question or provide feedback on a public service, and the political actors and service providers either act on that feedback or face consequences. This could also mean that there is no democratic accountability in public service delivery when citizens or their representatives do not question or provide feedback on a public service and transport authorities, and service providers do not act on their responsibility and do not face consequences.

To put the principle of social democratic accountability in practice, duty bearers who have power and responsibility on bus transport service delivery and fail to act on their power should justify their actions or face the consequences of their actions.

To achieve this, transport and road development bureau should raise public awareness in public meetings, trainings, and provide suggestions on regional radio program about what the government expects from the community and what it expects from bus drivers and from the porters. If regional government wants its citizens to use media, it should relocate regional radio

station in to the main town of Gambella so that community should access it for comments. Putting regional radio station in Mettu which is 171km away from Gambella prevents citizens from accessing the radio in order to air their voices to the public and it prevents them from using it as much as they can.

Transport authorities should limit the activities of wuyallas. A porter should not force passengers to pay money if a passenger is able to carry his/her properties. This is what wuyallas need to know.

In order to minimize the quarrel of passengers with driver assistant and wuyallas, transport bureau should suggest price of goods based on kilogram. Transport bureau should cooperate with NGOs and provide kilogram instruments at every bus station in Gambella so that driver assistant and porters should charge passengers by measuring the weight of their goods, not by predicting the price.

Transport and road development bureau should provide trainings on transportation safety laws, and the rights of passengers to bus commuters through community leaders and provide information on regional radio program to ensure maximum outreach coverage of the training core message.

The office of women affair should cooperate with police commission and provide awareness trainings to bus drivers and porters regarding existing laws about women's rights, and to improve their commitment to prevent any kind of abuse on passengers especially women.

Regional police commission should reduce the number of checkpoints and make sure that police, militias, and special force do not collect tax from passengers. The politicians and transport authorities should communicate this to the community so that illiterate people should know what they should pay tax for and what they should not pay for.

Traffic police should make sure that elderly people, disabled passengers, pregnant women and women who carry babies sit in a safe place on bus. Prioritizing provision of safe seats to vulnerable groups should be included in bus transport strategies. During training to community leaders, the trainers or transport authorities should communicate it to the community. Besides, bus drivers and traffic police should communicate the same policy to passengers.

Driver assistants should provide tickets to passengers and write the authorized transit price on the tickets. Trainers should train the community to understand its rights and pay only the price written on the ticket.

The authorities of transport and road development bureau should board transit price and the telephone numbers of concerning bodies on every large bus and mini bus so that passengers can easily access them.

When the above recommendations are effectively implemented, bus transport service in Itang, Makuey and Matar will improve.

Implication to Social Work Profession

The result of this study shows that there are many challenges that need quick intervention in order to improve large bus and minibus service provisions. The intervention is not expected to come only from transport authorities and community. Of course, there are specific activities that I had recommended for transport authorities and experts. However, Social workers within transport and road development bureau or outside of transport and road development bureau should intervene to make educated and illiterate passengers more aware of their rights. The intervention of social worker could include advocacy and provisions of trainings to passengers through community leaders. Advocacy can help passengers to become more aware of their own rights, to exercise those rights and to influence the decisions that transport authorities make

about transportation. When Social workers campaign for passengers, it can create a room for passengers to reach transport authorities in order to express their grievance directly. I believe that when the views of passengers are heard, there will be better bus service provision in the region, particularly bus to/from Itang, Makuey and Wanthowa Woreda.

According to conceptual framework of this study, the problems with the provision of public services have been the result of broken lines of accountability at various points along the public policy making, implementation and monitoring chain of delivery. Again, it is stated that when there is poor service, the reaction of citizens to poor service can directly pressure the service providers to ensure efficient delivery. This means that poor bus service provision in Gambella will improve when bus passengers react to the poor service they receive as they expressed it in the findings of this thesis. For that reason, Social workers should demonstrate advocacy promotion in the community (i.e. bus service users) to bring change in large bus and minibus transportation. As traffic police mentioned it in the findings that majority of people in the community do not know their rights or do not act on their rights, community Social workers should provide trainings, advices, and workshops in order to empower the community to exercise its rights. Social workers should work directly or indirectly with transport authorities, and experts to make the voices of passengers heard. Cooperation between social workers with transport authorities would bring effective advocacy. Furthermore, social workers should identify the needs of bus passengers. The purpose of identification of passengers' needs should be to create ways of working to resolve the challenges that passengers face and to empower them in order to forward their protests to the authorities of transport and road development bureau. When any incident happen while there is a social worker at bus station or at bus stops or on a bus, he could act as a critical friend to facilitate the support that bus passenger or that bus driver

need through creative use of all available resources in order to build the bridge that hinders the understanding between bus passenger and bus driver.

Above all, Social workers can contribute during plans of activities and commission by identifying urgent needs, gaps and overlaps of proposed activities. They should cooperate with the authorities of transport and road development bureau and provide trainings on ethical issues based on social work perspective in order to increase the quality of work and service delivery.

Suggestion for future Research

I would like to recommend future researchers to carry out study in Anyuak zone and Majang zone. In this study, I did not include the views of police, militias and special force who work at checkpoints in the sample of study. Due to this, I would also recommend future researchers to include police, militias and special force who work at checkpoints in the process of data collection. These are the gaps that I had identified in this study.

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